

INTERPELLATING ATHENIANS: AN INVESTIGATION ON  
PLATO'S POLITICS OF SYMBOL MAKING

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
OF  
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

BEHZAT HIROĞLU

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR  
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE  
IN  
THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE AND PUBLIC  
ADMINISTRATION

SEPTEMBER 2020



APPROVAL OF THE THESIS:

**INTERPELLATING THE ATHENIANS: AN INVESTIGATION  
ON PLATO'S POLITICS OF SYMBOL MAKING**

submitted by **BEHZAT HIROĞLU** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Degree Master of Science in the department of Political Science and Public Administration, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Yaşar KONDAKÇI  
Dean  
Graduate School of Social Sciences

---

Prof. Dr. Ayşe AYATA  
Head of Department  
Political Science and Public Administration

---

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ömür BİRLER  
Supervisor  
Political Science and Public Administration

---

**Examining Committee Members:**

Prof. Dr. Örsan Öcal AKBULUT (Head of the Examining Committee)  
Hacettepe University  
Political Science and Public Administration

---

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ömür BİRLER (Supervisor)  
Middle East Technical University  
Political Science and Public Administration

---

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Barış PARKAN  
Middle East Technical University  
Philosophy

---



**I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.**

Name, Last Name: Behzat, Hirođlu

Signature:

## **ABSTRACT**

### **INTERPELLATING THE ATHENIANS: AN INVESTIGATION ON PLATO'S POLITICS OF SYMBOL MAKING**

**HIROĞLU, Behzat**

M.S., Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Ömür BİRLER

September 2020, 113 pages

This study is planned to find an answer to the question of why Plato put down the myths derived from the tradition on paper. With this aim, it analyzes Platonic mythological symbols within the context of Althusserian conceptualization of the concept of interpellation. This study has the claim that Plato applied to mythological symbols as the instruments of interpellation. This study focuses on the onto-epistemological break that Plato launched in light of the world of ideas. The role that mythological symbols play in the process of translation of the world of ideas into the phenomenal world becomes at the center of this thesis. In this way, Plato aims to have an impact on the ways how individuals understand and experience the social reality against the impacts of existing mimetic poetic tradition on the individuals. This thesis points out the indelible ontological difference between the world of ideas and the phenomenal world. Plus, it draws attention to the Platonic attempt about closing this gap by way of epistemological difference coming into being in the form of the hierarchical social division of labor. This study tries to show the importance of epistemological difference in the process of production of the myths and how this process culminates in the reproduction of this difference in the form of socio-political hierarchy. It points out how Plato tries to produce a frozen representation of the

tradition and to determine the frame of meaning consumption process by way of writing.

**Keywords:** interpellation, mythological symbols, mimetic poetic tradition, ideal state, the social division of labor

## ÖZ

### ATİNALILARI ÇAĞIRMAK: PLATONCU SEMBOL ÜRETİM SİYASETİ ÜZERİNE BİR İNCELEME

HIROĞLU, Behzat

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ömür BİRLER

September 2020, 113 sayfa

Bu tez, Platon'un neden yazdığı sorusuna bir yanıt bulma girişimi olarak tasarlanmıştır. Bu amaçla, Platoncu mitolojik sembolleri çağırma kavramının Althusserci kavramsallaştırması bağlamında analiz eder. Bu inceleme neticesinde mitolojik sembollerin Platon tarafından bir çağırma enstrümanı olarak kullanıldığını iddia eder. Platon'un idealar dünyası teziyle mevcut bilgi geleneği karşısında gerçekleştirdiği onto-epistemolojik kopuşu ele almakla birlikte, Platon'un kopuş ışığında ürettiği ideal devlet modelinin fenomenler dünyasına tercüme edilmesi sürecinde mitlerin oynadığı role odaklanır. Platon'un bu yolla, taklide dayalı mevcut Yunan şiir geleneğinin bireylerin toplumsal gerçekliği anlamlandırma ve deneyimlemesi üzerindeki etkisi karşısında, yeniden yapılandığı sembollerle bireylerin toplumsal gerçekliği ideal devlet modeli uyarınca anlamlandırmaları ve deneyimleri üzerinde etkide bulunmaya çalıştığına işaret eder. İdealar dünyası ve fenomenler dünyasındaki ontolojik farkın Platoncu anlamda kapanamayacak olmasına işaret etmekle birlikte, yine bu farkın ancak ve ancak toplumsal iş bölümü bağlamında ortaya çıkacak olan epistemolojik fark aracılığıyla azaltılabileceğini ifade eder. Mitolojik sembollerin üretimi sürecinde epistemolojik farkın Platon



açısından önemi ve bu farkın yine bu semboller aracılığıyla güçlendirildiğine dikkat çeker. Platon'un yazı aracılığıyla belirli, dondurulmuş bir gelenek temsili oluşturmaya çalıştığını ve böyle yapmakla tahayyül ettiği toplumsal-siyasal formasyona güvence sağlamayı amaçladığına işaret eder.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** mitolojik sembol, çağırma, mimetik şiir geleneği, ideal devlet, toplumsal iş bölümü

*To Maviş...*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM .....	v
ABSTRACT .....	vi
ÖZ .....	viii
DEDICATION .....	x
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	xi
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	4
1.3. Theoretical Framework .....	5
1.4. Significance of the Study .....	12
1.5. Organization of the Study .....	14
2. INTERPELLATION/(RE)CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUBJECT .....	16
2.1. Literature Review on Interpellation .....	17
2.2. Interpellation, Ideology, and Subject Construction.....	30
3. PLATO’S ATHENS.....	35
3.1. Athens in the Late 5 B.C. and Early 4 B.C. ....	38
3.2. Sophists: The Masters of Rhetoric .....	44
3.3. The Dominance of Poetry and/or Artistic Milieu .....	50
4. PLATO’S HAIL TO THE ATHENIANS .....	57
4.1. Why Did Plato (Need to) Write Down the Myths on the Paper?.....	59
4.2. Plato’s Onto-Epistemological Break.....	68

4.3. Plato’s Political Solution: The Republic as “The Best” Socio-Political Formation.....	73
4.4. Politics of Symbol-Making: Interpellating the Athenians through the Noble Lies.....	79
5. CONCLUSION.....	90
REFERENCES .....	95
APPENDICIES	
A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET .....	103
B. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU .....	114

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

*“The only thing that matters is finding the easiest, most effective way to ensure this turning around of the Subject” (Badiou, 2012: 251)*

*“...in Republic he [Socrates] is presented as an out-and-out dogmatist, rather than the open-minded, patient, questioning spirit his admirers love. He is shown as the spokesman for a repressive, authoritarian, static, hierarchical society in which everything up to and including sexual relations and birth control is regulated by the political classes, who deliberately use lies for the purpose. He presents a social system in which the liberal Socrates would have been executed a great deal more promptly than he was by the Athenian democracy. In Republic, the liberal Socrates has become the spokesman for a dictatorship. In presenting this figure, Plato even betrayed his own calling, being once a poet, who now calls for the poets to be banned.” (Blackburn, 2006: 21)*

#### 1.1 Background of the Study

Plato was born during the Peloponnesian War which lasted more than a quarter of a century (431 B.C. – 404 B.C.), experienced two internal conflicts culminated in regime changes twice and lived through a terrible plague causing the death of a significant number of Athenian population. He witnessed to trial and execution of Socrates, who was his master. He blamed the democratic regime for these issues. He expressed the words on democracy, in his book *The Republic*:

democracy when the poor are victorious, when they kill some of their opponents and send others into exile, give an equal share in the constitution and public office to those who remain, and when public office in the city is allocated for the most part by lot (2018: 557)

On this ground, he pointed out the necessity of the abolishing the Athenian democratic regime. Therefore, he set out to form a different frame of socio-political

regime undergird by the *ideology of ideal state* contrary to the autochthonic democratic regime supported by the ideology of *parrhesia*<sup>1</sup> in the political arena. For this purpose, he produced an anti-model (of the democratic regime). In other words, ideal state is an attempt to exceed the democratic regime. However, he blamed classical poetry for being a warden of the democratic regime. According to Plato, this regime does not allow its audiences to act in the light of reason; rather, classical poetic tradition grounds Athenian citizens in acting and thinking in line with the democratic regime, which is identified with the appearance of irrational desires by him. He held the poetic tradition responsible for provoking the desires that keep people away from using their minds as it is seen in the following words:

His [poet's] products, like the painter's, are inferior by comparison with the truth, and he resembles him also in associating with an inferior part of the soul, not with the best part. By rights, therefore, we ought not to admit him into a city which is going to be well-governed, since it is an inferior part of the soul that he arouses and feeds, and by making this strong destroys the rational part...we shall say, the imitative poet sets up a bad regime in the soul of each individual, gratifying the senseless part of it (605bc)

He specified the necessity of banishment of poets of the classical poetic tradition from the ideal state, on the basis of their effects on the individuals. He claimed that:

If he came to our city wanting to perform his poems in person, it looks as if we would fall down before him, tell him he was sacred, exceptional and delightful, but then explain to him that we do not have men like him in our city, that it is not right for them to be there. We would pour myrrh over his head, garland him with woollen garlands, and send him on his way to some other city (398ab).

It is necessary to state that this tradition conducted the role of teacher of the morality, ethics, politics, and history of Greeks in these times contrary to the common contemporary view about poetry as an artistic activity. In other words, it presented

---

\*In this thesis, for translation of Greek words, there will be applied to the Peters, F., E. (2004) *Antik Yunan Felsefesi Terimleri Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Paradigma

<sup>1</sup> This term, literally, means equal and free speech for the Athenian citizens in the public space. The ideology of *parrhesia* provides Athenian citizens with raising their objections about the issues discussed in the public space.

the necessary knowledge to the Athenians to be able to act and think following the necessities of the regime.

Classical poetic tradition came under the criticism of Plato. For him, it shows citizens to act and think in a certain way regardless of what action they are suitable. In opposition to the representation/model of classic tradition, Plato produced his anti-model, which is derived from the world of ideas which has an ontologically separate existence<sup>2</sup> from the sensible world having perfect order, regularity, and hierarchy among its parts.

Plato claimed that disorder lasted for a long time could only be cleaned up if the world of ideas is imitated as far as possible in the context of sensible world. Therefore, he undertakes the translation of this world as the best model into the context of the sensible world by updating the famous noble lie Phoenician Tale<sup>3</sup>. Even if it is a lie, the nobility of the tale lies behind the true, positive influence of it on the individuals in the sense of making them experience the world rightly and properly. That is why he says, "our rulers will need to employ a good deal of falsehood and deception for the benefit of those they are ruling" (2018: 459d). According to him, this kind of falsehood and deception will have a positive effect on the community since falsehood or deception will make the model obvious and brings the order model has into the city. Especially, what makes it noble for Plato, could be expressed by following words: it shows individuals to act within the boundaries of the social division of labor contrary to acting in accordance with the representation of classical poetry, which

---

<sup>2</sup> As it will be taken up comprehensively in the fourth chapter, apart from sensible objects, ideas have their own, separate existence. The world of ideas corresponds to the epitome of immutability, uniformity, order, regularity contrary to the inferior phenomenal world, which is contaminated and vulnerable in the face of change. Even if it takes share from the world of ideas, the sensible world is condemned to be a one-sided, deformed replica of the world of ideas because of its vulnerability in front of the change. This ontological difference between the world of ideas and the phenomenal world will be defined as the most important point while the issue of noble lie will be put on the table in the fourth chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Plato, had updated the Phoenician Tale, that categorizes human beings by the narration of metals distributed differently in human beings' souls, in the light of the world of ideas, and he has begun to use this tale as a model/representation of the world of ideas to persuade citizens of the socio-political model he introduced.

removed the borders among the roles. For him, classical poetic tradition stands as an obstacle in front of the social division of labor. It destroys nature-given epistemological difference among the citizens and, "to crown it all," it furnishes individuals with another nature. He expressed this situation by saying that "Have you never noticed how imitation, if long continued from an early age, becomes part of a person's nature, turns into habits of body, speech, and mind?" (395d)

Throughout this thesis, the model that Plato produced against the model of classical poetic tradition will be investigated as a way of interpellation from an Althusserian point of view. It will be argued that Plato made use of the noble lie as an instrument of interpellation to constitute Athenian individuals in a different way – in line with requirements of the social division of labor – compared to the democratic regime. He observed the great influence of poetry – concerning morality, ethics, and politics – on the individuals, and, he also applied poetry in the form of the noble lie which seems useful in persuading individuals.

It should be noted that Plato did not intend to change social formation as such. Rather, he tried to change understanding and experiencing the existing social reality differently. Plato considered his model as useful and functional for the sake of reproduction of existing social reality. In other words, he aimed to make individuals experience social and political relations differently.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Primarily, throughout the thesis, I will attempt to find an answer to the question of why Plato need to put the myths on the paper. As an answer, I will argue that he employed writing for several purposes. Writing served firstly, as a way of regulating the meaning consumption patterns of individuals; secondly, it was used as an instrument of interpellation, in order to benefit from the writing's effects on individuals by way of the poets; thirdly, as a method of education of the individuals in the process of grounding and establishing the social formation he launched; lastly



and specifically, as an instrument of reproduction of epistemological difference among the citizens. Considering all these, I will suggest that writing plays a political role in the hands of Plato. This is the central question of the study and the answers for this question will be the basis of the study.

The rest of the questions that I will deal with are complementary, and they represent a phase to seek an answer to the main question. The answers sought to be given to these questions in the thesis will amount to phases to find an answer to the main question. In the end, it will be concluded that Plato wrote to persuade the individuals on the model he produced. And, the answers that will be given to complementary questions show how he arrived in the last phase step by step like weaving a rug.

### **1.3. Theoretical Framework**

Before the essential discussions, it is necessary to clarify the fundamental concepts that are at the center of this thesis. These concepts correspond to the main methodological tools that are important for us to set the framework of the thesis.

One of the most central concepts of the thesis is “interpellation”. In this thesis, this concept will be used in accordance with the conceptualization of Louis Althusser. His theory on the concept of interpellation will be the loadstar to understand Platonic mythological symbols. For Althusser, interpellation<sup>4</sup> means the process of construction of a certain type of subject<sup>5</sup> in line with the requirements of the specific socio-historical formation. According to Althusser, the process of interpellation turns individuals into subject (2014: 81). For Althusser, in consequence of this process, it

---

<sup>4</sup> The concept of interpellation could be translated as hailing and calling in the English translation of Althusser.

In Turkish, it is translated as “çağırma, seslenme”. It is also translated as “celp etmek”. This is a military-judicial concept. It refers to an instruction to those who are in the military age or to those who are summoned to a court case. In this sense, it is conducted by legal institutions which is named as ideological state apparatuses by Althusser.

<sup>5</sup> In this thesis, the concept of subject is used in the sense of agent. It does not refer to modern, Cartesian subject with the capacity of knowing herself through “thinking”. Rather, it is used in the meaning of agent that is equipped with the capacity to exceed the existing conditions by Plato.

is expected from the individual to start to act and to think in a certain way that contributes to the reproduction of specific social formation. In other words, it turns individuals into foreseeable and recognizable subjects. He depicts the process of interpellation with a theatrical scene:

There are individuals walking along. Somewhere (usually behind them) the hail rings out, 'Hey, you there ! ' An individual (nine times out of ten, it is the one who is meant) turns around, believing-suspecting-knowing that he's the one - recognizing, in other words, that he 'really is the person' the interpellation .is aimed at. In reality, however, things happen *without succession* (2014: 191)

Here, he envisaged an imaginary, metaphorical scene, but which plays an important role to explain the concepts of ideology, interpellation, and subjects. This theatrical scene helps us to imagine the concrete operation of ideology and subject constitution. It is expected from interpellated individuals to learn to act in a certain way. Acting in a specific way is crystallized in mind in the way that this is *the way* of acting in this respect. That is to say, in the conceptualization of Althusser, the idea of the action is nothing but the confirmation of the action (Butler, 2013: 24). That is why the interpellation process produces foreseeable and recognizable subjects. It makes individuals foreseeable hence it set the framework of the actions and it makes individuals recognizable hence they act within certain boundaries determined by the social formation.

In addition to the concept of interpellation, the conceptualization of ideology by Althusser helps us to improve the discussions in the thesis. For Althusser, ideology is a system of representation that is endowed with specific historical existence and role (2015: 283). The existence of ideology stems from the lack of daily consciousness of individuals to understand their own real conditions of existence which is peculiar to the specific social reality. The role of ideology is to close the gap between daily consciousness and social reality by presenting a schematized model of social reality to the individuals. This schematized model includes a simplified form of the conditions of existence. Ideological representations provide individuals with the possibility of experiencing the social reality as a coherent unity. In the Althusserian frame, interpellation is the process, conducted in different ways, that equips individuals to interpret the social formation they live in as a coherent unity.

In this thesis, Platonic mythological symbols will be presented as a schematized form of social reality that aimed at making individuals interpret the world they live in a specific way and as a coherent unity.

The function of ideology could be explained in the way that by way of interpellation ideology produces its specific subjects acting in line with the requirements of the social reality. All social formations have their own subject form as they have their own ideological model. In this regard, Althusser says that “even if it appears under the name of subject with the rise of bourgeois ideology, the category of the subject (soul in Plato, God, etc.) is the constitutive category of all ideology” (2014: 78). It is expected from the subject to act and think to reproduce the social formation. Therefore, the subject serves as a load-bearing column of the formation. It is the product of the social reality. In the Althusserian frame, subject is overdetermined.

In this thesis, Platonic model of society, his ideological representations, and his subject model will be explained within the scope of Althusserian conceptual frame. I will argue that Plato aimed at turning Athenian individuals into a specific subject compatible with his socio-political model through the written mythological symbols as hailing instruments. Plato equips his subjects with the necessary knowledge that has important function to confirm and reproduce his model.

Before setting the framework of Platonic myths, it is fundamental to deal with the concept of “imitation”. To begin with, the concept of imitation is conceptualized pejoratively by Plato. This concept had been identified with the classical poetic tradition. The concept of imitation is translated into ancient Greek as *doxomimetike*<sup>6</sup> (δοξαμιμετιζε), and those who were producing these kinds of works were named as *mim êikos*<sup>7</sup> (μ'μετ'κοσ) which could be translated as phantasma maker (poet). For

---

<sup>6</sup> This term is composed of combination of the Greek words *doxa* (δοξα) referring to opinion or belief and *mimetike* (μ'μετ'ψε) meaning versatile imitation.

<sup>7</sup> The term *mim êikos* has Greek origin and it means the one who produces imitation of phenomenal world. It was translated by Belfiore as versatile imitator (1984: 126). Also, throughout the thesis instead of the term, because all of *mim êikos* were male, I will use “he” at times.

Plato, imitation refers to a mere copy of the being. The process of imitation takes place without having a piece of knowledge about the imitated thing. It is composed of illusionary images. In the Book Ten of the Republic Plato indicates that “the art of imitation is a far cry from the truth. Apparently, the reason it can make everything is that it grasps just a little of each thing” (2018: 598c). For him, it is crucial to banish the poet that produce such kind of work. In this regard, he says that “we do not have men like him in our city, that it is not right for them to be there. We would pour myrrh over his head, garland him with woollen garlands, and send him on his way to some other city” (2018: 398ab). The first reason why he considered to banish the poets from the city is that mimetic poetry does not include anything about the truth. It imitates phenomenal things that come into existence by participating the ideas. Secondly, it makes individuals think of themselves as if becoming like anyone else that is animated in the process of imitation. Thirdly, it prompts bodily desires that precludes individuals from using their reason.

For Plato, the human psyche is composed of three parts that are reason, spirit, and appetite. Mimetic imitation makes spirit and appetite parts dominant over the reason. Unless reason becomes dominant over the other two parts, it seems impossible for him to expect from the individuals to act in a right way. As Santas emphasizes, there is an isomorphism between the human psyche and the city according to Plato (2003: 125). Therefore, if the reason is not dominant over the other parts of the psyche, it seems not possible too to expect from the city to be in the right direction. That is why he sees ethics prior to politics. For him, politics depends on the ethics. The ethical character of the individuals determines the character of the city. In order to visualize how mimetic imitation works and what happens to those who are under the influence of mimetic imitation Plato used cave allegory.

For him, those who are in the cave are the ones subject to “brainwash” with the illusionary images of mimetic imitation that is a far cry from the truth. They are the ones whom reasons are narcotized with these images. They suppose/perceive these

images as reality. In that sense, Akdeniz tells us that, hence their reasons are under the domination of other parts of the psyche, they accept these images as real without questioning (2016: 188). Plato explains the situation of the individuals living in the cave by the words that “here they have been from their childhood, and have their legs and necks chained so that they cannot move, and can only see before them, being prevented by the chains from turning round their heads” (2018: 514ab). For him, the only way to be liberated from this “blindness” arising from the illusionary brainwash is the political intervention that is realized in the light of the truth. He thought that existing political conditions in Athens requires construction of different form of subject. Platonic subject were designed in the way that he has the capacity to contribute to overcoming of existing conditions.

Plato identifies the truth with the world of ideas. He uses the concepts of knowledge of ideas, truth, and *episteme* as synonyms. Plato conceptualizes ideas as higher reality. They are not the creation of the mind. As Devereux asserts, ideas transcend worldly things that participate them, and contrary to phenomenal things they do not undergo a change (2003: 75). They have their own separate and eternal existences. In short, as Strauss indicates, for Plato, “the ‘idea’ of a thing is that which we mean by trying to find out the ‘what’ or the ‘nature’ of a thing or a class of things” (1987: 53). There is the purest order and hierarchy among the ideas contrary to the sensible world. These differences between the ideas and sensible things indicate the “indelible ontological difference” between these two. The ontological difference stems from the difference in terms of the purity of and order among the participants of these two worlds. The gap between these two worlds could never be closed due to the change and contamination in the phenomenal world.

For him, ideas could not be seen and could not be expressed by words; rather, they can be contemplated by those who took the education of dialectic. For Plato, education does not teach individuals what they do not know. Instead, in *Meno*, he says that

Education is not what some people proclaim it to be. What they say, roughly speaking, is that they are able to put knowledge into souls where none was before.

Like putting sight into eyes which were blind. Whereas our present account indicates that this capacity in every soul, this instrument by means of which each person learns, is like an eye which can only be turned away from the darkness and towards the light by turning the whole body (2018: 518c)

Plato conceptualized the soul in the way that soul descends to the phenomenal world with the knowledge of ideas. However, hence the soul is confined to the material body and phenomenal world is contaminated by sensible things, it could not escape from forgetting the knowledge. However, as Aġaoġullari indicates, individuals do not forget entirely since there is the soul in the psyche (1994: 182). For Plato, instead of complete forgetting, knowledge turns into *doxa* which could be translated as opinion. He argues that even if it is not possible to reach the *episteme*, it is possible to recollect it or approximate it in consequence of right education (2005: 98a). The process of recollection is called *anamnesis*. However, Plato made a distinction between individuals in terms of approximating the *episteme*. While a group of individuals (philosophers belonging to the community of guardians) are endowed with the capacity to reach the knowledge, the rest could not come into any contact with the knowledge because of inherent epistemological lack in their soul. In other words, according to Plato, there is an “epistemological difference” between the individuals. As Cartledge states, only philosophers have the capacity to turn the *doxa*, including in their souls, into knowledge according to Plato (2013: 127). Therefore, the philosopher becomes the one who has the capacity to emancipate those who are in the cave from the illusionary images. This epistemological difference turns the philosopher into the political leader. He becomes the philosopher-king in the ideal state of Plato. According to Bařtırk, ideas can penetrate the sensible world merely through philosopher (2019: 236). In other words, that is the point at which the process of construction of ideal state, within the context of the phenomenal world, begins.

Plato conceptualizes ideal state as the best political formation. It was produced under the enlightenment of the world of ideas. It has pure order, harmony and hierarchy among its participants. In this thesis, the concept of ideal state will be used as a measurement to gauge worldly states. For Rucker, ideal state provides actual states with the chance to gauge themselves to know to what extent they approximate to ideal situation (1996: 170). However, Plato argues that, it is not possible to actualize

the form of ideal state totally in the material world because of ontological difference.

In that sense, he says that

Do not keep trying to compel me to demonstrate that the sort of thing we have described in a theoretical way can also be fully realized in practice. If we turn out to be capable of finding how a city can be run in a way pretty close to what we have described, then you can say that we have discovered how what you are asking for can be put into practice (2018: 473b)

There remains only the option of imitation of the ideal world. That is the point at which Plato started to use the concept of imitation in a positive manner. Poetry as well has been reconceptualized as a result of the reconceptualization of imitation positively. According to Plato, poets should imitate the world of ideas during their performances. This kind of poetry contributes to the translation of the world of ideas into the phenomenal world. Moreover, from Plato's reconceptualization on, philosopher starts to play the role of poet; hence he is the one that has the capacity to make a distinction between the truth and degenerated things. Akdeniz says that this role change will change the way of establishing a relationship with the symbols (2016: 287).

For Plato, translation of ideas refers to "social division of labor" that is the reflection of the hierarchy among the ideas in the sensible world. According to Plato, it means both realization of the world of ideas in the sensible world and a chance for individuals to realize their natures which is distributed unequally. For Plato, this means "one man for one job" principle. He explains this principle by the following words: "...each individual should be assigned to the one task he is naturally fitted for, so that by applying himself to his own one task each may become a single person rather than many people" (2018: 423d). He sees this principle as the only way of virtuous act. In other words, he identifies individual realization of the nature, in the light of his allocated nature, with the virtuous act. Following this kind of realization, he pointed out that "justice" in a city is based on the realization of the individual nature since for him justice means smoothly working of social division of labor.

As Collobert says, the intelligible ideal world could be visualized by way of myths (2012: 87). Plato entitled these kinds of myths as "noble lie". They are the creation

of philosophers. They show individuals how to act in line with the role designated for them in the light of social division of labor. The reason behind why he needs the noble lie is related to epistemological difference. For him, individuals do not have the capacity to understand the nature of ideas except for philosophers. Therefore, philosophers should use these kinds of lie to convey the nature of ideas to the individuals. In this sense he says that “the probability is that our rulers will need to employ a good deal of falsehood and deception for the benefit of those they are ruling” (2018: 459d). That is to say, for Plato, even if it is a lie, a noble lie has a concrete impact on individuals concerning making them act in the way of the social division of labor. As Roochnik says, it contributes to promulgation of the division (2009: 166). It is the way of persuasion of the citizens about social division of labor. The most important noble lie that Plato used is “Phoenician Tale”. For Plato, that is the only way to construct the new political space different from existing one which is depicted through the way of cave allegory. For short, to tell a lie has been seen as the way of emancipation.

Platonic symbols will be dealt with from many respects throughout the research. Within the framework of conceptualizations above, the main focus will be on the issue that how these noble lies (mythological symbols) have been used as the instruments of interpellation by Plato. Ideological character of the symbols together with their specific role in the process of subject construction are aimed at being discussed. For short, throughout this thesis, Platonic symbols will be brought out the question to discuss whether they are the instruments of interpreting and experiencing the world in specific ways.

#### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

By this study, as it is framed above, I aim to show the ideological character of Platonic myths. It will be attempted to be shown that the myths, he made use of, are established as reduced, simplified schemas of social relations. They had not been in the written form before. Rather, they had taken part in oral narrative history. However,



in this thesis, it will be suggested that they were put on the paper to regulate the consumption patterns of the audiences by Plato. By doing so, he put another guideline for the Athenians on the ways of experiencing and understanding the world different than the democratic one they are in. He, in other words, drew the model of social relations differently. To put it differently, as aforementioned, he interpellated the Athenians in the light of another model of political-social formation and he saw this model as a medicine against the disorder lasted for a long time in Athens.

Plato gave priority to ethics in conducting his discussion. For him, the order could not become possible in a city unless its citizens set the order in their souls. For this reason, as we will discuss in the fourth chapter, according to Plato, ethics is prior to politics; or, politics depends upon ethics. Therefore, the poet, first and foremost, should undertake an ethical mission which is to give a shape to the individuals' souls. As Lear (1992: 192) says, "verbal falsehood is an externalization of something true within the poet's psyche, that it can be used, with caution, as a medicine."

This thesis makes a contribution to the literature of political philosophy. The ethical and political character of Plato have been widely discussed in the literature<sup>8</sup>. However, Platonic mythological symbols have not been investigated by way of the concept of interpellation. In this study, I tried to extend the investigation of interpellation and subject construction issues to the texts of Plato. These issues were investigated from the point of Althusserian concept of ideolog-in-general. By doing so, I attempted to find the roots of the issue of the subject construction process in antiquity.

---

<sup>8</sup> In the literature, ethical and political character of Plato's world of thought have been discussed especially by Allen (2011), Yalçinkaya (2005), Baştürk (2019), Akdeniz (2016), Havelock (2015), Murdoch (2008), Santas (2003), Aydın (2011), Brownson (1897), Edelstein (1949), Kayser (1973), Tate (1928; 1932), Partee (1970), Lear (1992), Zovko (2018), Belfiore (1984).

As will be shown, by doing so, I am trying to approach the Platonic onto-epistemological break in a different way too. It will be claimed that this break<sup>9</sup> is an important and necessary phase to strengthen the capacity of lies to persuade individuals about the social model depicted in consequence of the difference it creates. In this regard, in the second section of the fourth chapter, I will argue that this break provides a basis for the politics of truth.

### **1.5. Organization of the Study**

This study is composed of five chapters. In the second chapter, I will seek to discuss the concept of interpellation, how the process of interpellation works and how it is conceptualized especially by Louis Althusser in detail. Also, I will point out the importance and the role of the process of interpellation for any social formation wherever and whenever it is experienced. In the third chapter, I will focus on the environment in which Plato wrote. I will try to answer to the questions: under which conditions and why did Plato produce his noble lies? What was the importance of classical poetry for Athens? And, why did he criticize the classical poetic tradition? I will try to demonstrate the dominance and significant influence of the classical poetic tradition on Athenian citizens about how they experienced the world they live in. I will argue that this tradition presented the knowledge about morality, ethics, politics, and history to the Athenian citizens, and by doing so, it drew the line which determines the ways how the world would be understood. In the last chapter, it will be tried to be shown Plato's attempt to undermine the dominance and influence of classical poetic tradition; what he did for this purpose; what he suggested for classical poetic tradition; and, his political model (Republic) in substitution for the existing democratic regime. Also, I will discuss the onto-epistemological break Plato did against the ongoing knowledge system in detail. Lastly, I will dwell upon the

---

<sup>9</sup> In the context of Plato, noble lies distinguish individuals in terms of epistemological difference. Noble lies form the basis for the difference between individuals. While onto-epistemological break is the precondition for the production of these kinds of lies, Plato equipped them with the role to support the difference out of the chute.

mythological symbols he used. I will especially focus on the Phoenician Tale. As was aforementioned, in the end, it will be said that he used the myths to interpellate Athenians in order to persuade them of his model.

To do this investigation, firstly, I made a selection from Plato's texts. These texts are mainly: *Republic*, *Gorgias*, *Meno*, *Phaedo*, *Ion*, *Phaedrus*. I focused on specific concepts and mythological symbols taking part in these texts. These concepts are poetry, imitation, ideal world, ideas, one person one task, ideal state, philosopher-king, noble lie. Most notably, *The Republic* will be examined in detail in terms of the importance that Plato placed on the usage of mythological symbols. I especially focused on Phoenician Tale appeared in the *Republic*. Also, I cited the myth of Cronos, the myth of Tartaros, and the myth of Shipmaster. I claimed that these concepts and myths give us clues to make inference about the process of interpellation and the issue of the subject construction in Plato's frame.

To investigate Platonic mythological symbols under the light of the concept of interpellation, I examined the literature on this concept. The main figures of the literature are Louis Althusser, Judith Butler, John L. Austin, Terry Eagleton. I specifically focused on the Althusserian frame and the relationship between the process of interpellation and the subject construction. In this respect, I mainly concentrated upon his texts *For Marx* and *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses*. Moreover, I read other works of Althusser like *Lenin and Philosophy*, *Replies to John Lewis*. Especially I focused on the concepts of interpellation, subject, Subject, ideology, ideology-in-general, obviousness, practico-social function of ideology. These are my conceptual tools to investigate Plato's symbols.

After reviewing the literature on interpellation, I focused on how to make a clear definition of the metaphor of interpellation and how to discuss the issue of subject construction. After that, I tried to read Plato's texts through the concepts that I outlined in the literature review part. I did not aim to find Platonic references in the texts of Althusser, rather my essential concern was about whether is it possible to extend Althusserian concepts of interpellation and subject construction to Plato or not. Therefore, I made a concept and context-based reading in Plato's texts.

## CHAPTER 2

### INTERPELLATION/(RE)CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUBJECT

In this chapter, I will try to shed light on the concepts of interpellation, ideology, and subject construction. Before this attempt it seems necessary to say that I am aware of that Plato and Althusser lived in different historical epochs. This difference must be overpassed surely. However, this thesis will try to focus on the question whether the discussions about the issues of ideology, interpellation, and subject construction that Althusser dealt with could be extended to the Plato or not.

This chapter is composed of two sub-headings. I will start with a literature review on the concepts of interpellation, ideology, and subject construction and follow how these concepts are taken into consideration by different figures like John Langshaw Austin, Judith Butler, Althusser, Eagleton etc.

In the second section of this chapter, I will try to discuss mainly the Althusserian concept of ideology-in-general, interpellation, subject and subject constitution, and the role of these concepts in terms of reproduction of the social reality. In this regard I will begin with a discussion on ideology (especially ideology-in-general). And, I will try to shed light on its concrete, tangible, productive character as oppose to constative, illusionative reading of it. In addition to that, I will draw attention to the practico-social function that ideology conducts. This concept refers to the constitution of the historical subjects from whom expected to act in accordance with the imaginary model that ideology organizes on the basis of the relationship people establish with their conditions of existence so that reproduction of existing social relations becomes possible.

I will draw attention to the process of interpellation to show how ideology works in material, concrete way. To be clear, by way of interpellation, I will try to point out how ideas and beliefs which are regarded as originating from the subject's freely

thinking even if the beliefs are shown as lying behind the acts are in fact inscribed in the acts themselves. It will be claimed that ideology is not a matter of conscious. I will argue that ideology has determining, the structural effect upon the subjects to act and think specifically in line with the reproduction of existing social formation.

Lastly, I will try to conduct a discussion on the subject's constitution process, referring to gaining the status of social existence. It will be suggested that the individual can gain the status of subject insofar as individual can act and think in line with the imaginary model because only by this way the individual can turn into something recognizable and only by this way misrecognition, which carries out a vital task germane to the reproduction of social formation – of the real conditions of existence become possible.

## **2.1. Literature Review on Interpellation**

The subject matter of the thesis is mainly related to the literature on interpellation, ideology and construction of subject which could be found principally in the theory of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Within the context of the present study, I have chosen to focus on the following thinkers and figures: John Langshaw Austin, Judith Butler, and Louis Althusser.

As aforementioned, the concepts of interpellation and naming are used interchangeably in the literature. Naming is a kind of interpellation. The issue of naming that we first encounter in the religious texts became one of the crucial topics elaborated in the literature of language, postmodern theory and phenomenology. For example, in the Torah, it was said (2001: 6)

the Lord God formed out of the earth all the wild beasts and all the birds of the sky, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called each living creature, that would be its name. And the man gave names to all the cattle and to the birds of the sky and to all the wild beasts.

For Austin and Butler, language is the realm through and on which naming process works. However, naming something is not independent of context. And, language is not an instrument of speaking; instead, it is loaded with certain historical norms.

Austin and Butler show that naming something by virtue of language is not a nonideological process. It directly effects the comprehension of the individuals about the world they live in. The codes language bears and conveys have contextual characters and determine how individuals understand and interact with the world. It is the ground on and through which the world is schematized in a specific form.

Austin starts with discussion by arguing that language does not only have a constative character. He associates such an approach with the logical positivism. For him, rather than being the function of the language, this is only one of the functions of the language. He discusses performatives in the sense that performatives are not true or false contrary to the constative character of logical positivism in his book *How to Do Things with Words*. As Aysever explains, even if it is possible to mention truth or falsity of a statement belonging to constative language because of its descriptive character, it is not possible to say the same thing for performative language (2017: 25-26).

Austin asserts the performative language as locutionary act, illocutionary act, perlocutionary act. He argues that performatives do not depict or determine something; instead, they make a sentence means to act (2017: 42). Kenaan argues that performatives do not depict a fact or report anything, they are not candidates for truth; rather, they take part in the world by doing in the form of naming, betting, promising etc. (2005: 72). That is the point at which acts becomes the underlying form of language instead of propositions.

By locutionary act, Austin means the speech that explains or refers to something. The illocutionary act means doing something when we are saying something simultaneously. Lastly, perlocutionary acts identify with the sentences that create consequences in the future. Technically, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts depend on locutionary act. However, more importantly, they need conventions<sup>10</sup> on the

---

<sup>10</sup> Conventions are the arbitrary rules of language accepted by the users of the language. About the conventions, Kenaan (2005: 81) says that “meaningfulness of the encounter between speaker and hearer is derived from an interaction between structurally identical linguistic agents: between members of a linguistic community for whom ‘sharing a lifeworld’”.

utterances belonging to locutionary act. Conventions make it possible to understand the utterances. In this sense, Austin says that the effect of illocutionary [and perlocutionary] act depends on the understandability of the utterances (2017: 135). Therefore, it is necessary to focus on the total speech situation, composed of conventions, in which the total speech act emerges. As Butler says, for Austin it is the way of knowing what makes the force of an utterance effective (2013: 2-3). By doing so, Austin draws attention to the actuality of language. Contrary to the abstracted form of language that is used by logical positivism, Austin puts the issue of context in the discussion by doing so. In this regard, Kenaan says that “what makes performatives different from the propositional words is the cases in which grammatically identical sentence functions” (2005: 75). That is to say, for Austin, utterances or sentences mean something within the scope of the linguistic domain which owns arbitrary conventions. Rather than crude sentences, what is important for Austin is the total speech situation in which utterances become meaningful. According to Kenaan, the new focus provides Austin with the idea that speech is never neutral in terms of its involvement or participation in the human situation (2005: 77). By making distinction between speech acts, Austin shows us importance of the speech situation which is ideologically loaded. From the point of Austinian frame, language becomes the way of understanding and interacting the world individuals live in a certain way rather than being the instrument of expression.

However, even if Austin suggests saying something is to do something, for him, there is the possibility of saying something wrongly and/or doing something wrongly in the linguistic domain. In other words, misunderstandings could emerge. In this regard, he asserts that misunderstandings are in the realm of possibility for conventional actions (2017: 55). He adds that it is possible to create effects or consequences that are not intended (2017: 126). Also, for Austin, refusing the purported action is available. In other words, in the frame of Austin, actions are not produced automatically. As Butler says, Austin does not think the working of the performative relies on the intention of the speaker (2013: 24). These are completely based on the total speech situation in which utterances are conveyed. There is the “risk” of the destruction of the utterances that speaker animates, or receiver could not understand

well the utterances. These attempts are called as “messes” by Austin. As aforementioned, naming/interpellation is a type of performative action. And, the process of naming/interpellation which is conceptualized as performatives in this frame could not work in the way that they are purported. Any illocutionary or perlocutionary actions could be ineffective. It is the total speech situation that determines whether the performative action or interpellation becomes successful or not. Therefore, for Austin what we have to study is not the sentence but the issuing of an utterance in a speech situation. Because utterance becomes meaningful and understandable only within the scope of a speech situation.

Another figure that discusses the issue of interpellation is Judith Butler. For Butler, the subject has double, ambivalent meaning (2013: 2). We become what we are during our actions, conducts, and relations. There is no subject before the action. In this regard, Butler makes citation from Nietzsche: “the doer is merely a fiction added to the deed (the deed is everything)” (2016: 77). There cannot be essential attributions to the individuals. That is to say; individuals become what they are through their social relations. According to Butler, the subject is constituted in the language by both being named and naming (2013: 30). The role and purpose of interpellation is to establish a subject in the discursive realm to [re]produce its social contour (Butler, 2013: 34). It is not a matter of falsity or truthfulness; rather, it produces the beliefs which are seemed in the background of the actions. However, the beliefs do not precede the actions; rather they are inscribed in the actions.

By being named individuals are iterated with hegemonic norms which are socially constructed. At the same time, by being named individuals become intelligible and recognizable. However, these norms are not established, and they must be re-iterated and re-inscribed during every individual actions, conducts, and relations. The processes of iteration and reiteration show us the dual working of the power. In this sense, Butler indicates that power creates subject and this created subject reproduces the power relations in the process of reiteration (2005: 21). In other words, the constant process of being named corresponds to the possibility of the emergence of speaking subject. This is what Butler means by the concept of vulnerability. The



subject is the one who is constantly vulnerable to the language and at the same time, the one who exercises the power of language (2005: 30). As a condition for emergence as a subject, the subject does not have any control over the language. Butler claims that language precedes and exceeds the subject (2013: 28). That is to say, it exists before the subjects, it will exist after subjects and it is the condition that makes subjects survivable. In this sense, Butler says

One need not know about or register a way of being constituted for that constitution to work in an efficacious way. For the measure of that constitution is not to be found in a reflexive appropriation of that constitution, but, rather, in a chain of signification that exceeds the circuit of self-knowledge. The time of discourse is not the time of the subject (2005: 31)

Butler emphasizes that even if the subject is constituted by the power within the domain of the language, it becomes the basis of the power through the reversibility as a result of the working of the power (2005: 22). And, that is why Butler says the power hides behind the subjectivity (2005: 23). Only by way of language subjects emerge as speaking subjects in the temporal life of language. Rather than being an instrument of the expression, it forms the basis on which and through which socially constructed hegemonic norms are cited and inscribed.

Subject is the realm of the reiteration. In order to name, it must be named. Therefore, it could not exceed the language. The subject could have a location in the grammar of society (Butler, 2005: 114). The subject could not exceed the language because it is the source of consistency and continuity of its existence (2016: 66). Rather, the subject is reconstituted through the performative actions within the realm of the language. Like Austin, Butler as well draws attention to the conventions. For Butler, conventions are the effects and instruments of a social ritual that makes the process of naming possible (2013: 5). Conventions are the conditions that make the recognition of the subject based on the naming process possible.

For Butler, naming is one of the examples of interpellation and it works through the citation of existing conventions (2013: 33). In the frame of Butler, interpellation is a reiterative operation of the socially constructed norms (2013: 34). It is a performative action that reconstitutes the subject. Subjects take part in the process of interpellation

and become subject through the interpellation process. This is the action, conduct, or relation that makes what we are. And, language which conducts the process of interpellation cannot be exceeded by the subject as long as it is the ground on which subject emerges and exercises. The speaking subject can speak only by way of citation of hegemonic norms or conventions within the scope of language. Vulnerable subjects are continuously re-constituted through the process of performative reiteration of the norms. As aforementioned, this process takes place without the subject's knowing.

However, for Butler, the result of the process of interpellation is not predictable. In this sense, Butler says, "The workings of interpellation may well be necessary, but they are not for that reason mechanical or fully predictable...Indeed, power is not as easy to identify or to localize as some speech act theory appears to imply." (2013: 34). The question that comes to mind here is that what if the subject does not turn or does not give an anticipated answer to the hail? It may culminate in a different result than the intention of the speaker. That is to say; the interpellation process is open to the occurring in a different way than the speaker intends. Butler argues that the process of hailing may produce unexpected and enabling responses (2013: 2). The process of interpellation requires the recognition of hailing. However, the hail may not be understood well, and the process of interpellation may fail due to the conventional problems that we saw in the Austinian frame as well. That is to say; the addressing content may not be received one and the same by the receiver.

On the other hand, Althusser conceptualizes interpellation different than Austin and Butler. He starts the discussion with the discourse of double register<sup>11</sup> on ideology. On the one hand, he develops a general, anthropological theory of ideology in the

---

<sup>11</sup> Bidet argues that Althusser has double register on the discussion about ideology. On the one hand, he has the anthropological register which regards the subject constitution function of ideology-in-general; and, on the other hand, he has the specific register which revolves around the subject constitution and its qualifications within the context of capitalist social reality. Bidet, J. (2017). The Interpellated Subjects: Beyond Althusser and Butler. *Actual Marx*. 184-201 61(1)

\*emphasize mine

light of practico-social function it has. In this regard, in every form of society, ideology provides an imaginary model of society to the people so as to submit an idea about the system which is incomprehensible by daily conscious directly. Althusser defines ideology through the anthropological discourse as ideology-in-general as well, and Althusser conceives it as omnipresent, omni-historical, and immutable; it is the universal destiny of all form of societies. On the other hand, although it has transhistorical practico-social character, ideologies are characterized and produced specifically by the social reality they operate in which means for Althusser that they do not have their own history.

Althusser argues that ideology calls us by way of interpellation (Eagleton, 2013: 324). Interpellation –portrayed as *our little theoretical theatre\** by Althusser regarding the scene of polis’ hail– shows us concrete, daily, and material operation of ideology. It is not a single event that begins and turns individuals into a subject in one sitting. It continues as an ongoing, never-ending process. If it is not so, then it becomes impossible to mention the possibility of permanence of any social formation (Resch, 2014: 230).

Ideology addresses the individuals constantly on the basis of what it makes subjects occupy the designated place for them in society without any problem. In other words, throughout “the further distortion of social reality's distortion<sup>12</sup>”, ideology addresses the individuals and so that it determines the boundaries of actions for specific historical subjects in pursuance of confirmation of the existing social reality. The designated places for subjects are naturalized through an imaginary discourse arising from the relationship that people establish with their own historical conditions of existence.

---

<sup>12</sup> For Althusser, individuals, already, cannot establish a direct relationship with their conditions of existence because of lack of daily conscious. In other words, they could not see bare situation; rather, they can only have distorted form of the reality. Plus, ideological models distort what is already distorted when they are schematized the conditions of existence.

The concept of interpellation contains a paradoxical image if it is written literally. Because, an individual is *always-already* a subject due to the ongoing process of interpellation; it turned individuals into the subject before individual was born by virtue of various Ideological State Apparatuses<sup>13</sup> (ISAs). As was aforementioned, individuals are born already as a subject under the grip of the ISAs. This ongoing process should be evaluated “from the viewpoint of reproduction”, according to Althusser. (Re)production of conscientious<sup>14</sup> workers (in the context of bourgeois society) who misrecognize the real conditions of existence and voluntarily submit to the Subject only become possible by virtue of the ongoing process of interpellation. The real conditions of existence of conscientious workers, which is exploitation, becomes invisible or the world that is presented through ideology is seen natural or given by them. This is the most important result of interpellation for Althusser.

It is ISAs that define the content of interpellation and carries out the process, and it is ISAs that affect subjects (conscientious workers) who work by themselves voluntarily (Wingrove, 1999: 879). By the concept of ISAs, Althusser tries to ground the process of interpellation in concrete social practices. Ideologies rooted in production relations and ISAs are the apparatuses in which ideologies are organized, and they are the institutions through which the social relations grounded on class dominance/exploitation is reproduced.

---

<sup>13</sup> According to Althusser, different than previous social formations in the capitalist societies there are ideological state apparatuses (ISAs) in addition to repressive state apparatuses. ISAs are composed of institutions like government, church, family, political party, military, law, prisons, police, newspapers etc. Dominant ideology actualizes in these ISAs and gives shape to these institutions and makes it possible to operate harmoniously. ISAs work not by using physical violence different than repressive state apparatuses. He says that ISAs do not function on violence, but on ideology (2014: 78). For Althusser, ISAs are the sphere of class conflict and classes could take the state apparatus in the hand as long as they do not become hegemonic over the ISAs (2014: 53). Dominant ideology gains established character insofar as it becomes effective at the level of ISAs. To a great extent, ISAs are the sphere of reproduction of production relations (2014: 57). Individuals turns into subjects through the interpellation of the ISAs. For Althusser, subjects take part in the practices that are directed by rituals of ISAs and this process makes the existing class relations normal, obvious for them (2014: 89). Therefore, ISAs play vital role with regard to reproduction of exploitation relations for Althusser.

<sup>14</sup>Wingrove, E. (1999), p.875

ISAs defines the rituals governing patterned social practices consisting of actions by which hail toward the individuals is put into practice on a concrete level. That is another way to make sense of how Althusser rematerializes ideology. The beliefs, ideas that supposed to be originated from the subject him/herself depends on the productive rituals defined and elaborated by ISAs, i.e., the ideas, that subject has, identifies with their own lived relationship with their conditions of existence and (re)organized within the certain frame of the representational system so as to reproducing existing social system.

Althusser argues that the category of the subject is the constitutive category of ideology; i.e., ideology can only work insofar as it takes a material form in the form of subjects (Martel, 2015: 500). However, he adds that this is so insofar as all ideology has the function of constituting concrete/recognizable individuals as subjects (2014: 78). Also, the category of subject originates from ideology; it takes its shape on the basis of specific historical, social formation mapped through imaginary models.

Althusser defines the process of subjection as a centering process around a hail coming from Absolute Subject/imaginary model of society. By this hail, individuals turn into subjects only as a result of what they become recognizable/acceptable for the Subject, and they recognize the Subject; at the same time, they recognize each other as subjects belonging to a specific form of social reality as a result of this process; while, on the other hand, they misrecognize the real conditions of existence due to the hail coming from the Subject.

As Hirst highlights, in this sense, the structure of ideology is reflexive (2014: 150). The individual can become subject insofar as it is recognized by the Subject. While it can gain the status of the subject only through and within the recognition and reflection of the Subject, the Subject as well exists on the basis of recognition of subjects in an Althusserian frame.

Althusser explains subject-Subject relationship by the following words:

It then emerges that the interpellation of individuals as subjects presupposes the 'existence' of a unique and central other Subject, in whose name religious ideology interpellates all individuals as subjects. (2014: 132)

We observe that the structure of all ideology, interpellating individuals as subjects in the name of a Unique and Absolute Subject, is specular, in other words, a mirror-structure, and doubly specular; and that this specular duplication is constitutive of ideology and ensures its functioning. This means that all ideology is centred, that the Absolute Subject occupies the unique place of the Centre and interpellates around it the infinity of individuals as subjects in a double specular relation such that it subjects the subjects to the Subject (2014: 134)

It should be taken into consideration that the subject can emerge as an effect of the Subject even if it is thought that subject acts freely on the basis of choice made freely by her/his. The subjects are constituted by the Subject as free actors in order that they accept the voluntary submission. The fundamental reason behind the emergence of illusion about free action is the obviousness – as the effect of ideology – that the symbolic world defined and represented through the way of an imaginary ideological model in a coherent and integrated way. The ways on how to act and think are determined by the Subject, however, the existence of the Subject is as well reflectively based on to what extent subjects act and think in line with the guideline that the Subject presents to subjects.

According to Eagleton, by rematerializing ideology in an eye-opening way, Althusser takes the bourgeois form of ideology into consideration as a general formulation of ideology (2013: 332). For Eagleton, Althusser approaches different historical contexts through the concepts loaded with the bourgeois ideology. It might be said that Althusser decontextualizes the different forms of imaginary models based on different forms of social relations by doing so. Besides, Eagleton argues that Althusser's model on interpellation has a monistic character, which means that it ignores the possibility of hailing in different, contradictory forms and ways (2013: 328).

Althusser's model focuses on the centering process of Subject that turns individuals into a recognizable subject and keeps them in the designated places they occupy. He points out to the imaginary representation of social formation that is integrated,

coherent, and self-affirmative, taking shape on the basis of existing historical relations of exploitation. The model that Althusser puts forward is conceptualized around the one Subject hail of whom determines the process of subjection *per se*. The Althusserian monadic model does not allow different forms of interpellation. To put it in a different way, Althusser excludes any possibility of change in terms of social formation from his formula.

In parallel with the critique on the monadic character of the Althusserian model, Guilfoyle points out that in Althusser's model, there is little room for agency or resistance referring to the refusal of interpellation process (2009:162). Simply because, for him, there is a single, closed ideological system (Guilfoyle, 2009:162) in which nine times out of ten individual turns the hail coming from the Subject. Therefore, it might be possible to say that Althusser underestimates the complexity and contradictory nature of the interpellation process (Resch, 2014:230). However, as Rehmann indicates that different and contradictory interpellations are put in order by subjects, or rather some of them are prioritized by subjects compared to the rest (Rehmann, 2015:187). In this sense, Rehmann gives the example of TV messages that may not be received and interpreted one and the same by audiences with reference to Stuart Hall (2015: 187).

Together with these, Therborn criticizes Althusser's model as well. Firstly, he argues that ideological state apparatuses do not make progress side by side though they are integrated among each other. On the contrary, they develop unregularly (Resch, 2014:236). Secondly, he indicates that there could be no harmony between submission and qualification that ideology tries to produce. New qualifications can emerge in such a way as to conflict with conventional ways of submission, or new ways of submission cannot make the reproduction of existing qualifications possible. In other words, there is an ongoing internal tension in the elements of the process of interpellation. According to Therborn, because of this dynamic nature within the interpellation process, it is not possible to mention impeccable hail (2014: 236).

According to Judith Butler, the discussion carried out by Althusser on ideology overcomes the dualism in Marxism between infrastructure and ideological

superstructure by rematerializing ideology in consequence of what it is seen that ideology conducts a practico-social function. On the other hand, for Butler, the hail exhibited in the little theoretical theatre was conceptualized by Althusser as if it cannot be refused by the individuals (2005: 106). It does not allow to different ways of subjection or refusal of the subjection constituted by the Subject.

For Butler, the horizons of Althusser about interpellation is limited to the hails coming from the central state authority (2005: 14). That is to say; he ignores the calls that could pave the way for other possibilities with regard to selfhood/subjection. According to Butler, the model of Althusser about interpellation seems to encircle itself within the very ideological apparatuses he criticized, and such kind of a model, as a natural result, will block the means and ways of other possibilities about subjection (Martel, 2015: 506).

With reference to the famous scene that Althusser depicts, Butler says that Althusser does not explain the reason why the subject accepts the subjection and how the subject interprets the hailing as addressing to him (2005: 13). Butler says that Althusserian schema of interpellation is restricted to the voice, however in order to be an instrument and a mechanism of discourse the notion of interpellation must be dissociated from the voice/enunciation (2013: 32). The reason why Butler thinks so is that the process of interpellation works without the knowledge of the subject. Thus the process of interpellation may work without turning around. Concerning the theatrical scene Althusser depicts, Butler says “If we accept the notion that linguistic constitution of the subject can take place without that subject’s knowing...then interpellation can function without the ‘turning around’, without anyone ever saying ‘here I am’”(2013: 33).

According to Butler, individuals had turned into subjects before the call, therefore turning around the hail just shows us the already submission of the subject. “In other words, one is already claimed by the voice that calls the name, already subordinate to the authority to which one subsequently yields” (Butler, 2013: 32). In other words, as former and fundamental conditions of the constitution of the subject, there is *readiness* compelled by the authoritative interpellation (Butler, 2005: 107). The



scene playing in the Althusserian little theatre is just a small visual representation of the effort of the “guilty” individual turning to the call of the law to gain the status of social existence/identity. Therefore, it could be said that guiltiness is a vital point of subjection; simply because it is the prerequisite condition of being the addressee of the call coming from the law. For Althusser, the address precedes the addressed subject. However, Butler says that there should be a name that gives social existence to the named one to name it again and again (2005: 107). For Butler, in the Althusserian frame, subject defends and acquits himself/herself against the accusations coming from the law, and s/he can have the chance to declare his/her innocence insofar as s/he becomes expertise on the skills. But, as long as the interpellation cannot be confined to a single event, the process of acquitting should be considered as continuing for a lifetime.

According to Butler, submission and specialization on skills emerge synchronically, and this synchronization is the fundamental condition of the emergence of subject (2005:112). There is no subject before performing the skills which are performed to acquit himself/herself in front of the law, but these skills should be re-practiced in a lifetime process. For Butler, that is the reason why Althusser gives a place to the “bad subject” in his theorization. Because, the bad subject is the one who could not be taken into consideration within the scope of the subject. In other words, it does not have subjective survivability; it is not recognizable. The only way that culminates in the emergence of the subject is related to the process being cleared to the blame. This process gives social existence to the individual.

Compared to Austin’s and Butler’s frames, Althusser’s frame seems more appropriate and comprehensive to investigate the mythological symbols of Plato as the instruments of interpellation. Althusserian conceptualization of interpellation the concept of ideology-in-general that Althusser used to explain the necessity of ideology for all social formations is another important tool to trace back the issue of interpellation to the Platonic mythological. As it will be discussed in the third chapter of the thesis, Plato’s models emerged on the basis of certain socio-historical relations. In this thesis, in parallel with Althusserian conceptualization of ideology, I will argue

that Plato applied these models to distort social reality including different forms of inequality. Similar to Althusserian conceptualization of interpellation, for Plato as well, the hail precedes the subjects that he aimed to constitute. He (re)produced mythological symbols that preceded the subject. Platonic subject, like Althusserian subject, emerges after the hail embedded in the symbols.

## **2.2. Interpellation, Ideology, and Subject Construction**

The concept of interpellation plays a crucial role in showing the autonomous, material, worldly character of ideology. It simplifies the relationship between daily consciousness and social reality that individuals live in by presenting a schematized imaginary model of society (Eagleton, 2013: 334-335).

Ideology structures the symbolic universe with reference to individuals' relationship with the conditions of existence and this symbolic universe can only work by the support of ideological fantasy/imaginary representation of conditions of existence since it fills the gap between our daily experiences and reality. Or rather, it frames the limits and ways of practices within a specific context. That is the reason why Althusser argues that the emergence of ideology and interpellation of individuals is *one and the same thing* (emphasize mine) (2014: 82). Similar to Althusser, Pêcheux also, suggests that emergence of the subject [constructed by way of interpellation] and of daily ideology [which directs people to their practical occupations] should have co-occurred (2013: 218).

Ideology has to present a model of social reality that could not be put aside easily (Eagleton, 2011:35). Otherwise, people could not cope with the opacity of system/structure they live in, i.e., it could not become possible to speak on the possibility of any society because of incapability they have to understand the social reality by way of their daily conscious. That is to say, ideology, determined by other instances of the system and determining them, is fundamental, organic part of social unity (Althusser, 2015: 285). Thus, it is the necessary part of all forms of social reality/formations because ideology is the way for people to be able to answer to their

conditions of existence (Althusser, 2015: 288). As Schapiro says, despite varying across time and space, the function of ideologies is unchanging: interpellating concrete individuals as concrete subjects (2017: 45).

In this sense, ideology could not be taken into consideration as something illusionary, hallucinative, or something produced by knowing subjects aiming at distorting people's minds by releasing negative-constative representation of reality into circulation. In other words, it does not operate by way of consciousness. Instead, as Althusser indicates, it is profoundly unconscious, which means it makes its influence felt like a structure even if it shows itself as something deriving from the process of thought (2015: 285). It paves the way for the preconscious involvement of individuals to the existing social formation.

Ideological categories, within a specific social formation, structure imaginary relations through the concrete, material forms (Wingrove, 1999: 875). In this regard, it could be possible to say that the imaginary model of society is not wrong at all, as long as it has a real, material influence on individuals' lives; it is an objective level of reality. That is to say that, the imaginary model produced by ideological instance has practico-social function. This kind of “positive” conception of ideology precludes from reducing ideology to a manipulation. As Eagleton says, ideology has the function of regulating the signifying process from which lived relations are produced (Eagleton, 2011: 68). This is the effect of interpellation process. Individuals affirm and reproduce social reality as a result of this relationship.

Imaginary models that are structured by ideology and put into circulation through the process of interpellation aims at turning social relations embedded in specific social reality into something obvious. This is the elementary ideological effect (Wingrove, 1999: 878). Obviousness is the basis of ideological subjection (Rehmann, 2015: 167). Interpellation, reversibly, transforms an imaginary relationship between individuals and their conditions of existence into something natural by this elementary effect. In this sense, Cousins and Hussain say that interpellation is a mechanism that instils a profound sense of the obviousness of subjects positions in them (1984: 163-164). In this way, ideology as a system of representation imposes itself as a structure and it

conceals the primary task of interpellation, which is the reproduction of existing social reality it conducts. That is why Althusser says that ideology is profoundly unconscious. Because, subjects construe and live in the world structured by ideology as if their own world (Althusser, 2015: 285).

As long as the effect of ideology is concealed, it would not be possible to recognize the real conditions of existence by subjects. On the contrary, they misrecognize their real conditions of existence, and they become whomever they are as a result of the imaginary relationship they establish (Hirst, 2014: 230). This is the practico-social function of ideology which leads individuals to act profoundly unconscious and building their thoughts on the basis of profoundly unconscious action. Butler was saying that interpellation runs without subject's knowing (2013: 33).

This process is called "a life structuring self-deception matrix" by Rehmann (2015: 177), which means the imaginary model of social reality presents individuals with an integrated, coherent picture of society. It has a closed and self-affirmative character (Eagleton, 2013: 320). In that sense, it is expected from the individuals to act in line with the requirements of the social reality so that the coherent picture of the society will become affirmed. However, even if individuals require a mapped, simplified model of social reality, this model does not uncloak the real conditions of existence, and instead, it leads to misrecognition of the truth; it alienates individuals from their real conditions of existence. Nevertheless, for the reason of experiencing the world as a totality, it is necessary, and it is conceptualized by Rehmann again as the "universal destiny of human" (2015: 177).

To say that ideology is a universal destiny of human points out omni-historical, omnipresent, and immutable character of ideology without excluding any different historical form of social formation. As long as through the way of misrecognition ideology submits a practico-social function in order to keep existing social formation sustainable, even though the differences based on specific historical, social relations, every form of social reality runs through ideology. However, every form of ideology derives from the social formation it works. In other words, ideologies do not have

their own histories because they have concrete historical existence (Pêcheux, 2013:218).

The practico-social function of ideology underlies the general theory of ideology, which is conceptualized by Althusser as ideology-in-general. In this regard, Wingrove says that what ideology does is always the same (1999: 877). Pecheux also addresses this issue by the trilogy of inequality-contradiction-submission: ideologies derive from and take shape on the basis of the specific historical relationship among the trilogy of inequality-contradiction-submission. The relationship among these three characterizes the specific formation of ideologies working in society. That is to say that ideologies have no history on their own, instead, they have concrete historical existence (2013: 218). For example, the ideology of *parrhesia*, which means equal speech in the public discussions and equal participation to the matter of state, emerged in the ancient democratic Athens. As will be shown in the next chapter, it was essential for the sake of order of the society; it amounts to nothing on its own; however, if it is considered in terms of the social conditions, by supporting the equal participation to the matter of state, the ideology of *parrhesia* emerges as a necessity to preclude social disorder or contradictions between different social classes.

The way how interpellation works or ideologically produced imaginary representations are considered as obvious and natural rely on the productive rituals<sup>15</sup> governing multiple social practices which are consisted of a regular series of actions. Although from the viewpoint of the subject it is seen that practices are directed by their ideas, as Macherey says, in reality, it is the practices themselves that determine the orientation of those ideas (2012: 11). That is the reason why it is claimed that ideology has a material and productive character rather than being a hallucinative representation. It makes one act (Macherey, 2012: 11). However, how it makes them act depends on the historical conditions on which people execute productive rituals in which ideology incarnates itself. For Macherey, ideology (as such) should be

---

<sup>15</sup> According to Butler, for Althusser, ideas do not precede the actions, but their existence are inscribed in the actions of practices governed by [productive] rituals. Butler, (2013), pp.24-25

conceived as positive, which means it operates in most concrete level, rather than being conceived as hallucinative manifestations (2012: 11).

While ideology constitutes the subject portrayed and considered as capable of making a free choice on the one hand, it establishes the basis on which voluntary submission to the Subject emerges on the other hand. As Bidet argues, a subject is only a subject at the cost of voluntary submission to the law (2017: 63). In this sense, it could be possible to say that subject is overdetermined; it has no autonomy. The beliefs, ideas, and values which are supposed to be the source of actions do not spring from subjects' free choice. There are no essential attributions that lie behind the actions give shape to them. This overdetermined character of the subject reveals how ideology influences the acts and makes actions operate in a profoundly unconscious way. The social existence of the subject relies on the answerability to the hail from within the ideologically structured imaginary model. Otherwise, it could not be possible to mention the permanence of the existence of the subject. Subject can gain the social statue by this way.

The process of *assujétissement* (subjection) occurs in a synchronized emergence of voluntary submission and performing of the practices that are designated for the subjects; there is no subject without *performing* skills (Butler, 2005: 112). It is ideology that equips individuals with the knowledge of how to act and think within the specific social formation in line with the requirements of the designated place. Dean argues that the subject's constitution is entirely based on ideology-in-general (2016: 365). In other words, the role of ideology is to produce subjects who understand and affirm social relations (Sprinker, 1995: 2008) without historical and social differences. This role of ideology refers to its trans-historical and omnipresent character.

## CHAPTER 3

### PLATO'S ATHENS

Throughout this chapter, I will try to reveal the social, political, economic, and cultural structure of Athens. It seems crucial to understand under which conditions Plato putted down his books on paper. Especially, he wrote his texts under the shadow of the events like Peloponnesian War, internal conflicts, the plague, and the death of Socrates. For him, these events foreshadowed a big crisis for Athens.

Plato blamed the Athenian democratic regime for the emergent crisis. Lange argues that, for Plato, democracy moved away from its ideal form (1939: 482). He saw, as Sharples says, Athenian democracy as an ignorant democracy (1994: 52). Plato advocated that Athens was a diseased democracy. According to Lange, the reasons why he thought so are that in Athenian democracy, there was no respect to the law, the masses were uneducated, and citizens were not untrained in self-control (1939: 482). In addition to these, Robertson argues that for Plato statesman of Athens did not rule the city by having the knowledge of ruling (1936: 146).

For Plato, educated and uneducated individuals were put into the same equation in Athens. For him, that is the fundamental reason behind the degeneration of Athens. In Athens, those who were uneducated and had no knowledge about state affairs were taking equal part in the state governing processes in consequence of being educated by Sophists by a package education. This education process only teaches individuals to speak well rather than the knowledge of ruling. Being freely born from an Athenian mother was the only official criterion to gain the Athenian citizenship identity and to have a position in the state government of Athenian democratic regime.

The emergence of 30 Tyrants that was appointed by Spartan League in 404 B.C. and the execution of Socrates by democratic regime intimidated Plato, and he set off on

a quest about the reasons behind these cases. He regarded existing poetic tradition as a major actor of this degeneration. In the *Republic*, Plato points out the tales or stories told by the poet and including the lives of heroic characters and encapsulating issues like justice, virtue, courage, etc. However, he believes that these tales shape the character of citizens in the wrong way (Lear, 1992: 187). For him, audiences imitate what the poet shows throughout their performance in their performance, and afterward they translate them in their daily lives. According to Plato, the foremost reason that opens a road for degeneration is to translate these poets into the real world without any questioning; i.e., the poet calls his audiences, and for Plato, this message is directly taken by the audiences<sup>16</sup> without thinking on it. In this regard, he says that “all poetical imitations are ruinous to the understanding of the hearers, and that the knowledge of their true nature is the only antidote to them” (2018: 595b).

The character throughout whom justice and virtue are animated and who is imitated by poet and emulated by the audience is alien to both of them; they do not know about the imitated character; they do not have comprehensive knowledge or inner meaning of the imitated<sup>17</sup>. Nevertheless, they try to translate what the poet presents them as a life of a heroic character into their daily lives by imitating the behaviors and lines of characters. According to Plato, as long as audiences pretend to be the characters imitated, they mold their own characters around them unconsciously<sup>18</sup>.

---

<sup>16</sup> In Ancient Athens, women were excluded from the public life, and they were not accepted as citizens. Only men can have participated in the public life.

<sup>17</sup> A mind that sense the world by these models and sense the world within this frame are named as Homeric mind by Plato. What the poet does is portrayed by Plato as *eikasia*, which refers to an activity starting with and ending in an illusion full of ambiguous images. Murdoch, I. (2008). *Ateş ve Güneş: Platon Sanatçıları Niçin Dışladı?* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). İstanbul: Ayrıntı

<sup>18</sup> As it is discussed in the second chapter of this thesis, ideology operates as a structure which means through the way of interpellation, the imaginary ideological model which is schematized on the basis of people's imaginary relationship with their own conditions of existence turns existing social structure into something obvious, given, understandable and interpretable. With respect to poetic tradition, as it will be discussed below, the ideological model produced and circulated by the hands of the poets exerts itself on audiences as if the only way of experiencing reality. Thus, in the context of democratic Athens, what poets say and does in the process of impersonation, will be regarded as the only way to experience the world, which is schematized and modeled through ideology.



Here, what is crucial for Plato is that this process paves the way for the illusion that everyone can carry out different social roles rather than occupy a permanent place in social totality. There remains no difference between those who are educated and those who are not in order to designate their places. Therefore, insofar as such a kind of poetry and its hail carry on, that provides a basis for passing among roles by way of numerous imitated characters exists, the political regime based on a strict division of role of social classes never can come to life.

In this regard, in the *Republic* Plato says that

...we ought not to admit him [poet] into a city which is going to be well-governed, since it is an inferior part of the soul that he arouses and feeds, and by making this strong destroys the rational part... the imitative poet sets up a bad regime in the soul of each individual, gratifying the senseless part of it, the part which cannot distinguish larger from smaller, and which regards the same things at one time as large and at another time as small. He is nothing but an image-maker, and he stands far removed from the truth (2018: 605b).

To allow this kind of poetry in the *polis* inevitably will lead to disorder. As it will be discussed in detail in the fourth chapter, the dominance of classical poetry precludes the division of labor, which is the imitation of or reduction of the order and hierarchy among the world of ideas into the world. Besides, Plato remarks that ongoing poetic tradition encourages the irrational part of the human psyche, and it causes an intrapsychic conflict (Lear, 1992: 209). It prevents individuals from using their mind and from developing the mechanism of self-control against bodily impulses. As long as poetry prevailed among Athenian citizens, it was not possible to expect Athenians to act in line with reason, i.e. unfortunately, and Athens should have held themselves in readiness against new executions and tyrannies. Plato points out that if you really want to get rid of the tyrant, you also have to get rid of the cultural vehicles that make him look attractive (Lear, 1992: 213).

However, despite the strong annotation Plato did, according to Havelock, due to the low rate of literacy and absence of another way of communication, poetry turned into the most important source of knowledge, including politics, ethics, history, a technology essential for a community in Athens (2015: 103). At the same time, Havelock emphasizes that poetry was entrusted with the moral training of Greeks

(2015: 48). Therefore, it might be possible to say that the Greek system of education was in the hands of poetry. Poetry has a determining authority on the thoughts and acts of Greeks.

It could not be wrong to say that poets present an imaginary model, which generally takes shape out of stories of heroic characters, of the social relations to the audiences during their meetings (performance). By doing so, poetry determines how to get in touch with social reality, interpret it, and understand the world in a certain way. That is to say; it provides the basis to act and think in a specific way within the scope of specific historical social reality. In the late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 4<sup>th</sup> century Athens, poetry was one of the major authorities that determine and directs the subject constitution.

Throughout this chapter, together with specific Athenian context through which Plato wrote, I will try to show the importance and authority of poetry with regard to the subject constitution and how this process of subject constitution works through the way of poetic impersonation performance. In the next chapter, the counter model that Plato produced against the poetic tradition and takes its shape around the noble lies<sup>19</sup> (*pseudo khresimon*) which is considered to have a pharmacological impact on social life that is in an ongoing disorder for Plato, will be discussed.

### **3.1. Athens in the Late 5 B.C. and Early 4 B.C.**

The seeds of Athenian democracy were spread by Cleisthenes in 508/7 B.C. He transferred the great part of the power, which was in the hands of the wealth, to the people of Athens, mainly composed of non-aristocratic farmers and craftsmen older than eighteen. He was in a political war against the aristocrats of Athens, especially against Isogoras and his supporters, and in this respect, gaining the support of the public was considered as one of the most beneficial choices for his forward plans

---

<sup>19</sup> As it will be discussed in the next chapter in detail, as Allen shows, noble lie provides a basis for the social hierarchy, harmonization of social classes, and social stability for Plato. Allan points out that the importance of noble lies for Plato is that to tell citizens a story that will make them act in line with the truth of justice.

See, Allen, D., S. (2013). *Why Plato Wrote*. p.66 Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell

(Aristoteles, 2019: 91). Thorley argues that Cleisthenes tried to gain the support of the majority by giving them the right to citizenship and real power in the government of the state in his war against Isogoras (2007: 23).

Cleisthenes set about by creating ten clans based on existing 139-140 demes, referring to the village and/or sector in the city, and he declared that only those who were registered to the demes could obtain the status of Athenian citizenship. As Thorley says, Cleisthenes made use of the demes as the basic unit of Athenian democracy (2007: 49), because only those who were registered under the roof of any deme could have participated in the process of governance of the Athenian city state. Wood says that ordinary citizens start to deal with immediate and local matters that most directly affected their daily lives and the democratic polis at the centre was constructed on this foundation (2011: 44). Besides, Cleisthenes took the initiative on the foundation of the *Council of Five Hundred*. Contrary to the longstanding Council consisting of the wealthy groups of noble birth, members of the new Council were now chosen by allotment, not by an election in every clan with equal representation. Therefore, to register to a deme meant equal-potential membership to the Council (Cartledge, 2013: 80).

Changes made by Cleisthenes should be considered within the frame of the ideological battleground taking place in the scope of his struggle against the noble, wealthy aristocrats (Raaflaub, 1996: 139). The model of representations of the Greek community, which consists of equal citizens, had engaged the attention and had been supported by the Athenian population. In consequence, his hands had strengthened against the existing politically privileged group as a result of the changes, and he had taken control of the state in his hands. For Wood, paradoxically, aristocratic rivalry strengthens the civic community at the expense of non-appropriation surplus from direct producers or peasants (2011: 42).<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> In her book *Peasant-Citizen and Slave: The Foundations of Athenian Democracy*, Wood highlights that liberation of the poor in Athens with “inclusive” citizenship laws changed the “relationship in which the ‘rank’ labored for the other” (1988: 26). For Wood, Athenian democracy excluded the dependence between the poor and landowners from the sphere of production (1998: 95). The population of poor or peasants had no compulsion to work for the rich anymore. This freedom obliged

In the meantime, the members of the Council composed of members of clans could have served for only a year. It was the Council that had chewed overall business regarding Athens; it was the key institution for Athens (Osborne, 2010: 28). Although the Assembly had the right to make the last decision about the issues discussed and adjudicated in the Council, the Assembly shows regard to the recommendations made by the Council and generally took decisions in accordance with the recommendations (Osborne, 2010: 28). Therefore, it might be possible to say that it was the Council that directs the government of the Athenian state, not the Assembly. It would not be wrong to say that the Council played a significant role in taking decisions on the politics of Athens.

In the democratic Athens of Cleisthenes, the criterion determining equality was free birth. It operated under the principle of arithmetical equality contrary to oligarchic, geometric, and proportionate equality based on wealth and nobility (Raaflaub, 1996: 140). Men who were non-slave, older than eighteen, and registered any deme have equal rights to participate in state affairs. They had the right to participate in voting and speaking in the Assembly on equal terms (Raaflaub, 1996: 142). Citizens of Athens have the right to put their views about political issues into words. They could bring forward their ideas and suggestions about the recommendations that had made by the Council in the Assembly. They had equal rights in this regard. To put views into words equally was defined as ideology and practice of *parrhesia*, which means free and equal speech in the *es mason*, which was the Assembly (Wallace, 1996: 106).

---

the rich to find an alternative form of dependent labor. The poor replaced with the slaves for production of basic needs in Athens. She states that the free time of the poor was won at the expense of slave labour for the rich (1988: 73). In other words, with the emergence of democracy, annihilation of political subjection of the poor in terms of dependency, increased slavery. In this regard, Wood says that slavery should not be seen as the productive base of democracy, rather it was a form of dependency that encouraged by the system (2018: 125). For Wood, it is not about the leisure time necessary for the participation to the political activities that relegated slavery with the production of the needs, rather it was based on the change about the previous relationship of dependency between the rich and the poor (2018: 95). Slaves were working in the mines, agriculture, and households. In her book *Citizens to Lord: A Social History of Western Political Thought From Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, she shows that “in the golden age of the democracy, according to some estimates, there may have been as many as 110,000 slaves out of a total Attic population of 310,000” (2011: 47). As it is seen in these numbers, slave population was essential and played important role for the Athenian economy.

It was conceptualized as direct democracy in which all policies were decided by votes of citizens in the Assembly by Amemiya (2004: 61).

Public democracy was not only operated in the Assembly and Council. It was also put into practice in the court. Citizens had the equal right of prosecuting any cases as they regarded interests of the community. All citizens had equal opportunity to prosecute (Osborne, 2010: 174). The most famous case in the history of democratic Athens was Socrates' case conducted under the leadership of Meletus in 399 B.C. As it is known, Socrates was accused of committing the crime of impiety against the gods of Athens and "poisoning" the youth with his impetuous ideas. Based on these accusations, the court decreed to execute Socrates in 399 B.C.

Although it is argued that the politics of Athens was open to all citizens, it is pointed out that politics was dominated by the wealthy (Osborne, 2010: 220). In parallel with Osborne, Roberts asserts that in democratic Athens, political power was gathered in the hands of the wealthy (1996: 189). From this point of view, it seems necessary to ask the question like Scafuro (1996: 4) puts forward that what social inequalities do these rights equality in front of the law, equal access to the state power, freedom of speech, equal opportunity to prosecute a case exacerbate? In other words, the question is whether equality among citizens is fiction?

Despite the existence of officially accepted ideology of free speech, Roberts argues that someone who attempted to speak something against the existing economic structure of the Athens in the Assembly was not allowed to speak on (1996: 189). He was shouted down by the wealthy. For Roberts, this restraint shows that bulk of political power in Athens was concentrated in the hands of those who were not poor (1996: 189). Under these circumstances, there remained two options in front of the citizens that were shouted down in the Assembly: either they would apply self-censorship, or they would enter into a conflict with existing power groups in the Assembly. The second option, which was (internal) conflict, prevailed over the first option.

The main reason behind this conflict was that although democracy officially provided the citizens with access to the political sphere, it could not have made redistribution of wealth possible. As Raaflaub emphasizes, the power that the poor had was not used to change Athens' economic structure and redistribute the wealth equally contrary to traditional economic inequalities (1996: 154-5). According to Amemiya, as a solution, in order to prevent a potential revolt, the wealthy class donated part of their wealth regularly, and in return, the poor supported their motions submitted in the Assembly (2004: 61). Moreover, Amemiya defines this relationship as mutual giving, and it was seen as one of the most important ways to evade the contradictions (2004: 61).

In addition to mutual giving, this conflict was tried to be solved in the ideological sphere simultaneously. Athenian official ideology included autochthonic representations which tried to produce the image of the superiority of Athens and Athenian identity over other Greeks. However, Athenian identity was not given or obtained as a result of a being born into Athens; rather, this autochthonic identity should have been constructed and reconstructed by way of shared language, myths, and cults (Connor: 1994: 41). The tension arising from the conflict between the wealthy and the poor was aimed to be defused by way of autochthonic representations of Athens and Athenians, and of socially patterned practices it organized. Also, Athens was defined as a community of *metrioi* (middling men), which referred to a community of restrained, sensible men tied together by *philia* (Morris, 1996: 22). The representation of Athenians – as middling men – was presented as another distinctive feature of Athens and it was expected from the citizens to act and think in a restrained and sensible way among each other. Both the ideology of autochthony and the representation of Athens as the community of middling men functioned to prevent the conflict by way of presenting the social relations without contradictions.

Pericles' Citizenship Law (451 B.C.) contributed to the enlargement of the arrogance of Athenians. According to this law, Athenian citizenship was determined on the basis of marriage with an Athenian woman. By doing so, Pericles provided another basis for Athens to advertise their difference from other Greeks. For Osborne,

Pericles' law was primarily a symbolic statement, and it had an effect on how Athenians symbolized their own identity (2010: 251), how they experienced the world. Through the new representation of family, Pericles reinforced the idea of Athenians' superiority. By this law, another determining basis for how an Athenian should experience the social reality had been proposed. The law provided Athenians to claim that they had pure blood, and they were successors of real Greek blood.

Besides, Pericles' Citizenship Law was enacted to keep ongoing conflict out of sight. Main reasons behind why Pericles declared the Citizenship Laws were an increase in population and a limited amount of land. In this way, he aimed to impose a limitation on being an Athenian citizen to decrease the ongoing tension emerging between Athenian social classes because of the limited amount of land and the increase in population. Nevertheless, as long as unequal distribution of wealth and land maintains, the tension was not defused, and Athens had felt themselves resorted to colonizing other cities based on the representation of the pure bloodedness.

According to Karatani, Athens resorted to colonizing other Greek cities to solve the internal conflict. He says that Athens' direct democracy was based on domination over and plundering of other Greek cities (2018: 141). As it was indicated, there was no redistribution of wealth equally. Nonetheless, new resources were tried to be appropriated by way of colonization to solve the internal conflict that had become more evident and intensive in consequence of the limited amount of land and increase in population. However, this colonization process culminated in the Peloponnesian War that lasted between the years of 431 B.C. and 404 B.C. Despite the cease-fire made by Spartans, Athens insisted on waging war, and it lost the war against the Peloponnesian League. In consequence, Athens came under the rule of the Spartan League.

In 411 B.C., Four Hundred oligarchs took over the government, but in a year, democracy was re-established again. In 403 B.C., the Committee of Thirty Tyrants was appointed by Spartan League to govern Athens. However, the government of this committee as well lasted only for a year. A rebellion, under the leadership of

democrats, those who were exiled soon after Thirty Tyrants coming to power, broke out, and the state was taken under control by democrats again.

That was the environment out of which Plato started to engage in philosophy. Through philosophy, he tried to find an effective solution against ongoing disorder and internal conflict. His philosophy provided him a basis for the anti-imaginary model of the community composed of completely different representations of social relations based on different social formation compared to the democratic ideology of democratic Athens. As it will be shown, the Platonic model organizes socially patterned practices differently than the democratic one in order to make the social formation that he defines in the *Republic* sustainable. He pledges an ordered, harmonious ideal state to the Athenians in the pages of the *Republic*.

### **3.2. Sophists: The Masters of Rhetoric**

Sophists were caught by the radar of Plato due to their antagonistic approach against philosophy, like classical poets. He putted them in the same pot in this regard. Sophists rejected absolute, objective character of the truth and believed in relative character of the knowledge. For sophists knowledge can be obtained through the competitive clashes among the individuals. They reduced philosophy into the clashes among individuals instead of obtaining absolute, objective knowledge through the method of dialectic. Contrary to Platonic epistemological difference lying behind the Platonic hierarchical social formation and order, sophist epistemology equates all citizens living in the *polis* with respect to participating the clashes and obtaining the knowledge.

As aforesaid, with the emergence of democracy, all citizens had the right to express their opinions about public issues. However, citizens had never experienced speaking in the public sphere. Before democracy, only aristocrats and/or member of noble families had had the right to opine on public issues. From the moment of emergence of democracy on, monopoly of these specific classes on the speech has ended. For the purpose of expressing themselves well in the agora in the presence of the audience,



citizens of democratic Athens felt themselves obliged to take lessons on the rhetoric. To take such a lesson has become like a necessity. As İnel argues, obligation about learning rhetoric has not been only related to speaking well in the agora; rhetoric has also been in demand and a necessity for the citizens who was trying to take their possessions seized by the tyranny back through a judicial process (2018: 122). These reasons have increased the significance of the speech. As Baştürk indicates, speech was at the center of life in a democracy and that is why the demand for rhetoric has increased (2019: 117).

Those who taught rhetoric were Sophists. It might be possible to say that Sophists are the children of democracy. They have emerged in the context of democracy. They were teaching the knowledge about rhetoric and art of politics. According to Zeller, those who aspire to participate in the public life should have passed through the education process of sophists (2008: 111). They went from a city to another one as a bagman to educate the citizens about rhetoric and art of politics in return for some amount of money. That is the reason why Plato labelled them as a huckster or merchant of knowledge in the *Protagoras* (1996: 313C). However, this knowledge was a necessity for the citizens to play a role in politics. As Copleston indicates, it was not possible for the citizens to draw the attention of audiences to their speaking unless they do not express themselves well (2009: 77). In those days, Sophists were seen as the “right address” to improve the skills of expression.

Rhetorically good speaking was also important owing to the fact that it has provided Athenians with the ground of distinguishing themselves from “barbarians” in line with the ideology of autochthony. Therefore, those who have had the right to speak in the agora, named *agorates*, have had to give priority to the form of their speech more compared to the content of their speech. According to Baştürk, Greeks had praised those who have expressed themselves well in the agora (2019: 119). That is to say, the degree of acceptance of the opinion presented by a speaker in the agora was based on the degree of the praises he received during the speech. For this reason, the formal impressiveness of the speech had a determining power on the destiny of the opinion in terms of whether the speech is received positively or not. Speakers

performing their speech on the platform play on the other citizens' sense organs. In other words, he plays to the audiences.

Sophists have denied the objective and absolute character of the knowledge/truth that individuals must agree on. Rather, they have argued that knowledge has a relative character and it depends on the sense organs of individuals. Thus, those who had been educated by them have tried to make their audiences accept what they had said within the scope of their speech. Instead of obtaining an objective and an absolute result on the knowledge through the process of agora meetings, citizens put forward their individual opinions and try to make audiences persuade of truthfulness of their opinions. For this purpose, they should have impressed the audiences by giving an aesthetic appearance to their speech.

Problematization of truth has undergone a change with the emergence of Sophists. For them, there has been no absolute truth that could be knowable contrary to the changeable phenomenal world. In other words, for Sophists, knowledge can only be obtained from sensible things. They have had a strong skepticism on the absoluteness of the knowledge. For this reason, they have brought established ideas on the knowledge into question. In the light of philosophical relativism, Protagoras, one of the most important sophist figures, has drawn attention to the principle of *homo mensura* which puts emphasis on the human being as a measure of all of the things. As Baştürk says, for Sophists truth has not been considered as independent of the individuals who understand and give a meaning to it (2019: 108). Therefore, the human being does not have a passive role in the process of the emergence of the truth. Human being is the only source or measure of the truth. According to Baştürk, existence or non-existence of the truth is based on the intention of human beings (2019: 108). This was an onto-epistemological break from previous knowledge system, and there was not a type of truth that predetermines the intention of the human being in the process of obtaining the truth anymore. Knowledge has not been thought as something given or already-there for Sophists, instead, it could and must be obtained by way of sense organs. That is why Baştürk says the truth turned into field and matter of clashes among individual arguments (2019: 110).

For Sophists, knowledge emerges as a result of the competitive clashes among the individuals ending up with acceptance on an argument propounded through the performance of the speaker. That is to say; knowledge has not been seen as eternal; its composition could change on the basis of the results of the clashes among individuals. By doing so, Sophists have turned philosophy into a clash among arguments contrary to tracing the objective, absolute and eternal truth. In parallel with this argument, Insel argues that moral values approached as absolute have been bought into question (2018: 123). Because it has been started to propound that moral values are the creation of human beings too. As long as human being is the only measure of all things, moral values as well could undergo a change in line with the domination of different arguments stated in the discussions.

In parallel with moral values, for Sophists, it has not seemed possible to bring forward any claim about absolute law. Like moral values, laws are a human creation. The character of laws depends on the community or the relationship among the individuals who are members of a specific community. Thus, for Sophists, it differs from one community to another one. As Guthrie indicates, this claim has been supported through the concrete observations of Athenians in the colonial process and their trade with other countries (1999: 75). Different than previous philosophy, human beings have had the power of determining the truth, law, and moral values. That is why Baştürk argues that from the emergence of sophism on, cosmological order and structure have been started to be defined and named by human beings (2019: 129). It has a relative character since it depends on the perceptions of the individuals derived from sense organs and differ.

Sophism represented a specific form of subjectivity. Those who had been educated by them and impressed by them have experienced the world independent of the idea of absolute truth. Instead of striving for tracing and obtaining the absolute, permanent truth, subjects constructed within the frame of sophism, have approached to the knowledge in a way that it totally depends on or derives from their perceptions in the light of the principle of homo mensura. There was no external, intangible truth determining the mind and actions of the individuals anymore. All subjects could take

part in the process of truth production emerging in the conclusion of discussions among them. For Sophists, the objectivity of this truth is based on the consensus arising after the discussions. However, it has been seen as changeable and depicted as short-term. Therefore, together with sense organs, speech/discussion is another fundamental precondition for the emergence of the truth. In other words, the truth could come into existence or become apparent in the process of clashes among individuals. Sophists' approach to politics and rhetoric should not be considered as separated from the sophist philosophy and its understanding of knowledge. It has created specific individuals that take part in the process of knowledge construction as an *agorates* by "liberating" the truth from the ages-long dominance of aristocratic nobility on the appropriation of the truth. Sophism had a critical position against the reductive attitude of aristocracy on the issue of truth. It attempted to terminate authority of aristocracy in the discursive and intellectual realms. This attempt was a necessity. Because, as Wood says, existing discourse could have no longer be taken for granted to deal with political principles (2011: 89). Thus, sophism opened aristocratic truth up for discussion. In this regard, Kranz says that the effect of sophism on the Athenian citizens was partaking of a revolutionary (1994: 192). Thus, it seems possible to say that sophists set out to a process of interpellation that contributed to the production of the subject of democracy, different than aristocratic one, especially in discursive and intellectual realms. The hail coming from the sophists on the ground of democracy was open to multiple, changeable appropriation of the truth.

This individually appropriated character of the truth has become a big problem for Plato. It had not overlapped with the model that Plato has framed for the society. All citizens had had the right to assess the truth without considering their origins. Copleston explained Plato's anger against the Sophists in the way that sophism has shaken the foundations of the objectivity truth and moral values (2009: 88). There have not remained any upper references as a command or principle that organize society and determine the certain ways how to act and think for individuals. The citizens who had been educated by Sophists have started to play the role in the

construction of the truth and description of the actions that are compatible with this specific short-term truth. And, they have started to derive justification of their actions from a participatory knowledge production process.

For Sophists, the virtue of politics could have been taught; it has not been seen as ascriptive or natural. All citizens could be equipped with this virtue in consequence of the education given by Sophists. As Zeller indicates, for Lykophron, one of the famous figures of Sophism, all human beings are equal (2008: 124). That is to say, for Sophists, all citizens have equal birth. Even if unequal relationships had emerged and established over time, individuals could turn into equals again in the light of true education. For them, all individuals have equal rights to be a ruler, philosopher, king. And, they could have an equal chance as well as long as the monopoly of the aristocracy over education is ceased. They have neglected the link between lineage and social roles. According to Insel, by doing so, Sophists have aimed at putting an end to the monopoly of the aristocracy on the speech (2018: 124). On the other hand, Plato has taken to preclude this change moving in the direction of the subjective form of knowledge as a goal of his philosophy by putting his emphasis on the absolute, external, and permanent character of the knowledge. For Plato, if there is no absolute truth tantamount to absolute law, the order remains as a memory in the past. Sophists' anti-philosophical approach forms a basis for disorder. He thought that as long as all social roles intertwine or as long as individuals occupy the places that are not designated for them in society, society could not be administered well, and it could not escape from the disorder. Therefore, there should be an untouchable, non-appropriated truth over society. This untouchable truth should determine the direction of thinking and actions of the individuals. If it is so, the operation and future of society could become predictable.

For Plato, both sophism and classical poetry equate individuals living in the *polis*. While sophism does this within the realm of politics, classical poetry does the same thing in the cultural realm. According to Plato, classical poetic tradition provides individuals with the opportunity to imitate the any role that is not designated for them. As I will try to show, like sophists, poets are not interested in the objective, absolute

truth; rather, they focus on the phenomenal things. Rather than having the knowledge of being, they imitate changeable things perceived by the sense organs without having any knowledge about the imitated things. Anti-philosophical manner of sophism and poetry poses an obstacle in front of the Platonic hierarchical social formation. Therefore, these two traditions' dominance over the knowledge production process should have been annihilated for the good of society.

### **3.3. The Dominance of Poetry and/or Artistic Milieu**

In the late 5th century and the early 4th century, because of the low rate of alphabet literacy, poetry was counted as the only way of communication (Havelock, 2015: 102). To a considerable extent, poetry was occupying the heart of the Greek education system. Control of the Greek system of education was in the hands of poets. As Brownson emphasizes, the study of the poets lay at the basis of the whole Greek system of education (1897: 18-19).

In this period, the ethos and nomos of the community were brought in through poetry. Poets carried out the role of guidance for the community. They were not merely telling stories about the ancient heroes, wars, gods, etc. The stories told by poets included knowledge about ethics, politics, morality, history. In other words, poetry was shouldering responsibility as to carrying the source of essential knowledge between generations, and it was conducting the role of moral training for the community. As Murdoch says, poets had appeared before the emergence of philosophers and they had taken part in the process of circulation of teleological and cosmological knowledge between generations (2008: 10).

The myths/poems told by poets are composed of cosmological and teleological elements<sup>21</sup>. By way of these myths – after the process of modification of the myth in

---

<sup>21</sup> In the *Work and Days*, Hesiod presents one of the most striking examples of this kind of poetry. To serve as an example, it might be useful to check out the passage he wrote in the book: “The race of men that the immortals who dwell on Olympus made, first of all, was of gold. They were in the time of Kronos when he was king in heaven, and they lived like gods, with a carefree heart, remote from toil and misery. Wretched old age did not affect them either, but with hands and feet ever unchanged,

line with the time and space – an imaginary model including cosmological order was tried to be translated into the world. Not only the content of the myth was tried to be translated in the translation process, but also, the regularity among the parts of the content of myths was tried to be protected in the course of the translation process and it was tried to be reflected onto the world. Besides, as it is understood, they were imported from a sheltered and generally transcendental, a-historical plane. In this regard, Yalçınkaya argues that they were seen having a-historical character because only by this way existence of the order and unity depicted in the myths could be protected and kept away from any intervention (2005: 234). This precludes multi - translation of the myths. Plus, these representations are taken into possession in the multiple ways which result in a far cry from the social formations expected to be reproduced via myth.

In the context of 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Athens, this process was conducted by way of impersonation, out of which specific heroic characters' thoughts and patterns of actions were imitated. The words and acts belonging to these characters were imitated by the poet and there was an expectation from audiences to repeat these words synchronously and acts like what poets imitated during the performance. In the course of impersonation, poets applied to extreme physical and emotional motions. Emotional reactions compatible with physical ones made the recollection of the poem effective. Such kind of a style of storytelling process made the repetition and memorability of the text that the poet performing easier. The more emotional and physical reactions it arouses, the more the poet and the exhibited poem would be regarded as effective.

Audiences were tried to be brought under the hypnotic influence of the poem throughout the performance of impersonation with the aim of obtaining success in terms of an effective recollection. However, rather than loading the concept of

---

they enjoyed themselves in feasting beyond all ills, and they died as if overcome by sleep. All good things were theirs, and the grain-giving soil bore the fruits of its own accord in unstinted plenty, while they at their leisure harvested their fields in contentment amid abundance.”  
Hesiod (1988: 53).

impersonation with pejorative, condemned imputations due to its hypnotic influence, it should be said that it had a productive, tangible effect ideologically. The cosmogony-based stories poet tells and the psychosomatic mechanism they trigger on the side of audiences served as a model of acting and thinking in a specific way in the translation process. Together with this, it was seen as an instrument of cultural continuity (Havelock, 2015: 63). It was the only instrument that made cultural continuity possible and by way of which the model on the community was protected, schematized, and reproduced. As Ciliz says, every meeting between the poet and audiences provides a basis for the refreshing and reproduction of cultural and traditional heritage (2016: 277).

Nevertheless, the foremost mission of the poets was to give audiences a charge. The cultural and social reflections of this process emerge as a by-product of this process. To put it differently, the successfulness of the poet was not evaluated on the basis of the capacity of his model to schematize individuals' relationship with their conditions of existence; rather it was based on whether he gave the audiences a charge or not. At the same time, audiences, as well, did not expect from the poets to give a lecture on moral training and essential knowledge for the community; their criterion of success as well completely took shape whether the impersonation performance of the poet gave them a charge or not. According to Havelock, the poet could have gotten respect from the audiences, if and only if, insofar as he gave them a charge (2015: 157). In this regard, Yetişken claims that the audiences did not see whether the story had been true or false, rather they had been interested in the special charge story gives them (2016: 235). At the same time, as it is shown as a criterion of success *as supra*, the training process could only become effective insofar as it gave charge (Havelock, 2015: 164).

In the process of impersonation, the lives of heroic characters are exhibited to become a basis or a model for audiences (Havelock, 2015: 170). Their lives correspond to important stock, including the sequences about civic virtue, family life, social life, ethics, and politics. That is the reason why Keyser says the animating theme of this education [which is under the monopoly of poetry] is a civic virtue, not a



philosophical training (1973: 509-510). At the same time, these characters whose acts and thoughts are imitated during the impersonation process are expressed as eternal, immortal, and generally, they are chosen among significant political figures (Havelock, 2015: 175). The model represented in the hands of poets can produce a large-scale effect on audiences and the community in this way.

According to Plato, poetic tradition is an example of how to impersonate a role without a piece of knowledge about it (2018: 598a). As Robertson argues, for him, the very example of impersonation was seen within the scope of state affairs (1936: 146). Under the democratic regime, an Athenian individual could have a role in the government without looking at whether he has capability about this position or not. They were uneducated masses that had an equal chance with those who are educated with regard to taking any position in the government. As above stated, that is the main reason why Plato criticized Athenian democracy (Lange, 1936: 482). It means “equality for unequals”, which was satirized in the Book Ten of *The Republic* by Plato<sup>22</sup>.

However, despite Plato’s critique, as long as there was a low rate of alphabet literacy, absence of another way of communication, and the specific heroic characters it possesses, there remains no hindrance in front of it to be the authority about determining the ways on how to experience the world. That is to say; these factors automatically turn it into a major authority in terms of the production of knowledge, which is essential for any community to operate. In parallel with this, Allen says that the impersonation process had an effective power to shape the lives and minds of Greeks (2011: 135). The authority it has, makes the hail it addresses toward audiences stronger and more effective.

Considering all these discussions, the ideological function that poetry conducts draws the attention. It conducts a practico-social function by directing the process of subject constitution necessary for the reproduction of existing social reality. It creates a

---

<sup>22</sup> Plato (2018). *The Republic* (3rd edition). (Ed. by Ferrari, G., R., F.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 252-284

pattern that shapes the way audiences experience the world. In other words, as Bloom says, poets should be taken as the makers of horizons constituting the limits of men's view (1991: 351). Through the subject constitution, poetry (re)organizes and shows socially patterned practices essential for the continuation of existing social reality.

The representations, including heroic characters' lives, should be transformed and re-schematized repeatedly on the basis of the specific context that audiences live in. This re-schematization/re-translation supports audiences' capacity to cope with the opacity of the system they live in. As Althusser says, ideology, as a coherent and schematized form of representation, provides people with the necessary knowledge to be able to answer to their conditions of existence (2015: 288). Thus, in Althusserian sense, to make people answer their conditions of existence, poets who are the member of classical poetry submit their models, which, at the same time, should be updated in line with the specific time and space. Such kind of practico-social function it conducts provides audiences with a sense of obviousness about the relationship between them and their condition of existence which is schematized and modelled by way of poems under cover of heroic characters. As Wingrove says, the creation of a sense of obviousness is the elementary ideological effect (1999: 878). In other words, it is *the effect* of ideology. As aforementioned, the first and foremost effect of ideology as such is that it turns the relationship that people are establishing with their conditions of existence into obvious, natural. Every form of society, despite the differences based on historical social relations, needs an imaginary ideological model on social relations embedded in it to make an existing form of relationship sustainable. Only out of the emergence of an ideological model, social reality becomes understandable for people. According to Althusser, through the sense of obviousness, audiences/subjects start to experience the world as if their own world (2015: 285). That is to say, the hail made by the poetry have structural, material effects on audiences; it should be considered as a way of interpellation of ideological structure which imposes itself on audiences as if something obvious and shapes the actions and thoughts of subjects so as to reproduce existing social formation.

For Plato, in order to ameliorate the degenerated *polis*, a model derived from the world of ideas, that is equalized to a cosmogony-based world of order and regularity, should be translated into the context of the *polis*. This translation will change the form of the city and put an end to the disorder that has continued for many years. For this, he set on the work by trying to lower the poet's prestige. He accused classical poetic tradition of perpetuating the ongoing disorder that has appeared in Athens. Therefore, the great impact or authority of classical poetry should be destroyed without delay.

According to Plato, the ideology of autochthony underwhelmed to overcome the problems, and there should have been another schema of reality that ensures the necessary order for Athens. As it will be shown in the next chapter, Plato presents the model of ideal state based on a strict division of labor. This model could only work insofar as the individuals could be experts in specific jobs designated for them. For this reason, Plato tried to strengthen the model with myths. He selected myths for the reason that he was aware of the power of myths to change or have an impact on audiences' panorama of imagination. In other words, myths will play a vital role in the process of construction of the ideal state in the context of the *polis*.

The context that is tried to be shown above had an impact upon Plato's views and the break he carried out against the classical poetic tradition. If I may say so, he traced the back of the ongoing disorder in Athens, and he diagnosed the crux of the problem as classical poetic tradition. He saw an onto-epistemological break from the existing tradition as a necessity to experience the world differently. He showed the ways how it should be experienced through the myths he used. Like democratic regime, once again citizens act without knowledge; however, this time they will act in line with the instructions coming from those who have knowledge of truth, and they will be oriented to concentrate upon the occupations assigned for them in compliance with the naturally given ability and capacity they have. Otherwise, not to act in direction with the capacity they have will lead to disorder again. Simply because, for Plato, in a degenerated city, like democratic Athens, words and actions of citizens as well will be loaded with degenerated, personal desires and demands contrary to demanding

and desiring happiness of the whole city. But it is necessary to say that happiness does not refer to emotional well-being; rather, it points out the realization of justice referring to acting in line with the division of labor contrary to fluid and changeable character of the democratic regime, and to specialization on labor instead of a taking part in the multiple types of works. It seems helpful to end this chapter by making two citations from *The Republic* in pursuance of making explicit what he means and how he envisages the division of labor:

Our men do not have a dual or manifold nature since each of them performs only one task we shall find a shoemaker who is only a shoemaker, and not a ship's captain as well as a shoemaker, a farmer who is only a farmer, and not a juryman as well as a farmer, a soldier who is only a soldier, and not a businessman as well as a soldier, and the others the same (2018: 397de)

...each individual should be assigned to the one task he is naturally fitted for, so that by applying himself to his own one task each may become a single person rather than many people, and in this way the entire city may grow to be a single city rather than many cities (2018: 423d).

## CHAPTER 4

### PLATO'S HAIL TO THE ATHENIANS

In this chapter, first of all, I will try to show the reasons why Plato needs to put the myths on the paper. I will argue that he wrote in pursuance of suspending the dominance of classical poetic tradition. He wrote for the reason to put an end to the domination of inferior, emotional, passionate parts of the human psyche, arising from the classical poetic tradition, over the reason. He regards, this domination is as a significant ethical crisis for the *polis*. For this reason, he saw changing the way of both symbol-making and its contents crucial. In this regard, he put the model/symbol which is produced by philosophers on the basis of knowledge (world of ideas) against the model created by existing poetic tradition based on senses and changeable objects. It is the philosopher that is seen worthy of producing the models because of the fact that philosopher naturally has the capacity to obtain the knowledge of the being. The model that philosopher exhibits will provide audiences with visible access to divine order and show how people should act to become different from imitating the sensible things. As will be shown, by copying the divine order into the models, he aims at the reduction of the divine order into the context of the *polis* as much as possible. This is because, for Plato, his models are the condition for both visibility and knowability of the intelligible.

In the second part of the chapter, I will try to show Plato's onto-epistemological break against the classical poetic tradition. Plato approaches knowledge utterly different from existing poetic tradition. First, he counts the ideas as the object of knowledge in opposition to sensible things; second, he brings forward that the knowledge is embedded in the soul of individuals. It is uncovered by way of the process of *anamnesis* (recollection). As will be shown in the following sections, ideas are not the creation of the mind; they have separate existence on their own. For Plato, the

soul has knowledge of *episteme*. However, because of being confined to material body belonging to the world of becoming, it falls into forgetting the *episteme* he experienced before the worldly life. And, contamination by living in a material world prevents obtaining the knowledge of *episteme* in the phenomenal world; thus, in the sensible world, there remains no option other than to approximate the *episteme*. It will be pointed out that only philosophers could realize the process of approximation due to their nature-given capacity. However, the privileged position philosopher has with regard to the relationship with knowledge amounts nothing on its own. It should be crowned by the emergence of political formation. He thought that subjects of this new political formation would accept and treat the world of ideas as the object of knowledge. It is going to be discussed later that the existence of ideas can make sense insofar as it extends itself into the world of change by way of another subjection that does not regard anymore phenomenal appearances as the being. Only as a result of another political formation established on the basis of the world of ideas, the ideal world can turn into a standard, parameter to which sensible world can reorganize itself by copying perfect order among the parts of it. For the very reason, Plato charges the philosopher with the role of making leadership of establishment of this kind of political formation. By doing so, as it will be discussed in the last section of the chapter, he aims at the preservation of his political model based on nature-given class differences among citizens, which derived from the relationship among the ideas. It will be shown that for Plato if philosopher achieves to change political formation, it provides individuals to be freed from the captivity in the cave that they have been experiencing for centuries.

In the third part of the chapter, Plato's Republic, which is an anti-model of existing worldly models, will be taken up. It will be shown that because of contamination in the world of objects, no state could be organized as the mirror image of the ideal state, and therefore the best state in the context of the sensible world could only be established by approximating (as much as possible) to the idea of the state. To approximate the ideal world means to what extent the idea of justice, which refers to regularity, order, and hierarchy among the different parts of ideas in the ideal world, could be actualized in the sensible world in the form of the social division of labor.

Therefore, the first and foremost criterion of the best state in the sensible world is whether a citizen act within the boundaries of designated place for him or not. However, what is more important and comes first for Plato is the sovereignty of the reason for the emotional part of the psyche. Simply because this sovereignty will keep the citizens within the boundaries of the roles designated for them, it will be said that ethics is prior to politics for Plato.

In the last section of the chapter, I will try to shed light on the role of myths and the Platonic symbol-making process, and I will point out the importance of the symbols for Plato to make citizens behave within the frame of the roles designated for them. In other words, I will try to show the ideological role that symbols conduct about presenting an imaginary model shaped in the light of the best state. In this regard, I will focus primarily on the Phoenician Tale. It is the model through which the ideal world is tried to be translated into the changeable world. By way of this tale, it will be said that Plato shows citizens how to establish relations with their conditions of existence utterly different from existing poetic tradition. And, despite being a (noble) lie, it is designed to determine the way of how citizens act in line with the strict social division of labor in a concrete, productive manner. To put it differently, symbols that Plato produces will be analyzed as the instrument of interpellation throughout which process specific subjects are produced to make them understand and interpret the world following the division of labor and in order to equip them with the knowledge necessary for specific social formation.

#### **4.1. Why Did Plato (Need to) Write Down the Myths on the Paper?**

Plato dubbed those who imitated phenomenal appearances as *mim êikos*. Any work belonging to *mim êikos* is a product of ignorance called *doxomimetike* or merely mimetic. It is created under the shadow of the improper model (sensible world) and thus can only grasp small and sensible parts of each thing called as *eikon*<sup>23</sup> (ε'κον).

---

<sup>23</sup> This Greek term refers to mere copy or shadow of the being.

In other words, poets conduct the process of imitation without having the knowledge of what they are imitating. In this regard, in the Book Ten of the *Republic* he says that

the art of imitation is a far cry from the truth. Apparently, the reason it can make everything is that it grasps just a little of each thing - and only an image at that. We say the painter can paint us a shoemaker, for example, or a carpenter, or any of the other craftsmen. He may know nothing of any of these skills, and yet, if he is a good painter, from a distance his picture of a carpenter can fool children and people with no judgment because it looks like a real carpenter. (2018: 598c)

What the poet does is portrayed by Plato as *eikazō*<sup>24</sup> (ε'κάζο) which refers to an activity starting with and ending in an illusion full of ambiguous images. For Plato, the poet's work is counted as a further distortion of distortion, and for this reason, poetry is considered as thrice removed from reality. It is conducted without having a piece of knowledge about that which is imitated. As Plato puts it, the art of mimesis corresponds to "union with what is inferior" (2018: 603b).

Merely mimetic imitation prompts bodily desires and pleasures by arousing the irrational part of the psyche, and simultaneously, it prompts psychosomatic mechanisms as well. It prevents individuals from using their minds and developing the mechanism of self-control against bodily impulses. According to Plato, the ongoing tradition of poetry paralyzes the reason and feeds the feelings with a diet of phantasy. In other words, this kind of poetry feeds the passionate, emotional part of the human psyche. This activity confines audiences to the world of senses in consequence of what the reason becomes deactivated, and irrational, pathological fields of the psyche become active. For Plato, it leads to an intrapsychic conflict in the soul and breaks down the soul's harmony. He says that

His [mimetic poet] concern is with the fretful, variegated character, because that is the one which is easy to imitate. So we'd be justified now in taking him and putting him on a par with the painter. His products, like the painter's, are inferior by comparison with the truth, and he resembles him also in associating with an inferior part of the soul, not with the best part. By rights, therefore, we ought not to admit him into a city which is going to be well governed, since it is an inferior part of the soul that he arouses and feeds, and by making this strong destroys the rational part. It is the same with a city. If you give power to those who are bad, and hand the city

---

<sup>24</sup> This term is verb form of the *eikon*.



over to them, you destroy those who are better. In exactly the same way, we shall say, the imitative poet sets up a bad regime in the soul of each individual, gratifying the senseless part of it (2018: 605abc)

For Plato, classical poetic tradition, in addition to breaking the harmony of the soul, harms the organization and order of the city. The dominance of classical poetry means turning the city to the nest of those who bring forward the inferior, irrational part of the soul rather than reason. When it is considered from the viewpoint of Platonic frame, this negative effect of classical poetry becomes a valid ground for Plato to banish classical poets from the city.

Also, for Plato, classical Greek poetry depicts the gods as miserable and weak. This depiction as well has a negative influence on the youths who are future citizens of the *polis*. For him, such kind of a representation of the gods brings the youth into doubt about the power of the gods. In Book Two of the *Republic* he explains negative aspects and effects of classical poetry on the youth with these words:

There is the very ugly falsehood told of how Ouranos did the things Hesiod says he did and how Kronos in his turn took his revenge on him. As for what Kronos did, and what his son did to him, even if they were true I wouldn't think that in the normal course of events these stories should be told to those who are young and uncritical...as the children get older, we must compel our poets to tell stories similar to these. As for the binding of Hera by her son, the hurling of Hephaestus out of heaven by his father, for trying to protect his mother when she was being beaten, and the battles of the gods which Homer tells us about, whether these stories are told as allegories or not as allegories, we must not allow them into our city. (2018: 378a-d)

According to Plato, if this pejorative depiction of god in the poems continues to influence the youth, tolerance of the city about disgraceful and annoying actions will increase day by day. In other words, as long as this kind of narration of the gods subsists, the city cannot escape from degeneration. The youth might easily justify their disgraceful actions by giving a reference to the gods in the way they are depicted in the poems. Thus, as Strauss indicates, gods should be presented as models of human excellence to which the youth can and must aspire (1987: 45).

Apart from this, for Plato, another harmful effect of classical poetry is what the poet tells is changeable, temporal; the presentation of the story might differ from one performance to another. According to Plato, this inconsistency shows its effects on

the psyche of audiences in the way that by drawing inspiration for such kind of model, their judgments as well will become inconsistent. Together with these, this inconsistency reflects itself upon the social life under the form of *stasis* which means permanent civil war due to temporal and changeable judgments and deactivation of reason.

In Book Seven of the *Republic*, Plato describes the mind which falls under the influence of classical poetry with these words (2018: 514a, 515ab):

Let me show in a figure how far our nature is enlightened or unenlightened: -- Behold! human beings living in a underground den ([cave]), which has a mouth open towards the light and reaching all along the den; here they have been from their childhood, and have their legs and necks chained so that they cannot move, and can only see before them, being prevented by the chains from turning round their heads. Above and behind them a fire is blazing at a distance, and between the fire and the prisoners there is a raised way; and you will see, if you look, a low wall built along the way, like the screen which marionette players have in front of them, over which they show the puppets...I said, men passing along the wall carrying all sorts of vessels, and statues and figures of animals made of wood and stone and various materials, which appear over the wall? Some of them are talking, others silent...Like ourselves, I replied; and they see only their own shadows, or the shadows of one another, which the fire throws on the opposite wall of the cave?

As Akdeniz points out, Plato tries to draw our attention to how mimetic poetry exhibits the world of shadows as real, and insofar as it does so without questioning, it cements existing structure (2016: 288). If we look closely, the allegory of the cave, as a stage, shows us how classical Greek poetry and the mind dabbling in it remove from the reality thrice. Plato remarks that identification process, ended up with an ethical crisis stemming from the failure to fulfil the self-control mechanism, poses a significant threat to city-state's social life. It paves the way for the illusion that everyone can carry out different social roles rather than allocating to everyone their permanent place in social. In this regard, he expresses the future of the poets in the *polis* with the following (2018: 398a):

Suppose, then, there were a man so wondrous wise as to be utterly versatile, able to imitate anything. If he came to our city wanting to perform his poems in person, it looks as if we would fall down before him, tell him he was sacred, exceptional and delightful, but then explain to him that we do not have men like him in our city, that it is not right for them to be there. We would pour myrrh over his head, garland him with woollen garlands, and send him on his way to some other city. For our

own good, we would content ourselves with a simpler, if less enjoyable, poet and storyteller, who can imitate the decent man's way of speaking, and model his stories on those patterns which we laid down at the beginning of our attempt to provide an education for our soldiers.

According to Plato, as aforementioned, imitation of phenomenal appearances on the basis of senses grasps only a small part of the being which is represented. He explains this as a distortion of what is already a distortion of the being. An unintelligent phantasma-maker, *mim êikos*, does not have the knowledge of what he represents. Thus, the model a *mim êikos* presents to the audiences will not be constructed on the basis of knowledge of reality; instead, it consists in a sensible world which is perceived differently, and so long as perspective changes, it will change too. For this reason, Plato indicates the model produced by an ignorant phantasma-maker as epistemologically worthless since it gets the audiences into delusiveness (Allen, 2011:72). Plato (2018: 598bc) explains the inconsistent character of the *mim êik ê* by the following words:

When you look at a couch from the side or from the front, or from anywhere else, does the couch itself change? Or does it stay the same, and merely look different? And the same with other things. I would imagine, the art of imitation is a far cry from truth. The reason it can make everything, apparently, is that it grasps just a little of each thing - and only an image at that. We say the painter can paint us a shoemaker, for example, or a carpenter, or any of the other craftsmen. He may know nothing of any of these skills, and yet, if he is a good painter, from a distance his picture of a carpenter can fool children and people with no judgment, because it looks like a real carpenter.

As he says, *mim êikos* can only “grasps just a little of each thing”; thus, his works are far from to present the reality as it is. It could not be wrong to say that there is no consistency among the works of classical poets as there is no criterion to gauge the reliability of them. Instead, they produce separate, perspective-based things which, for Plato, include a small part of things rather than demonstration of the being in their totality.

According to Plato, contrary to existing poetic tradition's practice, the poet should pave the way for participation in the divine model; the model that poet creates should contribute to getting touch with the unchanging principles of divine order. Contrary to sowing inconsistency, the poet should sow the seeds of healthy

symbols/representations into the audience's soul. For this, poets should apply to divine paradigm<sup>25</sup> which points out ideal realities as that which should be imitated in the sensible world. That is to say, against the inconsistency in the psyche of audiences, Plato offers another type of symbol production based on unchanging knowledge. Therefore, those who are deemed suitable for the production of symbols must already have the knowledge of the world of ideas as an archetype.

While classical poetic tradition's model is called as *doxomimetike*, Platonic type of model is dubbed as *historiken mimesis*<sup>26</sup> (ἱστορικὴν μίμησιν) which means the product of knowledge. According to Edelstein, the Platonic type of symbol making demands and accounts for integration of myth and philosophy (1949: 476). He tries to take symbol making under the control of philosophy and, by doing so, aims at influencing the audiences' acts. For this, as O'Connor says, he ventured on reforming the content of poetry (2007: 57). Therefore, first and foremost, classical poetry and its poets should be displaced from the position of the moral teacher (Brownson, 1897: 36). The new type of poetry produced under the light of philosophy and a new type of poet, who is a philosopher now, should dispossess the classical poet of the role of moral teacher. As Akdeniz says, this kind of change and dispossession will totally change how a poet establishes a relationship with the symbols (2016: 287).

Moreover, as Zovko brings forward, according to Plato, by way of reformation of myth, imitation will provide a basis for *homoiosis theoi* (becoming like a god) rather than being a changeable copy of sensible things (2018: 89). From now on, we are facing with the positive conception of the imitation, which is produced as a counterbalance to the negative influences of false mimetic models. The model poet exhibits will provide audiences with the chance of visible access to divine order. Plato stretches the rule about the existence of the poet in the *polis* and allows the poets to live in the *polis* insofar as they introduce how to act virtuously which means

---

<sup>25</sup> Tate, J. (1932). Plato and 'Imitation.' *The Classical Quarterly*. 26(3/4). 161-169

<sup>26</sup> As Collobert indicates, contrary to *doxomimetike*, *historiken mimesis* refers to images that are produced on the basis of knowledge (2012: 93).

acting within the boundary of the naturally determined division of labor contrary to *mim êikos*.

According to Allen, Plato was aware of the pragmatic importance of the symbols concerning shaping the view of imagination (2011: 124). As Collobert points out, Plato uses myths to make understanding easier; myths are visible, tangible expression of the intelligible (2012:94). For this reason, he gets down to produce symbols that are eligible for the ideal city and its citizens. That makes audiences to act within the boundaries of the designated and/or assigned place they are in. The example of the ship given by Socrates in the Book Six of the *Republic* sheds light on the pragmatic character of myth:

Imagine some ships, or one ship, and a state of affairs on board Something like this. There's the shipowner, larger and stronger than everyone in the ship, but somewhat deaf and rather short-sighted, with a knowledge of sailing to match his eyesight. The sailors are quarrelling among themselves over captaincy of the ship, each one thinking that he ought to be captain, though he has never learnt that skill, nor can he point to the person who taught him or a time when he was learning it... They don't even begin to understand that if he is to be truly fit to take command of a ship a real ship's captain must of necessity be thoroughly familiar with the seasons of the year, the stars in the sky, the winds, and everything to do with his art. As for *how* he is going to steer the ship — regardless of whether anyone wants him to or not — they do not regard this as an additional skill or study which can be acquired over and above the art of being a ship's captain. If this is the situation on board, don't you think the person who is genuinely equipped to be captain will be called a stargazer, a chatterer, of no use to them, by those who sail in ships with this kind of crew? (2018: 488 acd)

By way of making use of this myth, Plato tried to raise the question of what happens if there would be no division of labor. If those who are not masters of a ship navigate it, there would remain no chance for safe arrival. By an analogy, Plato likened ruling of a ship to the ruling of a state and pointed out that if those who are not capable of ruling the state take control of the state cannot get the right direction. As it will be discussed in detail, as a concretization of divine order, this myth was used to persuade the citizens of the significance of the division of labor for a city; he caricatured the situation in which the rule of division of labor is disregarded. In parallel with this argument, Akdeniz points out that myths play a crucial role in persuasion and

justification about establishing a copy of divine order in the sensible world (2016: 286).

Akdeniz continues by arguing that in Plato, poetry turns into the activity of the emancipation of audiences insofar as it is recreated and redefined on the basis of divine model (290). Emancipation, in Platonic sense, corresponds to acting in line with reason. Contrary to classical poetry, the passionate and emotional part of the human psyche becomes in the grip of reason, and control of reason is externalized from the human psyche to the city as the social division of labor. That is to say, imitation of world of ideas, which has pure order and hierarchy among its elements, amounts to reduction of the order and hierarchy first into the psyche of the individuals as a division of labor among parts of the psyche and second into the city in the form of division of labor among the citizens. On the other hand, classical poetry has no idea about how to organize a city in an ordered way (Espindola, 2017: 241). The reason behind is that as long as it leads to a significant disorder into the human psyche, it could not organize the city orderly. Therefore, his attack on poetry should be taken into consideration from the viewpoint of ethics. That is to say, an orderly organization of a city is totally based on the condition whether its citizens internalize the divine order or not. And, that is the reason behind why Plato aims at banishing of classical poetry from the *polis* (Partee, 1970: 221). Platonic model of poetry has a didactic purpose that is to take the lower parts of the psyche under the control of reason, or as Hight says drawing the souls upward (1922: 199) by facing the souls of audiences toward the world of ideas as a model brighten the sensible world with its light.

The myths Plato tells in the *Republic* are depicted as one of the ways of coming into contact with the world of ideas. These myths are the condition for both visibility and knowability of the intelligible. Nevertheless, due to partaking in the sensible world, a myth is an incomplete, impoverished copy of the object. But it shows how to approximate to the ideal model as a standard. As will be discussed in the next pages, in this sense Plato resorts to noble lie (*pseudo khresimon*<sup>27</sup>) which is useful in terms

---

<sup>27</sup> According to Allen, the point of noble lies is to tell citizens a story that will cause them to act as they would if they were, in fact, able to cognize the truth of justice. And, it provides a basis for the

of *peitharkia nomon speudaion* (obedience to noble laws). Rucker argues that even if they are not literally true, they are not false neither as long as they have a pragmatic effect on the organization of the city and have a positive impact on acting virtuously in the education of youth (1966: 168).

However, as Tarrant claims, the profound meaning of the symbols could not be understood on the first try; thus, superficial meaning should be familiar to the audiences to leave an impression on the soul of them (2012: 62). In addition, for Plato, citizens of the city do not have the same capacity to understand; only the philosopher has the capacity to perceive the world of ideas in the *polis*. The philosopher naturally has the capacity to obtain the knowledge of *episteme* and thus philosopher becomes sole authority to produce mythological symbols by copying the world of ideas. However, the only way to establish order and unity in the sensible world which is enlightened by the worlds of ideas possible – to a certain extent – is entirely conditional upon those whose souls' are headed towards the truth as a result of education of dialectic. By doing so, he aims at the transformation of the political regime of Athens (Nails, 2012: 5).

To recapitulate it all, the importance of the *Republic* is implicit in the new kind of line of thought or scheme driven by Plato which is promising different way of experiencing the world dissimilar to the tradition of poetry which has prevailed for many centuries and provided the Greeks with the guidance about ethics, politics and communal life. By this new kind of road map, Plato tried to make the division of labor settled, referring to a division between *techne*<sup>28</sup> (τεχνη) and *episteme*<sup>29</sup> (επιστημη), (as much as) possible only as a result of which, for him, the political regime he dreams about could be put into practice.

---

social hierarchy, harmonization of social classes, and social stability. See also, Allen, D., S. (2013). *Why Plato Wrote*. p.66 Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell

<sup>28</sup> In the frame of Plato, *techne* refers to the occupations identified with handcraft.

<sup>29</sup> It refers to mastership of the art of knowledge. In the distinction above, this term signifies field of occupation related to ability to reach the truth.

Different than classical poetic tradition, by putting the myths on the paper, he tried to take the meaning consumption patterns of the individuals under control. In the classical poetic tradition, myths had been appropriated differently by different individuals. In order to prevent multiple consumptions of the myths, he wrote them down to freeze the meaning. He considers this the only way of taking the political formation, he formulated in opposition to a democratic regime, under protection.

#### 4.2. Plato's Onto-Epistemological Break

Contrary to the classical poetry which identifies the subject with the object by way of impersonation, Plato made a great effort to separate knowing subject from the object. The object which is separated from the subject is named as idea or form, and it exists on its own. Unlike the object of traditional poetry, which is sensible, material, changeable and gotten through senses, ideas are abstract and intelligible. They cannot be learned by way of senses; rather, they can be experienced by way of reason through the process of *anamnesis*<sup>30</sup> (αναμνησ'σ) referring to recollection, remembrance.

Ideas are not the creation of the mind. The world of ideas called as *noetos topos*<sup>31</sup> (νοητος τοπος) is ontologically separated from the world of change consisting of phenomenal appearances, and it has a transcendental, higher reality beyond the world of change. Sensible things participate the forms, but as Devereux points out, forms do not separate among their participants (the phenomenon in the sensible world); they do not depend on participants' existence; they are numerically one (over many); and they do not change (2003: 84-85). According to Plato, since sensible things open

---

<sup>30</sup> In consequence of acceptance of the Pythagorean theory of reincarnation, *anamnesis* becomes the only way of theory of knowledge for Plato. For him, it is the proof of pre-existence of the soul; human being has the knowledge of ideas before coming to the earth. This theory is discussed in the *Phaidros* and the *Republic* in detail.

<sup>31</sup> This term refers to the realm of thinkable elements or object of thinking contrary to sensible objects.



to change, members of the world of changeable objects can only become pale copies of the ideas; as ideas do not undergo a change. For Murdoch, Plato tried to obtain a guarantee of reliability of the knowledge by doing so (2008: 12). As White indicates, sensible things participating in the forms may appear as non-F along with appearing as F<sup>32</sup> (2003: 109). Therefore, they are not reliable as a source of knowledge. In addition to what White says, as Arends remarks, Platonic ontology indicates that everything coming into being in the world of change inescapably will perish one day (1998: 32). However, on the contrary, ideas will not die out.

Ideas cannot be written or expressed in words; they exceed the structure of language. Rather, they are experienced as an outcome of the dialectic method, which is the last point of education, including music, gymnastics, geometry, mathematics, and dialectic. However, connecting with the world of ideas by way of the method of dialectic can only be achieved by a small number of people who are deemed as philosophers. Havelock indicates how dialectic works by these words: it turns the soul from the world of multiplicity [in which it is not possible to have knowledge because of its changeable character] to the unique (2015:262). In this regard, Plato says that

Education is not what some people proclaim it to be. What they say, roughly speaking, is that they are able to put knowledge into souls where none was before. Like putting sight into eyes which were blind. Whereas our present account indicates that this capacity in every soul, this instrument by means of which each person learns, is like an eye which can only be turned away from the darkness and towards the light by turning the whole body. The entire soul has to turn with it, away from what is coming to be, until it is able to bear the sight of what is, and in particular the brightest part of it. 'Education, then,' I said, 'would be the art of directing this instrument, of finding the easiest and most effective way of turning it round. Not the art of putting the power of sight into it, but the art which assumes it possesses this power — albeit incorrectly aligned and looking in the wrong direction - and contrives to make it look in the right direction.' (2018: 518cd)

To obtain the knowledge of forms which is *episteme* is not possible at all in the sensible world as long as those who are trying to reach the knowledge as well are the members of the sensible world since it is contaminated with the material, inferior

---

<sup>32</sup> While “F” accounts for the parts that sensible objects have a share from the thinkable object or form of the object, “non-F” stands for contaminated, earthly part of the sensible object.

copies of pure ideal archetypes. Instead, by way of education, especially of dialectic, those who can turn the true belief (*alethes doxa*) into the knowledge can approximate the *episteme*. That is to say; philosophers approximate to the *episteme* partially. As Yalçinkaya argues, the only option in the world of things is to approximate to what is abstract and conceptual (2005: 34). According to Plato, the soul has the knowledge of *episteme*, however, because of being confined to material body belonging to the world of change, it falls into *forgetting* the *episteme* he experienced before the world life. Therefore, it is not possible to reach *episteme* in this world. Instead, true belief can be turned into knowledge, which could be counted as an approximation to the *episteme*. To put it differently, the process of forgetting is conditional upon the sensible world. Nevertheless, as Ağaoğulları indicates, there is no absolute forgetting because the soul always takes part in the psyche (1994: 182). In the *Meno*, on recollection, Plato said that:

Given, then, that the soul is immortal and has been incarnated many times, and has therefore seen things here on earth and things in the underworld too—everything, in fact—there's nothing that it hasn't learnt. Hence it isn't at all surprising that it should be possible for the soul to recall what, after all, it also knew before about excellence and about everything else. For since all nature is akin and the soul has learnt everything, there's nothing to stop a man recovering everything else by himself, once he has remembered—or 'learnt', in common parlance— just one thing; all he needs is the fortitude not to give up the search. The point is that the search, the process of learning, is in fact nothing but recollection. (2005: 81d)

The knowledge in the soul can be recollected, especially by way of the action of *periagoge* belonging to the inclusive process of *anamnesis*. This kind of an epistemological process is fulfilled by way of establishing a correlation among the things resembling each other and among the things that do not even resemble each other. In the *Phaedo* Plato explain the process of *anamnesis* with these words:

We must have had knowledge of equality before the time when we first saw equal things and thought, ' All these things are aiming to be like equality but fall short... we have not gained knowledge of it, and that it is impossible to gain this knowledge, except by sight or touch or some other of the senses ? I consider that all the senses are alike... before we began to see or hear or use the other senses we must somewhere have gained a knowledge of abstract or absolute equality, if we were to compare with it the equals which we perceive by the senses, and see that all such things; yearn to be like abstract equality but fall short of it." (2005: 261)

Plato breaks the way of knowledge obtaining process conducted by classical Greek poetry. Through the world of change, the only way to approximate to the *episteme* depends on the process of *anamnesis*. Only those who take the *doxa* under the control of reason can recollect what is seen in the world of ideas. Philosophers have the capacity to turn the *doxa*, including in their souls, into knowledge. Epistemologically, they are in a privileged position, *as supra*, for their nature-given capacity on approximating to the *episteme* compared to the rest. What is recollected throughout this process already exists in the soul of philosopher<sup>33</sup>, but it will remain in the form of *doxa* unless it is converted into the knowledge. In *Meno*, Plato explains the importance of *doxa* with the following words:

True belief, then, is just as good a guide as knowledge, when it comes to guaranteeing correctness of action. This is what we were overlooking before, during our enquiry into the nature of excellence, when we were saying that knowledge is the only good guide of our actions. In fact, though, there's true belief as well... true belief is just as useful as knowledge... As long as they stay put, true beliefs too constitute a thing of beauty and do nothing but good. The problem is that they tend not to stay for long; they escape from the human soul and this reduces their value, unless they're anchored by working out the reason. And this anchoring is recollection (2005: 97cd-98a)

Epistemological capability belonging to only philosophers points out the political character of the process of *anamnesis*. According to Baştürk, truth gains a political character by way of this privileged capability (2019: 170). Simply because, as Cartledge sets forth, political practice based on Platonic ontology and epistemology is only for those who have the right intellectual equipment and pass the necessary tests successfully (2013: 127). This difference pertaining to the philosophers does not mean anything on its own; the epistemologically different and significant position of philosophers can only reach a significance insofar as it paves the way for different political formation than the existing one. The existence of ideas can make sense by way of another subjection that does not regard phenomenal appearances as the being anymore. Therefore, Baştürk says that idea constitutes the way through which the subjection process emerges properly (2019: 178). That is the only way through which

---

<sup>33</sup> This process is portrayed by way of the myth of Er who is a Pamphylian soldier and takes a journey to the world of souls. See, Plato (2006), *The Republic*, Book Ten

ideas can be opened to the existence in the world of change. In other words, ontology and epistemology of the truth, which is the world of ideas, will not mean something as long as politics of truth put into practice. He continues by saying that the true nature of idea can only be understood by way of the practice of transformation and reorganization of the social existence (2019: 244). The only way through which approximation to the ideal world in the world of change could be reached depends completely on a different subject that abides by the truth of the world of ideas contrary to the phenomenal world. Only by doing so, the world of ideas can turn into a standard, parameter to which sensible world participating it can reorganize itself by copying perfect order among the parts of the ideal world.

Baştürk argues that rather than an epistemological lack, a specific form of mental orientation pertaining to the specific form of political structure obfuscates to approach and to grasp the being that which is as the truth itself (200). Therefore, to sever all ties with the world of change or to give up treating the world of change as the source of knowledge refers to a process of emancipation. That is to say that the truth is no longer corresponding to the abstract knowledge of ideas. Rather, it refers to the context of essential order needed to be constituted in the world of change in order to be taken into consideration as the truth. The allegory of the cave could show us how this mental orientation works:

Let me show in a figure how far our nature is enlightened or unenlightened: -- Behold! human beings living in a underground den, which has a mouth open towards the light and reaching all along the den; here they have been from their childhood, and have their legs and necks chained so that they cannot move, and can only see before them, being prevented by the chains from turning round their heads. Above and behind them a fire is blazing at a distance, and between the fire and the prisoners there is a raised way; and you will see, if you look, a low wall built along the way, like the screen which marionette players have in front of them, over which they show the puppets...I said, men passing along the wall carrying all sorts of vessels, and statues and figures of animals made of wood and stone and various materials, which appear over the wall? Some of them are talking, others silent...Like ourselves, I replied; and they see only their own shadows, or the shadows of one another, which the fire throws on the opposite wall of the cave? (Plato, 2018: 514a-515ab)

Moravcsik propounds that the precise aim of human life is to understand the order and harmony that characterize the most fundamental part of reality (2000: 98). To

that end, it is necessary to stop the activity of treating the shadows as the reality for what there should be a political intervention that indicates another way of experiencing the world and acting in a totally different way. As Baştürk says, to approach the sensible world as the source of knowledge is the effect of existing political formation (201). In parallel with Baştürk, Aydın says that Plato draws our attention to the mediations in the sensible world that determine how to think and does not allow us to get in touch with reality (2011: 73). For this reason, passing from the ontology of the truth to politics of the truth emerges as a crucial necessity. Simply because the world of ideas can gain its ontological status insofar as it paves the way for the emergence of different political formation, subject of what will approach the ideas as the only source of knowledge. That is the way through which, as Tannenbaum depicts (2016: 51), the picture that the residents of the cave experience the world in the rock bottom and see only the shadows of the objects can change.

The reason why Plato tries to carry out the ontological truth in the sensible world by such kind of political way is explained by Plato as about the epistemological lack that is sealed to the souls of the large population of citizens of *polis* innately, in terms of approximating to the *episteme*. Because of the naturally given capacity; the philosopher is promoted to the leadership. Moreover, he is equipped with the mission to found unity and order in the sensible world as much as possible through the instrument of the symbolic models for those who cannot make contact with the ideas. In plain words, those who do not have the capacity to make any contact with the *episteme* will become no longer a problem in front of social order and unity imitating the order and unity in the world of ideas if Plato's political solution is put into practice.

#### **4.3. Plato's Political Solution: The Republic as "The Best" Socio-Political Formation**

The political solution against the cave takes its shape *in extenso* within the scope of the *Republic*. In this book, Plato describes the ideal political formation, derived from the world of ideas and thus all states should reorganize themselves according to. It is

a standard that ensures the criterion about the ways how a state must be organized, and it enables the earthly states to make judgments about their actual situation. As Yalçinkaya puts it, the ideal state is an anti-model against the degenerated actual states (2005: 39). According to Aydın, it is not a project that is aimed to be established into the world; rather, it is a standard that provides existing states with the ideal form of a state to gauge themselves (2011: 71). In parallel with Aydın, Rucker points out the role of the *ideal state* by saying that it is useful to see the range of divergences of our situation from that of the ideal (1966: 168).

Plato considers the ideal state as the form to which the states should approximate themselves. However, phenomenal states are not able to identify themselves with the ideal state because they belong to the sensible world. That is to say, in the course of the translation of the model into the sensible world, inevitably, it is translated in a deformed way. Establishing one and the same form of an ideal state in the sensible world is not possible. For this reason, while he defines his Republic in the *Republic*, as Aydın says, Plato does not embark upon organizing the state as an absolute rational state (2011: 71). In other words, he is conscious of the unremoved ontological difference, which leads to a deformed form of translation of the model into the world, between the world of ideas and sensible world. Plato explains this situation with these words (2018: 473b):

Do not keep trying to compel me to demonstrate that the sort of thing we have described in a theoretical way can also be fully realized in practice. If we turn out to be capable of finding how a city can be run in a way pretty close to what we have described, then you can say that we have discovered how what you are asking for can be put into practice. Or won't you be satisfied with that? I know I would.'

For Plato, it is not possible to establish the pure order and regularity in the context of the changeable world; rather, it could be imitated to a certain extent. While the model imitated does not undergo a degeneration, actual states could not evade from the degeneration. Plato expressed the matter of degeneration by the following words (2018: 546a):

It is no easy matter for a city founded in this way to be altered. But since destruction awaits everything that has come to be, even a foundation of this kind will not

survive for the whole of time. It will fall apart, and this will be the manner of its falling.

However, even if it falls short of the model due to its ideal character, the process of degeneration could be slow down. Plato tempts to create the best political formation, taking its cue from the order and the hierarchy of the ideal states, as a medicine against degeneration in the sensible world. Due to his acquaintance with the world of ideas compared to rest of the community, only the philosopher has the capacity to take part in the process of translation of the model derived from the world of ideas into the sensible world. In other words, it is only the philosopher that can draw the sketch of the world of ideas as a model that must be imitated within the sensible world. That is to say, it is only the philosopher that has the capacity to make a distinction between the truth and false (Aydın, 2011: 69). And, this privilege charges philosopher with the role of leading the drive for the change.

With the aim of changing the way of experiencing and understanding the world belonging to the cave, Plato brings forth a political intervention as a state of necessity. For Plato, that seems as the only way to prove the ontological difference/hierarchy between the world of ideas and the sensible world – based on pure order, unity among its parts and competence of its parts which are the perfect archetypes of the sensible things. And, it is the only way to put the model derived from the pure ideal world in front of the sensible world as if the model that must be imitated. He thinks that only by way of political intervention, the residents of the cave can begin to treat the world of ideas like the reality itself contrary to existing understanding of the world. And, as Karatani says, it is the philosopher that transfer the truth into practice in the sensible world (2018: 171). The following words express the importance of the philosopher in the *polis* for Plato:

Truth nonetheless compelled us to say that no city or regime, and likewise no man either, can ever be perfect until the few philosophers we mentioned — the ones who are not bad, though at the moment they are labelled useless<sup>15</sup>—are compelled by some chance event, whether they like it or not, to take charge of their city, and until the city is compelled to obey. Either that, or as a result of some divine inspiration the sons of those in positions of authority or sole rule, or the actual holders of those positions, must be seized with a true love of true philosophy (2018: 499bc).

One way or another, philosophers must be put into power. The salvation of the *polis* becomes sighted on the horizon only if philosopher takes the lead. According to Lear, the reason why philosophers are significant for Plato is that those who are a philosopher and acquainted with the world of ideas must externalize what they internalized through their experiencing the world of ideas to shape the *polis* (1992: 191). What philosopher contemplates and internalizes is justice, which corresponds to unbreakable and pure order and regularity among the different parts of the ideal worlds. The justice in the ideal world is translated into the sensible world as a strict division of labor – which refers to the division between those who are deemed suitable for *techne* and those who are for *episteme* – among the citizens. Simply because that is regarded as the only way both to make oneself realize himself and realize the *polis* collectively. That is the reason why justice is defined by Lear as each part, inside and outside, doing its own task (1992: 207). By this division of labor, citizens have the chance to realize their nature. As long as it is so, at the same time, they will be acting under the light of the idea of good which is the basis to gauge whether a citizen act within the boundaries of designated place for him or not. It is for this reason Blackburn says that specialization on a task is the essence of morality in the Platonic state (2006: 54). It might be beneficial to take a look at how specialization should work in an actual state closing to the ideal state for Plato by the words following

Our men do not have a dual or manifold nature since each of them performs only one task we shall find a shoemaker who is only a shoemaker, and not a ship's captain as well as a shoemaker, a farmer who is only a farmer, and not a jurymen as well as a farmer, a soldier who is only a soldier, and not a businessman as well as a soldier, and the others the same (2018: 397de)

Santas points out that, according to Plato, good is prior to happiness (2003: 121). Happiness depends on whether the *polis* and its citizens are good or not. In other words, it emerges as a result of whether citizens realize themselves in accordance with their nature. Realization in a “right” way referring to the sovereignty of the reason over the other parts of the psyche will have its repercussions on the *polis* in a way that the sovereignty of the reason/philosopher over the rest of the city obtains justification. That shows how and why Plato gave priority to ethics in his formulation.



Or rather, as Partee brings forward, it should be said that in the *polis*, laws are primarily related to personal morality; thus, politics is founded on ethics (1970: 212). It could also be defined like that Plato establishes an isomorphism between the citizens and the *polis*; therefore, as long as citizens realize themselves, the *polis* as well will become realized.

While justice in the outside refers to the division of labor among citizens, justice inside means taking the emotional, passionate, and bodily parts of the psyche under the control of reason, which commands him not to go beyond the boundaries within the scope of the division of labor. In this regard, Plato defines four types of *virtues*<sup>34</sup> that indicate how a completely virtuous citizen must be. The first one is *sôphrosunê* (temperance), and it means domination of bodily desires by reason. The second one is *andreia* (courage). According to Plato, the danger must be taken up under the light of reason. And, as long as it is so, the virtue of *andreia* emerges. Third virtue *sophia* (wisdom) means disciplining the reason by ways of mathematic and dialectic. That is the way through which wisdom can shine. But there is a fourth virtue which has vital importance for the aforementioned three virtues: *dikiosunê* (justice). According to Plato, *dikiosunê* provides the parts of the human psyche with the possibility to perform their own functions.

As Santas says, the *polis* and the citizens are mirror images of each other, which refers to the isomorphic relationship between the citizens and the *polis* (2003: 125). A good citizen realizes the justice inside of his psyche first and later outside. As a result, staying within the boundaries of the designated place by doing his own task both makes himself happy and contributes to the happiness of the *polis* itself. Therefore, in Plato's formula, the happiness of the *polis* depends on the happiness of its all citizens, and that is why as ethics as mentioned earlier is prior to politics and that is why Plato uses the words following:

...our aim in founding the city is not to make one group outstandingly happy, but to make the whole city as happy as possible. We thought we would be most likely to find justice in a city of this kind, and most likely to find injustice in the city with

---

<sup>34</sup> Urhan, V. (2016). Platon'un Siyaset Felsefesinde İdeal Devlet. In *Özne Felsefe ve Sanat Yazıları*. Konya: Çizgi Kitapevi. p.197

the worst institutions, and that looking at these would give us the answer to our original question. What we are doing at the moment, we believe, is not separating off a few of the inhabitants, and making them happy, but constructing a complete city, and making that happy. (2018: 420bc).

On the other hand, according to Lear, this isomorphism established between the citizen's psyche and the *polis* is chosen by Plato purposely to hide the fundamental tension between the ruling class and the ruled in the *polis* (1992: 195). Plato does not aim at solving the existing tension by this model. Rather, he aims to patch his model derived from the world of ideas on the existing situation, and, therefore, what he tries to do ends up with reproducing hierarchical relations through a different way. In other words, instead of the annihilation of the contradiction, Plato engages in the reformulation of existing relations between the classes in the *polis*.

In order to realize this formulation, Plato regards education as quite significant. Contrary to the democratic regime in which only noble families' children had had education, Plato considered that all children of the city should have had an education. Education seems to play a crucial role in terms of ensuring *polis*' authority and sustainability. Plato saw education as a significant "institution" with regard to interpellating the individuals beginning from childhood, and with this aim he got mythological symbols as the most effective tool from his politically loaded toolkit. In Plato's imaginary *polis*, children who are future citizens are educated with the aim of training the individuals about the specific role designated for them individually in consequence of the division of labor. Citizens of imaginary *polis* will not do a job without having a piece of knowledge anymore, and they will not take part in several types of a job; instead, they will become specialized on a job and this will last a lifetime. However, this training process includes naturalization of the designated roles as well. It was seen as the most important way for the subject constitution. The model that Plato derives from the world of ideas is turned into something taken for granted only by way of education. In this regard, he points out the cruciality of the music (poetry) concerning the education of children.

He allows poets to tell the poems that contribute to the process of the translation of the noble model into the world. As Badiou says, for Plato, education is not the process

of teaching something because of the fact that philosopher as a translator comes to the world by a recollection of the knowledge, rather it is a way of making children finding the right way [on the basis of recollection emerging by way of dialectic] (2012: 260). By way of education, Plato aims to change that which is taken into consideration as a source of knowledge from the sensible world to the world of ideas and the way that people experience the world. Compared to the former, the new type of subject constitution tries to make people obey noble laws as reality, contrary to changeable elements of the sensible world, which establishes justice both inside the psyche and the city into impossible.

#### **4.4. Politics of Symbol-Making: Interpellating the Athenians through the Noble Lies**

For Plato, education must begin with false tales. In this regard, he emphasized the importance of noble lies. According to Plato, there is truth in noble lies, and they will have a concrete effect on the individuals and the *polis*; because, contrary to classical poetic tradition, a noble lie shows how to act and organize a city life in accordance with the idea of good. In other words, noble lie, for Plato, allows both the individuals and the *polis* to approximate to the idea of good.

Platonic noble lies are established regarding the world of ideas. As Collobert says, they set forth conditions for visualizing the intelligible (2012: 87). They are produced by philosophers, and in this way, philosophers aim to mold<sup>35</sup> citizens psyches in line with the order that the world of ideas has. Plato, categorically, excuses only the philosopher in terms of lying. For him, philosopher's lies are encrusted with the nobility; or rather, they are the way of reduction of the nobility into the degenerated world. Therefore, if the Platonic political proposal is considered, it is seen that even

---

<sup>35</sup> Allen indicates that contrary to mimetic poets producing their models on the basis of senses, philosophers produce their models in consequence of contemplation of the world of ideas. Instead of *mimeisthai* or *mimêtikê*, they are identified with *plattein* which means modeling the truth. Allen, S., D. (2011). *Platon Neden Yazdı?* Ankara: İletişim

if they are literally false, they have a factually true effect. In parallel with this argument, Battin propounds that noble lies set as an example of the action that should be performed and, at the same time, that should not be performed for the audiences (1977: 171). In other words, it determines the frame of actions. Plato considers them as essential with regard to reproduction and sustainability social hierarchy in the *polis*. Let me show the importance of noble lies as follow:

If anyone is entitled to tell lies, the rulers of the city are. They may do so for the benefit of the city, in response to the actions either of enemies or of citizens. No one else should have anything to do with lying (2018: 389c)

The probability is that our rulers will need to employ a good deal of falsehood and deception for the benefit of those they are ruling. And we said if I remember rightly that useful things of that kind all came in the category of medicine (2018: 459d).

As Allen says, noble lies pave the way for acting in the ways that if citizens would have the chance to understand the world of ideas (2011: 137). That is the reason why he says “our rulers will need to employ a good deal of falsehood and deception for the benefit of those they are ruling”. It is not that much possible to demonstrate what is experienced through the contemplation of the world of ideas by words or concepts and by a myth exactly. Instead, a myth, especially the noble lie, provides the chance to caricature the experience or, as Guthrie says, a myth supports the introduction of the reality within the realms of possibility (1999: 103). Nevertheless, by doing so, a myth can turn invisible into visible and schematize the ways how to realize reality within the context of the sensible world.

As Allen points out, noble lies could not give citizens access to the metaphysical ideas, but a noble lie provides a basis for social hierarchy and social stability [in compatible with divine order] (2011: 137). Allen clarifies the statement by saying that insofar as the noble lie is brought into conformity with the truth, the result of the acceptance of noble lies and the result of knowing the truth are more or less the same (137). That is to say, even if it is a lie, a noble lie is put into circulation for persuading the citizens to behave in line with social hierarchy and social stability. For Plato, political and social stability is the justification of telling such a lie (Roochnik, 2009: 166). As a cultural product, contrary to former classical poetic tradition, it makes the

citizens into obedient to the dictates coming from the peak point of the political hierarchy. In other words, as Bloom indicates, lie was seen by Plato as a basis for a satisfactory solution for hierarchy in an institutional expression (1991: 367). In this sense, it could be said that a noble lie carries out the role of the guard of the political hierarchy. Schofield puts this idea differently by saying that by way of the noble lie, the class hierarchy is introduced as a result of divine dispensation (2007: 138). Therefore, to recapitulate it all, it is possible to say that myth has a political character. It indicates the ways to act and think within the boundaries of political and social hierarchy.

Therefore, for Plato, a noble lie does not exhibit the past as admirable; instead, it shows the competent principle that must be activated here-and-now (Yalçinkaya, 2005: 202). In parallel with Yalçinkaya, Tarrant says that the myth refers to the present; it gives a message about the current situation (2010: 58). In the world of change, the principle must be comprehended and must be realized as much as possible. For this purpose, the philosopher must produce the models for those who are not capable of comprehending the ideas. Even if it is inescapable that there will emerge a loss of translation, they must carry out the role of translation of the order and hierarchy world of ideas into the language of the world of change as much as possible.

The models that the philosopher produces should conform with the tradition to be effective in the eyes of audiences. Plato knows that familiarity of a model extends the range of effect of the model. He did not turn down former stock; rather, in order to justify the social model, he redesigned it on the basis of metaphysical truth. According to Yalçinkaya, Plato adapts the tradition to the truth (2005: 190). That is to say, Plato extracts symbols from tradition and restructures them in the light of ideas and translate them into now<sup>36</sup>. This extraction seems essential. He thinks that

---

<sup>36</sup> According to Bacon, the tale of the gold, silver, bronze, and iron ages in Hesiod's *Works and Days* invite us to recognize the connection with ancient poetic authority. The designation "Phoenician" and the emphasis in the subsequent discussion of brotherhood, and the debt of nurture, *tropheia*, owed to mother earth, evoke the way Aeschylus uses the legend of Thebes' founding by Cadmus, the Phoenician, in *Seven Against Thebes*. And when in Book 8 of the *Republic*, Plato is describing miscegenation between different classes that marks the degeneration of the state from its only true

insofar as he achieves to extend the range of myths, the range of *peitharkia nomon speudaion* (obedience to noble laws) will increase as well even if the laws are not known and would not be known by the audiences.

The most known lie that Plato uses is the “Phoenician Tale”. For Bacon, by saying that “there is nothing new but a Phoenician kind of thing, something that has already happened in many places, so the poets say and lead us to believe” Plato admits the extraction he puts into operation (2001: 344). For example, the myth of metals or the Phoenician Tale is a restructured version of the myth that Hesiod tells in the *Works and Days*<sup>37</sup>. However, what makes this tale worth mentioning is its new, restructured form which is consonant with the ideas. This tale is deemed suitable to tell the citizens who do not have the capacity to get in touch with reality or to go beyond the conceptual *aporia* emerging in the process of demonstration of the world of ideas on their own, except the class of guardians including philosophers. In passing, while Plato applies to the Phoenician Tale to help citizens to reach beyond the *aporia*, for guardians, Plato makes use of the myth of the “Age of Cronos”. Vidal-Naquet depicts this age with the following words (2007: 29):

...there is the age of Cronos, which is also a golden age, a cycle during which human beings, along with animals in general, are under the direct rule of Zeus's father. In this golden age, human beings are born old, from the earth, and proceed to grow younger and younger until they disappear. In this age of Cronos, men were, as Paul Valery put it, 'white and sacred beasts'...

Nevertheless, what make this myth important for Plato is that there was perfect unity among the people, and guardians are the successors of these people who accomplish

---

form, he makes sure the poetic associations of his organization of the city will still be in our minds. In language that parallels Homer calling on the muses in *Iliad* 16 to say how first fire fell upon the ships, Socrates suggests that he and his friends call upon the muses to say how first civil strife falls upon the city (2001: 344-345).

<sup>37</sup> In this book, Hesiod tells how the soul of the first group of mortal human beings is shaped with golden; of the second group is with silver; of the third group is bronze; of the fifth group is with iron. This classification collapse with the classification of Plato made in the *Republic*. Plato restructured Hesiod's myth in ways that it conforms with the world of ideas.

Hesiod (2019). *Theogonia, Works and Days*. pp.53-56 İstanbul: Türkiye İşBankası Yayınları

perfect unity among themselves. By this myth, together with the Phoenician Tale, he tried to (re)feature the indelible difference between the guardians and other classes and to persuade all classes about the class-based categorization and division. This shows us that as Yalçınkaya emphasizes, there were two types of politics for two different groups of people (2005: 248). Thus, for those who are not guardians, the Phoenician Tale is used with the aim of naturalization of the existing hierarchical social relations.

For Nails, the Phoenician Tale was put into circulation by Plato in opposition to the myth of autochthony (2012:14). First, the myth of autochthony provides the basis for the ideology of equality among the citizens. Second, it was not produced on the basis of the world of ideas but the changeable sensible world. Thus, as a model, the myth of autochthony is not able to demonstrate how a human psyche should be organized in order to approximate the truth. Plus, since ethics is prior to politics, lack and failure about the organization of a human psyche will show its reflections on the *polis* negatively. For this reason, Plato regards the Phoenician Tale vital for both individuals and *polis* due to its points in terms of division of labor that is derived from the world of ideas. In the Book Three of the *Republic* Socrates tells Glaucon the Phoenician Tale to show the source of division of labor:

...when god made you, he used a mixture of gold in the creation of those of you who were fit to be rulers, which is why they are the most valuable. He used silver for those who were to be auxiliaries, and iron and bronze for the farmers and the rest of the skilled workers. Most of the time you will father children of the same type as yourselves, but because you are all related, occasionally a silver child may be born from a golden parent, or a golden child from a silver parent, and likewise any type from any other type. The first and most important instruction god gives the rulers is that the thing they should be the best guardians of, the thing they should keep the most careful eye on, is the compound of these metals in the souls of the children... There is a prophecy, god tells them, that the end of the city will come when iron or bronze becomes its guardian (2018: 415abc).

As it is shown in the Phoenician Tale, for Plato individuals should be assigned in terms of the job they are prone to on the basis of the metals they include in their souls. While only those who have the metal of gold in their souls deserve to rule the city and those who have silver in their soul should conduct “bureaucratic” jobs, those who have the bronze or iron should be busy with the manufacturing and farming. Besides,

as it is seen, as a merit-based system, he leaves the door halfway open to switching to another role for those who are born with a metal differently from their parents. It would not be wrong to claim that he left this kind of halfway open door; firstly, to show the importance of education in terms of identifying individuals with different metal-based categories; secondly, to make the metal based division acceptable for the individuals by putting a kind of a prize in front of them. However, as Wood argues, change of status is not that much possible since the majority is engaged in the base and menial occupations that damages the soul and makes it unfit for philosophy (2011: 90).

It could be said that Plato aims to provide the political regime with legitimacy and permanence on the basis of an indelible difference stemming from the distribution of the metals. According to Plato, this kind of strict division of social roles cannot be possible as long as the Homeric mind stays dominant. In other words, unless dominance of poetic tradition is eliminated, all roles probably might be in a constant state of flux among citizens. Plato sees the tale as the only way to reduce the ideal world's pure order and unity to the world of change as much as possible.

As a further point for consideration, by way of myth, Plato tries to influence the way how citizens experience the world. On its own a myth amounts nothing; but, considering its effect on the Greeks, Plato applies to the myths persuading them on the social division of labor derived from the world of ideas<sup>38</sup>. Plato knows that *conditio sine quo non* for making the world of ideas as taken for granted for citizens is to change their view about the reality under the light of different political formation. To put it differently, Plato aims to make use of the myths as a way of interpellation of the Athenians in order to make them act and think in tandem with the socio-political model he produces.

As it is said, Plato aims at the translation of the order and unity of ontologically different world into the changeable world, and in this regard, he was aware of the

---

<sup>38</sup> To put it briefly, there is a hierarchy among the elements of world of ideas. For example, the most important idea is the idea of good; the rest of ideas come into existence under the light of the idea of good.



importance of the new type of subject constitution as a result of which image of reality is expected to change. Plato shows boundaries of action and thought of the new type of subject by way of the Phoenician Tale *cited supra*. There must be a strict social division of labor boundaries of what must not be stretched easily out of exceptions. It is not inconsistent to say that this division also corresponds to the division of *techne* and *episteme*, which is to say that Plato draws a line on those who are seen able to deal with the matter of state and those who are not. Or rather, to put it differently, those who have the *scholē* (leisure time) and those who do not have the time to expend for the matter of state. Moreover, he determines this distinction and drops the matter on the basis of epistemological difference among citizens with respect to approximating to the *episteme*.

Plato tries to naturalize or make obvious (which is *the* effect of ideology) this distinction by dint of the noble lies. In other words, for Plato, the myths are the way to turn acting and thinking in line with the model into taken for granted. He also patches the model he produces onto the existing social relations. As Yalçinkaya puts it, Plato's model does not aim to annihilate ongoing, existing contradictions; rather, he builds his model upon the contradictions by reformulating how to get in touch with the historical conditions of existence<sup>39</sup> (2005: 39-40). In other words, he tries to reorganize socially patterned practices in line with the requirements of existing social relations. Although he blames the classical poetic tradition for the further distortion of the reality, his model too papers over the real conditions of existence and spends a great effort to make people misrecognize their conditions of existence. With the aim of affirmation of existing social reality – as a practico-social result of ideology – by citizens, he schematized social relations different than existing one which is shaped by ideology of autochthony and supported by ideology of *parrhesia* in the political arena.

---

<sup>39</sup> As it is remembered, in the previous section, Lear said that isomorphism established between the citizen's psyche and the *polis* by Plato was purposely to hide the fundamental tension between the ruling class and the ruled in the *polis*.

Lear, J. (1992). Inside and Outside the Republic. *Phronesis*. 37(2). p.185

Plato attempts to produce a different imaginary model of society compared to the existing one: he tries to make clear *tripartite class structure* (the producers, the auxiliaries, and the guardians) and to determine the boundaries of the actions or organizing socially patterned practices of individuals belonging to these classes. For him, as long as there is no specific distinction with regard to those who participate the matter of state and those who cannot, Athens or any *polis* could not approximate to the idea of justice. Because the ideology of *parrhesia* that provides the Athenians with the opportunity of speaking in the *es mason* ties Athens' hands to show any development. He thinks that this ideology keeps Athenian politics in the spiral of discussions among the classes. By way of the myth he used, he presents Athenians the new type of an imaginary model to make them understand and interpret the relationship they establish with their own conditions of existence, which does not contradict with existing class-based – but veiled by the ideology of autochthony – social formation. He schematizes social relations differently than former poetic tradition, which does not focus on the Platonic form of the strict division of labor.

In parallel with the Butlerian discussion, according to the model of Plato, the only way to gain social status is to stay within the boundaries of the social division of labor. Subjects are constituted through the way of the myths conducted by the institution of education to act and think within the scope of the social division of labor. On the other hand, those who violate the boundaries derived from the truth firstly will die socially in its ontological meaning; and, secondly, this principle is reinforced by the myth that a cruel treatment will be waiting for them in the afterlife in the *Tartaros*<sup>40</sup> which is a place of torture. Therefore, *as supra*, social existence of subject relies on the answerability to the hail from within the ideologically structured model based on the social division of labor simply because that is the way of turning

---

<sup>40</sup> In the *Gorgias*, Socrates says that those who live by doing unjust things which refers to breaking the social division of labor will set on a journey toward *Tartaros* in the afterlife while those who live loyal to the principle of division of labor will go to Happy Islands.

Platon. (2019). *Gorgias*. (9. Ed). İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

the individuals into those who misrecognize their conditions of existence and makes them recognizable, predictable existences on behalf of the social formation.

As Althusser argues, the categories of the subject (like the soul in Plato) is the constitutive category of every form of ideology (2014: 78). For him, that is to say, ideology, determined by other instances of the system and determining them, is a fundamental, organic part of social unity (2015: 285). Ideology produces its subjects that should act as though confirming the imaginary ideological model. Regardless of historical periods, ideology always presents, if I may say so, the handbook of the ways of acting and afterwards thinking – simply because thinking is inscribed in itself – throughout which individuals experience the social formation they live in as an integrated, coherent unity. In other words, it is the *conditio sine qua non* for all societies. As it was discussed above, that is the reason why it is defined as the universal destiny of human by Rehmann (2015: 177). And, that is what Althusser means by saying ideology has transhistorical, omnipresent character (2014: 68).

Therefore, for Platonic ideal state, it could be said that by dint of the myths Plato differently distorts what is already distorted while individuals are establishing a relationship with their conditions of existence. Even if it is a lie, the model was redesigned in pursuance of the emergence of concrete effect at the level of individuals' actions. In other words, through the model individuals interpret the reality as obvious and confirm the reality itself with their actions in a different way than the ideology of democracy. As Althusser puts it, within the concept of ideology-in-general, it is the way to equip the individuals with the necessary knowledge to be able to act and think in line with the necessities of historical social reality. Plato as well intends to equip the citizens with the knowledge necessary for acting in the light of the hierarchy he derived from the world of ideas. That is the process of interpellation, which is conducted with the aim of turning Athenian citizens into certain historical subjects. Simply because, due to its great effect on Athenians he observed, Plato uses myths in order to try to turn the social relations and determined actions derived from the world of ideas as he depicts into taken for granted.

Considering all these above, the reason behind why Plato needs to write and why he engages in an onto-epistemological break from the ongoing tradition becomes clear. Ontological separation of the world of ideas ensures reliability of the world of ideas as the only source of knowledge in opposition to the changeable character of the sensible world's object. While arguing that, he is putting the world of ideas as an archetype, absolute model in front of the world of change to imitate. However, he adds an annotation: because the sensible world is unable to escape from the change, degeneration there remains an eternal ontological difference between the world of ideas and sensible world. The ideal state he formulates in the *Republic* could be regarded as a model for worldly states to close this gap as much as possible. Writing, which refers to building poetry all over again in the light of the world of ideas, plays a vital role in terms of closing this gap. Through the models written, it becomes *sine qua conditio for* by showing how to build the state mostly approximated to the world of ideas within the context of the sensible world. It visualizes the world of ideas.

Writing, for Plato, is a way of taking epistemological difference (which determines the exact political positions in the city-state) among the citizens under protection by way of making an everlasting distinction between those who can approximate the *episteme* and those who are not. As it was aforementioned, only those who have the capacity to get in touch with the ideal world can write. If I may say so, it is treated as a religious text and cannot be questioned by those to whom the text addresses due to epistemological inferiority inscribed in their souls.

It is necessary to say that different than existing classical poetic tradition, to put the myths on the paper precludes multi-interpretation/appropriation of the myths. By way of writing, he aimed to freeze the meaning of the myth. In other words, the myth becomes closed to different interpretations. He tried to regulate the audiences' consumption process of the meaning in the myth. He determines the frame of recollection. As long as it is so, it is expected from writing to determine the horizons of individuals. By closing the myths to different interpretations, he aimed to suppress the imagination of the social and political relations differently. Therefore, writing, for Plato, plays a political role. Writing the myths is the point at which political

intervention starts. Also, it provides Plato with the legitimacy of political intervention. It serves as a way of keeping the actions of the individuals within the boundaries the designated places defined within the scope of the ideal state.

Due to having the capacity to influence a large number of citizens, written models provide the citizens with the chance to make acquainted with the political formation and thus have an impact on shaping actions in line with the requirements of introduced political formation. In other words, it is seen as the most crucial and effective way to hail the Athenians; he makes use of the writing to benefit from the practico-social function it performs. It provides a schematized model of the world of ideas, and as an anti-model of degenerated democratic Athens, it interpellates citizens to make them establish a relationship with their conditions of existence in line with divine order or in a just way.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

*“I should like merely to understand how it happens that so many men, so many villages, so many cities, so many nations, sometimes suffer under a single tyrant who has no other power than the power they give him; who is able to harm them only to the extent to which they have the willingness to bear with him; who could do them absolutely no injury unless they preferred to put up with him rather than contradict him. Surely a striking situation! Yet it is so common that one must grieve the more and wonder the less at the spectacle of a million men serving in wretchedness, their necks under the yoke, not constrained by a greater multitude than they” (La Boetie, 1975: 15)*

Why did Plato need to put the myths on paper? What is interpellation? Under which conditions did Plato produce his noble lies? Why did he inveigh against the classical poetic tradition? Why did Plato aim at the banishment of poetry from the *polis*? Why did he launch an onto-epistemological break from an ongoing system of knowledge? What was the role and significance of the myths in the Republic? Why did he see the social division of labor crucial for the *polis*? What is the importance of the concept of interpellation within the frame of Platonic ideal state? These are the questions that I dealt with and tried to answer. The first question, "why did Plato put the myths on the paper?" is my fundamental question around which this thesis was tried to be constructed. The rest of the questions were complementary and supplementary to give an extensive answer to the first question.

On the ground, the answers that I have tried to give these questions, I claimed that Plato used mythological symbols as a way of interpellation with the aim of persuasion of the citizens about socio-political formation he had (re)modeled. This statement

could be restated in this way: Plato wrote to persuade Athenians of the remodeled form of social formation. So to speak, I draw attention that by way of symbols produced in consequence of the writing process, he expected individuals to exhibit voluntary servitude<sup>41</sup> to the model he defined. In other words, as it was said, rather than changing the existing social relations, he aimed at the protection of existing power relations. For him, as long as a lie produces concrete, tangible effects, which means interpreting the remodeled version of social reality as natural, it has a noble character. In other words, it could not be wrong to say that a lie could be counted as noble insofar as it makes way for voluntary servitude to the social relations that were tried to be remodeled and redesigned by Plato.

In order to conceptualize the Platonic mythological symbols as a way of interpellation, I have sought to scrutinize the literature related to the concept of interpellation as much as possible in the second chapter of the thesis. The concept of interpellation seemed to me the most important concept in understanding Platonic mythological symbols. The reason(s) why Plato (re)wrote the mythological symbols could not have been recognized well without examining the concept of interpellation since he hailed the Athenians to interpret the world/social formation they live in differently from the democratic regime and therefore to act and think differently.

As aforementioned in the fourth chapter, the intention of Plato was not to change the social reality; rather, to put an end to the ongoing, extended disorder in the Athens. As I have tried to depict in the third chapter of this thesis, he drew attention to the necessity of remodeling the social reality different than the model of classical poetic tradition. He modeled social reality on the basis of the social division of labor. That is to say, according to the Platonic model of society, the only way of gaining social status depends on acting in accordance with the roles designed for individuals as a consequence of the division of labor. For him, the social division of labor must be at the center of the model since he conceived it as significant to cease disorder in Athens.

---

<sup>41</sup> In his book *The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude*, Etienne de La Boétie argues that people under voluntary servitude regard the existing situation as given or natural; and, they cannot think about the possibility of living the life in a different way.

As I have tried to show, he considered uncertainty and changeability about the roles at the origin of the disorder. And, he held classical poetic tradition responsible for this uncertainty since it imitates everything and expects audiences to imitate that which is imitated without classifying what is suitable to imitate. To draw attention to the harmful effect of working of classical poetry, he said that “Have you never noticed how imitation, if long continued from an early age, becomes part of a person’s nature, turns into habits of body, speech and mind?” (2018: 395d).

However, as an Athenian, he had observed the power of classical poetic tradition on the individuals. He saw that poetic tradition was influencing the way individuals understand the world. Therefore, in order to persuade individuals to make them interpret and experience the world in a frame of the division of labor, he saw decided on using mythological symbols. Moreover, as it was indicated, instead of creating new myths, he has rewritten the existing myths. The most striking example is the Phoenician Tale. As Bacon says, there is a great resemblance between the passages in the Hesiod’s *Works and Days* and Phoenician Tale (2001: 344).

The Phoenician Tale narrates metal-based differentiation among human beings; and, as I remarked, it was put into circulation by Plato against the myth of autochthony, which was narrating the Athenians as equals among each other, with the aim of persuasion of individuals about the new social model which is the worldly imitation of ideal state based on the hierarchical social division of labor. As aforementioned in the fourth chapter, Plato derived the social division of labor from the hierarchical relationship among the ideas. According to Plato, the world of ideas has perfect order, regularity, the hierarchy among its parts; and, the emancipation of the sensible world from degeneration and contamination (to a certain extent because of indelible ontological difference) could only become possible as long as the world of ideas is reduced/translated into the sensible world by way of imitation of it. As I emphasized in the fourth chapter, due to the ontological difference, it is impossible to imitate the world of ideas precisely; rather, in this world, there could be only approximated to the world of ideas. For Plato, the ideal world is a parameter to measure the current situation earthly states in, i.e., it shows to what degree earthly states could put the



model into practice; or, it is a standard to gauge whether an actual state is on the right line or not.

Plato has claimed that the model he produced is the sole way that makes this reduction process possible. However, as it was tried to be explained in detail in the fourth chapter, this reduction could only become possible by way of a political intervention since it will pave the way for understanding the world differently from the existing one, in the light of ideas. In addition, only philosophers could head the establishment of the model in the sensible world because of the epistemological difference. By doing so, if I may say so, Plato hit two birds with one stone. Firstly, he aimed to establish a status quo in the form of hierarchical relationship among the individuals. Secondly, he tried to preclude individuals from questioning the model under the guise of epistemological lack they have in their soul.

On the other side, I argued that Plato prioritized ethics to politics. For him, political intervention becomes meaningful and successful insofar as individuals structure their souls in the light of the reason. Justice, which is a translation of the idea of good, in a city, which emerges as long as individuals do their own task assigned for them in a hierarchical, unequal manner, could only become possible so long as individuals organize their soul under the domination of reason or secure the justice among the different parts of the soul. The desires that preclude them from obeying to noble laws, which comes into existence in the form of division of labor, should be taken under the pressure and control of reason; it must command the soul to keep it within the boundaries of the labor assigned for individuals.

As it has been tried to be indicated throughout the fourth chapter of the thesis in detail, for this very purpose, Plato applied to the noble lies. He used these lies as a concretized way of the world of ideas and argued that they are necessary and vital for those who could not get in touch with the world of ideas because of epistemological lack. His observation on classical poetic tradition's poets' influence on the audiences pushed him to use these lies. Platonic myths were (re)written to

show the importance of the control of reason on the other parts of the soul<sup>42</sup>; also, they show the significance of acting within the boundaries of the division of labor.

To recapitulate it all, I stated that Platonic myths were put into circulation to indicate individuals *the* way of actions through which existing social reality composed of inequality and conflict were tried to be made obvious and naturalized. For example, the class-based social division of labor was schematized for individuals with reference to the narration of metal-based natural distinction among human beings as in the Phoenician Tale so that they could establish a relationship with their conditions of existence as if it is given, obvious. In addition, I have claimed that Plato opted to hail the individuals by way of the myths through the institution of education with the aim of turning them into specific subjects capable of answering to the requirements of social formation. I remarked that contrary to the democratic regime, Plato considered that all children of the city should have had the education. As it was discussed in the fourth chapter, the reasons why he thought so were that firstly, education is the way to shape children as future citizens so as to equip them with the necessary knowledge for the reproduction of social formation; and, secondly, it was seen as the only way to classify the future citizens in terms of division of labor in the light of the metals these children have in their soul. It was from this point of view I stated that he got mythological symbols as the most effective tool from his politically loaded toolkit since it contributes to the process of the subject constitution in line with the requirements of the socio-political model that Plato depicted.

---

<sup>42</sup> As it was tried to be shown by Plato through the myth of ship, unless the ship is directed by a captain who is representing the reason, to find direction becomes difficult and an accident.

## REFERENCES

- Ağaoğulları, M. (1994). *Kent Devletinden İmparatorluğa*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları
- Akdeniz, E. (2016). Platon'un Dizgesinde Sanatın ve Şairin Dönüştürülen Konumu. In *Özne Felsefe ve Sanat Yazıları: Platon*. Pp.279-292. Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi
- Allen, D. S. (2011). *Platon Neden Yazdı?* Ankara: İletişim
- Althusser, L. (2014). *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*. İstanbul: İthaki
- Althusser, L. (2015). *Marx İçin*. İstanbul: İthaki
- Amemiya, T. (2004). The Economic Ideas of Classical Athens. In *The Kyoto Economic Review* 73(2). pp.57-74
- Arends, F. (1998). Plato as a Problem Solver: The Unity of the Polis as a Key to the Interpretation of Plato's Republic. *Essays on Plato's Republic*. Pp. 28-41. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press
- Aristoteles (2019). *Atinalıların Devleti*. İstanbul: Alfa
- Austin, J., L. (2017). *Söylemek ve Yapmak*. İstanbul: Metis
- Aydın, A. (2011). Platon ve Yeni Bir Düşünsel Uzamın İnşası. In *Antik Yunan'da Felsefe ve Çağımıza Etkileri*. Pp. 66-82. Ankara: DoğuBatı
- Aysever, R., L. (2017). Sunuş. In *Söylemek ve Yapmak*. İstanbul: Metis
- Bacon, H., H. (2001). Plato and the Greek Literary Tradition. *Transactions of the American Philological Association*. 131. Pp. 341-352

- Badiou, A. (2012) *Platon'un Devleti*. İstanbul: Metis
- Baştürk, E. (2019). *Platon'da Politika Düşüncesinin Soykütüğü*. İstanbul: Pinhan
- Battin, M., P. (1977). Plato on True and False Poetry. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 36(2) pp.163-174
- Bidet, J. (2017). The Interpellated Subjects: Beyond Althusser and Butler. *Actual Marx*. 66(1). Pp. 184-201
- Blackburn, S. (2006). *Plato's Republic: A Biography*. London: Atlantic Books
- Bloom, A. (1991). An Interpretive Essay. *In The Republic of Plato*. New York: Basic Books
- Brownson, C., L. (1897). Reasons for Plato's Hostility to the Poets Source : *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* , Vol . 28 Published by : The Johns Hopkins University Press (2019). 28(1897), 5–41.
- Butler, J. (2005). *İktidarın Psikik Yaşamı*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı
- Butler, J. (2013). *Excitable Speech: A politics of the Performative*. New York: Routledge
- Butler, J. (2016). *Cinsiyet Belası: Feminizm ve Kimliğin Altüst Edilmesi*. İstanbul: Metis
- Cartledge, P. (2013). *Pratikte Antik Yunan Siyasi Düşüncesi*. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları
- Cılız, F. (2016). Platon ve Aristoteles'te Şiir Sanatı. In *Özne Felsefe ve Sanat Yazıları: Platon*. Pp.267-278. Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi

- Collobert, C. (2012). The Platonic Art of Myth-Making: Myth as Informative Phantasma. In *Plato and Myth Studies on the Use and Status of Platonic Myths*. Pp. 87-108, Leiden: Brill NV
- Connor, W., R. (1994). The Problem of Athenian Civic Identity. In *Athenian Identity and Civic Ideology*. (Boegehold, A., L. & Scafuro, A., C. eds). pp. 34-44. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press
- Copleston, F. (2009). *Felsefe Tarihi: Ön-Sokratikler ve Sokrates*. İstanbul: İdea
- Cousins, M. and Hussain, A. (1984). The Question of Ideology: Althusser, Peacheux and Foucault. *Sociological Review*. 32(1). Pp.158-179
- Dean, J. (2016). Enclosing the Subject. *Political Theory*. 44(3). Pp. 363-393
- Devereux, D. (2003). Plato: Metaphysics. In *The Blackwell Guide to Ancient Philosophy*. Edited by Christopher Shields. Pp. 75-99 Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Eagleton, T. (2011). *İdeoloji* (3.ed). İstanbul: Ayrıntı
- Eagleton, T. (2013). İdeoloji ve İdeolojinin Batı Marksizmindeki Serüveni. In *İdeolojiyi Haritalandırmak*. Pp. 267-340. İstanbul: Ayrıntı
- Edelstein, L. (1949). The Function of the Myth in Plato's Philosophy. *Journal of the History of Ideas*. 10(4). 463-481
- Espindola, L., L., G. (2017). Plato on the Political Role of Poetry. In *Politics and Performance in Western Greece*. (233-247). Siracusa: Parnassos Press
- Guilfoyle, M. (2009). Using Althusser's Notion of Interpellation to Study the Politics of Therapeutic Practice. *Psychotherapy and Politics International*. 7(3). Pp. 159-173

- Guthrie, W., K., C. (1999). *İlkçağ Felsefesi Tarihi*. Ankara: Gündoğan
- Havelock, E., A. (2015). *Platon: Filozof Şaire Karşı*. İstanbul:Pinhan
- Hight, G., A. (1922). Plato and the Poets. *Mind, New Series*. 31(122). 195-199
- Hirst, P., Q. (2014). Althusser ve İdeoloji Teorisi. In *İdeoloji Üzerine: Eleştirel İdeoloji Analizleri*. Pp. 227-271. İstanbul:Pales
- İnsel, A. (2018). Sofistler: Siyaset Sanatının Mimarları. In *Sofist*. İstanbul: İletişim
- Karatani, K. (2018). *İzonomi ve Felsefenin Kökenleri*. İstanbul:Metis
- Kayser, J., R. (1973). Noble Lies & Justice: On Reading Plato. *Polity*. 5(4). 489-515
- Kenaar, H. (2005). Austin's Fireworks. In *The Present Personal*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Kranz, W. (1994). *Antik Felsefe*. İstanbul: Sosyal Yayınlar
- La Boetie, Etienne (1975). *The Politics of Obedience: The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude*. Montreal: Black Rose Books
- Lange, S. (1939). Plato and Democracy. *The Classical Journal*. 34(8). Pp. 480-486
- Lear, J. (1992). Inside and Outside the Republic. *Phronesis*. 37(2). pp. 184-215
- Martel, J., R. (2015). When the Call Is Not Meant for You: Misinterpellation, Subjectivity, and the Law. *Philosophy & Rhetoric*. 48(4). Pp.494-515

- Macherey, P. (2012). Figures of Interpellation in Althusser and Fanon. *Radical Philosophy*. 173. Pp.9-20
- Moravcsik, J. (2000). *Plato and Platonism*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Morris, I. (1996). The Strong Principle of Equality and The Archaic Origins of Greek Democracy. : In *D énokratia: A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern*. (Ober, J. & Hedrick, C. Eds.). pp.19-48. New Jersey: Princeton University Press
- Murdoch, I. (2008). *Ateş ve Güneş: Platon Sanatçıları Niçin Dışladı?* (2. Baskı). İstanbul: Ayrıntı
- Nails, D. (2012). Plato's "Republic" in its Athenian Context. *History of Political Thought*. 33(1). Pp.1-23
- O'Connor, D., K. (2007). Rewriting the Poets in Plato's Characters. In *The Cambridge Companion to Plato's Republic*. Pp. 55-89. New York:Cambridge University Press
- Osborne, R. (2010). *Athens and Athenian Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Partee, M., H. (1970). Plato's Banishment of Poetry. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 29(2). pp. 209-202
- Pêcheux, M. (2013). İdeolojik (Yanlış) Tanıma Mekanizması. In *İdeolojiyi Haritalandıramak*. Pp. 211-226. Ankara: Dipnot
- Plato. (2005). *Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phaedo, Phaedrus*. (Translated by Harold North Fowler). London: Harvard University Press
- Plato. (2005). *Meno and Other Dialogues*. (Translated by Robin Waterfield). New York: Oxford University Press

Plato (2018). *The Republic* (3rd edition). (Ed. by Ferrari, G., R., F.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Platon. (2016). *Devlet*. (29.Baskı). İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları

Platon. (2015). İon. In *Diyaloglar*. (On ikinci baskı) İstanbul: Remzi

Platon. (2019). *Protagoras*. İstanbul: Pinhan

Raaflaub, K., A. (1996). Equalities and Inequalities in Athenian Democracy. In *D énokratia: A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern*. (Ober, J. & Hedrick, C. Eds.). pp.139-174. New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Rehmann, J. (2015). *İdeoloji Kuramları: Yabancılaşma ve Boyun Eğme Güçleri*. İstanbul: Yordam

Resch, R., P. (2014). *Althusser ve Yeni Marksist Kuram*. İstanbul: Pales

Roberts, J., T. (1996). Athenian Equality: A Constant Surrounded by Flux: In *D énokratia: A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern*. (Ober, J. & Hedrick, C. Eds.). pp. 187-202. New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Robertson, H., G. (1936). Plato as a Critic of Athens. *The Classical Weekly*. 29(19). Pp.145-151

Roochnik, D. (2009). The Political Drama of Plato's Republic. In *Ancient Greek Political Thought*. Pp. 156-177. New York: Cambridge University Press

Rucker, D. (1966). Plato and the Poets. *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*. 25(2), 167-170

Santas, G. (2003). Plato: Ethics. In *The Blackwell Guide to Ancient Philosophy*. Edited by Christopher Shields. Pp. 118-129 Oxford: Blackwell Publishing



- Scafuro, A., C. (1994). Introduction: Bifurcations and Introductions. In *Athenian Identity and Civic Ideology* (Boegehold, A., L. & Scafuro, A., C. eds). pp.1-21. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press
- Schapiro, E., J. (2017). Historicizing Repression and Ideology. *Mediations*. 30(2). Pp.45-50
- Schofield, M. (2007). The Noble Lie. In *The Cambridge Companion to Plato's Republic*. Pp. 138-164. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Sharples, R., W. (1994). Plato on Democracy and Expertise. *Greece&Rome*. 41(1). Pp.49-56
- Sprinker, M. (1995). The Legacies of Althusser. *Yale French Studies*. (88). Pp.201-225
- Strauss, L. (1987). Plato. In *History of Political Philosophy* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed). (Cropsey, J. & Strauss, L. Eds). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Tannenbaum, D., G. (2016). *Siyasi Düşünce Tarihi* (10.Baskı). Ankara:BB101 Yayınları
- Tarrant, H. (2012). Literal and Deeper Meanings in Platonic Myths. In *Plato and Myth Studies on the Use and Status of Platonic Myths*. Pp. 47-65, Leiden: Brill NV
- Thorley, J. (2007). *Athenian Democracy* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York: Routledge
- Vidal-Naquet, P. (2007). *The Atlantis Story: A Short History of Plato's Myth*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press
- Wallace, R., W. (1996). Law, Freedom, and the Concept of Citizen's Rights in Democratic Athens. In *Démokratia: A Conversation on Democracies, Ancient and Modern*. (Ober, J. & Hedrick, C. Eds.). pp. 105-120. New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Warmington and Rouse (eds). (1999). *Great Dialogues of Plato*. New York: Signet Classics

White, N. (2003). Plato: Epistemology. In *The Blackwell Guide to Ancient Philosophy*. Edited by Christopher Shields. Pp. 100-117 Oxford: Blackwell Publishing

Wingrove, J. (1999). Interpellating Sex. *Signs*. 24(4). Pp.869-893

Wood, E., M. (1988). *Peasant-Citizen and Slave: The Foundations of Athenian Democracy*. London: Verso

Wood, E., M. (2011). *Citizens to Lord: A Social History of Western Political Thought From Antiquity to the Middle Ages*. London: Verso

Yalçinkaya, A. (2005). *Siyasal ve Bellek: Platon'da Anımsama Platon'u Anımsama*. Ankara: Phoenix

Yetişken, H. (2016). Platon'da Değerce Karşıt Özellikte İki Tıp Sanat ve Değerce Bütünleşen İki Karşıt Tutum. In *Özne Felsefe ve Sanat Yazıları: Platon*. Pp. 229-246. Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi

Zeller, E. (2008). *Grek Felsefesi Tarihi*. İstanbul: Say

Zovko, M., E. (2018). The Divine Poet: Mimesis and Homoiosis Theoi in Plato. In *The Many Faces of Mimesis*. Pp. 87-102. Fonte Aretusa: Parnassos Press

## APPENDIX-A TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Platon'un ne amaçla yazdığı (ya da ne amaçla mitolojik semboller ürettiği) sorusuna bir yanıt bulma girişimi olarak düşünülmüştür. Tez kapsamında, Platoncu mitolojik semboller, çağırma kavramı bağlamında incelenmiş olup; bu sembollerin, Atinalı bireylerin toplumsal gerçekliği belirli şekilde deneyimlemeleri amacıyla yazıldığı/üretildiği ileri sürülmüştür. Buna paralel olarak, bu tez çalışması, mitolojik sembollerin, bireylerin, Platoncu toplumsal-siyasal model ışığında özneleşmelerini sağlamak üzere dolaşıma sokulduğunu göstermek üzere kaleme alınmıştır.

Platon, yaklaşık 30 yıl süren Peloponez Savaşı'nın (M.Ö. 431-404) ortasında 420'li yıllarda dünyaya gelmiştir. Bu savaş, temelleri M.Ö. 500'lü yılların sonunda Kleisthenes tarafından atılan demokratik rejimin iki defa oligarşi yönünde değişmesine yol açmış, sonrasında baş gösteren iç çatışmalar neticesinde ise demokratik rejim yeniden tesis edilmiştir. Fakat Atina'daki karışıklık bununla sınırlı kalmamış, Platon'un hocası Sokrates'in gençleri Atina dininden uzaklaştırdığı ve Atinalı tanrılara saygısızlık ettiği suçlamasıyla M.Ö. 399'da idam edilmesi ile devam etmiştir. Platon yaşananların müsebbibi olarak demokratik rejimi ve Atina'nın otoktoni ideolojisini sorumlu tutmuştur.

Atina'da yurttaşlık statüsüne sahip olmanın toprak sahibi olmakla eşitlendiği ve yurttaş sayısının giderek artmasıyla birlikte yurttaş başına düşen toprak miktarının azalması, Atina'yı zaman içerisinde komşu devletleri işgal etmeye götürmüştür. Bununla birlikte, bütün Atina yurttaş cemaatini kendi arasında eşitleyen ve Atinalıların diğer komşu devletlerin yurttaşlarından üstün olduğunu arka planını oluşturan otoktoni ideolojisi savaşı körüklemiştir. Diğer Yunan devletlerini işgal etme girişimi bu ideoloji ile meşrulaştırılmaya çalışılmış ve neticesinde de 30 yıl boyunca sürecek olan Peloponez Savaşı vuku bulmuştur. Bu savaş, rejim değişikliğinin yanı sıra, kaynakların savaşta tüketilmesi sebebiyle Atina halkını yoksullaştırmış ve ciddi bir iç karışıklıkla baş başa bırakmıştır.

Öte yandan Atina'nın siyasal tertibatı da Platon'un eleştirisinden muaf kalmamıştır. Bütün yurttaşların Meclis'te tartışılan, görüşülen konularda görüşlerini ve değerlendirmelerini ifade edebilmeleri imkanını sunan Atina demokrasisi, Platon'a göre Atina'da süregelen sorunların ortaya çıkmasının başlıca sebeplerinden bir diğeri. Zira, Platon, meclis içerisinde dile getirilen görüşlerin, üzerine görüşmelerin yürütüldüğü konuların uzmanlarına ait olmadığını belirtmekle beraber; mülk edinmiş olduğu toprak aracılığıyla kazanılan yurttaş vasfıyla mecliste söz hakkı kazanan kişilerin de siyasetin bilgisini vakıf olmayan, işin ehli olmayan kimseler olduğuna dikkat çekmiştir. Atinalı bütün yurttaşları eşitleyen otoktoni ideolojisi, siyaset alanında söz söylemeyi yetkinlik gözetmeksizin bütün yurttaşlara eşit bir şekilde açık hale getirmiştir. Fakat, bu yollu bir eşitlik, meclisin siyasal yetkinliğini sorgulanır hale getirerek, Platon açısından, mecliste alınan kararları tartışılır hale getirmiş ve bir yönetme krizinin her zaman kaçınılmaz olacağı iddiasıyla karşılanmıştır.

Demokratik rejime yönelik hasmane tutumunu hiçbir zaman gizlemeyen Platon, Atina demokrasisinin yol açtığı sorunların toplumsal gerçekliğin farklı şekilde deneyimlenmesi sonucunda aşılabileceği iddiasını ileri sürmüş ve toplumsal gerçekliğin demokratik rejimin eşitlikçi temsillerinden tamamen farklı temsiller üretmeye girişmiştir. Platon, toplumsal var oluş koşullarını, Atina'daki sınıfsal yapıyı değiştirmeyi amaçlamazken, toplumsal var oluş koşullarının istikrarsızlığa mahal vermeyecek şekilde deneyimlenmesi üzerine bir formül geliştirme çalışması içerisine girmiştir. Platon, toplumsal ve siyasal istikrarı sağlayacak olan modelin, Atinalı bütün yurttaşları eşitleyen demokratik rejimin aksine, siyasal ve toplumsal alana yansıtacak şekilde hiyerarşik olan katı bir iş bölümüne dayandığını savunur. İdeal Devlet modeli olarak isimlendirilen bu model, Atina sınırları içerisinde yaşayan yurttaşların her birinin tek bir işle meşgul olması ve bu kişilerin meşgul oldukları iş alanında uzmanlaşması gerektiği üzerine inşa edilmiştir.

Platon, bu modeli, idealar dünyasından feyz alarak yarattığını ileri sürmektedir. Platon, idealar dünyasının, ontolojik olarak duyulur dünyadan ayrı bir varlığa sahip idealdan oluştuğunu belirtmektedir. İnsan aklının ürünü olmayan idealar, duyulur

dünyadaki bütün nesnelere ilk sebebi konumundadır; bütün nesnelere idealardan pay alabildikleri ölçüde duyulur dünyada varlık kazanabilmektedir. Saf varlığa tekabül eden idealar arasında kelimenin tam anlamıyla mükemmel bir düzen, birliktelik ve hiyerarşi söz konusudur. Platon'a göre, duyulur dünyadaki bütün nesnelere ve yine insan aklının duyulur dünyayı anlamak üzere ürettiği bütün kavramlar idealardan türemiştir. Fakat dünyevi uzamada varlık kazanan her şey idealar evreninin başarısız bir taklidi olmaktan öteye gidemez. Platon, nesnelere ideadan pay almayan dünyevi bir yanı olmasından ve insan aklı ürünü olan kavramların da insanın bedene bulaşmışlığından ötürü ideaların nesnelere evreninde hiçbir zaman tam anlamıyla tatbik edilemeyeceğini söyler çünkü; idealar fiziksel, elle tutulur bir karaktere sahip olmayan ve saf düşünce aracılığıyla görülebilecek, temaşa edilebilecek bir varlığa sahiptirler. İdealar teorisi, böyle olmakla, Platon'un bayraktarlığını klasik şiir geleneğinin yürüttüğü mevcut Yunan düşünce sistemi karşısında gerçekleştirdiği onto-epistemolojik bir kopuşa işaret eder. Platon'a göre, bu gelenek, dünyevi ve duyulur olan nesnelere varlık statüsünde kabul etmekte, ve bilginin edinilmesi sürecinde saf akıl yoluyla gerçekleştirilebilecek temaşa etkinliği yerine canlandırma faaliyetine baş vurmaktadır. Platon'un bu anlamda en çarpıcı tartışmaları yürüttüğü metin ise *Devlet* kitabıdır.

*Devlet*, Platon'un diğer eserleriyle kıyaslandığında, Formlar Teorisi'ni en derli toplu şekilde ele aldığı ve süregelen Yunan kültür geleneğine karşıt olarak gerçekleştirdiği onto-epistemolojik kopuşa ilişkin detaylı bir çerçeve sunduğu eser olarak dikkat çeker. Yanı sıra, eser kapsamında, *sitenin* yönetiminden diyalektik etkinliğe, *sitenin* eğitiminden sanata, askerlikten üremeye ve daha başka birçok konu da ele alınır. *Devlet*'in içeriğinin sınırlarının bu denli geniş şekilde tutulmasının arkasında yatan sebep, şiir geleneğinin asırlardır yürüttüğü politik ve toplumsal kılavuzluk rolü ışığında ortaya çıkan dünyayı tecrübe ve tercüme etme kalıbı üzerinde dönüşüme yol açacak bir çözümün kapsayıcı yol haritasını sunma çabasıdır. Birbirinden farklı alanları konu edecek şekilde sunulan yol haritasıyla, Platon, katı iş bölümünün olduğu, herkesin yalnızca kendi işiyle meşgul olduğu bir toplumsal yaşam ve yine bu doğrultuda bir politik rejim inşa etmeyi amaçlar.

Platon'a göre, klasik şiir geleneğinin mensubu olan ozan tarafından yürütülen canlandırma/taklit faaliyetleri sırasında dolaşıma sokulan sözlü modeller yoluyla, toplumsal yaşama uygun olduğu düşünülen eylem tiplerinin numunesi sergilenmekte ve bu yolla da süregelen toplumsal ilişkiler tekrar edilecek bir karakter edinmektedir. Fakat, Platon, mimetik<sup>43</sup> bir karaktere sahip olmasından ötürü, toplumsal yaşam hakkında ozan tarafından sergilenen modellerin kaçınılmaz olarak yozlaşmış bir şekilde doğacağını ve sergilenmeye devam ettikçe toplumsal yozlaşmanın artmasına ve yayılmasına yol açacağını belirtmektedir.

Platon açısından bakıldığında, poetik mimetik modeller<sup>44</sup>, aklın ışığı altında sorgulanmadan üretilmiş ve tüketilmiş olmalarından ötürü tercüme edildikleri toplumsal yaşamın doğru bir istikamette seyir almasını engelleyecek ve her geçen gün yozlaşmanın boyutunu arttıracaktır. Yozlaşmanın nasıl ortaya çıktığına ilişkin Sokrates şu sözleri sarf eder: bu çeşit eserler zararlıdır; onları seyreden ve dinleyenin hazırlığı yoksa, yani benzetilen şeyin gerçekten ne olduğunu bilmiyorsa, içinin düzeni bozulur (*Devlet*, 2016: 335). Platon, dünyayı bu şekilde tecrübe eden zihni "Homerosça zihin" olarak adlandırır ve bu zihin yapısının en belirleyici karakteri olarak da dinleyicinin canlandırılan model üzerine herhangi bir sorgulama faaliyetine girişmeden, duyduğu ya da gördüğü modelle direkt özdeşleşmesini öne çıkarır. Bir diğer deyişle, özdeşleşme, zihnin kullanımının önüne geçer.

Platon'a göre, soysuzlaşmış, örgütsüz, tekinsiz ve değişken ve de bu özellikleri taşımasından ötürü idealar evreninin halihazırda başarısız bir taklidi olan nesnel evrenini taklit eden canlandırma faaliyeti de dinleyicinin ruhunda bir tür çürümeye yol açacaktır. Zira, taklidin de taklidi olma özelliği taşıyan canlandırma faaliyeti, bir yandan, uyandırdığı psikosomatik mekanizmalarla bedendeki arzuları ve hazları

---

<sup>43</sup> Aletler kullanmayan fakat imgeyi veya kopyayı kendi şahsında yaratan aktörün sanatının üretim tipi. Bkz. Peters, F., E. (2004). *Antik Yunan Felsefesi Terimleri Sözlüğü*. İstanbul: Paradigma, s. 222

<sup>44</sup> Platon, poetik modellerin taklitçi bir karaktere sahip olduklarını ve bu sebeple herkesin her şeyi yapabileceği sanrısını doğurdıkları için zararlı olarak addeder. Ona göre, site, zihni harekete geçirmek yerine, ozan tarafından sergilenen canlandırma faaliyeti sırasında dinleyici ile ozan arasında ortaya çıkan özdeşleşmenin etkinliğinin, duyguları ve hazları harekete geçiriyor olması sebebiyle bu modellerden acilen arındırılmalı. Bkz. Havelock, E., A. (1963). *Preface to Plato*. London:Cambridge

harekete geçirirken; bir diğ er yandan da, bireyin zihnini kullanmasının ve bunun sonucunda, gerçe ğ e biat edercesine, bedensel arzularına karřı geliřtireceđ i öz- denetimin ortaya ıkmasının önüne geer. Platon, *Ion Diyalogu* 'nda Sokrates ve Ion arasında geen diyalogla bu konuya aıklık getirmeye alıřır:

Sokrates: Kendi duyduđ unuz řeyleri evrenizdeki seyircilerin ođ unluđ una da duyurduđ unuzu bilir misin?

İon: Bilirim, bilirim. Ben anlattıka onlar da benim gibi ađ lar, yahut öfkeyle bakar veya titrerler. Ben sahnede yken onların gösterdikleri tepkileri göz önünde tutmam y üzde y üz gerektir. ünk ü onları ađ latırsam kazancım yüksek olur (2015: 269)

Zihnin yerine haz ve duyguların ruhta egemenliđ i anlamına gelen özdeřleşme, toplumsal yařam aısından son derece büyük bir tehdide yol aar: Bu faaliyet, herkesin bütün toplumsal rolleri bařarıyla gerekleřtirebileceđ i *sanrısına* yol aarak, katı bir iř bölümünün ideal devlet iřıđında pay edildiđ i politik bir rejimin ortaya ıkmasına mani olacaktır. Özdeřleşme faaliyetinin sonuçları *Devlet*'te řöyle ifade edilir:

O [řair], iimizin iyi yanını bırakıp daha az deđerli yanını ele alıyor. İřte ilk haklı sebep bu, onu bizim devlete sokmamak iin. En iyi kanunlara uyacak bizim devletimiz, oysa iimizdeki kötü yanı uyandırıyor, beslendiriyor, gülendiriyor; böylelikle de akılı yıpratıyor. En akıllıları yok edip kötüleri bařa getiren bir devlet ne hale gelirse o hale sokuyor insanı. Benzetmeci řair, her insanın iinde kötü bir düzenin kurulmasına yol aıyor, akla aykırı yanımızı gıdıklıyor, o yanımızsa üstünlüđümüzle ařađılıđımızı ayırt edemez birbirinden; aynı řeyleri bir büyük görür bir küçük. Bir sürü görüntüler, kuruntular yaratır, her zaman alabildiđine uzak kalır dođrudan (2016: 349).

Poetik canlandırma faaliyetine karřıt olarak, Platon, zihin aracılıđıyla saf manasıyla varlık olan idea ile temas kurulması durumunda nesnel evrenindeki yozlařmanın – bir dereceye kadar – önüne geilebileceđ ini, ve yine ideal devlet iřıđında faaliyete geirilecek politik rejim aracılıđıyla düzen ve birliđin nesnel evreninde de – bir noktaya kadar – tesis edilebileceđ ini ileri sürer. Bu temas belirtildiđ i üzere bir dereceye kadar gerekleřebilecektir; zira, iki dünya arasında kapatılamaz ontolojik bir fark bulunmaktadır.

Platon, zihnin diyalektik faaliyet yoluyla tam ve düzenli olan idealar dünyasıyla temas kurabileceđ ini söylemekle birlikte, bu temasın, yalnızca, filozof ruhlu kimselerin alacakları eđitim aracılıđıyla ruhlarının dođru yöne yönlendirilmesi

durumunda gerçekleşebileceğini ifade eder. Hakikatle temas edebilme kapasitesi, geriye kalanlardan farklı olarak, bahsi geçen kimselerin filozof ruhlu yaratılışında içkin olarak mevcuttur. Platon bu ayrımı yapmakla, beden içerisinde hapsolan ruhlar arasında, gerçekliğin bilgisi ile temas kurulması noktasında epistemolojik bir fark'ın varlığına işaret eder. Tıpkı, iki dünya arasındaki ontolojik fark gibi, epistemolojik fark da giderilemez, kapatılamaz bir mahiyete sahiptir. Aksi takdirde, katı iş bölümünden bahsetmek anlamsız olacaktır. Epistemolojik fark, Platoncu katı iş bölümünü imleyen ve koruma altına alan nirengi noktasıdır. Yine de, Platon filozof ruhlu doğanlar için de şu notu düşer: iyi bir eğitim sürecinden geçilmediği takdirde, filozof ruhlu zihin de – nesnelere dünyasında olmasından ötürü – y ö n ü nesnelere dünyasına çevirecek ve yozlaşmadan nasibini alacaktır. Öte yandan, bu zihnin t ü r ü doğru yöne yönelmiş olsa dahi yine de *epistemeye*<sup>45</sup> tam anlamıyla ulaşamaz; çünkü, en nihayetinde, filozof da nesnelere dünyasının bir üyesidir. Bu etkinlik aracılığıyla, *epistemeyi* elde etmekten ziyade, filozofun ruhunda taşıdığı doğru sanı bilgiye dönüşür, bir diğer deyişle *epistemeye* yaklaşır.

Filozofun doğru sanısının bilgiye dönüştürülmesi süreci, Platon epistemolojisinin en kritik kavramı olan *anamnesis*<sup>46</sup> faaliyeti ile açıklanır. Anımsama faaliyeti, birbirine benzeyen veya benzemeyen şeyler arasında ilişki kurularak gerçekleşir<sup>47</sup>. Anımsanan, ruhumuzda halihazırda bulunmaktadır, fakat (doğru) sanı düzeyindedir; yapılması gereken tek şey onu bilgiye dönüştürmektir. Bu da diyalektik ile sağlanır. Nesnelere dünyasının üyesi olan filozof, diyalektik faaliyet aracılığıyla yetkinliğin bilgisi olan *episteme* ile – ona yakınsayarak – bir düzeye kadar temas kurar. Fakat herkesin filozof ruhlu olmadığını ve site sakinlerinin yaratılışından ötürü bir toplumsal hiyerarşinin ruhların üzerine mühürlendiğinin altını kalın çizgilerle çizen Platon, buradan hareketle, idealar dünyasının nesnelere dünyasındaki tatbikinin epistemolojik

---

<sup>45</sup> Saf varlık ve saf düşünce alanının bilgisi. Bkz. Peters, a.g.e., s. 108

<sup>46</sup>Ruhun, doğum-öncesi bir durumda kazandığı formlar bilgisini hatırlamak, anımsamak. Bkz. Peters, a.g.e.. s.35

<sup>47</sup> Platon. (2017). *Phaidon*. (3.Baskı). İstanbul:Say Yayınları, s. 66



bir yolla gerçekleştiremeyeceğini; bunun yerine, epistemolojik farkı koruyacak şekilde, bireylerin dünyayı tecrübe etme ve yorumlama biçiminde değişikliğe yol politik bir çözüme ihtiyaç olduğuna işaret eder. Filozof, tam da, mündemiç olan kapasitesinden ötürü, politik çözümün nesnel evreninde sağlanması adına yöneticiliğe terfi ettirilmiş, ürettiği modeller aracılığıyla da, örgütsüz ve yozlaşmaya teşne nesnel evreninde ideaların tamlığına en yakın birliği ve düzeni tesis etmek misyonuyla donatılmıştır. Filozofun yönetme işlerindeki ayrıcalığının önemine Sokrates şu sözleriyle dikkat çeker:

Biz herkes için, Tanrısal ve bilge bir varlığın buyruğu altına girmenin çok daha karlı olduğuna inanıyoruz; bu varlık ister kendi içimizde olsun – en iyisi bu tabii – ister dışardan yönetsin bizi. Böylelikle hep aynı düzen içinde yaşar, birbirimizin mümkün olduğu kadar benzeri ve dostu oluruz (*Devlet*, 2016:331)

Filozofun zihni dışında, diyalektik faaliyete uygun olmayan zihinler, politik müdahalenin ardından, yetkinliğin tam bilgisi ile ancak filozofun yaratacağı mitolojik modellerle temasa geçebilecek ve böyle olduğu sürece yaratılışlarından gelen yetersizlik, filozofun ortaya koyduğu model ışığında eyledikleri sürece, engel olmaktan çıkacaktır. Böylelikle, davranışlarını, canlandırma faaliyetinde üretilen başı bozuk taklitlerin aksine *episteme* yönünde inşa etmeye başlayarak, örgütlü ve birliğe yakın bir toplumsal modelin nesnel dünyasında edimselleştirilmesinde kendilerine pay edilen rolün sınırları içerisinde kalarak büyük bir rol oynayacaklardır. Filozofun diğer yurttaşlar için sunduğu bu hizmet filozofun politik önderliğini tasdik etmekle birlikte, epistemolojik farkı da yeniden üretecektir.

*Devlet* kitabında yer alan ve toplumsal yaşama farmakolojik bir etkisi olacağını düşünerek yer verdiği bir soylu yalanla Platon konuyu somutlaştırarak açıklık getirir: Fenike Masalı'na<sup>48</sup> göre, koruyucular (filozofların da dahil olduğu) topluluğunun üyesi olabilenler atın ruhlu doğmuş kimseler arasından çıkacaktır. Yine masala göre, gümüş ruhlu doğanlar devlet içerisinde yardımcı görevler üstlenirken, tunç ruhlu

---

<sup>48</sup>*Devlet*'in 3.Kitap'ında yer alan Fenike Masalı'nda içerisinde geçen metaller söylencesi aracılığıyla ruhlar arasında ayırım yapılmakta ve bu ayırım nesnel evreninde toplumsal iş bölümü olarak vücut bulmaktadır. Masala göre, devletteki rol dağılımı şu şekilde olmalıdır: altın ruhlu doğanlar yönetici, gümüş ruhlu doğanlar yardımcı, tunç ruhlu doğanlar ise çiftçilik ve zanaatkarlık işleriyle meşgul olurlar (2016, 415 a-c).

olanlar da çiftçilik ve zanaatkarlıkla uğraşacaklardır. Denebilir ki, Platon, bu masal yoluyla, epistemolojik farka işaret eden ruhların doğasından gelen farktan hareketle, katı bir toplumsal iş bölümü üzerine kurulu toplumsal-politik bir rejimin modelini tarif etmektedir. Platon'a göre bir devleti doğru yapan unsur tam da masal aracılığıyla modellediği iş bölümünde saklıdır. Toplumsal iş bölümünü dışarda bırakan bir yapılanma devlet adına yıkıcı sonuçlara neden olacaktır. Bu düşüncesini 3. Kitap'ta şu cümlelerle açık eder: “Bizim kuracağımız devlette, kunduracı kunduracıdır. Kunduracılıktan başka bir de kaptanlık yapmaz. Çiftçi çiftçidir, çiftçilikten başka bir de yargıçlık etmez. Asker askerdir, askerlik ederken alım sayımla da uğraşmaz” (2016: 89). Poetik geleneğin hakimiyetinin sürdüğü bir durumda bu türden bir rol dağılımının başarılı olma şansı Platoncu çerçeveye göre imkansızdır. Tekrar etmek gerekirse, bu hakimiyetin ortadan kaldırılması ve idealar dünyasının gerçekliğin ta kendisi olarak anlaşılabilmesi için dümeni bu yöne doğru kırarak politik bir müdahale hayatidir.

Fenike Masalı, bir yandan yaratılışın imlediği farktan ötürü toplumda yaşayan herkesin idealarla temas kurmasının olanaklı olmadığını tasvir ederken; diğer yandan murat ettiği politik rejimin gerçeklik kazanabilmesi adına ihtiyaç duyduğu politik çözümün modelini sunar; böylelikle, epistemolojik yetersizliği, ideaların nesnel evreninde tatbik edilmesi önünde bir engel olmaktan çıkarır. Platon, masal yoluyla, politik çözüm olarak sunduğu siyasal rejimin anlaşılabilir olmasını ve meşruiyet kazanmasını sağlamayı amaçlamıştır. *Devlet* 5.Kitap'ta soylu yalanların etkisi üzerine Sokrates şöyle demektedir: “Devlet adamlarımız yönettikleri insanların yararına, yalana ve düzene başvurabilirler demiştik. Bu türlü yalanları da birer ilaç gibi yararlı saymıştık” (2016: 163).

Tüm bunlardan hareketle, mitolojik sembollerin Platoncu kullanımının iki işlevi olduğu çalışma süresince anımsatılmıştır: birincisi, toplumsal yaşamdaki paylaşımı herkesin anlayabileceği bir tür dayanak oluşturmak; ikincisi de, politik bir çözüm olarak, koruyucular topluluğundan diyalektikçi çıkmaması olasılığına karşı ihtiyaç duyulan politik müdahale neticesinde ortaya çıkan toplumsal rol paylaşımını somut ve sürdürülebilir kılmak. Denebilir ki, poetik geleneğin kılavuzluğunu yürüttüğü ve

nesnelere evrenine hapsolmuş dünya tecrübesine karşı olarak, idealar ışığında bir dünya tecrübesini mümkün kılmayı amaç edinen Platon, idealar dünyasındaki düzen ve birliğin (doğru politik rejimin) nesnelere evreninde mümkün olduğunca gerçekleştirilmesinin aracı olarak mitolojik modelleri görür. Platon'un yöntem olarak bir şiir türü olan mitolojik sembollere başvurmasının arka planında ise, klasik poetik geleneğin dinleyiciler üzerinde yarattığı geniş çaplı etkiyi gözlemlemiş olması yatmaktadır.

Bununla birlikte, Platon, Fenike Masalı, Kronos Çağı Efsanesi, Denizci Masalı gibi, koruyucu işlev görmesini beklediği mitolojik sembolleri kullanma yöntemi, geleneğin içerisinden çıkartarak ve idealar ışığında yeniden yapılandırarak şimdiye tercüme edilmeleri şeklinde işler. Bir diğer deyişle, Platon, yeni bir şey yazmamıştır; halihazırda bulunan mitolojik sembolleri yeniden *kaleme almıştır*. Fakat Platon'un yazı yoluna başvurmasının arka planında bireylerin mitolojik sembollerin anlamlarını tüketme sürecini kontrol altına almak yatmaktadır. Mitleri kaleme almakla, Platon sembollerin anlamını katılaştırarak/kapatma altına alarak çoklu temellükün önüne geçmeyi amaçlamıştır. Bu yolla, bireylerin dünyayı yorumlama biçimi ve davranışlarını kontrol altında tutmayı amaçlamıştır. Platon açısından düşünüldüğünde, yazmak, bireylerin toplumsal iş bölümüne koşut bir şekilde davranmalarını sağlamanın yegane yolu olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Yunan kültür geleneğinin temsilciliğini ve Yunan dünya tecrübesinin modellerini üreten poetik geleneğe karşı, Platon'un başlangıç fişegini atarak yaratma çabası içerisine girdiği karşı-modeller, varolan dünyanın nasıl yorumlanması ve müteakiben bu yoruma uygun bir şekilde nasıl eylemesi gerektiğinin numunesini sunarak, ona davranış tipleri üzerinde denetim sağlamanın anahtarını sunmuştur. Platon, bu değişimi eğitim kurumu aracılığıyla gerçekleştirmeyi hedeflemiş; şehrin tüm çocuklarının eğitimden geçirilmesi ve eğitime soylu yalanlarla başlanması gerektiğine işaret etmiştir. İdeal devletin ideal düzeyde sahip olduğu düzenlilik ve birlik doğrultusunda inşa etmeyi murat ettiği dünyevi toplumsallık eksik de olsa ancak bu yolla sağlanabilecektir. Zira, ideal devleti bir standart olarak sunan Platon, tekrar etmek gerekirse, bu devletin nesnelere evrenindeki taklidinin tam anlamıyla

gerçekleşemeyeceğinin altını kalın çizgilerle çizer. Dünyevi devlet, bu modeli bir standart, ölçüt olarak almalı ve ona yakınsamak üzere düzenlenmelidir. Sokrates'in *Devlet*, 5.Kitap'ta sarf ettiği şu sözleri bu değerlendirmeyi doğrulayacak cinstendir: "Sözle kurduğum yapıyı, olduğu gibi gerçekleştirmemi isteme. Tasarımıza en yakın devleti kurmanın yolunu bulabilirsen artık kabul et ki istediğini yapmış, devletimizin mümkün olduğunu yeterince göstermiş olurum. Bu kadarı yetmez mi sence? Bence yeter" (2016: 181).

Gelinen noktada, Platon'un *Devlet*'i neden yazdığı sorusuna anlatılanlar ışığında tez kapsamında şöyle bir yanıt verilmiştir: Platon, *Devlet*'i, idealar ışığında ürettiği ve bir düzen vaat eden soylu yalanlar doğrultusunda eyleyen, poetik gelenek karşıtı, bir toplumsallık inşa etmeye götürecek politik eylemin yol haritasını sunmak amacıyla yazdı. Kendisi de şiirin gücünü gözlemlemiş ve buradan hareketle bireylerin ideal devlet modelini kanıksamalarının en etkili yolu olarak mitolojik sembolleri kabul etmiştir. Böylelikle de, "sözle kurduğu kusursuz devlet"nin nesnel evreninde alabildiğince vücut bulabilmesi hususunda, mitolojik sembollerin kaleme alınmasına büyük önem atfetmiştir.

Bu çalışma kapsamında, idealar dünyasından türetilen Platoncu sembolik modellerin, "bireylerin, ileri sürülen toplumsal-siyasal formasyonu apaçıklık olarak deneyimlemelerini sağlamaları" amacıyla yazıldığı ileri sürülmüştür. Soylu yalanların, Platon'un iddia ettiği üzere farmakolojik olarak tesir edebildiği ölçüde, bireylerin, toplumsal var oluş koşullarıyla ilişkiye geçme biçimlerinin toplumsal formasyonun Platoncu yeni temsili aracılığıyla gerçekleşeceği; böyle olduğu ölçüde, bireylerin, toplumsal gerçekliğin ve/veya Platoncu toplumsal gerçeklik modelinin ihtiyaçlarına cevap verebilecek bilgilerle donatılmış öznelerle dönüştürülmüş olacakları ifade edilmiştir. Toplumsal gerçekliğin temsiliyle kurulması düşünülen ilişkinin mitolojik semboller aracılığıyla sağlanmaya çalışıldığı ve bu sembollere bir çağırma aracı rolünün atfedildiği savunulmuştur. Sözgelimi, bireylerin ruhlarında taşıdıkları metaller temelli bir anlatıdan hareketle tasnif edildiği Fenike Masalı, bireylerin bu tasnif üzerinden kendileri için sınırları belirlenen çerçevede hareket etmelerini sağlamayı amaçlayan bir masal olarak toplumsal ve siyasal iktidar

ilişkilerini anlaşılabilir ve sürdürülebilir kılmak amacıyla yaratılmış ve dolaşıma sokulmuştur. Bu masal aracılığıyla somutlaştırılan toplumsal formasyon uyarınca, bireylerin toplumsal statü kazanmasının veya özne kategorisi içerisinde yer alabilmelerinin olmazsa olmaz koşulu olarak belirlenen rolün sınırları dahilinde eylemleri tarif edilmiştir. Diğer ideolojik temsiller gibi, mitolojik semboller aracılığıyla açıklık kazanan Platoncu toplumsal modelin de toplumsal var oluş koşullarını deneyimleme biçimi düzeyinde etkili olmayı amaçladığı; böyle olduğu ölçüde de toplumsal-pratik, somut, üretken bir mahiyete sahip olduğuna çalışma kapsamında dikkat çekilmiştir.

## APPENDIX-B THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

### ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

- Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences
- Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Social Sciences
- Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Applied Mathematics
- Enformatik Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Informatics
- Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü** / Graduate School of Marine Sciences

### YAZARIN / AUTHOR

**Soyadı** / Surname : Hiroğlu  
**Adı** / Name : Behzat  
**Bölümü** / Department : Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi / Political Science and Public Administration

**TEZİN ADI** / TITLE OF THE THESIS (**İngilizce** / English): INTERPELLATING ATHENIANS: AN INVESTIGATION ON PLATO'S POLITICS OF SYMBOL MAKING

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans** / Master  **Doktora** / PhD

1. **Tezin tamamı dünya çapında erişime açılacaktır.** / Release the entire work immediately for access worldwide.
2. **Tez iki yıl süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for patent and/or proprietary purposes for a period of **two years**. \*
3. **Tez altı ay süreyle erişime kapalı olacaktır.** / Secure the entire work for period of **six months**. \*

\* Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararının basılı kopyası tezle birlikte kütüphaneye teslim edilecektir. / A copy of the decision of the Institute Administrative Committee will be delivered to the library together with the printed thesis.

**Yazarın imzası** / Signature .....

**Tarih** / Date .....

(Kütüphaneye teslim ettiğiniz tarih. Elle doldurulacaktır.)

(Library submission date. Please fill out by hand.)

*Tezin son sayfasıdır. / This is the last page of the thesis/dissertation.*