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Shorena Barbakadze

**THE PHENOMENON OF CONSCIOUSNESS IN
ANCIENT GREEK LITERATURE**

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An Abstract

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Research Supervisor: **Nino Chikhladze**
Doctor of Philological Sciences, Professor (10.01.03)

Opponents : **Iamze Gagua**
Doctor of Philological Sciences, Professor (10.01.03)

Valeri Asatiani
Doctor of Philological Sciences, Professor (10.01.03)

The defense of the dissertation will take place on, 2014, at

At the meeting of dissertation board of the faculty of Arts at Kutaisi Akaki Tsereteli State University.

Address: Room 1114, Block I, 59 Tamar Mepe St., Kutaisi 4600

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The secretary of the Dissertation Board
Doctor of Philology
Associate Professor

/I. Kikvidze/

General description of the thesis

Actuality of the thesis. The latest technological development has put a mankind in front of numerous challenges. In the epoch of modern globalization – with its dangers and abilities – it is becoming more and more responsible for preserving civilization and its future. And the growth of responsibility is based on the development of conscience. The study of the phenomenon of conscience is important not only from historical point of view, but for defining regularities of the development of the society and for setting ways of future progress of the world, and in the modern world, in the conditions of fast changing moral values of the fast growing technocratic society, ancient world has become the subject of interest, which, for the first time, emphasized the concept of conscience.

The research problem. According to Greek literary sources, the phenomenon of conscience has not been studied before. Georgian scientific literature doesn't touch this subject. In foreign scientific literature, the research is generally conducted in order to set the concept of conscience and there is no fundamental work which would study the issue from the point of view of literary study; which would find out how the phenomenon of conscience was studied in literature, how the ancient world understood the phenomenon of conscience and how it reflected in the works of writers of different epochs. Literary criticism studies only separate aspects. One part of scientists talks about the essence of research of the phenomenon of conscience in ancient society. They are: Rudolph Steiner im Gesitesgang des Abendlandes. Stuttgart 1985; Hiebel, F., Die Botschaft von Hellas. Bern 1953; Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U., Platon I. Berlin Frankfurt/M.1948; Hoffmann, E., Griechische Philosophie bis Platon. Heidelberg 1951; Zucker, F., Synesis-Conscientia. Jena 1928 and others.

Another part of scientists rejects the fact of reflection of the phenomenon of conscience in ancient literature at all, like: Honecker, M., *Einführung in die Theologische Ethik*. Berlin New York.2002; Picht, G., *Freiheit, Vernunft, Verantwortung*. Stuttgart 1969; Schopenhauer, A., *Über die Grundlage der Moral*. In: Kleine Schriften.III.Band.Leipzig o/J; Nietzsche, F., *Zur Genealogie der Moral*. In: Werke in Zwei Bänden. München 1981.Band II.; Freud, S., *Das Unbehagen in der Kultur*. In:Das Unbewusste.Schriften zur

Psychoanalyse. Frankfurt/M. 1960; C.G. Jung. *Gesammelte Werke*, B.10. Olten 1991; Kohlberg, L., *Die Psychologie der Moralentwicklung*. Frankfurt/M. 1996; Picht, G., *Freiheit, Vernunft, Verantwortung*. Stuttgart 1969; Fromm, E., *Mythen, Träume*. Stuttgart 1980; Heidegger, M., *Sein und Zeit*. Tübingen 1986.

A certain group of scientists tries to find the phenomenon of conscience only in some passages of ancient Greek drama. They are: В. Н. Ярхо. *Античность и современность*. М., 1972; Adkins, A. W. H. *From the Many to the One: A Study of Personality and Views of Human Nature in the Context of Ancient Greek Society, Values, and Beliefs*. Ed. by Max Black. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970; Burkert, Walter. *Creation of the Sacred: Tracks of Biology in Early Religions*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996; Diehle, Albrecht. *The Theory of Will in Classical Antiquity*. Sather Classical Lectures No. 48. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982; Greene, William Chase. *Moirai: Fate, Good, and Evil in Greek Thought*. 1944. Rpt. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1968; Snell, Bruno. *The Discovery of Mind*. T. Rosenmeyer, tr., Oxford, 1953; Williams, Bernard. *Shame and Necessity*. Sather Classical Lectures No. 57. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993 and others.

Some consider that the concept of conscience first appeared in ancient philosophy. For example: Yamagata, Naoko. *Homeric Morality*. New York: E.J. B concept of Brill, 1994; Vernant, Jean-Pierre. *The Origins of Greek Thought*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982; VersJnyi, Laszlo. *Man's Measure: A Study of the Greek Image of Man from Homer to Sophocles*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1974; Slatkin, Laura M. *The Power of Thetis: Allusion and Interpretation in the Iliad*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991; Jaynes, Julian. *The Origin of Consciousness in the Breakdown of the Bicameral Mind*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co, 1976 and others.

There are also works in which authors try to define the role of the concept of conscience in pagan and Christian religions. These works are: Jaeger, W., *Paideia* Bd.1. Berlin and Leipzig 1936; Stenzel, J., *Platon der Erzieher*. Leipzig 1928; Hiebel, F., *Die Botschaft von Hellas*. Bern 1953; Вейнингер О., *Пол и характер*. Москва 1999; Honecker, M., *Einführung in die Theologische Ethik*. Berlin New York. 2002; Kohlberg, Lawrence (1973). *The Claim to Moral Adequacy of a Highest Stage of Moral Judgment*. The

Journal of Philosophy, Vol. 70, No. 18; Stenzel, J., *Platon der Erzieher*. Leipzig 1928.

In these very interesting works we do not find systematic analysis of all the aspects which are extremely important to study in order to understand the phenomenon of conscience. Thus, the **scientific novelty** of the paper is that it studies the united process of establishment of the concept of conscience in ancient literature in complex, taking into considerations general theoretical aspect of the problem, defines its role in ancient society and writing; analyses it as one implicit chain; studies the question in the context of feature genres; includes mythological, ritual and literary correlations.

The scientific value of the thesis is that we try to consider the question of "consciousness" of ancient characters in the light of modern standards; reconcile characters of ancient Greek literature with modern moral values, when possible.

The aim of the thesis is to analyze the process of formation, development and establishment of the concept of conscience in literature. The study of the concept of conscience has general cultural function and, at the same time, we have the opportunity to watch how it "works" in the concrete genre, in the works of this or that author. The evaluation of the phenomenon of conscience is one of the defining factors of moral and ethical values of the worldview of every creator. The aim of the paper is to raise this factor.

Practical value of the thesis. The paper will be useful not only for men of literature, historians, philosophers, but for psychologists as well. It will help the scientists, students and a wide range of readers interested in this issue. The findings may be used in compilation of the course of ancient literature, special courses and special seminars, textbooks and monographs.

Depending on the specifics, the basis of methodological and theoretical research is a comparative study of literature and research methods and principles of "new historicism"; numerous scientific literature by researchers who study the concept of conscience; sociological, historical and comparative methods, principles of simultaneous and diachronic analysis of literary process; in the process of research I took into consideration different types and genres of ancient literature about the phenomenon of conscience from theoretical angle and in fiction; methods of their comparison and contrast.

The paper consists of 229 printed pages. It has the list of used literature (292 names) attached to it, among which the latest is from 2013. The paper consists of an introduction, 5 chapters and findings.

The main content of the thesis

Introduction. In the introductory part of the thesis, we talk about setting the main problems of the dissertation and the principles of their interrelation; research methods and clarification of the semantic field of the central term; discuss the existing scientific literature on the phenomenon of conscience; point out actuality of the issue and its importance; scientific novelty and originality; goals and objectives, methodological basics of the research; present the main issues which are studied in the following chapters, precisely: divine letter and holy fathers often talk about conscience; what situation we find in pagan religion, in the life of early people, namely, in ancient Greece? How is the phenomenon of conscience depicted, or is it depicted at all, in ancient Greek writing? How is the concept of conscience defined at different times and places? Was the feeling of personal conscience familiar to ancient Greeks as it is characteristic for the modern man? Is it possible to estimate the behavior of ancient Greek literary characters according to modern standards of understanding conscience? Was conscience absolutely public in Greece or were they led only by public morality? Using moral values of modern standards towards the ancient Greek literary characters, how can we doubt pangs of conscience? Is the phenomenon of conscience an inseparable part of the ancient Greek literature? Can we see the prerequisites of religious moral in it, which later established in Christianity as "the divine voice"? Can we trust the numerous Greek Gods, who were not particularly distinguished with impeccable virtues themselves? And generally, as the well-known Russian philologist and classic, V. N. Iarkho says in his famous article, did the ancient Greeks have conscience at all? To find out, the researcher selected several passages from drama. As for us, we tried to solve the problem by considering ancient Greek literature. We led our research in three directions: we a) identified all the uses of the word *conscience*; b) studied the question of conscience of literary characters in ancient context; c) identified the question of conscience of literary characters from the position of modern man.

Chapter One. On the definition of the concept of conscience. In this chapter, we discuss the history of origin of conscience and the metamorphosis of the concept of conscience from ancient Greece to contemporary times. Based on the sources, it is proved that conscience first

arose in man in ancient Greece and the first word meaning conscience, *xinesis/synesis* and *syneidesis*, first appeared there. There are examples how the word *conscience* was used in New Testament. For example, Apostle Paul considers conscience to be Christ's reflection in a man. He distinguishes different aspects of conscience, including evil and kind conscience. He often witnesses his conscience to prove his truth. In the Middle Ages, after Saint Jerome, two sides of conscience were distinguished: *synderesis/aynteresis* and *conscientias*. The former was associated with divine laws, the latter – with using them in concrete situations. Luther's use of conscience was a kind of revival of Paul-like understanding of conscience. At the height of his life and work, he appeals to his own conscience as the supreme court. Luther introduces the concept of free conscience, which, at the same time, means the freedom of religious belief for him. Then, little by little, Paul and Luther's understanding of conscience as the highest witness in a man vanishes and in the period of Enlightenment, it gives place to conscience understood as duty. Based on such conception of conscience, Kant formed his categorical imperative.

In German idealism, conscience was frequently understood as *a divine voice in a man*, but the common thing for all great thinkers of the period is that they considered conscience as supreme court, which, at the same time, is both objective and individual. Subjective perception of conscience starts from Schopenhauer. For him, conscience loses its high objective importance and is understood as a common phenomenon consisting of only negative features. Nietzsche goes even further and declares conscience a disease which struck a man during his striving for phylogenesis and inhibition of his instincts and from which he should free himself. Freud understands conscience as the feeling formed as a result of understanding parents' authority and prohibitions by children, which he calls *super-self* and gives it the function of inhibition of subconscious longings. Among modern thinkers, Heidegger returned conscience its deprived meaning.

The chapter briefly reviews current researches in modern psychology, which try to study the development stages of moral thinking and moral behavior in people. Based on the above-mentioned theories, the following chapters will try to study the level of processing of the phenomenon of conscience in ancient Greek writing according to literary genres. But in Chapter One, based on the analysis of scientific ideas, this general picture of theoretical research

enables me to make interpretation regularities of the phenomenon of conscience clear in different genres. By this, I avoided the necessity of research and analysis of all separate theoretical basis.

Chapter Two. Phenomenon of conscience in Ancient Greek epos. The chapter shows the development of the phenomenon of conscience in the genre which was defined as judgment of a person's moral law (ideal idea about a perfect – dignified, full of kindness – life, to which a man should lead his conscious efforts and which represents the highest criteria of the evaluation of his behaviour); which gave rise to ancient ethics (which later turned into its conceptual end). Let's discuss ancient Greek epic works – poems by Homer, Hesiod, Apollonius Rhodes. Homer is considered by ancient Greeks and Romans to be the most widely recognized esthetic authority and the teacher of life, who brought up Ellada. Thus, it is natural to start with Homer's poems. In "Iliad" and "Odyssey", the epic poet praises heroes and heroic ethos. We wondered how conscience fitted in this ethos and morality. In this respect, we researched and studied the most distinguished male and female characters, like: Achilles, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Helen, Paris, Hector, Odysseus, Penelope and others. At the same time, I touched upon the question of conscience of Homer's Gods, Homer's people and Homer himself.

In Hesiod's didactic poem "Works and Days" – in which the author gives numerous pieces of advice about different life moments and generally teaches people how to live correctly, has the ambition to teach them and advise on different issues – we expected to find any hint about what a conscientious life and, generally, conscience is, how a conscientious person should behave. Unfortunately, we couldn't find such advice in the poem, as well as in Homer's poem, but I paid attention to some nuances, when it was possible to read between the lines about conscience and dishonesty. It was particularly interesting to research the reasons which are considered by the poet to be the cause of the world's moral degradation and, in fact, apocalypses.

The study of conscience is the most critical in Apollonius Rhodes' "Argonautica". We started from Colchis episode, though we can start the question of Argonauts' conscience from: a) much earlier before they arrived in Colchis: 1. On the island of Lemnos with women and Hypsipyle; 2. With the king of Bebrycians; 3. In attitude to Heracles and b) after the Colchis episode: 1. The murder of Apsyrtus; Argonauts in Syrtes. But, as it was

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expected, the discussion about Argonauts' conscience was productive in Colchis episode.

Chapter Three. The question on conscience in ancient Greek lyricist. The works of ancient Greek lyricists have come to us in fragments, so we couldn't study the issue in question in detail, but I took into consideration that a great part of these fragments are dedicated to universal issues. At the same time, the interest in the topic of our thesis was aroused by a fragment of the Greek lyricist Theognis of Megara "Theognidea": "Those who depend their mind and feelings on truth and conscience, can be placed on one ship". Even this single fragment would be enough to turn upside down my preliminary attitude (a priori), which I had after reading the opinions of several researchers on the topic, to the fact that the concept of conscience doesn't enter Greek literature before drama, despite the fact that many scientists share this opinion (Larkho, Kauffman, Brown). I started looking for "conscience" between the lines again.

I reviewed the survived fragments by Sappho, Alcaeus, Theognis, Simonides, Bacchylides, Praxilas, Archilochos, Kalinos, Solonis, Mimnermoses, Theokritos, Kalimachos, Xenophanos, Asklepiades Samoseli, Bionises, Pindarosi and others, and found out that in archaic, there was an essential breakthrough in Hellenes' psychology, their world perception standards changed, many things were reevaluated, including attitude to conscience, and while discussing this phenomenon, the fragments give quite a lot of materials to judge and think about conscience. For example, Sappho, who changed the world from different points of view, considered Helen's betrayal as "wonderful" unlike male poets, as "he who is kind in heart, lives properly, and seems wonderful", and for her, sacrifice for love is equal to living with "conscience".

For Alcaeus, "money is man, not conscience is man". For Simonides, "it is difficult to be a worthy man", only "Gods are faultless"; Bacchylides is unforgiving to unfaithful and dishonest people and so on.

Chapter Four. Tragic and comic view of the phenomenon of conscience. Were the playwrights from Athens interested in such psychological phenomenon as conscience, and if they were, how did they express it?

We must start with a classic passage from Euripides' "Orestes", which is usually discussed in connection with conscience. Here, to the Menelaos' question which disease kills Orestes, the young man answers: "ἡ σύνεσις, ὅτι

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σύννοια δὲν εἰργασζένοσ. In this sentence we have no pronoun and it is not necessary, as the direct object δεινά and participle εἰργασζένοσ give us dependent clause: "... as I know (well) that I committed a dreadful thing". The verb σύννοια is discussed here as follows: to know (well). This with meaning it is more than once confirmed in Euripides' modern sources and with Euripides himself. Though, the verb συναιδέναι with reflexive pronoun in dative case doesn't define the emergence of the phenomenon of conscience. Aristophanes' Mnesilochos disguised as a woman, confesses a lot of sins, but he still very far from conscience. The use of these constructions with direct objects doesn't differ from similar prosaic examples we find with Xenophon, Apollodoro, Platon, where no one tries to find any expressions of conscience. As for the noun σύνεσις, with Pindaro, it means "common sense", but with Euripides, one and the same word is used seven times with the meaning "sensible", "the ability to understand", "understanding". Then why do we have to think that in "Orestes" the noun σύνεσις is used with a different and unusual meaning? Wouldn't it be more correct to follow Zucker, Polentz and Bill, who translate σύνεσις as "understanding" (die Einsicht – "understanding" of his situation by Orestes)? And still, did the characters of ancient Greek drama have conscience? This kind of question may seem not only paradoxical but unnatural: attributing modern standards of moral values to the characters of ancient Greek literature, we cannot help being suspicious about conscience in mother's killer Orestes, or in Neophtholemos, who gained Philoctete's trust by cheating him. A part of researchers doesn't consider conscience to be an inseparable part of ancient Greek tragedy; but they want to see the prerequisites of religious moral in it, which later established in Christianity. They define conscience as "the divine voice", with which God addresses people, encourages them to act or warns and protects them, and after the action He either praises or reprimands them. But there is a question – can we trust these numerous Gods, who were not perfect themselves, but demanded a lot from ordinary people?

"The divine voice", which was heard in people's souls, is different from interference of a concrete God or a prophet in the fate of ancient Greek literary characters. This single reason is enough to doubt the efforts of some scientists to identify Mermises' warning to Aegisthus (Aeschylus' "Oresteia"), Hermes's threat in Aeschylus's "Prometheus Bound" or

Sophocles' "Antigone" with the phenomenon of conscience. There is no effort in any of these passages to express the phenomenon of conscience. With the same reason we reject the identification of erinyes with conscience in Aeschylus' "Oresteia", or, to be more precise, in the finale of "Choephores". In the tragedy "The Eumenides", the erinyes sometimes appear with Athena, sometimes with this or that character and finally, decide to stay at the Acropolis of Athens forever. This doesn't correspond to the personification of Orestes' conscience. This is agreed upon by the researchers who consider the character to be the victim of conscience at the finale of "Choephores". Though, in this final scene, erinyes are not phantoms, conceived in Orestes' ill conscience. Erinyes in "Choephores" didn't come on stage. Their brief appearance would spoil the effect in "The Eumenides", where Hiphias describes them with the same words as Orestes, and for the second time prepares them for the "terror" of their sight. Neither Orestes, who already feels the approaching madness, nor the chorus see the point in reprimanding the man who saved Argos from two tyrants, but Agamemnon's blood confuses Orestes' mind, he ὀρένεσ δόσαρκτοι (loses control over his mind). Ancient Greeks also saw the results of erinyes's action. But nothing is said about "duality of personality" or inner reflex, as none of Aeschylus' heroes is characterized by these features. It is enough for Orestes to undergo ritual purification and his mind acquires enviable firmness and determination. We think that it is more productive to follow the way chosen by Fredrick Zuccer rather than look for conscience where it is not mentioned at all. The time of his research was not accidental, as at the end of the 20s and at the beginning of the 30s, German scientists got interested in the inner world of ancient Greece, which, to their mind, was quite different from the psychic world of a modern man. They researched and discovered the difference of understanding human nature in ancient and modern times, in its spiritual and intellectual image, its social function.

It is unacceptable for us to admit this difference in such a categorical way. In this case, it would be unclear why we are still so attracted to the characters of ancient drama with their dignity, who deserve the same evaluation as in our time. Sacrifice for your country, kindness, care for people and many others are still considered to be great deeds; but betrayal, injustice, contentions – are believed to be greatest faults, immoral behavior. The attitude towards conscience/dishonesty will also be the same among ancient Greeks and us.

That's why we still live faithful Andromach and don't like the husband-killer Clitemnestra. It is difficult to look for conscience where there is not one, it is not talked about, but our approach to the topic was the following: conscience was not in ancient Greeks' consciousness, but it must have been in ancient Greek society. To prove this, honest/dishonest behavior of drama characters, depending on the psychology of a modern man, can be considered to be the ability to evaluate.

That's why, we went even further and in this chapter we also used modern moral values, modern criteria of evaluation towards the characters of ancient Greek drama.

I reviewed Aeschylus' tragedies: "Prometheus Bound", "Oresteia", "The Suppliants", "The Persians", "Seven against Thebes"; Sophocles' "Electra", "Philoctetes", "Oedipus the King", "Oedipus in Colonus", "Ajax", "The Trachiniae"; Euripides' "Medea", "Iphigenia in Aulis", "Fedra", "Hecuba", "Hippolytus", "Alcestis"; Aristophanes' comedies: "The Acharnians", "Peace", "The Clouds", "The Wasps", "The Knights", "The Birds", "Thesmophoriazuae", "The Assemblywomen", "Lysistrata" and verified that drama turned out to be the most productive in term of the phenomenon of conscience.

Chapter Five. The phenomenon of conscience and its depiction in ancient Greek prose. Ancient prose developed in several directions. These are: fables, historiography, philosophy, feature prose and other. They are usually discussed within ancient literature, though, at the same time, they are also connected with the development of scientific thinking in the ancient world. The level of processing the issue in prose is presented in this direction.

Is there a place for "conscience" in Aesop's fables? Are Aesop's fables the form of thinking about conscience? In order to answer these questions, we reviewed Aesop's fables: The eagle and the Fox, The Goat and the Fox, Foxes and the Old Woman, The Dogs and their Owners, The Woodman and the Serpent, The Prophet, The Lion, the Donkey and the Fox, The Woodman and the Lark, and others. Among the numerous important issues which are presented in Aesop's fables, the question of conscience can also be considered; it is true, I could not find any hint in the moral or any words connected with conscience in the texts, but these short texts often consisting of several sentences and their characters often give food for thought about conscience. Due to its peculiarity of form, shortness and simplicity, the genre

of fable doesn't need deepening, expression of psychological feeling, but between words and sentences, Aesop gives us, among other ethic things, wonderful literary lessons about conscience, which undoubtedly increases the importance and merit of this interesting author not only for his contribution in world writing, but for his role as a teacher and moralist in terms of giving people correct upbringing. Aesop's fables give way to different interpretations and their reduction or narrowing to one, even the most adequate moral (which, as a rule, follows the fable), narrows down their point of view.

Historiography. We started our research with Herodotus' conscience. From the very beginning he says: "I don't know whether it is true or not, I write what I have been told". The writer draws a rigid line between seen and heard, and insures himself from dishonesty (although the book is between fiction and scientific). It is true that the father of history tries to magnify his favourite Athens, but he still preserves objectivity. At the beginning of his work, the historian says that the goal of his "history" is not to forget and not to ignore the great and wonderful deeds which were done by both Hellenes and Barbarians. According to Herodotus, dignity/indignity and other good and evil deeds are not the privilege of one or several people. Everyone bears both faults and honors equally. Herodotus doesn't insult enemies. He tries not to be biased. He praises the Spartans – he is not characterized by separatism; talks about Xerxes' human features and objectively evaluates the Persian warlord, though, because of this, Plutarch called him "the admirer of the Barbarians".

Herodotus thinks that crime is always followed by punishment; the criminal's descendants may be punished after several generations. Even those who exceed with revenge are punished. People who are too self-centered and arrogant are also punished as "God doesn't allow others to think too much of themselves". Herodotus thinks that man is the moving power of history. And the relationship between people is controlled by their passions and faults, contacts and rivalry. The following criteria define everything: justice/injustice; crime/punishment; bravery/cowardice;

covetousness/unselfishness; envy/generosity. In this list we do not find the opposition conscience/dishonesty. Though, it is easy to classify the dignities/faults presented by Herodotus as this type of opposition.

What is the situation like with historical heroes – Croisus – Cyrus – Cambisus

- Darius - Xerxes, who actually bind the composition of the work? What happens in the stories of this diachronic-synchronic research which are called additions (prostekai) by the author and which tell us about the adventures of both distinguished and ordinary people? As a result of research and analysis, it was estimated that detailed evaluation of their behavior gives us the opportunity to talk about their conscience/dishonesty. It is interesting that one and the same behavior of one and the same character enables this kind of evaluation, depending on from which angle we look at it.

Thukidides describes his contemporary historical period - between democratic Athens and oligarchic Sparta, Peloponesus' long-lasting war, which had a great influence on Greek history. Of course, we are not interested in the analysis of Tucidides' work from historical point of view. For us, the attitude of a clever, educated politician towards the vital issues of many countries, "psychological portraits" of distinguished political figures in terms of conscience are much more interesting. Here, the leading figures are: Pericles - Kleon - Brasidas - Alkibaides.

Xenophon, for whom Socrates was the greatest authority, learnt some moral aspect from him. With "Anabasis", Xenophon is presented as a historian and a man of literature. His point of view is very wide; on the one hand, the historian is interested in the customs and traditions of other countries; on the other hand, he is interested in the people he himself contacted. Xenophon is the first Greek prosaic who describes personal characters. Here Xenon talks about Persian Cyrus and Greek leaders - Clearchus, Menon, Proxenos, but he idealizes them and thus these characters are less interesting for us. In "Hellenics", moral conception outweighs historic. The author's general tendency in this work is the following: while Sparta was defending divine laws, it developed, when it became arrogant, it started to decline. "Agesilaus" may have been the most interesting for us in terms of the didactic, moral character of the work, but Agesilaus is characterized too ideally, which doesn't give us the opportunity to discuss the issue from the aspect we want. From this point of view, the most interesting is Xenophon's pedagogic and political novel "The education of Cyrus" ("Cyropaedia"); in the centre of the novel there is the education of Cyrus, the founder of Persia, the way of his thinking, the analysis of his behavior. According to Xenophon, in order to be an honorable king, one should be not only cleverer and more talented than others, but also one should have more morality. Like many other Greek politicians, he also thought that pedagogy is the part of politics. It is

necessary for the government to control people high morality and humanity. If we talk about historiographers' conscience in general, we can say that they try not to distort the facts and describe the events objectively, but actually, their history is still the result of their imagination rather than reality. They are too far from this yet. But the reliability of many of the events described by ancient Greek historians has been proved more than once, which gives us the opportunity to talk about their scientific truth and historical objectivity.

Philosophy. The concept of conscience and the word conscience *συνείδησις* was first used by Democritus. It is surprising, but we do not find the word conscience in Plato's works, though the main figure of his dialogues was the so-called "walking conscience" of Socrates' epoch and by that time it already existed in incipience, as the following expressions were quite common: "I know it within me" or "I am aware of it within myself". A Greek said this when he tried to express that he was aware of his importance, weakness, mistakes, etc. Though Socrates' *Daemonic* is very similar to the voice of conscience, they are not identical. This is proved by the etymology of the word. In Greek, it is connected with *Eudemonia* (Gr. Blessing, happiness), and Socrates hears its warning voice only when he might lose *Eudemonia*. At the same time, *Daemonic* tells him not what to do, but what not to do. Aristotle uses the word *synesis* in *Nicomachean Ethics* while characterizing dyanoethical virtue and places it between wisdom (*Sophia*) and Judgment (*phronesis*). *Synesis* only punishes, while *phronesis* orders what we should and should not do. It is interesting that in *Nicomachean Ethics* Aristotle also uses the word *regret*, which is the vital element of conscience.

According to **Plato**, justice is virtue and wisdom, but injustice is ignorance and viciousness. But, as he says, injustice has a great power. When asked what the correlation of justice and injustice is, the philosopher answers that injustice is strong, but justice is stronger, as injustice is ignorance. The state cannot be unfair, cannot invade other countries and enslave people.

When one country becomes stronger than another, does it gain this power with or without justice? If justice is wisdom, then it happens with justice, if not, then with the help of injustice. The state, the army, or this or that group of evil bandits, thieves or killers will achieve nothing if these people behave in an unfair way; if they behave correctly and fairly, they will achieve success, as injustice is the root of misunderstanding, hatred and inner disorder, while justice - is the root of unity and friendship.

Whether it is revealed in the state, army or in other, the power of injustice is

so great that, first of all, it makes their cooperation impossible, since this cooperation itself is based on injustice, which causes hatred, inner disorder, discord and enmity toward their fair opponents. Even if it emerges in one person, it will deprive people of activeness, will divide them into two and make them enemies to himself as well as to fair and kind people. Fair people are much wiser, better and more active, while unfair people are unable to act.

Aristotle. Nicomachean Ethics. Aristotle's ethics had a great influence on the establishment of humankind thinking and morality, especially on the establishment of the morality of Christian religion. Aristotle connected conscience with regret. In his opinion, "some people look for exaggerated pleasures with too much eagerness, and this is for the sake of the pleasure itself. Such kind of person is undisciplined. He doesn't regret and that's why he is incurable. In general, the man who avoids corporal sufferings due to preliminary intentions and not his weaknesses incurable".

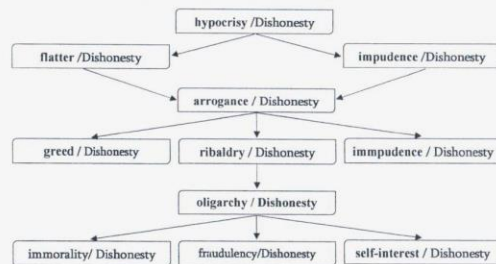
In Aristotle's works we also find the term meaning the feeling of conscience – "nemesis". Aristotle knows other forms of revealing conscience. Namely, regret that unworthy people enjoy comfort and well-being, while the worthy people are not valued as they should be: "between envy and malice, there is regret which is the result of the sufferings and pleasures which people around us underwent. A fair man suffers when he sees unworthy people in comfort and well-being. In this case, an envious man always suffers the most, while a malicious man stays behind in both suffering and joy".

Here, we find another form of expressing conscience. This is the feeling of shame, as the result of committing a crime: "It wouldn't be sensible to talk about shame as virtue, because it is more a passion than a feature; it is defined as a fear of bad reputation; it is produced by a fear before approaching danger; those who are ashamed, blush, those who are afraid of death, turn pale. Both are body occurrences rather than features, that is why they are more passions than features".

Theophrastus also attracted our attention. As a presenter of reality, he followed Sophists and Aristotle and continued to observe a man as an object. The results of these observations are presented in his small book "Characters", which is the favourite reading book of all times and authors. The original aim of the book was not scientific. Then what was the reason of writing this book? 1. It was written for Poluclesis; 2. Its function may have been to fill the gaps in Aristotle's "Poetics" and other works; 3. It gave rise to peripatetic genre.

Theophrastus' "Characters" represent the sketches of social drawbacks and weaknesses, though not disgusting perversions. It is a real description of general social type and not an individual person. He worked in the epoch of revival of new attic comedy and perfection of existing moral types. He was Menandrus' teacher and friend. The characters were created to be staged and served the goal of perfecting the existing moral comic types. Here, we have only imitation of how this or that type behaves in different situations. Any deviation from established norms was considered to be perversion by Ancient Greeks. The author describes only immoral characters, maybe because it is connected with the new attic comedy. It is the mission of a tragedy to describe the noble, but the comedy needs a funny, eccentric or immoral type. The author has two goals – to entertain and to advise the audience. The book describes 30 characters (types) – 30 human features, drawbacks, more or less serious, the whole gallery of weaknesses characteristic for a man, described in detail – almost perfect portraits of the "types". And among them, we do not find separately distinguished *dishonesty*, even though it logically fits in these types. We selected 11, they are: hypocrisy, flatter, impudence, arrogance, greed, immorality, ribaldry, meanness and self-interest, and carried out an experiment: in Theophrastus' "Characters" in each separate case, we put the word *dishonesty* where it was possible, but left the text unchanged. Theophrastus' characteristics expressed the essence of this word in all cases. In this way, we got the collective portrait of *dishonesty*, which we presented as a scheme.

The Collective Portrait of Dishonest Person



In this chapter we also touched upon the attitude of Epicureans and Stoians toward conscience. For Epicures, evil is of course no pleasure. He becomes evil when the aim is not noble, dishonest and the limits are beyond sensibility. Injustice itself is not evil for Epicures. It is the fear caused by the doubt that a man may not conceal his behavior which must be punished. **Stoyans** denied the main principles of epic ethics, according to which the initial aspiration of a human being is directed to pleasures and enjoyment. On the contrary, they raised the principle formulated by Zeno ("About Human Nature"): "the final goal of a human life is to harmonize human life with virtue. We are the part of the whole nature and must resist everything that general law of nature forbids".

Plutarch draws the portraits of distinguished people. He makes mythological and literary legends more human. He draws little portraits with nuances and we can look into their eyes, feel and live their lives. He depicts both good and bad sides. Thus, I thought I had to find some material for my thesis here. I tried to preserve Plutarchian sinces (comparison) and in this way present the problem in question – did great people have conscience (according to Plutarch)?

Fiction. The famous evaluation of ancient Greek novel – "A novel is nothing but final degraded form of Greek literature. They do not value morality, kill the desire of human immortality in us, as they show the victory of "good fate" over facts" – was a certain hint in terms of processing our problem in fiction. I considered Chariton's "The Loves of Chaereas and Callirhoe", Xenophon of Ephesus' "The Ephesian Tale", Longus' "Daphnis and Chloe", Heliodorus' "The Aethiopia" and Achilles Tatius' "Leucippe and Clitophon".

It can be said that prose turned out to be the first literary genre which talks about conscience as a concept, without concealing anything and the need to read between the lines; here they mention the word conscience, show a conscientious man and here we find a lot of materials according to modern standards concerning our problem.

Conclusion. This part of the thesis sums up the statements received as a result of the study of the problem – the phenomenon of conscience in ancient Greek literature. The main goal of our research was to find out what function the phenomenon of conscience had in ancient writing; if the characters of ancient literature had conscience and if their actions could be divided into

honest/dishonest actions according to modern standards. As a result of the research, it has been proved:

Conscience first arose in man in ancient Greece and the first word meaning conscience, *xinēsis/synesēsis* and *syneidesis*, first appeared there. But the word *conscience* was first used not by Euripides (V century B.C.) in his tragedy "Medea" and "Orestes", as it was considered up to now, but by Theognis of Megara (VII-VI cc. B.C.) in his lyric work, which is proved by a surviving fragment. This postponed the establishment of the concept of conscience for several centuries and we can claim that it happened at least two centuries before it was considered in scientific literature.

From the ancient to present times, the attitude to "conscience" has changed several times from divine to casual, from good to evil deeds, from the product of education to a fool's fiction, from patron spirit to painful memories, from shame to God's blessing, etc. Starting from ancient times, the concept of conscience has been understood differently in different epochs, by different authors, and this process can be presented in a schematic way:



The phenomenon of conscience has undergone different stages of development which we presented as a diagram.



It is surprising but in ancient Greek writing, there is comparatively little focus on the phenomenon of conscience. The authors write about all human virtues or vices, but conscience, at least before prose, is rarely mentioned, it is not considered as a human virtue or vice. It seems that the development of conscience is closely connected to the development of consciousness. That is why it appears in the development of mankind comparatively late. People had codes of behavior and religious rules, which regulated their actions, but it happened from outside and not from inner decisions. Even in olden times, there were concepts of crime, sin and so on, but they were defined from outside. People were protected, warned, punished by Gods. After committing crimes, divine creatures took revenge on them. Everything came from the above, people were not yet internally free. Crime and mercy were not discussed individually. It was felt collectively and the whole family or tribe underwent the process of purification.

For ancient Greeks, personal conscience as we understand it today was not familiar. They were only directed by social morality. We can imagine it in the following way: when Greeks died, it was not considered as either heroism, or sacrifice. It was their duty, as usual as their everyday hygiene. There is absolute publicity of conscience among Greeks. Ancient Greek thinking lacks in the concept close to our personal conscience, which is difficult to imagine for a modern man. But the analysis of the survived literary works showed that despite the fact

that the concept of conscience appears quite late in Greek society and literature, it must have existed before in a different form. Every genre gives the opportunity to discuss the phenomenon of conscience according to modern standards, acceptable for a modern man; every genre solves this problem in its way. In every case, the phenomenon of conscience was processed in ancient Greek writing according to specifics of this or that genre.

Epos has the ability to depict the whole life, embrace any kind of information about a character: tragic/comic, important/unimportant; evaluate the character's behavior – worthy/unworthy, honest/dishonest, conscientious/unconscientious, etc. as ancient epos is the judgment of human moral laws. Thus, it gave rise to ancient ethics, which became its conceptual end. A moral law is considered to be an ideal opinion about a perfect (honorary, conscientious, full of kindness) life. According to epic writers, this is what every human must direct their conscious efforts to and what represents the highest evaluating criterion of their actions. This moral law was given in the first epic texts of ancient Greek culture: in the poems of Homer, Hesiod, Apollonius of Rhodes.

Epic heroes were more or less conscientious, but not because they were aware of this, but because they were created in this way. They are like this without the influence of absolute moral ideology. In heroic world, there are moral individuals, but there is no moral ideology. The words which later became ethic terms had subjective meaning, they have no moral content. The terminology which has ethic meaning is less rich and its use is quite rare. The lack of terminology indicates to the fact that morality is not differentiated from emancipated reality, and to the fact that it doesn't exist at all. The morality of this epoch belongs to the language of practical life. For example, Hector sacrifices himself while defending his city, he suffers from conscience and acts as he must act, but at the same time, he has no idea about sacrifice or conscience. Homer doesn't have this concept at all, it is unfamiliar to ethos. Even when a hero faces death, he establishes himself. We won't exaggerate if we say that heroes have conscience but they do not know about it. For epic writers, as for Greeks in general, the laws of existence, and not the rules of bare responsibilities represent final ethic frames. It is obvious that in heroic world, there are their own opinions about certain behavior, which indicate to the heroes' spiritual nobility and validity of their actions.

Despite the great importance of elements of archaic religions or rationalism among epic writers, the main defining mechanisms of Gods' actions in poems are poetic imagination and continuous process of myths. The writers' ability to enter irrational divine sphere has its limits, beyond which there is the game of fantasy. Both epic writers and audience know that a lot of songs about Gods were created by the authors to entertain the audience; in the same way, Gods' rows were also the result of imagination because the poet could not know what the Gods were doing during the Trojan War. The process of creating myths by individual poets is connected with relativity and transition to the sphere of imagination. Neither the listener, nor the reader (if he approached the poem from esthetic, and not ethic principles) came with the question – how did the author know about the Gods' private life or their dialogues? They knew very well that they followed the poet's imagination and couldn't demand any evidence to prove his words. That's why these scenes have no connection with true belief. They belong to the sphere of the poet's creative work and not religion. It is the desire to make them human, fit in fiction structure and laws. After this, they can be wise, joyful, fearful, funny, or even honest/dishonest. Such kind of approach enabled us to raise the question of consciousness of Zeus, Hera, Athena, Aphrodite and other gods.

Homer's epos is aristocratic epos. His main characters are the descendants of either Gods', i.e. demigods, or kings, chiefs, aristocrats. Despite the fact that Homer managed to give all these numerous characters individual features, peculiar only for them, all of them are identically well-built, good-looking, clever, friendly, faithful, etc. But Homer gives great importance to people of low origin, who suffer from the load of war, who receive the least praise, who can also be faithful, brave, patriots, just as their leaders. But they have no names. They are just called "people". But this doesn't mean that we can't discuss their conscience. Here, they often behave more consciously (Thersitus) than their leaders. But in Homer's poems, the people like Odysseus's friends or grooms behave in a wrong way and they are punished for this.

We frequently ask the question concerning the authors' conscience (namely, how objectively they depict and evaluate the events). Homer himself, as a creator, tells us the story of Trojan War in a very conscientious way. He, the author of 8th c. B.C., tries to revive as precisely as possible the events of the

Trojan War which took place in 14-13th cc. B.C. At the same time, he does not try to create the image of the so-called enemy, as it usually happens (whether they want it or not, while describing historical wars, authors always try to show their own people from a good side) and tries to give equal picture of both sides – his own Achaeans and Greeks' powerful opponents – the Trojans. By this, his as a writer's conscience is clear – he humiliated neither Trojans, nor Achaeans. Otherwise, it would be obscure why it took the Greeks 10 years to defeat "average or even weak" opponents. Here we can also name Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Plutarch, who preserve certain objectiveness, do not distort the facts and, from this point of view, their conscience is clear. They "retell as they have to hiding nothing".

Based on the analysis of the fragments by lyricists of the 7-6th cc. B.C., we found out how and how deeply the phenomenon of conscience was revealed in the poets' creative work, what was the poets' contribution and novelty in the establishment and development of the concept of conscience. Despite the fact that there is no direct indication of conscience and the word "conscience" itself is not mentioned in the lyricists' works, the fragments still provide plenty of materials to discuss and think about the phenomenon of conscience according to modern standards.

I disagree with some scientists who think that it was only in the 5th century that conscience started to attract Greek writers' attention and that it didn't have any influence on the creative thinking of Athenian tragedians and comedians.

On the one hand, this fact is partially explained by Aeschylus and Sophocles: while there is a belief of divine, true ruling of the world in a poet's mind, or the belief that punishment for objectively committed crime is inevitable, the participants of tragic conflicts remain purposeful people, faithful to their decisions and actions. But even Euripides, who was not quite sure in the truth of divine nature, still evaluates human actions according to objective moral norms. People punish themselves not by inner stimuli but by objective results, or by the fear of death, they just try to avoid any kind of responsibility – before a group of people or themselves. In this case, conscience is not necessary for either characters of ancient Greek tragedies, or their creators.

But on the other hand, if we discuss the actions of drama characters from modern position, we can say that the phenomenon of conscience was

processed best of all in drama and here we identified two types of its perception – tragic and comic. In the former case, it is connected to the hero's action in critical situation and to the difficulty of hard life, and in the latter – to political conscience and women's actions against men: a) against individual man (Euripides); b) against Athenian or Spartan men to return them; c) against men in general, to take power from them.

Prose is the literary genre which talks about conscience as a concept, without concealing anything or the necessity to read between the lines. Here they mention the word *conscience*, create the image of a conscientious man and we find a lot of materials connected with our problem according to modern standards. The phenomenon of conscience is presented practically in every direction of prose: philosophy, where Greek philosophers find it very important to talk about the essence and function of conscience. Philosophical thinking goes to the theoretical conclusion that a conscientious man suffers when he sees that unworthy people are in well-being; in historiography, where historians are generally limited by historical reality and provide a lot of materials about honesty/dishonesty of famous and less famous real historical people; in fiction, where the authors of Greek novels give us the opportunity to read about conscience between the lines when they describe love relationships and various adventures. Based on the variety of materials, the prosaic interpretation of the phenomenon of conscience is also various.

It can be pointed out that the phenomenon of conscience has undergone several stages of development in Greek prose: a) when conscience is understood as a certain deviation from what is accepted by society; b) when philosophical interpretation of the phenomenon of conscience becomes necessary and they start theoretical discussion of conscience; c) when conscience is given a greater role in fiction.

Conscience has always existed even then and there when and where the concept of conscience didn't seem to exist. It was proved by the evaluation of actions of the characters of the ancient Greek literature according to modern standards. That is why, we think that the experiment – to analyze the phenomenon of conscience in ancient Greek writing according to modern measures, worked and the idea of one part of researchers who question the existence of conscience in ancient Greek characters and in Greeks generally, should be revised. The present work is a modest effort of such revision.

Main statements of the dissertation and the research results were represented in the following publications:

- **Barbakadze Sh.** (2013) Fables of Aesop- the means of perceiving the concept of consciousness, *Periodical Scientific Magazine "Semiotics" №12, the centre of Semiotical Research, Ilia State University, Tbilisi 2013*
- **Barbakadze Sh.** (2013) Political Consciousness in "The Knights" by Aristophanes, *International Scientific Conference "Modern Interdisciplinarity and Humanitarian Thinking" works, Faculty of Humanities, Akaki Tsereteli State University, Kutaisi 2013.*
- **Barbakadze Sh.** (2012) From love to responsibility after "Aeneid" by Publius Vergilius Maro, *Periodical Scientific Magazine "Semiotics" №12, the centre of Semiotical Research, Ilia State University, Tbilisi 2012*
- **Barbakadze Sh.** (2012) Law and the inner judge in "Antigone" by Sophocles, *International periodical journal "Intelekti", Kutaisi 2012*
- **Barbakadze Sh.** (2012) Electra and the gradation of consciousness from Aeschylus to Euripides, *International scientific-methodical conference for Academics and Researchers' works dedicated to "Francophonie 2012", Kutaisi, Georgia 24-31 March, 2012*
- **Barbakadze Sh.** (2011) On the Inner Judge of Agamemnon : "Kartveluri Memkvidreoba," *Akaki Tsereteli State University, Kutaisi 2011 (Georgian)*