8: Greek Myth and Greek Religion

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Neither "myth" nor "religion" constitutes a category native to Greek thought. Neither myth nor religion were conceived of as such by the Greeks – neither myth as a corpus of (fabulous) tales of gods and heroes dependent on a frame of comprehensive thought, nor religion as a set of beliefs and practices relative to a divine configuration (not even in the Roman sense of regulated cult observance).[1] But, in the case of the former, we have a series of narratives with argumentative and pragmatic value that describe, in poetic form, the heroic past of Greek cities or of the "Greek" community (experienced as *tò Hellēnikón* only from Herodotus on), narratives that, recited or sung as *palaiá* or *arkhaîa*, make reference to the ancient history of Greece and correspond to *mûthoi*. In the case of the latter, we can think in terms of divine and heroic figures, in terms of civic spaces reserved for them, and in terms of the numerous ritual practices that sought, through offerings of various types, to influence divine intervention in the present: *tà hierá* ('offerings, victims'), *tà nómima* ('what is prescribed'; hence 'customs, rites') to cite only terms related to sacrificial offerings and to the implicit rules animating cult practices, and to underscore that these practices are always integrated into the calendar that gives rhythm to the religious and political life of each city, in conjunction with the particular assemblage of gods and heroes who are honored there.[2]

No mythology, then – neither as an established narrative consciousness, nor as a framework of thought, unless considered in the form of manuals of mythography, such as the one in the *Library* attributed to Apollodorus. Such a collection of heroic intrigues, organized according

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to their protagonists' genealogical relationships, a systematic catalog of proper names evoking a bygone epic past, was evidently destined for a reading public of erudite poets or inquisitive minds in large Greek cities where political institutions and civic relationships had weakened and the heroic past of classical Greece provided reference points in a quest for renewed identity.[3] In particular, as *mûthoi*, the narrative actions of Greek gods and heroes are not simply demonstrated and modeled by different poetic and historiographic forms, but they exist in these forms alone; such concrete manifestations, by virtue of their pragmatic dimension, guarantee that these narrative actions retain the flexibility to fulfill their social, religious, and ideological function and efficacy.

Whether it be the *Homeric Hymns*, preludes addressed to a god in order to introduce the rhapsodic recitation of Homeric poems into his cult, or Sappho's *Epithalamia*, designed to punctuate the different ritual moments of the marriage ceremony by commemorating the misfortunes of the hero Hymenaeus, or Bacchylides' profoundly narrative, if not outright dramatic, *Dithyrambs* for singing an episode of the heroic biography of hero-founders in local cult, or the often anonymous cult hymns that, as at Delphi or Epidaurus, formed an integral part of the celebration of a titular god by singing his divine biography, or Pindar's *Epinicia*, which insert into the observance of a local cult the choral celebration of a victory at the Panhellenic games by allusions to the great deeds of the heroes of epic cycles, not to mention the hymnic prayers or paeans composed by many melic poets – there exists no story of gods or heroes that does not come to the public in a ritualized discursive form. Full of self-referential gestures by which the poet or the choral group allude to the singing activity in which they are engaged – *hic et nunc* ('here and now') – the poems belonging in particular to the major genre of *mélos* present themselves as cult acts, inscribed in religious practices celebrating the gods and heroes of the city. By the intermediary of hymnic proems that present epic recitation as an offering to a divinity in a particular cult, this is also the case of rhapsodic recitation of Homeric poems – the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. And the great heroic plots that are dramatized on the Attic stage in the classical tragedies do not escape this aspect of the religious act, since the performances of tragedies, as well as the civic performance of dithyrambs, are presented as offerings: in the shadow of the Acropolis, at the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus, they were mimed, sung, and danced on the occasion of one of the greatest celebrations of the festal Athenian calendar.[4] The works of the

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logographers and historiographers contemporary with the great tragedies of classical Athens, even if they abandoned the rhythmic and ritualized forms of poetry, remain inscribed in constant efforts to reformulate a heroic past and adapt it to the exigencies of a social and political present strongly marked by the influence of the gods and by ritual and discursive acts used to communicate with them.[5]

Notably, under the influence of the cult celebrations imparting rhythm to the annual calendar, the social life of the various groups forming the civic community carries, in its relationships with its heroic past, the imprint of practices that seem, at least to us, to be "religious" in nature and of discursive forms to which correspond certain ritual acts. In effect, the retelling of episodes of the great epic cycles, as well as the self-referential means and performative indices of such poetic forms, are inscribed in the rules of the genre. Divided between verbal regularities, such as the forms for invoking a divinity, and ritual rules related to the musical "performance" of a poem, these rules assure the pragmatic link that transforms the narrative song of the "myth" into a ritual act inserted into a particular cult. Thus it is impossible to distinguish, as scholars often do in the wake of the idealistic "evolutionism" of Ernst Cassirer, between myth and language:[6] what our modern anthropological frame of mind has identified as myth exists only in the forms of discourse that connect pragmatic function and religious practice.

In a manner undoubtedly paradoxical, this holds true particularly for Attic tragedy, a seemingly inexhaustible source of the stories that we have amassed as Greek "mythology." Even if it is performed ritually within the frame of the aforementioned great cult and music festival dedicated to Dionysus (or probably because it is dedicated to this god), tragedy frequently offers in the mimetic representation of a heroic action a *mise en question* of epic values, if not of the powers of the gods themselves, by a dramatic mirroring of the social rules and political institutions of the present. The religious dimension of classical tragedy not only appears in the rituality proper of the musical competition of the Great Dionysia and in the ritual forms, both in the orchestra and on the stage, which, in turn, become integrated into the heroic action, but also manifests itself in the frequently aetiological conclusions of the individual plays.

Such is the case of Euripides' *Hippolytus*, performed during the initial years of the Peloponnesian War. This tragedy is only the reworking of an earlier drama dedicated to the same plot – one that Aristophanes seems to have criticized for its having shown Phaedra in an unflattering

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light. Notwithstanding the literary conceit of using a written message to attenuate Phaedra's accusation of Hippolytus and salvage her honor, the deleterious love that Aphrodite inspired in the heart of a mature wife for her stepson opens the way for Artemis to offer redress for the misfortunes that the young man had endured. His disappearance would soon come to constitute the occasion of the highest cult honors in the city of Troezen, and in a heroizing process common in classical Greece, each year young girls entering into marriage would commemorate, with songs and offerings, the drama of his death due to a love offered too exclusively to Artemis, the virgin.[7] Pausanias, in fact, tells us that the city of Troezen celebrated the memory of Hippolytus with various rituals, performed in the sanctuary and before the temple, consecrated to the deified young hero. Thus the epic intrigue staged by Euripides gave birth to a cult, instituted by Artemis herself, that corresponds to a ritual practice contemporary with the staging of the drama. This strong relationship between religious observance and the dramatic performance of a heroic story is especially marked at the beginning of the tragedy when Hippolytus assumes the role of *khorēgós* ('leader of the chorus') among his companions, and the group performs a processional song and ritual to accompany the offering of a garland of pure flowers to Artemis. Moreover, near the end of its participation in the ceremony, the chorus of the women of Troezen evokes the ritual functions assumed by the young man in his ambiguous devotion to the virgin goddess.[8] The process of explication and aetiological legitimization occurs through poetic expression; this poetic expression follows the rules of genre, respecting the conventions of a performative melic form and of a dramatization that itself is a ritual. Indeed, it is the pragmatic dimension of the tragic form that allows a traditional story – one that sets on stage the heroes Hippolytus, Phaedra, and Theseus in the clutches of Artemis, Aphrodite, and Poseidon – to become the foundation-legend of a religious practice alive both in Troezen, the place of the unfolding heroic drama, and in Athens, the city where spectators celebrate Dionysus Eleuthereus at his theater-sanctuary.

This is the relationship between "Greek myth" and "Greek religion" that I would like to explore here through a series of five cases. In each case, we can see how an individual heroic tale is called upon to legitimate a particular cult practice through an intermediary poetic form that influences both the narrative and semantic characteristics of the account and the religious and political conception underlying the ritual concerned.[9]

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The Hymn of the Abduction of Persephone and the Founding of a Cult: The Mysteries of Eleusis

Seduced by the mysterious charm of the narcissus while gathering flowers in a green pasture with her companions, Persephone, daughter of Zeus and Demeter, is kidnapped by Aidoneus (the god Hades), lord of the Underworld, and dragged into the gloom of Hades (the place). Heartbroken, Demeter sets out at once to search for her daughter and is finally informed by Hecate and then by the Sun of the fate reserved for the young virgin – by the will of Zeus. As she leaves Olympus in a fit of anger and grief, taking the form of an old woman, the goddess encounters at Eleusis the daughters of Celeus, king of that place. Manifest through a quasi-epiphany, she becomes the nurse of the family's youngest son, Demophon, whom she secretly attempts to render immortal by anointing him with ambrosia and hiding him within fire. Surprised by Metaneira, the child's mother, Demeter is forced to reveal her divine nature and insists that a sanctuary be built in her honor. Celeus and his people set out to construct a temple, where the goddess of agriculture will shut herself in, leaving the fields infertile and men devoid of the fruits of the earth. Fearful of being deprived of the honors owed to him by mortals, Zeus intervenes, ordering Hermes to bring Persephone back from the land of the dead. Hades consents only after having made the young woman ingest the pomegranate seed of memory. From that time on, Persephone will spend two-thirds of the year on Olympus in the company of her mother and return for the remaining one-third to Hades. When Zeus thus acquiesced to Demeter, the earth flowered again at last and produced the most beautiful grains:

> Straightaway, Demeter made the tilled and fecund earth bear fruit;
> The entirety of the vast earth became heavy with plants and flowers.
> She went to teach – to the kings who administer justice,
> To Triptolemus and to Diocles, the able horseman,
> To the powerful Eumolpus and to Celeus the leader of the people –
> The celebration of the sacred rites;
> She revealed to them the beautiful mysteries . . . ,
> The august acts that it is impossible to transgress, to uncover,

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To divulge. Because great is the respect that the gods inspire, rendering us mute.
Happy is he who, among the men on earth, has seen these things;
But he who is not initiated into the sacred rites, he who has no part in them
Does not share the same destiny, even when departed into the gloomy darkness.[10]

From *drēsmosúne* ('service, celebration') to *hierá* ('sacred rites') and from *órgia* ('ritual actions, mysteries') to *atelés* ('not initiated'), all the terms used to designate the acts taught by Demeter in gratitude for the return of her daughter and the concomitant renewal of the fertile fields are technical terms. They allude to the institution of the different ritual acts composing a cult, and more precisely a mystery cult.[11] It falls to Demeter to inaugurate, under her own aegis and that of her daughter Persephone, the famous Mysteries of Eleusis, representing one of the preeminent moments in the cult calendar of classical Athens. From the perspective of an epic and rhapsodic narrative that unfolds in a four-hundred-line *Homeric Hymn*, the institution of the cult of the Mysteries of Eleusis by Demeter herself forms the coda of the action. According to the narrative logic that gives the account of this divine act its coherence, to the moment of rupture at the beginning – which the abduction of Persephone and the anger of Demeter that interrupts the cycle of agricultural production represent – there corresponds, at the end, the reestablishment of the fecundity of the fields and the institution of a cult in recognition of the assistance that the kings of Eleusis have provided for the goddess.

Yet the "sanctioning" part of the narrative would be incomplete if the poem did not move from the past tense of the divine act to the present tense of enunciation. In effect, the ritual acts that Persephone's mother initiated at Eleusis would have no comprehensible meaning if the end of the story, recounted in the aorist (past) tense of Greek, did not lead, via the expression "happy is he who . . . ," to an initial *makarismós* ('blessing') in the present tense: thanks to the completion of the rites inaugurated by the goddess in the narrative past tense, mortals can henceforth enjoy, as much on earth as in Hades, a more favorable destiny. That is to say, the present moment of the ritual is integrated into the logic of the narrative and divine action in the past: not only has Demeter reestablished communication between the terrestrial sphere and Olympus, but initiation into the mysteries uses ritual to reestablish the relationship between life on earth and the underworld,

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a relationship that had been disturbed by the violent kidnapping of the young Persephone. The life that Persephone shares between Olympus, in the company of the gods, and Hades, in the midst of the dead, evokes the condition of mortal men who can communicate with the gods and share in their privileges, yet remain destined for an inevitable sojourn in Hades, on the misty obscurity of which initiation into the mysteries can shed some light.

In the transition from "myth" to "rite," the role of aetiology renders the ritual and initiation rites taught by the deity herself more than a simple mimetic dramatization of the rape of Persephone. By the performance of specific acts dedicated to the two divine protagonists of the narrative action, the ritual becomes a symbolic expression of human mortality and of possibilities for mankind to attain a condition more like that of the gods, both on earth and beyond. It is also a codified expression of religious devotion to the extent that the realization of the hope expressed depends on the action of the divinity. By inscribing the heroic or divine action in the present, by inscribing the logic of narrative action into the expression addressed to all mortals "happy is he who . . . ," the role of the *aítion* ('cause') is not limited to simply explicating the "rite" by the "myth" – it is not uniquely a question of origin. The logical succession of events that leads from the abduction of Persephone to the institution of the cult of the Mysteries of Eleusis is only achieved, in effect, in the performance of ritual practices taught and instituted by the divinity.

This progression of narrative logic that leads to practice itself is confirmed by the concluding verses of the *Homeric Hymn*. After the first *makarismós*, the poem briefly returns to the narrative tense to describe Demeter's ascension from Eleusis to Olympus, where she henceforth remains, in the present, at her daughter's side. Yet another, more general, *makarismós* – "Exceedingly happy is he whom the august goddesses love among men living on earth" – confirms the relationship between the actions of mother and daughter and the earthly happiness of men; this relationship is affirmed in the present but made possible through ritual acts instituted in the past. "Straightaway," the bard concludes, "they send to this [blessed] man in his vast dwelling, Ploutos ('Wealth') who, installed by the hearth, bestows prosperity on mortal men."[12] Through this second ritualized utterance of the *makarismós*, the tense of the narration again leads to the present of religious practice; it has an immediate effect on the life of the mortal who worships the two goddesses.

But there is more. In effect, this epic composition, telling the story of a young girl's abduction and the sorrow of a mother, conforms to

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a tripartite structure common to the majority of the *Homeric Hymns*: (i) a brief formula of *evocatio* to the divinity concerned; (ii) a narrative, more or less developed, of the god's biography and description of one or another of his functions, called the *epica pars*; and (iii) a rapid conclusion where a request (*preces*) is addressed directly to the divinity concerned. The long *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* concludes thus by a direct address to the two goddesses of Eleusis. The performer of the hymn implores the two goddesses – in a final discursive movement that brings together the tripartite structure of every sung hymn with that of a prayer – that he too be included in the prosperity that they are capable of bestowing. To support his request, the performer verbally engages in the ritual of reciprocity – *do ut des* ('I give in order that you might give') – that in classical Greece as well as in many other cultures marks each offering to a hero or a god: in exchange for the favor that he asks of the god, the bard or rhapsode offers his own song (*aoidé*, verse 494). We not only perceive that the "now" of the beneficent action of the two goddesses corresponds in fact to the *hic et nunc* ('here and now') of the enunciation of the poem, but also we equally understand that the singing of the hymnic poem itself, its psalmodic recital, corresponds to a cult act. In its supposed efficacy, this cult act is not unlike the ritual acts that Demeter instituted at Eleusis.[13]

Attested in several of the poetic texts probably related to the Mysteries of Eleusis, the formula of *makarismós* promising the initiated a happier destiny in the underworld at Persephone's side undoubtedly formed part of the *legómena* ritually pronounced during worship under the vow of secrecy, along with the acts performed (the *drṓmena*) and the objects displayed (the *deiknúmena*). Its dual presence in the *Homeric Hymn* thus allows for the insertion of the poem itself, as a sung performance, into the service of the cult. Given the absence of any reference to Athens in this *Homeric Hymn*, it is most probable that it was composed and performed before the integration of Eleusis and its sanctuary into the territory controlled by the great city.[14]

At this point, it is essential to remember that, using a designation already employed by Thucydides, the *Homeric Hymns* are defined as "proems." As shown by the transition formula that concludes certain of these hymnic compositions, sung by bards or rhapsodes, the *Homeric Hymn* as a proem assumes the double function of introducing a particular epic song in a bardic or rhapsodic competition and of consecrating this song for the cult of a specific deity. The hymnic proem thus renders Homeric recitation as a whole an offering to a deity, and, consequently, a ritual act in the framework of competitions of Homeric recitation that

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marked the great festivals of numerous cities or classical cult sites. Such is the case of the Panathenaic festival or, as we shall see, of the Delia at Delos.[15]

The aetiological relationship between the divine story and the cult practices instituted by Demeter is thus established by essentially poetic and discursive means. More than the allusion to the components of the rites of Eleusis that the use of torches to seek Persephone, the fasting of Demeter, the double epiphany of the goddess, or the attempt to immortalize Demophon all represent, it is above all the recitation of the poem itself as a cult act that confers upon this relationship its pragmatic, even performative, function. Even more than the example of Euripides' *Hippolytus*, where it also falls to the goddess herself to institute cult practices for the hero, the words sung in the *Hymn to Demeter* guarantee the religious significance of the "myth" through ritual observance. Whether the divine or heroic story is told in dactylic hexameter or dramatized in iambic trimeter, the form it takes is invariably poetic.

Dithyramb and the Legend of Theseus to Legitimize Athenian "Imperialism": The Delia at Delos

The story, sung in Bacchylides' *Dithyramb* 17 in the years following the end of the Persian Wars and painted in the same period by Micon in the new sanctuary devoted to the national hero of Athens, is well known. Before addressing the context of the enunciation of this cult song, we will first consider the poetic account that Bacchylides of Ceos gives of an episode inserted into the saga of Theseus. Based on the figure of the young Athenian citizen, Theseus came to replace Heracles as the hero who brings civilization and a founding personality for Athens; he would go on to be, six centuries later, the subject of one of Plutarch's *Lives*, in the company of Solon, Themistocles, and Pericles.

In the first part of the story, which divides the poem into two aspects, Minos takes the lead. Sailing through the Cretan Sea, that king of Cnossus is escorting seven young men and seven young women intended as tribute for his monstrous son the Minotaur. While the young Athenians are accompanied by the hero Theseus, himself protected by Athena, it is Aphrodite who inspires in the Cretan general an unseemly act committed against one of the beautiful young Athenian women, whose beauty has seduced him. Invoking the authority of his divine father Poseidon, Theseus condemns the *húbris* of the Cretan

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hero, who, in turn, claims the authority of his own divine father, Zeus, to challenge his accuser to a duel. Minos is able to summon a thunderbolt of Zeus and dares Theseus to bring back from the watery depths, home of his father Poseidon, the ring that Minos threw there. Moera (Fate) intervenes to create a twist in the unfolding of the plot. Theseus, henceforth the narrative subject, is led by dolphins into the underwater dwelling of his father, where he is welcomed by the dances and choral songs of the daughters of Nereus. Then, he receives from his father's wife, Amphitrite, a purple cloak and the crown that she had been given for her nuptials. In the light that emanates from these erotic and matrimonial gifts of the young woman, Theseus miraculously springs up onto the deck of the boat carrying the young men and women from Athens to Crete. With the splendor of a god in his epiphany, he reappears like a betrothed woman, displaying traits that, at the very least, are ambiguous in terms of "gender." The hero's return from the depths of the Cretan Sea is celebrated by the paean performed by the seven young Athenian men, while the seven young women accompany the victory song with the traditional ritual cry. *Paiánixan* and *ōlóluxan*: the terms used by Bacchylides to describe this song embedded in the narrative refer us to the performance of a cult paean.

It is only by the means of the narrative performance of this paean that we come to the end of the story and pass, quite briefly, to the time and place of the enunciation of the dithyramb itself, with an implicit reference to the *hic et nunc* of its ritual and historical execution (verses 122–32).

> He springs from the depths of the sea without being wet,
> To the astonishment of all;
> On his limbs shone the gifts of the gods.
> The young girls in luminous garments
> Shouted ritual cries with a new joy.
> The sea echoed them.
> Next to them, the young men sang the paean
> In a lusty voice.
> God of Delos, after having delighted in your heart
> At the choral dances of the Ceans,
> Bestow upon the worthy the good fortune sent by the gods.

The god of Delos is, of course, Apollo, worshipped each year at the place of his birth and in his island sanctuary during the great festival of the Delia. The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* sings of athletic and musical contests that Greek men from Ionia, accompanied by their wives and

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children, organized. The climax of the festival was marked by the choral performance of the young Deliads (Delian maidens), who sang, under the aegis of a Homeric bard, the glories of Apollo and Artemis and of heroes and heroines. When recounting the history of the sanctuary, Thucydides tells of the progressive taking of control of the pan-Ionian festival by the Athenians, who would annually send an important choral delegation. Assuming each year the form of a *theōría* (an official mission), this naval procession was the source, as Phaedo describes in the eponymous Platonic dialogue, of the delay in the execution of Socrates after his trial. It was led by that very boat on which Theseus was said to have sailed with the seven young men and seven young women of Athens – who were in the end saved from the Labyrinth of Crete. Displaying the finest aetiological logic, Phaedo attributes this naval procession to a sacred vow that the Athenians made to Apollo, promising to send an annual and ritual fleet of ships to Delos in exchange for protection of the Athenian youths. It is thus through this lead ship, appropriately crowned by the priest of Apollo, that the people of Athens perpetuate and celebrate, "regularly and still now" (*aeì kaì nûn éti*) in ritual reiteration, the memory of one of the founding moments of Athenian citizenship.[16]

According to such logic, the episode in which Theseus plunges into the Cretan Sea and his subsequent reemergence for the benefit of the seven young men and seven young women he accompanies appear to be the *aítion* of the song that itself contains the account of the event. Added to the identification of the ship bearing the legendary tribute of Athenian youths to Crete with the ship that conveys the cult procession to Delos and back, there are significant musical echoes. The ritual performance of Bacchylides' dithyramb, composed for a choral group and intended as an offering to Apollo at Delos, is foreshadowed in the poetic narrative by the Nereids' choral dances in Amphitrite's underwater home, which will become the Aegean Sea, as well as by the paean performed on the deck of the ship by the young men and women. It is an aetiological paradox that a dithyramb penned by Bacchylides of Ceos intended for choral groups is announced by the narrative performance of a paean: probably prevalent here are the rules of genre, which impose the dithyrambic form upon a story with substantial narrative sophistication, frequently detached from the context of the cult of Dionysus and, moreover, attested at Delos itself.[17]

However, the aetiological relationship between a narrative episode in the "mythical" biography of Theseus and the great cult gathering at Delos with its musical competitions in honor of Delian Apollo is not realized uniquely on the religious level. In effect, in the opening of

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his history of the war between the Athenians and the Peloponnesians, Thucydides presents Minos, the king of Cnossus, as the ancestor of the thalassocracy – in other words, as the hero who first liberated the Cretan Sea from barbarian pirates and maintained political and economic control over its waters. He chased away the Carians and Phoenicians from the Cyclades and established, by placing his sons there, a colonial power from which he drew considerable revenue. Minos thus becomes, as a civilizing hero, the founding hero of the politics of expansion that Athens undertook at the end of the Persian Wars – played out on a sea that from the time of Theseus' return from the Labyrinth of Crete and by reason of the suicide of his father, Aegeus, in the wake of the misunderstanding over the black sail, bore the name of the king of Athens. Under the pen of Thucydides, the heroic legend thus becomes history, and the very name of the Aegean Sea carries within it the aetiological relationship between the colonial and economic power of Minos over the islands of which the center is Delos and the enthroning of Theseus in Athens as a democratic king following his father's suicide. Foreshadowed in an early era by Minos' civilizing activities in the former Cretan Sea, the taking of political and economic control by Athens in the Aegean Sea would be consecrated by the creation of the Delian League just after the Persian Wars, with Delian Apollo's sanctuary serving as its cultic and administrative center, precisely in the period when Bacchylides composed his *Dithyramb* 17.[18]

Through poetic creation and musical performance, the heroic story of Theseus' dive into the depths of the Cretan Sea to join his father Poseidon, tutelary god of Athens, lends legitimacy to both the Athenian choral dances during the cult celebration of Apollo at Delos and the expansionist politics of the city in the Aegean basin. In the ritual performance of *Dithyramb* 17 of the poet of Ceos, it is a patriotic and colonial policy that symbolically mimes the young Athenian men and women singing the heroic exploit of Theseus and offering their song to Delian Apollo.

Epinicia and the Abduction of the Nymph Cyrene: The Colonial Celebration of the Spartan Carneia at Cyrene

The Greeks of the classical period understood in terms of colonial and civilizing activity not only the progressive settling of the territory of

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Hellas itself with civic communities but also their efforts at external domination around the rim of the Mediterranean basin. Thus, in the mimetic hymn that he dedicated to Apollo, the Alexandrian poet Callimachus recounts how the seat of the Carneian god was consecutively moved from the city of Sparta to the island of Thera, and then from Santorini to Cyrene on the coast of Libya, first by Theras, a descendant of Oedipus and heroic founder of Thera, and then by Battus, the historical founder of Cyrene. In the great Alexandrian tradition that Callimachus himself inaugurated, that strange form of mythography cloaked in epic diction takes on an aetiological function. This summary foundation-tale of Cyrene and its antecedents serves in effect to explain the construction of the temple and the annual offering of a sacrifice in honor of Apollo Carneius in this Greek city of Libya.[19] Fed by a constantly tended flame, these sacrificial offerings were accompanied during the celebration of the Carneia by a choral dance of armed men, in keeping with a tradition that stretches back to the institution of the Cyrenean cult of Apollo. A new aetiological cord in Callimachus' hymnic account traces its origin to the dance that the Dorian migrants performed at the springs of Cyre: the god himself had led the Greek colonists there, and he rejoiced, in the company of a young nymph, at the sight of their progress; the nymph, Cyrene, had given her name to the place, having been abducted by the god from her native Thessaly. This choral dance and the memory of the abduction of a young huntress-heroine explain, again in an aetiological mode, both the benefactions that Apollo henceforth constantly accorded to the city of Cyrene and, via the reciprocal relationship of *do ut des*, the reverence accorded him by the descendants of the heroic founder Battus.[20] In its double invocation of the Carneian god, one reminiscent of the form of cult hymns, this hymnic narrative is aetiological on a third level, for it is accompanied by another enigmatic aetiology that refers the god of the Carneia to the poet and narrator and, in so doing, to the *hic et nunc* of the singing performance. The various enunciative processes of this erudite hymnic poem designate the *hic et nunc* as mimetic, without reference to a specific instance of an actual performance.

Be that as it may, the pattern that structures the hymnic narrative of the founding of the sanctuary of Apollo at the springs of Cyre in Libya and the itinerant locales of the Spartan festival of the Carneia brings to mind the close of the narrative passages of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. In the case of the latter, it is the goddess herself who, as we have seen, institutes the cult honors that will be regularly consecrated to her; as for the former, the god participates, on the narrative and

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enunciative levels, in the founding of rites whose performance delights him, at first in the time of the Dorian heroes, and then in the seasonal cycle leading up to the moment of the poem's enunciation where Apollo is invoked directly. However, if the location of the institution of the cult coincides in principle with the place where the poem is recited, the sheer number of foundation acts that Callimachus rehearses in the aetiological narration of his mimetic hymn renders such an identification impossible: from Thessaly to Delphi, on a route that leads through Delos and Cyrene before the story reaches its end in a place that can only, according to a poetic itinerary set under the aegis of the god of music, correspond to a space of a purely poetic enunciation.[21]

It was quite a different matter two centuries earlier, when Pindar chose to recount the "historical" version of the founding of Cyrene on the occasion of a ritual celebration of the chariot victory at the Pythian Games of the king of Cyrene, Arcesilas IV. Independent of the divine version of the story in the ninth *Pythian Ode*, which traces the foundation of the Greek city in Libya to the abduction of the eponymous nymph Cyrene by the young Apollo, and independent also of the heroic version in the fourth *Pythian Ode*, which associates the founding of Cyrene by the people of Thera with the legend of the Argonauts, the story that Pindar tells in the fifth *Pythian Ode* underscores the special relationship between Apollo, whose oracular voice at Delphi ordained the foundation of a colony, and the heroic founder Battus, who, with his prodigious voice, was able to scare away the lions that prowled around the savage land that was to be colonized and civilized. The double invoking of the oracular voice that names the land to be colonized and the civilizing voice that removes savagery leads the narrator to sing of the triple powers of Apollo as a god of healing, god of musical inspiration and god of prophecy who guides the foundation of Hellenic cities. Then, in a move that blends genealogical narrative and enunciative intervention, the heroic antecedents of the foundation of Cyrene by Battus of Thera are praised:

> It is my role to sing an admirable glory,
> Come from Sparta.
> Natives of this city, the heroic Aegids, my forefathers,
> Came to Thera, not without the aid of the gods;
> Destiny guided them.
> Having inherited from there the tradition of the communal
>   banquet
> Accompanied by numerous sacrifices,

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We celebrate during the feasts in your honor, Apollo Carneius,
The resplendent city of Cyrene.
The foreign warriors occupy it, Trojans, sons of Antenor;
They arrived there with Helen,
After they had seen their homeland
Razed by the fire of Ares.[22]

From Sparta through Thera to Cyrene, the itinerary that Pindar's poetic tale describes is identical to the one offered in the mythographical summary of Callimachus' poem, save the subtle nuance that the first-person narrator introduces, by alluding to the descendants of Aegeus as "my fathers," to include his own city of origin, Thebes. It is indeed this itinerary from Sparta that seems to have been customarily followed in celebrating Apollo Carneius at his festival of the same name. In the same way, in Callimachus' poem, the intervention of the "I" of the narrator in the heroic tale allows the establishment of a relationship between this legendary past and the history and origins of his own family. On the other hand, the tense shift from the past to the present that the direct address to Apollo Carneius provokes in Callimachus' poem corresponds to a shift from "I" to "we" in Pindar's epinicion. It is no longer the "I" of the poet who, like the Aegids, hails from Thebes, but the collective "we" who honor the city of Cyrene with a ritual banquet devoted to the god of the Carneia. Moreover, in a manipulation of narrative time that Pindar masters so artfully, the flight of the Antenorids from the devastated city of Troy to Cyrene is invoked at this juncture and, in yet another shift from the heroic past tense to the ritual present, the Trojan heroes are summoned to receive the sacrificial offerings presented at the Carneia by the heroic founder's companions and their descendants.[23]

When combined with the strong presence of the first-person utterances of the "I" of the poet and the choral "we," these successive temporal shifts from a heroic time to the present of the religious ceremony honoring Apollo Carneius indicate that the very performance of the fifth *Pythian Ode* coincides with the celebration of the Carneia in Cyrene – and this is all the more likely in that the beginning of the poem designates in a deictic and self-referential manner the choral procession that, in the guise of a *kỗmos* (a group of merrymakers), sings of the victory of Arcesilas IV in the present. The choral performance entertains Apollo in a garden of Aphrodite; this place could correspond to a cult site in the great sanctuary of the tutelary god of Cyrene, but could equally be a metaphorical allusion to the region of the Greek colony of Libya captured in the splendor of its legendary fertility.[24]

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Thus, on the one hand, the poetic allusion to the legend of the founding of Cyrene by Battus, two lengthy versions of which Herodotus inserted into his *Histories*, is twice linked by Pindar with the age of the heroes: first, by the reference to the Aegids who came from Thebes, passing through Sparta and Thera, whose founder was Theras, the grandfather of Aegeus; then, by rehearsing the founding of Cyrene itself by heroes descended from Antenor, fleeing the destruction of Troy.[25] On the other hand, through a subtle enunciative technique that Pindar frequently employs in his choral poems, the poet lends his authorial voice to a choral group, which then performs the poem in dance and song: by this act of "choral delegation," the poet singing the chariot victory of the king of Cyrene at the Pythian Games in honor of Apollo becomes the group of choral singers who perform his song in Cyrene during the Carneia celebrating the same god[26] – the god who, with his oracular voice, ordered Battus to found a colonial city in Libya is also the "horned" god (the leading ram of the flock) who leads colonial expeditions and who controls the acts of foundation. In an aetiological relationship of an essentially ritual nature, the time of the heroic founders of the Aegid family and the time of the Trojan war and of those other founders who would become the Antenorids augment the profound import of the time of the arrival of Battos, the founder of Cyrene; these three temporal threads of the "myth" converge in the celebration of the Carneia and of the king of the colonial city of Cyrene honored in the fifth *Pythian Ode*.

The poetic relationship established between the different temporal moments of foundation and the ritual song of the poem has the effect of reinforcing the heroizing of Battus himself; his actions in founding the city fill up the verses that follow and that lead to the conclusion of the epinician song. Exactly at the end of a wide road, used for cult processions, that the founder had paved all the way to the agora lay the tomb of Battus, the heroic founder, whose lineage Pindar traces down to Arcesilas IV in a final return to the present moment of the enunciation of the poem, under the protection of sovereign Zeus. Thus temporal and spatial continuity is established in an aetiological manner between the "mythic" ancestors of the founders, the founder who is himself heroicized, and the present royal power celebrated on the occasion of a Pythic victory performatively recounted in the fully Apollonian frame of the Carneia. The ritual celebration of a god who is a founder of cities and himself a bearer of civilization through the introduction of nymphs that incarnate the passage from savagery to Hellenic culture confirms,

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between his continental oracular center and the peripheral colonies, the heroization of the founders, between legend and history.

Cult Song and the Installation of Dionysus at Delphi: The Apollonian Festival of the Theoxenia

In 340–339 BCE, a citizen of Locrian Scarphea – one Philodamus – dedicated in Delphi, near the sanctuary of Delphic Apollo, then undergoing renovation, the text of a paean.[27] This dedication on a marble stele commemorated various favors accorded Philodamus and his family by the clergy or the Amphictyons of Delphi; among such privileges were *proxenía* (an agreement of reciprocal friendship and hospitality) and *promanteía* (the right to consult an oracle).

Set out in twelve strophes in Aeolian melic rhythm, this anonymous cult song has the tripartite structure typical of cult hymns that one also finds, with some variation, in those proems to epic recitations that are the *Homeric Hymns* (as discussed above): invocation – narrative – prayer. Explicitly designated as a paean in the dedicatory inscription, the poem begins in an overtly ritual fashion with an invocation to Dionysus. As tradition requires, the presence of the god is invoked with a sequence of asyndetic epicleses: "Lord, Dithyrambus, Bacchus, Euius, Bull with ivy tresses, Bromius." From the first strophe, also according to the tradition of cult song, a "hymnic" relative pronoun, whose grammatical antecedent is the invoked god, introduces a lengthy narrative passage, no longer in the present tense, which would correspond to that of the enunciation, but in the aorist (past) tense. This narrative, which is not heroic but divine, retraces the path of Dionysus from the place of his birth as far as Pieria near Olympus: Bacchic Thebes, where the birth of a beautiful boy to Zeus and Thyone (Semele) is celebrated by choral dances among immortals and by revelry among mortals; then Orchomenus and Euboea, caught up in Bacchic delirium like the city of Cadmus; Delphi, sacred and blessed land that dances for Dionysus, making the crevices of Parnassus alive with young Delphian women; Eleusis, where the young god arrives with a torch in hand, under the name of Iacchus, breathing divine possession into the celebration of the mysteries by locals and by initiates from across Greece; finally, after one or two stops that lacunae in the text prevent us from identifying, Pieria and Olympus, where Dionysus is sung by the Muses and crowned

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with ivy – their circling choral dances are led by Apollo, who is himself *khorēgós*.[28]

It turns out that the first section of the narrative portion of the paean, denoted as "of Philodamus," does not correspond exactly and formally to a "myth." In effect, the young Dionysus, the principal protagonist of the narrative action in his trek of spreading Bacchic possession from Thebes to Olympus, remains continually connected, through the use of the second person, to the invocatory element at the beginning of the poem. This blending of the level of story or narrative (*histoire/récit*) and that of discourse (*discours*) is reinforced in the second section of the narrative part, constituting the predominant portion of the poem (from the second half of strophe I to the end of strophe XI).[29] Despite the large lacuna that robs us of the text of strophes VI, VII, and VIII, we can see that it is Apollo, presented as *khorēgós* of the Muses celebrating Dionysus at the end of stanza V, who is henceforth the subject of the narrative action – in the third person, of course, but in the present tense! After a probable allusion to the oracle he controls at Delphi, the god becomes the protagonist of a series of acts of inauguration. In stanza IX:

> The god commands the Amphictyons
> To perform the rite quickly
> So that he who strikes from far
> Holds back his wrath.
> *Euoi ô io Bacchus ô ie Paean*
> He orders them to display this hymn here,
> At the time of the annual *xenia*,
> For his brother, the sacred scion of the gods,
> And organize a shining sacrifice
> Punctuated by communal supplications
> To all of Hellas, the most fortunate.
> *Ie Paean*, come as a savior,
> Protect, good guardian, this city here,
> By granting happiness and prosperity.

In a turn analogous to the one that closes the narrative in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, it falls to the god to inaugurate the ritual honors that are bestowed upon him. But the act of institution pertains not to the rites of the Theoxenia as a whole, which are well attested at Delphi, but to a sacrifice with Panhellenic import and to the performance of the present song, which, while praising the god of the oracle, is destined for Dionysus. Owing to the intervention of the god in the

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story, the narrative component of the poetic composition leads to the performance of the hymn itself that sings the life of Dionysus and the benefactions of Apollo.

The third section of the paean, particularly well developed, begins with a direct address to those fortunate mortal men who are in the process of reconstructing and adorning the temple of Apollo. Instead of the prayer expected at the end of the poem, a *makarismós* appears; it proclaims the joy of those men who have the privilege of contributing to the restoration of the splendor of the sanctuary that hosts – the following strophe adds – the quadrennial Pythian Games. Apollo had already brought in Dionysus by instituting for him a sacrifice and cyclical chorus competitions (in other words, dithyrambs) and by erecting in a grotto set aside for the god a statue of Bacchus on a sun-chariot pulled by golden lions. To the introduction of Dionysus into the present celebration of the Theoxenia corresponds his cultic association, in the past, with the festival of the Pythia – always by the will of the god who is lord of Delphi. Henceforth, for the prayer to a god who had already several times sought ritual inauguration on behalf of his half-brother Dionysus can be substituted a prayer addressed to a plural "you" that surely designates not only the members of the chorus singing the paean, but also the Amphictyons who organized the performance: a petition to welcome and invoke Dionysus in ivy-crowned choruses and by choral dances evoking the musical performance of this strange paean shared by Apollo and Dionysus, for the prosperity of all Greece.

These different relationships established between acts of the gods in the past and religious actions performed by humans in the present make of the very performance of the paean of Philodamus a particular ritual integrated into the Theoxenia at Delphi, a festival that henceforth welcomes Dionysus.[30] The pronounced ritual character of the hymn that glorifies Dionysus and Apollo is accentuated by the repetition at the end of each strophe of a long refrain, but also by the insertion in each strophe of an intermediate refrain. The latter, which is an *epíphthegma* punctuated by two minor Ionic meters, speaks to the cult complementarity between the two gods: Dionysus and Apollo are both invoked by a ritual cry inscribed in cult tradition and designed to call forth the presence of either the god Bacchus or the god Paean. The divine epiphany will be conjoined, underscored by the phonic echo of the double invocation: *Euoi ô io Bacchos, ô ie Paean*.[31]

The more developed *ephúmnion* that closes each strophe, in a combination of minor Ionic meters and Aeolic metric rhythm, is introduced by a single ritual call to Paean. It takes the place of a properly spoken

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prayer, since it corresponds to a request addressed directly to this savior deity: that he afford protection and prosperity to a city – a city that, by the deixis implicit in the demonstrative pronoun *hóde*, can only be Delphi, the place of the performance of the song. It is undoubtedly no accident that the unfortunately damaged lines of the poem's final strophe close with the mention of a lord of health. This designation leads, in a final reiteration of the refrain, to the last ritual call addressed to Paean and, consequently, to a renewed prayer for prosperity for Delphi. It is thus Apollo who is designated in this final phrase, the actor of the second section of the narrative component of the poem, and not a Dionysus metamorphosed into a paean god, as has been too often affirmed. The paean repeats in order to reestablish the cult collaboration of Apollo Paean with Dionysus Bacchus, under the control of the former, in a relationship of asymmetric complementarity that inverts the terms of that one imagined by Nietzsche in his famous essay on the origins of tragedy and of the Dionysian arts.[32]

In a hymnic cult song, such as the paean of Philodamus, the aetiological relationship established between the acts of gods in the past and the present ritual circumstances is realized through the performance of the poem itself. This performative act, both musical and religious, is not merely reflected in choral executions that traverse the entirety of the composition – the choral dances of the immortals to welcome Dionysus at his birth; the territory of Cadmus roused by Bacchic exuberance and the blessed land of Delphi animated by choral dance; the choir of Muses, under Apollo's direction, singing Dionysus at his arrival in Pieria and on Olympus; the performance of the paean at the Theoxenia; the choral competition at the Pythian Games, the actual welcoming of Dionysus by ivy-crowned choral groups. The song must encourage the reconstruction of Apollo's oracular temple by the people of Delphi and the Amphictyons, with the aid of all the Greeks, and probably under the control of Athens. Despite substantial lacunae, the penultimate strophe seems to contain an allusion to a golden statue of Dionysus surrounded by goddesses; according to evidence from Pausanias, who identifies these dancers with the Thyiades (devotees of Bacchus), this statue formed part of the group of sculptures that adorned the western pediment of the sixth Delphic temple of Apollo.[33] The aetiological relationship between divine actions and the introduction of Dionysus into the Theoxenia by the very singing of the paean is thus enriched by a referential relationship with this other type of religious practice and offering, the execution and consecration of grand-scale iconographic projects in classical Greece. If

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only by the means of its financing, this religious practice resorting to the plastic arts takes on – even as with the consecration of the paean – sung first, then monumentalized – an eminently political dimension.

In Conclusion, the Tragedy and Genealogy of Ion: Athenian Politics at the Great Dionysia

From the point of view of the aetiological relationship, in its several manifestations, that establishes a link between a divine or heroic past and a ritual or religious practice, the tragedies of Euripides are of particular interest, insofar as the dramatic unfolding of narrative intrigue sets before the audience acts of cult practice. Like *Hippolytus*, invoked above in the guise of a prelude, the Euripidean tragedy dramatizing the story of Ion, son of the Athenian queen Creusa and of Apollo, the god of Delphi, concludes with an aetiological explication of the events dramatized on the stage. As with Artemis at the end of *Hippolytus*, it falls to Athena to confer upon the young man, at last recognized by his divine father and mortal mother, the function of young heroic founder. Leaving behind his lowly role as a servant in the sanctuary of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, he will gain that form of immortalization that will make him worthy of the glory of being successor to his maternal grandfather Erechtheus on the throne of Athens.

For the establishment of a cult recalling the memory of a young-man-become-hero, there is substituted, for young Ion, an inscription, bearing the names of his descendants, of the organization of the inhabitants of Athens into four tribes: the Geleontes (farmers), the Aegicores (shepherds), the Hopletes (soldiers), and the Argades (craftsmen) – that Plutarch describes in the *Life of Solon*, substituting for the names of the four sons of Ion etymologies related to the social functions of these four Athenian tribes, undoubtedly Ionian in origin.[34] In a foreshadowing of Athenian domination of the Aegean, also aetiologically evoked in Bacchylides' *Dithyramb* 17, their descendants would be called to inhabit the Cyclades and the two shores of the sea separating Asia from Europe; corresponding to the bipartition of the civilized world as Herodotus conceives it in his investigation of the Persian Wars, the territorial representation evoked by Athena on the stage at the Great Dionysia of the penultimate decade of the fifth century is profoundly marked by the ideology of Athenian foreign policy after the victory over Xerxes – as

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far as the maternal lineage of Ion is concerned, the son of Creusa, herself the daughter of the king of Athens, Erechtheus.

As for Ion's stepfather Xuthus, this "foreign" son of Aeolus, Achaean by birth, he will become, by Creusa, the father of Dorus, the heroic founder of the Dorian region, and of Achaeus, the eponymous hero of the Achaeans: a remodeling of the transmitted tradition that accorded a prominent role to Aeolians and Dorians, this genealogical lineage serves, at the time of the Peloponnesian War, to subordinate the Peloponnesians to the Ionians; as the son of a god, Ion holds a privileged status over Dorus and Achaeus.[35] Thus, at the end of the tragedy, by means of an eponymic and etymologizing aetiology, the installing of Ion, son of Apollo and Creusa, successor of Erechtheus, on the throne of the city under Athena's protection takes the place of the usual worship rendered to the hero: Euripides' drama is there to perpetuate ritually, together with the Athenian audience gathered in the theater and sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus for the tragic competition, the memory of the young heroized king.

Now, at the beginning of the tragedy, the god Hermes, who pronounces the *párodos* ('entrance song'), had already made recourse to the aetiological technique – at first for setting out the genealogy of the future king of Athens: Erichthonius, the autochthonous ancestor of the king Erechtheus (father of Creusa), the babe born from the soil of Attica, left in a basket and entrusted by his virginal "mother" Athena to the care of the virgin daughters of Aglaurus and two serpents – hence the custom of Erechtheus' descendants wearing those golden serpents that Creusa had herself worn as a young girl and placed in the basket with her newborn son whom she abandoned deep in a grotto of the Acropolis. As renewed by Euripides, the legend thus makes of Ion a second Erichthonius: if Ion does not have the same autochthonous birth as the child who grew from the sperm of Hephaestus that fell to the ground as he pursued the fleeing Athena, he nonetheless is also born of a virgin; he is placed in a basket guarded by the serpents of the Erechtheids, in the very grotto where the little Erichthonius was placed in the care of the three daughters of Aglaurus and Cecrops, the first king born from the soil of Attica.[36] Raised by his father Apollo and finally recognized by his mother, Ion ('he who goes') is proclaimed by Hermes to be the future hero-colonizer of the "land of Asia," by the will of Apollo, god of civilization and of the founding of cities: the aetiological relationship with the Hellenization of the Ionian coast of the Aegean Sea, which itself anticipates the Athenian policy of expansion during the classical period, is assured anew by etymologizing

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word-play.[37] Thus, at the end of the tragedy, Athena, the patron goddess of Athens, can affirm in her concluding epiphany:

> The descendants (of the four sons of Ion), when the time will come,
> Marked by destiny,
> Will occupy the island cities of the Cyclades,
> And the coasts of the sea, giving strength to my land.
> Then they will inhabit the plains of the two facing continents,
> Europe and Asia, and be called Ionians after the name of this very Ion,
> And will enjoy glory without end.[38]

By manipulating Ion's genealogy in order to associate the young hero with the Athenian autochthon and make him the pivot of a hierarchized ethnic identity, Euripides keeps pace with his historiographic colleagues Acusilaus of Argos or, above all, Pherecydes of Athens. This course of an aetiological genealogy of an ethnic and political order is all the more surprising because Ion seems not to have been the object of an important hero cult in Athens.[39] All unfolds as if it were, in the end, the tragedy itself, in its ritual performance at the Great Dionysia in the city, that takes the place of a heroizing celebration for the son of the god of Delphi. The tragedy makes a statement by inserting the young hero, via both maternal bloodline and the law of the *epíklēros* ('heiress'), into the lineage of the legendary kings and founders of Athens – an insertion that seems to be tied to a particular political situation and that appears not to have been retained by the official historiography of the city, if, for example, the chronicle of the *Marmor Parium* is to be believed. Creusa is a *parthénos* ('virgin') like Athena – this is certain – and above all Ion is a young man like Apollo: Athena herself, at the end of the tragedy, confirms the veneration that the son-turned-king of Athens holds for his divine father in respect of the divine order.

Considered as religious practices, the stories that we identify and place under the rubric of "myth" thus reveal themselves to exist only in particular poetic forms. It is the rules of genre that, divided between institutional ritualities and regularities of discursive order, contrive to make "myths" socially and ideologically active. Supported by poetic genre, this or that episode of the divine and heroic past of the Greek communities is inserted in both a specific cult institution and in a form of ritual poetry, most often choral. These poetic forms make from narratives, appearing to us as mythic, an active history, inscribed in a collective

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memory realized through ritual.[40] Far from forming a system of thought, far from being inscribed in some structure of the human unconscious, far from constituting a particular language, the ensemble of the myths of the Hellenic tradition is characterized by a certain plasticity that allows the poetic creation of versions constantly readapted for cult and for religious and ideological paradigms offered by a polytheism that varies within the multifarious civic space and time of the cities of Greece. It corresponds to a polymorphous cultural memory, at the same time ritually creative and reactive, and to a religious memory that, given the ritual dimension of the poetic forms that the legend assumes, is fulfilled in a performative manner by the acts inscribed in the cult calendars of the cities and of the great cult centers of Greece – here, Athens and Sparta, Delos and Delphi, but Troezen or Cyrene as well.

Further Reading

On Greek mythology, there are two good recent introductions: R. Buxton, *Imaginary Greece. The Contexts of Mythology*, Cambridge 1994 and F. Graf, *Greek Mythology. An Introduction*, Baltimore and London 1993; see also S. Saïd, *Approches de la mythologie grecque*, Paris 1993, C. Calame, *Poétique des mythes dans la Grèce antique*, Paris 2000b, and the very useful book by Ch. Delattre, *Manuel de mythologie grecque*, Paris 2005; on Greek religion, besides the indispensable *Greek Religion* by W. Burkert (Oxford 1985), see the very well-balanced *Greek Religion*, by J. N. Bremmer (Oxford 1999, 2nd ed.), and P. Schmitt-Pantel and L. Bruit-Zaidman, *Religion in the Ancient Greek City* (Cambridge 1992).

Notes

1 The question of definitions assigned to the concept of religion beginning with Cicero has been notably dealt with by Bremmer (1998) 9–14; for a treatment of the problems that modern concepts of myth and mythology pose and their lack of pertinence for Greek antiquity, see Detienne (1981) 9–49 and Calame (2003a) 3–27.

2 Regarding the native designations of the different cult practices offered to gods and heroes, see the numerous individual studies cited in Calame (1991) 196–303; see also Bremmer (1999) 2–6. For the civic framework of Greek religious practices, see, for example, Sourvinou-Inwood (1990).

3 See, for example, Pellizer (1993) 289–99.

4 For the celebration of the Dionysia, see Easterling (1997) 37–44 as well as the recent work of Sourvinou-Inwood (2002) 67–119 and the contribution of R. A. Buxton on "Tragedy and Greek Myth," chapter 4 in this volume.

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5 See Thomas (1989)108–54 and Bowie (2001) 47–62. For a definition of the first Greek historiographers as "historiopoietai," see Calame (2006) 42–64.

6 There is nothing more misleading than the distinction that E. Cassirer makes in his *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* (1923–29; English translation 1953–96) and later summarizes (1946) between "mythical concepts," "linguistic concepts," and "intellectual concepts," leading him to tautologies such as: "L'enracinement premier de la conscience linguistique dans la conscience mythico-religieuse s'exprime avant tout dans le fait que toutes les figures linguistiques apparaissent en même temps comme des figures mythiques . . . " (p. 62).

7 Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1423–30; cf. Segal (1996)159–62, who gives other examples of tragedies whose action contains an aetiological conclusion.

8 Pausanias 2.32.1–4, with the references to the heroic cult devoted to Apollo at Troezen as well as at Athens (the hero had a *mnêma* there) that I gave in Calame (2000b) 221–4. Also see Euripides, *Hippolytus* 58–87 and 1135–41.

9 Many examples of the aetiological relationship between "myth" and "ritual" are given by Graf (1993) 101–20; cf. also Bremmer (1999) 55–64. For the complex symbolic relationships between these two orders of the demonstration and practice of religion, see Calame (1996) 15–52.

10 *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 471–82; the Greek text of this passage probably comes from the coincidence of two different rhapsodic versions: cf. Richardson (1974) 304.

11 For the meaning of these different technical terms related to the mystery cults, see Burkert (1987) 7–11, and, of course, the excellent remarks by Richardson (1974) 251 and 302–8.

12 *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 483–9; for a comparative analysis of these two *macarismoí*, whose form is attested in other cults of an initiatory nature, see the ample commentary of Richardson (1974) 310–14. The *bíos*, understood as material abundance stemming from agricultural labor in relation to the mortality of man and his efforts to come closer to the gods, dictates the action of Hesiod's poem *Works and Days*; cf. Calame (2005) 48–51.

13 I have described this discursive transition divided between enounced and enunciation and leading to the *hic et nunc* of the poem's performance in Calame (1997) 118–33; for the tripartite structure of the hymnic forms in relation to that of prayers, see the numerous references given in Calame (2005) 21–32.

14 On this historical question, see Richardson (1974) 12–30 and Calame (1997) 132–3.

15 Thucydides 3.104.4, who cites under this designation two passages of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (146–50 and 165–72), sung at the time of the musical competitions of the great Panhellenic festival in honor of the god of Delos, Apollo; for other attestations of this and for bibliographical orientation, cf. Calame (2005) 19–22; as for the musical competition at the Panathenian festival, see, for example, Shapiro (1992) and the remarks of Nagy (1996b) 42–3 and 99–112 regarding the Pisistratid version of the Homeric poems, perhaps established at this occasion.

16 We can add, to the references on the Delia given in note 13, Plato, *Phaedo* 58ab. The issue of the reference of the final verses of the poem to the historical circumstances of its delivery is well treated by Maehler (1997) 167–70. Other references and commentary can be found in Calame (2003a), a study developed in Calame (2006) 143–94.

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17 As for the circumstances of the performance of the dithyramb and issues of form, see Ieranò (1997) 233–303.

18 Thucydides 1.4 and 8.1–3; see also Herodotus 3.122.2, who nevertheless attributes the first true thalassocracy to the tyrant Polycrates of Samos, making Minos merely a precursor of sorts. For the historicity of the maritime colonial power of Minos and its relationship to the external policy of Athens in the fifth century, see the bibliographical references given by Hornblower (1991) 18–23, as well as Calame (1996) 420–32.

19 The role of Apollo *Archēgétēs* (the 'Founder') in colonial expeditions and as the architect of new foundation-sites is explored by Detienne (1998) 88–133; for the colonizing functions of Apollo Carneius, the horned ram (i.e., leader of the flock), in relation to the diffusion and the celebration of the Carneia, see Malkin (1994) 143–58.

20 Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo* 69–96, whose mythographical and aetiological allusions can be deciphered with the aid of the indispensable commentary by Williams (1978) 66–82; for the question of possible bibliographical references to the utterances of the intervening narrator and poet, see Calame (2005) 76–8, along with the secondary bibliography on the issue.

21 On the question of the mimetic character of Callimachus' hymn and a poetic program that is the object of much controversy, see Calame (2005) 84–7.

22 Pindar, *Pythian Ode* 5.72–85, with the commentary offered by Gentili et al. (1995) 531–4, as well as Calame (2003b) 79–86.

23 See, on this question in particular, Krummen (1990) 108–41.

24 Reconstructed from indicators given by the poet himself; the context of the presentation of the fifth *Pythian Ode* is treated in the commentary of Gentili et al. (1995) 159–63 and 516–18.

25 The two versions, Theran and Cyrenean, of a colonization largely directed and guided by oracles of Apollo at Delphi are recounted by Herotodus 4.145–57; cf. Calame (2003b) 86–108; for the foundation of Thera, see also Malkin (1994) 98–111.

26 On the question of the monodic or choral nature of Pindar's "I," see, in particular, D'Alessio (1994) 120–4, who makes reference to terms of an animated controversy; cf. also Calame (2005) 5–7.

27 The issue of the date of the consecration of the stele containing the text of the paean in relation to the renovation of the temple of Apollo is addressed by Vamvouri Ruffy (2004) 187–92.

28 *Paean* 39 Käppel; these different stopping points are the subject of the commentary by Furley and Bremer (2001) 58–84. For the complex structure of the poem, see the exhaustive analysis by Käppel (1992) 222–73; for the structure of the different Greek hymnic forms, see Calame (2005) 21–32.

29 On this operative distinction between "history/story" and "discourse" and on the numerous occasions for interference between these two levels of any utterance, see the references in Calame (2005) 1–7.

30 On the indices of enunciation that are inserted into the performance of the paean of Philodamus during the Theoxenia, and on this important holiday in the Delphic calendar, see Vamvouri Ruffy (2004) 189–96.

31 The use of this double ritual invocation, widely attested in various cult circumstances, is illustrated in the exhaustive remarks of Käppel (1992) 65–70 and 225.

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32 The renovation of the sanctuary at Delphi during the second half of the fourth century was undoubtedly an occasion, notably under Athenian pressure, for reaffirming the cult links between Apollo and Dionysus; cf. Vamvouri Ruffy (2004) 196–205.

33 See the hypotheses and detailed commentary offered by Käppel (1992) 252–70 and by Furley and Bremer (2001) 82–3.

34 Euripides, *Ion* 1571–94; for the four tribes presented by Solon, see Plutarch, *Life of Solon* 23.4–5 and already in Herodotus 5.66.2 as well as Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens* 41.2, who attributes this division of the Attic people into four tribes to Ion himself.

35 The manipulation of the genealogy is evident here – indeed contradictory – since in the tradition attested as early as Hesiod (fr. 9 Merkelbach-West), Xuthus' father was Hellen and his brothers were Dorus and Aeolus, and he himself was the father of Ion: thus it is the Ionians who, from an eponymous standpoint, held the subordinate position to the Aeolians and the Dorians: cf. also Herodotus 7.94 and 8.44.2, as well as the study by Hall (1997) 51–6. On the genealogy and the status of Xuthus from the Athenian perspective, see Euripides, *Ion* 290–3, 673–5, 808–16, and 1058–73.

36 Euripides, *Ion* 8–36; see also 260–82 and 492–506. In the structuralist perspective adopted by Loraux (1981) 207–9, the birth of Ion would replicate, inverted, that of the "*autochtone primordial*," Erichthonius. For the different versions of the birth of Erichthonius and of his *kourotróphia* (the 'raising of a boy') by the daughters of Cecrops, see the study of Parker (1987) 193–203.

37 Euripides, *Ion* 69–81; see also 661–3, where Xuthus appropriates the same pun. On *Ion* as a "tragedy of empire," see the references offered by Loraux (1981) 213–15.

38 Euripides, *Ion* 1582–8.

39 Cf. Parker (1996) 142–6, 313, and 325. Only Pausanias 1.31.3 (cf. also 8.1.5) mentions the *mnêma* ('monument') consecrated in the deme of Potami to Ion, whose father Xuthus, having moved to Athens, assumed the leadership of the Athenian army against Eleusis; see also Strabo 8.7.1, who takes up the genealogy proposed by Hesiod (cf. supra n. 35), but who indicates that after the victory of Ion against the Thracian army of Eumolpus, the Athenians entrusted their city to Ion. On Ion as the son of Apollo, see Plato, *Euthydemus* 302cd (yet another isolated testimony).

40 Concerning the "culture of choral song" that Greek culture is, see the references cited by Kowalzig (2004) 42–65; for ritual memory, see Calame (2006) *passim*.

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