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# DEATH AND BURIAL MOTIFS IN THE ARMENIAN FOLKLORE PLOTS ON ALEXANDER

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The motif of Alexander the Great's death has been underlying in creating a wide range of folklore plots on morals and admonition. Along with his life-stories presented by his biographers, diverse epic narrations on Alexander have been reflected in the oral legends of the Eastern peoples. These narrations have highlighted his entire life from birth to death. Starting from Pseudo-Callisthenes, the biographers of Alexander the Great have referred to the issue of his divine origin due to which they have substantiated Alexander the Great's political ambitions. They have tried to predict the newborn Alexander's life path based on the interpretation of different omens<sup>1</sup>. Alexander of Macedon believed in various omens and fortune telling and very often turned to the help of fortune tellers and astrologists. The tales about Alexander's invasions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>\*</sup> <ոդվածը ներկայացվել է 25.07.19, գրախոսվել է 04.03.20, ընդունվել է տպագրության 27.05.20:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> According to Pseudo-Callisthenes, the king Philippos sees a bird lay an egg on his lap. The egg rolls down the floor and a small dragon appears, which trying to attach itself to the egg and enter it, dies. This omen is interpreted in the following way: "Ah, Great king, God gives you a son who will conquer the whole world with his might" (Պասոմութիւն Աղեքսանդրի Մակեդոնացոյ 1989, 89): According to the famous fortune teller Anthi - pontas' interpretation, the egg represents the world, the newborn dragon is Alexander who is not to manage conquering the whole world and is to die at a young age. Callisthenes' story has been reflected in the Eastern peoples' folklore. It has simultaneously been represented in the local beliefs and reflected in the Armenian folklore. Thus, its interpretation and implications also go in line with the Armenian mentality: When Alexander the Great was born he stood up at once and running around the room, held the three walls but when he wanted to hold the fourth one the angel driven by God's order hit his leg and didn't let him do it. When he grew up and became a king he conquered the three parts of the world, failing to conquer only the fourth one" (Lugubut 1903, 308–309).

(Callisthenes, Arrian of Nicomedia, Plutarch, Clitarch, Strabo, Diodorus and others) teem with extracts which highlight his propensity to be driven by fortune-telling. The Greek and Egyptian civilizations created and mastered the staunch system of fortune-telling which was spread in the East during Alexander's invasions. The East itself had consistent traditions of witchcraft, fortune-telling and astrology. Alexander's ability to respect, accept and emulate the conquered nations' culture contributed to the amalgamation and penetration of the Eastern and Western concepts of faith. The new approaches to faith, formed through the merging of these two trends penetrated into folklore, playing a decisive role in the interpretation of an individual's, an epic hero's fate through omens and fortune-telling. The narrations about Alexander's life and death are unique expressions among thousands of plots about fate which through folk interpretations of omens, fortune-telling represent Alexander's epic character.

According to historic data and Alexander's contemporary and future biographers' accounts, different reasons for Alexander's death were put forward: a) fever, b) poisoning, c) fortune-telling based on various omens. The veracious historic account was embellished by various folk narrations which were spread by word of mouth. This created some artistic base for Alexander's biography. Hence, according to those narrations, diverse omens preceded either poisoning or fever, and their interpretations were viewed as a warning for the imminent tragic outcome. Alexander of Macedon through his actions tried to avert the course of events. According to Arrian of Nicomedia, the oracle Pythagoras with the help of intestines of a prey made a prediction for Alexander and warned him against a possible danger<sup>2</sup>. Alexander's death was also predicted by the Indian wiseman Kalan who, before ascending to the fire and bidding farewell to his friends, kissed everybody, but Alexander. The wiseman told him that he would kiss him when they met in Babylon<sup>3</sup>. On his way to Babylon the Khaldi oracles told him about the third omen which they had got from God Bel. They warned him against the dangers of entering Babylon<sup>4</sup>. According to one of the omens, a commoner finding the regal throne empty,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Արիանոս 1987, 263։ Պլուտարքոս 2001, 241։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> **Արիանոս** 1987, 263։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Արիանոս 1987, 261։

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had seated himself on it. It was not a good sign either<sup>5</sup>. It can be stated that both hypotheses according to which Alexander was either poisoned by traitors or fell victim to an illness can be equally merited as a basis for creating the historical background of his death. The fact that Alexander died in the prime of his life and at the zenith of his glory (323 BC, according to Aristobulos he just lived 32 years and 8 months) led to various interpretations and discussions by antique authors. The narration of Alexander's death abounds in various warnings expressed through numerous obscure incidents and omens, which emphasizes that his death was predestined. Alexander's untimely and unexpected death was widely reflected in the folklore of peoples living in his enormous Empire. In the Armenian community the translation of Alexander the Great's narration ascribed to Callisthenes contributed to the spread of plots about Alexander. The tales being a mixture of truth and fiction spread through time and were refined and handed down from generation to generation. They brought about developments in folklore motifs, concerning Alexander the Great's death and burial rituals. The tales are characterized by a clear-cut structure: firstly the ambitions of the newborn to conquer the world emerge (they were averted by a divine angel). This series of stories are represented and interpreted through common epic means which are characteristic of epic heroes (Alexander of Macedon, Timur)<sup>6</sup>. According to the plot, the newborn hero stands up immediately holds the three walls of the room, on his approaching the fourth wall the divine angel hits his leg thus averting him. The omen was interpreted as a desire which came true when the hero was already mature: "he conquered the three parts of the world, leaving the fourth unconquered7". The tales start from fortune-telling of omens and a prohibitive action, thus, the boundaries between permissibility and impermissibility are set and anchored on people's perceptions and centuries long standards<sup>8</sup>.

Kings of certain age who have some power are interested in their death. In Armenian folklore the plots about Alexander tackle the motif of death in three ways: a) dreams, b) a wise man's fortune-telling, c) the omen sent by the sea Goddess. The first and second versions indicate the same outcome for the epic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Արիանոս 1987, 271։ Պլուտարքոս 2001, 241։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Աբովյան 1948, 227։ Ղանալանյան 1969, 290։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> **Լալայեան** 1903, 308–309։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Խեմչյան 2006, 94–101։

hero; the only difference between them is that in the first case God tells Alexander in his dream, "Unless you have iron under your feet and copper above your head, you won't die<sup>9</sup>. In the second case the wise man telling his fortune, says, "When steel is all around you, you will die<sup>10</sup>." On both occasions Alexander thinks it to be impossible and believes he will live long. The third version directly deals with his intention to conquer the whole world. After conquering the land, he wants the sea kingdom to pay him taxes. To subjugate them he orders to dry the sea<sup>11</sup> or pour tar and set it on fire<sup>12</sup>. The terrified fish throw out a great amount of gemstones as a tax to the seashores (or according to another version, they give him a piece of dough<sup>13</sup>), however, the persecution does not cease. In response to the persecution a hand with its five fingers pointed comes out of the sea and petrifies. The forty wise men of Alexander turn out to be unable to interpret this omen and advise him to turn to Pridon, "a wise man with a squint, with crooked legs, and hunchbacked<sup>14</sup>". The wise man securing guarantees for his life, explains: "This is the sea Queen's hand; she wants to know why you persecute them as you have only five days to live?" Both in this narration and in the previous versions the possibility of inevitable and rapid twist of events is visible. It becomes obvious that Alexander's death is predestined and inexorable. The seeming impossibility is possible due to the divine predetermination of events. Appearing in a sandy hot country during their military campaign, Alexander's allies build a dugout for him full of arms. The Angel of Death immediately emerges and demands Alexander's soul; the latter objects, saying that his time to die has not yet come. The Angel points to the metal surface under his feet and above his head which evidence that his doom has come. Here Armenians' belief in destiny becomes obvious. The death of an epic hero is preordained by God or sea Goddess. Expiration of time is represented by the Death Angel and Alexander's debate with the latter which corresponds to the ancient perceptions of death<sup>15</sup> and to the accepted

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Հնագիտության և ազգագրության ինստիտուտի բանահյուսական արխիվ (ՀԱԻԲԱ) 1963, FFV: 2096, 01-2103,00:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> ՀԱԻԲԱ 1975, 137-140։

<sup>11</sup> ՀԱԻԲԱ 1975, 137-140։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> **Լալայեան** 1903, 308։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> **Լալայեան** 1903, 308։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> **Լալայեան** 1903, 308–309։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> **Հարությունյան** 2000, 409։

regulations, based on which the denouement of earthly life takes place. From the Angel's perspective it sounds in the following way: "The time has come; you must die<sup>16</sup>". Here the peoples' perceptions and beliefs, concerning death and doomsday become apparent. It is based on these perceptions and beliefs that people made educational and philosophical interpretations and drew important conclusions.

Alexander, understanding that his death was inevitable, asks for a right to have his last word with his military commanders and subjects for him to give orders to the army.

Historic sources evidence that before his death Alexander left a will<sup>17</sup>. However, the will hasn't been preserved, whereas Callisthenes' version of "Alexander's will" is considered to be of Hellenic origin<sup>18</sup>. As for references to the will in folklore, it is the feedback to the one found in literary sources as seen by people. It has been shaped uniquely and is based on the people's perception, the religious-philosophical knowledge of the time and is seen as a special behest given by Alexander to his relations and courtiers to organize his funeral.

Using the motif of Alexander the Great's death in folk narrations has enabled us to perceive the succession of life and death from a philosophic perspective. In tales the death motif has been transformed into moral precepts directed to his relations, courtiers, military allies and especially to his mother. By the order of Alexander the ritual of the funeral was to draw attention to the world conquering king's majesty. The king's right hand was to be hanging from the coffin, the procession was to have the following succession: the armed army was to head the procession, followed by the clergy, then beautiful women and girls from the subjected countries were to come, dressed in black mourning his death; finally his servants carrying the court treasures (according to a version on their way from the court to the cemetery the servants were to scatter gold). By the order of the king only those who had never experienced sorrow were allowed to participate in the funeral repast. The strange procession of the funeral aroused people's curiosity, and it was explained by the wise men in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> <Uhpu FFV: 2096, 01-2103,00:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> «Դարձեալ ի դուրս եհան զՊերդիկաս և Ողկիասոու հրամայեաց ընթեռնուլ, զկտակն, զոր ետ գրել իւր իսկ (կորովամիտ) և մտատես իմաստութեամբն։ Եւ է կտակի պատճէն այսպէս» (Պատմութիւն Աղեքսանդրի Մակեդոնացւոյ 1989, 341)։

<sup>18</sup> Պատմութիւն Աղեքսանդրի Մակեդոնացւոյ 1989, 602։

following way: "If death can be defeated by army and arms, so it be, nobody has got as powerful army and arms as I do. Let them win and bring me back. If death can be defeated by gold, nobody has got as much gold as I do. Let them defeat death and give back my life to me. If death can be defeated by crying and resuscitating the deceased, nobody has been cried for as much as I have. Let them win and give my life back to me." That was the king's idea. When he asked to show his right hand hanging from the coffin, he wanted to say that nothing could defeat death. The world is unchangeable, following the natural order<sup>19</sup>". Alexander's right hand moving from side to side symbolizes the ephemerality and vainness of life, while the funeral ritual along with its semantic implication sees all the mortals as equals against the almighty Death. In the folk tradition the concept of right side represents success<sup>20</sup>. The kind angel who is on the man's right shoulder places the spirit of the latter either in hell or in heaven, depending on how the deceased had acted in his life.

Folkloric perception puts forward distinct solutions to the issues of life and death and vanity and confirms that life is ephemeral, death is inevitable and everything is vain.

In folk narrations the funeral ritual has certainly preserved some snippets of ancient funeral rites. There are undoubtedly no references made to the treasures, concubines and servants buried with the deceased who was of a high social rank. However, the order and class belonging of the participants that were at the front of the procession and the ceremony of scattering gold are noteworthy. The distinctive features of Alexander's funeral can be juxtaposed with the king Artashes' funeral: "I should write how many people, how many of his beloved wives and concubines and close servants died for the sake of Artashes. Various pompous ceremonies were held in honor of the deceased which were very civil but not barbaric. There were many coffins gold and palanquins, flax bed. He wore his crown and a gold-sewn cloak with the golden weapons placed in front. The palanquins were surrounded by his sons and relatives, next to them the military, various patriarchs and ministers in his service, military detachments, all of them armed as if heading for a war. And blowing the trumpet, thence the virgins and women dressed in black started

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> <Uhpu FFV: 2096,01-2103,00:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> **Հարությունյան** 2007, 151։

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crying, later crowds and commoners followed. That is how he was buried<sup>21</sup>". Khorenatsi might have added some elements from Alexander's funeral to the traditional Armenian funeral rituals while describing the ceremony of Artashes' funeral. It is common knowledge that Khorenatsi not only translated Pseudo-Callisthenes' "Alexander's Romance" but also borrowed some passages if necessary<sup>22</sup>. It is noteworthy that according to Khorenatsi, Artashes' funeral was a civil ceremony and not a barbaric one. However, the given reference also alludes to the borrowing of civil ritual. The Christian historiographer Khorenatsi wisely avoids to mention the burial of the treasures, servants and concubines with the king himself, regarding it to be an expression of barbaric morals and manners. As for voluntary deaths next to Artashes' grave, he ascribed it to the fact that he was loved by his subjects. However, it is obvious that the ancient custom of human sacrifice is found in the Armenian funeral ritual.

The folk plots about Alexander are vivid illustrations of interpenetrations, when borrowed and local elements are amalgamated. The given pattern is visible in the medieval kafas<sup>23</sup> and in the writings about Alexander. National folklore penetrated into the narration about Alexander and contributed to its local popularization<sup>24</sup>. According to H. Simonyan, local popularization took place due to the successive penetration of Armenian life, Armenian national features, and lifestyle into the themes imposed by foreign culture<sup>25</sup>.

The above-mentioned motifs were endowed with Armenian characteristics as a result of which Alexander's instructions given to his mother corresponded to the Armenian model of funeral rituals.

In the plots about Alexander the traditional mourning, funeral repast and visit to the grave of the deceased the day after the funeral have received a peculiar interpretation.

In the folkloric sources the death of Alexander is a unique means to emphasize the notion that both the most powerful king, the most formidable world-conquering warrior and a common mortal have got an equal standing in the eyes of death. This novel knowledge gained through his experience forces

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Մովսէս Խորենացի 1913, 190–191։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> **Աբեղյան** 1968,322։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> A common Armenian medieval style of verse going back to the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Պատմութիւն Աղեքսանդրի Մակեդոնացւոյ 1989, 614։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> **Սիմոնյան** 1975, 222։

Alexander to reconsider his subsequent position at the fateful moment. To console the grieving Queen, Alexander among other orders demands that only sorrowless people participate in the funeral repast. When the time comes to have the funeral repast it turns out that all the attendees of the funeral have lost their loved ones and cannot participate in the funeral repast, they must leave instead. But the mother understands her son's intention and says: "Sit down, sit down, my son has sent a consolation to me<sup>26</sup>".

In people's opinion the funeral repast is dedicated to the soul of the deceased and has got the function of protecting it from evil powers. The significance of the funeral repast consists in securing the soul of the deceased as well as to distract his relatives' attention from evil spirits.

Mourning and fasting being other components of the funeral ritual, are reflected in the folk plots about Alexander. Mourning being an integral part of the funeral ritual had the function to see off the deceased to the afterlife and to secure a further place for his soul. In the narrations Alexander's mother as mourner took all the mourning responsibilities. Preservation of the traditional 40-day fasting and mourning takes place, however, in the narrations a deviation from the accepted norm can be observed. Alexander's mother does not allow burying her son: "The Queen took her son's coffin to a room and locked herself there, started weeping without eating or drinking. Fasting, she mourned for 39 days<sup>27</sup>". The development of such narrations is based on the Queen's food abstention. Above the coffin food is hung from the ceiling and to reach it one must stand on the coffin<sup>28</sup>. When the hungry Queen tries to stand on the coffin, the guards forbid her to commit such a sacrilegious act and after that she orders to bury the body. Among foods bread plays a crucial role which makes us presume that deep in the narration the agricultural rites dedicated to grain are obscurely reflected. In this case, the mourning of Alexander's mother somehow alludes to the pagan Goddess Isis' mourning and search for Osiris on the eighteenth day of the funeral<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Խեմչյան 2000, 132:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> **Լալայեան** 1903, 308–309։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> ՀԱԻԲԱ 1963, FFV: 2096,01-2103,00; FFV: 1625,01-1645,00; **Լալայեան** 1903, 308–309:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> **Ֆրեզեր** 1989, 440–441:

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Certainly, in this case the folk narration comes up with a moral conclusion, putting forward a new semantic approach: "On the fortieth day feeling severe hunger she looked at the ceiling and saw a loaf of bread hanging there. She took her son out of the coffin, put him on the ground, lent the coffin against the wall and climbing up took the bread and ate it as she was hungry and a hungry stomach has no ears<sup>30</sup>."

The last important component of the funeral ritual is "egnahogh<sup>31</sup>". According to the ancient Armenian tradition, women were not allowed to take part in the funeral so they visited the grave of the deceased the following day ("egnahogh") after the funeral to take some food for him, mourn and talk to him<sup>32</sup>. This ceremony is not only preserved in the plots about Alexander but it is also transformed into moral wisdom which is the result of centuries – old experience. The next day after the funeral mother visiting her son's grave cries: "Alexander, Alexander, come out. Deep from the ground a voice responds, "Which Alexander are you calling for. This land has swallowed thousands of Alexanders, let one of them be your Alexander<sup>33</sup>." This narration represents the interrelation of life and death, pointing out the natural course of events when multitudes are buried in their motherland, for that is an end which any mortal is to face.

In another version the Queen has been calling out Alexander for several days without getting any response. Finally she cries out: "Alexander of Macedon". The son answers in response to his mother's question why he was not answering. He says: "There are so many people of the name Alexander. How was I to know who was being looked for? When you said Macedon I realized that you were calling out my name<sup>34</sup>".

In the motifs about Alexander's death and funeral, the key point is that, irrespective of one's social status and the feats carried out in one's lifetime, after dying every human is equal, and worldly ranks and status vanish in afterlife.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> **Լալայեան** 1903, 308–309։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> According to the Armenian tradition, the next day of the burial of the deceased the mourners go to the cemetery to mourn his death.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> **Հարությունյան** 2007, 163։

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> <Uhpu 1963, FFV: 1625,01–1645,00:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> <Uhpu 1975, 137–140:

The plots about Alexander have penetrated into the Armenian folk tradition not only thanks to eastern peoples. Pseudo-Callisthenes' translation of "Alexander's Romance" has contributed greatly to the spread and development of plots about him. According to H. Simonian, a specialist in kafa studies, the national folk tradition has penetrated into the written version of "Alexander's Romance" through kafas (medieval Armenian verses) and contributed to its popularization. The study of folk plots has shown that the written story about Alexander has entered oral tradition via downward path and based on folk perceptions, beliefs, customs and rituals it has followed a logical line of individual development. The above-mentioned plots about Alexander have simultaneously carried out moral, educational and aesthetic functions due to folk interpretations and practical conclusions,.

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# МОТИВЫ СМЕРТИ И ПОГРЕБЕНИЯ В СЮЖЕТАХ ОБ АЛЕКСАНДРЕ МАКЕДОНСКОМ В АРМЯНСКОМ ФОЛЬКЛОРЕ

## ХЕМЧЯН Э.

## Резюме

**Ключевые слова**: мотив, сюжет, традиция, примета, предсказание, ритуал смерти, судьба.

В вариантах сюжетов об Александре Македонском в армянском фольклоре значительное место занимают мотивы смерти и погребения. Эти мотивы присутствуют также в рассказах его биографов, где правдивое изложение переплетается с различными фольклорными сюжетами. В историографических источниках представлено несколько вариантов о смерти Александра. В фольклорных первоисточниках мотив смерти Александра сопровождается сновидением, предсказанием мудреца и иными знаками, посланными морской богиней. Семасиологический анализ ритуала погребения Александра свидетельствует о скоротечности и суетности жизни и неизбежности смерти. Помимо мотивов смерти в сюжетах присутствует тема матери. Обращаясь к матери, Македонский призывает её к восприятию смерти как естественного явления, так как ее сын – один из многих смертных на этой земле.

Вышеуказанные мотивы сюжетов о Македонском, проникнув в Армению, подверглись определенным изменениям.

# ՄԱՀՎԱՆ ՈՒ ԹԱՂՄԱՆ ՄՈՏԻՎՆԵՐԸ ՀԱՅ ԲԱՆԱՀՅՈՒՍՈՒԹՅԱՆ ԱԼԵՔՍԱՆԴՐՅԱՆ ՍՅՈՒԺԵՆԵՐՈՒՄ

## ԽԵՄՉՅԱՆ Է.

# Ամփոփում

*Հանգուցային բառեր՝* մոտիվ, սյուժե, ավանդույթ, նախանշան, գուշակություն, մահվան ծիսակարգ, ճակատագիր։

Հայ բանահյուսության այեքսանդրյան սյուժեների տարբերակներում զգայի տեղ են գրավում Ալեքսանդրի մահվան և թաղման մոտիվները։ Այս մոտիվներն առկա են նաև Ալեքսանդրի կենսագիրների պատմություններում, որտեղ ճշմարտացի իրողություններին հավելվել են ժողովրդական տարբեր թափառիկ զրույցներ։ Պատմագիտությունը դիտարկել է Ալեքսանդրի մահվան մի քանի վարկած, որոնք ուղեկզվում են կանխագուշակությունների ու նախանշանների շարքով։ Բանահյուսական սկզբնաղբյուրներում Ալեքսանդրի մահվան մոտիվն արծարծվում է երազատեսությամբ, իմաստունի գուշակությամբ և ծովային աստվածուհու ուղարկած նախանշանով։ Սյուժեների զարգացումը ամրապնդում է այն եզրահանգումը, որ կանխորոշված մահն անխուսափելի է և հնարավորություն է տալիս փիլիսոփայորեն ընկալել կյանքի և մահվան խնդիրները։ Մահվան ու թաղման մոտիվներին զուգահեռ, սյուժեներում կարևորվել է մայրական թեման։ Վշտակիր մոր վարքագծի դրսևորումները համապատասխանում են ողբասազության ու ծոմապահության հնագույն սովորույթներին։ Վերոիիշլալ մոտիվները գրավոր և բանավոր ճանապարհով մուտք են գործել Հայաստան, տեղայնազվել և անգել զարգազման ինքնուրույն ուղի: