The Four Elements of Nature and Narrative: From Antiquity to Neo-Mythological Russian Drama



Katherine Anna New
New College
University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Medieval and Modern Languages

Hilary Term 2022

Contents

Front Matter 5

Acknowledgements 6

Short Abstract 7

Long Abstract 8

Introduction 14

I. The Literary and Scholarly Context of the Thesis 14

Section 1. Russian Mythological Drama of the 18th-19th Centuries 14

Section 2. Russian Silver Age Neo-Mythological Drama 20

II. The Conceptual Context of the Thesis 30

Section 1. The Narratological Context of the Thesis 30

Section 2. The Intertextual Context of the Thesis 35

III. The Theoretical and Methodological Novelty of the Thesis 38

IV. The Structure of the Thesis 43

Chapter 1

Liminality as Modus Vivendi: The Sea-god's Concubine or an Agnostic Sophist?

Introduction 47

I. The Classical Hypertext of the Mythological Plotline of Melanippe 49

Section 1. The Mythographical Hypertext 51

Section 2. The Mythopoetic Hypertext 58

Section 3. The Mythoplastic Hypertext 62

I. The Greek Dramatic Hypertext: Euripides 62

II. The Latin Dramatic Hypertext: Ennius 70

II. The Mythoplastic Neo-Mythological Intertext: Innokenty Annensky's Melanippa-filosof 76

***Section 1.** The Rape and Birth Mythonarreme: Exposition* 78

***Section 2.** The Decision to Destroy the Infants Mythonarreme: Conflict* 89

***Section 3.** The Rhesis Mythonarreme: Peripeteia* 97

***Section 4.** The Ultimate Fate Mythonarreme: Anagnorisis* 110

Conclusion 120

Chapter 2

Illusion, Deception and Punishment: From Divine Equality to Aerial Torment

Introduction 130

I. The Classical Hypertext of the Mythological Plotline of Ixion 133

***Section 1.** The Mythographical Hypertext* 133

***Section 2.** The Mythopoetic Hypertext* 137

***Section 3.** The Mythoplastic Hypertext* 141

***I.** The Epic Hypertext: Homeric Epic* 141

***II.** The Lyric Hypertext: Pindar* 143

***III.** The Dramatic Hypertext:* 153

***(a)** Aeschylus* 153

***(b)** Sophocles* 156

***(c)** Euripides* 158

II. The Mythoplastic Neo-Mythological Intertext: Innokenty Annensky's Tsar' Iksion 160

***Section 1.** The Kindred Murder Mythonarreme: Exposition* 161

***Section 2.** The Attempted Rape Mythonarreme: Conflict* 168

***Section 3.** The Simulacrum Mythonarreme: Peripeteia* 180

***Section 4.** The Punishment Mythonarreme: Anagnorisis* 192

Conclusion 206

Chapter 3

A Woman in Flames: Transforming the Prelude to the Trojan Cycle

Introduction 214

I. The Classical hypertext of the Mythological Plotline of Laodamia 217

Section 1. The Mythographical hypertext 219

Section 2. The Mythopoetic hypertext 225

Section 3. The Mythoplastic hypertext 227

I. The Greek Epic Hypertext 227

II. The Greek Dramatic Hypertext 232

III. The Latin Elegiac Hypertext 239

II. The Mythoplastic Neo-Mythological Intertext: Innokenty Annensky, Fyodor Sologub, Valery Bryusov 250

Section 1. The Departure and Demise Mythonarreme: Exposition 253

Section 2. The Grief Mythonarreme: Conflict 262

Section 3. The Apparition Mythonarreme: Peripeteia 269

Section 4. The Heroine's Death Mythonarreme: Anagnorisis 282

Conclusion 288

Chapter 4

Musician in the Rocks: Blindness on the 20th century Russian Stage

Introduction 299

I. The Classical Hypertext of the Mythological Plotline of Thamyris 308

Section 1. The Mythographical Hypertext 308

Section 2. The Mythopoetic Hypertext 313

Section 3. The Mythoplastic Hypertext 315

I. The Greek Epic Hypertext 315

II. The Greek Dramatic Hypertext 318

II. The Mythoplastic Neo-Mythological Intertext: Innokenty Annensky's Famira-kifared 324

Section 1. *The Hubris Mythonarreme: Exposition* 327

Section 2. *The Contest Mythonarreme: Peripeteia* 339

Section 3. *The Punishment Mythonarreme: Anagnorisis* 350

Conclusion

Conclusion

I. A New Interpretation of Annensky's Neo-Mythological Tetralogy: as a System 380

II. A New Interpretation of Annensky's Neo-mythological Drama: as Individual Plays 388

III. The Impact of Annensky's Neo-Mythological Tragedies on Modern Drama 388

Section 1. *Neo-Mythological Drama of the Early 20th Century* 397

Section 2. *Neo-Mythological Drama of the Late 20th-early 21st Centuries* 403

List of Illustrations 415

Bibliography 420

Front matter

Transliteration:

In the thesis, Cyrillic is transliterated using British Standard (BS 2979:1958, as modified in Oxford Slavonic Papers), with the exception of personal names which have established English spellings (e.g. Annensky, Bryusov, Gumilev). All titles of Russian and Polish plays are transliterated.

Translation:

All sources are quoted in the original, with translations provided by the author of the present thesis for quotations in languages other than English and Russian.

Acknowledgments:

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my supervisor Professor Catriona Kelly, who has offered me continuous help and guidance throughout my Mst and DPhil studies. I am truly grateful for her kind advice on my academic work and her unending support during both my undergraduate and my postgraduate years.

In addition to my supervisor, I would like to thank my examiners, Professor Pamela Davidson and Professor Gregory Hutchinson for their invaluable comments on my work, their detailed feedback and their encouragement. I could not imagine better examiners and I have no words to express my gratitude for the amount of time they spent reading and correcting my work. I am also grateful to Professor Philip Bullock and Professor Andrei Zorin, who, as my Transfer and Confirmation examiners, offered me helpful comments on the theoretical parts of my thesis.

I would like to offer special thanks to Professor Polly Jones, under whose guidance my interest in Russian literature flourished as an undergraduate, Professor Julie Curtis who helped me maintain my fascination with Russian drama and Professor Andrew Kahn, who oversaw my first attempts at comparative Russian and Classical studies. I would also like to extend my gratitude to Professor Richard Rutherford for reading the Classical parts of each of my chapters and for offering me detailed and insightful feedback on some of my articles, Professor Lindsay Judson for introducing me to the world of Classical philosophy and Professor Peter Wiseman for reading my early work and encouraging my study of Classics. I would also like to acknowledge the *Arts and Humanities Research Council* (AHRC) for their generous support of my postgraduate project.

Finally, I would like to offer my warmest gratitude to my parents, Inna and Peter New, my grandparents, Lia and Gerald, and my sister, Maria, who have encouraged me in all my endeavours and given me their loving and limitless support in every possible way.

Short Abstract:

The present thesis examines Russian twentieth-century drama composed by Innokenty Annensky, Valery Bryusov, Fyodor Sologub in the context of Classical, Medieval and contemporary philosophical and literary works, as well as in the context of visual art (archaeological, sculptural and numismatic evidence: Greek pottery and vase-painting, Greek and Roman coinage, Etruscan mirrors, Roman sarcophagi). In my thesis I adopt an intertextual approach to Russian drama in relation to Ancient Greek and Roman epic, dramatic, elegiac and mythographic traditions, which are represented as a single mythological hypertext. I attempt to show the applicability of a narratological approach to a manifestly non-narrative, i.e. performative genre, which inherits a narrative structure from the mythological plotline underlying it, and argue that a parallel system of four closely interconnected narrative elements underlies the hypertext of Annensky's tragedies.

My thesis explores the main variants of artistic myth-making in Silver Age drama based on traditional mythological plots, projected onto contemporary life, the creation of individual systems of mythologemes and motifs, the use of temporal-chronological planes and causal-consecutive connections, and the functions of archetypal themes, images and characters (cosmos vs. chaos, hero vs. anti-hero, love vs. strife).

My thesis offers a basis for understanding Annensky's mythological tetralogy as a cosmogonical universe based on the reception of Empedoclean principles, which accounts for the choice of mythological plots based on the four Classical elements of nature (earth, fire, water and air). Each of the four mythological dramas composed by Innokenty Annensky is conceptualised through an element, enabling the poet to explore problems of psychology and ethics by fusing the natural world with the human soul.

Long Abstract:

The present thesis aims to discover the means by which Russian Silver Age dramatists transform fragmentary Classical mythological accounts belonging to diverse typological categories (mythographic, mythopoetic and mythoplastic) by syncretising conceptual and structural features of Ancient tragedy with contemporary literary and cultural phenomena. Furthermore, the thesis seeks to determine the innovations of Neo-mythological playwrights in dramatic myth-making in relation to their predecessors and to assess their significance for posterity.

The thesis consists of three parts, of which the first sets the emergence of Neo-mythological tragedy against the literary background of Russian eighteenth and nineteenth century drama and summarises the conceptual and methodological novelty of the adopted approach. The second part of the thesis analyses the plays of Innokenty Annensky, Fyodor Sologub and Valery Bruysov in the contexts of relevant Classical hypertexts. Finally, the last part of the thesis offers a novel philosophical overview of Annensky's, Sologub's and Bryusov's plays, proposes new interpretations for each of them and outlines their influence on the writings of twentieth and twenty-first century playwrights.

In the first part of my thesis, the innovations of Russian Silver Age playwrights and the features they inherited from previous literary traditions are identified against the background of the reception of Ancient mythology in Russian mythological drama of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I attempt to demonstrate that Neo-classical tragedies adjusted Ancient mythology to conventions of contemporary culture and society, without transforming the basic outlines of mythological plots. In Neo-classical drama Ancient mythology was predominantly used for didactic instruction and edification, and to a lesser degree for political-ideological persuasion. In Silver Age Neo-mythological plays, edifying and political functions become

irrelevant, which signals a radical innovation in comparison with the preceding Russian dramatic tradition.

In the first part of my thesis I outline my methodological and theoretical approach to literary texts. I propose a new concept, provisionally termed *mythoplastia* (formed from 'μῦθος' and 'πλάσσειν'), which is fundamental to both Classical and Russian Neo-mythological dramatic renditions of mythological plotlines. I have formulated this concept to differentiate between the act of recording myths (*mythography*), the act of employing them for allusive poetic purposes (*mythopoesis*) and the act of their creative formation (*mythoplastia*), which is viewed as a continuous, dynamic rather than static process.

The second part of my thesis consists of four chapters, each centered on one of Innokenty Annensky's mythological dramas (*Melanippa-filosof, Tsar' Iksion, Laodamiya, Famira-kifared*), which are viewed in the context of their respective Classical hypertexts and in the context of contemporary Russian works. I show that the tetralogy is internally united through structure, composition, the symmetry of characters: two male, two female images, enhancing each other. Laodamia and Melanippe are located at opposite spectrums of a woman's role, a married, childless virgin and an unmarried woman who has lost her honour and has children. Thamyris and Ixion investigate the problem of hubris, albeit from different social angles: a king who has lost his power and a hermit-singer who was deprived of his skill.

In relation to the Neo-mythological treatment of the plotline of Laodamia, I suggest that Annensky, Bryusov and Sologub sought to develop the heroine's character by endowing her with three attributes: the capacity for speech, thought and action. Each of the three Neo-mythological treatments of the Laodamia legend drives the vector of mythological transformation (in accordance with which the narrative weight is shifted from Protesilaus to his wife) beyond the scope of the Classical tradition. In his treatment of the Laodamia legend, Annensky focuses on revealing the psychology of a suffering heroine, who is trapped in a

liminal position. Fyodor Sologub gives rise to a new interpretation of the heroine's role: Laodamia, transformed into a thinking and speaking character, acquires the necessary capacity to bear associations with another plane of existence, the world beyond the grave. Valery Bryusov's rendition of the myth of Laodamia and Protesilaus advances the redistribution of narrative significance allotted to the hero and heroine to a complete reversal. I attempt to demonstrate that the process of the mythological transformation, initiated in the Classical hypertext, is completed within the Russian Neo-mythological tradition: Bryusov develops Laodamia's capacity for speech, thought and heroic action to the point of displacing Protesilaus from his traditional role in the narrative structure, and making Laodamia the central and determining agent in the newly created mythological plot.

In relation to Annensky's treatment of the mythological plotline of Melanippe, I show that the Russian poet subjected the Classical legend to a drastic reorganisation both on the compositional plane (his introduction of innovative structural features, pertaining to the characterisation of Melanippe and her two antagonists, Aeolus and Hellen) and on the narrative plane (his rejection, reorganisation and augmentation of Classical mythologemes pertaining to the spiritual and psychological characterisation of the heroine). Annensky imbues the characterisation of his heroine with the teachings of three philosophers, Anaxagoras, Parmenides and Heraclitus, expanding the scope of her spiritual capacities. I suggest that Annensky's primary concern lies with the characterisation of his heroine's intellectual capacity and rhetorical skills, which exceed the abilities of her Classical counterpart. The intellectual and spiritual capacity of the Russian Melanippe is developed to the point at which she is able to conceive of her own theology, divorced from the pagan polytheistic religion of her ancestors, and more akin to Christianity. Annensky endows his heroine with an innovative personal courage, hitherto unprecedented not only in the Classical tradition but also in the Russian

tragedy itself, enabling her not only to forgive her tormentors but also to welcome her suffering with peace and happiness.

In relation to the Neo-mythological treatment of the legend of Ixion, my thesis demonstrates that Annensky executed a break with the Classical tradition, in which the mythological plotline of Ixion was conditioned by the concept of divine justice and moral supremacy, functioning as an admonition against *hubris*. Annensky revises the function of the mythological plotline, from a narrative relating the downfall of a punished mortal to a revelation of the fate of a suffering hero, deceived, mocked and ensnared by the gods. In the Neo-mythological tragedy the hegemony of the gods is challenged by their representation as cruel and psychologically unsophisticated beings, depicted as intellectually and emotionally inferior to the willingly suffering protagonist. Thus the relationship between the mortal hero and the immortal *dramatis personae* becomes inverted in Annensky's play, in which the gods are reduced to shallow, deceitful and cruel mockers and the hero achieves moral, psychological and emotional superiority. The thesis argues that Annensky shifts the emphasis from the physical to the psychological, with the hero's self-imposed mental and emotional torment dominating the play: the acceptance of mortal suffering as the price of human independence, rather than the effect of divine justice on human rebels, serves as the focal point of Annensky's innovative transformation of the mythological plotline.

In connection with *Famira-kifared*, I suggest that Annensky shifts the function of the mythological plotline of Thamyris, from a narrative relating the downfall of a punished mortal to a revelation of the fate of a suffering poet, who loses his gift and greatest treasure. I attempt to show that in contrast to the Classical hypertext, in which Thamyris was deprived of both skill and sight by the Muses and so was rendered a physical and emotional cripple, Annensky's hero is endowed with the capacity to carry out the corporal aspect of his punishment himself, taking over the punitive function of the gods. I offer possible reasons for Annensky's modifications

of the mythological plotline of Thamyris: the poet's focus on the dichotomy between mortal and immortal power, his interest in the psychology of suffering; his desire to explore the dynamics of the mental, psychological and emotional development of an extraordinary personality (in Annensky's own words a 'super-human of the Hellenistic world'). The former accounts not only for the inversion of the representation of the human hero and the pantheon of ancient gods but also for introduction of the motifs of isolation before powerful adversaries and of the retention of dignity and freedom of spirit in a situation of catastrophic personal downfall.

I offer a new rationalisation behind the micro-cyclic mythological universe created by Annensky in his dramatic tetralogy relating it to the thematic centres of the four Classical elements of matter: fire, earth, air, water. Each of the four mythological dramas composed by Innokenty Annensky is shown to have been conceptualised through one of the natural elements, enabling the poet to explore problems of human psychology and ethics. I show that by bridging the boundary between observable natural phenomena and mythology Annensky was able to introduce a novel, universal dimension into the treatment of Classical mythological plots. The thesis attempts to give an answer to the question, which has been puzzling the minds of scholars for over a hundred years, as to the reasons for the choice of the particular plots of Ixion, Laodamia, Melanippe and Thamyris from the multitude of marginal mythological plots. I suggest that Annensky's goal was to create a mythological universe, in whose cosmic order each of the natural elements (air, fire, water and earth) found its place and was related to the key psychological and ontological categories of faith, feeling, reason and vocation.

In the third part of my thesis, I show that Annensky's original plays had an immediate impact on twentieth and twenty-first century Neo-mythological tragedy. I suggest that contemporary writers enrich their mythological plays through adopting a number of characteristic features of Annensky's dramatic heritage: *narrative* (on all four levels identified in the thesis), *structural* (shifting focus from *fabula* to *dramatis personae*), *textual* (the

anachronistic fusion of chronologically diverse sources), *creative* (a combination of the modernisation, intellectualisation, aestheticisation, psychologisation and desacralisation of mythology), and *linguistic* (through his translations). Although modern Neo-mythological drama contains a synthesis of Annensky's representative dramatic features, the individual peculiarity of each play is determined by the idiosyncratic distribution of balance between them. Understanding the process of myth-creation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries reveals the aesthetic, social and psychological views of modern playwrights, the intended reactions of their audience, the aims of modern myth-making and the role of Neo-mythology in contemporary society.

Introduction

I. The Literary and Scholarly Context of the Thesis

The present thesis explores the narrative means of myth-making in Russian dramaturgy and proposes a new model for analysing dramatic texts which engage in intertextual dialogue with other literary traditions. The main object of study is twentieth century Neo-mythological drama, in particular the tetralogy of the pioneering myth creator (*mythurgos*) of the Silver Age, Innokenty Annensky.[1] The dramatic techniques used by Annensky to modify Classical mythological accounts are analysed through the prism of semantic and structural features of Ancient tragedy, the concepts of Classical philosophy and the evidence of visual art. Neo-mythological tragedies composed by Valery Bryusov, Fyodor Sologub, Nikolay Gumilev and Marina Tsvetaeva are viewed as an intermediary link between Annensky's tetralogy and modern mythological plays. The innovations of Russian Silver Age playwrights and the features they inherited from previous literary traditions are identified against the background of the reception of Ancient mythology in Russian mythological drama of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Section 1. Russian Mythological drama of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Russian dramatic works, including ballet and opera librettos, have been influenced by Ancient mythology since their emergence in the age of Baroque. One of the earliest performances at the Russian court theatre of Tsar Alexey Mikhailovich Romanov, *Komediya o Bakhuse s Venusom* (1676), was based on Ancient mythological figures. A versified play, *Dafnis, goneniem lyubovnogo Apollona v drevo lyavrovoe prevrashennaya* (1715), which goes back to Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* Book I, was likewise centred on mythological figures, Cupid

[1] On Annensky as a cult figure for twentieth century poets, see Kelly, 1986, p.72; Fyodorov, 1984, p.1; Mitrofanov, p.191.

and Venus, who cause Apollo to fall in love with a nymph.[2] The first stage of the reception of Ancient mythology in Russian drama was centred on the assimilation of mythological characters (mostly gods and goddesses) acting as emblematic types or allegorical masks (for love, passion, chastity, etc.) and had entertainment as its predominant function.

Audience entertainment was apparently the aim of the first ballet performed in Russia, *Orfei i Evridika* (1673), whose music was probably composed by a German musician, Heinrich Schütz, but has not survived.[3] More is known about the first opera performed in Russian: *Tsefal i Prokris* (1755, music by Francesco Araja), which was modelled on the Classical mythological tradition (Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* Book 7). Its libretto by Alexandr Sumarokov gave an original interpretation of the famous legend, focusing on the loyalty of both lovers and transforming the tale of adultery into a moral lesson on mutual fidelity, preserved despite unbearable hardships and powerful adversaries.[4] An original treatment of a Classical source (Euripides' tragedy *Alcestis*) is similarly characteristic of Sumarokov's libretto for Hermann Raupach's opera *Altsesta* (1759), whose characters were transformed into sacrificial and loving individuals: Sumarokov's Alcestis gladly gives up her life in exchange for her husband's, while Admetus refuses to accept the woman brought to him by Hercules. Sumarokov's aim in both librettos is to give ethical instructions in virtue, loyalty and self-sacrifice, using Ancient mythology for didactic purposes.

Edification remained the dominant aim during the subsequent stage of the reception of Ancient mythology in Russian drama, which was partly mediated by the traditions of French and Italian Classicism. Lomonosov and Trediakovsky, who composed mythological plays on

[2] The Russian play on Daphnis could have been influenced by Ottavio Rinuccini's librettos for Jacopo Peri's (1598) and Marco da Gagliano's (1608) operas and by Samuel Twardowskii's poem *Dafnis w drzewo bobkowe przemieniela sie* (1638), see Nikolaev, pp.85-90.
[3] Little is known about the ballet, except for Orpheus' invitation for a dance addressed to pyramids: a mythological allusion to Orpheus' musical gift which made rocks move to hear him, (Vsevolodsky-Gerngross, p.71).
[4] Sumarokov could have known the opera *Céphale et Procris* by Élisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre (1694), but the only shared feature of their librettos is that Céphale and Procris are not married (contrary to Ovid's account).

Ancient topics, were educated at the Moscow Slavo-Graeco-Latina Academia, studied Latin and Greek, and knew Classical literature and mythology.[5] Trediakovsky's play *Deidamia* (written in 1750, published in 1775) followed Greek originals (Sophocles' *Antigone* and Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis*),[6] albeit inflected by the Neo-classical tradition (Racine's tragedy *Iphigénie* and the opera of Metastasio and Kaldaro, *Achille in Sciro*, performed in Saint Petersburg in 1736-9). Lomonosov's tragedy *Demofont* (1751), reaching back to the tradition of French Classicism, blended two Classical mythological plots concerning Demophon, son of Theseus (known from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and Euripides' *Heracleidae*) and Ilione, daughter of Priam, and her husband Polymnestor (recorded in Hyginus' *Fabula* CIX, 243). Freely reworking the two mythological plots, Lomonosov established a series of parallels with the *dramatis personae* of Racine's *Andromaque,* and enriched his tragedy with moral allusions absent in Racine. Both Trediakovsky's and Lomonosov's tragedies were mainly aimed at imbuing Ancient mythology with a didactic-edifying function, closely connected with the programmes of the Enlightenment.

An edifying approach to interpreting Ancient mythology was adopted by Yakov Knyazhnin, whose tragedy *Didona* (1769) went back to Virgil's *Aeneid,*[7] and whose *Orfei* (1781) was based on *Ovid's Metamorphoses* Book X.[8] Knyazhnin shifted the emphasis of his tragedies to the conflict of a human being with the power of Fate, manifested in the protest of a mortal individual against the invincible will of the gods. The motif of human struggle against the ruthless gods became central to later tragedies, especially those composed in the Russian Silver Age. Whereas the didactic-edifying agenda of Knyazhnin's interpretation of Ancient

[5] Stennik, 1981, p.45.
[6] Takho-Godi, 2015, pp.206-212; Bochkarev, 1988, p.84-96.
[7] Knyazhnin could have known the tragedy *Didon* by Jean-Jacques Lefranc (1734) and the Italian opera libretto *Didone abbandonata* by Pietro Metastasio (1724), which (accompanied by Francesco Araja's music) was frequently performed in Russian theatres (Kulakova, pp.724-725).
[8] Knyazhnin may have known Poliziano's lyrical drama *Orfeo* (1480) and multiple musical interpretations of the famous plot: Jacopo Peri's *Euridice* (1600), Claudio Monteverdi's opera *L'Orfeo* (1607) and Luigi Rossi's opera on the same subject (1647).

mythology became obsolete in Silver Age Neo-mythological tragedy, the concept of self-determination achieved against overwhelming power received profound psychological development.

As in the majority of Neo-classical tragedies, the conflict between love and duty is central to Vasily Maikov's tragedy *Agriopa* (1769), which presents a powerful edifying lesson that vice and evil will always be punished, while virtue triumphs. Vasily Maikov was most famous for his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1763-1779), which became the basis for Ivan Krylov's mythological tragedy *Filomela* (1786-88). Like Racine's *Phèdre* and Knyazhnin's *Didona*, Krylov's *Filomela* explores the emotional world of a woman and uses the Ancient legend to raise ubiquitous existential problems (such as passion and commitment, loyalty and betrayal, mercy and forgiveness), continuing the didactic tradition of interpreting Classical mythology.

An edifying aim remained central for Vladislav Ozerov, who transformed Russian mythological tragedy by infusing it with the spirit of Sentimentalism. His mythological tragedy *Edip v Afinakh* (1805) was based both on Sophocles' tragedy *Oedipus at Colonus* and on its adaptation by Jean-François Ducis *Œdipe à Colonne* (1797), which presented sentimental versions of the main characters.[9] Ozerov changed the focus of his tragedy by redirecting the wrath of the gods towards Creon, making vices justly punished and virtues rewarded. Ozerov's play influenced subsequent tragedies, including Vasily Kapnist's *Antigona* (1814), in which characters likewise receive sentimentalist moral treatment.

Ozerov's other famous tragedy, *Poliksena* (1809), was based on both Classical sources (e.g. Euripides*' Hecuba,* Seneca's *Troades*) and French tragedies (Racine's *Iphigénie* and Châteaubrun's *Les Troyennes*) which influenced both Ozerov's heroes and his style.[10] Ozerov's sentimental representation of characters and the introduction of elegiac monologues enabled

[9] Maksimovich, pp.156-180.
[10] Ozerov was called 'a Russian Racine', Ivanov, 2005, pp.37-64.

him to modernise the genre of Classical tragedy through an innovative, emotional deployment of imagery akin to that of French tragedies, and to create a new genre of sentimental drama, with a simple plot but emotionally complex heroes. Ozerov used the subjects of Ancient myths to develop the emotions of passive, melancholy and self-sacrificial characters and came closest among all his literary predecessors to the radical reinterpretation of mythology in Russian Silver Age drama.

Unlike the preceding generation of dramatists, who drew on both Ancient Greek tragedy and contemporary European drama, nineteenth-century playwrights, such as Vasily Narezhny, Alexandr Gruzintzev, Pavel Katenin, Apollon Maikov, knew Classical Greek, and based their plays directly on Classical tragedies without recourse to any mediating sources. In his play *Krovavaya noch, ili konechnoe padenie domu Kadmova* (1800), which goes back to Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes* and Sophocles' *Antigone*, Narezhny attempted to reproduce characteristics of Ancient tragedy: the prominent role of the Chorus in the development of the action, an emphasis on ancient customs and an abundance of Greek toponyms and proper names.[11] Alexandr Gruzintzev's tragedies, *Elektra i Orest* (1809, based on Sophocles' *Electra*), *Iraklidy ili spasennye Afiny* (1815, modelled on Euripides' *Heracleidae*), and *Tsar' Edip* (1811, founded on Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*) include allusions to contemporary political events and use ancient mythology to express the ideological views of their author.

An ideological-political agenda (the rebellion of citizens against autocracy) became dominant in the interpretation of Ancient plots by Pavel Katenin, who was well acquainted with Classical texts which he read in the original.[12] His tragedy *Andromakha* (première 1827), based on Seneca's *Troades,* Euripides' *Trojan Women* and Virgil's *Aeneid,* provides an insight into his ideological aims (Katenin was a member of *Soyuz spaseniya*, a society of 'aristocratic

[11] Bochkarev, 1964, p.26.
[12] Makarov, p.27.

revolutionaries').[13] For Katenin's play Classical sources supplied both a schematic plotline of events (the fall of Troy, the murder of Priam, the capture of Andromache, the death of Astyanax and Pyrrhus' possession of Andromache), and a bank of famous heroes endowed with potential contemporary ideological and moral relevance: Agamemnon, a weak, despotic autocrat; Andromache, a loyal wife and a wretched mother; Pyrrhus, a freedom-fighting, hot-tempered warrior, and Odysseus, a cunning courtier. Katenin's attempt to restore the canons of Ancient tragedy can be regarded as an artistic strategy aimed at introducing a radical ideological subtext into his play, concealed behind a formally purist rendition of a Classical legend.

The most loyal recreation of a Classical mythological plot is Apollon Maikov's *Kassandra* (1878), which is based on Aeschylus' tragedy *Agamemnon*.[14] In the Prologue, Maikov summarised his play's plotline and accounted for his choice of theme by the artistic greatness of Aeschylus. In his inclusion of a Prologue, Maikov may have followed Lomonosov's principles for structuring Neo-classical tragedies, since his *Demofont* was prefaced with a brief exposition, including a condensed synopsis of preceding events, which was intended to bring the audience up to date with the action on stage. This technique was inherited by Silver Age dramatists: each of Innokenty Annensky's four plays has a Preface defining his approach to the legend in question and his dramatic techniques.[15]

Neo-classical tragedies adjusted Ancient mythology to conventions of contemporary culture and society, without transforming the basic outlines of mythological plots. Eighteenth and nineteenth century tragedies inherited narrative details from different versions of the same mythological plotline in both Classical (Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides, Ovid, Seneca) and

[13] Shatskov, pp.107-18.
[14] Apollon Maikov could have known Alexey Merzlyakov's drama *Kassandra v chertogah Agamemnona* (1825) and Wilhelm Küchelbecker's lyrical drama *Kassandra* (1821).
[15] It is possible that Annensky inherited the technique of deploying a Preface in his plays from Racine, who composed prefaces to his tragedies *Andromaque* and *Britannicus*. Racine's prefaces, like Annensky's, contained conceptual observations on the dramatic genre as well allusions to his potential sources (e.g Aulus Gellius in *Britannicus*).

European culture (Racine, Châteaubrun, Ducis, Lully), in order to create elevated images of sacrificial characters worthy of imitation (Alcesta, Agriopa, Polyxena, Andromache, Antigone, Cassandra) and to relate their mythological narratives to specific contemporary or past historical events. In Neo-classical drama Ancient mythology was used predominantly with the function of didactic instruction and edification, whereas political-ideological persuasion was marginal, only appearing conspicuously in the tragedies of Gruzintzev and Katenin. In the majority of Silver Age mythological plays, both aims, edifying and political, were irrelevant.

Section 2. Russian Silver Age Neo-Mythological Drama

The Russian *fin de siècle* witnessed a renaissance of interest in Classical literature, philosophy and art and marked a new era of fascination with mythology and its relation to symbol and word. Symbolists viewed myths as the roots of human culture, embodiments of collective consciousness and a means of overcoming subjectivism and individualism.[16] In their interpretation of mythology, the Symbolists aimed at uniting the poet and the theurgist and at merging imaginative cognition with artistic creation, 'an internal fusion with the myth-creating soul of the nation'.[17] By resurrecting the genre of mythological drama, Silver Age poets attempted to create new dramatic forms for the Russian stage, transforming tragedy into an aesthetic and emotional experience, which would not only have the function of entertainment, but also produce a cathartic effect on modern audiences.[18]

Mythological drama of the turn of the century goes back directly to Classical Antiquity, bypassing the preceding European heritage. The most prominent poets of the Russian Silver Age, Innokenty Annensky, Vyacheslav Ivanov and Valery Bryusov, had classical educations. Vyacheslav Ivanov wrote his dissertation on taxation in the Roman Empire in Latin, under the supervision of Otto Hirschfeld at Berlin University,[19] translated six tragedies by Aeschylus (*The*

[16] Mints, 1979, p.83; Toporkov, p.397.
[17] Ivanov, 1907, p.48.
[18] Gerasimov, 1987, p.552.
[19] Wachtel, 1994, pp. 353–376; Wachtel, 2018, pp. 275–307.

Persians, Se*ven Against Thebes, The Suppliants*, *The Oresteia: Agamemnon*, *The Libation Bearers*, *The Eumenides*[20]) and composed his own original tragedies, based on Classical mythology: *Tantal, Prometei* and an unfinished play *Niobeya*.[21] Bryusov and Annensky graduated from the Classics departments of Moscow and Saint Petersburg Universities respectively, the former specialising in Latin and the latter in Greek.[22] Their knowledge of Antiquity went far beyond the canon of Classical texts familiar since the Italian Renaissance and included mythological plots preserved only in fragmentary sources. Ancient mythological themes were rendered by Russian Silver Age poets in the form of two genres inherited from Antiquity: lyrical poetry and tragedy.

Lyrical poetry was the dominant (and hence better studied) genre among the poets of the Symbolist movement:[23] Vyacheslav Ivanov, Valery Bryusov and Fyodor Sologub turned to composing in the tragic genre only after they were already established as lyric poets. Innokenty Annensky published his first lyric collection in 1904 (*Tikhie pesni* under the pseudonym 'Ник. Т-о', alluding to Odysseus' name as given to Polyphemus).[24] In addition to his composition of original lyric poetry, Annensky translated French symbolist poetry (by Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, Mallarmé, Prudhomme and Rimbaud) and composed his own mythological tragedies reviving Classical plots.

Annensky received a 'Candidate's degree' in Classical Philology at the Historico-Philological department of Saint Petersburg University, which was awarded to students who submitted an essay of great scholarly value. From 1896 to 1906 he worked as the director of the Tsarskoe Selo Gymnasium, where he taught Latin and Greek. He wrote a series of critical

[20] Ivanov did not start working on a translation of Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound, despite composing an original play on the basis of the Prometheus plotline.
[21] Ivanov's mythological tragedy *Prometei,* which first appeared as 'Syny Prometeia' (1915) in Russkaia mysl', was analysed in Boyana Sabo-Trifkovich's thesis, 2010, and his tragedy *Tantal* is the subject of Hetzer's monograph, 1972. For Ivanov's unfinished tragedy *Niobeya* see: Gerasimov, 1984, pp.178-203.
[22] Davidson, 1996, p.84.
[23] West, 1970; Wachtel, 1994; Barta, 2000; Bird, 2006 (A); Tucker, 1986; Mints, 2004; Lavrov, 2007; Lomtev, 1994; Silard, (B) 2002; Goncharova, 2017; Kolobaeva, 2017; Petrova, 2002; Timenchik, 2017; Ekshtut, 2017.
[24] Annensky's second book of poetry (*Kiparisovii larets*) came out in 1910, four months after his death.

articles on the poetry of Pushkin, Lermontov, Polonsky, Maikov, Heine; the stories and novels of Gogol, Goncharov, Turgenev, Dostoevsky; the dramas of Shakespeare, Tolstoy, Chekhov, Andreev, Ibsen, Leconte de Lisle. However, Annensky's life was primarily dedicated to translating the plays of his favourite Greek tragedian, Euripides, and supplying them with introductory articles and scholarly commentaries.[25]

In his translations Annensky radically modernised Euripides' tragedies, psychologising Classical heroes and enhancing their emotions. He introduced structural changes into Greek originals, regrouping epeisodions into acts and inserting authorial remarks, comments on the place of action (obviously absent in the original) and inserted descriptions of characters into stage directions (irrelevant for Ancient theatre with its masks), which hinted at their emotional state.[26] Annensky acted as a striking innovator on the linguistic level of his translations, by employing colloquial, common vocabulary side by side with elevated words, and omitting stylistic devices of the original, such as lexical repetition, anaphora, alliteration, parallelisms, rhythmical-syntactic formulas and antitheses.[27] Scholars have pointed out associations with the rhythmical structure and style of Pushkin's *Boris Godunov* and the influence of Dostoevsky on character representation, stating that Annensky's translations were no less original than his own dramas.[28]

The degree of accuracy as opposed to poetic license in Annensky's translations was measured by Mikhail Gasparov, who established an index evaluating the percentage of significant words (nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs) preserved from an original against the percentage of words replaced or added in a translated text.[29] In Annensky's translations of Euripides, the index of accuracy/licence is different for poetic dialogues, monologues and

[25] Gasparov states that Annensky's *Euripides* is no less important for understanding Annensky than for understanding Euripides (Gasparov, 1999, p.591).
[26] Yarkho, 2001/2002, pp.89-144.
[27] Yarkho, 2001/2002, pp.89-144.
[28] Yarkho, 2001/2002, p.133.
[29] Gasparov, 1997, p.142.

choral stanzas.[30] In poetic sections, Annensky maintains an exact verse for verse distribution in relation to his original; in monologues, he includes extra lines for his own interpolations; in choral stanzas he deviates from the Euripidean text most widely, due to the difficulties of conveying choral rhythms.[31] According to Gasparov, in the poetic parts of Annensky's translation, the index of accuracy was around 40%, whereas the index of poetic license was about 45% (three fifths of the original's semantically significant words were retained; two fifths were changed or added in translation); in monologues the accuracy index remained the same (40%), whereas the index of poetic license was lower (35%); in choral stanzas, the most lyrical parts of a tragedy, the accuracy index sank (30%), whereas the index of poetic license became greater (60%).[32] Thus, it appears that Annensky was more interested in the artistic and aesthetic aspect of his translations rather than in preserving precise meaning and stylistic features of the original. The poetic language of Annensky's translations with their sudden anachronistic clashes of ideas, rhetorical questions, speech interruptions and abrupt enjambments, found reflection in twentieth and twenty-first century Russian mythological drama.

The language of mythology presented for Annensky an ideal means of expressing noble feelings and enabling the exploration of character psychology.[33] In his famous lecture on Ancient tragedy, Annensky defined the nature of mythical accounts using the image of a delicate net, draped over contemporary life and historical events.[34] Criticising Leconte de Lisle's *Les Érinnyes*, Annensky maintained that a poet or playwright who adapts a Classical mythological plotline must offer a new reconceptualisation of Ancient mythology, filling the shell of a legend with innovative psychological content, adjusting it to contemporary readership.[35] Annensky was most drawn to the Hellenistic age, where he believed mythological

[30] Gasparov, 1997, p.142.
[31] Gasparov, 1997, p.143.
[32] Gasparov, 1997, p.143.
[33] Annensky, 2000, p.27.
[34] Annensky, 2000, p.27.
[35] Annensky, 1979, p.433.

plots did not exist in moralising, aetiological or religious hypostases,[36] but functioned as sources of poetic inspiration, enabling the revitalisation of mythological narratives.[37]

Of the two approaches to understanding an Ancient plot, the 'conventionally archaeological' and the 'mythical' interpretation,[38] Annensky adopts the latter. He states that the 'mythical' approach, aimed at creating a new version of a legendary narrative, allows for the inclusion of anachronisms and fantastical elements and therefore constitutes a deliberate method of fusing antiquity with the contemporary soul.[39] The mythical foundation of Ancient tragedy was perceived by Annensky as the spiritual, ethical essence of human existence, as a model of life purified from all that is transient and superficial.[40] Annensky viewed mythology as an open-ended system which could not be limited or sealed off, since he regarded the unfolding of mythological narratives as an eternal, never-ending process.[41] Thus, Annensky found 'in Antiquity not only new plots but also new forms for modern sensitivity',[42] uniting poetic skill, scholarly erudition and psychological complexity in a new type of dramaturgy, Neo-mythological drama.

Annensky's modernising, creative, innovative approach to Ancient mythology was opposed by Vyacheslav Ivanov, who stated that Ancient myths cannot be the object of subjective transformation or aestheticisation aimed at endowing them with new meaning, as that would inevitably result in a trivialisation and distortion of their true essence.[43] Ivanov shared the religious views of an outstanding Polish philologist-classicist Tadeusz Zieliński (or Faddei Zelinsky), who taught Classics at the University of St. Petersburg and the University of

---

[36] Annensky was opposed to the incorporation of religion into verbal art (Annensky, 1979, p.212).
[37] Annensky, 1979, p.185.
[38] Annensky, 2000, p.48.
[39] 'Этот метод, допускающий анахронизмы и фантастическое, позволил автору глубже затронуть вопросы психологии и этики н более, как ему казалось, слить мир античный с современной душою', Annensky, 2000, p.48.
[40] Annensky, 1979, p.283.
[41] Annensky, 2000, p.27.
[42] Annensky, 1908. p.12.
[43] Ivanov, 1908, pp.86-94.

Warsaw. As pointed out by Pamela Davidson, Zelinsky 'advocated the ideal of a 'fusion between the Greek and the Slavonic spirit', based on Nietzsche's *Birth of Tragedy from the Spirit of Music*',[44] and viewed the Slavonic Renaissance as a synthesis of Ancient Greek and Slavonic cultures. According to Zelinsky, 'Slavs were particularly receptive to the Dionysiac emotions…Hence the Slavic world was especially suited to the new revival of Classical culture',[45] 'the final and supreme integration into the modern world of the Hellenic conception of life'.[46]

On the contrary, Annensky, as noted by Catriona Kelly, 'was not only troubled by any manifestation of the Dionysiac in life…he was suspicious of it also on a conceptual level, seeing even its originator, Nietzsche, as a covert Apollonian. The idea of a synthesis between Christianity and the Dionysiac was alien to Annensky'.[47] In his treatment of mythology, Ivanov put his 'emphasis on religion, morals and social duty',[48] none of which were close to Annensky who treasured in tragedy 'the eternal search for the mystery of beauty',[49] i.e. 'the aesthetic interpretation of catharsis'.[50] Catriona Kelly sees the contrast between Annensky's and Ivanov's views on tragedy in terms of their conflicting attitudes to Aristotle's *Poetics*, which was 'of little importance' for Ivanov, who stated that 'the sacred action of tragedy was a type of Dionysiac purification'.[51] Annensky considered that the main function of tragedy was to inspire pity and fear, as Aristotle had argued, and imbued his own plays with the core elements of tragedy as defined by Aristotle as pathos (suffering), peripeteia (reversal of fortune), anagnorisis (recognition or revelation) and catharsis (purification of feelings through pity and fear).

---

[44] Davidson, 2009, p.5.
[45] Kelly, 1989, p.238
[46] Bachtin, p.43.
[47] Kelly, 1989, p.240.
[48] Kelly, 1989, p.241.
[49] Annensky, 2000, p.41.
[50] Kelly, 1989, p.241.
[51] Kelly, 1989, p.241.

Ivanov's and Annensky's evaluations of Ancient tragedy were entirely different: the former, whose views 'accorded with Weimar classicism… and Nietzsche …saw Aeschylus as the great representative of the Dionysiac, of the choric spirit',[52] whereas the latter praised Euripides 'for his psychological acuity'.[53] The differences between Annensky's and Ivanov's approaches to Ancient mythology and the composition of tragedy are so profound that it is possible to view them as deliberately polemical: Ivanov's *Tantal* (1905) is considered to be a response to Annensky's *Tsar Iksion* (1902),[54] whereas the subtitle of Annensky's tragedy *Famira-kifared* as *Bacchic drama* could have alluded to Ivanov's interest in the cult of Dionysus.

In contrast to Ivanov's scholarly method of dealing with Ancient mythology, aimed at creating esoteric texts, supplemented with lengthy philological commentaries,[55] Annensky's approach is more poetic and lyrical. Annensky modernised both the plotline and the language of Ancient tragedy, whereas Ivanov composed his tragedies in a complicated archaic style, full of learned allusions.[56] As pointed out by Tomas Venclova, the complexity of Ivanov's works verged on pretentiousness: '[Ivanov] attempted to rigorously reproduce Greek tragedy not only on the semantic, but also on the compositional and rhythmic levels… his syntax and even phonetics are to a large extent Hellenised; proper names are given with Greek accentuation and an abundance of Greek diphthongs; [Ivanov's] word order often differs from Russian…'[57] In contrast to Ivanov's cryptic style of writing, Annensky created a 'new poetic language',[58] lucid and clear, by synthesising high register vocabulary with contemporary, everyday speech.

[52] Kelly, 1989, p.242.
[53] Kelly, 1989, p.242.
[54] Kelly, 1989, p.251.
[55] Venclova, 1985, pp.89-109.
[56] Venclova, 1985, pp.89-109.
[57] Venclova, 1985, pp.89-109.
[58] Gasparov, 1997, p.142.

Annensky's aesthetic and psychological approach to Ancient mythology emerged as more appealing to later generations of playwrights than Ivanov's emphasis on theological and moral problems. His near contemporary Nikolay Gumilev did not share Ivanov's views on mythology, despite being deeply influenced by them, (their friendship ended in conflict because Ivanov reacted negatively to Gumilev's poem *Prodigal Son*[59]), but accepted Annensky's ideas that mythological plotlines are endowed with aesthetic potential and can be changed according to the artistic aims of the poet. Marina Tsvetaeva, one of the most significant writers of the post-Symbolist generation to compose Neo-mythological tragedies (*Fedra* and *Ariadna*), explicitly denied the possibility of Ivanov's impact on her tragedies: 'I have never been under the influence of V. Ivanov – nor of anyone at all'.[60] Thus, it appears that Tsvetaeva and especially Gumilev, implemented Annensky's model of transforming Classical mythology as a way of escaping from or reworking the powerful and dominant influence of Ivanov. Ivanov's approach to Classical mythology and his pioneering employment of Ancient mythological plots to express his theological ideas was not continued in Neo-mythological Russian drama.

Annensky's followers, Valery Bryusov, Fyodor Sologub, Nikolay Gumilev and Marina Tsvetaeva, created new mythological plays based on Ancient legendary plots, but shifted their emotional focus towards the psychology of the contemporary human mind. During the Soviet period, Neo-mythology went into abeyance: the reception of Antiquity in drama was primarily centred on the assimilation of historical rather than mythological plots, resulting in the birth of Neo-historical plays (e.g. Leonid Zorin's *Rimskaya komediya (Dion)*, Edvard Radzinsky's *Besedy s Sokratom* and *Teatr vremen Nerona i Seneki*). In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, Neo-mythological drama once again attracted most successful writers of

[59] Kolokolova et al., pp.19-20.
[60] Letter dated fourth April 1933, Cited in: Venclova, 1985, p.108. It should be noted that Tsvetaeva offers a conflicted account of her relationship with Ivanov, since she composed a cycle of three poems in 1920, entitled 'Вячеславу Иванову', in which her lyric persona addresses the poet as Rabbi.
For hypothetical parallels between Vyacheslav Ivanov's and Marina Tsvetaeva's dramatic works see: Venclova, 1985, pp.89-109.

modernity, whose works are widely known not only on theatre stages, but also on the big and the small screens, and hence constitute an effective means of influencing an extremely wide audience (hundreds of new plays are presented each year at the world-famous Lyubimovka Dramatic Festival, which recently marked its 30th anniversary).[61] Neo-mythological drama holds special fascination for women playwrights[62] because of the abundance of outstanding female heroines in Ancient mythology, who are endowed with a power of intellect like Annensky's Melanippe, or a strength of spirit to transgress social borders like Tsvetaeva's Phaedra, or an unreciprocated desire for love like Tsvetaeva's Ariadne, or a capacity for passion like Annensky's, Sologub's and Bryusov's Laodamia.

The shifting focus of modern Neo-mythological plays, from *fabula* as the connecting and driving force of tragedy to the psychological characteristics of self-sufficient heroes, who define themselves against the constraints of their surroundings, was initially inherited by contemporary playwrights from Annensky. His tragedies were humanised by making a mythical hero the founder of his own spiritual values. In Neo-mythological drama the plots of Ancient myths are projected onto contemporary culture, psychology and manner of speech. Consequently, Neo-mythological plays cannot be regarded as mere reinterpretations of Classical tragedies, but must be viewed as highly original dramas, born within the context of modern life, its *realia* and literary styles. The study of twentieth century Neo-mythological drama sheds light on the aims and techniques of contemporary myth-making in the works of leading modern playwrights.

Since the date of its composition, Russian drama of the early twentieth century has been studied from a variety of scholarly perspectives: aspects of works by Innokenty Annensky, Vyacheslav Ivanov, Fyodor Sologub and Valery Bryusov have been analysed from

[61] For the impact of Annensky on modern drama see: Conclusion.
[62] Cf. Razumovskaya's *Medea*; Voloshina's *Antigona*, Stepanycheva's *Bozhestvennaya pena*; Isaeva's *Dve zheny Parisa.*

biographical, textual, philosophical, and theological points of view.[63] A number of seminal works have focused on individual poets and their reception of Classical and European literature,[64] including a group of scholarly works with diachronic research aims, which place Annensky's plays in the context of other literary traditions.[65] Diachronic studies, termed *prospective,* view Annensky as a donor rather than a recipient of creative, literary stimuli and address the reception of Annensky's *oeuvre* by individual authors, including Anna Akhmatova, Aleksandr Blok and Osip Mandel'shtam.[66] *Retrospective* research reveals an array of potential associations, ranging from nineteenth century Russian (Pushkin, Nekrasov and Dostoevsky)[67] and French literature (specifically Leconte de Lisle) to general 'European decadence'.[68] Thus, scholars have collected substantial material on specific writers and their works, but have not yet conducted a systematic scholarly study of Russian Neo-mythological tragedy against the background of Classical literature, philosophy and art.[69] The purpose of the present thesis is to reassess fundamentally the intertextual dialogue between Ancient mythology and Russian mythological drama as a system of interrelated texts, by studying their relationship alongside a relevant and exhaustive compendium of extant Classical material.

---

[63] Ivanov: Kelly, 1988, pp.151-161; Davidson, 1989; Musatov, pp.28-36; Tamarchenko, pp.71-76; Lavrov, pp.407-414; Annensky: Kelly, 1986; Fyodorov, 1990; Sologub: Baran, 1993; Pavlova, 2007; Shatalina, 1997; Misnikevich, 2003; Bryusov: Gasparov, 1995; Maksimov, 1940. Biographical: Fyodorov, 1984; Moshenikova, pp.433-442; textual: Polyakova, pp.153-160; Nalegach, pp.98-109; Bolychev, pp.276-284; philosophical: Gaydenko, 2001; theological: West, 1970.

[64] Catriona Kelly on Annensky (Kelly, 1989, pp.236-240; Kelly, 1986); Pamela Davidson on Ivanov (Davidson, 2009); Tomas Venclova on Ivanov and Tsvetaeva (Venclova, 1985, pp.89-109); Robert Bird and Armin Hetzer on Ivanov (Bird (B), 2006, pp.87-121; Hetzer, 1972; Galina Shelogurova on Annensky, 2000, pp.292-318, Gasparov, 1997, 1999; Knabe, 2000; Takho-Godi, 2010; Magomedova, pp.212-218; Braginskaya, 2004, pp.49-80; Stoyanovsky, pp.582-585.

[65] Kelly, 1989, pp.235-254; Amiard-Chevrel, pp.9-16; Setchkarev, 1959, pp.1-32; Denissoff, pp.65-69; Silard, (A) 2002, pp.27-53; Anikin, (C) 2011; Shelogurova, 2000.

[66] Vasilyeva, 1999; Mints, 1979; Ivanova, 1999.

[67] Mitrofanov, p.186; Kolobaeva, 2017, p.184. As is stated in Anikin's study, 'In Ixion's plea for water we can note associations with Dostoevsky. Both Ixion and Raskolnikov ask for a drink.' Anikin, (D) 2011, p.96.

[68] Anikin, (F) 2011, pp.398-403; Keldysh, Polonsky, 2009.

[69] The paucity of scholarly research into the mythological background of Russian Neo-classical drama is all the more surprising, given that a mythological approach to literature has long been in the foreground of literary studies: Wachtel, pp.25-50; Ronen, p.112; Meletinsky, 2000; Toporov, 1995; Evdokimova, 1996. Kozubovskaya, 2006; Polonsky, 2008; Polonsky, 2011; Krebel', 2010.

II. The Conceptual Context of the Thesis

The theoretical framework of the thesis, which engages in an *intertextual, narratological* study of Russian Neo-mythological drama in relation to Classical mythological accounts, is contextualised through recourse to the concepts and methods of intertextuality and narratology in twentieth and twenty-first century scholarship.

Section 1. The Narratological context

The term 'narratology', used to refer to a discipline closely connected to semiotics and linguistics, was coined in the late 1960s by Tzvetan Todorov in his *Grammaire du Décaméron*.[70] However the foundation for the study of narrative was laid in Antiquity by Plato (*Republic* III. 392d-4d), who distinguished between 'diegesis' (narrator-text) and 'mimesis' (character-text).[71] The era of classical narratology, dating to the 1960s and 1970s, was marked by the studies of Roland Barthes, Tzvetan Todorov, Gérard Genette, Algirdas Julien Greimas, Claude Bremond, Mieke Bal and Seymour Chatman, in whose works the study of narrative was viewed as a quasi-science, drawing on Saussure's linguistic theory.[72] Classical narratology, an inherently formalist field, is based on the conceptual distinction between substance and form, and focuses primarily on the study of literary technique rather than 'authorial intentions [and] receiver reactions'.[73] Furthermore, classical narratology sought to study narratives in synchrony rather than diachrony, thus marginalising comparative, intertextual and interdisciplinary perspectives.[74] Postclassical narratology, a contemporary field of scholarly analysis, offers continuity with the classical approach, while providing a reconceptualisation of a number of basic tenets: the roles of literary context, of reader reaction, of the historical existence and interaction of narratives.[75]

---

[70] Todorov, 1969; Fludernik, p.9.
[71] De Jong, 2014, p.3
[72] Prince, p.115.
[73] Prince, p.116.
[74] Prince, p.116.
[75] Herman, p.27; Prince, p.116; De Jong, 2014, pp.115-22.

The principles of postclassical narratology have been applied to multiple areas of research including film, historical and historiographical writings, lyric poetry, Greek epic, and drama.[76] The application to drama of a self-proclaimed postclassical narratological approach remains an area which has not received adequate scholarly attention, perhaps owing to the seeming paradox raised by the non-narrative form of a dramatic text. Jahn, in his article entitled 'Narrative Voice and Agency in Drama', posits the existence of 'a heterodiegetic narrator', a role which an author of a dramatic text might assume in order to speak through his diverse characters and the actors performing their roles.[77] Developing Genette's notion of a 'truly insurmountable opposition between dramatic representation and narrative'[78] and his conceptualisation of drama as 'a non-narrative medium lacking a narrator's discourse and voice', Jahn suggests the presence of an oblique 'narratorial voice' in a dramatic text.[79] De Yong on the other hand explicitly condemns scholars who 'dopt a broad definition of narrative that also includes drama', suggesting that although 'drama makes use of the same devices that are found in narrative, such as analepses and prolepses, space, and characterization', it is not a genre which can be approached from a narratological angle.[80]

In contrast to the notions of De Yong, the present thesis attempts to apply a narratological approach to drama, an allegedly non-narrative, i.e., performative genre, by suggesting that Neo-mythological dramatic texts preserve the narrative structure of their mythological sources. In contrast to Chatman, who suggests that plays (as well as films and cartoons) can be classed as 'mimetic narratives' on the basis that they possess 'a chronology of events, a set of characters and a setting, therefore at a fundamental level are all stories',[81] the

[76] Film: Branigan, 2013; Chatman, 1990; historical and historiographical writings: Cohn, 1978; lyric poetry: Hühn, Kiefer, 2011; Greek epic: Bär, Maravela, 2019; drama: Jahn, 2001.
[77] Jahn, p.665.
[78] Genette, p.41.
[79] Jahn, pp.667-668; Genette, p.16.
[80] De Yong, 2014, p.198ff.
[81] Chatman, p.117; cf. Jahn, p.674, for a similar contention that simply because plays 'have a story and a plot', they may be classed as diegeses.

thesis rests on the argument that mythological dramas can be approached from a narratological point of view, not because of their chronological actions or dramatis personae, but because they inherit the structure of a plot from the mythological narratives underlying them. In addition to telling 'a story', as Chatman puts it, mythological tragedies preserve narrative devices and techniques which belong to diegetic texts, and so can be analysed from a narratological point of view. The narratological approach adopted in the present thesis has led to the formulation of a new term *'mythonarreme'* (based on the concept of a narreme[82]), which is used to denote the narrative stages of a mythological plotline. The transformation of narrative structures in mythological drama is addressed through intertextual analysis of each mythonarreme, which is inherited from mythological narrative accounts and may be amplified or abridged in specific renditions.

Central to the present thesis is the concept of a 'minimal plot', introduced by Tzvetan Todorov and defined as 'the shift from one equilibrium to another…two moments of equilibrium, similar and different, separated by a period of imbalance'.[83] However Todorov's 'minimal plot' differs from the new concept proposed in this thesis, which is termed '*key narrative construct'* (a conceptual structure formed by the progression of a series of pivotal stages in a mythological plotline), since 'a minimal plot' is secondary in relation to the narrative nucleus based on setting up the initial collision of an Ancient legend. Likewise, the proposed concept of a '*key narrative construct*' is different from the notion of 'archetypal plots', distinguished by Eleazar Meletinsky or of 'migrating plots' discerned by Viktor Zhirmunsky and Alexandr Veselovsky, which are traceable to folklore sources and evolve across centuries and across literary traditions.[84] Whereas Veselovsky envisages a transformation of a single narrative, the model proposed in the present thesis is based on the preservation of an unalterable

[82]A commonly adopted definition of narreme recurs in scholarly research in different areas: e.g. 'the basic unit of narrative' (Hartwig, p.345); 'basic unit of story' (Connor, p.232); 'basic unit of narration' (Bonheim, p.1).
[83] Todorov, 1968, p.96; Todorov, 1969, pp.70-76; Todorov, 1969.
[84] Meletinsky, 2001, pp.75-145; Zhirmunsky, pp.58-104; Veselovsky, pp.300-306.

'*key narrative construct*', which is preserved in all renditions of a mythological narrative. Furthermore, unlike Veselovsky, who uses 'motif' to refer to a narrative unit responsible for the preservation of a plot, the present thesis uses the term 'motif' to designate a narrative unit which takes part in the modification and transformation of a legendary narrative.

Similarly, the proposed concept of a '*key narrative construct*' cannot be approximated to Vladimir Propp's 'invariant', introduced in *The Morphology of Folktale*, since it rests on radically different principles. In contrast to Propp's hypothesis, based on a comparative analysis of multiple fairy-tales with varied and unrelated plotlines, the present thesis attempts to determine a narrative construct within the reception and modification of a given mythological plotline in different literary traditions. Whereas Propp suggests that characters in fairy-tales can be analysed by their functions, which stay the same in multiple plots (e.g., he suggests that Baba Yaga and Morozko have the same 'function', as they both test and then reward a poor orphan girl), the same theory is not applicable to the concept proposed here, as neither the protagonists nor the agents of a given '*key narrative construct*' can be substituted for other individuals.

Finally, the present thesis constitutes a reconceptualisation of the theories of Lévi-Strauss, which were based on an identification of mythology with language. According to the scholar, mythological narratives carry the same capacity for semantic communication as language, consisting of complex constituent units, termed mythemes.[85] Lévi-Strauss' theory rests on the concept of the disintegration of a single mythological narrative into a series of sentences, containing a so-called 'relation', which were then grouped into 'bundles' based on similarity of function and meaning. To quote Lévi-Strauss, 'relations pertaining to the same bundle may appear diachronically at remote intervals, but when we have succeeded in grouping them together, we have reorganized our myth according to a time referent of a new nature'.[86]

[85] Lévi-Strauss, p.229.
[86] Lévi-Strauss, p.217.

Thus, in other words, Lévi-Strauss' theory rests on the tenet that in order 'to read the myth correctly, one must dispense with the narrative line and segmentalise'.[87]

Levi-Strauss' theory of paradigmatic events and relationships, which determine the meaning of a myth regardless of its narrative sequence, met with opposition from Classicist scholars due to his lack of consideration for 'the function (of a mythological fragment) as part of a series of events'.[88] Scholars have critised Levi-Strauss for 'carving up' a mythological narrative and reorganising it according to his own principles, thus violating the chronological progression of mythological events.[89] The concept proposed in this thesis rests on opposite principles from those of Levi-Straus, since it is based on the preservation of a sequential narrative construct, which necessitates the observance of a succession of pivotal stages in a text. In contrast to Levi-Strauss' theory, which rests on the internal reorganisation of myths, the proposed concept of the '*key narrative construct*' requires adherence to an established narrative and temporal chronology, thus preserving the integrity of sequence in mythical narratives.

The methodological approach proposed in the thesis is thus situated within an emerging field of diachronic narratology, the application of a 'historical dimension' to the study of narratology, investigating the development and transformation of narrative devices in diachrony.[90] Following the latest research in the theory of narratology, the present thesis attempts to apply a diachronic narratological approach,[91] to the study of Classical and Neo-mythological literary works.

---

[87] Gras, p.477.
[88] Dee, p.260.
[89] Detienne, p.7; Walters, pp.339ff.
[90] For a prospective outline of the potential field, see Fludernik, pp.332-334; on the historical dimension see De Jong, p.6.
[91] Onega, Landa, p.25.

Section 2. The Intertextual Context of the Thesis

Since intertextuality lies at the heart of narratological analysis, the concept of a '*key narrative construct*' is viewed in the present thesis in the context of twentieth and twenty-first century studies on interdiscursivity, interdisciplinarity and comparativism.[92]

The term intertextuality, coined and defined by Julia Kristeva as 'a mosaic of quotations', was founded on the concepts of polyphony, dialogism and heteroglossia, analysed in the works of Mikhail Bakhtin.[93] Although initially the term 'intertextuality' possessed a narrow definition resting on Kristeva's formulation ('a text is a permutation of texts…[where] several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another'),[94] it has become subject to a 'dispersal and devaluation of meaning'.[95] Subsequent elaborations have been gradually added to Kristeva's definition of intertextuality, most notably Roland Barthes' radical theory centred on the 'death' of authorship and authorial intent.[96] In *Death of the Author*, Barthes defines his conception of a text as 'a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash',[97] thus substituting for the concept of authorship an 'impersonal blending or intersecting of texts'.[98]

The mid to late twentieth century witnessed a return to intentionality in studies on intertextuality, especially in the works of Harold Bloom, who restored the notion of authorial intent, envisaging a conscious conflict between authors and their literary predecessors,[99] and later of Susan Freidman, who introduced the concept of 'arachnology', based on the deliberate

---

[92] Cf. Walker, 2008, pp.246-249; Labbe, pp.44-48; Baron, pp.128-145; Lotman, 1981; Arnol'd, pp.341-440; Kosikov, 2008; Plett, 1991; Allen, 2011; Bezrukov, 2005; Stepanov, 2001; Maisonnat, Paccaud-Huguet, Ramel, 2009; Juvan, 2008; Reed, Kinsley, 2008; Pivato, Hutcheon, pp.41-64; Carr, Meek, pp.180-205; Levin, pp.23-40.
[93] Kristeva, p.85; Bakhtin, 2002.
[94] Kristeva, p.35.
[95] Duff, p.54.
[96] For a more detailed analysis of Barthes' theory and the debate with Foucault see: Pagan, pp.100ff; Sutton-Jones, pp.221-235; Hird, pp.289-99; Schulenberg, pp.371-387.
[97] Barthes, p.146; Rabaté, pp.469-481.
[98] Landwehr, p.3.
[99] Landwehr, p.4.

integration of literary, cultural and historical works into an authored text.[100] Michael Baxandall developed the concept of intentionality further by formulating a novel dichotomy of 'agent' versus 'patient', according to which an author is no longer the passive recipient of preceding literary material, but rather a dynamic creator, who assimilates and remoulds earlier texts.[101] In recent years a number of objections have been raised to Baxandall's theory of author intentionality, resting on the difficulty of differentiating between deliberate allusion (an author's conscious desire to enter into a dialogic relationship with preceding material) and literary polygenesis.[102] The conception of intertextuality was once again shifted in postmodern scholarship, with the integration of the notions of 'double-codedness' and 'parody', according to which authors direct irony towards preceding literary material while relying on them for content, style and narrative details.[103] In modern scholarship intertextuality has acquired the status of an umbrella term, used 'to denote any form of interrelation between any number of texts'.[104]

In the present thesis, intertextuality carries a syncretic definition, primarily based on a combination of the tenets of Michael Riffaterre and Michael Baxandall. In direct opposition to Kristeva's and Barthes' views on the dissociation of intertextuality and authorship, the thesis approaches intertextual allusion as a conscious and deliberate technique (cf. Baxandall's theories concerning intentionality), deployed by an author to establish links between multiple, chronologically diverse forms of verbal and non-verbal evidence. In keeping with Riffaterre's model of an individual's acquaintance with a text, based on two stages of decoding a written word (linear, mimetic reading wherein only the meaning of a specific message is grasped, as opposed to retroactive and intertextual reading, where not only intra-textual but also extra-

[100] Friedman, pp.158-159; Landwehr, p.4.
[101] Baxandall, 1985, pp.58-59.
[102] Cf. Ulla Musarra-Schroeder, p.170; Landwehr, p.5; Zavala, (1995) for a more detailed exploration of the issue of deliberate as opposed to unintended intertextuality.
[103] Cf. Allen, 2011, pp.189ff; Landwehr, pp.6ff.
[104] Lesic-Thomas, p.1.

textual quotations and allusions are noted as semantically significant),[105] in the thesis intertextuality is interpreted as a means of establishing a dialogue between the author and the recipient of a text, wherein the former requires the latter to rely on prior knowledge to recognise allusion.

In recent years the concept of intertextuality has been widely applied in Classical scholarship, becoming an emerging field in the study of Ancient prose[106] and poetry (predominantly Latin).[107] However, intertextuality in drama has not received sustained attention from scholars, but been limited to attempts at establishing a so-called 'relationship' between a comedy or a tragedy and texts commonly restricted to a single genre, either poetic[108] or dramatic.[109] The present thesis thus contributes to filling lacunae in modern scholarship, by establishing the basis of the intertextual dialogue between Ancient tragedy (Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides) and Neo-mythological drama, across multiple literary genres (epic, lyric).

Intertextuality is examined in the present thesis in accordance with its main functions: expressive (demonstrating the aesthetic preferences of an author), cultural-semiotic (appealing to the cultural memory of an audience), appellative (aimed at creating an emotional impact), referential (conveying information responsible for narrating a mythological plot), meta-textual (revealing the mythographical proto-texts), pragmatic (aimed at the preservation and transmission of the cultural tradition) and mythopoetic (creating intertextual play with mythological sources). The thesis approaches Neo-mythological Russian drama as a system of interrelated texts, intertextually connected with each other and with their Classical sources. This

[105] Riffaterre, 1978; Riffaterre, 1983; Riffaterre, 1990; Riffaterre, 1994; Alfaro, p.279. For a more detailed excurse into Riffaterre's works see Nelles, pp.554-565; Brownlie, pp.52-60; Lyle, pp.241-249.
[106] Doulamis, pp.viii-xv; Temmerman, Damoen, pp.1-20; Oikonomou, pp.49-72; Koulakiotis, pp.161-184.
[107] Damer, pp.493-514; Gaisser, 2009; Leach, pp.79-105; Maltby, 2002; Sciarrino, pp.369-390; Edmunds, p.xiii; Horn, pp.154-66; Góráin, pp.131-156; Pritchett, pp.4-30; Lyne, 1994, pp.187-204; Barchiesi, 2001; Paschalis, pp.73-98.
[108] E.g., Battistella, pp.446-470; Pierini, pp.258-66; Clauss, pp.165-185; Hubbard, 1991. A rare exception is Lamari, pp.187-204, who studies visual intertextuality in Euripides' *Bacchae*.
[109] Telò, pp.278-326; Yampolsky, 1998; Biles, pp.169-204.

approach makes it possible to conduct a precise analysis of the innovative methods deployed by the creators of Russian Neo-mythological tragedies.

III. The Theoretical and Methodological Novelty of the Thesis

The working terminology of the thesis is defined against the context of the general usage of 'myth' and its derivatives, since the term has been misused as a common interpretative tool applied to all kinds of literary phenomena. A new methodological approach is used in the thesis to analyse the intertextual connections of Russian drama with Classical epic, dramatic, lyric and mythographical traditions, represented as a *macro-cyclic mythological hypertext* (encompassing diverse literary genres), within which the literary texts under analysis are regarded as mutually supplementary and retrospectively orientated towards Classical Antiquity. The macro-cyclic mythological hypertext is divided in the thesis into three typological categories, termed *mythographic, mythopoetic* and *mythoplastic*. The last of these categories, which has not previously been identified and hence lacks a terminological apparatus, is denoted by a newly coined term, *mythoplastia*, formed from the Greek words 'μῦθος' (myth) and 'πλάσσειν' ('mold/shape'). The term *mythoplastia* is used in the thesis to denote mythological narratives which are distinguished by their creative nature, and so do not conform to the categories of mythography or mythopoesis. In contrast to mythographical accounts, whose function is to record mythological plotlines, and to mythopoetic texts, which allude to an existing element of a mythological narrative, in order to illuminate details of their own independent plotline, mythoplastic accounts engage in the active processes of mythological extension and transformation, which took place in Antiquity, as well as in the twentieth century Neo-mythological tradition.

The intertextual notion of literary polygenesis is not applicable to the proposed concept of *mythoplastia*, which is founded on conscious allusions to Classical verbal and non-verbal art by Ancient Greek or Latin authors and artists, or by modern writers acquainted with the Classical tradition. The binary definition of intertextuality adopted in the present thesis (i.e.,

signifying both a conscious poetic device and a mode of author/reader dialogue) is key to the newly proposed concept of *mythoplastia* in two respects. Firstly, mythoplastic accounts are fashioned from narrative elements intertextually inherited and assimilated by each recipient of a legend from preceding literary accounts. Secondly, mythoplastic accounts can be approached by two types of audience, those capable only of 'linear reading' and those able to engage in 'retroactive and intertextual'[110] interpretation of a text. The first category of readers, lacking knowledge of Classical literature and language, mostly appreciate the plotline and decode the primary message of a given text, whereas a more sophisticated audience will recognise literary allusions and register the gradual process of mythological transformation, taking place across multiple diachronic stages. Mythoplastic texts are not characterised by efficient or economical narration; for example, Greek and Roman epic, lyric and dramatic traditions are intricately formed, descriptive and both lexically and syntactically embellished poetic creations, which enter into a dialogic relationship with preceding verbal and non-verbal sources.

The concept of *mythoplastia* can be illustrated with the help of a diagram showing the relation between the *'key narrative construct'* of a mythological plot and its constituents, a conceptual structure formed by the progression of a series of pivotal stages in a mythological plotline, which are called *mythonarremes*.

[110] Alfaro, p.279.

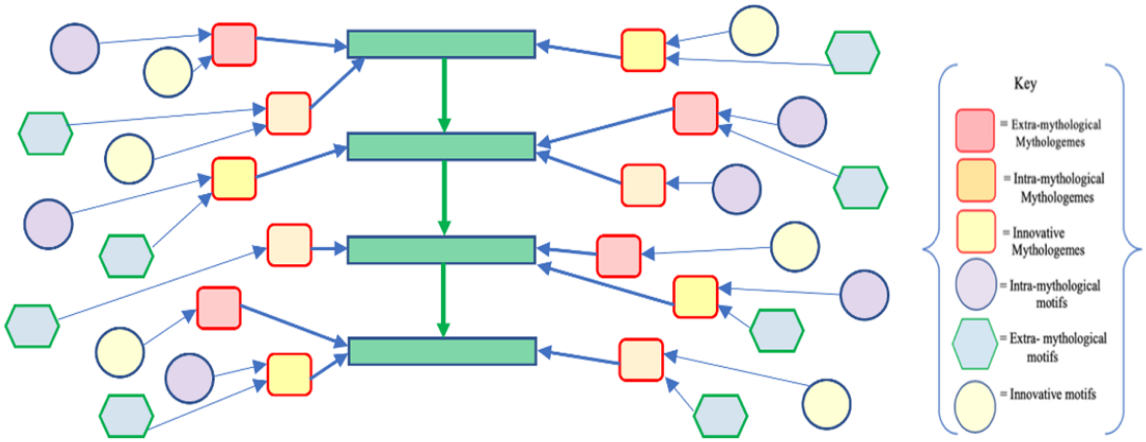


Fig.1. The graphic model illustrating the concept of mythoplastia: the key narrative construct consisting of mythonarremes, mythologemes (intra-mythological, extra-mythological, innovative) and motifs (intra-mythological, extra-mythological, innovative)

The transformation of a mythological plot is made possible by the addition of *mythologemes*,[111] which are defined in the thesis as variable narrative units of mythological plots, whose concrete realisation in a given text is termed a *motif*. A *motif,* in the present thesis, is used to denote the simplest unit of a narrative, which cannot be broken down into more basic components and is directly connected with a specific mythological plotline.[112]

The key narrative construct of a plot serves as the spine of mythoplastic accounts, carrying the main semantic weight of the narrative. In brief mythoplastic accounts, the key narrative construct may be present through only some of its mythonarremes, which then act as *pars pro toto* for the whole sequence, and can therefore be said to have an *evocative* function. The key narrative construct can be augmented by a series of mythologemes, which are responsible for communicating aspects of the mythological plotline, connected to but not determined by its kernel. Each recipient of a mythological plotline is at liberty to form new mythologemes, unattested to in earlier sources, or to allude intertextually to motifs fashioned

[111] The term mythologeme is not generally used in British or American scholarship. It goes back to Carl Jung's and Károly Kerenyi's works on mythology and has not yet been given a strict terminological definition. It has been interpreted as referring to mythological archetypes, plots, scenes, images, which are widely or universally spread in world cultures.

[112] Silant'ev likens a 'motif' to a word, whose semantic unity prevents its disintegration into distinct morphemes, Silant'ev, p.17.

by literary predecessors working with the same legend. Mythologemes are differentiated from the mythonarremes of a key narrative construct by their potential to vary, and therefore participate in the process of mythological variation and transformation. The sets of mythologemes used by successive mythoplastic recipients of a legend are responsible for developing the *vector of mythological transformation*, which is inherited by subsequent literary traditions. With each recipient of a mythological narrative, the diversity of intra-mythological mythologemes increases and so broadens the scope for dramatic transformation.

Alongside the mythoplastic hypertext, the present thesis distinguishes the mythographical hypertext, responsible for the preservation of a legend, by its agenda which consists in recording mythological plotlines and their variants for posterity. 'Mythography' is an umbrella term, used to refer only to prose texts which record mythological plotlines, but are not necessarily interconnected among themselves (a close analogy would be historiography, a genre of prose texts which records historical events for the sake of preservation). Mythographical accounts are distinct from mythopoetic and mythoplastic works, in so far as they focus on relating legendary narratives with an informative rather than poetic agenda, stripping them of stylistic embellishments (e.g., lexical repetitions, similes, ornamental epithets etc). The mythographical records analysed in the thesis (by Herodotus, Conon, Apollodorus, Diodorus Siculus, Hyginus, Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, Pseudo-Apollodorus, Pausanias, Dio Chrysostom, Lactantius, Eustathius, Pseudo-Plutarch, Fulgentius Pseudo-Dionysius, Gregory of Corinth, Tzetzes, the First, Second and Third Vatican Mythographers), include two typological categories (explanatory and compilatory), neither of which alters mythological plotlines.[113] Explanatory accounts explicate mythological plots or draw upon prior authorities (e.g. Diodorus of Siculus), and compilatory accounts set out and organise myths, either into a cohesive narrative (e.g. Tzetzes) or into compendia of legends (e.g. Hyginus). The Classical

[113] Parallel distinctions in mythographic accounts were noted by Classical scholars, e.g. Rusten, 2016.

hypertext is approached in the thesis according to the principle of reverse chronology, starting with a later tradition (mythographical), which most likely drew upon earlier literary renditions, inheriting narrative details either directly or via intermediate sources. The mythographical hypertext serves to reveal the summative outline of a mythological plotline's *diegesis*, which can be determined on the basis of its recurrence in multiple accounts and distinguished from variable narrative motifs. This integral outline, prerequisite to the understanding of the transmission and reception of a mythological plot, makes it possible to establish '*the key narrative construct*', invariably present in the text or implied by the context.

The third typological category introduced in the thesis is the *mythopoetic* hypertext. In contrast to mythographical accounts, mythopoetic texts allude to a specific narrative element, in order to clarify details of an independent plotline. Contrary to the commonly accepted definition of mythopoesis, which refers to myth-making, the present thesis takes the second element of the compound word (*-poesis*) not in its etymological sense ('ποιέω', 'I make') but in its derivative sense ('poetry'). The term *mythopoetic* is thus applied to a group of poetic texts which do not trace the whole sequence of a mythological narrative, but instead reduce it to a single most important constituent, which can be termed the *semantic centre*.

Each of the three categories of the *macro-cyclical mythological hypertext* is characterised by its specific functions in relation to mythological narratives. The *mythographical* hypertext, responsible for the preservation of a legend, contains the summative outline of its narrative, which can be determined on the basis of its recurrence in multiple accounts; the *mythopoetic* hypertext is used to establish the *semantic centre* of a mythological narrative and identify the origin of the vector of mythological transformation; the *mythoplastic* hypertext serves to reveal the extent of mythological modification and determine variable narrative elements within the mythological plot.

The '*key narrative construct*' consists of the basic structural elements of a mythological narrative, which are denoted by the term '*mythonarremes*', defined as the primary narrative units of a mythological plotline. A mythological narrative (communicating aspects of the myth beyond its kernel) can be amplified with the help of supplementary *mythologemes*, which are either chosen from the existing traditions (*extra-mythological* in the event of borrowings from other mythological plot-lines, and *intra-mythological* in the event of drawing on the plot of the same legend) or created anew (*innovative*) by successive recipients of a legend. The introduction of a system of four narrative elements into research on mythological drama (the key narrative construct; mythonarremes constituting the construct; mythologemes amplifying mythonarremes; motifs expanding and concretising mythologemes in a text) provides means of defining and exploring mythoplastia in literary texts.

IV. The Structure and Aims of the Thesis

The thesis consists of an *Introduction*, which sets the emergence of Neo-mythological tragedy against the literary background of Russian eighteenth and nineteenth century drama and summarises the conceptual and methodological novelty of the adopted approach; a *Conclusion,* which develops the new interpretations of each drama proposed in the chapters, offers a novel philosophical overview of Annensky's tetralogy as a whole, and outlines the influence of Annensky's drama on the writings of twentieth and twenty-first century playwrights; and *four Chapters,* each centred on one of his mythological dramas (*Melanippa-filosof, Tsar' Iksion, Laodamiya, Famira-kifared*), analysing them in the contexts of their respective Classical hypertexts.

The ***first chapter*** (***'Liminality as Modus Vivendi: The Sea-god's Concubine or an Agnostic Sophist?***), dedicated to *Melanippa-filosof*, contains a new interpretation of Annensky's treatment of the Classical legend of a female philosopher, based on a syncretic blending of innovative *mythurgy* (a new approach in mythoplastia, provoked by the survival of only a few Classical texts representing the Melanippe legend) with the teachings of three early

Greek philosophers, Anaxagoras, Heraclitus and Parmenides. The chapter traces Annensky's transformation of the Classical legend, from a narrative centred on a controversial heroine, who functioned as an emblem of female impropriety (on account of her unwomanly capacity to articulate), into the revelation of the fate of an erudite princess, who commands philosophical concepts and possesses the power to develop from them her own ontological system, probing the organisation of cosmic order. The mythological plot of Melanippe is shown in the chapter to be associated with the natural element of water.

The ***second chapter*** ('***Illusion, Deception and Punishment: from Divine Equality to Aerial Torment***'), is aimed at demonstrating that the mythological plot of Ixion underwent a radical transformation, achieved through the intertextual reversal of Ancient mythologemes pertaining to the characterisation of the gods and the legendary king of the Lapiths. The chapter proposes that Annensky altered the function of the mythological plotline, from a narrative relating the downfall of a punished transgressor to a revelation of the fate of a suffering hero, deceived, mocked and ensnared by ostensibly superior beings. A new interpretation of Annensky's tragedy is offered in the chapter, on the basis of his deployment of philosophical ideas found in Epicurus and Xenophanes: as is demonstrated in the chapter, Ixion acquires a spiritual and moral fortitude which far exceeds that of the gods. The mythological plot of Ixion is shown in the thesis to be conceptualised through the natural element of air.

The ***third chapter*** ('***A Woman in Flames: Transforming the Prelude to the Trojan Cycle***'), represents the Classical literary and Russian Neo-mythological dramatic traditions as a single extended hypertext, encompassing Annensky's, Wyspiański's, Bryusov's and Sologub's interpretations of the mythological plotline of Laodamia and Protesilaus. The chapter demonstrates that the three Russian Silver Age mythoplasts inherited the active process of mythological transformation, which had been discontinued in the Classical and the twentieth century Polish literary traditions. The chapter offers a new interpretation of Annensky's

treatment of the legend of Laodamia, based on the intertextual dialogue between a philosophical conceptualisation of the gods by Aristotle and the Iliadic representation of divinities, which the Russian poet initiates in order to establish the interrelation of the mortal and divine spheres. The Laodamia plot is presented in the thesis as determined by the natural element of fire.

The ***fourth chapter*** (‘***Musician in the Rocks: Blindness on the twentieth century Russian Stage***’), dedicated to *Famira-kifared*, offers a novel interpretation of Annensky’s treatment of the mythological plotline, based on his innovative conceptualisation of the eponymous hero through Classical philosophical doctrines (Hylozoism and Panpsychism). The chapter suggests that Annensky’s syncretic blending of the two philosophical doctrines enables him to transform the representation of Thamyris, a hero denied mental development in preceding Classical accounts, from a hubristic mortal defying the gods, to a reclusive artist, whose spiritual power enables him to inflict his traditional punishment upon himself, depriving the gods of their traditional punitive function. Since *Famira-kifared* was the only one of Annensky’s plays to have been put before the public, the chapter analyses the performative aspect of the play, employing Classical iconography as a potential artistic source. The mythological plot of Thamyris is shown to be developed through the natural element of earth.

Overall, the present thesis offers a novel interpretation of Annensky’s tetralogy, both as individual works and as an interrelated system. Annensky’s tetralogy is shown to be fused together by the structure, composition, and symmetry of its four heroes, with each image completed and enhanced by the others. Melanippe and Laodamia occupy opposite ends of the spectrum of female roles, an unmarried woman who has children, and a married childless virgin, while Thamyris’ and Ixion’s representation sheds light on mortal hubris, albeit from the perspectives of different social roles, that of a king who has lost his power and that of a singer stripped of his vocation. Extending the pattern of symmetry, the thesis proposes a new

interpretation of Annensky's mythological cycle through recourse to Classical philosophical views on ethics, ontology, teleology and cosmology.

The thesis establishes a new basis for understanding Annensky's mythological tetralogy as a cosmogonical universe based on the reception of Empedoclean principles, which accounts for the choice of mythological plots based on the four elements of nature (earth, fire, water and air). Annensky breathed new life into the Classical tradition through his conceptualisation of the Ancient legends of Melanippe, Ixion, Laodamia and Thamyris through the four Empedoclean elements, on a macro-cosmic level (his tetralogy is based on consistent shared cosmogonical conceptions), on a micro-cosmic level (each play focuses on individual elements) and on the level of characterisation (the heroes' physical appearances and emotional states).

The thesis introduces four newly categorised narrative elements: the '*key narrative construct*' consisting of *mythonarremes*, systems of *mythologemes* and *motifs* capable of changing the focus of a mythological narrative and the *vector of its transformation*. In addition to contributing the original concept of *mythoplastia* to the field of mythological studies, the thesis proposes a newly defined understanding of the concept of 'mythopoesis', used to denote a group of texts, in which the mention of an isolated mythonarreme drawn from a familiar legend creates an association with the plot as a whole. By introducing a new system for classifying Ancient Greek and Latin mythological and non-mythological accounts of Classical legends (mythoplastic, mythopoetic and mythographic) the thesis makes an original contribution to the study of mythology. Through the application of the new theory of *mythoplastia* to the analysis of literary texts, the present thesis attempts to enrich intertextual and narratological studies. Through the combination of two conceptual approaches to the study of performative art, the present thesis paves the way for a new direction of research: *intertextual narratology of drama*.

Chapter 1

Liminality as Modus Vivendi:
The Sea-god's Concubine or an Agnostic Sophist?

"There are two kinds of water,
one is liquid, the other is fusible.
The liquid type is mobile both in itself
and through external force… The other
kind is more stable and heavier…"[1]



Introduction

The opening tragedy of Annensky's mythological tetralogy, *Melanippa-filosof* (1901), is the first and only treatment in post-classical European literature of the Classical legend concerning King Aeolus' daughter, who became the object of Poseidon's passion and bore him two sons.[2] Most studies which address *Melanippa-filosof* in any depth adopt a synchronic perspective and focus on the influence of contemporary European, mostly French, literature on Annensky's play[3] or its treatment of Symbolist concepts.[4] Studies which attempt to place

[1] Plato, *Timaeus*, 58c.
[2] The image above, taken from https://www.bbc.co.uk/, was captured by Jeff Overs in Newhaven, East Sussex and presents a case of pareidolia: the waves crashing over the Newhaven harbour resemble the face of the sea god Poseidon.
[3] Ostrovskaya, pp.22-36.
[4] Borisova, 1998, pp.35-48; Gerasimov, 1987, pp.559-563, 592, 596-598.

Annensky's rendition of the Melanippe legend in the context of earlier or later literary traditions fall into two categories, 'prospective' and 'retrospective'.

Scholars who adopt a retrospective approach, focus on connecting Annensky's tragedy with Classical literature.[5] Only three studies address multiple Ancient accounts of the legend. Catriona Kelly not only examines the role of the Chorus in her analysis of Annensky's oeuvre,[6] but also highlights aspects which Annensky inherited from Euripides' play *Melanippe Sophe*, referring to *Melanippa-filosof* as 'the most Euripidean of the plays'.[7] She suggests that a Classical spectator 'might have spurned [her] with righteous indignation', whereas a modern reader would be 'inclined to sympathise with Melanippe', as 'a metaphor for the alienated intellectual',[8] thus offering an insight into diverse audience reactions to Melanippe from Antiquity to the present day.

A sketch of Annensky's potential sources is offered by Galina Shelogurova in a generalised survey of the poet's 'Hellenic tragedy'.[9] Shelogurova refers to two Euripidean tragedies based on Melanippe's fate, as well as the works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Gregory of Corinth, both of whom Annensky mentions in his Preface to the tragedy, and suggests that the loss of Euripides' plays was 'the cause' ('повод') for the composition of *Melanippa-filosof.*[10] Shelogurova concludes that Annensky was forced to create an entirely original version of 'the myth'.[11]

Individual aspects of Annensky's dialogue with earlier literary traditions were treated in Aleksandr Anikin's seminal research. In addition to proposing parallels between nineteenth

[5] Kelly, 1986; Khrustaleva, 1987; Anikin, 1992; Shelogurova, 2009.
[6] Kelly, 1986, p.214ff.
[7] Kelly, 1986, p.201.
[8] Kelly, 1989, p.249.
[9] Shelogurova, 2000, p.296.
[10] Shelogurova, 2000, pp.296-297.
[11] 'стояла задача создания собственной версии мифа', Shelogurova, 2000, pp.296-297; Shelogurova, 1988, p.118.

century Russian and French literature and Annensky's rendering of the Melanippe legend,[12] Anikin devoted some attention to the Classical heritage of *Melanippa-filosof,* mostly in connection with her *rhesis*: he drew up a list of collocations from the heroine's speech alongside quotations from Ancient authors, which, as he suggested, correspond to segments of Annensky's composition.[13] Anikin included a brief survey of Anaxagoras' influence on Annensky's poetic corpus, singling out isolated elements of the philosopher's premises which find reflection in the Russian poet's work and discerned extra-classical influences, most notably Biblical, suggesting that Annensky perceived philosophical tenets through 'binary references' to both Christian and agnostic doctrines.[14]

Although scholars have shown awareness of Annensky's recourse to Classical accounts, they have not yet offered a systematic analysis of his innovative treatment of the mythological plot of Melanippe. The aim of the present chapter is to analyse the innovations in the conceptualisation of the Ancient plotline, characters and imagery against the background of the Classical hypertext, and to attempt to give a new interpretation of Annensky's tragedy based on his assimilation of Ancient philsophical doctrines.

I

The Classical Hypertext of the Mythological Plotline of Melanippe

In contrast to the mythological plotlines of Laodamia, Thamyris and Ixion, the legend of Melanippe is confined in Antiquity to a few fragmentary accounts. Therefore, it is hardly surprising that the Melanippe legend has not become subject to detailed research by Classicists. The majority of studies dedicated to the representation of women in Antiquity and in particular in the Euripidean corpus, which preserves fragments of two tragedies, *Melanippe Sophe* and

[12] Alexandr Anikin discerns parallels between Annensky's conceptualisation of the mythological plotline of Melanippe and the works of Leconte de Lisle, Dostoevsky, Pushkin, Gogol, Lermontov (Anikin, (D) 2011, pp.62-69; 72-4).
[13] Anikin, (D) 2011, pp.56-57.
[14] Anikin, 1992, p.17.

Melanippe Desmotis, make no mention of the legend.[15] The few scholars who do allude to Melanippe in passing, either present catalogues, which list the extant Classical fragments without attempting to discover a connection between diverse versions of the legend,[16] or posit hypothetical plots of lost accounts, observing that most extant sources are contradictory.[17] Even the only two studies which give cursory attention to Melanippe deploy her name as an illustrative example of general cultural issues, such as ethical characteristics of different types of women or learned females in Attic tragedy.[18] The present chapter will attempt to fill a lacuna in previous scholarship by examining all extant mythological accounts of Antiquity, with a view to assessing the degree of Annensky's innovations in the treatment of the legend.[19]

Although allusions to the legend of Melanippe are present in all three typological categories of the mythological corpus (mythographic, mythopoetic and mythoplastic), only fragmentary evidence of the plot's narrative framework can be discovered. Mythographical accounts offer the greatest insight into the existence of the mythological plotline of Melanippe in Antiquity: they comprise both a wide array of chronologically diverse sources (ranging from the first century BC to the first century AD) and, more importantly, two detailed 'synopses'[20] of the legend, which contain 'reconstructions' of the lost narrative of Euripides (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ars Rhetorica*, IX, 11 and Gregory of Corinth, *Rhetores Graeci*, 28.6-22).

In contrast to mythographic texts, the mythopoetic accounts of the legend offer a more limited insight into the existence of the plotline in Antiquity, as they comprise only two literary renditions of the legend (Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 546-7; Aristotle's *Poetics*

---

[15] Segal, 1993; Lauriola, Demetriou, 2015; Lloyd, 1992; Mossman, 1995; Mossman, 2003; Rabinowitz, 1993; Foley, 2019; Dunn, 1996; Barlow, 1986; Burnett, 1971.
[16] Gantz, 1996.
[17] Cf. Ypsilanti, p.111; Powell, p.113; Zuntz, p.141ff; Mayhew, p.98.
[18] For Clark (1998), who concentrates on the issue of 'whether [the playwright] slanders all respectable women' (p. iii), the legend of Melanippe serves as one of a series of examples of 'the ethical aspect of Euripides' art' (p. iii); whereas in Dillon (2005), who offers no analysis of Classical sources, the heroine is simultaneously presented as a blue-stocking and a rebel woman.
[19] With the exception of accounts which mention Melanippe's name in passing, either as a contextualising element or as a genealogical detail.
[20] Rose, 1934, p.205.

1454a31). The third category of texts, termed 'mythoplastic', poses a challenge similar to mythopoetic renditions, since it consists only of a set of fragmentary passages from Euripides' and Ennius' eponymous tragedies. The paucity of Ancient renditions of the legend was noted by Annensky in the Preface to his play, leading him to take on a new role, not only of a dramatist but also of a 'myth-urgos' ('мифург')[21] or 'myth-maker'. In order to ascertain the extent to which Annensky discharges this new role, it is necessary to approach his play and all extant Classical accounts of the legend as a single mythological hypertext, identifying the intertextual relations between them.

1. The Mythographical hypertext

Modern scholars tend to regard the extant mythographic corpus as consisting of conflicting versions of the Melanippe legend, and therefore overlook the inherent internal cohesion of the surviving renditions. Mythographical accounts belonging to this category have been censured for 'offer[ing] little more than contradictions in detail',[22] with Hyginus attracting the severest criticism for providing a 'patently fallacious synopsis of the whole of the myth'.[23] He has been condemned for offering a 'confused conflation of the stories which furnished the plots of the two plays'[24] and attempting to 'fuse them in a single unified narrative'.[25] His account is regarded as neither 'a reliable authority'[26] nor a 'faithful transmission of the two tragedies'.[27]

However, if we introduce an element of classification into the diverse variants of the legend it is possible to discern parallel narrative structures and sets of motifs within the existing mythographical accounts. All extant renditions can be provisionally divided into two categories, 'mythographical historical' (Diodorus Siculus, 4.67.3-4, Hyginus, *Fabula*

[21] 'Автору пришлось быть не только драматургом, но и мифургом'. Annensky, 2000, p.47. Annensky's term 'mythurgos' appears to be a neologism formed on the model of words like 'theurgos' and serves to highlight the creative aspect in his treatment of mythology.
[22] Clark, p.93.
[23] Clark, p.92.
[24] Powell, p.113.
[25] Stewart, p.148.
[26] Powell, 1933, p.113.
[27] Stewart, p.148.

CLXXXVI and Strabo, 6.1.15), which preserve motif sets and a series of significant details, and 'mythographical Euripidean' (Pseudo-Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ars Rhetorica*, IX, 11 and Gregory of Corinth, *Rhetores Graeci*, 28.6-22), which follow the plotline of Euripides' tragedies and therefore contain parallel narrative structures.

Diodorus Siculus offers the fullest outline of the legend by conflating elements from the *Melanippe Sophe* and the *Desmotis* myths:

Diodorus Siculus, 4.67.3-4	τούτου δ' Ἄρνη γενομένη θυγάτηρ Βοιωτὸν ἐκ Ποσειδῶνος ἐγέννησεν. Αἰόλος δ' ἀπιστῶν εἰ Ποσειδῶνι ἐμίγη καὶ τῇ φθορᾷ μεμφόμενος, παρέδωκε τὴν Ἄρνην Μεταποντίῳ ξένῳ κατὰ τύχην παρεπιδημοῦντι, προστάξας ἀπάγειν εἰς Μεταπόντιον. τούτου δὲ πράξαντος τὸ προσταχθέν, ἡ Ἄρνη τρεφομένη ἐν Μεταποντίῳ ἐγέννησεν Αἴολον καὶ Βοιωτόν, οὓς ὁ Μεταπόντιος, ἄπαις ὤν, κατά τινα χρησμὸν υἱοποιήσατο.	Arne, the daughter of Aeolus, *gave birth to Boeotus by Poseidon*. But *Aeolus, not believing that Poseidon* had bedded Arne and blaming her for her shame, *gave her to a stranger from Metapontium* who, at the time, happened to be staying there, *bidding him to take her to Metapontium*. After the stranger had done as he was bade, Arne, while dwelling in Metapontium, gave birth to Aeolus and Boeotus, whom the childless Metapontian adopted as his own in accordance with some oracle.

Diodorus' narrative rests on a series of structural motifs: 1) the daughter of Aeolus (Arne is used as an alternative name for Melanippe), bears offspring to Poseidon (marked with a single line in the table above); 2) her father does not believe in her story about Poseidon (marked with a double line in the table above); 3) she is blamed for her dishonour and exiled to Metapontum (marked with a wavy line in the table above). Although the structural elements present in Diodorus' account are not sufficient to constitute an autonomous plotline, they indicate the general progression of narrative events in both parts of the legend (*Melanippe Sophe* and *Desmotis*).

A set of structural motifs identical to those of Diodorus are preserved in Hyginus' text:

Hyginus Fabulae, CLXXXVI	Melanippen Desmontis filiam, siue Aeoli ut alii poetae dicunt, formosissimam Neptunus compressit, ex qua procreauit filios duos. quod cum Desmontes rescisset, et Melanippen excaecauit et in munimento conclusit, cui cibum atque potum exiguum praestari iussit, infantes autem feris proici. qui cum proiecti essent, uacca lactans ueniebat ad infantes et ubera praestabat. quod cum armentarii uidissent, tollunt eos ut educarent.	Neptune lay with Melanippe, the very beautiful daughter of Desmontes or, as some poets say, of Aeolus, and *sired by her two sons. When Desmontes* discovered *this, he blinded Melanippe, and threw her into prison, ordering that only minimal food and water be given to her,* and that the children be cast out to the wild beasts. When they had been cast out, a cow full of milk came to the children and gave them her udders, and when the cowherds saw this, they took the children to rear.

Hyginus records: 1) the heroine (referred to as Melanippe rather than Arne), bears offspring (Boeotus and Aeolus in Diodorus; two unnamed sons in) to the sea god (Poseidon in Diodorus, Neptune in Hyginus); 2) her father punishes her (Diodorus: Aeolus blames and exiles her, giving her to a stranger; Hyginus: Aeolus' disbelief is implied by the motif of punishment: he blinds, starves and casts her into prison); 3) Melanippe's children are brought up by strangers (Diodorus: the childless Metapontian adopts them; Hyginus: they are taken in by cowherds). The extent of the overlap between Diodorus' and Hyginus' versions of the legendary narrative makes it hard to agree with scholars, such as Amy Clark, who think that the two mythographers present conflicting versions of the legend.[28]

Strabo records a narrative outline similar to that of Diodorus and Hyginus, although his principal interest lies in the locus of Melanippe's exile, rather than in her tragic fate:

[28] Clark, p.93.

Strabo, Geographica, 6.1.15	ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸν Μετάποντον μυθεύουσι καὶ τὴν Μελανίππην τὴν δεσμῶτιν καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς Βοιωτόν. δοκεῖ δ' Ἀντίοχος τὴν πόλιν Μεταπόντιον εἰρῆσθαι πρότερον Μέταβον, παρωνομάσθαι δ' ὕστερον: τήν τε Μελανίππην οὐ πρὸς τοῦτον ἀλλὰ πρὸς Δῖον κομισθῆναι ἐλέγχειν ἡρῷον τοῦ Μετάβου καὶ Ἄσιον τὸν ποιητὴν φήσαντα ὅτι τὸν Βοιωτὸν "Δίου ἐνὶ μεγάροις τέκεν εὐειδὴς Μελανίππη" ὡς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀχθεῖσαν τὴν Μελανίππην, οὐ πρὸς Μέταβον.	Here too, the fabulous accounts place Metapontus, and also Melanippe the prisoner and her son Boeotus. In the opinion of Antiochus, the city Metapontium was first called Metabon and later on its name was slightly altered, and further, *Melanippe was brought, not to Metabus, but to Dius,* as is proved by a hero-temple of Metabus, and the poet Asius, who claimed that Boeotus was born in Dius' palace to beauteous Melanippe, meaning *that Melanippe was brought to Dius, not to Metabus.*

A set of four consecutive structural motifs are present in Strabo's account,[29] which were included in both Diodorus' and Hyginus' texts: 1) in all three accounts Melanippe bears a son (Strabo, like Diodorus, names him); 2) she is described as a prisoner (cf. in Hyginus she is also thrown into prison); 3) she is exiled from her homeland; 4) the place of her exile is given as the city of Metapontium (as in Diodorus' account).

Thus, it is possible to establish a shared and stable set of causative structural motifs, laid out in the table below:

1	Melanippe is the daughter of Aeolus (Diodorus, Hyginus);
2	She has an offspring, always at least one son (Diodorus, Hyginus, Strabo);
3	The father of the offspring is the same sea god, Poseidon (Diodorus; Hyginus);
4	Melanippe is exiled (Diodorus; Strabo);
5	She is given to a stranger to be taken to Metapontium (Diodorus; Strabo);
6	She is described as imprisoned (Strabo; Hyginus)

In addition to the presence of common structural motifs, all three mythographical accounts share a number of narrative details, i.e. proper names and toponyms (the son as Boeotus in Diodorus and Strabo; the heroine's father as Aeolus in Diodorus and Hyginus; Metapontium in Diodorus and Strabo). The parallelism of both structural motifs and narrative

[29] The earliest source of the Melanippe legend is that of Asios of Samos (F2), referenced in Strabo, 6.1.15. Cf. Roller, p.303.

details unites the accounts attributed to the 'mythographical historical' category into a single hypertext, albeit occasionally inconsistent. However, the schematic plot of the legend is not completely stable across the three mythographical versions, making it impossible to establish a single narrative outline of the mythological plot shared by all extant accounts, which could have served as the basis for Annensky's tragedy.

The second category of mythographical accounts, termed 'Euripidean', offers a more consistent representation of the legend, since it comprises summaries of the plotline of Euripides' lost tragedies. Annensky points to two such accounts in his Preface, revealing that he relied on the 'outline of the dramatic plot', which Pseudo-Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ars Rhetorica*, IX, 11) and Gregory of Corinth (*Rhetores Graeci*, 28.6-22) provided.[30] Thus, in view of the narrative inconsistency of the 'historical' accounts and Annensky's clue, the irreducible constant of the mythological narrative in this chapter will be established on the basis of the 'Euripidean' corpus. The parallel representation of the 'Euripidean' mythographical accounts in the table below sheds light on what Annensky referred to as the 'basis' of the legend:

[30] 'По счастью, миф, точнее основа драматического сюжета, хотя и не вполне, сохранилась у одного историка античной эры (I века до Р. Х.), Дионисия Галикарнасского, и у византийца XII века нашей эры, Григория Коринфского'. Annensky, 2000, p.47.

	Gregory of Corinth, Rhetores Graeci, 28.6-22	*Gregory of Corinth, Rhetores Graeci, 28.6-22*	*Pseudo- Dionysius of Halicarnassus Ars Rhetorica, IX, 11*	*Pseudo- Dionysius of Halicarnassus Ars Rhetorica, IX, 11*
Aeolus is exiled for murder	'αὐτός μέν οὖν φόνον ποιήσας ἐπ' ἐνιαυτόν ἀπῆλθε φυγάς.' (10)	'Since he [Aeolus] had committed murder, he fled from the land as an exile.'		
Poseidon begets twin boys from Melanippe	'τήν δὲ Μελανίππην Ποσειδῶν διδυμών παίδων ἔγκυον ἐποίησαν.' (11)	'Poseidon caused Melanippe to expect twins.'	'ἡ δὲ Μελανίππη ἐπεράνθη μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος, γέγονε δὲ ταύτῃ παιδία·'	'Melanippe was raped by Poseidon and bore two babies'
Melanippe has the newborns taken to a cow-shed	'Ἡ δὲ διὰ τὴν προσδοκίαν τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς παρουσίας τοὺς γεννηθέντας εἰς τὴν βούστασιν ἔδωκε τῇ τροφῷ θεῖναι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν τοῦ κατα-σπείροντος.' (12-15)	'Fearing her father's return she gave them, when they were born, to her nurse to leave in a cow-stall, in accordance with their father's behest.'	'ἐξέθηκεν δὲ αὐτὰ εἰς τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς βουφόρβια'	'She placed them among the cows of her father'
Shepherds find the twins and take them to the palace	'τὰ βρέφη τινὲς τῶν βουκόλων φυλαττόμενα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ταύρου, θη-λαζόμενα δὲ ὑπὸ μιᾶς τῶν βοῶν ἰδόντες, ὡς βουγενῆ τέρατα τῷ βασιλεῖ προστένεγκαν.' (15-19)	'Seeing the babies guarded by a bull and suckled by one of the cows, shepherds brought them to the king as prodigious calves'.		
Aeolus decides to burn the babies	'Ὁ δὲ τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς Ἕλληνος γνώ- μῃ πεισθεὶς ὁλοκαυτοῦν τὰ βρέφη κρίνας'. (19-20)	'Persuaded by his father, Hellen, he decided to burn the infants.'	'ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἡγεῖται ἐκ βοὸς εἶναι, καὶ ὡς τέρας βούλεται κατακαῦσαι.	'Her father believed them to be the offspring of a cow and decided to burn them as monsters.'
Melanippe is required to dress her babies for burial	'Μελανίππῃ τῇ θυγατρὶ προσέταξεν ἐνταφίοις αὐτὰ κοσμῆσαι. Ἡ δὲ καὶ τὸν κόσμον αὐτοῖς ἐπέθηκε.' (20-21)	'He ordered his daughter Melanippe to dress them for death. She put on the robes.'		
Melanippe delivers a speech in defence of her babies	'καὶ λόγον εἰς παραίτησιν ἐξέθηκε φιλότιμον.' (22)	'And she made an intercession in their defence.'	'βοηθοῦσα αὐτῇ ἡ Μελανίππη ἀποφαίνεσθαι πειρᾶται, ὅτι τέρας οὐδέν ἐστιν.'	'Melanippe defends herself and attempts to demonstrate that they are no monsters.'

Fig.1. The 'outline' of the mythological plot determined from two mythographic accounts

Gregory of Corinth presents a more detailed account than the condensed version of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*fig.*1). The Byzantine mythographer offers a crystallised account, reduced to the semantically most important narrative constituents, sufficient to reconstruct Euripides' version of the legend. Both mythographical accounts rest on a parallel sequence of

events (circled in *fig.*1), which constitute the pivotal narrative elements of the plotline, present in extant versions of the legend either concurrently or *pars pro toto*, depending on an account's focus:

1. Melanippe's rape by Poseidon and her conception;
2. The decision to destroy the infants;
3. Melanippe's speech in defense of her sons;
4. Melanippe's ultimate fate.

These recurrent elements constitute the mythonarremes of the key narrative construct of the Euripidean variant of the legend of Melanippe. The organisation of the key narrative construct, which is enriched by motifs established on the basis of the 'historical' accounts, can be illustrated in a diagram:

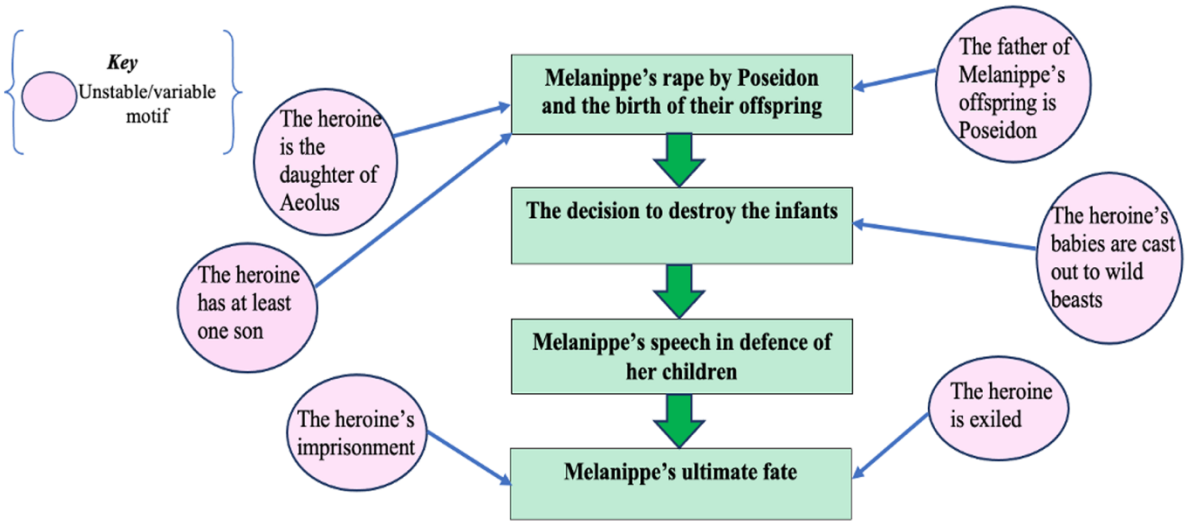


Fig.2. The mythonarremes of the key narrative construct of the legend of Melanippe

The key construct consists of four mythonarremes (*fig.*2), each of which is responsible for conveying a narrative layer of the mythological plotline, commencing with the cause of Melanippe's tragedy, her rape and conception, and concluding with her speech of defence and the explication of her ultimate fate. The presence of a stable key construct in the plotline, which is enriched with a parallel set of narrative details, proves that the mythographical accounts constitute a single hypertext.

2. The Mythopoetic hypertext

The semantic centre of the Melanippe legend (which serves as the starting point for the vector of narrative transformation in mythoplastic accounts) can be established on the basis of mythopoetic versions. Two texts belonging to this category, Aristotle's *Poetics* 1454a31 and Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 546-7, allude to Melanippe as an exemplum of an indecorous woman, whose impropriety is manifested in her rhetorical abilities.[31]

In Aristotle's *Poetics* 1454a31, Melanippe's impropriety is manifested in her 'ῥῆσις' ('speech'), which appears to be as unbecoming in a woman as lamentation in the epic hero Odysseus:

'ἔστιν δὲ παράδειγμα… τοῦ δὲ **ἀπρεποῦς** καὶ μὴ **ἁρμόττοντος** [ἦθος] ὅ τε **θρῆνος** Ὀδυσσέως ἐν τῇ Σκύλλῃ καὶ ἡ τῆς Μελανίππης **ῥῆσις**…'	'An example… of something that is **unbecoming** and **unfitting** in a character is the **lament** of Odysseus in the *Scylla* and Melanippe's **speech**…'

Aristotle sets up a parallel between two forms of unacceptable conduct, semantically equivalent in the present context: demasculinisation in the case of Odysseus (his performance of a traditionally female act, e.g. *Il.*24.721; *Od.*24.61) and defeminisation in the case of Melanippe (her capacity to use effective rhetoric is a skill she, as a woman, should not possess).

Despite such radical disapproval, the *Poetics* offers no clue as to what its author considered shameful in Melanippe's *ῥῆσις*: her audacity in speaking out or her ability to construct a persuasive and intelligent argument. Scholars posit two explanations for Aristotle's criticism: either that he regarded Euripides' placing 'avant-garde philosophy into the mouth of a supposedly well brought-up young lady' as improper,[32] or he disapproved of '[Melanippe's characterisation as] inappropriately clever… a woman too clever for a woman'.[33] Both explanations rest on the presupposition that Melanippe's 'ῥῆσις', directed at saving the lives of

[31] Wright, 2019, p.186.
[32] Dillon, p.224.
[33] Mayhew, p.93.

her infant (and demi-god) sons, is a result of an 'unbecoming and inappropriate level of cleverness',[34] which despite its virtuous aim, must be condemned.

However a comparison with another of Aristotle's works sheds light on the ambiguity of his disapproval (*Politics* 1.1260a30):

'ὥσπερ ὁ ποιητὴς εἴρηκε περὶ γυναικός…: "γυναικὶ κόσμον ἡ σιγὴ φέρει".'	'As the poet said of woman…: 'Silence gives honour to woman.' (Soph. *Aj*. 293)

Aristotle's quotation of Sophocles' maxim 'silence gives honour to woman' suggests that his censure of Melanippe is based on her mere ability to speak, let alone her possession of sufficient intelligence to construct a persuasive argument. Therefore, in the *Poetics* the function of Melanippe's name is allusive, since it serves as an emblem of female impropriety, shown through the heroine's unwomanly capacity to articulate. Melanippe's mythological plotline is reduced to a single most significant constituent, her excessive intellect, manifested through her 'ῥῆσις', which forms the semantic centre of the narrative.

A similarly allusive deployment of the heroine's name based on her 'impropriety' can be found in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 544-8, in which Euripides is condemned for presenting a 'base' woman on stage:[35]

'ἥτις μόνη τέτληκας ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς ἀντειπεῖν, ὃς ἡμᾶς πολλὰ κακὰ δέδρακεν ἐπίτηδες εὑρίσκων λόγους, ὅπου γυνὴ πονηρὰ ἐγένετο, Μελανίππας ποιῶν Φαίδρας τε: Πηνελόπην δὲ οὐπώποτ' ἐποίησ', ὅτι γυνὴ σώφρων ἔδοξεν εἶναι.'	'Only you have had the audacity to contradict us, on behalf of the man who has committed so much wickedness, by deliberately finding tales, where women turn out **base**, putting **Melanippes and Phaedras** before us. But never has he put Penelope before us, because she was reputed virtuous.'

Aristophanes refers to Melanippe with a disparaging plural form of her name, which violates grammatical canons ('Μελανίππ***ας***', 'Melanipp***es***'). The appellation 'Melanippe' is deprived of its status as a personal name, attaching a negative valuation to her character by casting her as a special type of wicked woman. Aristophanes sets up a parallel between Melanippe and Phaedra with the help of the conjunction 'τε' ('and'), which constitutes 'a

[34] Mayhew, p.100.
[35] Miller, p.180.

closely connecting idiom for items in a series',[36] thereby suggesting that the 'iniquity' of Melanippe is semantically equivalent to that of Phaedra, who conceived an incestuous passion for her step-son, Hippolytus, and caused his violent demise.[37]

The poet claims that the two women are connected by their ultimate fate, which is given a shared definition, 'πονηρὰ' ('base'). In addition to its primary meaning of 'base' or, more loosely, 'bad', the term 'πονηρός' possesses secondary connotations of moral wickedness and malice (as in Euripides' *Hecuba,* 1190). In Aristophanes' *Nubes* 102, 'πονηρός' is used to denote the concept of 'uselessness' or 'worthlessness', while in Soph.*Phil.* 437, it denotes a lack of morality or 'cowardice'. Thus, Aristophanes' application of this term to Melanippe suggests that her life was not only driven by wickedness and amorality, but was also worthless and so, in effect, futile.

Since Aristophanes offered no insight into what he regarded as Melanippe's 'crime', scholars have speculated as to the cause of his censure: some suggest that his condemnation is based on the fact that 'Melanippe was a girl who had allowed herself to be seduced, who had committed a sin',[38] while others believe that 'the comedian saw Melanippe as a symbol of the struggle between male and female values'.[39] A further conjecture is posited by Amy Clark, who, on the basis of a single parallel between the legends of Melanippe and Phaedra, suggests that both 'hover quite near sexual transgression'.[40] Although at first glance this supposition might appear tenable since both Melanippe and Phaedra violate female virtues, the former of a daughter and the latter of a wife, it does not explain why the poet chose Melanippe, rather than, for instance, Helen, the disloyal wife of Menelaus and a much closer parallel to Phaedra, as an example of female iniquity.

---

[36] Bock, p.361.
[37] Cf. Euripides' *Hippolytus* and Seneca's *Phaedra*.
[38] Butrica, p.159.
[39] Wright, 2019, p.185.
[40] Clark, p.95.

The broader context of Aristophanes' comedy offers an ostensibly sharper insight into his reference to Melanippe. In his political comedy *Lysistrata,* the eponymous heroine utters a direct quotation from Euripides' *Melanippe* (Fragment 482, see below),[41] suggesting that Aristophanes viewed his character as a more 'positive version'[42] of the tragedian's heroine, who possessed wit and intelligence without the negative associations of supposed 'sexual transgression' and filial deception of Euripides' Melanippe. Aristophanes deploys Melanippe in order to emblematise the ability to conduct a persuasive argument, a quality which he simultaneously admires and mocks in his comedic character Lysistrata, who persuades a group of women to blackmail their husbands into settling peace by denying them marital rights. Thus, as in Aristotle's *Poetics*, in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* Melanippe appears to have an allusive role, since her name functions as an allusion to female wickedness (contrasted with Penelope's female virtue, 'σώφρων').

The semantic centre of the mythological plotline of Melanippe corresponds to the penultimate mythonarreme of the key narrative construct:

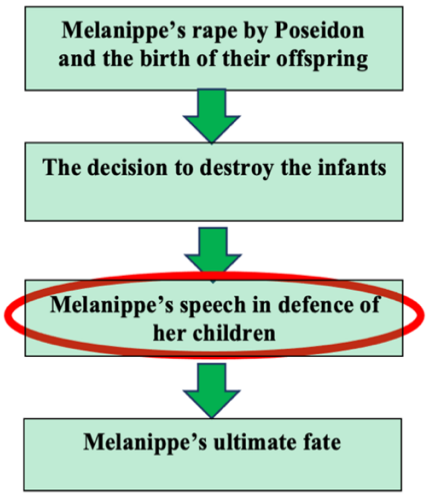


Fig.3. The semantic centre of the mythological plotline as determined from the mythographic hypertext

The semantic centre of the Melanippe legend, circled in red in *fig.3*, is located in the only mythonarreme undeveloped with the help of structural motifs in mythographical accounts

[41] Wright, 2019, p.185.
[42] Foley, 1982, p.10.

but which would attract Annensky's greatest interest. Thus, the starting point for establishing the vector of mythological transformation is determined by Melanippe's intellect, in particular her capacity for debate, which not only determines her *rhesis* but also exacerbates her ultimate punishment.

3. The Mythoplastic hypertext

I. The Greek dramatic hypertext

Unlike the other legends deployed by Annensky in his tetralogy which could have existed in the oral tradition (Laodamia, *Iliad* 2.695-704; Thamyris, *Iliad* 2.594-600; Ixion, *Iliad* 14.317-18), the mythological plotline of Melanippe is not mentioned in the Homeric corpus. The paucity of references to Melanippe in Antiquity has led scholars to believe that the legend was 'virtually a Euripidean creation', particularly since *Melanippe Desmotis* and *Melanippe Sophe,* 'comprise the only major treatment of the myth and character known… from Greek literature'.[43]

Euripides' *Melanippe Sophe* survives in eight fragments, of which seven are attributed to the eponymous heroine and so provide a direct insight into the depiction of her character. The first fragment, 480, preserved by Plutarch (*Moralia,* 756b) and Lucian (*On Monarchy*, 21.41), contains what are believed to be the opening words of the play spoken by Melanippe, elucidating not only the immediate context of the action (the exposition), but also the characterisation of the heroine and the style of her speech.[44]

Fragment 480 caused debate in both Classical and modern scholarship, with Ancient authors providing alternative versions and modern critics doubting the authenticity of the line.[45] According to Plutarch the opening line of the play was so daring and 'unorthodox',[46] that it

[43] Clark, p.91.
[44] In contrast to a large proportion of Euripidean plays, in which the prologue is spoken by a deity, in *Melanippe Sophe* the opening speech is delivered by the principal heroine.
[45] Cf. Mayhew, p.96, for a discussion of the controversy surrounding Fragment 480.
[46] Mayhew, p.96.

caused a 'scandal'[47] and had to be replaced by Euripides with a less offensive variant (Plutarch, *Moralia* 756b). Both Plutarch and Lucian quote the original, 'shocking opening lines of the play':[48]

'Ζεύς, ὅστις ὁ Ζεύς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδα πλὴν λόγῳ…'	'Zeus, whoever Zeus may be – for this I know only by report…'

Although scholars have sought to mitigate Euripides' phrase by suggesting that the clause 'ὅστις ὁ Ζεύς' ('whoever Zeus maybe') was 'common in prayers', that 'to name the god is to praise, gratify and summon him' and that the present line 'is a humble expression of the mortal's ignorance and powerlessness before the divine',[49] such interpretations do not appear persuasive in the general context of Melanippe's characterisation. Instead, an alternative explanation may be posited, based on a second fragment 481, preserving the subsequent lines of the prologue, in which Melanippe summarises her genealogy:

'Ζεύς, ὡς λέλεκται τῆς ἀληθείας ὕπο, Ἕλλην' ἔτιχθ' ὃς ἐξέφυσεν Αἴολον… ἀλλ' ἀνοιστέος λόγος ὄνομά τε τοὐμὸν κεῖσ' ὅθενπερ ἠρξάμην. καλοῦσι Μελανίππην με, Χείρωνος δέ μεἔτικτε θυγάτηρ Αἰόλῳ· κείνην μὲν οὖν ξανθῇ κατεπτέρωσεν ἱππείᾳ τριχὶ Ζεύς…'	'Zeus, as is told by truthful account, sired Hellen who fathered Aeolus… But I must convey my account and my name back to where I began. My name is Melanippe; the daughter of Chiron bore me to Aeolus. To her Zeus gave a coat of golden horse-hair…'

In the context of Fragment 481, it becomes clear that the heroine is questioning the roles of the gods in relation to mortal men, not only Zeus', but also subsequently Poseidon's, for both brothers are responsible for siring male offspring in Melanippe's family (Zeus begot Hellen, Melanippe's grandfather, while Poseidon fathered her twins). Thus, Melanippe's tone in Fragment 480 is not 'humble', as Amy Clark interprets it,[50] but firmly agnostic, challenging the cosmic order which lay at the foundation of archaic Greek religion and culture. She questions not only the identity of Zeus, but also the notion that the gods function as progenitors of great

[47] Wright, 2019, p.185.
[48] Dillon, p.60.
[49] Clark, p.115.
[50] Clark, p.115.

mortal heroes,[51] two beliefs upon which Greek religion and mythology rests. Indeed, by refuting the existence of Zeus, the Russian Melanippe by inference denies the inherent connection between wisdom and Zeus, thus liberating herself and her intellect even further from the dominion of archaic religion.[52] Melanippe stylises the account of her genealogy as a would-be fallacious narrative, based on hearsay ('οὐ γὰρ οἶδα πλὴν λόγῳ', 'for this I know only by report') and, by inference, not necessarily accepted by her. Thus, Melanippe's doubt recorded in Fragment 480 functions as a manifestation of the innovative *mythologeme of the heroine's scepticism,* responsible for questioning the role, status and even existence of the Ancient gods.

Fragment 487, preserved in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 272, recorded in a Scholia on Aristophanes, *Frogs* 100 (488N),[53] and ascribed to Euripides' Melanippe,[54] provides further evidence for the mythologeme of the heroine's scepticism.[55]

The heroine calls on the 'ἱερὸν αἰθέρ' ('sacred aether') to witness her oath, referring to Zeus merely as an occupant of the aether ('οἴκησιν Διός', 'Zeus' abode').

'ὄμνυμι δ' ἱερὸν αἰθέρ', οἴκησιν Διός.'	'I swear by sacred aether, Zeus' abode'.

The mythologeme of scepticism, an integral part of Melanippe's characterisation, is supplemented with the help of two further *mythologemes, rhetorical finesse* and *erudition*, which are revealed in the remaining four fragments of the tragedy (attributed by scholars to the heroine's famous 'ῥῆσις').[56] Fragment 485, attributed to Melanippe's *rhesis*,[57] in which she formulates a seemingly hypothetical situation, develops the mythologeme of the heroine's rhetorical finesse:

'εἰ δὲ παρθένος φθαρεῖσα ἐξέθηκε τὰ παιδία καὶ φοβουμένη τὸν πατέρα, σὺ φόνον δράσεις'.	'But if a maiden should expose her children because she had been raped and feared her father, would you then commit murder?'

[51] Zeus as the greatest deity was capable of begetting mortal sons born to glory (Clark, p.115): Hellen was the founder of the Hellenic race; Boeotus and Aeolus were the ancestral heroes of Boeotia and the Aeolian Islands respectively).
[52] For a detailed account of the interconnection of wisdom and Zeus, as well as the representation of wisdom and folly in Euripides see Hutchinson, pp.37-44.
[53] Collard, Cropp, 1995, p.584.
[54] Collard, Cropp, 1995, p.581.
[55] Mayhew, p.99.
[56] Collard, Cropp, 1995, p.581.
[57] Collard, Cropp, 1995, p.581.

Melanippe sets up two planes of understanding based on retrospective knowledge possessed only by herself and the external audience: a private (internal) plane accessible to her interlocutor and a wider, public plane (addressed to the participants in the present situation, as well as posterity). The two sets of audience are intended to experience divergent reactions: her private audience is asked to show mercy, sparing the lives of innocent victims, whereas her external audience is invited to recall Melanippe's earlier ordeal (an instance of dramatic irony) and admire the heroine's rhetorical technique of meta-representation (disguising a genuine scenario as hypothetical in order to bend her audience towards compassion for her infant sons). The rhetorical effectiveness of Melanippe's argument is further accentuated by the context of the tragedy, since her father Aeolus has recently returned from exile for forcing his daughter Kanake to commit suicide after discovering her incestuous relationship with her brother Makareos.[58] Thus, Melanippe's subtle inclusion of the *mythologeme of unlawful murder* in her rhesis ('σὺ φόνον δράσεις;', 'would you commit murder?'), in particular of children (be it her infant twins or Aeolus' own offspring), is aimed at reminding her father of his voluntary exile (caused by his involuntary crime) and cautioning him against repeating his offence.

The mythologeme of the heroine's rhetorical finesse is further developed in Fragment 482 by the introduction of the *mythologeme of superlative intelligence*, which Melanippe claims to possess. Fragment 482 offers an insight into Melanippe's self-assesment:

'ἐγὼ γυνὴ μέν εἰμι, νοῦς δ' ἔνεστί μοι' . . .	'I am a woman, but I have intelligence'. . .

The term signifying Melanippe's intelligence, 'νοῦς' ('mind'), in the present context may be taken to refer to her mental aptitude.[59] Instead of a simple qualifying adjective, she uses a periphrastic construction to describe her intelligence, based on the word 'mind' ('νοῦς δ'

[58] Cf. Euripides' fragmentary tragedy *Aeolus,* which narrates the fate of the incestuous couple and their suicide at their father's behest. Mayhew, p.98.

[59] 'νοῦς' can be translated as 'sense' or 'wit' (cf. *Odyssey* 13.255, 'νόον πολυκερδέα', 'a most wily wit'), 'reason' (cf. Xenophanes 25, 'νόου φρενί', 'reason in his heart'), 'intellect' (cf. Democritus 112, 'θεῖος νόος', 'a divine intellect') or even, by extension, 'wisdom' (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.29 in which Apollo is described as having 'πάντα ἰσάντι νόῳ', 'a mind which knows all things').

ἔνεστί μοι', *lit:* 'there is mind in me'). Although Melanippe's acquaintance with Anaxagorean concepts has been pointed out in previous scholarship,[60] no attention has yet been devoted to her use of 'νοῦς'. The noun potentially raises associations with the teaching of Anaxagoras concerning the role of *nous*, a key term in his account of the formation of the cosmos. Anaxagoras defined *nous* as a power both 'infinite and self-ruled' ('νοῦς δέ ἐστιν ἄπειρον καὶ αὐτοκρατὲς', Fragment D27). In Anaxagoras' system, *nous* functioned as the originating agency behind the 'rotation', which separates and re-combines matter, acting as a necessary first and continuing mover, brought into existence all natural phenomena, including the stars, the sun, the moon, the air, the aether (cf. Melanippe's oath by the aether in Fragment 487). In other words, *nous* is the agency or 'mover' (to use Aristotles' term 'prime mover'[61]) behind the initial emerging of order from primeval chaos: not a creation *ab initio,* but a formation of order from chaos. Indeed, Anaxagoras claims that the power possessed by νοῦς is unrivalled:

καὶ γνώμην γε περὶ παντὸς πᾶσαν ἴσχει καὶ ἰσχύει μέγιστον· καὶ ὅσα γε ψυχὴν ἔχει καὶ τὰ μείζω καὶ τὰ ἐλάσσω··	It has all knowledge about everything and the greatest strength; it holds sway over all things, both bigger and smaller··

Thus, in Anaxagoras' doctrine νοῦς not only constituted a superior force, responsible for the formation of all objects and phenomena from the pre-existing chaos of matter, but also a 'supremely powerful intelligence', which controls the workings of the cosmos.[62]

The poetic tradition sheds further light on the nature of Melanippe's intelligence, since a character's possession of νοῦς was widely believed to entail the presence of 'practical wisdom'.[63] Drawing upon the depiction of Penelope in the Homeric corpus, some scholars suggest that '*nous* is less a matter of supplying sage counsel to others than devising clever schemes to achieve one's own objectives', and 'those who possess *nous* are often able to recognise a person's true identity or realise the true meaning of a situation'.[64] In relation to the

[60] E.g. Decharme, p.28ff; Webster, 1965, p.21; Dillon, p.223.
[61] Defilippo, pp.393-409; Menn, pp.543-573.
[62] Lesher, pp.137.
[63] Lesher, p.131.
[64] Lesher, p.132.

mythological plotline of Melanippe, the afore-mentioned suppositions prove central to the understanding of the heroine's character: she not only composes a rhetorically artful and persuasive 'ῥῆσις', but also is the only mortal character who knows the true identity of the twins, the offspring of the god Poseidon. Thus, Melanippe's remark that *nous* is present within her, implies that not only her conduct in the play, but also her speech (particularly her 'ῥῆσις' in defence of her sons, which Fragment 482 prefigures) is guided by the moving force of the cosmos. Indeed, the construction which she deploys 'νοῦς δ' ἔνεστί μοι', *lit:* 'there is mind in me', attributes passivity to her possession of wisdom: rather than her being intelligent by her own effort, 'νοῦς' is bestowed upon her.

Therefore it is difficult to accept the opinions of scholars who regard Fragment 482 as 'an almost concessive... apology',[65] which Melanippe is forced to make, or 'as a symbol of a struggle between female and male values', which '[embodies] an enlightened proto-feminist viewpoint'.[66] Instead of imposing anachronistic notions, such as symbolism and proto-feminism, onto the Euripidean text, or bending the fragment to suit a universally acknowledged platitude concerning the 'struggle' between males and females, it seems more fruitful to view Fragment 482 as part of Melanippe's attempt to convince her audience of her superlative intellectual resources. The success of her 'ῥῆσις', and consequently the lives of her infant twins, depend upon her ability to assure her father, Aeolus, and grandfather, Hellen, of her power to access the truth, on both an inter-personal and a philosophical level.

The final two fragments of the Euripidean tragedy, 483 and 484, which contain excerpts from Melanippe's 'ῥῆσις' present the *mythologeme of the heroine's erudition*. Fragment 484 constitutes part of the heroine's account of the cosmogony, inspired, according to scholarly consensus,[67] by the doctrine of Anaxagoras, to which she lends verisimilitude by claiming that

[65] Clark, p.146.
[66] Wright, 2019, p.185.
[67] E.g. Decharme, p.28ff; Webster, 1965, p.21; Dillon, p.223.

it was told to her by her mother, Hippe, the daughter of Chiron. Melanippe's reference to her mother lends her account further credence, since Hippe's wisdom and prophetic gift resulted in Zeus transforming her into a mare:[68]

κοὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα, /ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ᾽ ἦν μορφὴ μία, / ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα, / τίκτουσι πάντα κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος, / δένδρη, πετεινά, θῆρας, οὓς θ᾽ ἅλμη τρέφει, / γένος τε θνητῶν.	The account is not mine, but rather my mother's, that Heaven and Earth once formed a single shape, but when they were separated into two, they bore and brought into the light all things – trees, winged creatures, animals, beasts of the sea, and the mortal race.

Since the rest of Melanippe's speech is lost, some scholars have theorised that her case must have concluded with the tenet that 'like comes from like'[69] (human offspring could only be born of human parents, and not cattle, as Hellen and Aeolus believed the twins to have been).[70] Although such hypotheses are based purely on conjecture and so cannot be entertained with any certainty, Fragment 484 offers an insight into Melanippe's understanding of Anaxagoras' doctrine, which extends to other philosophers.

The heroine's account of the cosmogony, in particular the formation of heaven and earth from a single whole, offers a concise and informed summary of Anaxagoras' doctrine.[71] Anaxagoras maintained that all matter was a chaotic conglomeration, until 'mind' (νοῦς) caused it to separate into distinct phenomena and objects. A similar theory is present in Melanippe's statement that 'heaven and earth once formed a single shape' ('οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ᾽ ἦν μορφὴ μία,'), since the 'οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' could be construed not only literally, as denoting the physical entities of the earth and the sky, but also as a formula used to refer to all things taken together (the polysyndetic construction 'τε.. τ..' unites the two elements into an inextricable whole, like a universe). Consequently, a reflection of the Anaxagorean tenet 'ὁμοῦ πάντων ὄντων καὶ ἠρεμούντων τὸν ἄπειρον χρόνον,' ('all things were together and inert for limitless

[68] Ypsilanti, p.107.
[69] 'The heroine's argument is founded on premises of natural philosophy'. Dillon, p.223.
[70] Cf. Webster, 1967, p.148; Collard, Cropp, 1995, p.269.
[71] Fragment D29, preserved in Aristotle's *Physics* 8.1 250b 24–26.

time') is discernible in Melanippe's claim, albeit simplified and poeticised, to suit a dramatic context.

Furthermore, Melanippe's tenet concerning heaven and earth closely corresponds to a more extensive fragment which relates Anaxagoras' theory of the formation of heaven and earth (D30). The terminology of Melanippe's oath in Euripides' Fragment 487 may have been inspired by the Anaxagorean theory on the formation of air, since the heroine deploys the same term ('αἰθήρ') as the philosopher. Although Melanippe presents a simplified version of the Anaxagorean concept, omitting most detail, she nonetheless conveys the Anaxagorean dogma that the earth and aether became separate entities through the agency of νοῦς, a process of separating out distinct objects of all kinds from the pre-existing inert chaos.

Melanippe's description of the creation of flora and fauna bears a close affinity to Anaxagoras' teaching about the beginning of life (Fragment D32):

τὸ συστῆναι τὸν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ζῷα ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἐξαγαγεῖν…	The world had been created and animals had come out of the earth…

Anaxagoras' account of the emergence of living creatures, which he describes as 'ζῷα', is less detailed than Melanippe's version in Euripides' Fragment 487, in which she lists different forms of 'life', not only terrestrial, celestial and aquatic, but also inanimate, such as trees. The narrative detail present in Melanippe's account seems so discordant with the brief tenet of Anaxagoras that modern scholars have branded the heroine's version a 'suitable mythological, Hesiodic'[72] narrative.

Thus, although Euripides' tragedy *Melanippe Sophe* survives only in a few brief fragments, it preserves three key innovative mythologemes: the heroine's erudition, her rhetorical finesse and her scepticism towards the gods. The first two mythologemes occur in Melanippe's 'ῥῆσις', which has a tripartite structure.[73] Her wisdom is inspired by the Anaxagorean νοῦς (Fragment 482); a reasoned, philosophical account of the cosmogony does

[72] Dillon, p.223.
[73] Webster, 1967, p.148.

not accommodate portentous births (Fragment 484) and the phenomena of monstrous offspring has no place in a scientific account of the universe; the infants are therefore innocent and could be the abandoned offspring of a frightened maiden (Fragment 485).

The organisation of the key narrative construct, as developed in Euripides' *Melanippe Sophe,* can be illustrated in a diagram:

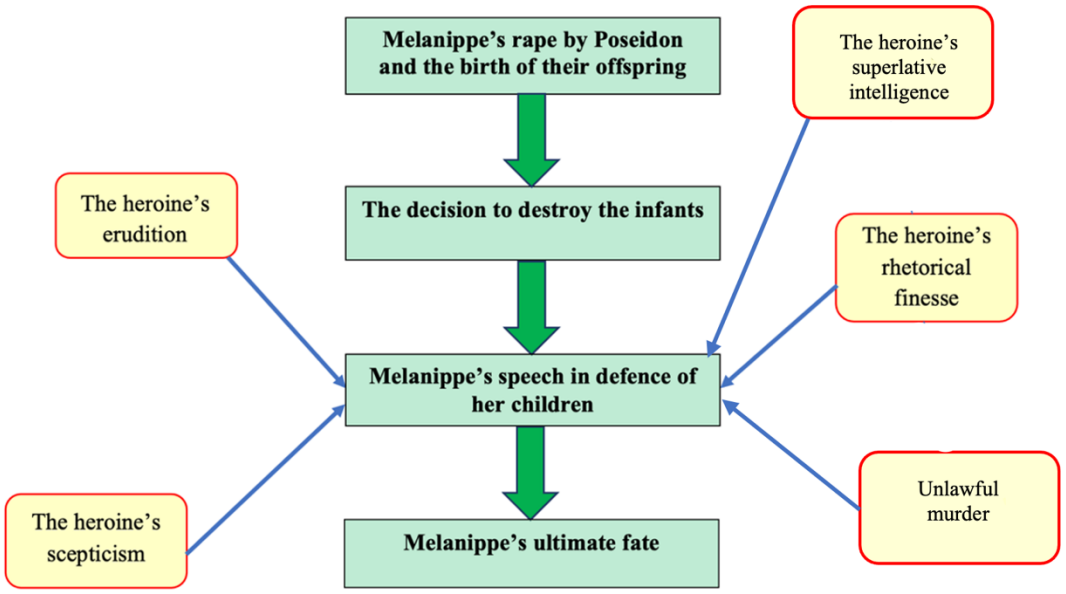


Fig.4. The structure of mythologemes around the key narrative construct of Euripides' Melanippe Sophe

As seen in *fig.*4, in the Greek dramatic hypertext, the key narrative construct is enriched with the help of four mythologemes relating to the inherent characteristics of the heroine. Two of the mythologemes, Melanippe's erudition and her rhetorical finesse, further her characterisation as an intellectual woman, endowed with the capacity to argue her case skilfully and with the help of oratorical techniques (e.g. the introduction of hypothetical situations, recourse to precedent).

II. The Latin dramatic hypertext

Ennius' fragmentary tragedy *Melanippe,* which was composed c. late third - early second century BC, and is believed to have been modelled on Euripides' play, constitutes the

only Roman treatment of the legend.[74] The play survives in four fragments, preserved by the Roman grammarian Nonius (*Fr.* 103; 104; 105) and the Roman philosopher Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 6.4.7 (*Fr.* 106).[75] Two of the surviving fragments are as yet unattributed, fragments 106 and 103:

Fragment 106: 'lumine sic tremulo terra et cava caerula candent.'	'Thus the earth and the blue hollows shine with quivering light.'

Fragment 103: 'regnumque nostrum ut sospitent superstitentque'.	'And so that they may preserve and keep alive our kingdom'.

Fragment 106, which contains a natural description of the earth and the sky, may belong to Melanippe's 'ῥῆσις', in which she summarises Anaxagoras' cosmogony (cf. Eur. Fr. 484). The reference to 'terra et cava caerula' could be interpreted as an allusion to the Euripidean 'οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ'' ('heaven and earth'), in which case it sheds light on the proximity of Ennius' adherence to his Greek predecessor. The other fragment, 103, which poses some difficulty in attribution, could be taken to refer to the twins, since upon attaining adulthood, Aeolos and Boeotus not only rescued their mother from her bonds and ensured her marriage to Metapontus, King of Icaria, (cf. *Melanippe Desmotis*), but also continued their grandfather's heroic lineage by becoming the founders of the Aeolian Islands and Boeotia respectively (cf. Diodorus Siculus, *History* IV, 67.3 ff.; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 186).

The remaining two fragments provide an original insight into the representation of Melanippe's grandfather, Hellen, not mentioned in the extant fragments of Euripides' *Melanippe Sophe* and attested to only by Ennius' tragedy and visual representations of the Melanippe legend. Two extant artifacts (a Southern Italian volute krater and an Apulian volute krater)[76] shed light on Hellen's role in the Classical mythological tradition. The central panel

[74] 'The model of Ennius' tragedy is believed to be Euripides' Μελανίππη ἡ Σοφή.' Goldberg, Manuwald, p.107.
[75] All fragment numeration in the thesis follows that of LOEB editions, listed in the bibliography.
[76] The only other extant visual source of the legend is a second century BC Homeric relief cup from which only a small piece of the upper part is preserved, bearing the words '*Melanippe Euripidou*' ('Melanippe of Euripides'). No published images are available. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. VIII, p.829.

of the Italian volute krater offers an insight into the judgement on Melanippe's twins: it depicts Hellen and Aeolus deciding the fate of the children with 'violent feelings', [77] while Melanippe and her Nurse observe the judgement helplessly.[78] An Apulian volute krater, dated to c.330-320 BC, offers an even greater insight into the relationship between the three central characters of the lost tragedy, Hellen, his son Aeolus and his grand-daughter Melanippe:[79]



Fig.5. A red-figure Apulian volute krater depicting the legend of Melanippe, Attributed to Underworld Painter, Object number 1994.001, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Georgia, United States of America.

In the lower zone of the vase the cowherd, who first discovered Melanippe's twin sons, hands them over to the white-haired Hellen (*fig*.5). On the left margin, Aeolus stands in profile, gazing at the central scene, while mirroring him on the right-hand side, Melanippe and her Nurse huddle together 'in great fear'.[80] Despite his age (signified by white hair) and decrepitude (stooping figure and staff in right hand), Hellen, rather than Aeolus, the ruling king, occupies centre stage. Whereas the old man's figure is dynamic (he is making a stride forward, with one foot in front of the other and his arms outstretched towards the cradle), Aeolus stands passively with his arms folded. Even his garments are plainer than those of his father, whose robe and boots are intricately adorned with white and black details.

[77] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. VIII, p.830.
[78] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. VIII, p.830.
[79] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. VIII, p.829.
[80] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, vol. VIII, p.829.

Since two separate sources, one from Roman literature and one from Greek visual art, attest to Hellen's dynamic conduct, it seems evident that in the Classical tradition Melanippe's grandfather was endowed with a prominence which potentially exceeded that of Aeolus.

The *mythologeme of the domination of an older relative*, who gives counsel to his son, despite the superiority of the latter's rank, was developed by Ennius. In Fragment 104 the speaker appears to be Hellen, commanding his son, by means of an imperative 'ausculta', to burn the infants:[81]

'auscultare est obsequi. Ennius Melanippa: 'mi ausculta, nate, pueros cremari iube.''	'auscultare ('to listen to') means 'to heed'. Ennius in Melanippa: 'heed me, my son, order the boys to be burned.''

Hellen delivers an order appropriate for a child, but impossible when addressed to a king: the subject of the imperative construction 'nate', which is derived from 'nascor' ('to be born'), means 'son' or 'child'. Nonius' gloss for the verb 'auscultare' suggests that in the present context the term which denotes an act of hearing, may be more accurately construed as 'obsequi', meaning 'to submit to' (as in Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 5.20), 'to yield to' (as in Plautus, *Trinummus*, 2.1.8), or 'to obey' (as in Livy 29.15.3). The alternative verb, which Nonius proposes, is derived from 'sequor', 'to follow', implying that Hellen expects his royal son not to lead, as a king ought, but rather to follow the orders of his aged father.

Ennius' characterisation of Hellen is augmented in Fragment 105, which contains the character's 'reasoning'[82] for his request to burn the infants:

'certatio hic est nulla quin monstrum siet: hoc ego tibi dico et coniectura auguro.'	'There is no dispute that there is a portent: I tell you this and prophesy it from a sign of divination.'

Despite the corruption of these lines, it is evident that Hellen, like the shepherds who found the twins in the cowshed and brought them to court, declares the children an evil, supernatural portent[83] ('monstrum' means an 'evil divine omen foreshadowing misfortune', e.g. Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.42.93). Verisimilitude is lent to Hellen's assertion by the inclusion of the

[81] 'The fragments of Ennius' tragedy seem to allude to the order to burn the boys (F 104).' Goldberg, p.107.
[82] Clark, p.101.
[83] Clark, p.101.

innovative mythologeme of a sire's prophetic skill (the verb 'augurare' means 'foretell' or 'prophesy'), and by his claim to be able to interpret 'divine omens' ('coniectura').

A further inference concerning Hellen's participation in the action may be drawn from this fragment. The phrase 'certatio hic est nulla', 'there is no dispute' signals the presence of the *innovative motif of a verbal combat*, in which the fate of the twins was decided (in a political context the term 'certatio' denotes a debate about a potential punishment, e.g. Cic. *Leg*. 3.6). The fragment indicates that Hellen was vehemently arguing against someone, most likely Melanippe, as she was the only character to fight for the children, engaging actively in the play's dénouement.

The organisation of intra-mythological mythologemes, with which the key narrative construct is developed in Ennius' *Melanippe,* is illustrated in the following diagram:

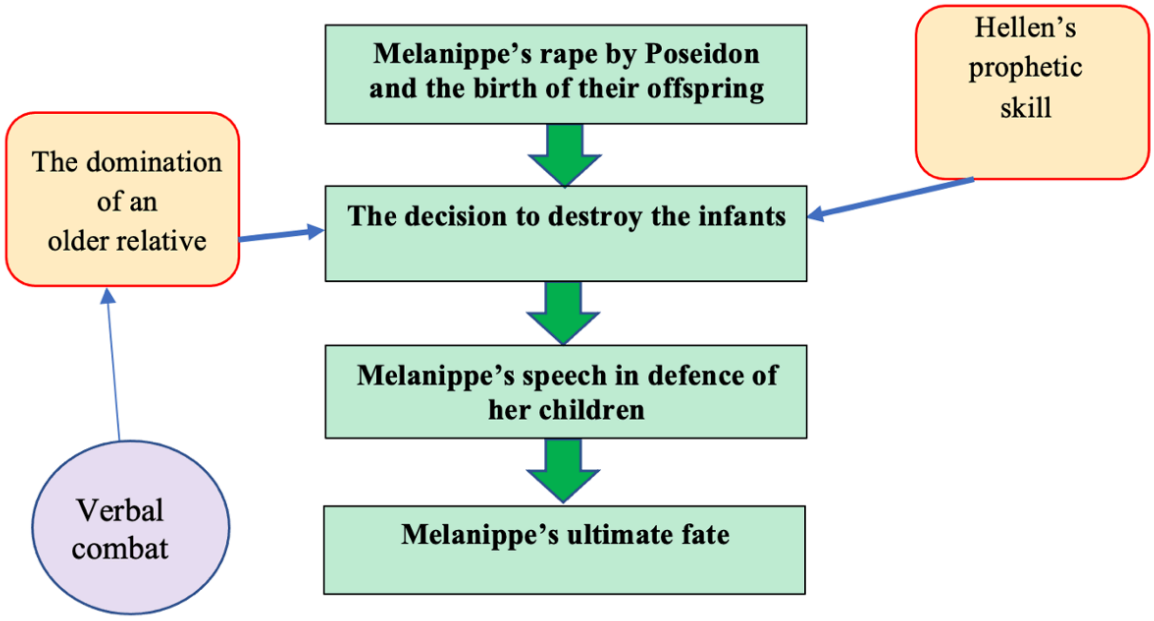


Fig.6. The structure of mythologemes and motifs around the key narrative construct of Ennius' Melanippe

In Ennius' rendition, the key narrative construct is elaborated with the help of two mythologemes developing the second mythonarreme: the mythologemes of Hellen's prophetic skill and the domination of an older relative. Both mythologemes relate to the character of

Hellen, who is not attested in the Euripidean tragedy and whose characterisation in Classical literary accounts can only be glimpsed through Ennius' tragedy *Melanippe*.

Thus, a cumulative study of the Classical hypertext has revealed not only the key narrative construct and the semantic centre of the legend, but also the mythologemes available to Annensky in his composition of his tragedy *Melanippa-filosof (fig.7):*

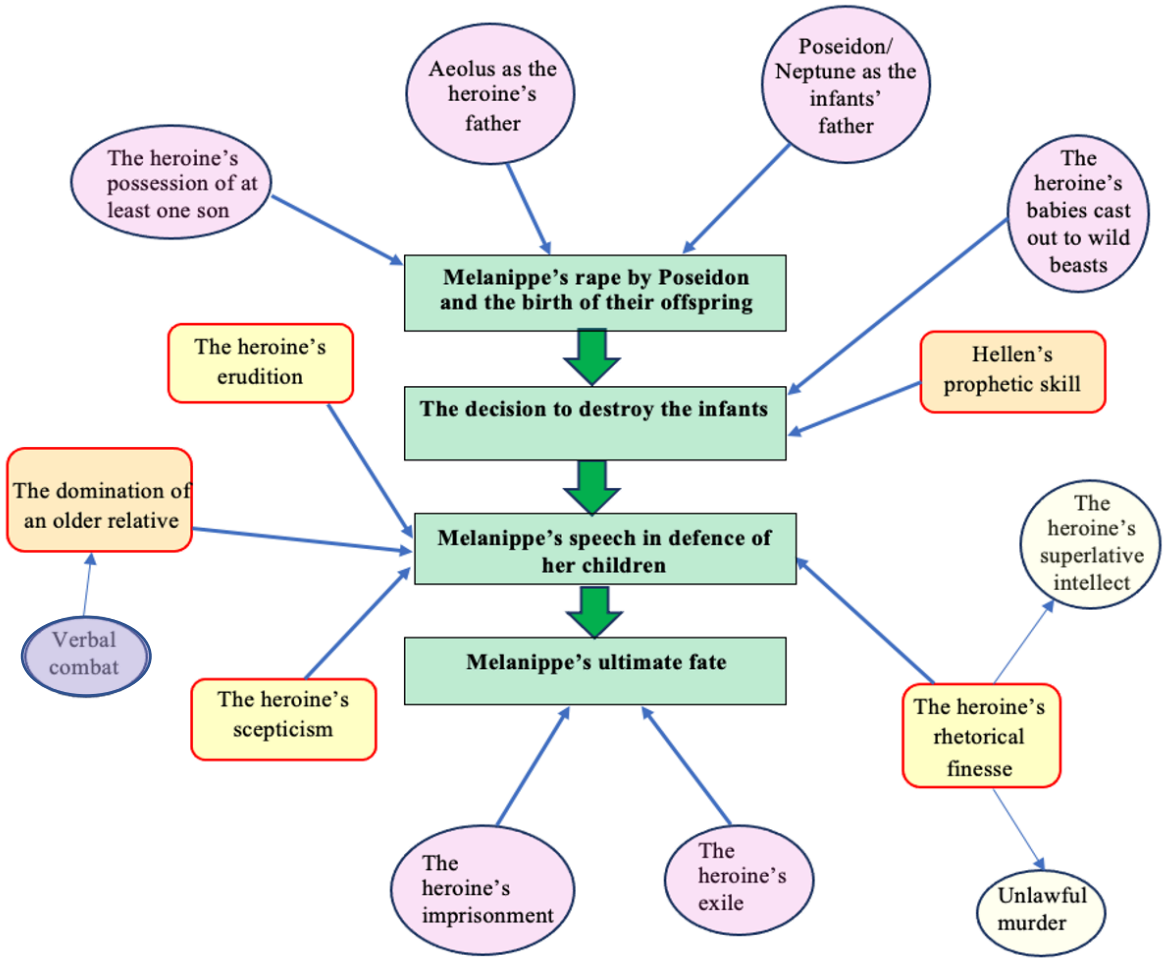


Fig.7. The hypothetic organisation of mythologemes and motifs around the key narrative construct in the Classical mythological tradition

Although the two Classical mythoplastic accounts of the legend (Euripides' *Melanippe Sophe* and Ennius' tragedy *Melanippe*) develop the characterisation of the heroine beyond that of a disgraceful female condemned for her intellect and rhetorical finesse, they (perhaps due to their fragmentary nature) do not attribute to Melanippe a potential for development. Even in Euripides' tragedy (as appears to a recipient of the few surviving fragments), where the heroine

is capable of deploying key Anaxagorean tenets, Melanippe remains on the level of an erudite, albeit emotionally undeveloped character. Since her knowledge is inspired by her divine mother, and her rhetorical skill arises from her fear for her infants, there is no opportunity for emotional and spiritual development over the course of the play. Therefore, although the Classical tradition is responsible for the formation and extension of the vector of mythological transformation, it falls short of developing it to a climax beyond the tragic catastrophe of the heroine's punishment.

II

The Neo-mythological Intertext:
Innokenty Annensky's Melanippa-filosof

In European literature the mythological plotline of Melanippe was deprived not only of scholarly but also largely of literary attention. Unlike the legends of Laodamia, Thamyris and Ixion, which were reflected in English, Italian and Polish literary traditions, Melanippe the learned female is passed over in favour of more representative Classical heroines, such as Helen, the 'face that launched a thousand ships', Cressida, 'the archetypal faithless lover',[84] or Phaedra, the emblem of 'forbidden passion'.[85] Two possible causes for this literary neglect can be posited. The first and most obvious reason concerns the fragmentary nature of the extant Classical sources of the mythological plotline, which would make any treatment of the narrative a laborious task, achievable only by an individual well-versed in Ancient cultural, literary, visual and linguistic traditions. This reason, however, does not explain why the legend of Thamyris or obscure mythological figures, such as Absyrtus[86] or Endymion,[87] attracted the attention of poets from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, while Melanippe's mythological plot failed to arouse artistic interest.

---

[84] Morley, p.122.
[85] Trinacty, p.79.
[86] Shakespeare, *Henry VI Part II*, 5.2.62-64.
[87] Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, 5.1.120; John Keats, *Endymion.*

Another, less obvious, explanation for the absence of literary treatments of the legend of Melanippe suggests itself: the character of the heroine does not lend itself to type-casting, but instead requires a sensitive revelation of the complexities of a female character who transcends all social norms. Melanippe is guilty not only of extra-marital motherhood, but more unforgivably of excessive intellect and erudition, traits which were neither expected nor welcome in a woman. A 'philosopher in a peplos'[88] appears to have been a less appealing subject for subsequent performative and literary traditions than a Classical beauty, a divinely inspired prophetess or an incestuous seductress. Therefore, the mythological plotline of Melanippe was inevitably doomed to oblivion after its last Classical treatment.

The first post-Classical treatment of the legend was Annensky's *Melanippa-filosof.* At the start of the play, the poet supplies a brief Preface, in which he offers a clue to his reception of the Classical literary tradition and outlines his own method of structuring the dramatic narrative. Annensky notes that although few Classical sources survive (he names only three texts), he was able to construct his rendition of the mythological plotline on Ancient schemas ('Схемы…взял античные'). The poet claims that his innovations lie not in rewriting the legend, but rather in preserving the narrative plot with its basic framework and imbuing it with a modern spirit:[89]

> Автор трактовал античный сюжет в античных схемах, но, вероятно, в его пьесе отразилась душа современного человека.

Thus, Annensky seeks to breathe new life into the mythological plotline without denying it its Classical framework. The poet defines his method of constructing a narrative as 'mythical' ('мифический'), which leaves room for anachronisms and fantastic elements.

In order to distinguish the functions of Annensky's innovations, the dramatic action of *Melanippa-filosof* will be divided into four consecutive stages, corresponding to the four

---

[88] Cf. Pushkin's derogatory verse about his contemporary 'philosophers in a peplos' in *Evgenii Onegin*: 'Не дай мне бог сойтись на бале / Иль при разъезде на крыльце / С семинаристом в желтой шале / Иль с академиком в чепце!' (гл.III, строфа 28).

[89] All quotations from Annensky's play *Melanippa-filosof* are taken from Annensky, 2000, pp.47-102.

mythonarremes of the key narrative construct: the rape of Melanippe by Poseidon and the birth of their offspring (the exposition); the decision to destroy the infants (the conflict); Melanippe's speech in defence of her children (the peripeteia); Melanippe's ultimate fate (the anagnorisis).

Section 1.

The Rape and Birth Mythonarreme: Exposition

The first stage of the dramatic action, which encompasses scenes 1-5, forms the 'exposition', since it sets out the events preceding the start of the tragedy: the crime of the heroine's father and his exile, her encounter with Poseidon, and finally the birth of her offspring. The exposition outlines Melanippe's character prior to the disclosure of her sin, revealing her personality before it is tried in the *agon* with her father and grandfather.

Annensky establishes an overarching extra-mythological parallel between the opening of his play and the first soliloquy of Euripides' *Ion* (1-41),[90] which outlines a female fate similar to Melanippe's. Creusa, the daughter of Erechtheus, is raped by Apollo and conceives a son, unbeknownst to her father. She gives birth in a cave and exposes the child, after which Apollo takes charge of the infant, ensuring his survival and subsequent reunion with his mother. Since the parallel between the two heroines' fates was established by Annensky and noted by a number of scholars,[91] it is not necessary to rehearse the similarities of the plots, primarily because they could be accounted for by polygenesis.

The exposition of Annensky's play is based on the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, the rape of Melanippe and the birth of her offspring, which is developed and intertextually transformed with the help of mythologemes, revolving primarily around Melanippe's self-identification as a suffering mother, a royal princess and a wronged daughter. Two *intra-mythological mythologemes of the heroine's scepticism* and *spiritual fortitude*,

[90] Annensky, 1906, p.541.
[91] Kelly, 1986, p.186; Anikin, (D) 2011, p.76.

which relate to Melanippe's characterisation in all Classical accounts of the legend, are introduced in the opening lines of *Melanippa-filosof,* in order to evoke sympathy towards, rather than criticism of Melanippe's agnostic theism.

The intra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine's scepticism is signified in Melanippe's opening soliloquy, in which she outlines her dilemma and calls upon the gods to bear witness to her suffering. The heroine prefaces her invocation to Zeus ('о Зевс') with three periphrastic appellatives, relating Zeus to her own family: he is the grandsire of Aeolus, the father of Hellen and the guardian of his old age:

О праотец могучего Эола, / О Геллена великого отец / И старости его хранитель белой!

The first two appellatives, concerning the genealogy of Aeolus and Hellen, present direct interpolations from the Classical hypertext, in which the closest two male relatives of Melanippe are named as contextualising elements for Zeus, connecting the god to the *gens* dominating the dramatic action (Eu.Fr.481):

Ζεύς…Ἕλλην' ἔτιχθ' ὃς ἐξέφυσεν Αἴολον	Zeus… sired Hellen who fathered Aeolus…

Although at first glance the appellatives indicate the Russian Melanippe's reverence towards Zeus and her desire to establish a direct link between herself and the deity, it also serves as a retardation, delaying the revelation of her striking uncertainty as to Zeus' identity: 'Кто б ни был ты, о Зевс'. The clause questioning the god's true nature appears to be a verbatim translation of Euripides' Fragment 480, whereby the Greek heroine challenged the foundation of archaic Greek religion. However, Annensky's Melanippe surpasses her Classical counterpart in scepticism since, in addition to questioning the nature of the god, she offers an elliptical series of potential identities, some of which place under doubt the very status of Zeus as a god:

бог иль разум, сновиденье / Ожившее иль гордая мечта...

Whereas Euripides' heroine stops at the vaguely deliberative 'whoever Zeus may be', not daring to conjecture further, Annensky's Melanippe suggests four different identities, two animate and two inanimate, bound into two binary formulas.

The first component of the primary pairing, a god, is quickly brushed aside both metrically and syntactically (the monosyllabic 'бог' does not occupy a prominent place in the line, as it is in second position) and superceded by the notion of 'разум', which in the present context most likely alludes to the Anaxagorean *nous*. Scholars believe the focus to rest 'undoubtedly' on the first identity, since it is listed first, signifying the heroine's belief in Zeus' divine nature.[92] However, it is more likely that Annensky intended his heroine to cast doubt on the status of Zeus as a god in the Classical, polytheistic understanding (as the licentious, violent god of mythology[93] or the troubled, conflicted god of Homeric epic).[94] According to the second interpretation, Melanippe posits the alternative notion 'разум', an inanimate entity, which *a piori* is devoid of anthropomorphic traits such as corruption and promiscuity. At this point in the dramatic action the heroine offers no elucidation of her understanding of 'разум', except that it is different from 'бог', an entity which, like mind, lacks a corporeal manifestation and so can only be defined by its non-physical qualities. Melanippe's reference to Zeus as 'разум' is a possible extra-mythological allusion to Euripides' *Trojan Women*, 884-6, in which Hecuba, like Melanippe, queries Zeus' existence:

ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν, / ὅστις ποτ᾽ εἶ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι, / Ζεύς, εἴτ᾽ ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν…	O you who hold the earth and have your seat there, whoever you are, whose identity is difficult to guess! Zeus, whether you are natural necessity, or the mind of a mortal…

As can be seen from the table above, Hecuba refers to Zeus with a series of appellatives, of which one ('νοῦς βροτῶν') is used to hypothetically liken him to 'mind'. However, accentuating Melanippe's scepticism beyond the scope of the Classical tradition, Annensky deploys a second pairing of potential identities, 'сновиденье / Ожившее иль гордая мечта', which consists of two chimerical entities: 'a night vision' ('сновиденье') and 'a dream'

[92] Borisova, 1998, pp.35-48.
[93] For Zeus as a licentious god, cf. the myths of Io, Leda, Semele, Danae, Europa etc.; for Zeus as a violent, deceptive god, cf. the Titanomachy, the myths of Prometheus, Tantalus, Ixion etc.
[94] For Zeus as a conflicted god, cf. *Iliad,* Books 15 (the seduction and deception by Hera), 16 (the death of Sarpedon).

(‘мечта’). Both of these entities have no Classical mythological (as ‘бог’) or philosophical (as ‘разум’) precedent. Thus, the question arises as to why Annensky chose to deviate from his Classical model at the opening of his tragedy, by including Melanippe’s innovative conjecture as to the identity of the god.

The opening lines of Annensky’s play, much like those of Euripides’, appear to have caused some debate among the few scholars whose attention was attracted by the Russian tragedy. Attempting to rationalise the heroine’s ‘doubt’ (‘сомнение’), Borisova believes that Melanippe’s hesitation arises from her desire to fathom ‘other worlds’ purely through logic, thus condemning herself to spiritual disquiet;[95] Khrustaleva, on the other hand, rather cryptically, proposes that Melanippe’s first words on stage mean she has a ‘special perception of the gods’;[96] Anikin suggests that the heroine’s invocation of Zeus is designed to remind us of the freedom which Anaxagoras aroused in Euripides concerning the representation of the gods and which was subsequently inherited by Annensky.[97] However, there appears to be another, more tenable reason for the Russian poet’s innovative inclusion of Melanippe’s deliberations: the desire to accentuate his heroine’s scepticism beyond the Classical model, in order to explore the development of her characterisation in accordance with the vector of mythological transformation. Whereas in the Classical hypertext the heroine is represented primarily through her superlative intellect, her understanding of Anaxagoras’ philosophy and her consequent scepticism towards archaic religion, Annensky lends his Melanippe the capacity not only to doubt, but also to use her insight in order to probe the structure of the cosmic order and attempt to determine the identity of the greatest deity in the Greek pantheon.

In order to develop Melanippe’s intellectual capactity along the vector of mythological transformation, Annensky introduces the *intra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine’s*

[95] Borisova, 1998, pp.35-48.
[96] Khrustaleva, p.62.
[97] Anikin, 1992, p.17.

spiritual fortitude, which characterises his heroine's ability to muster enough courage to penetrate the nature of immortal entities. Two motifs*,* the *extra-mythological motif of Melanippe's solitude* and the *innovative motif of her maternal suffering,* are brought into the narrative in order to develop the intra-mythological mythologeme beyond the scope of intellectual curiosity and into the realm of mortal, human anguish. The heroine's solitude is emphasised both within a temporal framework (for nine long months) and in terms of familial relations (she was robbed of her mother, father, sister Kanake and brother Makareos). In addition to the solitude imposed through divine agency (partly by Zeus, who took the heroine's mother from her: 'Без матери – ты взял ее у нас', and partly by Poseidon, who impregnated her), the heroine reveals that she was subjected to social gossip and slander, which she describes through a vivid synecdoche: 'От острых глаз и злоречивых уст'. The *innovative motif of a hostile crowd* is introduced to characterise the complete loneliness which Melanippe was forced to endure.

The final innovative motif, with which Annensky characterises Melanippe's spiritual fortitude in the exposition of the tragedy, concerns the *heroine's maternal suffering*, both physical and mental. Her physical suffering is so great that she is displaced from her role as princess and forced to endure conditions which even the poorest slave would shrink from. The verb, which Melanippe uses to describe the response elicited by the humble hut she gave birth in, 'побрезгать', belongs to the vocabulary of an entitled individual who would disdain dirt and poverty. Thus, Annensky highlights the incongruity of the heroine's new position on the lexical level of his dramatic narrative.

The heroine's physical anguish is exceeded only by her emotional suffering. Maintaining the theme of displacement, the heroine associates herself with a slave who, robbed

of her honour, can only 'timorously' ('пугливо') conceal herself in the throng of her father's slave-girls, no longer the daughter of a king, but rather his servant:

И только я в толпе его рабынь / Хотела бы пугливо затеряться...

The extent of the heroine's displacement is emphasised in relation to three spheres, religious, paternal and maternal, in which she no longer has a lawful place. In relation to the first sphere, Melanippe fears she can neither participate in the traditional activities of unmarried virgins (she cannot enter their ritual circle-dances,[98] 'дерзну / Я в хоровод войти девичий') nor place garlands upon the altar of the goddess (presumably the virginal Artemis) alongside other maidens. A parallel for Melanippe's self-distancing from the shrine of a goddess is proposed by Anikin, who suggests that Euripides' Hippolytus betrays a similar tendency, adding that both characters use exactly the same turn of phrase to describe their reserve.[99] However, it is difficult to agree with Anikin's proposition, since it fails to account for a crucial difference in motive: whereas Hippolytus remains aloof from the altar of Aphrodite by choice, since he disdains the goddess' promiscuity, Melanippe feels the need to be distant from the shrine of Artemis because she considers herself impure and unable to join in the worship of a maiden divinity.

In addition to being denied the joys of other young women of her age, Melanippe is also robbed of her customary interaction with the divine sphere and can no longer seek solace in prayer. The second two spheres, which the heroine is displaced from, concern her relationship with her parents: she cannot interact with her father without feeling shame, and she cannot hear her blameless mother's name without blushing at the dishonour she has brought upon her:

Как на отца осмелюсь я глядеть?	Как матери услышу, не краснея, / Я имя беспорочное, увы!..

[98] Anikin suggests a parallel between Annensky's translation of Euripides' *Electra* and *Melanippa-filosof* by noting a linguistic correspondence between the words of the two eponymous heroines: both shy away from 'девичий хоровод' (Anikin, (D) 2011, p.78).
[99] Anikin, (D) 2011, p.79.

Thus, as a result of her ordeal, Melanippe believes she has lost the esteem of her parents, the protection of the gods and her social status as a princess.

The motifs of the heroine's solitude and maternal suffering are without clear precedent in the Classical hypertext, since no testimonies of Melanippe's emotional response to her rape and concealed childbirth are extant. Although extra-mythological parallels can be sought out for each motif (e.g. Euripides' *Hippolytus* for the motif of solitude, since Phaedra uses the same word 'κρύπτω', 'conceal / hide' as the Russian Melanippe ('таилась'), to describe her passion for Hippolytus), it is unlikely that Annensky had recourse to extra-mythological sources. Instead, it is possible to suggest that he introduced a series of innovative, emotive motifs in order to mitigate the effect of the intra-mythological mythologemes of the heroine's scepticism and her spiritual fortitude. Although at the start of her speech Melanippe could be mistaken for a stoic Classical heroine, who firmly denounces the existence of Zeus, the subsequent inclusion of the motifs of suffering, guilt and intense solitude (not only from her immediate family, but from all society, except her nurse) softens her representation and lends it traits of human tragedy, not revealed at the start of the play.

The characterisation of Melanippe in the 'exposition' is completed with the help of two mythologemes, the *intra-mythological mythologeme of royal dignity* and the *innovative mythologeme of paternal and filial relations*, both of which offer an insight into the heroine's role as princess, as opposed to her hypostases as a suffering mother and a dishonoured maiden. The first intra-mythological mythologeme, relating to Melanippe's conduct as a blood princess, is developed with the help of the *innovative motif of royal condescension* and the *intra-mythological motif of regal self-control*, responsible for revealing two conflicting aspects of the heroine's character: her ability to maintain self-composure under duress and her inborn haughtiness.

The *intra-mythological motif of regal self-control* is revealed in the stage directions to scene 4, which characterise Melanippe's appearance after she completes all preparations to meet her royal father:

> Меланиппа, нарядная, в белом; внутреннее волнение лихорадочно проступает только на бледных губах и расширенных зрачках.

The heroine's physical and mental suffering in the previous scene (she fled the stage in tears) is systematically counteracted in the quoted stage directions: Melanippe is dressed in beautiful clothes, her appearance is predominantly calm (the only manifestations of the heroine's spiritual suffering are her 'pale lips' and 'wide pupils') and she inspires reverence in her subjects (the messenger bows when he sees her). In the description of the heroine's clothes, Annensky has recourse to colour symbolism,[100] with the colour white serving as a sensory symbol for interpreting not only the emotionless nature of her character, but also her spiritual purity: although her body has served as a vessel of misconduct, her soul remains uncorrupted.

Although the surviving Classical accounts contain no description of Melanippe's physical appearance, a clue about her conduct on stage can be deduced from Euripides' Fragment 482, which reveals the heroine's composure. The fragment, assigned by scholars to Melanippe's *agon*, points to the Classical heroine's ability to remain calm in a situation of great emotional disturbance and respond with an ironic, perhaps even socially critical statement.

However, Annensky develops the intra-mythological motif of regal self-control beyond the scope of the Classical tradition by introducing an *innovative motif of royal condescension*, which offers a different interpretation of the heroine's conduct as a princess. Whereas the Classical visual hypertext shows the heroine as frightened, Annensky leaves no scope for such an interpretation, making his heroine display regal condescension towards her subjects. Melanippe's laconic response to the Messenger, who joyfully announces her father's arrival, describing his return in emotive terms, is characterised by a disdain for his physical appearance

[100] Termed his 'predilection for colours' by Setchkarev, 1963, p.155.

('ты весь в поту') and for his alacrity, which she evidently finds excessive. Her contempt for the herald is stressed by stage directions, which reveal that she speaks with 'an air of scorn' ('с оттенком пренебрежения'), when addressing him. Melanippe's contempt towards the Messenger appears all the more incongruous given the Classical setting of the play. Classical historiographic accounts reveal that messengers were regarded as being under divine protection and so their mistreatment was regarded as a blasphemous and unholy act (cf. Herodotus, 7.133.1 for the treatment of Darius' messengers). Therefore, Melanippe's blatant violation of the customs of Ancient Greece makes it all the more difficult to agree with the opinion of modern scholars, such as Petrova, who suggest that the princess yields to the requirements of her status and 'subordinates herself' to the customs and traditions of her land.[101]

It is possible to offer an alternative explanation for Melanippe's conduct, based not on the style of the Messenger's speech, but rather on its content. The heroine's response to the news brings a novel note of discord into an otherwise potentially joyful, celebratory scene, hinting at strained relations between Melanippe and her father. Annensky introduces the *innovative mythologeme of paternal and filial relations* through the laconic phrase 'Благодарим гонца, конечно,' (constructed with the help of the disdainful royal 'we') with which the heroine reacts to the Messenger's exuberant description of Aeolus' return. Melanippe's utterance conveys not only irony at the flowery manner of the herald's speech, but also a sense of her aversion to her father on his return. This initial hint at Melanippe's coldness towards her father is reaffirmed in her speech, when she refers to Aeolus simply as 'king':

> Пусть будет царь великий наш почтен ...

By using the appellation 'царь наш' alongside the honorific 'великий', Melanippe displaces herself from the status of Aeolus' only remaining daughter, in effect disowning him as her father and assuming the role of one among his many subjects. Thus, in contrast to

[101] 'Героиня, с одной стороны, ощущает себя дочерью-царевной, призванной подчиняться обычаям и законам Эллады', Petrova, p.19.

previous scholarship, which tends to regard Melanippe's relationship with Aeolus as 'loving'[102] and untainted by disharmony, it is possible to suggest that the paternal/filial relationship of the heroine and her father is grossly fractured.

A possible explanation for Melanippe's coldness may be discovered in the Messenger's description of Aeolus' purification, from which it becomes evident that the King has set aside his past violent deeds:

> Как он счастлив, как чело / Сияет у царя – уже давно мы / Не видели таким его... Печали / И гнев забыт.

Unlike Melanippe, who, for the duration of her father's exile, wept for her murdered kin, Aeolus appears to have forgotten his role in the suicide of Kanake and Makareos. The glowing brightness of his brow ('чело / Сияет') functions as a *pars pro toto* for his overall spiritual well-being, starkly contrasting with the paleness of Melanippe's complexion and the darkness of her robes in scenes 1-3 (she refers to it as 'этот траур долгий'). The conclusion of Melanippe's speech at last affirms the cause of her cold reception of the Messenger and his news:

> Помолимся, чтобы возврат царя / Веселием нам заплатил за слезы / Пролитые... Я умолчу о том, / Что, кроме слез, здесь выпила немая / И пурпуром прикрытая земля...

The princess' allusion to the tears shed by her and all the royal court (cf. the plural 'нам' in), as well as to the earth, saturated by something more grievous than tears, i.e. the blood of Kanake and Makareos (reflected in the colour symbolism of 'пурпуром прикрытая земля'),[103] signify her vivid recollection of her father's past crime, despite his new-found forgetfulness. The motif of filial judgement, which pervaded scene 2 of the tragedy, once again resurfaces, shedding light on the troubled relationship of the heroine and her father, unattested to in the Classical hypertext of the legend.

---

[102] Vasil'eva, 1999, p.14.

[103] It is possible to note an extra-mythological echo with Aeschylus' Agamemnon, in which the motif of the ground/earth soaked with blood is recurrent: e.g. the Chorus states that 'the black blood of man has been shed on the earth' ('τὸ δ᾽ ἐπὶ γᾶν πεσὸν ἅπαξ θανάσιμον / πρόπαρ ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἶμα', 1019-21) and Cassandra refers to 'floors which swim with blood' ('πεδορραντήριον', 1090-2).

Thus, the 'exposition' has served not only to reveal Melanippe's nature, prior to the public revelation of her dishonor and the *agon*, but also to offer an insight into the character of her father, Aeolus, who dictates the heroine's ultimate fate (the final mythologeme of the key narrative constant). The distribution of the five mythologemes can be represented in terms of a diagram (*fig.8*):

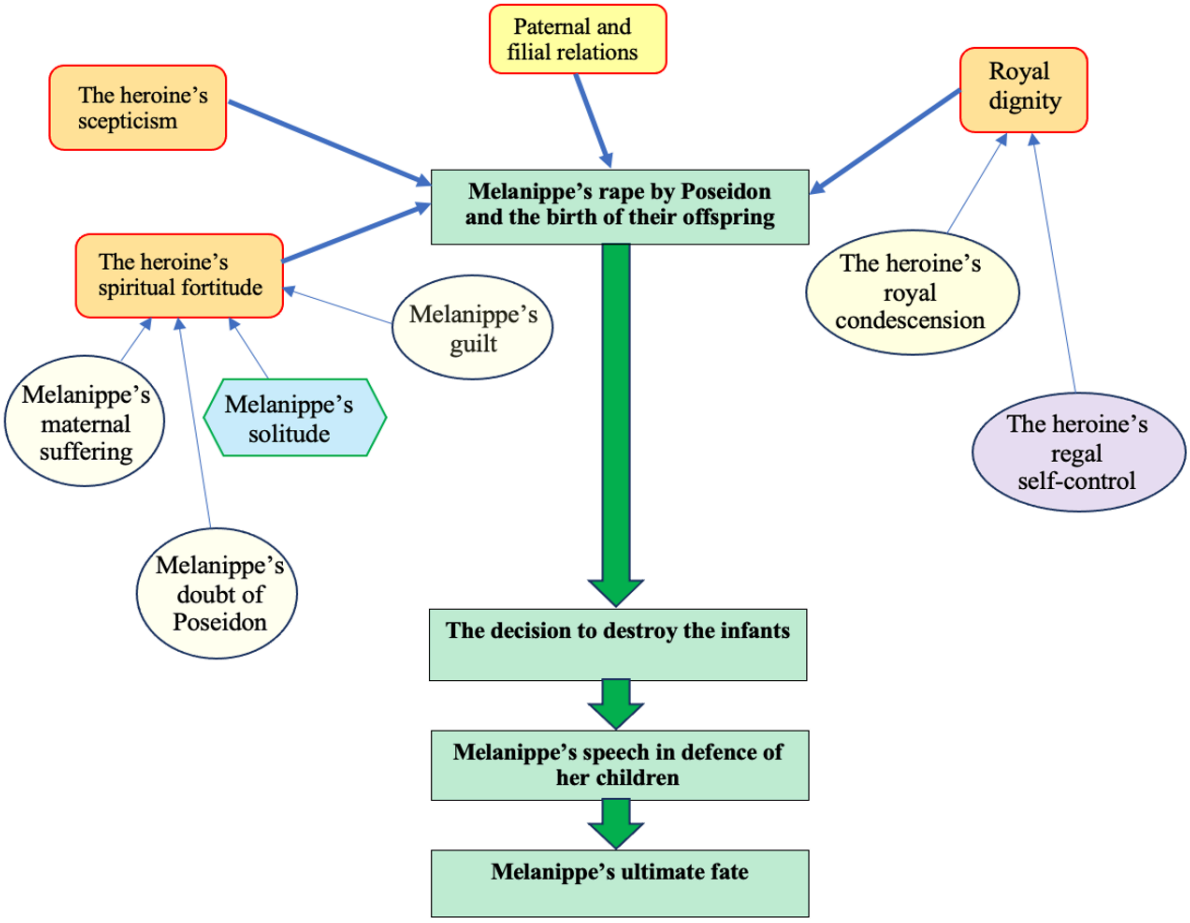


Fig.8. Motif structure of the mythologemes (key narrative construct, stage 1: The Rape and Birth mythonarreme)

Annensky's use of a combination of intra-mythological mythologemes (of royal dignity, crime and punishment, spiritual fortitude, heroine's scepticism) and innovative mythologemes (paternal and filial relations) serves a binary purpose. It simultaneously maintains the mythoplastic vector of mythological transformation, according to which Melanippe is endowed with emotional and spiritual development, and serves to shift the heroine's characterisation in relation to her Ancient portrayal. Whereas in the Graeco-Roman tradition, as preserved in the

sources available to Annensky, Melanippe was depicted as a suffering mother, who only seeks to protect her children from a cruel death, in the Russian Neo-mythological tradition the heroine acquires new characteristics, indicative not only of her determination, but also of her royal stature, including disdain and composure.

Section 2.

The Decision to Destroy the Infants Mythonarreme: Conflict

The second stage of the dramatic action (related to the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct), which encompasses scenes 6-11 can be termed the *'conflict',* since it uncovers the origin and determines the fate of Melanippe's offspring. Annensky deploys five mythologemes (two innovative and three intra-mythological) to transform the second mythonarreme, through which he represents the respective roles of Aeolus and Hellen in planning to murder their own descendants.

The conflict of the tragedy is first manifested through the introduction of the *intra-mythological mythologeme of an alien forefather*, revealed in scene 6, before Aeolus and Melanippe interact as father and daughter. The heroine's grandfather Hellen enters on stage soon after the arrival of his son, taking over from Melanippe and dominating the scene. The intra-mythological motif of Hellen's physical decrepitude and the innovative motif of fractured familial relations are used by Annensky to reveal the narrative function of Hellen.

To characterise the physical appearance of Hellen, Annensky introduces the *intra-mythological motif of physical decrepitude* in the stage directions of scene 6. Hellen is represented as a frail old man with snowy hair ('Он совсем белый') and stooped ('согбенный'), who, due to his frailty, is led by two attendants ('его ведут двое') and accompanied by a third carrying his walking-staff ('третий несет посох'). Furthermore, his clothes vividly contrast with the bright and joyful attire of Aeolus' retinue ('нарядная свита') and the shining white dress of Melanippe ('нарядная, в белом'), since the old man is dressed

in some non-descript ‘netted garment’ customarily worn by prophets (‘сетчатой одежде прорицателя’). On his head, Hellen has a garland of oak leaves (‘На Геллене венок из дубовых листьев’), which symbolises divinely inspired wisdom and is a common attribute of Zeus, signifying the old man’s divine parentage.

The Classical visual hypertext preserves a potential inspiration for Annensky’s *intra-mythological motif of physical decrepitude,* since the figure of Hellen depicted on the Apulian volute krater (dated to c.330-320 BC) bears a striking similarity to Annensky’s description of him.



Fig.9. A red-figure Apulian volute krater depicting the legend of Melanippe, Attributed to Underworld Painter, Object number 1994.001, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Georgia, United States of America.

In the Classical iconographic tradition, Hellen possesses the same three physical attributes as Annensky’s character: pure white hair, a hunched back and a walking-staff (*fig.9*). Although Annensky never visited the United States, where the Greek vase is housed in the Michael Carlos Museum, it is not unlikely that he saw reproductions of the krater (for example in Roscher’s *Lexikon*), since it is the only complete visual representation of the legend of Melanippe extant from Antiquity.

A further *innovative motif of fractured familial relations* is introduced by Annensky in order to develop the *intra-mythological mythologeme of an alien forefather*. The relationship between Melanippe and her grandfather, her only guardian during Aeolus’ absence, appears

distant to the point of being non-existent. When Hellen enters on stage for the first time, Melanippe anounces his arrival with the words: ‘державный прорицатель, / Кронида сын увенчанный’, referring to her grandfather in terms of his three defining statuses: his royal rank (‘державный’), his prophetic skill (‘прорицатель’) and his divine lineage (‘Кронида сын’). Melanippe makes no mention of his familial relationship to her, instead addressing him as if she were a stranger and his subject. Although it can be argued that the style of Melanippe’s address is purely deferential and implies no alienation from her grandfather, the scene of cordial greeting between Hellen and Aeolus suggests that the heroine deliberately displaces herself from her rightful place in the royal family. In contrast to the formal, distant appellation of Melanippe to her grandfather, the interaction of Aeolus and Hellen is marked by familial proximity: Hellen refers to Aeolus as ‘мой сын’ and in return receives the appellation ‘мой отец’. Despite the degree of formality still present in the father and son greetings, the family relationship of the two individuals remains central to their interaction. Once the scene of greeting is complete, Hellen asumes royal precedence by sitting down and being attended by slaves, who fan him like a Persian monarch (‘Рабы сажают Геллена. Один из рабов начинает медленно махать над ним веткой, отгоняя мух’), while the King, Aeolus, remains standing.[104] Hellen takes the initiative from his son by asking the newly arrived messenger to begin his narrative, rather than waiting for Aeolus to act as King.

Annensky introduces the *intra-mythological mythologeme of the destructive influence of a relative,* which serves to identify the primary agent in the decision to destroy the new-born infants. The mythologeme is elucidated with the help of *the intra-mythological motif of filial subjugation* and two *innovative motifs of prophetic raving and alienation*. The *innovative motifs of alienation* and *prophetic raving* are brought in during the first interaction between Melanippe and Hellen on stage, during which the two characters enter into a fragmented dialogue. Hellen’s

[104] Cf. the Egyptian tradition of fanning a seated monarch.

first words, after the Messenger concludes his announcement, are presented in the form of disjointed exclamations and rhetorical questions (as if in imitation of the elliptical style of the Messenger's speech):

> О, боги!.. О, гадания! О, сын / Эол, Эол! Иль цепь твоих несчастий / Не оборвали боги?.. Ты, пятно, / С кого же ты растешь?.. О, демон злобный!

Hellen's speech, addressed first to the abstract sphere (the gods and his own prophetic power: 'О, боги!.. О, гадания!') and then to a human individual (his son: 'О, сын / Эол, Эол!') lacks not only internal coherence but also any specific content (aside from addressing the gods and his son, Hellen says nothing of semantic value), making it appear like a hallucination. The concluding exclamations, 'Ты, пятно, / С кого же ты растешь?... О, демон злобный!' indicate the abstraction, if not confusion, of the old man's words: the identity of the final addressee of his speech 'Ты, пятно' remains ambiguous ('пятно' could refer to Melanippe's children, whose illegitimate birth stained her honour, while the question 'С кого же ты растешь' could refer to the obscure identity of the infants' father), while the anachronistic appellation 'демон' displaces Hellen further from the context of the present scene.

In order to characterise Hellen's relationship with his son, Annensky introduces the *intra-mythological motif of filial subjugation,* which serves to reveal Aeolus' passivity after the news of the twins' existence has been delivered. The *motif of filial subjugation* is revealed in the first speech which Aeolus delivers in answer to his father's raving. Three themes are interwoven in Aeolus' response: the devotion of a son to his father ('родитель'), the servility of a subject towards his King and the reverence of the uninitiated to a prophet. It is almost as if Aeolus relinquishes his status as a leader and the King of Magnesia, humbly asking his father's permission to deal with the herald. Syntactic emphasis is placed upon the verb 'Позволишь', indicating that Hellen's rather than Aeolus' royal will determines the progression of the scene and anticipating the definitive role of the old man in the fate of the twins.

The *mythologeme of the destructive influence of a relative* is amplified by the introduction of an *innovative mythologeme of tension between father and son,* which appears to be absent from all extant Classical sources of the Melanippe legend, both visual and literary. In order to develop the mythologeme, Annensky introduces two *innovative motifs of benevolent pitying and threatening augury*, which are made responsible for the mollification of the temporary conflict between Aeolus and Hellen by providing valid causes for the disagreement: the *motif of benevolent pitying* accounts for Aeolus' temporary protection of the infants, while the *motif of threatening augury* motivates Hellen's extreme desire to kill the twins.

The *innovative motif of benevolent pitying*, introduced as an explanation for Aeolus' initial disposition towards the twins, is manifested in the king's first speech after he hears of his father's firm desire to slaughter the innocent children. Aeolus describes Hellen's auguries as 'grievous' ('Печальны'), reiterating the epithet once more in connection with his father's accompanying speech ('Печальней их вещания твои'). Aeolus implicitly judges his father, announcing in the presence of all his subjects that his words cause him pain. The King attempts to contradict his father's advice to murder the infants, signifying his disapproval with the help of the pivotal conjunction 'Но' ('but') and the formal appellation 'царь-отец', which distances him from his father by reminding him of the responsibilities which accompany his royal status. In Aeolus' statement Annensky introduces wordplay based on the concept of sight in the physical and the spiritual senses, contrasting the king's self-professed 'blindness' with Hellen's prophetic insight.

The *motif of threatening augury* is used to characterise the methods which Hellen deploys to counter his son's hesitation and implicit judgement of his advice. It appears at the very start of Hellen's final speech in scene 7, through a series of elliptic rhetorical questions with which the old man bombards Aeolus. In order to threaten his son, Hellen refers to three portents of divine wrath: subterraneous rumbling, bloody rain and the gaping mouth of Tartarus.

Each of these portents has extra-mythological precedents, which are drawn upon in order to strike fear into the internal and external audience of the narrative: bloody rain is referred to on two occasions in the *Iliad*, when it is sent by Zeus to warn of a bloody battle and throw the Greek army into disarray (*Il.*11.52-55), and when it serves to mark the violent and untimely death of Sarpedon (*Il.*16.459-461); subterraneous rumbling occurs in Euripides' *Bacchae*, where the deliverance of Dionysus, who is bent on avenging himself against Pentheus and tearing him to pieces, is marked by an audible earthquake (*Bacch.* 576-600); the gaping mouth of Tartarus is invoked in Statius' *Thebiad*, where Theseus calls upon the spirits of slaughtered Greek heroes to open up the void of Tartarus, let out the Avenging Furies and swallow up Creon (*Theb*. 12.771-74). Since in Greek mythology each of these three portents appears in the context of a divine threat, retribution or warning, Hellen's admonition to his son could not be clearer: if the infants are not slain, he, Aeolus, will bear the terrifying brunt of the gods' wrath.

The representation of the respective roles of Aeolus and Hellen in the planned murder of the twins is completed at the first stage of the dramatic action with the help of an *innovative mythologeme of false interpretation*, which encompasses two forms of misjudgement, divine (the misconstrual of divine signs) and familial (the inability to recognise blood bonds). In order to develop the innovative mythologeme, Annensky introduces two *innovative motifs of misreading portents* and the *failure to recognise familial bonds.*

The *innovative motif of misreading portents* is first signalled through the stage directions which accompany scene 7 of the tragedy, in which a series of portents, issued by the gods, are described. The portents can be grouped into three categories, relating to the natural phenomena they concern: the sky is troubled by gathering clouds ('надвигались тучи'); the air resounds with 'underground rumbling' ('подземный ропот') and 'crackling and screams' ('треск, крики'); and the earth is shaken by 'a wave of earthquakes' ('Волна землетрясения'). Although the god responsible for the terrifying display of divine wrath is not explicitly named,

a number of portents such as the storm-clouds and earthquakes point to Poseidon (with his constant attribute, the trident, used to stir up natural disasters on land and sea). On the lexical level, Annensky offers a further clue to the identity of the author of the portents through his use of the word 'Волна', which belongs to the semantic sphere of the sea, Poseidon's domain. Despite the clarity with which the identity of the portentous deity is revealed, no character on stage, including the prophetic Hellen, guesses it, leaving Aeolus and his father oblivious to the participation of Poseidon in the fate of their family. Although at the present stage of the dramatic action it makes no difference which god is responsible for the warnings, at a later stage in the narrative (when Melanippe reveals the name of her children's father) a correct interpretation of the portents would have preserved Hellen and Aeolus from maiming the heroine and banishing their last surviving offspring.

The *innovative mythologeme of false interpretation* is amplified by the introduction of the *innovative motif of the failure to recognise familial bonds*, which is revealed through the speech of Aeolus. As soon as the stableman concludes his description of the divine signs which mark the place of the twins' discovery, the King asks to see the infants again, momentarily doubting the ethical need to slaughter them:[105] 'Чудесные детишки!.. Как они / Кого-то мне напоминают... Да...' Aeolus is granted a fleeting ability to glimpse the true status of the infants, who appear beautiful in the eyes of their grandfather and remind him of his daughter. Although he does not utter Melanippe's name aloud (out of disbelief or fear of his subjects' gossip), his elliptical musing in 'Кого-то мне напоминают...' indicates his ability to specify her identity. Aeolus' fleeting insight is, however, quickly erased by the recurrent spiritual blindness, which governs his conduct in the second stage of the dramatic action: he rejects his initial recognition of the twins by reaffirming their demonic origin ('О нет! о нет... возьмите их, рабыни... / Моей душой играет демон точно...') and demanding their removal from his presence. Thus,

[105] Shelogurova, 2000, p.298.

the joyous and benevolent King of the second stage of the dramatic action is transformed into a despot who has no respect for the voices of his subjects when executing his (or rather his father's) royal will.[106]

Thus, the second stage of the dramatic action, termed the conflict, has served to reveal not only the manner of the twins' uncovering, prior to the public disclosure of their mother's identity, but also Aeolus' and Hellen's decision concerning their fate. Annensky's distribution of the four mythologemes, which are deployed to elaborate the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, can be represented in an inclusive diagram, illustrating the inter-relations between individual motifs and mythologemes (*fig.10*):

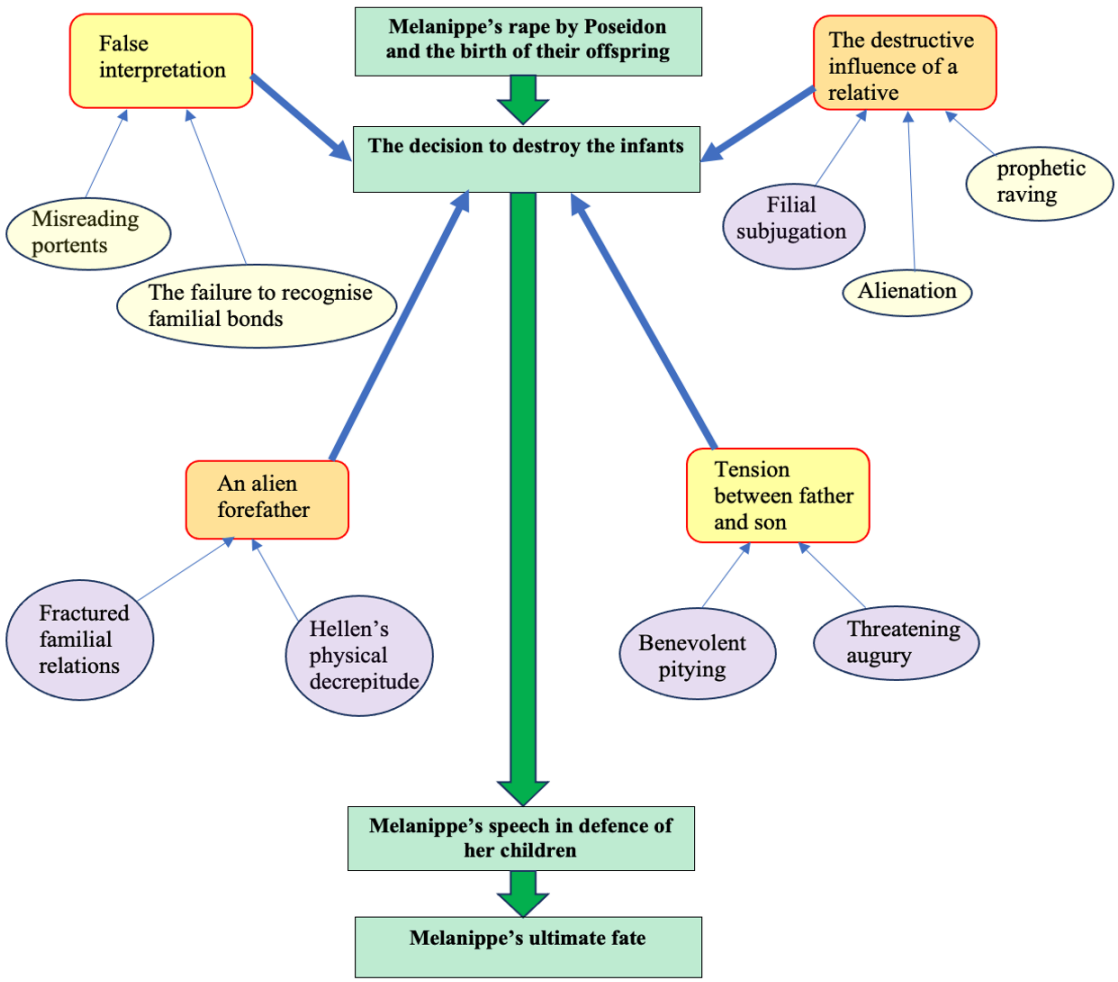


Fig.10. Motif structure of the mythologemes (key narrative construct, stage 2: The mythonarreme of the decision to destroy the infants)

[106] Setchkarev,1963, p.168.

As can be seen in the diagram, Annensky's use of a combination of intra-mythological mythologemes (of an alien forefather and of the destructive influence of a relative) and innovative mythologemes (of tension between father and son and of false interpretation), developed with the help of intra-mythological and innovative motifs, serves a binary purpose. It contributes to the characterisation of two of Melanippe's antagonists, Aeolus and Hellen, ahead of the *agon* and her speech in defence of her children, which constitute the third mythonarreme of the key narrative construct. Aeolus is shown to be the same weak, passive participant in the action as in the Classical tradition, attested to in the visual hypertext, whereas Hellen's role remains that of the central judge of the twins' fate, which corresponds to the distribution of visual images on the Apulian krater.

Section 3.

The Rhesis Mythonarreme: Peripeteia

The third stage of the dramatic action, centred around the third mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, Melanippe's *rhesis* in defence of her children, can be termed the *peripeteia*, since it constitutes the turning-point in the drama, which lays bare the heroine's secret transgression and reveals her identity as the mother of the twins. Annensky introduces five mythologemes to develop the peripeteia of his plot, only one of which is intra-mythological and four are innovative, signalling his extensive transformation of the third mythonarreme of the key construct. Unlike the first and second stages of the dramatic action, in which Melanippe spoke mainly in soliloquies or exchanged elliptic words with minor characters, such as the Coryphaeus or the Messenger, the third stage of the dramatic action offers scope for the heroine to enter into a sustained *agon* with her father and deliver her philosophical *rhesis* in defence of her sons.

In contrast to the Classical tradition, from which only fragments of the *rhesis* itself survive and the responses of Aeolus and Hellen are lost, Annensky's tragedy contains the

complete scene of the *agon*, which includes the responses which her words elicit from her internal audience. Annensky's inclusion of Aeolus' and Hellen's reactions to the *rhesis* serves not only to reveal the bonds which unite four generations of the Thessalian royal family, but also to characterise the role which the Russian poet envisaged a learned woman of Greek Antiquity could perform.

Annensky develops the third mythonarreme of the key narrative construct with the help of the *intra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine's rhetorical skill,* which is derived from the Euripidean account of the legend. The mythologeme is marked by a modified interpolation from Fragment 482 of the Euripidean account of the legend. In the Classical text, the heroine states 'ἐγὼ γυνὴ μέν εἰμι, νοῦς δ' ἔνεστί μοι', 'I am a woman, but I have intelligence', informing the audience of her outstanding mental capacity. In contrast to the Classical Melanippe, who resorts to stating her intelligence as a fact, the Russian heroine offers an insight into her mental capacity through allusion to her genealogy: 'Я – женщина, но дочь твоя'. By affirming her relation to Aeolus, Melanippe achieves two goals: she not only asserts her filial right to counsel her father, but also reminds him of her royal and divine lineage, which entitles her to dignity and verbal freedom:

> Во мне / Кровь царская, кровь избранных… быть может, / И голубой божественной хоть капля / Во мне, отец, есть крови . . .

The *intra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine's erudition*, inherited from the Euripidean account of the legend, is presented at the very start of her *rhesis* and elaborated with the help of the *innovative motif of Melanippe's scholarly perseverance*. This innovative motif pointing to the source of her knowledge, learned scrolls, which are filled with wisdom inspired by the Muses, is underlined by the adverb 'прилежно', with which Melanippe describes her study: 'Но свитки муз прилежно / Читала я'. The heroine emphasises that her knowledge was not easily acquired, but rather resulted from assiduous and dedicated study, which she undertook during sleepless nights ('ночей бессонных'). A possible extra-mythological

allusion to Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* I.142-5, can be noted in Melanippe's reference to her night time study: Lucretius alludes to 'serene nights of wakefulness' spent in the search of words and poetry to reveal 'depth of hidden things' ('inducit noctes vigilare serenas quaerentem dictis quibus et quo carmine… res quibus occultas penitus convisere possis'). Like Lucretius, Melanippe states that her path to wisdom was laborious, listing the hurdles which she had to overcome in order to attain her erudition: hard labour ('трудов'), sustained concentration ('Холодного вниманья') and gruelling tests ('проверки / Мучительной'). In contrast to the Euripidean Melanippe, who asserts that wisdom was instilled in her by her mother ('κοὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ᾽ ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα', 'The account is not mine, but rather my mother's', fr.484), claiming that her outline of the cosmogony, which forms the basis of her *rhesis*, originates from a deity, Annensky's Melanippe emphasises that her knowledge is derived from her own persistent study and hard work.

The *rhesis* of Melanippe,[107] has a bipartite structure, consisting of an exposition of the Anaxagorean cosmogony and a revelation of her own understanding of Ancient religion (concerning the aether, the gods and mortal prophets). In the first section of her speech, which contains a philosophical excurse, Melanippe comprehensively outlines the four key tenets of Anaxagoras' doctrine: no matter was created *ab initio* and therefore all matter is immortal; all matter was in a primeval conglomeration; all things existed in the form of seeds; *nous,* the instigator of the 'rotation', was responsible for the separation, recombination and coherent ordering of all matter. It is difficult to agree with scholars, such as Klim Bulavkin, who regard Melanippe's account of the philosopher's doctrine as 'loose',[108] or Vsevolod Setchkarev, who suggests that the heroine's relation could be construed as a 'didactic exposition of a

[107] The *rhesis* of Melanippe has attracted some scholarly attention, most notably of that Alexandr Anikin and Klim Bulavkin. However, both scholars are engaged in the study of parallels between individual aspects of the speech and other literary genres. For example, Bulavkin concentrates on studying the echoes between various philosophical concepts present in Melanippe's *rhesis* and Annensky's lyric poetry.
[108] 'вольное переложение основ анаксагоровского учения', Bulavkin, p.88.

philosophical theory',[109] since both interpretations disregard the balance between creative freedom and philosophical precision in her speech.

Therefore, in keeping with the creative choices laid out by Annensky in his Preface, the present chapter will not attempt to list every parallel between the Russian poet's rendition of Anaxagoras' doctrine and extant fragments of the philospher's own teachings. It will focus instead only on those allusions to the Classical tradition which shed light on Annensky's characterisation of his heroine. In Melanippe's *rhesis* the Russian poet inherits the *intra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine's rhetorical finesse,* which he elaborates with the help of five innovative motifs. Three motifs relate to the heroine (the *motifs of her emotional stimulation, of her critique* and *of her sense perception*) and two are associated with her representation of the cosmogony (the *motifs of anthropomorphisation* and *of personalisation of the cosmogony's creation).*

The first tenet of Anaxagoras' doctrine which Melanippe alludes to, namely that matter was not created *ab initio* and therefore has no beginning and no end, receives an extensive, poeticised treatment in the Russian tragedy. Annensky's Melanippe elaborates upon the Euripidean reference to Heaven and Earth ('οὐρανός τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μορφὴ μία', 'Heaven and Earth once formed a single shape' Fragment 484), breathing life into the static physical objects by listing their movements and qualities:

> Земля и небо, / Весь этот мир, и все, что в нем горит, / И гаснет, и растет, благоухает / И движется, и умирает, царь... / Все это вечно...

Annensky introduces the *innovative motif of emotional stimulation* through his inclusion of a polysyndetic catalogue of various actions, burning, waning, growing, exuding a beautiful scent, moving and finally dying, with which he diversifies his interpolation. By including emotive details relating to the eternity of life and beauty into Melanippe's allusion to the first

[109] Setchkarev, 1963, p.169.

tenet of Anaxagoras' doctrine, Annensky reveals his heroine's rhetorical finesse: she attempts to soften her father's deadly resolve with descriptions of life and death.

Melanippe skims over the second tenet of Anaxagoras' teachings, that all matter was initially mingled in a primeval conglomeration, merely stating it as a fact: 'Только вещи были / Вначале странно смешаны'. The only elaboration Melanippe introduces in comparison with the Anaxagorean fragment to which this statement alludes ('ὁμοῦ πάντων ὄντων καὶ ἠρεμούντων τὸν ἄπειρον χρόνον', 'all things were united and at rest for limitless time'),[110] consists in the word 'странно' used to characterise the inter-mingling of all matter. Two explanations can be offered for this seemingly extraordinary modification of the philosopher's account, which point to the heroine's mental and spiritual development. Scholars have suggested that Melanippe's own conceptualisation of the cosmos excludes the notion of universal intermixture, since in her opinion it prohibits life: she refers to the world, before *nous* separates all matter, as a corpse: 'Весь этот мир…/…он бы трупом был'.[111] However, an alternative explanation can be proposed, based on the *motif of the heroine's critique*: Melanippe's expression of uncertainty could serve as an indication of her probing mind, which questions the teachings of the Classical philosopher, perhaps challenging his doctrine on the basis of its validity.

The third tenet of Anaxagoras' teachings, namely that all things existed in the form of seeds, receives the most extensive treatment in Annensky's tragedy, although it is not included among the extant Classical fragments of the legend. The only point of similarity between the Euripidean fragment, which preserves part of the heroine's *rhesis,* and Annensky's tragedy is the catalogue of living things, which come into existence at the formation of the universe: Euripides' heroine refers to 'δένδρη, πετεινά, θῆρας, οὓς θ' ἅλμη τρέφει, / γένος τε θνητῶν', 'trees, winged creatures, animals, beasts of the sea, and the mortal race', while Annensky's

[110] Fragment D29, preserved in Aristotle's *Physics* 8.1 250b 24-26.
[111] Borisova, 1998, p.40.

Melanippe alludes to a similar series of natural phenomena ‘С ее водой, горами и лесами / И тварями...’. Both heroines mention water (Euripides’ Melanippe in the form of marine animals, Annensky’s Melanippe as a broader natural phenomenon), trees (‘δένδρη’, ‘лесами’) and living creatures.

Melanippe’s description of the concept of ‘σπέρματα’ (‘seeds’) bears the closest affinity to two Anaxagorean fragments D12 and D13, which explicate the nature of seeds:

σπέρματα πάντων χρημάτων καὶ ἰδέας παντοίας ἔχοντα καὶ χροιὰς καὶ ἡδονάς, καὶ ἀνθρώπους γε συμπαγῆναι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα ὅσα ψυχὴν ἔχει.	Seeds of all things, which have all sorts of forms, colours, and flavours, human beings were constructed and all the other living beings that possess a soul (D13).

Echoing Anaxagoras’ definition of seeds, the Russian heroine refers to seeds of different colours (‘Там каждое начатки всех вещей… И радуги цвета’), varied flavours and scents (‘В нем был… и розы аромат’)[112] and forms (‘и железа / В нем был закал’). However, in contrast to Anaxagoras’ laconic exposition of the concept of seeds,[113] Annensky’s Melanippe expands each description of seeds with the help of an illustrative detail: instead of stating that there are seeds of different scents, the heroine conjures up before her father the image of a fragrant rose, tender and delicate like Melanippe herself. Thus, Annensky introduces the *innovative motif of sense perception* in order to reveal the rhetorical aptitude of his heroine, who stimulates the senses of her father in order to capture his attention and ultimately persuade him not to kill her children.

In accordance with the Classical tradition, the final principle of Anaxagoras’ doctrine concerning *nous* is used to characterise the heroine by indicating her unique mental capacity. Annensky outlines the philosophical tenet with the help of the *innovative motifs of the anthropomorphisation* and *personalisation of the cosmogony’s creation.* Melanippe sets out

[112] Anikin suggests the presence of a parallel between Annensky’s reference to the fragrance of a rose and Leconte de Lisle’s ‘Le parfum impérissable’. Anikin, (D) 2011, p.69. However an alternative source can be suggested, namely Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, I.174, in which Lucretius refers to a rose (‘Praeterea cur vere rosam… / videmus’, ‘why do we see a rose come forth in spring’) in philosophical discourse.
[113] Rozhansky, ‘семена, противоположности стихии’, pp.69-92.

each factor which contributes to the formation of the cosmos in anthropomorphic terms, ascribing to them emotions, actions and physical states. Thus, the world (prior to the intervention of *nous*) is described as a corpse ('труп'), the body of a deceased animate being; the movements of seeds are expressed in terms which imply some form of mental capacity (they are represented as actively clinging to or fleeing from each other: 'части их [зерен] сцеплялись, а другие / Бежали друг от друга...');[114] *nous,* which Annensky denotes with the help of the term 'Дух' or 'вышний бог',[115] is depicted as living ('Этот дух / Он все живит,') and breathing ('дышал'). Melanippe's poeticising and anthropomorphising of the process of creation appears to be in direct violation of the form deemed appropriate for Classical philosophical discourse (cf. Plato's dichotomy between *logos*, an account based on reason, and *muthos*, a story), constituting a marked break from the Classical hypertext.[116]

The reason for Annensky's violation of the Classical tradition is revealed in Melanippe's *rhesis* by means of an *innovative motif of personalisation,* which the Russian poet introduces in order to develop the *mythologeme of the heroine's rhetorical finesse*. Melanippe completes the first section of her two-part speech with an emotive appellation to her father, Aeolus: 'А в нас сильней он только, чем в твореньях / Других, отец...' In an attempt to elicit a response from her father, the heroine has recourse to a technique widely used in Roman and Greek oratory, in particular by Cicero, who addressed his audience and the judges directly at regular intervals, in attempts to involve them emotionally into his speech. In contrast to the Euripidean Melanippe, who claims to possess *nous* herself (fr.482), Annensky's heroine

[114] Annensky's representation of elemental bodies as fleeing from one another may have been inspired by Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* 2.714-5, in which the philosopher describes rushing elements: 'multaque caecis / corporibus fugiunt e corpore percita plagis', 'many [elements] struck by blows, flee from the body with their unseen bodies'.

[115] As noted by Anikin, 'Отождествление Духа и "вышнего бога", безусловно, напоминает мысль Анненского о том, что Анаксагор дал Еврипиду "свободное отношение к Олимпийской легенде"' (Anikin, 1992, p.17). Cf. Setchkarev, p.166: 'Anaxagoras who taught that God and reason were the same'.

[116] Cf. Fowler's brief summary of Plato's concept, 'logos is tainted by mythos' (Fowler, p.64).

attempts to involve her father by suggesting that he too is blessed with *nous* and implies that he should attempt to act in correspondence with his superior position and insight.

The second and concluding part of the *rhesis* contains the revelation of the heroine's conceptualisation of Ancient religion in terms of the aether, the gods and mortal prophets. At this stage in the narrative, Annensky relies on two mythologemes, the *intra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine's scepticism* (presented in more detail at the first stage of the dramatic action) and the *innovative mythologeme of her contempt towards augury*, which he elaborates with the help of the *innovative motifs of physical repulsiveness* and *vicious delusion.*

Although the *intra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine's scepticism* was first revealed during the play's exposition, Annensky re-introduces it, albeit very briefly, during Melanippe's description of her own beliefs. The heroine affirms her uncertainty concerning the nature of the gods and their presence in her own life. In spite of her claims to revere the gods, Melanippe confirms that her own teleology is neither anthropomorphic nor naturalistic (unlike that of the augur Hellen who interprets natural phenomena as divine signs), but rather conceptual: she does not believe that Poseidon is an embodiment of the sea ('Но не могу… / Ни морем их…считать') or that Zeus is lightening ('ни молнией'), but rather that the gods are agencies who act purposively, and are therefore governed by *nous* ('Они – ступени пламенного духа'). Melanippe labels all other forms of religion inferior, instructing her father that once the power of true knowledge is attained, the weak faith of others appears feeble and revolting. Although at this stage in the dramatic narrative the identity of the 'weak souls' ('слабых душ') remains obscure, Annensky offers a clue through his subsequent presentation of the *innovative mythologeme of contempt towards augury*.

The *innovative motif of physical repulsiveness* is aimed at characterising a prophet of undisclosed identity, in whom the external audience recognises Hellen. The alliterative appellative 'жалкий жрец', which is used to refer to the mysterious augur, serves as a vivid

manifestation of the heroine's contempt. The choice of the word 'жрец', which means a 'pagan or heathen priest', rather than 'прорицатель' or 'пророк' used elsewhere in the tragedy to refer to augurs, sheds light on Melanippe's disdain for false religion based on the unidentified prophet's erroneous interpretation of imaginary divine portents. The adjective 'жалкий' indicates the heroine's sense of superiority in relation to misguided seers, who occupy themselves with tasks such as searching for omens in the bodies of dead animals ('воли их в утробе бычьей / Прилежно ищет знака'), undertaking their revolting activity with futile diligence.

The identity of the hypothetical seer is finally revealed with the help of the *innovative motif of vicious delusion,* which points to a particular individual, characterised by similar motifs of prophetic raving and physical decrepitude at the second stage of the dramatic action: Hellen. The motif of vicious delusion is first revealed through Melanippe's reference to the knife held by a hypothetical augur ('И жалкий жрец с ножом'), which echoes back to Hellen's ruthless desire to murder the infants, either at the stake or with a blade. Melanippe attempts to conjure up the image of the augur's delusion by describing his actions, as he struggles to interpret imagined portents: 'бледнея, / От демона бежит, шепча молитву'. The heroine's description of the imaginary actions of the augur (identifiable with Hellen) contains two anachronistic references: to a prayer ('молитва'), a word traditionally used in connection with Christian faith, and to a demon ('От демона'), denoted by a word whose meaning 'evil spirit' (first appearing in the *New Testament, Matt.* 8.31) is different from its etymologically cognate Greek noun δαίμων ('tutelary deity, protective spirit'). Both anachronisms are aimed at revealing the extent of the seer's delusion in Melanippe's eyes: he is not only searching for non-existent portents of imagined gods, but is also conflating pagan, archaic polytheism with monotheism.

As the heroine reaches the conclusion of her speech, she comes close to revealing the identity of the hypothetical augur, against whom the second part of her speech is directed. She

connects her hitherto abstracted tirade to the situation with which her father is faced (deciding the fate of the infants) by means of an allusion to the cow, who nursed her babies. The bridge which Melanippe forms between the crazed seer and the divine cow, who fed the twins, serves to pinpoint the identity of the augur as someone wrongly involved in the fate of the children, in other words, Hellen. Although Melanippe does not refer to the old man by name, either out of reverence for her grandsire or out of fear at her father's displeasure, the addressee of the heroine's invective could not be clearer. Melanippe concludes her speech by begging her father to end the madness inflicted upon them by Hellen ('прекрати весь этот бред безумный'), and warns Aeolus of the divine punishment which would follow his murder of the infants.

After the *rhesis*, the heroine and her father engage in a brief dialogue, centred on the fate of the infants, in which Melanippe implores her father to pity the twins, and Aeolus stubbornly silences his daughter, reminding her of her place as a woman. At this stage in the dramatic action, Annensky introduces *an innovative mythologeme of misogyny*, which is unravelled throughout the remaining narrative of the peripeteia. This *innovative mythologeme* is manifested in all three of Aeolus' extended speeches, in which he attempts to silence his daughter. At first Aeolus' allusion to his daughter's rhetorical skills is gentle though condescending (he acknowledges the enchantment of her speech, comparing her to a nightingale, 'Заслушался тебя я... Соловьем / Поистине ты стала...') and even jovial, as he jokes that any suitor would struggle to overcome her in a verbal duel. However, as the heroine perseveres in attempting to persuade her father, Aeolus becomes increasingly irate, condemning his daughter's rhetorical aptitude as inappropriate for a woman and 'unmaidenly'.[117] A parallel can be noted with the mythopoetic hypertext of the legend, wherein Melanippe is alluded to as an exemplum of an indecorous woman, whose impropriety arises from her rhetorical eloquence.

[117] Kelly, 1989, p.249.

Just as the heroine is reprimanded for the glibness of her speech in the Russian tragedy, so, in Aristotle's *Poetics* 1454a31, is Melanippe condemned for her 'ῥῆσις' ('speech').

However, Annensky takes the condemnation of Melanippe's rhetorical skills beyond the scope of the Classical tradition (wherein the heroine was censured rather than mocked) by introducing the *extra-mythological motif of weaving as a fitting female task*, inherited from *Il*.6.490-3. As in the *Iliad*, where Hector reminds Andromache that her tasks are weaving and minding her handmaids (as opposed to offering him strategic advice),[118] Aeolus tells his daughter on two occasions that instead of weaving an artful tapestry of words ('слов ее плетенье…'; 'Надоедать мне пестрый твой узор / Немножко начинает'), she should engage herself in the act of weaving material cloth: 'Нам вытканный приятней рук ее / Искусством плащ'. Annensky's metaphorical use of the term 'to weave' can be regarded as an extra-mythological interpolation from the Homeric corpus, where the verb is frequently used to describe the skilful patterning of words (e.g. the verb 'ὑφαίνειν', 'to weave' is used to describe Odysseus' well-structured, persuasive speech, *Iliad* 3.212).[119] Alternatively, it is possible that Annensky was influenced by Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* 567-570, in which the eponymous heroine illustrates the process of untangling a complex international conflict with the help of a sewing basket.[120] This parallel seems all the more likely since both Lysistrata and Melanippe are intellectual, eloquent women marginalised by a male society. Thus, Aeolus deems it necessary to remind Melanippe of her surroundings, declaring to her that she is not in her sewing room ('Мы не в ткацкой...'), a location not mentioned hitherto, but in a public space, in the company of male characters.

---

[118] 'ἀλλ᾽ εἰς οἶκον ἰοῦσα τὰ σ᾽ αὐτῆς ἔργα κόμιζε ἱστόν τ᾽ ἠλακάτην τε, καὶ ἀμφιπόλοισι κέλευε ἔργον ἐποίχεσθαι'; 'But you now go to the house and concern yourself with your own tasks, the loom and the distaff, and order your maids to get on with their work'.

[119] Further examples include *Iliad*, 6.186, 7.324, 9.93; *Odyssey* 4.678, 4.739, 5.356, 9.422, 13.303, (Cf. Pantelia, pp.493-501).

[120] 'ὥσπερ κλωστῆρ᾽, ὅταν ἡμῖν ᾖ τεταραγμένος, ὧδε λαβοῦσαι, ὑπενεγκοῦσαι τοῖσιν ἀτράκτοις τὸ μὲν ἐνταυθοῖ, τὸ δ᾽ ἐκεῖσε, οὕτως καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον διαλύσομεν, ἤν τις ἐάσῃ', 'It is akin to a ball of yarn when it is tangled. We take it thus, and from it wind the strands on our spindles, now here, now there. This is the way we will wind up the war, if we are permitted'.

In order to reveal the limitations which Aeolus attempts to impose upon his daughter, Annensky introduces the *innovative motif of a female domain,* to which the heroine is consigned by her father. As revealed by historiographical accounts, which form an extra-textual background to Greek and Latin literary representations of gender, the societies of Ancient Greece and Rome were constructed on patriarchy, excluding women from public life. Apart from the role of priestess (particularly of Bacchus in Greece and of Vesta in Rome), women were consigned to the private domains of their own quarters or gynaeceums,[121] and were assigned the function of minding the house.[122] Although performed from an internal domain, the role of guarding the household was of paramount importance to the preservation of the external patriarchal society: by tending her male guardian's house and ensuring that all its inmates (including herself), were acting in accordance to expectations, a woman was in effect preserving a man's honour. By not observing her duties, a woman could potentially ruin her guardian's reputation and consequently his public role in society.[123] Therefore, Aeolus' stern prompt has a binary function. On the one hand, through his use of the appellation 'Царевна' and the formal 'вам', 'вас', with which he addresses Melanippe, the King reminds his daughter of the duties arising from her royal status. On the other hand, Aeolus implicitly orders his daughter to leave the public sphere of the palace courtyard and return to the internal, female domain of the palace.

Thus, the third stage of the dramatic action, which has been termed the *peripeteia*, has served to reveal not only Melanippe's erudition and rhetorical skill, manifested in her *rhesis*, but also Aeolus' condescending attitude to his female offspring. Annensky's distribution of the seven mythologemes, which are deployed to elaborate the third mythonarreme of the key

[121] Thomson, 1989, p.344.
[122] Rabinowitz, p.174.
[123] Cf. 'mak[ing] and unmak[ing] culture', Rabinowitz, pp.158-159.

narrative construct, can be represented in terms of an inclusive diagram, illustrating the inter-relations between individual motifs and mythologemes (*fig.11*):

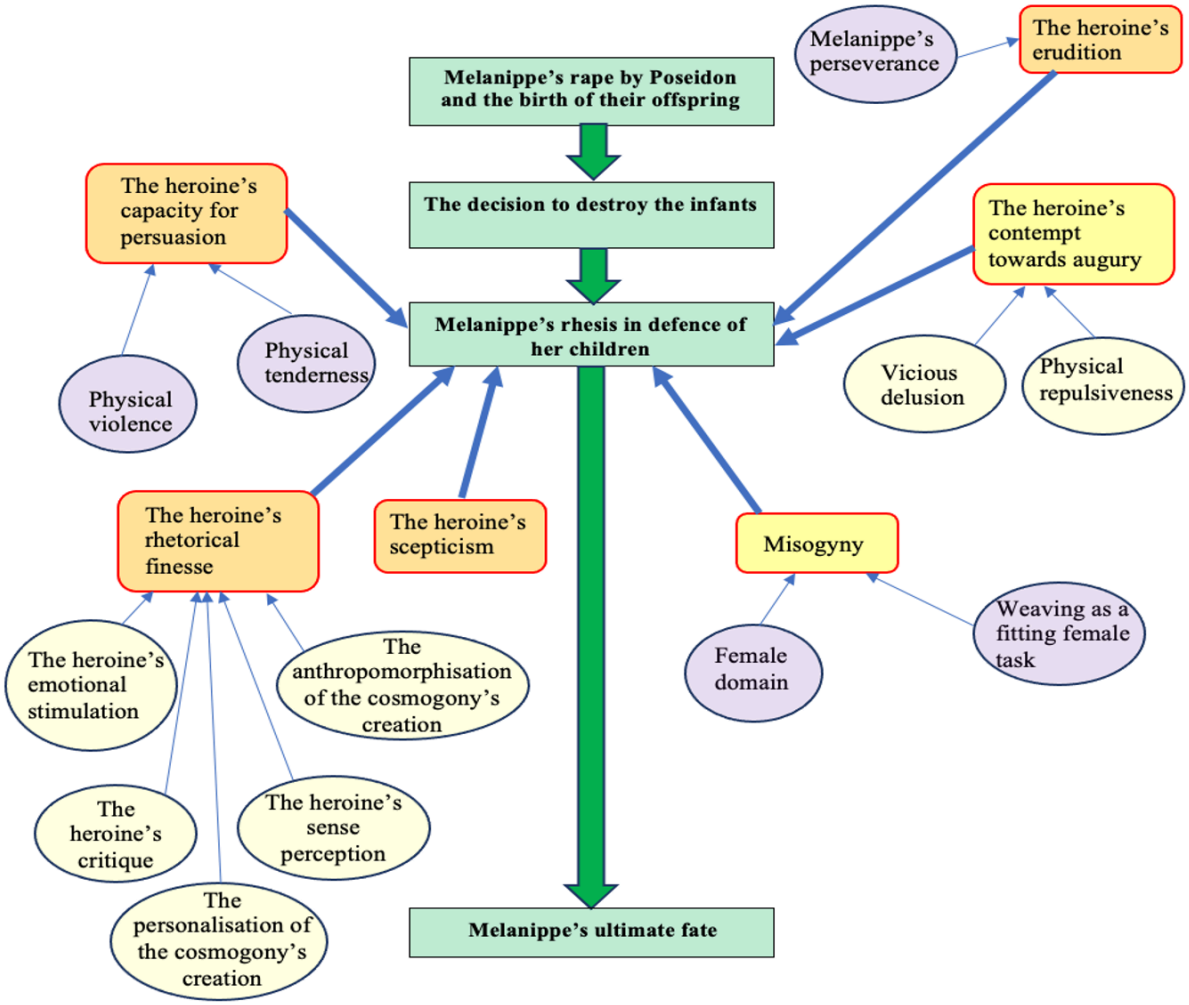


Fig.11. Motif structure of the mythologemes (key narrative construct, stage 3: The Rhesis mythonarreme)

The diagram demonstrates that Annensky's use of a syncretic combination of intra-mythological and innovative mythologemes reveals the full extent of Melanippe's mental capacity, manifested in her rhetorical skill and her erudition. To the same extent as the heroine of Annensky's tragedy is open-minded and critical in her conceptualisation of Ancient religion and philosophy, Aeolus is passive and stubborn, dominated by the will of his father and therefore blind to all reason.

Section 4.

The Ultimate Fate Mythonarreme: Anagnorisis

The fourth stage of Annensky's dramatic action, centred around the fourth mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, Melanippe's ultimate fate, can be termed the *anagnorisis*, since it is responsible for the revelation of the heroine's innocence and so constitutes the culmination of the entire drama. The extant Classical hypertext does not offer an insight into the heroine's reaction to her punishment, since her ultimate fate remains outside the scope of the mythopoetic texts and has not been preserved in Classical mythoplastic accounts. Only the mythographical hypertext contains clues as to Melanippe's fate after the revelation of her infants' true parentage, although it encompasses widely different versions: 'historical' sources suggest that the heroine was either banished to Metapontium (Diodorus Siculus, 4.67.3-4; Strabo, Geographica, 6.1.15) or that Aeolus blinded her and starved her in prison (*Hyginus, Fabulae 186*), while the Euripidean accounts make no mention of Melanippe's fate after her *rhesis*. Since the culmination of the heroine's plotline remains obscure in the Classical tradition, Annensky is compelled to take on a new role, not only of a dramatist but also of a 'myth-urgos' ('мифург'). The Russian poet introduces five mythologemes to develop the *anagnorisis* of his plot, of which four are innovative and one extra-mythological, corresponding to his extensive transformation of the fourth mythonarreme of the key narrative construct.

Melanippe's response to Aeolus' condemnation and threats is revealed with the help of the *innovative mythologeme of regal majesty*, which serves as an extension of the mythologeme of royal dignity manifested at the first stage of the dramatic action. Annensky introduces two *innovative motifs of filial disownment* and *of spiritual liberation*, in order to demonstrate the heroine's gradual spiritual development over the course of the dramatic action.

The *motif of filial disownment* serves to characterise Melanippe's dignified response to her father's rejection of his paternal bond. Instead of begging Aeolus for forgiveness, the heroine restrains herself and calmly accepts her new status, referring to the King by name, rather than by the title father: 'Пусть я не дочь Эолу, / Я все-таки царевна'. Melanippe asserts her royal lineage, a birth-right, independent of Aeolus' status as her sire, reminding the slaves who approach to bind her of her inherent regal dignity: 'Я все-таки царевна, и бежать / Или бороться с вами не унижусь.' Annensky signals the reintroduction of the *motif of the heroine's royal condescension,* presented at the first stage of the dramatic action, through the juxtaposition of pronouns denoting the princess Melanippe ('Я') and her base tormentors ('с вами'), who stand at opposite ends of the social hierarchy. Thus, although the heroine is deprived of her father's benevolence, she maintains her social status as a princess, manifested in her unaltered authority to command: she dismisses the slaves with the imperative 'Прочь'.

Annensky completes the exposition of the *mythologeme of regal majesty* with the help of the *innovative motif of spiritual and physical liberation*, which characterises Melanippe's new-found freedom after her tormenting secret is at last revealed. The heroine poses a rhetorical question, asking the Chorus, who is more blessed, she or they:

Кто из нас / Счастливее теперь?.. Весь этот ужас – / За мной, как сон тяжелый…

As revealed by her appellation ('о Пелия краса, / О нежные подруги'), the Chorus consists of youthful maidens, as yet untried by life, whereas she is a woman who has fulfilled all her female duties: she entered into a quasi-marital relationship and bore children, 'Брак… рожденье / Детей – я дань свою вам отдала'. The heroine implicitly responds to her father's accusations that she had forgotten her filial and maidenly virtue ('Но стыд / Девичий и дочерний, Меланиппа, / Ты, кажется, забыла…'), by reaffirming her fulfilment of her female role and her consequent physical liberation from the yoke of society.

The innovative motif is extended by Annensky to encompass spiritual freedom, which the heroine attains in conjunction with her physical liberation. Melanippe rejoices that the

terrible mental oppression (described as a nightmare ‘сон тяжелый’), which resulted from her secrecy, is lifted. She asserts that she is at last free from her earlier humiliating status as a puppet of ‘hopes’ (‘надежд / Игрушкою,’) and the plaything of an Olympic deity or cunning deceiver (‘забавой Олимпийца / Иль дерзкого обманщика’), implying that her spiritual confinement is at an end. Her final word on stage, before she is led away to be blinded is ‘оставайтесь’, signalling her departure from her previous life, which she as if orders to stay behind.

Annensky reveals Melanippe’s innocence through the *innovative mythologeme of concealed anagnorisis*. The mythologeme is developed with the help of two *innovative motifs (spiritual deafness* and *the court’s contempt)*, which signal not only the psychological blindness of Aeolus but also his increasing isolation. The *motif of spiritual deafness* is revealed in the fourth act of the play, after Aeolus announces the news of Hellen’s death to the court. In keeping with Classical dramatic canons, according to which violent (e.g., the blinding of Oedipus in Sophocles’ *Oedipus Rex*) or disturbing scenes take place behind the *scaena*, the demise of Hellen takes place off-stage and is narrated by an eye-witness, Aeolus, who describes his final dialogue with his father. The King reveals that during his retelling of Melanippe’s story (‘Про наш позор… / Я говорил…’), Hellen began to display strange physical symptoms: his cheeks grew ashen (‘с ланит / Сбежала кровь у старца’), his pale lips whispered inaudible words (‘бледные еще шептали губы’) and he started keeling over (‘Он медленно склоняться начал, точно / Хотел он сесть…’). At this stage in the narrative, three planes of understanding Melanippe’s innocence are established: the play’s external audience possesses retrospective knowledge of the parentage of the infants; Hellen finally comprehends the divine status of Melanippe’s infants and her own consequent innocence, but fails to relate his new knowledge to his son; Aeolus remains oblivious to his father’s tardy recognition of Poseidon’s role in his daughter’s fate and implicitly blames Melanippe for the shock which caused Hellen’s demise. The external audience thus not only recognises the true cause of Hellen’s sudden malady, but

also appreciates the dramatic irony of Aeolus' solitude, both physical (he has lost his father, daughter and grandsons) and spiritual (he is the only character who remains blind to Melanippe's status as a god's partner).

Aeolus' inadequacy as a king and father is developed with the help of the *innovative motif of the court's contempt,* which is manifested through the response of the messenger to the king's paternal callousness. Instead of addressing the King by his honorific title (as the messenger did in scene 6: 'О царь Эол, державный господин…'), the herald refers to him by name 'Эол', revealing his new disdain for the King he previously revered. A linguistic parallel signifying the subsequent reversal of Aeolus' and Melanippe's roles as wrongdoer and righteous judge, can be noted. The king's earlier description of Melanippe's conduct as shameful ('Позорные мгновенья!...'; 'наш позор') closely corresponds to the messenger's characterisation of Aeolus' actions as dishonourable ('дел позорных'), pointing to the king's disgrace in the tragedy's dénouement.

Annensky augments the mythologeme of concealed anagnorisis with the help of the *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's supposed derangement*, through which he reveals Melanippe's emotional response to her physical punishment. An *innovative motif of betrayed filial expectations* and an *extra-mythological motif of parental supplication* are introduced in order to develop the mythologeme of Melanippe's supposed derangement, eliciting compassion for the tortured woman, from both the internal (the Chorus, Coryphaeus and Aeolus) and the external audience of the dramatic narrative.

The *innovative motif of betrayed filial expectations* serves to reveal Melanippe's interchange with the Coryphaeus when she enters on stage after her punishment. The heroine poignantly describes her father's imaginary affection, assuring her slaves that Aeolus will pay them handsomely for the comfort of his daughter. Melanippe describes herself as 'the rose of Aeolus' ('Эола розе'), prefacing her name with the possessive pronoun 'своей', which relates

her to Aeolus. Both linguistic details revealing her father's past fondness indicate the heroine's present expectations, which are broken by his curt order ('Освободить ее, и пусть садится'). The disintegration of familial bonds is signalled at a lexical level, since Melanippe no longer wishes to call the King her father and only retains memories of having had a father in the past ('А мой отец, тот муж, / Который так когда-то назывался?..'), instead addressing him by name ('Скажи, Эол'), like the messenger in scene 13.

The *innovative mythologeme of supposed derangement* is developed further with the *extra-mythological motif of parental supplication* with which Annensky diversifies Melanippe's speech, can be credited to the *Iliad*, where a father (Priam) supplicates the individual (Achilles) who caused his offspring's (Hector's) death, in order to secure the preservation of his corpse. A number of close linguistic parallels can be noted between the Iliadic account of parental supplication and Annensky's version: in both scenes the suppliant lays hold of the knees of his addressee (A. in the table below); he humbly begs an individual responsible for the downfall of an offspring (B. in the table below); and asks to execute the burial rights of the corpse (C. in the table below):

A.	χερσὶν Ἀχιλλῆος λάβε γούνατα καὶ κύσε χεῖρας δεινὰς ἀνδροφόνους… (*Il.*24.478-9) *He seized Achilles' knees with his hands and kissed his terrible man-slaying hands…*	…касаяся колен / Твоих, о царь…
B.	τὸν καὶ λισσόμενος Πρίαμος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε… (*Il.*24.485) *Beseeching him, Priam spoke a word to him…*	…смиренно умоляю…
C.	μή πω μ' ἐς θρόνον ἵζε διοτρεφὲς ὄφρά κεν Ἕκτωρ κεῖται ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ἀκηδής… (*Il.*24.553-5) *O divinely-nurtured man, do not seat me on a chair, whilst Hector lies among your tents uncared for…*	И трупы их, когда умрут, позволь мне / Самой убрать, и вымыть, и одеть, / Холодные их лобызая лица…

The close parallel which Annensky establishes between the supplications of Priam and Melanippe, serves not only to reveal the grief and desperation of his heroine, but also to characterise Aeolus, who is paralleled with Achilles, a murderer with 'terrible, man-slaying hands'.

In order to settle the conflict of the action, Annensky introduces the *extra-mythological mythologeme of a divine resolution* augmented by the *extra-mythological motif of Hippe as divine protector* and the *innovative motifs of Melanippe's forgiveness, internal peace and spiritual sight*. The *extra-mythological motif of a divine protector*[124] is manifested in the first speech of Hippe after she appears on stage in apotheosis, as a *deus ex machina*,[125] surrounded by an ethereal pink mist ('вырисовывается в апофеосе закутанная в розовую дымку Гиппа'), which vividly contrasts with the graphic 'coarse'[126] description of her daughter's disfigurement ('Кровавый этот студень, верно, / Растоптан уж давно... Мои глаза!'). Hippe offers the mortal characters of the play a two-fold resolution: she confirms the identity of Melanippe's paramour as Poseidon ('То Посейдон был точно'), clearing her name of dishonour and deception, and gives a prophetic account of the future, based on her superior, divine knowledge.

It is possible to suggest that Hippe's prophecy is based on the narrative events of the second Euripidean tragedy concerning Melanippe's fate, *Melanippe Desmotis*:[127] the twins will be brought up in another land ('Их далеко везут теперь... У них / Кормилицы нарядные, игрушки, / И в роскоши малютки возрастут'); their names will be Aeolus and Boeotus ('А имена наречены им будут / Эола и Бэота...'); when they grow up they will return to Thessaly and rescue their mother ('Прекрасные и мощные, они / Поднимутся, как тополи, за Понтом / Они сюда придут..'); Melanippe's eyesight will be restored by Poseidon ('А Посейдон / Мне обещал вернуть тебе и зренье, / Чтоб дивными натешились глаза'). Since Annensky

---

[124] Since a large proportion of Classical tragedies conclude with the appearance of a *deus ex machina* figure, who offers resolution to the conflict of the dramatic action, it is virtually impossible to pinpoint a specific source for Annensky's extra-mythological motif. For more on *deus ex machina* in Classical tragedy, cf. Appleton, pp.10-14; Abel, pp.127-130.

[125] *Melanippa-filosof* is the only of Annensky's four mythological tragedies which contains the appearance of a god *deus ex machina.* Shelogurova, 2000, p.297.

[126] Setchkarev, 1963, p.171.

[127] Fragments of *Melanippe Desmotis* will remain outside the scope of this chapter's analysis, since they reflect later stages of the Melanippe legend beyond the scope of Innokenty Annensky's tragedy. Since the present chapter investigates only the Classical accounts available to Annensky, the fragments of *Melanippe Desmotis* (namely fragment 494 known to scholarship in from 1907), will not be alluded to.

refers only to Euripides' *Melanippe-Sophe* in his Preface, his omission of any reference to *Melanippe Desmotis* serves as a deliberate mystification, which enhances the sense of resolution provided by the prophetic speech of Hippe.

Annensky concludes the dramatic action of his tragedy with the help of *three closely interconnected innovative motifs*, which serve to account for Melanippe's conduct after Hippe's revelation of her innocence*:* the *motifs of the heroine's forgiveness, of her internal peace* and *of her spiritual foresight.* The *innovative motif of the heroine's forgiveness* is first signalled through Hippe's speech, in which she suggests that Aeolus, struck dumb by the news of Melanippe's innocence, embrace his daughter: 'ее / Ты обними, Эол.' A possible extra-mythological allusion can be noted here with the last scene of Euripides' *Hippolytus*, in which the hero asks his father to hold him: 'λαβοῦ, πάτερ, μου καὶ κατόρθωσον δέμας', 'hold me father, set my body straight' (1445). In both scenes a father is shown as embracing the physically mutilated body of a still living child, who has been brought low by paternal blind, hubristic rage. However, Melanippe is depicted as taking over the initiative from her father and, instead of merely accepting his disjointed, half-hearted apology ('Прости... прости...'), herself begs him to forgive her: 'Меня прости, отец...'. The motif of the heroine's forgiveness undergoes amplification, characterising her developed capacity for self-realisation and critique: she is magnanimous enough to forgive not only her own spiritual ordeal and physical disfigurement, but also the loss of her motherhood (she has been deprived of her right to raise the infants and witness their growth into adulthood).

The motif of the heroine's forgiveness is augmented by the introduction of the *innovative motif of internal peace*, which the heroine attains after the revelation of her innocence and her reconciliation with her father. Melanippe acquires spiritual peace in three spheres of her life, which had caused her extreme suffering in the preceding dramatic action: she reconciles herself to her blindness ('Как сладко мне... О, мне не надо солнца...'), she is

at last able to feel love for the father of her infants (‘О, как тебя люблю я, Посейдон...’), and she experiences the ‘pride’[128] of a bride on her wedding day (‘Я, как на брачный пир, / Туда войду...’). Melanippe is no longer the blinded, dishonoured paramour of an unknown lover, but rather the lawful bride of a god, at peace with her new role and physical state. The feeling which Annensky ascribes to his heroine has been paralleled with the ecstasy of a Christian martyr, who willingly endures great suffering, achieving spiritual freedom from mortal constraints.[129]

The final motif with which Annensky explicates the *extra-mythological mythologeme of divine resolution,* can be termed the *innovative motif of spiritual valour,* since it reveals Melanippe’s acquisition of a new form of spiritual courage, hitherto unprecedented not only in the Classical tradition but also in Russian tragedy. Although physically the princess is humiliated by her bereavement and her blindness (‘Несчастием и слепотою точно / Унижена царевна’), her spirit and her inner will to live can never be defeated:[130]

Но свечи / Она своей еще не потушила, / И, чтобы жить, обманов и надежд / Не надо ей...

A clue to the interpretation of Annensky’s symbol can be found in the teachings of Parmenides which closely touch the conceptual world of the heroine. Of the three Paths or Ways that Parmenides offers a would-be philosopher, he recommends only one, which he calls the First, the pursuit of the truth (of what is, rather than of what is not); against it, he characterises a Second Path as the pursuit of what is not (of lies or mistaken propositions or what does not exist), which is obviously unpromising, and a Third Path as the pursuit of a compromise between the First and the Second, a mixture of truth and falsehood (which to Parmenides evidently seemed more pernicious, or less easily ignored, than pursuit of consistent untruth). Melanippe, in her extended *rhesis* and in her following words, responses and decisions, as an intelligent, rational and educated individual, clearly keeps to Parmenides’ First Path. Against her, Hellen has pursued and cannot leave the Third Path: he follows the practices

[128] Shelogurova, 1988, p.125.
[129] Khrustaleva, p.62ff.
[130] Ivanova, pp.255-256.

of the archaic polytheistic religion, offering to answer rational arguments with auguries, and to apply rigid ancient rules based on revenge to complex present problems. Stage directions concerning appearance, especially in the later scenes, refer to his old bent figure, white hair and augurer's rod, associating him with ancient superstitions and magic. In so far as he wants, in a novel legal and political situation, to apply his beliefs based on antique mythological modes of conceptualising moral issues, he is following the Third rather than the Second Path. He is mixing a form of untruth with a form of truth. He dies, leaving moral victory to the youngest adult generation, but the crown to his son, who cannot break out of the Path he has learnt from Hellen and can only blindly and stupidly follow it.

Thus, the fourth stage of the dramatic action, which has been termed the *anagnorisis*, has served not only to provide a resolution to the conflict, based on the revelation of the heroine's innocence and her father's recognition of his ignorance, but also to discover the extent of Annensky's striking transformation of the spiritual capacity of the heroine. The distribution of the five mythologemes, which are deployed to elaborate the fourth mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, can be represented in terms of an inclusive diagram, illustrating the inter-relations btween individual motifs and mythologemes (*fig.12*).

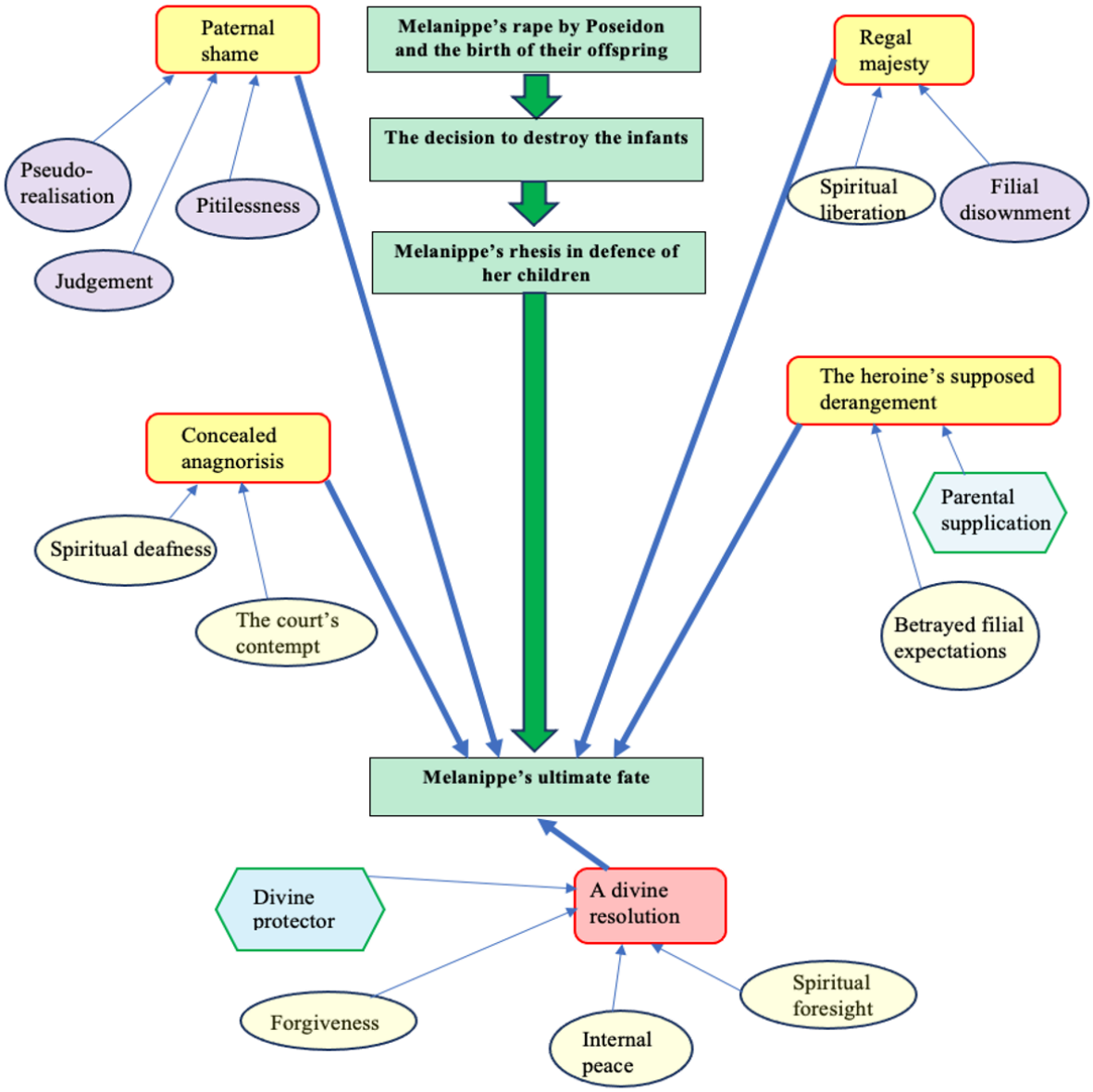


Fig.12. Motif structure of the mythologemes (key narrative construct, stage 4: The Ultimate Fate mythonarreme)

As shown in the cumulative diagram (*fig.12*), Annensky's use of a syncretic combination of innovative (regal majesty, concealed anagnorisis, the heroine's supposed derangement) and extra-mythological (divine resolution) mythologemes, developed with the help of extra-mythological, intra-mythological and innovative motifs, serves to reveal the Russian poet's striking transformation of the mythological plotline of the Ancient legend. Melanippe is transformed from the eloquent heroine of Antiquity, condemned for her supposed female indecorum, into a spritually developed individual capable of self-judgement and of

forgiveness. The Russian poet maintains Melanippe's Classical intellect and rhetorical finesse, at the same time altering her representation to include divine cosmic traits inspired by the works of early Greek philosophers.

Conclusion

Through the intertextual study of the transmission of the Melanippe legend from Antiquity to the Russian Silver Age, the chapter has traced the process of its semantic and structural transformation and established the stylistic means of its development. The mythographical hypertext, divided in the present chapter into two categories (termed 'historical' and 'Euripidean'), has been used to lay out a parallel set of motifs (distinguished on the basis of the 'historical' category) and a shared narrative structure (traced on the basis of the 'Euripidean' category).

Due to the inconsistency of the mythographical accounts in the 'historical' category, the key narrative construct of the legend of Melanippe has been distinguished in the present chapter with the help of the 'Euripidean' category. The key narrative construct of the plot has been shown to consist of four consecutive mythonarremes: 1) Melanippe's rape by Poseidon and the birth of their offspring; 2) The decision to destroy the infants; 3) Melanippe's speech in defence of her children; 4) Melanippe's ultimate fate. In the mythographical hypertext, these mythonarremes were enriched with the help of a causative set of stable structural motifs, established on the evidence of the 'historical' mythographical accounts. Structural motifs in 'historical' accounts are characterised by shared narrative details (toponyms and proper names), which take part in the development of the key narrative construct.

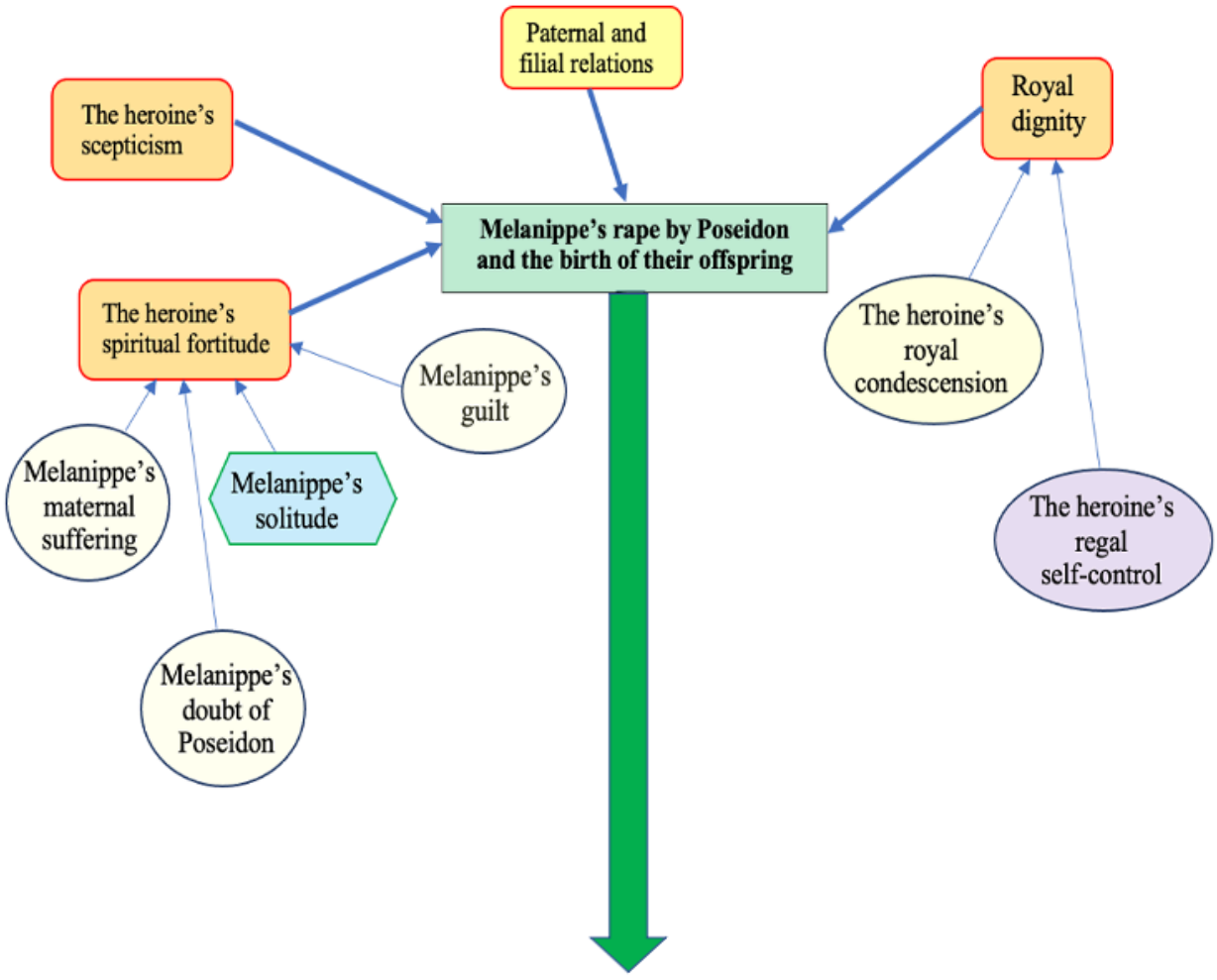
On the basis of the mythopoetic hypertext, comprising two accounts, Aristotle's *Poetics* 1454a31 and Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* 546-7, the mythological plotline of Melanippe has been shown to possess a binary semantic centre: the heroine's superior intelligence and her

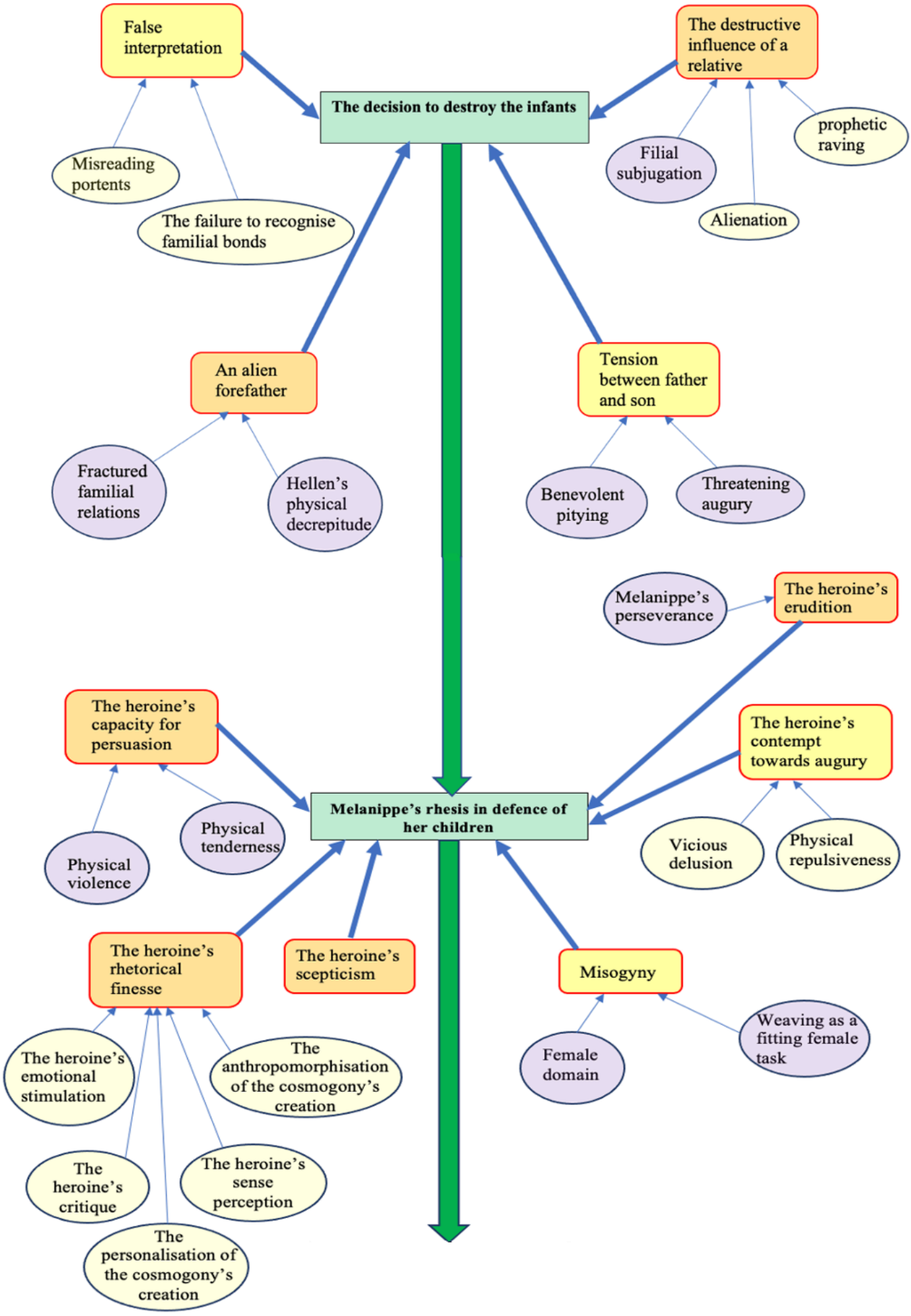
ability to articulate and persuade, which correspond to the penultimate mythonarreme of the key narrative construct (Melanippe's speech in defence of her children).

The mythoplastic hypertext of the legend of Melanippe has been shown to comprise two literary traditions, the Greek (Euripides' fragmentary play *Melanippe Sophe*) and the Latin (Ennius' *Melanippe*). In the Latin dramatic tradition, represented by Ennius' rendition, the mythonarreme concerning the fate of the infants is expanded with the help of two mythologemes. The visual evidence extant from Antiquity serves to confirm the active participation of the character of Hellen in the mythological plotline and sheds light on the definitive role he plays in the life of the infants: he is shown as taking charge of their fate, while his son, King Aeolus, remains passive.

Although in the Classical tradition Melanippe is not afforded scope for character development, since erudition is directly bestowed upon her by her divine mother, while her rhetorical finesse is primarily born of her fear for her offspring, the direction of the vector of mythological transformation can nonetheless be clearly discerned: the development of Melanippe's mental and spiritual capacity resulting in her ability to see beyond the limits of ordinary mortals.

The analysis conducted in this chapter has served to reveal that Annensky's *Melanippa-filosof* is organised according to the same four stages of dramatic development as were singled out on the basis of the Classical hypertext, and is elucidated by an intricate combination of intra-mythological, extra-mythological and innovative mythologemes and motifs. Annensky's intertext has been divided into four dramatic stages ('Exposition', 'Conflict', 'Peripeteia', 'Anagnorisis') which correspond to the four mythonarremes of the key narrative construct. With the help of a four-stage approach, it has become possible to trace the exact means of Annensky's semantic and structural transposition of individual mythonarremes within the key narrative construct (*fig.13*):


Paternal and filial relations
The heroine's scepticism
Royal dignity
Melanippe's rape by Poseidon and the birth of their offspring
The heroine's spiritual fortitude
Melanippe's guilt
The heroine's royal condescension
Melanippe's maternal suffering
Melanippe's solitude
The heroine's regal self-control
Melanippe's doubt of Poseidon


False interpretation
The destructive influence of a relative
The decision to destroy the infants
Misreading portents
The failure to recognise familial bonds
Filial subjugation
prophetic raving
Alienation
An alien forefather
Tension between father and son
Fractured familial relations
Hellen's physical decrepitude
Benevolent pitying
Threatening augury
Melanippe's perseverance
The heroine's erudition
The heroine's capacity for persuasion
The heroine's contempt towards augury
Melanippe's rhesis in defence of her children
Physical violence
Physical tenderness
Vicious delusion
Physical repulsiveness
The heroine's rhetorical finesse
The heroine's scepticism
Misogyny
The heroine's emotional stimulation
The anthropomorphisation of the cosmogony's creation
Female domain
Weaving as a fitting female task
The heroine's critique
The heroine's sense perception
The personalisation of the cosmogony's creation

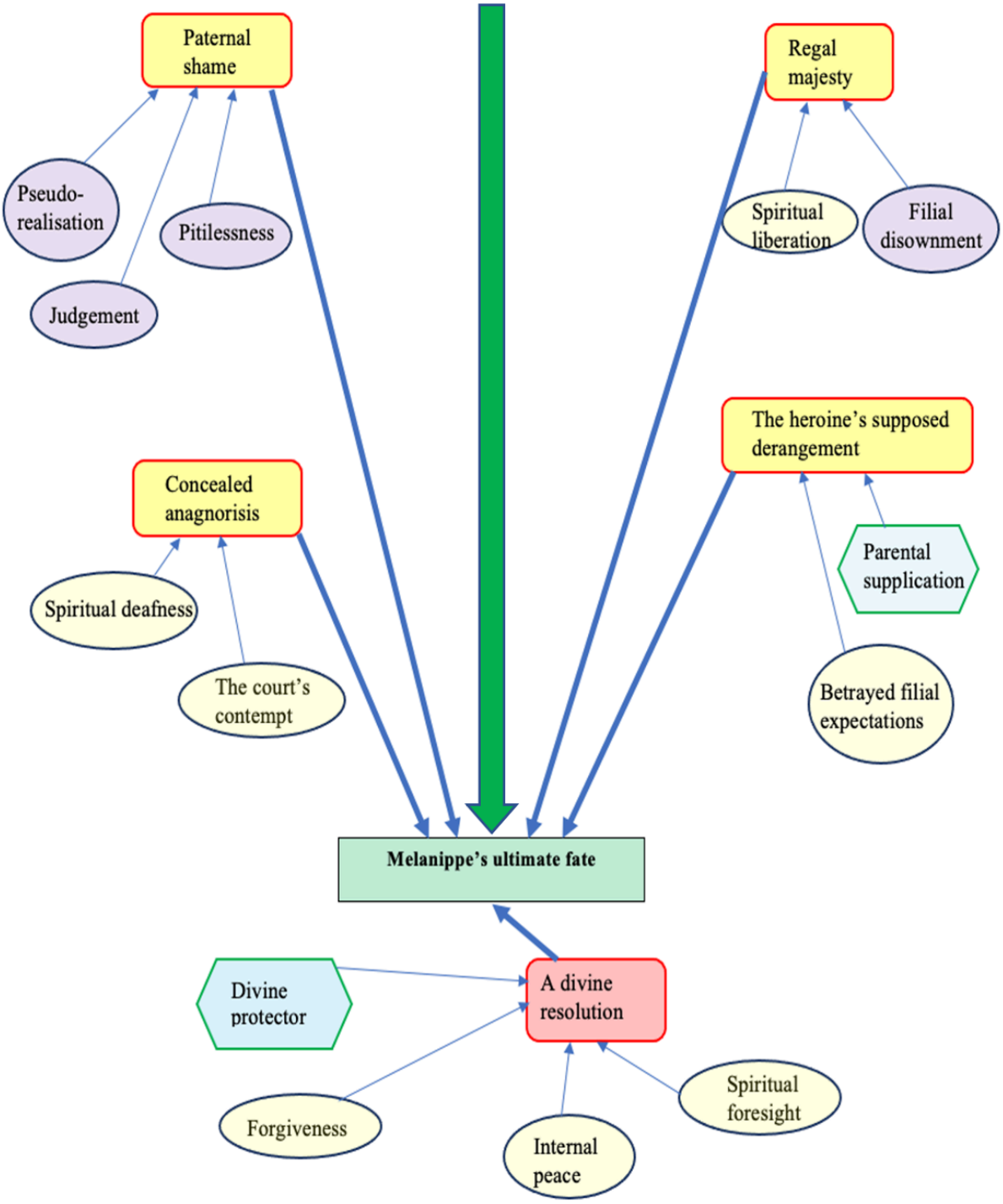


Fig.13. The mythoplastic model of Annensky's Melanippa-filosof

As shown in *fig.13*, in the *first stage* of the dramatic action (corresponding to the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct) Annensky retains two Classical mythologemes (of scepticism and of royal dignity) inherited from Euripides' fragmentary tragedy), which pertain to Melanippe's personality, augmenting them with the help of the motifs of the heroine's

royal condescension and regal self-control, in order to reveal the transformation which the princess undergoes in his play.

In the Classical hypertext the heroine is represented primarily through her royal self-esteem (conditioned not only by her lineage, but also by her sense of mental superiority) and her condescending scepticism towards archaic beliefs. Annensky, on the other hand, endows his Melanippe with an innovative capacity for self-reflection, which in turn leads her to a superlative sense of self-respect: she possesses not only royal dignity, but also regal self-control and condescension, arising from her realisation of her own worth. Melanippe's newly developed capacity for self-evaluation results in her acquisition of greater intellectual freedom and spiritual courage, leading her not only to doubt the structure of Greek polytheism (like her Classical counterpart), but also to use her wisdom in order to probe into the structure of cosmic order and question the identity and the existence of the greatest deity in the Greek pantheon.

At the second stage of the dramatic action, Annensky has a binary aim, both to characterise Melanippe's two antagonists, Aeolus and Hellen, ahead of the agon, and to reveal their relationship. In order to depict the inter-relations between father and son, Annensky introduces a syncretic combination of two mythologemes, one innovative and one intra-mythological, which reflect the process of the Russian poet's transformation of the Classical legend. In accordance with the intra-mythological mythologeme of the destructive influence of a relative, Aeolus is shown to be the same inert onlooker of the dramatic action as in the Classical tradition, whereas Hellen retains his decisive role in the fate of Melanippe and her infants.

However, Annensky's introduction of the innovative mythologeme of the tension between a father and son, which appears to be absent from all extant Classical sources of the Melanippe legend, both visual and literary, serves to soften the representation of Aeolus, allowing him scope to feel pity for the infants and initially advocate their preservation. In

contrast to the Classical Aeolus (depicted on the Apulian krater), who stands meekly behind his dynamic father, Annensky's King attempts to disobey Hellen, revealing his newly developed capacity for independent thought and action. Annensky's transformation of Aeolus' representation at the second stage of the dramatic action is in keeping with the creative credo outlined by the poet in his Preface, in which he signifies that singularity and positivism are alien to his poetic style. Annensky's King is neither weak and inert (as in the Classical tradition), nor despotic and single-minded (as construed by modern scholarship), but rather a deeply human character, controversial in his judgements and flawed in his trust of his father. Annensky's newly formed character, despite his heroic *hamartia*, is thus able to reach anagnorisis and, pardoned by the heroine, finally attain internal peace.

In the *third stage* of the dramatic action, Annensky's primary concern lies with the characterisation of his heroine's intellectual capacity and rhetorical skills, which are shown to exceed the abilities of her Classical counterpart. The Russian poet reproduces two intra-mythological mythologemes present in Euripides' rendition (the heroine's erudition and her rhetorical finesse), augmenting the role of his Melanippe in attaining her intellectual skills. In contrast to the Euripidean Melanippe, whose wisdom was passively instilled in her by her divine mother Hippe, the knowledge of Annensky's heroine derives from her own active perseverance and study, two innovative motifs in her characterisation.

Annensky's introduction of the entirely original mythologeme of the heroine's contempt towards augury, unattested to in extant Classical sources of the legend, serves to transform the *rhesis* of Melanippe from a rehearsed, self-assertive speech to a personalised, rhetorically persuasive account of the origin of all life. Whereas in the Euripidean version of the legend, Melanippe's *rhesis* (perhaps due to its fragmentary preservation) appears laconic and dry, lacking personal response to Anaxagoras' teaching, in Annensky's play the speech of his heroine is imbued with her own reasoned, anthropomorphising philosophical account of the

cosmogony and so brings it to life. The intellectual and spiritual capacity of the Russian Melanippe is developed to the point at which she is able to conceive her own ontology, divorced from the pagan polytheistic religion of her ancestors, and more akin to rational monotheism.

Finally, at the *fourth stage* of the dramatic action (corresponding to the fourth mythonarreme of the key narrative construct) Annensky concludes his tragedy with the help of a syncretic combination of one extra-mythological and four innovative mythologemes, corresponding to his radical transformation of the legend's anagnorisis. Since the extant Classical hypertext offers no clue as to the heroine's response to her punishment (her fate remains outside the scope of the mythopoetic texts and has not been preserved in Classical mythoplastic accounts), at this stage in the dramatic action Annensky was compelled to act in accordance with the role of a myth-urgos, outlined in the Preface to his tragedy. In keeping with the creative freedom afforded him by the absence of intra-mythological mythologemes from the Classical tradition, Annensky introduces the extra-mythological mythologeme of divine resolution and the innovative motif of spiritual foresight, which not only endow the culmination of the mythological plotline of Melanippe with increased suspense and affliction, but also imbue it with a sense of ultimate tranquillity. Annensky's heroine acquires an innovative internal courage, hitherto unprecedented not only in the Classical tradition, but also in his own tragedy, which enables her not only to forgive her tormentors but also to welcome her suffering with peace and happiness. Annensky deepens the characterisation of his heroine with the teachings of three philosophers, Anaxagoras, Parmenides and Heraclitus, expanding the scope of her spiritual understanding to the universal.

The prominence of the sea-god as the motivating force of the legendary narrative of Melanippe, who begot from him the heroic twins Boeotus and Aeolus, could have prompted Annensky with the key image of his tragedy, the element of water. The Empedoclean element pervades the tragedy not only on the level of plot (Melanippe unites with the ocean god

Poseidon, who is alluded to in the play with epithets related to the sea: is ‘Ты моря / … бог,’ and ‘владыка морей’), but also on the level of characterisation. Although the sea-god himself is not afforded a detailed description in the tragedy, his physical traits can be recognised in Melanippe’s description, which Annensky represents through allusions to water: her skin is white (‘бледна’) like sea-foam, her eyes are sea-like in colour (‘влажно-синие’) and her hair (‘с синеватым отливом’) carries associations both with sea tides through the use of the noun ‘отлив’ and with one of Poseidon’s constant epithets in the *Iliad* ‘of dark-blue locks’ (‘κυανοχαίτης’, *Il.*13.563[131]). Melanippe’s association with water is further strengthened by the similarity of her description to that of Poseidon, who, like her (‘локоны синевшие’), is said to have bluish locks.

Melanippe’s physical appearance is conveyed with the help of marine textures (her eyes are damp ‘влажно-синие’, her hair is wavy ‘волнистые’ and her complexion is cold). Annensky reveals the emotional state of his heroine through water imagery: she is veiled by ‘a mist of tears’ (‘Туманом слез окутать’) and he describes her as weeping on ten occasions in the play. The setting of the tragedy is pervaded with bodies of water, such as rivers (e.g., ‘В Аргос река побежала’, ‘с рекой золотою...’, ‘рекою не течет’) and the sea (e.g. ‘моря шум привычный’, ‘с моря Лазурного’, ‘Ни морем их’). Reference is likewise made to a specific component of the hydrosphere closely associated with Poseidon, a spring, which the shepherd-messengers discover at the place where Melanippe’s infant sons were abandoned: ‘Где мальчиков нашли мы, господин, / Провал образовался... ключ горячий / Струится там...’ It is possible that in his reference to an unusual hot spring, Annensky may have been alluding to ‘The Sea of Erechtheus’, a sacred spring of salt water on the Acropolis, which was believed to have been gifted by Poseidon to Athens, in competition for becoming patron of the city.[132] Furthermore, Annensky includes reference to the ocean in one of the Choral songs in Act II

[131] Griffith, 2005, p.330.
[132] Samara-Kauffmann, 2008, p.36.

scene 4, to which he draws attention in his 'Notes to lyrical parts' at the end of the tragedy: the Chorus glorifies the marriage between Peleus and Thetis, a sea deity and the daughter of Nereus (whom Annensky describes as the master of the blue depths of the sea, 'Славьтесь, синие пучины / Сребровласого Нерея!'). Annensky's fundamental reconceptualisation of the heroine and the setting of his tragedy through the element of water can be contrasted with the Classical literary tradition, in which only the motivating force (Melanippe's union with Poseidon) is related to this element.

An intertextual study of the Russian tragedy has shown that the mythological plotline of Melanippe underwent a radical transformation, achieved through interpolation, reorganisation and meticulous augmentation of Classical mythologemes and motifs, as well as the introduction of innovative structural elements, pertaining to the characterisation of Melanippe and her two antagonists, Aeolus and Hellen. The Russian playwright bases his tragedy on the structure of the Melanippe legend preserved in *mythographical* accounts, modifies the semantic centre reflected in the *mythopoetic* hypertext, and enriches it with mythologemes inherited from *mythoplastic* texts and visual art, in accordance with the vector of mythological transformation discernible in Classical accounts. The Russian *mythoplast* not only continues the gradual process of Melanippe's mental development, initiated in the Classical tradition, but also endows her with an entirely innovative spiritual and psychological complexity. Annensky's break with the Classical tradition (in which the heroine was regarded as an erudite and rhetorically skilled, yet deeply flawed and transgressive female), is his creation of a willingly suffering, highly intellectual and morally flawless heroine, who accepts her tragic lot and has the courage to look into the future with wisdom, peace and forgiveness.

Chapter 2

Illusion, Deception and Punishment: From Divine Equality to Aerial Torment

"Concerning air, there is the brightest kind which is called aether, and the opaquest which is called mist and darkness, and other kinds which have no name..."[1]



Introduction

Innokenty Annensky's *Tsar' Iksion,* composed in 1902, is based on the mythological plotline of Ixion, the legendary King of the Lapiths, who as punishment for his hubris was bound to a winged wheel for all eternity. Annensky's tragedy is the first and only extended rendition of the Ixion legend in European literature which can be regarded as a mythoplastic account, responsible for the transformation of the mythological plotline along a vector set in the Classical hypertext.[2] In contrast to his literary predecessors, who placed the greatest emphasis on the narrative progression of the mythological plotline, Annensky focused upon the representation of the single hero, whose deliberations and conduct lay at the centre of the

[1] Plato, Timaeus, 58d.
[2] The image above, taken from https://imagenesdeangelesreales.com, presents a case of pareidolia: the sun shining through a specific arrangement of clouds resembles a human figure floating in the air.

dramatic action.[3] The chapter offers a new interpretation of Annensky's *Tsar' Iksion*, by discovering the narrative vector of the poet's intertextual dialogue with the Classical hypertext and identifying the functions, structure and semantics of his innovations.

Annensky's *Tsar' Iksion* has either been ignored by scholarship on Russian Silver Age drama or not made the focal point of analysis.[4] Only a handful of studies address Annensky's *Tsar' Iksion* in detail, of which most adopt a synchronic perspective: some focus on isolated stylistic aspects, while others offer a descriptive summary of the plot.[5] Both kinds of scholarly studies overlook Annensky's own statement that the legend of Ixion belongs fully to the world of Antiquity and is not reflected in modern literature.[6] Only two scholars pay homage to Annensky's analysis of the legend by addressing the Classical tradition in some detail: Catriona Kelly, who points out that '*Ixion* and *Melanippe* belong to the legendary prehistory of Greece',[7] and Aleksander Anikin, who suggests resemblances with various heroes of Greek mythology (Orestes, Tantalus, Heracles, Menelaus). Although Anikin offers a number of potential parallels with Antiquity, ranging from the dramatic to the epic and the lyric genres, his research contains an apparent lacuna: the scholar dismisses Annensky's declaration in the Preface to *Tsar' Iksion*, that he wishes to distance himself from Ancient drama ('Автор старался как можно меньше подражать античной трагедии').[8] Apart from mentioning that a lost play by Euripides was

[3] Vasil'eva, 1999, p.15.
[4] The majority of works on Russian twentieth century literature make no mention of Annensky's play: Leach, Borovsky, 1999; Senelick, 1981; Green, 2013; Goncharova, 2017; Timenchik, 2017; Pumpyansky, (A) 2000; Krebel', 2010; Polonsky, 2011; Bogomolov, 2010; Dmitriev, et al. 1987 only mention Thamyris and Melanippe, p.35, 75, 186-187, 408; Ivanova, 1999. Authors of major studies on the Russian Silver Age do not devote extensive attention to *Tsar' Iksion*: Kelly, 1986, p.182-239; Fyodorov, 1984, pp.227-249; Petrova, 2002, pp.15, 21-22, 47-48, 60; Takho-Godi, 2010, p.98.
[5] For scholars who study isolated stylistic aspects see: Vlasova, 2010, pp.75-76 concentrates on the stylistic analysis of Lyssa's monologue; Kanunnikova, 2009, pp.294-309 focuses on the mythologemes of a forest and a garden. For scholars who offer summaries of the plot see: Lahti, 2018, pp.171-172; Zorina, 2002; Borisova, 1998; Kolobaeva, 2017, pp.182-185.
[6] "В заключение не лишним будет упомянуть, что миф об Иксионе в отличие от мифа Ореста или Промефея всецело принадлежал античному миру. По крайней мере, автору настоящей трагедии не удалось найти в новых литературах обработки мифа о "сверхчеловеке" эллинского мира". Annensky, 2000, p.48.
[7] Kelly, 1986, p.201.
[8] Anikin, (B), 2011.

based on the legend of Ixion, 'reflected' in the *Iliad,*[9] Anikin shows little interest in analysing the extant Classical sources of the legend.

A similar tendency can be detected in virtually all scholarship on Annensky's plays, since passing references to the plot of a Greek myth, 'a modified myth'[10] or 'a mythological plot',[11] convey only a limited awareness of the diversity of Classical renditions. The general presupposition in modern scholarship is that the plotline of Ixion existed in Antiquity as a monolithic, predefined canonical myth, which was inherited by Annensky in a fully developed state and merely interpreted or 'modified'.[12] However in his Preface Annensky clearly stated that he did not find sufficient dramatic material in extant Classical tragedies to construct his own play and so was compelled to act as a *mythurgos* (myth-maker). [13] So far no attempt has yet been made to study either Annensky's role as a myth-maker in relation to the mythological plotline of Ixion, or the process of the legend's narrative transformation from its Classical literary record to the Russian tragedy.

Even in Classical scholarship, the legend of Ixion remains almost completely neglected, perhaps due to its survival mostly in fragmentary texts. Classical studies tend to disregard incomplete accounts of the mythological plotline entirely, or briefly allude to their hypothetical plot, or simply mention Ixion's name.[14] Even the two most extensive works on the Ixion legend

---

[9] Anikin, (B), 2011, p.259.
[10] Vasil'eva, 2001, p.284.
[11] Strashkova, 2006, p.114.
[12] Vasil'eva, 2001, p.284.
[13] 'Материала для драматической сказки, которая печатается ниже, не могли дать скудные остатки античных трагедий на сюжет об Иксионе… Автору драматической сказки пришлось быть отчасти мифургом'. Annensky, 2000, p.48.
[14] Major monographic studies of the three Attic tragedians make no mention of the fragmentary Ixion plays: Storey, Allan, 2007; Arnott, 1959; Zimmermann, 1991; McDonald, Walton, 2007; Easterling, 1997. On Aeschylus: Rosenmeyer, 1982; Sommerstein, 1996; Taplin,1989. On Sophocles: Knox, 1964; Reinhardt, 1979; Waldock, 1966; Whitman, 1951; Winnington-Ingram, 1980; Bowra, 1965. On Euripides: Segal, 1993; Conacher, 1968; Burian, 1985; Lauriola, & Dēmētriou, 2015; Croally, 1994; Barlow, 1986. For studies which briefly allude to the plot of Ixion see: March, p.222; Lloyd, 2007, p.60-61; Burnett, p.44; Verrall, p.78ff.; Finley, p.94. For scholars who mention Ixion in isolation see: Grant, 1968; Sommerstein, 1989; Michelini, 1987.

take the form of catalogues, listing its Classical renditions without attempting to discover any form of development in the plotline.[15]

In order to locate Annensky's *Tsar' Iksion* within an appropriate mythological context and discover the function and meaning of his innovations, which can shed light on his understanding of his role as a *mythurgos* and provide a new interpretation of his play, the extant Classical sources of *Ixion* will be analysed as a mythological hypertext.

I

The Classical Hypertext of the Mythological Plotline of Ixion

1. The Mythographical hypertext

A cumulative analysis of the mythographical hypertext (consisting of scholia which mention extant references to the legend,[16] as well as Greek,[17] Roman[18] and Medieval historiographical accounts[19]) reveals that the legend of Ixion rests upon a sequence of narrative elements, recurrent in Classical renditions: Ixion's two crimes (the murder of his father-in-law, Eïoneus, and the attempted rape of Hera; his deception by the cloud simulacrum and his ultimate punishment on the wheel). The shared outline of the legendary narrative can be seen most clearly in the account of the Greek mythographer Diodorus Siculus:[20]

---

[15] Boyce, 1974; Gantz, 1996.
[16] The Scholia to Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* 4.14, 3.62, 1.555, 2.1231; Scholia to *Iliad* 1.268, 4.171, 14.317; Scholia to *Odyssey* 21.303; Scholia to Euripides' *Phoenissae* 1185; Scholia to Pindar's *Pythian Ode* 2.45a, 2.40b; Scholia to Lucian's *Dialogi Deorum* 6; Scholion of Anecdota Parisiensia on *Iliad* 4.171; Scholia on Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 2.29; Scholia Bernensia on Virgil's *Georgics* 3.38.
[17] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 4.63.1; 4.69.3-5; Apollodorus, *Epitome* 1.20; Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.8.2*;* Strabo, *Geographica* VII.14; IX.19-21
[18] Hyginus, *Fabula* LXII and *De astronomica*
[19] Lactantius Placidus' *Commentary on Statius' Thebaid* 4.539, 5.263; Fabius Fulgentius' *Mythologies* 2.14; the First Vatican Mythographer [I, xiv, II, lx]; the Second Vatican Mythographer [II 106]; the Third Vatican Mythographer [IV.vi]); Tzetzes' *Chiliades* [9.273]
[20] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica* 4.69.3-5.

1. Ixion's murder of his father-in-law Eioneus;	ὁ δ' Ἰξίων τὸν Ἠϊονέα μετεπέμψατο ἐπαγγελλόμενος… καὶ τὸν Ἠϊονέα παραγενόμενον ἔβαλεν εἰς βόθρον πυρὸς μεστόν…	Ixion sent for Eïoneus to come to him… but when Eïoneus arrived he threw him into a pit which he had filled up with fire….
2. Ixion's attempted rape of Hera	…τέλος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ τοὺς μύθους ἀγνισθείς, ἠράσθη μὲν τῆς Ἥρας καὶ κατετόλμησεν ὑπὲρ συνουσίας λόγους ποιεῖσθαι.	… He was purified by Zeus, but then he had fallen in love with Hera and dared to make advances concerning intercourse with her.
3. Ixion's deception by the cloud simulacrum	ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν Δία εἴδωλον ποιήσαντα τῆς Ἥρας νεφέλην ἐξαποστεῖλαι, τὸν δὲ Ἰξίονα τῇ νεφέλῃ μιγέντα…	Then, men say, Zeus made a simulacrum of Hera out of a cloud and sent it to Ixion, and he joined with the cloud …
4. Ixion's ultimate punishment on the wheel.	…τέλος δὲ μυθολογοῦσι τὸν Ἰξίονα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ὑπὸ Διὸς εἰς τροχὸν ἐνδεθῆναι, καὶ τελευτήσαντα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἔχειν αἰώνιον.	…Finally, they say, that Ixion, because of the enormity of his crimes, was tied by Zeus onto a wheel and when his life ended had to endure punishment for ever.

From the narrative of Diodorus Siculus, a causal sequence can be established prerequisite to the understanding of the transmission and reception of the mythological plotline, 'the key narrative construct'. The key narrative construct consists of four mythonarremes: the hero's two crimes and his two punishments. The same structural elements are reproduced in other mythographical accounts (cf. Apollodorus, *Epitome* 1.20; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 62). All four mythonarremes, graphically represented in the diagram below (*fig.*1), will be used to form the key narrative construct in Annensky's tragedy:

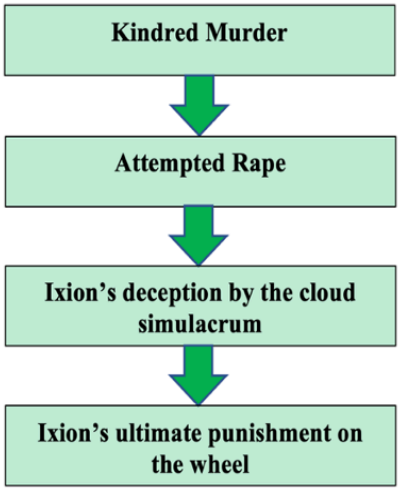


Fig.1. The key narrative construct of the mythological plotline of Ixion in mythographic accounts

Mythographical accounts not only preserve the key narrative construct, but also offer an insight into unstable, variable motifs, which are absent from mythopoetic and mythoplastic versions on account of their irrelevance to the individual creative agendas.[21] For example, extant mythographical accounts preserve three different motifs concerning the origin of the cloud figure with which Ixion is tricked: *the motif of Hera's/Juno's participation in the making of the simulacrum*; *the motif of Zeus'/Jupiter's role in creating the cloud female*; *the motif of passive agency.* These three motifs are presented in the table below:

Diodorus Siculus, Bibliotheca Historica 4, 69, 5	***Motif 2***	'ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν Δία εἴδωλον ποιήσαντα τῆς Ἥρας νεφέλην ἐξαποστεῖλαι.'	'Thereupon, men say, Zeus formed a figure of Hera out of a cloud and sent it to him.'
Apollodorus, Epitome 1.20	***Motif 2***	'γνῶναι θέλων ὁ Ζεύς, εἰ οὕτως ἔχει τὸ πρᾶγμα, νεφέλην ἐξεικάσας Ἥρᾳ παρέκλινεν αὐτῷ.'	'Zeus, wishing to know if the thing were so, made a cloud in the likeness of Hera and laid it beside him.'
Hyginus, Fabula 62	***Motif 1***	'Iuno, Iouis iussu, nubem supposuit, quam Ixion Iunonis simulacrum esse credidit.'	'Juno, by Jove's instructions, substituted a cloud, which Ixion believed to be the likeness of Juno.'
First Vatican Mythographer (I.xiv)	***Motif 3***	'opposita ei est nubes, cum qua concubuit.'	'Instead of her, there was a cloud with which he coupled.'
Tzetzes, Chiliades 9.273	***Motif 2***	'ὁ Ζεύς θέλων διάπειραν λαβεῖν τῆς ἀληθείας, Ἥρᾳ νεφέλην εἴκασε καί συγκατάγει τούτῳ.'	'And Zeus, wishing to know the truth, made a cloud into an image of Hera and led it to Ixion.'

The extent of Zeus' agency is highlighted to the greatest degree by Diodorus Siculus, who makes the god responsible not only for the creation of the simulacrum, but also for its conveyance to Ixion. A parallel version is preserved by Tzetzes, who records that Zeus was responsible for leading the simulacrum to Ixion ('συγκατάγει' derived from 'ἄγω', 'to convey/lead'). The motif of Zeus' agency is further developed in Tzetzes' and Apollodorus' accounts with the help of the *innovative motif of divine curiosity*, which conditions the god's

[21] The present thesis only analyses unstable motifs which were intertextually inherited by the Russian Neo-mythological tradition. However, Diodorus Siculus' Bibliotheca Historica 4.69.4, Tzetzes' Chiliades' 9.273, Apollodorus' *Epitome* 1.20, First Vatican Mythographer, I.xiv, Hyginus' *Fabula*, LXII, all preserve unstable motifs which are represented in *fig.*2.

decision to fashion the simulacrum. Apollodorus and Tzetzes use the same participle 'θέλων' ('wishing') to denote the god's desire to discover Ixion's falsehood by creating the cloud image.

The Roman mythographical tradition alters the agency which created the cloud image from Zeus to his wife. The *motif of Hera's/Juno's participation in the making of the simulacrum* can be discerned in only one Roman mythographical account, Hyginus' *Fabula* LXII, wherein Juno is described as the active agency (the proper name 'Iuno' governs the main verb 'supposuit'), who presents Ixion with a cloud substitute.[22] This motif, however, proves unstable since in a later rendition of the legend by the First Vatican mythographer, which belongs to the same mythographical tradition as Hyginus, it is transformed into the *motif of passive agency.* The First Vatican mythographer offers no clue as to the agency which fashioned the 'nubes' ('cloud'), choosing to use a perfect passive verb form ('opposita est') to confirm the presence of the simulacrum.

A cumulative account of unstable motifs preserved in the mythographical hypertext and their distribution can be presented in a diagram (*fig.*2):

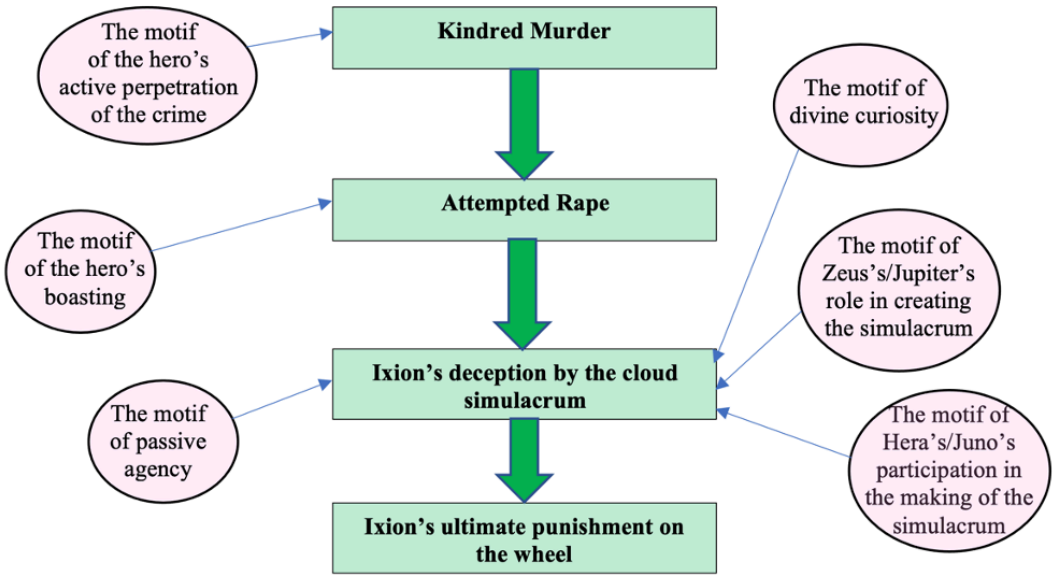


Fig.2. The distribution of motifs around the key narrative construct of the mythographic

[22] Luc. *Dial. D.* 6.4 and Hyginus *De astronomica* II.20.

As shown in the diagram above, a collective representation of the distribution of unstable motifs in relation to the four mythonarremes of the key narrative construct serves to reveal a number of variations in the preservation of the mythological plotline of Ixion. Three of the mythonarremes are subject to an inconsistency of motifs, which despite seeming mutually incompatible (e.g. Zeus' agency in creating the simulacrum and Hera's participation in the formation of the cloud image), do not influence the semantics of the key narrative construct. Thus, although subject to an amplification through a number of unstable motifs, the mythological plotline of Ixion in mythographical accounts retains its main semantic trajectory: a hubristic hero is punished by the gods for transgressing the boundaries of mortal conduct. The key narrative construct of the mythological plotline, established on the basis of mythographical accounts, would be inherited almost twenty centuries later by Innokenty Annensky, draws upon unstable motifs concerning the diverse authorship of the simulacrum and present it as a result of collaborative effort.

2. The Mythopoetic hypertext

The mythopoetic hypertext of the Ixion legend includes Roman poets of the early Augustan age: Virgil,[23] Horace,[24] Tibullus,[25] Propertius[26] and Ovid,[27] who relegate the mythological plotline of Ixion to an emblematic representation of crime and punishment.[28] Ixion ceases to function as an independent figure who governs a developing plotline, but rather becomes a means for recalling associations with the underworld, akin to Tantalus or Sisyphus, the greatest wrong-doers to be punished by the gods.[29]

[23] *Aeneid* 6.601; *Georgics* 3.37-39; 4.484.
[24] *Odes* 3.11.21-24; *Ars poetica* 124.
[25] *Elegies* 1.3.73.
[26] *Elegies* 4.11.23.
[27] *Metamorphoses* 4.460; 4.465; 10.42.
[28] Boyce, p.242-3.
[29] Boyce, p.192-3.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 10.41-44, Ixion is mentioned in the context of Orpheus' singing, which makes the evil-doers of the underworld freeze in awe:

nec Tantalus undam / captavit refugam, stupuitque Ixionis orbis, / nec carpsere iecur volucres, urnisque vacarunt / Belides, inque tuo sedisti, Sisyphe, saxo.	Tantalus does not snatch at the retreating water, the wheel of Ixion is struck motionless, the vultures do not tear at [Tityus'] liver, the daughters of Danaus leave their water jugs, and you, Sisyphus, sit here on your rock.

Ixion, Tantalus, Sisyphus and the daughters of Danaus, are transformed by Ovid into contextually synonymous emblems of tortured dwellers of the underworld, whom Orpheus charms into oblivion by his great skill.

An approach similar to Ovid's defines Tibullus' and Horace's treatment of the legend; both poets mention Ixion's name amid a canonical catalogue of transgressors (in Tibullus: Cerberus, Tityus, Tantalus, the daughters of Danaus; in Horace: Cerberus, Tityus, the daughters of Danaus, the Gorgon's head) and use it to refer to the famous punishments of the underworld:

Tibullus, 1.3.71-80	tum niger in porta serpentum Cerberus ore / stridet et aeratas excubat ante fores. / Illic Iunonem temptare Ixionis ausi / versantur celeri noxia membra rota; / porrectusque novem Tityos per iugera terrae / adsiduas atro viscere pascit aves. / Tantalus est illic, et circum stagna: sed acrem / iam iam poturi deserit unda sitim; et Danai proles, Veneris quod numina laesit, / in cava Lethaeas dolia portat aquas.	Then on the black Cerberus at the gate hiss his great mouthed snakes as he keeps his watch before the bronzed doors. There is Ixion, who dared to compel Juno: on the quick-spinning wheel his guilty limbs rotate. And there is Tityos stretched across nine measures of land; on his black insides feed tireless birds. Tantalus is there also, and lakes around him; but as soon as he drinks, the waters flee from his great thirst. And the offspring of Danaus for insulting the divinity of Venus carry water from Lethe in leaking vessels.
Horace, *Odes,* 3.XI.17-24	Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum / muniant angues caput exeatque / spiritus taeter saniesque manet / ore trilingui. / Quin et Ixion Tityosque vultu / risit invito, stetit urna paulum / sicca, dum grato Danai puellas / carmine mulces.	Cerberus, the vicious century of the great hall, surrendered to your charms, although his head is crowned with a hundred snakes, like the Furies', and foul breath and gore came out from his three-tongued snouts. Why Ixion and Tityus too smiled involuntarily; and their vesseks stood dry for short time while as you soothed the daughters of Danaus with sweet music.

Although some mythonarremes of the mythological plotline, recognisable from the mythographical hypertext, are present in mythopoetic accounts (e.g. Ixion's attempted rape of Juno and/or his punishment on the wheel), the semantic focus is shifted away from the

mythological character (Ixion), onto the immediate context of the Roman poem, which his figure is used to illuminate (Orpheus' singing).

Ixion's plotline appears to have been so marginalized by Roman mythopoesis that in Virgil's *Aeneid* 6.601-3 the manner of his punishment, a stable element of the narrative in all other mythopoetic and mythographical accounts, is altered from a wheel to a hanging rock:[30]

Quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque? quos super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique imminet adsimilis.	Why should I mention the Lapiths Ixion and Pirithous, above whose heads hangs a black rock which looks ready to slip and crash upon them any moment?

The introduction of the motif of a hanging rock as an instrument of Ixion's torture could have been caused by a contamination with the punishment of another mythological hero mentioned by Virgil in the same line: Pirithous, whose skin, according to the Greek epic poet Panyassis of Halicarnassus, has grown into a rock in Hades for his attempt to abduct Persephone. It is clear, however, that the precise instrument of Ixion's torture becomes irrelevant in the context of Virgil's epic, whereas the fact of punishment is more important. The flexibility (or the reducibility) of Ixion's plotline, particularly in the context of his torture in the underworld, is indicative of the character's specific function in Roman mythopoetic accounts, which can provisionally be called '*deictic*': by visually embodying the horrors of the underworld, the figure of the Lapithian King served as a warning to mankind of the gods' dread punishment. Consequently, it is possible to determine the semantic centre of the legend (*the mythonarreme of Ixion's punishment*) on the basis of its recurrent use in Roman mythopoetic sources as *pars pro toto* for the whole plotline (*fig.*3):

[30] Scholars have attempted to reconcile this inconsistency by assuming a lacuna after line 601. Cf. Horsfall, II 516ff.



Fig.3. The semantic centre of the key narrative construct in the mythological plotline of Ixion

Following the Roman tradition, allusion to the mythonarreme of Ixion's punishment was adopted in early medieval references to Ixion, such as Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (early sixth century), as well as in the fourteenth century adaptation of the legend of Ixion in Geoffrey Chaucer's translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, where the reference to Ixion also occurs in the narrative of Orpheus' singing:[31]

Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae,* III, xxiv	Non Ixionium caput / velox praecipitat rota / et longa site perditus / spernit flumina Tantalus	Ixion's fast wheel / no longer spins his head, / and Tantalus tormented by his great thirst / scorns bending to the water
Geoffrey Chaucer's translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae,* 3050-3051	þan was nat þe heued of Ixione ytourmented by þe ouerþrowing whele	Ixion tormented by the revolving wheel, found rest

Following Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* 10.41-44, Medieval authors reduce the Ixion mythological plotline to the motif of his punishment on the wheel, endowing it with a primarily allusive function.[32] In later literary traditions (e.g. Byron's Dedication to *Don Juan*, Keats'

[31] Chaucer's account was followed by Robert Henryson's 'The Tale of Orpheus and Erudices his Quene', in which Ixion is mentioned in the context of Orpheus' singing (Orpheus' music sends to sleep the three sisters guarding Ixion, 261-274).

[32] Exceptions include accounts of the legend given by Giovanni Boccaccio, John Lydgate and Henry Hutton. Giovanni Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum* 1532 (*Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*), book IX, Chapter 27, gives a condensed summary of the narrative and moves on to moral and political reflections suggested by the narrative. John Lydgate in his *Troy Book* (1412-1420), having referred to a simulacrum made by Juno 'into the likeness of a heavenly cloud', states that 'with their meddling atween hem forth they brought' the 'monstrous' centaurs, 4306-26. P.107. Henry Hutton's oeuvre, *Follies anatomie, or Satyres and satyricall epigrams, With a compendious*

Hyperion, Pope's *Rape of the Lock* (Canto II), and Shakespeare's *King Lear*, Act IV, Scene VII)[33] the motif of punishment is further reduced to a single emblematic artefact, Ixion's wheel, which is used as an image of inexpressible suffering.

3. The Mythoplastic hypertext

I. The Epic hypertext

Once the key narrative construct has been established on the basis of *mythographical* accounts, and the semantic centre on the basis of *mythopoetic* texts, the extant Classical *mythoplastic* hypertext can be used to determine the vector of narrative transformation of the mythological plotline, inherited by Russian Neo-mythological drama, which lies in the radical alteration of the relationship between the hero and the gods (the basis of Annensky's creative alteration of the Ixion legend). The nature of Ixion's and Zeus' relationship can be deduced from the typologically earliest mythoplastic account of the Ixion legend, *Il.*14*,* which preserves Zeus' monologue where he confesses his love for Ixion's wife and his parentage of her son Pirithous (317-18):[34]

οὐδ' ὁπότ' ἠρασάμην Ἰξιονίης ἀλόχοιο, / ἣ τέκε Πειρίθοον θεόφιν μήστωρ' ἀτάλαντον.	Not when I desired the wife of Ixion, who gave birth to Pirithous, equal to the gods in counsel.

The reference to Ixion is consigned to a distant temporal framework, indicated by the simple aorist ('ἠρασάμην', 'I desired'), and the adverb 'ὁπότ'' ('when'), which locates the past tense verb in an even more distant time. The temporal organisation of the Homeric account of Ixion's mythological plotline can be presented as a linear diagram (*fig.*4):

---

history of Ixion's wheele, includes a poem 'Ixion's Wheele' (1619) in which the King attempts to seduce Juno and is discovered by Jove, who makes a simulacrum; Ixion begets the centaurs from the simulacrum; as punishment he is 'Fixt to the rigour of a tumbling wheele' (271).

[33] For a discussion concerning the 'wider resonances' of the Shakespearean reference to Ixion, cf. Elton, p.236-8. The allusion to Ixion is believed to be 'symbolic of the mental torture adherent to treachery and disloyalty,' (Soellner, p.282.); an alternative interpretation is offered by Hardison, who sees the allusion 'as a political allegory showing the disastrous result of irresponsible rule and as an allegory of ingratitude', p.232.

[34] Although it is not clearly stated that Zeus fathered Pirithous, it is common knowledge that a union between a mortal and a god resulted in progeny (e.g. in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, the goddess' union with Anchises results in the birth of Aeneas).

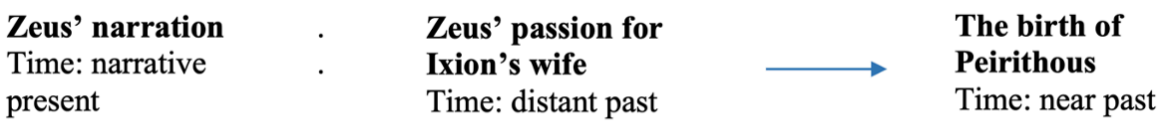


Fig.4. The key narrative construct of the Homeric account of Ixion's legend

The possessive genitive case of 'Ἰξιονίης' indicates that Ixion performs a contextualising function for one of Zeus' many passions, which he lists (Danaë, Pasiphaë, Semele, Alcmene, Demeter, Leto), thus introducing the *innovative motif of Ixion's narrative subservience*. Nothing is revealed about Ixion's character or plotline, save his possession of a wife (her name is not recorded),[35] leading scholars to assume that by the 8th century BC, Ixion was remembered only as part of the tradition of so-called Thessalian figures 'who were involved in exchanging mates with Zeus'.[36] The limitations of this view, which presupposes the attribution of the *Iliad* to the mythopoetic category (relegating a mythological figure to an allusive or evocative function), are exposed by the presence of the key narrative construct: a love triangle between the two couples of Zeus and Hera; Ixion and Dia. The *Iliad* presents an inverted form of Ixion's 'sexual crime', in which the same three figures as were mentioned in the mythographical tradition take part: Ixion, Zeus and Hera, whose primacy in the scene is indicated by the presence of their names. Zeus takes over the role allotted to Ixion in the mythographical hypertext, of an illicit lover who confesses to a relationship with a married woman. Although the amorous collision of the *Iliad* involves a different set of participants from Ixion's 'sexual crime' (as recorded in later mythoplastic accounts), it offers a clear indication of the dynamic correlation between Zeus and Ixion at this stage of mythological formation. The basis of the third mythonarreme of the key narrative construct (Ixion's deception by the cloud simulacrum) is maintained in the *Iliad*, albeit the function of deceiving agent is transposed from the simulacrum to Zeus. Zeus is shown as having all the power: he is represented in the active

[35] A later Scholion to *Iliad* 1.268 supplies the name Dia, as Ixion's wife, naming her father as Ioneus.
[36] Blickman, p.194.

roles of both a lover and of a sire, whereas Ixion is relegated to the role of the cheated husband of the god's paramour.

II. The Lyric hypertext

The mythological plotline of Ixion receives a more extensive treatment in a later mythoplastic account dating to the fifth century BC:[37] Pindar's *Pythian Ode* II, which, as far as is known, is the earliest extant poetic account of the legend.[38] The relatively few attempts made by Classical scholars to analyse the treatment of the Ixion plot in the *Pythian Ode II* view Pindar's narration as a variant of 'the [myth's] usual story',[39] believed to have been established long before Pindar and simply rewritten and reduced by him[40] (Pindar treats it 'with…freedom and economy').[41] No effort is made to distinguish the structural elements of the Ixion legend.

An attempt to single out 'a core version' of the Ixion legend was made by James Boyce, who attempts to remove both 'those features of the myth in *Pythian II* which are to be ascribed to Pindar himself [and] obvious poetic detail' to reveal 'a version much closer to the traditional one with which Pindar must have been working'.[42] Boyce does not distinguish a structure for this core 'myth', since, as he acknowledges, 'one cannot with certainty attribute this version to any one person or source'.[43] The 'core version'[44] postulated by him contains copious detail, unattested to in accounts preceding Pindar and either absent or heavily transformed in later treatments. Boyce's self-confessed 'risky proposition'[45] must therefore remain on the level of hypothesis.

---

[37] The precise date of the Ode's composition is a matter of dispute: Sandys suggests 477 BC (Sandys, 1957, p.168), while Bowra offers a later date 468BC (Bowra, p.410).
[38] Farnell, 1932, p.122.
[39] Park, p.83.
[40] An example of the reductive analyses of Pindar's poetic choices is given in the following statement: 'While Pindar makes specific reference to both of Ixion's crimes (30-34), his reference to the father-in-law's murder is vague… [as compared to the usual story].' Park, p.83.
[41] Carey, p.33.
[42] Boyce, p.239.
[43] Boyce, p.240.
[44] Boyce, p.240.
[45] Boyce, p.240.

Instead of searching for what Boyce vaguely calls the 'core version', in which he includes innumerable details not reflected in most accounts, it is more fruitful to offer an intertextual structural approach to the study of the Ixion legend and regard its organisation in the *Pythian Ode* as based on a key narrative construct, which comprises a sequence of four mythonarremes (cf. *fig.*2). These four pivotal points are arranged in Pindar's *Pythian* II in a ring composition, with the punishment of Ixion (21-4 and 40-41) framing the internal narrative of his passion for Hera and his encounter with her cloud simulacrum (25-30; 35-40).[46] The centre of the composition is occupied by the narrative of Ixion's two crimes (30-4): the murder of his father-in-law and his attempted rape of Hera.[47] As shown in *fig.*5, the linear organisation of the key narrative construct is transformed into a ring pattern, with the last of the four mythonarremes (Ixion's punishment) beginning and concluding the sequence:

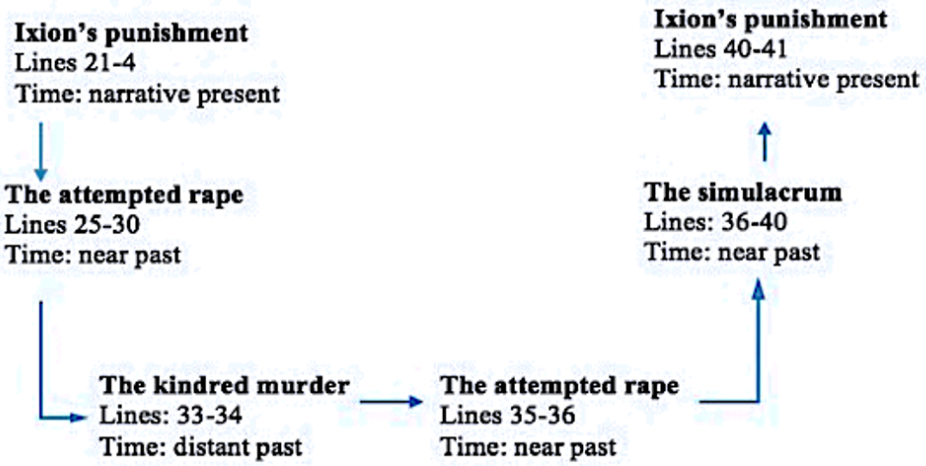


Fig.5. The organisation of the key narrative construct in Pindar's account of the Ixion legend

The variable narrative units or mythologemes, which are not responsible for structuring the axis of the mythological plot, but rather are used by Pindar to amplify his narrative, can be classified into four categories based on their theme: the hero's relationship with the gods, the hero's mental faculties, the process of creating the cloud-simulacrum and finally the hero's progeny. These four sets of mythologemes are endowed with the combined creative functions

[46] Most, 2016, pp.76-86.
[47] Most, 2016, pp.76-86.

of characterising the two main protagonists of the mythological plotline (Ixion and Zeus) and of specifying aspects of their relationship, which forms the focal point of the legend.

In contrast to the *Iliad*, which reveals very little about the relations between Ixion and Zeus, Pindar introduces the *mythologeme of a particular bond* between the two main protagonists, centred on the *extra-mythological motifs of observing xenia* and *theoxenia,* which develop the first mythonarreme of Kindred Murder. On Zeus' side of the special bond equilibrium,[48] the canons of *xenia* are fulfilled in the highest degree: the god grants Ixion the unattainable blessing of dwelling among the deities of Olympus (25-6):

εὐμενέσσι γὰρ παρὰ Κρονίδαις γλυκὺν ἑλὼν βίοτον, μακρὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὄλβον	For having gained a happy existence among the children of Cronus, he could not maintain his great blessing

The extent of Ixion's newly granted acceptance among the gods is revealed in a later reference to his attempted rape of Hera, which reveals that he was granted entrance to Zeus' own dwellings, with potential access to the most intimate areas of the *oikos* (34).[49] These marks of favour bestowed upon Ixion closely correspond to the canons of *xenia* reflected in the two Homeric epics (e.g. *Iliad* 9.199-222, *Odyssey* 7.167ff.), according to which a guest is brought into the host's house, fed and entertained (in Pindar's *Pythian Ode II* Zeus grants Ixion 'a happy existence', 25). In direct reversal of Zeus' adherence to the canons of *xenia*, Pindar introduces the *motif of Ixion's violation of every obligation of a guest*: he desires the property of his host (27-28),[50] attempts to commit an offence in relation to Zeus (34)[51] and in so doing dishonours the god's household, putting an end to the special bond between him and his host. The dissolution of the bond between Ixion and Zeus results not only in the destruction but also a

[48] No extant accounts predating the *Pythian Ode II* contain any reference to Ixion's violation of *xenia* or to any special bond between him and Zeus. Park, p.84.
[49] 'A capacious bed-chamber'.
[50] 'Once he made an attempt on the wife of Zeus in her capacious bed-chamber'.
[51] 'He made an attempt on Zeus' wife'.

'complicated perversion of *xenia*',[52] manifested in the creation of the simulacrum, which performs the function of imitating the happiness inherent in a proper guest-host relationship.[53]

The chasm resulting from the violation of Ixion's and Zeus' guest-host relationship is expressed on both the lexical and the syntactic level of the Ode, since Pindar introduces the *innovative mythologeme of a dichotomy between the mortal nature of Ixion and the divinity of the gods,* elaborating the second mythonarreme of Attempted Rape. After Ixion's passion rises, he becomes isolated from the gods by his human nature (the noun 'ἀνήρ', 'man', occurs twice in three lines (29-31) in an emphatic, tautometric position),[54] and is contrasted with the collective 'θεοί' ('gods', 21) and 'Κρονίδαι' ('children of Cronos', 25). Pindar introduces an *innovative motif of distance between the mortal Ixion and the multitude of gods,* unified by their parentage (Cronos) and divinity, which reflects the changing balance in the Ixion/Zeus relationship: Zeus' passive benevolence (a welcoming host) and Ixion's active spite are gradually transformed, leading to the start of the process which will reach culmination in Annensky's Neo-mythological tragedy.

Pindar's characterisation of Zeus, after the loss of equilibrium in his relationship with Ixion, is revealed through the introduction of a second category of extra-mythological mythologemes relating to the creation of the simulacrum. Although the simulacrum constitutes part of the key narrative construct of the mythological plotline, the *process of its creation*, which reveals most about Zeus' character, can be construed as a *mythologeme*, since it is not stable in the mythological tradition. The account of the simulacrum's creation is constructed through close intertextual allusion to motifs from Hesiod's account of the making of Pandora in *Works and Days* (69-86).[55] In a potential echo with Hesiod (*Erga*. 59-63), who describes Zeus' agency in making Pandora, Pindar introduces the *extra-mythological motif of Zeus' orchestration of*

[52] Park, p.89.
[53] Park, p.89.
[54] Boyce, p.229.
[55] The parallel between Pindar's account and Hesiod's *Works and Days* is drawn by Park, p.90-93.

the fashioning of a destructive simulacrum, depicting the same god as responsible for the creation of Hera's image (39-40):

ἄντε δόλον αὐτῷ θέσαν Ζηνὸς παλάμαι… πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε… Ἥφαιστον δ' ἐκέλευσε περικλυτὸν… ἀθανάτης δὲ θεῇς εἰς ὦπα εἴσκειν παρθενικῆς καλὸν εἶδος ἐπήρατον.	Zeus' cunning made her as a trap for him…the father of gods and men bade famed Hephaistos… fashion a lovely likeness of a maiden, akin in beauty to the immortal goddesses.

Both Pandora and Hera's simulacrum 'represent acts of communication and exchange by Zeus',[56] who devises them as a means of transmitting his anger to mortal men. Direct verbal echoes with Hesiod are present in Pindar's version, which approximate the *extra-mythological motif of the deceptive purpose of Hera's simulacrum* to Pandora: like Hera's image, Pandora was created to be 'a bane' to mortals ('πῆμ' ἀνδράσιν', 'a bane to mankind', *Erga* 82; 'καλὸν πῆμα', 'a beautiful bane', *Pyth* 2.40).[57] Furthermore, both Pandora and Hera's cloud simulacrum are characterised by a shared set of three *extra-mythological motifs*: they are destined to be the *bearers of great misfortune to mankind* (Pandora opens the jar of evil; the simulacrum bears the race of centaurs), the *beauty* of both artificially created females is *deceptive* ('ψεῦδος', *Pyth* 2.37), and both are targeted at *impersonation* (the simulacrum is designed to be like Hera; Pandora is made to be like an innocent maiden).[58] The *extra-mythological motif of Zeus' duplicity* is reiterated throughout five lines, with lexemes such as 'ψεῦδος' ('deception', 37), 'εἶδος' ('a likeness', 38), 'δόλον' ('trick', 39), 'παλάμαι' ('cunning', 40), used to denote the god's direct agency in fashioning a false being.[59]

The function of Pindar's intertextual allusions to Hesiod's motifs in *Works and Days*, through which the simulacrum's creation is narrated, can be termed 'associative', since they provide an overlay of associations revealing the *extra-mythological mythologeme of divine deceptive intent* (elaborating the third mythonarreme of Ixion's deception by the cloud

[56] Park, p.93.
[57] Park, p.90.
[58] Park, p.91.
[59] Stamatopoulou, p.82-3.

simulacrum). Although Zeus' punishment of Ixion appears justified by the gravity of the latter's crime, Pindar's exaggeration of the god's deceit introduces a note of discord. The poet implicitly raises the question of whether Zeus was guided purely by the necessity of punishing a hubristic individual or whether he relished the idea of playing cat and mouse. A parallel can be drawn between Pindar's *extra-mythological motif of the gods playing with mortal men* and a parallel motif, presented through the simile of Apollo's wanton cruelty in *Iliad* 15.361-66. Thus, Pindar, by means of an extra-mythological mythologeme inherited from Hesiod's account, imbues Zeus' creation of the simulacrum with connotations of deliberate deception and malice against mankind, which are directed particularly at Ixion. As with Pandora, who was sent to earth by the all-powerful god in order to spite Prometheus, Zeus' treatment of the erring King is elevated from the level of a *quid pro quo* punishment to an act of powerful and relished revenge.

The extent of Zeus' malice is further revealed in the *innovative mythologeme relating to the offspring begot of mortal/divine intercourse* between Ixion and Hera's simulacrum, which is absent from all other mythoplastic accounts and is used by Pindar to develop the third mythonarreme. Pindar concludes his account of Ixion's plotline with a description of his son, Centaurus, the begetter of the race of centaurs (44-46). Although some scholars have argued that this version of the centaurs' origin has roots in Greek folklore,[60] another hypothesis has been proposed, which cannot be disproved by extant mythographical accounts, where no coherent version of the centaurs' genesis is present: Pindar's aetiology of the centaurs is his own innovation.[61] Pindar's reference to Ixion's progeny has been branded as 'strange'[62] and 'unnecessary',[63] on account of its incongruity not only with the structure of the narration (an

[60] Farnell, p.288.
[61] Boyce, p.239.
[62] Boyce, p.239.
[63] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, p.288.

addendum to an already complete account), but also with natural phenomena.[64] The aptness of Pindar's allusion to Ixion's progeny has only been appreciated once, albeit not fully, by Schadewaldt, who recognises its function in illuminating one side of the relationship of Zeus and Ixion. The overbearing son and unnatural race of centaurs, whose origin comes about as a result of Ixion's desire, accentuate the monstrosity of his nature and his crime.[65] It is, however, possible to offer another explanation for the reference to Ixion's progeny, by attributing its inclusion to Pindar's revelation of Zeus' character and intent. In order to emphasise the extent of Zeus' punishment, Pindar continues the process of mythological formation by extending the plotline beyond the temporal scope of the key narrative construct. The severity of Zeus' punishment is expanded beyond the culmination of the plotline (Ixion being fixed to the wheel) to encompass many generations and serve as a warning against future *hubris*. In comparison with the power, deception and long-lasting malicious intent with which Pindar characterises Zeus' revenge, Ixion's cunning and intelligence, revealed in the first category of mythologemes, are dwarfed.

Pindar's final *innovative mythologeme relating to Ixion's cognitive abilities*, reveals the changing dynamics in the relationship between Ixion and Zeus, by illuminating Ixion's character through his mental faculties. This mythologeme is elaborated with the help of four *innovative motifs*: Ixion's characterisation by *wisdom* and *cunning,* combined with *madness* and *foolish delusion*. The first of these motifs is made apparent at the very beginning of Ixion's mythological plotline in the description of his plight; as he whirls on his winged wheel he utters a lesson to mankind (21-22):

θεῶν δ' ἐφετμαῖς Ἰξίονα φαντὶ ταῦτα βροτοῖς / λέγειν ἐν πτερόεντι τροχῷ	They say that by the gods' behest Ixion speaks these words to mortal men as he spins on his winged wheel.

[64] Both Wilamowitz and later Boyce express their concern as to how to construe a cloud which fully 'functions as a woman' [Boyce, p.237] and does not dissolve as soon as Ixion touches it [Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, p.288].
[65] Schadewaldt, p.329

Ixion functions as an advisor or 'an educator', who teaches mortal men the lesson learned from Zeus (23-25),[66] to be grateful to one's benefactors and repay them with 'kind recompense' (24).[67] The motif of Ixion's wisdom imparted by the gods themselves is employed in the later stage of the narrative and transformed into that of *cunning*, which characterises both Ixion's slaying of his father-in-law and his attempted rape of Hera. Pindar states that the first of the king's crimes, kindred murder, was carried out 'not without cunning' (32), deploying the device of a double negative 'οὐκ ἄτερ' in order to place emphasis on Ixion's guile. The attempted rape of Hera is presented in a similar fashion, with the adjective 'παράτροποι' (35) used to characterise the nature of Ixion's passion. Some scholars propose to translate 'παράτροποι' ('lawless') as 'deviant', emphasising the ingenuity which is allotted to Ixion in this account.[68] Although according to the legend's key narrative construct, Ixion's cunning must ultimately fall short of Zeus' divine foresight, the *Pythian Ode II* surpasses its mythoplastic predecessor, the *Iliad*, in the extent of Ixion's characterisation: instead of a passive figure whose role is similar to that of a possessive pronoun, clarifying the relations between Zeus and one of his innumerable paramours, Ixion becomes a devious, thinking individual.

Counterbalancing the motifs indicative of the hero's superior mental capacities, the *motif of madness* is hinted at early in Pindar's narrative, in relation to the *mythonarreme of attempted rape*: Ixion is said to have fallen in love with Hera in 'a maddened state of mind' ('μαινομέναις φρασίν', 27). The expressiveness of the participle 'μαινομέναις' in the context of Ixion's love is highlighted by its semantic sphere of extreme insanity, such as Bacchic frenzy (*Il.*6.132) or even rabies (Plut. *Quaest. Conv*. 2.7.1 641c). The second *motif of the hero's folly* is

[66] A possible extra-mythological parallel can be noted with *Aeneid* 6.618-20, where Phlegyas is shown in the role of an admonisher: 'Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras: "Discite iustitiam moniti, et non temnere divos"'/'Phlegyas, the most wretched, warns everyone and bears witness in a booming voice among the shades: "Learn justice and be warned, and do not despise the gods."' In both accounts a mortal transgressor is shown as warning mankind to be respectful of the gods bearing in mind his own experience of their wrath.
[67] Mace, p.17.
[68] Carey, p.38.

introduced into the narrative by means of two synonymous lexical units (‘ἀυάταν’, folly; ‘ἄιδρις’, ‘unwise’), which are used to characterise the protagonist. Pindar labels Ixion’s approach to the attempted rape of Hera as ‘arrogant folly’ (28), which inevitably resulted in detection.

Indeed, the noun used to describe Ixion’s actions, ‘ἀυάταν’, declined according to the Doric and Aeolic dialect and more familiar in its Ionic form ‘ἄτη’, is an eponym of Ate, the goddess of folly and delusion, which, many centuries later, would inspire an important innovation in Russian Neo-mythological drama (the appearance of the goddess of deceit in Annensky’s tragedy: Apate, whose genealogy is attested to in Hesiod’s *Theogony* 211ff.). Ixion is described at a later point in the narrative as ‘ἄιδρις’ (37), an adjective formed with a negative prefix (the privative alpha) from the adjective ‘ἴδρις’ (‘wise, skilful’), emphasising his lack of wisdom. Pindar underlines that Ixion’s folly simultaneously leads him in pursuit of a falsehood (37)[69] and prevents him from recognising the illusory nature of Hera’s image.[70]

The four motifs relating to Ixion’s intellectual abilities (*innovative: wisdom and cunning*; *intra-mythological: madness and folly*) might at first sight seem incompatible, although scholars have pointed out that the King ‘learned [his] lesson… clearly’ and attained sense as a result of his punishment.[71] This explanation, however, fails to take into account the cunning which characterised Ixion’s actions long before his punishment (32). Instead, Pindar’s combination of the four motifs manifests the mythoplastic principles underlying his work. An analysis of mythographical accounts reveals the existence of the *motif of the hero’s madness* in the mythological tradition, which, as some scholars think, could have predated the composition of the *Pythian Ode*.[72] The *motif of folly* appears to be a requirement of the mythological plot, dictated by the need to motivate Ixion’s ultimate failure in the attempted rape of Hera. Pindar’s

[69] ‘A witless man pursuing a sweet lie’.
[70] Mace, p.325.
[71] Mace, p.305.
[72] As stated by Mace ‘Ixion's madness was demonstrably early: Pindar scholion ad Pythian 2.40b, Scholia to Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautica*, 3.62 (218, 20-219) and Scholia to Euripides’ *Phoenissae* 1185 (375.8-20).’ (Mace, p.333).

use of these two motifs can thus be regarded as intertextual allusions which lie at the basis of mythoplastia, resting upon the conflation of pre-existing and innovative mythologemes around a key narrative construct. The other two motifs (*cunning* and *wisdom*) attributing certain mental abilities to Ixion, are responsible for a major modification of the mythological vector of the legend, since by describing Ixion's new-found intelligence, they pave the way for a future transformation of Ixion's and Zeus' canonical relationship, which will become the foundation of Annensky's conception of the whole Ixion legend.

The distribution of mythologemes and motifs with which Pindar develops the mythonarremes of the key narrative construct can be illustrated in terms of a diagram (*fig.*6):

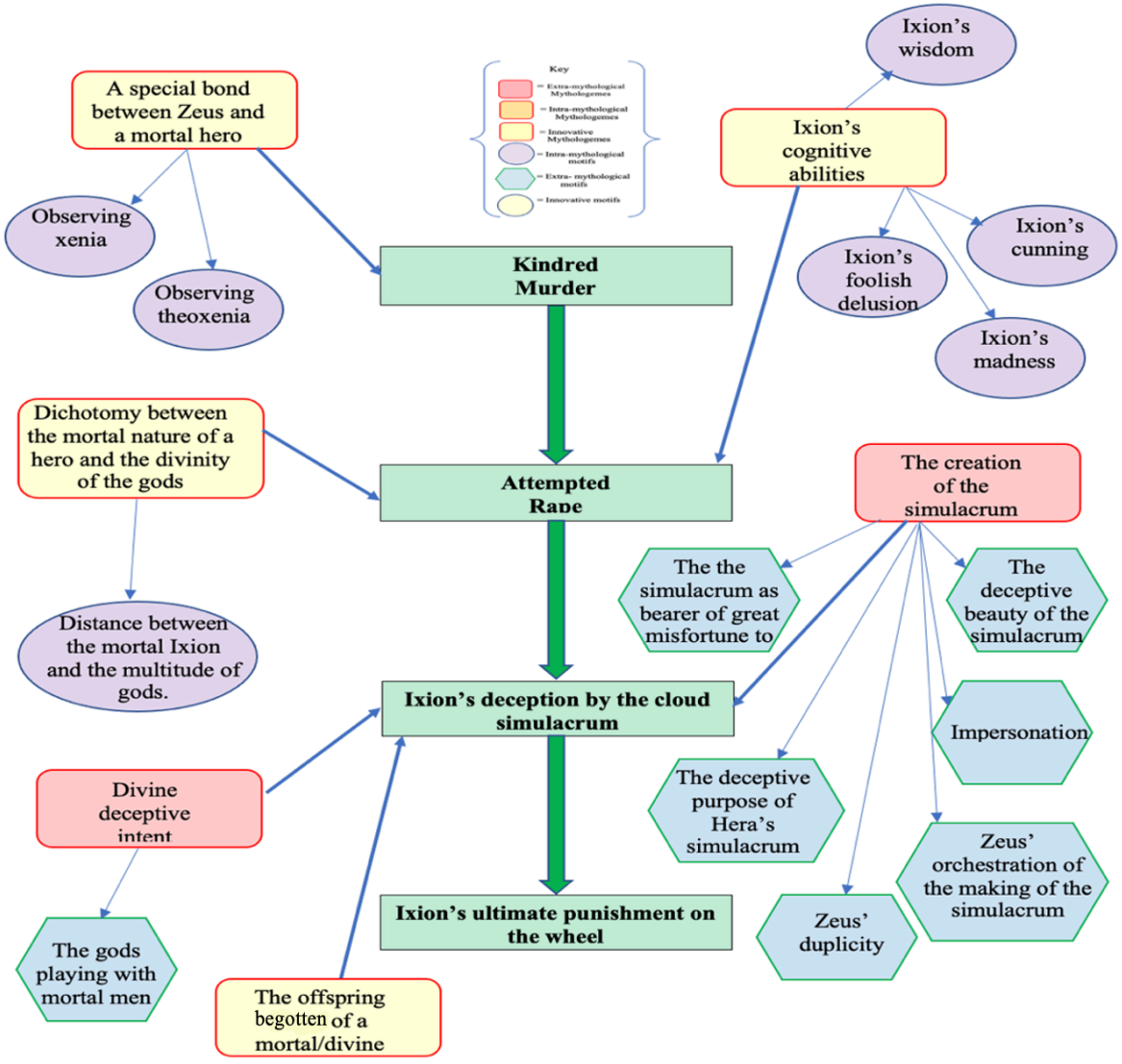


Fig.6. The distribution of mythologemes and motifs around the mythonarremes of the key narrative construct in Pindar's Pythian Ode II

Pindar's treatment of the Ixion legend reveals the early stages of the transformation of Ixion's and Zeus' relationship with the help of five mythologemes (a special bond between Zeus and Ixion, Ixion's cognitive abilities, Zeus' deceptive intent, the process of creating a simulacrum, the offspring of Ixion and the simulacrum). Pindar's account, arranged in a ring composition, both opens and closes with the mythonarreme of Ixion's punishment on the wheel, emphasising his defeat by Zeus. Ixion's function is explicitly that of a negative exemplum of human ingratitude, which illustrates the importance of reverence towards the wiser and more powerful gods, for the benefit of the poem's addressee, the Syracusan tyrant Hieron.[73]

However, the commendable mental capacity with which Pindar's hero is endowed is limited to a utilitarian function, since Ixion's cunning is directed at carrying out (or attempting) two crimes, while his wisdom serves the purpose of delivering the gods' warning to mankind. Zeus' ingenuity in fashioning a deceptive simulacrum and his foresight in creating a torture suitable both in synchrony (punishing Ixion on the wheel) and in diachrony (teaching a lesson to future generations with the centaurs) far surpass the capabilities of the mortal Ixion.

III. The Dramatic Hypertext

(a) Aeschylus

The first dramatic renditions of the Ixion plotline were composed by Aeschylus and are conjectured to have formed parts two and three of a trilogy,[74] comprising *Ixion, The Perrhaebian Women (Perrhaibides)* and a third lost play.[75] Although only fragments of the plays survive, numerous attempts have been made to reconstruct their plots. *The Perrhaebian Women* is generally believed to have been chronologically earlier than *Ixion*, since its three surviving fragments are concerned with Ixion's murder of his father-in-law, Eïoneus. Although

[73] Crotty, p.205
[74] Ferrari, p.151ff.
[75] Boyce, p.20.

the fragments do not mention the name of Ixion, they offer an invaluable clue as to the emphasis which the King's first transgression, kindred murder, received in the dramatic tradition: whereas Pindar only briefly mentions the murder (33-34), Aeschylus devotes an entire play to the successfully accomplished crime.

Fragment 184 (Preserved in Athenaeus 11.499a; Eustathius on *Odyssey* 15.85)	ποῦ μοι τὰ πολλὰ δῶρα κἀκροθίνια; ποῦ χρυσότευκτα κἀργυρᾶ σκυφώματα;	Where are my many choice gifts? Where are my chalices made of gold and silver
Fragment 186 (Preserved in Eustathius on *Iliad* 2.816)	τέθνηκεν αἰσχρῶς χρημάτων ἀπαιόλῃ.	He has shamefully died, while cheated of his possessions.

Two of the surviving fragments preserve the *mythologeme of Ixion's intelligence and cunning*. Fragment 184, which includes part of a monologue of Ixion's father-in-law Eïoneus and refers to his request for bride-gifts, reveals that Ixion was endowed with sufficient cunning to deceive the old man; while Fragment 186, describing the death of Eïoneus, confirms Ixion's contrivance to swindle his father-in-law of his possessions and devise his cruel death.[76]

Although surviving fragments of *The Perrhaebian Women* offer no insight into the relationships of gods and mortals, the unprecedented emphasis on Ixion's first, successfully executed, crime is indicative of the developing innovative tendency to endow the hero with mental power.

It has been conjectured that the second play in Aeschylus' trilogy, *Ixion,* dealt with the later stages of the plotline: the aftermath of the kindred murder, ending with Ixion's punishment on the wheel.[77] Although the play survives in two fragments, it is possible to reconstruct details of Aeschylus' characterisation of Zeus. Fragment 90 preserves the *innovative mythologeme of the horror of Ixion's divine punishment* by retaining the hero's affirmation concerning death being preferable to a wretched life:[78]

[76] Sommerstein, 2009, pp.190-193.
[77] Sommerstein, 2009, p.104.
[78] There have been some doubts expressed as to the authenticity of Fragment 90, namely by Dindorf (1841). However, since the majority of scholar conceed that this fragemnt is genuine, it is reflected in the present thesis.

βίου πονηροῦ θάνατος εὐκλεέστερος	Death would be more glorious than a worthless life

Whereas in Pindar's account, Ixion's punishment appears to be purely physical (no mention is made of shame or dishonour), Aeschylus introduces the *innovative motif of a psychological element to Ixion's torture*: the adjective 'εὐκλεής', glorious' (encountered in the Homeric epics: *Il.*22.110; *Il.*10.281; *Il.*17.415; *Od.*21.331), referring to the noun 'death' ('θάνατος') and contrasted with an antonymous word combination 'worthless life' ('βίου πονηροῦ'), pertains to a concept belonging to the heroic code of honour. Aeschylus' introduction of the *innovative motif of Ixion's humiliation* ('worthless life' as inferior to 'glorious' death) serves as an implicit means of characterising Zeus, whose exaggerated ruthlessness develops the mythonarreme of punishment further than in Pindar's account.

The nature of Aeschylus' conception of the Ixion/Zeus relationship can be discerned in another of his tragedies, *The Eumenides*, where the mythological plotline is briefly alluded to twice. In both references, Zeus is represented in a benevolent hypostasis, which corresponds in Pindar's narrative to the *mythologeme of a special bond.* In the first of these instances Athena, speaking to Orestes, draws a parallel between him and Ixion (440-1):

ἦσαι φυλάσσων ἑστίας ἁμῆς πέλας σεμνὸς προσίκτωρ ἐν τρόποις Ἰξίονος	You sit close by my hearth, clinging to it, a sacred suppliant like Ixion

By comparing Ixion to Orestes, a matricide who was pursued by the raging Furies, Athena recalls Ixion's first crime, the murder of his father-in-law Eïoneus; thus Aeschylus introduces the *motif of Ixion's pollution and purging*, absent from Pindar's account. Ixion's purification is mentioned again by Apollo (717-8), through whose words the mythologeme is expanded, since Ixion is named as the first homicide and Zeus as the agent of his absolution.[79] The *motif of pollution and purging* locates Ixion in a new position,[80] unseen before in mythoplastic accounts

[79] 'So was my father wrong in any way in his counsel when Ixion, the first man to kill, was a suppliant?'.

[80] The etymology of Ixion's name is subject to debate, with some scholars suggesting it comes from the noun 'ἱκέτης' ('one who comes to seek purification after committing murder'). However according to the commonly accepted etymology proposed by Kuhn, 'Ixion' is cognate with the Sanskrit noun 'aksha', ('axis'), and thus contains an allusion to the instrument of the hero's punishment (Kuhn, p.203.). For other potential etymologies see Colona, p.189.

of the legend: a humble suppliant, who depends upon the unrequited intervention of Zeus to survive. The Ixion/Zeus relationship is based entirely upon the moral and physical authority of the latter, with no scope for Ixion to exhibit any form of the mental capacity present in Pindar's *Pythian II*.

Thus, although the emphasis on the successfully executed crime in the *The Perrhaebian Women* presupposes a higher estimate of the king's mental capacity than in Pindar's *Ode*, *Ixion* and *The Eumenides* maintain Pindar's balance between Zeus and the mortal hero: Zeus remains the powerful deity who is capable of devising a cruel punishment (psychological as well as physical) for one of Ixion's crimes, while simultaneously absolving the other.

(b) Sophocles

After Aeschylus, the mythological plotline of Ixion received numerous dramatic treatments,[81] which are no longer extant. Callistratus, a fifth century Greek dramatist, composed an Ixion play, known solely from one reference to its staging at the Lenaea festival in 418 BC.[82] Sophocles is likewise believed to have composed an Ixion play, which is cited in a Scholion to Apollonius Rhodius, 4.14. Scepticism has, however, been expressed concerning the veracity of this Scholion, since no further evidence has been found for the existence of such a Sophoclean play.[83]

The only extant reference to the mythological plotline of Ixion in Sophocles' extant oeuvre survives in *Philoctetes*, where the Chorus compares the suffering of the eponymous hero to that of an unnamed character, presumably Ixion (676-80):

λόγῳ μὲν ἐξήκουσ', ὄπωπα δ' οὐ μάλα, τὸν πελάταν λέκτρων ποτὲ τῶν Διὸς κατὰ δρομάδ' ἄμπυκα δέσμιον ὡς ἔβαλεν παγκρατὴς Κρόνου παῖς.	I have heard the story, but not seen it with my eyes, how the man who once came near to the bed of Zeus was tied to a whirling wheel by the almighty son of Cronus.

[81] Collard, Cropp, 2008, p.461.
[82] Collard, Cropp, 2008, p.461.
[83] Sechan, p.391; cf. Boyce, p.22.

Although Ixion is not the focus of the tragedy's action, the key narrative construct of the mythological plotline is nevertheless discernible. Two mythonarremes, the attempted rape and Ixion's punishment, are arranged in a linear chronology, implying their causal connection:



Fig.7. The key narrative construct of Sophocles' account of the mythological plotline of Ixion

Since Ixion is not referred to by name in *Philoctetes*, the two mythonarremes of the key narrative construct are endowed with the deictic function of *pars pro toto*. A reference to the attempted rape of Zeus' wife and the whirling wheel suffices for Sophocles' audience to recall the whole mythological plotline of Ixion's crimes and punishments. Although only two components of the key narrative construct are present in this play, the whole sequence is evoked through intertextual allusions to other accounts (e.g. Pindar) known to the tragedian's audience. The nature of the Ixion/Zeus relationship in Sophocles' play is similar to that in Pindar and Aeschylus, albeit it offers no scope for Ixion to develop his mental capacities, since his second crime is only briefly alluded to:

τὸν πελάταν λέκτρων ποτὲ τῶν Διὸς	The man who once came to the bed of Zeus

Even on a lexical and syntactical level, Zeus prevails over the king: Zeus is described by means of a periphrastic construction based on his divine genealogy ('Κρόνου παῖς', 'son of Cronus') and is endowed with the honorific epithet 'παγκρατής' (lit. 'all-powerful'), while Ixion's presence is implied only by a masculine, accusative article 'τὸν'.

Thus, until this point in the transmission of the mythological plotline, the extant mythoplastic hypertext of the legend (the *Iliad*, *Pythian Ode II*, Aeschylus' and Sophocles' tragedies) presupposes a canonical representation of Ixion's and Zeus' relationship: although the King acquires some mental capabilities, these are limited to a utilitarian function, causing the mortal hero to remain the physically and mentally weaker of the pair.

(c) Euripides

Euripides' tragedy *Ixion* develops the *mythologeme of Ixion's mental capacity* beyond what is prescribed by the key narrative construct (Ixion must possess sufficient cunning to execute his first crime and plan his second). In Euripides' account, Ixion is represented as 'a boaster or sophistic reasoner', whose innovative duplicity results in him 'perversely defending his crimes and coming near to disputing the very existence of duty and virtue'.[84] In a direct reversal of Pindar's account, wherein Ixion warns mankind to refrain from the crime he had committed, Euripides' character exults in his daring and perseverance (fr.426):

τά τοι μέγιστα πάντ' ἀπείργασται βροτοῖς τόλμ' ὥστε νικᾶν· οὔτε γὰρ τυραννίδες χωρὶς πόνου γένοιντ' ἂν οὔτ' οἶκος μέγας	Boldness is the way for mortal men to win all the greatest prizes. Neither tyrannies, nor great palaces can be acquired without toil.

The *innovative motif of Ixion's cynicism* is revealed further by Fragment 426a, where he advises to be brazen and duplicitous, claiming that profit justifies any immorality:

τοῦ μὲν δικαίου τὴν δόκησιν ἄρνυσο,τὰ δ' ἔργα τοῦ πᾶν δρῶντος ἔνθα κερδανεῖ	Strive for the reputation of a just man, and for the deeds of a man, prepared to do anything if he gains profit from it.

Unlike Pindar, who presents a remorseful Ixion, and Aeschylus, who endows his Ixion with a sense of honour sufficient to recognise that 'βίου πονηροῦ θάνατος εὐκλεέστερος' (fr.90),[85] Euripides shows Ixion's mind as corrupt and denies him anagnorisis. Despite his innovative cynical intelligence, the mental capacity with which Euripides endows Ixion does not encompass the *motif of self-judgement*: unlike Aeschylus' Ixion, he is incapable of recognising his own moral shortcomings.

From the surviving fragments of the tragedy it appears that Ixion's mind, in contrast to his counterparts in earlier mythoplastic accounts, remains unbroken by his torment: Zeus' punishment, so effective in Pindar's *Pythian Ode II* (Ixion becomes a reporter of prudence) and Aeschylus' rendition (where Ixion recognises the dishonour of his 'βίου πονηροῦ', 'worthless life'), fails to achieve its goal. This shortcoming in Ixion's punishment is indicative of

[84] Boyce, p.23.
[85] 'Death would be more glorious than a worthless life'.

Euripides' characterisation of Zeus, who, in contrast to his counterpart in Pindar's, Aeschylus' and Sophocles' accounts, limits his retaliation to synchrony (Ixion's bodily pain experienced in the present moment). The purely physical nature of Ixion's punishment is reaffirmed by an episode recorded in Plutarch's *Moralia*, in which Euripides reacts to the heavy criticism of his audience, who found his representation of Ixion to be 'ungodly and defiled';[86] according to Plutarch:

ὥσπερ ὁ Εὐριπίδης εἰπεῖν λέγεται πρὸς τοὺς …'οὐ μέντοι πρότερον αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐξήγαγον ἢ τῷ τροχῷ προσηλῶσαι.	Euripides is said to have answered to them thus…I did not however take him off the stage before I had nailed him to the wheel.

From this response, it becomes evident that Euripides regarded Ixion's restraint as an equalising conclusion, sufficient to punish him for his misconduct. In order to exhibit the full physical horror of his punishment, Euripides is claimed to have brought Ixion's wheel on stage on an *ἐκκύκλημα*,[87] or alternatively, as some scholars propose, *ἀπὸ μηχανῆς*, with the help of a crane system.[88] Thus, the function of Zeus' mode of punishment in Euripides is that of a visual tableau, which serves only to depict the physical pain of Ixion's restraint. It is possible that the visual corpus (amphorae, a sarcophagus, a bronze mirror), analysed in the last part of the present chapter, goes back to the same tradition of graphically representing the wheel as Ixion's instrument of punishment. Although Zeus' name is not directly mentioned in the surviving fragments, the dynamics of his relationship with Ixion are marginally reversed as compared to earlier mythoplastic accounts: Ixion is for the first time endowed with an intelligence beyond what is prescribed by the key narrative construct (although insufficient for self-reflection), while Zeus, on the other hand, begins to lose his customary wisdom and foresight, as reflected in his deficient method of punishment.

An analysis of the representation of the relationship of Zeus and Ixion in the Classical hypertext, has revealed that in all mythoplastic accounts Zeus is represented as the dominant

[86] 'τοὺς τὸν Ἰξίονα λοιδοροῦντας ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ μιαρόν', 'Ixion was condemned as wicked and polluted' (19d-e).
[87] A wheeled platform which transported interior decorations from backstage to the stage.
[88] Sourvinou-Inwood, p.473.

power. Although in Pindar's, Aeschylus' and Euripides' accounts Ixion's mental capacity is developed beyond the requirements of the key narrative construct (he is endowed with knowledge and sophistic cunning), nothing in his depiction suggests independent wisdom: in Pindar's account Ixion's wise counsel is inspired by the gods, while Aeschylus' Ixion lacks the ability to judge his own conduct. Thus, it was left to Annensky to explore a transvaluation of the relationship between gods and man, endowing the mortal sufferer with an emotional, intellectual and moral superiority to the gods.

II

The Neo-mythological Intertext:
Innokenty Annensky's Tsar' Iksion

The depiction of the relationship between Ixion and the gods, which in Antiquity was presented either through authorial narration (as in the Homeric epic and Pindar's *Ode*) or through dramatic dialogue (as in Euripides' surviving fragments), is revealed by Annensky primarily through the prism of the hero's own perception and speech. The relations of the King with the divine characters will be analysed in accordance with consecutive stages of the dramatic action, which correspond to the main phases of Ixion's self-discovery:

First stage	*Exposition*	Refers to the aftermath of the protagonist's crime of kindred murder and includes Ixion's communication with Lyssa and the Coryphaeus.
Second stage	*Conflict*	Encompasses Ixion's interchange with Hermes and his response to Zeus' invitation to the feast where he encounters Hera, and his passion for her originates.
Third stage	*Peripeteia*	Includes the revelation of the protagonist's passion for Hera and his interaction with the simulacrum.
Fourth stage	*Anagnorisis*	Develops Ixion's recognition of the illusory nature of the simulacrum and the divine deception culminating in his punishment on the wheel.

The four-stage approach to Annensky's tragedy is based on the study of the Classical hypertext conducted in the first part of this chapter, in which the key narrative construct of the mythological plotline, consisting of the same four mythonarremes, was identified and analysed: the first stage is based on Ixion's crime of kindred murder; the second on the origin of his

passion for Hera; the third on his interaction with the goddess and the simulacrum; the fourth on his punishment on the wheel.

Section 1.

The Kindred Murder Mythonarreme: Exposition

The first stage of the dramatic action (scenes 1-3 of Act I), can be termed the 'exposition', since it reveals Ixion's character at the height of his despair, before any news of his pardon has reached him. The exposition is based on the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, Ixion's kindred murder, since it relates the aftermath of the deed. Annensky deploys five mythologemes to amplify and transform the first mythonarreme (three innovative, one extra-mythological and only one intra-mythological), all of which are centred on the hero's mental and physical state after he commits the crime of kindred murder.

Annensky retains the *intra-mythological mythologeme of mental derangement,* present in Pindar's text, in order to offer an insight into his hero's spiritual state prior to the dramatic action. The initial impression which Ixion produces on the audience, formed on the basis of Lyssa's descriptive opening speech and the hero's own delirium, is of complete irrationality: his sleep is insane ('безумный') and his appearance rabid ('Клочья пены / На бороде...').[89] The *innovative motif of Ixion's dishevelled appearance*, introduced in Lyssa's expressive depiction of his foam-spattered beard, is confirmed by contextually synonymous lexemes in later stage directions, referring to Ixion's distress.[90] Ixion himself reveals that the cause of his troubled state of mind is the aftermath of his first crime: his palace was set alight and his entire livelihood destroyed. The aetiology of the *intra-mythological motif of Ixion's madness*, which intertextually connects the Russian tragedy with Pindar's account, where Ixion is described as suffering 'a maddened state of mind' (27), is transferred in Annensky's play from the physical

[89] All quotations from Annensky's play *Tsar' Iksion* are taken from Annensky, 2000, pp.103-166.
[90] 'Глаза воспаленные, взгляд мутный – у него вид пьяного'.

plane to the psychological. Whereas in the Classical account Ixion's madness is caused by a physiological desire (he is mad with lust for Hera), in Annensky's tragedy the king's insanity is initiated by his inner suffering.

At this stage of the dramatic action, the play contains no clear authorial explanation for Ixion's insanity: his guilty conscience seems to be irrelevant to his inner torture, as he shows no sign of remorse for the murder of his father-in-law. He negatively characterises the old man:

> Царь алчен был, / И глух, и стар. На золото одно / Потухшие зеницы разгорались

Divine punishment seems to be equally irrelevant to the king's suffering (Lyssa implies that Ixion is her victim, but displays a certain degree of care, which is indicative of her benign affection for him).

> Или жертва/Готовится мне новая?... И где приют, / Где силы он найдет для жизни новой? / Я думала отдать его другим / Богам, надежней вас, небесных, Гермий.

The cause of suffering is revealed by the protagonist himself, through the introduction of the *innovative motif of Ixion's psychological interiorisation*. Ixion implies that his affliction originates within his own mind; his reaction to the Coryphaeus' advice to escape from Lyssa, the goddess of madness, shows that he cannot find refuge in physical flight:

> *Иксион*: Бежать? О нет... богини... На земле / Приюта царь без царства не имеет

Indeed, at a later stage in the action, Ixion reveals that Lyssa and the other gods cannot be held responsible for his dread crime and its consequences. Transforming the *intra-mythological motif of Ixion's divinely inspired madness* (confirmed by the semantic sphere of Pindar's adjective 'μαινομέναις', 'raging, maddened', relating it to the frenzy of Bacchic rituals), Annensky removes the gods' agency as a potential cause of Ixion's insanity, introducing an *innovative motif of an internalised impetus for Ixion's torment* which was invariably external in the Classical hypertext.

Alongside an intertextual allusion to the motif of madness, most likely inherited from Pindar's treatment of the plotline, Annensky introduces an *innovative mythologeme of infamy*, with which Ixion believes his name is soiled ('имя, / Покрытое позором'). Annensky's concept

of infamy (expressed by the word ‘позор’, whose etymology relates it to the meaning ‘view, spectacle’ and connects it with the verb ‘зреть’ and the noun ‘взор’) implies the assessment of others. The *motif of worthlessness,* found in Aeschylus’ rendition of the mythological plotline, which carries connotations of external evaluation (‘worthless’ implies ‘in the eyes of someone else’), is replaced in Annensky’s play by the *innovative motif of Ixion’s shame* (‘от стыда поднять не смея глаз’), responsible for enhancing the ethical element in the characterisation of the hero. The feeling of shame experienced by Annensky’s Ixion is internal and self-referential, specifying the hero’s own criticism of himself in his torment. In accordance with the vector of his mythological development towards psychological interiorisation, Annensky transforms external events into traits for ethical introspection.

The king’s shame is developed with the help of a further *innovative mythologeme of pitiful self-abasement*, which illustrates the extent of the transformation of Ixion’s individuality: in contrast to the proud King, full of life and happiness, whom Lyssa recalls in her first speech,[91] Ixion describes himself in terms of self-abasement, as being afraid to raise his eyes and able only to bow and weep (‘я кланялся и плакал’). The extent of Annensky’s transformation of Ixion’s traditional characteristics is revealed through an intertextual allusion to Plutarch’s *Moralia (How the Young Man Should Study Poetry)*, describing the horror which Euripides’ hero elicited from his audience (19d-e):

τοὺς τὸν Ἰξίονα λοιδοροῦντας ὡς ἀσεβῆ καὶ μιαρόν	Men reviled Ixion as ungodly and defiled

The *motif of repulsion* is countered by Annensky in the speech of the Coryphaeus, who claims that Ixion’s plight arouses more pity and affection than horror:

Корифей: Но ужаса там меньше, чем любви / И жалости

In contrast to the monstrous transgressor of antiquity, Annensky’s image of Ixion is characterised by the *innovative motif of ethical introspection*, making the protagonist capable not

[91] ‘А за оградой уст у гордеца / Светилось столько жизни, столько счастья’.

only of self-condemnation, but also of self-punishment. Ixion's own remark, addressed to Lyssa, reveals that his moral suffering has already mounted him on a tormenting, revolving wheel (Act I, scene 2), thus prefiguring Zeus' punishment, the final mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, and making it largely unnecessary:

О, подожди мучительным круженьем / Сводить меня и, как на колесе / Вытягивать и бить о землю

In complementary distribution to the representation of Ixion, whose unprecedented psychological complexity is revealed by three mythologemes (two innovative and one intra-mythological), Annensky reduces the characterisation of all the divine entities in the first stage of the dramatic action: Zeus, Lyssa, the Coryphaeus and the nymphs. Although, following the canons of Ancient tragedy, the opening speech of the play is delivered by a divine character, Lyssa, the function of her speech is merely auxiliary:[92] she informs the audience of the protagonist's name, mentions the fire in the king's palace, and the disturbed state of Ixion's mind, whose sleep she is reluctant to trouble. Her own characteristics, however, remain obscure, save for her status as a goddess ('Богиня я, увы!') and her custody of Ixion ('Сегодня год, как мой он...'). Nothing is revealed about the motives for her conduct or indeed her relationship to the protagonist (only Ixion's lack of affection is affirmed: 'моих / Он жарких рук во сне искать не будет').[93] All Lyssa's subsequent speeches serve auxiliary purposes of clarifying Ixion's elliptical, cryptic delirium, introducing him to the Chorus of nymphs and explaining what he is talking about (when he gives the number of some unidentified objects lost in the fire, implying his horses: 'Про кобылиц своих огнистокрылых / Забредил царь'), or setting the scene of the action ('Безвестный и суровый / Утесами нас обступает край'). The only discernible ethical element in Lyssa's self-characterisation is revealed through the *innovative mythologeme of triumphant gloating at the divine power* she enjoys over her victims. The *innovative motif of*

[92] Vlasova, p.77.
[93] Vlasova, p.77.

Lyssa's divine cruelty is revealed through her description of the madness which she instils in Heracles. She relishes every detail of her victim's suffering:

Он танцевал под музыку мою, / И танца вам такого не увидеть. / Детей своих безумец погубил, / Мегарой мне пожертвовал, беснуясь

It is possible that the character of Lyssa was assimilated by Annensky from Euripides' *Heracles* in which Λύσσα (Madness), much like Annensky's Lyssa, claims that she will cause the object of her torture (Heracles) to dance wildly to her tune of terror:

τάχα σ᾽ ἐγὼ μᾶλλον χορεύσω καὶ καταυλήσω φόβῳ.	Soon will I set you dancing wilder and play the flute to drive you into terror.

However although Annensky's Lyssa refers to her former activities in a parallel way to Euripides' character, her representation differs dramatically from the Classical 'demon of madness'.[94] In contrast to Euripides' 'bestialis[ed] Lyssa', who performs 'diabolic dance' and is 'the bringer of ruin for Heracles' household',[95] Annensky's heroine is humanised and endowed with sophisticated mental capacities for pity and affection.[96]

Annensky relies upon the *innovative motif of Lyssa's threatening intimidation* to characterise the moral nature of the divinity, who plants into the Coryphaeus' mind the possibility of her lover's unfaithfulness, implying that it might make the deceived woman turn to the goddess of frenzy in hope of revenge.

Но если б / Избранник твой с улыбкой поглядел / На женщину, то ласковое слово / Для Лиссы бы ты, нежная, нашла

Aside from her terrible appearance and the power to drive her victims insane, Lyssa possesses no other characteristic features and so presents little interest in herself.

Они в золотистых и белых туниках и розовых или оранжевых напусках… У блондинок жемчужные гребни на косах, у брюнеток-золотые…

Similarly, the Coryphaeus and her Chorus of nymphs remain on the level of secondary characters, whose only function is to comment upon Ixion's actions and initiate conversation, through which the hero reveals his own ethics. The Chorus is represented with the help of a single

[94] Provenza, p.68.
[95] Provenza, p.73.
[96] For a more detailed analysis of the Euripidean Lyssa as well as her visual representations (e.g. on a volute crater from Lucania, c.360BC) see: Provenza, pp.68-93.

extra-mythological mythologeme of divine physical beauty, present both in Lyssa's speech, who refers to individual nymphs with an impersonal descriptive noun, relating to their outward appearance ('Красавица') and in authorial stage directions:

Аромат / Послышался... Откуда он?.. Я луга / Не вижу здесь... Не лилии... / Нежней... / Таких цветов сады людей не знают

The distinguishing feature of the Chorus, prefiguring their appearance on stage, is the *nymphs' sweet aroma,* a *motif* which serves as a metaphor for their ethereal lightness and reduces their status to that of fragrant but inanimate flowers:

Корифей: Будь счастлив, бог, сын Майи легкокрылой. / Гермес: Вы радуйтесь, богини, легче птиц, / Как облака, вы, нимфы

The *extra-mythological motif of the nymphs' frivolity* is further emphasised through their speech (including divine laughter), indicative of the gods' carefree nature. Their conversations centre on mundane facts and physical descriptive remarks, conflicting starkly with Ixion's mind-probing self-analysis. Even the unemotional exchange of greetings between the Coryphaeus and Hermes, which is based upon the *extra-mythological motif of everlasting divine bliss*, is presented in striking contrast to Ixion's eternal suffering and expressive grief:

Корифей: Будь счастлив, бог, сын Майи легкокрылой. / Гермес: Вы радуйтесь, богини, легче птиц, / Как облака, вы, нимфы

As revealed in the Preface to his play, Annensky intended the Chorus and the Coryphaeus to be closely connected with the dramatic action,[97] in effect implying that, like Lyssa's, their function is mainly auxiliary. The Coryphaeus, for instance, has the role of initiating Lyssa's narrative of Orestes ('Ты мучила Ореста?'), based on an intertextual allusion to Aeschylus' *Eumenides* and raising associations with Ixion's purification (also mentioned by Aeschylus). Annensky's *innovative mythologeme of the divine lack of verbal eloquence* is exemplified by the Coryphaeus, who, despite being a divinity ostensibly endowed with superior foresight, only advises Ixion to perform an action predetermined by the development of the mythological plotline (to go to Zeus in order to ask pardon for his kindred murder). Her advice cannot be regarded as

[97] 'Как можно более слить хор с действием'.

indicative of divine wisdom, since Ixion's appearance at the Olympian feast presupposes a prior pardon from Zeus for his kindred murder. Despite her acquaintance with Zeus, which she professes to Lyssa, the Coryphaeus can only describe the god in accordance with the *intra-mythological motifs of Zeus' magnanimity and generosity,* responsible for denoting qualities expected from the greatest divinity, but subsequently denied by the action of Annensky's play:

Нет зависти в душе / Великой и прекрасной. И боязни / Перед судом детей не знает Зевс

Thus, in the first stage of the dramatic action, Annensky lays the foundations for the transformation of the canonical relationship between Ixion and the gods. In contrast to Ixion, who is capable of searching self-assessments, the three divine beings are shown as inferior and shallow in their psychological and intellectual capacities.

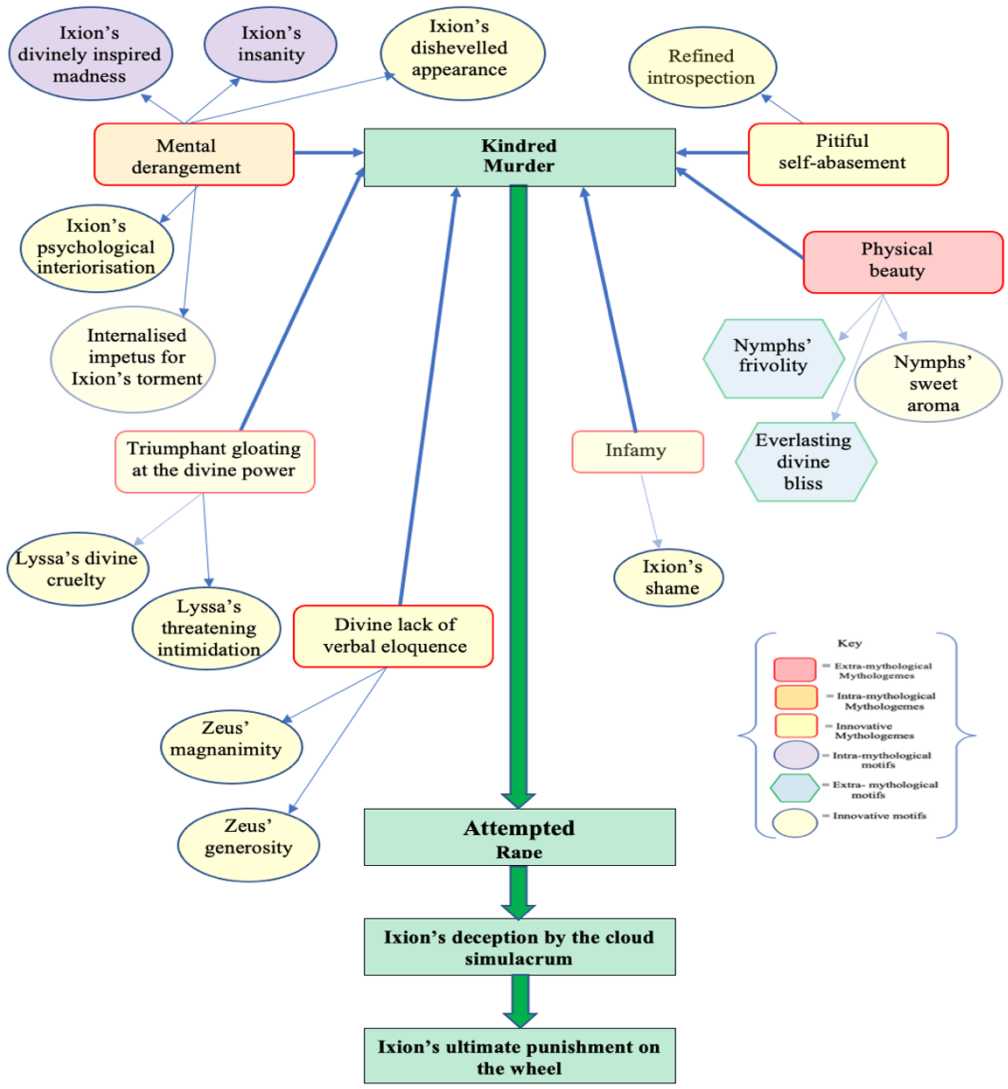


Fig.8. The organisation of the first mythonarreme (Kindred Murder) of the key narrative construct. Stage 1: Exposition

As shown in *fig.*8, Annensky relies upon a combination of the three typological categories of mythologemes in constructing the dramatic action around the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct. Although the crime of kindred murder remains outside the narrative framework, Annensky focuses his attention on characterising Ixion's retrospective ethical response to his offence, deploying it as a prism through which he reveals the function of the first mythonarreme. In contrast to the Classical hypertext, where the crime itself formed the primary focus of the first mythonarreme (as in *The Perrhaebian Women*), Annensky shifts his audience's attention from crime to punishment, centring his dramatic action on the ethical rather than the physical aspect of the deed. The semantic function of the kindred murder mythonarreme is thus transformed, from a gruesome slaughter characterising Ixion's ruthlessness, to the cause of the hero's retrospective self-loathing and self-punishment.

Section 2.

The Attempted Rape Mythonarreme: Conflict

The second stage of the dramatic action, encompassing Ixion's verbal exchange with Hermes and his response to Zeus' invitation, can be termed *the conflict,* since it uncovers the hero's negative attitude to the gods. The *conflict* of Annensky's play is related to the *second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct*, *Ixion's attempted rape of Hera,* since it offers an insight into the hero's reasons for trying to dishonour the goddess. Annensky deploys nine mythologemes to develop and transform the second mythonarreme (five innovative, two intra-mythological and two extra-mythological), focused on representing the hero's attitude towards the gods before he attempts to commit the crime of rape.

Annensky deploys three dramatic, narrative strategies, amoebaean dialogue, reported speech and monologue, to transform the Ixion plotline. The first of these strategies, dialogue, can provisionally be termed 'correlative', as it simultaneously reveals the attitude of the two participants to each other and so invites comparison between them. Characterising the brief

interchange between the protagonist and Hermes, Annensky introduces the *intra-mythological mythologeme of divine condescension*. Conversely, Ixion looks at the god in the light of his own ethical development in self-criticism. Hermes regards Ixion as a comic, deluded character, beneath himself in standing and intelligence,[98] whereas Ixion treats the god and his embassy with suspicion. Thus, the *innovative mythologeme of Ixion's distrust of divine beings* appears in Annensky's play:

> Иль, как Лисса, / Из дома в дом меня ты поведешь? / Иль, может быть, ошибка тут?
> Иль сердце / Ты среди нимф над нищим тешишь, Гермий?

Ixion's polysyndetic questions reveal a whole string of negative traits which he believes the gods possess: the *intra-mythological motif of divine heartlessness* is manifested in protracting the protagonist's humiliation by taking him from door to door, the *innovative motif of Ixion's belief in divine incompetence* ('ошибка') and the *intra-mythological motif of Ixion's belief in divine cruelty* are displayed in suspected mockery before the carefree nymphs.

Annensky puts the main stress on the *motif of divine cruelty,* by delaying Ixion's mention of Hermes' mockery to the last position in his list of rhetorical questions, making it the focal point of the hero's encounter with the gods and providing justification for his attitude to them. In order to demonstrate the validity of his accusation, Ixion adopts a retrospective stance, alluding to a precedent when his supplication was ignored by the gods:

> Вы, боги, как один/Передо мной захлопывали двери

The *intra-mythological motif of divine mercilessness* is emphasised by representing the gods as a hostile monolith ('как один'), united against Ixion's weakness ('как слабое дитя') and isolation.

Annensky's play intertextually alludes to the *extra-mythological mythologeme of the hero's successful supplication* present in Aeschylus' *Eumenides,* where Ixion's plea to the gods is referred to as an exemplum of divine absolution for Orestes, and inverts it by causing the

[98] Cf. 'Рассудок Иксиону / Не помешал бы также... / Ты рассмешил меня. Я не сержусь.'

Olympians to reject the supplication. An intertextual allusion to the hearth at which Aeschylus' Ixion sat as a suppliant (440-1), present in Annensky's reference to the 'fragrant altars' ('алтарей душистых'), where his hero begged for pardon, reveals the extent of the transformation of the extra-mythological mythologeme. Whereas in Antiquity divine beings were depicted as giving ear to suppliants (Aeschylus calls Ixion's supplication 'σεμνὸς', 'sacred', *Eum.* 441; Thetis' supplication to Zeus is successful *Od*.I.500; Achilles' prayer to light Patroclus' pyre is granted, *Il*.23.196 etc.),[99] in Annensky's play the *intra-mythological motif of divine mercy* is challenged by the *motif of divine callousness*, in accordance with which the gods fail in their traditional role as the guardians of suppliants.

In order to characterise the new link which connects Ixion and the divine beings Annensky introduces an *intra-mythological mythologeme of the hero's problematic relationship with the gods,* intertextually inherited from Pindar's *mythologeme of a special bond* between Ixion and Zeus. In Annensky's play the relationship which Ixion envisages between himself and the gods, in particular Zeus, referred to by his patronymic 'Кронид', in order to associate him more closely with the other divinities (Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Hestia, Hades and Chiron are all children of Cronos), is based on *the intra-mythological motif of a paternal and filial bond*: Ixion envisages Zeus as an indulgent adult who showers his son with childish toys:

Игрушек / Ребяческих, которыми Кронид / Мне колыбель наполнил

The adjective 'ребяческих' carries connotations of immaturity, which overshadow its primary meaning of 'children's'. In Ixion's mind, he is for Zeus nothing more than a plaything, a powerless babe confined to a cradle ('колыбель'), capable only of a relationship based on passive reception, rather than on reciprocity.

[99] Pedrick, p.127.

Instead of an attachment based on the *intra-mythological motif of a paternal and filial bond*, inspired by the Classical tradition and reflected at the initial stages of the key narrative construct, where Ixion was represented as the mortal recipient of divine blessings (cf. Aeschylus' *Eumenides*), Annensky's King desires a different relationship, based on the *innovative motif of equality*: he aspires to be made a god. When this wish is refused by Hermes, who reminds the King of his criminal past, Ixion sees death as the only alternative, choosing to terminate any form of present or future relationship with Zeus:

> Коль богом / Не стану я среди его гостей? / Дай умереть...

The *intra-mythological motif of Ixion's pride*, introduced by Lyssa in her opening speech ('гордец') and subsequently moved to the periphery of the narrative by the *innovative motifs of shame* and *emotional torment*, is reintroduced by Hermes, in order to characterise Ixion's rejection of a potential relationship with Zeus:

> Но гордеца такого и дракон / Не зародит, насытив землю ядом, / Чтоб от порога Зевсова бежал

This initial refusal of Annensky's King to accept the divine invitation, signals a transformation of the *extra-mythological mythologeme of the hero's successful supplication* to the point of complete rejection. In direct contrast to Aeschylus' King, who actively supplicated Zeus, Annensky's Ixion clearly stipulates that, if he enters into any form of interaction with the god, he will neither beseech Zeus, nor attempt to flatter or gain favour with him:

> Иду, Гермес. Но только не с мольбой…без надежды тайной / Понравиться державному, чтоб лесть / Ему продать дороже

The *motif of Ixion's contempt towards Hermes* is developed further in his treatment of Hermes, one of the twelve Olympian deities. Although Ixion is assured that he will never be granted a relationship with Zeus based on equality of status,[100] he attempts to replicate Zeus' pre-eminence among the gods by treating Hermes as a servant ('слуга… / Для строгого хозяина') and warning him ('смотри') to be wary of the quality of his service.

[100] Shelogurova, p.136.

In response to Ixion's transgression of the canonical boundaries of communication with the gods, Hermes changes his mode of conversation: in contrast to the gentle exhortation with which he commenced his dialogue with Ixion ('Но ободрись'), the god addresses him in the tone of urgent command ('Одумайся, лапит, и повинуйся'); thus the *innovative mythologeme of divine condescension* is introduced. Annensky inverts Hermes' original approach to Ixion as a comic, deluded individual by establishing a direct verbal correspondence between his earlier phrase ('Ты рассмешил меня') and later statement ('Я не смеюсь'). The *intra-mythological motif of the hero's madness* (presented in the exposition of the dramatic action), intertextually inherited from Pindar and transformed by Annensky to encompass ethical elements, is completely rejected by the end of the dialogue between Ixion and Hermes ('Да, вижу: не безумец').

Annensky replaces the motif of the hero's madness with an *innovative mythologeme based on the king's perverted relationship with the gods*: 'Ты с божества, но неудачный слепок'. The *innovative motif of Ixion's origin* contains an allusion to the account of the creation of man (*Genesis* 1:26-27), whom God made in his image, raising an array of associations with primaeval sin and disappointed expectation. The *innovative motif of Ixion as an unsuccessful replica*, which attempts to mimic, but falls short of its original, sums up the gods' conception of Ixion at this stage of the dramatic action: the protagonist is nothing more than their own failed creation. In this respect Ixion, as revealed in his dialogue with Hermes, is worse than a madman ('Ты хуже, чем безумец, Иксион'), since he represents the reverse, failed opposite of the carefree gods: an ailing ('Ты для меня больной') and flawed being.

Ixion's conduct at the Olympian feast, as well as the gods' reactions to it, is described by Annensky with the help of the narrative strategy of reported speech, widely used in Ancient tragedy to relate events which took place off-stage. Although the messenger-goddess Iris, endowed with the function of a narrator, describes rather than analyses the scene of the feast,

she provides vital information about the attitude which the gods adopted towards Ixion. In contrast to the flippant mockery (‘Иль сердце / Ты среди нимф над нищим тешишь’) or harshness (‘строгого хозяина’) which Ixion initially envisaged in the gods, the scene of the divine reception of the hero is permeated with muted respect. Even Zeus is said to have shown the utmost courtesy towards his guest by descending the steps from his throne:[101]

> Державный царь, и тот со ступеней / Своих спустился, чтобы видеть гостя

In order to characterise the scene of Ixion’s reception among the gods, Annensky introduces the *extra-mythological mythologeme of a hero’s welcome*, absent from the Classical mythoplastic hypertext of the Ixion legend. In contrast to Pindar’s *Pythian Ode II* which reveals nothing of Zeus’ attitude to his guest (Pindar only states that Ixion was offered a sweet life among the gods), Annensky elucidates Zeus’ reaction to Ixion’s conduct at the feast with the help of a simile, formed in accordance with the canons of epic comparison. The simile begins with an introductory particle, ‘ἠΰτε’, ‘ὡς’ or ‘ὥς τε’, ‘so’ (in Annensky’s text, ‘Как’), which separates an episode from the main narration, and concludes with a closing particle, ‘ὣς’, ‘thus’ (in Annensky’s text, ‘И так’):

> ‘Державный улыбнулся... / Как из-за тучи солнце иногда / Проглянет, и нахмуренные сосны / И гордые осыпаны, / глядишь, / Златистыми лучами скалы... И так сказал отец …’

The *innovative motif of Zeus’ benevolent nature*, which Annensky relies upon to depict Zeus’ change of heart, echoes the description of Ixion’s surroundings in Act I (‘скалы’ and ‘Утесами’; ‘сосны’ and ‘ели’; ‘Златистыми лучами’ and ‘Золотою нитью солнца’), transforming the initial hostility encountered by the hero into welcoming acceptance.

Annensky’s *extra-mythological mythologeme of a hero’s welcome* is further amplified with the help of the *intra-mythological motif of hospitality in a host-guest relationship (xenia)*, intertextually inherited from Classical mythoplastic accounts, in particular Pindar’s. Ixion’s

[101] A possible extra-mythological parallel with Virgil’s Eclogues, 6.64-8, in which the choir of Phoebus is refered to as rising to greek Gallus: ‘Tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum… utque viro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis’, ‘Then he sings of Gallus wandering by Permessus' stream, and how the whole choir of Phoebus rose before him;’. In both Annensky’s and Virgil’s texts, the rising of divine entities from their seats represents an act of superlative respect.

status as guest is confirmed by Zeus himself, who invites the King as his 'joyful guest' ('моим веселым гостем'). However, in contrast to Pindar, who only characterises the intimacy of Ixion's special bond with Zeus by introducing a reference to a semantically highly marked location (Ixion is granted access to Zeus' *oikos*), Annensky constructs a complete type-scene of a hero's welcome. In accordance with Classical conventions, all three *motifs* of a proper guest reception (*washing, clothing* and *feeding*) are represented in the play. The Charites cleanse Ixion of all signs of suffering (1), clothe him in fine garments (2) and lead him to be given a drink (3):

1.	Пленяя глаз, выходит, обновлен, / И свеж меж нас явился, и прекрасен…
2.	Пурпур / Сияющий плечо ему покрыл, / Заколотый аграфом многоценным.
3.	Тут с чашами, как повелел Кронид, / Из тени две богини вышли.

The extent of Annensky's intertextual engagement with the Classical hypertext becomes conspicuous, if his account of Ixion's welcome is compared with a similar type-scene in *Od.*6, which describes the reception of Odysseus at the Phaeacian court. It is noteworthy that in Annensky's account a verbal echo from the *Odyssey* points to a close parallel between the two type-scenes exemplifying hospitality. In both accounts the heroes are not only washed, clothed and fed, but also described by exactly the same simile of a hyacinth's petals, which their hair resembles after washing: Odysseus' after he cleansed himself of brine ('κὰδ δὲ κάρητος οὔλας ἦκε κόμας, ὑακινθίνῳ ἄνθει ὁμοίας'),[102] and Ixion's after the Charites bathed him ('И волосы на голове царя, / Как завитки, клубились гиацинта'). By establishing an extra-mythological parallel with the *xenia* scene in *Odyssey* VI, Annensky signals his intent to characterise the gods' hospitality as ideal (the Phaeacian court was famed for its religious devotion (*Od.*6.291; *Od.*7.35; *Od.*7.136-8) and *xenia*).[103]

[102] 'His locks flowed in curls like a hyacinth flower.'
[103] The Phaeacian Nausicaa (*Od.*8.190-197), Arete and Alcinous (*Od.*8.167-179), show mercy to the supplicating Odysseus.

Despite preserving an intertextual intra-mythological allusion to Pindar's *motif of hospitality*, Annensky offers a justification of Ixion's violation of *xenia*, which is absent from the Classical account. The physiological cause of the King's passion in Pindar reveals nothing about Ixion's mental capacity and reduces his relationship with the gods to a corporeal level (he enjoyed a comfortable stay on Olympus, before lusting after Hera). In contrast to Pindar, who depicts Ixion's impropriety after the description of his reception on Olympus is concluded,[104] Annensky inverts the chronology of events by introducing *the mythologeme of the King's disrespect* at a crucially earlier stage of the narrative (before Zeus invites Ixion to enter into a host-guest relationship):

Но гордо шел оборванный лапит. / Чела он не склонил, и даже ветви / Он не держал молящих… / Не кланяясь и не разжавши губ

This narrative device serves to reveal the cause of Ixion's violation of *xenia*: his disrespect towards the gods is caused not by his passion for Hera, which occurs *after* he sets foot on Olympus, but rather as a result of a mental rejection of the values of Zeus' court, which characterises his attitude *prior* to his appearance on Olympus. As can be seen from his dialogue with Hermes, which occurs before Ixion sees Olympus for himself, he asserts a conviction that the gods' society rests upon flattery and duplicity:

Надежды тайной / Понравиться державному, чтоб лесть / Ему продать дороже

Annensky transforms the purely physiological cause of Ixion's violation of *xenia,* present in the Classical hypertext (the King desired Hera, Pindar, *P*. 2.27-28), into an ethically justified complex of reasons, by which he characterises the King's attitude to the gods: mistrust, verging on contempt.

Annensky develops *the mythologeme of Ixion's disrespect* further by altering the medium of narration from third-person (in Iris' account) to direct speech, through which the King reveals his reaction to the gods in retrospect. The *innovative motif of Ixion's*

[104] Although there is a description of Ixion's arrogance before Zeus' invitation, it cannot be regarded as a violation of *xenia*, since the King had not yet entered into a binding relationship with Zeus.

disappointment characterises the hero's description of Mount Olympus, which he illustrates through a polysyndetic list of nouns denoting shallow, noisy merriment and splendour ('И шум, и блеск чертога').[105] Ixion implies that the stultifying idealisation of Olympus, glorified in old tales he had heard as a child, does not correspond to his own perception:

> Так вот он, тот Олимп, который наш / Ласкал одним названьем в старых сказках / Ребячий слух

He likens his experience to a feverish dream,[106] drawing an implicit parallel with the delirious sleep he experienced at the start of the play, before his sojourn with the gods ('сон безумный'). By suggesting that his divine pardon and subsequent entertainment on Olympus had the same effect upon him as his earlier suffering, Ixion implicitly denies Zeus the ability to absolve sin, prescribed by the Classical tradition. The *innovative motif of the hero's distrust of the gods* is reintroduced at this stage in the dramatic action through Ixion's disbelief that he had been made a divinity, equal in blissful carelessness to the Nymphs in Act I: he has lost his daring will and passionate desires, but has not acquired divine peace of mind:

> Иль точно бог, / Амвросии вкусивший, я? Но где ж / Дерзание? Где знойный жар желаний?.. / Где сил покой божественный?

Annensky reveals the full extent of Ixion's sacrilegious suspicion by introducing an intertextual *intra-mythological* allusion to the *mythologeme of purification*, present in Aeschylus' *Eumenides*. Whereas in the Classical account Ixion's purification serves as an example of Zeus' power to forgive, in Annensky's tragedy Ixion doubts the god's ability to wash away the burden of his crime:

> Клеймо / На мне горит убийцы, и Крониду / Его с души измученной не смыть / Елеем уст его осеребренных

An impersonal construction with the noun 'Крониду' in the dative case followed by the negative form of the imperative infinitive 'не смыть', which presupposes futility, indicates Ixion's conviction that Zeus, despite his superlative divine powers (the term 'елей',

[105] There is a potential intertextual reference between Annensky's line 'И шум, и блеск чертога' and Pushkin's 'Medniy Vsadnik', where Petersburg is characterised by the same two nouns: 'И блеск, и шум, и говор балов' (Вступление).
[106] 'Точно сон / Горячечный, мне утомили сердце'.

etymologically related to 'ἔλαιον', pertains to the semantic field of religion), cannot release his spirit ('души измученной', which is opposed to body) from his branding as murderer. Ixion partakes of divine ambrosia, which in the Classical tradition was regarded as possessing healing and rejuvenating properties. However he continues to feel the pangs of conscience, despite perceiving through his unaltered self-knowledge the ultimate dominance of his own mind, exceeding that of gods.

Annensky's *innovative mythologeme of divine powerlessness*, unparalleled in the Classical hypertext, is characterised by a dichotomy between the *innovative motif of physical blessings* (gods are able to bestow gifts upon the mortal hero) and the *innovative motif of spiritual freedom* (an attribute which no gods can give). Annensky indicates that Ixion's success in pleasing his hosts ('угодить сумеешь господам') is directly correlated with the possibility of regaining his lost kingdom ('Добудешь вновь, пожалуй, царство'), a tangible, physical manifestation of his power. The quotation implies that, since the gods gifted the King with regal garments, his appearance also changed ('Иди ж / Фессалии показывать свой пурпур'). The noun 'пурпур', derived from the Greek 'πορφύρεος' and the Latin 'purpureum', functions as a synecdoche for royal robes, emblems of worldly power. If Ixion were to accept the physical blessings of the gods, his bond with them would be based upon a transaction, by which he would receive tangible compensation in exchange for servility ('Хозяину за ласки заплатить'). Ixion himself realises that such a transaction would result in his loss of identity,[107] since the role of a 'happy parasite' ('паразит счастливый'), which he tentatively ascribes to himself, necessarily rules out his overarching ambition of becoming divine. Ixion is faced with a dilemma: whether it is better to break free of the gods' tempting grasp, exhibiting independence and daring,[108] or to remain their peaceful plaything, devoid *a priori* of free thought and action.

---

[107] Shelogurova, 2010, p.139.
[108] '***Решусь*** ли я душистое кольцо / Богов порвать?'

The *innovative motif of childish powerlessness* is revealed with the help of the adjective ‘игрушечным’, recalling the metaphor of a crib, conjured up by Ixion in Act I scene 5 to describe his stifling powerlessness after his initial crime of kindred murder. In addition to acting as a retrospective reminder, the adjective ‘игрушечным’ has a prospective function of tempting Ixion to commit his second crime, the attempted rape of Hera, which would enable him to escape the infant-like constriction imposed upon him by his new relationship with the gods. Ixion’s breaking free of the strictures of a divine and human relationship by his attempted rape of Hera, enables him to realise his goal of becoming equal to and potentially greater than the gods. Thus, the presence of the *mythonarreme of Ixion’s second crime* in the dramatic plot is necessitated not only by the key narrative construct of the mythological narrative, but also by the introduction of *innovative mythologemes* (e.g. *divine cruelty, the internalised cause of the hero’s madness, perverted xenia*) responsible for endowing the protagonist with psychological characteristics.

The nine mythologemes developing the conflict stage of the dramatic action in Annensky’s play can be represented in the form of a diagram, which illustrates the nature of the transformation of the second mythonarreme in the key narrative construct (*fig*.9):

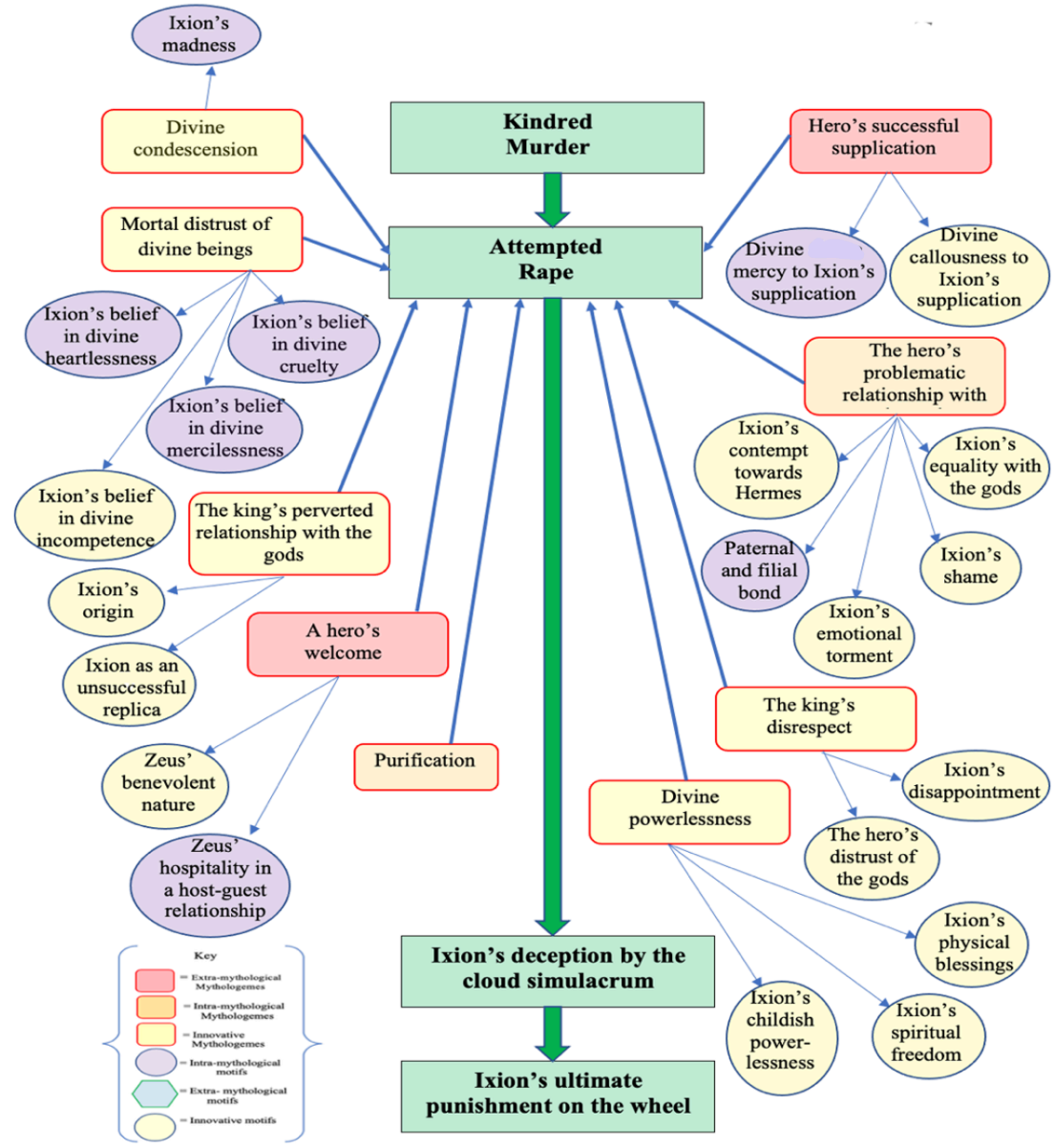


Fig.9. The organisation of the second mythonarreme (attempted rape) of the key narrative construct. Stage 2: Conflict

As shown in *fig.*9, Annensky syncretically combines five innovative, two extra-mythological and two intra-mythological mythologemes, in order to characterise Ixion's relationship with the gods, which determines his subsequent crime of attempted rape. As with the first mythonarreme of kindred murder, Annensky shifts the semantic focus of the second mythonarreme, from its physical aspect (in the Classical hypertext Ixion lusts after Hera and forces his way into Zeus' bedchamber, cf. Pindar's *Ode*), to a prefiguration of his accumulating desire to act on his views of the gods: Ixion's contempt for the unjust power of the gods and his

desire to attain divine status. In contrast to the Classical hypertext, wherein Ixion wishes to commit the crime of rape purely due to his desire for the beautiful goddess, Annensky offers his hero a further impetus. The hero's motivation arises from a combination of the *innovative mythologemes of the king's disrespect, his mortal distrust of divinities*, *divine condescension* and *divine powerlessness* with the *intra-mythological mythologeme of the king's problematic relationship with the gods*: in Annensky's play Ixion's innovatively developed psychology compels him to desire not only corporeal pleasure, but also, more importantly, divine power.

Section 3.

The Simulacrum Mythonarreme: Peripeteia

The third stage of the dramatic action, centred around the mythonarreme of Ixion's deception by the cloud simulacrum, can be termed the *peripeteia*, since it constitutes the turning point in the drama, which reveals the king's destructive passion for the goddess and his delusional interaction with the gods' trap. Annensky introduces five mythologemes to develop the peripeteia of his plot, one intra-mythological and four innovative, corresponding to his extensive transformation of the third mythonarreme of the key construct. In contrast to the first and second stages of the dramatic action, in which Ixion was not represented relative to any love interest (aside from brief mentions of Diva), the third stage puts the hero into close encounters with both the goddess and her illusory image.

At the third stage of the dramatic action, Annensky introduces a radical innovation into Ixion's relations with the gods, by drawing on Classical philosophical reflections on the nature of the Olympian deities, especially concerning the anthropomorphism inherent in Ancient representations (expressed in extant writings of Xenophanes, Aristotle and their followers) and their ennoblement (in Epicurus' works). Annensky's representation of the gods contains a series of potential echoes with surviving fragments of Xenophanes, believed to be among the earlier

Classical philosophers who criticised the Ancient theological order by challenging the anthropomorphic conceptions of deities, which he noted in the works of Homer and Hesiod:[109]

‘πάντα θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν Ὅμηρός θ’ Ἡσίοδός τε ὅσσα παρ’ ἀνθρώποισιν ὀνείδεα καὶ ψόγος ἐστίν, κλέπτειν μοιχεύειν τε καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀπατεύειν.’	‘Homer and Hesiod ascribed to the gods all things which are censurable and flawed when committed by mankind; stealing, adultery, and deceiving each other.’

In his depiction of Olympus, Annensky maximally anthropomorphises the divine sphere by including descriptions of petty events which take place during Ixion’s deification, for example Iris’ description of the behaviour of the child Eros who sneaks a glass of wine behind the adults’ backs:

Эрот / В восторге был, конечно... Любят дети / И у богов за трапезой бокал / Допить порой тайком от няни, нимфа

Echoing Xenophanes’ censure of attributing human traits to superior beings on a verbal level, Annensky introduces an innovative detail into the scene of Ixion’s deification, a representation of Zeus’ adultery and Hera’s womanly jealousy, which Ixion takes note of and explicitly disdains in his subsequent interchange with Hera:

Ты больше не ревнуешь, ты не любишь? / Ты золотых не ненавидишь кос?

Once he visits Olympus and witnesses the adultery, deception and frivolity of the gods, the hero is both fatigued and repelled by the bustling, ostentatious hall of the gods:

И шум, и блеск чертога, точно сон / Горячечный, мне утомили сердце...

Ixion expresses his disappointment with the gods and Olympus, since during the course of the play’s action he has come to the realisation that their existence is determined by the same corrupt principles as those of mortal men.

Ixion’s rejection of the anthropomorphic Olympians closely resembles Aristotle’s teachings on the divine sphere, particularly in *Metaphysics* Λ.8,1074a38-b14, in which he declares the need to break free from the ‘anthropomorphic and mythical features’ ascribed to

[109] For more detailed studies of Xenophanes’ rejection of divine anthropomorphism see: Lesher, pp.1-21; Finkelberg, 1990, pp.103–167; Mansfeld, pp.286-312; Lebedev, pp.385-391. Xenophanes made the general point strikingly with the remark (DK B15) that if cows and horses could draw, they would show the gods, respectively, as cows or horses. See Barnes, p.43.

the gods by poets, in order to fathom the true essence of celestial powers.[110] In *Politics* I. 2, 1252b 25, Aristotle affirms the need to de-anthropomorphise the Ancient gods by repudiating the traditional 'designation of Zeus as the King of the gods'[111] and the mindless projection of human social orders onto the divine sphere:

'καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς δὲ διὰ τοῦτο πάντες φασὶ βασιλεύεσθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ μὲν ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐβασιλεύοντο, ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἴδη ἑαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν.'	'All people say that the gods are ruled by a king on account of this, because some of them even now are, and others in the past were, themselves ruled thus. Just as men imagine the gods to be shaped like them, so also they image their way of life to be like theirs.'

In keeping with Aristotle's rejection of the notion of a 'king god' and his consequent questioning of Zeus' supremacy over the Greek pantheon, Annensky causes his hero to deny the right to power of a supreme god and doubt his traditional ability to cleanse a murderer of pollution:

Клеймо / На мне горит убийцы, Крониду / Его с души измученной не смыть / Елеем уст его осеребренных.

Ixion's scepticism offers a potential explanation for his attempted rape of Hera, since his doubt in Zeus' omnipotence led him to believe himself immune to punishment and empowered him to transgress the boundaries of *xenia* duplicitly protected by Zeus. Since Ixion achieved the status of a god, he acquired a right comparable to that claimed by the Olympians to seize what he desires, including Hera, thereby causing humiliation to Zeus.

Annensky initiates an intertextual dialogue between Xenophanes, Aristotle and Epicurus in the representation of Ixion's conceptualisation of the divine sphere both as an adult and as a child. Ixion's expression of longing, which he harboured since boyhood, for Olympus as a place of serenity and tranquillity populated with intelligent, unemotional and undisturbed superior beings of Zeus' kingdom, could have been inspired by Epicurus, who described the

[110] Segev, p.18.
[111] Segev, p.16.

gods as 'purified, refined, etherealised' beings,[112] withdrawn from human affairs and leading tranquil lives in the intermundia:

Epicurus, *On the Gods*, preserved in Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, III.12.15-16	Epicurus deum beatum et incorruptum uocat, quia sempiternus est. beatitudo enim perfecta esse debet, ut nihil sit quod eam uexare aut minuere aut immutare possit, nec aliter quidquam existimari beatum potest nisi fuerit incorruptum. incorruptum autem nihil est nisi quod est immortale.	Epicurus calls a god blessed and incorrupt because he is eternal. For beautitude ought to be perfect so that there can be nothing which would irritate or lessen or change it, nor can anything be believed as blessed unless it is incorrupt. And nothing is incorrupt except for what is immortal.

Annensky alludes to Epicurus' sketch of divine tranquillity in one of Ixion's speeches after his deification, where the hero outlines the gods' still and somnolent life:

Решусь ли я душистое кольцо / Богов порвать? Иль в сонме их навек / Игрушечным божком останусь мирно?.../ Я не хотел / Забвенья их, души их белой... сердцу / Чего-то жалко стало...

In contrast to Epicurus, for whom the gods and their tranquil *modus vivendi* were ethical paragons to be revered and emulated by mortals, Annensky represents divine beatitude as a state akin to sleep or oblivion ('Забвенья'). Annensky inverts traditionally idealistic concepts such as 'peace' (in 'мирно') or spiritual clarity (in 'души…белой') representing a situation wherein an excess of serenity and transparency is as distant from Epicurean 'beatitude' (as Lactantius puts it) as death, since it precludes all form of emotion and action.

The gods' existence in a state of restful divine bliss is transformed into a shortcoming by Annensky's hero as the gods become emotionally and spiritually stunted in comparison with Ixion. A direct echo can be established between Epicurus' views on the gods and Annensky's conceptualisation of the gods' lack of sensitivity:

Epicurus' *On the gods,* preserved by Philodemus, *On Piety*, Vol. Herc. 2, II.122	And according to Epicurus in *On the Gods*, that which in its nature does not possess a sensitive constitution is like to divinity; a divine nature appears not to share in pains

Expanding Epicurus' notion that gods exist in a state projected as ideally happy,

[112] Hadzsits, p.320. Views on the life of the gods as purified and beatific are found earlier than Epicurus', but his emphasis on tranquillity contrasts particularly strongly with the reactions of Ixion.

tranquil and pleasurable and are invulnerable through lack of danger, loss, over-indulgence (leading to satiety) and change (since change can lead towards an unknown development for the worse), Annensky proposes that the gods are unable to experience psychological suffering. In questioning whether the gods are able to love, Ixion emphasises their emotional invulnerability and claims that, since they are impervious to anguish, they cannot experience true love and so can be rejected altogether on the basis that their life is impoverished relative to that of men:

> Да разве боги любят? Разве тот, / Кто не страдал, кого не жгло сомненье, / Когда-нибудь умел любить?... Их для меня нет больше... Ни богов...

Basing himself on Epicurus' tenets, Annensky introduces a novel concept of divine inferiority in relation to the human sphere: although after his deification, Ixion is recurrently tempted by the prospect of tranquillity ('Как дышится легко здесь... И прохладой. Какой ущелье веет...'). But he foresees that godhead would entail a loss of spiritual development and consequently of mortal identity: 'где ж / Дерзание? Где знойный жар желаний?..' As a result of acquiring the tranquillity of the gods as envisaged by Epicurus, Ixion recognises that he would become a 'toy godlet' ('Игрушечным божком'), forced to adopt a divine *modus vivendi* exemplified by Zeus, Hera and Apate, which involves playing trivial games, with corrupt and often vicious rules.

Contrary to the Classical mythoplastic hypertext, wherein very few mythologemes are deployed to characterise the nature of the king's relationship with the gods, in particular Hera, Annensky introduces two innovative mythologemes: *the hero's purely physical conceptualisation of the goddess* and *his capacity for persuasive argument*. The first of these mythologemes is developed with the help of the *innovative motif of Hera's corporeal description* manifested in Ixion's minute portrayal of her body: her thick eyelashes ('завесы ресниц'), her scarlet lips ('уста ее так алы'), her marble neck ('мрамор шеи'), her divine hair ('божественных волос'), her white forehead ('белое чело') and her high breast ('и грудь ее

высокая’) are all characterised by a series of descriptive epithets pertaining to visual, tactile and olfactory senses: ‘влажно-синий’; ‘алы’; ‘тепл, и бел’; ‘душные волны’. In his thoughts, Ixion invariably conjures up a physical entity, whom he can visualise (‘Я ее / Как будто вижу,’), kiss and smell:

> В ней целовать твой белый, жаркий мрамор’, ‘запах / Божественных волос и силуэт / Прически вы запечатлели, розы.

The image of Hera is reduced to a collection of sensory details and disjointed body parts, described in material terms (her skin is marble, ‘мрамор’; her eyelashes are veils, ‘завесы’), indicating that her representation in the play is fully exhausted by *the innovative motif of Hera’s external appearance*.

Aside from Hera’s divine beauty, however, Ixion mentions nothing of her emotional and spiritual traits or her characteristic features. The only individual peculiarity which the goddess is said to possess is characterised by *the innovative motif of Hera’s divine coldness*, symptomatically represented through the prism of physical beauty, with the help of lexical repetitions (‘холодною’… ‘холодней’):

> Ты красотой холодною, жена, / Мечтала им равняться. Разве хочешь / Быть холодней лилеи и луны?

In contrast to other divine characters such as the nymphs or the Coryphaeus, who pity Ixion’s plight in Act I, Hera is entirely devoid not only of feelings (she characterises herself as divinely calm, ‘царственно спокойная’), but also of individual personality, prefiguring the appearance of the lifeless simulacrum. From Ixion’s portrayal of Hera it becomes clear that his second crime hinges upon a purely physical attraction to the goddess, whom he visualises as a beautiful object of art, more akin to a marble statue (the noun ‘marble’ being the key metaphor in Hera’s description: ‘жаркий мрамор’, ‘мрамор шеи’), than to a fully formed character who could attract him by reciprocated passion or the superiority of her divine mind (in the Classical tradition Hera has the skill of persuasion, *Il.*8.14, and wise counsel, *Il.*21.5).

Hera's flaccid representation is taken further in Annensky's second *innovative mythologeme, the hero's capacity for persuasive argument,* which starkly contrasts with the goddess' cursory style of locution. In response to Ixion's passionate speech, constructed in accordance with the principles of both oratory (a series of polysyndetic rhetorical questions) and lyric poetry (a tricolon of metaphorical, illustrative images based on natural descriptions: 'звезда'; 'тучка'; 'лилея'), Hera's rejection of Ixion with a set of syntactically unconnected exclamations,[113] implies that her feelings and the offspring of her love belong to the past and leaves him no hope for the future. Hera's responses to Ixion are punctuated mainly with ellipses (seventeen in Act III scene 8 alone), marking her curt, hesitant style as diametrically opposite to Ixion's passionate, rhetorical finesse.

Not only Hera's rejection of Ixion's suit but also the absence of any external psychological stimulus, which the goddess' purely physical allure does not include, is overcompensated by the internalisation of the emotional motivation for Ixion's affection: the King colours the veneer of Hera's physical beauty with his own sentiments. Ixion projects the experiences of his former emotional life onto Hera, regarding her as his *raison d'être*:

С тех пор как грудь дыханьем / Моя полна, мне кажется, тобой / Я только и дышал.

Hera's rhetorical question,[114] introducing *the innovative motif of the superiority of Ixion's human feelings over divine emotions* in general and referring to Actaeon's tragic death in particular, acquires new meaning in the context of the hero's passion:

Царь Актеон погиб из-за любви К одной из нас... Иль много вас, безумцев?

Even though he understands that his union with Hera will result in eternal torture, Ixion is willing to cross out his past life, his wife Diva, his aspiration to become a god and endure great suffering: [115]

Может Зевс / Изобрести, пожалуй, пытку вроде / Сизифовой

[113] 'Ты дерзок, царь... я мать... и я любила'
[114] 'Или сильней, чем боги, люди любят?'
[115] 'Бессилен образ муки / Расшевелить мой ум'.

The *innovative motif of* Ixion's *voluntary endurance of suffering* (in Ixion's mind suffering and the ability to doubt distinguish mortal men from gods), is Annensky's most important innovation in the protagonist's character, radically contrasted with his predecessors' conceptions. Unlike the Classical hypertext, which does not ascribe to Ixion any comprehension of the sacrifices entailed by a union with Hera (in Pindar, Ixion understands the consequences of his crime only retrospectively, after he is punished on the wheel), Annensky's hero enters into a supposed relationship with the goddess possessing complete knowledge of his future (his torture on the wheel completes the triptych of punished transgressors with Tantalus and Sisyphus: 'пытку вроде / Сизифовой'). Thus, in contrast with Pindar's Ixion, whose lust for Hera is part of the king's 'mad mind' ('μαινομέναις φρασίν', 27), the actions of Annensky's Ixion are characterised by *the intra-mythological motif of Ixion's complete possession of mental faculties*: his decision to court Hera is heroically deliberate.

Annensky introduces *an innovative mythologeme of his hero's premonition of his fate*, which allows the protagonist to foresee his own future with greater accuracy than the goddess:

> Забудь скорей, / Что говорил, и к нам веселым гостем / Вернись делить наш пир...
> Там нимфу я / Тебе отдам…

Hera entertains the possibility that Ixion could return to his role as Zeus' guest, thus once again becoming a 'happy parasite' ('паразит счастливый'). Hera's function in the third, peripatetic, stage of the dramatic action can be paralleled with that of the four divine characters present at the first stage (Lyssa, the Chorus of nymphs, the Coryphaeus and Hermes), whose verbal characteristics were auxiliary to the protagonist's rhetorical skill. The king's powers of locution and persuasion are revealed primarily through the responses he elicits from Hera, which demonstrate the success of his arguments. During their brief verbal exchange, Ixion's skilled speeches are able to draw forth two different responses from the goddess (both incongruous with her self-characterisation as 'царственно спокойная'), which signal the *innovative motifs of Ixion's pain* and *Ixion's doubt*. Ixion's provocative question concerning her husband's

archetypal infidelity (‘Ты больше не ревнуешь?’), which serves as an intertextual allusion to the *Iliad,* 14.317-18, where Zeus acknowledges his relationship with Ixion’s wife, forces Hera to drop her mask of divine tranquillity and expose her jealousy: ‘Га... Тяжкие слова... Ты видел нимфу?..’ The exclamatory interjection, with which Hera prefaces her response to Ixion (‘Га’) appears out of character with the goddess’ previously dignified, even haughty style of locution (e.g. ‘Благодарю вас, нимфы’), which coloured her speech preceding Ixion’s revelation of his feelings.

Annensky endows his protagonist with an ability to remove the mask of divine tranquillity from the goddess, an aptitude which is revealed again at a later stage in their discourse, when Hera begins to fear the persuasive skill of the King:

> Ты сердце мне тревожишь... Мы не слышим / Таких речей на высях золотых. / Их сладкий яд опасен и богиням…

In Hera’s speech Annensky introduces the *intra-mythological motif of a dichotomy between Ixion and the gods* (implied by ‘на высях золотых’), preserved in Pindar’s mythoplastic account of divine beings, who are incapable of speaking so passionately and persuasively. Annensky’s juxtaposition of the pronouns ‘ты’ and ‘мы’ intertextually alludes to the opposition between the immortal gods and a mortal hero present in Pindar’s account (where the noun ‘ἀνήρ’, ‘man’, 29, 31, is contrasted to the collective ‘θεοί’, ‘gods’ and ‘Κρονίδαι’, ‘children of Cronos’, 25), but the connotations are reversed. Whereas in the Classical tradition the dichotomy between Ixion and the united gods was to the hero’s disadvantage (he was isolated by his mortal nature and criminal conduct), in Annensky’s tragedy Hera singles out the King for his merits; the protagonist is thus characterised by the *innovative motif of Ixion’s feeling,* manifested through his verbal gift, which the gods lack. The contextual oxymoron ‘сладкий яд’, used to express both the danger and the pleasure which the mortal king’s words bring to Hera, reveals the superlative nature of Ixion’s skill by suggesting that it poses a threat to the gods themselves and consequently to the whole cosmic order (in the *Homeric Hymn to*

Aphrodite, Aphrodite points out the necessity for an everlasting chasm between gods and mortals). Therefore, the mental capacity with which Annensky endows his hero is sufficient not only to shake the resolve of the goddess of marriage and fidelity (Hera confesses: 'Ты сердце мне тревожишь'), but also to jeopardise the Ancient conceptualisation of the Olympian goddesses, of whom only two (Aphrodite and Demeter) succumbed to mortal passions.

The final *intra-mythological mythologeme of the muted representation of the gods* at this stage of the dramatic action, recasts the penultimate mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, Ixion's trial by the simulacrum, in a different light from Antiquity. Whereas in Pindar's account, Zeus alone was responsible for the creation of Hera's image, endowing her, much like Pandora, with both a synchronic and a diachronic destructive impetus, the simulacrum in Annensky's play is the fruit of Apate's and Hera's collaborative effort. Apate acknowledges her participation in the creation of the cloud-image ('Из нежного эфира и с любовью / Я сделала ее'), while Iris confirms that Apate was Hera's envoy ('Ее послала Гера'), and Eros' contribution consists in making Ixion fall in love by crowning him with a magic wreath.[116] Thus, Ixion's fate is sealed as a result of three deceptions, which the gods collaboratively weave together over time: Eros crowns Ixion during the feast (in Act II scene 6), while Apate, sent by Hera, fashions the simulacrum (in Act IV scene 9). Thus, Annensky introduces the *innovative motif of joint authorship of the Simulacrum* into his play.

In contrast to Pindar's account, where the chronology of Ixion's deception is linear (Zeus' deluding of Ixion by the simulacrum occurs after the king's violation of *xenia*), in Annensky's tragedy the perspective is reversed, since the *intra-mythological motif of divine deceit* comes before the protagonist's passion: Eros ensnares the King at the feast, before any mention is made of Hera. This inversion of the plotline's traditional chronology results in the transformation of the *intra-mythological mythologeme of xenia*, which Annensky intertextually

[116] 'Розовый венок / Возлегшему с богами Иксиону / Надел Эрот'.

alludes to, in a cursory reference to Zeus' court ('дворца') before Ixion's anagnorisis. The canonical relationship between Ixion and the gods is thus inverted, from a hubristic mortal deceiving his divine benefactors (a guest violating *xenia* in Classical accounts), to divine hosts toying with their guest (the host violating *xenia* in Annensky's play). This innovative nature of the motif of divine deceit is clearly marked by the introduction of a new character, the goddess of deception, Apate, whose function is to combine the two motifs of divinity and falsehood. As Annensky admits in the Preface, the character of Apate has no precedent in the mythological plotline of Ixion and so constitutes an original interpolation into the Ancient myth.

Annensky's *intra-mythological motif of divine deceit* plays a definitive role in the protagonist's ultimate fate, since, as suggested by Iris, his passion for Hera is used by the gods for comic effect: Hera tells Zeus about her treatment of her suitor in order to make him laugh.[117] The tautological constructions 'решилась насмешить' and 'смехом взять', creating the same effect as epic variation, form a ring composition with Ixion's own words in Act I, affirming his suspicion of the gods' desire to taunt mortal men.[118] Thus, the simulacrum, which in Antiquity constituted a mechanism for testing Ixion's intent, becomes a mocking device, aimed at creating a collision, comedic for the gods. Ixion's torture on the winged wheel is no longer a just punishment for a committed crime, but rather the climax of the gods' joke.

Annensky's distribution of motifs in relation to the four innovative mythologemes and the intra-mythological mythologeme, elaborating the third stage of the dramatic construct, can be illustrated in a diagram (*fig.*10):

[117] 'Она его решилась насмешить... / И смехом взять. Она ему сказала... / Она ему сказала...'
[118] 'Иль сердце / Ты среди нимф над нищим **тешишь**, Гермий?'

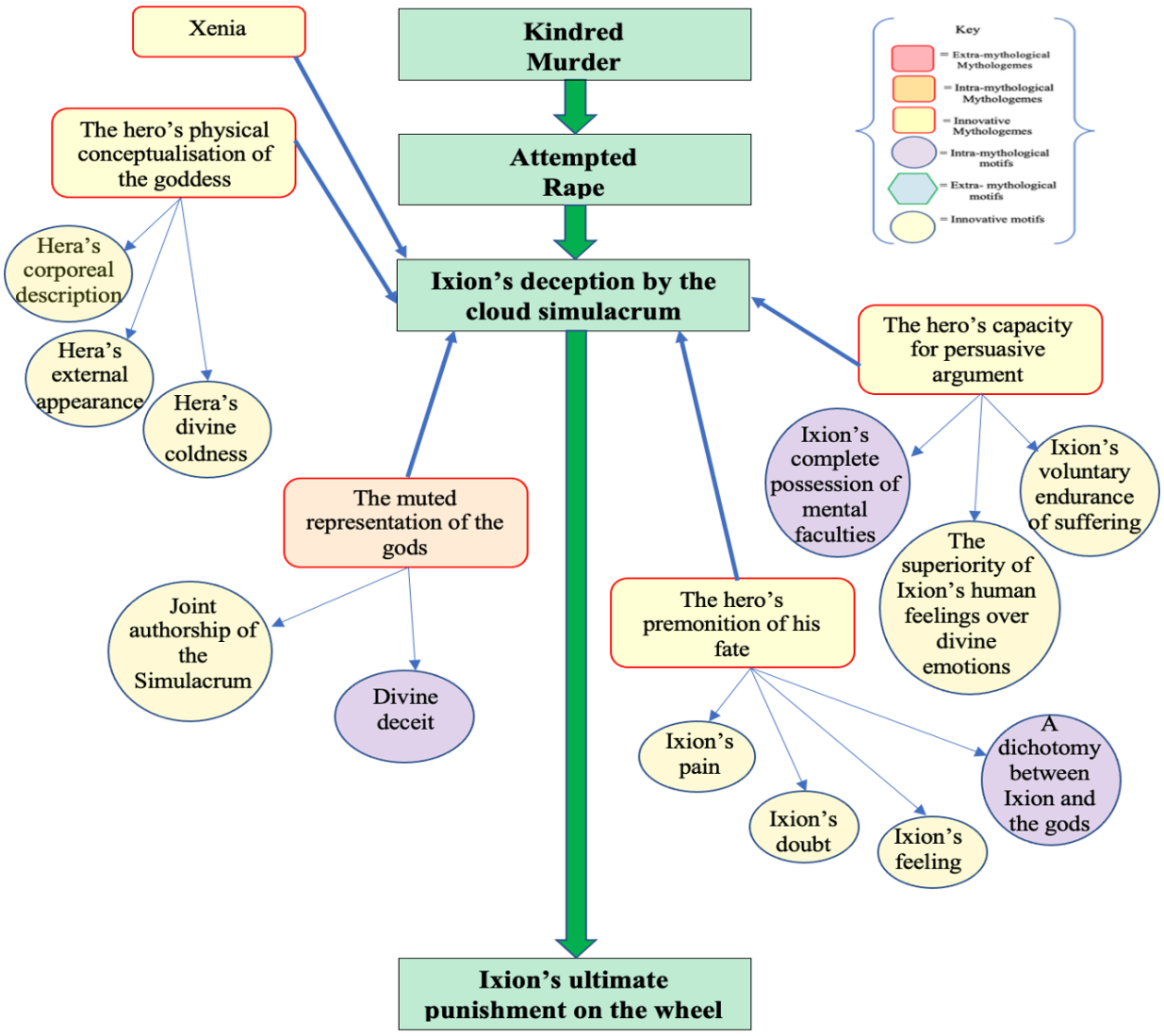


Fig.10. The organisation of the third mythonarreme (Ixion's deception by the cloud simulacrum) of the key narrative construct. Stage 3: Peripeteia

As shown in *fig.*10, Annensky's tragedy relies primarily upon innovative mythologemes in order to develop the third mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, concerned with Ixion's deception by the cloud simulacrum. Although in the Classical hypertext this mythonarreme was responsible for the characterisation of Ixion's sinful and deceptive nature, in Annensky's play it reveals the reverse. Whereas in Antiquity, Ixion was responsible for the violation of *xenia* and so provoked the creation of the simulacrum by Zeus alone (since he was the only divinity undermined by the king's conduct), in Annensky's tragedy the responsibility for the violation of *xenia* is shifted onto multiple gods, who collectively contravene their role

as hosts, by fashioning the simulacrum in a collaborative effort to mock the deluded king. Thus, the relationship between the gods and Ixion, pivoted in Antiquity on crime and just retribution, is transformed by Annensky through a complete reallocation of mental and moral superiority: the gods are reduced to shallow, cruel entities who delight in tormenting mortal men by deception, whereas Ixion rises to a level of psychological and spiritual superiority, from which he can disrupt the divine tranquillity of the supreme goddess, the protectress of marital unions and fidelity in marriages.

Section 4.

The Punishment Mythonarreme: Anagnorisis

The fourth stage of Annensky's dramatic action, based on the final anagnoristic mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, concludes the transformation of Ixion's representation in Antiquity from a justly punished evil-doer to a human individual, more powerful in his mind and psychological development than all the immortal *dramatis personae*. At this stage in the dramatic action, Annensky's tragedy relies upon three mythologemes, one innovative and two intra-mythological, which illustrate the nature of the poet's creative, mythoplastic agenda.

In the Classical hypertext the mythonarreme of Ixion's punishment on the spinning wheel was amplified through the *innovative mythologeme of its emblematic function*. A warning of the dreadful fate of those who disobey the gods was present in all Ancient accounts: in Pindar's *Pythian Ode II*, the wheel serves as a platform from which Ixion warns other mortal men to take heed of the gods; in Sophocles' *Philoctetes* Ixion's revolution on the wheel is used to emphasise the extent of the eponymous hero's anguish; in the Euripidean plays where Ixion is mentioned, *The Phoenissae* and *Heracles*, an emblematic use of the wheel appears in a reference to physical suffering. In *The Phoenissae,* the dramatist likens the spinning limbs of a

falling man to the revolution of Ixion's wheel (1185ff.) and in *Heracles* (1296-7) he compares the eponymous hero's wandering to Ixion's torturous spinning.

The emblematic function of Ixion's punishment dominates the tradition of visual art surviving from the Classical world, in which the spinning wheel functions both as a *pars pro toto* for the whole mythological plotline and as an exemplum of *the intra-mythological motif of divine vengeance on Ixion*.[119] In vase iconography, bronze engraving and sculptural reliefs (as in mythopoetic sources), Ixion's wheel constituted the semantic centre of the mythological plotline, with the gods often looking on, either standing alongside to indicate their participation and collaboration or seated (Zeus, Hera or Hades enthroned in majesty). This iconographical tradition continued over at least six centuries, from the fifth century BC to the second century AD. Annensky, an erudite Classical scholar, would have been without doubt aware of this tradition, and could have traced it through the most well-known artefacts, exhibited in major European museums.

A red-figure kantharos, dated to the mid-fifth century, by the Amphitrite painter, depicts the scene prior to Ixion's punishment (*fig.*11): [120]



Fig.11. Red-figure Kantharos, Amphitrite Painter. Attributed to The Amphitrite Painter, Object number 1865,0103.23, London BM E 155, c.460 BC.

[119] Sixteen visual representations of the mythological plotline of Ixion survive. Boyce, p.84.
[120] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.554.

On the kantharos Ixion's bearded and nude figure occupies the centre of the scene, with the gods Hermes and Ares holding him tightly on both sides, while Hera, wrapped from head to foot in a cloak, and Athena frame the picture.[121] Hera is intently observed by Ixion, who appears unable to take his eyes from her enthroned majestic figure, despite being separated from her by Hermes. Athena carries Ixion's four-spoked winged wheel, which forms an alternative centre of the composition, while Hermes, who holds his *caduceus*, looks directly at it and thus draws the onlooker's attention to the object of torture.

Other pottery puts even more emphasis on Ixion's physical suffering. Two Campanian amphorae, *fig.*12 and *fig.*13, dated to the second half of the fourth century BC, depict Ixion's torture at a later stage than the kantharos, with the King already affixed to the wheel:



Fig.12. Red-figure Campanian neck-amphora, Attributed to the Ixion painter, Museo Campano. Italy. 330-310 BC.



Fig.13. Red-figure Campanian neck-amphora Attributed to the Ixion painter, Object number F3023. Berlin: PM. 330-310 BC.

On the Italian amphora,[122] Ixion is depicted in rotation, with an expression of pain caused by his torture, while two female divinities, Bia or Nephele and an Erinys, watch his suffering from either side of the composition (*fig.*12).[123] On the amphora preserved in Berlin

[121] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.858.
[122] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.556.
[123] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.859.

(*fig.*13),[124] Ixion's wheel, formed from two concentric circles and held up by Erinyes, is suspended in the air, while Hermes and Hephaestus gaze up at it.[125] Hephaestus stands with a hammer in his hand, indicating that he has just forged the wheel. Opposite him, Hermes has his back to the wheel, indicative of his contempt, repulsion and divine indifference at the king's suffering. The figure of an Erinys hovers underneath, with a blazing torch in her hand, reaffirming the punitive function of the wheel. The rim of the four-spoked wheel is surrounded by flames which are turned inwards, in the direction of the tortured figure of Ixion to maximise the expression of his physical pain.[126] The limbs of the naked Ixion are tightly bound by snakes which turn their heads to bite the hero, while the wheel is spun by two winged females, who frame the composition. It is possible that the appearance of the motif of snakes as Ixion's fetters in Annensky's play ('К ободку ж / Тебя притянут не канаты - змеи') may have been prompted by the image of snakes present on this amphora. In his preface to Tsar' Iksion, Annensky shows his awareness of the Berlin amphora, thus making it all the more feasible that his depiction of Ixion's bonds was influenced by the extant visual tradition.[127]

It cannot be established whether the Kantharos from the British Museum were known to Annensky, but it is possible he could have seen the Campano vase (*fig.*12), as in the 1890s he made several trips to Italy and France, arising from his acute interest in European art. It is almost certain, however, that he was acquainted with a great Apulian red-figured crater with volute handles (from Ruvo di Puglia, Southern Italy; last quarter of the fourth century BC), located in the Hermitage Museum since its acquisition in 1862 (*fig.*14):[128]

---

[124] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.556.
[125] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.859.
[126] Boyce, p.93.
[127] 'На одной Куманекой расписной вазе, находящейся в Берлине (N 3023; cf W. H. Roscher, Ausf. Lex. s. v. lxion; Baumeister, Denkmiiler d. kl. Alt. s. v.), распяленный Иксион привязан змеями к спицам огненного колеса, которое представлено колеблющимся в воздухе (это символизируется двумя крылатыми женскими фигурами, его под- держивающими). Около колеса изображен с одиоii стороны Гермес в островерхом шлеме, с другой - Гефест с клещами, а снизу Эринния с горящим факелом.' Annensky, 2000, p.112.
[128] The vase (height 107 cm) came as part of the collection belonging to Marquis Campana, who invited Nicholas I to buy his collection of nine thousand objects for four million francs in 1852 when the New Hermitage was built;



Fig.14. Apulian red-figured crater, 310BC. Attributed to Baltimore Painter, Object number: ГР-4650, The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

The body of the vase[129] is dominated by a scene from the underworld: Hades sits on his throne, with Hermes and Persephone standing on either side; further left are Artemis and Apollo, and further right Aphrodite and Pan, with a small winged figure of Eros flying above. It is likely that the imagery on the Hermitage vase could have inspired Annensky to introduce Eros into his rendition of the mythological plotline: the little god crowns Ixion with a rosy wreath at the Olympian feast. Beneath the scene in the underworld are the six figures of the Danaides carrying water in their jugs, and on the neck of the vase is Ixion's punishment. A black and white sketch taken from the vase by Rochette offers a clearer view of the composition:

---

the price was regarded as excessively high and only 792 objects (selected by S.A.Gedeonov), the vase among them, were bought in 1861.

[129] The image is taken from the site of the Hermitage Museum: http://www.hermitagemuseum.org/wps/portal/hermitage/digital-collection/

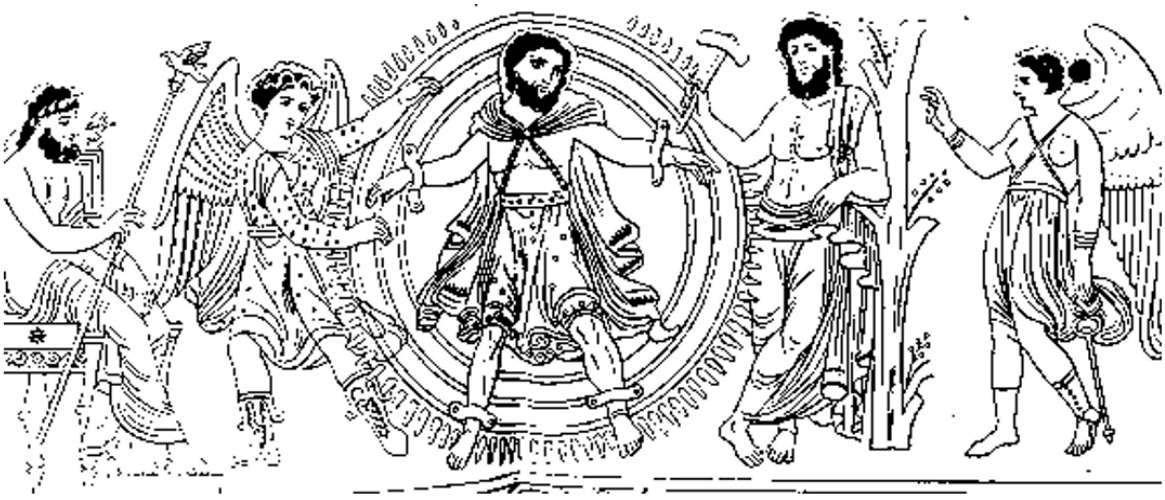


Fig.15. A drawing of the neck of an Apulian red-figured crater, 310BC. Attributed to Baltimore Painter, Object number: ГР-4650, The Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

As shown in *fig.*15,[130] Ixion, clothed in a loin-cloth, is bound to a wheel, with tongues of flame radiating out from his fettered figure. To the left of the composition stands an Erinys, about to set the wheel spinning with both hands. Behind the Erinys, Hades sits on his throne, holding in his right hand a sceptre, angled towards the centre of the composition. To the right of Ixion's wheel, Hephaestus stands against a tree, his left elbow resting on a branch and his right hand clutching the hammer with which he had just nailed Ixion's bands tight. It is possible to suggest that Annensky's description of Hephaestus and his instruments was inspired by the depiction of the god on the Hermitage crater. As can be seen from the drawing above, next to Hephaestus stands Iris, with her hand stretched out towards Ixion, forming a conclave[131] with the sceptre of Hades.[132] The grouped gods on the crater are thus shown both as agents and as audience to the punishment of the solitary mortal. The Hermitage crater, one of the finest extant vases of Antiquity, giving the most detailed and elaborate visual representations of Ixion's punishment in the context of the underworld, could have sparked (or sustained) Annensky's interest in the legend.

---

[130] This drawing, based on the image from the neck of the Hermitage vase, is taken from Raoul-Rochette, p.45.
[131] In Cook's study, Ixion's wheel is interpreted as a solar symbol (Cook, p.205).
[132] The seated figure is interpreted as Hades in *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.858.

In contrast to vase iconography, portraying the punishment of Ixion as witnessed by several divine figures, an Etruscan bronze mirror (*fig.*16) represents the lone figure of the sufferer, isolated in a rural landscape (indicated by a single tree at the bottom of the composition):[133]



Fig.16. Etruscan engraved bronze mirror. Object number: 1900,0611.3. British Museum, (PI. X). London. 460-450 BC.

The reverse of the mirror[134] is decorated with the naked figure of Ixion bound to a huge revolving wheel. The wheel occupies the entire surface area of the mirror's reverse (exploiting the circular shape of the item), with Ixion bound to it by his arms, legs, body and neck in an 'archaic running position',[135] which indicates that the wheel is spinning. The tightness of Ixion's bonds highlights his agony on the wheel, reaffirming its role as a physical punishment. As indicated by the image on the mirror, Etruscan iconography displayed a ubiquitous tendency to endow Ixion's wheel with an emblematic function.

[133] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.859.
[134] This image is taken from: https://www.britishmuseum.org. Cf. *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.556.
[135] Boyce, p.100.

In keeping with Ancient Greek pottery and Etruscan bronze iconography, sculptural evidence suggests that the mythological plotline of Ixion was primarily defined by his physical torture on the wheel. A similar tendency can be noted on a Roman marble relief of the second century BC (*fig.*17): [136]



Fig.17. Relief with the punishment of Ixion. Object number: 2-567-658, Side Archaeological Museum, Turkey. Second half of the 2nd century AD.

The marble relief, depicting Ixion's torture, shows the wheel in mid-spin, with the king's spread-eagled figure carved at an angle.[137] In the lower right corner of the relief is a figure of a river deity looking up at Ixion, not only performing the function of a horrified audience, but also offering an indication of the landscape (a river) over which Ixion is flying.[138]

A Roman sarcophagus (*fig.*18), depicting Ixion, Sisyphus and Tantalus with their respective punishments, indicates that, in keeping with the mythopoetic hypertext, the Roman visual tradition deployed the figure of Ixion in a function, which was provisionally called 'deictic', to conjure up scenes from the underworld:[139]

[136] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.557.
[137] Boyce, p.121.
[138] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.859.
[139] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.557.



Fig.18. Frontal relief of the Protesilaus and Laodamia Sarcophagus, Marble. 170 AD. Object number: 256026, Musei Vaticani. Roma.

The sarcophagus depicts the twisted, straining figure of Ixion (his legs are bent through the wheel, enhancing the physical pain of the torture),[140] positioned between the other two sufferers, who together depict the horrors of Hades, illustrating the punishment entailed by *hubris*. It is noteworthy that Ixion's wheel is again the geometrical, and hence semantic, centre of the whole composition. It is not unlikely that Annensky saw the sarcophagus in the Vatican Galleria dei Candelabri (also containing the most famous representation of the legend of Laodamia and Protesilaus, the subject of one of his other plays), which may have suggested to him an association between his protagonist's punishment and Sisyphus' torture.

The *mythologeme of the wheel's emblematic function* in Antiquity, not only as a synecdoche of the mythological plotline, but also as an equalising element, which restores the balance of justice (cf. Plut.*Aud.Poet.*19d-e), is completely transformed in Annensky's rendition of the mythological plotline, where Ixion's physical punishment is displaced to outside the narrative framework ('Иксиона заковывают и уводят'). In contrast to Euripides, who, in Plutarch's anecdote, clearly states that the wheel was brought out on stage (*Moralia* 19 d-e) and

[140] *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, p.859.

displayed to the audience, Annensky only describes the nature of the king's punishment (cf. the motif of snakes on the Italian amphora, *fig.*7):

> Кронид велел Гефесту обруч сделать… Ты на нем / Своим распятым телом образуешь / И втулку, царь, и спицы. К ободку ж / Тебя притянут не канаты – змеи.

In Annensky's tragedy the emphasis is thus shifted from the physical to the psychological, with the *intra-mythological mythologeme of Ixion's inner torment* dominating the last scene. Free from physical pain, Ixion is able to give a final insight into his relationship with the gods. The *innovative motif of Ixion's contempt*, which has accumulated over the course of the dramatic action, pervades almost every remark Ixion makes about the gods:

> А ты, Гефест, и тяжкий молот твой / Ручаются за артистичность пытки…

Annensky's Hephaestus, with his hammer at the ready, evokes visual associations with the crater from the Hermitage and the red-figure Campanian neck-amphorae by the Ixion painter, which depict the god of craft with his tool, leaning on a tree at his ease and looking at the fruit of his ghastly work.[141]

Through the use of the noun 'артистичность' (in the word combination 'артистичность пытки'), suggestive of the *innovative motif of divine relish for torture*, Annensky endows the protagonist with the capacity to deride the gods themselves, thus substituting the *motif of divine deception* with *the innovative motif of Ixion's heroic mockery* (present in the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct). The irony with which Ixion regards Hephaestus' hammer, an instrument of his own torture, is indicative not only of the introduction of the *innovative motif of inner stamina* but also of the *innovative motif of the hero's complete lack of fear or reverence towards the gods*. The *innovative motif of Ixion's*

[141] A possible extra-mythological parallel with Aeschylus' Prometheus Bound, in which Hephaestus is depicted in his role as discharging Prometheus' punishment: '΄Ηφαιστε, σοὶ δὲ χρὴ μέλειν ἐπιστολὰς / ἃς σοι πατὴρ ἐφεῖτο, τόνδε πρὸς πέτραις / ὑψηλοκρήμνοις τὸν λεωργὸν ὀχμάσαι / ἀδαμαντίνων δεσμῶν ἐν ἀρρήκτοις πέδαις', 'Hephaestus, you must take heed of the charges the Father laid upon you to bind this villain upon the high rocks with lofty cliffs in the unbreakable fetters of steel chains'. In both Annensky's and Aeschylus' plays Hephaestus is shown as responsible for securing shackles on a miscreant.

contempt is further revealed by Ixion's explicit taunting of the numerous divinities, who have allied themselves against him:

> И желтая Апата, / И нежная Ирида, уж о Лиссе / Не говорю, и всех семи цветов / Меня давно здесь нимфы охраняют.

Ixion's realisation at the final stage of the dramatic action has allowed him to penetrate into the gods' tactic of uniting against him, which they displayed at the Olympian feast and at the creation of the simulacrum, and to judge their collective conduct as shameful.

Even in the moment of his greatest suffering and fear, when he is barely able to move ('Идем, пока не отказались ноги'), Ixion surpasses the gods in his nobility and 'tragic tranquillity';[142] thus the *innovative mythologeme of heroic mortal dignity* is displayed in response to the motif of divine deception and cruelty. Instead of cursing the gods for their treatment of him, as he believes to be the custom, Ixion bids a restrained farewell not only to the nymphs, but also to Hera, who effected his downfall:

> Говорят, / Что человек, идя на казнь иль пытку, / Прощается и проклинает… А вы цветите, нимфы... Да прости / Мое сказать не позабудьте... Гере...

The end of Annensky's play is thus characterised by the *innovative motif of 'the pathos of distance between earthly and celestial existence'*,[143] which signals that the mortal protagonist stands head and shoulders above all the gods in his spiritual strength. The physical punishment, which the gods carefully plan, is powerless to break Ixion or deprive him of his human dignity, which far exceeds that of the gods. The integration of Classical philosophical tenets into a mythological plotline, which in Antiquity bore no affinity to philosophy, enables Annensky to undermine the gods' punitive function and subvert the power which they traditionally held over Ixion in his downfall.

In a marked departure from the Classical tradition, wherein the association of Ixion with the aether was limited to the location of his punishment, Annensky conceptualises his tragedy

---

[142] Vasil'eva, 1999, p.19.

[143] 'Трагический пафос в драмах Анненского хотелось бы определить как 'пафос расстояния' между земным, человеческим, и небесным, божественным.' Ivanov, p.580.

through the Empedoclean element of air, making it an integral part of his on-stage surroundings and experiences prior to his torment. Within the play the noun 'воздух' is deployed both as a physical element of nature and as a metaphorical concept, associated with the eponymous hero and his divine beloved Hera. The term 'воздух', which occurs ten times in the play, is used to set both the opening and closing scenes of the tragedy, functioning as an overt atmosphere surrounding the dramatic action. In Act I, prior to Ixion's first speech on stage, the Chorus portrays a scene which is simultaneously full of natural beauty and of claustrophobic oppression, based on a description of the air: 'Скоро солнце разгорится, / Воздух полон томной лени'. The air, thick with languid heat, prefigures Ixion's mental state prior to his encounter with the gods, thus functioning as a medium of expression for his temporarily concealed emotions. Likewise, in Act V after Ixion's disillusionment with the gods, the element of air, alluded to by Apate as 'в этом воздухе пустом', functions as a means of revealing the emptiness which has come over the hero after his encounter with the gods. Annensky constructs a ring composition based on the element of air, deploying it as a medium for characterising his hero's emotional state throughout the tragedy. Indeed, Ixion himself alludes to the Empedoclean element in one of his speeches to Hera, likening himself to air in a tricolon used to persuade Hera of the depth of his love for her: 'Как воздух, как сознание, как я.' Thus, Annensky appears to associate Ixion directly with the element of air prior even to the cause of his punishment in the aether (his attempted rape of Hera), thus pre-empting the gods' traditional role of choosing the means of Ixion's ultimate punishment.

In a potential echo of Plato's *Timaeus* (58d) and Aristotle's *Meteorologica*, 4.7.339b, which differentiate a fifth element, 'aether' (a purified form of air which fills the highest region of the cosmos), Annensky juxtaposes 'aether' and Empedoclean 'air', dichotomising the elements on account of their relationship to the divine and mortal spheres. The term 'aether' ('эфир'), which occurs twelve times in the tragedy, is associated exclusively with the divine

sphere. In Act I, it is idealised both by Ixion, who describes it as the blessed abode of the gods (‘Назвать его не смею... там... в эфире...’), and by Hermes, who claims that true freedom exists only with the gods in the aether:

> свобода... Там, в эфире, / На небесах она, и ею нас / Из золотых богиня поит кубков…

Subsequently, aether is revealed to be not only the substance from which the gods fabricated the deceptive eidolon (‘из нежного эфира’) but also the divine location wherein Ixion succumbed to his passion (‘Меж розовых пеленок там в эфире’). The final mention of aether occurs at the very end of the tragedy, when Hermes reveals it to be a place of retribution, in which the hero is not only forever punished, but also exists in a groundless limbo between gods and mortals, human frailty and divine immortality:

> В том обруче волшебном будешь ты / Кататься по эфиру.

Thus, aether appears to be assigned exclusively to the dominion of the gods, who manipulate it to function as their medium for deceit and cruel punishment (Ixion is only able to come into contact with it after he is made a god by Zeus). Conversely, the element of air is reserved for the mortal sphere and is deployed by Annensky as a non-negotiable substance, which cannot be tampered with or subjected to foreign will. Since the element of air functions as a medium for revealing Ixion’s mental and emotional state throughout the tragedy, Annensky preserves it as inviolate and infrangible, alluding to the superiority of his hero’s spiritual power in relation to the manipulative and corrupt gods inhabiting the aether.

The organisation of the three mythologemes deployed by the Russian playwright to develop the final mythonarreme of the key narrative construct is illustrated in a diagram (*fig.*19):

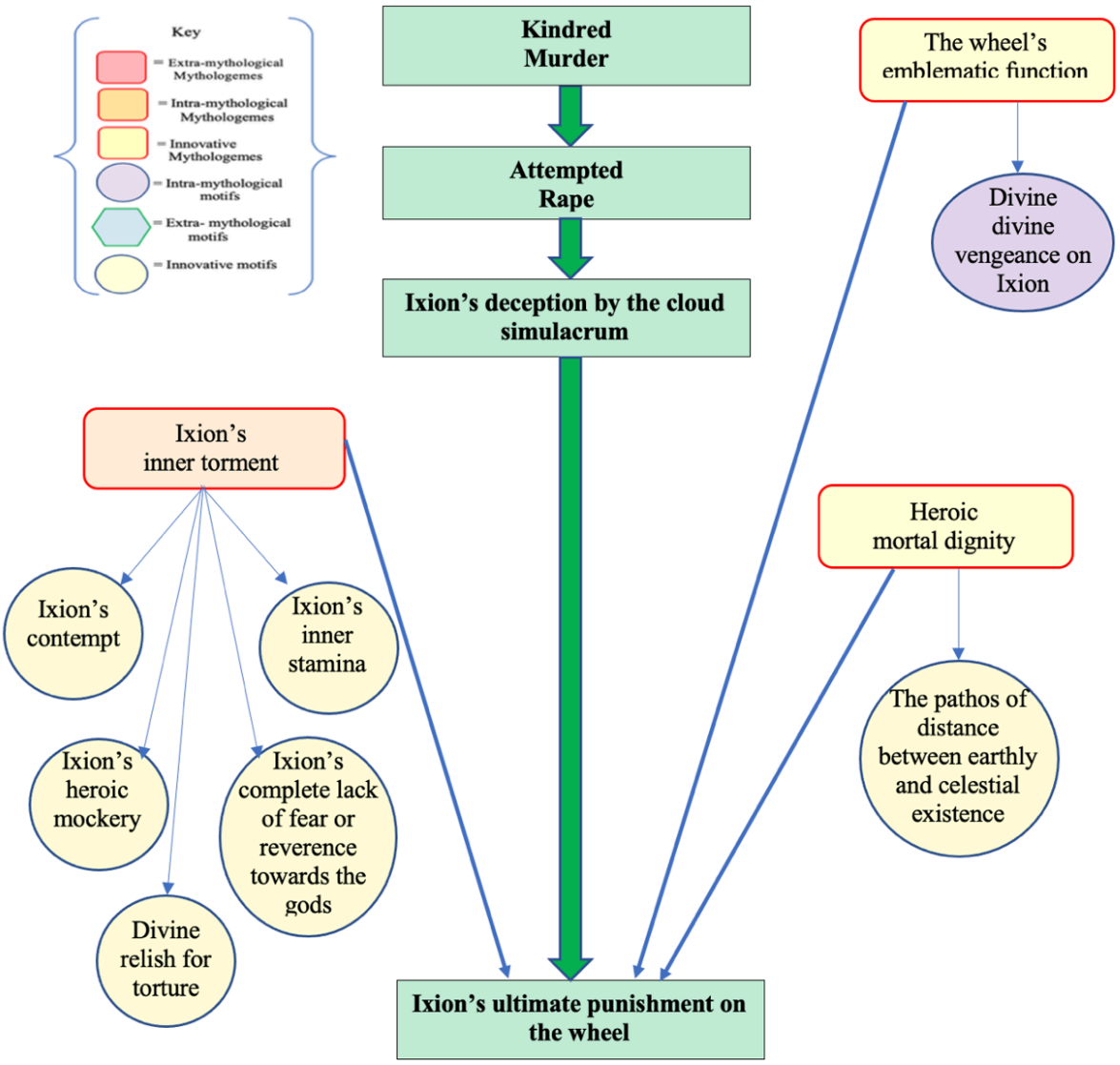


Fig.19. The organisation of the fourth mythonarreme (Ixion's punishment on the wheel) of the key narrative construct. Stage 4: Anagnorisis

As shown in *fig.*19, Annensky's play relies upon two intra-mythological mythologemes and one innovative mythologeme, in order to complete his transformation of the mythological plotline. Annensky's introduction of an *innovative mythologeme of heroic mortal dignity,* which elucidates the *intra-mythological mythologeme of Ixion's inner torment* inherited from Pindar's *Pythian Ode II*, serves to reveal the creative agenda of the Russian poet's intertextual reworking of the Classical legend. The individualisation of Ixion, from an archetypal evil-doer to a psychologically and morally ennobled hero, results in the complete transformation of the Classical representation of Ixion's relationship with the gods.

Conclusion

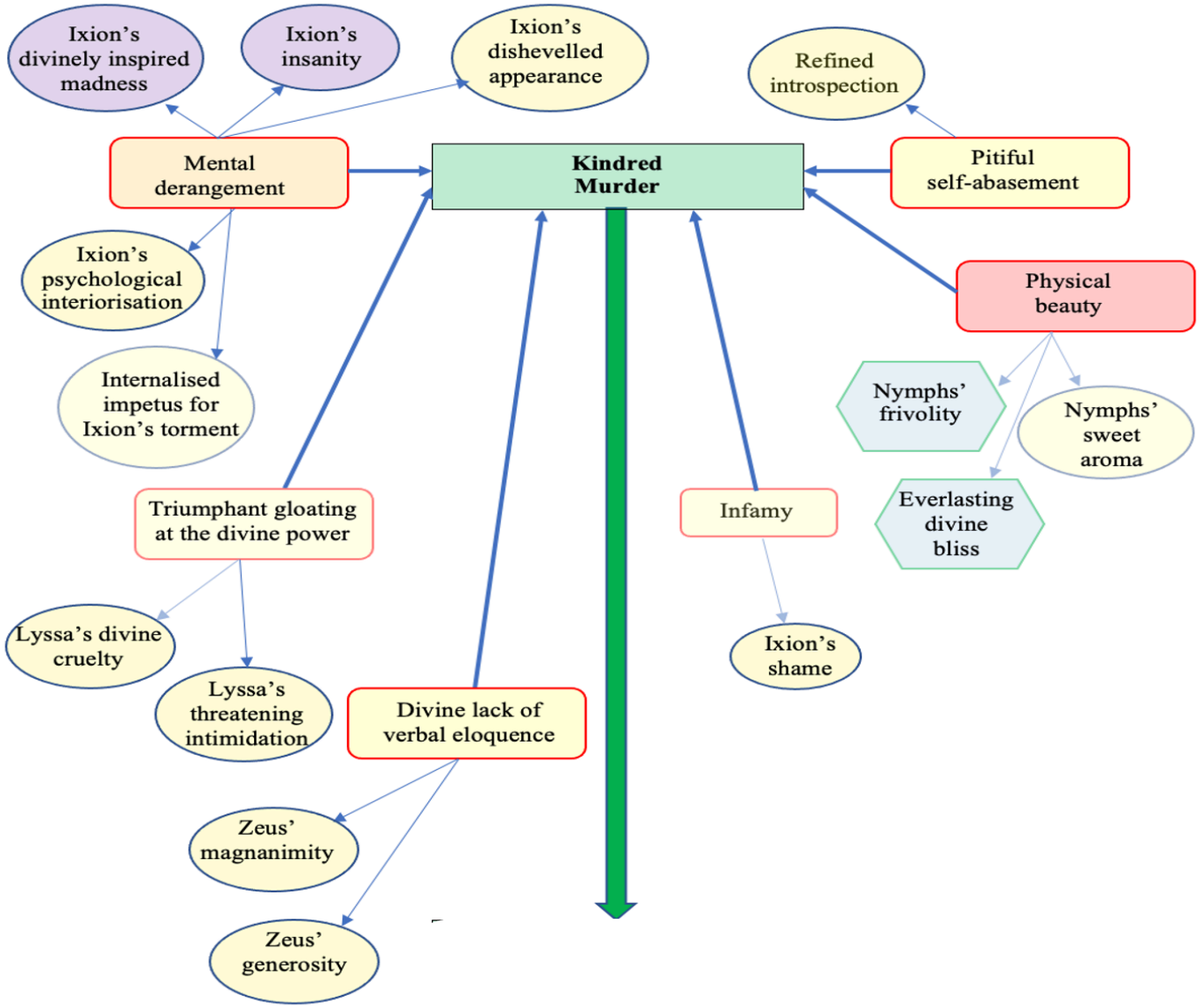
Through an intertextual study of the transmission of the Ixion legend from Antiquity to the Russian Silver Age, the present chapter has traced the process of the mythological narrative's semantic and structural transformation and established the stylistic means of its development. A cumulative intertextual study of the surviving Classical mythoplastic accounts (*The Iliad*, Pindar's *Pythian Ode II* and extant fragments of Aeschylus', Sophocles' and Euripides' tragedies) has shown that the organisation of the mythological plotline is formed around four pivotal mythonarremes, carrying the main structural weight of the narrative. The Homeric representation of the bond between Ixion and the gods, based upon the king's mental and physical inactivity, was altered within the Greek lyric tradition, where, with the help of a series of original mythologemes, the King was endowed with a capacity for constructive reasoning (wise counsel and cunning). In contrast to the typologically earlier Homeric representation of Zeus, Pindar's *Pythian Ode II* introduces an extra-mythological mythologeme responsible for an innovation in the characterisation of the god: deliberate malice.

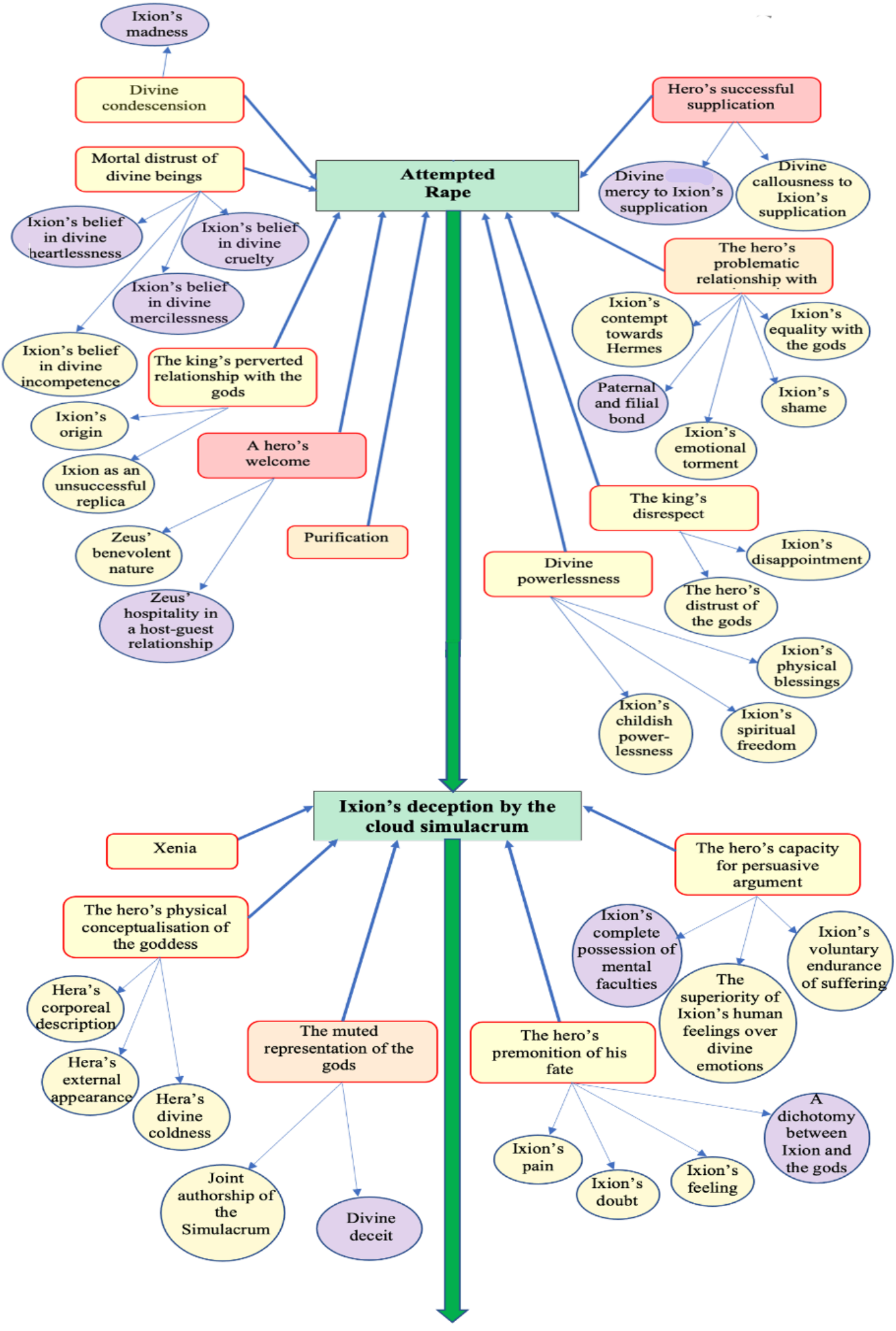
In the Greek dramatic tradition, both Euripides and Aeschylus continued the vector of mythological development by endowing the King with characteristics specifying his mental development: Euripides recasts him into a sophistic reasoner, whereas Aeschylus ascribes to him the capacity for self-judgement. Sophocles' tragedy preserved canonical relations between a powerless mortal transgressor and the almighty son of Cronos, whereas Aeschylus' surviving fragments introduce the first elements of the hero's psychological characterisation with the help of the innovative motifs of Ixion's humiliation, his preference for honourable death to worthless life, and his ability to recognise his own dishonour. On the contrary, Euripides' tragedy represents the mythonarreme of the hero's punishment as concentrated on its purely physical aspect, but introduces the motifs of daring, perseverance and cynicism into the king's characterisation. Thus, in a set of intertextually related Classical accounts, united by a shared

creative stimulus, the vector of narrative development in the Ixion legend is centred on the hero's relations with the gods.

A cumulative study of the Classical hypertext has revealed that the *mythoplastic* tradition is responsible for the expansion of the hero's mental capacities, affording scope for future character development. Although in the Classical tradition Ixion does not reach complete anagnorisis, so cannot be shown to have experienced *catharsis* as a result of his ordeal, the direction of the vector of transformation is established: the development of Ixion's capacity for independent thought and action.

With the help of a four-stage approach (segregating the 'Exposition', 'Conflict', 'Peripeteia' and 'Anagnorisis') the present chapter has traced the exact means of Annensky's semantic and structural transposition of individual mythonarremes in the key narrative construct, by which he effects his transformation of the Ixion legend (*fig.*20):




Ixion's madness
Divine condescension
Mortal distrust of divine beings
Ixion's belief in divine heartlessness
Ixion's belief in divine cruelty
Ixion's belief in divine mercilessness
Ixion's belief in divine incompetence
The king's perverted relationship with the gods
Ixion's origin
Ixion as an unsuccessful replica
A hero's welcome
Zeus' benevolent nature
Zeus' hospitality in a host-guest relationship
Purification
Attempted Rape
Hero's successful supplication
Divine mercy to Ixion's supplication
Divine callousness to Ixion's supplication
The hero's problematic relationship with
Ixion's contempt towards Hermes
Ixion's equality with the gods
Paternal and filial bond
Ixion's shame
Ixion's emotional torment
The king's disrespect
Ixion's disappointment
Divine powerlessness
The hero's distrust of the gods
Ixion's physical blessings
Ixion's childish power-lessness
Ixion's spiritual freedom
Ixion's deception by the cloud simulacrum
Xenia
The hero's physical conceptualisation of the goddess
Hera's corporeal description
Hera's external appearance
Hera's divine coldness
The muted representation of the gods
Joint authorship of the Simulacrum
Divine deceit
The hero's capacity for persuasive argument
Ixion's complete possession of mental faculties
The superiority of Ixion's human feelings over divine emotions
Ixion's voluntary endurance of suffering
The hero's premonition of his fate
Ixion's pain
Ixion's doubt
Ixion's feeling
A dichotomy between Ixion and the gods

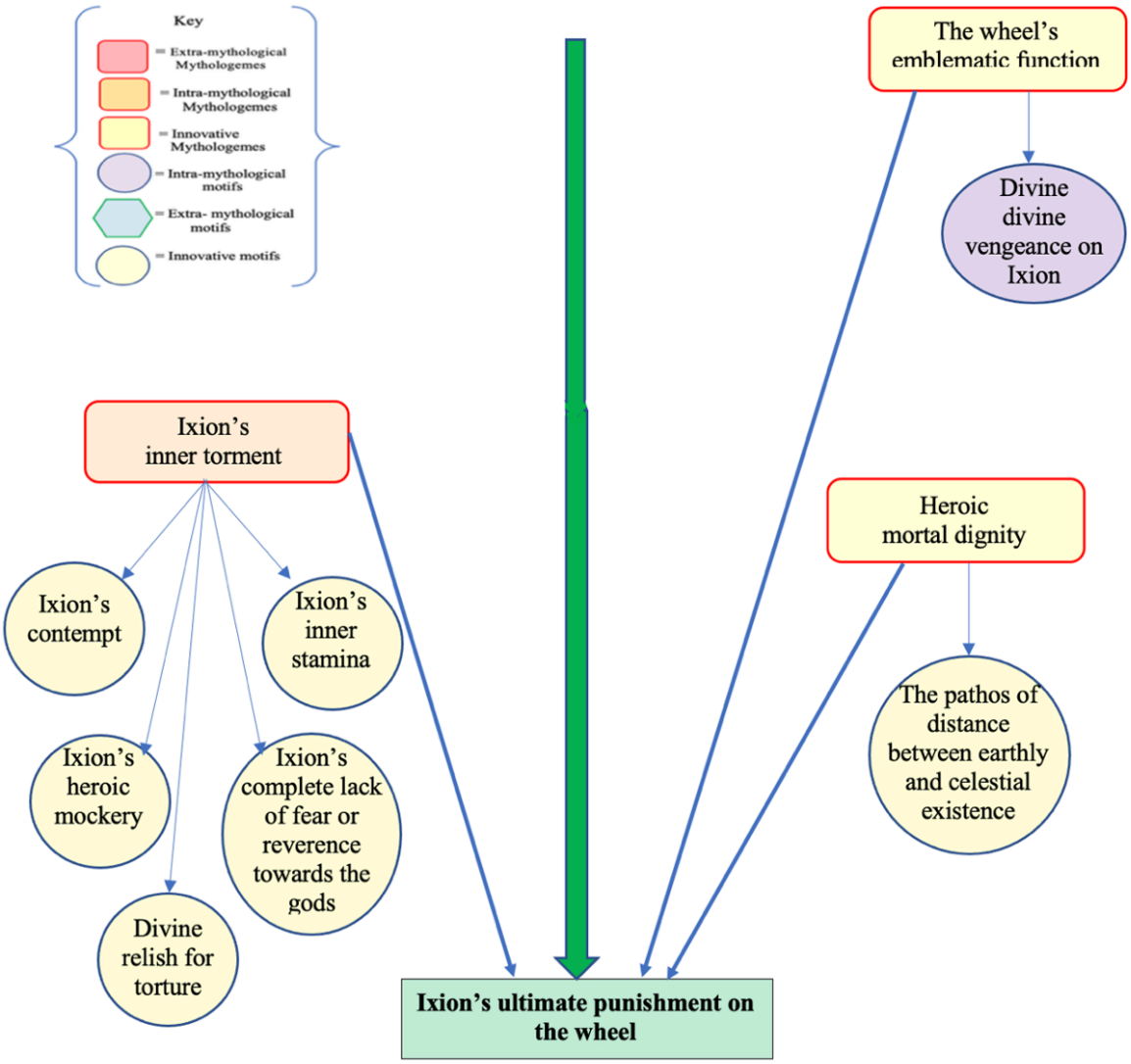


Fig.20. The mythoplastic model of Annensky's play, Tsar' Iksion

As presented in *fig.*20, in the *first stage* of the dramatic action (corresponding to the first mythonarreme) Annensky retains the motif of the hero's madness (inherited from Pindar's account) but introduces innovative motifs of psychological interiorisation and internal impetus for the torment. Annensky uses the intra-mythological mythologeme of Ixion's mental derangement to characterise his retrospective emotional response to his crime. The innovative mythologeme of infamy is introduced through the replacement of the intra-mythological motif of worthlessness (present in Aeschylus) by a new motif of shame (the protagonist's new degree of self-knowledge confronts him with an emotion he cannot deal with, which leads to his psychological breakdown). The motif of refined introspection, amplifying the innovative

mythologeme of pitiful self-abasement, enables the Russian playwright to create a new image of the protagonist, endowed with a psychological complexity, which is unprecedented in Classical accounts. Thus, the whole mythonarreme is transposed from a narrative of cunning murder to the tragedy of the hero's self-punishment.

In complementary distribution to the changes in the representation of the protagonist, Annensky replaces the intra-mythological motifs of divine magnanimity and generosity with the motifs of divine cruelty and threatened intimidation. A new mythologeme of divine gloating over powerless victims might be viewed as an inverted allusion to the motif of the mortal's boasting over his crime, present in mythographical accounts (Apollodorus, The First Vatican Mythographer). The motif of Ixion's dishevelled appearance is inverted in the innovative mythologeme of divine physical beauty, amplified through the motifs of sweet aroma, frivolity and everlasting bliss which are presented in stark contrast to the protagonist's ineffable suffering. Thus, the first stage of the key narrative construct is made responsible for preparing the grounds for a development in the representation of the hero and gods, which in the Classical hypertext had remained static.

A similar intertextual response to the Classical hypertext is present in Annensky's treatment of the *second mythonarreme* of Ixion's attempted rape. At this stage of the dramatic action, the mythonarreme is transformed from a physical to a moral aspect: rather than desiring a union with an immortal goddess, Ixion feels contempt for all deities and aspires to achieve a divine status himself. In the intra-mythological mythologeme of a special bond between Ixion and Zeus, which in Antiquity was based on the motif of paternal and filial relations, Annensky introduces an innovative motif of equality, desired by the mortal hero. Although an intra-mythological mythologeme is maintained by the Russian playwright (the hero's problematic relationship with the gods, intertextually inherited from Pindar), the introduction of innovative mythologemes (the hero's spiritual freedom, disrespect and distrust of the gods; divine

condescension and powerlessness) and the motifs (of divine heartlessness, incompetence, mercilessness, callousness) alter the function of the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct. Whereas in Antiquity the attempted rape functioned as a motivation for Zeus' anger, in Annensky's play the narrative function is modified: the attempted seduction of Hera is deployed as a means of characterising the dichotomy between Ixion and the conniving divine characters. By changing the representations and the distribution of the roles of the mortal hero and his immortal adversaries, Annensky creates an alternative mood in the second stage of the dramatic action, which prepares the audience for a complete transformation of the hero's role in his relationship with the gods.

In the *third dramatic stage* of the Russian play, constructed by a transposition of the third mythonarreme of the creation of a simulacrum, Annensky chooses a negative response to the Classical hypertext: he revises the function of the mythological plotline, from a narrative relating the downfall of a punished mortal, to the revelation of the fate of a suffering hero, deceived, mocked and ensnared by the gods. Annensky preserves only one intra-mythological mythologeme to develop the peripeteia of his plot (the traditional mythologeme of *xenia*), but inverts it to the extreme: instead of the gods observing *xenia* and Ixion transgressing it, in the Russian tragedy the Olympian hosts violate *xenia* and toy with their mortal guest. Five other mythologemes introduced at the third stage of the play are innovative (including the internalisation of the emotional motivation for Ixion's affection, his capacity for persuasive argument and his premonition of his fate). These new mythologemes are amplified with the help of innovative motifs in the characterisation of the hero (his voluntary endurance of suffering, the superiority of human feelings over divine emotions, his complete possession of mental faculties) which are contrasted with the corresponding motifs in the description of the gods (an accent is placed on the corporeal description of the goddess, her divine coldness and divine deceit). Thus, the relationship between the mortal hero and the immortal *dramatis*

personae is inverted in Annensky's play, in which the gods are reduced to shallow, deceitful and cruel mockers, and the hero achieves moral, psychological and emotional superiority.

The *fourth stage* of Annensky's dramatic action is constructed as an intertextual dialogue not only with Classical narrative renditions, but also with Ancient Greek and Roman visual sources: the Russian tragedy re-models the motif of divine vengeance and the mythologeme of an emblematic function of Ixion's punishment, which is centred on the representation of his physical torture on the wheel. In Annensky's play the emphasis is shifted from physical torment to psychological suffering, through the introduction of an innovative mythologeme of Ixion's internal anguish. The motifs of divine relish for torture, divine deception and mockery are contrasted with the motifs of human dignity, inner stamina, a lack of fear or reverence towards the gods. Thus, the final anagnoristic mythonarreme concludes the complete transformation of the hero, more powerful in mind and feeling than the immortal creatures.

The key narrative construct of the mythological plotline underwent a radical reconceptualisation, achieved through Annensky's intertextual allusion to and reversal of Classical mythologemes and motifs pertaining to the characterisation of Ixion and the gods. If we view the relationship between the hero and the gods in the mythological plotline of Ixion in terms of a balance, then in the Classical tradition, the divine creatures outweigh Ixion in the justice of their actions. In Annensky's rendition the balance is crucially shifted by a lowering in the representation of the divine characters, Zeus, Hera, Lyssa, Hermes, nymphs, the Coryphaeus, whose actions (the creation of the simulacrum, which causes Ixion's downfall, is suggested, planned and carried out through their agency) and manner of speech (Hera's speech changes register from high to low style) fall short of Ixion's conduct and locution. The role of the gods is thus altered from noble avengers of mortal *hubris*, to inferior foils to Ixion, who, out of cruelty and a desire to mock and delude, destroy a morally superior hero.

While maintaining the structure of the key narrative construct and its semantic impetus, in keeping with his mythoplastic tendency, Annensky modifies the connotations of each mythonarreme inherited through intertextual dialogue with the Classical hypertext. He bases his tragedy on the structure of the Ixion plotline preserved in *mythographical* accounts, modifies the semantic centre reflected in the *mythopoetic* hypertext, enriches it with mythologemes inherited from *mythoplastic* texts and visual art in accordance with the vector of mythological transformation, and introduces innovative mythologemes and motifs to fully reverse the hero's relationship with his adversaries. Annensky not only continues the gradual process of Ixion's mental development, initiated in the Classical tradition, but also completes a transformation in the conception of the gods. Annensky's break with the Classical tradition (in which the mythological plotline of Ixion was conditioned by the concept of divine justice and moral supremacy, functioning as an admonition against *hubris*), is manifested in a representation of the gods which challenges their hegemony, showing them to be cruel and ethically, intellectually and emotionally inferior to the willingly suffering, human protagonist.

Chapter 3

A Woman in Flames:
Transforming the Prelude to the Trojan Cycle

"…There are many types of fire, such as a flame
and the type which arises from a flame,
which does not scorch but provides light to the eye
and the type which, when a flame is put out,
remains among the embers…."[1]



Introduction

Innokenty Annensky's *Laodamiya*, the only one of his four mythological tragedies centred on the Trojan cycle, is based on the legend of Protesilaus, the first Greek hero to die at Ilium, and his young widow, Laodamia.[2] Unlike other Classical legends reflected in subsequent European literary traditions (e.g., the myths of Phaedra, Medea, Actaeon, Ariadne), which received isolated treatments by individual dramatists (e.g., Racine, Corneille, Gumilev, Tsvetaeva), and unlike the mythological plotlines selected for Annensky's other dramas, the legend of Laodamia and Protesilaus simultaneously attracted the attention of four early

[1] Plato, *Timaeus*, 58c.
[2] The image reproduced above (taken from https://www.reddit.com/) presents a case of pareidolia: flames rising up from a bonfire resemble a human figure.

twentieth century dramatists: Stanisław Wyspiański, Innokenty Annensky, Fyodor Sologub and Valery Bryusov. However this creative enthusiasm did not transfer into scholarly interest, and the reception of the legend in subsequent literary traditions has not become the object of systematic analysis.

Although a number of attempts have been made to place Innokenty Annensky's *Laodamiya* in the context of other literary traditions, very few scholars connect his rendition of the legend with its Classical sources. A retrospective approach is adopted by a handful of scholars, most notably Alexandr Anikin, who draws upon the works of contemporary poets, predominantly Taras Shevchenko, cataloguing shared motifs such as 'dimmed eyes' and 'rivers of tears';[3] Catriona Kelly, who brings to light a series of parallels between the plot details of Annensky's tragedy and a number of Classical myths (e.g. of Alcestis);[4] and Lena Silard, who lists a fraction of the legend's Classical sources without suppporting textual analysis.[5]

Most scholars adopt synchronic perspectives, studying the tragedy against the immediate, twentieth century, background of Wyspiański's, Sologub's and Bryusov's renditions.[6] Some rely on Annensky's brief outline of Classical accounts of the legend in their attempt to determine the 'fate' of mythological narratives in Symbolist drama,[7] while others quote lengthy extracts from Ancient sources (e.g. *Iliad,* II.700-710), before commencing their study of twentieth century drama.[8] This prevailingly synchronic approach has led scholars to suppose that the three Silver Age poets inherited a single version of an Ancient myth, about a wife unable to survive the encounter with her dead husband.[9] Some scholars introduce the concept of a 'base myth'[10] which, they think, was inherited by twentieth century poets and

[3] Anikin, (E) 2011, p.153 ff.
[4] Kelly, 1986, p.187 ff.
[5] Silard, (A) 2002, pp.27-29.
[6] Dukor, 1937; Denisoff, 1978; Silard, (A) 2002.
[7] Dukor, p.123-4.
[8] Denisoff, p.65.
[9] Dukor, p.124.
[10] 'Базовый мифа о Лаодамии', Trofimova-German, p.228.

subjected to additions,[11] while others write about a single 'predefined canonical myth <…> introduced into the Russian writers' mythopoetic system'.[12]

A comprehensive analysis of the Classical hypertext of the Laodamia legend according to three typological categories (mythographic, mythopoetic and mythoplastic) reveals the inevitable limitations of these scholarly approaches. The Russian Silver Age tradition, the next typological stage in the mythological transmission, can thus be shown to inherit not only the key narrative construct of the legend (known from the mythographical tradition), but also the active process and the trajectory of its transformation.

Annensky shows his understanding of the process of mythological development in his Preface to *Laodamiya*, where he states that Euripides inherited 'the seed' of the Laodamia myth from the epic tradition and initiated the process of its dramatic transformation:[13]

> Беглый след мифа о Протесилае в каталоге кораблей стал зерном Еврипидовой трагедии, но поэт со свойственной ему чуткостью к легендам страдания перенес ее центр с погибшего героя на его погибающую жену

Not only the beginning but also the diachronic progression of the transformation of the legend is reflected in the literary apparatus to Annensky's play, since its Epigraph consists of a quotation from Ovid's *Heroides* XIII, the last mythoplastic author in Antiquity to draw upon the legend of Laodamia:

> 'dum careo veris, gaudia falsa juvant', 'Когда я лишена радостей истинных, мне отрадны и ложные.'

Thus, Annensky both summarises and exemplifies the approach of Russian Silver Age drama to myth-creation as a continuous transformation: far from being a simple act of receiving a single version of an Ancient myth, it was a dynamic process of developing its diverse variants and bringing them to a logical and diachronically apt conclusion thousands of years later.

---

[11] Merrill, pp.48-54.
[12] Venclova, 1996, pp.55-56.
[13] Annensky, 2000, p.167.

Like Annensky, Sologub was acquainted with different mythological versions, if not, in his case, directly from Ancient sources, then from the article of an eminent Classicist, Faddei Zelinsky, 'Ancient Lenora' (as Sologub acknowledges in the Introduction to his play).[14] Since Zelinsky's article was, as far as is known, the only collection of Ancient sources of the legendary narrative available in the early twentieth century, Sologub must have discerned the beginning of the process of mythological development in preceding literary sources. The vector of mythological transformation in relation to the Laodamia legend was carried further by Valery Bryusov, whose extensive knowledge of Antiquity and of Greek and Latin languages inspired him to rework numerous Classical plots.[15] His aim was to deploy Roman rather than Greek dramatic prototypes, and so, perhaps, enter into dialogue with his Russian predecessor, who had adhered primarily to Euripides' model. Bryusov himself states:[16]

> я не ставил себе целью воссоздать греческий образец; скорее я представлял себе ту обработку мифа, какую он мог получить под пером какого-либо драматурга позднейшей эпохи римской империи…

Therefore it is possible to suggest that all three Russian playwrights inherited a diversity of mythological variants from Classical sources (whether directly, like Annensky and Bryusov, or from Zelinsky's article, like Sologub), preserved in the three typological categories of the Classical hypertext.

I

The Classical Hypertext of the Mythological Plotline of Laodamia

The prelude to the Trojan cycle, centred on the legend of Protesilaus, the first Greek hero to die at Troy, remains one of the least explored mythological narratives of Antiquity, due perhaps, to its survival in relatively few texts.[17] Classical scholars tend to study the extant

[14] Sologub, 2002, p.98.
[15] Il'in, p.257.
[16] Bryusov (1913), p.266
[17] Gantz, pp.592-593.

Ancient sources of the legend in isolation (e.g. a cursory mention in the *Iliad,*[18] Euripides' dramatic fragments,[19] an extended trope in a poem of Catullus,[20] an epistle in Ovid's *Heroides*[21]), without establishing interconnections between them, or making any attempt to differentiate between the stages of mythological development. The majority of studies dedicated to the representation of women in Antiquity and in particular in the Euripidean corpus, where the legend is attested to, make no mention of the mythological plotline.[22]

The few comprehensive studies of the Laodamia legend catalogue Classical sources, offering limited examination of the typological stages of its existence and suggesting no classification of the Ancient material. Zelinsky, Annensky's contemporary, offers an overview of the 'Lenora motif', studying Ancient Greek and Roman texts alongside the German ballad of Gottfried Burgess, 'Lenora', and folklore sources.[23] In recent scholarship, Gantz presents a list of the Classical evidence of the legend with no supporting analysis of the cited sources,[24] whereas Lyne regards the legend of Laodamia through the prism of Catullus' and Ovid's renditions and so offers a limited overview of 'other' Classical sources, including a summary of the 'gist' of Euripides' lost tragedy.[25]

In contrast to previous scholarship, the present chapter will examine the major extant Classical accounts of the Laodamia plotline,[26] locating the four Russian twentieth-century renditions of the legend in an appropriate mythological context. A detailed analysis of the

[18] Mueller, pp.89, 175; Kirk, pp.74, 89, 166.
[19] Oranje, 1980; Segal, p.22, 38; Burnett, p.36; Powell, p.165; Zimmermann, 1991; Easterling, 1997; Gilenson, 2016; Arnott, 1959; Cropp, Hargreaves, Sansone, eds., 2000; Burian, 1985; Lauriola, Demetriou, eds., 2015; Morwood, 2016; Conacher, 1968.
[20] Lyne, 1998, 2007; Wohlberg, 1955; Wheeler, 1964; Thomson, 1998; Fordyce, 1990; Godwin, pp.203-207.
[21] Fulkerson, pp.61-87; Knox, 1964, pp.79, 179, 418; Holzberg, pp.84-85.
[22] Segal, 1993; Lauriola, Demetriou, 2015; Lloyd, 1992; Mossman, 1995; Rabinowitz, 1993; Foley, 2019; Dunn, 1996; Barlow, 1986.
[23] Zelinsky, pp.167-193.
[24] Gantz, p.592ff.
[25] Lyne, 1998, pp.200-212. Cf. Johnson, pp.151-154, for a similar, albeit significantly briefer overview of a selection of extant sources.
[26] The present chapter will not address fleeting references to Protesilaus (or Laodamia) in which the character functions as a topographical marker rather than as a participant in the mythological plotline in question. For example, Quintus Smyrnaeus in *The Fall of Troy* (7.458) refers to Protesilaus' tomb as a geographical marker which stands by the temple at Eleus, and Pindar's First Isthmian Ode, 83ff contains a similar reference to the hero.

Ancient Greek and Latin corpus, which served Annensky as a basis for the composition of his tragedy, is required in order to discover the narrative vector of his transformation of the Classical hypertext, as well as to clarify what kindled his interest in the character of Laodamia and her mythological plotline.

1. The Mythographical hypertext

In relation to the Laodamia plotline, the term mythographic can be applied to a series of Ancient Greek and Medieval Byzantine literary sources, ranging from the fifth century BC to the twelth century AD (Herodotus, *Histories*, 9.116-120; Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 3.10-14; 29-30; Arrian, *The Anabasis of Alexander*, 1.11.5, Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10.30.3; Eustathius, *Commentary on the Iliad* 2.700-2; Tzetzes, *Chiliades* ii.759ff) and Roman texts, dating from the first century BC to the first century AD (Hyginus, *Fabulae* CIII, CIV, CXIV; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 16.88; Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum*, 1.45).

A cumulative analysis of the mythographical hypertext reveals that the legend of Laodamia rested upon a sequence of narrative elements, recurrent in Classical renditions of the plotline: Protesilaus departs from his homeland; he is the first Greek warrior to be slain at Troy; his wife is struck by grief and makes futile attempts to reconcile herself to her husband's fate; the ghost of Protesilaus is brought back from Hades; when the ghost must depart again, the heroine commits suicide. The outline of the legendary narrative can be seen most clearly in the account of the Greek mythographer Apollodorus:

	Apollodorus, Epitome, 30	***Apollodorus, Epitome, 30***
The hero's departure and demise	τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων πρῶτος ἀπέβη τῆς νεὼς Πρωτεσίλαος, καὶ κτείνας οὐκ ὀλίγους τῶν βαρβάρων ὑφ᾽ Ἕκτορος θνήσκει.	Of the Greek warriors, the first to disembark from his ship was Protesilaus, and having killed no small number of the barbarians, he was slain by Hector.
The heroine's grief	τούτου ἡ γυνὴ Λαοδάμεια καὶ μετὰ θάνατον ἤρα, καὶ ποιήσασα εἴδωλον Πρωτεσιλάῳ παραπλήσιον τούτῳ προσωμίλει.	His wife Laodamia loved him even after he had died, and made a statue of him and united with it.
The ghost's appearance	Ἑρμῆς δὲ ἐλεησάντων θεῶν ἀνήγαγε Πρωτεσίλαον ἐξ Ἅιδου. Λαοδάμεια δὲ ἰδοῦσα καὶ νομίσασα αὐτὸν ἐκ Τροίας παρεῖναι τότε μὲν ἐχάρη.	The gods pitied her, and Hermes led Protesilaus up from Hades. When she saw him, Laodamia thought that he had returned from Troy and rejoiced.
The heroine's death	πάλιν δὲ ἐπαναχθέντος εἰς Ἅιδου ἑαυτὴν ἐφόνευσεν.	When he was conveyed back to Hades, she killed herself.

As seen in the table above, the integral outline, which is termed in this thesis 'the key narrative construct', consists of four pivotal stages, or mythonarremes: the hero's departure and demise; the heroine's grief; the ghost's appearance; the heroine's death. All four mythonarremes, graphically represented in *fig.*1, will be used to form the *key narrative construct* in the Neo-mythological tragedies:

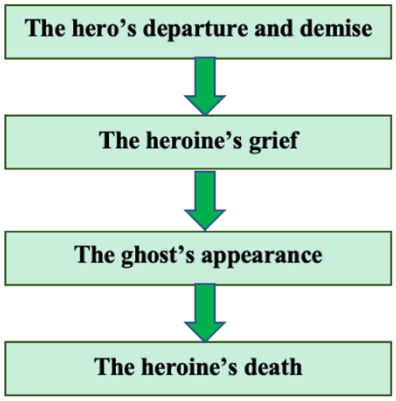


Fig.1. The key narrative construct of the mythological plotline of Laodamia

In addition to preserving the key narrative construct of a mythological plotline, mythographical accounts offer an insight into unstable, variable motifs, which are absent from mythopoetic and mythoplastic versions on account of their marginality or irrelevance to the

individual creative agendas of their poets.[27] In the Latin mythographical tradition, Hyginus (*Fabulae*, CIII-CIV) amplifies the key narrative construct by shedding light on Laodamia's actions after receiving the news of her husband's death. He introduces the motif of the heroine's active communication with the gods and the motif of a fixed period of three hours during which she communicates with her husband's ghost. In contrast to Apollodorus' account in which the gods take pity on Laodamia spontaneously (she is not shown as beseeching them), Hyginus makes the heroine responsible for her husband's release from Hades. The motif of a fixed period of three hours, inherited subsequently by Annensky, can likewise be regarded as unstable, since Apollodorus (who mentions the fate of Laodamia) does not deploy a precise a chronological marker, instead relying on a genitive absolute to convey abstract temporal progression.

Hyginus amplifies the second mythonarreme by disclosing the fate of Laodamia after the ghost of Protesilaus leaves her, with three motifs, of which Annensky inherits the latter two: the motif of bronze as the material of the statue,[28] the motif of Laodamia's concealment of the statue in her room and the motif of the heroine's dissembling.

Hyginus, Fabulae, 104	itaque fecit ***simulacrum aereum*** simile Protesilai coniugis et in ***thalamis*** posuit sub ***simulatione*** sacrorum, et eum colere coepit.	And so, Laodamia fashioned a ***bronze statue*** of her husband Protesilaus and placed it in her ***bedroom*** under ***pretence*** of holy rites, and took to tending to it.

The motifs of the heroine's concealment of the statue and her dissembling can likewise be regarded as unstable since they pertain to Laodamia's relationship with other individuals (she must conceal her bond with the statue for fear of external, social judgement), which is not accounted for elsewhere in the surviving mythographic corpus.

[27] The present thesis only analyses unstable motifs which were intertextually inherited by the Russian Neo-mythological tradition. However, Apollodorus' *Epitome 30,* Pausanias, 10.30.3, Herodotus, 9.120*,* Eustathius' *Commentary ad Hom*. 2.700-2 and Arrian's *Anabasis* 1.11.5 all preserve unstable motifs which are represented in *fig.*2.

[28] The motif of a statue can likewise be found in other Classical mythological plotlines (e.g. Euripides, *Alcestis*, 348ff) and sources, e.g., Lucian, *Amores*, 16. There is some scholarly debate about whether the narrative of Aigialeus, who had the mummy of his wife beside him, is cognate with the motif of a spousal statue, cf. Hijmans, p.358.

Hyginus preserves a detailed account of Laodamia's relations not only with her family (her father Acastus) but also with a representative of the Thessalian society governed by Protesilaus while he lived (a household slave), revealed with the help of four unstable motifs: the motif of a servant discovering Laodamia and the statue, the motif of Laodamia's hypothetical lover, the motif of Acastus' paternal anger and the motif of Acastus' paternal interference.

Hyginus, Fabulae, 104	quod cum ***famulus*** matutino tempore poma ei attulisset ad sacrificium, ***per rimam aspexit*** uiditque eam ab amplexu Protesilai simulacrum ***tenentem atque osculantem***; aestimans eam ***adulterum habere*** Acasto patri nuntiauit. ***qui cum uenisset*** et in ***thalamos irrupisset***, uidit effigiem Protesilai.	When early in the morning ***a servant*** brought her fruit for the offerings, he ***peeped through a crack in the door*** and saw her ***embracing the statue of Protesilaus and kissing it***. Believing her to ***have a lover*** he announced the news to her father Acastus. When he came and ***burst into her bedroom***, he saw the statue of Protesilaus.

The motif of a servant discovering the heroine's liaison with the statue signals a novel development in the mythological plotline, which can be subsequently observed in Annensky's and Bryusov's rendition of the legend: the amplification of Laodamia's primary role as the widow of Protesilaus through depicting her relationship with her subjects. Hyginus' signals the nature of Laodamia's relationship with the servant through a set of privileges he enjoys and which Annensky intertextually inherits in his account: the servant's ability to access an intimate locus of the house (he brings fruit, 'poma', to Laodamia's bedchamber), to invade her privacy (spying through a door crack) and to slander her by announcing she has a false lover, all of which indicates the heroine's oppression and her subordination to her own retinue.

Laodamia's relationship with Acastus, a key aspect of Annensky's treatment of the legend, is revealed through two variable motifs of paternal interference and paternal anger, which Hyginus signals through the hero's wrathful entry: 'in thalamos irrupisset', 'he burst into her bedroom'. In contrast to the Acastus of Eustathius' account of the legend, whose name appears only as a patronymic, indicating Laodamia's parentage ('Λαοδάμεια ἡ Ἀκάστου'),

Hyginus portrays an active *pater familias*, interacting with his daughter and ultimately determining her fate.

The heroine's death (the *fourth mythonarreme of the key narrative construct)* is amplified in Hyginus' account by the motif of paternal compassion:

Hyginus, Fabulae, 104	***quae ne diutius torqueretur***, iussit signum et sacra pyra facta comburi, quo se Laodamia ***dolorem non sustinens immisit atque usta est***.	***So that her torture did not last longer*** [Acastus] ordered that the statue and the sacred offerings be burned on a pyre that had been made up, but Laodamia, ***not able to bear her grief, threw herself on it and was burned***.

The motif of paternal compassion, revealed through Acastus' desire to limit his daughter's grief by destroying the statue ('quae ne diutius torqueretur'), appears to be unattested to in earlier extant sources. The motif transforms Acastus' characterisation from the flat figure of Eustathius' account and the despotic, volatile ruler conjured up in *Fabulae,* 104, to a tender father who pities rather than despises his grieving daughter.

A cumulative representation of unstable motifs preserved in the mythographic hypertext (both Greek and Latin) and their distribution is presented below:

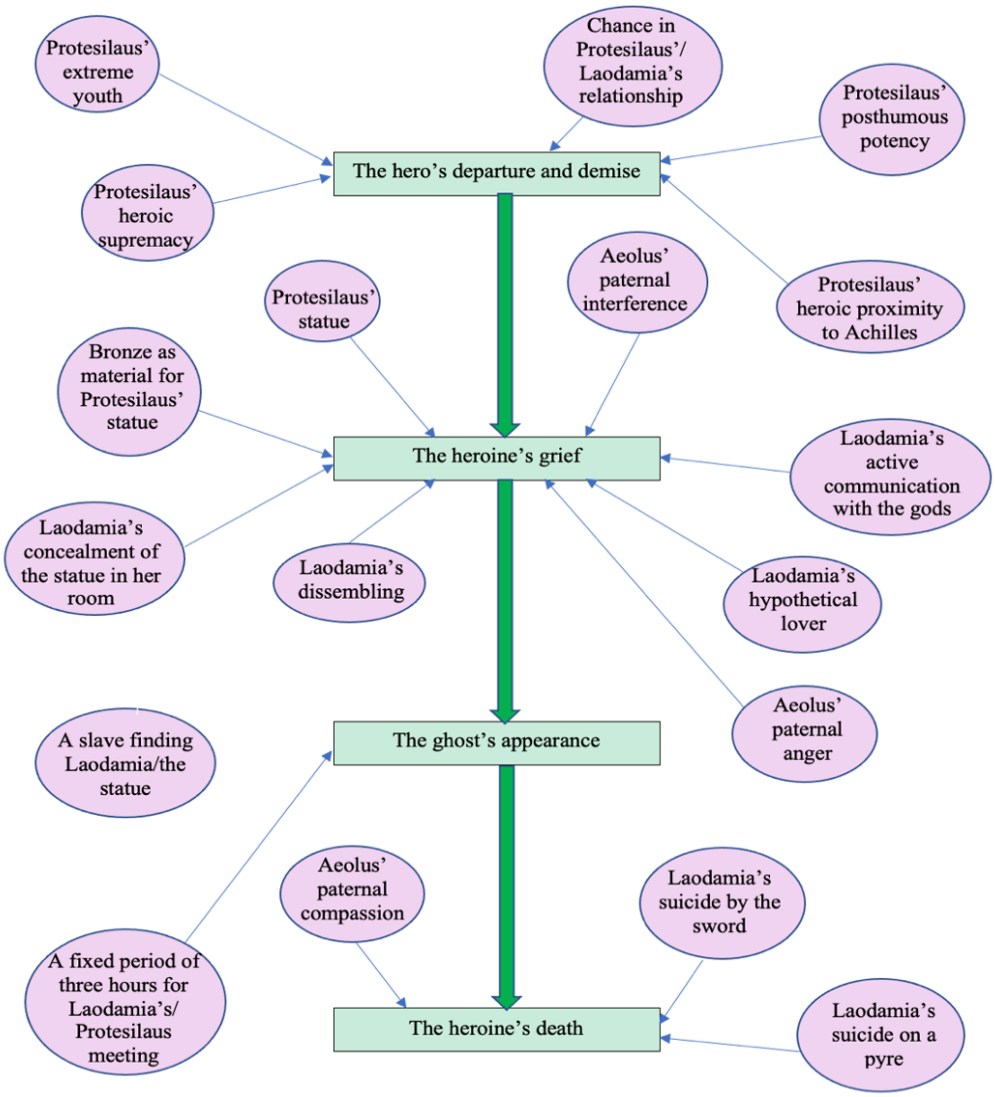


Fig.2. The distribution of motifs around the key narrative construct in the mythographic hypertext

It appears that the first and second mythonarremes of the key narrative construct became subject to the greatest amplification in the mythographic corpus. The third and fourth mythonarreme are augmented with only four motifs between them; the first mythonarreme is elaborated with five unstable motifs, while the second mythonarreme is expanded with nine motifs. A possible cause for this heightened interest in the opening stages of the narrative may be based on distribution of character weight in the Classical myth: whereas the first mythonarreme encompasses the fate of Protesilaus, both during his life and after his death, the second mythonarreme concerns Laodamia's response to her husband's loss and her consequent relationship with secondary characters, rather than on her independent existence. Thus, the

focus of the legend appears to have been largely on the figure of Protesilaus, and interest in Laodamia was limited to depicting her role as eternal widow.

2. The Mythopoetic hypertext

The semantic centre of the Laodamia legend, which serves as the starting point for identifying the vector of narrative transformation in the mythoplastic renditions, can be established on the basis of the mythopoetic hypertext. Since the Hellenistic poetic accounts of the legend have not been preserved,[29] it is necessary to turn to the Latin poetic tradition to discover the semantic centre of the legend. Two texts belonging to the mythopoetic hypertext allude to Laodamia's actions after the death of her husband:

Statius, Silvae 5. 3. 273	lux una retro Phylaceida rettulit umbram…	One day Laodamia brought back the shade [of Protesilaus] …

In Statius, Laodamia functions as an exemplum of 'marital fidelity',[30] whose powerful love is able to restore her husband to life (albeit temporarily). Although the heroine's name is not mentioned (she is referred to as 'Phylaceida', 'the woman of Phylace'), her mythological plotline is evoked with the help of a single allusion to her 'resurrection' of her husband (introduced as 'umbram', 'shadow').

Statius, Silvae 2. 7. 122 - 31	diem deos silentum exores: solet hoc patere limen ad nuptas redeuntibus maritis. haec te non thiasis procax falsi induit figura… at solacia vana subministrat vultus, qui simili notatus auro stratis praenitet incubatque somno securae.	Beg for one day from the gods of the silent; the gate is open for a husband's return to his bride. She does not bedeck you as a false image, worshiping you with a wanton Bacchic dance… Nor does your face, outlined in mimicking gold, grant her empty solace as it shines over her bed, while she sleeps in safety.

Likewise, in Statius, *Silvae*, 2.7.122–31, the heroine functions as an example of a wife's fidelity to her prematurely dead husband:[31] she is compared by the poet to his own wife Claudia, who maintains her loyalty to her previous, deceased husband.[32] Although Statius does not refer

[29]Collard, Cropp, 1995, p.109.
[30] Nagel, p.48.
[31] Asso, p.691.
[32] Nisbet, p.33.

to the heroine or her husband by name, he alludes to a series of manifestations of Laodamia's grief (the second mythonarreme of the key construct): her exhortation to the gods, her extraordinary dedication to Protesilaus' image and her cohabitation with the statue, thus evoking the entire mythological plot.

The allusion to the legend of Laodamia preserved by Propertius likewise locates the heroine in a position of semantic prominence:

Propertius, Elegy 1.19	illic Phylacides iucundae coniugis heros non potuit caecis immemor esse locis, sed cupidus falsis attingere gaudia palmis Thessalus antiquam venerat umbra domum.	There, in those foul spaces, the hero Protesilaus could not cast off the memory of his delightful wife: but, desirous to touch his joy with invisible hands, the Thessalian came to his old home as a ghost.

Although Protesilaus is ostensibly responsible for all the actions (remembering his wife, desiring to touch her, coming to his house at Phylacus), he remains a shade, who is described through negatives: 'non potuit' ('he cannot'), 'flasis palmis' ('invisible hands'), 'antiquam domum' (he has only a former home, an 'old house'). On the other hand, Laodamia is both afforded a physical description ('iucundae', 'delightful, beautiful') and qualified in terms of the effect she has on her spouse (he yearns for her both physically as revealed in 'cupidus attingere' and spiritually as demonstrated by his inability to forget his 'joy'). The heroine thus forms the gravitational centre which drives Protesilaus to perform his activities. Protesilaus' desire to leave Hades and return to his wife is conditioned both by the magnetism of her character and body by the manifestations of her grief (revealed in the preceding mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, conjured up *pars pro toto*).

Overall, the origin of the vector of mythological transformation, according to which the myth is reworked in the mythoplastic hypertext, appears to lie in the semantically most prominent mythonarreme of the key narrative construct: the heroine's grief (illustrated in figure 3 below). It becomes evident that even without direct reference to Laodamia or Protesilaus by name, the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct (the heroine's grief, manifested in her actions after the loss of her husband) can be deployed *pars pro toto* for the whole plotline.

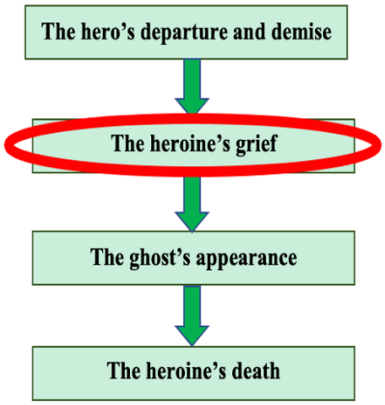


Fig.3. The semantic centre of the mythological plotline as determined from the mythographic hypertext

As seen from the analysis of the mythopoetic and mythographic hypertext, the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct is fluid and accommodates both reductive and expansive treatments. For example, it can be reduced to the most commonplace manifestation of grief (tears as in Hyginus, *Fabula* CIII) or expanded to include the creation of a statue of Protesilaus and its adoration by the heroine (as in Hyginus, *Fabula* CIVor Statius, *Silvae*). It is therefore possible to suggest that the vector of mythological transformation is based on the enhancement of the heroine's reponse to her bereavement, whether through her own mental and psychological development, or through the gradual subordination of Protesilaus' character and the reversal of narrative weight allotted to each of the legend's protagonists.

3. The Mythoplastic hypertext

I. The Epic hypertext: Iliad

Although there is some evidence that the mythological plot of Laodamia originated in archaic Greek religious cults,[33] the first extant reference to the legend is preserved in the Catalogue of Ships (*Il.*2.695-704),[34] which contains a 'terse'[35] allusion to Protesilaus as the first Greek hero to die on Trojan soil and Laodamia as his nameless, mourning widow:

[33] Gantz, p.593.
[34] Elsewhere in the *Iliad* Protesilaus' name is mentioned to locate different episodes of fighting, e.g. in 8.681 and 15.705 Hector fights beside Protesilaus' ships. Fratantuono, p.730.
[35] Lyne, p.201.

Iliad, II, 695-704	Πρωτεσίλαος ἀρήϊος… τότε δ' ἤδη ἔχεν κάτα γαῖα μέλαινα. τοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀμφιδρυφὴς ἄλοχος Φυλάκῃ ἐλέλειπτο καὶ δόμος ἡμιτελής: τὸν δ' ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ νηὸς ἀποθρῴσκοντα πολὺ πρώτιστον Ἀχαιῶν.	War-like Protesilaus… was held by the black earth. His wife, her two cheeks torn with grief, was left in Phulacos and his house half-built; a Dardanian warrior killed him, as he leapt from his ship, by far the first of the Achaean warriors.

The relative prominence allotted to the two characters reveals that at the first recorded stage of the legend's existence, Protesilaus, rather than Laodamia, determined its structure and plot. Protesilaus' plotline is accorded scope for future expansion, since the cause for his untimely demise is not specified. Subsequent interpreters of the mythological plot are left free to represent the hero's death either as a tragic accident (e.g. Arrian, 1.11.5), or as an act of self-sacrifice, premeditated and heroic (e.g. Eustathius, 2.700-2). In contrast to the inherent dynamism of Protesilaus' plot, Laodamia's narrative strand is static. The brief mention of her plotline offers no room for development. For the epic narrator her status is fixed: she is a nameless widow in the half-built house of her dead husband and she will remain so, her grief everlasting and unchanging.[36] Although some scholars believe that Homer deliberately keeps the fate of Laodamia ambiguous, leaving her 'poised perhaps on the brink of tragedy' and forcing the audience to discover her fate from other sources,[37] it seems more plausible to suggest that at this stage the heroine's narrative strand is marginalised due to her insignificance in the epic context of the Catalogue of Ships.

A subsequent development of the mythological plot of Laodamia can be traced in the *Cypria*, a post-Homeric epic poem, which is dated to the seventh century BC and survives only in fragments, summarized by Pausanius.[38] The *Cypria* maintains the canonical distribution of relative prominence allotted to the two characters in the *Iliad,* by enriching the description of Protesilaus' death, while preserving Laodamia's status as his obdurate widow. As recorded by Pausanius, the *Cypria* testifies that Protesilaus was slain by Hector, 'θνήισκει Πρωτεσίλαος ὑφ'

[36] Zelinsky, p.172.
[37] Lyne, p.201.
[38] Dowden, p.48.

Ἕκτορος' (*fr*. 1.10)[39], the son of King Priam of Troy.[40] In contrast to the *Iliad,* which attributes Protesilaus' death to an unspecified Dardanian ('ἔκτανε Δάρδανος ἀνὴρ'), the *Cypria* develops his plotline and augments his glory by making the mightiest Trojan warrior responsible for his death.[41] Laodamia's narrative strand, on the other hand, is accorded in the *Cypria* an even briefer reference than in the *Iliad*: she is alluded to as 'Πρωτεσιλάου τούτου τὴν γυναῖκα Πολυδώραν μὲν τὸ ὄνομα' (Paus. IV.2.7).[42] Her character has no foreseeable development, since her status, as the anonymous wife and then the widow of a Greek noble, is restricted by the norms of an Ancient society. Even her name, unlike her husband's, remains unfixed in the epic tradition and so can be changed by subsequent recipients of her myth (starting from Euripides, Polydora becomes Laodamia).[43] Thus, the epic tradition is consistent: Protesilaus' narrative is dynamic, endowed with a clear, finite gradient (after sailing to Troy he dies a hero), and offers scope for subsequent interpretation, whereas Laodamia's plotline is static and has no foreseeable end point.

Visual representations of the legend likewise focus primarily on the character of Protesilaus. A black-figure pyxis, the earliest surviving archaeological evidence of the legend, dated to the mid-sixth century, depicts Protesilaus as a warrior, in the company of the most prominent Achaean heroes, Achilles, Patroclus, Nestor and Palamedes:[44]

[39] 'Protesilaus died at the hands of Hector'.
[40] Hector is also named as Protesilaus' killer in Apollodorus, Scholia on Lycophron 245, Ovid's Metamorphoses, 12.67-8, Ovid's Heroides, 13.65-66. Finkelberg, 1990, p.10.
[41] Zelinsky, p.172.
[42] 'The wife of Protesilaus… called Polydora'.
[43] Epps, p.421.
[44] The image is reproduced from: Blavatsky, p.107.



Fig.4: Corinthian black figure pyxis featuring Protesilaus. Attributed to Hares. Object number: CA 599. Ceramic. Mid-6th century BC. Louvre Museum. Paris.

The pyxis shows Protesilaus (the third figure from the right, with his name inscribed in front of his horse's head) in his role as warrior, rushing into battle with Greek leaders. His figure is lent further dynamism by his status as a rider rather than fighting on foot (thus precluding him from his traditional death when leaping off his ship), as on the left side of the composition. Numismatic evidence similarly reflects his role as the focal point of the legend:[45]



Fig.5: Tetradrachm depicting Protesilaus (obverse) and his ship (reverse). Diameter 24mm. 480-470 BC. Object number: 0480, Numismatic Museum. Athens.



Fig.6: Drachm representing Protesilaus by the prow of his ship (obverse). Diameter 15mm. 302-286 BC. Object number: 0480, Numismatic Museum, Empedocles Collection. Athens.

[45] The image is reproduced from: Tsangari, p.184.

As seen from the reverse of the tetradrachm, coined in Skione (*fig.*5), and the obverse of the drachm, coined in Thebai, Thessaly (*fig.*6),[46] Protesilaus is depicted at the pivotal point of the mythological plot: disembarking from his ship onto Trojan soil, just before he is destined to be killed. On the obverse of the drachm the hero raises his shield on his outsretched left arm and brandishes a sword in his right hand. His left foot already stands on the Trojan shore, while his left foot is still on the deck of his ship. The same sense of movement is conveyed by sculptural representations of Protesilaus, which, like the drachm and the tetradrachm, show him as an epic warrior preparing to strike.

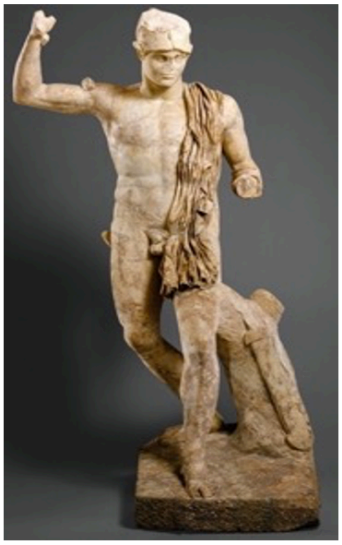


Fig.7: Statue of Protesilaus. Marble. 138–181 AD. Accession number: 25.116, Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York.



Fig.8: Statue of Protesilaus. Marble. 2nd century AD. Object number: 1876,0903.2, *British Museum.*

Two Roman copies (*fig.*7[47] and *fig.*8[48]) of a lost Greek sculpture (mid-fifth century BC), depict the figure of Protesilaus in the heroic nude, adopting a pose 'full of power and swing'.[49] In *fig.*7 the hero has on a helmet and carries what has been identified as a shield on his left upper extremity, raising his right arm in attack.[50] The statue of *fig.*8 has a better preserved base,

[46] The image is reproduced from: Tsangari, p.184.
[47] https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/
[48] http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collectiononline
[49] Richter, p.27.
[50] Richter, p.28.

which has been interpreted as 'the fore part of a ship surrounded by waves',[51] revealing that Protesilaus, as in the two numismatic representations, is about to step onto the Trojan shore to fulfil his destiny as the first hero to die at Troy.

However, the focus of the legend on Protesilaus is restricted only to epic and visual sources: in the dramatic tradition a radical redistribution of narrative prominence between the mythical characters takes place, making the suffering queen, rather than her dead husband, the focal point of the legend.

II. The Greek Dramatic hypertext

The dramatic rendition of the legend, Euripides' tragedy *Protesilaus,* survives in twelve fragments (P.Oxy.XLV 3214).[52] The fragments preserve few narrative elements, making a comprehensive reconstruction of the plot problematic.[53] Only four fragments are attributed to specific narrative elements of the mythological plotline, [54] corresponding to three of the four mythonarremes of the key narrative construct:

Fragment 655	**2. The heroine's grief**	Laodamia refuses to forsake the memory of Protesilaus, even if he is with her in the form of lifeless statue.	οὐκ ἂν προδοίην καίπερ ἄψυχον φίλον.	I shall not betray the one I love, even though he is lifeless.
Fragment 647	**3. The ghost's appearance**	Protesilaus arrives on stage as a ghost and speaks.	ἀξίως δ' ἐμὸς γαμβρὸς κέκλησαι, παῖδά μοι ξυνοικίσας.	You are rightly called my father-in-law, since you gave me your daughter in marriage.
Fragment 646	**3. The ghost's appearance**	Hermes conveys Protesilaus from Hades.	ἕπου δὲ μοῦνον ἀμπρεύοντί μοι.	Just follow me as I guide you.
Fragment 656	**4. The heroine's death**	Laodamia commits suicide.	δητ . σα λαιμὸν ἢ πεσοῦσ' ἀπ' ἰσθμίου < > κευθμῶνα πηγαῖόν <θ'> ὕδωρ	[cutting] my throat or throwing myself from a well . . . a hole (and) water.

[51] Richter, p.28.
[52] The precise date of composition for Euripides' *Protesilaus* remains unknown, cf. Stieber, p.150. All fragments from Euripides' Protesilaus are quoted from Kannicht, pp.106-117.
[53] Only a handful of scholars have attempted to piece together the plot of the legend: Sechan, 1953, Jouan, pp.317-328; Webster, 1967, pp.97-98; Jacobson, pp.195-198; Lyne, pp.97-98; Reeson, pp.115-116. Pelliccia, p.178 ff. Pelliccia attempts to conjecture which narrative elements were contained within the action of the play and which occurred prior to the tragedy's action.
[54] Pelliccia, p.177. The table of four fragments is also based on the scholar's reconstruction of the Euripidean excerpts.

Although fragment 655 contains only three non-auxiliary words ('betray', 'love' and 'lifeless'), it offers a crucial insight into the spousal relationship of Protesilaus and Laodamia. Preserved by Dio Chrysostom in *Discourses,* 37.46, the Euripidean quotation offers an exemplum of a human's bond with a statue, which is adduced by Favorinus to prevent his own effigy from being melted down by the Corinthians. For Favorinus (and by extension Laodamia to whom the philosopher parallels himself) the statue functions as a reminder of a glorious past and the only link which connects the unfortunate present with joyful, bygone days.[55]

The fragment attributed to Laodamia contains two key words, 'προδοίην' and 'ἄψυχον', which shed light on the heroine's self-association with the statue. The first word, 'προδοίην', a verb meaning 'forsake, abandon, betray', commonly employed in a military context to denote 'desertion' or 'treason' (e.g. Herodotus, *Histories* 6.23.4), reveals the *innovative mythologeme of spousal betrayal*: the heroine forsakes the memory of her deceased husband by remaining loyal to his statue. The status of the statue in Laodamia's eyes is shown through the adjective 'ἄψυχον', consisting of the noun 'ψυχή' ('spirit/soul') with a privative alpha prefix, combined with the noun 'φίλον' ('beloved'), which signals the introduction of the *innovative mythologeme of an active yet inanimate entity***.** For Laodamia the likeness of Protesilaus functions as a physical manifestation of her beloved husband, who, despite lacking a spirit ('**ἄ**ψυχον'), is nonetheless not a dead object.

The extant fragments of Euripides' play offer only a fleeting insight into the tragedian's characterisation of Protesilaus' character: fragment 647 preserves a quotation from the hero's speech to his father-in-law, Acastus. Although some scholars remain sceptical about a spirit's capacity to converse with a living mortal on stage,[56] iconographic evidence suggests that the appearance of a ghostly hero in a theatrical setting was a traditional motif in Classical

[55] Gleason, pp.18-20 offers a detailed analysis of Favorinus' speech.
[56] Welcker, 1826, p.496.

and Hellenistic drama.[57] Protesilaus' words reveal limited narrative details (save that he was the son-in-law of Acastus), but they offer an insight into his posthumous conduct: even as a bodiless spirit the hero is able to engage in a dynamic dialogue with a living, male character, reminding him of his right to Laodamia. Thus, the *innovative mythologeme of the hero's posthumous authoritativeness* is introduced, which bears an affinity to the motif of the hero's posthumous potency (introduced in the mythographic hypertext).

A further insight into Protesilaus' characterisation is offered in fragment 646, which preserves a line spoken by Hermes, wherein the deity, acting as *ψυχοπομπός,* exhorts Protesilaus to follow him.[58] Although the direction of the hero's travel is not clear (whether to or from Hades), the adjective 'μοῦνον', meaning 'only', suggests that the hero expressed opposition, disbelief or even fear ahead of his journey: in 'ἕπου δὲ μοῦνον' ('just follow me') Hermes appears to be asking for Protesilaus' trust and obedience. Thus, fragment 646 preserves the *innovative mythologeme of the hero's obduracy* even when he is reduced to the status of powerless shadow.

The last of the four fragments which clearly relate to a specific narrative element of the mythological plotline, fragment 656, is attributed to Laodamia and contains a description of her considering methods of suicide.[59] Although the fragment is corrupted and contains lacunae, it preserves two mythologemes of her characterisation: the *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's determination* and the *intra-mythological mythologeme of her violent suicide*. The first mythologeme is signalled through her desire to end her life by any means available to her (she offers two alternatives), while the mythologeme of the heroine's violent suicide is revealed through Laodamia's choice of self-destruction.

[57] Green, 1994, pp.17-18; Storey, 1990, pp.122-123.
[58] Pelliccia, p.177.
[59] Here and elsewhere the chapter follows the attribution of fragments proposed by Collard, Cropp, 1995, p.109ff.

In contrast to representatives of the Greek mythographical tradition, who leave her method of suicide ambiguous (Apollodorus*, Epitome,* 30), or the Latin mythographical tradition which describes Laodamia falling into the flames engulfing Protesilaus' statue (Hyginus, *Fabula* CIV), Euripides' heroine considers two unusual forms of suicide: throat-slitting (hinted through 'λαιμὸν' ('throat/neck') in the absence of a verb) and drowning ('πεσοῦσ' ἀπ' ἰσθμίου', 'throwing myself from a well-top'). Laodamia's choice of method is not among the most common forms of self-destruction in Ancient mythology, which consisted of hanging (e.g. Phaedra, Jocasta, Polymele), jumping from a height (e.g. Oenoe, Niobe, Aegeus) or poison (e.g. Alcestis, Phyllis, Aeson).[60] Although Laodamia's idea of slitting her throat bears the closest affinity to death by sword, it suggests a more involved and bloody form of suicide: instead of falling on a weapon, the heroine envisages guiding the blade herself.

Of the remaining eight fragments of the Euripidean tragedy, only two shed light on the characterisation of the agents in the mythological plotline: fragments 653 and 657. The attribution of these two fragments has occasioned some debate, with scholars either construing them as a parts of a single agon,[61] or as belonging to different stages of the dramatic narrative.[62] Although neither fragment reveals the identity of its speaker, the general scholarly consensus is that Acastus delivered the lines preserved in fragment 653 and Protesilaus narrated the extract in fragment 657.[63]

The fragment attributed to Protesilaus, fragment 657 presented in the table below, preserves a development of the mythologeme of the hero's posthumous authoritativeness (signalled in fragment 647).

ὅστις δὲ πάσας συντιθεὶς ψέγει λόγῳ γυναῖκας ἐξῆς, σκαιός ἐστι κοὐ σοφός· πολλῶν γὰρ οὐσῶν τὴν μὲν εὑρήσεις κακήν, τὴν δ' ὥσπερ ἥδε λῆμ' ἔχουσαν εὐγενές.	Anyone who unites all women together and censures them indiscriminately is stupid and not wise. There are many of them, so you can discover a bad one while another is of noble mind, as this one.

[60] Cf. Asomatou, pp.65-75 for a comprehensive overview of suicides in Antiquity.
[61] Oranje, pp.169-172.
[62] Collard, Cropp, 1995, p.109.
[63] Oranje, pp.169-172.

Although Protesilaus' speech is based on an axiom (not all women are equal) and so reveals little about his capacity to invent a persuasive argument, it signals the introduction of the *innovative mythologeme of the hero's rhetorical persuasiveness* and the *innovative mythologeme of Protesilaus' anti-misogynistic beliefs*. The mythologeme of the hero's rhetorical persuasiveness is manifested in his oratorical technique of conjuring up a hypothetical character to explicate his argument. Although scholars have suggested that Protesilaus' tone is 'mild and considered',[64] his choice of adjectives to denote the imaginary narrow-minded entity ('ὅστις', 'someone/anyone') is cutting: 'σκαιός' can be translated metaphorically as 'stupid' or 'awkward',[65] while 'κοὐ σοφός' has the meaning of 'not wise'/'not intelligent'.

The latter section of the fragment, wherein Protesilaus declares that women must not be treated as a collective phenomenon, introduces the innovative mythologeme of the hero's anti-misogynistic beliefs. The hero affirms the presence of 'εὐγένεια' ('nobility') in the female character, a trait which Aristotle, in *Rhetoric* II.1390b3, equates to 'the excellence of a race' ('γένους ἀρετήν').[66] In other words, Protesilaus is crediting women, as exemplified by Laodamia, with a characteristic which ensures the continuity of human virtue.

The hero's affirmation of female integrity contrasts vividly with the sentiments expressed by the speaker of fragment 653, which is believed to contain an extract from Acastus' speech, delivered at a chronologically later stage in the play than fragment 657:[67]

δοκεῖ μὲν] οὖν μοι σκα[ι]ὸς / [ὅστις γυν]αικὸς οὕνεκ' ἂν λά[β]- / του [π]ανδοκεῖ το [/ κοινὸν γὰρ] εἶναι χρῆν γυναι[κεῖον λέχος / ο]ὕτως εὐγένεια τ[	(A man who) takes on (troubles) for the sake of having a wife (seems) to me stupid (and simple-minded; for a woman merely) acts as a host (to his offspring, or to his seed). A woman's bed should be commonly available (to men, or to all), and in this way nobility (would prevail).

[64] Oranje, p.171.
[65] Its primary meaning is 'left'.
[66] Fritsche, p.89.
[67] Oranje, p.170.

The fragment[68] quoted above, is crucial to the understanding of Acastus' character, since, aside from references in Eustathius and Hyginus, his character traits and style of self-expression remain obscure in the mythographical tradition. The *innovative mythologeme of a father-in-law's extreme misogyny*, which stands in opposition to Protesilaus' benevolent attitude to women, is revealed through his belief that a woman is nothing more than a repository for a male's offspring. The term 'πανδοκεύς', which literally means 'one who receives all incomers', 'an innkeeper', acquires a metaphorical meaning of 'host' (in the present context a synonym for 'vessel'), suggesting that women are inanimate receptacles. Acastus expresses an opinion seemingly incongruous with his role as a female's father: he suggests that men should not each marry one woman, but rather all share a single woman, making her bed 'κοινός'. Since the term 'κοινός', which is usually translated as 'common' or 'shared', takes on the meaning of 'public' in social and political contexts, Acastus is, in effect, suggesting that all women, regardless of their social status, should be treated as concubines. Thus, in contrast to the caring father of Hyginus' *Fabula* CIV, who burns the statue of Protesilaus in order to shield his daughter from prolonged grief, Euripides represents Acastus as a radically different character: a despotic and misogynistic ruler, willing to shame cruelly all females (potentially including his own daughter).

A cumulative study of the mythologemes with which Euripides develops the mythonarremes of the key narrative construct can be illustrated in a diagram (*fig.*9):

[68] The translation provided in the table above is taken from Collard, Cropp, 1995, p.114, who provide a reconstruction of the lacunose Greek text. Although this fragment is heavily restored and its ascription to Acastus is conjectural, it will is included in the present discussion as there is no clear evidence to rule out its attribution.

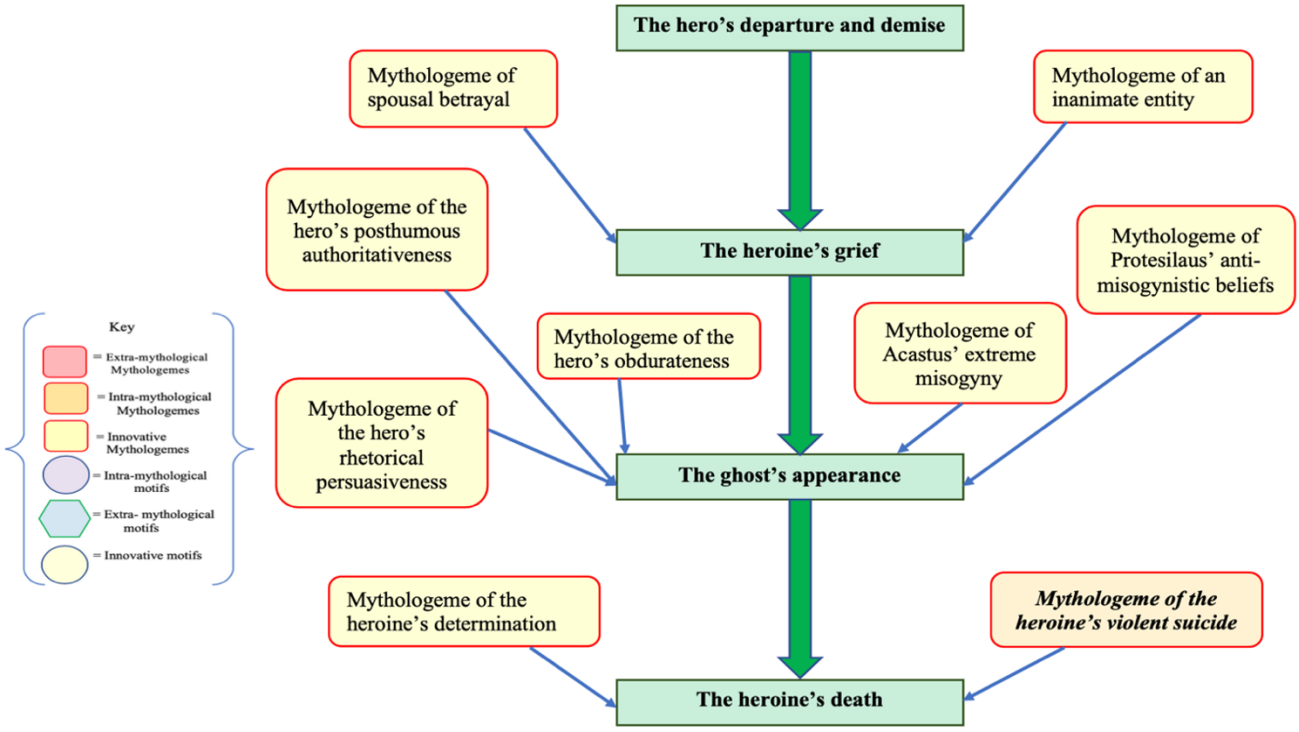


Fig.9. The distribution of mythologemes around the mythonarremes of the key narrative construct in Euripides' Protesilaus

Euripides' treatment of the mythological plotline in question reveals the early stages of the redistribution of narrative weight between Laodamia and Protesilaus, with the help of nine mythologemes (eight innovative and one intra-mythological). Through analysis of the surviving fragments, it is possible to determine that Euripides introduced a new narrative element: a culmination of Laodamia's plotline in the form of her suicide. Thus, in accordance with the conventions of his genre, Euripides not only initiates the process of mythological transformation by endowing the previously silent Laodamia with a voice and a capacity for action,[69] but also develops the vector of mythological transformation along which the narrative could be innovatively reshaped.

[69]This revolutionary transformation was accounted for by Annensky who pointed out Euripides' interest in the mythology of suffering. Annensky, 1906, p.167.

III. The Latin Elegiac Hypertext:

The Latin elegiac tradition preserves two poetic accounts of the mythological plotline of Protesilaus and Laodamia, which continue the development of the legend in accordance with the vector of mythological transformation, Catullus' 68b and Ovid's *Heroides* XIII, both dating to c. first century BC.[70] Although the central focus of Catullus' 68b lies not on the mythological plotline of Laodamia, but, in accordance with the conventions of the lyrical genre, on the poet's own relationship with his mistress Lesbia, Catullus presents a detailed 'inner'[71] account of the legend, which appears to be based on the Homeric version (lines 73-86):[72]

trito fulgentem in limine plantam / innixa arguta constituit solea, / coniugis ut quondam flagrans advenit amore / Protesilaeam Laodamia domum / inceptam frustra, nondum cum sanguine sacro / hostia caelestis pacificasset eros. / nil mihi tam valde placeat, Rhamnusia virgo, / quod temere invitis suscipiatur eris. / quam ieiuna pium desideret ara cruorem / docta est amisso Laodamia viro, / coniugis ante coacta novi dimittere collum / quam veniens una atque altera rursus hiems / noctibus in longis avidum saturasset amorem, / posset ut abrupto vivere coniugio: / quod scibant Parcae non longo tempore abesse, / si miles muros isset ad Iliacos:	She placed her shining foot with creaking sandal on the worn threshold; as once Laodamia, burning with love for her husband, came to the house of Protesilaus, – a house begun in vain – a sacrificial victim had not yet had appeased the masters of the heavens with holy blood. Let nothing please me too much, Rhamnusian virgin, that against the will of those masters is undertaken heedlessly! How the hungry altar yearns for sacred blood, Laodamia was caused to learn by the loss of her husband, forced to give up the neck of her new husband before one winter and then another one had come by, in whose long nights she might satisfy her greedy love, so she could live despite her broken wedlock. The Parcae decreed that this would not be far off, if her husband went as a warrior to the walls of Ilium.

By deploying the Laodamia legend as a mythological exemplum of a doomed relationship and paralleling his illicit passion for Lesbia (rather than Lesbia's feelings), with the heroine's love for Protesilaus,[73] the Roman poet explores the manifestations of 'excess and restraint' in extra-marital liaisons.[74] Catullus' rendition of the mythological plotline rests on a series of narrative elements which are absent from earlier extant accounts: Laodamia and

[70] Fragmentary evidence also suggests the existence of a poem by Laevius (c. 129 BC.). Only a brief scene from Laodamia's and Protesilaus' wedding and Laodamia's lament have been preserved. Sarkissian, p.42.
[71] Shipton, p.509.
[72] Scholars have stated that Catullus 'had Homer's version of the story in mind', since there is a parallel between the Roman poet's allusion to 'a house begun in vain' and the Iliadic reference to 'a half-built house' ('δόμος ἡμιτελής'). Cf. Van Sickle, pp.93-94.
[73] Macleod, p.83.
[74] Clauss,1995, p.244.

Protesilaus do not appear to be lawfully married (they perform the roles of 'lovers'[75]) their union is marred by a 'ritual error' rather than ill-fate, social propriety is merely simulated rather than observed.[76]

Catullus' interpretation of the mythological plot contains a novel development, adding to the growing autonomy of Laodamia: the introduction of the *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's guilt*, which augments the first mythonarreme of the key narrative, the hero's departure and demise. In order to develop the mythologeme, three innovative motifs are introduced into the poetic narrative: the *innovative motif of the heroine's voluntary arrival,* the *innovative motif of premarital relations* and the *innovative motif of an incomplete wedding.* The motif of the heroine's voluntary arrival is signalled through the description of Laodamia's entrance into the house of Protesilaus: 'advenit amore Protesilaeam Laodamia domum inceptam frustra'. The active voice of the verb 'advenit' reveals that the decision to visit the house of her prospective spouse before due sacrificial victims were offered lay wholly with the heroine rather than with Protesilaus (whose name is in the accusative, as a contextualising adjectival element for 'domum'). Thus, the crime of violating the rites of marriage, unattested to in earlier sources of the legend,[77] lies on Laodamia's shoulders alone, since she is the one to enter the house of her spouse before proper ceremonies had been conducted.[78] The motifs of premarital relations and an incomplete wedding**,** revealed through a cryptic allusion to omitted sacrifices, highlights the heroine's guilt.[79]

Catullus' treatment of the first mythonarreme of the mythological plotline of Laodamia preserves a further *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's extreme passion*, which is

---

[75] King, 1988, p.389.
[76] Tuplin, p.117.
[77] Cf. Allen, 1986, pp.861-863; Thomas, pp.175-178, for discussions of omitted sacrifices in Catullus' rendition of the legend.
[78] Some scholars have termed Laodamia's love 'sinister' and 'destructive', although the former term implies a super-natural, magical dimension, which is not hinted at in Catullus' *Carmina* 68. Tuplin, p.132.
[79] Cf. Liebeschuetz, p.46ff.

augmented with the help of two motifs: the *innovative motif of Laodamia's love as fire* and the *innovative motif of Laodamia's sexual greed*, which the heroine experiences for Protesilaus. In contrast to the Greek epic tradition, which contains no hint of the extent of the heroine's feelings for her husband (save for her grief at his loss), Catullus employs a vivid image to reveal Laodamia's terrible love for Protesilaus: 'flagrans amore' ('burning with love'). Although the metaphor of love as fire is not unusual in Roman lyric poetry (cf. Propertius, *Elegies 1, 13, 23*; Virg. *Culex, 220*),[80] it acquires a prophetic dimension in the broader context of the Laodamia legend:[81] despite making no mention of the heroine's demise, Catullus' use of the participle 'flagrans' prefigures Laodamia's suicide on the pyre (cf. the mythographical hypertext: Hyginus, *Fabula* CIV), inviting an implicit parallel between her life (during which she is consumed by metaphorical fire) and her death.

Laodamia's extreme passion for her husband is revealed further by the innovative motif of sexual greed, which is signalled by the clause 'avidum saturasset amorem', wherein both the verb 'saturasset' ('to satisfy', 'to sate') and the adjective 'avidum' ('greedy', 'voracious') point to the heroine's figurative amorous hunger.[82] Two metaphors, illustrating the extent of the heroine's passion, conclude Catullus' account of the Laodamia legend:

sed tuus altus amor barathro fuit altior illo, qui tunc indomitam ferre iugum docuit. nam nec tam carum confecto aetate parenti una caput seri nata nepotis alit, qui, cum divitiis vix tandem inventus avitis nomen testatas intulit in tabulas, impia derisi gentilis gaudia tollens suscitat a cano vulturium capiti: nec tantum niveo gavisa est ulla columbo compar, quae multo dicitur improbius oscula mordenti semper decerpere rostro quam quae praecipue multivola est mulier: sed tu horum magnos vicisti sola furores, ut semel es flavo conciliata viro.	But your deep love was deeper than that chasm, it taught you then, untamed, to carry the yoke. For not as dear to a parent overcome by age is the face of a late-born grandchild whom an only daughter rears, he is found at last for the ancestral wealth, only just having entered his name into the official records; he shrugs off the impious glee of mocking relatives and shakes off the vulture from his whitened head; nor does a dove rejoice so much in her snow-white spouse, which they say is always snatching kisses with her nibbling beak: more lustful than a woman who is especially full of desires. But you alone surpassed the great passions of these beings, when you were once joined to your fair-haired husband.

[80] It is termed 'warmth-theme' by scholars, cf. Rankin, p.692.
[81] Sarkissian terms Catullus' deployment of a fire metaphor 'a *double entendre* intended to remind the reader of the Laodamia who actually burns in the fire', p.19. Cf. Vandiver, p.156ff.
[82] Although some scholars perceive a deal of irony behind the description of Laodamia's love, poetic hyperbole seems a more likely rationalisation for the juxtaposition. Kinsey, p.47.

The poet alludes to different manifestations of love: human, as manifested in the love of a grandparent to his grandchild, and animalistic, explored through the relationship of a bird to its consort. The *innovative motif of carnal passion* is revealed through the comparison of Laodamia to a dove, who is described as 'improbius' (a comparative adverb), a term which can be translated as 'lustfully', 'licentiously' or even 'shamelessly'.[83] The parallel drawn by Catullus contains a quantitative and qualitative dimension, since it is based on an estimate of the physical manifestations of love: it is implied that Laodamia yearns for more kisses than a dove, regarded by the poet as a lustful creature.[84]

However, Catullus softens his conceptualisation of Laodamia's affection by the introduction of the *innovative motif of desperate affection*, signalled through the first metaphor of a frantic grandsire, whose honour is narrowly rescued by the appearance of a late-born heir. The motif of desperate affection presents an original interpolation into the mythological plotline: there is a suggestion that the heroine's feelings for Protesilaus are based not wholly on spousal love, but also on relief at averted desolation.

Catullus' development of Laodamia's narrative in accordance with the vector of mythological transformation is taken further in Ovid's elegiac poem *Heroides* XIII, which is composed in the form of an epistle from the heroine to her newly departed husband (the heroine addresses her husband with 'an epistolary te'[85]). In Ovid's account Laodamia performs two functions: from the position of a dutiful wife, she laments her bitter lot and simultaneously gives sound strategic counsel to her husband. Developing her primary function, a weeping wife, Ovid introduces three innovative mythologemes, which, through revealing the heroine's grief at her husband's departure, give an insight into her newly developed cognitive capacity.

---

[83] A parallel image of a bride experiencing passion can be noted in the wedding song in Catullus' 61.169-70: 'illi non minus ac tibi pectore uritur intimo flamma, sed penite magis', 'No less than in your breast, in his breast burns an innermost flame, but even more deeply.'

[84] Cf. Martial, Epigrams, 8.21.2: 'improba non fuerit si mea charta, dato', where 'improba' takes on the meaning of 'shameless'. Clauss, p.245.

[85] Drinkwater, p.383.

Developing the traditional manifestations of grief and loss (e.g., futile reproaches, pledges of affection, interrupted farewells, anger and pain[86]), Ovid introduces an *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's hypothetical madness* at the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct:

ut quas pampinea tetigisse Bicorniger hasta creditur, huc illuc, qua furor egit, eo.	I run, here and there, like one you'd think had been touched by the rod of the two-horned god, just as madness drives me.

By conceptualising her own grief as divinely inspired ravings ('furor') Laodamia draws an implicit parallel with the gods' agency in her loss of Protesilaus. Ovid introduces the *innovative motif of Laodamia's implicit accusation of the gods* on a lexical level, through the reference to Bacchus' 'rod' or thyrsus with which the heroine was supposedly touched: the noun 'hasta' raises military connotations since it can be used to denote a martial spear or javelin, recalling a weapon with which Protesilaus might have potentially been slain. Like her husband, who is compelled by fate and the gods to leave his house and travel to distant Troy, Laodamia, on a microcosmic level, is denied peace and is driven to pace her home by the 'furor' ('madness') imparted her, rather than the Bacchantes, by the 'two-horned god'.

The heroine's self-association with Protesilaus' lot is taken further in Ovid's account with the help of the *innovative mythologeme of empathy*, which the heroine experiences for her husband:

Scilicet ipsa geram saturatas murice lanas, Bella sub Iliacis moenibus ille geret? Ipsa comas pectar, galea caput ille premetur? Ipsa novas vestes, dura vir arma feret? Qua possum, squalore tuos imitata labores Dicar, et haec belli tempora tristis agam.	Evidently, I should wear garments steeped in purple while he wages war beneath the walls of Troy! Should I brush my hair? While a helmet burdens his hair? Should I bear new robes, while my husband bears weighty armor? Let it be said, that I imitate your hardships as far as I can, with neglected raiment, and, in this time, act out a sad war.

Laodamia presents a tricolon of doublets, contrasting the appearance expected of her as a royal woman (rich garments, coiffed hair, new robes) with her husband's physical hardships, which

[86] Laodamia's conduct (e.g., her parting words and observance of Protesilaus' disappearing ship) during her husband's setting forth for Troy is constructed on the basis of a departure type-scene. Cf. Bolton, p.289.

are pivoted on a shared use of verbs (e.g., the verb 'gero' is present both in the first person 'geram' and third person form 'gerat'), indicating the heroine's desire to partake of Protesilaus' lot. Although she envisages imitating the adversities of war, a traditionally male domain, there is no hint of impropriety in her words.[87] Instead, Ovid characterises her with the help of two *innovative motifs of self-awareness* and *responsibility*, endowing her with traits which in the epic tradition belonged only to Protesilaus: his duty as a Greek hero led him to take up arms against Troy and perish in battle.

Developing the mythologeme of empathy, Ovid augments the legend of Laodamia with the help of an *innovative mythologeme of defeminisation*, which the heroine intends to undertake as a sign of unity with the departed Protesilaus:

Nec mihi pectendos cura est praebere capillos, Nec libet aurata corpora veste tegi.	I do not care about giving my hair to be combed, nor does it please me to clothe my body in gold robes.

Laodamia casts off her former womanly interests, manifested in the desire to display publicly her beauty ('praebere' can be translated as 'show' or 'exhibit') and the pleasure derived from rich garments, hinting at the presence of a novel, recently developed 'cura' ('care', 'interest'). Since the heroine denies her femininity, there is an implicit suggestion that a masculinised role would be preferable to her.

Laodamia's newly assumed quasi-masculine guise is revealed by Ovid with the help of the *extra-mythological mythologeme of a female's strategic advice*, which the heroine attempts to impart to her husband, albeit in vain. A parallel type-scene of a wife trying to counsel her spouse is preserved in *Iliad* VI during the interchange of Hector and Andromache on the walls of Troy, which contains parallels with Ovid's *Heroides,* XIII:

[87] Feeney, p.33.

Iliad VI.431-4	ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε νῦν ἐλέαιρε καὶ αὐτοῦ μίμν᾽ ἐπὶ πύργῳ, μὴ παῖδ᾽ ὀρφανικὸν θήῃς χήρην τε γυναῖκα. λαὸν δὲ στῆσον παρ᾽ ἐρινεόν, ἔνθα μάλιστα ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος.	Come now, pity me and stay here on the tower, do not make your son an orphan your wife a widow. Station your soldiers over the fig-tree, where the wall is especially easy to scale and the city is open.
Ovid, Heroides XIII	Hectora, quisquis is est, si sum tibi cara, caveto: signatum memori pectore nomen habe! hunc ubi vitaris, alios vitare memento et multos illic Hectoras esse puta… …si cadere Argolico fas est sub milite Troiam, te quoque non ullum vulnus habente cadat. pugnet et adversos tendat Menelaus in hostes…	If I am dear to you, be wary of Hector, whoever he is: have the memory of that name marked on your heart! When you avoid him, remember to avoid others too, and imagine there are many Hectors there… If Troy can fall to the Argive army, let it fall without you having a single wound. Let Menelaus fight and strive against the enemy…

Both Laodamia and Andromache deploy the same rhetorical device of calling upon their husband's affection in order to persuade them to be careful ('ἐλέαιρε', 'pity me'; 'si sum tibi cara', 'if I am dear to you'); both heroines conjure up a hypothetical situation wherein their spouse is either killed or wounded; both wives propose a strategic military action to preserve their loved ones' lives. By constructing his type-scene of a wife's counsel on the basis of the Iliadic prototype, Ovid augments the poignancy of Laodamia's epistle in two respects: firstly, and more obviously, since Hector perished after ignoring Andromache's advice, the Roman poet foreshadows Protesilaus' death, which will occur after a similar disregard for his wife's wise counsel. Secondly, as Protesilaus belonged to the Argive army and so fought alongside an invading force, he, unlike Hector, could not take leave of his wife on the day of his mortal combat. Ovid's allusion to the Homeric parting type-scene elevates Laodamia's epistle from a simple missive, equating it to Andromache's parting speech. The mythologeme of the heroine's prophetic vision is further augmented with the help of the *innovative motif of prosoponymic foretelling*: Laodamia is able to foresee the identity of Protesilaus' killer, Hector.

Furthermore, Ovid endows his heroine with quasi-oracular powers since she, without prior knowledge of Hector's powers ('quisquis is est', 'whoever he is'), cautions her husband against him. Since, as recorded in the *Cypria*, Protesilaus was slain by Hector (*fr*. 1.10),[88]

[88] 'Protesilaus died at the hands of Hector'.

Likewise, Ovid introduces *the innovative mythologeme of the heroine's prophetic vision,* through Laodamia's revelation of the oracle pertaining to the first hero to set foot on Trojan land:

Sors quoque nescio quem fato designat iniquo, qui primus Danaum Troada tangat humum: infelix, quae prima virum lugebit ademptum! di faciant, ne tu strenuus esse velis! inter mille rates tua sit millensima puppis iamque fatigatas ultima verset aquas! hoc quoque praemoneo: de nave novissimus exi!	Also, I do not know what wicked death fate appoints to the first Greek who sets foot on Trojan soil: wretched is the woman who weeps for the first killed man! Would that the gods not make you over-zealous! Among the thousand ships let your ship be the thousandth, and the last to be harried by the wearying waves! Of this I also warn you : leave your ship the last!

Although Laodamia clearly implies that she has no knowledge of the oracle (she states she is unaware of fate's decrees), the heroine offers a detailed outline of the fate of the 'primus Danaum'. The heroine is even able to foresee her own fate, conceptualised through a hypothetical female ('infelix', 'wretched'), who is doomed to eternal lamentation (cf. the Iliadic account of Protesilaus' weeping widow). Laodamia's prophetic vision is further augmented with the help of the *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's sensitivity to omens*, through which her perceptiveness is characterised.

a patria pelago vela vetante datis! ipse suam non praebet iter Neptunus ad urbem. quo ruitis? vestras quisque redite domos! quo ruitis, Danai? ventos audite vetantes! non subiti casus - numinis ista mora est.	You sail away from your homeland, although the sea bars you! Neptune himself does not offer you a road to his city. Where are you rushing to? Return to your homes! Where are you rushing to, Greeks? Give ear to the forbidding winds! This is not a sudden accident – this is a divine delay.

Ovid endows his heroine with the capacity to interpret divine omens, determining the will of the gods through natural phenomena (the sudden becalming of the ships, preventing the Greeks from setting sail for Troy).[89] In contrast to Protesilaus and the entire host (whom the heroine calls upon in vain: 'quo ruitis, Danai?'), Laodamia has the foresight to glimpse the will of Poseidon behind the lack of winds, warning the Greeks of impending danger. Although some scholars assert that Laodamia is 'unskilled in her interpretation of various supernatural

[89] Cf. Euripides' *Iphigenia in Aulis,* which is centred on Agamemnon's decision to sacrifice his eldest daughter, Iphigenia, in order to appease Artemis and allow his fleet to set sail for Troy.

occurrences',[90] it is clear that the heroine is able to forge a connection between Poseidon's attachment to Troy (he, alongside Apollo, participated in building the walls of the citadel)[91] and his denial of the winds, attributing the meteorological phenomenon (termed 'subiti casus', 'a sudden accident') to an appropriate deity (Neptune).

Laodamia's sensitivity to manifestations of divine will, which Ovid ascribes to her, is developed further by the introduction of the *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's piety*, which is revealed through her fervent observance of ancient religious customs:

nulla caret fumo Thessalis ara meo: tura damus lacrimamque super, qua sparsa relucet, ut solet adfuso surgere flamma mero.	No altar in Thessaly lacks my smoke, I offer incense, with tears added to it, which burns as it is scattered, so that the flames roar, when wine is poured on them.

In contrast to Catullus' Laodamia, who omitted to perform appropriate sacrifices and inadvertently contributed to her husband's demise, Ovid's heroine is shown to perform sequences of religious rites: she burns gifts on multiple altars ('nulla caret fumo…ara meo'), she sets alight incense ('tura damus') and she offers libations. Ovid's heroine is shown to possess not only wisdom and foresight, but also the ability to perform an independent religious action (as revealed by the first-person pronoun 'meo'). Thus, in complementary distribution, Catullus and Ovid endow Laodamia with the three aspects (mind, voice, ability to act), which are prerequisite for the continuing displacement of narrative prominence from Protesilaus to his wife. Annensky noted:[92]

> Пафос и гибель Лаодамии в последующей литературе и у ваятелей стали, под влиянием Еврипида, почти исключительно центром художественного интереса.

[90] Fulkerson, p.67.
[91] Cf. Pindar, *Olympic* 8.30-46, Apollodorus 2.5.9, Hyginus, *Fabula* LXXXIX.1-2. For a detailed study of the building of Troy and a parallel analysis of the construction of Asgard, see Fontenrose, pp.53-63.
[92] Annensky, 1906, p.167.

His view is supported by extant archaeological evidence: two Roman sarcophagi, attesting to the character of Laodamia, depict scenes from her narrative strand:[93]



Fig.10: Sarcophagus with scenes from the myth of Laodamia and Protesilaus. Marble. 2nd century BC. Basilica di Santa Chiara. Napoli.



Fig.11: Protesilaus and Laodamia Sarcophagus, Marble. 170 AD. Object number: 256026, Musei Vaticani. Roma.

In the scene represented on the right-hand edge of the Naples sarcophagus, [94] Laodamia is shown greeting her husband, who has returned to her from the underworld.[95] The chronologically later Vatican sarcophagus[96] reflects further development of the mythological plot: on the left-hand side Laodamia (the shrouded figure) is mourning as Protesilaus deserts her, leaving for Troy in his ship; the next panel shows Hermes (the figure with a wand) conducting Protesilaus to the underworld; the central scene depicts Laodamia meeting her husband as he returns from Hades; in the next vignette the heroine is shown on her marital bed dying, while Protesilaus is ready to return to Hades in Charon's boat.[97] Thus, both Roman sarcophagi reflect Laodamia's newly developed mythological prominence: on both artifacts the

[93] Cf. Koch, Sichtermann, p.288.
[94] The image is reproduced from: Zanker, Ewald, p.95.
[95] Zanker, Ewald, p.95.
[96] The image is reproduced from: Dietrich, pp.270-316.
[97] Zanker, Ewald, p.94; Pelliccia, p.180.

legendary events are shown from the perspective of the heroine, who governs the action while Protesilaus is relegated to the role of a shadow.[98]

The distribution of mythologemes and motifs with which the Roman poets, Catullus and Ovid, develop the mythonarremes of the key narrative construct can be illustrated in *fig.*12:

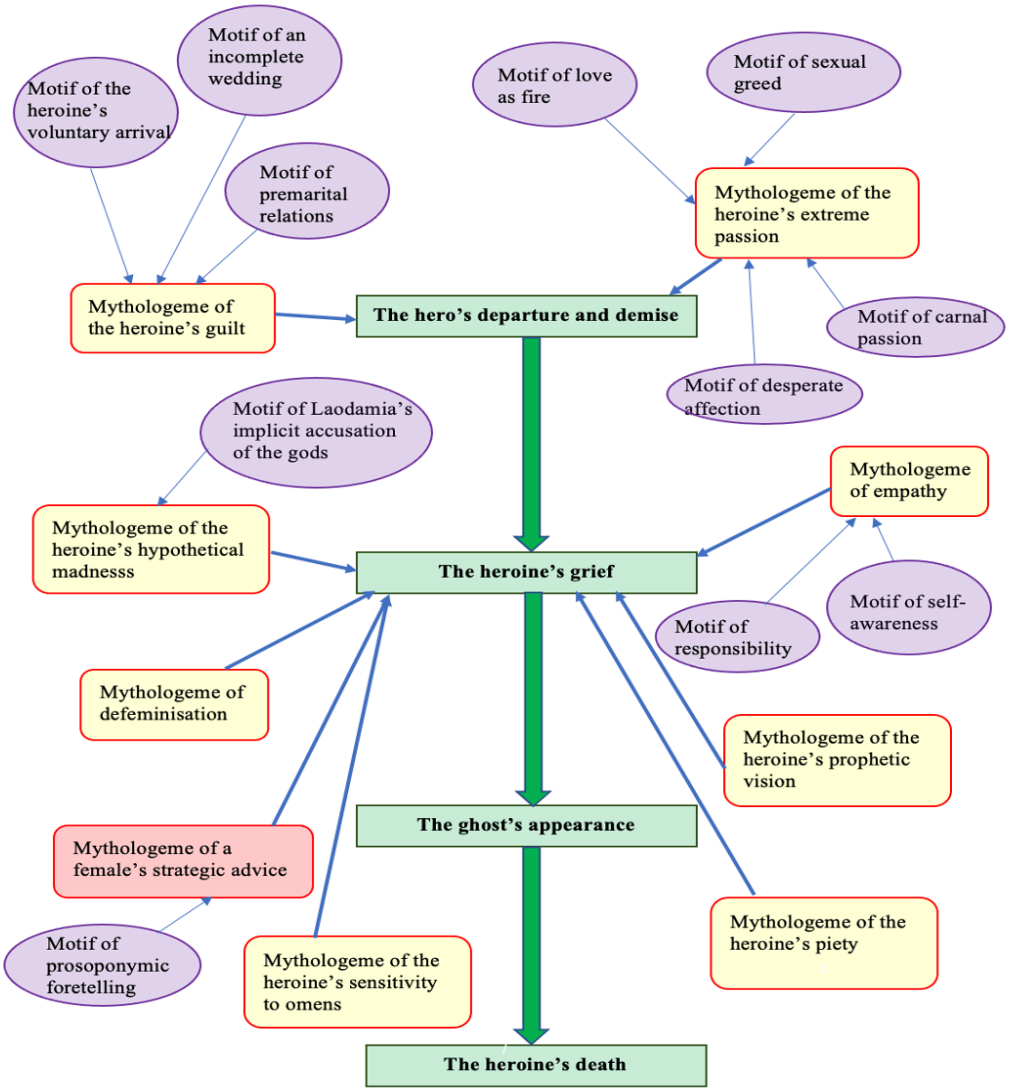


Fig.12. The structure of mythologemes and motifs around the key narrative construct in the Latin lyric tradition

As shown in *fig.*12, the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, the hero's departure and death, is augmented by Catullus with the help of two innovative mythologemes: of the heroine's guilt and her extreme passion. Since the focus of *Carmina* 68 is mainly on the initial stages of the Laodamia legend, prior to Protesilaus' demise at Troy and his widow's

[98] For a more detailed analysis of the iconography on the Vatican sarcophagus see Canciani, p.558; Bettini, p.12.

grief, the augmentation of the heroine's mental and physical development is concentrated in the primary mythonarreme. In contrast to the *Iliad* and *Cypria*, which allot a passive role to Laodamia (Protesilaus' weeping widow), Catullus presents a heroine whose extreme passion for her beloved becomes a cause for his demise (an event previously ascribed to fate, the hero's own decision, or Hector's prowess).

The transformation of the mythological plotline is developed by Ovid, whose heroine, in contrast to Catullus' Laodamia who remains within the boundaries prescribed by her gender, seeks to disengage herself from her femininity through attempting to acquire novel, masculine traits. However, although the heroine yearns to take on a male role, she nonetheless remains constrained by her womanhood, which dictates her mode of conduct (lamentation, performance of religious rites) and appearance (rich garments, elegant hairstyles). Thus, although the gradual process of the redistribution of narrative weight allotted to each of the legend's protagonists was commenced and upheld in the epic, dramatic and elegiac traditions, in the Classical tradition a complete reversal of Protesilaus' and Laodamia's mythological roles had not been achieved.

II.
The Mythoplastic Neo-mythological Intertext: Innokenty Annensky, Fyodor Sologub, Valery Bryusov

The process of transforming the mythological plot of Laodamia and Protesilaus, which was discontinued in Classical literature after Ovid's *Heroides XIII*, was rekindled in Silver Age dramaturgy.[99] Four dramatic renditions of the mythological plot were created over the course of fourteen years: Stanisław Wyspiański's *Protesilas i Laodamia* (1899), composed in the Polish literary tradition, was followed by Innokenty Annensky's *Laodamiya* (1902), Fyodor Sologub's *Dar mudrykh pchel* (1907) and Valery Bryusov's *Protesilai umershii* (1912).[100] The

[99] William Wordsworth composed a narrative poem 'Laodamia' (1815, 1845), which will not be analysed in the present thesis as it does not constitute a dramatic treatment of the Laodamia plot.
[100] Merrill, pp.48-54; Gavrilov, p.315.

earliest to turn to the legend of Laodamia was Stanisław Wyspiański, a Polish Symbolist poet, playwright, painter and theatre producer.

In his treatment of the legend of Laodamia, Wyspiański closely adhered to the tradition initiated by Euripides, since he endowed his heroine not only with the power of speech but also with the power of action (she stabbed herself, unable to face life without her husband). Annensky, who refers to the original of Wyspiański's play,[101] briefly characterised Wyspiański's approach, pointing out his artistic tact in making his hero speechless and his heroine commit suicide after her hallucination of a secret marriage with Protesilaus.[102] Wyspiański is credited with creating 'an unusual female role',[103] since his heroine remains on stage throughout the dramatic action, reducing the play to a monodrama: the majority of the tragedy's speeches are monologues, which consist primarily of Laodamia's lamentations about the senselessness of Protesilaus' death (despite the hero regarding it as glorious and joyous).[104] As his central theme Wyspiański takes 'the freedom of an individual limited by the freedom of another',[105] broadening the scope of his tragedy to address the issue of national liberty and 'the question of political enslavement of his nation'.[106] Thus, although the tragedy is ostensibly based on the legend of Laodamia and Protesilaus, Wyspiański deploys the mythological narrative as a medium through which he explores political issues concerning his own country.

Therefore, Wyspiański's approach to Antiquity appears to bear a close connection to that of the Russian nineteenth century, in which Classical mythology underwent a political-ideological reinterpretation (as manifested in the works of Krylov, Maikov and Katenin) and served as a tool for the expression of current political and national events (including the

[101] Annensky cites the Polish publication source of Wyspiański's drama in his preface to *Laodamiya*. Annensky, 2000, p.415; Terlecki, p.56.
[102] Annensky, 2000, p.169.
[103] King, 2007, p.224.
[104] King, 2007, p.224.
[105] King, 2007, p.224.
[106] King, 2007, p.224.

Decembrist uprising). In contrast to the Neo-mythological approach, distinguished by its creative attitude to mythology, which is based, to quote Annensky, on 'blending the Ancient world with the modern soul'[107] through aesthetic and psychological reinterpretation of Classical legendary narratives, Wyspiański deployed Ancient mythology as a framework through which he represented historical figures and events. Thus, his dramatic technique of altering the function of mythological plots typologically predates the Neo-mythological movement, initiated by Annensky.

On the contrary, two plays by Annensky's followers, Fyodor Sologub's *Dar mudrykh pchel* (1907) and Valery Bryusov's *Protesilai umershii* (1912), were composed in accordance with Annensky's principles of Neo-mythology: both tragedies recreate the Classical legend according to the trajectory of mythological development inherited from Greek drama and Latin elegiac poetry. The present chapter will take advantage of an instance of the same legendary narrative attracting the attention of three contemporary dramatists and analyse Annensky's *Laodamiya* parallel to Sologub's *Dar mudrykh pchel* and Valery Bryusov's *Protesilai umershii,* attempting to discern the first stages of the influence which Annensky, the earliest Neo-mythological playwright, had on subsequent Russian theatre.

In order to analyse the extent to which each Russian Neo-mythological rendition of the legendary plot of Protesilaus and Laodamia continues the process of its development, the dramatic action of each play will be separated into four consecutive stages corresponding to the four mythonarremes of the key narrative construct:

[107] 'Слить мир античный с современной душой'. Annensky, 2000, p.48.

The first stage	*Exposition*	Relates to the hero's departure and demise and encompasses the dramatic action before Laodamia discovers the news of her husband's death.
The second stage	*Conflict*	Pertains to the heroine's grief and takes place after the news is confirmed and Laodamia is at the height of her grief.
The third stage	*Peripeteia*	Relates to the appearance of Protesilaus' ghost and occurs during Laodamia's interaction with Protesilaus.
The fourth stage	*Anagnorisis*	Concerns the heroine's death and culminates in Laodamia's suicide.

Section 1.

The Departure and Demise Mythonarreme: Exposition

The first stage of the dramatic action can be termed the 'exposition', since it is responsible for revealing Laodamia's response to her husband's departure, before any news of his death has reached her. The transformation of the mythological plot, conditioned by the shift of primary focus from Protesilaus to Laodamia, is continued in Russian Silver Age drama along the same trajectory as in the Greek dramatic and Latin elegiac traditions: Laodamia is endowed with three attributes (the ability to reason, to speak and to act independently). The first of these faculties, Laodamia's mental development, is introduced by all three Silver Age dramatists at the earliest stage of their plays, in the scenes before Laodamia receives the news of her husband's death.

In his characterisation of Laodamia in the initial stages of the play, Annensky retains the *intra-mythological mythologeme of empathy,* albeit redirecting and broadening its object beyond Protesilaus. Laodamia is endowed with the ability to empathise with the misfortunes of her Thessalian subjects, independently of her own grief:[108]

Не разогнать желанья полным словом / Мне не дано утешить вас, увы!

Despite her superior social status (Laodamia is the queen of Phylacos), she does not single out her own tragedy as an exception, but rather counts herself as one of many who have

[108] All quotations from Annensky's play *Laodamiya* are taken from Annensky, 2000, pp.167-226.

been affected by the Trojan war, expressing a desire to shave her hair as a sign of mourning and to join the doleful Chorus:

В печальный хор с обритой головой / И я войду тогда, и тихо стану

. . .

Whereas Ovid's heroine can look no further than her own and Protesilaus' fate, desiring only that her husband preserve himself at the expense of other lives (13.97-99), Annensky's heroine is characterised by the *innovative motif of Laodamia's affinity for extra-familial individuals*, whose grief she values as equal to her own.

The psychological development of Laodamia's character is further revealed in the nature of her affection for her husband: unlike Catullus' queen, whose passion for Protesilaus is physical, the love of Annensky's Laodamia develops after her husband leaves for Troy and so cannot be conditioned by his bodily proximity.[109] In Laodamia's opening speech Annensky reveals the *innovative mythologeme of the brevity of the marital relationship* between the heroine and her husband: 'бросив пир, / Невестою меня покинув думам...'. From her account it becomes evident that Protesilaus left his bride on their wedding day, during the public feast, and consequently before the consummation of their marriage.[110] Historical accounts of Greek customs reveal that a bride (Laodamia, the princess of Iolcus), and groom (Protesilaus, the King of Phylacos), may not have met in person prior to their wedding day.[111] Consequently, Laodamia's love is not directed towards a physical reality (a man close by her side), but rather is transferred to the sphere of her own mind.[112] Annensky introduces the *innovative motif of Laodamia's paradoxical passion*, which, despite being nourished spiritually, or rather platonically[113] (for his extreme heroism) rather than physically, results in a physical manifestation – the action of her suicide caused by her inability to survive her husband. The

[109] Silard, (A) 2002, p.28.
[110] A similar motif of an unconsummated marriage caused by the disappearance of one spouse occurs in Pushkin's *Ruslan i Lyudmila.*
[111] Cox, pp.231-244.
[112] Shelogurova, 2000, p.306.
[113] Shelogurova, 2000, p.306.

sophistication which Annensky introduces into Laodamia's character differs dramatically from her epic representation as her husband's nameless appendage: the Russian poet transforms his heroine into a woman not only capable of thinking, but also endowed with a spirit deep enough to create and maintain a chaste love, sufficiently powerful to culminate in the deliberate action of putting an end to her own life.

The strength of mind of Annensky's Laodamia is further revealed through the poet's retention and augmentation of the *intra-mythological mythologeme of prophetic vision*, inherited from Ovid. In Annensky's play, Laodamia's prophetic gift is manifested on two occasions: in her dream and in the *ekphrasis* of a coverlet which she embroiders.[114] The first manifestation of her prophetic power appears in Laodamia's retelling of a night-time vision centred on three details: the colour mauve ('цветами Лиловыми поросшая'), a huge stranger ('Лишь человек высокий') and a helmet forced by him upon her head ('мне долго шлем свой тяжкий / На белые надеть старался косы').[115] Although the heroine's dream does not explicitly refer to Protesilaus, but is concerned rather with her own experience, its significance in relation to his death becomes evident in Act I Scene III, with the arrival of a messenger from Troy.[116] From his account three details of his general's death emerge: the mauve colour of Protesilaus' chiton ('В какой хитон одет он был? / В лиловый...'), the huge height of his opponent ('огромный, вождь') and a helmet as the cause of his death ('И шлем / Тяжелый и косматый опустился / На голову царя...'). The correlation between the words of the messenger and Laodamia's dream is pointed out by the Nurse, who quotes a line from her mistress' oracular speech ('Лиловые поля'). What in the Latin literary tradition was a fleeting reference to Laodamia's foresight, is transformed in Annensky's account into a motif of unique prophetic gift, which gives the heroine prior knowledge of the details of her husband's death.

[114] Dukor, p.125.
[115] Dukor, p.125.
[116] Dukor, p.125.

In this respect Annensky's heroine can be compared with Andromache[117] in the *Iliad,* who entreats her husband to hold back in battle and not seek vain glory, giving him counsel which reveals her prescience of his and her own exact fate (she warns Hector of the dangers of leaving Troy, *Il*.6.431-2). The precision of Andromache's foresight (as is manifest in later accounts of the Trojan cycle, e.g. Euripides' *Trojan Woman*, where Hector's wife becomes the slave of the Greeks and her son is killed) is, however, surpassed by Annensky's Laodamia, since the three details of her husband's death (unlike Hector's) are circumstantial rather than substantive.

The mythologeme of the heroine's prophetic power is revealed a second time in Annensky's play, through the image which Laodamia weaves into her coverlet.[118] The Nurse, admiring her charge's handiwork, describes the picture:

> И челноки какие-то, и птицы / На парусах... А это что ж? Одна / Лететь устала, видно... Иль на мачте / Ей не нашлось местечка?../ Между волн / Она трепещет крыльями...

The coverlet functions as a binary ekphrasis, simultaneously containing symbolic representations of both Protesilaus' and Laodamia's tragedy. The *innovative motif of a fallen bird* emblematises not only Protesilaus' untimely death and departure from the Greek host (the flock),[119] but also Laodamia's own crippled fate.[120] By losing her husband, Laodamia falls from the flock (a metaphoric image referring to the wives and mothers of dead heroes), while the bird's broken wings symbolically represent the queen's shattered hopes for a happy future: 'ей / Подломит крылья ветер'.[121] In embroidering her coverlet, Laodamia, almost like a Moira or a Parca, weaves (and foretells) both her own fate and that of her husband. Thus, while maintaining an aspect of Laodamia's canonical function (weaving in her husband's absence), Annensky furthers the vector of mythological transformation by endowing her traditional role

[117] Laodamia can also be compared with Cassandra, the daughter of King Priam and the concubine of Agamemnon, whom she prophetically warns of his fate at the hands of Aegisthus (Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* 1107-1111).
[118] Dukor, p.125.
[119] Zubarskaya, p.40.
[120] Setchkarev, 1963, p.185.
[121] Silard, (A) 2002, p.40.

with a complexity attributed only to a deity of fate or a divinely inspired seer (Calchas is the only other character with prophetic vision in the play).

The development of Laodamia's mind, initiated by Euripides and continued by Ovid and Annensky, is taken a step further by the subsequent recipient of the mythological plot, Fyodor Sologub. Advancing the characterisation of his heroine's mind, Sologub introduces the *intra-mythological mythologeme of divine, superior knowledge*, by paralleling Laodamia with Persephone[122] and so raising her to the level of a deity in her understanding of mortality. The superiority of Persephone's and Laodamia's consciousness is emphasised through the introduction of the *innovative motif of spiritual blindness*, which the individuals surrounding both female characters display: Acastus, Laodamia's father, cannot fathom her enduring loyalty to her husband ('мне с моею глупою горе… Уговорите вы ее, неразумную'), while both Hades ('Непонятна мне тоска твоя') and Protesilaus ('тебе ли печалиться? Ты ли тоскуешь?') wonder as to the cause of Persephone's grief.[123] Through their shared awareness of human suffering,[124] Persephone and Laodamia are able to provide what has aptly been termed a continuum[125] between two worlds, a bridge between life and death, across which Protesilaus, the active hero of the epic tradition, returns to the world of the living.[126] Thus, while Laodamia, deceptively cast in her traditional role of a mourning wife weeps in Act I, the audience recognises in her words of lamentation the same sentiments as expressed by Persephone.[127]

The parallel of Persephone and Laodamia as lamenting wives heralds the introduction of a more significant correspondence in outlook, based on the *innovative mythologeme of eschatological philosophy*.[128] Persephone's view of military exploits is depicted as identical to

[122] Merrill, pp.48-54.
[123] All quotations from Sologub's *Dar mudrykh pchel* are taken from Sologub, 2002.
[124] Evdokimova, 1998, p.20; Fedyakin, p.588.
[125] Merrill, pp.48-54.
[126] Voloshin, p.434.
[127] Dukor, p.129.
[128] Setchkarev, p.185.

that of Laodamia in Act II, since she registers the tragedy of wasted lives: 'Из-за призрака, из-за бледной тени стали призраками'.[129] The *innovative motif of the rejection of bloodshed*, revealed through Persephone's speech, is based upon a superior understanding of mortality, of which she, the queen of Hades, has first-hand knowledge. Sologub takes further Annensky's characterisation of Laodamia as a woman endowed with divine insight, albeit his queen has no need for prophetic gifts, since she possesses the original wisdom of the gods, who inspire human seers.

Sologub further augments the mythologeme of the heroine's superior knowledge by the introduction of the *innovative mythologeme of divine insignia,* with which Laodamia is marked*,* revealed with the help of the *innovative, symbolic motif of honey*, carried into her heart by supernatural bees:

> Налетели на меня, окружили меня темные пчелы печали, изжалили они мое сердце, соты горького меда скопили в нем . . .

Traditionally, honey was believed to be a medium of divine, prophetic inspiration, conveying to its recipient secret knowledge of the future[130] (in Old Norse mythology the sacred mead of poetry, *skáldskapar mjöðr*, was associated with poetic craft and visionary sagacity).[131] The significance of the mead of wisdom for Sologub is revealed by his title *Дар мудрых пчел*, which symbolises both honey (inspiration) and wax (art). The focus of Sologub's play lies on its heroine's prophetic gift, bestowed by the mead of wisdom, and consequently on her developed mind, inherited as a motif from the Classical tradition and extended by the Russian mythoplast to superhuman scope.

In contrast to Sologub, whose title aptly reflects the focus of his play, Bryusov gives his tragedy *Protesilai umershii* a title which ostensibly reverses the vector of mythological transformation. The stress in Bryusov's title lies on the attribute rather than the name of the

[129] Dukor, p.129.
[130] Zubarskaya, p.61.
[131] Snorri Sturluson, pp.61-64; Meletinsky, 2001, pp.38-51.

hero, whose death conditions the shifting of semantic focus to his wife. Bryusov's interpretation of the mythological plot continues the tradition of developing Laodamia's characterisation, albeit by means of a complete break with the techniques of his literary predecessors. Whereas Ovid, Annensky and Sologub maintain an aspect of Laodamia's canonical role as a lamenter by endowing her with lyrical traits, Bryusov denies his queen her customary gentle femininity by presenting her with an almost masculine firmness and determination (perhaps influenced by Ovid's innovative mythologeme of defeminisation). Bryusov's play opens with a political discourse between two statesmen, Timander (a Greek nobleman) and Frason (Laodamia's brother) about the state of affairs at Phylacos caused by the death of its king, Protesilaus.[132] The gravity of the city's situation is underlined by Timander, who claims that if a new king is not elected soon, civil strife will ensue:[133]

> Но это будет к распрям повод горестный <…> Поднимется, и может возгореться бой

The last hope the city has of escaping bloodshed is Laodamia, who alone can prevent its noblemen from fighting: 'Царицы вольный выбор примирил бы всех'. Although the manner in which the heroine can preserve her city is compatible with her representation in the epic tradition (she must resume her status as a wife), Bryusov exceeds the boundaries of her canonical function, by means of the introduction of an *innovative mythologeme of a salvator urbis*: Laodamia is responsible for determining whether her city will survive or be destroyed. Thus, in contrast with Ovid's heroine who merely attempts to reject the physical manifestations of femininity and assumes outward attributes of masculinity (rough garments, tangled locks etc.), Bryusov's heroine is entrusted with the major function of guardian of a city, a traditionally male role.

If in Sologub's play Laodamia's role was parallel to that of Persephone (and in Annensky's tragedy to that of Andromache), for Bryusov's play an implicit comparison with

---

[132] Dukor, p.129.
[133] All quotations from Bryusov's *Protesilai umershii* are taken from Bryusov, 1973.

Hector can be posited. The heroine in Bryusov's tragedy has a role similar to that of the Trojan hero in the *Iliad*: on the ability of both to act lies the safety of their cities, whereas their inaction (or death) would result in potential (or impending) destruction. The relative power of Laodamia's role is further extended by the *innovative mythologeme of a heroine's freedom to elect a spouse*:

Царицу мы неволить не хотим. Сама / Пусть нам укажет, кто из нас достойнейший

Whereas in Sologub's play Acastus is the one to select a husband for his daughter ('Протагору отдам я тебя в жены'), in Bryusov's version the heroine's father is only mentioned in passing as a possible sanctuary to whom Laodamia may choose to return if she does not remarry. As compared to Sologub's version of the myth, the mind of Bryusov's Laodamia is developed in two respects: she is responsible for selecting a suitable husband for herself and thereby safeguarding her city's fate. Both these roles are surrendered to her by Greek noblemen (Timander, Frason and Acastus), who, in effect, demonstrate their submission to her intelligence and leadership: by choosing a worthy king for Phylacos, Laodamia will save their lives from war.

Bryusov adheres to the vector of mythological transformation by endowing his queen with the second prerequisite for the redistribution of narrative weight from her husband to herself, revealed through the *innovative mythologeme of rhetorical persuasiveness*. Whereas the speech of Annensky's and Sologub's Laodamia is characterised by a melancholy lyricism, Bryusov's queen expresses herself in a strong, matter-of-fact manner.[134] Her opening line of welcome to Timander and Frason is firm and formal: 'Тимандр и брат мой, рада вас приветствовать', while her response to the news of Protesilaus' death is conditioned by the *innovative motif of Laodamia's self-control*: 'Откуда вам известно, что погиб мой муж?'. The heroine's temper only rises when Timander continues to persuade her of her husband's death, but her response is neither capricious and weak like that of Sologub's Laodamia, nor

[134] Silard, (A) 2002, p.39.

crazed like that of Annensky's queen (whom the Chorus evaluates as insane 'Здесь живая – безумна').[135] Instead, the style of her speech is so energetic, regal and forthright (containing three explicit rebukes, expressed in the form of rhetorical questions), that her brother feels the need to restrain her:

> И ты, Тимандр, ты веришь этим россказням!...И вы готовы позабыть о верности…От клятв отречься, нового царя искать… Возвратится он / И отомстит жестоко тем изменникам… …Сестра, ты в речи слишком увлекаешься / Твои несправедливы нарекания…

Bryusov endows his heroine with a speaking manner more controlled and decisive than that of the male characters. She maintains a tone of independence and power suited to her position as queen, superior in authority and intelligence to all her subjects.

In summary, analysis of the first stage of the dramatic action in Annensky's, Sologub's and Bryusov's plays, has revealed not only each poet's different characterisation of Laodamia prior to her discovery of Protesilaus' demise, but also their representation of secondary *dramatis personae*, who condition the heroine's ultimate fate (the final mythologeme of the key narrative constant). The distribution of mythologemes and motifs pertaining to the exposition of the mythological narrative can be represented in terms of a cumulative diagram, encompassing the dramatic renditions of all three Silver Age poets:

[135] The motif of psychological fragility is also present in Annensky's other plays, in particular *Famira-kifared* and *Melanippa-filosof.*

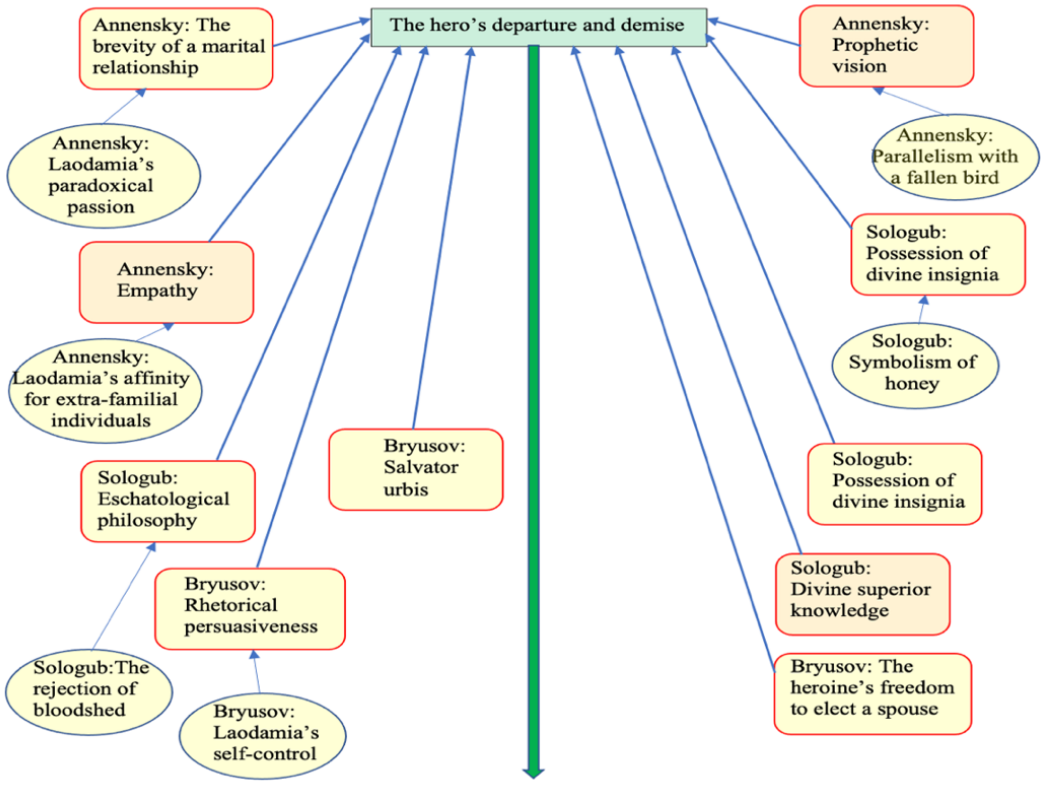


Fig.13. The organisation of the first mythonarreme (The hero's departure and demise) of the key narrative construct. Stage 1: Exposition

As shown in *fig.*13, each of the three Russian Silver Age poets relies on a cluster of three mythologemes (belonging to two typological categories, intra-mythological and innovative) to embellish the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, the hero's departure and demise. Although the dramatic actions of Annensky's, Sologub's and Bryusov's plays commence after Protesilaus' death at Troy (the herald announcing his death arrives in the early parts of the second stage of the dramatic action, the conflict), each of the three poets focuses on analysing Laodamia's conduct before her realisation of her new status as widow.

Section 2.

The Grief Mythonarreme: Conflict

The process of mythological transformation is continued by the Russian Neo-mythological tradition at the second stage of the development of the dramatic plot, which comprises Laodamia's interaction with the messenger and the confirmation of Protesilaus'

death. This stage of the mythological development, concerned with Laodamia's reception of the tragic news, is the only one to have parallels in the epic tradition (the *Iliad* and the *Cypria* include a brief reference to the heroine's grief at her husband's death) and so shows the extent to which the Russian playwrights extend Laodamia's development from her traditional role.

Annensky introduces the *intra-mythological mythologeme of private grief*, since as a lyrical rather than an epic heroine (in keeping with the genre of Annensky's play subtitled 'a lyrical tragedy'), Laodamia prioritises her own grief at the death of Protesilaus over the loss to her country. In her lamentations she refers first to herself and secondly to her homeland:

Протесилай... А кто ж *Жене* отдаст... *отчизне*... Иолая?

Annensky, the only playwright to allude to Protesilaus by another name, Iolaus, introduces a contrast between the *intra-mythological motif of the hero's status as public hero* (Protesilaus = 'first among men') and the *innovative motif of the hero's status as private individual*: Laodamia laments the loss of her husband, employing his name in its private hypostasis. However, the heroine's lyrical representation is proved superficial by the manner of her conversation with the messenger from Troy: her 'partly aggressive, partly apologetic'[136] speech is characterised by Annensky through the introduction of the *innovative mythologeme of internal strength*. Annensky's Laodamia does not break down in tears like her earlier counterparts, but instead, like the powerful heroine of the first stage of Bryusov's play, accuses her interlocutor of treason:

Мне все равно, как назвали его, / Как вы его убийцам отдавали?

Her perception of the cowardice of Protesilaus' retinue forces the messenger to concede his weakness before the queen and to acknowledge his failure ('Противиться не смели мы...').

[136] Setchkarev, 1963, p.187.

By a series of polysyndetic, and seemingly endless, rhetorical questions, the queen reveals a string of mistakes made by the warriors who were glorified in the *Iliad* and *Cypria*:

> Его / Зачем не умолили? Или старых, / Иль опытных меж вами не нашлось? / А что ж Атрид? А жребий? / А другие?

Introducing the *intra-mythological motif of Laodamia's rejection of war* (revealed through the heroine's questioning of her husband's heroic decision), inherited from his literary predecessor Catullus, Annensky endows his Laodamia, for the first time in the development of the mythological tradition, with the capacity to reject the ethos of epic heroes (among whom her husband was a leader). Her questions transcend the boundaries of a woman's traditional role after her husband's death (a lamenter) and enter the previously inaccessible field of military ethics.

Like his predecessor in the Neo-mythological tradition, Sologub uses Laodamia's dialogue with the messenger to locate her partially (and deceptively) within the boundaries of her traditional static role. Like Ovid in *Heroides XIII*, Sologub characterises his Laodamia with the help of the *innovative mythologeme of apathy*: she takes no interest in heroic exploits, interrupting the messenger several times in his narration of the Trojan campaign:

> Несносный вестник, не томи меня долгим рассказом…Ни слова не дам сказать тебе ранее, чем возвестишь мне, жив ли Протесилай…

Ostensibly, Laodamia's conduct is characterised by the *innovative motif of royal resignation*, since she disregards her role as queen, sending the messenger and her retinue away into the public space of the city to discuss the news of the king's death, while she stays in the private domain of her house, alone with her personal grief:

> Вестник и народ, – идите отсюда на городскую площадь <…> а я останусь одна с моим горем…

At a superficial level Sologub appears to adhere to the tradition of limiting Laodamia to the role of a lamenter: she is far from being the independent, thinking queen presented in the first stage of his play.

The initial manifestation of Laodamia's fragility is heavily undermined by Sologub's introduction of the *innovative mythologeme of physical energy,* which his queen displays in the scene with the wax statue. In his rendition of the myth, the Russian poet adheres to Catullus' version, where Laodamia forsakes her chastity and comes to Protesilaus before their wedding ceremonies are complete (the *intra-mythological motif of Laodamia's carnal passion* has no precedent in Greek mythology and is absent from Annensky's play[137]). Sologub underlines Laodamia's developing capacity for action by introducing a physical reminder into the scene where the queen's conduct appears to be most 'childish'[138] (she is playing with a wax statue, fashioned in the likeness of her deceased husband[139]) in the form of a new character, Lysippus, who is not attested to in the traditional schematic plot of the legend.[140] This character is endowed with the ambivalent functions of problematising Laodamia's relationship with Protesilaus, since he governs the *innovative mythologeme of homoerotic relations* with the king, and of serving as a catalyst to the tragedy.[141] Sologub introduces the *innovative motif of Laodamia's jealousy* through her disregard for her chastity, which is motivated by her desire to distract Protesilaus from the charms of Lysippus:

> Так поспешно, так страстно сорвали мы нежный цвет – между ласками отрока и ударом дарданца насладились мы его мгновенным благоуханием?

Sologub's interpretation of the mythological plotline sheds light on Laodamia's developing capacity for action: she elects an active and so innovative, rather than a passive, canonical course of action, in response to her fiancé's infidelity. Thus, while Laodamia plays with her wax doll, the audience is reminded, through the identity of its creator, of her earlier physical activity and of the nature of her role in her husband's death.

---

[137] Kelly, 1986, p.207.
[138] Kelly, 1986, p.207.
[139] In his treatment of the wax doll, Annensky uses a similar technique of providing a deceptive outer semblance of Laodamia's adherence to her traditional role. On the surface, both the internal dramatic audience (Nurse, Chorus, Acastus) and the external (the reader/audience) see Laodamia's affection for the wax doll as pathetic. See Silard, (A) 2002, p.45.
[140] Dukor, p.130.
[141] Merrill, pp.48-54.

As in Catullus' version of the mythological plot, Sologub introduces the *intra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine's guilt*, since the violation of pre-marital propriety by Sologub's Laodamia results in the anger of Hera, the goddess of lawful marriage, and potentially of Artemis, the goddess of chastity. The vengeance of both goddesses is thus directed at Laodamia, the active perpetrator of the crime and so the main guilty party. In contrast to Catullus' Laodamia, who lacks self-awareness and so does not register her role in Protesilaus' death, the conduct of Sologub's queen is revealed through the *innovative motif of Laodamia's self-reflection*: she immediately recognises his fate as a punishment for her crime:

> Первый пал! Так, злая, торопилась ты умертвить моего милого, с неумолимою поспешностью нанесла ты *мне* удар…

Sologub inverts the *intra-mythological motif of divine anger aimed against Protesilaus*, the dynamic hero who angered Aphrodite by abandoning his young wife and his marital duty for the sake of glory and redirects it to Laodamia.

Like Annensky and Sologub, Bryusov deploys the scene of Laodamia's conversation with the messenger to continue the revelation of her growing mental development. In keeping with the powerful, almost masculine role allotted to her in the first stage of the plotline, at the second stage of the dramatic action Laodamia is characterised by the *innovative mythologeme of a curt, aggressive manner* Instead of an appropriately respectful greeting (in Archaic Greek culture messengers were believed to be under the protection of Zeus Xenios), Bryusov's Laodamia begins with a series of urgent commands which escalate into physical threats, revealed through the *innovative motif of the messenger's corporeal punishment*:

> Без отсрочек! Говори сейчас: / Протесилай не умер? Отвечай скорей…Не надо мне вступлений! К делу!... Раб! Я тебя на месте прикажу убить, / Когда ты будешь медлить!

The effect of Laodamia's aggression is amplified by its juxtaposition to her almost mute brother and the meandering style of the messenger, the fragmented structure of whose sentence is

indicative either of his lack of intelligence or of his fear of the queen. Laodamia's grief is only revealed at the very end of her interaction with the messenger, when she bursts out in tears.

This first manifestation of her traditional role of a lamenter is delayed in order to emphasise how long the queen can maintain her self-command. Unlike Annensky's and Sologub's Laodamia, Bryusov's queen preserves her self-composure throughout the scene with the messenger, acting out her role as a public figure. Of the three Russian Neo-mythological mythoplasts, Bryusov develops the vector of mythological transformation to the greatest extent, since he endows Laodamia with a keener ability to speak and reason than any other character on stage.

> И мудрый Калхант, все, что будет, знающий, Сын Нестора, гадатель, жертвы рассмотрев…Прочь! С глаз моих исчезни, вестник ужаса! Подруги, я погибла! Горе, горе мне!

Bryusov advances Laodamia's growing capacity for action by introducing a deviation from the schematic plotline of the other dramatic renditions, through discarding the *intra-mythological motif of Protesilaus' wax statue*. In contrast to Annensky and Sologub, whose queen seems content with playing with a wax effigy, Bryusov introduces the *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's desire for reality*: Laodamia demands to see the real Protesilaus, not an intangible spirit or silent ghost but a man of flesh and blood:[142]

> Ко мне прийти он должен, облечен во плоть… / Не тень пустую, и не облик призрачный. / Но самого Протесилая…

Laodamia's wishes appear to be in keeping with the Classical tradition, in which the spirit of the deceased maintained its original physical appearance and voice when it visited the world of the living (in the *Iliad* 23.65-67 Achilles recognises the spirit of Patroclus by his voice and outward semblance).[143] Laodamia's traditional response to the loss of Protesilaus is developed by Bryusov from purely emotional (lamentation) to dynamic (manifested through the *innovative motif of the heroine's active necromancy*). His Laodamia presents a unique nexus of

[142] Dukor, p.132.
[143] Eidonow, Kindt, p.399.

mental and physical vitality, since her mind and actions are inextricably connected: ‘Что я решила, то свершить сумею я!’. Thus, Euripides’ vector of endowing Laodamia with the capacity for action, is cultivated by Bryusov to the extent of stripping her of all the attributes of her role in the epic tradition (silence and physical inactivity).

The transformation of the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct by each of the three Silver Age dramatists can be presented in terms of a cumulative diagram:

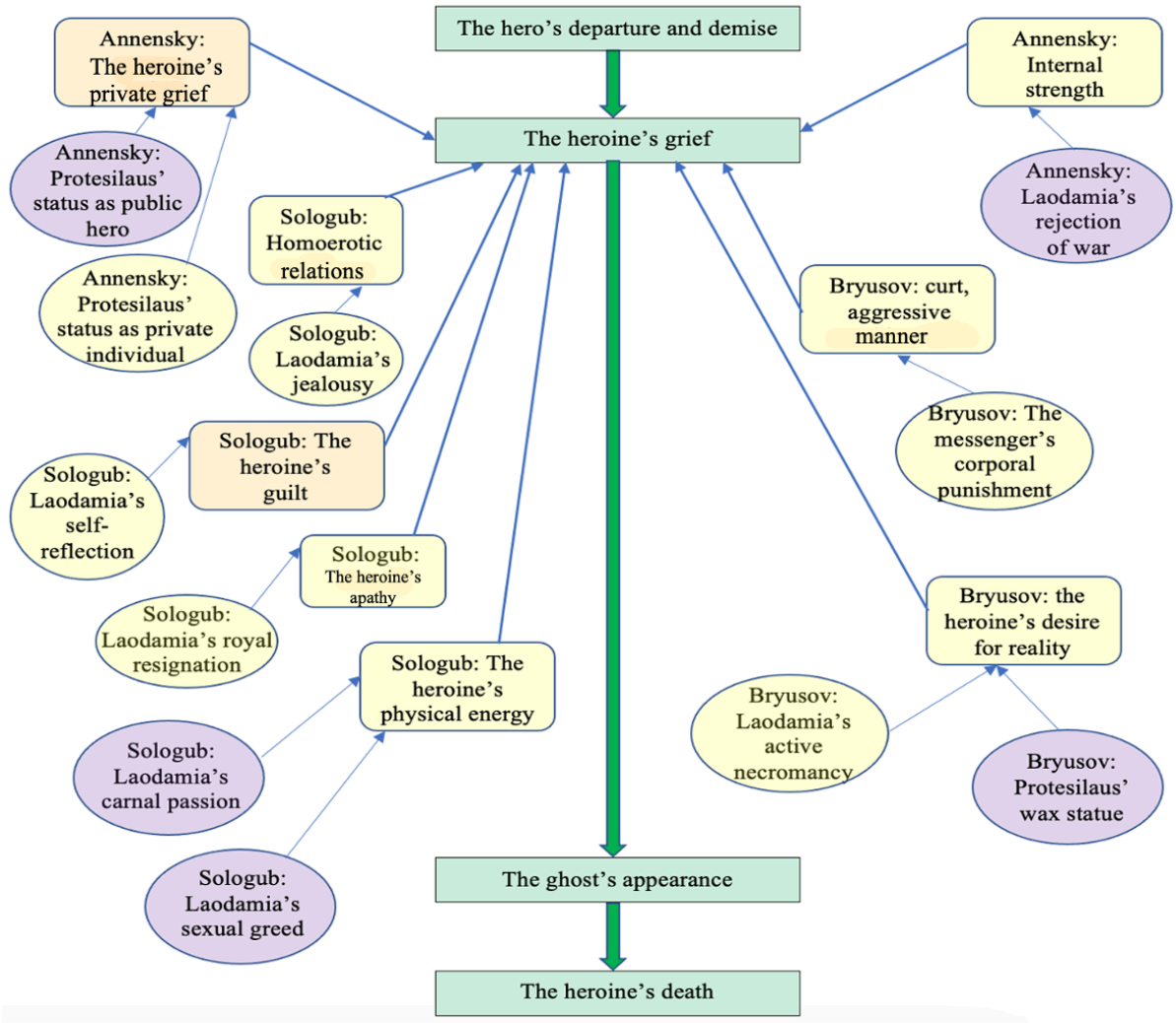


Fig.14. The organisation of the second mythonarreme (The heroine’s grief) of the key narrative construct. Stage 2: Conflict

As shown in *fig.*14, Annensky, Sologub and Bryusov deploy a combination of two typological categories of mythologemes and motifs, intra-mythological and innovative, to develop the dramatic action surrounding the second mythonarreme of the key narrative

construct, the heroine's grief. The analysis of the second mythonarreme has shown that each of the three poets shifts the conceptualisation of Laodamia's anguish in accordance with the vector of mythological transformation, developing her from the weeping widow of the epic tradition to a heroine capable of oral and physical expressions of her grief.

Section 3.

The Apparition Mythonarreme: Peripeteia

The redistribution of narrative weight from Protesilaus to Laodamia is taken to a new level by the Russian Silver Age mythoplasts at the third stage of the dramatic action, (corresponding to the third mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, the ghost's appearance), where Laodamia and Protesilaus first appear on stage together and converse.

In Annensky's play the interaction between Laodamia and Protesilaus falls into two parts, the first before the queen discovers the brevity of her husband's visit to earth, and the second after the truth is made known to her. The first half of their communication reveals the redistribution of physical and mental capacity between them. In contrast to the epic tradition, where Protesilaus is represented as a warrior, Annensky, who deals with a typologically later stage of the mythological plot, introduces the *innovative mythologeme of the hero as a powerless phantom*, who is deprived of the ability to deliver an extended, coherent speech: 'Моя Лаодамия...'; 'Мне душно'. Even after spending three hours on earth surrounded by the living, Protesilaus can only utter jumbled, elliptical phrases:

Плащ и шлем! / Мне тяжела разлука... но простимся / Скорей...

The suffering which Protesilaus' spirit endures is characterised by Annensky's introduction of the *innovative motif of Protesilaus' status as 'the restless dead'*, who are denied peace due to the nature of their demise: in Ancient culture those 'dead before their time' (*ἄωροι*), 'dead by violence' (*βιαθάνατοι*) and those 'dead before their marriage' (*ἄγαμοι*), were

believed to be capable of rising up from Hades and visiting the world of the living.[144] Protesilaus, a young, prematurely slain hero, who perishes before his marriage has been consummated, falls into all three categories of the restless dead and so, according to tradition, is robbed of mental stability.[145] In keeping with this belief, by the end of the scene Protesilaus' conduct is characterised by *four innovative motifs: of deprivation of speech, sight, hearing and movement*.

> Не вижу я, чуть слышу...Гермес снова касается до Протесилая тростью – и он становится недвижим и беззвучен…

In reverse distribution to her husband, Laodamia's deportment is revealed with the help of *two innovative motifs: of free speech* and *dynamic action*; her speeches are coherent and she has extraordinary physical strength ('Сколько силы, О, сколько сил я чувствую...') Annensky gives Laodamia one of the roles Protesilaus bore while he still lived, of supporting his physically weaker spouse: 'Ты ж на мое плечо, мой Иолай, Не правда ль, обопрешься?'. Protesilaus is thus ousted from the position of strength he held in the epic and visual traditions, while Laodamia in turn is displaced from her former role of static lamenter.

The second part of Laodamia's and Protesilaus' interaction is used by Annensky to provide a motive for the final stage of the dramatic structure, the death of the heroine. In Annensky's version of the myth, Protesilaus does not bid Laodamia follow him to the underworld, but, in response to her question 'Прийти к тебе?', requests that she mourn him, 'Оплачь меня'.[146] The imperative of the perfective verb 'Оплачь' signals the introduction of the *innovative mythologeme of temporal limitation to grief*: in contrast to the never-ending grief allotted to Laodamia in the epic tradition, Protesilaus envisages a limit to his wife's role as a lamenter. After a certain period of time, Laodamia can progress from being a grieving widow.

---

[144] Ogden, p.146.
[145] The motif of a restless revenant interfering into the life of the living can go back not only to the Classical mythology but also to a number of other mythological traditions, e.g. Old Norse (draugar), Slavonic (navki/mavki), as well as Russian poetic works (Pushkin's *Utoplennik)*.
[146] Setchkarev, p.191.

Protesilaus' plotline has reached its culmination, while Laodamia's has been coherently defined and endowed with scope for development. Whereas in Ancient epic, dramatic and lyrical traditions Laodamia had no evolving plotline (she was either a never-ceasing weeper or a woman destined to kill herself), Annensky endows his heroine with the potential for a narrative, in which culmination by suicide is by no means inevitable. The *innovative motif of Laodamia's freedom of choice*, which the heroine is for the first time allowed to possess, is supported by a divine sign ('Я знака жду, крылатый... *Сильный порыв ветра, почти ураган*') indicating to the queen's external and internal audience that she is the most powerful character on stage, whose words and actions are supported by the gods.

Laodamia's intrinsic connection with the divine sphere, which presents a narrative innovation in comparison with the Classical hypertext, wherein the heroine is either not associated with the gods (e.g. in Homer, Euripides) or represented as at odds with them (e.g. in Catullus), is further strengthened by Annensky in his innovative association of the Laodamia legend with Classical philosophy. Since Laodamia's function centres on her superlative emotion for her husband, Annensky does not endow her with a role which requires her to possess an intellect (akin to her mythological counterpart in the tetralogy, Melanippe), enabling her to deploy and extend metaphysical or ethical tenets. In *Laodamiya*, Annensky transfers the role of a philosophical enquirer from a human protagonist (which in his other three Neo-mythological plays is given to mortal heroes: Melanippe, Ixion, Thamyris) to a divine character (Hermes), who of all the gods interacts most with the mortal sphere. Since in *Laodamiya* Hermes appears in his role as psychopomp (ψυχοπομπός, 'the guider of souls'), who, as a mediator, conveys the spirit of Protesilaus between the worlds of the living and the dead, he is the closest god to the mortal world and its life cycle. Thus, the role of expressing and embodying philosophical doctrines is split by Annensky between two characters: on the one hand Laodamia, like her mortal counterparts in the other three plays of the tetralogy, embodies an

Empedoclean element (fire), while on the other hand, the ability to express philosophical tenets, a skill which in Melanippe, Ixion and Thamyris is determined by a hero's interiorisation of a philosophical element, is reallocated to Hermes. Annensky forms an inextricable bond between the mortal and divine sphere, prefiguring his novel representation of the gods in *Laodamiya* through allusion to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.[147]

Annensky draws upon Aristotle's reference to the gods as divorced from mundane actions which burden humanity (such as making contracts, exchanging money, confronting dangers), and engaged in a superior activity. Aristotle postulates the gods' existence in their most perfect form and enquires into their occupation (*Nicomachean Ethics* 10.8):

ἡ δὲ τελεία εὐδαιμονία ὅτι θεωρητική τίς ἐστιν ἐνέργεια, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἂν φανείη. τοὺς θεοὺς γὰρ μάλιστα ὑπειλήφαμεν μακαρίους καὶ εὐδαίμονας εἶναι· πράξεις δὲ ποίας ἀπονεῖμαι χρεὼν αὐτοῖς; πότερα τὰς δικαίας; ἢ γελοῖοι φανοῦνται συναλλάττοντες καὶ παρακαταθήκας ἀποδιδόντες καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα; ἀλλὰ τὰς ἀνδρείους, ὑπομένοντας τὰ φοβερὰ καὶ κινδυνεύοντας ὅτι καλόν; ἢ τὰς ἐλευθερίους; τίνι δὲ δώσουσιν; ἄτοπον δ' εἰ καὶ ἔσται αὐτοῖς νόμισμα ἤ τι τοιοῦτον. αἱ δὲ σώφρονες τί ἂν εἶεν; ἢ φορτικὸς ὁ ἔπαινος ὅτι οὐκ ἔχουσι φαύλας ἐπιθυμίας; διεξιοῦσι δὲ πάντα φαίνοιτ' ἂν τὰ περὶ τὰς πράξεις μικρὰ καὶ ἀνάξια θεῶν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ζῆν γε πάντες ὑπειλήφασιν αὐτούς, καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ἄρα· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καθεύδειν ὥσπερ τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα. τῷ δὲ ζῶντι τοῦ πράττειν ἀφαιρουμένου, ἔτι δὲ μᾶλλον τοῦ ποιεῖν, τί λείπεται πλὴν θεωρία; ὥστε ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργεια, μακαριότητι διαφέρουσα, θεωρητικὴ ἂν εἴη.	From the following consideration it will become clear as well that perfect happiness is a contemplative activity. The gods, as we imagine them, are blessed and happy above all other beings. But what kind of actions can we attribute to them? Acts of justice? But will it not seem absurd to think of gods making contracts, returning deposits and the other such things? Then brave acts - enduring dangers and running risks for the sake of nobility? Or liberal acts? But to whom will they give? It would be ludicrous to suppose that they have money or any sort of currency! And what would temperate acts be for them? Would it not be bad taste to praise them for not having appetites for evil? If we were to go through a list, we would find that all forms of actions seem trivial and unworthy of the gods. Yet nevertheless they have always been imagined as, at all events, alive, and therefore are active. We cannot imagine they are endlessly asleep like Endymion. But if we eliminate action for a living being, and still more creative action, what remains except for contemplation?

Aristotle stresses the value of contemplation as an activity bringing the greatest happiness and pleasure to all beings[148] and emphasises that his conceptualisation is hypothetical, affirming

[147] For more detailed studies of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* see Ward, pp.71-83; Walker, 1979, pp.180-196; Maher, pp.765-794; Bush, pp.49-75; Smith, pp.307-330.
[148] De Koninck, pp.471-2; pp.486-487.

that the gods are 'blessed and happy above all other beings' and live in eudaemonia ('εὐδαιμονία', 'bliss'), in the imagination of mortal men ('ὑπειλήφαμεν').[149] On the basis that all actions appear 'trivial and worthless' ('μικρὰ καί ἀναξία') to the gods, Aristotle posits an activity which would be appropriate for their superior status, contemplation. He adduces an auxiliary argument that mortals must emulate the gods, although unlike them they will need and desire to deviate from a single action.[150]

Annensky reveals a modified conception of the gods' activities in Hermes' speech after he delivers Protesilaus to Laodamia. In response to the Coryphaeus' question about the essence of celestial life and the activity by which the gods live ('Живете ж вы, небесные, тогда, / О Гермий, чем?'), Hermes develops the Aristotelian postulate concerning divine contemplation. Speaking from his own first-hand knowledge of the mortal sphere, Hermes confirms that the gods' primary interest lies in contemplating the activities of mankind:

> Нам интересен пестрый / И шумный мир. Он ноты нам дает / Для музыки и краски для картины: / В нем атомы второго бытия... / И каждый миг, и каждый камень в поле, / И каждая угасшая душа, / Когда свою она мне шепчет повесть, / Мне расширяет мир... И вечно нов / Бессмертному он будет...

In expanding the Aristotelian idea of divine contemplation as 'perfect happiness' ('τελεία εὐδαιμονία'), Annensky's Hermes subjects it to irony: the gods, imagined to be enjoying 'perfect happiness' in their abode far from the mortal world, paradoxically require it to draw inspiration for their own existence.[151] Whereas theoretically mortals depend on the gods' favour, Hermes reveals that the gods are dependent on mortals to make their own life of contemplation interesting and varied. Thus, Hermes implicitly suggests that the gods are in essence parasitic since they live off and are entertained by human actions.[152]

---

[149] A parallel conceptualisation of contemplation as the most blessed type of activity can be seen in Aristotle's Metaphysics, Λ 1072b.22-24: 'Active contemplation is most delightful and the best. If, then, the joy which the gods for ever enjoy is as great as what we enjoy occasionally, it is wonderful', 'καὶ ἡ θεωρία τὸ ἥδιστον καὶ ἄριστον. εἰ οὖν οὕτως εὖ ἔχει, ὡς ἡμεῖς ποτέ, ὁ θεὸς ἀεί, θαυμαστόν'.
[150] Tracy, p.67.
[151] A possible intertextual allusion to Epicurus' atomism can be noted in Annensky's reference to 'атом'.
[152] Griffin suggests that 'the gods, especially Zeus, observ[ing] human actions, was a natural and universal idea. That they contemplated them as a moving but also entertaining spectacle…' Griffin, p.20.

Annensky reconceptualises Aristotle's views on divine contemplation, entering into an allusive dialogue with the philosopher, based on the premise that the gods contemplate the diverse actions of mankind, observing their behaviour and reflecting their skills. However, Annensky transforms Aristotle's representation of the gods by inverting the interrelation of mortal and divine activity which the Greek philosopher envisaged. In contrast to Aristotle who, by proposing that mankind may attain happiness by emulating the gods' activity of contemplation,[153] suggests that the mortal sphere can mimic a pursuit which originates in the divine sphere,[154] Annensky presents a reversed scenario in which human activity makes it possible for the gods not only to engage in contemplation but also, discharge their traditional roles (e.g. the Muses are inspired to sing, Apollo to play his lyre), which determine their very divinity. In a potential allusion to the mythological plotline of Thamyris (recreated by Annensky in *Famira-kifared*), Hermes references the artistic skills of painting and musical composition ('Он ноты нам дает / Для музыки и краски для картины'), which, according to him, were inspired in the gods by the mortal world, thus locating the source of the Muses' musical proficiency (which brought about the downfall of Thamyris), and indeed Apollo's status as the god of music, in direct dependence on a human activity. By transforming the philosophical teachings of Aristotle, Annensky offers a novel conceptualisation of the function of mortals in relation to the gods: the existence of the divine plane depends directly on mortal actions.

Annensky juxtaposes Aristotle's philosophical conceptualisation of the gods as celestial creatures who take delight in contemplation and the Iliadic representation of gods as superior beings who interfere into the basest of mankind's actions, warfare and slaughter, and to whom

[153] 'τοῖς μὲν γὰρ θεοῖς ἅπας ὁ βίος μακάριος, τοῖς δ' ἀνθρώποις ἐφ' ὅσον ὁμοίωμά τι τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνεργείας ὑπάρχει τῶν δ' ἄλλων ζῴων οὐδὲν εὐδαιμονεῖ, ἐπειδὴ οὐδαμῇ κοινωνεῖ θεωρίας', 'The entire life of the gods is blessed, and that of man is also blessed in so far as it contains some approximation to the divine activity; but no other animals have happiness, since they are completely unable to contemplate' (*Nicomachean Ethics* 10.8.7).
[154] Tracy, p.67.

mortal suffering is little more than a game. A possible allusion to the Iliadic representation of Apollo, destroying Greek ramparts like a child scattering a sandcastle (*Il.*15.360ff) is contained in the Coryphaeus' words to Hermes, in which she attempts to discern the gods' attitude to the mortal sphere:[155]

О бог, ужель страданья наши точно / Для вас игра? /А жертвы? мольбы?

Through Hermes' ostensibly callous response in which he dismisses mortal suffering as petty and transient, Annensky creates a fleeting impression that his conceptualisation of the gods is close to Homeric:

Утешится вдова или умрет, / Что значит лист - опавший иль на ветке / До времени живой, дрожащий лист?

However, when interpreted in the context of Aristotle's conceptualisation of the gods in *Nicomachean Ethics* 10.8, Hermes' seemingly Iliadic representation of his attitude to mortal pain functions not as a manifestation of divine cruelty but rather as an affirmation of celestial 'eudaemonia' in which the gods are divorced from the world of mortal grief. Thus, Annensky acts as an innovator in relation both to Classical philosophical tenets and to preceding accounts of the Laodamia legend, in particular Catullus' 68b wherein the gods are represented as vengeful beings heavily involved in the mortal affairs of Protesilaus and his wife. By transferring the narrative function of Laodamia onto Hermes and revealing, through his allusion to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Iliad,* the varied perspectives on envisaging the Greek gods, Annensky inextricably weaves together the mortal and the divine sphere in preparation for the final stage of his dramatic action.

Annensky's reconceptualisation of the mythological plotline of Laodamia is further advanced by the subsequent recipient of the mythological plot, Fyodor Sologub, who, building on Catullus, introduces the *innovative mythologeme of eroticism* into his representation of Laodamia. In preparation for her exaggerated sexuality, unprecedented in Annensky's version,

[155] It is possible that Annensky is alluding also to Gloucester's words, 'As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods; They kill us for their sport' (*King Lear* 4.1.37-38).

Sologub makes Laodamia perform her traditional function of a wife, hidden inside the *oikos*, which her husband must penetrate. The strength of Laodamia's sanctuary is, however, emphasised by Sologub beyond the boundaries prescribed by the Classical tradition: the difficulty with which her husband breaks into Laodamia's domain is revealed with the help of two *innovative motifs of Protesilaus' verbal persuasion* ('Я – Протесилай, мне ли не откроет дверей Лаодамия! О Лаодамия, это – я!') and *physical force* ('*Протесилай стучится в дверь*'). Only after Laodamia herself, realising that the strength of her earlier incantations has summoned her beloved, makes the deliberate decision to let Protesilaus enter, can the stronghold be breached.

Sologub further augments the power allotted to Laodamia in this scene by introducing the *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's active role in her husband's temporary resurrection*: from first-hand knowledge, Protesilaus reveals that Laodamia has conquered Hades by the powers of her mind (and love) and her capacity for action (manifested in her physical caresses) and has released his spirit:

> не мог я и во владениях Аида не почувствовать твоих ласк, твоего нежного и сладкого зова. Широкие ворота Аидова дома разверзлись для меня, – пламенная сила твоих заклятий победила ад…

Laodamia is given the role of a '*psuchagogos*' (a 'soul-drawer'), endowed with the magical power to summon souls from Hades, by engaging in 'necromantic practice'[156], like the divine enchantress of the *Odyssey*, Circe, who instructs Odysseus on how to call up the soul of Tiresias in the *νέκυια* (Book 11).[157] The *innovative mythologeme of overt eroticism*, manifested in Laodamia's newly developed sexual power, a manifestation of her capacity for action, is further revealed by her advances: she promises to sate Protesilaus with her love ('Иди ко мне, насладись моею любовью,') and warm him on her bosom ('я отогрею тебя на моей груди'). Even at the level of stage directions Sologub indicates that Laodamia is undressed ('*Одежда*

[156] Ogden, p.36.
[157] Ogden, p.26.

скользит с ее тела, падает к ее ногам, обнажая вздрагивающее прекрасное тело'), ready to bring her capacity for action into realisation.

Sologub's development of Laodamia's sexual charisma is advanced further in the rendition of the legend by Bryusov, who, endowing Laodamia with maenadic, masculine traits,[158] introduces the *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's proposition of intercourse* with her spouse. In contrast to Sologub, who has Protesilaus persuade his wife to lie with him, Bryusov reverses the two roles, making Laodamia suggest union. As noted by Lev Pumpyansky, women in Antiquity lacked a specific 'profession or vocation, a path in life', akin to that of male characters, a shortcoming which Bryusov attempts to circumvent by endowing his female characters with their own form of calling and their own dominion of eroticism.[159] Bryusov emphasises the contrast between Laodamia and Protesilaus through the juxtaposition of two innovative motifs, the *motif of a wife's amorous advances* and the *motif of a husband's lack of physical desire*:

Супруг мой, мой любовник, обними меня! / К устам устами вновь прильни! обвей меня / Руками страстно! Грудью припади на грудь! / Мне сделай больно! Мучь мужскими ласками!
Я так устал, так тяжко мне, нет сил дышать'; 'Но я ведь умер? Я ведь тень бесплотная…

The frigidity displayed by Protesilaus bewilders the heroine to the point where she questions his affection for her:

О, неужели ты не рад – со мной быть вновь?; Меня ласкать не хочешь?

Thus, in contrast to Sologub's version, Bryusov's completely displaces Protesilaus from the physical aspect of his canonical role by robbing him of a fundamental male function (initiating sexual activity).

Bryusov introduces a further *innovative mythologeme* pertaining to the second attribute of Protesilaus' canonical role, *spiritual strength*, which is manifested in the epic tradition by

[158] Borisova, 1998, pp.35-48.
[159] Pumpyansky, (B) 2000, p.534.

his heroic death on the Trojan shore. By making Protesilaus take over Laodamia's traditional function of lamentation, in its most pathetic hypostasis, the Russian poet signals the introduction of the *innovative motif of a Protesilaus' self-pity*:

Я понял, понял, что я мертв. О, горе мне!'; 'Я мертв, я мертв!'; 'О, горе мне, несчастному, / Мертвому, погибшему…

Furthering Protesilaus' displacement from the role allotted to him in the epic and Latin elegiac traditions, Bryusov presents the *extra-mythological mythologeme of a hero's rejection of heroic values*, which finds parallels in *Odyssey* XI, during the exchange of Achilles and Odysseus in Hades:

Odyssey, XI.488-491	μὴ δή μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ. βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ, ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη, ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.	Shining Odysseus, do not try to reconcile me with my death. I would prefer to serve as another man's labourer, as a poor man, who has little means, than rule over all the lifeless dead.
Bryusov, *Protesilai umershii,* Act IV	'О, как я мог с отвагой безрассудною Лишиться жизни ради славы призрачной! Как мог за радость торжества короткого Ужасной платой заплатить: погибелью!'	

Both Protesilaus and Achilles base their lamentation on a similar tenet, humble life is preferable to a glorious death and express explicit regret at their unwise choice of the latter. In contrast to Ovid's[160] and Sologub's[161] version of the legend, in which Laodamia has the function of decrying *kleos* (revealed through the *intra-mythological motif of the rejection of war*), Bryusov's Protesilaus assumes this function himself, not only dismissing the value of everlasting renown, the primary motivation of an epic hero, but also resenting the sacrifice he had made for his country. The *extra-mythological mythologeme of the hero's dishonourable words* is underlined by the inclusion of a veiled reference to the tradition of royal panegyric (*encomium regis*), responsible for the preservation of Protesilaus' heroic exploits for posterity:

Ах, что мне в том, что будут голоса певцов / Протесилая славить на пирах царей!

[160] 'You will remember the great deeds of your forays… when you narrate them to me, while listening still pleases, then will I give you many kisses, and you too many shall return. It is right that in their telling, your words should be stopped' (*Heroides* XIII).

[161] 'И зачем, из-за чего пошли они в такой далекий и трудный путь! Блудницу прославить и увенчать, призрак воплотить <…> о безумные!'.

By making Protesilaus deny the importance of his own sacrifice and reject future panegyrics, Bryusov in effect deprives his character of his heroism: if Protesilaus is not an epic hero, his identity possesses no interest for posterity, and the mythological plot, which is governed by him in earlier traditions, has to be transformed to reflect his transience.

In complementary distribution to Protesilaus, who has lost the defining qualities of his role, characterised through the *intra-mythological motifs of his physical* and *spiritual valour*, Bryusov's Laodamia inherits both these qualities in order to sustain the shifting balance of narrative weight. Bryusov reveals his heroine's newly developed spiritual strength by introducing the *innovative mythologeme of the heroine's increased capacity for practical reasoning and persuasion*. In contrast to Ovid's Laodamia, who relies only upon her intuitive perception of divine will to persuade Protesilaus to hold back in battle, Bryusov's queen adopts two distinct approaches to guide her husband to remain courageous. First, Laodamia tries to reason with Protesilaus, reminding him of the heroic code of honour and everlasting glory, which he, like the greatest epic warrior, Achilles, preferred to mortal pleasures. Bryusov introduces *the innovative motif of Laodamia's flattery*, which the heroine adopts to make her argument more persuasive. Laodamia reminds Protesilaus of his past courage:

> Гордись, Протесилай, свершенным подвигом! <…>/Слагают песни о тебе сказители, / Ты будешь жить вовеки славой громкою!

In making Laodamia advocate the heroic code of honour, Bryusov signals his complete break from previous accounts of the mythological plot. In contrast to Ovid's and Sologub's queen, Bryusov's Laodamia overcomes the fear of war and death attributed to her by earlier renditions, and transcends the boundaries of her canonical role. When reasoning and flattery fail, Laodamia attempts a second technique to return her husband from his newly adopted role of a lamenter, revealed through the *extra-mythological mythologeme of aidos (shame)* inherited from *Il.*6.370ff (Hector's parting speech to Andromache):

> Будь же мужествен! / Ты был героем в славный час, героем будь / Теперь вторично…

However, despite Laodamia's two-fold attempt to overcome her husband's psychological weakness, Bryusov's Protesilaus is unable to resume his traditional heroic role and maintain the canonical distribution of narrative weight. The spiritual strength allotted by the Russian mythoplast to Laodamia proves far greater than her husband's and thus drives further the process of mythological transformation.

Bryusov signals the completeness of his redistribution of narrative weight by introducing the *innovative mythologeme of a female's capacity for independent heroic action*. In order to put an end to her husband's lamentations, Laodamia offers to give up her own life and come down to Hades with Protesilaus: 'Хочешь, с тобой не расстанусь я?'. The sincerity of her proposal is emphasised in her stichomythic dialogue with her husband, extended over twenty lines, in which she maintains her resolve to die, in spite of all the horrors Protesilaus tells her about Hades:

Там только тени, призраки и видимость!; Из ада к жизни нет вовеки выхода!

As soon as Protesilaus accepts her offer, Laodamia shakes off the last remaining attribute of the role given to her by Catullus and Sologub, her sexual desire ('Лобзаний нам не надо: нас целует смерть'). In complementary distribution to the heroine, Protesilaus inherits this erotic aspect, signalling, by his acceptance of Laodamia's physically less stable role, the completion of his own loss of heroic status:

О, дай теперь лобзаньем мне припасть к тебе; Твой милый стан руками охватить позволь!

The distribution of mythologemes and motifs, which the three Silver Age poets innovated or inherited from Classical evidence, in relation to the third mythonarreme can be presented in *fig.*15:

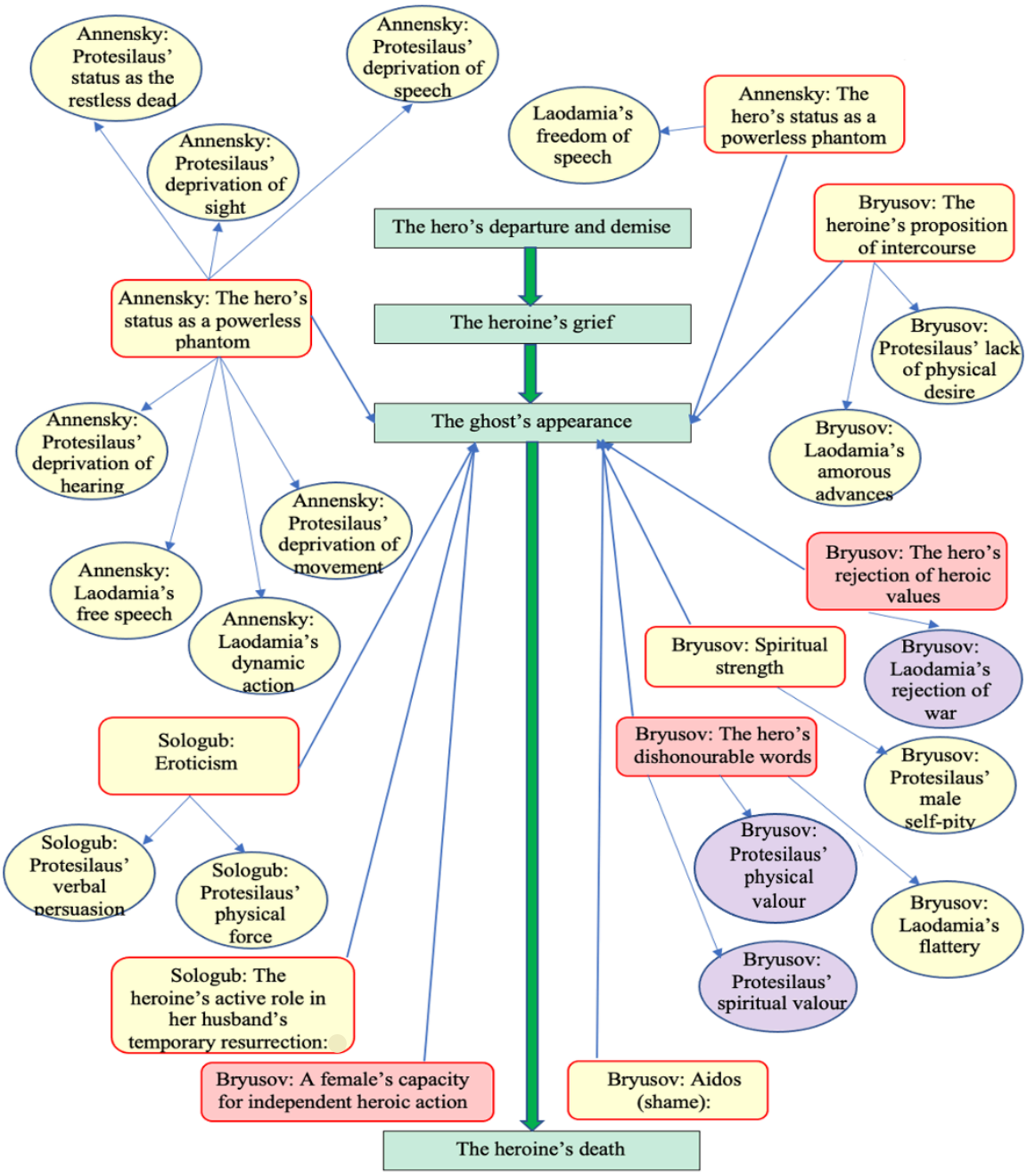


Fig.15. The organisation of the third mythonarreme (The ghost's appearance) of the key narrative construct. Stage 3: Peripeteia

As shown in *fig.*15, Annensky's treatment of the mythological plotline includes a series of three narrative innovations, based on his heroine's comparative autonomy relative to her husband. In a marked departure from her unchanging status as a lamenting widow in the Classical tradition, Annensky's heroine is presented with a temporal limit to her canonical status. Sologub's transformation of the third mythonarreme of the key narrative constant rests

upon his introduction of an innovative scope for the heroine to develop physical dynamism. By the end of the third stage of the dramatic structure, Bryusov has achieved a complete reversal of narrative weight, by endowing Laodamia with all three faculties outlined for her transformation by Euripides (the ability to think, speak and act like a hero). In recognition of her role as the determining character in the transformed legend, the heroine declares herself equal to the Olympic gods ('Мы победили Тартар и как боги мы!'), for it is her character that is responsible for transcending tradition and bringing the mythological plot to a complete reversal of its original form.

Section 4.

The Heroine's Death Mythonarreme: Anagnorisis

The final stage of the narrative structure serves the double purpose of reasserting Laodamia's developed capacity for action and of completing the process of mythological transformation, initiated in the Greek dramatic tradition. This stage of the play, encompassing the scene of Laodamia's death, is used by the Neo-mythological poets to indicate the extent of the heroine's displacement from her role in the epic tradition and the redistribution of narrative weight which accompanies this revolution.

In the Preface to *Laodamiya*, Annensky explains his motive for making the queen throw herself onto a pyre: 'Лаодамии более всего подобала огненная смерть, смерть жертвы'. In keeping with the Classical dramatic tradition, the poet envisaged Laodamia as a victim, a victim of the gods, of fate and even of her own husband, who chose to leave his young bride in pursuit of glory. Although this relict of her canonical role prompts the manner of Laodamia's death (Annensky believed that death by the sword would not suit the lyricism of Laodamia's character), it also serves as a foil, aiding in the revelation of Laodamia's transformation. In contrast to the *Iliad* and *Cypria*, where Laodamia has no finite culmination to her narrative thread, or Euripides' tragedy wherein the heroine's death (as recorded by John Tzetzes) is

required by the mythological tradition, Annensky introduces the *innovative mythologeme of voluntary suicide* (at stage three of the dramatic structure Protesilaus frees Laodamia from her prescribed death).

Although in adherence to Classical dramatic canons, the heroine's death takes place off stage; the manner of her demise is narrated by Acastus in scene 12:

> Она / Себя сожгла... О ужас... Молча... Молча, / Как черная овца, она в костер / За мужем прыгнула...

Annensky introduces the *innovative motif of the heroine as a sacrificial victim*, through his reference to a black sheep 'черная овца', a traditional sacrificial animal. The poet establishes an intertextual dialogue with *Odyssey* 11. 30-35, in which Odysseus describes his sacrifice of a black ram to Tiresias, albeit transforming the extra-mythological allusion by modifying the sacrificial animal's gender. Whereas in the *Odyssey* the hero sacrifices a black ram, in Annensky's text Laodamia is compared with a black ewe. Thus, the heroine not only takes on the role of the victim (a link strengthened through their shared gender), but also performs the role of the sacrificer, voluntarily offering herself up to her husband's memory. Consequently, Laodamia's demise reflects the pattern of her transformed role: a developed capacity for considered self-definition leads her to prefer an everlasting union with her husband to a potential marriage with another man, while a developed capacity for action, limited only by an echo of her canonical role as a victim, allows her to mount the pyre. The transformation of her role from the Classical tradition is inevitably accompanied by a redistribution of narrative weight, since Laodamia inherits the capacity for thought and action ascribed to Protesilaus in the *Iliad* and the *Cypria*.

Annensky's choice of death for Laodamia (on her husband's pyre as opposed to suicide on the sword or a natural demise) presents a powerful finale to his transformation of the heroine's narrative function, achieved through allusion to Classical philosophical teachings and the Empedoclean system of elements. Developing Catullus' innovative motif of Laodamia's love as fire (which he reveals in the metaphorical expression 'flagrans… amore', 'burning with

love'), Annensky conceptualises his heroine through the element of fire. In contrast to Catullus, who merely alludes to fire to characterise the extent of Laodamia's passion and so does not connect her directly with the element, Annensky reveals every stage of his heroine's tragic fate through the Empedoclean element. Although, like Catullus, Annensky refers to metaphorical flames of love which consume his Laodamia ('пускай огонь священный Гименея сжигает нас'), he relies on the element of fire to reveal the very nature of her soul, which in its purity and delicacy he metaphorically associates with a flame, flickering with a bluish fire ('огонь чистой и нежной разумной души'; 'Душа… пламенем синим мерцает'), thus conjuring up an image of a candle flame.

Annensky's conceptualisation of Laodamia through the vivid image of a candle flame, still burning within her, may be understood in relation to the teachings of Heraclitus, with which the Russian poet supplements the Empedoclean elemental system. Annensky echoes the views of Heraclitus, in which fire is said to have several fundamental roles. Among the four elements, in Heraclitus' understanding, fire carries the function of an initiator of a continuous sequence of transformations and signifies a primary substance, which conditions the existence of all other material.[162] Heraclitus regards fire as the measure of all things, for which all matter can be exchanged (like gold in contemporary society, DK B90), thus endowing it with the function of an origin (the element *a quo* all else comes about):[163]

'πυρὸς τε ἀνταμοιβὴ τὰ πάντα καὶ πῦρ ἁπάντων ὅκωσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός.'	'All things are exchanged for fire and fire for all things, just as objects are for gold and gold for objects.'

Furthermore, in Heraclitus' doctrine fire is semantically equated with 'ψυχή' ('soul'), with the two terms so closely associated that in fragment DK B36 one is used for the other:[164]

[162] Weinsten, p.233. Cf. Vlastos, p.364. Melchert, p.19ff. Cf. Barnes, p.58.
[163] Melchert, p.19ff. Cf. Barnes, p.58, quoting Diogenes Laertes: 'The universe... comes about from fire and is overaught in fire again, alternating in fixed periods'.
[164] Cf. Vlastos, p.364: 'As the principle of life, soul would be naturally thought of as fire, since the warmth which persists throughout life and fails only after death, was a fact of ordinary experience.'

ψυχῇσιν θάνατος ὕδωρ γενέσθαι, ὕδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι, ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὕδωρ γίνεται, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ψυχή.	It is death for souls to become water, and for to water to become earth. But water comes from earth and from water come souls.

When assessing the interrelations of the four elements, Heraclitus refers to fire as 'soul', stating its fragility in the face of water.

Thus, when regarded in the context of Heraclitus' conceptualisation of fire, Annensky's representation of Laodamia through the natural element gives scope for a novel interpretation of her narrative function in the Neo-mythological drama. Laodamia's possession of the internal fire of life not only emphasises the status of her continuing vitality as opposed to her dead husband, but also endows her with the ability to influence the material world that surrounds her (manifested in her voluntary choice of death) which Heraclitus' fire holds. Drawing on Heraclitus' conception of fire as an 'intelligent [element] and the cause of the management of the universe' which 'judges and convicts all things',[165] Annensky represents his heroine as possessing a soul powerful enough to appropriate the role of the gods in judging the course of a human life and condemning herself to death.

The death which Sologub elects for his queen continues the process of mythological transformation, since it develops Laodamia's capacity for thought to a degree unprecedented in his literary predecessors. Although the emerging mental development of Sologub's queen leads her to prefer death over life with Protagoras, the new husband Acastus has selected for her, she has no need to commit suicide in order to accomplish her mission:

я пойду за ним…. / пойду за милым моим к широким воротам Аидова чертога!

In contrast to Annensky, who causes his heroine to resort to a violent death in order to fulfil her resolution to end her life (she performs the physical action of mounting the pyre), Sologub introduces the *innovative mythologeme of spontaneous death*: his Laodamia is endowed with such mental power as to control the culmination of her own plotline. As revealed by the other

[165] 'πάντα γάρ τὸ πῦρ ἐπελθὸν κρινεῖ καὶ καταλήψεται' (DK B66), Cf.Barnes, p.52.

characters on stage, Laodamia, after announcing her intention to follow her husband to the underworld, dies of her own accord, some distance away from the pyre:

> Тело ее бессильно и недвижно. Осторожно, осторожно опустим ее на траву, дальше от костра. Царица умирает….

Mimicking the destruction of the effigy of Protesilaus, Sologub introduces the *innovative motif of the heroine's figurative disintegration*: she melts like the statue's wax ('Как тает воск'), sharing, as far as she can, the death of her husband.[166] It is possible to suggest that the end with which Sologub endows his heroine reveals the innovative extent of her mental development, since the manner of her death and her inability to withstand the destructive power of her passion (symbolised by the fire) cannot be regarded as signs of frailty. Of all the earlier recipients of the myth of Protesilaus and Laodamia, Sologub advances the process of its transformation to the fullest degree, since his queen possesses such mental power that she can override all considerations of physical strength and implement the manner of death most suited to her role as loving wife.

In contrast to Annensky's and Sologub's heroines, the suicide of Bryusov's Laodamia is revealed with the help of the *innovative mythologeme of violent suicide*: she kills herself ('*Поражает себя мечом*'), by a stab wound from her husband's sword ('бранный меч царя'), like the Roman Lucretia (Livy 1.57-58). Connotations associated with this manner of death are employed by Bryusov to reveal the extent of his mythological transformation as compared to all previous dramatic renditions, since it requires not only superlative strength of mind but also a developed capacity for action. The first of these attributes is shared with the two earlier accounts of the Russian Silver Age, since like Annensky's and Sologub's queen, Bryusov's Laodamia is driven to death by the realisation of her inability to face another marriage. However, Bryusov develops Laodamia's resolve further than all his literary predecessors by including a second manifestation of her strength, revealed through the *innovative motif of the*

[166] Dukor, p.130.

heroine's adherence to her oath: as dictated by the heroic code, she must die in order to fulfil the solemn oath given to her husband before he left for the underworld 'Я клятву помню, и ее исполню я!'. Laodamia's sense of self-determination, present in Annensky's and Sologub's plays, is enhanced in Bryusov's version of the mythological plot: despite her understanding of death's burden, his heroine does not entertain the possibility of going back on her word.

Laodamia's extreme capacity for action, exaggerated beyond the representations of both the Classical and the two earlier Russian Silver Age recipients of the legend, is revealed through the *innovative motif of the heroine's free choice of weapon*: she asks for her husband's sword 'Отдай мне меч: укажет он дорогу мне'. By selecting a weapon of war as her instrument of death, Bryusov's Laodamia shakes off the vestiges of her role as victim (as in Annensky's account) and becomes a true warrior, in her strength of both mind and body.

Thus, the distribution of mythologemes and motifs with which Annensky, Sologub and Bryusov accomplish the transformation of the fourth mythonarreme can be presented in terms of a diagram (*fig.*16):

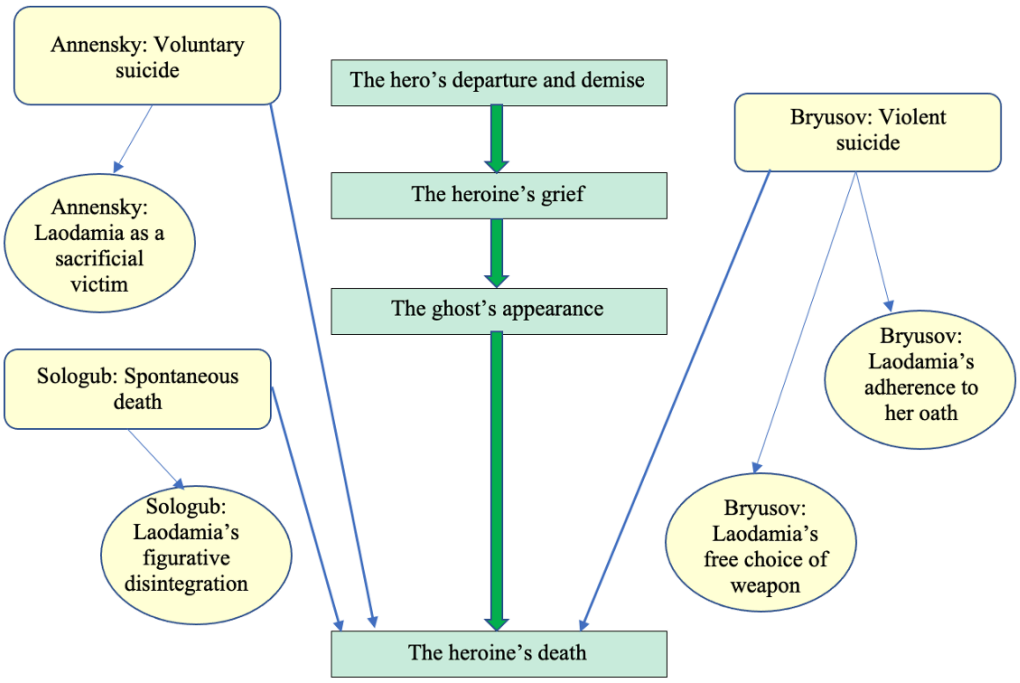


Fig.16. The organisation of the fourth mythonarreme (The heroine's demise) of the key narrative construct. Stage 4: Anagnorisis

As shown in the cumulative diagram above, each of the three Silver Age poets develops the vector of mythological transformation, redistributing the relative prominence allotted to the two protagonists of the legend. In Annensky's version of the mythological plotline the heroine's death is characterised with the help of the innovative mythologeme of voluntary suicide, transforming her from a static lamenter to the active celebrator of a sacrifice. Sologub takes the vector of mythological transformation further by transforming the manner of his heroine's death from active (as in Annensky's rendition) to passive, conditioned not by her physical autonomy but rather by her mental development: Laodamia is for the first time endowed with the capacity to determine the culmination of her own plotline without resorting to suicide. The manner of death which Bryusov allots his Laodamia brings the vector of narrative development to a culmination, since the role attributed to Protesilaus by the epic tradition (a warrior who fights and dies a violent, heroic death) is transposed onto his wife and enacted with his weapon. In contrast to the silent, weeping widow of epic poetry, Bryusov's Laodamia inherits not only Protesilaus' ability to wield the weapon of a warrior, but also the manner of his death.

Conclusion

In the present chapter, Classical and Russian Neo-mythological traditions pertaining to the legend of Laodamia have for the first time been represented as an extensive, inclusive hyper-text, encompassing Wyspiański's, Annensky's, Bryusov's and Sologub's reinterpretations of different versions of the prelude to the Trojan Cycle, alongside their varied Greek, Latin, Medieval and visual sources.

An analysis of the mythographical tradition has served to establish a set of recurrent narrative elements, revealing the key narrative construct of the Laodamia legend, which consists of four mythonarremes (the hero's departure and demise, the heroine's grief, the appearance of the ghost, the death of the heroine), augmented by a succession of variable, unstable motifs pertaining primarily to the characterisation of Laodamia and her expressions of

grief (the second mythonarreme). Since no Hellenistic poetic allusions to the Laodamia legend are extant, the analysis of the mythopoetic hypertext was based on three Latin elegiac accounts (*Propertius, Elegy 1.19.7-10;* Statius' *Silvae* 5. 3. 273; Statius' *Silvae* 2. 7. 122 – 31). It has been shown that all three mythopoetic accounts place Laodamia in a position of semantic prominence, presenting the heroine as an exemplum of marital loyalty and affection. The semantic centre of the legend, situated in the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, the heroine's grief, has been used to establish the origin of the vector of mythological transformation, which consists in the augmentation of three faculties in relation to Laodamia: her capacity for speech, thought and action.

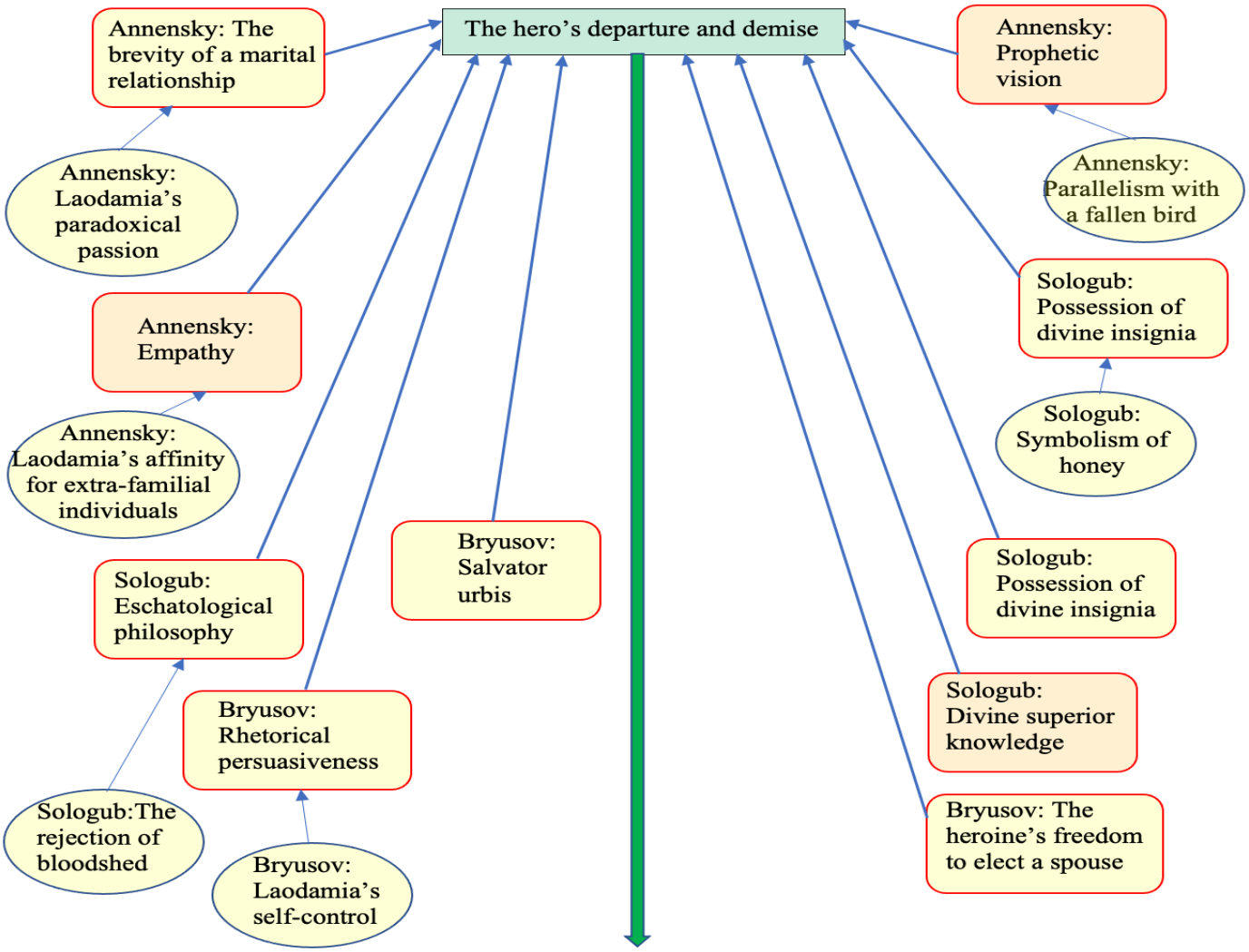
An analysis of the extant Classical mythoplastic hypertext, comprising Greek epic and dramatic accounts (*The Iliad*, *The Cypria*; Euripides' *Protesilaus*) and two Latin elegiac sources (Catullus, *Carmina* 68 and Ovid, *Heroides,* XIII), reveals the process of mythological modification manifested in the gradual redistribution of narrative prominence from the hero Protesilaus to his wife Laodamia. In Greek epic tradition Protesilaus, rather than Laodamia, has been shown to constitute the focal point of the narrative, determining its plot and progression. The visual tradition has been shown to be consistent with the distribution of narrative weight in the epic hypertext, since the surviving evidence represents the dynamic figure of Protesilaus as the focal point of the legend.

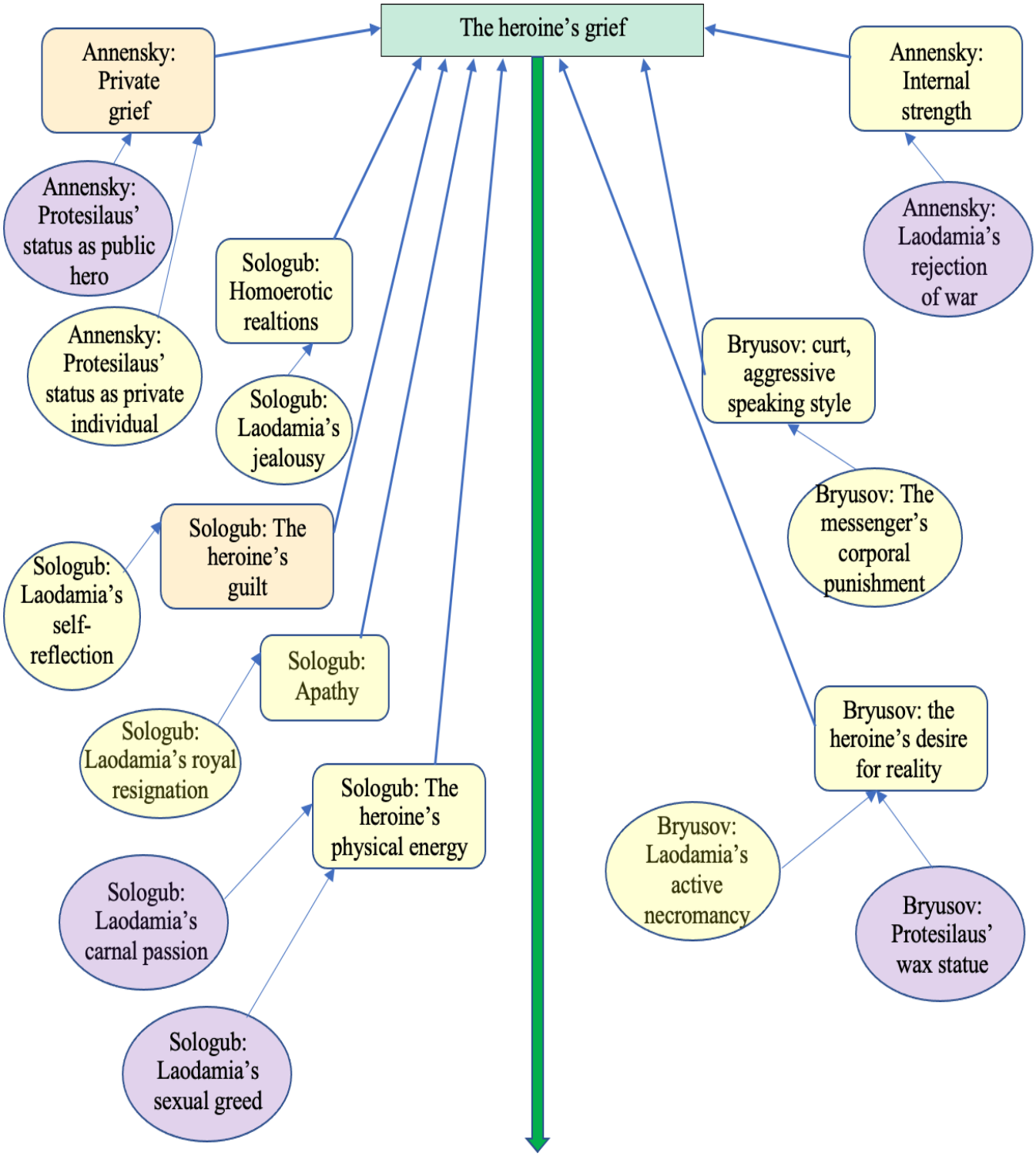
The continuation of the vector of mythological transformation has been traced in the only extant dramatic rendition of the Laodamia legend, Euripides' *Protesilaus*, which survives in twelve fragments. Although only four of the fragments are directly connected to specific mythonarremes of the key narrative construct (fragment 655 can be attributed to the second mythonarreme; fragments 647 and 646 to the third mythonarreme; fragment 656 to the fourth mythonarreme), the tragedy preserves a crucial development in Laodamia's growing mental and physical autonomy: her obdurate marital loyalty. From the surviving fragments it is also

possible to determine that Euripides introduced a new narrative element, unprecedented in the mythoplastic hypertext: a culmination of Laodamia's plotline (her suicide on the pyre), which can be traced back to a syncretic blending of two separate mythological strands.

In the Latin elegiac tradition, Catullus makes Laodamia responsible for the anger of the gods, and consequently she becomes the cause of Protesilaus' tragic death and her own loss of social status in widowhood. Conversely, Protesilaus is deprived of free agency: whereas in the epic and dramatic traditions his decision to sail for Troy and to be the first to leave his ship is made of his own accord, in Catullus it is caused by his wife's improper conduct. In Ovid's treatment of the mythological plotline, Laodamia is endowed with a novel trait, quasi-masculinity, revealed through her ability to give strategic advice to her warrior husband and her desire for complete defeminisation in order to share in her husband's military exploits.

The analysis of the Neo-mythological Russian hypertext of the Laodamia legend has been organised according to the four stages of dramatic development ('Exposition', 'Conflict', 'Peripeteia', 'Anagnorisis'), based on the four mythonarremes of the key narrative construct, distinguished on the basis of the mythographical hypertext. With the help of a four-stage approach, it has become possible to trace the exact means of semantic and structural transposition of individual mythonarremes within the key narrative construct, brought about by the three Russian mythoplasts (*fig.*17):


The hero's departure and demise
Annensky: The brevity of a marital relationship
Annensky: Laodamia's paradoxical passion
Annensky: Empathy
Annensky: Laodamia's affinity for extra-familial individuals
Sologub: Eschatological philosophy
Sologub:The rejection of bloodshed
Bryusov: Rhetorical persuasiveness
Bryusov: Laodamia's self-control
Bryusov: Salvator urbis
Annensky: Prophetic vision
Annensky: Parallelism with a fallen bird
Sologub: Possession of divine insignia
Sologub: Symbolism of honey
Sologub: Possession of divine insignia
Sologub: Divine superior knowledge
Bryusov: The heroine's freedom to elect a spouse


The heroine's grief
Annensky: Private grief
Annensky: Internal strength
Annensky: Protesilaus' status as public hero
Annensky: Laodamia's rejection of war
Annensky: Protesilaus' status as private individual
Sologub: Homoerotic realtions
Sologub: Laodamia's jealousy
Bryusov: curt, aggressive speaking style
Bryusov: The messenger's corporal punishment
Sologub: The heroine's guilt
Sologub: Laodamia's self-reflection
Sologub: Apathy
Sologub: Laodamia's royal resignation
Bryusov: the heroine's desire for reality
Sologub: The heroine's physical energy
Bryusov: Laodamia's active necromancy
Bryusov: Protesilaus' wax statue
Sologub: Laodamia's carnal passion
Sologub: Laodamia's sexual greed

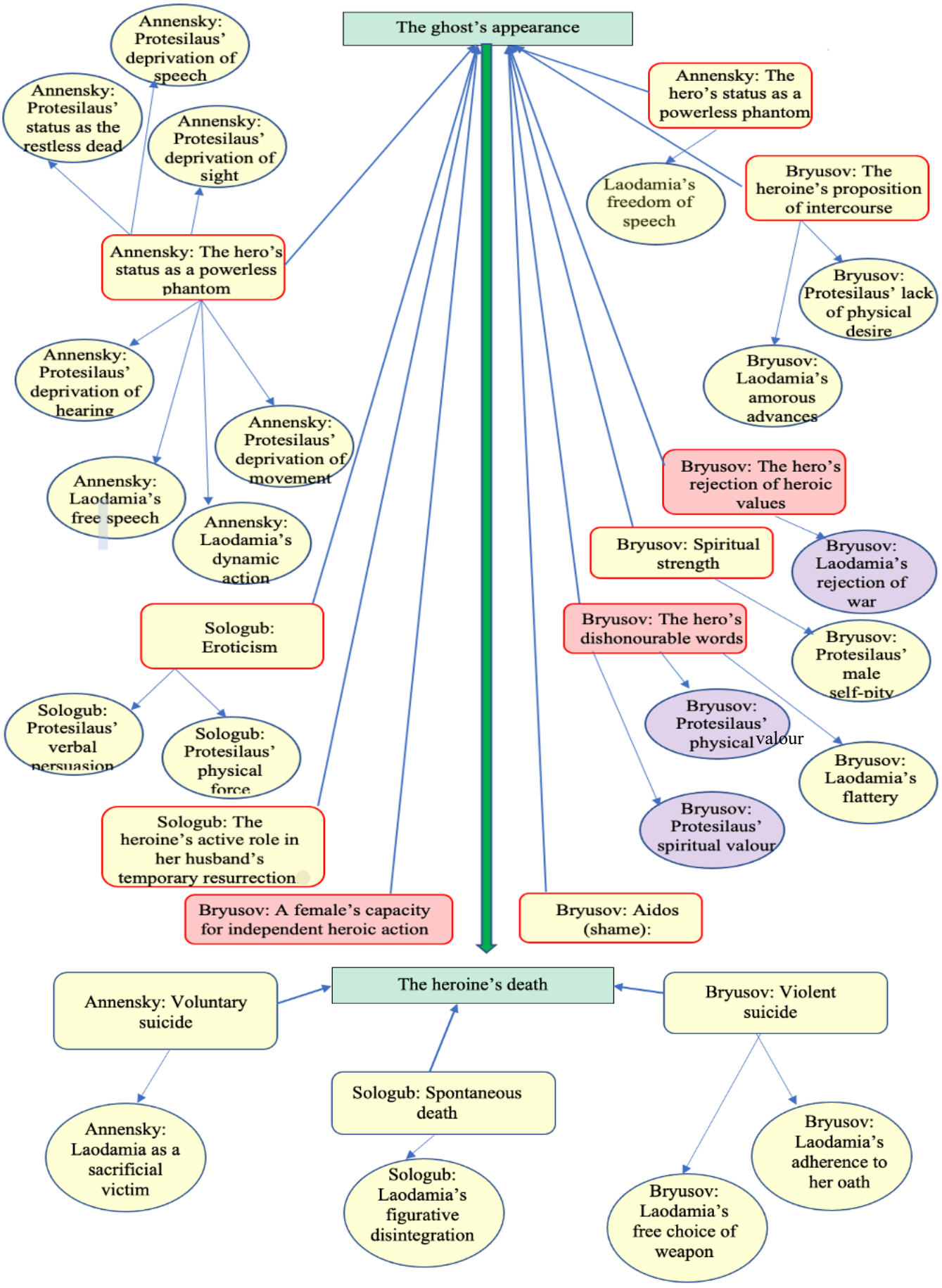


Fig. 17. The mythoplastic model of the Neo-mythological treatments of the Laodamia legend

As shown in *fig.*17, in the *first stage* of the dramatic action (corresponding to the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct), the three Russian mythoplasts rely upon a syncretic combination of innovative mythologemes (Annensky: the mythologeme of the brevity of marital relations; Sologub: the mythologeme of superior divine knowledge, the mythologeme of eschatological philosophy; Bryusov: the mythologeme of *salvator urbis*, the mythologeme of the heroine's freedom to choose a spouse, the mythologeme of the heroine's rhetorical persuasiveness) and intra-mythological mythologemes (Annensky: the mythologeme of prophetic vision, the mythologeme of empathy), augmented with the aid of seven innovative motifs (of a fallen bird, or spiritual blindness, of honey, of rhetorical persuasiveness, of the rejection of war, of the heroine's affinity for extra-familial individuals).

The analysis of each poet's treatment of the *first* mythonarreme of the key narrative construct reveals the gradual modification of Laodamia's characterisation. Whereas in Annensky's rendition the heroine's conduct is conditioned by her emotional response to her grief (cf. the mythologeme of empathy) and her spiritual sophistication (cf. the mythologeme of the brevity of marital relations), in Sologub's treatment of the legend the heroine acquires innovative cognitive skills (cf. the mythologeme of superior divine knowledge) and divine patronage (cf. the mythologeme of divine insignia), and finally in Bryusov's account Laodamia casts off her femininity and acquires a purely masculine, quasi-heroic role (cf. the mythologeme of *salvator urbis*).

At the *second stage* of the dramatic action (corresponding to the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct) each of the Russian mythoplasts fashions a cluster of innovative and intra-mythological mythologemes, augmented with the help of motifs belonging to the same categories. The mythologemes introduced by Annensky are all focused on the character of Laodamia, with two innovative mythologemes of the heroine's internal strength and her apathy introduced alongside the intra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine's private grief.

The Russian poet relies upon a combination of innovative motifs (of the hero's obdurate status as a public individual and of the hero's status as a private individual) and intra-mythological motifs (of the rejection of war), locating his treatment of the Laodamia legend in the context of Catullus' *Carmina* 68 by means of intertextual allusion. Sologub weaves together two innovative mythologemes of homoerotic relations and the heroine's physical energy with the *extra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine's guilt*, drawing upon the Latin elegiac hypertext through the introduction of intra-mythological motifs (e.g. of Laodamia's carnal passion, of Laodamia's sexual greed). In contrast to Annensky and Sologub, Bryusov relies wholly on innovative mythologemes (of the heroine's desire for reality and of her curt, aggressive manner) and motifs (of the heroine's active necromancy, of corporeal punishment), thus bringing about a radical reconceptualisation of the mythological plotline.

In contrast to Annensky and Sologub, at the second stage of his dramatic action Bryusov denies Laodamia the characteristics of a lyrical heroine, transforming her from a lamenting widow into an articulate, albeit stern queen. In Sologub's treatment of the legend, Laodamia's manifestation of her grief is restricted by her status as a powerless widow: she displays emotional apathy, questioning the need for her husband's heroic conduct. Sologub adheres most closely to the Latin elegiac tradition by endowing his heroine with physical dynamism: augmenting the intra-mythological mythologeme of the heroine's guilt, the Russian poet introduces the innovative mythologeme of homoerotic relations, presenting original scope for the heroine's emotional development (e.g., acquiring the capacity for jealousy).

At the *third stage* of the dramatic action (corresponding to the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, the ghost's appearance), the three Russian mythoplasts rely almost entirely on innovative mythologemes and motifs, signifying a marked departure from the Classical hypertext of the Laodamia legend. Annensky introduces two innovative mythologemes, each relating to one of the two central protagonists of the dramatic action: the

mythologeme of the hero as a powerless phantom (augmented with the help of seven innovative motifs, pertaining to the weakening faculties of the ghost) characterises Protesilaus' conduct at the peripeteia of the plot, while the mythologeme of a temporal limitation to grief (augmented with the help of the innovative motif relating to the heroine's newly developed freedom of choice) reveals Laodamia's novel autonomy.

Sologub, the subsequent recipient of the mythological plotline, introduces an innovative antithesis between the heroine's physical capabilities and her husband's passivity, both in relation to his actions (revealed through the innovative mythologeme of the heroine's eroticism) and his communication (signalled through the innovative mythologeme of the heroine's active role in his temporary resurrection). In contrast to the Classical hypertext, wherein Protesilaus' temporary release from Hades is achieved through his own rhetorical skills and physical beauty, Sologub makes his heroine responsible for her husband's temporary resurrection. Laodamia is able to overcome the hold of death with the help of two innovative attributes, with which the Russian dramatist endows her, in accordance with the vector of mythological transformation: strength of feeling (manifested in her extreme love for her husband) and the capacity for physical action (revealed through her tactile engagement with her husband).

The development of Laodamia's physical and mental autonomy is advanced further by Bryusov, who, at the third stage of the dramatic action, characterises his heroine by means of canonically male attributes, signalled through the introduction of the innovative mythologeme of the heroine's increased capacity for practical reasoning and the intra-mythological motifs of Laodamia's physical and spiritual valour. The Russian dramatist breaks down Protesilaus' traditional representation as a warrior by stripping him of his heroic attributes (physical strength, courage, thirst for glory) and, in order to sustain the shifting balance of narrative weight allotted to the protagonists of the mythological narrative, displaces them onto Laodamia, who in turn acquires quasi-heroic status. Deploying Laodamia's new-found physical and mental

power, Bryusov investigates the concept of female eroticism, making his heroine perform the male role of initiating sexual relations. For the first time in the process of mythological transformation, Bryusov rejects the motif of spiritual love present in earlier accounts (Euripides, Ovid, Annensky and Sologub) and introduces the motif of erotic passion, which governs Laodamia's relationship with her husband.

The *fourth stage* of the dramatic action (corresponding to the fourth mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, the heroine's death) concludes the process of the creative modification of the Laodamia legend initiated in the Classical hypertext, in accordance with the vector of mythological transformation. Each of the three Russian mythoplasts relies on a single innovative mythologeme in order to reveal his heroine's emotional response to her approaching death and the manner of her suicide. Both Annensky and Sologub maintain a connection with the Classical hypertext (wherein the heroine commits suicide on her husband's pyre), by incorporating the element of fire into Laodamia's demise: Annensky's heroine leaps into the flames herself, taking on the role of a willing sacrificial victim, whereas Sologub's character undergoes a spontaneous death by melting in grief. Both heroines are endowed with the capacity to determine their own demise, be it through their physical resolve (the action of jumping onto the pyre) or mental power (the ability to bring about death in the manner most suited to her primary function of a loyal and loving wife). In contrast to Annensky and Sologub, Bryusov introduces a radical innovation by choosing a novel form of suicide for his heroine, death by the sword. In the Classical tradition this form of suicide is primarily associated with male heroes, such as Ajax in Sophocles' eponymous play, who dies by falling on his own war sword. Thus, by endowing Laodamia with a traditionally male death, Sologub causes his heroine to assume the guise of an epic hero: she becomes, like the Trojan warriors of the *Iliad* and the *Cypria*, destined to fall by Protesilaus' sword on the battlefield.

As suggested in this chapter, the Neo-mythological representation of Laodamia may have drawn not only upon Euripides but also upon Homeric epic heroines, such as Andromache, who, despite being endowed with the gift of superhuman wisdom and foresight, could not ward off her own ruin and destruction. It has been shown that the twentieth century Neo-mythological dramatists establish an interrelation of different versions of the prelude to the Trojan Cycle, redistributing the semantic significance of their plot-lines. By resurrecting a tendency traceable across three Classical traditions to redistribute semantic prominence from Protesilaus to Laodamia, Annensky, Sologub and Bryusov continued the process of mythological development, bringing it to a dramatic conclusion. Thus, the present chapter has demonstrated that, following Euripides in concentrating the focal point of his dramatic version on Laodamia, the three Russian Neo-mythological dramatists reveal the psychology of suffering entailed by a liminal female position, caused by her suspension between the world of the living and the dead, between the statuses of wife and widow and between the conditions of virgin and matron.

Chapter 4

Musician in the Rocks: Blindness on the Twentieth Century Russian Stage

"For undoubtedly earth will never change into another form… when earth is condensed by air so it cannot be dissolved by water it becomes stone; the fairer kind of stone is…transparent, while the rougher kind is the opposite."[1]



Introduction

The final tragedy of Innokenty Annensky's dramatic tetralogy, *Famira-kifared* (1913), is focused on the legend of Thamyris, the Thracian bard who competed with the Muses in song and was punished for his pride.[2] *Famira-kifared* is considered to be the best of Annensky's dramatic works[3] and was the only one of his four mythological tragedies to be put before the public. The tragedy was staged by Alexandr Tairov on the twenty-first of November 1916, at the Kamerny theatre in Moscow, with Nikolay Tseretelli in the role of Thamyris, Ivan Arkadin as Silenus and Nadezhda Kollen as the nymph Argiope. The production was closely aligned

[1] Plato, *Timaeus*, 60c.
[2] The image above, taken from https://zagran.guru/, offers a case of pareidolia: the rock face resembles the profile of a man.
[3] Nagibin, 1986.

with Annensky's literary credo, outlined in his foreword to *Melanippa-filosof*, 'слить мир античный с современной душой',[4] since the performative aspect of *Famira-kifared* combined contemporary trends with Classical dramatic canons. The set design was executed in a Cubo-Futurist style by Aleksandra Ekster, who fashioned a system of slanting platforms with cones and pyramids to represent a natural landscape.[5] As shown in *fig.*1, a large platform staircase occupied centre-stage, emblematising a mountainous terrain, while tall, slender cones set against a light background on either side of it created the illusion of a forest clearing. By conveying the impression of wild rocky ground with the help of conic figures, cubes and pyramids mounted on slanting platforms, Tairov tried to preserve 'the rhythmical pattern'[6] of Annensky's Bacchic drama (*fig.*1):[7]



Fig.1. Aleksandra Ekster's set design for Annensky's tragedy Famira-kifared

In her set design Ekster established a visual dialogue with Classical vase iconography which frequently depicted scenes from the Thamyris legend in a natural setting. One of the most famous representations of Thamyris, surrounded by vegetation, is preserved on a red figure hydria from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (*fig.*2):

[4] Annensky, 2000, p.48.
[5] Glover, p.78.
[6] Nikolina, p.54.
[7] The image is taken from Pushkin Theatre archives: http://teatrpushkin.ru/plays/famira-kifared

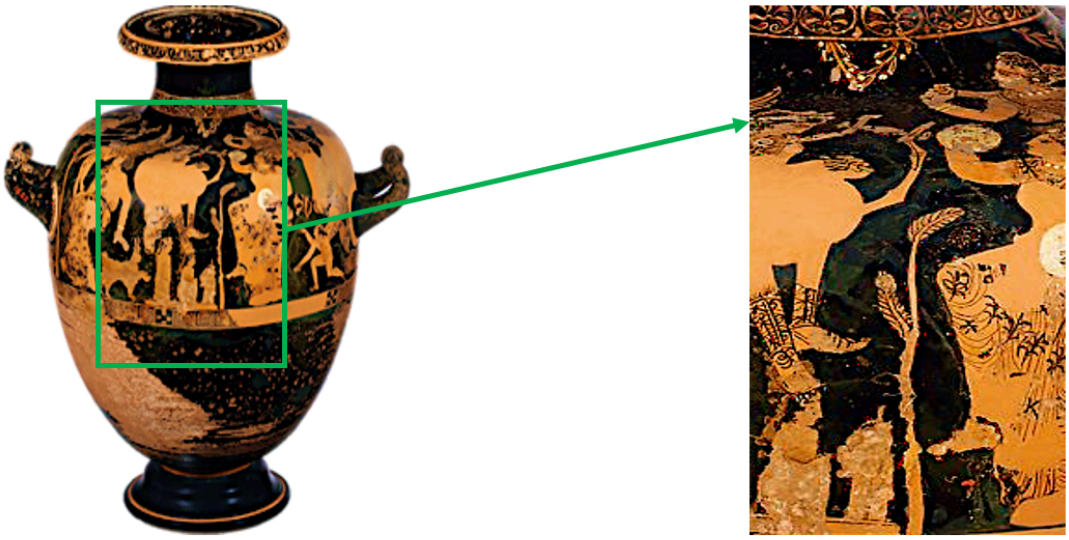


Fig.2. Red figure terracotta hydria, 420–410 B.C. Attributed to the Meidias Painter , Accession Number: 16.52, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The hydria[8]depicts Thamyris surrounded by a company of female musicians and small winged Erotes. A lengthy plant stalk at the front of the composition indicates that the scene is set in a natural location, potentially a sacred *locus* (indicated by the presence of divine figures).

A natural setting appears to be a shared motif in Classical vase iconography of the Thamyris legend, since a similar representation of the hero can be found on an Attic red-figure crater (*fig.*3).[9] The centre of the crater's composition is dominated by a tree with seven boughs and intricately defined leaves, while the roots of the tree are covered by delicate tufts of grass, suggesting that it is located on grassy terrain.

[8] The images are taken from The Metropolitan Museum archive: https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/
[9] The images are reproduced from Bundrick, p.129.



Fig.3. Attic red-figure volute crater 420 BC. Attributed to the Polion Painter. Object number: 33033. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ferrara.

A possible explanation for Ekster's emphasis on providing the play with a natural setting drawn from Classical vase iconography can be offered, based on Annensky's conceptualisation of Thamyris and his surroundings through the natural element of earth. Annensky expanded the connotations of the Empedoclean element of earth to include geological phenomena, imbuing his tragedy with key terms closely related to earth and terrain: the noun 'stone' ('камень') is repeated twenty-three times in the play, while mountain/mountainous ('гор[а]/[ный]') occurs eight times. Developing Empedocles' account of the four elements, Annensky adopts a creative approach to the natural element of earth by instilling life into it through reference to diverse vegetation surrounding Thamyris: the forest ('лес'), alluded to nineteen times, and grass 'трава', mentioned eighteen times, is full of blossoms and is populated with diverse living creatures ('птицы. Пчелы, стрекозы, бабочки на лугу').

The dramatic action is set against the background of a mountainous landscape with a rich variety of soils and terrains, which perform the function of a natural, living temple for the semi-divine, royal Thamyris:

Вдали нагромождения скал - бурых, черных, красных или заросших лесом

The opening stage directions anthropomorphise Thamyris' surroundings, not only ascribing movement to the stones which form the backdrop to the action ('С гор там и сям, точно сползая вниз, осели темные и белые камни'), but also hinting at pareidolia ('камни… иные причудливой формы') experienced at both character and audience levels.[10]

The element of earth is also deployed by Annensky on the level of character representation, since Thamyris' mode of existence and personality are closely associated with nature. Annensky's hero leads a simple, hermit-like life, relying on fruits of the earth for his nourishment; his dwelling is surrounded by trees and flowers ('на лугу, на цветах, в цветах'), and his utensils are made from clay and reed:

> убогая глиняная утварь, губки, тростниковая корзина с хлебом, кувшины, тазы

Annensky uses the element of earth and its associated natural phenomena to offer a clue to Thamyris' personality, describing him as an admirer of the motionless, cold essence of rock for its restfulness and its ability to prompt spiritual introspection. Thamyris treats the white rocks lying in front of his hut as his only friends, glorifying aggregates, minerals, and the earth itself, and disdaining the company of transient, animate beings.

In Tairov's production the abstract conceptualisation of the stage setting, inspired by Classical iconography and Annensky's assimilation of Empedocles' elemental system, guided the choice of theatrical make-up and costumes. The actors' costumes were stylised as ancient attire, creating what might be termed a two-fold performative dialogue with Classical culture. A 'graphic' method of applying stage make-up was used, which involved not only accentuating the actors' facial features *(fig*.4), but also contouring their bodies to underline their muscular structure.[11] This technique recalls the visual tradition of Classical vase iconography, in which faces and bodies were outlined to create an illusion of depth. As represented in the illustrations

[10] The internal and external audiences are invited to see meaningful shapes and potentially even faces in the inanimate rocks.
[11] Rudnitsky, pp.11-12; Koonen, p.228.

below (*fig.*4),[12] the heavily contoured features of Tseretelli, particularly his brows, eyes and nose, recall the graphics of vase representations:

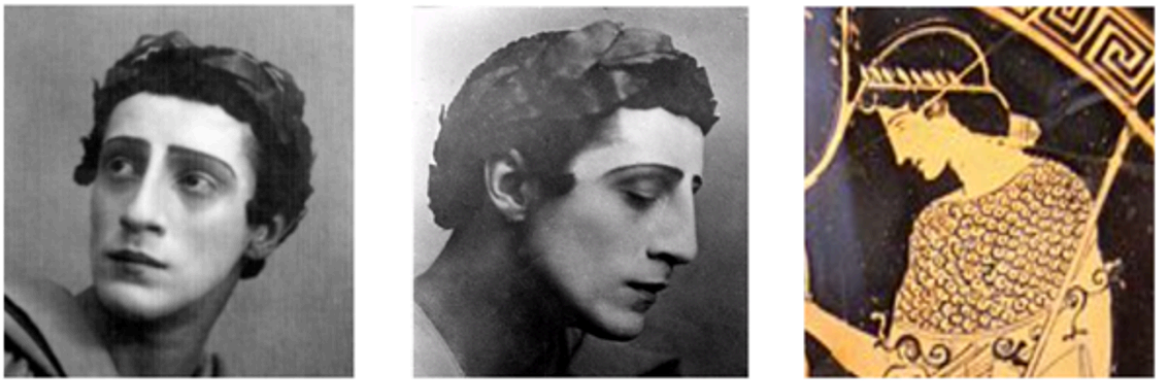


Fig.4. Graphic makeup of Tseretelli in his role as Thamyris alongside a depiction of Athena on an Attic red-figure Kylix. 490-470 BC. Attributed to Douris. Object number: 205230, Staatliche Antikensammlungen, München.

The performative dialogue with Classical dramatic canons is further strengthened by Tairov's choice of costumes. The Chorus of Bacchantes and Satyrs in particular were very lightly dressed, drawing criticism for nudity and obscenity,[13] while all the other actors wore only chitons, peploi and kothornoi.[14] It is hard to agree with scholars (e.g. A.V. Kanatyeva)[15] who suggest that the design of the costumes was influenced by Etruscan iconography, since all articles of clothing were traditionally Greek and were chosen by Tairov as such. As can be seen from the theatrical poster *(fig.*5),[16] advertising Tairov's production, the female figure on the right, presumably representing Argiope, is depicted in the divine nude, with a bare torso and only a light loin cloth and a small cloak to cover her bare body:

[12] Images taken from Pushkin Theatre archives: http://teatrpushkin.ru/plays/famira-kifared; the image of the Attic red-figure Kylix is taken from the Theoi Project: https://www.theoi.com/
[13] 'Обнаженная постановка', Khidekel', p.11.
[14] Korolev, p.11.
[15] Kanat'eva, pp.249-259.
[16] The image is taken from: https://artchive.ru/artists/1846~AleksandraAleksandrovnaEkster/



Fig.5. A poster for Tairov's production of Famira-kifared at the Kamerny Theatre, Moscow.

Although Annensky's play was regarded as 'un-theatrical' and difficult to stage,[17] Tairov's production met with unanimous approval from the audience, press and theatre critics.[18] The performance was acclaimed a theatrical revolution and one of the most important dramatic events of 1916.[19] Consequently, *Famira-kifared* attracted considerable critical and scholarly attention in connection with its production and reception on stage.[20] Aspects such as Albert Slazmann's innovative diffused lighting,[21] the original use of 'graphic' stage make-up,[22] Ekster's set design[23] and costumes[24] all became frequent subjects of theatrical reviews.

Despite the interest caused by the performative aspects of Annensky's tragedy, textual studies of the play remain limited. Only a handful of articles treat *Famira-kifared* in any depth,[25] most of which adopt a synchronic perspective on the text and concentrate either on the influence

[17] 'Театральность пьесы весьма сомнительна'. Mandel'shtam, 1987, p.250.
[18] 'Абсолютно единодушные, очень хвалебные отзывы в прессе,' Koonen, pp.228-229.
[19] Kanat'eva, pp.249-259.
[20] Mandel'shtam, 1987; Koonen, 1985; Tairov, 1970; Derzhavin, 1934; Korolev, 1916; Khidekel', 1971; Kolpakchi, 1919; Vlasova, 2010; Fyodorov, 1984, pp.246-249.
[21] A fragment of a letter from D. S. Usov to N. S. Arkhipova 'о посещении спектакля Московского Камерного театра' 1916; Koonen, p.228.
[22] Rudnitsky, pp.11-12; Koonen, p.228.
[23] Derzhavin, pp.8-11; Glover, pp.77-81.
[24] Kanat'eva, pp.249-259; Rudnitsky, pp.11-12; Korolev, pp.11; Khidekel', p.37.
[25] Shelogurova, 2009; Anikin, (C) 2011; Kirichuk, 2012; Borisova, 1990, 1998.

of contemporary French poetry, which Annensky translated,[26] or on bibliographical histories of the play,[27] or on the rationalisation of its Dionysian and Apollonian dichotomy,[28] or on analysing individual aspects of the tragedy (such as the role of the Chorus,[29] the concept of one colour 'лазурь',[30] the associations of Thamyris' mother with Medea[31]). A few isolated attempts have been made to place *Famira-kifared* in the context of other literary traditions,[32] and the interrelations of Annensky's *Famira-kifared* with a short story by his contemporary Aleksandr Kondratyev entitled *Famirid*.[33]

Only two scholars attempt to connect Annensky's tragedy with its literary heritage, Catriona Kelly, who points to the *Iliad* and Sophocles' fragmentary play as potential sources of the legend,[34] tracing parallels between Annensky's *Famira-kifared* and *Oedipus Rex*[35] and offering 'the first study of the satyr-play elements' of the tragedy;[36] and Aleksandr Anikin, who analyses the similarities between Annensky's play and preceding literary works. Most of Anikin's parallels are drawn from nineteenth century European literature, mainly French and Russian: he studies similarities between Annensky's play and Charles Baudelaire and Gérard de Nerval.[37] Anikin focuses primarily on resemblance between *Famira-kifared* and nineteenth century Russian writers, including Dostoevsky, Tolstoy[38] and Pushkin.[39] Anikin also attempts to adopt a more longsighted perspective, relevant to the methodological approach of this chapter, by searching for similarities between Annensky's play and Classical literature. Anikin

[26] Ostrovskaya, pp.22-36.
[27] Geyro, Platonova-Lozinskaya, pp.100-119.
[28] Borisova, 1990, 1998.
[29] Shelogurova, 2009.
[30] Kirichuk, 2012.
[31] Timofeeva, p.238-248.
[32] Molchanova, p.206-212.
[33] Sarycheva, 2011, pp.68-73.
[34] Kelly, 1986, p.249.
[35] 'The end of *Famira* is a reminiscence, with parodistic overtones, of the end of *Oedipus Rex'*, Kelly, 1986, p.253.
[36] Kelly, 1986, p.246.
[37] For parallels between Charles Baudelaire and Annensky see: Anikin, (C) 2011, p.259ff; For parallels between Gérard de Nerval and Annensky see: Anikin, 1993, pp.425-438.
[38] Anikin argues that Annensky's scene where Silenus reasons with Thamyris about the contest with the Muses reminds the reader of Eroshka in Tolstoy's *Kazaki*. Anikin, (A) 2011.
[39] Anikin, (A) 2011; Anikin, (C) 2011.

compiles a catalogue of linguistic parallels between *Famira-kifared* and Annensky's translations of Euripides' tragedies (particularly the *Bacchae*), listing similarities with the Cyclops episode in the *Odyssey*, Seneca's *Phaedra*, the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* and Euripides' *Alcestis, Electra* and *Hippolytus*.[40] Although some parallels are apparent, such as similarities in vocabulary between *Famira-kifared* and Annensky's translations of Euripidean tragedies, others appear laboured, e.g. a putative echo between Thamyris and Odysseus, on account of the former burning his eyes with hot coals and the latter gouging out the eye of Polyphemus with a blazing stake.[41]

Although Anikin catalogues a number of potential parallels with Antiquity, his research contains an apparent lacuna: apart from mentioning that a lost play by Sophocles was based on the myth of Thamyris, and that this myth 'is reflected' in the *Iliad,*[42] Anikin makes no attempt to analyse Annensky's treatment of the Classical legend. A similar tendency can be detected in all scholarship on *Famira-kifared,* since passing references to 'the Classical myth of Thamyris',[43] 'the plot of a Greek myth',[44] 'a modified myth',[45] 'one of the least popular mythological plots in world art',[46] 'a mythological plot',[47] convey only a very limited awareness of the existence of the Classical legend of Thamyris. The general presupposition in modern scholarship appears to be that the plotline of Thamyris existed in Antiquity in a single, core version, which was inherited by Annensky in a fully developed state and merely 'modified'[48] or 'interpreted'.[49] Since no attempt has yet been made to discern the various stages of the existence of the mythological plotline of Thamyris, the process of its development and

[40] Anikin, (A) 2011; Anikin, (B) 2011.
[41] Anikin, (B) 2011, p.272.
[42] Anikin, (B) 2011, p.259.
[43] Bryusov, p.132.
[44] Sarycheva, p.68.
[45] Vasil'eva, 2001, p.284.
[46] Moiseeva, p.6.
[47] Strashkova, 2006.
[48] Vasil'eva, 2001, p.284.
[49] Bryusov, p.132.

transformation, from its earliest literary record to Annensky's tragedy, has been neither analysed nor noticed.

Therefore, in contrast to previous scholarship, this chapter will adopt a new approach to Annensky's play, by presenting a systematic analysis aimed at determining the vector of mythological transformation inherited by the Russian dramatist. In order to discover the functions and meanings of his innovations, which can shed new light on the interpretation of his play, all extant Classical sources of *Famira-kifared* will be analysed as a mythological hypertext, which has not been attempted before.

I
The Classical Hypertext of the Mythological Plotline of Thamyris

1. The Mythographical hypertext

In relation to the plotline of Thamyris, the term mythographical can be applied to all relevant Scholia, which comment upon extant references to the legend,[50] as well as to a number of Greek, Latin and Medieval accounts, which range from the second century BC to the twelth century AD:

I	Greek accounts:	Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.3.3; Asklepiades, 12F10; Dio Chrysostom, *Logoi* §13.21; Strabo, *Geographica* VII F35, VIII 3.25, X. 3.17; Pseudo-Plutarch *De Musica* 1132a-b, Conon, *Narrations* (*Διηγήσεις*) 7, preserved as compressed summaries in the Bibliotheca of Photius, Codices 186-222
II	Roman accounts:	Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 7.204; Hyginus, *Astronomica* II 6, 3; First Vatican Mythographer I 197
III	Medieval Byzantine accounts:	Tzetzes, *Chiliades* I. 306

[50] Σ [Eur.] *Rhes*. 916; Σ. *Od.*19.432; Σ *Il.*2.595; Σ [Soph.] *Ajax,* 118; Σ. [Ovid] *Ibis* 272; Σ. [Luc.], *BC* VI.352; Σ. [Statius] *Theb.* IV.181.

An overall study of the mythographical hypertext reveals that the legend of Thamyris rested upon a series of commonly recurrent narrative elements. Thamyris believed he was able to surpass the Muses in skill; he challenged the Muses to a contest; the Muses vanquished him; Thamyris was punished by being blinded and deprived of the ability to play his cithara. This recurrent outline can be seen most clearly in Dio Chrysostom's account (*fig.*6):

[καὶ μὴν ὁ Θάμυρίς γε εὖ μάλα ἐπιστάμενος κιθαρίζειν]	1.	'And Thamyris, who was very skilful in playing the cithara
[καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς Μούσας ἐρίζων περὶ τῆς ἁρμονίας,]	2.	and vied with the Muses themselves in musical skill,
[ἐτυφλώθη διὰ τοῦτο καὶ προσέτι ἀπέμαθε τὴν κιθαριστικήν'] (*Logoi* §13.21).	3.	was blinded for his actions, and furthermore forgot the skill of cithara-playing' (*Logoi* §13.21).

Thus, three stable, causative narrative elements (mythonarremes) lie at the foundation of the Thamyris legend: the hero's hubris, a contest between him and the Muses, and finally his defeat and punishment, which in conjunction form the key narrative construct of the mythological plotline, used by Annensky in his *Famira-kifared (fig.*6):

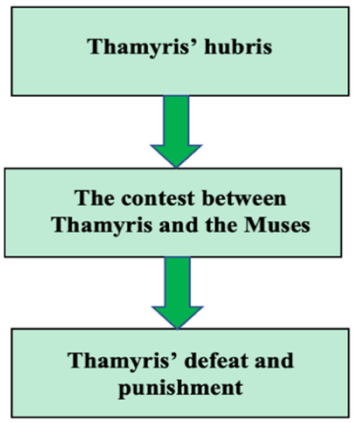


Fig.6 The mythonarremes of the key narrative construct as determined from the mythographic hypertext

In addition to preserving the key narrative construct, mythographical accounts offer insights into unstable, variable motifs, which are absent from mythopoetic and mythoplastic

versions, on account of their irrelevance to the individual creative agendas of their composers.[51] For example, in relation to the first mythonarreme of the key construct of the narrative (Thamyris' hubris, which causes him to challenge the Muses), two alternative motifs concerning the hero's amorous inclinations exist in the Classical hypertext, which ascribe to him heterosexuality and homosexuality respectively. In Apollodorus' account, Thamyris is said to have demanded sexual union with all nine female Muses in the event of his victory, while a slightly modified account of Thamyris' heterosexuality, present in a Scholium on the *Iliad* II.595, records that the hero requested marriage with only one Muse. Conon offers a further modification, suggesting that Thamyris wished to marry all of the Muses at the same time, as demonstrated by his use of the plural 'Μουσῶν' (*Narrations 7*).[52] The three parallel motifs revealing Thamyris' heterosexuality are listed below:

Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca I* 3.3	'συνθέμενος, ἂν μὲν κρείττων εὑρεθῇ, πλησιάσειν **πάσαις**'	'The agreement was that if Thamyris was victorious, he would possess **them [the Muses] all'**.
Scholia on *Iliad* 2. 595	'τῆς δὲ νίκης γάμον **μιᾶς** τῶν Μουσῶν'	'In the case of victory [he would enjoy] marriage with **one of the Muses'**.
Conon's *Narrations* 7	'ἐκείνῳ μὲν **τοὺς Μουσῶν** γάμους'	'For him [Thamyris] marriage with **the Muses'**.

Apollodorus offers an alternative account of Thamyris' sexual orientation, suggesting that the hero was the first man in Antiquity to conceive a passion for another male and records the name of Thamyris' paramour as Hymenaios. The motif of homosexuality is further expanded in Suda θ 41, where Thamyris' love interest is given a lineage: he is the offspring of Kalliope and Magnes. The two motifs of homosexuality and heterosexuality appear to be alternatively exclusive, as in Conon's and Suda's accounts, and compatible, as in Apollodorus'

[51] The present thesis only analyses unstable motifs which were intertextually inherited by the Russian Neo-mythological tradition. However, Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* I 3.3, Scholia on *Il*.II.595, Conon's *Narrations* 7, Suda's *Encyclopedia* 41, Diodorus Siculus' III.67, Pseudo-Plutarch's *De Musica* 1132a-b, Plinius' Naturalis Historia 7, 207, Dion Chrysostom's Speeches, 13.21, Statius' Thebaid, 4.184, Pausanias' *Description of Greece* 4.33.3, 9.30.2, 10.30.8-9, 4.33.7, all preserve unstable motifs which are represented in *fig.*12.
[52] Brown, p.88.

account, wherein Thamyris simultaneously desires to enter into sexual union with the female Muses and is described as the first homosexual hero of Antiquity:

Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca I*, 3.3	'πρῶτος ἀρξάμενος **ἐρᾶν ἀρρένων**.'	'He was the first to be **enamoured of a man**'
Suda's *Encyclopedia* 41	'καὶ πρῶτος ἠράσθη **παιδὸς** Ὑμεναίου τοὔνομα, **υἱοῦ** Καλλιόπης καὶ Μάγνητος.'	'He was the first to love a **boy**, whose name was Hymenaios, the **son** of Kalliope and Magnes'

In relation to the third mythonarreme of the key construct, the mythographical hypertext reveals a series of unstable motifs concerning the fate of Thamyris after his punishment at the hands of the Muses. Pausanias offers three parallel motifs, which shed light on different interpretations of the hero's response to the loss of his instrumental gift: Thamyris hurls his instrument into a river (A. in *fig.*8), he keeps hold of his broken lyre (B. in *fig.*8), he destroys it and casts it down (C. in *fig.*8):

A. Pausanias's *Description of Greece* 4.33.3	'γενέσθαι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τῷ ποταμῷ λέγουσι Θαμύριδος **τὴν λύραν ἐνταῦθα ἀποβαλόντος** ἐπὶ τῇ πηρώσει.'	'They say the river got its name from Thamyris **throwing his lyre into it** after he was blinded.'
B. Pausanias's *Description of Greece* 9.30.2	'Θάμυριν μὲν αὐτόν τε ἤδη τυφλὸν καὶ **λύρας κατεαγυίας ἐφαπτόμενον**.'	'There is Thamyris himself, already blinded and **holding onto a shattered lyre**.'
C. Pausanias's *Description of Greece* 10.30.8-9	'λύρα δὲ **ἔρριπται πρὸς τοῖς ποσί,** κατεαγότες αὐτῆς οἱ πήχεις καὶ αἱ χορδαὶ κατερρωγυῖαι.'	'**At his feet his lyre lies cast down** with its horns smashed and strings torn to pieces.'
D. Pausanias's *Description of Greece* 4.33.7	'διεφθάρη δὲ ὁ Θάμυρις ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὑπὸ νόσου τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.'	'I think that Thamyris lost his vision on account of a disease.'

The motif of Thamyris casting his instrument into a river reveals a robust representation of the hero, according to which his anger and frustration are great enough for him to desire complete riddance of his instrument. The motif of Thamyris retaining his broken lyre, on the other hand, is indicative of a more sympathetic treatment of the hero, since it suggests that, even after his instrument is rendered useless, Thamyris is unwilling to abandon it. The third motif offers a new insight into the culmination of the legend, since it seemingly refers to a visual tableau depicting Thamyris with a broken lyre at his feet. Thus, there appear to have been

at least three different and now lost interpretations of Thamyris' fate after his punishment. Indeed, Pausanias suggests a fourth extension of Thamyris' plotline, based on the opinion that his blindness was caused by a disease (D. in *fig.*8), offering a purely physiological rationalisation of the mythological motif of divine vengeance.

A cumulative account of the unstable motifs preserved in the mythographical hypertext and their distribution is shown in *fig.*7:

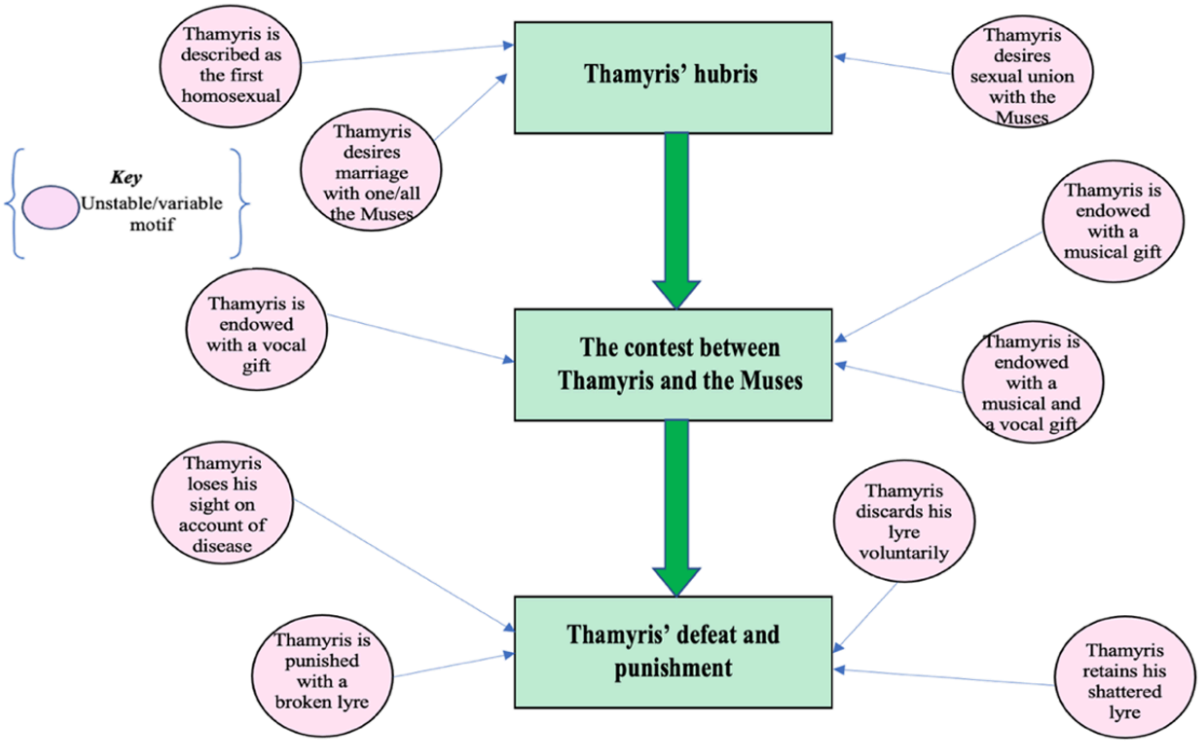


Fig. 7. A summary of the unstable motifs preserved in the mythographic hypertext

As seen in *fig.*7, each of the three mythonarremes is subject to an inconsistency of motifs, which, despite appearing incompatible (e.g. Thamyris is either homosexual or heterosexual), do not influence the semantics of the key narrative construct. Thamyris' response to his maiming, be it violent or melancholy, has no bearing on the nature of his punishment or of the agent who delivers it. Thus, despite being subject to a number of unstable motifs, the Thamyris legend retains its semantic trajectory in mythographical accounts: a hubristic mortal punished by the gods for desiring to compete with the divine patrons of his craft.

2. The Mythopoetic hypertext

In relation to the mythological plotline of Thamyris, two sub-categories of mythopoetic accounts can be distinguished, those which regard the hero as a quasi-symbolic figure of a great musician, and those which represent him as an example of a mortal challenging the gods to a contest of skill.

The first category of mythopoetic accounts is united by the shared pattern of referring to Thamyris in conjunction with Orpheus, the greatest mythological musician of Antiquity, as emblems of musical skill. For example, Philostratus employs Thamyris and Orpheus as vehicles of a simile, illustrating the spell-binding effect a great performance has on an audience (*fig.*10):

Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* 1.483	'τοῦ λόγου ἔμμισθον ἐπίδειξιν ἐποιεῖτο Πρόδικος περιφοιτῶν τὰ ἄστη καὶ θέλγων αὐτὰ **τὸν Ὀρφέως τε καὶ Θαμύρου τρόπον.**'	'Wandering around cities [Prodicus] gave public declamations of the story for hire and charmed them in the manner **of Orpheus and Thamyris**.'
Philostratus' *Lives of the Sophists* 1.520	δει δὴ πρεσβείας ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ ἀνδρός, ὃς ἔμελλεν ὥσπερ **Ὀρφεύς τις ἢ Θάμυρις** ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν θέλξειν.	'There was a need of an embassy from the whole community and of a man who on their behalf, like **Orpheus or Thamyris,** would enchant his audience.'
Plato's *Ion* 533b-533c	'ἀλλὰ μήν, ὥς γ' ἐγὼ οἶμαι, οὐδ' ἐν αὐλήσει γε οὐδὲ ἐν κιθαρίσει οὐδὲ ἐν κιθαρῳδίᾳ οὐδὲ ἐν ῥαψῳδίᾳ οὐδεπώποτ' εἶδες ἄνδρα ὅστις περὶ μὲν Ὀλύμπου δεινός ἐστιν ἐξηγεῖσθαι **ἢ περὶ Θαμύρου ἢ περὶ Ὀρφέως**…'	'And truly I think that you know of no-one in playing the flute or the cithara or singing in accompaniment or reciting poetry who is skilled in telling of the art of Olympus or **Thamyris or Orpheus**.'

By using disjunctive conjunctions with proper names, Philostratus and Plato treat the names of Thamyris and Orpheus as contextual synonyms, indicating that the plots of the corresponding legends have no relevance to their literary context.

The second category of mythopoetic accounts, which deploy Thamyris as an example of a mortal challenging the gods to a contest of skill, is exemplified by the work of Lucian of Samosata. In Lucian's *The Fisherman*, Thamyris is referred to as an explicative paradigm of

ingratitude, since he, like Eurytus, who challenged Apollo to an archery contest, attempted to vie with the patron deities of his craft:

Lucian's ***The Fisherman* 6**	'κακῶς ἂν εἰπεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειεν εὐεργέτας ἄνδρας, ἀφ' ὧν εἶναί τις ἔδοξεν'.	'speak badly of those benefactors to whom he owes his reputation'.

Lucian evokes Thamyris' legend with the help of a single narrative mythonarreme, the contest, indicating that it carries the main communicative function: in the case of the Thamyris legend, a reference to the contest appears sufficient to evoke an association with the entire mythological plotline.

Thus, the origin of the vector of mythological transformation, according to which the entire myth is reworked and reshaped by the mythoplastic hypertext, lies in the plot's semantically most important mythonarreme, the contest (*fig.*8). In turn, the semantic centre of the narrative constitutes the only active undertaking of Thamyris: aside from actively challenging the Muses, the hero's main function in the myth is to be a recipient of defeat and punishment.

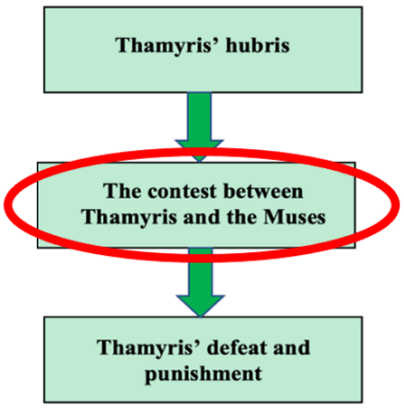


Fig.8. The semantic centre of the mythological plotline as determined from the mythographic hypertext

Since the key narrative construct of the plot prohibits the development of Thamyris' potential for physical action (he must be overcome and maimed, without the power to physically retaliate against his divine punishers), it is possible to suggest that the vector of mythological transformation is based on the enhancement of the hero's mental capabilities. A *terminus a quo* for this vector of transformation is found in the *Iliad*, which can be regarded as the first

mythoplastic account, since it provides a causative connection between Thamyris' boasts and the contest, thus endowing the hero with potential for developing an independent intellect.

3. The Mythoplastic hypertext

I. The Greek Epic hypertext

The first extant reference to the legend of Thamyris occurs in the *Iliad* as part of the Catalogue of Ships (2.594-600), where it is recalled to contextualise the toponym Dorion, one of the Messenian towns which sent a fleet to Troy. The key construct of the plot is present in the Iliadic narrative in only two of its three mythonarremes, which stand *pars pro toto* for the entire mythological plotline: Thamyris' hubris towards the Muses and his ultimate punishment at their hands. In this 'oblique' reference,[53] little is revealed about the character of Thamyris: the only discernible *motifs* relate to his *status as a wandering bard* (the only named individual of this profession in the Homeric corpus)[54] and his *declaration of his superior skill* as compared to the Muses (597-598):

στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν εἴ περ ἂν αὐταὶ Μοῦσαι ἀείδοιεν κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.	For he declared, boasting, that he would beat the Muses themselves, the daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus in singing.

In contrast to mythographical accounts, the *Iliad* devotes no narrative space to the second mythonarreme (the contest), since only an implicit allusion, suggesting the presence of some form of competition, can be discerned: the *innovative motif of Thamyris' self-assuredness* is introduced through the verb 'νικησέμεν' which means 'to win', most commonly in a contest.

In the *Iliad*, Thamyris is allotted a degree of active engagement with his own fate: not only does he envisage a contest (revealed by the verb 'to win' which is ascribed to him), but he also audaciously boasts, provoking a response from the Muses ('στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος', 'he declared, boasting,'). Nevertheless, the *innovative mythologeme of chance* plays a crucial role in Thamyris' encounter with the Muses: his challenge is presented through a future less vivid

[53] Wilson, 2005, p.208.
[54] Wilson, 2009, p.46.

conditional (‘νικησέμεν εἴ ἂν ἀείδοιεν’ [protasis]), implying that he considers the fulfilment of his boast only just possible, while his very encounter with the Muses takes place by chance (he happens to be travelling from Oechalia and so can meet them at Dorium). The *Iliad* does not show Thamyris undertaking any deliberate, purposeful action to challenge the Muses; instead he falls victim to his own half-hearted *hubris*.

In the *Iliad*, Thamyris maintains his role as passive recipient of defeat and punishment. His penalty is described as two-fold: the Muses ‘put an end to his singing’ (‘παῦσαν ἀοιδῆς’[55]) by causing him to forget his skill of cithara-playing (‘ἀοιδὴν θεσπεσίην ἀφέλοντο καὶ ἐκλέλαθον κιθαριστύν’)[56] and ‘maimed him in their rage’ (‘αἳ δὲ χολωσάμεναι πηρὸν θέσαν’). In the two punishments, great emphasis is placed on the *intra-mythological mythologeme of physical maiming*, since it is described in the first of three clauses relating Thamyris’ penalties. Although the meaning of ‘πηρός’ has aroused controversy in recent scholarship, which construes it either as ‘damaged [or as] mutilated… in speech, hearing, sight, or perhaps other bodily organs or functions’,[57] the general consensus is that it denotes a form of physical maiming, either of a limb or eyesight. Since in the *Iliad* Thamyris is described as a wandering bard,[58] physical maiming would constitute a primary form of punishment, as severe as the loss of the ability to sing and play. It is hard to draw a parallel between Thamyris and the blind singer of the *Odyssey*, Demodocus (a domestic bard, residing in the palace of Odysseus), for whom a physical form of punishment (blindness) would ‘traditionally [be] no handicap’,[59] as it is self-evident that the loss of sight or limb would have posed insurmountable difficulties for a travelling bard.

[55] ‘Stopped his singing’, (595)
[56] ‘They took away his divine song and made him forget his cithara-playing’, (599-600).
[57] Kirk, p.217. Cf. Whallon, p.9; Brillante, p.432, for discussions of the term ‘πηρός’.
[58] Wilson, 2009, p.46.
[59] Kirk, p.217.

The organisation of the two mythologemes and three motifs with which the key construct is embellished in the *Iliad* is illustrated in *fig.*9:

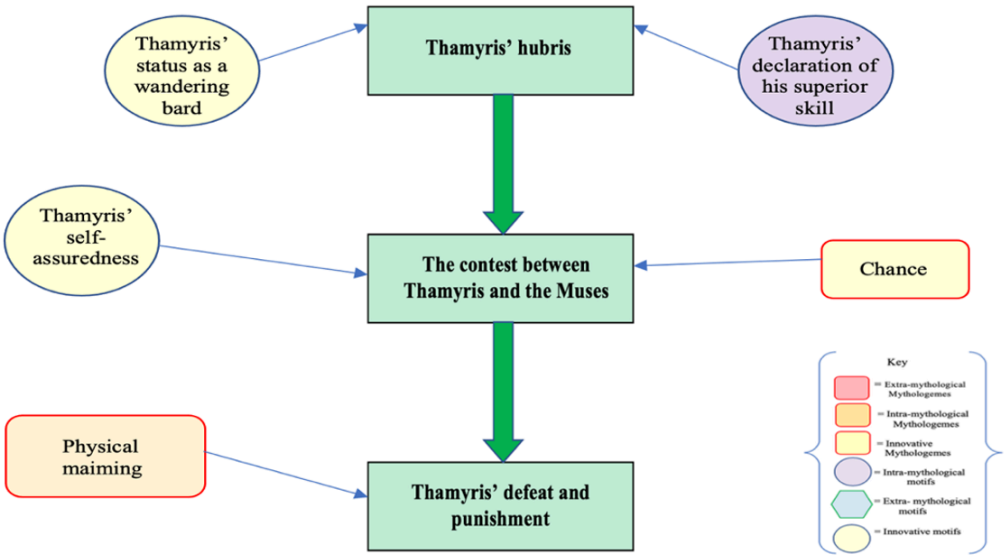


Fig.9. The mythonarremes of the key narrative construct and motifs of the Iliad

As seen in *fig.*9, each of the three mythonarremes is developed with at least one motif or mythologeme, illustrating the creative, mythoplastic tendency of the epic. The *Iliad* can thus be regarded as the *terminus a quo* of the vector of mythological transformation, since it introduces a series of original motifs revealing Thamyris' ability to initiate a contest and to provoke an active response from the gods.[60] However, the Homeric epic does not develop his mental capacity substantially beyond the scope dictated by the plot's narrative construct. Thamyris remains the passive recipient of defeat and punishment, while his penalty, in keeping with his lack of mental development, is primarily physical: his identity as a wandering bard is weakened by his loss of physical ability. The *Iliad* does not offer an insight into Thamyris' fate after his maiming and his loss of skill, ending his narrative with divine punishment. No narrative scope is afforded to trace the repercussions of the Muses' punishment or Thamyris' response to it, since Thamyris remains an exemplum of human *hubris* punished by divine vengeance.

[60] The motif of boasting, entirely absent from Annensky's play *Famira-kifared,* becomes central in the story of his disciple Alexandr Kondrat'ev's *Famyrid* (see below).

II. The Greek dramatic hypertext

The modification of the legend of Thamyris along a vector of mythological transformation is taken further in Euripides' *Rhesus*,[61] which develops Thamyris' capacity for independent action and intellectual reasoning beyond the scope of the oral tradition. Although Euripides' reference to the legend occupies only three metrical lines (923-5), it preserves three innovative motifs. In the monologue of Rhesus' mother, one of the nine muses, the extent of Thamyris' skill is emphasised to a greater extent than in the *Iliad* (briefly characterised as 'ἀοιδὴν θεσπεσίην', 'divine song'): she reveals that the contest in which she and her sisters participated was highly challenging, describing it with the superlative adjective 'great': 'μεγίστην εἰς ἔριν μελῳδίας'.[62] Thus, Euripides' *innovative motif of Thamyris' supra-divine skill* reveals that the very deities of music and song either struggled to vanquish Thamyris or considered him a worthy competitor, whose challenge they valued highly.

Euripides develops the Iliadic motif of Thamyris' boastfulness, by causing his hero not only to issue frequent ('πόλλ'', 'many') vaunts, but also to 'utter words of abuse', 'ἐδέννασεν'. The intra-mythological motif of boastfulness, directed into the internal sphere (someone boasting of his own talents is expressing self-flattery) is developed into the *innovative motif of an extroverted desire to speak evil against others*, in this case the gods themselves. Thamyris' boastful assertions ('στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος', 'he declared, boasting') that he could conquer the Muses (expressed in the *Iliad* with the help of a special grammatical form of the future less vivid conditional, which refers to a barely possible eventuality) are transformed into acts of frequent and deliberate malice. Unlike the *Iliad*, Euripides' *Rhesus* affords no scope for chance, instead allotting Thamyris a much more active role in deciding his own fate.

---

[61] The authorship of *Rhesus* has been widely debated, due to its aesthetic, as well as stylistic and lexical choices. However, since the fragment is most commonly attributed to Euripides, the present thesis will adhere to this ascription.

[62] 'The greatest contest in song.'

Euripides endows Thamyris with an epithet characterising not only his skill, but also his intellectual capacity, 'σοφιστής', which belongs to different semantic spheres: it is occasionally used to denote skill in a certain craft and so can be translated as 'masterly at one's craft':

Herodotus' *Histories* 2. 49.1	'ἀλλ' οἱ ἐπιγενόμενοι τούτῳ **σοφισταὶ** μεζόνως ἐξέφηναν'	'The **skilled masters** who came after him made greater revelations'
Eupolis fr . 483	'**Σοφιστής**'	'**Skilled**' [in relation to a rhapsode]
Athenaeus 14.632c	'εἴτ' οὖν **σοφιστὴς** καλὰ παραπαίων χέλυν'	'or whether a **skilled** player is striking false notes on the lyre'

The second potential meaning is based on the etymology of the term, derived from 'σοφός' ('wise'), meaning 'wise, prudent, clever'. In this meaning the adjective 'σοφιστής' is used to refer to the Seven Sages and in particular to Pythagoras, Isocrates and Plato:

Herodotus' *Histories 1.29.1*	'οἱ πάντες ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος **σοφισταί'**	'All the **wisemen** from Greece'
Xenophon *Memorabilia 1.6.13*	'τὴν σοφίαν τοὺς ἀργυρίου τῷ βουλομένῳ πωλοῦντας **σοφιστὰς** ἀποκαλοῦσιν'	'Those who sell wisdom for money are called **Sophists'**

In addition to stressing Thamyris' skill, in the present context the term 'σοφιστής' evokes associations with mental aptitude, unattested to in other extant sources of the legend, thus signifying the introduction of the *innovative motif of Thamyris' intelligence*. Consequently, in comparison with the Iliadic depiction of Thamyris, Euripides' *Rhesus* presents a series of marked innovations which further the modification of the plotline along the vector of mythological transformation (*fig.*10):

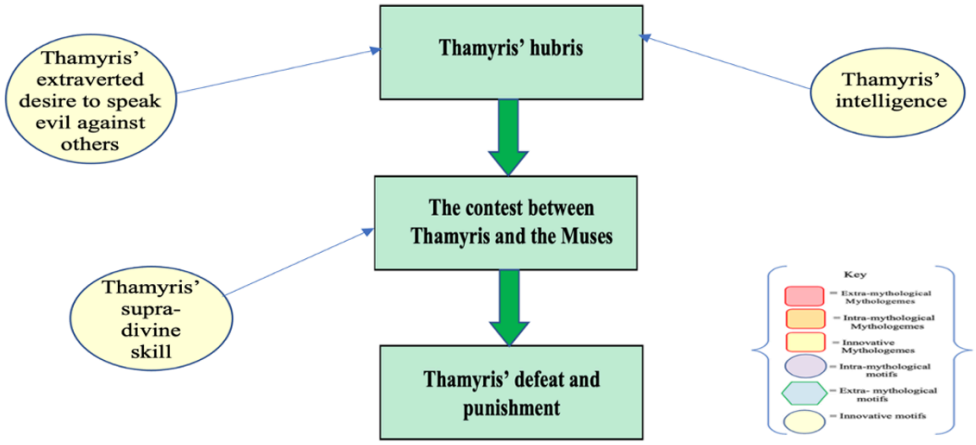


Fig.10. The mythonarremes of the key narrative construct and motifs in Euripides' Rhesus

Although, in accordance with the key construct of the mythological plotline, Thamyris remains the passive recipient of defeat and punishment at the hands of the Muses (he cannot influence the nature of his punishment), Euripides develops his capacity for action (within the boundaries of the key narrative construct), allowing him the role of an agent, who provokes the Muses to anger, thus eliminating the Homeric motif of chance. Most crucially, however, Euripides introduces the innovative motif of intelligence into Thamyris' characterisation, paving the way for a subsequent development of the hero's intellectual capacity, manifested in Annensky's treatment of the legend.

Sophocles' version of the legend offers a final insight into the transformation of the legend in Antiquity, by extending its narrative beyond the boundaries of the key narrative construct to encompass Thamyris' fate after his punishment.[63] Sophocles' *Thamyris* preserves two innovative motifs relating to the eponymous hero's characterisation, which further the vector of mythological transformation. Sophocles' tragedy, the first attested Classical account to take the Thamyris legend as its narrative focus, must necessarily have allotted Thamyris a speaking role, enabling a first-person expression of his mental processes. A likely example of

[63] *Thamyris* is widely believed to have been one of Sophocles' most famous plays, and one in which the tragedian himself played the title role. See Wilson, 2009, pp.60-61.

this is preserved in fr.241 (recorded by Athenaeus, 4, 175F), which consists of a melancholy refrain, lamenting the loss of (presumably Thamyris') musical gift:

ᾤχωκε γὰρ κροτητὰ πηκτίδων μέλη λύρᾳ μόναυλοι τε χειμωντεως ναος στέρημα κωμασάσης	For the songs coming from the plucking of the harp are gone; the lyres and . . . single pipes . . .

Although these lines may have belonged to the Chorus, it seems more likely (bearing in mind Sophocles' extension of his narrative scope to encompass Thamyris' fate after his punishment) that these words belong to the hero, who understands his loss of musical gift. If Thamyris is indeed the speaker of these words,[64] Sophocles characterises his hero by the *innovative motif of an unprecedented capacity for self-realisation and self-analysis*: for the first time Thamyris becomes capable of responding to the Muses' punishment, understanding and lamenting his cruel fate. In contrast to the *Iliad* and Euripides' *Rhesus*, Sophocles' tragedy apparently endowed his Thamyris with a functioning self-consciousness.

In support of this supposition, Fragment 244 (recorded by Plutarch, *The Control of Anger* 5, 455C) reveals Thamyris' actions after his punishment by the Muses:

ῥηγνὺς χρυσόδετον κέρας, ῥηγνὺς δ' ἁρμονίαν χορδοτόνου λύρας	Breaking the horn wrought with gold, breaking the harmony of the strung lyre . . .

The masculine singular case of 'ῥηγνὺς' indicates that it refers to Thamyris, as opposed to any of the female Muses. The noun 'ῥήγνυμι' from which the participle is derived, denotes a violent physical action of breaking, smashing or shattering a physical object, usually as a sign of grief, signifying that its use in the present context is not metaphorical. An illustration of Thamyris' breaking his lyre can be seen on a hydria illustrating the punishment scene from Sophocles' tragedy (*fig.*11): [65]

[64] 'Fragment 241 may be from a sung lament by Thamyris', Wilson, 2009, p.65.
[65] Image taken from Coleman, p.140.



Fig.11. Attic red-figure hydria depicting the punishment of Thamyris. 440– 430 BC. Attributed to The Group of Polygnotos. Object number 387488. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

In the centre of the composition, Thamyris is shown casting down his lyre, his right arm raised up high, in order to maximise the damage to his instrument. Two female figures, one of which is understood to be his mother[66] and the other a muse, stand on either side, looking with divine tranquillity at the contorted figure of the suffering man. The visual representation of the punishment of Thamyris on the hydria recalls the *innovative motif of Thamyris' emotional responsiveness to his punishment (breaking the harmony of the strung lyre)* revealed in Fragment 244 of Sophocles' tragedy. The two motifs retained in Sophocles' tragedy both pertain to the third mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, shedding light on Thamyris' fate after his punishment (*fig.*12):

[66] Wilson, 2009, p.64.

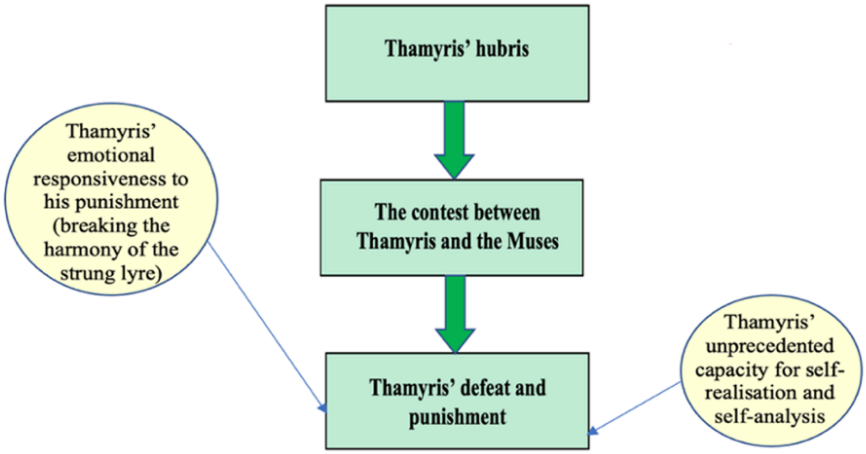


Fig.12. The mythonarremes of the key narrative construct and motifs in the extant fragments of Sophocles' Thamyris

In contrast to the Iliadic and Euripidean Thamyris, Sophocles' hero has a sufficiently developed capacity for action to respond to the Muses' punishment with a violent physical reaction. The attribution of Fragment 241, seemingly tenuous, is reaffirmed by Fragment 244, which shows that Sophocles' Thamyris gained the ability not only to provoke the Muses to anger, but experience emotionally the repercussions of his hubris.

A cumulative study of the Classical hypertext of the Thamyris legend reveals not only the direction of the vector of mythological transformation (the development of Thamyris' capacity for independent thought and action), but also the extent of its application, subsequently inherited by Annensky. In comparison with the mythopoetic hypertext, in which the legend of Thamyris is reduced to a single allusive element, the three Classical mythoplastic accounts of the legend (the *Iliad*, Euripides' *Rhesus* and the extant fragments of Sophocles' tragedy *Thamyris*) develop the characterisation of the hero far beyond that of a passive recipient of divine vengeance. However, the Classical hypertext as a whole does not attempt to endow Thamyris with the potential for further character development. Even in Sophocles' tragedy, Thamyris does not reach complete anagnorisis, since he, out of grief or anger, comes to the realisation that his useless intrument can be broken. Therefore, although the Classical tradition

is responsible for the formation and the extension of the vector of mythological transformation, it falls short of developing it to a climax. Only in Annensky's *Famira-kifared,* was the vector of mythological transformation developed beyond the tragic catastrophe, resulting in the hero's acquisition of sufficient mental and psychological complexity and agency to determine his own fate.

II

The Neo-mythological Intertext: Innokenty Annensky's Famira-kifared

The mythological plotline of Thamyris remained largely forgotten in European literature, save for a brief allusion in Milton's *Paradise Lost,* Book *III, 35-36*, where Thamyris is recalled alongside famous figures of Greek Antiquity, such as Homer *('blind Mæonides')*, Tiresias and Phineus ('*Prophets old*'), who share the common quality of blindness. Although *Paradise Lost* cannot be regarded as a mythoplastic rendering of the Classical legend, since it does not attempt to contribute to the continuous process of mythological formation and transformation, Milton's poem sheds light on the dynamic nature of the legend's reception by forming a literary connection between the blind poets, Thamyris and Homer, as well as between Thamyris and the blind prophets Tiresias and Phineus.

The parallel between Thamyris, Homer, Tiresias and Phineus, constructed at first glance on the basis of shared physical blindness, penetrates deeper, to the level of character function. Thamyris and Homer are notable for their poetic gift and their relationship with the Muses (the Homeric poet invokes the Muse at the start of the *Iliad*; Thamyris is blinded by the Muses), and both Thamyris and Homer are associated with the performative aspect of poetry. Thamyris and Tiresias on the other hand are connected by their shared fate as mortals, punished for displeasing the gods (Tiresias sided with Zeus in an argument between him and Hera, and was punished by the goddess; Thamyris was blinded by the Muses for his hubris). The association

between Thamyris and other blind poets and prophets of Antiquity, which is made explicit in Milton's work, also appears as an implicit motif in Annensky's tragedy. In contrast to Milton, who alludes to Homer, Tiresias and Phineus only in passing, the Russian tragedian draws upon extra-mythological mythologemes related to the legends of Tiresias, Oedipus and Demodocus, in order to shed light on his representation of Thamyris and expand the Classical legend beyond the limits of its own narrative framework.

Although the mythological plotline of Thamyris appears to have been of marginal importance to Western culture, in the Russian literary tradition two renditions of the legend were composed in the early twentieth century. In addition to Annensky's tragedy, *Famira-kifared*, a short story based on Thamyris' fate (entitled *Famirid*), was composed by Annensky's disciple Alexandr Kondrat'ev. Annensky shows awareness of this story in the introduction to his play:[67]

> А. А. Кондратьев сделал мне честь посвятить мне написанную им на ту же тему прелестную сказку, где музы выкалывают Фамире глаза своими шпильками. Он рассказывал мне о своем замысле уже года полтора тому назад, причем я также сообщил ему о мысли моей написать трагического 'Фамиру', но почти ничего не сказал ему при этом о характере самой трагедии, так как никогда ранее не говорю никому о планах своих произведений, – во всяком случае, ни со сказкой г. Кондратьева, ни, вероятно, с драмой Софокла мой 'Фамира' не имеет ничего общего, кроме мифических имен и вышеупомянутого остова сказки.

Annensky expresses his intention to offer a tragic interpretation of the mythological plot and refers to Kondrat'ev's story as a *skazka*, with which his play has nothing in common, apart from character names and the backbone of the narrative. In one of his letters to Anna Borodina, dated second August 1906, Annensky reveals that his conceptualisation of his play predated Kondrat'ev's composition (Annensky began to plan his play six years before Kondrat'ev's story

[67] Annensky, 2000, p.227.

appeared) and underlines the fundamental difference between his own rendition of the Classical legend and his pupil's: [68]

> Между тем в этом году, весной, мой ученик написал на этот же миф прелестную сказку под названием 'Фамирид'. Он мне её посвятил. Еще года полтора тому назад Кондратьев говорил мне об этом намерении, причем я сказал ему, что и у меня в голове набросан план 'Фамиры', – но совсем в ином роде – трагического.

In contrast to Kondrat'ev's short story, which mainly revolves around the contest of Thamyris and the Muses, described in copious detail (the narrative even includes the songs performed by all contestants), Annensky's offers a psychological re-conceptualisation of the plot.[69] Kondrat'ev does not attempt to psychologise and modernise the Classical plotline, but rather adopts a more straightforward approach, recasting the figure of Thamyris in a positive light (he evokes sympathy from all the spectators of his contest) and representing the Muses as cruel women who in their fury stab out the hero's eyes with their hair pins. Since, Kondrat'ev's story presents a faithful retelling of surviving mythological fragments,[70] it will remain outside the scope of the present chapter, which aims to trace the creative process of the transformation of the Thamyris legend.

In order to determine the nature of Annensky's intertextual innovations within the play's structure, the dramatic action of *Famira-kifared* will be divided into three consecutive stages, corresponding to the three mythonarremes of the key narrative construct: the characterisation of Thamyris and the manifestation of his hubris (the exposition); the contest and its run-up (the conflict and the peripeteia); the aftermath of the contest and Thamyris' punishment (the anagnorisis). The three-stage approach, aimed at suggesting a new interpretation of Annensky's

---

[68] Annensky, *Pis'ma*, II. pp.46-48.
[69] Sarycheva, p.71.
[70] Alexandr Kondratyev points out Annensky's originality in his treatment of the narrative in comparison with his own work: «Мне приятно, что, написав (несколько раньше его) повесть «Фамирид», я совпал со своим учителем в теме, хотя должен признаться, что пьеса Анненского (трижды, если не более, им переделываемая) представляет в значительно более оригинальном преломлении авторского «я» написанное произведение, нежели мой *основанный на сопоставлении мифологических фрагментов рассказ*» (Kondratyev, 1996).

play, will enable a precise determination of his intertextual modification of each mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, revealing the extent to which the vector of mythological transformation is developed by the Russian playwright.

Section 1.

The Hubris Mythonarreme: Exposition

The first stage of the dramatic action, encompassing scenes 1–5, can be termed the 'exposition', since it sets out Thamyris' characterisation before the contest and thus elucidates his personality prior to any divine intervention (from his mother Argiope, the Muses or Silenus). The exposition is based on the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, Thamyris' hubris, which is intertextually transformed with the help of five mythologemes (three intra-mythological and two extra-mythological), which centre on Thamyris' relationship with his mother, the nymph Argiope.

The *intra-mythological mythologeme of spiritual callousness*, based on a characteristic feature, which Thamyris possesses in all Classical renditions of the legend, is first signified in the opening scenes of the play and developed with two innovative motifs, introduced by Annensky in order to mollify his hero's character trait. The *innovative motif of Thamyris' lack of empathy* is introduced into the play through an allusion to visual art: colour symbolism, present in the scene title 'Голубой эмали', serves as a sensory symbol for interpreting the emotionless nature of the character who opens the scene. In human perception, the colour 'Голубой' carries connotations of lightness, peace and clarity, emblematising an external reality which fittingly characterises Thamyris' undisturbed, serene life, before the appearance of his mother Argiope and the contest: the sky.[71] In contrast to the vaunting Thamyris of the *Iliad* and the violent bard of Euripides' *Rhesus*, who is described as 'uttering words of abuse' ('ἐδέννασεν'), Annensky's hero lacks his traditional passion.

[71] Babaitsev, p.58.

The symbolism of the scene's title is confirmed by the opening words of Thamyris, in which he juxtaposes mankind's generally riotous nature with his own peaceful and withdrawn existence:[72]

> Сердца людей мятежны. Но люблю / В горах седые камни

The conjunction 'Но' signifies the abyss between Thamyris' self-identification and the adjective 'мятежны', used to describe humans, functioning as a one-word summary for the representation of Thamyris in the Classical hypertext. The riotous hero of the Ancient Greek accounts gives way to the emotionally cold, peaceful musician of the first part of the Russian play.[73] Indeed, Thamyris' opening line in a way anticipates the differences between the Symbolists' cult of Dionysiac passion and the later Acmeists' cult of stone and the natural world.

A more personal insight into Thamyris' representation is given by Annensky through two secondary characters, Argiope, who delivers the opening speech of the play, and the Nurse, who volunteers to respond to her as an interlocutor. The *innovative motif of austerity* is introduced in Argiope's first soliloquy, where she describes her desperate search for her reclusive son ('Я найду / Не сына здесь') and the humble abode in which she finds him dwelling:

> Дом / Из листьев – не гнездо, а дом, и царский. / Я ничего не понимаю. Хлеб? / Неужто хлеб? Так черен он. / Кувшины,И в них вода, прикрытая листами... / И как все это бедно...

The hero's proximity to nature is revealed through the juxtaposition of two forms of the noun 'лист': 'листьев' (perceived as shelter and as domestic implements, covers for jugs) and 'листами' (an elevated poetic plural form of the same noun, implying another meaning of 'sheets' [of paper or music], which points to Thamyris' artistic vocation). The Nurse confirms

[72] All quotations from Annensky's play *Famira-Kifared* are taken from Annensky, 2000, pp. 227-291.
[73] It is hard to agree with Vadim Polonsky who views Thamyris as a 'Hamletic personality', whose unsettled mind results in a split personality: 'рефлексирующим гамлетиком, делающим «антидионисический» выбор, отказываясь от любви и расточения и сохраняя мучительную верность аполлонической грезам о недостижимой гармонии высших сфер.' Polonsky, 2011, p.27.

Thamyris' asceticism by revealing aspects of his lifestyle, such as his extreme reverence for his cithara, which serves as an idol ('Кифаре ж сам он служит') and his distaste for violence and mercantilism:

> Ни воевать, / Ни торговать не хочет... Крови, нимфа, / Не только что людской, оленьей крови / Он вида не выносит... И на что ж / Рабы ему?.. Я хлеб пеку Фамире. / Кифаре ж сам он служит…

Rather than relying on servants, Thamyris prefers to serve art himself (the verb 'служить' is semantically connected with the etymologically cognate noun 'слуга'), albeit the object of his serving is an instrument, which stands as a symbolic tool aiding the heroine's perception of her son's musical gift.

The innovative motifs of Thamyris' lack of empathy and his austerity are introduced in order to transform the traditional representation of the Thracian bard and alter the attitude of the audience. Departing from the Classical hypertext, in which Thamyris' spiritual callousness is manifested in his desire to provoke and taunt the divine Muses, Annensky transforms the response which his hero elicits from his audience: instead of horror and disgust, the Russian Thamyris evokes sympathy towards a solitary, emotionless existence, devoted to serving art.

In Annensky's play, the mythologeme of Thamyris' spiritual callousness is amplified through the introduction of an *innovative mythologyme of misogyny*, formed by inverting two Classical *intra-mythological motifs*: the hero's *irreverence towards the gods* is shifted onto female characters, and his *homosexuality* is converted into a hatred for women. Although it is possible that the mythologeme of misogyny is intertextually formed purely on the basis of the Classical mythographical tendency to ascribe homosexuality to Thamyris (cf. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* I 3.3), it seems more likely that Annensky transposed this mythologeme from an extra-mythological plot. In addition to the parallel drawn between Annensky's representation of Thamyris' nurse and the nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus*,[74] it is perhaps fruitful to suggest

[74] Anikin, (A) (2011), p.109.

intertextual parallels between Thamyris and Hippolytus, which have so far remained unnoticed by scholars. Both heroes are characterised by a shared set of motifs: the *motif of an outdoor lifestyle in the verdant forest* ('χλωρὰν δ' ἀν' ὕλην'[75]), the *motif of isolated upbringing* by a single person ('Да, эту грудь / Он обнимал'; 'ἀγνοῦ Πιτθέως παιδεύματα'[76]), *the motif of divine/legendary maternal lineage* (Thamyris of a nymph, Hippolytus of the Amazon Hippolyta: 'Ἀμαζόνος τόκος'[77]) and finally *the motif of a marked disdain for women* ('женам / Я не играю'; 'ἀναίνεται δὲ λέκτρα κοὐ ψαύει γάμων,'[78]). The parallelism with Hippolytus serves to recast the mythologeme of misogyny (and by extension the mythologeme of disrespect for the gods) in a less pejorative light. By analogy with Hippolytus' contempt for the corruption and promiscuity of Aphrodite, implying his chastity and reverence towards his patron goddess, Artemis, Thamyris' hubris is transformed from an unforgivable crime, which required punishment in the Classical tradition, into a manifestation of purity and incorruptibility.

The intra-mythological mythologeme of spiritual callousness and the innovative mythologeme of misogyny are combined by Annensky into the basis for an *extra-mythological mythologeme*, absent from previous renditions of the plotine: *the hero's violation of the canons of xenia.* The introduction of this mythologeme is signalled by the *innovative motif of Thamyris' seclusion*: as revealed by the Nurse, the hero's existence is so solitary that he cannot bear any disturbance by guests: 'Он не любит, / Чтобы его тревожили.' Thamyris' unfriendliness towards strangers is further accentuated by the introduction of an *extra-mythological motif of washing the feet of a guest,* most likely derived from the *Odyssey*, in which the old Nurse Eurycleia bathes the feet of the disguised Odysseus (*Od*.19.486-88). In Annensky's play this motif is intertextually reproduced in every detail: an old nurse (Thamyris' nurse: 'Сядь,

[75] 'In the green wood'. (Eur.*Hip.*17).
[76] 'He was brought up by pure Pittheus'. (Eur.*Hip.*11).
[77] 'The son of the Amazon'. (Eur.*Hip.*12).
[78] 'He turns his back on the bed of love and will not experience marriage' (Eur.*Hip.*13).

малютка, / А я тебе умою ноги...'; Eurycleia: 'τῷ σε πόδας νίψω'[79]) offers to wash the feet of a disguised and far-travelled stranger (Argiope, Odysseus), who will turn out to be closely related to her charge (Argiope is Thamyris' mother; Odysseus was raised by Eurycleia). The introduction of this extra-mythological motif sets the scene for a parallel between the Odyssean suitors and Thamyris, who, despite being masters of their respective houses (the suitors are accused of usurping the role of master in Odysseus' absence, while Thamyris lives in his own hut rather than in his father's palace), show no hospitality to their disguised guest.

The impropriety of Thamyris' conduct, hinted at before his appearance on stage, through an intertextual parallel with the *Odyssey*, is further revealed through a *series of extra-mythological motifs,* which together form the basis *of a guest-welcoming type-scene*: providing nourishment, fresh clothing and entertainment, respectfully hearing out a guest's *nostos* tale and not demanding immediate identification. Annensky creates the illusion that the mandate of providing nourishment to a guest is fulfilled by Thamyris, who offers the nymph to partake of food ('Голодна, / Так поищи в корзине хлеба'). However instead of inviting his guest to sit at his table and share a joint meal, the hero warns the ailing nymph to leave, thus removing the salvational function of an offer of hospitality ('Безумных здесь не лечат – уходи...') and disappointing the expectations of the audience.

Instead of providing his visitor with fresh clothing, a requirement of guest entertainment in Antiquity (Nausicaa offers new robes to Odysseus, which are hand-made by her mother in *Odyssey* 7.235ff; Helen gives Telemachus a fine garment, *Odyssey* 15.126ff), Annensky's Thamyris inverts this motif with a metaphor, in which he likens the Maenads (to whom he believes his guest belongs) to moths eating a cloak:[80]

Блудливые менады – точно моль / В плаще, который позабыли выбить...

[79] 'I will wash your feet' (*Od*.19.376).
[80] The derogatory allusion to the Maenadic cult carries across Annensky's opposition to the fashionable Dionysiac excesses promoted by Ivanov and others in verse, essays and plays of the 1900s.

Annensky's inversion of motifs is maintained in his treatment of the final two constituents of a host/guest hospitality type-scene*: the revelation of the guest's name and his story*. An intertextual analogy with a *xenia* type-scene in *Odyssey* 8-9 highlights the extent of Annensky's reversal of Classical canons. In contrast to Classical hospitality scenes, where the guest is allowed to conceal his name until his entertainment is complete (e.g. Odysseus reveals his identity on the next day after he arrives at the Phaeacian court, after partaking of a feast, participating in games and listening to the performance of a bard, *Od.*9.20), Thamyris inverts the chronology of a *xenia* type-scene, addressing the Nymph with a repeated question ('Кто ж ты? Кто?'), forcing her to reveal her identity prior to his fulfilment of the requirements of hospitality. Thamyris' violations of the canons of hospitality, highlight not only his hermit-like reclusiveness, but also his emotional disturbance and loss of spiritual tranquility, caused by the appearance of his mother.

The *extra-mythological motif of the host's reception of a guest's story* in *Famira-kifared* can likewise be intertextually contrasted with the Phaeacians' response to Odysseus' *nostos* tale. Whereas the Phaeacians hear out Odysseus' narration without interruption (*Od.*13.1-2) despite its length (*Od.*9-12) and offer the hero further hospitality in the form of gifts, in order to recompense him for his suffering (*Od.*13.13-14), Annensky's Thamyris repeatedly interrupts the Nymph, commenting on his aesthetic, rather than emotional reaction, to her story:

> Как этот сон и страшен, и красив: / Багровые лучи сквозь белый полог ...

Thamyris does not attempt to comfort his mother, but rather spurs her on with her tale, which he finds pleasing: when Argiope starts at the sight of a lizard, perceived by her as a reminder of her encounter with Zeus, Thamyris merely scolds her for squeamishness and urges her to continue her story.

> Но продолжай ласкать меня. Я звуки / Из струн твоих люблю ...

When the Nymph finishes her tale of pain and grief, Thamyris' only responses are an 'incongruously colloquial question',[81] conveying his childish disappointment that the tale, which he perceived as enjoyable, is over: 'Как? / А сказка уж окончилась?. Жалею...' and an impulse to leave ('встает… Отходит'). Annensky's Thamyris remains loyal to his musical vocation in his aesthetic rather than emotional reaction to his mother's tale: he is more interested in its artistic value than in its expression of his mother's suffering.

In contrast to the Phaeacian response to Odysseus' tale, which takes the form of the bestowal of rich gifts and help in completing his *nostos* (*Od.*13.64-65), Thamyris reacts to the Nymph's tale with disdain ('Пускай она страдала'), stating that her narrative bores him and inviting her to go elsewhere with her stories:

> Можешь / Филаммона дворец найти – и там / Свой повторить рассказ. / Но кифарэда / Он больше не займет.

Although Annensky creates the illusion of Thamyris' adherence to the canons of *xenia* by allowing his guest to leave (in contrast to the Cyclops, Circe, Calypso, who hinder Odysseus' departure) and sending her on her way (an ironic parallel can be noted between Calypso's advice to Odysseus as to where he should go and Thamyris' suggestion that the Nymph go to Philammon), his hero's propriety is illusory. In a reversal of the importance attached to genealogy in Ancient cultures (cf. patronymics as a form of appellation, catalogues of forefathers in Homeric epic, etc.), Thamyris rejects his father and mother:

> В моей судьбе / Ни матери, ни сестрам, ни отцу / Нет места.

Annensky transforms the Classical *intra-mythological mythologeme of the hero's denial of the Muses' skill* and their role as the deities of music and song into an implicit denial of his immortal mother (a parallel divine, female character).

Thamyris' misconduct towards his guest is further aggravated by her status as divinity and mother, who according to the norms of Classical society should have been especially

[81] Kelly, 1986, p.260.

venerated and respected. In order to reveal Thamyris' emotional development prior to the contest, Annensky introduces the *innovative mythologeme of maternal and filial relations*. The mythologeme is reduced in Annensky's tragedy to a purely pragmatic level, characterised by motifs concerning reciprocity. The *extra-mythological motif of bribery* is made manifest in Argiope's attempt to win her son's affection with various offers tailored to Thamyris' tastes and his love of stories:

Я воскрешу тебе всю прелесть детства... / Какие сказки знаю я!

The last of these offers, made by the Nymph in desperation, shows her perception of her son's gift as a disease ('И музыкой он болен'), since she promises to gain access to the Muses in order to heal him: 'Я бы могла / Найти и к музам доступ'. The focus in the preamble to the second and semantically most important mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, the challenge and the contest, which is centred in the Classical hypertext on Thamyris himself (in the *Iliad* the hero 'boasts'; in *Rhesus* he 'utters words of abuse' to provoke the Muses), is transposed from the hero to his mother. The amazement with which Thamyris perceives his mother's promise reveals that an encounter, let alone a contest, with the Muses had never occurred to him:

Ты муз сулишь Фамире? / Чудный сон, / Но разве музы нам играют, нимфа?

Thamyris is released from his role in the Classical tradition, as the challenger of the gods, and assigned the more passive function of accepting his mother's offer.

Thamyris' response to Argiope's bribe is revealed through *the innovative motif of venality*: his new-found affection for his mother directly depends on what she can offer him in return. The manner in which Thamyris describes his emotions makes it clear that they are based purely on cold calculation:

если бы… / Я музыку Евтерпы слышал, нимфа / Я б полюбил тебя… Я уж люблю / Тебя за это слово.

The paratactic construction ‘если бы… Я б’, is indicative of the linear relationship Annensky’s hero has with his mother: the motif of their maternal/filial relationship can be represented diagrammatically as a sequence based on a pivotal bribe. The two mythologemes of the violation of xenia and of maternal/filial relations, juxtaposed in rapid succession, which present negative aspects of the hero’s characterisation, only superficially recall the Classical representation of Thamyris as a hubristic mortal, whose spiritual callousness and disdain for the gods justifies punishment. The *final innovative mythologeme* with which Annensky characterises his hero in the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct introduces a redeeming trait into Thamyris’ representation: *the capacity for reflection*.

In contrast to the Classical tradition, where Thamyris is single-mindedly confident in his own supremacy, Annensky’s hero wishes to hear one of the Muses, Euterpe, sing, rather than compete with them:

> Я музыку Евтерпы слышал, нимфа, / Когда б она лишь для меня свою / Настроила цевницу золотую.

This modification exonerates Thamyris from his canonical desire to vanquish the Muse (as in the *Iliad*), believing himself to be superior in talent, since he recognises Euterpe’s supremacy and divine skill. Although at first glance, Thamyris’ acknowledgement of the Muses’ superiority may appear to indicate his spiritual passivity and lack of daring, which characterised him in *Rhesus*, it seems more likely that, by depriving him of the active role of provoking the contest, Annensky substitutes the motif of the hero’s traditional boldness for *the innovative motif of Thamyris’ introspection.* In contrast to the Classical Thamyris, who falls victim to his lack of self-knowledge, Annensky’s hero is able understand the inferiority of his own art as compared to the Muses’, and not to desire a contest.

Thus, in accordance with the vector of mythological transformation, Annensky continues the process of endowing Thamyris with a developing capacity for independent thought, albeit in a diametrically opposite direction from that of the Classical tradition. Whereas

Euripides develops the Homeric motif of Thamyris' boasting, amplifying his vaunts to frequent and abusive words directed at provoking the Muses to anger, Annensky relieves his hero of *hubris* and substitutes for it *the innovative motif of Thamyris' self-realisation*.

Annensky's distribution of the five mythologemes, which elaborate and transform the connotations of the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, Thamyris' hubris, can be represented in an inclusive diagram (*fig.*13):



Fig. 13. Motif structure of the mythologemes (key narrative construct, stage 1: hubris mythonarreme)

As shown in *fig.*13, Annensky's use of a combination of extra-mythological, intra-mythological and innovative mythologemes, expanded by motifs, serves a binary purpose: it simultaneously maintains the vector of mythological transformation, according to which Thamyris is developed both emotionally and spiritually, and shifts the emphasis of the first mythonarreme from the hero's *hubris* to the reclusiveness and dedication to art, which underlie his apparently emotionless nature.

Annensky's transposition of the first mythonarreme, through a reinterpretation of Thamyris' traditional *hubris* as ascetism, is achieved through dialogue with two Classical philosophical and ontological metatheories: panpsychism (a term derived from 'πάν' ('all') and 'ψυχή' ('mind/soul)', which denotes the belief that all things have mind and are conscious) and hylozoism (derived from 'ὕλη' ('matter') and 'ζωή' ('life'), which refers to the notion that all matter is alive). Panpsychism is traditionally believed to have originated from the teachings of the early Greek philosopher Thales, who maintained that all matter possessed a soul ('All has a soul and is full of spirits', DK11 A23).[82] An extension of Thales' tenet, preserved in DK A23, is uttered by Thamyris, who suggests that rocks have functioning minds: 'Они живут, Силен, / Глубоким созерцаньем'. Building on the tenets of Thales that all matter has a soul/mind, Thamyris' advances the novel hypothesis that inanimate matter (in particular rock), has the ability to use mind for contemplation (an activity which, according to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* 10.8, is the noblest occupation).

In order to clarify his panpsychist views, Thales adduces the example of a magnet which he believes to be animate since it can inspire movement in another object ('A magnet has a soul because it can make iron move.', DK 11 A22). A parallel allusion to the movement of naturally occurring aggregates can be discerned in Thamyris' speech to Silenus about the white rocks before his hut:

[82] For more detailed studies of Panpsychism in Classical philosophy see Popper, Eccles, p.15; Edwards, 1972, p.22; Chalmers, 1996. On Hylozoism see Hammond, p.399ff; Strauss, pp.32-45; Goldstein, pp.295-314.

> Движенье белым камням? А зачем / Движенье им?

Although Thamyris' denies the need for movement in rocks, he, in keeping with the teachings of Thales, envisages the possibility that the mind/soul which they possess could allow for it. Expanding Thales' conceptualisation of the capabilities of the hypothetical mind/soul of matter, Thamyris' implies that the ostensibly inert nature of aggregates is determined by a deliberate consciousness, which rejects both the giving and the receiving of human emotion:

> Молчат / И никого смущать не ходят камни, / И никого не любят, и любви / У них никто не просит.

Thus, Annensky endows Thamyris with the ability to think beyond the teachings of Classical philosophy, developing his own naturalistic meta-theory based on a synthesis of Aristotelean and Panpsychist concepts and so bridging the tradition of Greek philosophers (such as Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, Heraclitus) who developed and advanced the teachings of Thales on Panpsychism.

Supplementing his reconceptualisation of the tenets of Panpsychism in *Famira-kifared*, Annensky introduces a syncretic blending of philosophical doctrines through allusion to the principles of Hylozoism maintained in the philosophy of Heraclitus and Anaximenes.[83] Hylozoism, based on a belief in the existence of 'a living force [in nature with] processes and continuous alterations [caused by] spontaneous developments of life'[84] can be noted in Heraclitus' and Anaximenes' premise of an animating force which instils life into matter. A parallel concept of life in ostensibly inanimate matter is present in Annensky's *Famira-kifared*, in which the hero maintains that rocks possess a form of life ('У камней жизнь'), potentially enabling them to experience physical pain ('я своих / Товарищей седых не стал бы мучить') or pleasure (a stage direction reveals that Thamyris' shows physical affection to the rocks: 'Ласково гладит камень'). Thus, with the help of allusion to Classical philosophical

[83] Hammond, p.402.
[84] Hammond, p.402.

metatheories and the radical innovation of their tenets, Annensky overturns the traditional representation of Thamyris as a hubristic mortal, transforming him into a reclusive artist who is able to penetrate the structure of the whole cosmos, appreciating the concealed life within it as deeper than superficial and vulgar human life.

Section 2.

The Contest Mythonarreme: Peripeteia

The second stage of the dramatic action (scenes VI – XIV), termed the conflict and peripeteia, is responsible for revealing the dramatic collision of *Famira-kifared* in the hero's reaction to the proposed contest with the Muses. This stage of the dramatic action is aligned with the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, since it presents the conditions of the competition. Annensky introduces two innovative mythologemes to counterbalance the extra-mythological mythologemes of the violation of xenia and misogyny which, at the first stage of the dramatic action, were responsible for creating a more negative representation of Thamyris. In contrast to the Classical tradition, in which the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct revealed two of Thamyris' traits, *hubris* and mortal weakness, Annensky makes the second stage of his tragedy include the exculpation of his hero.

The *intra-mythological mythologeme of the origin of the contest*, which in the Classical hypertext was attributed to Thamyris' agency, is transformed in Annensky's rendition by transposing the *intra-mythological mythologeme of irreverence towards the gods* from Thamyris to another divine character. Annensky relies upon two intra-mythological, one extra-mythological and one innovative motif to highlight the alteration of Thamyris' canonical role of a provocateur. The *first innovative motif,* which serves to reveal Thamyris' innocence, relates to the introduction of an *external agency for the contest*: the secondary character, Silenus, is responsible for proposing to challenge the Muses. In answer to Argiope's request to take Thamyris to a place where he may hear the Muses sing, the Satyr insidiously raises the

possibility of a contest: ‘Тогда турнир предложим пиериде.’ The offer is formulated not as a question or a tentative proposal, but rather as an affirmation of a future action, expressed with the help of the Indicative mood and Perfective aspect of the verb ‘предложить’. By reasserting Silenus’ agency in initiating the contest, Annensky introduces a second *intra-mythological motif relating to the reversal of roles*, making the divine Silenus suggest the contest to the mortal Thamyris:

С Евтерпой петь – нельзя, но состязаться / И с музами возможно. Об заклад / Побейся с ней...

The *innovative motif of external agency* is revealed on a lexical level, since Silenus delivers his offer in the form of two statements, the first of which is a definitive maxim and the second an implicit command: the imperative ‘Побейся’, clearly indicates the Satyr’s intent not to leave it to Thamyris’ free will to challenge the Muse.

In order to reaffirm the effect achieved by the intra-mythological motifs of external agency and the reversal of roles, which exculpate Thamyris from his traditional manifestation of *hubris*, Annensky introduces *the extra-mythological motif of Argiope’s active role in the challenge* and her response to her son’s participation in the contest. The Nymph clearly acknowledges both her own and Silenus’ role in organising the contest by using the pronoun ‘мы’ and the first-person plural verb ‘устроим’: ‘Если мы / Устроим состязанье’. Argiope herself affirms that the contest is promoted by her direct agency and that Thamyris is merely a passive victim, whom she forces into a dangerous and transgressive situation:

Толкаешь / Дитя в преступный бой и сумасшедший .

The tender archaism ‘Дитя’ (which goes back, according to M. Fasmer, to the Indo-European root *dhēi̯-, covering the semantic field of ‘breast-feeding, sucking’)[85] is contrasted with the violent verb ‘Толкаешь’ (in which the literal meaning ‘to inflict a direct blow’ is still perceived in a metaphoric sense ‘to compel, impose’) and ‘бой’ (in which the meaning of

[85] Fasmer, vol.1, p.516

'hitting, striking a blow' is present alongside the semantics of 'fighting'), thus reaffirming the notion that a helpless, innocent child (which Thamyris remains for his mother) is being compelled by an external force to fight with the Muse.

Annensky's depiction of Thamyris' mother as the instigator of the contest, who forces her son into a perilous situation, radically transforms the Classical representation of Argiope. The function of Argiope's character in the Classical tradition can be deduced from her visual representation on the Phiale vase (*fig.*14):[86]

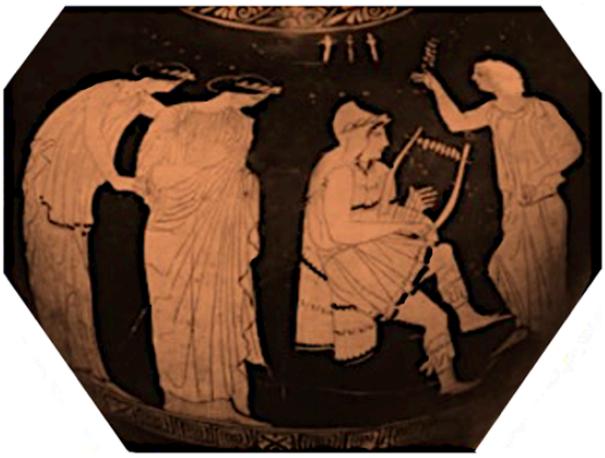


Fig.14. Red figure hydria, 440 B.C. Attributed to the Phiale Painter. Object number: 214272, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Vatican City, Roma.

The red figure hydria depicts Argiope (her name is inscribed beside her) bursting into the scene of her son's contest, with a laurel branch in her right hand, 'as if to plead mercy for her son'.[87] Her right arm is outstretched, indicating that she, unlike the static seated figure of Thamyris and the Muses, who stand with their heads bent, is in motion. Whereas the Muses' hair is as black as the background of the hydria, Argiope's hair is shown as white, symbolising the grief which she has endured.[88] In contrast to Annensky's play, in which Argiope is actively involved in organising the contest and praying for her son's defeat, the representation of the

[86] The images are reproduced from, Bundrick, p.128.
[87] Bundrick, p.129.
[88] The other potential explanation for Argiope's hair colour, age, seems unlikely since the nymph, being divine, is both ageless and immortal.

heroine on the hydria indicates her sorrow for her son's loss in the contest and her desire to plead mercy for him.

In contrast to the Classical hypertext, in which the nature of the contest is afforded no description beyond its specific location (the *Iliad*), Annensky introduces two mythologemes relating to its organisation, in order to emphasise the *motif of Thamyris' innocence*. Since Thamyris has no role in organising the contest (as seen from the brief interchange of Silenus and Argiope), his definitive character traits of boastfulness and irreverence before the gods, indicative of mental underdevelopment and simplicity, are removed, making way for a more sympathetic representation of the hero. It is possible to agree with Anikin, who sees in Thamyris an embodiment of Annensky's idea of an ideal poet, whom the playwright called 'the stepson of mankind'.[89]

The *innovative mythologeme concerning the role of the contest* is signalled by the introduction of the *innovative motif of a punitive function,* absent from the Classical hypertext. This motif appears in the speech of Silenus, who, in response to the Nymph's fearful premonition of the Muse's vengeance ('О сатир, а расплата?'), justifies his intention to organise the contest by wishing to teach Thamyris a lesson and rid him of his ostensible pride: 'а спесь / Посбить ему, пожалуй, и недурно.' In contrast to the three mythoplastic Classical accounts, where the challenge serves as a manifestation of Thamyris' pride, the role of the contest in Annensky's tragedy is transformed into a means of diminishing this very pride (the hero's reclusiveness which is erroneously misinterpreted). Since the initiators of this contest, Silenus and Argiope, are both divine characters, the former the rustic deity of wine and the latter a Nymph, the contest can be interpreted as a form of divine punishment motivated by envy for Thamyris' youth, beauty and talent (Silenus) and by incestuous jealousy (Argiope).

[89] Anikin, 1992, p.17.

The narrative function of the contest is thus completely altered, from the cause of divine anger to its manifestation.

The innovative function of the contest, which relegates Thamyris to the more passive role of a recipient of punishment rather than active instigator of the contest, is reaffirmed by a second *innovative mythologeme concerning the rules of the tournament* ('турнир'). A similar distribution of roles, as noted in connection with the impetus for the contest, is present in the arrangement of rules, which are pre-decided by the divine characters and settled without Thamyris' knowledge. *The intra-mythological motif of the identity of Thamyris' judge,* crucial in the context of a tournament, is introduced by Annensky, to highlight the extent to which Silenus and Argiope are responsible for setting up the contest: Argiope asks Silenus to be the judge, presumably expecting a kinder verdict on Thamyris ('кто же будет / Судьею?.. Ты, быть может...'). Although Silenus rejects her request ('Не надейся'), it becomes clear from the context of the play that he does indeed form part of the jury alongside Terpsichore ('Пан будет за судью / Состав суда – из нас и Терпсихоры') and so reaffirms the extent of his orchestration of the contest.

The *intra-mythological motif of the outcome of the contest* is likewise predetermined by the divine characters of the play. The Nymph begs Zeus to ensure Thamyris' defeat:

> Оставь Фамиру жить... Но не давай, Кронид, ему победы...

In contrast to the Classical representations of the contest, in which Thamyris loses on account of his relative lack of skill and his mortal frailty, in Annensky's tragedy the hero is spared his traditional display of weakness. Annensky transforms the Classical motif of the Muses' direct agency in punishing Thamyris (cf. Euripides' *Rhesus*), implying instead that the hero's downfall in the contest was caused by his mother's illicit passion for her son and her jealousy for Euterpe, rather than by his own hubris or inferiority of skill. In all the three mythologemes analysed above, the emphasis is placed mainly on secondary characters: their role and

emotional response to the challenge are made the focal point, through which Annensky re-creates the second mythonarreme.

The *intra-mythological mythologeme* of *Thamyris' reaction to the contest* is introduced through an innovative inversion of the Classical motif of the hero's passion (cf. 'ἐδέννασεν',[90] *Rhesus* 925). This motif is substituted by *an intra-mythological motif of Thamyris' reflective tranquillity,* with which the hero responds to his surroundings:

Иная, лучше нашей / У камней жизнь. Они живут, Силен, / Глубоким созерцаньем.

Annensky explicitly rejects Thamyris' former role in the Classical hypertext, in which he makes a conscious effort to disturb the existence of others (cf. *Rhesus*), and conversely makes his hero advocate a calm, quiet life. In place of the destructive potential which the hero's musical gift carries in the Ancient hypertext, Annensky's Thamyris has no desire to use his skill to torment others. Annensky introduces an intertextual allusion into Thamyris' criticism of Orpheus, who was believed to have charmed rocks with his songs and caused them to move[91] (cf. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 11'[92]), and condemns him for being heartless ('бессердечен') in his desire to demonstrate the power of his song. Thus, the contest, the only mythonarreme of the key narrative construct relating to Thamyris' artistic gift, is explicitly shown as alien to Annensky's hero. Instead of acclaim and renown (Silenus underlines that Thamyris has no desire for glory: 'ты не любишь славы.'), Annensky's hero values only peace, solitude and music.

Annensky enters into an intertextual dialogue with the Ancient Greek hypertext by substituting the Classical motif of the protagonist' independent volition with an *innovative motif of Thamyris' passivity*, which removes from the hero his traditional guilt (*hubris*). Although his subsequent response to the Satyr betrays readiness and excitement: 'Где ж я найду ее, Силен? Идем!', Thamyris' first reaction to Silenus' suggestion demonstrates his recognition of the

[90] 'Uttering words of abuse'.
[91] Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, 1212; and Euripides' *Bacchae*, 562; Pseudo-Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca* 1.3.2.
[92] 'While the Thracian bard, Orpheus, with his songs roused the woods and beasts and rocks to follow him.' (11.1-2).

danger that such an enterprise would entail. In contrast to Euripides' Thamyris, who 'utters words of abuse' (*Rhesus,* 925) to the Muses, Annensky's hero refers to his contestant with consistent reverence: when asked who should commence the tournament, Thamyris respectfully affirms that the Muse should take precedence ('Кто начинать? Она, конечно, – муза'). Likewise, Thamyris suggests that the Muse determine the prize, demonstrating not only his acceptance of her divine superiority, but also his lack of interest in material gain. Annensky makes it clear that instead of desiring victory like the Iliadic Thamyris ('νικησέμεν', 'I would win'), his hero only wishes to hear the Muse sing, desiring no other reward.

The final motif, with which the mythologeme of the hero's response to the contest is revealed, serves to raise a note of discord in Annensky's portrayal of Thamyris. Silenus presses the hero about what prize he wishes to receive ('А если ты с победой будешь, что?'), and tempts him with a physical description of Euterpe:

> браслет у белого плеча, / И яхонт в нем горит, а пальцы длинны / И розовы...

In contrast to Thamyris' account of Euterpe, consisting of three attributes belonging to an elevated stylistic vocabulary (he imagines her as tall, thin and pale: 'Высокая и тонкая, – бледна'), the Satyr tempts Thamyris with a physical description, based on material objects. Silenus diversifies Euterpe's representation with the help of three colours white, pink and red, reducing her from a divine figure to a physical being, adding tempting material details (he describes a precious stone which glows on her bracelet: 'яхонт в нем горит'), in order to seduce Thamyris by the goddess' looks and riches. Silenus offers an insight into the colour of the goddess' skin, revealing that her shoulder is white ('белого плеча') and her fingers are long and pink ('пальцы длинны / И розовы'). Attention is attracted to the goddess' naked body, since Silenus not only describes the colour of her shoulder, but also refers to a bracelet, usually worn on bare skin, rather than over a garment. In the context of the play the bracelet and the gem can be interpreted as primary symbolic artefacts: they are used as a means of perception

not only for Silenus, who can focus only on material values, but also for Thamyris, whose interest in the Muse, under Silenus' influence, begins to extend beyond her musical perfection.

The effect achieved by reference to symbolic artefacts and bodily details immediately changes Thamyris' mental perception of the Muse: he chooses marriage to Euterpe as his prize and foresees siring a child (which makes it hard to agree with those scholars who, like Dukor, see Annensky's Thamyris as 'obtusely obedient' and unable to enjoy earthly love as the only cause of human joy[93]):

Довольно – я на ней / Женюсь, старик, и мы родим Орфея.

Annensky introduces *the intra-mythological motif of Thamyris' marital union with the Muse* which appears as a variable motif in Antiquity (in Conon's *Narrations* 7, Thamyris' prize was to be marriage to the deities),[94] albeit transforming it in accordance with his agenda of redeeming his hero. Although aesthetic (or rather visual) attraction to the Muse is undoubtedly part of Thamyris' matrimonial plan, Annensky adds a further dimension to the hero's desire, the wish to continue his lineage through marriage to the Muse. Annensky's transformation of a variable motif of the Classical hypertext reveals that, in contrast to Antiquity, where Thamyris' desire to marry the Muses resulted from lust for their divine beauty, the Russian hero wishes to enhance his musical gifts by begetting an even finer musician than himself. Annensky's Thamyris envisages himself as another Prometheus,[95] who, by his victory, would perform an action parallel to stealing fire from heaven and giving it to mankind: siring a son who would create divine song, bringing far greater joy than the Titan's flame ('Я дам огонь и чище, и нежней...'), to humanity ('Я буду как титан, / Похитивший с небес огонь… / Когда ж потом

[93] «Тупая покорность Фамиры, сознание свершившгося страшного рока только углубляют разрыв между земной устремленностью лирического и трагической обреченностью Фамиры. Фамира гибнет не только потому, что он осмелился соперничать с музами, но и потому, что он прошел мимо того, что утверждалось лирикой, как единственная возможность человеческой радости (радость мгновения)» (Dukor, p.149).
[94] 'When he vied with the Muses in song and prizes were determined for the winner, his prize was to be marriage with the Muses' (Brown, 2002). This motif is amplified to polygamy in Kondratyev's tale.
[95] The association between Thamyris and Prometheus was pointed out by Mitrofanov (Mitrofanov, p.177).

мой сын...'). The intertextual allusion to Prometheus and divine fire reveals that the contest and marriage to the Muse is conceptualised in Annensky's play as a feat, which Thamyris, like Prometheus, performs for the good of mankind and at cost to himself.

The final *extra-mythological mythologeme of Bacchic madness* with which Annensky reveals the effect of the proposed contest on Thamyris, introduced in scene X, is centred on *two extra-mythological motifs, Thamyris' loss of mental stability* and *his acquisition of an emotion akin to Bacchic frenzy.*[96] Annensky uses symbolism of colour to denote the passionate disharmony which overcomes his hero: in marked contrast to the cool blue hues of the first scene in which Thamyris enters on stage (Сцена четвертая: голубой эмали), scene X, where he loses his tranquillity, is entitled 'Сцена десятая: темно-золотого солнца'. A reference to the golden light emanating from the sun ('темно-золотого солнца') in a scene in which the hero approaches his doom, invokes the myth of Daedalus and his son Icarus, whose desire to come too close to the sun resulted in his death.

The Russian playwright raises a series of associative links relating to dark all-consuming passions, Bacchic madness and confusion ('темно'), as well as warmth, heaviness and material gain ('золотого', the colour gold is a warm hue, while the metal gold is both heavy and highly valued by Thamyris' father Philammon, son of Apollo). Gold functions as a symbolic object, which contains simultaneous clues to perceiving Thamyris' emotional turmoil in scene X, and to interpreting his character through the representation of his father Philammon. The reference to gold as a semantically loaded material appears as a key motif in Philammon's characterisation ('Угрюм / И строг наш царь... / И золото он любит, / Но в слитках, а не в косах', suggests that avarice caused his punishment: a lonely life without a wife or a child, culminating in suicide). By extension it also sheds light on the cause of his son's misogyny and lack of mercantilism (he does not find gold attractive in either plaits or bars). By deploying the

[96] Kolobaeva points out the symbolic association between the Dionysian passion appearing in Thamyris and the Bacchic dances of Satyrs and Maenads (Kolobaeva, 2005, p.15).

metaphor of a stringed instrument, Argiope confirms that her son's spirit is stirred up ('Душа его смутилась') with a previously unexperienced Bacchic passion ('И трепещут / От непривычной бури струны'), implying that the cause of his sudden transformation (and her jealousy) is his love for the Muse.

Reflecting the symbolic function of the scene's title ('темно-золотого солнца'), which offers an insight into Thamyris' loss of mental stability, the hero's verbal style is altered from his earlier cold and laconic register to frenzied chants associated with Bacchic rituals ('О, бред! / Появись, кифарэд! / Улыбнись, златоуст! / О, бред!'), punctuated by frequent ellipses (eight in a single scene) and exclamation marks (fourteen in a single scene). Thamyris delivers five stanzas in the form of a song or chant (revealed by the stage directions 'Во время пения уходит'), based on lexical repetitions and refrains: the third, sixth ('О, бред!') and eighth lines ('Твоей беловыей', referring to the Muse as 'white-necked') are identical in each of the five stanzas. Only the penultimate line carries a broader semantic meaning for the plotline, offering an insight into Thamyris' conceptualisation of his relationship with the Muse. When taken together the five stanzas make up a narrative, in which the hero first believes he can be successful in his suit and subsequently comes to the realisation that the Muse cares nothing for his songs or passions. The first two lines betray the hero's hope that the contest could have a positive outcome and that Euterpe could be inspired to love her suitor, whereas the final three clauses reveal Thamyris' understanding of his own deficiencies:

Но песни угодны ль мои ей ; И розы тогда не нужны ей ; На что и желанья мои ей.

In contrast to the Classical representations of Thamyris, Annensky's hero is endowed with the capacity to understand the transience and inferiority of his musical and poetic gift, before the contest takes place: 'песни угодны ль мои ей'. The mythologeme of *hubris*, which defines Thamyris' conduct in the Classical tradition, is reduced in its temporal span: the hero only very briefly hopes that he can defeat and marry the Muse.

The five mythologemes, with the help of which Annensky transforms the contest between Thamyris and the Muses, by reallocating the roles attributed to divine and mortal characters, can be shown in a diagram (*fig.*15):

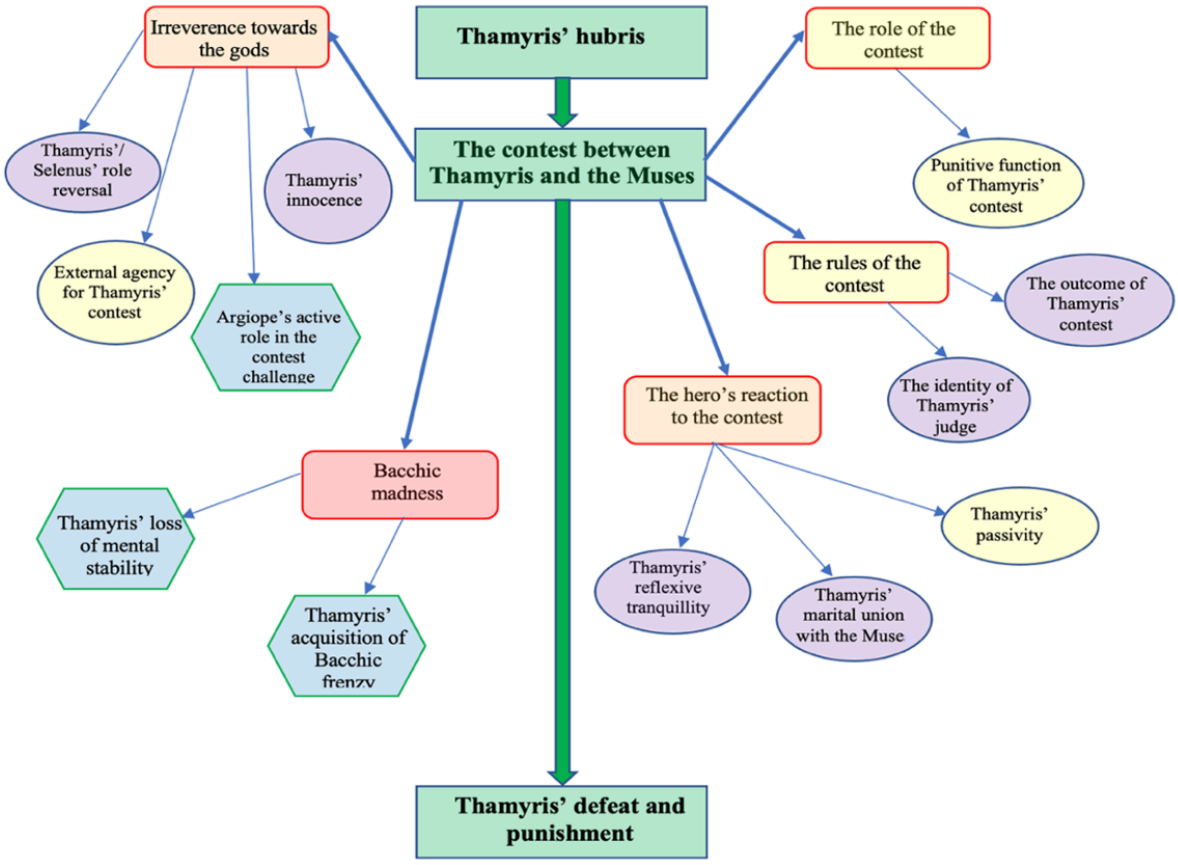


Fig. 15. The structure of motifs in the mythologemes relating to the key narrative construct, stage 2: The contest mythonarreme

As shown in *fig.*15, Annensky creates a narrative balance between the three types of mythologemes, which furthers the vector of mythological transformation by relieving Thamyris of his traditional function as the initiator of the contest (achieved though intra-mythological mythologemes), by transfering the organisational role onto the two divine characters of the play, Argiope and Silenus (achieved through innovative mythologemes) and by offering an insight into the hero's altered emotional response to the tournament (revealed through the extra-mythological mythologeme). Cumulatively, the three typological categories of mythologemes shift the emphasis placed by the Classical hypertext on the trangressive aspect of the contest

(its role in confirming Thamyris' guilt), transforming the tournament into a symbol for the desire of inferior individuals to contrive the downfall of a greater man.

Section 3.

The Punishment Mythonarreme: Anagnorisis

The third stage of the dramatic action (scenes 15-20), termed the 'anagnorisis' of the plot, encompasses the revelation of Thamyris' fate after the contest and his punishment at the hands of the Muses. This stage corresponds to the final mythonarreme, the contest and its aftermath, although its temporal perspective is widened beyond the boundaries of the key narrative construct: none of the Classical mythoplastic sources examine the fate of the hero after he is blinded and robbed of song, except Sophocles' play (fr. 244).[97] The fragment of the Greek tragedy offers a brief insight into the hero's reaction to his punishment, presenting it in the form of a violent, physical action (he smashes his lyre). Thamyris' mental state can only be inferred from this action: he has come to a realisation of his own worthlessness without his sight and skill, and is enraged at his cruel fate and breaks his lyre out of anguish. In contrast to the Classical hypertext, which presents a primarily physical response, the Russian poet focuses on examining Thamyris' emotional response to his plight by introducing mythologemes, which reveal the dynamic structure of his representation.

The *intra-mythological mythologeme of the hero's spiritual state* is developed by Annensky through the *innovative motif of visual symbolism*, which offers an initial insight into Thamyris' emotional condition after he returns to the stage following the contest. The colours in the title of each scene after the contest are cold and pure: scene 15 is entitled 'лунно-голубая', scene 16 'пыльно-лунная', scene 17 'ярко-лунная' and scene 18 'белесоватая'. The vibrant symbolic imagery in the title of scene X ('Сцена десятая: темно-золотого солнца'), which raises associations with the burning sun, sunset as the end of life and even with

[97] See mythographic section above for mythographic accounts of Thamyris' fate after his punishment.

material delights (gold), and so is responsible for revealing *the innnovative motif of Thamyris' deranged passion for the Muse*, is superseded by tranquil imagery of the moon and cool ('голубая'), dusty white colours ('пыльно-лунная', 'белесоватая'). The innovative image of the moon, associated in the Classical tradition with reflection, wisdom and brightness (in the personified goddess Selene or the Roman deity Luna) offers a new insight into Thamyris' mental perception: the clarity of his mind is not only restored, but also afforded a wider scope in comparison with the opening scenes of the play. Whereas in scene IV Thamyris' emotional state was associated with 'blue enamel' ('Голубая эмаль'), an artificial substance used to decorate cold metal and transparent glass; in scenes 15, 16, 17 the microcosm of a manufactured material, is widened to the macrocosm of a celestial body, associated in symbolist poetry with emotional abundance, spiritual restoration and immortality.

The function of colour symbolism, which suggests a transformation in the protagonist's emotional perception after the contest, is reaffirmed by the introduction of an *innovative motif of Thamyris' spiritual tranquility*, which returns to the hero after his brief Bacchic derangement. Even before Thamyris enters on stage (scene 15 is dominated by the Nymph and the Chorus), it becomes evident that the Classical motif of violence is rejected, and the hero's mind becomes once more, as in the opening scenes of the play, calm and pure. Reflecting the motif of spiritual tranquility, the appearance and conduct of Annensky's 'subsidiary characters',[98] previously characterised by riotousness (the Chorus of Satyrs) and emotional instability (Argiope), are transformed: the Chorus speaks in whispers ('Голос Сатира (тихо)'), while the Nymph has changed the loose dress she wore in the opening scenes of the play ('На ней широкая одежда цвета морской воды') and lavishly bedecks herself with flowers:

> На сцену выходит Нимфа, убранная в большие и пышные цветы, белые и желтые…

[98] Kelly, 1986, p.256.

The symbolism of colour is maintained in the Nymph's choice of flowers, which are not only perceived through the prism of tranquility, which governs the ending of the play (symbolised by the white flowers), but also suggest a new-found hope (indicated by the yellow, which is associated with new life, joy and clarity). In keeping with the costumes of the characters, the stage setting is also altered: the reference to colour symbolism of darkness ('Сумрак'), which reflected Thamyris' mental state in the previous scene, is replaced with a stage direction on 'blue-ish light' ('синеватым светом'), which reaffirms the cold tranquility of the scene décor before Thamyris returns on stage after the contest.

Thamyris' actions in the aftermath of the contest are separated by Annensky into two consecutive stages, of which the first encompasses the dramatic action before the divine punishment is revealed and the second what follows after the hero loses his skill and his sight. The first stage is used by the poet to investigate his hero's inner response to the contest, independently from physical or mental suffering: Thamyris exists in a state of complete bliss (Нимфа: …И говорил, что счастлив... Фамира: Бесконечно...). The hero's first appearance on stage after the contest is prefigured by a stage direction, revealing the presence of the recurrent *intra-mythological mythologeme of maternal and filial relations*:

> Фамира хочет подойти к Нимфе, но, смущенный ее нарядом, отступает, потом, справившись с собою, подходит к ней и хочет обнять ее.

In contrast to the cold reception shown by Thamyris in scene IV, where he contemptuously likened his guest to a promiscuous Maenad or a moth, in scene 16 a hero's conduct is characterised by an *innovative motif of filial respect,* verging on diffidence, and a new-found affection for his mother. Although he is at first taken aback by her grand dress, his desire to embrace her overcomes his timidity. A reversal takes place in the emotional attitude of Thamyris and his mother to each other. Whereas in scene IV the Nymph caresses her unwilling son, in scene 16 the opposite relationship dynamics can be observed: Thamyris attempts to embrace his mother, but she does not respond to his affection ('Но Нимфа стоит

неподвижна'). The mythologeme of hubris, which characterised Thamyris' behaviour in the Classical tradition and was reflected as spiritual callousness in the early scenes of Annensky's play, is replaced by *the innovative motif of the hero's humility and resignation.*

The motif of Thamyris' denial of his parentage, is similarly rejected and superseded by *the innovative motif of filial affection*, with which the hero approaches his mother: the first word which Thamyris utters when he appears on stage after the contest is 'Родимая'. This semantically loaded adjective has connotations arising from its etymological meaning of 'belonging to one's family' (the adjective is derived from the noun 'род', *gens*) and carries an extended meaning of 'dear'. The interplay of the two connotations, given syntactic prominence by ellipsis ('Родимая...'), reveals the extent to which Thamyris' emotional response to his mother has altered during the play: at the start of the tragedy the hero did not acknowledge Argiope as his mother but rather took her to be an imposter.

In keeping with the transformation of the *innovative motif of filial respect,* Annensky introduces an *innovative motif* responsible for the hero's newly acquired peace of mind: *Thamyris' loss of anger*. Although the Nymph's interference into his fate caused his ultimate downfall, Thamyris seeks no retribution, but rather asks his mother for forgiveness: 'Простила ль ты Фамиру?' The hero dissociates himself from his earlier treatment of his mother by referring to himself in the third person, as if unwilling to use a first-person pronoun in affirming his guilt. In contrast to the Classical hypertext, in which Thamyris is capable only of looking back on his own life prior to the contest, Annensky's hero has acquired the ability to focus his retrospection on his former treatment of other characters. Whereas in Sophocles' tragedy, the hero recalls his lost musical skill and laments the damage to his own fate, a further manifestation of the Classical motif of egocentricity in all Thamyris' actions, Annensky innovatively attributes to him an ability to experience shame and to regret the effect of his cruelty.

An *innovative motif of empathy* (a quality which Thamyris lacked in the play's opening: in scene IV he regarded his mother's narration of her cruel fate as an entertaining fairy-tale, 'Как? / А сказка уж окончилась?..') is made a constituent part of Annensky's original reinterpretation of the Classical hero, arising from the Russian poet's intertextual dialogue with the Ancient contributors to the hypertext. The motif of egocentricity, derived by Annensky through his intertextual dialogue with the Classical hypertext (in the *Iliad* Thamyris is only capable of committing an action (boasting), which is directed into the internal sphere: 'στεῦτο γὰρ εὐχόμενος'[99]), is innovatively transformed in scene 16 into an ability to understand the pain of his mother:

На исповедь тяжелую твою / Он отвечал холодным недоверьем...

In contrast to his earlier denunciation of Argiope's account as a fairy-tale, implying by the connotations of the term 'сказка' that he perceives it as a purely fictional narrative endowed with the function of entertainment, Thamyris now deploys the associations of the religious term 'исповедь', derived from the old Church Slavonic verb 'исповѣдѣти', meaning 'to confess' or 'to narrate'. He forms two binary appositions 'исповедь тяжелую' and 'холодным недоверьем', pivoted on the juxtaposition of two pronouns denoting himself and his mother ('твою / Он'), in order to highlight the full extent of his present recognition of the emotional deafness with which he formerly greeted Argiope's pain. Thamyris' participation in the contest appears to have opened up in his mental perception a new emotional world, previously concealed from the reclusive singer. In contrast to the three accounts in the mythoplastic Classical hypertext, which show Thamyris as deprived of his skills after the contest (both sight and song), in Annensky's version the hero acquires new individual complexities, which enable him to form an emotional bond formerly beyond him: filial affection.

[99] 'He declared, boasting'.

Although the development of emotional and mental cognitive abilities, which Annensky innovatively attributes to Thamyris, dominates the first few scenes of the third dramatic stage, and so seems to be the only form of transformation the singer undergoes after the contest, a prospective analysis of scene 17 serves to reveal a new, *innovative mythologeme of gradual anagnorisis*, which sheds light on the Russian poet's re-conceptualisation of the Classical hero. Thamyris' representation immediately after the contest is constructed so as to create an illusion in the minds of the audience, that despite his mother's initial worry ('Нимфа: *(чуть слышно, с хрипотой в голосе)*'), the hero was left completely unscathed by his encounter with the Muse. The *innovative motif of Thamyris' apparent soundness* or safety is concordant with the hero's conduct, which does not appear to merit punishment: in contrast to the Classical hypertext, in which Thamyris actively vies with the Muses in a contest, Annensky's character withdraws himself from the competition ('Я отступил'), and so does not deserve a punishment. Therefore, the first indication of punishment in scene 17 appears unexpected to Thamyris' mind: he cannot perceive why the lyre (the main symbolic object in the context of the play), previously so beloved by him (he calls it his 'heart': 'О, возврати мне сердце'), feels alien ('Фамира берет лиру, но рассматривает ее с удивлением, жесты его странны') and unapproachable ('он не решается коснуться струн'). In contrast to the audience, who immediately recognises the first of his two-fold Classical punishments, Thamyris believes that Silenus is playing a trick on him and engages him in a dialogue based on dramatic irony: 'о, теперь я убежден. / Что ты меня дурачишь... Не довольно ль? / Бери свою и мне отдай мою...'. The *innovative motif of suspense caused by the delayed perception of Thamyris' punishment* is built up further by the Chorus of Satyrs, who senselessly babble in the background ('Вокруг говор. Сатиры приветствуют Силена'), acting as an antipode to the earlier harmony of the singer's music.

Annensky staggers Thamyris' realisation of his punishment, transforming the hero's perception of his tragedy: first he believes that his loss of song is a joke ('так не шутят...'), then that it was caused by a physical malady ('Иль это уж не пальцы больше'; 'Иль, может быть, оглох я?') and finally that some external stimulus is responsible for his suffering: 'отведи дурман от сердца, сатир!'. Although Thamyris does not identify the agent who poisoned his heart (the term 'дурман' denotes an intoxicating substance), there is a clear presupposition that the metaphorical venom affected the hero after the contest, making the Muse potentially responsible for its administration.

The climax of the anagnorisis scene is marked by an *innovative motif of distancing Thamyris' from the contest.* The scene is characteristically played out between the same two divine figures as devised and initiated the contest, Silenus and Argiope (reaffirming the motif of divine agency present in the second stage of the dramatic action), while Thamyris remains silent: Нимфа (тихо): 'К чему же бог его приговорил?'; Силен (так же тихо): 'Чтоб музыки не помнил и не слышал.' The divine characters are shown as speaking in whispers in order to convey to the audience the sense that the hero is not only innocent of provoking the contest, but also excluded from the delivery of his own verdict. Even his response, revealed in the stage directions, differs radically from that of the Nymph and the Chorus, who are moved by the news of his punishment and express their compassion vocally:

> Нимфа и сатиры звуками и жалобными возгласами выражают охватившее их сочувствие.

In mirror image to the subsidiary characters, Annensky also alters Thamyris' behaviour: the hero's anguish, expressed in a plea for help ('Я погибаю, сжалься!') is transformed into tranquil contemplation:

> Фамира, наоборот, успокаивается и становится неподвижен, как человек, что-то обдумывающий.

The prefix 'об' in the participle 'обдумывающий' indicates that Thamyris is thinking over a certain plan, which is already formed in his mind. The hero seems no longer to require the

external interference into his fate, which he had previously asked for (help, ‘отведи’ or pity, ‘сжалься’). Thamyris’ first speech after his anagnorisis has no imperatives or exclamations (unlike his earlier speeches: ‘Слушай, сатир,’; ‘Бери свою и мне отдай мою’; ‘Я погибаю, сжалься!’; ‘Ха-ха-ха!’), but instead is endowed with an evaluative function, offering an insight into Annensky’s treatment of *the intra-mythological motif of Thamyris’ reception of his punishment.* Thus, a prospective analysis of scene 17 serves to reveal a more likely cause of Thamyris’ transformation, which first became manifest in scene 16. It is possible to suggest that the hero’s emotional development, previously attributed to his participation in the contest and his witnessing of Euterpe’s ethereal song (‘а ноты / Со струн ее кифары на стезю / Вздымались и дымились...’), is caused by his punishment at the hands of the Muse. The *innovative mythologeme of gradual anagnorisis* is expounded by means of a series of original motifs relating to the conduct and emotional state of both Thamyris and the secondary characters of the play.

At this stage in the dramatic action Annensky adduces *three extra-mythological mythologemes* which share the dominant motifs of the Thamyris legend (blindness as penalty and increased mental capacity after punishment), establishing an intertextual dialogue with the myths of *Tiresias, Demodocus and Oedipus*. In contrast to Milton, who merely groups blind bards (‘*Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides*’[100]) with prophets (‘*Prophets old’*), without offering any insight into the nature of their connection, Annensky penetrates into the bond that unites the two categories of mythological figures, drawing upon the shared aetiology of their blindness.

The *intra-mythological mythologeme of blindness* is endowed in the Ancient literary corpus with different aetiologies: ‘industrial’ (resulting from accidents in manual labours, e.g.

[100] Mæonides is another name for Homer.

Herodotus 1.174),[101] 'battlefield' (caused by physical injury in warfare, e.g. *Iliad* 13. 616-18)[102] and 'traumatic blinding as a result of divine or mortal revenge',[103] which mainly afflicts heroes of two specific occupations, poets and prophets.[104] As revealed by Dio Chrysostom in *Oration 36*, blind poets such as Demodocus, Thamyris, Daphnis and Stesichorus, were regarded in Antiquity as 'a type',[105] founded on 'the equivalence of blindness and the power of song… [which is] basic to the singer's character'.[106] In other words, blindness was regarded as a prerequisite attribute of an individual endowed with the gift of song. Similarly, blindness and the skill of prophecy function as binary attributes, which, save for a few exceptions, complement each other: the loss of one sense (physical sight) is compensated by an exaggeration in another (spiritual sight or foresight), e.g. Phormion, who, being blind could experience prophetic dreams and visions.[107]

A connection between the two typological categories of individuals, blind poets and prophets, can be drawn on the basis of their possession of superior mental perceptions and knowledge exceeding those of other men, which draws them closer to the divine sphere.[108] Thus, the boundaries which separate gods from mortal men are 'blurred' by the extraordinary capabilities of poets and prophets. Cosmic balance is maintained in mythological accounts by the presence of a 'special defect', physical blindness, which lowers the representation of super-humans to the level of flawed, mortal beings.[109] It can therefore be suggested that the intertextual dialogue formed by Annensky, between his representation of Thamyris and the blind poets (Demodocus) and prophets (Tiresias) of Antiquity, serves the purpose of furthering the vector of mythological transformation by introducing extra-mythological motifs, which are

[101] Rose, 2003, pp.82-83.
[102] Rose, 2003, p.83.
[103] Rose, 2003, p.81.
[104] Buxton, p.27.
[105] Buxton, p.27.
[106] Buxton, p.27.
[107] Buxton, p.29.
[108] Dodds, p.81.
[109] Buxton, p.29.

responsible for the development of Thamyris' mental and spiritual capacities: the *extra-mythological motifs of the interdependence of blindness and the skill of prophecy* and *the possession of superior mental perceptions and knowledge akin to the gods'*.

Annensky establishes an intertextual dialogue between two extra-mythological plotlines, in order to illustrate the connection between divine punishment and the acquisition of superior insight, previously lacked by the punished mortal. The first of these plotlines intertextually relates Annensky's hero to the Homeric character Demodocus, who in the *Odyssey* is said to have received both 'good and bad together'[110] from the Muse: 'τὸν πέρι μοῦσ' ἐφίλησε, δίδου δ' ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε.'[111] It appears that the Muse, in compensation for her punishment (blinding), bestowed the gift of a new skill upon her favourite: the power of song. Although Thamyris' fate is diametrically opposite, since in contrast to Demodocus, he is punished both by blindness and by the loss of song, and so is deprived of the two skills which he had previously possessed, the pattern of simultaneously bestowing good and evil is shared between the two plotlines. The co-existence of the binary interdependent *intra-mythological mythologemes of blindness and the gift of song* in the mythological plotlines of Demodocus and Thamyris may have inspired Annensky to introduce *the extra-mythological motif of the syncretic blending of Thamyris' joy and sorrow*[112] into his transformed version of the legend (cf. *fig.*21). In contrast to the Classical mythoplastic versions of the plotline, where the Muses bestow only evil upon Thamyris (the hero's fate after his punishment remains outside the scope of the *Iliad* and Euripides' *Rhesus*, while in the fragments of Sophocles only a fleeting indication is given that Thamyris is capable of self-evaluation), Annensky's rendition of the plotline, for the first time in the transmission of the legend, allots a new set of superior skills to the protagonist as a result of the contest.

---

[110] Wright, 2019, p.19.
[111] 'The Muse loved him above all others, and gave him both good and evil' (8.63).
[112] Mahoney, p.6.

The intertextual references to the mythological plotline of Demodocus are amplified further by intertextual allusions to the extra-mythological plotline of the prophet Tiresias, which serves as an illustrative example of the connection between divine vengeance and benevolence. Mythological narratives concerning the punishment of Tiresias (blinding) can be divided into groups, based on the nature of the hero's misconduct: the first category[113] encompasses blinding for misuse of his prophetic gift; the second[114] for intruding upon the privacy of the goddess Athena; and the third[115] for making a judgement contrary to the will of Hera.[116] Versions which recount the second and third variants of Tiresias' transgression are pivoted on the same algorithm as the mythological plotline of Demodocus, since blinding is inflicted as a punishment, whereas a skill (prophetic vision) is bestowed as compensation. A similar motif is present in Annensky's rendition of the plotline, where the hero's new-found emotional perception appears, in retrospect, to be a result of his encounter with the Muse. This new skill functions as a compensation for his lost talent, since it entails a new-found filial affection. As revealed by Hermes, this filial affection will function not only as a solace to Thamyris in his grief (for the first time in his life both parents are with him: 'С тобой они оба, Фамира – И мать, и отец', albeit in a drastically changed form, which would have been unrecognisable to the hero, had he not lost his sight), but also as a means of survival: until his death, Thamyris will depend on Argiope, who, in the guise of a bird, will nourish her son.

The final remark on Argiope's new status as the master of Thamyris' fate provides a key to the cognitive perception of her role in the play:

> Фамира ощупью отыскивает посох и берет кифару, уже не касаясь струн. Птица смирно сидит у него на плече. Теперь она хозяйка положения.

[113] Pseudo-Apollodorus 3.69-72.
[114] Pseudo-Apollodorus 3.70; Callimachus *Hymn*.V; Propertius IV.9.53-58; Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, XX.400-402; Scholia in Homer *Od*.10.493; Eustathius *Commentary ad Hom*. *Od*.10.492.
[115] Hesiod *Fragments*. 162,163; Pseudo-Apollodorus. III.71-71; Ovid *Metamorphoses* III.316-338; Hyginus *Fabula* LXXV; First Vatican Mythographer 16; Eustathius *Commentary ad Hom*. *Od*.10.492.
[116] Mahoney, p.40.

The function of the bird, into which Argiope is transformed, has stimulated various scholarly interpretations: some scholars (e.g. Khrustaleva) point out a reversal of roles between the hero and his mother, who becomes the leader of the blind hero,[117] while others (e.g. Filatova) suggest that the image of the bird ('птица с красной шейкой'), contains a veiled reference to the fetters of gender.[118] Although the first of these interpretations seems more credible than the second, the notion of a veiled reference could be broadened to the concept of symbolism, albeit not of gender or flesh but, as Annensky himself points out, of the fetters of mundane life which will constrict his hero for as long as he lives.

Another interpretation of the image of the 'red-necked' bird can be proposed, based on the *extra-mythological mythologeme concerning the Muses' punishment* of hubris in the legend of the Pierides. The mythological plotline relates the fate of the nine daughters of King Pierus of Macedon, who believed that they could vie with the Muses in beauty and musical skill, and were punished by being transformed into magpies, squawking from tree tops (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 5.268-660). In contrast to the belief of some scholars, who presuppose that the Classical tradition invariably depicted the Muses in a positive light (thus making Kondrat'ev's representation of the deities as cruel murderous beings bent on destroying a courageous hero, radically different from their traditional portrayal[119]), the Muses in the Pierides myth are shown as vindictive and unforgiving. It is not unlikely that Annensky borrowed the motif of Argiope's punishment from the myth of the Pierides', since he offers an intertextual clue to his use of the extra-mythological plotline in the word Pieride, which he uses to denote Euterpe ('Тогда турнир предложим пиериде'). If this is the case, the image of the bird in Annensky's tragedy

[117] Khrustaleva, 1987, p.69.
[118] Filatova, 2009, p.232.
[119] Moiseeva, 2011.

contains a veiled intertextual reference to the cause of Argiope's punishment, which is different from the aetiology offered by the Satyrs:

> За то, что ты не любила кого надо, за то, что ты любила кого не надо

The *extra-mythological motif of the punishment inflicted by the Pierides,* derived from the legend of the Pierides, is determined by her newly acquired role of arranging the contest, which is introduced into the plotline in order to transfer the blame from the hero to his mother.

A specific agenda can be proposed for Annensky's assimilation of the *extra-mythological motif of divine punishment and the bestowal of a new skill in compensation*. Annensky relocates a plotline, which in the Classical hypertext was based on punishment and ultimate disgrace, and belonged to a corpus of legends where the transgressor remains unpardoned (Ixion, Ariadne, Narcissus etc.), into a typologically new mythological category, which pertains to transgressors who are beloved of the gods and so redeemed by the bestowal of gifts. It is possible to suggest a reason for this innovative transformation, based on the shared vocation of Thamyris and Annensky, who was primarily a lyric poet. In Annensky's reconceptualisation of the Classical legend, his hero, endowed with the gift of poetry, cannot remain shamed and broken as in earlier mythoplastic sources, but rather must be redeemed by a new, great skill, which raises him above the level of a mortal transgressor. The new compensatory skill, with which Annensky endows his hero, is based on the poet's intertextual dialogue with the mythological plotline of Tiresias, whose recompense for blinding was the gift of prophecy, retained after death. The *extra-mythological motif of prophetic power,* bestowed upon a mortal deprived by the gods of physical sight, is transformed in Annensky's tragedy into a two-fold gift, which takes the form of newly acquired cognitive capacities: an ability to perceive a previously concealed emotional and spiritual world and an innovative skill to foresee the future.

The *innovative motif of the Thamyris' cognitive ability* to perceive a new emotional and spiritual world, which at the first stage of the dramatic action was not available to him, is revealed through Thamyris' dialogue with his mother, mirroring the hero's interaction with Argiope in the opening scenes of the play. When questioned by his mother about the contest and his impressions of the Muse's appearance, Thamyris responds with a revelation of his inner thoughts concerning his surroundings, after he had heard the first few notes of Euterpe's cithara ('ноты / Со струн ее кифары'). In contrast to the Nymph, who despite being a divine character is limited to the plane of physicality (she is only concerned that the Muse's feminine beauty may surpass her own and so appear more tempting to Thamyris: 'И меня / Красивее ли муза?'), the hero attempts to penetrate the sphere of the divine.

Thamyris reveals that during the Muse's song he had seen the structure of the cosmos and its creation, as well as the spirits of mortals who have not yet been born:

> Созвездия сперва образовали, / Потом Змеей и Рыбой хоры их / И Обручем, и Лирой тихо-тихо / Задвигались

Annensky introduces the *innovative motif of Thamyris' new-found cognitive ability* not only to see the spirits of future men and understand what they are ('Иль это души были, / Не жившие еще?'), but also to penetrate into the process of their formation, glimpsing the work of a god: 'Иль формы их, / Слепив, разбил ваятель'. Although the hero gives no indication as to who the 'sculptor' (ваятель) is, it is clear from the celestial setting of the hero's musings, that Thamyris is referring to the work of single, divine Creator, whom he believes to be responsible for the formation and destruction of human lives. Annensky anachronistically endows his hero with the ability to escape the polytheistic context of his mythological plotline and glimpse the existence of a single God, who governs the fates of men. As soon as Thamyris commits the crime for which he is to be punished (entering into a contest with the Muse), he gains access to a universe concealed from humanity on two planes: temporal (monotheism as opposed to polytheism) and spatial (mortal or divine). Whereas Thamyris' cognitive vision was formerly

confined to the terrestrial sphere (he could fathom only the tranquillity of two white rocks in front of his hut), the compensatory gift of prophetic power accompanying his punishment for participating in the contest (which appears to have had immediate effect, since Thamyris did not play for the Muse), gives the hero access to the celestial domain.

The *innovative motif of Thamyris' prophetic foresight* can be glimpsed in the third stage of the dramatic action, when the hero first appears on stage after the contest:

> Простила ль ты Фамиру? … Только мать/Без зависти дает такое счастье / И слез своих не помнит....

Although Annensky makes Thamyris' words appear at first glance to be an observation on maternal feelings, a more careful analysis of their implications reveals a hidden prophetic meaning. The envy Thamyris alludes to is indicative of his understanding that a punishment awaits him, for his inability to forgive past transgressions, such as his mother abandoning him as an infant. Likewise, the Muse cannot pardon his *hubris* in attending the contest). Thamyris is able to foresee the second part of his two-fold punishment, blinding, which he refers to without trepidation:

> О, последний, / Чуть слышный луч от музыки! В глаза / Мои спустись, там приютишься в сердце... И вослед / Я не впущу ни тени.

The oblique reference to a beam ('луч' is transferred from its customary semantic sphere of light in order to heighten the connection with sight) entering his eyes for the last time, and not a single shadow escaping afterwards, suggests that Thamyris is consciously deciding on his blindness. Indeed, the hero appears to long for blindness, desiring to be stripped of sight as he was of song:

> О, если б их не видеть, как не слышу / Я музыки... / Когда б еще черней / И глубже вырыть яму ночи...

By connecting the loss of music and the loss of vision in a paratactic construction, pivoted on a single particle 'как' ('не видеть, как не слышу'), Thamyris demonstrates complete knowledge of his traditional two-fold punishment.

The foresight into his own fate, concealed from his Classical counterpart, elevates Annensky's Thamyris above the level of a punished mortal, giving him divine agency. In contrast to the passive Thamyris of Sophocles, who is capable only of smashing his useless lyre after losing both sight and skill, Annensky's hero takes over the role of the divine judge, administering the final part of his two-fold punishment himself. Annensky endows his Thamyris with the defining characteristic of the supreme god of the Greek pantheon, Zeus, whose primary function was to allot punishment to erring mortals: in the *Iliad* Zeus deploys the scales of justice twice in order to determine which hero should depart to Hades (8.69ff; 12.209ff). In affirmation of Thamyris' new role as the apportioner of punishment, the outline of Zeus' smiling face appears in the sky as if inspiring the hero to break free of his mortal constraints and become an equal of the gods:

В одном из просветлевших облаков вырисовывается абрис улыбающегося Зевсова лица .

The blinding of Thamyris, which in the Classical mythoplastic tradition was ascribed to the Muses' agency and was lexically presented in a binary, indivisible formula with the singer's loss of song (e.g. *Il.*2.594-599), in Annensky's rendition is not only separated from the first part of the hero's punishment, but also performed by a different agent, Thamyris himself. This striking innovation in the third and semantically most important mythonarreme of the key narrative construct can be regarded as part of Annensky's intertextual dialogue with the extra-mythological motifs from other Classical mythological plotlines.

The extra-mythological mythologeme of blindness, presented as a manifestation of divine punishment in the Classical tradition, acquires a new meaning in Annensky's rendition: whereas the Ancient Thamyris was blinded in order to reaffirm the supremacy of the gods and their divine justice, in Annensky's play the hero's self-mutilation is indicative of his weariness with the mundane world which surrounds him, and of his inability to behold mortal existence after glimpsing the realm of the divine.

Annensky's reconceptualisation of Thamyris' plotline, based on his intertextual dialogue with the myths of Demodocus and Tiresias, bears a close affinity to the *extra-mythological mythologeme of the hero's self-administered blindness*, inherited through the intertextual dialogue with the plotline of Oedipus, the Theban King who committed incest with his mother and blinded himself out of shame. It is possible to suggest that Annensky inherited two mythologemes from the Oedipus legend: the *extra-mythological mythologeme of incest* and *of self-administered blindness*, which is revealed in both accounts in a similar manner. A series of *parallel extra-mythological motifs* between the Thamyris' and Oedipus' narratives can be noted: *spontaneous self-blinding* (both heroes blind themselves of their own accord); *blindness to avoid a distressing sight* (the cause of blinding is identical, since Oedipus and Thamyris both commit an act of self-mutilation so as not to behold their loss; Oedipus cannot endure the death of Iocasta, Thamyris cannot bear the loss of his skill); *the use of household implements for self-blinding* (Oedipus uses pins from his wife's dress, Thamyris uses household coals); in both tragedies the action takes place off stage. In Sophocles' tragedy, Oedipus' self-blinding is narrated by a second messenger, who gives a graphic description of the king's actions after he finds his dead wife (1268-70):

ἀποσπάσας γὰρ εἱμάτων χρυσηλάτους περόνας ἀπ᾽ αὐτῆς, αἷσιν ἐξεστέλλετο, ἄρας ἔπαισεν ἄρθρα τῶν αὑτοῦ κύκλων.	For he ripped from her garments the golden pins with which she had adorned herself, and lifting them up smote his own eye-sockets.

Thamyris' violent deed is revealed by the prophecy of Philammon's spirit ('Он предсказал, что Фамира выжжет себе оба глаза углем из костра') and by elliptic stage directions, which indicate that the hero has experienced considerable pain:

За сценой крик Фамиры, и следом другой, тоже его, но, видимо, подавленный, дико оборванный усилием воли

The motif of burning coals, used in Annensky's tragedy as the instrument of self-blinding, can be interpreted as an intertextual allusion to Pushkin's poem 'Prorok' ('И угль, пылающий огнем, / Во грудь отверстую водвинул'), in which a flaming coal replaces the poet's heart according to God's will, endowing him with a prophetic gift (albeit the burning coal serves to

cleanse and purify the subject as a preparatory stage, turning him into an empty vessel without endowing him with a prophetic gift, which is later bestowed by God).

The effect achieved by Annensky's assimilation of extra-mythological motifs from the legend of Oedipus sheds light on Thamyris' response to his loss. The shame and self-loathing which Oedipus feels towards himself is intertextually projected on to Thamyris through the shared motif of self-mutilation. The *extra-mythological mythologeme of self-blinding,* inherited from the Oedipus legend, undergoes a change in Annensky's tragedy, conditioned by the *extra-mythological motif of the hero's newly acquired perception*. Whereas the Classical hypertext treats every myth of self-blinding as an individual tragedy, Annensky's innovation widens the scope, making a personal tragedy universal by presenting it in terms of broader themes: the poet and his creative gift, the loss of physical abilities and the acquisition of new spiritual qualities.

The emotional response of each of the two heroes to their physical affliction is therefore completely different. Whereas Sophocles' Oedipus is capable only of lamenting his bitter loss, remaining focused on his own individual fate, Annensky's Thamyris is able to extend the sphere of his perception to his surroundings ('Встает туман'), experiencing a new-found quietude and peace of mind, as opposed to the emotional turmoil of the Bacchic scenes ('Скоро дом, И мир, и сон. Довольно на сегодня'). In contrast to Sophocles' Oedipus, who submerges himself in his grief, envisaging no end to it (he wishes to be cast out from Thebes as an exile 1436ff), Annensky's Thamyris can look beyond his present distress, to a future where his suffering will come to an end ('Довольно на сегодня'). The Russian poet endows Thamyris with a new skill, absent not only from the mythological plotline of the Thracian bard, but also from the legend of Oedipus: the ability to forgive his torturers and forget the past. Instead of cursing the gods for their cruel interference into his fate (his divine mother and Silenus who orchestrated his downfall), Thamyris glorifies them in his final words on stage ('Благословенны боги, что

хранят / Сознанье нам и в муках'), thanking them for not depriving him of his wit, mind, consciousness, i.e. his cognitive abilities.

Thamyris regards his bond with the divine beings of the play (i.e. the Nymph, the Muse and Silenus), not as a fleeting interaction conditioned by the canonical desire of the gods to toy with mortal men, but rather as a relationship between a creditor and debtor, in which his duty has been fully discharged: 'Вам я отдал, что имел – / Уплачен долг, и с лихвой...'. For the first time in the existence of the mythological plotline of Thamyris, the hero can terminate his relationship with the gods himself, by asserting that his debt is fully paid and that he has nothing more to do with them: in the *Iliad* and in Euripides' *Rhesus* the Muses leave Thamyris maimed and bereft of song, depriving him of further narrative relevance, and in Sophocles' extant fragments Thamyris can only lament his bitter fate and smash his useless lyre, which no longer has any bearing on his relationship with the gods.

Annensky transforms Sophocles' intra-mythological motif of the destruction of the hero's lyre and endows the instrument with a symbolic function in the singer's future which is not only more poignant but also more utilitarian. In contrast to Sophocles' Thamyris who treats his once beloved lyre with acute violence (in fragment 244,[120] the participle 'ῥηγνὺς', 'breaking', denotes the vehement action of physically smashing an object, cf. the mythographical accounts of Pausanias describing a shattered lyre, 9.30.2; a lyre with its strings torn and horns broken, 10.30.8-9; and a lyre hurled into a river, 4.33.3), Annensky's hero retains an immense affection, which is evident in his tender address to his instrument, personifying it as he beckons it back: 'Любовь... Моя любовь, поди сюда.' In contrast to the Classical tradition where the lyre ceases to be of any use to the hero, as soon as his skill of song is lost (no mention is made of its fate in the *Iliad* or *Rhesus*), Thamyris' cithara is given a new function in the Russian play, akin to its old: instead of providing Thamyris with spiritual nourishment

[120] 'ῥηγνὺς χρυσόδετον κέρας, ῥηγνὺς <δ'> ἁρμονίαν χορδοτόνου λύρας', 'Breaking the horn wrought with gold, breaking the harmony of the strung lyre . . .' recorded by Plutarch, *The Control of Anger* 5, 455C.

by its music, the cithara will serve as a bowl to hold fortune-telling tokens, with which the hero will earn his keep:

> И кифару Возьми с собой. Мы жребиев туда – Купцы гаданье любят – накидаем

In Annensky's rendition Thamyris' instrument is thus simultaneously debased (by being made to serve a lowly purpose) and reinstated in its proper function, to never leave the hand of a true poet and forever accompany its master in his hardships.

The symbolic function of Thamyris' cithara is developed in Annensky's tragedy through associations arising from the juxtaposition of string and wind music. Wind instruments, especially the flute, which, according to Alexey Losev, was perceived in Ancient Greek culture as an orgiastic and ecstatic instrument,[121] is associated in Annensky's tragedy with the Satyrs and Silenus, whereas the music of a cithara is considered to be more complicated and refined (cf. Silenus remarks on the cithara: 'Ох, эти струны – холоду напустят / Да, как туман, отравят вас мечтой / Несбыточной... Нет, право, флейта лучше'). This dichotomy between the flute and the lyre was analysed by Vyacheslav Ivanov in his 1909 essay entitled 'О поэзии И. Ф. Анненского', in which he refers to the relationship of the two instruments as 'Борьба лиры и флейты'. After characterising the roles of the flute (cf. 'Таковъ Ѳамира, пренебрегающій флейтой, какъ онъ пренебрегаетъ любовью'; 'играть на лѣсной и дикой флейтѣ, отъ которой пухнутъ красныя губы сатировъ') and the lyre (cf. 'Драма "Ѳамира"… изображаетъ приходъ въ міръ юродиваго лирника, измѣнившаго Землѣ и наказаннаго Небомъ') in *Famira-Kifared,* Ivanov concludes that the hybrid nature of the play reflects Annensky's own inner dualism: 'Этотъ дуализмъ былъ, въ музыкальныхъ и античныхъ терминахъ, завершительнымъ отраженіемъ основного душевнаго разлада, основной двойственности въ самоопредѣленіи Анненскаго.'[122] The mythological associations of string instruments, such as the cithara and the lyre, an indispensable attribute of

[121] Losev, p.114.
[122] Ivanov, 1974, pp. 584-585

Apollo, make it difficult to agree with scholars like Ilya Dukor, who place the accent of Annensky's play on the glorification of 'Bacchic madness'.[123] On the contrary, the music of a cithara, which is treasured by Thamyris, is perceived in the context of Annensky's play as elevated and therefore best suited to a musician. The music of string instruments is contrasted with the almost barbaric clamor of wind and percussion instruments used by Maenads and Satyrs, who are unable to perceive harmonious music and even give up the language of poetry in favour of colloquial prose.

The transformaʻtions and the innovations introduced by Annensky in the third mythonarreme of the key narrative construct are represented in the following diagram (*fig.*16):

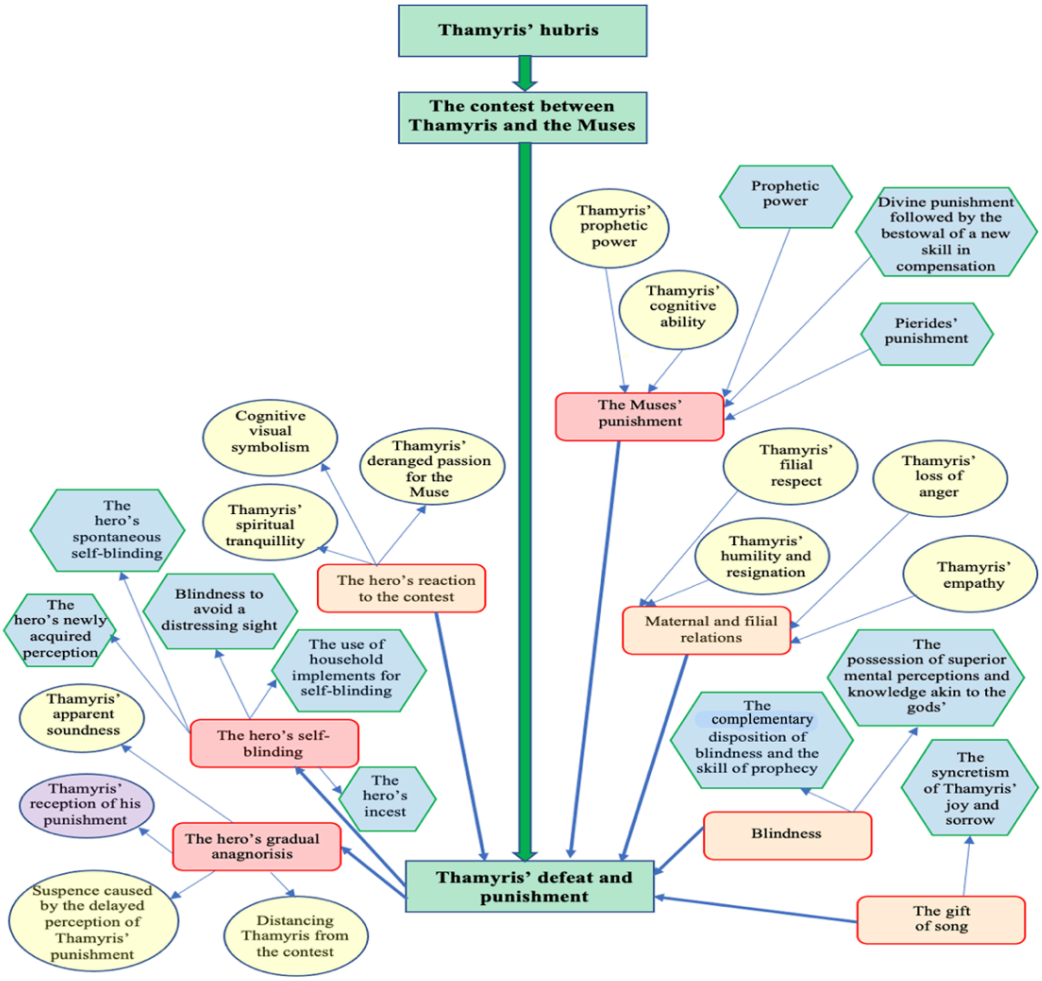


*Fig.*16. *Motif structure of the mythologemes in key narrative construct, stage 3 (the punishment mythonarreme)*

[123] «Итак, вся лирическая энергия Фамиры Кифареда отдана прославлению вакхического безумия, вся драматургическая линия посвящена раскрытию конфликтности мечты и жизни» (Dukor, p.149).

As shown in *fig.*16, Annensky draws upon all three types of mythologeme for the final stage of the dramatic action, weaving together a narrative which furthers the vector of mythological transformation: the intra-mythological mythologemes of the hero's spiritual state and of filial/maternal interrelations are made responsible for revealing Thamyris' spiritual peace, enriched with a newly developed capacity for self-reflection and tenderness, while the innovative mythologeme of a gradual realisation of his punishment is introduced, in order to create a contrast between the play's secondary characters and Thamyris, endowing the latter with a superlative courageousness and nobility. The extra-mythological mythologemes relating to blindness and divine punishment, adduced through three extra-mythological figures, Tiresias, Demodocus and Oedipus, are made responsible for the revelation of the hero's autonomy of action (the motif of self-mutilation, as in Oedipus) and his newly developed skill, granted to him as recompense for his punishment (cf. Demodocus and Tiresias), drawing together the intra-mythological and innovative mythologemes into a single narrative, responsible for concluding the transformation of the legend of Thamyris.

Conclusion

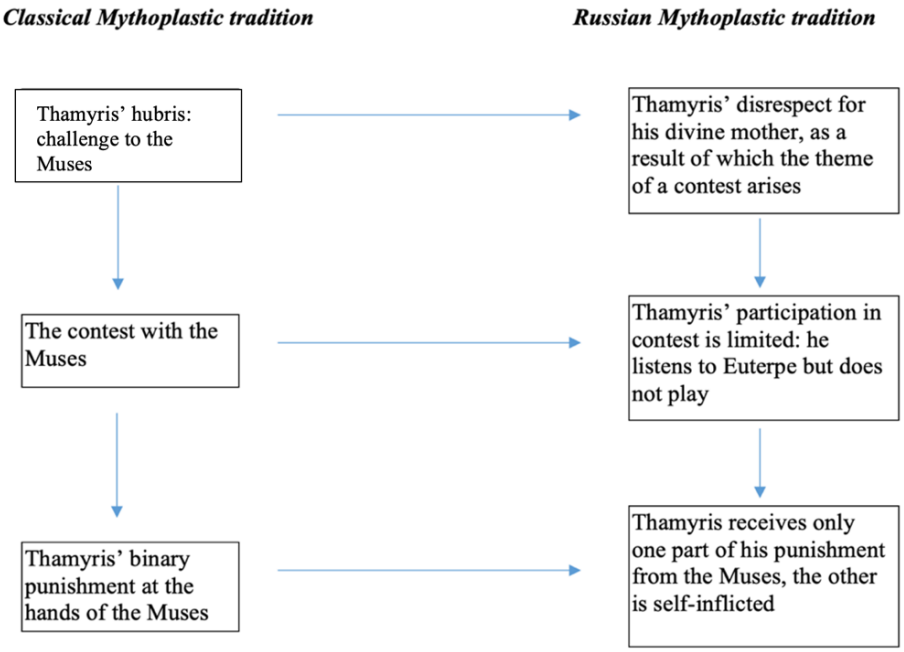
An intertextual analysis of the transmission of the Thamyris legend from Antiquity to the twentieth century Russian literary tradition reveals the structural, formal and stylistic means of its transformation and elucidates the function and meaning of the innovations introduced in Annensky's *Famira-kifared*. It is possible to distinguish a set of intertextually related Classical accounts, united by a shared creative stimulus (*Iliad*, Euripides' *Rhesus* and the extant fragments of Sophocles' tragedy *Thamyris*), and to suggest that the legend of Thamyris was transformed in Antiquity, from a narrative based on the premise that mortal *hubris* is punished by the gods, to an exploration of the fate of a maimed singer. Whereas in the *Iliad* Thamyris' altercation with the Muses is chiefly dependent on chance rather than on the hero's active agency (his only dynamic action is boast), and his primary function is determined by being a

passive recipient of divine punishment, in Euripides' *Rhesus* the Thracian bard is allotted a more developed characterisation. Not only is his skill explicitly compared to that of the Muses and found to be extraordinary (the Muse evaluates the contest with him as great 'μεγίστην'), but also his intelligence is for the first time noted in a mythoplastic account: he is described as 'σοφιστής' ('wise, prudent, clever'). The surviving fragments of Sophocles' play demonstrate a further development of the vector of mythological transformation, since they reveal Thamyris' response to his punishment, extending the boundaries of the mythological plotline beyond the key narrative construct. For the first time in the Classical hypertext, Thamyris becomes capable of responding to the Muses' punishment, not only understanding and lamenting his fate (fragment 241) but also physically responding to his loss by smashing his lyre (fragment 244).

Rather than remaining an exemplum of a hubristic mortal punished by the gods, the hero is endowed with expanding mental and physical capacities, which affords scope for future character development. Although in the Classical tradition Thamyris does not reach complete anagnorisis (even in the extant fragments of Sophocles his realisation is limited to understanding that his useless instrument can be broken) and so is not shown to have experienced catharsis as a result of his ordeal, the vector of mythological transformation is set towards the development of Thamyris' capacity for independent thought and action.

The intertextual study of Annensky's treatment of the legend of Thamyris has shown that the key narrative construct of the mythological plotline underwent a striking transformation, achieved through the reversal of Classical mythologemes and motifs relating to the representation of the hero's physical and spiritual capacities. With the help of the three stage approach ('Exposition', 'Conflict and Peripeteia', 'Anagnorisis') it has become been possible to trace Annensky's transposition of individual mythonarremes of the key narrative construct. While maintaining the tripartite structure of the key narrative construct and its semantic

impetus, Annensky transforms the connotations of each mythonarreme inherited through intertextual dialogue with the Classical hypertext:



As shown in the diagram above, in the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, Annensky transposes the mythologeme of disrespect for the Muses, which in Antiquity is responsible for the singer's negative representation, to his divine mother, creating an alternative mood in the first stage of the dramatic action and preparing the audience for the transformation of the hero's role. Annensky's innovative interpretation of Thamyris at the first stage of the dramatic action (corresponding to the first mythonarreme of the key narrative construct) is viewed in the chapter as the transformation of a hubristic invidual into a reclusive musician, deprived of his traditional boastfulness, arrogance and abusiveness. It is possible to suggest several reasons for this transformation: the first relates to the sphere of professional creativity (an artistic gift potentially atones for unfriendliness, reclusiveness or callousness); the second is connected with authorial self-association (the hero represented in the Classical hypertext excluded any possibility of self-identification, which led Annensky to remove the traits of arrogance and boastfulness, transformed in his play into a loss of confidence in the poet's own personal creative abilities).

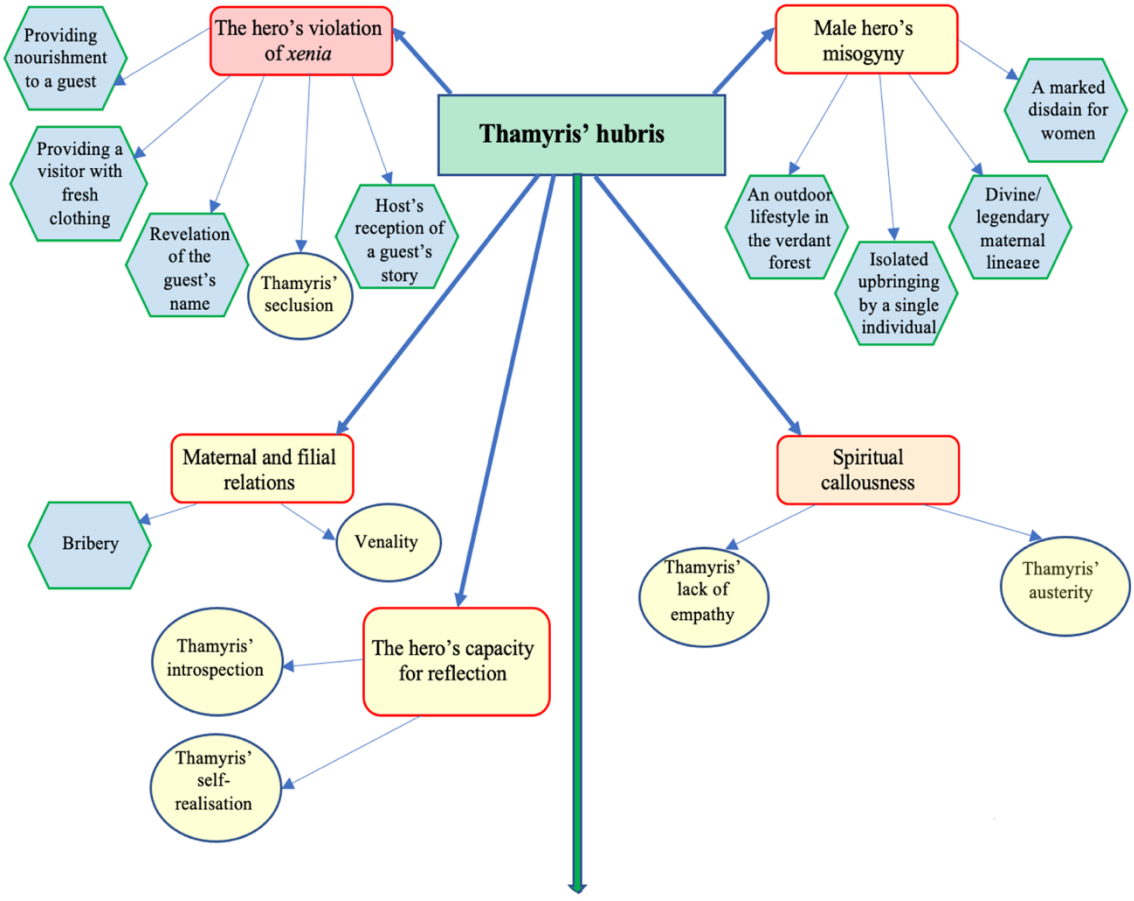
A similar pattern is present in Annensky's treatment of the second mythonarreme, Thamyris' contest with the Muses, which is maintained in a symbolic aspect: the contest takes place,

but the hero does not participate in it and so remains untainted by his traditional guilt. Although a number of intra-mythological motifs, such as Thamyris' physical attraction to the Muse and his desire to wed her, are maintained, the function of the second mythonarreme of the key narrative construct is altered. Whereas in Antiquity the contest served as the motivation for the Muses' anger, provoked by Thamyris' desire to challenge the gods, in Annensky's play its narrative function is transformed: the contest is deployed as a means of characterising the dichotomy between Thamyris and the conniving divine characters of the play. The relationship between the hero and the gods in the mythological plotline of Thamyris may be viewed as a balance, in terms of which, in the Classical tradition, the divine Muses outweigh Thamyris in the justice of their actions. In Annensky's rendition the balance is shifted by a down-grading in the representation of the divine characters (Silenus and Argiope), whose actions (the contest, which causes Thamyris' downfall, is suggested, planned and carried out through their manipulations) and manner of speech (Silenus speaks in a low register, marked by colloquialisms, clichés and anachronisms) fall short of Thamyris' pure and dignified conduct and locution. The role of the gods is thus reduced from noble and righteous avengers of mortal *hubris*, to inferior foils to Thamyris; out of lustful passion and jealousy (Argiope) or a desire to deride (Silenus) they destroy the talent of a spiritually greater being than themselves.

In the third dramatic stage of the Russian play, constructed by a transposition of the final mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, the Muses' punishment of Thamyris, Annensky chooses a negative response to the intertextual dialogue with the Classical hypertext: he transforms the function of the mythological plotline from a narrative relating the downfall of a punished mortal to a revelation of the fate of a suffering poet, deprived of his greatest treasure. Although Annensky adheres to the binary structure of the mythonarreme of the punishment and its key mythologemes (the mythologemes of blindness and of the loss of song), thus preserving the motif of divine punishment, he relieves his hero of the humiliation to which he is subjected in the Classical tradition by endowing him with active agency. In contrast to the Classical hypertext, in which Thamyris was

deprived of both skill and sight by the Muses and so was rendered a physical and emotional cripple, Annensky's hero is endowed with the capacity to carry out the corporeal aspect of his punishment himself, taking over the punitive function of the gods. Thus, with the help of an intertextual analysis, it has become possible to offer a new interpretation not only of the separate narrative elements, but also of the system of *dramatis personae*, the character of the hero, and the structural organisation of the play as a whole.

A cumulative representation of the three dramatic stages of Annensky's drama is offered in the form of a diagram, which illustrates the interrelation of mythologemes and motifs in connection to each element of the key narrative construct:



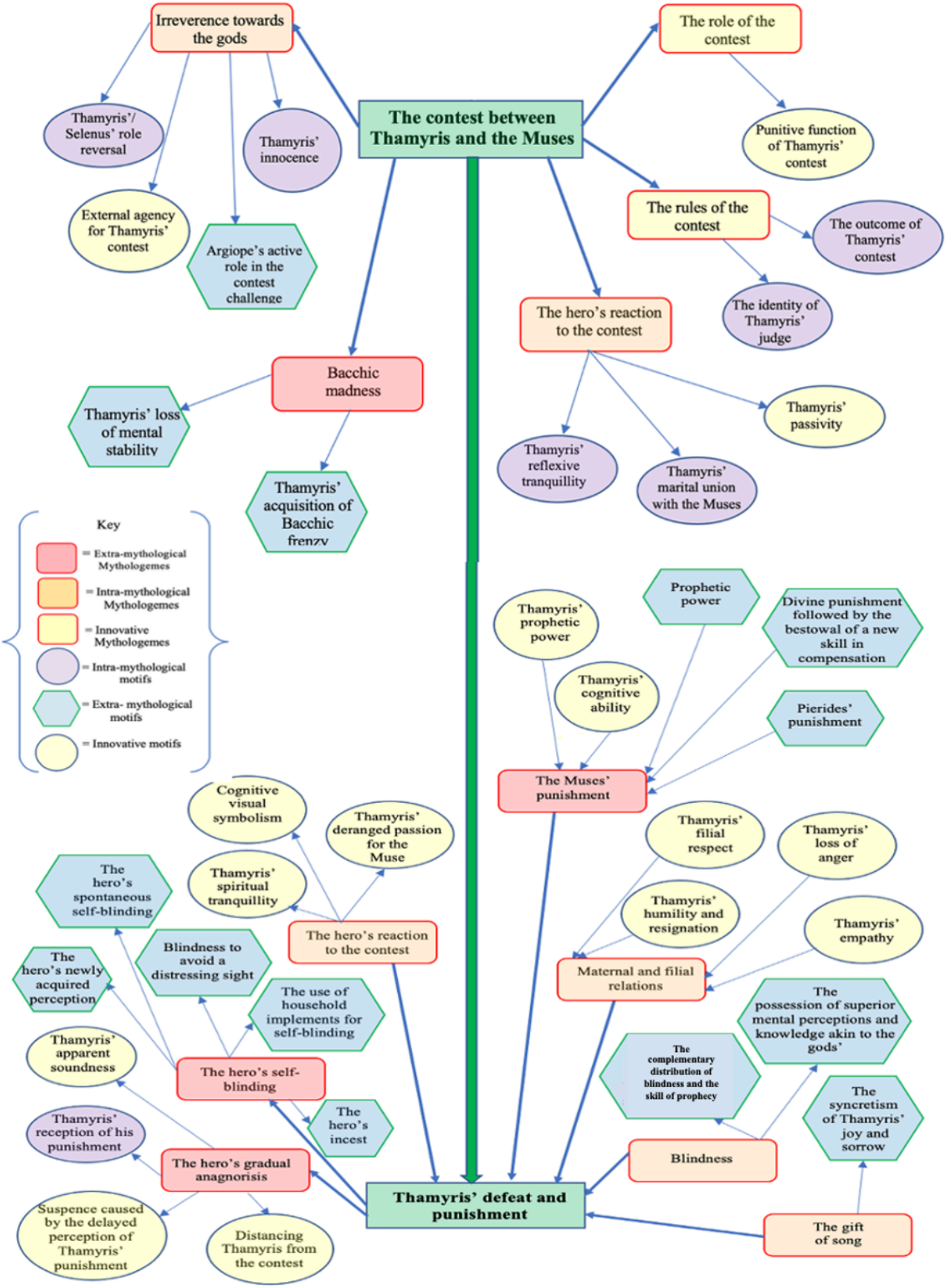


Fig. 17. The mythoplastic model of Annensky's play Famira-kifared

The symbolic use of artefacts and colour enables Annensky (in contrast to the Classical tradition, wherein the hero's mythological existence is terminated after his punishment) to conclude his tragedy with new hope for the future (the final scene of the play is entitled 'Сцена двадцатая заревая'): in the same way as a new dawn will come, the name of Thamyris, the Thracian poet, will remain alive for posterity.

Through transforming Ancient sources, Annensky created a new sub-genre of Bacchic drama by conflating features of Classical tragedies with elements which can be traced back to 'the farcical and rumbustious Attic genre of the satyr-play'.[124] Annensky's synthesis of tragic and satyr elements appears to be in keeping with the performative proximity of the two dramatic genres, in which 'the same poets, chorêgoi, choruses, actors, and performance-space were involved; meters, staging conventions, and diction were broadly similar; and even the plots themselves were cut from the same mythological-heroic cloth.'[125] Annensky's inclusion of traditional features of a satyr-play such as 'shameless and grotesque stage figures, an emphasis on grosser bodily functions (food and drink, energetic physical antics), and non-human choruses',[126] which are manifested in the characters of Silenus and his two Satyr sons, who are all described as having horns, being fat and sweaty ('По лицу…струится пот'), sexually overt (he mocks Thamyris for celibacy 'Плохо спишь / Без женщины, Фамира, если молод,') and in constant possession of wine ('доброго бокала... Хочешь: дам - Натянемся по холодку винишки'), all point towards his engagement with the traditional structure of Dionysian performances (in which the staging of three tragedies was followed by a satyr-play) in his tetralogy.

Annensky's crossing of genre boundaries signals that Classical satyr-plays serve as the object of travesty in his drama, which could account for why he did not assimilate the primary

[124] Kelly, 1986, p.5.
[125] Griffith, 2015, p.15.
[126] Griffith, 2015, p.16.

defining feature of a satyr-play: a Chorus consisting of Satyrs, dressed in elaborate and sexually explicit costumes (cf. the image below, depicting Silenus as a fat, bald little old man with donkey ears and a tail):[127]

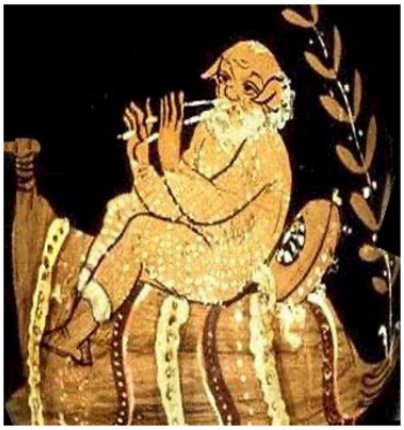


Fig. 18. A Sicilian Red Figure Lekythos depicting Silenus, c.350-325 B.C. Attributed to the Lentini Group. Object number: Malibu 86.AE.399, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

However, in a potential allusion to the linguistic bawdiness of Classical satyr-plays, Annensky expresses impropriety on the lexical level of his play. *Famira-kifared* contains a novel stylistic interplay between the use of prose (in the speech of the Satyrs) and different registers of poetry (elevated in Thamyris' locution and low in the speech of Silenus, tainted by colloquialisms, e.g. 'Ну, этим-то, положим, ты покуда / Не очень стеснена', clichés, e.g. 'Перед тобой, как лист перед травой' and anachronisms, e.g. 'Скрипач-то холостой?'[128]), which brings the play close to the genre of Roman *satura* or Menippean satire. Through intertextual dialogue with the Classical hypertext Annensky transforms the genre of his play, which syncretically combines lyrical, musical and visual aspects of dramatic art.

Annensky's assimilation of the genre of Roman Satura or Menippean Satire is manifested in his synthesis of fantastical and mystical elements with naturalistic features, his

[127] The image above is reproduced from https://www.theoi.com/.
[128] The anachronistic reference to a violin was pointed out by Nikolay Gumilev, in his review of Annensky's play (Gumilev, 1999, pp.177-178). On the use of anachronisms in Annensky's translations see also Gasparov, 1999, pp.591-600.

construction of inter-character dialogue across ontological planes (mortals conversing with earthly and celestial deities), his experimental depiction of sub-normal psychological extremities (such as madness, fantasies, passions, self-harming desires), his inclusion of colloquial, parodic commentary (for example in the speeches of the Chorus, Silenus and the two Satyrs), his depiction of eccentric violation of etiquette norms, as well as his introduction of oxymoronic combinations within his characters (a hermit prince) and sudden convergences of incompatible elements (celibacy and lust; hatred and love).

The decision to give his most 'anti-Dionysian' play the genre subtitle of 'Bacchic drama', a choice seen as ironic by Vadim Polonsky,[129] may be accounted for in the context of Annensky's polemics with Vyacheslav Ivanov on the nature of tragedy. Whereas Ivanov adhered to Dionysian principles in art, operating with concepts of *sobornost'* and unity (e.g. the congregation of people in a dramatic horus is associated with the choir in a religious setting),[130] Annensky placed primary emphasis on individualisation and solitariness. Annensky's decision to describe his *Famira-kifared,* a drama revealing the fate of a hermit-like artist, maltreated and maimed by a coarse and petty throng[131] including Satyrs, the traditional retinue of Bacchus, as a "Bacchic drama" can be regarded as a polemical response to Vyacheslav Ivanov's views on the Dionysian roots of theatre. Annensky's innovative Bacchic drama, containing elements of travesty of Ancient mythology, functions as the poet's literary legacy whose dramatic techniques will find reflection in later Neo-mythological plays, such as Maxim Kurochkin's *Istrebitel' klassa Medea*, Evgenii Grishkovets's *Osada* and Innokenty Afanasyev's *Svideteli kulta ili uzhin u Minotavra*, analysed in the conclusion.

[129] Polonsky, 2011, p.27.
[130] Bondar', p.3.
[131] It is possible that Annensky establishes an intertextual dialogue with Pushkin in his treatment of the theme of a poet and crowd, most vividly expressed in Pushkin's poem 'The Poet and the Crowd' (1828) with its symbolic epithet from Book VI of *Virgil's Aeneid* (257) 'Procul este, profani'. Pushkin's poem is one of the key texts on which Ivanov builds his argument for new symbolist forms of art in one of his earliest essays 'Poet i chern'' (Vesy, no. 3, 1904) which Annensky certainly knew and may well have reacted to in *Famira-Kifared*.

Conclusion

I. A New Interpretation of Annensky's Neo-Mythological Tetralogy: as a System

The present thesis has identified a literary genre of *Neo-mythological drama* through an intertextual analysis of twentieth century plays, against the background of Classical mythological and philosophical hypertexts. Literary and philosophical texts have been analysed in the thesis, in the context of archaeological, sculptural and numismatic evidence (Ancient Greek sculpture, pottery, vase-painting, coinage, Etruscan mirrors, Roman sarcophagi), introducing a new *interdisciplinary* dimension into the reception of Classical mythology in Russian Neo-mythological drama.

A new interpretation of Annensky's system of mythological plays which mutually complement each other is based in the thesis on the novel concept of a Neo-mythological 'cosmogony', located at the intersection of Ancient mythology and early Greek philosophy and science. Annensky is viewed in the thesis as a descendant of the Classical cosmogonists, who were the first in world culture to address ontological issues by constructing cosmogonical systems which 'differ from creation myths and theogonies'.[1] In his construction of a Neo-mythological cosmogonical system, Annensky adhered to the principles of cyclical cosmogony which could have followed the teachings of philosophers including Empedocles in its conceptualisation of the universe in eternal flux.[2]

Annensky's cosmogony, based on a complex interrelation of science (the four natural elements), philosophical doctrines (the formation of the universe) and mythological characters

[1] Gregory, p.1.
[2] Gregory posits four types of cosmogonies: 'A unique kosmos governed by design principles'; 'Multiple co-existent kosmoi generated by chance'; 'Cyclical kosmoi, of the Empedoclean or Stoic types'; 'Anti-cosmogony, of the Heraclitean, Parmenidean or Aristotlelian types' (Gregory, pp.240-241).

(gods, deities, heroes), can be represented by a novel diagram of a globe cross-section consisting of four concentric circumferences, located on a compass rose:

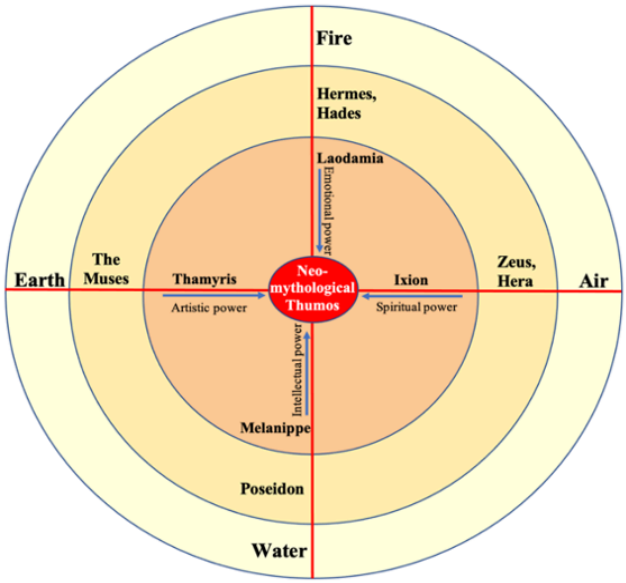


Fig.1. Annensky's Neo-Mythological Cosmogony

The *primary* constituent of Annensky's cosmogony is provisionally termed the *Stoicheia* level (στοιχεῖα = first, principal entities), since it forms the elemental atmosphere in which Annensky's mythological *oikumene* is situated. The *second* cosmological constituent, which is termed the *Theomorphic* level, comprises the sphere of the gods and lesser deities, whose contact with mortals is predominantly expressed in the form of conflict. The *third*, *Anthropospheric level***,** concerns the sphere of mortals, including heroes who are placed in a liminal situation and represented as invariably superior to the gods in spirit (Ixion), emotion (Laodamia), intellect (Melanippe) or talent (Thamyris). The *nucleus* of Annensky's cosmogonical system consists of what can be termed the Neo-mythological *Thumos*, a unique psychological phenomenon, defined as a superior force which is present in mortal heroes, who surpass all gods and deities in spiritual but never physical terms.

Each level of Annensky's Neo-mythological cosmogony is revealed through the most appropriate narrative means. The most fundamental level of Annensky's cosmogony, the *Stoicheia level*, pertains to the natural elements which the poet draws from *the key narrative*

construct of each mythological plotline (Melanippe's paramour Poseidon carries associations with water; Ixion's punishment is in the air; Laodamia ends her life in fire; Thamyris idolatrises stones or menhirs and identifies himself with them). Whereas in Classical accounts of the four legends, the elements perform only a contextualising function, in Annensky's tetralogy they are made integral to the setting of each tragedy, the description of the protagonists and their emotional representation.

The *Theospheric level* in Annensky's cosmogony is represented primarily through recourse to *extra-mythological* mythologemes and motifs, since the gods do not play an active role in the vast majority of surviving Classical accounts of the legends which he dramatises. The Theospheric level is therefore characterised by association with other mythological plotlines (e.g. in *Tsar' Iksion,* where Zeus is conceptualised through extra-mythological mythologemes inherited from the Pandora legend). The *Anthropospheric level* is created predominantly with the help of *intra-mythological* mythologemes and motifs, since mortal heroes, central to Classical legends, are represented through borrowed, albeit selectively transformed narrative elements (e.g. in *Famira-kifared,* where Annensky depicts his hero's *hubris* through intra-mythological motifs of irreverence towards the gods and misogyny inherited from the Classical hypertext). *Innovative* narrative elements enable Annensky to transform the four Classical heroes into complex individuals, leading to the emergence of what is termed here a Neo-mythological 'Thumos' (encompassing the notions of soul, spirit, will, passion, mind, thought, strength, courage). The *Neo-mythological Thumos,* the nucleus of Annensky's cosmogony, is viewed in the thesis as the poet's own innovative creation, constructed with the help of *innovative* mythologemes and motifs.

Annensky's cosmogony could have been inspired by Empedocles, who was the first Classical philosopher to posit the existence of a cyclical *kosmos*, which 'is generated [and] then

degenerates' in a never ending process.[3] The substance undergoing cycles (in later terminology called 'matter'), consists of what Empedocles terms the four 'roots' or elements[4] which function as the 'ontological anchor[s] of the universe'.[5] In Empedocles' teaching, constituent 'roots' are separated and re-mixed into other entities in a never-ending cycle, functioning as the fundamental building blocks of the universe.

Similarly, in Annensky's tetralogy the four natural elements function as the basic components (or 'ingredients') in his Neo-mythological cosmogony, not only as isolated parts (fire, water, air and earth, governing the four different mythological plots and forming separate areas of the universe), but also as fused compounds (the four elements are blended into an elemental universe and appear as a system within the settings of each of the four tragedies). Echoing Empedocles' doctrine, the four elements in Annensky's cosmogony participate in the characterisation of the central heroes, both on a corporeal level (physical traits and features are conceptualised through colours, textures and temperatures associated with the four natural elements), and on a psychological level (emotional responses and characteristic traits are expressed through chains of metaphors relating to the four elements).

The reflection of Empedoclean doctrines in Annensky's Neo-mythological cosmogony includes a possible borrowing of the Greek philosopher's conception of movement within the universe. Empedocles represents the cosmos as moving through infinite circles, which are always repeated in structure but are forced into constant cyclical motion by two opposing forces, Love and Strife. Love dominates at one pole, whereas Strife rules at the opposite pole, with each driving force increasing as the other decreases, in their movement through the curves of the circle. Love unites, resulting in the state of single being, whereas Strife divides, ultimately

[3] Gregory, p.78.
[4] 'πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ ἠέρος ἄπλετον ὕψος, 'Fire and water and earth and the immeasurable height of air', Empedocles, B17.
[5] Inwood, p.36

to a state of complete destruction.[6] Annensky's Neo-mythological cosmogony likewise depends on binary driving forces, which form the axes of the universe and condition its movement. Like Empedocles' theory, Annensky's conceptual framework is based on a cycle, which has end-states, when Love and Strife are alternately in dominance, and in-between states, when his *oikumene* is driven by a shifting temporary balance between Love and Strife.

Love and Strife in Annensky's Neo-mythological cosmogony act as agents, responsible for creating conditions in which diverse human tragedies can be located and revealed. The four opposite points of Love and Strife form a compass rose with quarter positions, which correspond to specific points of the cosmogony's four levels:

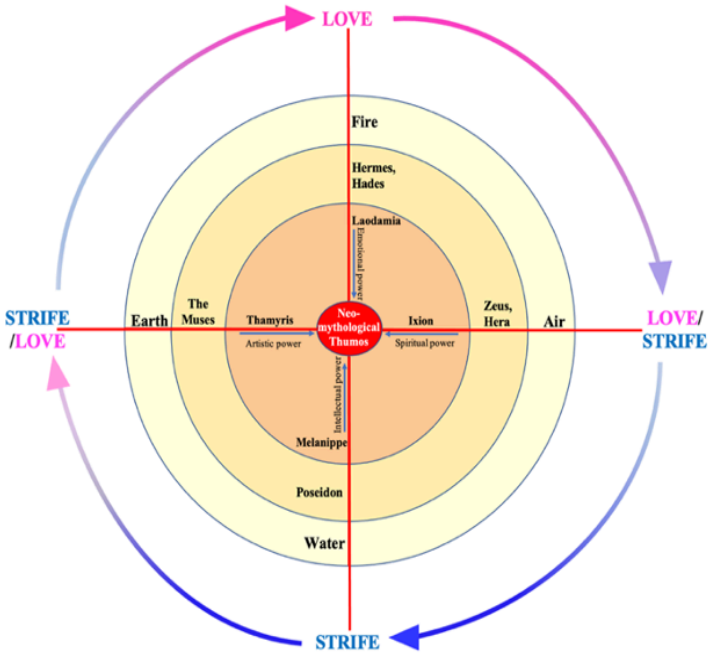


Fig.2. The four states of Annensky's Neo-mythological cosmogony

The north point of the Neo-mythological cosmogony is dominated by Love, acting as the driving force of Annensky's universe. Of all the four plays, the dramatic action of *Laodamiya* is most fundamentally governed by the force of Love, since it compels the heroine to undergo physical and emotional suffering, in order to unite with her husband in death. Conversely, the south point of Annensky's Neo-mythological cosmogony is occupied by the

[6] 'At times all coming together into one through Love, at other times all being brought apart by the hatred of Strife.' Empedocles, B17.

force of Strife, which dissolves the bonds created by Love. Strife appears most dominant in *Melanippa-filosof*, where the dramatic action culminates in a complete dissolution of all bonds, both societal and familial. Not only is Melanippe parted from her twin sons, but she also conflicts irreparably with her father and loses her status as a royal maiden. In Annensky's conception, Strife not only takes the simplest form of physical separation (Melanippe loses her infants; Aeolus is bereft of Hellen), but also brings about spiritual and emotional alienation (Melanippe is both estranged from her father and isolated from society by her 'unwomanly' intellect).

A tense balance between Love and Strife is maintained at the east and west points of Annensky's Neo-mythological cosmogony, with the two forces struggling against each other and so mutually preventing monopolisation of power. At the east point of Annensky's cosmogony, Love, despite still playing the more active role in the movement of the universe, is gradually eroded by Strife. Conversely, at the west point, Strife has the upper hand, although it is partly undermined by Love. A strained balance of the two forces can be noted in both *Famira-kifared* and *Tsar' Iksion,* albeit in a different distribution of dominant power, with the struggling of Love and Strife bringing about the closure of each tragedy. In *Tsar' Iksion* Love merges Ixion and Hera (or rather her cloud simulacrum) in a much-desired union, while Strife brings about a destruction of the hero's relationship with the gods. The two forces acting in tandem cause Ixion's penance: Love (his infatuation with Hera) serves as the reason for his punishment, while Strife dictates the manner of his torment (the gods invent a terrible, everlasting torture).

A predominance of Love over Strife is revealed in the final mythonarreme of the key narrative construct, since Ixion's rivalry with the gods plays a definitive role in the nature of his ultimate punishment: he is granted immortality in keeping with his desire to be a god, but made to endure endless torture in the aether. The hero's impious love for Hera determines both the second (attempted rape) and third mythonarremes (Ixion's deception by the cloud

simulacrum), thus driving the action of the tragedy to its closure, in the same manner as Love serves as the moving force in Empedocles' universe.

A shifting balance between Love and Strife, present at the west point of Annensky's Neo-mythological cosmogony, results in a condition wherein Strife has a marginal advantage over Love and so acts as the primary driving force of the dramatic action. In *Famira-kifared*, Strife governs the first (Thamyris' *hubris*) and second mythonarremes (the contest between Thamyris and the Muses) of the key narrative construct, causing the hero not only to engage in rivalry with the Muses but also to isolate himself from other living beings. Echoing Empedocles' conceptualisation of the two opposing forces, in *Famira-kifared* Annensky endows Love with the binary function of not only uniting but also, through unity, of causing destruction. Thamyris' devotion to music brings him together with the Muses, and causes his ultimate undoing at their hands, while Argiope's maternal love for her son simultaneously brings about their reunion and causes her to initiate the contest resulting in Thamyris' destruction. At the closure of the tragedy the two forces enter into a strained balance, since Strife causes Thamyris' punishment, while Love ameliorates the gravity of his suffering by enabling his mother to remain with him as his guide and solace.

Although Annensky appears to have assimilated Empedocles' basic model for the fluctuations of the universe, founded on a cyclic movement between 'four conditions' (two end-states, when Love and Strife are alternately in dominance and two in-between states governed by a shifting balance between Love and Strife), he introduced a vital innovation into Empedocles' proposed pattern: a clear chrono-topical structure, determined by the canonical form of Classical tragedy. In Empedocles' theory there is no indication of how long a full cycle takes, whether it occurs within a single generation, or whether its length depends on life expectancy or external governance. Whereas Empedocles merely states that the elements continue their motion ceaselessly, within a cyclic pattern of an unspecified duration, Annensky

determines a strict chrono-topical range within which each 'condition' exists in his four plays: the dominance of Love or Strife, or a tense balance between the two forces, is limited to the setting and temporal framework of each play (e.g. eighteen hours in *Melanippa-filosof,* twenty four hours in *Famira-kifared*). The existence of a mortal *oikumene* in the Anthropospheric level of a Neo-mythological plot restricts the duration of each condition to the self-limiting sequence of a human tragedy (to borrow Aristotle's terminology, harmartia, peripeteia and anagnorisis), concluded either by death (as in *Laodamiya*) or physical/emotional maiming (as in *Famira-kifared*, *Tsar' Iksion* and *Melanippa-filosof*).

Furthermore in Annensky's cosmogony, a complete cycle, traversing all four 'conditions' (regulated by Love and Strife), is determined not by a unit of time, but rather by a completed progression across ontological human states: only when the effect of Love and Strife on all four human states (a married virgin, an unmarried mother, a fallen king and a hermit genius) is assessed, can a whole cosmogonical cycle be finished. Annensky's cosmogonical universe is governed by an emotional-psychological cycle, which revolves around the collective *Neo-mythological Thumos,* condensed from individual manifestations of intellect (Melanippe), spirit (Ixion), emotion (Laodamia) and talent (Thamyris). In Melanippe's case, her *Neo-mythological Thumos*, manifested in her unparalleled intellectual strength, qualifies her to conceive her own theology, opposed to the pagan polytheistic religion of her ancestors, and more akin to monotheism. The *Neo-mythological Thumos,* manifested in Ixion's spiritual strength, facilitates Annensky's transformation of a character traditionally conceptualised as a monstrous transgressor, into a hero capable of dwarfing the gods and rendering them powerless to break or enslave him. Through her possession of the Neo-mythological Thumos, Annensky's Laodamia is revolutionised into a heroine of superlative emotional power, which enables her to assume a divine function by setting a limit to the course of her life and to freely face death. Thamyris' devotion to music conditions his possession of the Neo-mythological *Thumos*

(manifested in his artistic strength), empowering him to penetrate the structure of all matter and approach the realm of modern science.

Annensky makes creative use of Empedoclean concepts to expand his insights across the boundaries of human experience and aspiration, opening up routes of cross-reference and including 'modern' (early twentieth century) explorations of individual psychological states in dramatic situations. Thus, he establishes a two-fold literary context, setting his *dramatis personae* into the conceptual world of Ancient philosophy and reflecting contemporary interests in psychology and individualism.

The thesis offers a solution to the question of why, from a multitude of esoteric and well-known legends, Annensky chose the subjects of Ixion, Laodamia, Melanippe and Thamyris. A possible answer lies in Annensky's desire to create a mythological universe, represented above in diagrammatic form, in whose cosmic order each of the natural elements (air, fire, water and earth[7]) functioned as a thematic centre and was related to the universal psychological and ontological categories of spiritual integrity (Ixion), feeling (Laodamia), reason (Melanippe) and vocation (Thamyris). As a mythurgos, Annensky re-created four Ancient mythological plots and designed a mythical cosmogony which bound them into an internally coherent tetralogical dramatic system.

II. A New Interpretation of Annensky's Neo-mythological Drama: as Individual Plays

A new interpretation of Annensky's tetralogy is based in the thesis on his creative reception of Classical philosophy, which determines the overarching structure of each mythological play. In Annensky's version of the Melanippe legend, the novel characterisation of the mythological heroine lies in her ability to engage with philosophical theories and to

[7] It is possible to suggest that Ivanov's allusions to fire in his tragedy *Prometei* and to water in his tragedy *Tantal* were necessitated by the Ancient plots on which he based his tragedies. However the diagram, containing references to all four elements, which he included in the Preface to the second edition of his tragedy *Prometei* (1919) could present an intertextual response to Annensky's use of the four Empedoclean elements.

develop her own ontology. Annensky permeates his heroine's speech with the teachings of three philosophers, Anaxagoras, Parmenides and Heraclitus, expanding the scope of her spiritual understanding beyond what was known in Ancient Greece. In contrast to her Classical counterpart, who, despite being erudite and skilled in rhetoric, is limited in intellectual capacity, Annensky's Melanippe contains within herself a quality (*nous*) which the early Greek philosophers saw as fundamental to the formation of the universe, attaining through it realms of understanding believed to be accessible only to the gods. Unlike the Euripidean Melanippe, whose knowledge was instilled by her divine mother Hippe, Annensky's heroine acquires her wisdom from her own perseverance and study.

In contrast to the Classical tradition, in which Melanippe has limited connection to the Empedoclean element of water, Annensky imbues his tragedy with water imagery both on the level of plot-organisation (Melanippe unites with Poseidon, the god of the sea, surrounded by salty ocean-spray, and bears him twin demigod sons) and on the level of characterisation: Melanippe is stylised as a sea-deity through allusions to the sea, waves, ocean spray, humidity, rivers. Annensky draws on the symbolic associations of water with wisdom, fertility and fluidity of status, investigating the function of a female heroine who combines within herself qualities regarded as incompatible in Antiquity: intellect, social flexibility and maternity.

A novel interpretation of Annensky's treatment of the Ixion legend is based in the thesis on his synthesis of Classical and modern European philosophical teachings. Echoing Nietzsche's concept of Übermensch, Annensky explores the dynamics of the mental, psychological and emotional development of an extraordinary personality, whom he called a 'super-human of the Hellenistic world'.[8] Annensky's depiction of Ixion's attitude towards the gods has philosophical roots, predominantly in the teachings of Xenophanes, Aristotle and Epicurus. Ixion's initial conceptualisation of the divine sphere during his early years can be

[8] Annensky, 2000, p.105.

traced back to Epicurus, who maintained that if the gods existed, they could not be petty anthropomorphic entities full of spite, greed and deceit, but instead had to be ethical paragons, leading lives of pure contemplation in the intermundia.

The protagonist's expression of scorn towards the anthropomorphic gods, which he develops during the dramatic action, can be traced back to the teachings of Xenophanes, who criticises the Greek religion for its attribution of evil human characteristics to divine beings (e.g. theft, adultery, mutual deception). Developing the ideas of Aristotle and Xenophanes, who reject anthropomorphism and polytheism (instead proposing the existence of a single first mover), Annensky's Ixion challenges the hegemony of the Olympian gods by proclaiming their intellectual, moral and emotional inferiority to human beings. Annensky's innovative representation of the dichotomy between mortal and immortal power, results not only in an inversion of relations between a human hero and the pantheon of Ancient gods, but also in the introduction of motifs of isolation before all-powerful adversaries and of the retention of dignity and freedom of spirit in a situation of catastrophic personal downfall.

Annensky conceptualises his tragedy through the element of air, transforming the Classical tradition, in which the association of Ixion and the aether is limited to the location of his punishment. The key noun 'air' ('воздух'), which functions as a physical element of nature and as a metaphor, is used in association with both the eponymous hero and Hera, whereas the term 'aether' ('эфир'), refers to an idealised goal, a deceptive medium and a place of retribution, in which the hero is not only forever punished, but exists in a groundless limbo between gods and mortals, human frailty and divine immortality. The Empedoclean element of air, which functions both as the hero's idealised habitation and as his punitive vehicle, therefore determines the role of Ixion within Annensky's mythological universe. Annensky draws upon the symbolic associations of air with infinitude, transience and mental clarity, deploying them

to investigate the liminal position of an individual who, through superior intellectual and spiritual power, is able to comprehend matters of ontology and metaphysics.

A new interpretation of Annensky's tragedy *Laodamiya* is based on the poet's original transformation of the central figure, which he endows with three innovative attributes: the capacities for action, thought and speech, converting her from the silent mourning widow of the Classical tradition to a heroine capable of determining her own fate. By placing Annensky's tragedy in the context of Bryusov's *Protesilai umershii* and Sologub's *Dar mudrykh pchel,* the thesis offers a new hypothesis concerning the transformation of the Laodamia legend in Russian drama: the Neo-mythological plays achieve a complete redistribution of the relative narrative significance allotted to Protesilaus and Laodamia in Ancient accounts.

All three Russian dramatists develop the representation of their heroines through allusion to the Empedoclean element of fire. Annensky's tragedy is permeated with the key word 'fire', which occurs eleven times ('огонь' occurs six times and 'пламя' five times): the heroine is not only consumed by the flames of love for Protesilaus, but her very soul is metaphorically described as 'a pure and gentle flame' which 'flickers with a bluish fire'. After slander against her spreads like fire, the heroine self-immolates on her husband's pyre. The key concept of Annensky's tragedy is inherited by Bryusov and Sologub, who likewise make use of words denoting fire and flames: in Bryusov's play each occurs three times (four times metaphorically and twice literally); whereas Sologub employs the word 'flames' fourteen times (of which only four uses are literal and ten are metaphorical), and the word 'fire' three times in its literal meaning. The Empedoclean element of fire thus functions both as a means of characterising the heroine's emotional state and as the medium of her torment (false rumours) and destruction (the pyre). Recalling Heraclitus' use of the element 'fire' to denote 'soul' (DK B36) and 'love', Annensky draws upon the symbolism of fire as both a destructive element and the emblem of life, passion and emotional warmth, deploying its antithetical associations to

portray a heroine consumed both physically and metaphorically by the burning power of her affection.

Although Annensky conceptualises *Laodamiya* through the philosophical element of fire, his focus lies on revealing the psychology of a suffering heroine, whose strength is not in intellect (like Melanippe's) or talent (like Thamyris') or spiritual valour (like Ixion's) but in the power of her emotion. In a marked departure from the Classical tradition, in which Laodamia is of secondary importance and so merits only very limited characterisation (predominantly in the Latin elegiac tradition), Annensky creates a character whose emotional fortitude enables her to break free from cultural constraints. The motif of Laodamia's prophetic gift, which emerges in Ovid's version of the legend (*Heroides,* 13) and is later reflected both in Sologub's play (where Laodamia's quasi-divine consciousness enables her to achieve physical and spiritual victory over chthonic powers) and in Bryusov's version (in which the heroine possesses sufficient skill and strength to control the fate of her city), becomes the foundation of the dramatic transformation of Laodamia's mental capacities in Annensky's tragedy.

Despite the redistribution of narrative weight from Protesilaus to Laodamia and the consequent development of her mental capacities, Annensky does not endow Laodamia with a role which leads her to develop an intellect akin to Melanippe's, enabling her to mould her own philosophy by drawing on metaphysical or ethical tenets. Consequently, the role of assessing philosophical doctrines within the tragedy, which in Annensky's other three Neo-mythological plays is attributed to the mortal protagonist (Melanippe, Ixion, Thamyris), is transposed from the heroine to the god who is messenger to the sphere of mortals, Hermes. Within Hermes' speech, Annensky initiates a dialogue between Aristotle's conception of the gods, as beings who take delight in contemplation and do not engage in mortal activities (*Nicomachean Ethics* 10.8), and the Iliadic representation of deities as actively interfering in human affairs and treating human suffering as little more than a game (cf. Apollo destroying Greek ramparts like

a playing child scattering a sandcastle, *Il.*15.360ff). When interpreted in the context of Aristotle's conceptualisation of the gods, Hermes' ostensibly callous words concerning the transience of mortal suffering function not as a manifestation of divine cruelty but rather as an example of Olympian *eudaemonia,* from which immortal deities cannot understand human grief and pain.

A new interpretation of Annensky's *Famira-kifared* is based on his innovative conceptualisation of the eponymous hero through Classical philosophical doctrines of hylozoism (which presupposes that all things are alive) and panpsychism (maintaining that all things have a soul and so are conscious), and correspondingly adjusting the representation of his hero's surroundings and lifestyle through recourse to the Empedoclean element of earth. Key terms closely related to the Empedoclean element of earth permeate the play: Thamyris is surrounded by mountainous and rocky terrain, as pointed out in the opening stage directions; 'stone' ('камень') is repeated twenty-three times in the play, mountain/mountainous ('гор[а]/[ный]') eight times, while 'forest' ('лес') occurs nineteen times and grass ('трава') eighteen times. Thamyris' simple, hermit-like existence indicates his proximity to nature: he relies on fruits of the earth for nourishment; his dwelling is surrounded by trees and flowers; and his utensils are made from clay and reed. Thamyris treats a boulder lying in front of his hut as his only friend, anthropomorphising and glorifying rocks, stones and the earth itself.

Thamyris' idealisation of the earth and inanimate matter, existing in nature and not created by human agency, can be traced back to panpsychist views, first posited by the early Greek philosopher Thales and found within the works of Anaxagoras, Anaximenes, Heraclitus and Aristotle. In his speech to a white stone, to which he ascribes a soul capable of thought, Annensky's hero adheres to the tenets of hylozoism by assuming that rocks possess a form of life and experience pain. Expanding Thales' notion that 'all is endowed with soul and is full of spirits', Annensky bestows on Thamyris the ability to think beyond the extant teachings of

Classical philosophy, developing his own naturalistic theory at the junction of panpsychism and hylozoism.[9] Annensky's syncretic blending of the two philosophical theories enables him to transform the representation of Thamyris, denied mental development in Classical accounts, from a hubristic mortal defying the gods, to a reclusive musician who renounces company and comfort and only lives to serve art.

Recourse to Classical philosophy (Xenophanes, Epicurus and Aristotle) makes it possible to propose a novel interpretation of the relationship between the divine and mortal planes in Annensky's dramatic universe. In *Melanippa-filosof* the participation of the gods in the life of mortals brings grief and untimely death (Aeolus, the grandson of Zeus, is cursed with the death of two wives; Makareos and Kanake, Zeus' great-grandchildren, commit suicide on account of their incest; Melanippe suffers from her union with Poseidon, is blinded and separated from her children). In *Tsar' Iksion* the gods are shown as vengeful and cruel beings, who rely on deceit, intimidation and violence to govern mortals. *Laodamiya* complexifies the interrelations of the divine and mortal planes, since the gods are represented simultaneously as capable of performing the role of disdainful oppressors and as existing in a state of withdrawn, divine bliss, contemplating the transience of mortal life. *Famira-kifared* offers a travestied representation of the gods, setting before the public an envious Silenus, physically disgusting Satyrs and an incestuously jealous Argiope, who causes her son's demise out of fear of his union with the Muse of lyric poetry. Thus, the functions of deities in Annensky's tetralogy vary from indifferent pococurantes to cruel torturers, envious slanderers and repulsive caricatures.

* * *

The study of Annensky's innovations in his creation of Neo-mythological drama, reconfiguring Classical mythological and philosophical accounts, is based in the present thesis on the novel concept of *mythoplastia*. This concept has served to differentiate narratives with a

[9] It is possible to suggest that Annensky's reference to stones (or menhirs) could also go back to Slavonic cults of sacred stones which are explored in: Lozhkina, pp.300-315.

wholly creative impetus from *mythographical* texts on the one hand, responsible for recording Ancient Greek and Latin mythological plotlines, and *mythopoetic* accounts on the other hand, which are defined through their allusive functions in relation to legendary narratives (augmenting independent mythological and non-mythological plotlines). A narrative plotline, as shown in the thesis, has the potential for reduction to a single most important constituent, here called the *semantic centre* (determined on the basis of the mythopoetic hypertext). Establishing the semantic centre of a given legend is a prerequisite for identifying the *vector of narrative transformation*, which determines the direction of extension and subsequent modification of a mythological plotline, as it survived from Antiquity.

Unlike the mythographical and mythopoetic hypertexts, the category denoted by the newly coined term *mythoplastia* pertains to works engaging in the active process of mythological amplification and transformation, which takes place across synchronic stages of Antiquity through to modernity. The concept of *mythoplastia* rests on four interrelated narrative elements functioning as a system, intertextually inherited from the Classical hypertext, which forms the basis of Neo-mythological treatments of Ancient mythological plotlines.

The *first* element posited in the thesis, *the key narrative construct,* which determines the progression of a series of pivotal stages within a mythological plotline, is derived from mythographical accounts, and forms the backbone of mythoplastic texts. Although the key narrative construct is responsible for the development of a specific plotline and carries its semantic weight, it also has the capacity for reduction, since in mythoplastic texts of limited compass each constituent element of the construct can act as *pars pro toto* for an entire narrative sequence.

The *second* narrative element, denoted by the newly coined term *mythonarreme*, denotes the basic structural components, whose sequence makes up the key narrative construct. In relation to the mythological plotlines analysed in the thesis, systems of four (in the legends

of Ixion, Melanippe, Laodamia) and three (in the legend of Thamyris) mythonarremes, singled out on the basis of mythographical accounts, underlie the narrative.

The *third* element, termed '*mythologeme*', comprises a variable narrative unit, whose main function consists in amplifying and modifying a mythological plotline. Mythologemes are not responsible for structuring the axis of a plot and are thus differentiated from mythonarremes by their potential to vary, enabling mythological transformation. The number of mythologemes used to augment the key narrative construct in a given text depends on a variety of factors, including length, creative agenda, genre, etc. The present thesis has identified three types of mythologemes: *extra-mythological* (borrowed from another plot), *intra-mythological* (developed within the same plot) and *innovative* (created by the author for a particular plot). With each subsequent recipient of a mythological plotline, the diversity of mythologemes increases and thus broadens the scope for narrative transformation.

The *fourth* narrative element, termed *motif*, is the shortest narrative unit, responsible for the augmentation of mythologemes. Motifs are differentiated from mythologemes by their specificity, i.e., motifs are concrete realisations of mythologemes in a particular mythological text and cannot be broken down into more basic components.

The relative distribution of the types of mythologemes and motifs (*intra-mythological, extra-mythological* and *innovative*) in Annensky's Neo-mythological tetralogy can be illustrated with a summative table:

	Key narrative construct	Intra-mythological		Extra-mythological		Innovative	
	Mythonarremes	Mytholo-gemes	Motifs	Mytholo-gemes	Motifs	Mytholo-gemes	Motifs
Melanippa-filosof	4	9	14	1	3	9	22
Tsar' Iksion	4	5	13	3	3	14	39
Laodamia	4	5	8	3	-	23	30
Famira-kifared	3	7	7	5	23	5	21

Fig.3. The relative distribution of mythonarremes, mythologemes and motifs in Annensky's Neo-mythological tetralogy

The table above shows the development of Annensky's approach to myth-creation. In the first three tragedies of his tetralogy, Annensky decreases his use of intra-mythological mythologemes, which signifies his departure from the Classical tradition. He involves a prevailing number of extra-mythological mythologemes and motifs, which demonstrates his innovative technique of alluding to other mythological plots in his myth-creation. The number of innovative mythologemes increases across Annensky's first three plays, revealing his modernising approach to legendary narratives. In his final play, *Famira-Kifared*, exceptional in its genre, Annensky alters his principle of myth-creation by shifting the balance towards not only innovative but also extra-mythological mythologemes and motifs in order to transform the legend through allusion to other Classical plots. It is possible that Annensky's reliance on diverse Classical legends in *Famira-Kifared* is indicative of his authorial self-reflection, since a deep involvement of Classical mythology in a narrative concerning a withdrawn artist conscious of his superior talent points to the poet's self-conception.

III. The Impact of Annensky's Neo-Mythological Tragedies on Modern Drama

Section 1. Neo-mythological Drama of the Early Twentieth Century

Annensky's original plays and his modernising translations of Euripides had an immediate impact on twentieth and twenty-first century Neo-mythological tragedy. Paraphrasing the statement of Lydia Ginzburg, who saw in Annensky's poems features

anticipating the evolution of Russian lyrical poetry,[10] it is possible to say that his dramaturgy prefigured the development of Russian mythological drama. Annensky's closest followers, Bryusov and Sologub, inherited from his tetralogy not only their choice of mythological plot (Laodamia and Protesilaus) but also their development of the vector of mythological transformation (in shifting the narrative weight from Protesilaus to his wife). Following Annensky's interpretation of Laodamia's character, Sologub, in *Dar mudrykh pchel*, transforms his heroine into a thinking and speaking individual, who carries associations with another plane of existence, the world beyond the grave. Valery Bryusov, in *Protesilai umershii,* redistributes the narrative significance allotted to Protesilaus and Laodamia to the point of complete reversal. Bryusov's Laodamia no longer resembles female characters of Antiquity (cf. Annensky's and Sologub's heroines, who are reminiscent of Andromache, Cassandra, Persephone and Alcestis), but rather great Ancient male warriors: Hector (since both are responsible for preserving their homeland) and Ajax (since both commit suicide by the sword). Bryusov develops Laodamia's capacity for speech, thought and heroic action to the extent of displacing Protesilaus altogether from his traditional role in the narrative structure, and makes Laodamia the dominant agent in a newly created mythological plot. Thus, the Russian Neo-mythological tradition extends the process of transforming the characters of the Laodamia legend beyond the Classical hypertext.

The founder of the Acmeist movement, Nikolay Gumilev, published his tragedy *Aktaeon* the same year as Bryusov published *Protesilai umershii* (1913). Gumilev was Annensky's former student in Tsarskoe Selo and was highly influenced both by his poetry[11] and by his Bacchic drama *Famira-kifared.*[12] As pointed out by scholars, Gumilev was indebted to Annensky for his interest in Classical mythology.[13] Like Annensky's tetralogy, Gumilev's tragedy *Aktaeon* retains the key narrative construct of the Ancient legend (the hero's interaction

[10] Ginzburg, p.311.
[11] Timenchik, 1987, pp.171-178; Basker, pp.87-96; Nalegach, 2006, pp.35-41.
[12] Kolokolova et al., p.37; Verkhovsky, p.111.
[13] Shelogurova, 2014, pp.121-131; Bakulina, 2008, pp.200-203; Komarov, pp.55-61.

with Diana; the aftermath of his encounter with the goddess; his ultimate demise), but rejects the canonical distribution of roles prescribed by the Classical tradition. By maintaining the key mythonarremes of the mythological plot and adding scenic details from his literary predecessor, Ovid, Gumilev employs 'visual' aspects of the legend to introduce psychological motivation into his hero's conduct.

Recreating Annensky's dramatic technique of synthesising diverse types of mythologemes, Gumilev borrows intra-mythological mythologemes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, III (e.g. the hero's existence in a natural setting, Artemis' physicality); employs extra-mythological mythologemes from the Theban cycle (e.g. Cadmus' planting of dragon teeth, his foundation of a new city), from the legend of Io (e.g. the torment of Zeus' beloved) and from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* (e.g. a female goddess' unclothing ritual); and introduces innovative mythologemes (e.g. the hero's overt masculinity, his disrespect towards his ancestor, his proximity to nature). Through his deployment of innovative mythologemes characterising Actaeon's emotional superiority to other mortals (e.g. the Theban King Cadmus, Agave, Echion) and deities (Diana), Gumilev rehabilitates his hero from his passive role as victim by allotting him godlike aspirations. It is possible that the superhuman protagonist, the ability of a mortal hero to surpass the gods in his spiritual strength and the focus on exploring the psychology of a suffering individual were inherited by Gumilev from Annensky.[14]

[14] Although it is possible that Gumilev reflected Ivanov's interest in the psychology of the suffering individual, which manifested itself in his early work on the myth of Dionysus (1904-1905) in Tantal (1905) and later in Syny Prometeia, (1915), at the time of writing *Akteon* Gumilev had already distanced himself from Ivanov, rejecting his symbolist mythopoesis (cf. Wang, 2012, pp.415-430). Therefore it seems more likely that Gumilev was influenced by Annensky's acute interest in the psychology of the individual, exhibited in his dramatic tetralogy.

Like Annensky, Gumilev removes the didactic function of the Ancient legend with its conventional warning to revere the gods and pay them due respect,[15] and deprives it of its role as an exemplum, which consists in showing the need to sacrifice to a numinous divinity (two aspects which would have been perceived as anachronistic by his audience).[16] By drawing attention to human suffering, Gumilev endows Actaeon with spiritual and emotional power and consigns the goddess to the female roles prescribed to her by authoritative Olympians (Zeus). Even while the key narrative construct dictates that Actaeon remains a physical victim, Gumilev endows him (within the boundaries of the key mythonarremes) with the role of a courageous superhero aspiring to achieve the impossible, approximating him to the Adamist ideal of a dominant male, and restoring the concept of masculinity in the legend of Actaeon and Diana.

Among Annensky's followers was one of the greatest Russian poets of the twentieth century, Marina Tsvetaeva, whose references to her predecessor ('an incomparable poet', 'несравненный поэт'; 'the immortal word of Annensky', 'бессмертное анненское слово'[17]) manifest the highest degree of admiration. The lyrical nature of Tsvetaeva's uncompleted mythological trilogy *Theseus,* consisting of *Elena* (planned, but never written), *Ariadne* (1927) and *Fedra* (1928), brings it close to Annensky's plays, in its adoption of a genre intended for reading rather than theatrical performance.[18] Although the character of Theseus is used to unite three women (Ariadne, Phaedra and Helen), the main interest of Tsvetaeva lies not in analysing his desire for Ariadne or Phaedra (or indeed Helen, who, according to some Classical sources, was only seven at the time of her rape), but in exploring the psychology of her characters and the emotional world of individual heroines.

Tsvetaeva's knowledge of Ancient sources, including Euripides' *Hippolytus*, is indebted to Annensky's translation published in 1902. Tsvetaeva's vocabulary, including

[15] Schlam, p.82.
[16] Heath, p.196.
[17] Kramar', pp.397-404.
[18] On the lyric nature of Tsvetaeva's play see: Venclova, 1985, pp. 89-109; Torlone, Stadter Fox, p.xxi

colloquialisms, dialectisms, elevated lexemes and Church Slavonic forms[19] is similar to the stylistically diverse language of Annensky's translations and original plays. As pointed out by scholars, Tsvetaeva manifests not just an abstract awareness of Euripides but a detailed knowledge of his approach (e.g. the role given to the Nurse in revealing Phaedra's secret). [20] Like Annensky, Tsvetaeva bases her play on the key narrative construct of the Ancient legend, which consists of five mythonarremes: Hippolytus' tranquil existence; the revelation of Phaedra's passion; Hippolytus' realisation of his step-mother's desires; Phaedra's suicide; Hippolytus' fatal accident and Theseus' *anagnorisis*. Echoing Annensky's dramatic techniques, Tsvetaeva borrows intra-mythological mythologemes from Euripides' tragedy (e.g. a king's homocentric attitude, the gods' motivation of human folly, divine responsibility for a heroine's death, love as physical sickness) and introduces extra-mythological motifs (Aphrodite's birth from foam; Pasiphae's love of a monster; Ariadne's unrequited love; Callista's flight; Antiopa's violent death).

It could have been from Annensky's tetralogy that Tsvetaeva inherited a system of extra-mythological mythologemes, such as the plight of a motherless child (*Melanippa-filosof*); the vengefulness of a female goddess (*Tsar' Iksion*); the woe of a childless marriage (*Laodamiya*); the death of the first hero in war (*Laodamiya*); a male recluse's horror at seeing a woman in his private dwelling (*Famira-kifared*). Through innovative mythologemes (e.g. a wife's desire to remain loyal in marriage, the hyperbolisation of a husband's old age and physical repulsiveness, the displacement of a heroine from her role of step-mother, the proximity of a step-mother's and step-son's age, a heroine's prophetic skill in foreseeing the

[19] Venclova, 1985, pp. 89-109.
[20] For a comprehensive overview of Tsvetaeva's acquaintance with Classical sources through recourse to her biography see: Torlone and Stadter Fox, pp.ix-xii. Stadter Fox points out that Tsvetaeva's attention to the role of the 'chorus, the swift changes in language, the emphasis on erotic themes, and the reversal of expected character values suggest an approach to the material influenced by contemporary interpretations of Euripides' (Stadter Fox, p.21).

manner of her death, a heroine's absolution from slander), Tsvetaeva reshapes her Phaedra into a strong, independent and intellectual woman, trapped in a homocentric society.

Tsvetaeva does not reveal the divine motivation behind Phaedra's actions till the closing scene, allowing almost the whole play to unfold with the audience believing the heroine to be responsible for her love. This innovation signals that Tsvetaeva's main focus lies in analysing the spiritual tragedy of a rejected woman, forced to die of grief. Thus, Tsvetaeva not only models her heroine on Annensky's characterisation of Phaedra, as 'one of those women whose words reveal her character and make us search the concealed depths of her heart',[21] but also borrows extensively his techniques of myth-making in her syncretic blending of innovative, intra-mythological and extra-mythological mythologemes and motifs.

The relative distribution of different types of mythologemes (*intra-mythological, extra-mythological* and *individual innovative*) in relation to the key narrative construct in early twentieth Neo-mythological drama can be shown with the help of a table:

	Key narrative construct	**Intra-mythological**		**Extra-mythological**		**Innovative**	
	Mytho-narremes	**Mytholo-gemes**	**Motifs**	**Mytholo-gemes**	**Motifs**	**Mytholo-gemes**	**Motifs**
Sologub's Dar mudrykh pchel	4	4	6	1	2	11	19
Bryusov's Protesilai umershii	4	3	5	2	3	10	23
Gumilev's Aktaeon	4	3	4	4	10	7	13
Tsvetaeva's Fedra	5	4	5	9	6	9	20

Fig. 4. The relative distribution of mythonarremes, mythologemes and motifs in early 20th Neo-mythological drama.

The table demonstrates that Annensky's followers shared his approach to myth-creation. Bryusov and Sologub shift the balance of their plays towards the inclusion of innovative mythologemes and motifs, whereas Gumilev and Tsvetaeva draw heavily on extra-mythological motifs, inherited from multiple, chronologically diverse, sources. Like Annensky,

[21] Annensky, 2000, p.35.

his followers show a decreased reliance on intra-mythological narrative elements and include a greater number of innovative/extra-mythological mythologemes and motifs, confirming the overall modernising tendency of their tragedies.

Section 2. Neo-mythological Drama of the Late Twentieth and early Twenty-First Centuries

The narrative transformation of Ancient mythological plots, analysed in the thesis on four narrative levels, was inherited by a number of twentieth-/twenty-first century dramatists who, like Annensky, introduced *structural* changes into their plays, shifting their focus from *fabula* to *dramatis personae*. Contemporary writers enrich their mythological plays through adopting features characteristic of Annensky's *creative* approach to mythology which synthesised the *aestheticisation* (through the focus on aesthetic values and the cult of beauty) and *psychologisation* of Ancient myths (through emphasis on the representation of the emotional states of characters), their *intellectualisation* (through involvement of Ancient philosophy), their *desacralisation* (through overturning the relationships between the gods and mortals) and their *modernisation* on all levels, including the level of poetic language (the use of modern colloquialisms and *realia*, such as Apollo's violin) and references to current ideas of the time (evolution/eugenics, religious scepticism, Nietzsche's *Übermensch*). Like Annensky, twentieth-/twenty-first century playwrights appear less interested in the reconstruction of mythological plots than in appealing to modernity through mythology, which results in the yoking of epic formulas with anachronistic details (e.g. 'rosy-fingered Dawn' and a modern dance, Sirtaki, in Marina Khlebnikova's *Repetitsiiya*). The intertextual employment of varied allusions in twentieth-/twenty-first century Neo-mythological plays (e.g. so-called University drama, composed by intellectual writers and aimed at an educated audience) is parallel to Annensky's dramatic technique of anachronistically combining an immense variety

of *textual* sources from different epochs (Classical and contemporary European).[22] Extending Annensky's treatment of his literary heritage, modern playwrights borrow extra-mythological mythologemes not only from the Classical tradition, but also from Russian literature (e.g. the works of Pushkin, Lermontov, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky and Chekhov).

The presence of all five characteristic features of Annensky's dramatic heritage in twentieth and twenty-first century mythological plays: *narrative* (on all four levels identified in the thesis), *structural* (shifting focus from *fabula* to *dramatis personae*), *textual* (the anachronistic fusion of chronologically diverse sources), *creative* (a combination of the modernisation, intellectualisation, aestheticisation, psychologisation and desacralisation of mythology), and *linguistic* (through his translations), points to Annensky's impact on twentieth-/twenty-first century drama. Although modern Neo-mythological drama contains a synthesis of Annensky's representative dramatic features, the individual peculiarity of each play is determined by the idiosyncratic distribution of balance between them. Twentieth-/twenty-first century dramatists adopt Annensky's *narrative* means of mythological transformation on all four narrative levels (the ability to reduce the key narrative construct, omitting individual mythonarremes which function as *pars pro toto;* the introduction of innovative mythologemes; the borrowing of extra-mythological and intra-mythological mythologemes and motifs). Following Annensky's dramatic strategy, twentieth-/twenty-first century playwrights shift their focus from the mythological plot to the emotional world of their characters. In addition to imitating *narrative* and *structural* peculiarities of Annensky's tetralogy, modern mythological drama inherits characteristic features of the *poetic language* of his translations of Euripides' tragedies.[23]

---

[22] As was demonstrated by Anikin, Annensky was indebted to European (Charles Baudelaire, Leconte de Lisle, Gérard de Nerval) and Russian literature, especially Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, Nekrasov, Dostoevsky (Anikin, (C) 2011, pp.259-272).

[23] A synthesis of highly elevated and colloquial vocabulary, characteristic of Annensky's translations of Euripides' tragedies (*The Phoenician Women, Troades, Hecuba, Medea*) is used in Voloshina's *Antigona* (2013*)*, Grinvald's

Like Annensky, Lyudmila Razumovskaya in her play *Medea* relies on a mythoplastic structure based on the key narrative construct of her chosen Ancient mythological plot, which consists of a succession of four mythonarremes (Medea's discovery of Jason's infidelity; the fire at Corinth; the news of Glauce's death; Medea's last encounter with her children). Emulating Annensky's technique of anachronistically interweaving narrative details inherited from chronologically diverse sources, Razumovskaya augments the key narrative construct of the plot with the help of intra-mythological mythologemes, going back to Classical (Hesiod's *Theogony*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses,* Book 7, Pindar's *Fourth Pythian Ode* and Apollonius' *Argonautica*) and Modern European texts. For example, it is from Jean Anouilh's *Medea,* that Razumovskaya inherits the intra-mythological mythologemes of the heroes' physiological attitude to love, and of their mutual accusations of infidelity, as well as the motifs of the grave as the place of Medea's eternal silence, and of her plea for her husband's return.[24] Imitating Annensky's narrative technique of shifting the dramatic focus from *fabula* to characters, Razumovskaya concentrates her primary attention on the psychological representation of her heroes, transforming their canonical characterisation by showing Medea as a devoted wife and Jason as a morally inferior traitor. Thus, Razumovskaya inherits characteristic features of Annensky's approach to mythology: she bases her tragedy on the key narrative construct of an Ancient legend, introduces innovative mythologemes (e.g. an alternative reason for the heroine's murder of her children in the play's ending) and offers novel motivations for her characters' actions, creating a modernised legend of a loving and loyal Medea.

Annensky's creative interpretation of Ancient mythology becomes key to the modernistic experimentalism of Khlebnikova's *Repetitsiiya*. Inheriting the structural model of Annensky's mythological tragedies, Khlebnikova bases her drama on the key narrative construct of the

Kassandra (1990), Korkia's *Ariston* (2004), Khlebnikova's *Repetitsiiya* (2001) and Razumovskaya' *Medea* (written in 1981, première in 2013).

[24] For parallels between Razumovskaya's and Anouilh's plays see: Savinykh, 2018, pp.102-108.

Medea legend (available to her from Annensky's translation of Euripides' *Medea*), which is reduced to two mythonarremes (Jason's intent to marry King Creon's daughter and Medea's approach to her sons). In keeping with Annensky's dramatic practice, Khlebnikova shifts the focus of her play from the plotline to its characters, whose psychology she explores through innovative motifs: Jason's psychological frustration on account of the absence of an emotional response from his wife; Medea's mentally distancing from Jason, after murdering her brother to help him; Medea's reliance on her children for spiritual support. Medea's sons are presented as intellectual teenagers (cf. their references to Socrates), going through psychological and physiological crises. Sharing Annensky's interest in the universalisation of dramatic conflicts (manifested in his creation of a cyclical cosmogony), Khlebnikova underlines the ubiquity and timelessness of the problems faced by Medea, Jason and their sons: the title of the tragedy, *A Rehearsal*, offers a clue to understanding the dramatic collision of the play as an endless cycle of variations on the same plot.[25]

Annensky's syncretic approach to mythology could have influenced Viktor Korkiya (*Ariston)* and Asya Voloshina (*Antigona),* who shift the focus of their tragedies from *fabulae* to heroes: in their plays Antigone and Jocasta are represented as psychologically developed heroines, resembling Annensky's Melanippe in their intellectual curiosity and spiritual strength. Both Korkia and Voloshina follow Annensky in their synthesis of a variety of anachronistic sources, from Euripides' *The Phoenician Women*, translated by Annensky, Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex* and Seneca's *Oedipus*, to Jean Cocteau's *Oedipe Roi*. Both Korkia and Voloshina preserve the key narrative construct of the Theban King's legend, retaining the mythonarremes of Oedipus' recognition of his involuntary crime, Jocasta's mediation between her husband and her children, and Antigone's decision to accompany her father in his exile. Exploring the psychology of suffering, Korkia introduces the innovative motifs of Jocasta's angry accusations

[25] Fedoseeva, p.286.

against Oedipus for his coldness and her bitter recollection of their former mutual ardour. Annensky's aestheticising agenda is assimilated by Korkia in his emphasis on physical beauty and youth, as revealed through the innovative mythologemes of the vanity of an ageing heroine and her attempts to look physically attractive for her younger husband.

Another of Victor Korkia's plays (*Kozlinaya pesn' ili chto tebe Gekuba?*, 1999) likewise inherits Annensky's structural and narrative approach to Ancient mythological plots. Korkia retains the key narrative construct of Euripides' tragedy (known to him through Annensky's translation of *Hecuba*), which is manifested by the presence of the following mythonarremes: Achilles' shade demanding Polyxena, Hecuba's plea, Odysseus' escort, Polyxena's sacrifice. In keeping with Annensky's anachronistic synthesis of diverse sources, Korkia combines extra-mythological motifs from Ancient poetry (Homer, whose name is included in the subtitle of the play, 'a Homeric tragedy', Cicero, Aesop), with allusions to Medieval and Renaissance drama (e.g. Shakespeare) and to Russian novelists and playwrights (Griboedov, Pushkin, Tolstoy and Dostoevsky). Annensky's, Bryusov's and Sologub's tragedies on the Laodamia legend could have been the source of Korkia's extra-mythological mythologeme of a heroine's voluntary death, in order to reunite with her beloved. In keeping with Annensky's narrative approach to mythology, prerequisite in Neo-mythological tragedy, Korkia presents a series of innovative motifs pertaining to individual *dramatis personae*: Hecuba's Homeric laughter, Cassandra's infatuation with Neoptolemus, Polyxena's attachment to her doll Hecuba. Annensky's innovative technique of intellectualising mythology is reflected in Korkia's play through multiple references to Greek philosophers: Pythagoras, Plato, the Sophists and the Pre-Socratics. Thus, Korkia's approach to mythology, which synthesises an anachronistic combination of a vast variety of sources with intellectualism, modernisation, psychologisation and with the transformation of a mythological plot on all four levels (key

narrative construct, intra-mythological, extra-mythological and innovative mythologemes and motifs), could point to Annensky's influence on Korkia's dramatic techniques.

The organisation of Oleg Ernev's play *Tezei* (1995) retains basic structural elements deployed in Annensky's tetralogy, such as the key narrative construct of the Ancient legend, consisting of four mythonarremes (Theseus' arrival to Crete, his flyting with Minos, Ariadne's assistance, the Minotaur's slaying). The introduction of innovative mythologemes in *Tezei* (the ruler's abuse of power, his cynicism, impunity and self-justification), shifts the focus of the mythological narrative towards depicting the character of a cruel tyrant (Minos supported by his immoral accomplice Taurus) ruling an evil empire. Ernev's extra-mythological motif of incest between Ariadne and her half-brother Asterius, might point to Annensky's first tragedy, in which Melanippe's brother and sister, Makarios and Kanake, formed an incestuous connection. Like Annensky's Melanippe, Ernev's Ariadne is represented as intellectually superior not only to her male relatives (Minos and Asterius), but also to Theseus, whose canonical heroism is overshadowed by the strength of her mind. Like Annensky's tetralogy, Ernev's play draws extra-mythological mythologemes and motifs from an anachronistic conflation of Classical and modern texts, including the *Odyssey* 11.321-325, Apollodorus' *Bibliotheca* 3.15 and Plutarch's *Theseus* 16.1-3 (from which Ernev inherited the characteristics of Minos and Taurus), and twentieth century novels (André Gide's *Thésée* and Mary Renault's *The King Must Die*). Ernev's approach to mythology can be compared with Annensky's treatment of legendary narratives in his use of chronologically diverse sources, the image of an intellectually superior heroine, the structural amplification of the key narrative construct through the extra-mythological motif of incest, and the introduction of innovative motifs aimed at creating characters with a post-Freudian psychological complexity.

The Trojan cycle, which inspired Annensky's *Laodamiya,* is evoked in Ksenya Stepanycheva's *Bozhestvennaya pena* (2007) and Dainis Grinvald's *Kassandra* (1990). Both

are based on the key narrative construct of the mythological plot preserved in Euripides' *Troades*, while retaining intra-mythological mythologemes which are attested to in Russian drama (Maikov's *Kassandra* and Merzlyakov's *Kassandra v chertoge Agamemnona*).[26] 'The cruel games' of the Olympians, to borrow Annensky's characterisation of the philosophical impact of Euripides' tragedies, are 'underlined with the help of vivid descriptions of the torments inflicted by them'.[27] ln Stepanycheva's play the horrors of war are caused by the cruelty of competing gods and the ambitions of Greek kings, while Grinvald's Cassandra pays for Apollo's infatuation with grief, suffering and death. Stepanycheva and Grinvald employ the vector of transformation consisting in the desacralisation of Ancient mythology, found in Annensky's tetralogy, in which protagonists and Hermes draw on Pre-Socratic critiques of the anthropomorphic conceptions of Olympian gods. Like Annensky, Grinvald and Stepanycheva introduce innovative mythologemes of their heroes' complicated relationship with the gods (Apollo and Athena in *Kassandra*; Zeus in *Bozhestvennaya Pena*); like all four of Annensky's heroes, Grinvald's Cassandra and Stepanycheva's Odysseus remain true to themselves and refuse to become the 'playthings of the gods'. Grinvald's Cassandra is a psychologically complex heroine, surpassing deities in her strength of mind and spirit: she responds to the treacheries and deceits of Apollo and Athena with a prophecy concerning the coming of the true God, who, instead of demanding sacrifices, will sacrifice himself to save mankind. Grinvald's inclusion of the mythologeme of the spiritual victory of a mortal heroine over powerful Olympians may be regarded as an intertextual allusion to the central conflict of Annensky's tragedies, in which the mortal heroes, possessing *Neo-mythological Thumos*, show themselves to be spiritually and emotionally superior to the mighty gods.

[26] In the early twentieth century, the plot attracted the attention of a Ukrainian poet, Lesya Ukrainka (*Cassandra*, 1903-1907).
[27] Annensky, 2000, p.38.

Adhering to Annensky's representation of the divine sphere in *Laodamiya*, inspired by Aristotle's and Epicurus' philosophical concepts, Elena Isaeva depicts the world of the gods as anthropocentric in her play *Dve zheny Parisa* (2002). As in Annensky's *Laodamiya,* where Hermes credits the mortal sphere with inspiring the gods, in Isaeva's play the gods are portrayed as directly dependent on humans (constituting an intertextual echo with Grinvald's play *Kassandra*). A further parallel with Annensky's *Laodamiya* can be noted in Isaeva's implementation of an extra-mythological mythologeme concerning her heroine's death on a pyre so as to reunite with her beloved after death: Oenone refuses to heal Paris' wound and throws herself onto his pyre. As in Annensky's *Laodamiya*, the Empedoclean driving force of Love is the main catalyst governing the movement of the micro-cosmic mythological universe, constructed by Isaeva in her play. In her interpretation, the culmination of the Trojan cycle was determined by Love, since Love rather than Strife constitutes the primary cause of the city's ruin and the death of great heroes. Therefore Isaeva can be said to inherit Annensky's creative approach to mythology based on the same structural principles (the use of extra-mythological and innovative mythologemes and motifs, responsible for the transformation of the narrative), a similar conceptualisation of a Neo-mythological cosmogony and the predominance of intellectualising, psychological and universalising aims.

The relative distribution of the diverse types of mythologemes and motifs (*intra-mythological, extra-mythological* and *individual innovative*) in relation to the key narrative construct in Modern Neo-mythological drama can be shown in a table:

	Key narrative construct	Intra-mythological		Extra-mythological		Innovative	
	Mytho-narremes	Mytholo-gemes	Motifs	Mytholo-gemes	Motifs	Mytholo-gemes	Motifs
Razumovskaya's *Medea*	4	9	11	1	2	13	19
Khlebnikova's *Repetiziya*	2	3	3	-	1	7	13
Korkia's *Ariston*	3	5	7	7	14	9	15
Korkia's *Kozlinaya pesn'*	4	6	9	9	17	11	18
Voloshina's *Antigona*	3	2	4	3	5	8	11
Ernev's *Tezei*	4	4	6	6	8	13	19
Stepanycheva's *Bozhestvennaya Pena*	2	15	20	5	11	3	7
Grinvald's *Kassandra*	4	7	9	2	6	14	21
Isaeva's *Dve zheny Parisa*	3	6	9	2	3	8	17

Fig. 5. The relative distribution of mythonarremes, mythologemes and motifs in Modern drama.

As demonstrated by the table above, twentieth-/twenty-first century dramatists follow Annensky's compositional organisation of his Neo-mythological tragedies, in that they maintain his relative distribution of intra-mythological, innovative and extra-mythological mythologemes and motifs: innovative narrative units are predominant in relation to the other types. The only exception is Stepanycheva's play, which, despite providing an original explanation for the composition of the Homeric epics (Helen discusses the war with Odysseus, and wishes to commission a young poet who is blind and therefore immune to her beauty) is based on diverse accounts of the Trojan cycle and so contains multiple intra-mythological narrative units. In comparison with Annensky, twentieth-/twenty-first century dramatists (with the exception of Stepanycheva) seldom employ intra-mythological narrative elements and have limited recourse to extra-mythological mythologemes, but introduce a high number of innovative mythologemes and motifs, indicative of their views on modernising Classical mythology.

Tendencies to modernise Ancient legendary material are taken to an extreme in Neo-mythological travesties: Maxim Kurochkin's dystopian play, *Istrebitel' klassa Medea* (1995); Evgenii Grishkovets's *Osada* (première, 2003) and Innokenty Afanasyev's *Svideteli kulta ili uzhin u Minotavra* (première, 2005), whose creative experiments with mythology result in the reduction of the key narrative construct to a single mythonarreme. Afanasyev modernises the Minotaur plot by introducing references to contemporary practices (e.g. organ trafficking, for which two twin-sisters are brought to Crete). Developing Annensky's psychologising of strife, Kurochkin broadens the gender conflict of the Medea legend, by transforming the mythologeme of filicide into the innovative mythologeme of complete extermination of men by women in jet-fighters. Implementing a device which can be termed 'secondary mythologisation' (when commonly recognised phrasal units, such as 'Trojan horse', 'Sisyphean labour', **'**Augean stable', are unravelled into extra-mythological mythologemes), Grishkovets universalises the experience of war through an appeal to mankind's collective memory, modernising and deheroicising the cult of military prowess, epitomised in Homeric epic.

The technique of post-modernistic experiments with mythology consists in 'defamiliarising' the tradition of Neo-mythological drama through irony and travesty. Modern treatments of Ancient mythology can be likened to parody, through which the process of de-canonisation of Neo-mythological drama is taken to a new level, showing its relevance to modern culture. Parodies retain inherent features of Neo-mythological tragedies, such as intertextuality, narrativity and orientation towards Ancient mythology. The tradition of recreating legends, transformed rather than destroyed by parody, can be regarded as an open system and their parodic (or canonical) treatment is likely to be continued into post-modernistic theatre, 'defamiliarising' mythology through travesty (as in Grishkovets' *Osada*), dystopia (as in Kurochkin's *Istrebitel' klassa Medea)* or satire (as in Afanasyev's *Svideteli kulta*). In what can be termed a 'post-modernistic literary game', exemplified by Kurochkin, Afanasiev and

Grishkovets, a legendary plotline (despite its reduction) retains echoes with the Neo-mythological tradition through intertextuality, the allusive function of proper names (e.g. Medea) and the use of spatial constituents (e.g. Crete). Unlike Ernev's *Tezei,* which is implicitly directed at the Neo-mythological tradition as a whole (especially at Razumovskaya's overt dialogue with Tsvetaeva), Afanasiev and Grishkovets engage in the process of decanonising Neo-mythological tragedy through initiating an intertextual refutation of their literary predecessors.

The creative process of re-forming Ancient legendary plots, images and motifs in twentieth and twenty-first century drama can be traced back to the Neo-mythological dramatic movement initiated by Annensky and inherited by his followers, Sologub, Bryusov, Gumilev and Tsvetaeva. Following Annensky's dramatic techniques, modern Neo-mythological playwrights either maintain the key narrative construct of a mythological narrative, or reduce it to a semantically significant mythonarreme (operating *pars pro toto*). Like Annensky and his followers, twentieth and twenty-first century playwrights inherit intra-mythological mythologemes from different versions of the same mythological plotline in Classical and European culture, anachronistically combining Ancient and Modern sources. Innovative mythologemes serve to create new mythological narratives on the basis of the key narrative construct, imbuing them with contemporary relevance.

Following Annensky's tetralogy, later plays shift their main emphasis from the narrative plot to the psychological and aesthetic representation of characters and their behaviour in situations prompted by a mythological plotline; each mythonarreme of the key narrative construct in Annensky's plays and post-Annenskian drama serves to reveal the intellectual, emotional and spiritual characteristics of the *dramatis personae*. The treatment of mythological plots discernible in modern dramaturgy is characterised by a synthesis of psychologisation, intellectualisation, desacralisation, modernisation, universalisation, richness of intertextual

allusions, combination of a variety of anachronistic sources, which shapes new creative approaches to Classical mythology, inspired by Annensky.

As in Annensky's tragedies, the technique of experimenting with mythology in modern drama is syncretic. In Ancient culture, on which Annensky modelled his creative interpretation of mythology, legendary narratives had cognitive, social (regulative), aetiological (interpretative) roles; in Neo-classical tragedy, their roles were political-ideological and didactic-edifying; while in Neo-mythological drama their predominant functions are artistic, creative, aesthetic, psychological, 'blending the Ancient world with the modern soul'.[28] Understanding the process of myth-creation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries reveals the aesthetic, social and psychological views of modern playwrights, the intended reactions of their audience, the aims of modern myth-making and the role of Neo-mythology in contemporary society.

By introducing a novel system of four newly defined narrative elements, an original concept of mythoplastia, a new understanding of mythopoesis, a new classification of Classical sources viewed as a single hypertext, a novel interpretation of Annensky's tetralogy as a structured whole and of each play individually, and a precise tool for assessing the influence of preceding dramatic works on the unfolding modern dramaturgical tradition (based on the relative distribution of different types of mythologemes), the thesis enriches the studies of mythology, narratology, intertextuality, Classical reception, as well as the theory and history of drama.

[28] Annensky, 2000, p.48.

List of Illustrations

Introduction

Fig.1. The graphic model illustrating the concept of mythoplastia: the key narrative construct consisting of mythonarremes, mythologemes (intra-mythological, extra-mythological, innovative) and motifs (intra-mythological, extra-mythological, innovative).

Chapter 1

Fig. 1. The 'outline' of the mythological plot determined from two mythographic accounts.

Fig. 2. The mythonarremes of the key narrative construct of the legend of Melanippe.

Fig. 3. The semantic centre of the mythological plotline as determined from the mythographic hypertext.

Fig. 4. The structure of mythologemes around the key narrative construct of Euripides' Melanippe Sophe.

Fig. 5. A red-figure Apulian volute krater depicting the legend of Melanippe, Michael C. Carlos Museum, Georgia, United States of America.

Fig. 6. The structure of mythologemes and motifs around the key narrative construct of Ennius' Melanippe.

Fig. 7. The hypothetic organisation of mythologemes and motifs around the key narrative construct in the Classical mythological tradition.

Fig. 8. Motif structure of the mythologemes (key narrative construct, stage 1: The Rape and Birth mythonarreme).

Fig. 9. A red-figure Apulian volute krater depicting the legend of Melanippe, Michael C., Carlos Museum, Georgia, United States of America.

Fig. 10. Motif structure of the mythologemes (key narrative construct, stage 2: The mythonarreme of the decision to destroy the infants).

Fig. 11. Motif structure of the mythologemes (key narrative construct, stage 3: The Rhesis mythonarreme).

Fig. 12. Motif structure of the mythologemes (key narrative construct, stage 4: The Ultimate Fate mythonarreme).

Fig. 13. The mythoplastic model of Annensky's Melanippa-filosof.

Chapter 2

Fig. 1. The key narrative construct of the mythological plotline of Ixion in mythographic accounts.

Fig. 2. The distribution of motifs around the key narrative construct of the mythographic hypertext.

Fig. 3. The semantic centre of the key narrative construct in the mythological plotline of Ixion.

Fig. 4. The key narrative construct of the Homeric account of Ixion's legend.

Fig. 5. The organisation of the key narrative construct in Pindar's account of the Ixion legend.

Fig. 6. The distribution of mythologemes and motifs around the mythonarremes of the key narrative construct in Pindar's Pythian Ode II.

Fig. 7. The key narrative construct of Sophocles' account of the mythological plotline of Ixion.

Fig. 8. The organisation of the first mythonarreme (Kindred Murder) of the key narrative construct. Stage 1: Exposition.

Fig. 9. The organisation of the second mythonarreme (attempted rape) of the key narrative construct. Stage 2: Conflict.

Fig. 10. The organisation of the third mythonarreme (Ixion's deception by the cloud simulacrum) of the key narrative construct. Stage 3: Peripeteia.

Fig. 11. Red-figure Kantharos, Amphitrite Painter. London BM E 155. c.460 BC.

Fig. 12. Red-figure Campanian neck-amphora by the Ixion painter. Museo Campano.Italy. 330-310 BC.

Fig. 13. Red-figure Campanian neck-amphora by the Ixion painter. Berlin: PM F3023. 330-310 BC.

Fig. 14. Apulian red-figured crater, 310BC. The Hermitage Museum, 424 St. Petersburg.

Fig. 15. A drawing of the neck of the Red-figured crater, 310BC. The Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg.

Fig. 16. Etruscan engraved bronze mirror. British Museum, (PI. X). London. 460-450 BC.

Fig. 17. Relief with the punishment of Ixion. Side Archaeological Museum, Turkey. Second half of the 2nd century AD.

Fig. 18. Sarcophagus with the punishment of Sisyphus, Ixion and Tantalus in Hades, Marble. 170 AD. Musei Vaticani. Roma.

Fig. 19. The organisation of the fourth mythonarreme (Ixion's punishment on the wheel) of the key narrative construct. Stage 4: Anagnorisis.

Fig. 20. The mythoplastic model of Annensky's play, Tsar' Iksion.

Chapter 3

Fig.1. The key narrative construct of the mythological plotline of Laodamia.

Fig.2. The distribution of motifs around the key narrative construct in the mythographic hypertext.

Fig.3. The semantic centre of the mythological plotline as determined from the mythographic hypertext.

Fig.4: Corinthian black figure pyxis featuring Protesilaus. Ceramic. Mid-6th century BC. Louvre Museum. Paris.

Fig.5: Tetradrachm depicting Protesilaus (obverse) and his ship (reverse). Diameter 24mm. 480-470 BC. Numismatic Museum. Athens.

Fig.6: Drachm representing Protesilaus by the prow of his ship (obverse). Diameter 15mm. 302-286 BC. Numismatic Museum, Empedocles Collection. Athens.

Fig.7: Statue of Protesilaus. Marble. 138–181 AD. Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York.

Fig.8: Statue of Protesilaus. Marble. 2nd century AD. British Museum. London.

Fig.9. The distribution of mythologemes around the mythonarremes of the key narrative construct in Euripides' Protesilaus.

Fig.10: Sarcophagus with scenes from the myth of Laodamia and Protesilaus. Marble. 2nd century BC. Basilica di Santa Chiara. Napoli.

Fig. 11: Sarcophagus with scenes from the myth of Laodamia and Protesilaus. Marble. 170 AD. Musei Vaticani. Roma.

Fig.12. The structure of mythologemes and motifs around the key narrative construct in the Latin lyric tradition.

Fig.13. The organisation of the first mythonarreme (The hero's departure and demise) of the key narrative construct. Stage 1: Exposition.

Fig.14. The organisation of the second mythonarreme (The heroine's grief) of the key narrative construct. Stage 2: Conflict.

Fig. 15. The organisation of the third mythonarreme (The ghost's appearance) of the key narrative construct. Stage 3: Peripeteia.

Fig. 16. The organisation of the fourth mythonarreme (The heroine's demise) of the key narrative construct. Stage 4: Anagnorisis.

Fig. 17. The mythoplastic model of the Neo-mythological treatments of the Laodamia legend.

Chapter 4

Fig. 1. Aleksandra Ekster's set design for Annensky's tragedy Famira-kifared.

Fig. 2. Red figure terracotta hydria by the Meidias Painter 420–410 B.C. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Fig. 3. Attic red figure volute crater by the Polion Painter 420 BC. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ferrara.

Fig. 4. Graphic makeup of Tseretelli in his role as Thamyris alongside a depiction of Athena on an Attic red-figure Kylix. 490-470 BC. Staatliche Antikensammlungen, München.

Fig. 5. A poster for Tairov's production of Famira-kifared at the Kamerny Theatre, Moscow.

Fig. 6. The mythonarremes of the key narrative construct as determined from the mythographic hypertext.

Fig. 7. A summary of the unstable motifs preserved in the mythographic hypertext.

Fig .8. The semantic centre of the mythological plotline as determined from the mythographic hypertext.

Fig. 9. The mythonarremes of the key narrative construct and motifs of the Iliad.

Fig. 10. The mythonarremes of the key narrative construct and motifs in Euripides' Rhesus.

Fig. 11. Attic red-figure hydria depicting the punishment of Thamyris. 440– 430 BC. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Fig. 12. The mythonarremes of the key narrative construct and motifs in the extant fragments of Sophocles' Thamyris.

Fig. 13. Motif structure of the mythologemes (key narrative construct, stage 1: hubris mythonarreme)

Fig. 14. Red figure hydria by the Phiale Painter 440 B.C. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, Roma

Fig. 15. The structure of motifs in the mythologemes relating to the key narrative construct, stage 2: The contest mythonarreme

Fig. 16. Motif structure of the mythologemes in key narrative construct, stage 3 (the punishment mythonarreme)

Fig. 17. The mythoplastic model of Annensky's play Famira-kifared

Fig. 18. A Sicilian Red Figure Lekythos depicting Silenus, c.350-325 B.C. Attributed to the Lentini Group. Object number: Malibu 86.AE.399, The J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

Conclusion

Fig. 1. Annensky's Neo-Mythological Cosmogony

Fig. 2. The four states of Annensky's Neo-mythological cosmogony

Fig. 3. The relative distribution of the types of mythologemes and motifs (intra-mythological, extra-mythological and individual innovative) in relation to the key narrative construct in Annensky's Neo- mythological tetralogy

Fig. 4. The relative distribution of the types of mythologemes and motifs (intra-mythological, extra-mythological and individual innovative) in relation to the key narrative construct in early 20th Neo-mythological drama

Fig. 5. The relative distribution of the types of mythologemes and motifs (intra-mythological, extra-mythological and individual innovative) in relation to the key narrative construct in Modern drama

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Aeschylus. *Eumenides.* Edited, with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary by A. J. Podlecki. Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1989.

Aeschylus. *Eumenides.* Edited by A. H. Sommerstein. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989.

Aeschylus. *Fragments*. Edited and translated by A. H. Sommerstein. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2009.

Aeschylus. *Oresteia: Agamemnon, Libation-Bearers, Eumenides.* Edited and translated by A. H. Sommerstein. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2009.

Anaxagoras. *Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, Fragments and Testimonia.* Edited and translated, with notes and essays by P. Curd. Toronto: Toronto UP, 2010.

Annensky I. F. "Antichnaya tragedia." Publichnaya lektsiya. *Dramaticheskie proizvedeniya: Melanippa-filosof, Tsar' Iksion, Laodamiya, Famira-kifared.* Sostavlenie, podgotovka teksta i kommentiruyushaya stat'ya G. N. Shelogurovoy. Seriya Antichnoe nasledie. Moskva: Labirint, 2000, pp. 5-46.

Annensky, I. F. *Antichnyi mif v sovremennoi frantsuzskoi poezii*. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya V. D. Smirnova, 1908.

Annensky, I. F. *Knigi otrazhenii.* Izdanie podgotovili N. T. Ashimbaeva, I. I. Podolskaya, A. V. Fyodorov. Seriya Literaturnye pamyatniki. Moskva: Nauka, 1979.

Annensky, I. F. "A. N. Maykov i pedagogicheskoe znachenie ego poezii." Annensky I. F. *Knigi otrazhenii.* Izdanie podgotovili N. T. Ashimbaeva, I. I. Podolskaya, A. V. Fyodorov. Seriya Literaturnye pamyatniki. Moskva: Nauka, 1979, pp. 271-303.

Annensky, I. F. *Dramaticheskie proizvedeniya: Melanippa-filosof, Tsar' Iksion, Laodamiya, Famira-kifared.* Sostavlenie, podgotovka teksta i kommentiruyushchaya stat'ya G. N. Shelogurovoy. Seriya Antichnoe nasledie. Moskva: Labirint, 2000.

Annensky, I. F. *Pis'ma, v dvykh tomakh*. Tom II. 1906-1909. Pod redaktsiey A. I. Chervyakova. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel'skii Dom Galina skripsit, Izdatel'stvo imeni N. I. Novikova, 2009.

Apollodorus. *The Library, Volume II: Book 3.10-end. Epitome*. Edited by J. G. Frazer. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1989.

Aristophanes. *Birds, Lysistrata, Women at the Thesmophoria.* Edited and translated by J. Henderson. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2000.

Aristotle. *The Poetics, Longinus, On the Sublime, Demetrius, On Style*. Edited by W. H. Fyfe. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1953.

Aristotle. *Physics, Volume II, Books 5-8.* Edited and translated by P. H. Wicksteed and F. M. Cornford. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1934.

Arrian. *Anabasis of Alexander, Volume I- II*. Translated by P. A. Brunt. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1976, 1983.

Boccaccio, Giovanni. *The Genealogy of the Pagan Gods.* Vol. 1. Edited by J. Solomon. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 2011.

Boethius. *Theological Tractates, The Consolation of Philosophy.* Edited and translated by H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand and S. J. Tester. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1989.

Bryusov V.Ya. Protesilai Umershii. Tragediya v pyati stsenakh s khorom. *Russkaya mysl',* no. 9, 1913, pp. 1-31.

Callimachus. *Hymns and Epigrams.* Lycophron: *Alexandra.* Aratus: *Phaenomena.* Edited and translated by A. W. Mair, G. R. Mair. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1955.

Catullus. Tibullus. Pervigilium Veneris. Translated by F. W. Cornish, J. P. Postgate, and J. W. Mackail. 2nd edition, revised by G. P. Goold. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1988.

Catullus. Edited with a Textual and Interpretative Commentary by D. F. S. Thomson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.

Chaucer. *Chaucer's Translation of Boethius's De Consolatione Philosophiae.* Edited by R. Morris. Early English Text Society (Extra Series). Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1969.

Chrysostom, Dio. *Discourses*. Edited and translated by J. W. Cohoon. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1932.

Democritus. *Early Greek Philosophy, Volume VII*. Edited and translated by A. Laks and G. W. Most. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2016.

Diels, H., Kranz, W. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker griechisch und deutsch*. 6th edition. Berlin: Weidmann, 1951-1952.

Diodorus Siculus. *Library of History*. Edited and translated by C. H. Oldfather. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1933.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus. *Menander Rhetor, Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, *Ars Rhetorica.* Edited and translated by W. H. Race. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2019.

Edda. *Die Lieder des Codex Regius nebst verwandten Denkmälern*. Edited by H. Kuhn and G. Neckel. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1962.

Edda. *The Poetic Edda.* Translated by L. M. Hollander. Austin, TA: Texas UP, 1986.

Empedocles. *The Poem of Empedocles: A Text and Translation with an Introduction*. Edited and translated by B. Inwood. Toronto: Toronto UP, 2001.

Ennius. *Dramatic Fragments, Minor Works*. Vol II of *Fragmentary Republican Latin*. Edited and translated by S. M. Goldberg, and G. Manuwald. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2018.

Euripides. *Children of Heracles, Hippolytus, Andromache, Hecuba*. Edited and translated by D. Kovacs. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1995.

Euripides. *Bacchae, Iphigenia at Aulis, Rhesus*. Edited by D. Kovacs. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2003.

Euripides. *Dramatic Fragments.* Edited and translated by C. Collard, and M. Cropp. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2008.

Euripides. *Euripides, Selected Fragmentary Plays I*. Edited and translated by C. Collard, and M. Cropp. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1995.

Eustathii Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem. Edited by J. G. Stallbaum. Cambridge Library Collection – Classics. Vol. 2. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010.

Greek Epic Fragments. Edited and translated by M. L. West. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2003.

Gumilev, N. S. “Akteon. Odnoaktnaya p’esa v stikhah.” N. S. Gumilev. *Dramaticheskie proizvedeniya. Perevody. Stat’i.* Sostavitel’ i avtor vstupitel’noy statyi D. I. Zolotnitskiy. Leningrad: Iskusstvo (Leningradskoe otdelenie), 1990, pp. 56-69.

Gumilev, N. S. “Famira Kifared”. N. S. Gumilev. *Pisma o russkoy poezii,* sostavitel’ G. M. Fridlender (pri uchastii R. D. Timenchika). Moskva: Sovremennik, 1990, pp. 177-178.

Herodotus. *Herodotus With an English Translation in IV volumes*. Edited and translated by A. D. Godley. Loeb Classical Library. London: Harvard UP, 1920-25.

Hesiod. *The Shield. Catalogue of Women. Other Fragments.* Edited and translated by G. Most. Loeb Classical Library. London: Harvard UP, 2018.

Homeri Ilias. Edited by M. West. 2 volumes.Vol. 1. Rhapsodias I-XII continens, vol. 2. Rhapsodias XIII-XXIV et indicem nominum continens. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgart and Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1998-2000.

Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer. Edited and translated by M. West. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2015.

Homerus. Odyssea. Edited by M. West. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, 2026. Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2017.

Horace. *Odes and Epodes*. Edited and translated by N. Rudd. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2004.

Horace. *Satires*, *Epistles, The Art of Poetry*. Edited and translated by H. R. Fairclough. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1926.

Hutton, Henry. *Henry Hutton of Durham. Follie's Anatomie or Satyres and Satyricall Epigrams. With a Compendious History of Ixion's Wheele.* Edited by E. F Rimbault. London: Percy Society, 1842.

Hyginus. *Hygini Fabulae.* Edited by P. K. Marshall. Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1993.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav. "Dve stikhii v sovremennom simvolizme." *Zolotoye runo*, no. 3-4, 1908, pp. 86-94; no. 5, 1908, pp. 44-50.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav. "O poezii Innokentiya Annenskogo." Vyacheslav Ivanov. *Sobranie sochinenii v 4 tomakh*. Tom 2. Bruxelles: Foyer Oriental Chrétien, 1974, pp. 573-587.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav. "Prometey." Vyacheslav Ivanov. *Sobranie sochinenii v 4 tomakh*. Tom 2. Bruxelles: Foyer Oriental Chrétien, 1974, pp. 105-155.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav. [Review of] "Sergey Gorodetsky. Yar'. Stikhi liricheskie i liro-epicheskie." *Kriticheskoe obozrenie,* vypusk 2, 1907, pp. 47-49.

Ivanov, Vyacheslav. "Tantal." Vyacheslav Ivanov. *Sobranie sochinenii v 4 tomakh*. Tom 2. Bruxelles: Foyer Oriental Chrétien, 1974, pp. 23-75.

Kondratyev, Aleksandr. “Famirid.” *Zolotoye runo*, no. 1, 1908, pp. 44-53; no. 2, 1908, pp. 39-44.

Konon. *The Narratives of Konon: Text, Translation and Commentary of the Diegeseis*. Edited by M. K. Brown. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde. München, Leipzig: K. G. Saur Verlag, 2002.

Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae (*LIMC*). Zürich, München, Düsseldorf: Artemis & Winkler Verlag, 1981-1999.

Livy. *History of Rome*. Vol. 1, books 1-2. Edited and translated by B. O. Foster. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1919.

Lucian. *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*. Edited and translated by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905.

Lydgate, John. *Lydgate’s Troy book, A.D. 1412-20.* Edited, with introduction, notes and glossary by H. Bergen. Early English Text Society. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trűbner, 1906.

Mandel’shtam, O. E. “Innokenty Annensky. Famira-Kifared.” *Innokenty Annensky glazami sovremennikov.* Sostaviteli L. G. Kikhney, G. N. Shelogurova, M. A. Vygranenko. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel’stvo Rostock, 2011, pp. 375-376.

Mandel’shtam, O. E. *Kamen’. Stikhi.* 2-e izd. Petrograd: Giperborey, 1916.

Mandel’shtam, O. E. *Slovo i kul’tura.* Moskva: Sovetskiy pisatel’, 1987.

Nonnos. *Dionysiaca.* Vol. I, books 1-15. Vol. II, books 16-35. Edited and translated by W. H. D. Rouse. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1940.

Ovid. *Heroides, Amores.* Edited and translated by G. Showerman, revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1989.

Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. Vol. I, books 1-8. Edited and translated by F. J. Miller, revised by G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1989.

Pausanius. *Description of Greece*. Edited and translated by W. H. S. Jones. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1918.

Pindar. *The Odes of Pindar.* Translated with Literary and Critical Commentaries by J. Sandys. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1957.

Pindar. *Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes*. Edited and translated by W. H. Race. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1997.

Pindar. *The Works of Pindar.* Translated with Literary and Critical Commentaries by L. R. Farnell. London: Macmillan, 1932.

Plato. *Timaeus. Critias. Cleitophon. Menexenus. Epistles.* Edited and translated by R. G. Bury. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2005.

Plutarch. *Moralia.* Edited and translated by W. C. Helmbold, vol. VI. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1939.

Propertius. *Elegies*. Edited and translated by G. P Goold. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1990.

Shakespeare, William. *King Lear*. Edited by R. A. Foakes. Arden Shakespeare, Third Series. Abingdon: Routledge, 1997.

Snorri Sturluson. *Edda*. Edited and translated by A. Faulkes. London: Everyman, 1995.

Sologub, F. K. "Dar mudrykh pchel." Fyodor Sologub. *Sobranie sochinenii v 12 tomakh.* Tom 8. Sankt-Peterburg: Shipovnik, 1910, pp. 57-132.

Sophocles. *Antigone, The Women of Trachis, Philoctetes*. Edited and translated by H. Lloyd-Jones. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1994.

Sophocles. *Ajax, Electra, Oedipus Tyrannus.* Edited and translated by H. Lloyd-Jones. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1994.

Sophocles. *Fragments*. Edited and translated by H. Lloyd-Jones. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1996.

Statius (Publius Papinius Statius). *Silvae.* Edited and translated by D.R. Shackleton Bailey. Loeb Classical Library 206. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2003.

Statius (Publius Papinius Statius). *Thebaid, books I-VII*. Edited and translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 2004.

Strabo. *Geography.* Edited and translated by H. Jones. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1917.

Tsvetaeva M. I. *Ariadna. Fedra.* Moskva: Folio, 2012, pp. 5-130, pp. 131-250.

Virgil. *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid,* Books 1-6. Edited and translated by H. R Fairclough. Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1999.

Xenophanes. Edited by D. E. Gerber. *Greek Elegiac Poetry: from the Seventh to the Fifth centuries BC*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1999.

Secondary Sources

Abel, D. H. "Euripides' Deus ex Machina: Fault or Excellence." *The Classical Journal,* vol. 50, no. 3, 1954, pp. 127-30.

Aleksandrov, V. I. "Innokenty Annensky." *Literaturnyi kritik,* no. 56, 1939, pp. 115-134.

Alfaro, M. J. M. "Intertextuality: Origins and Development of the Concept." *Atlantis*, vol. 18, nos. 1-2, 1996, pp. 268-85.

Allen, A. "Sacrificial Negligence in Catullus." *Latomus, Société d'Etudes Latines de Bruxelles*, vol. 45, no. 4, 1986, pp. 861-63.

Allen, G. *Intertextuality*. London: Taylor & Francis, 2011.

Al'ving, A. A. "Retsenziya na dramu Annenskogo *Famira-kifared.*" *Zhatva*, Kn. 5. 1914, pp. 296-298.

Amiard-Chevrel, C. "L'Antiquité et l'Esthétique Théâtrale des Symbolistes Russes." *Revue des Études Slaves,* vol. 51, no. 1/2, 1978, pp. 9-16.

Anikin, A. E. "'Famira-kifared' I. Annenskogo: 'problema' Famiry (v svyazi s pozdneyshimi implikatsiyami)." *Russian Literature*, vol. 34, 1993, pp. 425-438.

Anikin, A. E. "Filosofiya Anaksagora v zerkale tvorchestva Innokentiya Annenskogo", *Izvestiya Sibirskogo Otdeleniya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Istoriya, filologiya i filosofiya,* vypusk 1, fevral'-may 1992, pp. 14-19.

Anikin, A. E. (A) "'Famira-Kifared'. Pushkin i Ion-Apollonid." A. E. Anikin. *Innokenty Annensky i ego otrazheniya. Materialy. Stat'i.* Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoy kul'tury, 2011, pp. 108-152.

Anikin, A. E. (B) "K analizu dramy Annenskogo 'Famira-Kifared'." A. E. Anikin. *Innokenty Annensky i ego otrazheniya. Materialy. Stat'i.* Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoy kul'tury, 2011, pp. 252-275.

Anikin, A. E. (C) "Iz nablyudeniy nad poetikoy Annenskogo: Bodlerovskiy i 'Dostoevskiy' podteksty v drame 'Famira-kifared'." A. E. Anikin. *Innokenty Annensky i ego otrazheniya. Materialy. Stat'i.* Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoy kul'tury, 2011, pp. 276-287.

Anikin, A. E. (D) “Annensky, Evripid, Anaxagor. ‘Melanippa-filosof’; ‘Melanippa-filosof’ (prodolzhenie). Iz foneticheskogo repertuara Annenskogo. ‘Tsar Ixion’.” *Innokenty Annensky i ego otrazheniya. Materialy. Stat’i.* Sostavil A. E. Anikin. Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoy kul’tury, 2011, pp. 52-107.

Anikin, A. E. (E) “Laodamiya v kontekste temy ‘Annensky i Shevchenko’.” A. E. Anikin. *Innokenty Annensky i ego otrazheniya. Materialy. Stat’i.* Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoy kul’tury, 2011, pp. 153-210.

Anikin, A. E. (F) “Razroznennye nablyudeniya nad tekstami Annenskogo. ‘Melanippa-filosof’.” A. E. Anikin. *Innokenty Annensky i ego otrazheniya. Materialy. Stat’i.* Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoy kul’tury, 2011, pp. 398-409.

Appleton, R. B. “The Deus ex Machina in Euripides.” *The Classical Review,* vol. 34, nos.1-2, 1920, pp. 10-14.

Arnol’d, I.V. *Semantika. Stilistika. Intertekstual’nost’.* Nauch. red. P. E. Bukharkin. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel’stvo Sankt-Peterburgskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 1999.

Arnott, P. D. *An Introduction to the Greek Theatre*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1959.

Asomatou, A., Tselebis, A., Bratis, D., Stavrianakos, K., Zafeiropoulos, G., Pachi, A., Moussas, G., “The Act of Suicide in Greek Mythology.” *Encephalos*, vol. 53, 2016, pp. 65-75.

Asso, P. “Queer Consolation: Melior’s Dead Boy in Statius’ *Silvae*, 2.1.” *The American Journal of Philology,* vol. 131, no. 4, 2010, pp. 663-97.

Babaitsev, A.V. “Politicheskiy simvolizm tsveta.” *Izvestiya Volgogradskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta,* vol. 3, 2007, pp. 56-62.

Bachtin, N. *Lectures and Essays.* Birmingham: Birmingham UP, 1963.

Bakhtin, M. M. “Problemy poetiki F. M. Dostoevskogo.” M. M. Bakhtin. *Sobranie sochinenii v 7 tomakh.* Tom 6. Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoy kul’tury, 2002, pp. 7–300.

Bakulina, Yu. B. *Antichnye motivy i obrazy v poezii N. S. Gumileva.* Dissertatsiya na soiskanie uchenoy stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. Samara: Samarskiy gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskiy universitet, 2009.

Bakulina, Yu. B. “Antichnyi mif v lirike i drame N. S. Gumileva ‘Akteon’: sushchnost’, osobennosti vospriyatiya, problemy funktsionirovaniya.” *Izvestiya Samarskogo nauchnogo tsentra Rossiyskoy Akademii nauk*, tom 10, vypusk 6, 2008, pp. 200-203.

Bär, S., Maravela, A. “New Perspectives on Narrative, Narratology and Intertextuality.” New Perspectives on Greek Epic from Homer to Nonnus, *Symbolae Osloenses*, vol. 93, no. 1, 2019, pp. 1-11.

Baran, H. “Fyodor Sologub i kritiki: spory o ‘Nav’ikh charakh’.” H. Baran. *Poetika russkoy literatury nachala 20 veka.* Predislovie N.V.Kotreleva. Moskva: Progress, 1993, pp. 234-264.

Barchiesi, A. *Speaking Volumes. Narrative and Intertext in Ovid and other Latin Poets*. London: Duckworth, 2001.

Barker A. M. and Gheith J. M., editors. *A History of Women’s Writing in Russia.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002.

Barlow, S. A. *The Imagery of Euripides: A Study in the Dramatic Use of Pictorial Language.* Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1986.

Barnes, J. *Early Greek Philosophy*. Revised edition. London: Penguin, 2001.

Baron, S. “Radical Intertextuality: from *Bouvard et Pécuchet* to *Finnegan’s Wake*.” *James Joyce and the Nineteenth-Century French Novel*, edited by F. Fordham and R. Sakr. Leiden and Boston: Brill Rodopi, 2011, pp.128-45.

Barta, P. I. “Echo and Narcissus in Russian Symbolism.” *Metamorphoses in Russian modernism,* edited by P. Barta*.* Budapest: Central European UP, 2000, pp. 5-29.

Barthes, R. “The Death of the Author.” Trans. S. Heath. *Image, music, text*. London: Fontana, 1977, pp.142-148.

Basker, M. “O Tsarskom Sele, Innokentii Annenskom i ‘tsarskosel’skom kruge idei’ Gumileva.” Basker M. *Rannii Gumilev: Put’ k akmeizmu.* Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel’stvo Russkogo Christianskogo Gumanitarnogo Instituta, 2000, pp. 80-113.

Battistella, C. “Medea Reaches Maturity: On Ovidian Intertextuality in Sen. Med. 905–15.” *The Classical Journal,* vol. 110, no. 4, 2015, pp. 446-70.

Baxandall, M. *Patterns of Intention: On the Historical Explanation of Pictures*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1985.

Bettini, M. “Ghosts of Exile: Doubles and Nostalgia in Vergil’s ‘Parva Troia’ (*Aeneid*, Bk.3, l. 294ff.).” *Classical Antiquity*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1997, pp. 8-33.

Bezrukov, A.N. *Poetika intertekstual’nosti: Uchebnoe posobie.* Birsk: Birskaya gosudarstvennaya sotsial’no-pedagogicheskaya akademiya, 2005.

Biles, Z. P. “Intertextual Biography in the Rivalry of Cratinus and Aristophanes.” *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 123, 2002, pp. 169-204.

Bird, R. (A) “Neizdannyi tekst Vyacheslava Ivanova o ‘Predvaritel’nom deistve’ A. N. Skryabina.” *Russkaya literatura*, no. 3, 2006, pp. 147-151.

Bird, R. (B) *The Russian Prospero: The Creative Universe of Viacheslav Ivanov*. Madison, WI: Wisconsin UP, 2006.

Blavatsky, V. D. *Istoriya antichnoy raspisnoy keramiki.* Moskva: Izdatel’stvo Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 1953.

Blickman, D. R. “The Myth of Ixion and Pollution for Homicide in Archaic Greece.” *The Classical Journal*, vol. 81, no. 3, 1986.

Bochkarev, V. A. *Russkaya istoricheskaya dramaturgiya XVII-XVIII vekov*. Moskva: Prosveshchenie, 1988, pp. 84-96.

Bochkarev, V. A. “Vstupitel’naya stat’ya.” *Russkaya stikhotvornaya tragediya kontsa XVIII – nachala XIX veka.* Moskva-Leningrad: Sovetskiy pisatel’, 1964, pp. 5-60.

Bock, D. L. *The Acts of the Apostles.* Baker Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2007.

Bogomolov, N. A. *Vokrug Serebryanogo veka. Stat’i i materialy.* Moskva: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2010.

Bolton, M. C. “Gendered Spaces in Ovid’s *Heroides.*” *The Classical World,* vol. 102, no. 2*,* 2009, pp. 273-90.

Bolychev, I. “‘Ya vse prostil’ (Ob odnom perevode I. F. Annenskogo)”. *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor’kogo, 2009, pp. 276-284.

Bondar’ O. P. *Istoriosofiya Vyacheslava Ivanova.* Dissertatsiya na soiskanie uchenoy stepeni kandidata istoricheskikh nauk. Tomsk: Tomskiy gosudarstvennyi universitet: 2001.

Bonheim, H. “Shakespeare’s Narremes.” *Shakespeare and Narrative.* Vol. 53. Edited by P. Holland, Shakespeare Survey, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000, pp. 1-10.

Borisova, L. M. “Dionisiyskoe i apollonicheskoe v dramaturgii I. Annenskogo (‘Famira-kifared’).” *Voprosy russkoy literatury,* vypusk 2, 1990, pp. 11-18.

Borisova, L. M. “Tragedii I. Annenskogo i simvolistskaya kontseptsiya dramy.” *Neordinarnye formy russkoy dramy XX stoletiya. Mezhvuzovskiy sbornik nauchnykh trudov.* Otvetstvennyi redaktor Yu. V. Babicheva. Vologda: Vologodskiy gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskiy universitet, 1998, pp. 35-48.

Bowra, C. M. *Pindar*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964.

Bowra, C. M. *Sophoclean Tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

Boyce, J. *Ixion: Origins and Meanings of a Myth.* Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974.

Braginskaya, N. V. Slavyanskoe vozrozhdenie antichnosti. *Russkaya teoriya: 1920-1930-e gody: Materialy desyatykh Lotmanovskikh chteniy.* Moskva: Izdatel’stvo RGGU, 2004, pp. 49-80.

Braginskaya, N. V. Tragediya i ritual u Vyacheslava Ivanova. *Arkhaicheskiy ritual v folklornykh i ranneliteraturnykh pamyatnikakh*. Sostavitel’ L. Sh. Rozhanskiy. Moskva: Nauka, 1988, pp. 294-329.

Branigan, E. *Narrative Comprehension and Film*. London: Routledge, 2013.

Breslove, D. “How Old Were Achilles and Neoptolemus?” *The Classical Journal*, vol. 39, no. 3, 1943, pp. 159-61.

Brillante, C. “Le Muse di Thamyris.” *Studi Classici e Orientali*, vol. 41, 1992, pp. 429-53.

Brownlie, S. “Using Riffaterre to Rehabilitate the Lover.” *Literature/Film Quarterly,* vol. 36, no. 1, 2008. pp. 52-60.

Bryusov, V. Ya. “Retsenziya na Famiru-kifared.” *Russkaya mysl’,* iyul’ 1913, pp. 265-266.

Bryusov, V. Ya. “Predislovie avtora.” Otdel rukopisey Rossiiskoy gosudarstevennoy biblioteki: fond 386, opis’ 28, edinitsa khraneniya 13 (OR RGB: 386. 28. 13).

Bulavkin, K. V. *Lirika I. Annenskogo i antichnoe nasledie.* Dissertatsiya na soiskanie uchenoy stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. Moskva: Moskovskiy gosudarstvennyi oblastnoy pedagogicheskiy institut, 2003.

Bundrick, S. *Music and Image in Classical Athens*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005.

Burian, P., editor. *Directions in Euripidean Criticism: A Collection of Essays*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1985.

Burnett, A. P. *Catastrophe Survived: Euripides' Plays of Mixed Reversal*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

Bush, S. S. "Divine and Human Happiness in 'Nicomachean Ethics'." *The Philosophical Review,* vol. 117, no. 1, 2008, pp. 49-75.

Butrica, J. L. "Melanippe Ecclesiazusa (Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 441-54)." *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 51, no. 2, 2001, pp. 610-13.

Buxton, R. G. "Blindness and Limits: Sophokles and the Logic of Myth." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. 100, 1980, pp. 22-37.

Canciani, F. "Why Protesilaus?" *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae,* vol. VII, 1994, pp. 554-560.

Carey, C. *A Commentary on Five Odes of Pindar: Pythian 2, Pythian 9, Nemean 1, Nemean 7. Isthmian 8*. New York: Arno Press, 1981.

Carr, G. L. and Meek, B. "The Poetics of Language Revitalization: Text, Performance, and Change." *The Legacy of Dell Hymes: Ethnopoetics, Narrative Inequality, and Voice*. Edited by P. V. Kroskrity and A. K. Webster. Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 2015, pp. 180-205.

Chalmers, D. J. *The Conscious Mind: In Search of a Fundamental Theory.* Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks, 1996.

Chatman, S. B. *Coming to Terms: The Rhetoric of Narrative in Fiction and Film*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1990.

Clark, A. C. *Euripides in a Comic Mirror: The Tragodoumenai.* Dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1998.

Clauss, J. J. "A Delicate Foot on the Well-worn Threshold: Paradoxical Imagery in Catullus 68b." *The American Journal of Philology*, vol. 116, no. 2, 1995, pp. 237-53.

Clauss, J. J. "Domestici Hostes: The Nausicaa in Medea, the Catilina in Hannibal." *Materiali i discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici,* vol. 39. *Memory, Allusion, Intertextuality.* Edited by S. Hinds and D. Fowler. Pisa, Roma: Istituti Editoriali e Poligrafici Internazionali, 1997, pp.165-85.

Cohn, D. *Transparent Minds: Narrative Modes for Presenting Consciousness in Fiction*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1978.

Coleman, P., editor. *The Art of Music*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 2015.

Colona, P. "The Myth of Ixion: An Astronomical Interpretation." *Mediterranean Archaeology & Archaeometry,* vol. 16, no. 4, 2016, pp. 183-189.

Conacher, D. J. *Euripidean drama: Myth, Theme and Structure*. Toronto and London: Toronto UP, 1968.

Connor, A. M. and Marks, S. *Creative Technologies for Multidisciplinary Applications.* Hershey, PA: GI Global, 2016.

Cook, A. B. *Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion*, vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1914.

Cox, C. A. "Marriage in Ancient Athens." *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman World.* Edited by B. Rawson. Malden, Oxford and Chichester: Blackwell, 2011.

Croally, N. T. *Euripidean Polemic: The Trojan Women and the Function of Tragedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994.

Croon, J. H. "Hot Springs and Healing Gods." *Mnemosyne,* vol. 20, no. 3, 1967, pp. 225-246.

Cropp M., Lee K., Sansone D., editors. *Euripides and Tragic Theatre in the Late Fifth Century*. Vols. 24-25 of Illinois Classical Studies. Champaign IL: Stipes Publishing, 2000.

Crotty, K. M. *Pindaric Beginnings: The Uses of Structure in Pindar.* Dissertation, University of Yale, 1975.

Damer, E. Z. "Gender Reversals and Intertextuality in Tibullus." *The Classical World*, vol. 107, no. 4, 2014, pp. 493-514.

Davidson, P. *Cultural Memory and Survival: The Russian Renaissance of Classical Antiquity in the Twentieth Century.* Studies in Russia and Eastern Europe, vol. 6. London: UCL School of Slavonic and East European Studies, 2009.

Davidson, P. "Hellenism, Culture and Christianity: The Case of Vyacheslav Ivanov and his 'Palinode' of 1927." *Russian Literature and the Classics.* Edited by P. I. Barta, D. H. J. Larmour, P. A. Miller. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1996, pp. 83-116.

Davidson, P. *The Poetic Imagination of Vyacheslav Ivanov. A Russian Symbolist's Perception of Dante*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989.

de Jong, I. J. F. “Diachronic Narratology (The Example of Ancient Greek Narrative).” *Handbook of Narratology*. Edited by P. Hühn, J. Ch. Meister, J. Pier and W. Schmid, second edition, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014, pp. 115–22.

de Jong, I. J. F. *Narratology and Classics: a Practical Guide*. London and New York: Oxford UP, 2014.

de Koninck, T. “Aristotle on God as Thought Thinking Itself.” *The Review of Metaphysics,* vol. 47, no. 3, 1994, pp. 471-515.

Decharme, P. *Euripides and the Spirit of his Dramas*. Translated by J. Loeb, New York: Macmillan, 1906.

Dee, J. H. “Levi-Strauss at the Theban Gates.” *The Classical World*, vol. 72, no. 5, 1979, pp. 257-61.

Defilippo, J. G. “Aristotle’s Identification of the Prime Mover as God.” *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 44, no. 2, 1994, pp. 393-409.

Demoen K. and De Temmerman, K. “Less than Ideal Paradigms in the Greek Novel.” *Echoing Narratives: Studies of Intertextuality in Greek and Roman Prose Fiction*. Edited by K. Doulamis. The Netherlands: Barkhuis, 2011, pp. 1-20.

Denisoff, N. “La guerre de Troie dans le théatre symboliste russe: Annensky, Bryusov, Sologub.” *Revue des Etudes Slaves,* vol. 51, 1978, pp. 65-9.

Derzhavin, K. “Famira-kifared.” *Kniga o Kamernom teatre 1914 – 1934.* Leningrad: Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1934, pp. 66-83.

Detienne, M. *Dionysos Slain*. Translated by Leonard and Mireille Muellner. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 1979.

Dindorf, W. *Aeschyli tragoediae superstites et deperditarum fragmenta*. Vol. 1. Oxonii: E Typographeo Academico, 1841.

Dietrich, N. “Framing Archaic Greek Sculpture.” *The Frame in Classical Art: A Cultural History*. Edited by V. Platt and M. J. Squire. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2017, pp. 270-316.

Dillon, J. “An Archetypal Bluestocking: Melanippe the Wise.” *Rebel Women: Staging Ancient Greek Drama Today*, *Essays in Honour of Marianne McDonald*. Edited by J. Dillon and S. E. Wilmer. London: Methuen, 2005, pp. 222-233.

Dillon, J. “Euripides and the Philosophy of his Time.” *Classics Ireland*, vol. 11, 2004, pp. 47-73.

Dmitriev, Yu. A., Rodina, T. M., Fel’dman, O. M., Kholodov, E. G., Shah-Azizova, T. K. *Istoriya russkogo dramaticheskogo teatra*. Tom 7. Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1987.

Dodds, E. R. *The Greeks and the Irrational*. Oakland CA: California UP, 1951.

Doulamis, K. “Introduction.” *Echoing Narratives: Studies of Intertextuality in Greek and Roman Prose Fiction*. Edited by K. Doulamis. The Netherlands: Barkhuis, 2011, pp. vii-xv.

Dowden, K. “Homer’s Sense of Text.” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies,* vol. 116, 1996, pp. 46-61.

Drinkwater, M. O. “Which Letter? Text and Subtext in Ovid’s *Heroides*.” *American Journal of Philology*, vol. 128, no. 3, 2007, pp. 367-387.

Duff, D. “Intertextuality versus Genre Theory: Bakhtin, Kristeva and the Question of Genre.” *Paragraph*, vol. 25, no. 1, 2003, pp.54-73.

Dukor, I. “Problemy dramaturgii simvolizma.” Tom 27/28: Literaturnoe nasledstvo [Simvolisty]. Moskva: Zhurnal’no-gazetnoe obyedinenie, 1937, pp. 106-166.

Dunn, F.M. *Tragedy’s End: Closure and Innovation in Euripidean Drama*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1996.

Easterling, P. E. *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Tragedy*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1997.

Edmunds, L. *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 2001.

Edwards, P. “Panpsychism.” *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy.* Vol. 5, Stuttgart: Collier-Macmillan 1967.

Efremov, P. A. Kommentarii. Fonvizin D. I. *Sochineniya, pis’ma i izbrannye perevody.* Pod redaktsiei P. A. Efremova. Sankt-Peterburg: tipografiya P. I. Glazunova, 1866, pp. 662-664.

Eidonow, E. and Kindt, J. *The Oxford Handbook of Greek Religion*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2017.

Ekshtut, S. *Kogti krasnye sud’by. Innokenty Annensky v koridore epokhi.* Moskva: Kuchkovo pole, 2017.

Elton, W. R. *'King Lear' and the Gods*. Huntington, NY: Huntington Library, 1966.

Epps, M., *The Library of Apollodorus*, Delphi: Delphi Classics, 2016.

Ermakova, L. L. "Mifologema stradayushchego boga v 'Orestee' Eskhila v perevode Vyacheslava Ivanova." *Studia Litterarum,* tom 4, no. 4, 2019, pp. 220–231.

Evdokimova, L. V. *Mifopoeticheskaya traditsiya v tvorchestve F. Sologuba.* Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskanie uchenoy stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. Volgograd: Volgogradskiy gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii universitet, 1996.

Fasmer, M. *Etimologicheskiy slovar' russkogo yazyka.* Perevod i dopolneniya O. N. Trubacheva. Redaktsiya M. A. Oborina. 2-e izdanie, Moskva: Progress, 1986–1987.

Fedoseeva, T. V. "Retseptsiya antichnosti v drame M. Khlebnikovoy 'Repetitsiya'." *Russkaya i belorusskaya literatury na rubezhe XX—XXI vv: sbornik nauchnykh statey.* V 2 chastyakh. Chast' 1. Otvetstvennyi redaktor S. Ya. Goncharova-Grabovskaya. Minsk: Respublikanskiy Institut Vysshey Shkoly, 2007, pp. 282-286.

Fedyakin, S. "Ob odnoy osobennosti obraza muzyki v poezii Innokentiya Annenskogo." *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor'kogo, 2009, pp. 586–592.

Feeney, D. C. "'Shall I compare thee…?' Catullus 68 and the limits of analogy." *Author and Audience in Latin Literature*. Edited by A. J. Woodman and J. Powell. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.

Ferrari, L. *I drammi perduti di Eschilo*. Palermo: Luxograph, 1968.

Fidjestøl, B. *The Dating of Eddic Poetry: A Historical Survey and Methodological Investigation.* Copenhagen: Reitzel, 1999.

Filatova, O. D. "Kharakter i funktsii remarok v tragediyah Innokentiya Annenskogo." *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor'kogo, 2009, pp. 226-238.

Filatova, O. D. "K voprosu o ponimanii tragicheskogo na rubezhe vekov: Innokenty Annensky." *Nekalendarnyi XX vek: materialy Vserossiyskogo seminara 2003 goda.* Sostavitel' V. V. Musatov. Velikiy Novgorod: Novgorodskiy gosudarstvennyi universitet imeni Yaroslava Mudrogo, 2003, pp. 16-25.

Finglass, P. J. “Electra.” *Brill’s Companion to the Reception of Sophocles*. Edited by R. Lauriol and K. N. Demetriou. Brill’s Companions to Classical Reception, vol. 10. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2017, pp. 475-511.

Finkelberg, Aryeh. “Studies in Xenophanes.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* vol. 93, 1990, pp. 103-167.

Finkelberg, Margalit. “The *Cypria,* the *Iliad*, and the Problem of Multiformity in Oral and Written Tradition.” *Classical Philology,* vol. 95, no. 1, 2000, pp. 1-11.

Finley J., *Pindar and Aeschylus*. Harvard: Harvard UP, 1966.

Fludernik, M. *An Introduction to Narratology*. London: Routledge, 2009.

Foley, H. P. “The ‘Female Intruder’ Reconsidered: Women in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata* and *Ecclesiazusae.*” *Classical Philology*, vol. 77, no. 1, 1982, pp. 1-21.

Foley, H. P. *Ritual Irony: Poetry and Sacrifice in Euripides*. New York: Cornell UP, 2019.

Fontenrose, J. “The building of the City Walls: Troy and Asgard.” *The Journal of American Folklore*, vol. 96, no. 379, 1983, pp. 53-63.

Fordyce, C. J. *Catullus: A Commentary*. Oxford UP, 1990.

Fowler, R. “Mythos and Logos.” *Journal of Hellenic Studies,* vol. 131, 2011, pp. 45-66.

Fox, Stadter M. *The Troubling Play of Gender: the Phaedra Drama of Tsvetaeva, Yourcenar and H.D.* London: Susquehanna UP, 2001.

Fratantuono, L. “Princeps Ante Omnis: Palinurus and the Eerie End of Virgil’s Protesilaus.” *Latomus*, vol. 71, no. 3, 2012, pp. 713-33.

Friedman, S. S. “Weavings: Intertextuality and the (re) Birth of the Author.” *Influence and Intertextuality in Literary History*. Edited by E. Rothstein and J.Clayton. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991, pp. 146-80.

Fritsche, J. “Aristotle’s Biological Justification of Slavery in *Politics* I.” *Rhizomata,* vol. 7, no. 1, 2019, pp. 63-96.

Fulkerson, L. “(Un)Sympathetic Magic: A Study of *Heroides* 13.” *The American Journal of Philology*, vol. 123, no. 1, 2002, pp. 61-87.

Furley, D. *Cosmic Problems: Essays on Greek and Roman Philosophy of Nature*. Vancouver: Cambridge UP, 1989.

Fyodorov, A. V. "Dva poeta (Innokenty Annensky i Fyodor Sologub kak perevodchiki poezii)." Vstupitel'naya stat'ya. *Sozvuchiya. Stikhi zarubezhnykh poetov v perevode Innokentiya Annenskogo i Fyodora Sologuba.* Moskva: Progress, 1979, pp. 5-17.

Fyodorov, A. V. "Innokenty Annensky – lirik i dramaturg." Vstupitel'naya stat'ya. Innokenty Annensky. *Stikhotvoreniya i tragedii.* Vstupitel'naya stat'ya, sostavlenie, podgotovka teksta i primechaniya A. V. Fyodorova. Biblioteka poeta. Leningrad: Sovetskiy pisatel', 1990, pp. 5-50.

Fyodorov, A. V. *Innokenty Annensky. Lichnost' i tvorchestvo*. Leningrad: Khudozhestvennaya literatura, 1984.

Gaisser, J. H. *Catullus*. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009.

Gaydenko, P. P. *Vladimir Solov'ev i filosofiya Serebryanogo veka.* Moskva: Progress-Traditsiya, 2001.

Gantz, T. *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources,* vols. 1-2. Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1996.

Gasparov, M. L. *Akademicheskiy avangardizm (Priroda i kul'tura v poezii pozdnego Bryusova).* Chteniya po istorii i teorii kul'tury, vypusk 10. Moskva: RGGU, 1995.

Gasparov, M. L. Annensky – perevodchik Eskhila. M. L. Gasparov. *Izbrannye trudy.* V 2-tomakh. Tom 2. Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskikh kul'tur, 1997, pp. 141-147.

Gasparov, M. L. "Bryusov-stikhoved i Bryusov-stikhotvorets." *M. L. Gasparov. Izbrannye stat'i.* Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 1995.

Gasparov, M. L. "Evripid Innokentiya Annenskogo." Evripid. *Tragedii.* V 2-tomakh. T. 1., Moskva: Nauka, Ladomir, 1999, pp. 591-600.

Gavrilov, A. K., redactor. *Drevniy mir i my: klassicheskoe nasledie v Evrope i Rossii.* Sankt-Peterburg: Bibliotheca classica Petropolitana, 2003, pp. 391-398.

Genette, G., *Narrative Discourse Revisited*. New York: Ithaca, 1988.

Geyro, L. S. and Platonova-Lozinskaya, I.V. "Istoriya izdaniya 'vakkhicheskoy dramy' I. F. Annenskogo 'Famira-kifared.' Problemy teksta i kommentariev." *Russkii modernizm. Problemy tekstologii. Sbornik statey.* Otv. red. O. A. Kuznetsova. Sankt-Peterburg: Aleteya, 2001, pp. 100-119.

Gerasimov, Yu. K. “Neokonchennaya tragediya Vyacheslava Ivanova ‘Niobeya’.” *Ezhegodnik Rukopisnogo otdela na 1980 god: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov.* Leningrad: Institut Russkoy Literatury RAN (Pushkinskiy dom), 1984, pp. 178-203.

Gerasimov, Yu. K. *Dramaturgiya simvolizma. Istoriya russkoy dramaturgii: Vtoraya polovina XIX - nachalo XX veka: do 1917 g.* Leningrad: Nauka, 1987, pp. 559-598.

Gilenson, B. A. *Drevnegrecheskaya drama klassicheskogo perioda*. Moskva: Nauchno-izdatel’skiy tsentr INFRA-M, 2016.

Ginzburg, L. Ya. *O lirike.* Moskva: Intrada, 1997.

Gleason, M. W., *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 1995.

Glover J. G., *The Cubist Theatre*. Michigan: Ann Arbor, 1980.

Godwin, J. *Catullus: Poems 61-68*. Liverpool: Liverpool UP, 1995.

Goldhill, S. “The Great Dionysia and Civic Ideology.” *Nothing to do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context*. Edited by J. J. Winkler and F. I. Zeitlin, Princeton: Princeton UP, 2020, pp. 97-129.

Goldstein, J. “The Construction of Emergent Order, or, how to Resist the Temptation of Hylozoism.” *Nonlinear Dynamics, Psychology, and Life Sciences*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2003, pp. 295-314.

Goncharova, N. G., sostavitel’. *Mifologi Serebryanogo veka*. V 2 tomakh. Moskva: Letniy Sad, 2017.

Góráin, F. M. “Vergil’s Sophoclean Thebans.” *Vergilius,* vol. 64, 2018, pp. 131-156.

Graham, D. W., editor. *The Texts of Early Greek Philosophy: The Complete Fragments and Selected Testimonies of the Major Presocratics*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010.

Grant, M. *Folktale and Hero-Tale Motifs in the Odes of Pindar*. Lawrence, Kansas, KS: Kansas UP, 1968.

Gras, V. W. “Myth and the Reconciliation of Opposites: Jung and Levi-Strauss.” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. 42, no. 3, 1981, pp. 471-488.

Green, J. R. *Theatre in Ancient Greek Society*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Green, M. *The Russian Symbolist Theatre: An Anthology of Plays and Critical Texts*. New York: Ardis Publishers, 2013.

Gregory, A. *Ancient Greek Cosmogony*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2008.

Griffin, J. "The Divine Audience and the Religion of the *Iliad*." *The Classical Quarterly,* vol. 28, no.1, 1978, pp.1-22.

Griffith, R. D. "Gods' Blue Hair in Homer and in Eighteenth-Dynasty Egypt." *The Classical Quarterly,* vol. 55, no. 2, 2005, pp. 329-334.

Griffith, M. *Greek Satyr Play: Five Studies.* California Classical Studies. Berkeley: California Press UP, 2015.

Guthrie, W. K. C. *A History of Greek Philosophy*. Vol. 2, Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965.

Hadzsits, G. D. "The Personality of the Epicurean Gods." *American Journal of Philology*. Vol. 37, no.3. 1916, pp. 317-326.

Hammond, W. A. "Hylozoism: a Chapter in the Early History of Science." *The Philosophical Review*, vol. 4, no. 4, 1895, pp. 394-406.

Hardison, O. B. *Poetics and Praxis, Understanding and Imagination: Collected Essays.* Athens, GA: Georgia UP, 1997.

Hartwig, M. K. *A Companion to Ancient Egyptian Art*. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World. West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.

Heath, J., 'The Failure of Orpheus'. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* Vol. 124, 1994, pp. 163-196.

Heldt, B. *Terrible Perfection: Women and Russian Literature.* Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1987.

Herman, D. "Scripts, Sequences, and Stories: Elements of a Postclassical Narratology." *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 112, no. 5, 1997, pp. 1046-1059.

Hetzer, A. *Vjačeslav Ivanovs Tragödie "Tantal." Eine Literarhistorische Interpretation.* Slavistische Beiträge. Munich: Verlag Otto Sagner, 1972.

Hijmans, B. L. "Charite Worships Tlepolemus-Liber (Apuleiana Groningana VIII)." *Mnemosyne*, vol. 39, nos. 3-4, 1986, pp. 350-364.

Hird, A. "'What Does it Matter Who is Speaking,' Someone said, 'What Does It Matter Who is Speaking'. Beckett, Foucault, Barthes." *Samuel Beckett Today/Aujourd'hui,* vol. 22, no.1, 2010, pp. 289-299.

Holzberg, N. *Ovid, the Poet and his Work*. Translated by G. M. Goshgarian. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 2002.

Horn, F. "'Furious Wasps' and 'Tuna in the Frying-Pan': Animal Metaphors, Intertextuality, and Cognition in Lycophron's *Alexandra.*" *Museum Helveticum,* vol. 73, no. 2, 2016, pp. 154-66.

Horsfall, N. *Virgil, Aeneid,* 6*: a Commentary.* Leiden: De Gruyter, 2013.

Hubbard, T. K. *The Mask of Comedy: Aristophanes and the Intertextual Parabasis*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1991.

Hühn, P. and Kiefer, J. *The Narratological Analysis of Lyric Poetry: Studies in English Poetry from the 16th to the 20th Century*. Translated by A. Matthews. Leiden: De Gruyter, 2011.

Hutchinson, G.O. "Gods Wise and Foolish: Euripides and Greek literature from Homer to Plutarch". *Wisdom and Folly in Euripides*. Edited by P. Kyriakou, A. Rengakos. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2016.

Il'in, V. N. *Valery Bryusov: Velikii master russkogo Vozrozhdeniya. Esse o russkoy kul'ture.* Sankt-Peterburg: Akropol', 1997.

Ivanov, D. "O literaturnoy reputatsii V. A. Ozerova: 'russkiy Racine'." *Russkaya filologiya. Sbornik nauchnykh rabot molodykh filologov*. Tom 16. Tartu: Tartuskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2005, pp. 37-64.

Ivanova, O. Yu. *Antichnost' kak entelekhiya kul'tury Serebryanogo veka.* Dissertatsiya kandidata kul'turologicheskikh nauk. Moskva: Gosudarstvennaya Akademiya slavyanskoy kul'tury, 1999.

Jacobson, H. *Ovid's Heroides*. Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, 1974.

Jahn, M. "Narrative Voice and Agency in Drama: Aspects of a Narratology of Drama." *New Literary History,* vol. 32, no. 4, 2001, pp. 659-79.

Janko, R., Hainsworth, J. B., Kirk, G. S., Edwards, M. W., Richardson, N. J. *Homer. The Iliad: A Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985.

Johnson, C. “Mistress and Myth: Catullus 68b.” *The Classical Outlook*, vol. 85, no. 4, 2008, pp. 151-4.

Jouan, Fr. *Euripide et les légendes des chants cypriens*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1966.

Jung, C. G. and Kerényi, K. *Introduction into a Science of Mythology: The Myth of the Divine Child and the Mysteries of Eleusis*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1969.

Juvan, M. *History and Poetics of Intertexuality*. Indiana: Purdue UP, 2008.

Kagan, Yu. M. *I. V. Tsvetaev. Zhiz’n’. Deyatel’nost’. Lichnost’.* Moskva: Nauka, 1987.

Kanat’eva, A. V. “‘Famira-kifared’ na scene Moskovskogo kamernogo teatra.” *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor’kogo, 2009, pp. 249-259.

Kanunnikova, I. “Mifologemy ‘les’ i ‘sad’ v tvorchestve I. F. Annenskogo.” *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor’kogo, 2009, pp. 294-302.

Karlinsky, S. *Russian Drama from Its Beginnings to the Age of Pushkin.* Berkeley: California Press UP, 1985.

Kasatkina, E. A. “Tragediya M. V. Lomonosova ‘Demofont’.” *XVIII vek. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov.* Vypusk 3. Otvetstvennyi redaktor P. N. Berkov. Moskva, Leningrad: Izdatel’stvo AN SSSR, 1958, pp. 91-110.

Kazanskiy, N. N. “Vyach. Ivanov kak perevodchik Eskhila.” *Vyacheslav Ivanov – Peterburg – Mirovaya kul’tura.* Tomsk; Moskva: Vodoley Publishers, 2003, pp. 15-24.

Keldysh, V. A. and Polonsky V. V., redaktory. *Poetika russkoy literatury kontsa XIX – nachala XX veka. Dinamika zhanra. Obshchie problemy. Proza.* Moskva: IMLI RAN, 2009.

Kelly, C. “Classical Tragedy and the ‘Slavonic Renaissance’: The Plays of Vyacheslav Ivanov and Innokenty Annensky.” *The Slavic and East European Journal,* vol. 33, no. 2, 1989, pp. 235-54.

Kelly, C. *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky and the Classical Ideal. Poetry, Translations, Drama and Literary Essays.* Dissertation, University of Oxford, 1986.

Kelly, C. “Vyacheslav Ivanov as the ‘Other’: A Contribution to the ‘Drugomu’ Debate.” *Cultura e Memoria Cultura e memoria* : *atti del terzo Simposio internazionale dedicato a Vjačeslav Ivanov / a cura di Fausto Malcovati,* vol. l, 1988, pp. 151-161.

Kerényi, K. and Lanckoronski, L. M. *Der Mythos der Hellenen in Meisterwerken der Münzkunst*. Amsterdam, Leipzig: Pantheon Akademische Verlagsanstalt, 1941.

Khidekel’, R. “O trekh khudozhnikakh Kamernogo teatra: Aleksandra Ekster, Georgiy Yakulov i Aleksandr Vesnin.” *Iskusstvo,* 1971, no. 5, pp. 37-43.

Khrustaleva, O. O. “Evolyutsiya geroya v dramaturgii Innokentiya Annenskogo.” *Russkiy teatr i dramaturgiya epokhi revolyutsii 1905-1907 godov.* Leningrad: Leningradskiy gosudarstvennyi institut teatra, muzyki i kinematografii, 1987, pp. 58-72.

Kannicht, R. Radt, S. L., Snell, B., Ed. *Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971.

King, J. K. “Catullus’ *Callimachean Carmina*, cc. 65-116.” *The Classical World*, vol. 81, no. 5, 1988, pp. 383-392.

King, K., editor. *Western Drama Through the Ages: Four great eras of western drama*. Vol. 1. Greenwood Publishing Group, 2007.

Kinsey, T. E. “Some problems in Catullus 68.” *Latomus*, vol. 26, no. 1, 1967, pp. 35-53.

Kirichuk, E. V. “Znachenie kontsepta ‘lazur’ v vakkhicheskoy drame I. Annenskogo ‘Famira-kifared’.” *Filologiya: Vestnik Omskogo universiteta,* no. 2, 2012, pp. 351-353.

Kirk, G. S. *Homer and the Epic.* Cambridge UP, 1976.

Kiseleva, L. N. “Nekotorye osobennosti poetiki Krylova-dramaturga (vzaimootnosheniya s literaturnoy traditsiey).” *Klassitsizm i modernizm. Sbornik statey.* Tartu: Izdatel’stvo Tartuskogo universiteta. 1994, pp. 55-83.

Knabe, G. S. *Russkaya antichnost’: Soderzhanie, rol’ i sud’ba antichnogo naslediya v kul’ture Rossii.* Moskva: RGGU, 2000.

Knox, B. *The Heroic Temper: Studies in Sophoclean Tragedy*. Sather Classical Lectures 35. Oaklands, CA: California UP, 1964.

Knox, P. E. *A Companion to Ovid*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley & Sons, 2009.

Koch, G., Sichtermann, H. *Griechische Mythen auf Römischen Sarkophagen*, Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 1975.

Kolobaeva, L. A. “Annensky-dramaturg. K 150-letiyu I. F. Annenskogo.” *Vestnik MGU. Seriya Filologiya*, no. 5, 2005, pp. 9-21.

Kolobaeva, L. A. *Russkiy simvolizm.* Moskva: Izdatel’stvo Moskovskogo universiteta, 2017.

Kolokolova, O. A., Mal’chukova, T. G., Nilova, A.Yu. *Antichnye i Khristianskie traditsii v poezii N. S. Gumileva.* Petrozavodsk: Izdatel’stvo Petrozavodskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 2017.

Kolpakchi, L. “Kamernyi teatr: Spektakl’ pamyati In. Annenskogo.” *Vestnik teatra,* no. 47, 23-28 dekabrya, 1919, pp. 9-10.

Komarov S. A. “Antichnyi intertekst p’esy N. S. Gumileva ‘Akteon’.” *Naukovi zapiski Kharkivskogo natsional’nogo pedagogichnogo universitetu imeni G. S. Skovorody*, vol. 2, no. 2, 2011, pp. 55-61.

Kondrat’ev, A. A. “Uchitel’ Annensky.” Publikatsiya i primechaniya Nikolaya Bogomolova. *Nezavisimaya gazeta,* 28 sentyabrya 1996 goda.

Koonen, A. *Stranitsy zhizni.* Posleslovie Yu. Rybakova. 2-e izd. Moskva: Iskusstvo, 1985.

Kornilova, N. A. “I. F. Annensky: Poslednie gody v Tsarskom Sele (k voprosu o literaturnykh adresakh).” *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor’kogo, 2009, pp. 433-442.

Korolevich, V. L. Kamernyi teatr. *Rampa i zhizn’,* no. 46, 13 noyabrya 1916, pp. 7-9.

Kosikov, G. K. Tekst / Intertekst / Intertekstologiya. Piégay-Gros N. *Vvedenie v teoriyu intertekstual’nosti.* Perevod s frantsuzskogo G. K. Kosikova, B. N. Narumova, V. Yu. Lukasik. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo LKI, 2008, pp. 8-42.

Kotrelev, N. V. “Vyacheslav Ivanov v rabote nad perevodom Eskhila.” Eskhil. *Tragedii.* V perevode Vyacheslava Ivanova. Izdanie podogotovili N. I. Balashov et al. Moskva: Nauka, 1989, pp. 497-522.

Koulakiotis, E. “The Rhetoric of Otherness: Geography, Historiography and Zoology in Alexander’s Letter about India and the *Alexander Romance*.” *Echoing Narratives: Studies of Intertextuality in Greek and Roman Prose Fiction*. Edited by K. Doulamis. The Netherlands: Barkhuis, 2011, pp. 161-84.

Kozubovskaya, G. P. *Russkaya literatura: mif i mifopoetika.* Barnaul: Barnaul’skiy gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii universitet, 2006.

Kramar', O. "'Bessmertnoe annenskoe slovo' v epigrafe k stikhotvornoy drame M. Tsvetaevoy 'Feniks'." *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor'kogo, 2009, pp. 397-404.

Krebel', I. A. *Mifopoetika Serebryanogo veka, opyt topologicheskoy refleksii*. Sankt-Peterburg: Aleteya, 2010.

Kristeva, J. *Sigma eta mu epsilon iota omega tau iota kappa΄η. Recherches pour une sémanalyse*. Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1969.

Krochak, J. "A. F. Losev i F. F. Zelinsky: skhodstva i razlichiya ikh ponimaniya antichnosti." *Antichnost' kak genom evropeyskoy i rossiyskoy kul'tury.* Sankt-Peterburg: Aleteya, 2016, pp. 109-124.

Kuhn, F. F. A. *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*. Berlin: F. Dümmler, 1859.

Kulakova, L. I. "Kommentarii: Knyazhnin, 'Didona'." Knyazhnin Ya. B. *Izbrannye proizvedeniya.* Leningrad: Sovetskiy pisatel', 1961, pp. 724-725.

Kurganov, A. V. "'Vozrozhdennaya Gretsiya': 'Geroy vremeni' v dramaturgii i kritike I. Annenskogo." *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta,* vypusk 3, no. 40, 2004, pp. 85-90.

Labbe, J. "Romantic Intertextuality: The Adaptive Weave." *The Wordsworth Circle*, vol. 46, no. 1, 2015, pp. 44-8.

Lahti, K. *The Russian Revival of the Dithyramb: A Modernist Use of Antiquity.* Studies in Russian Literature and Theory. Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP, 2018.

Lamari, A. "Visual Intertextuality in Ancient Greek Drama: Euripides' *Bacchae* and the Use of the Art Media." *Gaze, Vision, and Visuality in Ancient Greek Literature*. Edited by A. Kampakoglou and A. Novokhatko. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018, pp. 187-204.

Landwehr, M. "Introduction: Literature and the Visual Arts; Questions of Influence and Intertextuality." *College Literature,* vol. 29, no. 3, 2002, pp. 1-16.

Lauriola, R. and Dēmētriou, K. N. *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Euripides.* Brill's Companions to Classical Reception*,* vol. 3. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2015.

Lavrov, A. V. “Vyacheslav Ivanov ‘Drugoy’ v stikhotvorenii I. F. Annenskogo.” A. V. Lavrov. *Russkie simvolisty. Etyudy i razyskaniya.* Moskva: Progress-Pleyada, 2007, pp. 407-414.

Leach, E. W. “Vergil, Horace and Tibullus: Three Collections of Ten.” *Ramus,* vol. 7, 1978, pp. 79-105.

Leach, R. and Borovsky, V. *A History of Russian Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.

Lebedev, A. “Xenophanes on the Immutability of God. A Neglected Fragment in Philo Alexandrinus.” *Herm*es, vol. 128, no. 4, 2000, pp. 385-391.

Lesher, H. “Xenophanes’ Scepticism.” *Phronesis,* 1978, pp. 1-21.

Lesic-Thomas, A. “Behind Bakhtin: Russian Formalism and Kristeva’s Intertextuality.” *Paragraph*, vol. 28, no. 3, 2005, pp. 1-20.

Levin, Y. “The Interruption of Writing: Uncanny Intertextuality in *Under Western Eyes*.” *The Conradian*, vol. 36, no. 2, 2011, pp. 23-40.

Lévi-Strauss, C. “The Structural Study of Myth.” *Structural Anthropology.* New York: Basic Books, 1963, pp. 206-30.

Levitt, M. C. “Metamorfozy Ovidiya v russkoy literature XVIII veka. Pro et Contra.” *Literarum Fructus: Sbornik statey k 60-letiyu Sergeya Ivanovicha Nikolaeva.* Pod redaktsiey N. Yu. Alekseevoy i N. D. Kochetkovoy. Sankt-Peterburg: Al’yans-Arkheo, 2012, pp. 142-153.

Liebeschuetz, J. H. W. G. *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Ljunggren, A. *At the Crossroads of Russian Modernism: Studies in Innokenty Annensky’s Poetics*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1997.

Lloyd, M. A. *The Agon in Euripides*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1992.

Lloyd, M. A., editor. *Aeschylus. Oxford Readings in Classical Studies*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007.

Lomtev, S. V. *Proza russkikh simvolistov.* Moskva: Interpraks, 1994.

Losev, A. F. *Antichnaya muzykal’naya estetika*. Pod redakziei V. P. Shestakova. Moskva: Muzgiz, 1960.

Lotman, Yu. M. “Tekst kak dinamicheskaya sistema.” *Struktura teksta: Tezisy simpoziuma*. Red. V. V. Ivanov, T. M. Sudnik, T. V. Tsivyan. Moskva: Institut slavyanovedeniya i balkanistiki AN SSSR, 1981, pp. 104-105.

Lozhkina, A. Yu. “Kul’tovye kamni Novgorodskoy zemli kak etnograficheskaya realiya.” *Arheologiya i istoriya Pskova i Pskovskoy zemli,* no. 33, 2018, pp. 300-315.

Lyle, A.W. “Practical criticism à la Riffaterre.” *Critical Survey,* vol. 4, no. 3, 1992, pp. 241-249.

Lyne, R. O. A. M. *Collected Papers on Latin Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007.

Lyne, R. O. A. M. “Love and Death: Laodamia and Protesilaus in Catullus, Propertius, and Others.” *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 1, 1998, pp. 200-212.

Lyne, R. O. A. M. “Vergil’s *Aeneid*: Subversion by Intertextuality. Catullus 66. 39–40 and Other Examples.” *Greece & Rome*, vol. 41, no. 2, 1994, pp. 187-204.

Mace, S. T. *Pindarus Hesiodicus.* PhD Dissertation, University of Yale, 1992.

Mack, S. Herington, J. *Ovid*. New Haven, CT: Yale UP, 1988.

Macleod, C. W. “A Use of Myth in Ancient Poetry.” *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 24, no. 1, 1974, pp. 82-93.

Magomedova, D. M. “Perepisyvanie klassiki” na rubezhe vekov: sfera avtora i sfera geroya. D. M. Magomedova. *Aspekty teoreticheskoy poetiki: K 60-letiyu N. D. Tamarchenko.* Tver’: Tverskoy gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2001, pp. 212-218.

Maher, D. P. “Contemplative Friendship in ‘Nicomachean Ethics’.” *The Review of Metaphysics,* vol. 65, no. 4, 2012, pp. 765-794.

Mahoney, H. *The Blind Man in Greek Legend and Literature.* Dissertation, New York: Fordham University, 1940.

Maisonnat, C. Paccaud-Huguet J. and Ramel A. *Rewriting/Reprising in Literature: The Paradoxes of Intertextuality*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2009.

Makarov, N. P. *Moi 70-letnie vospominaniya i s tem vmeste moya polnaya predsmertnaya ispoved’*. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Trenke i Fyusno, 1881.

Makin, M. *Marina Tsvetaeva: Poetics of Appropriation.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Maksimov, D. E. *Poeziya Valeriya Bryusova.* Leningrad: Goslitizdat, 1940.

Maksimovich, A. Ya. “Ozerov.” *Istoriya russkoy literatury: v 10 tomakh. 1941-1956.* Tom V. *Literatura pervoy poloviny XIX veka.* Institut russkoy literatury (Pushkinskiy Dom). Moskva, Leningrad: Izdatel’stvo AN SSSR, 1941, pp. 156-180.

Maltby, R. *Tibullus: Elegies, Text and Commentary.* ARCA Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs, vol. 41. Cambridge: Francis Cairns, 2002.

Mansfield, J. “Theophrastus and the Xenophanes Doxography.” *Mnemosyne*, vol. 40, nos. 3-4, 1987, pp. 286-312.

March, J., *Dictionary of Classical Mythology*. London: Cassell, 1998.

Marko, J. *History and Poetics of Intertexuality*. West Lafayette, IND: Purdue UP, 2008.

Mayhew, R. “Behavior Unbecoming a Woman: Aristotle’s *Poetics* 15 and Euripides’ *Melanippe the Wise.*” *Ancient Philosophy*, vol. 19, no. 1, 1999, pp. 89-104.

Maykov, L. N. “O zhizni i sochineniyah V. I. Maykova.” Maykov V. I. *Sochineniya i perevody.* Sankt-Peterburg, 1867, pp. XXII-XXIII.

McDonald, M. and Walton M. *The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007.

Medvedeva, I. N. “Vladislav Ozerov.” V. I. Ozerov. *Tragedii. Stikhotvoreniya.* Leningrad: Sovetskiy pisatel’, 1960, pp. 5-74.

Melchert, N. and Morrow, D. R. *The Great Conversation*. *Pre-Socratics through Descartes.* Vol. 1. 8th edition. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2018.

Meletinsky, E. M. “O proiskhozhdenii literaturno-mifologicheskikh syuzhetnykh arkhetipov.” *Literaturnye arkhetipy i universalii.* Pod red. E. M. Meletinskogo. Moskva: RGGU, 2001, pp. 3-73.

Meletinsky, E. M. *Poetika mifa*. Moskva: Nauka, 2000.

Meletinsky, E. M. “Skandinavskaya mifologiya kak sistema.” *Trudy po znakovym sistemam, Pamyati Petra Grigor’evicha Bogatyreva.* Uchenye zapiski Tartuskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, vypusk 365. Tartu: Tartuskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 1975, pp. 38-51.

Meletinsky, E. M. “Transformatsiya arkhetipov v russkoy klassicheskoy literature (kosmos i khaos, geroi i antigeroi).” *Literaturnye arkhetipy i universalii.* Pod red. E. M. Meletinskogo. Moskva: RGGU, 2001, pp. 75-145.

Menn, S. “Aristotle and Plato on God as Nous and as the Good.” *Review of Metaphysics*, vol. 45, no. 3, 1992, pp. 543-573.

Merrill, J. “‘Dar mudrykh pchel’ F. Sologuba – Dialog s Annenskim?” *Russkaya literatura,* no. 2, 2010, pp. 48-54.

Mayer, M. “Der Protesilaos des Euripides.” *Hermes,* no. 20, 1885, pp. 101-135.

Michelini, A. N. *Euripides and the Tragic Tradition*. Madison, WI: Wisconsin UP, 1987.

Miller, H. W. “On the Parabasis of the *Thesmophoriazusae* of Aristophanes.” *Classical Philology*, vol. 42, no. 3, 1947, pp.180-181.

Mints, Z. G. “O nekotorykh ‘neomifologicheskikh’ tekstakh v tvorchestve russkikh simvolistov.” *Blokovskiy sbornik III. Tvorchestvo A. A. Bloka i russkaya kul’tura XX veka.* Tartu: Tartuskiy gosudarstvennyi universitet, 1979, pp. 76-120.

Mints, Z. G. *Poetika russkogo simvolizma.* Sankt-Peterburg: Iskusstvo, 2004.

Misnikevich, T. V. “Mezhdunarodnaya konferentsiya ‘Fyodor Sologub i mirovaya kul’tura’.” *Russkaya literatura,* no. 3, 2003, pp. 228-231.

Mitrofanov, P. P. “Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky”. *Innokenty Annensky glazami sovremennikov.* Sostaviteli L. G. Kikhney, G. N. Shelogurova, M. A. Vygranenko. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel’stvo Rostock, 2011, pp. 175-191.

Moiseeva, A. A. “Famirid i Famira, ili Sostyazanie dvukh kifaredov.” *Filolog,* vypusk 17. Perm’: Permskii gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii universitet, 2011, pp. 6-8.

Molchanova, N. A. “Vakkhicheskaya drama I. Annenskogo ‘Famira-kifared’ v esteticheskom vospriyatii V. Bryusova, K. Bal’monta i Vyach. Ivanova.” *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor’kogo, 2009, pp. 206-212.

Morley R., *Performing Femininity: Woman as Performer in Early Russian Cinema*. Chicago: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016.

Morwood, J. *The Plays of Euripides*. London: Bloomsbury, 2016.

Moshchenikova, M. A., Kornilova, N. A. “I. F.Annensky: Poslednie gody v Tsarskom Sele (k voprosu o literaturnykh adresakh).” *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy,*

posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo. Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor'kogo, 2009, pp. 433-442.

Mossman, J. *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Euripides*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003.

Mossman, J., *Wild justice: A Study of Euripides' Hecuba*. USA: Oxford UP, 1995.

Musarra-Schroeder, U. "Influence vs. Intertextuality." *The Search for a New Alphabet: Literary Studies in a Changing World*. Edited by H. Hendrix, J. Kloek, S. Levie, and W. van Peer. Amsterdam, Netherlands: John Benjamins Publishing, 1996.

Musatov, V. V. "K istorii odnogo spora (Vyacheslav Ivanov i Innokenty Annensky)." Tvorchestvo pisatelya i literaturnyi process: Nravstvenno-filosofskaya problematika v rysskoy literature XX veka. Mezhvuzovskii sbornik nauchnykh trudov. Red. P. V. Kupriyanovsky. Ivanovo: Ivanovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 1991, pp. 28-36.

Nagel, R. "Literary and Filial Modesty in *Silvae* 5.3." *Ramus*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2000, pp. 47-59.

Nagibin, Yu. M. "Innokenty Annensky." *Smena*, no. 7, aprel' 1986. pp. 25-27.

Nalegach, N. V. "'Chitatel' knig' N. Gumileva i 'Ideal' I. Annenskogo: k probleme poeticheskogo dialoga." *Gumilevskie chteniya. Materialy mezhdunarodnoy nauchnoy konferentsii 12-16 aprelya 2006 goda.* Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskii gumanitarnyi universitet profsoyuzov, 2006, pp. 35-41.

Nalegach, N. V. "Poetika listov – list'ev v lirike I. Annenskogo." *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor'kogo, 2009, pp. 98-109.

Nelles, W. "Michael Riffaterre: A Checklist of Writings through 1996." *Style,* vol. 30, no. 4, 1996, pp. 554-565.

Nietzsche, F. "*Die Geburt der Tragödie aus dem Geiste der Musik.*" Leipzig: Verlag von E. W. Fritzsch, 1872.

Nikolaev S. I. *Pol'skaya poeziya v russkikh perevodakh: Vtoraya polovina XVII - pervaya tret' XVIII veka.* Leningrad: Nauka, pp. 85-90.

Nikolina, N. A. "Remarki v tragediyakh I. Annenskogo." *Russkiy yazyk v shkole,* no. 9, 2009, pp. 51-55.

Nisbet, R. G. M. "Felicitas at Surrentum (Statius, *Silvae* II. 2)." Nisbet, R. G. M., Stephen J.H., Harrison S. J. *Collected papers on Latin literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995, pp. 29-47.

O'Brien, D. *Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969.

Ogden, D. *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002.

Oikonomou, M. "The Literary Context of Anthia's Dream in Xenophon's *Ephesiaca*." *Echoing Narratives: Studies of Intertextuality in Greek and Roman Prose Fiction*. Edited by K. Doulamis. Netherlands: Barkhuis, 2011, pp. 49-72.

Onega, S. and Landa, J. A. G., editors. *Narratology: an Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2014.

Oranje, H. "Euripides' Protesilaus." *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, vol. 37, 1980, pp. 10-14.

Ostrovskaya, E. S. "Frantsuzskie poety v retseptsii I. Annenskogo. Charles Leconte de Lisle'." *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Seriya Filologiya,* no. 5, 2005, pp. 22-36.

Otis, B. *Ovid as an Epic Poet.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1975.

Pagan, N. O. "Roland Barthes and the Syllogisms of Literary Criticism." *Mosaic*: *An Interdisciplinary Critical Journal*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2000, pp. 95-111.

Pantelia, M. C. "Spinning and Weaving: Ideas of Domestic Order in Homer." *The American Journal of Philology,* vol. 114, no. 4, 1993, pp. 493-501.

Park, A. *Truth, Falsehood, and Reciprocity in Pindar and Aeschylus.* University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 2009.

Paschalis, M. "Petronius and Virgil: Contextual and Intertextual Readings." *Echoing Narratives: Studies of Intertextuality in Greek and Roman Prose Fiction*. Edited by K. Doulamis. The Netherlands: Barkhuis, 2011, pp. 73-98.

Pedrick, V. "Supplication in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, vol. 112, 1982, pp. 125-140.

Pavlova, M. *Pisatel'-Inspektor: Fyodor Sologub i F. K. Teternikov.* Moskva: Novoe Literaturnoe Obozrenie, 2007.

Pelliccia, H. “Unlocking *Aeneid,* book 6, 460: Plautus’ *Amphitryon*, Euripides’ *Protesilaus* and the Referents of Callimachus’ *Coma*.” *The Classical Journal,* vol. 106, no. 2, 2011, pp. 149-219.

Petrova, G. V. *Tvorchestvo Innokentiya Annenskogo.* Velikiy Novgorod: Novgorodskiy gosudarstvennyi universitet imeni Yaroslava Mudrogo, 2002.

Pierini, R. “Medea e Canidia, Canidia e Medea: Percorsi Intertestuali tra Orazio Giambico e Seneca Tragico.” *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, vol. 106, 2013, pp. 257-266.

Pivato, J. and Hutcheon, L. “The Languages of Comparative Literature.” *Comparative Literature for the New Century*. Edited by G. de Gasperi and J. Pivato. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s UP, 2018, pp. 41-64.

Platt, V. and Squire, M., editors. *The Frame in Classical Art: A Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2017.

Plett, H. *Intertextuality*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1991.

Polyakova, N. V. “Sravnitel’naya kharakteristika variantov stikhotvoreniya I. F. Annenskogo ‘Maki’”. *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor’kogo, 2009, pp. 153-160.

Polonsky, V. V. *Mezhdu traditsiey i modernizmom. Russkaya literatura rubezha XIX –XX vekov.* Moskva: IMLI RAN, 2011.

Polonsky, V. V. *Mifopoeticheskie aspekty zhanrovoy evolyutsii v russkoy literature kontsa XIX – nachala XX vekov.* Dissertatsiya na soiskanie uchenoy stepeni doktora filologicheskikh nauk. Moskva: IMLI RAN, 2008.

Popper, K. R. and Eccles J. C. *The Self and Its Brain. An Argument for Interactionism*. New York: Springer Science & Business Media, 2012.

Porfir’eva, A. “Russkaya simvolistskaya tragediya i mifologicheskiy teatr Wagnera.” *Problemy muzykal’nogo romantizma*. Leningrad: Leningradskii gosudarstvenniy institut teatra, muzyki i kinematografii, 1987, pp. 31-58.

Porfir’eva, A. L. “Vyacheslav Ivanov i nekotorye tendentsii razvitiya uslovnogo teatra v 1905-1915 godakh.” *Russkiy teatr i dramaturgiya 1907-1917 godov*. *Sbornik nauchnykh trudov.* Redaktory-sostaviteli: A.Ya. Altschuler, A. A. Ninov, Yu. A. Smirnov-Nesvitsky. Leningrad: Leningradskii gosudarstvenniy institut teatra, muzyki i kinematografii, 1988, pp. 34-47.

Powell, A., editor. *Euripides, Women and Sexuality. London:* Routledge, 1990.

Powell, J. U. *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature.* Third Series. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933.

Prince, G. "Classical and/or Postclassical Narratology." *L'Esprit créateur,* vol. 48, no. 2, 2008, pp. 115-123.

Pritchett, E. "The Politics of Post." *Pilgrimages. The Journal of Dorothy Richardson Studies*, vol. 10, 2018, pp. 4-30.

Provenza, A. "Madness and Bestialisation in Euripides' 'Heracles'." *The Classical Quarterly*, vol. 63, no. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013, pp. 68-93.

Pumpyansky, L. V. (A) *Klassicheskaya traditsiya. Sobranie trudov po istorii russkoy literatury.* Moskva: Yazyki russkoy kul'tury, 2000.

Pumpyansky, L. V. (B) "Pamyati V. Ya. Bryusova." *Klassicheskaya traditsiya. Sobranie trudov po istorii russkoy literatury.* Moskva: Yazyki russkoy kul'tury, 2000, pp. 530-537.

Rabaté, J. "'Ex-' in Text: An Excursus in Barthesian Text Theory." *English Literary History*, vol. 81, no. 2, 2014, pp. 469-481.

Rabinowitz, N. S. *Anxiety Veiled: Euripides and the Traffic in Women*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell UP, 1993.

Rankin, H. D. "Water and Laodamia as catalysts of emotions in Catullus 68b." *Latomus,* vol. 26, no. 3, 1967, pp. 689-694.

Raoul-Rochette, D., editor. *Monuments inédits d'antiquité figurée.* Paris: A l'Imprimerie Royale, 1833.

Reed, J., Kinsley, W. "The Anatomy of Allusion." *Publications of Modern Language Association of America*, vol. 123, no. 1, 2008, pp. 251-154.

Reeson, J. *Ovid, Heroides, 11, 13 and 14: A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

Reinhardt, K. *Sophocles*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1979.

Renne, E. P., Semenova, T. B., Trofimova, A. A. *Antichnoe nasledie v iskusstve Zapadnoy Evropy. Katalog vystavki.* Sankt-Peterburg: Slaviya, 2004.

Richter, G. "A Statue of Protesilaus." *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* 1915.

Riffaterre, M. “Compulsory Reader Response.” *Intertextuality: Themes and Practices*. Edited by M. Watson and J. Still. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1990.

Riffaterre, M. “Intertextuality vs. Hypertextuality.” *New Literary History*, vol. 25, no. 4, 1994, pp. 779-788.

Riffaterre, M. *Semiotics of Poetry*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana UP, 1978.

Riffaterre, M. *Text Production*. New York: Columbia UP, 1983.

Roller, D. *A Historical and Topographical Guide to the Geography of Strabo*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Ronen, O. “A Functional Technique of Myth Transformation in Twentieth-Century Russian Lyrical Poetry.” *Myth in Literature.* Edited by A. Kodjak, K. Pomorska and S. Rudy. Columbus: Slavica, 1985.

Roscher, W. H. *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1884.

Rose, H. J. *A Handbook of Greek Literature: From Homer to the Age of Lucian.* London: Methuen, 1934.

Rose, M. L. *The Staff of Oedipus: Transforming Disability in Ancient Greece*. Ann Arbor, MI: Michigan UP, 2003.

Rosenmeyer, T. *The Art of Aeschylus*. Berkeley, CA: California UP, 1982.

Rosenthal, B. G. *Nietzsche in Russia.* Princeton, N. J.: Princeton UP, 1986.

Rotstein, A. “Mousikoi Agones and the Conceptualization of Genre in Ancient Greece.” *Classical Antiquity*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2012, pp. 92-127.

Rozhansky, I. D. *Anaksagor. U istokov antichnoy nauki.* Moskva: Nauka, 1972.

Rozin, V. M. Etyud vtoroy. Sushchnost’ antichnoy kul’tury. *Predposylki i osobennosti antichnoy kul’tury*. Moskva: Institut Filosofii RAN, 2004, pp. 103-122.

Rudnitsky, K. L., red. *Rezhisserskoe iskusstvo A. Ya. Tairova. K 100‑letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya.* Moskva: Nauka, 1987.

Rusten, J. S., “Mythographers.” *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2016.

Sabo-Trifkovich, B. *Tragediya "Prometei" Vyacheslava Ivanova.* Belgrad: Izdatel'stvo filologicheskogo fakul'teta v Belgrade, 2010.

Sakulin, P. N. *Russkaya literatura*. Chast' 2. Vtoraya kul'turnaya epokha (pod znakom evropeizma). Moskva: Yurayt, 2019.

Samara-Kauffmann, A. *The Sea: Of Gods, Heroes and Men in Ancient Greek Art*. Athens: Kapon Editions, 2008.

Sarkissian, J. *Catullus 68: An Interpretation.* Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1983.

Sarycheva, K. V. "'Famira-kifared' I. F. Annenskogo i 'Famirid' A. A. Kondrat'eva." *Russkaya filologiya,* no. 22. Tartu: Tartuskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2011, pp. 68-73.

Savinykh, O. I. "Russkaya Medeya 80-90-h godov XX veka (L. Ulitskaya, L. Petrushevskaya, L. Razumovskaya, M. Khlebnikova)." *Voprosy russkoy literatury,* no. 3, 2018, pp. 102-108.

Sciarrino, E. "Hyperreality, Intertextuality, and the Study of Latin Poetry." *Arethusa,* vol. 48, no. 3, 2015, pp. 369-390.

Schadewaldt, W. *Der Aufbau des Pindarischen Epinikion*. Halle, Saxony-Anhalt: Max Niemeyer, 1928.

Schlam, C. C. "Diana and Actaeon: Metamorphoses of a Myth." *Classical Antiquity*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1984, pp. 82-110.

Schulenberg, U. "From Redescription to Writing: Rorty, Barthes, and the Idea of a Literary Culture." *New Literary History*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2007, pp. 371-387.

Séchan, L. *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique.* Paris: Honoré Champion, 1926.

Séchan, L. "La légende de Protesilaus." *Bulletin de l'Association de Guillaume Budé,* vol. 4, 1953, pp. 3-27.

Segal, C. *Euripides and the Poetics of Sorrow: Art, Gender, and Commemoration in Alcestis, Hippolytus, and Hecuba*. Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1993.

Segev, M. "Aristotle's Rejection of the Content of Traditional Religion." Mor Segev. *Aristotle on Religion.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2017, pp. 1-12.

Seybel', N. E. "Vlast' i strast' v tragediyakh o Medee Kh. Myellera i L. Razumovskoy." *Vestnik Tomskogo pedagogicheskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta,* no. 11, 2014, pp. 103-108.

Senelick, L. *Russian Dramatic Theory from Pushkin to the Symbolists: an Anthology*. Austin: Texas UP, 1981.

Setchkarev, V. "Laodamia in Polen und Russland." *Zeitschrift für slawische Philologie,* vol. 27, no.1, 1959, pp. 1-32.

Setchkarev, V. *Studies in the Life and Work of Innokenty Annensky*. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton, 1963.

Shatalina, N. N. "Biblioteka F. Sologuba. Materialy k opisaniyu." *Neizdannyi Fyodor Sologub.* Pavlova M. M., Lavrov A. V., redaktory. Moskva: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie , 1997, pp. 435-521.

Shatskov, V. "Pavel Aleksandrovich Katenin (11 December 1792 – 23 May 1853)." *Russian Literature in the Age of Pushkin and Gogol: Poetry and Drama,* edited by C. Rydel. Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol. 205. Andover: Cengage Gale, 1999, pp. 107-118.

Shavrygin, S. M. "'Grecheskaya prostota' i 'svetskaya vezhlivost' v strukture tragedii V.K.Trediakovskogo 'Deidamia'." *V. K. Trediakovsky: k 300-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoy konferentsii.* Sankt-Peterburg, 12-13 marta 2003 goda. Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskiy nauchnyi tsentr RAN, 2004, pp. 37-38.

Shelogurova, G. N. "Ellinskaya tragediya russkogo poeta." *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky. Dramaticheskie proizvedeniya: Melanippa-filosof, Tsar' Iksion, Laodamiya, Famira-kifared.* Moskva: Labirint, 2000, pp. 292-318.

Shelogurova, G. N. *Ideino-esteticheskie funktsii mifa v dramaturgii I. Annenskogo.* Avtoreferat dissertatsii na soiskanie uchenoy stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi universitet im. M. V. Lomonosova, filolgicheskii fakultet. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo MGU im M. V. Lomonosova, 1988.

Shelogurova, G. N. "Mifologema olimpiyskogo pira v tragedii Innokentiya Annenskogo 'Tsar' Iksion': rekonstruktsiya i interpretatsiya." *Festkultur in der russischen Literatur (18. bis 21 Jahrhundert). Kul'tura prazdnika v russkoy literature XVIII – XXI vekov.* Hrsg. Alexander Graf. München: Herbert Utz Verlag, 2010, pp. 133-140.

Shelogurova, G. N. "N. Gumilev v dialoge s I. Annenskim (p'esy *Akteon, Otravlennaya tunika*)." Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Rossica no. 7, 2014, pp. 121-131.

Shelogurova, G. N. "Status i funktsii khora v vakhicheskoy drame I. Annenskogo 'Famira-kifared'." *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor'kogo, 2009, pp. 213-225.

Shelogurova, G. N. “Tri ipostasi bezumiya v evropeyskoy dramaturgii: ‘Gerakl’ Evripida, ‘Hamlet’ V. Shekspira, ‘Tsar’ Iksion’ I. Annenskogo.” *Collectanea Philologica,* 9. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2006, pp. 213-220.

Shipton, K. M. W. “A Successful kômos in Catullus.” *Latomus*, vol. 44, no. 3, 1985, pp. 503-520.

Silant’ev, I. V. *Poetika motiva*, Moskva: Yazyki slavyanskoy kul’tury, 2004.

Silard, L. (A) “Antichnaya Lenora v XX veke: k voprosu ob antichnom nasledii v russkom simvolizme.” L. Silard. *Germetizm i germenevtika.* Moskva: Ivan Limbakh, 2002, pp. 27-53.

Silard, L. (B) “Dantov kod russkogo simvolizma.” L. Silard. *Germetizm i germenevtika.* Moskva: Ivan Limbakh, 2002, pp. 162-205.

Skinner, M. B. “Aesthetic Patterning in Catullus: Textual Structures, Systems of Imagery and Book Arrangements.” *The Classical World,* vol. 81, no. 5, 1988, pp. 337-340.

Smith, T. W. “The Protreptic Character of the ‘Nicomachean Ethics.’” *Polity*, vol. 27, no. 2, 1994, pp. 307-330.

Soellner, R. “King Lear and the Magic of the Wheel.” *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 35*,* no. 3, 1984, pp. 274-289.

Sommerstein, A. H. *Aeschylean tragedy*. Bari: Levante, 1996.

Sourvinou-Inwood, C. *Tragedy and Athenian Religion*. Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2003.

Stamatopoulou, Z. *“*The Reception of Hesiod in Epinician Poetry.” Dissertation, Charlottesville, VA: Virginia UP, 2008.

Stennik, Yu. V. “Dramaturgiya russkogo klassitsizma. Tragediya.” *Istoriya russkoy dramaturgii. XVII – pervaya polovina XIX veka*. Leningrad: Nauka, 1982, pp. 58-108.

Stennik, Yu. V. *Zhanr tragedii v russkoy literature. Epokha klassitsizma.* Leningrad: Nauka, 1981.

Stepanov, Yu. S. “Intertekst. Internet. Intersubtekst: k osnovaniyam sravnitel’noy kontseptologii.” *Izvestiya Akademii Nauk. Seriya literatury i yazyka*, tom 60, no. 1, 2001, pp. 3-11.

Stewart, E. *Greek Tragedy on the Move: The Birth of a Panhellenic Art Form c.500-300 BC.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2017.

Stieber, M. C. “A Note on A. Ag. 410-28 and E. Alc. 347-56.” *Mnemosyne*, vol. 52, no. 2, 1999, pp. 150-158.

Stoyanovskiy, M. “Kul’tura kak mif v tvorchestve Vyacheslava Ivanova i Innokentiya Annenskogo.” *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor’kogo, 2009, pp. 582–585.

Storey, I. C., Allan, A., editors. *A Guide to Ancient Greek Drama*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007.

Storey, I. *Eupolis: Poet of Old Comedy*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1990.

Strashkova, O. K. *Smysly i formy “novoy dramy” v istorii russkoy dramaturgii kontsa XIX – nachala XX veka.* Dissertatsiya na soiskanie uchenoy stepeni doktora filologicheskikh nauk. Stavropol’: Stavropol’skii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2006.

Strauss, D. “Hylozoism and Hylomorphism: a Lasting Legacy of Greek Philosophy.” *Phronimon,* vol. 15, no. 1, 2014, pp. 32-45.

Strel’nikova, A. B. “Chuzhoe slovo v p’ese ‘Dar mudrykh pchel’ F. Sologuba.” *Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta*, no. 379, 2014, pp. 36-39.

Sutton-Jones, A. “A ‘Book of Starres’ or ‘A Starred Text’? George Herbert Meets Roland Barthes.” *Literature and Theology,* vol. 20, no. 3, 2006, pp. 221-235.

Takho-Godi, A. A. “Antichnye istochniki i stil’ tragedii Trediakovskogo *Deidamiya.*” *Muzy u zerkala. Antichnye motivy v russkoy literature.* Moskva: Khronograf, 2015, pp. 206-212.

Takho-Godi, A. A., red. *Antichnost’ i kul’tura Serebryanogo veka.* Moskva: Nauka. 2010.

Tairov, A. Ya. *Zapiski rezhissera, stat’i, besedy, rechi, pis’ma.* Moskva: VTO, 1970.

Tamarchenko, N. D. “Problema ‘roman i tragediya’ u Vyacheslava Ivanova i Nitsshe.” *Vyacheslav Ivanov. Tvorchestvo i sud’ba: K 135-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya*. Sostavitel’ E.A. Takho-Godi. Moskva: Progress-Pleyada, 2002, pp. 71-76.

Tannery, P. ‘La cosmogonie d’Empèdocle.’ *Revue Philosophique de la France et de l’Étranger,* vol. 24, 1887, pp. 285-300.

Taplin, O. *Greek Tragedy in Action.* Abingdon: Routledge, 2003.

Taplin, O. *The Stagecraft of Aeschylus: The Dramatic Use of Exits and Entrances in Greek Tragedy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Taylor, N. “Stanisław Wyspiański and Symbolist Drama: The Work of Art as ‘dramatis persona’.” *The Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 66, no. 2, 1988, pp. 198-209.

Telò, M. “Embodying the Tragic Father(s): Autobiography and Intertextuality in Aristophanes.” *Classical Antiquity*, vol. 29, no. 2, 2010, pp. 278-326.

Terlecki, T. “Stanisław Wyspiański and the Poetics of Symbolist Drama.” *The Polish Review,* 1970, pp. 55-63.

Thomas, R. F. “An alternative to ceremonial negligence (Catullus 68.73-78).” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. 82, 1978, pp. 175-178.

Thomson, R. D. B. “Tsvetaeva’s Play *Fedra:* An Interpretation.” *The Slavonic and East European Review,* vol. 67, no. 3, 1989, pp. 337-352.

Timenchik, R. D. *Podzemnye klassiki. Innokenty Annensky, Nikolay Gumilev.* Red. V. Nekhotin. Moskva: Mosty kul’tury / Gesharim, 2017.

Timenchik, R. D. “Innokenty Annensky i Nikolay Gumilev.” *Voprosy literatury,* no. 2, 1987, p. 171-178.

Timofeeva, V. “Voploshchenie kompleksa Medei v tragedii I. F. Annenskogo ‘Famira-kifared’”. *Innokenty Fyodorovich Annensky (1855-1909). Materialy i issledovaniya po itogam mezhdunarodnykh nauchno-literaturnykh chteniy, posvyashchennykh 150-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya I. F. Annenskogo.* Redaktory-sostaviteli S. R. Fedyakin, S. V. Kocherina. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo Literaturnogo instituta imeni A. M. Gor’kogo, 2009, pp. 238-248.

Todorov, T. *Grammaire du Décaméron*. Paris: Mouton, 1969.

Todorov, T. “La Grammaire du Recit.” *Langages*, vol. 12*, Linguistique et Littérature,* 1968, pp. 94-102.

Todorov, T., Weinstein, A. “Structural Analysis of Narrative.” *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, vol. 3, no. 1, 1969, pp. 70-76.

Toporkov A. L. *Teoriya mifa v russkoy filologicheskoy nauke XIX veka.* Moskva: Indrik, 1997.

Toporov, V. N. *Mif, ritual, simvol, obraz: Issledovaniya v oblasti mifopoeticheskogo.* Moskva: Progress; Kul’tura, 1995.

Torlone, Z., Stadter Fox, M., *Soul and Passion: Marina Tsvetaeva’s Classical Plays* ‘*Ariadne’ and ‘Phaedra’.* Oxford, OH: Staroe Vino, 2012.

Tracy, T. “Perfect Friendship in Aristotle’s ‘Nicomachean Ethics’.” *Illinois Classical Studies,* vol. 4, 1979, pp. 65-75.

Trinacty, C. V. *Senecan Tragedy and the Reception of Augustan Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2014.

Trofimova-German, A. I. “‘Dar mudrykh pchel’ F. Sologuba: tekst i pretekst.” *Naukovi zapiski Kharkivs’kogo natsional’nogo pedagogichnogo universitetu im. G. S. Skovorodi*, no. 86, 2017, pp. 228-237.

Tsangari, D., editor. *Myth and Coinage. Representations, Symbolism and Interpretations from the Greek Mythology.* Athens: Numismatic Museum, 2011.

Tucker, J. G. *Innokenty Annensky and the Acmeist Doctrine*. Columbus, OH: Slavica, 1986.

Tuplin, C. J. “Catullus 68.” *The Classical Quarterly,* vol. 3, no. 1, 1981, pp. 113-119.

Vandiver, E. “Hot Springs, Cool Rivers, and Hidden Fires: Heracles in Catullus 68.51-66.” *Classical Philology*, vol. 95, no. 2, 2000, pp. 151-159.

Van Sickle, J. “Catullus 68.73-78 in Context (VV. 67-80).” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. 84, 1980, pp. 91-95.

Varneke, B. V. *History of the Russian Theatre Seventeenth through Nineteenth Century*. Original trans. by Boris Brasol. Revised and edited by Belle Martin. New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1971.

Vasil’eva, E. A. “Modifikatsiya zhanra antichnoy tragedii v dramaturgii I. F. Annenskogo.” *Filologiya. Izvestiya Ural’skogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta,* no. 13, 1999, pp. 13-22.

Vasil’eva, E. A. “Tetralogiya I. F. Annenskogo kak tragediya ‘otkrytiya soznaniya’.” E. A. Vasil’eva. *Evolyutsiya form khudozhestvennogo soznaniya v russkoy literature (opyty fenomenologicheskogo analiza): sbornik nauchnykh trudov.* Ekaterinburg: Izdatel’stvo Ural’skogo universiteta, 2001, pp. 282-305.

Ventslova [Venclova], T. “On Russian Mythological Tragedy: Vjačeslav Ivanov and Marina Cvetaeva.” *Myth in Literature*. Edited by A. Kodjak, K. Pomorska and S. Rudy. New York University Slavic Papers, no. 5. Columbus, OH: Slavica, 1985, pp. 89-109.

Ventslova [Venclova], T. “Ten’ i statuya. K sopostavitel’nomu analizu tvorchestva Fyodora Sologuba i Innokentiya Annenskogo.” *Innokenty Annensky i russkaya kul’tura dvadtsatogo veka: Sbornik nauchnykh trudov. Sostavlenie i nauchnaia redaktsiia G. T. Savel’evoi.* Sankt-Peterburg: AO Arsis, 1996, pp. 55-66.

Ventslova [Venclova], T. *Sobesedniki na piru. Stat'i o russkoy literature*. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1997.

Verkhovsky, Yu. "Put' poeta. O poezii N. S. Gumileva." *Sovremennaya literatura,* Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo Mysl', 1925, pp. 93-143.

Verrall, A. W. *Aischylou Eumenides. The 'Eumenides' of Aeschylus*. London: Macmillan, 1908.

Veselovsky, A. N. *Istoricheskaya poetika.* Moskva: Vysshaya shkola, 1989.

Vlasova, T. O. *Poetika stikhotvornoy dramy Serebryanogo veka.* Dissertatsiya na soiskanie uchenoy stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. Moskva: Moskovskii gosudarstvennyi pedagogicheskii universitet, 2010.

Vlastos, G. "The Physical Theory of Anaxagoras." *The Philosophical Review,* vol. 59, no. 1, 1950, pp. 31-57.

Voloshin, M. "Fyodor Sologub. 'Dar mudrykh pchel'." M. Voloshin. *Liki tvorchestva*. Sostaviteli V. A. Manuilov, V. P. Kupchenko, A. V. Lavrov. Leningrad: Nauka, 1988, pp. 434-437.

Wachtel, M. *Russian Symbolism and Literary Tradition. Goethe, Novalis, and the Poetics of Vyacheslav Ivanov*. Madison, WI: Wisconsin UP, 1994.

Wachtel, M. "The Veil of Isis as a Paradigm of Russian Symbolist Mythopoesis." *The European Foundations of Russian Modernism*. Edited by P. Barta. Warminster, PA: Aris and Phillips, 1991, pp. 25-50.

Wachtel, M. "Viacheslav Ivanov – student berlinskogo universiteta", *Cahiers du monde russe et soviètique*, 1994, pp. 353-376.

Wachtel, M. "Viacheslav Ivanov – student berlinskogo universiteta (stat'ia vtoraia)," S.V. Fedotova, A.B. Shishkin, redatory, *Viacheslav Ivanov. Issledovaniia i materialy*, vol. 3, St. Petersburg: IMLI RAN, 2018, pp. 275-307.

Waldock, A. J. A. *Sophocles: the Dramatist*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1966.

Walker, A. D. M. "Aristotle's Account of Friendship in the 'Nicomachean Ethics'." *Phronesis,* vol. 24, no. 2, 1979, pp. 180-196.

Walker, E. M. "Reframing through Intertextuality." *Literature/Film Quarterly*, vol. 36, no. 4, 2008, pp. 246-249.

Wallace, J. "Tragedy and Laughter." *Comparative Drama*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2013, pp. 201-224.

Walters, K. R. “Another Showdown at the Cleft Way: An Inquiry into Classicists’ Criticism of Lévi-Strauss’ Myth Analysis.” *The Classical World,* vol. 77, no. 6, 1984, pp. 337-351.

Wang, E. ‘Acmeist Mythopoetics: Nikolay Gumilev, Viacheslav Ivanov, and ‘Eidolology’. *The Slavic and East European Journal*, vol. 56, no. 3, 2012, pp. 415-430.

Wang, E. “Vyacheslav Ivanov in the 1930s: The Russian Poet as Italian Humanist.” *Slavic Review*, vol. 75, no. 4, 2016, pp. 896-918.

Ward, L. “Nobility and Necessity: The Problem of Courage in Aristotle’s ‘Nicomachean Ethics’.” *American Political Science Review*, vol. 95, no.1, 2001, pp. 71-83.

Webster, T. B. L. *Studies in Later Greek Comedy*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1953.

Webster, T. B. L. “The Order of Tragedies at the Great Dionysia.” *Hermathena*, no. 100, 1965, pp. 21-28.

Webster, T. B. L. *The Tragedies of Euripides*. London: Methuen, 1967.

Weinsten, M. B. *Welt und Lebensanschauungen hervorgegangen aus Religion, Philosophie und Naturerkenntnis.* Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1910.

Welcker, F. G. *Die Griechischen Tragödien mit Rücksicht auf den epischen Cyclus,* vol. 2. Bonn, 1839-1841.

Welcker, F. G. *Nachtrag zu der Schrift über die Aeschylische Trilogie, nebst einer Abhandlung über das Satyrspiel*. Frankfurt: H. L. Brönner, 1826.

West, J. *Russian Symbolism. A Study of Vyacheslav Ivanov and the Russian Symbolist Aesthetic.* London: Methuen, 1970.

Whallon, W. “Blind Thamyris and Blind Maeonides.” *Phoenix*, vol. 18, no. 1, 1964, pp. 9-12.

Wheeler, A. L. *Catullus and the Traditions of Ancient Poetry*. Berkeley, CA: California UP, 1964.

Whitman, C. *Sophocles: A study of Heroic Humanism*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP, 1951.

Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, U. von. *Pindaros*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1922.

Wilson, P. “Thamyris of Thrace and the Muses of Messenia.” *Mediterranean Archaeology*, *Proceedings of the 25th Anniversary Symposium of the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens,* vols. 19-20, 2005, pp. 207-212.

Wilson, P. “Thamyris the Thracian: The Archetypal Wandering Poet?” *Wandering Poets in*

Ancient Greek Culture: Travel, Locality and Pan-Hellenism. Edited by R. Hunter and I. Rutherford. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009, pp. 46-79.

Winnington-Ingram, R. P. *Sophocles: An Interpretation*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980.

Wohlberg, J. "The Structure of the Laodamia Simile in Catullus 68b." *Classical Philology*, vol. 50, no. 1, 1955, pp. 42-46.

Wright, W. C. *A Short History of Greek Literature from Homer to Julian*. New York: American Book Company, 1907.

Wright, M. *The Lost Plays of Greek Tragedy. Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides*. Vol. 2. London: Bloomsbury Academy, 2019.

Yampolsky, M. *The Memory of Tiresias: Intertextuality and Film*. Oakland, CA: California UP, 1998.

Yarkho, V. N. "Ifigeniya v Avlide" Inn. Annenskogo (drevnegrecheskaya tragediya v stile modern). *Philologica*, 2001/2002, vol. 7, nos. 17/18, pp. 89-144.

Yarkho, V. N. Vstupitel'naya stat'ya. *Pervyi Vatikanskiy mifograf.* Perevod s latinskogo yazyka V. N. Yarkho. Sankt-Peterburg: Aleteya, 2000, pp. 5-42.

Ypsilanti, M. "Callimachus' Use of the Story of Melanippe in his *Bath of Pallas*." *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classic*a, vol. 92, no. 2, 2009, pp. 105-117.

Zabudskaya, Ya. L. Dionisiystvo i tragediya: Eskhhil v perevodakh Vyacheslava Ivanova. *Vyacheslav Ivanov – tvorchestvo i sud'ba: K 135-letiyu so dnya rozhdeniya*. Sostavitel' E. A. Takho-Godi. Moskva: Nauka, 2002, pp. 141-147.

Zanker, P., Ewald, B. C. *Living with Myths: The Imagery of Roman Sarcophagi.* Translated by J. Slater. Oxford Studies in Greek Culture and Representation. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012.

Zavala, L. "A Model for Intertextual Analysis." *Semiotics.* Edited by C. W. Spinks and J. Deely. Frankfurt am Main, New York: Peter Lang, 1995.

Zelinsky, F. F. "Antichnaya Lenora." *Vestnik Evropy,* tom 2, kniga 3, 1906, pp. 167-193.

Zhirmunsky, V. M. "K voprosu o stranstvuyushchikh syuzhetakh. Literaturnye otnosheniya Frantsii i Germanii v oblasti pesennogo fol'klora." V. M. Zhirmunsky. *Fol'klor Zapada i Vostoka. Sravnitel'no-istoricheskie ocherki.* Moskva: OGI, 2004, pp. 58-104.

Zimmer, S. K. *Stanislaw Wyspiański, A Biographical Sketch*. Translated by H. M. Zimmer. Essen: Leopold Sanicki, 1959.

Zimmermann, B. *Greek Tragedy: An Introduction*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 1991.

Zorina, T. S. *Poeziya N. S. Gumileva i antichnost'.* Dissertatsiya na soiskanie uchenoy stepeni kandidata filologicheskikh nauk. Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskii gosudarstvennyi universitet, 2002.

Zubarskaya, O. S. "Interpretatsii obraza Laodamii v dramakh I. Annenskogo i F. Sologuba." *Vestnik Voronezhskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta,* no. 2, 2012, pp. 59-62.

Zuntz, G. *The Political Plays of Euripides*. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1955.