

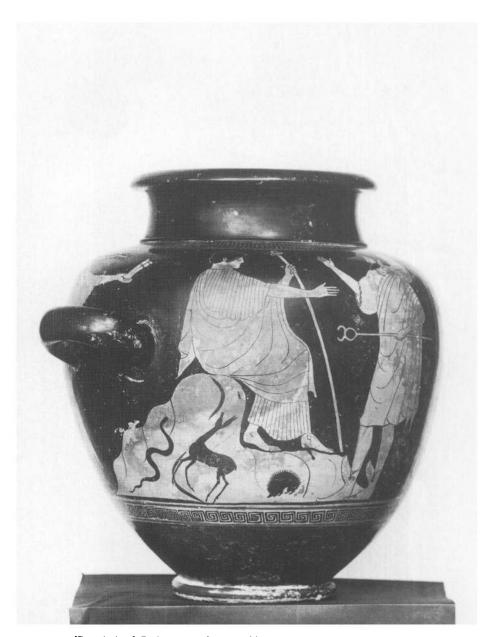
This is a study of Greek mythology in relation to its original contexts. Part One deals with the contexts in which myths were narrated: the home, public festivals, the  $lesch\bar{e}$ . Part Two, the heart of the book, examines the relation between the realities of Greek life and the fantasies of mythology: the landscape, the family and religion are taken as case-studies. Part Three focuses on the function of myth-telling, both as seen by the Greeks themselves and as perceived by later observers. The author sees his role as that of a cultural historian trying to recover the contexts and horizons of expectation which simultaneously make possible and limit meaning. He seeks to demonstrate how the seemingly endless variations of Greek mythology are a product of this community, situated in this landscape, and with these institutions.

The book aims to engage with the latest work in this field (e.g. the structuralist and myth-and-ritual approaches developed by European scholars) in a style as free as possible from unnecessarily obscure terminology. All Greek is translated.



**IMAGINARY GREECE** 





[Frontispiece] Paris, on a rock, greeted by Hermes.



# IMAGINARY GREECE

The contexts of mythology

RICHARD BUXTON

Professor of Greek Language and Literature, University of Bristol







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521338653

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 1994

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 1994 Reprinted 1995, 1996

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Buxton, R. G. A.

Imaginary Greece: the contexts of mythology/by Richard Buxton.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 0 521 32978 7 (hc)

I. Mythology, Greek. 2. Greece - Civilization -To 146 B.C.

I. Title.

BL782.B87 1994

292.1'3-dc20 93-27412 CIP

ISBN 978-0-521-33865-3 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



For George

May you always find time for stories



# **CONTENTS**

Lis	t of plates	<i>page</i> xi	
Pre	face	xiii	
Acl	knowledgements	xiv	
Ab	xv		
Int	roduction	I	
PΑ	RT ONE: NARRATIVE CONTEXTS		
1	Telling tales	9	
2	Myths in performance	18	
	From the cradle	18	
	The songs of youth	21	
	Stories for citizens	27	
	to the grave	40	
3	Performance into text	45	
4	Images in context	53	
	Archaic and Classical Greece	53	
	Collection and domestication	63	
PΑ	RT TWO: RE-IMAGINING THE WORLD		
5	Cookery and recipes	69	
6	Landscape	80	
ix			



#### x Contents

To the mountain	81
Other territories: sea, cave and spring	97
7 Family	114
Wives, webs and wiles	114
Fathers, sons and brothers	130
8 Religion	145
The nature of divinity	145
Telling and acting	151
Believing in myths	155
PART THREE: WHAT WAS THE POINT?	
9 The actors' perceptions	169
10 Modern perspectives	182
Reflectors and constructors	182
Paradigms (and shoes)	193
Mapping	198
Explanation	207
Psychology, emotion and (again) pluralism	213
Epilogue	219
Bibliography	221
Index	237



# **PLATES**

	Frontispiece. Paris greeted by Hermes. (See below, Plate 7.)	
Ι.	Gorgo (LIMC, 'Gorgo', no. 271): Syracuse, Mus. Reg. Photo:	
	Hirmer.	page 19
2.	Birth of Helen: Bari, Mus. Arch. 3899. Photo: Soprintendenza	
	Archeologica della Puglia, Taranto.	35
3.	Departing warrior: London, Brit. Mus. F 158. Photo: courtesy	
	of the Trustees of the British Museum.	55
4.	Two funerary lekythoi. (a) London, Brit. Mus. D 65. Photo:	
	as 3. (b) Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2777. Photo:	
	Blow up.	56-7
5.	Centaur and Lapith: London, Brit. Mus. Photo: Hirmer.	59
6.	The landscape of the oros. Photo: Professor P. M. Warren.	82
7.	Paris and Hermes: Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen zu	
	Berlin 2182. Photo: Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz.	91
8.	Two faces of the sea. (a) Fishing: Vienna, Kunsthistorisches	
	Museum 3727. Photo: Museum (Bittermann). (b) Europa:	
	London, Brit. Mus. F 184. Photo: as 3.	98–9
9.	The sea-shore near Pylos, S. W. Greece. Photo reproduced from	
	Karpodini-Dimitriadi 1981, pl. 131.	102
10.	Real and imaginary caves. (a) The cave of Franchthi, in the	
	Argolid. Photo reproduced from Karpodini-Dimitriadi 1981,	
	pl. 35. (b) Cave monster: National Museum, Copenhagen,	
	Department of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities 834.	
	Photo: Niels Elswing.	104-5

хi



## xii List of plates

Women at a fountain: London, Brit. Mus. B 334. Photo: as 3.	110
Telemachos and Penelope: Chiusi, Mus. Civ. 1831. <i>Photo</i> reproduced from Kraiker 1958, pl. 42.	123
Polyneikes and Eriphyle: Lecce, Mus. Prov. 570. Photo: Foto	
Guido, Lecce.	125
Covering the corpse of Ajax: New York, Metr. Mus. 1.69	
11.35 (ex Bareiss Collection). <i>Photo</i> : Getty Museum (1983).	126
Odysseus and Kirke: Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. G 249. Photo:	
Museum.	127
Pelops and Hippodameia: Arezzo, Mus. Civ. 1460. Photo	
reproduced from Kraiker 1958, pl. 51.	130-1
Jaunty Centaur with pine-branch: Karlsruhe, Badisches	
Landesmuseum 63.104. Photo: Museum.	203
Achilles and Cheiron: Paris, Louvre G 186. Photo: Musée du	
Louvre.	206
Ajax prepares for suicide: Boulogne, Musée Communal 558.	
Photo: Devos.	217
Satyr-as-Herakles: London, Brit. Mus. E 539. Photo: as 3.	218
	Telemachos and Penelope: Chiusi, Mus. Civ. 1831. Photo reproduced from Kraiker 1958, pl. 42.  Polyneikes and Eriphyle: Lecce, Mus. Prov. 570. Photo: Foto Guido, Lecce.  Covering the corpse of Ajax: New York, Metr. Mus. L.69—11.35 (ex Bareiss Collection). Photo: Getty Museum (1983).  Odysseus and Kirke: Oxford, Ashmolean Mus. G 249. Photo: Museum.  Pelops and Hippodameia: Arezzo, Mus. Civ. 1460. Photo reproduced from Kraiker 1958, pl. 51.  Jaunty Centaur with pine-branch: Karlsruhe, Badisches Landesmuseum 63.104. Photo: Museum.  Achilles and Cheiron: Paris, Louvre G 186. Photo: Musée du Louvre.  Ajax prepares for suicide: Boulogne, Musée Communal 558. Photo: Devos.



### **PREFACE**

This book has been several years in the writing. During that time the author has accumulated personal and intellectual debts too numerous to mention. But a few exceptions must be made, and I am happy to make them.

Successive groups of final-year and post-graduate students in the University of Bristol have listened to and modified my ideas with good humour and appropriate scepticism. Participants in the research seminars which I gave in the University of Strasbourg during 1991-2 opened up new perspectives for me and offered much valuable criticism of detail; in addition, my Strasbourg colleague Gérard Siebert gave me help well beyond the call of duty. It is a real pleasure to thank Jan Bremmer, Frank Shaw and Thomas Wiedemann for many years of friendship, during which they have given unstintingly of their knowledge of matters mythological; indeed Professor Bremmer read and commented on a draft of the present book. Conversations with Fritz Graf, and more recently with Claude Calame and Philippe Borgeaud, have confirmed the impression which I had formed from my reading, that Switzerland has become the focus of much of the best work in this field. Throughout, Pauline Hire of Cambridge University Press has been a wise and tactful guide. I hope she feels that her patience has in some measure been rewarded.

> RGAB June 1993

xiii



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Part of Chapter 6 is adapted from my article entitled 'Imaginary Greek mountains', published in *JHS* for 1992. I am grateful to the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for granting me permission to reuse this material.

Passages from Homer are usually cited in the translations by Richmond Lattimore (*The Iliad*: University of Chicago Press, © 1951 by The University of Chicago; *The Odyssey*: Harper & Row, © 1965, 1967 by Richmond Lattimore). For Pindar, I have drawn on the versions by (p. 118) C. M. Bowra (Penguin Books, © C. M. Bowra 1969), and, again (pp. 149 and 176), Richmond Lattimore (University of Chicago Press, © 1947 by the University of Chicago Press). For other authors, in cases where I have taken over or adapted existing translations, I have tried always to acknowledge the fact. Otherwise, the version given is my own.

For acknowledgements relating to illustrations, see under list of plates above.

xiv



# **ABBREVIATIONS**

ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens
	5
AC	L'Antiquité Classique
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
$ARV^2$	J. D. Beazley, Attic Red-figure Vase-painters <sup>2</sup> , Oxford,
	1963
ASNP	Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Cl. di
	Lettere e Filosofia
BCH	Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University
	of London
CPh	Classical Philology
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CR	Classical Review
DK	Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker <sup>6</sup> , edd. H. Diels and W.
	Kranz, Berlin, 1951–2
FGrH	Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker, ed. F. Jacoby,
	Berlin, 1923-
FHG	Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, ed. C. Müller, Paris,
	1841-70
HSCP	Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
JAPA	Journal of the American Psychoanalytical Association
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae

χv

AAntHung



JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
LIMC	Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae, Zurich,
	1981-
MAL	Memorie della Classe di Scienze morali e storiche dell'Acca-
	demia dei Lincei
MDAI(A)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Ath.
, ,	Abt.)
MDAI(R)	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Röm.
, ,	Abt.)
MH	Museum Helveticum
OCT	Oxford Classical Text
OJA	Oxford Journal of Archaeology
PCG	Poetae Comici Graeci, edd. R. Kassel and C. Austin,
	Berlin, 1983-
PMG	Poetae Melici Graeci, ed. D. L. Page, Oxford, 1962
QUCC	Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura classica
RA	Revue Archéologique
RE	Pauly/Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alter-
	tumswissenschaft, Stuttgart, 1894-
REG	Revue des Etudes Grecques
RhM	Rheinisches Museum
RPh	Revue de Philologie
SAWW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wis-
	senschaft in Wien, PhilosHist. Klasse
SIFC	Studi Italiani di Filologia classica
SO	Symbolae Osloenses
SSR	Studi Storico-Religiosi
TAPA	Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological
	Association
TrGF	Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta, Göttingen, 1971–
WSt	Wiener Studien
WüJbb	Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Although in the main text I have in general preferred transliterations which give a 'Greek' rather than a 'Romanised' impression (thus 'Herakles', not 'Hercules'), for abbreviations of names of authors and titles of works I have followed the widely accepted system adopted in the standard *Greek-English Lexicon* of Liddell, Scott and Jones.