

*Macht der Waffen ausgleichend nach einem Ziele richtet* ("wherein the moral might of ideas shall direct the different might of weapons evenly at a single target" (preface)). However, in the ceremonial act itself, the god of war himself speaks not a word, but only his fool-like herald, who makes ironic play on the warfare of the French enemy, also in recourse to martial mythology. In E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Automate* (contained in *Serapions-Brüder*, 1819), one of the main characters suddenly encounters an automaton of M. in a Danzig cabinet. The M. figure is only capable of making grotesque and cacophonous impressions, visual and acoustic. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, meanwhile, in his lectures *Vorlesungen über die Ästhetik* (3,3), points to M. caught in *flagrante*, to illustrate the ridiculousness of the Homeric gods.

However, this distorted reference to M. did not have the field to itself. For instance, the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova made a highly personal portrait of Napoleon as a victorious A. (1803–1806, London, Apsley House) and hence underscored the courtly suitability of 'martial mythology', and Jacques-Louis David trod thematically familiar but serious pathways in his *M. Disarmed by Venus and the Three Graces* (1824, Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts). It is noticeable, however, that the direct mythological reference is sometimes avoided in allegorical depictions of the 19th and early 20th cents., as in Alfred Kubin's drawing *Der Krieg* (1901/02). The allusive references here require some guesswork, as they do in Georg Heym's poem of the same title (1911). Heym, however, gives the 'Ruler of Battles' his full attention in a sonnet of the cycle *Marathon* (posthumous, 1914).

In the 20th cent., to begin with, the numerous invasions from the planet M. in science fiction (deriving from the influence of H. G. Wells) cannot be ignored, Martian evil here being transferred into a heteronomous Other, a concept well expressed by the term 'alien'. Wells at least still made the mythological reference of his fantasy of destruction (*War of the Worlds* (1898)) explicit. Finally, M. still commands a haunting presence through pacifist writings and war literature, e.g. in Alain's (*Émile-August Chartier*) polemic *M. ou la Guerre jugée* (1921) or a short story by Elisabeth Langgässer (*M.*, 1932).

However, the posthumous autobiographical novel *M.* by Fritz Zorn (1977) constitutes without doubt a new development in M. reception. Its protagonist gives a narrative account of the medical history of his cancer, which compels him to confront his unhappy life. This leads to a pitiless reckoning with the wealthy Zurich society, in the 'degenerate' character of which he sees the origin of his illness. The illness thus releases him

into a warlike fury that puts him into a "state of absolute war" "*Zustand des absoluten Krieges*" and transforming him into the war god M. "Der Haß und die Verzweiflung in mir hören nicht mehr auf. Sie sind wie ein Vulkan, der in mir explodiert und nie mehr erlöschen kann, solange ich noch lebe." ("The hatred and despair in me will never cease. They are like a volcano that explodes within me and will never be extinguished, as long as I live.")

→ Aphrodite; Athena

SCHOLARLY LITERATURE [1] I. BECK, Ares in Vasenmalerei, Relief und Rundplastik, 1984 [2] P. BRUNEAU, L'Arès Borghèse et l'Arès d'Alcamène ou de l'opinion et du raisonnement, in: L. Hadermann-Misguich et al. (ed.), *Rayonnement grec*, Festschrift C. Delvoye, 1982, 177–199 [3] J. M. DEAN, Mars the Exegete in Chaucer's Complaint of Mars, in: *CL* 41, 1989, 128–140 [4] F. ZOELLNER, Sandro Botticelli, Bilder des Frühlings und der Liebe: Die mythologischen Gemälde, 1998 (<http://www.uni-leipzig.de/~kuge/neu/zoellner/botticelli-fruehling.htm>) [5] A. FURTWÄNGLER et al., Art. Ares, in: *ALM* 1.1, 1886, 477–493 [6] H. A. GLASER, Roma Amor, in: R. Galle et al. (ed.), *Städte der Literatur*, 2005, 79–97 [7] J. HALB, Die Kultur der Renaissance in Europa, 1994 [8] S. LATTIMORE, Ares and the Heads of Heros, in: *AJA* 83, 1979, 71–78 [9] H. LAUFHÜTTE, Der gebändigte Mars. Kriegsallégorie und Kriegsverständnis im deutschen Schauspiel um 1648, in: H.-J. Horn et al. (ed.), *Ares und Dionysos. Das Furchtbare und das Lächerliche in der europäischen Literatur*, 1981, 121–135 [10] E. M. MOORMANN et al., Art. Ares, in: *LaG*, 1995, 106–110 [11] M. OSTERRIEDER, Das wehrhafte Friedensreich. Bilder von Krieg und Frieden in Polen-Litauen (1505–1595), 2005 [12] J. SEZNEC, Das Fortleben der antiken Götter. Die mythologische Tradition im Humanismus und in der Renaissance, 1990 [13] J.-P. VERNANT, Introduction, in: J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *Problèmes de la guerre en Grèce ancienne*, 1968 [14] E. WIND, Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance, 1980 [15] C. WOOD, Chaucer and the Country of the Stars. Poetic Uses of Astrological Imagery, 1970.

JAN-HENRIK WITTHAUS (DUISBURG-ESSEN)

Argonauts see → Jason and the Argonauts

#### Ariadne

(Ἀριάδνη [*Ariadnē*]; Latin Ariadna)

#### A. MYTH

The Cretan princess A. is one of the most fluctuating female figures in Ancient Greek mythology. She differs from other heroines in that from the earliest epics, she has been most crucially defined by her two loves: firstly for the hero → Theseus, who is able with her help to accomplish a deadly dangerous heroic task and then leaves her, and secondly for the god → Dionysus,

who (according to Hom. Od. 11,324f.) causes her death or (according to Hes. Theog. 947–949) makes her immortal. She has thus become a prototype of the abandoned woman who may yet be granted Dionysian immortality. Fulfilment and suffering alternate in the story of her life, but the cause of her happiness or misfortune is never clearly stated and no unqualified happy ending is reached. Tradition at first had Dionysus as her first lover, but for the most part he is her last. A.'s mobility, dependent on both lovers, is restricted to the island world of the south-eastern Mediterranean. From Crete, she goes to Dia or Naxos (sometimes Cyprus). She never reaches Athens, the home of Theseus. The forces working against her are → Artemis, who kills A. on Dia, and → Athena, who commands Theseus to leave A. behind on Naxos. The (Cyprian) love goddess → Aphrodite functions as her divine patroness.

In terms of genealogy, A. is defined by her father Minos, her mother Pasiphaë, her sister → Phaedra and her half-brother, the → Minotaur. By her support for Theseus, she shares responsibility for the death of this brother. The feminine inheritance of her family is the tendency to exceptional adultery of various degrees of transgression: Pasiphaë accomplishes this with a bull (Greek *tauros*) and gives birth to the bull-man Minotaur. Phaedra, later wife of Theseus, desires her stepson Hippolytus. A. herself, according to the earlier variant of the myth, leaves a god to follow a man. The name of A., like those of her mother and sister, alludes to the glitter of the stars at night, as does her brother the Minotaur's name, Asterius, which means 'Star-man'. But A. alone (or her crown or wreath) is herself transplanted into the starry sky.

As with the other members of her family, A.'s story reflects the early cultural relations, and violent conflicts, between Crete and Athens. → Daedalus, the Athenian architect and inventor who mostly works on Crete and is the legendary creator of the Labyrinth in which the Minotaur is held captive by order of Minos, builds for A. a stage for dancing (Hom. Il. 18,591f.), marking her out as the mythical archetype of the dancer. The thread of A., a ball of wool gathered by dancers in a round dance, remains proverbial to this day, Theseus having found his way out of the Labyrinth with the help of this thread after murdering the Minotaur. Abandoned by Theseus, A. becomes the model of the woman lamenting male inconstancy and ingratitude. As the privileged spouse of Dionysus, whether abandoned asleep and wakened by the god or ecstatically triumphant with him, A. then becomes the prototype of the erotically alluring, blessed Bacchant.

#### B. RECEPTION

##### B.I. ANTIQUITY

##### B.I.1. LITERATURE AND DANCE

In the case of A., Homer constitutes an unusually late stage of reception. Her prior story probably includes the 'Lady of the Labyrinth' honoured on Crete (like → Dionysus) with offerings of honey, as attested in the Mycenaean Linear B script [7.165]; [14.91–94]. However, speculative interpretations attempting to portray her as an aboriginal vegetation goddess, e.g. [38.23], represent superseded scholarly positions. The dancing-stage built for her at Knossos, on which round dances of youths and girls were held with circling dance movements going back and forth (Hom. Il. 18,590–602), denotes her high status and probably alludes to the Labyrinth (which is not mentioned here; on A.'s traditional association with cult dances, cf. [18.127f.]). In an ekphrasis, Homer emphasizes her archetypal function for depictions on the shield → Hephaestus forges for → Achilles. A.'s second and last appearance in Homer (Hom. Od. 11,321–325; → Odysseus sees A. in the Underworld) associates her with → Theseus and Dionysus, the latter being portrayed as her (as also in Epimenides, FGrH 457 F 19; Eur. Hipp. 339), whom she leaves for Theseus and on whose testimony → Artemis kills her on Dia [38.23]; [14.93–95] (*contra*: [19.66]; [36.19]). The version in which Theseus himself leaves her is first given in Hesiod (fr. 298). Here, he abandons her for another woman (called Aegle), and A. is immortalized by → Zeus as wife of Dionysus (Hes. Theog. 947–949). Also belonging to the early (Cretan) tradition is the 'gift' with which Dionysus seduces A. on Crete (FGrH 457 F 19) and which is identified as the golden crown A. passes to Theseus, and which then lights his way in the Labyrinth (cf., Eratosth. *Katasterismoi* 5; Hyg. Astr. 2,5).

A. is not transmitted in Archaic or Classical Greek poetry, not even as a figure of tragedy, although Euripides probably included her in his treatment of the Theseus material. He was also the first to mention the thread being 'carried around' (TGrF 5.1, fr. 386aa). Around the same time, Pherecydes depicted the story of A. as it relates to Theseus and Dionysus (according to the report of a Homer scholiast from the Imperial period, FGrH 3 F 148). This (cf. Diod. Sic. 4,61) was the first literary reference to the handing over of the thread to Theseus and A.'s instructions for its use in the Labyrinth, as well as to → Athena's command to Theseus to leave A., → Aphrodite's consolation of her by promising marriage to Dionysus, the epiphany of the god before A. and the stellification of the golden crown he gives her. The archetypal nature of the sexual relation between Dionysus and A. is first

attested in the written record in the 4th cent. BC (Xen. Symp. 9), as a pantomime performance at a symposium of Socrates. The possibility of A. being venerated in cult in her liminal state as a sleeper (abandoned by Theseus for Dionysus to find) is attested on Naxos in the 3rd cent. BC (ritual dance for A. at a spring sacred to → Silen, Callim. fr. 67,13f.). Other testimony from the Hellenistic period documents A. as a literary exemplum, either in other mythical contexts, e.g. at Jason's (→ Jason and the Argonauts) abduction of → Medea (Apoll. Rhod. 3,997-1004; cf. earlier as model for → Phaedra: Eur. Hipp. 339) or as a woman 'forgotten' by a man (Theocr. 2,45f.).

This approach also determines the approach to A. in the Latin poets of the 1st cent. BC-1st cent. AD (as an exemplum referring to other myths: Catull. 64; Sen. Oed. 488-502; as a practical model for life: Prop. 1,3: the sleeping A.; Ov. Am. 1,7: the betrayed A.). The reshaping of the earlier tradition and its more intensive psychological exploration in Catullus and Ovid was of central importance to further reception [3,75-81]; [34]; [1], esp. in their representation of the lamenting A. (Catull. 64,98; 64,125; 64,132-201; Ov. Epist. 10; Ov. Ars am. 1,529-535) and the ensuing nuptial appearance of the god with his *thiasus* (Catull. 64,251-264; Ov. Ars am. 1,535-562), but also through a concise summary of the story of A. between the Labyrinth and the stellification (Ov. Met. 8, 169-182) and through the idea that A. imagines herself abandoned a second time, by Bacchus (Liber), who, however, deifies her as Libera (Ov. Fast. 3,459-516). With this, not least, comes also the affective characterization of A., ranging from *furor* (Catull. 64,54) such as rage and sorrow, through self-pity, mortal terror, reproach and curses all the way to her defiantly constant love for Theseus, whose reciprocal feelings (cf. Paus. 9,40) are given as the explanation for his forgetting to replace the ominous black sail on his return to Athens. The consequent suicide of Theseus' father, Aegaeus (Diod. Sic. 4,61; Paus. 1,22), is seen as the fulfilment of A.'s revenge (Catull. 64, 200-248).

It is significant to the pictorial tradition of A.'s story (of earlier and later times and of his own) that Catullus has her appear in the form of an ekphrasis (an epyllium filling almost half of poem no. 64) of a pictorial work, namely a costly fabric that covered the marriage-bed at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis. The comparison of the abandoned A. with a statue of a Maenad (Catull. 64,61: "*effigies Bacchantis*") or a Maenad put to flight by the god (Ov. Epist. 10,48: "*concita Baccha*") is likewise significant, as it were suggesting that she is predestined for the orgiastic retinue of her divine bridegroom even before his appearance.

There are further variants of the A. story in the Imperial mythographers, e.g. Diod. Sic. 4,61 and 5,51 (Dionysus' command to leave A. given in Theseus' dream), Apollod. Epit. 1 (A.'s four children by Dionysus), Hyg. Fab. 43 (marriage of Theseus to Phaedra after abandonment of A.). The most comprehensive ancient compilations of the A. tradition date from the 2nd (Plut. Thes. 19-23) and 5th cents. AD (Nonnus, Dion. 47,265-469; 48,969-973). Plutarch (Plut. Thes. 20) provides the sole testimony to A.'s suicide by hanging, her marriage to the Priest of Dionysus Onarus on Naxos, Oenopion and Staphylus as A.'s sons by Theseus (not Dionysus), the death of the pregnant A. on Cyprus and her cult there as Aphrodite A. and A.'s double cult on Naxos as the bride of Dionysus (with ritual celebrations) and the bride abandoned by Theseus (with rites of mourning). Theseus' consecration on Delos of a statue of Aphrodite he received from A. (cf. Paus. 9,40) and the dance of the cranes (Greek: *géranos*) performed there (Plut. Thes. 21) representing the winding passages of the Labyrinth are variations on a Hellenistic tradition (Callim. Ariadne H. 4,307-313). On attempts to systematize the divergent A. tradition between Homer and Plutarch cf. [4,98-120]; [10,114-116]; [18,124-128]. Imperial period Greek authors such as Pausanias, Longus and Philostratus also attest to the frequent depiction of A. in pictorial works of their time and before (see below B.I.2.).

#### B.I.2. FINE ARTS

A reliable pictorial tradition of A. begins around the same time as the early Greek epics. However, the accentuation and pictorial interpretation deviate considerably from the literary testimonies, so that it may be assumed that the image motif developed separately. A. is first attested in the context of → Theseus' Cretan adventure in the 7th cent. BC. It is not certain whether a Minoan gold ring of the 2nd mill. BC from Mycenaean Tiryns documents the presentation of the thread and the sea voyage of Theseus and A. [29,27-36 with figs. 29 and 31]. Among the oldest records are a Tarentine terra cotta votive relief at Basel showing A. handing the thread to a Theseus denoted by the gesture of love [16, fig. 1], and a relief amphora from Thebes [16, fig. 3] showing Theseus' Cretan battle in which A.'s thread stretches from the row of youthful Athenians to the → Minotaur (here shown with the body of a bull and a human head). The motif of A.'s presence (with ball of wool or thread as attribute) at the fight against the Minotaur (otherwise always shown with a bull's head and human body) continued to be determinative of representations of A. (some with name inscription) in the 6th cent. BC [19, pl. 1-2, fig. 1-6]. The François Vase [16, fig. 5] expands the narrative, showing A.

receiving the dancing Athenian children, who are led by Theseus as citharoede, with a ball of yarn and a wreath (on A. with the lyre-playing Theseus cf. also the Chest of Cypselus at Olympia, Paus. 5,19).

Black-figured symposium vessels of the 7th and 6th cents. (earliest example [13,35, fig. 1-2]), however, also preserve depictions of → Dionysus, showing him in the company of a bride (without name, with or without wreath, sometimes with two children on her arm), standing or sitting opposite her, leading a chariot with her or reclining with her and often surrounded by the Dionysian *thiasus* [16, fig. 13-15]; [36, fig. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9]; [39, pl. 5]. Scholars' frequent identification of this figure with A. (most recently [36]) remains unverified (on the problem cf. [39,27f.]). The portrayals rather document the prototype of a Dionysian bride, which could equally refer to a girl who had died young [13,28].

Only in the red-figured vase-painting that began in the early 5th cent. BC is A.'s double love for Theseus and Dionysus (in that order) documented (cf. also the wall-paintings in the oldest Sanctuary of Dionysus in Athens, Paus. 1,20), but images of a troubled or lamenting A. are conspicuous by their absence. The motif of the sleeping A. abandoned by Theseus enjoyed a particularly enduring career, prefigured by depictions of the murdered Alcyoneus, opponent of → Heracles, and of sleeping Maenads sexually threatened by satyrs (→ Silen, Satyr) [21, fig. 1-2]. There is no identification of a dead A. (although one painting by Polygnotus in the Cnidian *lesche* at Delphi showed her in the Underworld [Paus. 10,29]). The earliest example, a wine bowl from Tarquinia [39, pl. 1,2], shows Theseus as → Hermes leads him away from the bed of A., who is sleeping under a vine which clearly refers to Dionysus. Here as in later pictorial variations, A.'s erotic appeal and status as the bride of Dionysus are emphasized (also by the addition of → Eros or → Aphrodite).

The same is true of the wakened A. discovered by Dionysus, as in the suggestive depiction on a Berlin *hydria* of the early 5th cent. BC from Vulci [39, pl. 4] of the leading away of Theseus by → Athena and of A. (first surviving name inscription) by Dionysus, the latter in an attitude suggesting dance (cf. the 4th cent. BC image of A. sitting like a statue, turned away from Theseus and seductively towards Dionysus, on an Athenian *krater* in Berkeley [3,106, fig. 16b]). The most significant aspect of this tradition, which endured into late antiquity or indeed into the modern period, is the treatment of the right or left arm of A. raised above or behind her head, which is sometimes bent back. This attitude, documented sleeping and waking, lying and standing, links A. in iconography (a point

hitherto almost unnoticed by scholars) with ecstatically dancing or exhaustedly sleeping satyrs and Maenads, and from the 4th cent. BC also with Dionysus lying with her in a state of inebriation or lasciviousness (e.g. on the bronze *krater* from Derveni [3,108-111]). Particularly explicit erotic representations of A. and Dionysus (touching her breast, kissing, naked partners) are preserved above all in the vase-painting of southern and central Italy and the Etruscans (cf. e.g. [39, pl. 8,2]). Here too, a quality of archetype (prefigured in the mystery cults) of the lover of Dionysus and indeed of the god himself seems to prevail [14,288-296] which is not reducible to a mythical representation. The possibility that such a prototypology might also include the non-cultic sphere finds literary support from the 4th cent. BC (Xen. Symp. 9) to the Roman erotic elegies (Prop. 1,3).

A. is ubiquitous in all visual media in the Roman Imperial period (canonical in literature through Philostr. Imag. 1,15; cf. [39,242-247]), certain identification enduring into the Christian Western and Eastern Roman Empires of the 5th cent. AD (contemporary with Nonnus). The image most influential in reception history was the individual sculpture of a sleeping A. (left arm supporting the back of her leaning head, right arm bending towards it; Roman copies of a 2nd cent. BC Greek original; cf. [39]). There are also similar representations of A. during her transitional phase between Theseus and Dionysus in small-scale art, e.g. on coins, cameos and combs, bronze furniture and ship fittings, while temple and villa wall-paintings (surviving esp. from Pompeii, and in literary descriptions in the ancient novel: Longus 4,3,2) and mosaics (some including the Labyrinth [3,140-144 mit fig.]) portraying the narrative context of Theseus' departure from her (still showing no new lover of Theseus to replace her) and Dionysus discovering her extend in provenance across the entire Roman 'world empire' as far as Spain, Germany, Georgia, Syria and North Africa (cf. here [39] with fig.). By now, there are also occasional references to the lamenting A. (e.g. [16, fig. 33]).

The same media, including textiles (rarely preserved, e.g. the wall-hanging used in a 4th cent. Christian burial preserved at the Abegg Foundation [3,157 with fig.]; [39, pl. 49,1]; cf. in literature Catull. 64), and in relief art, mostly on sarcophagi (often for women) [3,146-156], also document the intense relationship between Dionysus and a woman as bride (cf. the fresco in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii; on the identification problem [3,135f.]), as previously in Greek vase-painting. This is probably also a manifestation of the archetypal Dionysian constellation, which, as in the red-figured Italic vase-paintings of the Hellenistic period, included

a blessed afterlife (*contra*: [39.224f.]). Even the portrayal, described in inscription as a 'wedding' (*hymenaios*), of a Dionysian couple surrounded by the Dionysian retinue (as in the *triclinium* mosaic of a Roman villa in Galilee which was fitted with a Jewish ritual bath and destroyed by an earthquake in the 4th cent. AD) is probably not to be taken as a direct representation of the mythical marriage of Dionysus and A. (but cf. [32.61f. with fig. 46]), but rather indicates cultic connections to the mysteries of Dionysus, which are also evoked elsewhere in this villa and on other Imperial mosaics, wall frescoes and sarcophagi.

## B.2. LATE ANTIQUITY AND MIDDLE AGES

### B.2.1. THEOLOGY, LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

Greek and Latin patristic literature of the 3rd-5th cents. made allegorical use of the idea of the Labyrinth and the associated ancient tradition, esp. in recourse to Virgil's characterization of the Labyrinth as the house of "inextricabilis error" (Verg. *Aen.* 6,27). The world and the human soul, to Hippolytus of Rome, Ambrose and Augustine, were to be seen as a labyrinth of such "inextricable error" [12.120] in need of salvation. As it is → Daedalus and not A. (who is not mentioned) in Virgil who solves the riddle of aberration, she became dispensable and occurred only rarely in these and other Christian authors of late antiquity. In the 3rd cent., she was condemned as *impudica mulier, patris proditrix fratris interemptrix* ("shameless woman, despoiler of her father and murderer of her brother": Lactant. *Div. inst.* 10,8f.), along with the god Liber, who was won over to her by *turpissima libido* ("most shameful desire": [3.160]). From the 4th cent. the *interpretatio Christiana* (e.g. by the Cappadocian Bishop Gregory of Nazianzus) of → Theseus as Christ and the *artifex* ('creator') Daedalus as the prefiguration of God left A. nothing but the role of the pretty dancing-girl [6.67]. For Prudentius, too, only the hidden God and not the pagan gods could act as guide through the labyrinth of knowledge [6.77]. A. was superfluous here as to Jerome (*Jer. Comm. in Ezechielem* 14), to whom only Christ's *miseriordia* through the Holy Spirit could "resolve the deceptive tangle of the palace" ("*dolos tecti ambagesque resoluit*" = Verg. *Aen.* 6,29, there said of the arts of Daedalus). The 6th cent. non-Christian Neoplatonist Olympiodorus of Alexandria (*Comm. in Pl. Gorg.* 211) similarly likens the thread of A. to the divine power, and the → Minotaur to the bestial in mankind.

The theological and philosophical authors of late antiquity generally supported their mythical recourse on the works of text commentators, mythographers, grammarians and scholiasts that had accumulated since the Hellenistic library of Alexandria. A.'s rather subordinate role com-

pared to Daedalus in the Greek Homer scholiasts (esp. in the retelling based on Pherecydes, see above B.1.1) and the 4th cent. Virgil commentary of Servius Grammaticus (the latter in the Western Roman Empire, the former more in the Eastern) is of particular relevance to her reception. Latin mythographies of the Carolingian period from the 9th cent., e.g. *Myth. Vat.* 2,147, are also based on this tradition: here, Theseus receives the thread directly from Daedalus, A. is 'carried off' (*rapta*) by him after his victory over the Minotaur and left behind asleep on Naxos, where Liber marries her and puts her crown among the stars. The story of A. in the *Visio Caroli tertii* (9th cent.) functioned as an anonymous prototype. In it, a luminous being hands a glowing ball of thread to the king and leads him through the hellish labyrinth. The ball thus serves as the *insignium* for the handover of *imperium* to a young successor [12.130-133]. A. is mentioned only peripherally and rarely in 9th-14th cent. codices of manuscript anthologies, encyclopaedias and world chronicles that comment on the Labyrinth (as *domus Daedali*, 'House of Daedalus'), the Minotaur and its defeat. However, she is accorded a central role as analogue to *deitas* in the Latin Freisingen Labyrinth Poem (11th cent.) [12.70f; 133].

A. independent of Daedalus is more prominent esp. in the vernacular and Latin literature of the 13th-14th cents. that relied and made variations on Ovid. Albrecht von Halberstadt's *Metamorphosen* (8,252-508) has Theseus receiving from A. not only the life-saving thread, but also (an anachronistic weapon against the Minotaur) a "clod of pitch" ("*von bech etlich klös*"), and abandons her in exasperation. The weeping A. is comforted by Bacchus with ascension, deification and stellification (cf. the Spanish *General estoria*, Part 2, Ch. 351-355; there, however, Theseus leaves A. because he prefers → Phaedra). The anonymous French *Ovide moralisé* (early 14th cent.: 8,1131-1559), exceedingly influential in reception history, also uses a similar motivation, likewise documenting the twin globes of pitch clod and ball of yarn. A.'s *interpretatio Christiana* here takes a new turn: as an elder, she embodies 'Judaism' (*judäische*), while Phaedra represents the 'paganism' (*gentilise*) espoused by God and from which he constructed his holy church. Pierre Bersuire's Latin *Ovidius moralizatus* also adopts this ecclesiological argument, equating A. with the *humana natura* of the daughter of Adam [12.134-137], while such an exegesis is absent from Giovanni del Virgilio's Latin allegoresis of Ovid.

A. acquired a different model status in an influential collection of exemplary stories, the Latin and vernacular *Gesta Romanorum*, in which her story is transformed into that of Vespasian's

daughter Aglaes, the *domina solacii* ('Lady of Solace'), who gives her suitor knight a ball of thread to rescue himself from a maze [6.165f.], and in Dante's *La Divina Commedia*. Here, instead of A., Beatrice and the Virgin Mary work alongside Virgil as guides and rescuers from the labyrinthine passages [6.291-293; 302-305]. A. herself is mentioned, with reference to Ovid, only twice in the text and anonymously at that, once as the sister of the Minotaur (*Inf.* 12,20) and once as the daughter of Minos (*Par.* 13,14-26). Her crown of stars in the sky becomes the model for the round-dance of the Blessed, who, however, laud "not Bacchus" ("*non Bacco*"), but "three persons in divine nature" ("*tre persone in divina natura*") [16.116f.].

### B.2.2. FINE ARTS

The realignment of pagan iconographic models for Christian purposes in late antiquity primarily, as far as A. is concerned, involved sarcophagi (which Christians sometimes reused) and small-scale art. 3rd cent. sarcophagus depictions of the sleeping A. surrounded by winged Eroses with no mythical context were particularly suitable for this [39.213-215 with pl. 58f.]. Hieratic representations of → Dionysus and A. (the god, as so often in Greek and Roman art since the Hellenistic period, with his right arm nonchalantly bent up over his head) were still being used as ruler allegories for the Christian Imperial couple in the early 6th cent. AD, e.g. on ivory utility objects produced in the Byzantine Empire but widespread in the Western Roman provinces [16.96-99 with fig. 49 and 51a]. An ivory relief found at Trier (from Constantinople [?], Paris, Musée de Cluny) shows a lone A. with Maenadic insignia, which are being presented like trappings of royal rule [16.97f. with fig. 50]; [36. fig. 49]: ruling at this period in Constantinople was the Empress Ariadne (with various husbands) [16.100-104 with fig. 52a-b]. A unique example of the early Islamic appropriation of the motif of the sleeping A. watched by Dionysus is an 8th-cent. wall-painting from the palace of an Umayyad prince in the Jordanian desert [39.227-238. pl. 61].

Although illuminated codices in the Christian west between the 9th and 14th cents. do often depict the Labyrinth, sometimes with the battle between → Theseus and the → Minotaur (even if this goes unmentioned in the text), A. is generally omitted [12.66-96] (Theseus without A., but with ball of yarn: [12.77]). The same is true of the church labyrinths appearing from the 11th cent., although one of the earliest of these, in Lucca, does mention A. in its inscription [6.127f.]; [12.104]; [16. fig. 53]. One Italian and one French world chronicle of the 14th cent. (iconographically identical) show A. with her hands raised in fear before her breast, beside

Theseus, who is approaching the Minotaur, which is trapped in a cage [16. fig. 55a-b]. The effect is to emphasize A.'s at best passive role.

## B.3. EARLY MODERN PERIOD

### B.3.1. LITERATURE

The moralizing tendency characterizing depictions of A. by Christian authors of late antiquity and the Middle Ages continued to hold sway through the early modern period into more recent modern times. However, efforts to despiritualize the exemplum are noticeable as early as the 14th cent. in Italian and English literature, the pioneers being firstly Giovanni Boccaccio and then Geoffrey Chaucer. The incessantly lamenting protagonist (inspired by the A. of Catullus and Ovid) of Boccaccio's *Elegia di madonna Fiammetta* (Ch. 8) considers herself the unhappiest of all women, more unhappy even than A., abandoned by → Theseus in favour of → Phaedra, for she, at least, was raised into the sky by Bacchus. The first to offer a trivialization are the *Genealogia deorum gentilium* (11,29) and *De casibus illustrium virorum* (1, fol. 6), with A., wine-drunk, left behind by Theseus on Naxos [16.111-115]; [3.161-163], but Boccaccio also allegorizes A., albeit as a personification of the *virilitas* ('virility') of Theseus [6.149f.]. In Chaucer's poems *The House of Fame* (405-426) and *The Legend of Good Women* (1886-2227, in the section on A. explicitly deriving from Ovid), Theseus is the ungrateful wretch and A. his loyal helper, to whom stellification comes as compensation [6.147; 317; 331]. Petrarch complains, in the satirical letters of his *Liber sine nomine*, that no A. and no → Daedalus will show the way out of the labyrinth of Papal Avignon, but only gold [6.158f.]. Meanwhile, the early 16th-cent. Protestant interpretation of A. as the prize of reason in Ulrich Zwingli's *Labyrinth-Dichtung*, while still entirely in the patristic-philosophical tradition of allegoresis, is the first to use A. for an ethically and politically motivated polemic [9.53-55]. Ludovico Ariosto [24. 81-86] and Torquato Tasso transfer the model of A. from ancient and mediaeval tradition on to other figures [26], while Giovanni Andrea dell'Anguillara's *Metamorfosi di Ovidio* (1561), in stanzas, amplifies the amorous intrigues of Theseus between A. and Phaedra first attested in Mediaeval Latin Europe [24.77-81], which would subsequently dominate stage works and esp. opera libretti.

Michel de Montaigne brought a new twist based on personal experience, when in the fourth edition of his *Essais* (1588: Book 3, Ch. 4 and 5) he used the example of A. (with reference to Catullus and Ovid) in the context of other ancient exempla to plead for an enlightened attitude to love. In the French and Spanish literature of the 17th cent., the story of A. was primarily

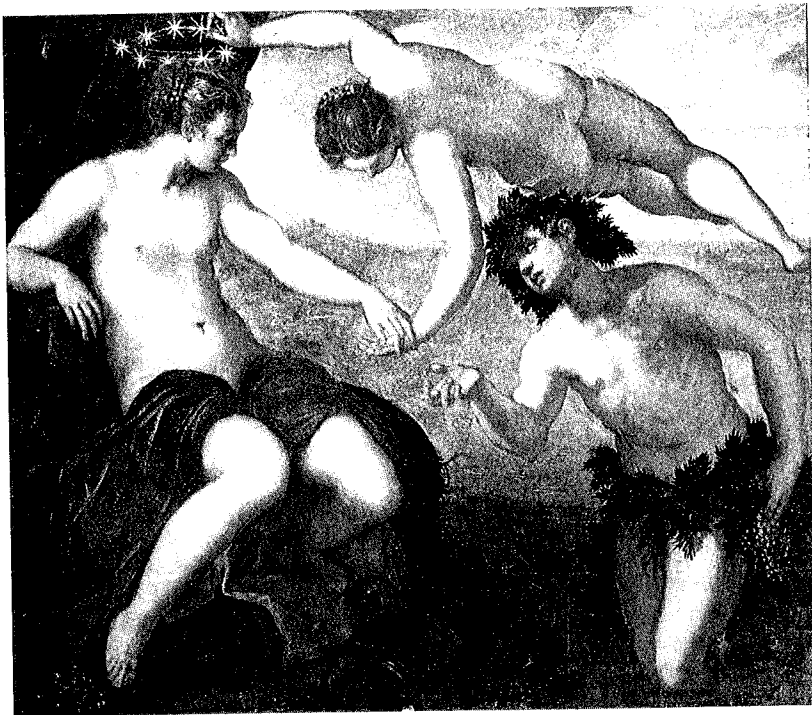


Fig. 1: Jacopo Tintoretto, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, oil on canvas, 1576. Venice, Palazzo Ducale.

used for various forms of drama, in a *tragédie* by Alexandre Hardy and a classical *tragédie* by Thomas Corneille [9.57-73], but also Counter-Reformatory dramatizations of Theseus' adventure in the Labyrinth at Eucharistic festivals (*autos sacramentales*) by Pedro Calderón de la Barca and Tirso de Molina. From the second half of the 18th cent., it was German adaptations of the material that dominated, first with a travesty by Daniel Schiebeler [9.99] and esp. the 'duodrama' *A. auf Naxos* by the actor Johann Christian Brandes (highly successful when set to music) [9.107-112]; [22.22-43], which ends with A.'s suicide. Johann Gottfried Herder intended his own 'melodrama' *A. -Libera* (1802) as a polemical corrective to Schiebeler, interpreting A.'s deification as the reward for her ethical refinement [22.87-106]. This kind of Neoclassical, Christian spirit of normative political poetry determined the portrayal of A. from the late 18th to early 19th cents. in German and English literature (now including work by female authors), although this was often parodied for popular entertainment on the stage with recourse to musical subversions and topical trivialization of the plot.

### B.3.2. FINE ARTS

In early modern Italy, the pictorial representation of A. profited from the growing Humanist interest in ancient mythology stimulated not least by the excavation of ancient works of art. This interest now became disseminated in printed, often illustrated translations of Greek and Latin

texts. At first, the motif of A. abandoned by → Theseus prevailed, esp. in editions of Ovid [16.123f with fig. 59f.], but an illumination of Dante by Giovanni di Paolo (early 15th cent.) already shows the discovery of the sleeping A. by Bacchus floating down upon her like an angel, although the episode is absent from the Dante text [16. fig. 56]; [3.164]; [39.255]. A.'s mythical cycle from Theseus to the god was often used as an exemplum on bridal chests (*cassoni*) of the late 15th cent. [3.165-173 with fig.]. Here as in 16th-cent. art, Christian typology is disregarded. Ancient sarcophagi provided the model for the depiction of the triumphant Dionysian *thiasus* [16.128-139]. A.'s simple garb distinguishes her on the *cassoni* from her rival → Phaedra, who is in courtly dress. She is characterized by her humility towards a chivalrous Bacchus crowning her, or by her alarm when he appears as a bloated drunkard. However, that idealized, naked allure of a youthful god, prefigured in Giovanni di Paolo and soon to become the definitive iconography, is also found here [16. fig. 62a-b, 65c, 66]. The ancient sculpture of a sleeping A. on display from the early 16th cent. in the section of the Vatican collections open to the public [39; 16.142-164], while it had an influence into the modern period through artists' sketches and countless modern marble and bronze replicas, copper etchings and woodcuts and its inclusion in paintings, was long thought to represent Cleopatra because of the serpent armband on the upper arm, and it was only identified as A. in 1784 by Ennio Quirino

Visconti [39.294]. The image motif, however, was soon serving as a model for Renaissance depictions of → nymphs [11. fig. 44f., 49, 51f., 59, 65], including fountain figures [39. pl. 68], perhaps even for Giorgione's 1508 *Sleeping Venus* (Dresden, Gemäldegalerie).

The model of the wedding of Bacchus and A. was already being used to represent fortunate monarchy by secular and ecclesiastical princes like the Medici of Florence at *trionfi* (performed, masked processions with music) in the 15th cent. This wedding became the dominant pictorial motif of the depiction of A., adorning princely *palazzi* in Rome (Baldassarre Peruzzi, Villa Farnesina; Annibale Carracci, Palazzo Farnese), Ferrara (Titian), Mantua (Giulio Romano), Genoa (Perino del Vaga) and Venice (Tintoretto, Palazzo Ducale) in the 16th and early 17th cents. [16.165-224]. Following the ancient Roman custom, beasts of prey were seldom omitted. A subtle depiction of the ambivalent alarm of A. at the stormy epiphany of the youthful god with his retinue is found in Titian's painting *Bacchus and A.* (c. 1520, London, National Gallery), which was intended for the project of a gallery of paintings based on ancient pictorial ekphrases at the court of Ferrara. Romano's *Bacchus and A.* (1528) is part of the pictorial composition for the Gonzaga Palazzo del Te. Tintoretto painted this wedding in 1576 in honour of the Republic of Venice as a coronation of A. by Venus (→ Aphrodite) hovering above her, while Bacchus, rising out of the sea towards her, holds out a ring (cf. fig. 1): A. here appears as a second Venus, more powerful than the youthful god. This self-confident independence of A. is also stressed in Carracci's 1597 ceiling fresco *Triumph of Bacchus and A.*

The abandoned A. again became an important theme of art (as in the music of the time) from the 17th cent., not least in Dutch painting, and above all as a sleeping figure (Jacob Jordaens, 1645, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts [3.199, fig. 55b]). In early 18th-cent. Venice, Sebastiano Ricci devoted seven versions to his portrayal of the divine couple A. and Bacchus [3.199-204]. The Neoclassical art of Britain, France, Denmark and Germany documented new interest in A.'s relationship with Theseus and her discovery from the late 18th cent., a sentimental example being the 1780 painting by the Swiss artist Angelika Kauffmann: the abandoned A. receives the arriving god with a handkerchief soaked with tears [3.204-206, with fig.].

### B.3.3. MUSIC AND DANCE

Presaging opera, which emerged around 1600 with the Humanist purpose of revitalizing ancient tragedy, and hence at first dealt almost exclusively in mythological material, were the danced and sung myth performances of the 15th cent., such as a ballet choreographed by Bergonzio

di Botta on → Theseus and A. for the wedding of the Duke of Milan, or Lorenzo de' Medici's *balata, Canzone di Baccho* (or *Trionfo di Baccho e Arianna*) for the Florentine Carnival of 1490 [17.15], in which the divine couple and their retinue are praised as the model of a dance-like way of life embodying '*carpe diem*'. It was Claudio Monteverdi's *L'Arianna* (1608), however, first performed at the court of Mantua, which made the abandoned A. a central figure of opera history [9.75-79]; [15.78f.]. Nothing survives of the opera (after the tragedy by Ottavio Rinuccini), the performance of which was undertaken by a renowned theatrical company of the *Commedia dell'arte*, apart from the aria *Lamento d'Arianna* ("*Lasciate mi morire [...]*", "Let me die"), which the composer published separately in 1623. It succeeded in formulating a musical profile of all phases of despair, which would influence subsequent adaptations of A. and to which many musical laments of other figures would relate. Monteverdi himself, in 1640, set a sacred Latin text to his music (*Pianto della Madonna*) and he also used it with variations for the lamenting Penelope in his 1641 *Il Ritorno d'Ulisse* [17.48f.; 66; 85f.; 139]. Even one of the earliest German-language operas, Sigmund Theophil Staden's *Seelewig* (1644), an allegorical parable of the → nymphs, quotes Monteverdi's pathos formulae [17.250-257].

The lamenting A. herself is present in vocal and even instrumental music from the 17th cent., in madrigals, cantatas and songs by Italian and soon also French, English and Austrian composers, likewise in organ and violin compositions, and she played an important part in the development of the German-language *Singspiel* in the context of the Hamburg theatre reform of the 18th cent. [25.7-18]. The emotional and choreographic dimensions of the A. myth were a continual inspiration for ballet compositions (e.g. by Jean-Baptiste Lully) that were performed across the whole of Europe. Above all, though, A. was a subject of all genres of opera, from the beginnings of Italian *opera seria* in the *dramma per musica*, in the new forms of the *dramma giocoso* and the melodrama from the 18th cent., and in operatic parodies and operettas into the modern age. Much, however, has been lost of the countless modern A. operas and the pantomimes, interludes, *divertissements* and *pasticcios* making musical and choreographic comment on her story [25]; [15]. The A. myth proved one of the most popular models among the (mostly Italian, some French) librettists of the 17th and 18th cents. for the portrayal of conflicting *affetti* and the emotional amplitude between happiness and suffering, inclination and obligation, and their libretti were often set several times (Pietro Pariati's *Arianna e Teseo*, e.g. by Nicola Antonio

Porpora and Baldassare Galuppi). The thematic corpus (with recourse mostly to Catullus, Ovid, Plutarch and Nonnus) and the intrigue of the rival → Phaedra already added in the Middle Ages was further enriched and altered with other figures and (often comic) situations. For instance, Pariati has Theseus fetch A. from the Labyrinth and ultimately reconciles with her. However, the dominant Italian opera, commissioned for courtly occasions or the Carnival until the late 18th cent., generally had A.'s fate culminate in the festival music of the Bacchic wedding.

A new phase of opera history was inaugurated with the German 'duodrama' (melodrama with two protagonists) *A. auf Naxos* by Brandes, music by Georg (Jiří Antonín) Benda [15.80-83]. First performed in Gotha in 1775 and ending tragically, it was thought misconceived by Herder [2.264-66] but was enthusiastically acclaimed by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart [22.36]. Its innovations, esp. the tone-painting and absence of aria and recitative, continued to be of influence well into the modern age. It was parodied twice in the same year (1803) in a Vienna operetta, Friedrich Satzenhoven's *Die travestierte A. auf Naxos* with a popular text by Joachim Perinet (at the end, Theseus and A. drown their sorrows in the tavern) [25.26f.], and the 'tragicomic triodrama' by August von Kotzebue using Benda's music: in its epilogue, Bacchus complains that Benda has forgotten to compose his appearance [22.44-48].

#### B.4. MODERN PERIOD

##### B.4.1. LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

Even in modern literature, interest in A. has not slackened to this day, but it has generally looked back beyond the modern period to ancient and mediaeval models of reception, which in turn have been undermined or allegorized in new ways. This often goes hand in hand with a use of A. as an exemplum, but has also been conceived in the context of a process of 'mise en abîme' that was already being exploited in antiquity, the Middle Ages and the early modern period. An ironic tone typical of recent modernity was struck as early as 1828 by Heinrich Heine in his *Reisebilder* (Part 3), in which the first-person wanderer complains (*Reise von München nach Genua*, Ch. 13) that a beautiful Italian weaver-girl did not become his A. (her threads would have led him through "das Labyrinth des Lebens" ("the Labyrinth of Life") and, unlike → Theseus, he would never have left her), and muses on A.'s surely having fallen victim to drunkenness on Naxos, parodying the rationalizations of myth at ancient symposia, by modern philologists and at the opera (*Die Bäder von Lucca*, Ch. 6). Since then, as here, all literary genres have been dominated by the abandoned A., often likewise in an auto-reflexive, critical recourse to this favourite theme of modern A.

reception, while the Labyrinth and the thread of A. only became favoured objects of modern literature and post-modern theory in the 20th cent., mostly in response to the self-stylization of Friedrich Nietzsche (e.g. [23]; [30]; [5]; [20]; cf. also [6]). The trend was set for the deconstruction of this motif by the lines of W. H. Auden: "the labyrinth is safe but endless, and broken/is A.'s thread" (*Casino*, 1936, vv. 19f; cf. Michel Foucault's variation on this idea [8]).

Poetry has proved the favourite genre for modern depictions of A., with female poets (starting with Karoline von Günderode in the early 19th cent.) particularly inspired by the figure (e.g. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Marguerite Yourcenar, Rose Ausländer, Sylvia Plath). Yet Lord Tennyson, Friedrich George Jünger and others also composed poems on A. The triumphant → Dionysus seldom occurs in them, but he does so in Arthur Rimbaud's *Soleil et chair* (1870), where the lamenting A. is ordered, as 'Lysios' (= Dionysus) appears, "Tais-toi!" ("Be silent!"). A. is also present in British, German, Austrian, Russian, French and Modern Greek drama of the 20th cent., in moralizing Christian, psychologizing (e.g. Paul Ernst, *A. auf Naxos*, 1911, on which and on Hugo von Hofmannsthal's opera libretto cf. [35]) and sometimes sarcastic repaginating adaptations.

The same is true of evocations of A. in prose, which show no sign of waning to this day (pluralized, for instance, by André Breton, appearing to the ship under the starry Canarian sky as pure 'Arianes', *L'Amour fou*, 1937, Ch. 5), e.g. in André Gide's short story *Thésée* (1946) or Cesare Pavese's *Dialoghi con Leucò* (1947). In Gide's 'autobiography' of Theseus, the hero is desired by Pasiphaë (as in 18th cent. opera libretti) and not only by her daughters A. and → Phaedra. But Theseus uses A. only as a means to an end, and hastens to her 'younger' sister. Part of Gide's transformation of the material is the advice of → Daedalus to tie the thread to A. in order to find the escape from the Labyrinth. His son Icarus functions as a warning example: he failed to understand "que le labyrinthe était en lui" ("that the Labyrinth was in himself"). Gide's humanist conception of Theseus is conversant with the long story of the literary interpretation of A.'s mythical career, including her marriage to Dionysus. He congratulates A. on her intent, formulated as a threat, to compose a long poem of lament, and justifies his own departure: she would otherwise forfeit all her portended subsequent privileges. Pavese's design of A.'s transitional moment between Theseus and Dionysus in the dialogue *La vigna* also amalgamates several traditions, including the neo-Humanist appropriation of the myth, the theme of 'Death and the Maiden' and the stylization of Dionysus as

a Christ figure, in which A. not only sees the nymph-like white goddess of the sea (Leucothea) as his herald but also Theseus as a John the Baptist. Nietzsche was already exhibiting such a tendency (albeit to some extent satirically undermined) to respiritualize A.'s experience in the 1880s [37.171-180] (Hofmannsthal later doing the same in his opera libretto): In *Jenseits von Gut und Böse* (no. 295), A. forms a silent and grateful audience for the anthropologically-reasoning 'Tempter-God' Dionysus (cf. *Götzendämmerung: Streifzüge eines Unzeitgemässen*, no. 19). An allegorical 'satyr play' on A.'s characteristic love triangle remained incomplete; Nietzsche also used it as a premise to metaphorize his relationship with Cosima and Richard Wagner [27]. The *Klage der A.* in the *Dionysus-Dithyramben* is a contrafactum of one of the 'Sorcerer's Songs' from *Also Sprach Zarathustra* (Part 4) [28]. The switch of male to female narrator role is one of Nietzsche's stratagems for constructing a 'picture puzzle' in which A. can become the Labyrinth of Theseus and the 'philosopher' Dionysus himself the Labyrinth of A. (cf. *Ecce homo*). A.'s puzzlement [5] seems irresolvable, for "ein labyrinthischer Mensch sucht niemals die Wahrheit, sondern immer nur seine A." ("a labyrinthic man never seeks the truth, only his A."); remains, cf. [37.172].

##### B.4.2. FINE ARTS

A. has a less prominent position in the modern visual arts than in the early modern period. Johann Heinrich von Dannecker's early 19th-cent. sculpture of a naked A. *on the Panther* (Frankfurt am Main, Liebighaus), based on an iconographic model of the ancient → Dionysus [16. fig. 89], constructed the possibility of a revision of A. to *femme fatale*, but this was not pursued, except for one orgiastic *Triumph of A.* (1873/74; Vienna, Belvedere) in the salon painting of Hans Makart (a Vienna Opera curtain [15. fig. 6]; [16. fig. 94]). Instead, rather than pursuing very different directions, visual artists preferred the single type of the abandoned and lamenting, but esp. temporarily resting A., as a more or less alienated 'Sleeping Beauty' [39.325f.], frequently in sculpture (e.g. Auguste Rodin, 1889, Paris, Musée Rodin; Georg Kolbe, 1932, St. Petersburg, Hermitage; Ossip Zadkine, 1957, privately owned), but also in painting. For the Symbolist painter Henri Fantin-Latour, the theme even, from 1872 on, became a lifelong obsession. Honoré Daumier devoted several caricaturing lithographs to the abandoned A. showing her, among other things, as a drunk pining for → Theseus [16. fig. 98]; [3.309]. The Victorian painter Sir Edward Burne-Jones produced a gouache (1861/62, privately owned) in which a fragile, plainly-dressed A. hands lance and thread to a knightly Theseus [16. fig. 95].

Surrealist painters, e.g. André Masson *Ariadne's Thread*, 1938, Paris, Jacques Collection), were particularly intrigued by the Labyrinth and the thread of A. Portrayals of the entire mythical cycle of A. from Theseus to the sleeping A.'s discovery by Dionysus and his retinue are rare (Lovis Corinth, *Ariadne in Naxos*, 1913). The model of the Vatican A. with the gesture of the arm laid on the head was appropriated by Pablo Picasso for a standing figure of his *Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907; [39.329]) and continues to be influential in sculpture and painting (e.g. S. Chia, *Wet Painting, Don't Touch*, 1982, Berlin, privately owned [39. pl. 106]) to this day. It particularly interested Giorgio de Chirico, who used this ancient sculpture as a quotation in many paintings from his youth until his old age, and incorporated it in the architectural contexts characteristic of his *pittura metafisica* [33]; cf. [16. fig. 90]; [39. pl. 100f.]. One of de Chirico's variations (*Piazza d'Italia*, 1950, privately owned) was quadrupled by Andy Warhol in 1982 in a remake (*Italian Square with Ariadne* [39. pl. 104]).

##### B.4.3. MUSIC AND DANCE

A. has remained musically attractive through the modern period to the repertoire of the present day in many genres, esp. in ballet and opera. Cantatas were still being written in the 19th cent., as well as a 'weltliches Oratorium' ('secular oratorio', after Herder's *Ariadne-Libera*) by Pavel Kuczynski (1880). Although modern ballet composers and choreographers do also deal with the 'abandoned A.', even classical ballet was already from the mid-19th cent. dominated by the choreographic representation of A.'s association with the Labyrinth, as for instance in Léonide Massine's choreography of Franz Schubert's Symphony No. 7 (first performance New York, 1941; stage design and costumes: Salvador Dalí), with a Surrealist accent. Other modern choreographers, such as Martha Graham (1947) and Alvin Ailey (1965), and composers like Hans Werner Henze (*Labyrinth*, 'psycho-chamber-jazz ballet', 1951) have also been fascinated by this theme.

The prime venue for the endurance of the early modern trend of the 'abandoned A.' has been the opera, increasingly in small-scale forms like chamber opera. However, Romantic opera (Carl Maria von Weber) Richard Wagner's *Gesamtkunstwerke* and (still) Arnold Schönberg (1906 [2.266]) often portrayed the circumstances of the woman unwittingly awaiting her beloved in adherence to the model of A./Dionysus [15.88-91]. The subject itself returned to full focus in 1906 with Jules Massenet and, in particular, in 1912 with Richard Strauss' and Hugo Hofmannsthal's *A. auf Naxos* (premiere Stuttgart; producer: Max Reinhardt). This work

integrates burlesque with transfiguration, and hence the two 'contradictory' tendencies of the reconception of the A. myth that had dominated the operatic stage since the *fin de siècle* – since James Rothstein's lyrical parody *Die schöne A.* (1903), Paul Dukas' burlesque *Ariane et Barbe-bleue* (first performed 1907 in Paris, text: Maurice Maeterlinck; with A. as the sixth wife of Bluebeard) and the Wagnerian mystery-play *A.* by Ludwig Hess (libretto: Eberhard König, first performance Strasbourg, 1909, conducted by Hans Pfitzner [25.35–42]). The Strauss-Hofmannsthal *A.*, which is still frequently performed, was explicitly intended as a formal experiment [31] developed from the early modern operatic tradition of combining extempore comedy with tragedy and of the predominance of the 'lamenting A.' The convergence of sung declamation and natural speech rhythm was developed by Wagner [25.45]. The emphasis is on the mutual recognition of the youthful Bacchus – who only becomes a god through A., and for whom A. is at first a goddess – and the A. who is predestined for him and at first thinks him to be death. Both are then redeemed under the aegis of the god of metamorphosis [2.267–277], with the joining of the two figures being heightened in a lyrical rather than an ecstatic way, esp. in the second, 1916 version of the opera. The dualism of Harlekin and Bacchus [15.85] remains intentionally uncommunicated, just as the type of the erotically concrete Zerbinetta is strictly conceived as the counterpart of A., whose question "Was bleibt, was bleibt von A.?" ("What remains, what remains of A.?" at the end preserves the basic elegiac tone of the opera.

Subsequently, parody and idealization separated once more in modern opera history, e.g. in Darius Milhaud's satirical '*opéra minute*', *L'abandon d'Ariane* (1927), in which → Theseus, made drunk by Dionysus, wants to fetch A. (who is tired of him) from Naxos, but accidentally takes → Phaedra instead, or in Boris Blacher's duodrama (recalling Benda's 18th-cent. melodrama in terms of genre history) *A.* for two speakers and electronic instruments (1971). Works of music drama inspired by Freudian psychology (Bohuslav Martinů's opera *A.*, 1959) and Nietzsche (Hans Helmuth Chemin-Petit's 'dramatic scene' *Klage der A.*, 1971) also appeared after World War II. *A.* (and esp. her thread) have also, esp. in recent years, become a subject of instrumental music, some atonal and computerized (e.g. a wind version by Renald Deppe, 1992). Modern music and dance have also reactivated the triumph of Bacchus and A. (ballet by George Balanchine, 1948; Vittorio Rieti's opera, 1948; Robert Heppener's *a capella* choir, 1986, with the text from Lorenzo de' Medici's 15th-

cent. *Canzone*; Alexander Goehr's recomposition of Monteverdi's opera *Arianna*, 1995). → Daedalus; Dionysus; Minotaur; Nymphs; Phaedra; Theseus

SCHOLARLY LITERATURE [1] R. ARMSTRONG, Cretan Women. Pasiphae, Ariadne, and Phaedra in Latin Poetry, 2006 [2] T. BIRKENHAUER, Mythenkorrektur als Öffnung des theatralischen Raums: 'Ariadne auf Naxos', in: M. Vöhler/B. Seidensticker (ed.), Mythenkorrekturen. Zu einer paradoxalen Form der Mythenrezeption, 2005, 263–277 [3] S. BRENNER, Ariadne in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Beiträge zur Rezeption eines antiken Mythos und dessen Umsetzung im altsprachlichen Unterricht, 2000 [4] C. CALAME, Thésée et l'imaginaire athénien. Légende et culte en Grèce antique, 1990 [5] G. DELEUZE, Mystère d'Ariane Selon Nietzsche [1987], in: G. Deleuze, Critique et clinique, 1993, 126–134 [6] P. R. DOOB, The Idea of the Labyrinth from Classical Antiquity through the Middle Ages, 1990 [7] R. EISNER, Ariadne in Art, Prehistory to 400 BC, in: RSC 25, 1977, 165–181 [8] M. FOUCAULT, Ariane s'est pendue [1969], in: M. Foucault, Dits et écrits, vol. 1, 1994, 767–771 [9] L. FRIEDMANN, Die Gestaltung des Ariadnestoffes von der Antike bis zur Neuzeit, 1933 [10] T. GANTZ, Early Greek Myth. A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources, 1993 [11] A. GENTILI, Da Tiziano a Tiziano. Mito e allegoria nella cultura veneziana del Cinquecento, 1980 [12] W. HAUBRICH, Error inextricabilis. Form und Funktion der Labyrinthabbildung in mittelalterlichen Handschriften, in: C. Meier/U. Ruberg (ed.), Text und Bild. Aspekte des Zusammenwirkens zweier Künste in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, 1980, 63–174 [13] C. ISLER-KERÉNYI, Dionysus nella Grecia arcaica. Il contributo delle immagini, 2001 [14] K. KERÉNYI, Dionysus. Urbild des unzerstörbaren Lebens, 1976 [15] W. KIRSCH, Ariadne – Theseus – Dionysus. Zur Rezeption eines antiken Mythos in der musikdramatischen Kunst, in: F. R. Varwig (ed.), AINIGMA. Festschrift H. Rahn, 1987, 77–94 [16] S. KÖHN, Ariadne auf Naxos. Rezeption und Motivgeschichte von der Antike bis 1600, 1999 [17] S. LEOPOLD, Die Oper im 17. Jh., 2004 [18] D. LYONS, Gender and Immortality. Heroines in Ancient Greek Myth and Cult, 1997 [19] A. M. MARINI, Il mito di Arianna nella tradizione letteraria e nell'arte figurata, in: A&R 13, 1932, 60–97 und 121–142 [20] E. MARTENS, Der Faden der Ariadne. Über kreatives Denken und Handeln, 1991 [21] S. McNALLY, Ariadne and Others. Images of Sleep in Greek and Early Roman Art, in: CA 4, 1985, 152–192 [22] E. MEINSCHAD, Die Ariadnesage in der Literatur des 18. Jh., 1941 [23] J. H. MILLER, Ariadne's Thread. Repetition and the Narrative Line, in: Critl 3, 1976, 57–77 [24] M. MOOG-GRÜNEWALD, Metamorphosen der 'Metamorphosen'. Rezeptionsarten der ovidischen Verwandlungsgeschichten in Italien und Frankreich im 16. und 17. Jh., 1979 [25] P. NICOLAI, Der Ariadne-Stoff in der Entwicklungsgeschichte der deutschen Oper, 1919 [26] E. PALAZZOLO, Il

mito d'Arianna e i suoi riflessi nella poesia italiana, 1957 [27] E. F. PODACH, Nietzsches Ariadne, in: E. F. Podach, Ein Blick in Notizbücher Nietzsches, 1963, 115–128 [28] K. REINHARDT, Nietzsches Klage der Ariadne [1935], in: K. Reinhardt, Vermächtnis der Antike, 1960, 310–333 [29] A. VON SALIS, Theseus und Ariadne, 1930 [30] M. SCHMELING, Der labyrinthische Diskurs. Vom Mythos zum Erzählmodell, 1987 [31] G. SCHNITZLER, Text-Vertonung – Visualisierung. Die Fassungen der 'Ariadne auf Naxos' von Hofmannsthal und Strauss, in: P. Csobádi et al. (ed.), Antike Mythen im Musiktheater des 20. Jh., 1990, 159–178 [32] R. TALGAM/Z. WEISS, The Mosaics of the House of Dionysus at Sepphoris, 2004 [33] M. R. TAYLOR, Giorgio de Chirico and the Myth of Ariadne (Exh. cat., Philadelphia), 2002 [34] E. THEODORAKOPOULOS, Catullus 64. Footprints in the Labyrinth, in: A. Sharrock/H. Morales (ed.), Intratextuality – Greek and Roman Textual Relations, 2000, 115–141 [35] H. THOME, Ariadne bei Paul Ernst und Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Konzepte der Metatragik nach 1900, in: H. Thome (ed.), Paul Ernst – Außenseiter und Zeitgenosse, 2002, 37–60 [36] C. VATIN, Ariane et Dionysus. Un mythe de l'amour conjugal, 2004 [37] D. E. M. VERWEIJ, Ariadne en Dionysus. Vrouw-metaforen en verlangen in het werk van Nietzsche, 1993 [38] T. B. L. WEBSTER, The Myth of Ariadne from Homer to Catullus, in: G & R 13, 1966, 22–31 [39] C. M. WOLF, Die schlafende Ariadne im Vatikan. Ein hellenistischer Statuentypus und seine Rezeption, 2002.

RENATE SCHLESIER (BERLIN)

#### Artemis

(Ἄρτεμις [Artemis]; Latin Diana)

#### A. MYTH

A. is the daughter of → Zeus and Leto, twin sister of → Apollo and one of the twelve Olympian deities. She developed three important characteristics in the course of ancient mythic history. (1) Originally, A. was not a virginal goddess, but a goddess of fertility and childbirth descended from the Earth Mother, and hence also identified with the goddess of Asia Minor who was worshipped at Ephesus and equipped with symbols of fertility [6.27]. Macrobius (Macrob. Sat. 1.20) equates this many-breasted goddess with the Egyptian Isis and interprets her as 'Earth' or 'Nature'. (2) The Olympian religion of Homer already begins to narrow down the character and sphere of influence of A.: she becomes the feminine counterpart of her brother Apollo. The Homeric Hymns thus call her the virginal, chaste goddess of the hunt in the mountains (Hom. H. 5, 17–20; Hom. Od. 6, 102–5; Hom. Il. 21, 486), who has remained in closer contact with the life of nature than her brother, who has mostly directed his influence upon intellectual and spiritual life. In this orientation towards nature ("Goddess of the outdoors" [17.177f.]),

she is also at the same time protectress of wild animals and children and 'nourisher of youths' (κουργοτρόφος, *kouroutrophos*). (3) Just as Apollo is made responsible for the sudden, natural deaths of men, so also A. becomes the bringer of death to women (Hom. Il. 21, 483), for which reason she is sometimes identified with Hecate, a ghostly deity of death and the night. This is also the origin of A.'s relation to Selene/Luna, who wanes in her own right as a goddess as A. becomes goddess of the Moon, here bearing the byname Cynthia, in parallel with Apollo's identification with the Sun (Ov. Met. 15, 196; Catull. 34, 15–20). The → Endymion material originally associated with Selene thus transfers to A./Diana, forming a highly fruitful contrast to the fundamental constant of the chaste goddess of the hunt with her aversion to love.

The characters of the virginal huntress and nocturnal goddess of the Moon in particular have brought forward a plethora of mythical narratives. As protectress of animals, A. kills their enemies, e.g. the great hunter Orion (Hom. Od. 5, 123f.). Her punitive response to every assault on virginity shows itself in her campaign of vengeance against the giant Tityos, who wanted to rape her mother. A. and Apollo also kill almost all the children of → Niobe, who boasted to Leto of her own more numerous offspring. After Callisto, her favourite nymph, has been seduced by → Zeus taking A.' own form and Arcas is born of the union, A. turns Callisto into a bear and hunts her down, whereupon Zeus transplants Callisto and his son by her into the sky as the constellations of the Great Bear and Little Bear (Ov. Met. 2, 465). Conversely, she comes to the aid of Procris, who wishes to leave her husband Cephalus to live a chaste life as a huntress (Ov. Met. 7, 743–46; → Cephalus and Procris). She turns the hunter → Actaeon, who surprised her while bathing, into a stag, which is then dismembered by his own hunting dogs (Apollod. 3, 30f.; Ov. Met. 3, 131–252). She sends a wild boar to Oeneus to ravage his land because he has forgotten to honour her at the harvest festival. There follows the fateful Calydonian Hunt, in the aftermath of which Oeneus' son Meleager kills several of his uncles. Finally, Agamemnon, who has claimed to be just as good a hunter as A., must appease the rage of the goddess by sacrificing his daughter → Iphigenia, before A. will permit his fleet to sail for Troy (→ Agamemnon and Clytaemnestra).

The Roman Diana (D.) is also a goddess of the hunt, of wild and natural life, of births and of the Moon, and was identified with the Greek A. and all her attributes. The cult of D. was brought to Rome by Latin plebeians. She was therefore regarded primarily as a patron goddess of the plebeians and slaves. Servius Tullius built