Homeric Hymn to Apollo:
Introduction and Commentary on lines 1-178

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Abstract

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Chapter 1: Unity. This chapter surveys the various arguments (formal, religious, geographical, etc.) that have been adduced to prove that *DAp* and *PAp* did not always form a single unified hymn. It is argued that these are all insufficient and that the hymn should be considered an original unity.

Chapter 2: Structure. This chapter analyses the hymn's double structure, noting the numerous close correspondences between its two parts and some of the major devices (priamel, apostrophe, journeys) that are used to signal divisions.

Chapter 3: Date and Context. This chapter discusses the evidence for the dating of the hymn and for its context. Most of the supposed historical allusions are discounted as highly dubious. The hymn's description of the Delian festival (147-76) suggests it had some original link to Delos, but this would not exclude later performances elsewhere. It is tentatively suggested that the hymn's particular blend of Delian and Pythian themes would suit a Delian performance in the second half of the sixth century, perhaps in connection with the activities of the tyrants Peisistratus or Polycrates.

Chapter 4: Authorship. This chapter discusses the poet's description of himself as the 'blind Chian' (172-3). It is argued that this reflects, and seeks to promote, an already existing legend about Homer, that this legend was at least partly fostered by the guild of Chian rhapsodes called Homeridae, and that therefore the ancient attribution of the hymn to the Homerid Cynaethus, which would not be incompatible with its likely date, may be tentatively accepted.

Chapter 5: Language. This chapter discusses the hymn's language relative to the rest of early Greek hexameter poetry. Some signs of post-Homeric diction are noted. The difficulties of using language to construct a relative chronology of early epos are discussed. Doubt is cast upon the linguistic evidence for the hymn's division. Non-Homeric and non-Hesiodic forms are assembled and briefly examined. The large number of parallels with the Homeric poems are assessed and it is suggested that, while much of this material is probably traditional, a close relationship between *HAp* and these poems is possible at certain points.

Chapter 6: Metre and Prosody. This chapter analyses the hymn's inner and outer metric, and certain prosodic features. In most cases its practice does not diverge significantly from that of Homer and the other *Hymns*.

Chapter 7: Text and Transmission. This chapter summarises the hymn's textual transmission. Places where the commentary diverges from Càssola's text are noted.

Chapter 8. Commentary on lines 1-178.

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Abbreviations

HAp = *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, *DAp* = *HAp* 1-178, *PAp* = *HAp* 179-546.

The other 'major' *Homeric Hymns* are: *Dion*. (= *Hymn* 1), *Dem*. (= *Hymn* 2), *Herm*. (= *Hymn* 4), *Aphr*. (= *Hymn* 5). The others are cited according to the traditional sequence found in AHS and Càssola (e.g. Hy. 6).

The adjective 'hymnic' generally refers (for convenience) to generic features of the *Homeric Hymns* rather than to Greek hymnography in general. 'Epos' (adjective 'epic') means the sum of early Greek hexameter poetry, including Homer, Hesiod, the *Hymns* and the *Cycle* (i.e. the works included in the *LfgrE*).

Th. = *Theogony*, Thgn. = Theognis, Th. = Thucydides. *Sc*. = [Hes.] *Scutum*.

AHS	T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, Oxford 1936.
Allen and Sikes	T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*, Oxford 1904.
Baumeister	A. Baumeister, *Hymni Homerici*, Leipzig 1860.
Càssola	F. Càssola, *Inni Omerici*, Milan 1975.
Chantraine	P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1969-80
Clay	J. S. Clay, *The Politics of Olympus*, 2nd ed., London 2006.
DGE	*Diccionario griego-español,* Madrid 1980-.
DNP	H. Cancik et al. (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly*, Stuttgart 1996-2003.
F-D	P. J. Finglass and M. Davies, *Stesichorus. The Poems*, Cambridge 2014.
Forderer	M. Forderer, *Anfang und Ende der abendländischen Lyrik. Untersuchungen zum Homerischen Apollonhymnus und zu Anise Koltz*, Amsterdam 1971.
Förstel	K. Förstel, *Untersuchungen zum homerischen Apollonhymnos*, Bochum 1979.
Frisk	H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1960-72.
Gemoll	A. Gemoll, *Die homerischen Hymnen*, Leipzig 1886.
GD	P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, 4th ed., Paris 2005.
GP	J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1954.

GH P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*, Paris 1953.

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Ilgen C. D. Ilgen, *Hymni Homerici*, Halle 1796.

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Janko R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, Cambridge 1982.

LfgrE B. Snell (ed.), *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, Göttingen 1955-2010.

LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zurich 1981-99.

LSJ H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed., Oxford 1996.

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Bassino, P., *The "Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi": A Commentary*. Berlin 2019.

Coray, M. et al., *Homers Ilias, Gesamtkommentar, Vol. XIII: Vierter Gesang*, Berlin 2017.

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Unity

The manuscripts transmit *HAp* as a single poem. And yet, since Ruhnken (1782: 7-8), scholars have generally denied that it represents an original unity. Ruhnken argued that two separate hymns – *DAp* (1-178) and *PAp* (179-546) – were mistakenly combined, but this is excluded, firstly, by the lack of a typical hymnic opening in 179ff. and, more importantly, by the close parallels between the two parts, which show they were never independent poems (noted already by Ilgen 250; see further p. 15). The most widespread version of the separatist thesis therefore holds that one part (normally *PAp*) was composed on the model of the other, usually to augment it (more rarely, that they were combined later). For examples of this so-called *Fortsetzung* theory, see Wilamowitz (1916: 441), Jacoby (1933) and Humbert 67-72. The minority position in favour of *PAp*'s priority is supported by West (1975) and Chappell (2011: 72-3). Förstel 20-62 offers a comprehensive history of the question.[1]

The arguments Ruhnken adduced for division have persisted with only slight modifications. He claimed (1) that lines 165-78 are a hymnic epilogue; (2) that *DAp* praises Delian Apollo, *PAp* Pythian Apollo; and (3) that Thucydides' testimony (3.104) confirms the division. This testimony is rightly no longer much relied upon, though Jacoby 692 thought it alone sufficient proof (see Appendix 1, pp. 11-12). As for the supposed epilogue (the acknowledged 'heart of the separatist position': Chappell 2011: 63), its highly atypical form has been mostly overlooked since Ruhnken, but is now recognised even by separatists (e.g. Altheim 1924: 437-9, Förstel 406). Its 'strong sense of closure' (so Chappell) is no real argument, since the poet's doubling and redirecting of standard hymnic components is designed precisely to conclude the festival description – and *DAp* – in order to transition to the

[1] Older, more radical analyses (e.g. Groddeck 1786, Christensen 1876), which identified numerous fragments – most of which correspond to real structural divisions but whose connection was wrongly denied – no longer have any currency.

Delphic theme (see further 165-76n.). The two clearest arguments for division are therefore extremely doubtful.

Ruhnken's third argument vaguely posits, without developing, a contrast between Delian and Pythian Apollo, implying their incompatibility. Divinities with the same name but worshipped in different places (often indicated by a topographic epithet) could indeed be treated as non-identical (Versnel 2011: 78). By contrast, epos promoted a delocalising 'Panhellenisation' of the pantheon, so that in Homer Apollo is simultaneously god of both Delos and Delphi (*Od*. 6.162, 8.80) while primarily resident on Olympus (cf. Clay 9, Burkert 1985: 119-126, 176). *DAp* and *PAp* pay considerably more attention to Apollo's cults than Homer does, yet both are prefaced by prologues illustrating his Olympian character, a superordinate identity encompassing his various local ties, including the epicleses, e.g. Pythios (373), acquired during *PAp*.[2] The essential unity of this character has been denied on the ground that the hymn's two parts contain different, even incompatible, conceptions of the god. Förstel 279-81 argues that in *DAp* Apollo is the numinous and terrifying embodiment of divine power (e.g. 2-13, 67-9), whereas in *PAp* his character is clearly delineated and stands for moral uprightness. This oversimplifies. The potential violence which *DAp* stages in the proem is only realised in the later defeat of the Delphic serpent and spoliation of Telphousa (357-70, 375-87). His warning against hubris (541) is targeted at mortals and coexists with these fierce acts of self-assertion – precisely the ἀτασθαλίη predicated of him in *DAp* (67-9n.). The apparently 'numinous', i.e. obscure, aspect of his character in *DAp* is the result of his being only briefly active (1-13, 127-32), whereas the extended speeches of *PAp* give more space for his character to reveal itself.[3]

[2] Stehle (1997: 179) claims the disorderly proem shows that the Apollo of *DAp* is not at home on Olympus and is therefore a god local to Delos, but this overlooks his joyful acceptance by Zeus in lines 10-13.
[3] Förstel 277-9 also claims that *DAp* alone shares with *Il*. (and *Aphr*.) a conception of divine 'unseriousness'. He contrasts Hera's abortive trick (96-105) with the threat posed by her offspring Typhon (305-55); but the two are

The epos' Panhellenisation of the pantheon was matched by the development during the archaic period of Panhellenic cults such as Olympia and Delphi, religious centres whose appeal was more than local and participation in which could foster a sense of collective Greek identity (cf. e.g. Mitchell 2007: 1-8, Morgan 1993). *HAp*'s presentation of Apollo's cults has been thought either not to reflect this development or to do so unevenly. Specifically, scholars have sometimes discerned a purely local, even parochial, perspective in one or other of the cults, or identified exclusive claims made on their behalf that render them incompatible, though judgements have (tellingly) varied widely: Chappell (2011: 65-6) thinks both parts exclusive and characterises each cult as rivalrous with every other; Mitchell (2007: 6-8) considers *DAp* exclusive because of its Delian/Ionian focus, while *PAp* is Panhellenic and has broader horizons; Jacoby 695, 749, on the other hand, thinks almost precisely the opposite. The confusion suggests a certain ambiguity of presentation.

Closer to the truth is the belief of Clay 9-11, 47-9 that the two cults are eminently compatible because both are presented as having Panhellenic appeal. Both are marked out globally by a special relationship with Apollo: Delos is 'chosen' as his birthplace 'from among islands and the mainland' (137-8) and gives him 'most pleasure' (146), while Delphi possesses an 'oracle for mankind' (214), which is 'honoured by all men' (483). Yet Apollo's Delian bond is anything but exclusive (*pace* Frolíková 1966: 6), since Delos herself concedes – and the poet emphasises repeatedly – that Apollo will found cults throughout the world (80-2; 20-4 ~ 140-5). To valorise Delphi as chief among them is no impairment to Delos' prior claim but elevates it; nor is Delphi's position undermined, since it never presented itself as Apollo's birthplace. Likewise, the possibility of a Delian oracle, which if it existed was not important, does not undermine Delphi's claim, which was to importance rather than priority (cf. 81, 87-8nn.);

doublets whose expanse conforms to their narrative context, not differing conceptions of divinity. Förstel's distinctions in *HAp*, beneath their obscurities, develop the view that *Od*.'s pantheon marks a just advance on *Il*.'s, which Allan (2006) persuasively refutes.

equally, the Delphic tradition of paean-singing (514-9) cannot overshadow the musical excellence evident in the Delian festival. Each cult excels in one Apolline function without being deprived of the other (cf. Thalmann 1982: 70, who notes a 'symmetry of complementary elements').

Though their association with Apollo confers a potential universalism, both cults' congregations are more narrowly, but again complementarily, defined: Delos' festival is decidedly Ionian (in fact, more Ionian than in reality: see pp. 29-31), while Delphi's predicted visitors are the inhabitants of the Peloponnese, Europe (i.e. central and northern Greece) and (unspecified) islands (250-1 = 290-1); these realms are sketched by *HAp*'s three geographical catalogues (see below). Delphi's claim is therefore neither Panhellenic nor a clear expression of rivalry with Delos (*pace* Mitchell 2007: 7, Chappell 2011: 65). *PAp*'s competitiveness is visible, if anywhere, in its assertion of Delphi's supremacy over *mainland* Apolline cults (cf. Defradas 1954: 59-62),[4] which balances Delos' pre-eminence in its Aegean sphere.

DAp has also been judged 'parochial'. Yet its supposed 'anti-Panhellenic' character depends on the mistaken notion that it is a 'mimesis of communal poetry' (Stehle 1997: 178), with the birth myth exemplifying a 'local perspective' and only told because of the (ostensible) Delian performance context. In fact, the absence of any of the rich Delian cult lore (Hyperboreans, Theseus, *geranos* dance) is notable (cf. 140-6, 160nn.). The Deliades, which are the only local oddity described, are presented as appealing to audiences beyond the island. This is because the hymnist himself is an emphatically Panhellenic figure (Stehle 1997: 182), and his promise in 174-6 suggests he will perform the birth narrative elsewhere. As with Apollo himself, the hymn's (putative) Delian origin does not preclude its spread.

[4] Even if religious 'propaganda' against Thebes (225-8) and others is not at work – the desire to discern it is often excessive – *PAp* clearly reveals Delphi's relative importance.

Neither *DAp* nor *PAp*, therefore, makes exclusive, incompatible claims for Delos or Delphi; together they give an impression of parallelism and complementarity. Despite this internal picture, historical 'regional interests and rivalries' are sometimes alleged, without substantiation, to show the impossibility of combining Delian and Delphic material (Chappell 2011: 65-6). Chappell's appeal to propriety is also questionable, since the paucity of surviving songs from Delos and Delphi makes it difficult to judge what combination of themes was possible. While the Delphic paean of Athenaeus omits the birth, Limenius' describes it in some detail (lines 5-10; see Powell 1925: 149), and such cult songs were probably more locally focused than the self-consciously Panhellenic hymnist. Many separatists now acknowledge the wide scope for combining Delian and Delphic themes at either site (e.g. Càssola 98, Förstel 163). A particularly propitious, though not the only, context for *HAp*'s particular blend – ostensibly localised on Delos but praising Delphi as well – is suggested by the religious politics of Peisistratus and Polycrates (see pp. 24-9).

Geography A related separatist argument, not advanced by Ruhnken, is that the differences in the two parts' geographical perspectives are 'so marked and so complete' as to indicate two different authors (West 1975: 161). *DAp*'s catalogue (30-45) reaches no further west than Athens and is especially detailed in the eastern Aegean, i.e. near the home of the self-professed Chian poet, while *PAp*'s two itineraries concern northern mainland Greece (216-85) and the western Peloponnese and Ionian islands (397-439). The first catalogue only briefly intersects with the others, on Crete (30, 393) and Euboea (31, 219). The different perspectives, which together substantiate Apollo's claim to be a god of universal reach, are primarily a reflection of the locations of Delos and Delphi, but also of the cults' different but complementary catchment areas (see above). Since their incompatibility can hardly be proved, Chappell (2011: 64) judges the divisions too 'clear cut'; but this is a stronger argument for design, as is the

parallelism between the first and third itineraries which, starting from Crete, lead to Delos and Delphi respectively. Finally, the objection that Apollo fails to visit Delphi immediately after birth, i.e. in 140-5, as he does in other versions (first E. *IT* 1234-57), is equally misguided (*contra* Förstel 217; cf. West 1975: 162), since the priamel in 140-6, recalling 20-4, depends on Delos alone being named (see note). The first named place Apollo visits after the Delian festival is Delphi (183).[5] Indeed, *HAp*'s entire structure embodies the sequence Delos → Delphi.

Circumscribed geographical perspectives are supposed to entail obsession with local lore. The relative lack of this at Delos has been noted. Similarly, at Delphi the cult is presented as without predecessors, and only one local myth (the serpent) is given extensive treatment (cf. Clay 61-3).[6] *PAp* has nevertheless been thought to show a parochial perspective by its inclusion of the rite at Onchestos (230-8), dismissed as detail irrelevant to Apollo (West 1975: 161). While the nature of the cult described remains contested (see Richardson ad loc.), it seems to serve as a partial model for the one Apollo eventually founds (cf. Miller 74 n. 189), so that it plays a priamel-like role in the narrative architecture. The other local cults mentioned – those of Apollo Telphousios and Delphinios (385, 495) – are subordinated to Delphi, whose importance is magnified thereby. The spring Telphousa had firmly established links to Delphic myth (cf. Fontenrose 1959: 366-74), so mention of her was entailed by treatment of the Delphic theme and does not necessitate a Boeotian poet. Delphinios, meanwhile, was a widespread cult (Graf 1979). The other major waypoints in *PAp* – Lelantine Plain, Thebes – were widely famous; mention of the latter stresses Delphi's antiquity (225-8). *PAp* refers to several mainland localities, then, but the encomiastic, pro-Delphic purpose is always clear, and the references are not to traditions that could not have been known beyond the regions they

[5] Since this passage is in the habitual present tense, Apollo's first post-natal destination is never specified. The transitional priamel in 179-81 names Miletus and others, but there is no explicit journey.
[6] Chappell (2006) argues that much Delphic legend (e.g. the Pythia) postdates the hymn, so there is less local legend to suppress.

describe. The poet's probable reliance on the *Odyssey* in the third catalogue (see pp. 55-7), and the geographical oddities therein (see Richardson on 421-9), in fact suggest that he is not local, and also illustrate how 'local' traditions and details can spread without implying a 'local' poet (cf. AHS 192-3, who rightly reject a Boeotian poet).

Style Stylistic arguments have been accorded varying importance, generally more than their subjectivity merits. *DAp*'s superiority to *PAp* is now a cliché (e.g. Wilamowitz 1916: 455, van Groningen 320), despite a few dissenting voices (e.g. West 1975). But vague qualitative distinctions have often been exaggerated to authorise division (cf. AHS 192), while the argument they presuppose – that the 'awkward' member of a pair must be the imitation – remains unsubstantiated.

An unhelpful contrast has been drawn between 'lyric' and 'epic' styles, associated with *DAp* and *PAp* respectively (Gemoll 111, Chappell 1995: 111-2). Quite apart from the fallacy that stylistic disparities imply multiple authorship (cf. Miller 115), the distinctions fail. Supposedly 'lyric' features bridge the two parts,[7] with apostrophe extending to line 282 and swift transitions evident at 305, 375, 388 (cf. Ludwich 1908: 162). Nor are the two parts internally uniform in style. The Cretan narrative (388-544), where the proportion of Homeric verses is highest, could be described as showing epic 'leisureliness', but the oracle-foundation narrative (216-387) is composed of shorter, more numerous episodes. This compression is more pervasive in *DAp*, but here too the narrative style is varied: it opens with an expansive dialogue (50-88) and ends with high-tempo action (89-139). The 'lyric' self-consciousness shown in the theme-selection (19-28) recurs exactly in 207-15, and while the poet's self-presentation as promoter of κλέος in 165-76 finds analogue in lyric poetry (174-6n.), this marks only one section of *DAp*, whereas the earlier narrative, with its central dialogue, is in a

[7] Whether or not these features are in fact 'lyric' is not presently relevant.

style closer to Homer.[8] Overall, the distinction between 'lyric' and 'epic', besides being of only limited use in itself, does not distinguish *DAp* from *PAp*, since these features are spread through them both.[9]

Epithets Evidence for division has also been found in the two parts' use of Apollo's epithets. As Frolíková (1963: 102) observes, *DAp*'s combinations are varied (e.g. 134, 140), while *PAp* favours a few phrases, especially ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς (/ἑκάεργος) Ἀπόλλων (8x). Shared material is mostly limited to Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων and (which she ignores) ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον (140, 215). However, this is a questionable argument for dividing the hymn: within *PAp* itself, ἄναξ (˘˘–˘) Ἀπόλλων clusters around the Cretan episode (357ff.), and ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον recurs in the first itinerary (215-77, 5x) – both refrains shaping a continuous sequence of action. As with its narrative style, *PAp* is not uniform and can apparently vary its use of epithets depending on the material. *DAp*'s events are more varied and discontinuous, and Apollo hardly appears as an actor, which may have affected the deployment of his epithets in this section.

Thematic links The positive arguments for division are not therefore compelling, either singly or in combination. Nevertheless, unitarians have sought to forestall the separatists by showing that neither *DAp* nor *PAp* is self-sufficient – though proof in such a matter is difficult and even risks shifting the probative burden (cf. Miller 116). Separatists have judged both parts satisfactory independent hymns (e.g. Chappell 2011: 62), and *HAp*'s parallel structure and

[8] Förstel 274-7 notes the prominence in Homer of comparable scenes of dialogue which reveal character (e.g. *Il.* 1 assembly). But his separatist argument that only Homer, *Aphr.* and *DAp* contain this 'episodic' narrative style relies on an obscure, denigrating contrast with the dialogue in *PAp*, *Dem.* and *Herm.* Lines 244-76 are however similar to 50-88, though less charming.

[9] Treu (1968) finds evidence of *HAp*'s 'lyric' sensibility in, e.g., the way it describes speed and movement (114, 202 = 516). These features are spread throughout both parts and not limited to the supposedly 'lyric' *DAp*. Dornseiff (1933: 3-4) considers the priamel a 'lyric' feature of *DAp*, but it appears explicitly in 207-15 and implicitly in Apollo's journeys.

double focus certainly lend each part a certain coherence (cf. pp. 14-6). Yet Apollo's role in an independent *DAp* would be uniquely slight (cf. Heiden 2012: 524). Only with *PAp*'s narration of his major achievements does he acquire a level of prominence comparable to the deities in other major *Hymns*. These activities, moreover, are anticipated by the honours he claims in 131-2 (lyre, bow, oracle) – the clearest instance of *PAp* fulfilling what *DAp* only anticipates. Though Apollo's declaration comprises his commonest characteristics, the bow's appearance in 1-13 gives it the character of a programme incomplete by the end of *DAp*; *PAp* shows Apollo acquiring and displaying those attributes, i.e. becoming himself (see further 131-2n.). Chappell (2011: 74) attempts to explain this away by appealing to a sub-genre of 'birth hymn' in which such predictions are necessary because narration of post-natal events is excluded. Yet *Herm.* and (apparently) *Dion.*, which narrate the birth before telling how the god acquired his τιμαί, are analogous to *HAp*, not *DAp*. Chappell's question-begging invocation of the 'Delian religious perspective', in which Apollo's birth must culminate in the festival, not his activities elsewhere, is equally dubious (see above). By including both themes, *HAp* presents the birth as an event of both local and global importance.

Other attempts to identify the two parts' thematic indispensability vary considerably in persuasiveness. Clay has argued that *DAp* raises the possibility that Apollo will be disloyal to Zeus, and that only with *PAp* is this theme fully concluded – with the foundation of Delphi, through which Apollo will be his father's spokesman. That Apollo's overthrow of Zeus is ever in view is, however, doubtful (cf. 67-9n.); even if it were, Apollo's post-natal declaration (132) confirms his loyalty. Clay 74 also notes the parallelism between the Typhaon episode (305-55), in which Hera rages at Zeus following the birth of Athena, and Hera's envious attempt to thwart Apollo's birth (96-101). The later episode does form a complex pendant to the earlier one, but Hera's opposition to Apollo is understandable in terms of her traditional depiction (100-1n.) and does not require the later episode in order to be comprehensible.

Miller 6-9, rather differently, sees the hymn's two parts as unified according to an encomiastic scheme prescribed in later rhetorical theory, in which someone is praised by dealing in turn with their origin, upbringing, pursuits and exploits. This is an accurate description of *HAp*, and although the canons of later rhetoric are not decisive for an archaic hymn, they show the persistence of the pattern identified above in *Herm*. and *Dion*., namely that 'birth hymns' also tend to describe later exploits, so that *DAp* by itself would be an outlier.

Overall, the most sophisticated attempts to show the necessity of each of *HAp*'s parts to the others necessarily fall short of absolute proof. A failure to show the complete interdependence of all *HAp*'s scenes is not, however, an argument for separation. The figure of Apollo, and the related events of his birth and acquisition of honours, give the hymn's two parts an underlying thematic coherence. The various cults are part of the process of Apollo's self-realisation, not the hymn's primary focus; presented as complementary, they promote this encomiastic role rather than excluding one another. The original unity of *HAp* cannot ultimately be proved, but the various arguments advanced in favour of its separation are not compelling. Even if *DAp* or *PAp* once existed without the other, the hymn as transmitted forms a satisfactory artistic unity whose parts contribute to an overarching project of praising Apollo (cf. Miller 116-7, Thalmann 1982: 73). This is the basis on which the following commentary proceeds, although in some cases it is useful to consider the effect if *PAp* were missing. Sequence in performance means echoes of *DAp* in *PAp* are particularly important, but anticipations of *PAp* in *DAp* have often been noted.

Appendix 1: Thucydides and Aristides

Thucydides (3.104.5) introduces his second quotation (165-72: see note) as follows: 'After singing about the Delian women's chorus [i.e. 157-64], he [sc. Homer] ended the praise with the following words, in which he also mentioned himself' (τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου ἐς τάδε τὰ ἔπη, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθη). Juxtaposed with the semantically kindred ὑμνήσας, τοῦ ἐπαίνου should refer to the preceding praise of the Deliades, which ends in the promise of 174-6, not at 164 (so Jacoby 1933: 692). For Jacoby, ἔπαινος is superfluous after ὑμνήσας, and thus he infers that ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου means 'he ended the hymn'; yet ἐτελεύτα alone could mean that, and τοῦ ἐπαίνου serves to specify the section from which Thucydides quotes. If instead ἔπαινος = προοίμιον, which Thucydides has already used twice, the *variatio* is surprising: there is no evidence that ἔπαινος, which normally denotes praise *of mortals*, could mean 'hymn to god' in the Classical period; Imperial parallels are not relevant (*contra* Pfister 1934: 147, Càssola 98). See further Drerup (1937: 100-3), Heubeck (1966: 154-5).

Aristides (*Or*. 34.35 K.), quoting 169-72, speaks of the poet καταλύων τὸ προοίμιον, where the participle unambiguously means 'ending'. If he depends on Thucydides (widely held since Hermann 1806: 19), this could be dismissed as a mistaken interpretation. However, his paraphrase of *HAp* 132 at *Or*. 43.25 K. (καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἀνθρώποις χρησμῳδεῖ Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν) suggests he knows the hymn independently. Nearly contemporaneously, the references in Paus. 10.37.5 and Ath. 1.22b-c to passages in *PAp* as from Homer's 'hymn to Apollo' show that only one was then widely known. Since *Herm*. and Callimachus seem to allude to a unified poem (cf. Faulkner 2011: 181-3, 202), it is improbable that Aristides had access to a separate *DAp* (*contra* Càssola 99). Aristides' use of προοίμιον instead of the usual ὕμνος is probably prompted by Thucydides, but he may have understood it as meaning the

'proem' of *HAp*, since he applies the term to *Th*.'s 'Hymn to the Muses' at *Or*. 28.19-20 (cf. Vergados 2016: 182-4, Förstel 64-9).

Structure

Analysis of *HAp*'s structure has been intimately linked to the debate over its unity. Janko (1981: 16-8) treats its structural divergences from the *Hymns*' norm as a conclusive argument for division, yet he concedes that *DAp*'s conclusion (165-78), if it were part of an independent hymn, would also be irregular. This oddity is, of course, simply the result of a greater one, namely *HAp*'s having a clear bipartite structure. Though daring, such experimentation tallies with the poet's innovative use of other hymnic devices such as priamel and apostrophe.

Even when *HAp* is treated as a coherent whole, original or not (contrast, e.g., Jacoby 717, who believes 140-78 is incompatible with *PAp*), its structure has been variously described.[10] A survey of the different schemas suggests that the identification of narrative units – delineated by, *inter alia*, shifts of personnel and setting, the coherence of reported events, contrasts between speech and action, the guiding presence of the narrator through apostrophe and other devices – is less contentious than their larger articulations, partly the result of motifs which pervade the hymn. In particular, the second Olympian scene's (186-206) affinity with the Delian festival (147-76) is regularly and rightly stressed, suggesting a major division at 206/7 (cf. Heubeck 1972a: 144, Miller 8-9). But this blurs the epilogic force of 165-78 and of the new beginning effected by recalling the first Olympian scene (2-13). Here, as elsewhere, a break is signalled by recalling an earlier, analogous one.

[10] Cf. Esteban Santos (1981-2) for a review of approaches. Her own is almost numerological (e.g. *DAp* 1-176 = 4 x 44 vv.) and cannot account for 182-206. The comparable method of Unte (1968: 98-206), like the earlier strophic theories of Creuzer (1848) and Ludwich (1908: 159-95), privileges numerical units over more significant divisions and are therefore of limited use.

1A 1-29. Prologue.
- 1-13. Announcement of theme (1) + Olympian scene: Apollo the archer (2-13).
- 14-18. Transitional apostrophe to Leto.
- 19-29. Theme-selection + priamel.

30-44. Transitional journey: Leto's wanderings (/Apollo's rule).

1B 45-139. Apollo's birth.
- 45-88. Negotiation between Leto and Delos.
- 89-126. Birth part 1: Hera's ruse, Eileithyia, birth and nursing.
- 127-39. Birth part 2: Apollo's growth, τιμαί, Delos' metamorphosis.

140-46. Transitional journey (+ priamel): Apollo's wanderings.

1C 147-76. Delian festival.
- 147-55. Panoramic description (+ priamel)
- 156-64. Chorus of Deliades.
- 165-76. The poet.

1D 177-78. Conclusion and transition.

179-81. Transitional apostrophe (+ priamel) to Apollo.
182-85. Apollo's journey to Delphi.

2A 186-215. Second prologue.
- 186-206. Olympian scene: Apollo the lyre-player.
- 207-15. Theme-selection + priamel.

2Bi 216-387. Foundation of the Delphic oracle.
- 216-45. Apollo's journey to Telphousa.
- 246-76. Negotiation between Apollo and Telphousa.
- 277-99. Journey to Delphi and construction of temple.
- 300-74. Victory over the serpent; Typhaon digression.
- 375-87. Punishment of Telphousa.

2Bii 388-544. Establishment of the Delphic priesthood.
- 388-447. Cretans' journey to Krisa.
- 448-501. First interview between Apollo and Cretans.
- 502-23. Apollo's instructions fulfilled; ascent to Delphi with paean.
- 524-44. Second interview: Apollo's warning.

2D 544-6. Epilogue.

According to the schema proposed above, *HAp*'s Delian and Pythian parts have parallel structures, with four primary sections in comparable sequence, although *DAp*'s structure is slightly more complex (its journey passages form transitions); the topics in corresponding sections are sometimes nearly identical, often broadly comparable (cf. Sowa 1984: 179-83, Heiden 2013). Expansive prologues – comprising an Olympian vignette and a theme-selection priamel (1-29, 186-215) – and short epilogues (177-8, 544-6) enclose two central sections. Doubling necessarily modifies their function: the first epilogue is also transitional, while the second prologue lacks an overarching theme-announcement (~ line 1) and the second transitional apostrophe (179-81) is transposed to open the prologue (contrast 14-18). Despite these alterations, the openings of *DAp* and *PAp* (i.e. Olympus + theme-selection) are where the similarities are closest, which primes an audience to notice parallels in the rest of *PAp*.

The two central sections (45-176, 216-544) are also bipartite. *DAp*'s myth is followed by present-tense description (illustrating the myth's later effects), while *PAp*'s myth is bifurcated but describes a temporally continuous sequence of action.[11] Each of the four sub-sections is preceded by a journey (30-44, 140-6, 216-45, 388-447), but whereas they form the beginning of the narrative in *PAp*, in *DAp* they effect subtle transitions *between* the sections; all end in either Delos or Delphi, the first of each pair locating the central site, the second circling away from and back to it.[12] A fifth, central journey (182-5) precedes the second Olympian scene and, though short, makes the essential link between Delos and Delphi.

The birth narrative and first part of the oracle foundation also share a basic pattern (1B ~ 2Bi): after (A) wandering in search of an appropriate location, a god (B) negotiates with a

[11] *DAp*'s myth is also divided in two, at 126/7 (before and after Apollo's nursing); the break is less obvious than others but signalled by the echo of 12-3 (which concludes the first Olympian scene): Jacoby 718.
[12] Richardson (2013: 11) disregards 140-6, yielding only three 'movements' (cf. Baltes 1981); it is less substantial than the others but proportional to the section it introduces 147-78 (as 30-44 introduces 45-139), and it is probably overlooked because it names no names and echoes the priamel in 20-4. By contrast, the journey from Krisa to Pytho (520-2) only divides 2Bii, a slighter structural break (there is no change of personnel).

representative of the place (Delos/Telphousa: 50-88n.) before (C) proceeding to their activity (birth/oracle), which is (D) interrupted by a threat linked to Hera (Eileithyia's captivity/serpent) that must (E) be overcome; the sequence ends with (F) Apollo revealing his strength (breaking bonds/firing bow), (G) speaking authoritatively (declaring τιμαί, boasting) and (H) rewarding or punishing the place (Delos' gilding/Telphousa's defacement); cf. Esteban Santos (1981-2: 204-8), Heiden (2013: 6-7). In 2Bi, however, the pattern is prolonged by Telphousa's trick: having moved on to Delphi, Apollo must circle back to punish her. Since it begins and ends with music (182-206 ~ 514-9), annularity has been claimed as a mark of coherence for *PAp* as a whole (Esteban Santos 1981-2: 214, Thalmann 1982: 70-1). Yet while the musical doublet is undeniable, the resulting ring is very unbalanced, and the schema ignores the other components of 388-51. The coherence of 2Bi and ii derives instead from their describing interdependent actions.[13]

The Delian festival and Cretan narrative (1C, 2Bii) are aligned more loosely by their focus on cult: music predominates on Delos, sacrifice and oracles at Delphi.[14] Overall, *HAp*'s double, parallel structure promotes a picture of Delos and Delphi as complementary Apolline sanctuaries, with distinctive features highlighted by contrast. This 'parallélisme d'opposition' (van Groningen 319) is evident throughout (e.g. Apollo as archer/lyre-player on Olympus, Delos/Telphousa).

Beyond these parallels of structure and narrative pattern, and the frequent use of journeys, *HAp* employs several smaller-scale structuring devices:

[13] The ring-structure identified in *DAp* by Niles (1979) exaggerates the proem's similarity to the Delian festival (cf. 140-6n.).
[14] The more precise analogies identified by Heiden (2013: 7) are less compelling, e.g. hymnist's address to Deliades (165-76) ~ Cretan's question to Apollo (525-44).

1) The priamel at 140-6, whose shift between myth and description Janko (1981: 18) judges odd, simply reverses the direction of other modulating priamels (e.g. *Dion*. 1-5). But *HAp*'s use of the device is uniquely extensive (cf. 19-29n.). As in 140-6, it is often combined with the journey motif, and is at least latent in all of *HAp*'s itineraries, since bypassed places characterise the final destination (cf. Race 1982: 50).

2) Apostrophe, an idiosyncrasy of *HAp*, may articulate structure by means of the fluctuating presence of the narratorial persona (i.e. apostrophe/third-person narrative); it sometimes appears at emotional high-points (14-18n.). Apostrophe ceases when Apollo arrives at Delphi (last at 282), and the remainder of the hymn is almost unified by its absence. The reason is unclear, but the effect is that the narrator withdraws as Apollo engages with other characters (whereas earlier he addressed a solo Apollo).

3) An overlapping phenomenon is the recurrent deployment of the god's name, in the second- or third-person. It heads new sections at 146, 157, 165; makes up the refrain in *PAp* and recurs throughout the Cretan narrative. It is the consequence of Apollo's actions marking decisive turns, or new topics being viewed in relation to him. Aphrodite's name functions similarly at *Aphr*. 9, 17, 21, as does Apollo's in Call. *Hy*. 4.32, 42, etc.; cf. Hunter and Fuhrer (2002: 155). For the possible role of the paean, in which Apollo's title Paean could stand at strophic boundaries see 14-18n.

4) Verbal repetitions often demarcate sections. The repeated description of Typhaon framing the digression on him (306 = 352) is a familiar instance of ring-composition. Elsewhere it reflects parallelism of action (e.g. 49 ~ 115). More particular is the insistent recurrence of key words within a passage, e.g. 'temple' and 'rejoicing' in the Leto-Delos negotiations (cf. 51-

2n.), and ‘memory’, ‘pleasure’, etc. in the Delian festival (147-78n.). Such ‘leitmotifs’ can also promote long-range connections. The festival is aligned with Olympus (cf. 147-55n.). Terms and whole verses used for Delos reappear in *PAp*, e.g. hecatombs (57, 249, 260, 289), ‘temple and groves’ (76 = 221, 245), ‘oracle for mankind’ (81 ≈ 214, 248, etc.): 76, 80-1nn. These ‘formulae’, specific to *HAp*, foster the assimilation of Apollo’s two cult sites. A related phenomenon is the etymologising which straddles *PAp*’s two central parts (372, 386, 495), a counterpart to *DAp*’s closural ‘rejoicing’ motif (cf. 12-3n.).

Date and Context

Thucydides (3.104) ascribes *HAp* to Homer, implying a date several centuries before his time.[15] He had, however, no means of dating it: even a century-old text, say, could have been mistaken for 'Homeric'.[16] A date in the second half of the sixth century is in fact suggested by the hymn's ascription to Cynaethus (see pp. 35-7). Since the evidence for the hymn's division is not conclusive (see pp. 1-10), this would be the date of the entire hymn.[17] This is considerably later than the dates usually given to either part, and much later than the traditional dates for Homer and Hesiod. There is, however, a growing tendency to accept seventh-century dates for either or both poets (cf. Kõiv 2011, West 2012), which closes the gap between them and *HAp*. More importantly, internal indications in both parts of the hymn point to a date not incompatible with Cynaethus' authorship.

Delphic cult *PAp* is more bountiful in potential historical allusions, which scholars have relied on more heavily than their doubtful quality permits.

Apollo's concluding warning, that if the priests commit hubris they will be subject to 'other rulers' (540-3),[18] has often been considered a *post eventum* prophecy referring to the First Sacred War (e.g. Wilamowitz 1916: 441, Richardson 2010: 14-5). Though shrouded in obscurity, the war is traditionally dated to c. 590 BC and supposedly culminated in the Amphictyony's destruction of Crisa as punishment for her harassment of Delphic pilgrims (Davies 1994: 195-7). Robertson (1978) has argued that the war never happened and was an invention of the 340s. While Lehmann (1980) proves awareness of it earlier in the century, its

[15] Thucydides vaguely places Homer 'long after the Trojan War' (1.3.3), perhaps linking him to the Ionian migration: Graziosi (2002: 119-20).
[16] West (1975: 166) compares Stesichorus' belief that *Sc*., composed in his own lifetime, was by Hesiod. The details are uncertain (Finglass 2015: 85), but this type of mistake is plausible.
[17] The linguistic data are also beset by difficulties (see pp. 42-3). Janko (1982: 231) places *DAp* between 690 and 660, which depends on establishing an absolute date for *Th*.; *PAp*'s data, lacking a cluster, cannot be so dated.
[18] The conditionality requires the plausible conjecture εἴ κέ in line 540 (cf. Càssola ad loc.).

fictionality remains a possibility (Londey 2015). If it occurred, the truth is difficult to recover, as Davies shows. More importantly, it would hardly fit Apollo's prediction. The war was presented as Delphi's liberation, whereas Apollo threatens punishment for the *priesthood*'s wrongdoing (Chappell 2006: 333). Forrest (1956: 46) therefore invents co-operation between the priests and Crisaeans, which Richardson (on 540-3) thinks may be implied by 269, 282, 438; but these suggest a 'close association' because Crisa is the only local settlement predating the oracle, hence its naming. Alternatively, Förstel 200-2 believes (slightly confusingly) that Crisa would not have been mentioned after the war, when it was viewed negatively, so *PAp* must be earlier; but his main argument, that the hymn seeks to obscure all earlier, pre-oracle settlement in the area of Delphi, is refuted by the very mention of Crisa.

A likelier historical reference, if one is needed, is to the Amphictyony's assumption of control, probably at some point in the sixth century (Robertson 1978: 49-50); the process is, however, obscure (Sanchez 2001: 58-80). Lines 542-3, which say the priests will be 'subject through necessity to other masters for all time', are not too unflattering for this (*pace* Clay 88 n. 212), since only the priests are in the wrong; it would, in fact, provide Apollo's own authorisation for the Amphictyony's assumption of control. There are other potential allusions to the Amphictyony – e.g. Apollo's itinerary overlaps *partially* with their territory (Richardson on 216-86), while the description of Apollo's temple-building could reflect their project (see below on 'Temples' – but these are uncertain.

Reference to either the First Sacred War or the Amphictyony would, anyway, offer only a rough *terminus post quem*: since both events were recalled long afterwards, the common assertion that any supposed historical reference must date from soon after the event is dubious (e.g. Càssola 101, Chappell 2006: 332). In any case, the prediction is probably not so specific as to require reference to an event that fulfilled it: since the priests' continuing in office

depends, according to Apollo, on moral rectitude, their mere endurance would be proof of their uprightness (cf. Miller 109-10).

An even more questionable reference has been identified in Telphousa's contrast between her own spring, which is noisy with horses, and peaceful Crisa (262-6), which has been thought to require a date before the institution of chariot-races at the Pythian Games in 586 BC (the date in Paus. 10.4.7; Mosshammer 1982 argues for 582). But she is only disparaging daily, secular traffic, while the periodic races were in Apollo's honour. Her words in fact have more point *after* that date, when this religious/secular contrast was possible (Forrest 1956: 34 n. 1), but are comprehensible without any such reference (West 1975: 165 n. 2). A related argument is that the account of Apollo's victory over the serpent (357-69) coincides in its emphasis on the monster's noisy death-throes with aspects of the Pythian *nomos* for *aulos* which was also instituted in 586 BC; but tradition held that a similar victory-song antedated this, so 586 may not have represented a decisive shift in the representation of Delphi's founding event (cf. Richardson 2010: 15).

The Pythia's absence from *PAp* is notable given her centrality to the classic picture of the oracle, but it is of limited use for dating. She is first mentioned at Thgn. 807 (mid-sixth century? cf. Selle 2008: 21-7). It has been argued both that the hymn precedes her installation (Chappell 2006) and that it purposely suppresses her (Clay 2009); possibly it represents a tradition that she was a later addition, although this is not recorded elsewhere (for the same transition at Dodona, see Richardson on 389). Lines 393-6 speak in the present tense of the Cretans 'declaring Phoebus' ordinances' (a few MSS have the future). Since the priests apparently assisted the Pythia during oracular consultations (cf. *DNP*, s.v. 'Pythia), this does not certainly exclude her from contemporary Delphi. *PAp*'s aetiological focus will overlook whatever was not present from the beginning. *PAp*'s version of the founding, in which the Cretans are central, is barely attested elsewhere, and its relation to other versions is obscure

(Förstel 212-9). A narrative about the Pythia is perhaps difficult to imagine, while the Cretan sailors are more suitable material, and also stress Delphi's internationalism (the Pythia was a local woman).

Although individually inconclusive, a few of these details collectively (Amphictyony, *nomos*) may suggest a time after the Delphic reforms traditionally dated to the 580s – at least, parts of the hymn, though comprehensible without such allusions, acquire after this time an added point.

Temples The Delian and Delphic temples are prominent in the Leto-Delos negotiation (mentioned 4x) and the foundation narrative (15x), appearing not simply as typical forms of religious architecture but as central to the conceptions of these two cults. The Delian *Porinos Naos* (*GD* 11), dated to the third quarter of the sixth century, is generally thought to have been constructed, or at least completed, by the Athenians during Peisistratus' rule. Burkert (1979: 62) argued that this was probably Apollo's first temple and that it provides a *terminus post quem* for *DAp*, but other, earlier buildings could have functioned as temples, including the Oikos of the Naxians (*GD* 6), variously dated in the seventh century, although its precise function is disputed (Courbin 1980: 38-41, Constantakopoulou 2007: 43-44), and Temple Γ (*GD* 7, c. 700 BC); cf. 51-2n. Nevertheless, since other evidence points to roughly the same period as the *Porinos Naos*, the hymn's references would acquire significance against the backdrop of a recent spectacular construction. This temple, if it was a recent structure, could not have been identified with the temple promised by Leto, which will apparently follow soon after the birth (Picard 1992: 244); but it would make the centrality of the temple, rather than the altar (cf. 87-8n. βωμός), an original feature of the cult.

As for Delphi, the probable first (stone) temple was destroyed by fire in 548/7 (Paus. 10.5.13). Its date of construction is unknown, but scarce remains suggest that a stone temple

(implied at *Od*. 8.80) existed from c. 650-600. After the fire the sanctuary was reorganised, with a new temple completed c. 500 (Rougemont 2013: 46-7, Morgan 1990: 132-4). *PAp*'s reference need not be responding to the novelty of the first building (*pace* Richardson 2010: 14), since after its construction a stone temple could always be projected back to the mythical foundation. Equally, the fire itself offers no *terminus ante quem* (*contra* Wilamowitz 1922: 76), since the temple is said to be ἀοίδιμον…αἰεί (299), not everlasting (West 1975: 165 n. 2). In fact, the massive funds assembled by the Amphictyony for the rebuilding probably made the temple a live issue internationally (cf. Hdt. 2.180, Jacquemin 1993: 22-3). If the temple's reconstruction was in view or in progress, *PAp*'s impressive description of Apollo's building work, assisted by those who 'dwell around' (298 ἀμφὶ…ἔνασσαν), offers an archetype of collective action under the god's guidance (Richardson ad loc. notes the possible allusion to the Amphictyony, but not the second temple).

There is an obvious danger in seeing mythical narratives as simple reflections of architectural realities: once a temple has embedded itself in the ideal image of a cult, myth can develop independent of the vagaries of actually existing buildings.[19] Once again, however, though these references by themselves are of limited use, the hymn's particular emphases would have added point in a mid- to late-sixth century context, even if they are imaginable earlier.

Delos, Pisistratus and Polycrates *HAp*'s double praise of Delian and Pythian Apollo, just as it has been judged a criterion for division (see pp. 2-5), has also been thought to require a special occasion providing the impetus for its unification. Yet the complementarity, not

[19] The description of Onchestos (230-8) contains no temple, the earliest phases of which date from the late sixth century: Schachter (1986: 212). While emphasis on the grove is explicable in terms of the cult's traditional form, mention of a temple would magnify the encomium and provide a point of comparison with Delphi, whose nature the surrounding narrative explores by surveying different types of site. This might suggest no temple yet existed; again, however, such evidence is uncertain.

exclusivity, of Apollo's Delian and Pythian aspects undermines the separatist position; equally, *HAp*'s presentation of Apollo as a god whose cults together give him universal reach weakens the need for a unique occasion. Delia and Pythia cults were both widespread, often in the same places (Delios: Constantakopoulou 2007: 54-5; Pythios: Davies 2009). Two circumstances suggest a way of narrowing this wide range.

The first involves the question whether *HAp* requires performance, at least originally, on Delos, as the festival description (147-76) has usually been thought to indicate. An older tendency to discern performance context in any lengthy or praiseworthy reference – e.g. that praise of Miletus (180) is evidence of a 'Milesian version' (van Groningen 312) – is rightly questioned (Dornseiff 1935: 13). Solid links between the *Hymns* and specific festivals have proved elusive, while their potentially Panhellenic appeal has rightly been emphasised (Clay 2011). Nevertheless, Clay 48 and Miller 59 n. 145 dismiss a Delian connection too easily on the grounds, respectively, that the description is 'quite general' and that it is a component of the hymn's encomium of Apollo. Both claims are true, at least for lines 147-64, but neither takes proper account of the address to the Deliades (165-76n.), which implies the speaker's presence at the scene just described, since he bids them farewell and issues detailed instructions. While a *divine* interlocutor can be addressed *in absentia*, the maidens are a human chorus (albeit with supernatural features: 156n.). Treating χαίρετε as 'dismissal of a theme' (Miller 65) is insufficient. A partial solution is offered if, as is likely, *HAp* was presented as a *verbatim* reproduction of Homer's past performance, including what he once said to the chorus (see p. 36). Indeed, lines 174-6 imply non-Delian audiences will hear of the Deliades. At the same time, the complex fiction of placing Homer on Delos, whereby both poet and festival are aggrandised, strongly suggests an original link between *HAp* and Delos, though this need not have prevented its performance elsewhere (since what 'Homer' did on Delos could appeal to other audiences).

Secondly, two fruitful contexts for stressing Apollo's Pythian aspect *on Delos* seem to arise in the second half of the sixth century, namely the periods in which Peisistratus and Polycrates, tyrants of Athens and Samos respectively, were influential on the island; whether such contexts existed earlier is unclear, but it may be significant that both are outsiders with ambiguous relationships to Delphi. The clearest instance is the festival called Πύθια καὶ Δήλια – apparently involving a (musical?) ἀγών – which Polycrates is said to have instituted, probably towards the end of his life, i.e. 523 or 522, and coinciding with his 'dedication' of Rheneia to Apollo (Parke 1946, Shipley 1987: 94-6). The sources, Zenobius 6.15 (*Par. Gr.* i.165) and Photius (s.v. Πύθια καὶ Δήλια), are late and sketchy, but they attribute a proverb which presupposes the event to Menander and Epicurus (much closer to, although still two centuries after, its putative date). This was, as Burkert (1979: 59) suggested, an eminently suitable occasion for *HAp*'s performance.[20] Polycrates' dedication of Rheneia was a vivid demonstration of his influence at Delos and part of a general domination of the western Aegean (cf. Hdt. 3.122, Th. 1.13); the Delian cult's long-standing importance for island communities made it a potent stage for such power-projection (Constantakopoulou 2007: 49; see below for the Ionian angle).

The purpose of incorporating Apollo's Delphic aspect at Delos is less clear, however. It has sometimes been read as an anti-Delphic move (Aloni 2004, 2009). The oracle given to Polycrates when he sought a name for his festival appears to have the same hostile tone as that given to the tyrant Cleisthenes of Sicyon (Hdt. 5.67).[21] Yet if he sought an oracle, he presumably expected approval. The tendency for later oracular reports to retroject an anti-tyrant attitude is well known, but so too is Delphi's religious conservatism (cf. Malkin 1989: 131, 148). Grounds for animosity *preceding* Polycrates' Delian innovations have been sought

[20] In fact, Burkert treated it as the sole possible occasion, wrongly claiming that *PAp* 'presupposes a Boeotian-Phocian setting'; but see pp. 5-7 for doubts about supposed 'local' perspectives.
[21] In one source he asks about the correct timing, which suggests a claim (perhaps specious) to be reviving a religious practice.

in his relations with Amasis and Arcesilaus (Mora 1983), but the evidence is slight and indirect; the very lack of evidence for contact may suggest a certain coolness in relations, but not necessarily outright hostility. More important, *HAp* itself evinces no anti-Delphic attitude (see pp. 3-5), as Aloni (2009) claims (reviving, apparently inadvertently, the view of Verrall 1894). His main argument is that Cretans are selected because of their proverbial mendacity, but this would make a fool of Apollo himself. Better explanations are Crete's reputation as a religious wellspring and its historical relations with Delphi (Guarducci 1943-6). Other attempts to identify pro-Samian propaganda are equally unpersuasive (Aloni 2004, Sbardella 2012: 107-22). Hera, the primary god of Samos, is indeed given an important role in both of the hymn's parts (for Polycrates' work on the Samian Heraion see Shipley 1987: 78-9); but her presentation as a thwarted threat to Apolline, even Olympian, order (cf. Clay 67-71) would be a very dubious compliment. Sbardella (2012: 101-5) links Miletus (180) to Polycrates' victory over the city (Hdt. 3.39), but it appears in *HAp* simply as a great cult of Apollo (i.e. Didyma: 42n.). Even if the hymn's overall plan of combining Delian and Pythian Apollo is a response to Polycratean concerns, *HAp*'s failure to reflect the narrow interests of a single ruler is unsurprising given that it also has Panhellenic pretensions.

The blending of Apollo Delios and Pythios which Polycrates' festival appears to have encouraged has usually been judged a unique occasion, but traces of it are found earlier in connection with Peisistratus. As a display of dominance on Delos, the dedication of Rheneia was anticipated by Peisistratus' purification of Delos, probably c. 540; this act was prompted by 'oracles' (Hdt. 1.64 ἐκ τῶν λογίων), but probably not from Delphi (Hornblower on Th. 3.104.1). No Peisistratean festivals are documented, although this has sometimes been asserted

(Shapiro 1982: 48, Nagy 2011: 285); Thucydides' description is open to misinterpretation.[22] It is likely, however, that the purification was splendidly commemorated, as was that of 426. By that period the sanctuary had undergone a process of reorganisation and monumentalisation, involving the construction of *oikoi* and temples and the laying out of the *temenos* (cf. Constantakopoulou 2007: 40-7) – a suitable forum for grand international gatherings that could well have imagined themselves as heirs to Homer's Ionian contemporaries. In Athens, meanwhile, the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios was, if not founded by the Peisistratids, earnestly cultivated by them. Like Polycrates' festival, this has been interpreted as anti-Delphic; but while the Peisistratids' lack of engagement with Delphi is striking, a breakdown in relations probably only occurred towards the end of their rule (cf. Shapiro 1989: 52). Near the Pythion was the shrine of Apollo Delphinios which, though not explicitly connected to the tyrants, leaves traces dating from the late sixth century (Shapiro 1989: 50-2). There are hints, therefore, of the promotion in Peisistratid Athens of a similar configuration of Apolline characteristics as are found in *HAp*, although these are slight and must be treated cautiously.

More compelling evidence is offered by visual art, in which the Peisistratid promotion of a Delian-Pythian Apollo may be reflected. From 540 onwards, coinciding with Peisistratus' Delian activities, the Delian triad becomes a popular subject in Attic vase painting (Shapiro 1989: 56-8). More striking still is a black-figure neck amphora, dated c. 540-30 (*LIMC* II s.v. 'Apollon', no. 381), showing a kithara-playing Apollo sitting in a tripod which hovers over water; beneath it float his bow and quiver, and he is flanked by two females (probably Leto and Artemis) and accompanied by two dolphins. Since the tripod conventionally represents Delphi (Hedreen 2001: 68-72; cf. 443 τριπόδων), Apollo is pictured simultaneously possessing the three attributes he claims at *HAp* 131-2. He is probably travelling between

[22] The Ἀθηναῖοι who celebrate the revived Delian festival (3.104.2) are surely the Ἀθηναῖοι who perform the purification of 426 (3.104.1) rather than those of Peisistratus' time. The repetition brackets the activity attributed (by name) to the tyrant. If he revived the festival, the chapter would be an inappropriately long digression on his work, whereas a discussion of Athenian policy is apt here.

Delos, signified by his mother and sister, and Delphi (Beazley 1964: 10). The dolphins recall Apollo's metamorphosis and the Delphinios cult it aetiologises (400, 495). The composition thus 'distil[s]…all the most important elements of the *Hymn*' (Shapiro 1989: 59). The theme's attraction seems to have endured, for it appears on an Attic red-figure hydria, c. 490 (*LIMC* II s.v. 'Apollon', no. 382), and Shapiro plausibly suggests that *HAp* may have helped to promote it. That this image is actually a 'reference' to the hymn, as he claims, is less certain. Both media might rather share and promote a Delian-Pythian conception of Apollo that flourished in the second half of the sixth century.

Since, therefore, Polycrates' festival appears to have exploited currents already promoted by Peisistratus (cf. Aloni 1989: 62-3), *HAp* would find a plausible context on Delos between about 540 and 520, not just at Polycrates' festival. Although only this festival is documented, its unique character has probably been exaggerated. Within this very general and uncertain frame, attempts to discern specifically Peisistratean propaganda are, like the search for Samian propaganda, unpersuasive. The complimentary reference to Athena (314-5) would certainly please an Athenian audience, but she is mentioned because she is a great child of Zeus, i.e. analogous to Apollo (*contra* Aloni 2004: 26). As with Polycrates, the hymn does not clearly reflect a Peisistratid 'outlook', except perhaps in the joint emphasis on Apollo's Delian and Pythian aspect. And as with Polycrates, the reasons behind Peisistratus' (hypothetical) promotion of such a conception are difficult to recover. If the tyrants were hostile to Delphi, *HAp* does not reflect it. In both cases, the sources rather suggest uneasy and distant relations (Brandt 1998), in which case Peisistratus' Pythion and Polycrates' festival might have been efforts to appropriate the prestige of Delphi at a cult centre, Delos, where they had more influence. To what extent *HAp* reflects this is open to question. At most, a performance of the hymn, especially on Delos, could be seen to illustrate a certain dependence of Delphi on Delos, which is the place where his nature is delineated (131-2), the starting point of his rule (29) and

the site of his first oracle (87-8n.). 'Delphic' poems, by contrast, tend to mention the birth only cursorily (e.g. Alc. fr. 307 Voigt, Limenius, *Pae. Delph.*). Yet, at the same time, what is promised at Delos (rule, oracle, bow), is only fulfilled at Delphi (e.g. 357, 515). The two cults, far from being opposed or subordinated one to the other, are intimately linked in a balanced pairing (cf. p. 5).

Ionianism *HAp* twice calls the Delian festival a gathering of *Ionians* (147, 152), i.e. an ethnic occasion that is neither local nor fully Panhellenic. Scholars have traditionally treated the description as an accurate reflection of historical reality and placed it in the eighth or early seventh centuries (e.g. Humbert 76), on the ground that this period marked the apogee of the Ionian cities – although Càssola 100 acknowledges that the end of this flourishing, the Persian conquest of Asia Minor (c. 540), defines an unhelpfully large range.[23]

However, since the hymnist's Homeric self-description strongly suggests this picture is a mythical projection (see pp. 32-8), it cannot be taken as a simple reflection of a contemporary reality. The presence on Delos of the Ionians of Asia Minor in the Archaic period is in fact scarcely attested by archaeological or literary evidence (Roux 1984: 99).[24] The story of Odysseus' visit with his λαός (*Od.* 6.162-5), though its purpose is not specified, implies a forum for aristocrats from across the Greek world, while the earliest instance of the theoric choruses that would define the later cult is offered by Eumelus' *prosodion* for the Messenians, usually dated c. 730 (Bowra 1963: 152), but possibly c. 650 (West 2002: 109); this is however a one-off event and does not necessitate regular attendance. More concretely, the island's seventh- and sixth-century monumentalisation was led by Naxos, Paros and Athens. To judge

[23] Humbert 76 and Gemoll 118 find a lower bound in the Cimmerians' ravaging of Ionia during the mid-seventh century (Hdt. 1.16-7, Str. 14.1.40), but AHS 184 admit this did not reach the islands.
[24] When Th. 3.104.3 contrasts the later participation of 'Athenians and islanders' with the earlier presence of 'Ionians and islanders', he is relying on *HAp* itself for the earlier picture.

from the construction of *oikoi* on Delos and Delia elsewhere, the cult appealed overwhelmingly to *island* communities, including Dorians (see Constantakopoulou 2007: 49-55).

This picture is not altogether surprising considering that the twelve Ionian cities of Asia Minor had their religious centre in the Panionion at Mycale (seventh century?); cf. *DNP* s.v. 'Panionion'. It is likely that Delos grew in importance relative to the Panionion after Asia Minor fell under Persian domination (Burkert 1979: 61-2); Polycrates' westward turn and intervention at Delos date from this period. The Panionion is presented by Herodotus (1.143) as making schismatic and exclusive claims to Ionian identity, and *HAp* also contains hints of 'propaganda', even if increasing mainland Ionian interest in Delos was a contemporary reality. The catalogue of 30-44, which describes Apollo's empire and Leto's wandering, names Mycale itself as well as members of the Dodecapolis: Chios, Samos, Miletus (also at 180), Phocaea and places near Colophon and Erythrae. The mainland Ionians are therefore incorporated into the Delian cult network from its very foundation. This picture is then reinforced by presenting the Ionians, so defined, as gathered on Delos in the time of Homer. *HAp*'s perspective is not exclusively ethnic, however. Delos' status as the supreme Ionian cult is placed within a more universal perspective: lines 30-44 encompass the whole Aegean, not just Ionia, and the poet's promise of 174-6 suggests Delos' broad appeal.[25]

Both Peisistratos and Polycrates could have benefited from emphasising Delos' character as an Ionian centre as part of their projections of power on the island. By 'proving' the existence of grand gatherings in Homer's time, *HAp* could have given their innovations the authorising veneer of antiquity. Athens' claim to be the 'oldest land of Ionia', origin of the Ionian migration, is already raised by Solon (fr. 4a W^2), and it was later exploited by the Delian

[25] Cf. Talamo (1996: 235). But rather than a slip of the poet, a concession that Delos was never purely Ionian, this may be an attempt to have it both ways. Reference during the festival to φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων (161) and πάντων…ἀνθρώπων (162) are more doubtful evidence. Line 162 probably describes the Deliades' performance, not their audience, while 161 may simply stress their skill rather than indicate an ethnically mixed congregation (see notes).

League (Smarczyk 1990: 471-3). As for Peisistratos himself, it has been argued that he introduced the cult of Apollo Patroos, i.e. Apollo as ancestor of the Athenians and Ionians (Hedrick 1988, Shapiro 1989: 51), although this is highly speculative. Polycrates' turn to Delos, meanwhile, coincided with his attempts to dominate cities in Ionia and islands of the western Aegean, at a time when the Persians controlled the mainland and the territory of Mycale, to which Delos offered an alternative (cf. Aloni 2004: 21, Thomas 2015: 38). But as much as this picture of Delos' Ionianism might have appealed to both tyrants, it is also comprehensible more generally as praise of the Delian cult.

Authorship

HAp's interest in its own authorship is unique among the *Hymns*, which confine narratorial self-references to introductions and epilogues, and the reference is always anonymous and generic ('I will sing', 'grant me favour' *vel sim.*). In *HAp*, by contrast, the hymnist not only identifies himself in individual terms but places his self-description (172-5) in a structurally central position, using it to pivot between the hymn's two major thematic blocks (cf. pp. 15-6). At the centre of an encomium to Apollo stands praise of the poet himself.

The terms in which he recommends himself – 'a blind man, he lives in Chios; all his songs are best afterwards' – blend the anonymity typical of the *Hymns* with an allusive specificity. Any impression of modesty that his namelessness might have created is dispelled by the proud assertion of the supremacy of all his songs, a status he claims will endure. As Burkert (1979: 57) notes, this would be an odd statement for a regular poet to make.[26] Boastfulness in an artist is not in itself suspicious, but the Chian appears to predict a classic status. Combined with his almost ostentatious anonymity, this suggests an identity that is already known, familiar as the result of being mythologised.[27]

Thucydides (3.104) believed the riddling signature marked *HAp*'s Homeric authorship. The chosen characteristics, blindness and Chian origin, suggest the hymn's author was mining an already established biographical tradition. Blindness was, of course, one of Homer's most widespread and persistent traits (Graziosi 2002: 125-63, Beecroft 2011), while Chios' claim to be his birthplace was, with those of Smyrna and Colophon, the oldest and most developed (Jacoby 1933b: 35-6, Kivilo 2010: 87-8). *HAp* has often been judged the source of these biographical data, on the ground that it is the first to attest them: composed by an unknown

[26] Line 173 has been interpreted as meaning 'he always wins', which is a more pedestrian claim. Besides being a less plausible rendering of the Greek (cf. 173n.), it is less apt if the speaker is 'Homer'.
[27] Förstel 143 oddly claims that namelessness *excludes* a fiction. But the very use of indirection is a knowing way of indicating fame.

blind Chian, the hymn entered Homer's oeuvre and determined his biography before finally being expelled (cf. Wilamowitz 1916: 453, Abramowicz 1935, AHS ad loc.). Yet its priority is open to question. Stesichorus in his *Palinode* (fr. 91a F-D) engages polemically with the blindness of the *Iliad* poet. Though his date is uncertain, it probably falls in the first half of the sixth century (Finglass 2014: 6) – later than the dates usually assigned to *HAp*, but earlier than the likeliest, viz. the second half of the sixth century (see pp. 25-9). Slightly later, Simonides (fr. 19.1-2 W^2) refers to Homer's Chian origin, calling the poet of the *Iliad* (at least *Il*. 6.146) Χῖος ἀνήϱ in the same periphrastic fashion as *HAp* (cf. 172-3n.). The Chian connection reappears in Pindar (fr. 264 S-M, together with Smyrna). The source(s) of these references to Chios cannot be determined, but *HAp*'s role, of which there is no trace, cannot simply be assumed (*pace* Marx 1925: 411).

In fact, the hymn is never adduced in ancient debates about Homer's origins. In the *Certamen* (315-21), Homer is actually described as performing *HAp* on Delos, yet this is not sufficient to invalidate non-Chian claims of origin (9-17, 315-21); the Chian argument, meanwhile, relies solely on the local Homeridae, his supposed descendants (13-15; cf. Str. 14.1.35). This guild of rhapsodes, who sang Homer's works, expounded his biography and promoted his fame, is a likelier source of the legend.[28] *HAp* would then be part of their propaganda, as was in fact asserted in antiquity (see below). The Chians failed to exploit the hymn's authority not because *they* knew Homer was not its author (so Abramowicz 1935: 274), but because scepticism about its authorship, arising from beyond Chios and the Homeridae, soon rendered it inadmissible. It seems that any poem claiming to tie Homer too exclusively to a single locality could not be accepted as authentically Homeric, while the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, in which the poet makes almost no reference to himself (and certainly no *local* reference), were

[28] For the Homeridae see West (1999: 374-6), Graziosi (2002: 208-17). Their Samian counterparts, the Creophylei, were descendants of Homer's friend: Burkert (1972), Cerri (2000: 9-13).

accepted as his only true works and embodiments of his Panhellenic character (cf. Graziosi 2002: 86-7, Nagy 1990: 78-9).[29] Once the Homeric corpus had been so reduced, the existence of the Homeridae themselves, rather than their poetic creations, was the best argument left to the Chians.

Homer's blindness is not open to the same explanation. Attempts to derive it from the name, e.g. ὅμηρος = 'blind' in Aeolic (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F 1), are rightly dismissed as later, specious efforts to link him to a locality (Abramowicz 1935: 263-4). But it does not follow that blindness is true biography, even if blind poets are prevalent in early Greek and other oral cultures, as ethnography attests (cf. Böckel 1913: 67-77, Lord 1960: 18-9). However common the affliction, mythical poets – like seers – show it was invested with ambiguous significance and symbolised transgression of limits (cf. Buxton 1980: 27-30). While Thamyris was blinded for hubris (Hes. fr. 65 M-W, possibly *Il*. 2.595-600), Demodocus' disability is balanced by supreme artistic talent (*Od*. 8.63-4). The latter figure seems to draw on widespread connotations of blindness but may also, as a valorising model of the poet's craft, have been interpreted as autobiographical (as by later readers, e.g. sch. EV *Od*. 8.63) and helped to promote Homer's own blindness. This aspect of the legend which *HAp* had helped to foster, but not its Chian claim, survived the hymn's ultimate exclusion from the Homeric corpus.

The Homeridae, then, seem to have played a role in developing at least some aspects of the Homeric legend, which *HAp* appears to promote. That the hymn itself was their work is actually attested by a report which claims to reveal the true author of *HAp*. It is preserved in a Pindaric scholium (sch. *N*. 2.1c) and explicates Pindar's use of the term Ὁμηρίδαι:

[29] *HAp* also presents Homer as roaming throughout Greece (174-6) and claiming a special place on Delos (166-73); but he still 'lives' on Chios (172).

Ὁμηρίδας ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου γένους, οἳ καὶ τὴν ποίησιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ᾖδον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ῥαψῳδοὶ οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ὅμηρον ἀνάγοντες. ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὗς φασι πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὁμήρου ποίησιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος τὸ γένος Χῖος, ὃς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὁμήρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γεγραφὼς ὕμνον ἀνατέθεικεν αὐτῷ. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐραψῴδησε τὰ Ὁμήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ξθ΄ Ὀλυμπιάδα (i.e. 504-1 BC), ὡς Ἱππόστρατός φησιν (= *FGrHist* 568 F 5).

Cynaethus was a Chian Homerid and leader of a group of rhapsodes reputed to have interpolated verses in Homer's work.[30] This 'interpolation' (ἐμβαλεῖν), more extensive than the modern conception, extended even to the wholesale importation of works into Homer's oeuvre, of which the signal instance was Cynaethus' writing and attributing to Homer 'the hymn to Apollo' – surely *HAp*, since no other Homeric hymn to Apollo is known. This exactly fits the hymn's *sphragis*: rather than simply asserting Homer's authorship, Cynaethus made the hymn declare it. The view that ἀνατέθεικεν αὐτῷ means Cynaethus 'dedicated' the work to *Apollo* (Martin 2000: 419 n. 58), though a possible construal, is inapt given the preceding reference to forgery.[31] Likewise, the claim that he merely 'made a written copy' (γεγραφώς; cf. preceding ποιήσαντας) and attributed it to *himself*, with αὐτῷ (De Martino 1983: 159), transforms it into a case of theft.[32] Nor, finally, can it refer only to the insertion of the *sphragis*

[30] This interpretation supplements the second clause thus: 'the rhapsodes no longer tracing descent from Homer [were also called Homeridae]'; cf. Förstel 346 n. 214. The alternative, 'the rhapsodes … [also sang Homer's poetry]' (Wade-Gery 1952: 21), would exclude Cynaethus from that rank of Homeridae; this is grammatically stricter but weakens the report's relevance to Pindar's text, and is contradicted by the scholium's abbreviated version in sch. *N*. 2.1e: Ὁμηρίδαι πρότερον μὲν οἱ Ὁμήρου παῖδες, ὕστερον δὲ οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον ῥαβδῳδοί.

[31] ἀνατίθημι can mean both 'attribute' and 'dedicate' (*DGE* s.v. A2 and II).

[32] For γράφω = 'compose' see *DGE* s.v. II2. De Martino believes this was a redaction of the version on the Delian λεύκωμα (see p. 72); but this is a legend and could reflect Cynaethus' activity on Delos (cf. West 1999: 382).

to join the originally separate *DAp* and *PAp* (Sbardella 2012: 35): this presupposes *HAp*'s division, which is of course largely justified by the oddity of 165-78; the Deliades (156-64) could not have ended a hymn; and, as Janko 114 notes, praise of Chios (38) defends the *sphragis*. That line, and even the whole festival description, might be dismissed as interpolated, but the approach would be totally arbitrary. *HAp* as a whole is 'attributed to Homer' because its design places Homer's self-description at the centre.[33]

Since in *HAp* 'Homer' himself speaks, Cynaethus, or any other performer, must have claimed to be repeating verbatim the words that Homer once uttered on Delos, just as in any performance of Hesiod's works the 'I' must be referred to the putative original composer (cf. West 1999: 370). At the same time, the characteristics shared by the Homeridae and their master (both wandering Chian singers) would have effected a partial merging of master and followers. A kindred procedure is possibly to be found in *Margites* fr. 1 West, which introduces a nameless old man, 'a divine singer', arriving at Colophon. If this was meant to be Homer, as some readers understood it to be, and if it provided a narrative frame, then the poem would be presented as Homer's recitation, localized in the city (Gostoli 2000, Graziosi 2002: 66-71). *HAp* lacks such an embedded 'establishing' introduction, but its performers could have explained the hymn's origin before beginning. The story in *Cert*. 315-21, in which Homer attends the Ionian *panegyris* and is lavishly praised and rewarded, provides just such a context. Even if performed elsewhere than at Delos, the hymn's depiction of Homer splendidly received among the Ionians of the glorious past would still magnify its author – an impressive piece of Homerid 'propaganda'.

The date given in the scholium, 504-1 BC, has been judged too low, both for *HAp* and for Homer's first recitation at Syracuse. The date can be accepted or rejected: emendation,

[33] If one accepts *HAp*'s division, Cynaethus' composition of *DAp* to precede *PAp* is preferable, as West (1975) argues.

though sometimes attempted to achieve a more plausible figure (e.g. seventh century), is in this case arbitrary (cf. AHS lxxvii). Yet it is compatible with the hymn's likely date, in the second half of the sixth century. And while earlier knowledge of the Homeric poems in Sicily is demonstrated by Stesichorus, πρῶτος … ἐραψῴδησε need only mean the earliest formal rhapsodic performances (so West 1999: 368), and for this Hippostratus, a historian of Sicily (probably third century BC), could be relying on victor lists. The contemporary flourishing of poetry in Sicily, and the parallel stories of Homer's importation to Athens under the Peisistratids – probably also the work of rhapsodic guilds – lend credence to the report.[34] At about the same time, Homer's name is first mentioned as that of an authoritative poet: Xenophanes pronounces on his age (21 B 13 DK), Heraclitus imagines him performing competitively (22 B 42 DK), while in the West Theagenes of Rhegium made early enquiries into Homer's 'poetry, life and times' (8 DK 1): see Pozdnev (2016). As a means of promoting Homer's fame, including biographical details, *HAp* would have complemented Cynaethus' work in the dissemination by means of rhapsodic performance of Homer's other poems. It might even have introduced, at Syracuse or elsewhere, performance of Homer's larger epics: the Homeridae's practice of prefacing epic recitation with a hymn is recorded by Pi. *N*. 2.1-3 and is suggested by the term προοίμιον which Thucydides uses for *HAp*.[35]

The ultimate source of the report is unclear. Some have suggested the 'true descendants' of Homer, who disparage the interloper Cynaethus by unmasking his forgeries (De Martino 1983: 157). West (1999: 371), however, has persuasively argued that the original family relationship was an invention of the guild itself, who were not, and could not claim to be,

[34] For Sicily: Morgan (2012); Athens: West (1999: 380-2). Cynaethus' name, which is not common, may even be preserved on a sixth-century statue base from Gela (*SEG* 19:609). Aloni (1989: 65-6) sketches a plausible, though speculative, itinerary for Cynaethus who, like Anacreon, might have moved westwards as the tyrannies of Polycrates and the Peisistratids fell in turn.

[35] For προοίμιον see Constantini and Lallot (1987), Clay (2011: 238-40). Crusius (1895: 720-1) suggests it introduced the *Iliad*. Such a conjunction would produce an interesting interplay (cf. 1-13n.); but any notion of dependence is to be avoided, since *HAp*'s narrative is self-sufficient.

related to one another, but who could magnify their authority even by this indirect link to the poet. In fact, anyone who disputed Homer's Chian origin, but perhaps especially non-Chian rhapsodes, had an interest in exposing the forgery; if *HAp* had enjoyed great success, as its citation by Thucydides suggests, the role of the famous Cynaethus could well have been recalled. Burkert (1979: 57-8) argues that the attribution to him is mere conjecture, and that he was only remembered for being a famous forger. Yet if this was the case, it rather *increases* the likelihood that he was responsible for the hymn (West 1999: 370). The literary-historical quarrels that lie behind the scholium are, as Burkert notes, obscure and irrecoverable. But given the picture that emerges of the Homeridae's activities, and the way that *HAp* seems to coincide with them, the identification of Cynaethus as its author can be tentatively accepted.

The hymn's attribution to Homer was a considerable success. In the contested process of canon-formation, it established itself, at least for a time, among Homer's works. Despite its rejection by Zenodotus and his successors (cf. Pfeiffer 1968: 117), its Homeric authorship persists in the scattered references of Philodemus (*Piet*. p. 93 Schober), Aristides (*Or*. 28.19, 34.35) and Pausanias (10.37.5). On the other hand, Athenaeus' offhand attribution of it to 'Homer or one of the Homeridae' (1.22b) seems to preserve trace of its true origin.

Appendix 2: *HAp* and Hesiod

[Hesiod] fr. 357 M-W (*ap*. sch. Pi. N. 2.1)

ἐν Δήλωι τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἀοιδοὶ
μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ἀοιδήν,
Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τέκε Λητώ.

'Hesiod' recalls how he and Homer sang hymns to Apollo on Delos. Earlier separatists took this to show that *DAp* and *PAp* were products of Homeric and Hesiodic 'schools' respectively (Schneidewin 1847: 16, Baumeister 1860: 115). Janko 113 suggests the legend was invented to justify the hymns' combination. Both start from the separatist position and consider *PAp*'s 'Hesiodic' character obvious. This seems to amount to little more than a mainland focus and aversion to movable *nu*; its meagre 'Hesiodic' diction is outweighed by masses of 'Homeric' material (see pp. 50-1).[36] Martin (2000: 415-9) considers pseudo-violations of Hermann's Bridge a distinctive Hesiodic trait in *PAp*; but even if this were not doubtful (see further p. 61), it would be very slight and hardly justify his claim that *DAp* and *PAp* were composed as 'impersonations' of Homer and Hesiod, specifically for a dramatized contest between them introduced by a framing narrative which partially survives in fr. 357. Aside from its unsuitability for such a purpose (Homer speaks first: did Hesiod report his words?), *DAp* is incomplete at 176, where Martin supposes Hesiod began, and no change is signalled there (he suggests a lacuna). There is, finally, nothing inherently agonistic in the way *PAp* parallels and expands motifs in *DAp*, since such disproportionate doublets are a common epic compositional device (cf. Kelly 2007b).

[36] Abramowicz (1937: 53-65) notes how supposedly Hesiodic elements in *PAp* – etymology, aetiology – are balanced by others – especially the *sphragis* – in *DAp*.

That 'Hesiod' should be given any part of *HAp* is in fact doubtful. At *Cert*. 315-21 Homer sings *HAp* alone (see above), and when *PAp* is quoted later, it is as Homer's (cf. pp. 70-1); the theory's only ancient support, that sch. D *Il*. 2.522 cites line 241 as Hesiodic, fell away when an identical verse emerged as Hes. fr. 70.18 M-W. Janko believes a strong reason, such as the unification of *HAp*, was needed to contradict the statement at *Op*. 650-1 that Hesiod travelled only to Chalcis, where *Cert*. 68ff. (= Alcidamas fr. 5 Avezzù) places their meeting. But the Hesiodic biographical tradition has him travel more extensively (e.g. to Delphi), and shows a tendency to mirror that of Homer (cf. Nagy 2009b: 299). If *HAp* promoted the idea that Homer had once performed splendidly on Delos, it was natural to place Hesiod there too – singing his *own* hymn.[37]

[37] Förstel 81-4 reaches similar conclusions. West (1999: 376) even suggests the forger aped Hesiod in order to buttress Cynaethus' claims against the sceptics.

Language

Formular modifications

The language of *HAp* is essentially the *Kunstsprache*, or artificial poetic diction, of Homer, Hesiod and the other *Hymns* (Janko 1992: 8). A possible indication that *HAp*'s diction is relatively more developed than Homer's is the presence of modified Homeric formulae containing linguistic innovations that are not paralleled in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*: see Hoekstra (1969: 21-38) and Janko (103-5, 121-4). The following focuses on *DAp*, with further discussion in the commentary.

Non-Homeric declensions of noun-epithet combinations appear twice in 15 (Ἀπόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα, with digamma neglected; Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν), in 95 = 105 (λευκωλένου Ἥρης) and, with separation, in 99 (Ἥρης…λευκωλένου). In ἴδῃ φάος ἠελίοιο (71) modification of a common formula (ὁρᾷ/ ὁρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο, 9x epos) entails neglected digamma. Elsewhere movable *nu* makes position (161 ἀείδουσιν; 163 ἴσασιν, also neglecting digamma) and obviates hiatus (e.g. 164 συνάρηρεν). Cases of the latter include verbs before the feminine caesura (113 ἔπειθεν, 133 ἐβίβασκεν), for which Homer offers three parallels but c. 90 counterexamples. In 36 the first syllable of εὐκτιμένη, normally pentasyllabic (cf. 102), is contracted, and ἀγήρως (151) and Λητώ (159) are irresolvable; the contraction of ᾠδῆς (20) is less secure, but need not be resolved (see note). Finally, in 87-8 (θυώδης…βωμός) displacement of a formula produces violent enjambement.

The cumulative impression of these slight indications is of post-Homeric diction. As Hoekstra (1969: 25) observes, 'late' features cluster in *HAp*'s untraditional concluding section (147-76). Yet the loss of most early hexameter poetry, in which parallels would no doubt be found, constrains the method somewhat. While the size of the Homeric corpus makes it the best guide to the 'tradition', non-Homeric language is not necessarily chronologically later (cf. Faulkner 2011: 31). There are also a few non-Homeric archaisms: εὔβων (54), κατέβρως

(127) and possibly φοίνικῑ (127): see notes. Other non-Homeric usages are less decisive. Transitive ὠδίνω (45) and ναυσικλειτός (31) applied to a place need not indicate chronological lateness. δυσηχής (64) meaning 'ill-reputed' and the extension of ἐπάρχεσθαι (125) to mean 'serve' could be the poet's own innovations, while his non-Homeric combination of ethnonym and ἄνθρωποι (42; cf. 398) matches the idiosyncratic use of ἄνδρες in 65. For the non-Homeric treatment of speech-formulae, which can be explained by the narrative demands of the hymn, cf. 102-14n.

Relative chronology

Analysis of formular modification can be complemented by a more comprehensive quantification of linguistic data. By calculating and comparing the proportions in each text of morphs identified as linguistically earlier and later, Janko (1982) aimed to construct a relative chronology which locates the texts within the development of epic diction. The division of *DAp* and *PAp*, which are treated separately, is justified on traditional grounds but finds confirmation, it is claimed, in the linguistic data (Janko 99-100). Certainly, the two parts diverge widely on most criteria, especially movable *nu* making position, for which *DAp* has the highest figure among the texts treated, *PAp* the lowest (Janko 66). This feature, which seems particularly 'Ionic', is taken by Janko to confirm *PAp*'s separate 'mainland' provenance. Yet individual books of the *Iliad* disagree almost as much; in fact, for most criteria they show a greater range than the divergences between *DAp* and *PAp* (figures in Janko 201-18). The method's ability to answer questions of authorship (for which, of course, it was not developed) is therefore uncertain.[38]

The broader picture also contains difficulties. The statistics clearly show that, for most criteria, younger morphs are more prevalent in both *DAp* and *PAp* than in both Homeric poems,

[38] Janko (1991) now accepts the unity of the hymn, which suggests the linguistic data are not decisive.

confirming the impression from formular modifications. Yet *DAp*, given its brevity, provides too few results for five of the 10 criteria studied, which are omitted in plotting its position on the common scale. The others cluster slightly later than *Th*., except that the rate of o-stem genitives in -ου (vs. older -οιο) is much lower than expected. By contrast, *PAp* offers ample material but, like *Sc*. and *Herm*., shows no clustering at all, with features scattered widely across the scale. Given indications of a sixth-century date (Janko relies on the doubtful allusion to the First Sacred War: see pp. 19-20), the results that fall much earlier than expected (e.g. datives in -οισι) are explained, somewhat questionably, as 'false archaisms'. *DAp*'s rate of -ου is also much lower than its other figures would suggest. But while conscious archaising might suit some outlying features (e.g. -οιο in *Dem*.), *DAp*'s low rate of -ου – i.e. the absence of a 'young' morph – is an improbable candidate, as Janko 79 admits.

Since so many of *PAp*'s features (five of nine) yield unexpected figures, this is explained more radically as due to the poet's reliance for much of his diction on fixed texts embodying a much earlier stage of the tradition (Janko 78). Some interaction with the Homeric poems is probable (see below on 'Homeric parallels'), yet such a hypothesis drastically alters the assumed picture of a unified tradition changing at a constant rate by introducing an imponderable, non-chronological factor. Whether on this model *PAp*'s results should be so inconsistent, especially given the impressive clusters of *Il*. and *Od*., is also difficult to judge (cf. Vergados 2012: 143). Since other cases of oddly spread results, e.g. *Aphr*., are also explained by appeals to regional traditions or poetic idiolects, the argument that the observed linguistic changes are chronologically explicable is seriously undermined (cf. Jones 2010 for a thorough methodological critique). Janko 12-3 has persuasively refuted the view that dictional differences are primarily explicable in terms of regional traditions, yet chronology is only one in a complex interplay of factors determining the appearance of older and younger forms (cf. West 2012: 227-8).

Orality

Determining a poem's orality is a vexed question, and 'it is easier to disprove oral composition than to prove it' (Janko 40). *HAp* shows few of the metrical niceties associated with later, literate composition in hexameters, and it shows the same low level of necessary enjambement found in Homer (see pp. 61-2). Another approach focuses on the formula, variously defined, as the distinctive feature of oral literature. Notopoulos (1962: 358) concludes that the four major *Hymns* were orally composed because more than 80% of their verses contain formulae. Yet his conception of the formula, as his analysis of *HAp* 1-18 shows, is excessively capacious, encompassing exact repetitions (even 3 καί ῥα), formulae 'by analogy' and looser syntactic 'systems' (Notopoulos 1962: 355-7). Using a more cautious definition, Cantilena (1982) reaches similar conclusions.[39]

Yet since literate poems can make extensive use of formulae, a subtler test, suggested by Kirk (1981), is the degree to which the formular language is handled 'naturally', in contrast with 'self-conscious composition in a formular style', called 'literary *mimesis*'. However, Kirk's own analysis of *HAp* 1-13 shows how, in practice, this method replaces a blunt quantitative approach with untrammelled subjective judgement. In disparaging the scene's 'ethos' as 'post-Homeric exaggeration' (Kirk 1981: 166), he tends to assume rather than prove that imitation is at work, an assumption somewhat undermined by his recognition of an encomiastic 'hymnodic tendency' in the proem – i.e. a generic, not chronological, factor. There are undoubtedly some obscurities in *HAp* which make use of formulaic diction, e.g. 8 and 27-8 (see notes); but since bad oral poets can surely exist, ineptitude or awkwardness is a poor

[39] Formular density: *DAp* 42%, *PAp* 54%; *Aphr*. 54%, *Dem*. 47%, *Herm*. 39%.

criterion (Chappell ad loc. appears to waver over its utility). (For some of the difficulties with relying too much on supposed formularity, see Finkelberg 2004).

A more compelling approach is to analyse types of formular modification, since this is a distinctive feature of Homeric composition and is less likely than *verbatim* repetition to be due to literate imitation. Postlethwaite (1979) shows how the common noun-epithet combinations, in which the *Hymns* are less formulaic than Homer (e.g. *Il*. 80.2%, *HAp* 71.2%, *Aphr*. 64.4%), are nonetheless subject to the same types of modification (mobility, separation, expansion), but that this modification occurs much more often in the *Hymns*. This suggests that the hymnists share with Homer a fundamental part of their technique, but also that they are creative artists in a living tradition. This does not prove the *Hymns* are purely oral compositions, given the continuing debates about the possible role of writing in the genesis of the Homeric poems (Powell 1990, Janko 1998, Nagy 2009a, West 2011: 3-4, 10). Nonetheless, it suggests that they have retained a feature of oral composition, and the ability to exploit it.

Whether, at the same time, they made use of writing is impossible to know (Faulkner 2008: 25 tentatively accepts its use for *Aphr*.). As noted, *HAp* does not contain features usually associated with literate composition (metrical refinement, high necessary enjambement). Some use of writing is not incompatible with the retention of techniques probably originating in a purely oral style, since many degrees between purely 'oral' and purely 'literate' are possible (Janko 41, Friedrich 2000). The later sixth-century date suggested for *HAp* perhaps make some exploitation of writing technologies more likely. The possible use of Homeric material (see below, 'Homeric parallels') could suggest engagement with texts that had reached a high level of fixity; but this does not necessarily mean written texts, and much of the 'Homeric' material looks traditional. The story of the Delian λεύκωμα has *HAp* inscribed after its performance (see p. 72); this could reflect the situation of its first performance, although disentangling legend and history is fraught with difficulty.

Vocabulary

In vocabulary, as with shared lines (see below), *HAp* is close to Homer, with one non-Homeric word in every 7.8 verses – more than *Aphr*. (1 in 12.2), but less than *Dem*. and *Herm*. (1 in 5.2 and 3.2): see Fietkau (1863: 19-28). The present lists modify his in details (mainly concerning words subsequently found in papyri), but the overall frequency is basically unchanged. The non-Homeric vocabulary shared with Hesiod is relatively slight (c. 10 items), most of it not specifically Hesiodic (see below). 76.7% of word-forms in *HAp* occur in *Il*., while the figure for *Th*. is 78.9%, for *Op*. 75.6% (Chappell 1995: 64 n. 17). Lexically, the impression is of a basically unified tradition.

If unique words in epos are counted, *HAp* again comes second after *Aphr*. (Richardson 2010: 16). But Richardson's conclusion that *HAp* is less 'traditional' than *Aphr*. is necessarily uncertain. Given its size, the Homeric lexicon's primacy in establishing the 'tradition' is unavoidable. Yet many of the *Hymns*' unparalleled words may not be new, so that non-Homeric material is not necessarily innovative (Forderer 1958; *contra* Zumbach 1955). Most of the 'new' words listed below have Homeric counterparts from which they differ only slightly – by prefixes, conjugation, etc. – and in ways paralleled within Homer. Since the majority appear in later texts, especially Pindar, Aeschylus and Sophocles, this suggests our patchy knowledge of the early Greek lexicon, not necessarily the *Hymns'* lexical innovativeness. But if the words, however regularly formed, never recur (* indicates such *hapaxes* below), the view that they *are* innovations rather than common words only attested once becomes more plausible, especially in the case of, say, a striking poetic compound. Other non-Homeric words, however, are probably due only to *HAp*'s treatment of less common subject-matter (cf. §8); yet such matter can also encourage a poet's creativity: *HAp* seems to exploit the rich inheritance of compound epithets to treat its 'fertility' theme (cf. §1). As a tool for dating, vocabulary is only

useful if it implies social or cultural change, which is not the case here (cf. Janko 102-3). In the following, a non-Homeric word's incidence elsewhere in epos is also indicated.

1. Non-Homeric compound adjectives:

ἁλιστέφανος (410), βαθύθριξ (412), ἐΰκλωστος (203), εὔυμνος (19, 207), *κραναήπεδος (72), *λιγύπνοιος (28), ὁμότροφος (199; Hy. 9.2), πολυΐχθυος (417), πορτιτρόφος (21), *τρυγηφόρος (529), χρυσοπλόκαμος (70).

Most of the constituent limbs of these compounds appear in other Homeric adjectives (e.g. καλλίθριξ). εὖ- is a productive prefix in other of the *Hymns'* 'new' words, e.g. *Dem*. 106 (εὐήρυτος), *Aphr*. 157 (εὔστρωτος). Some could nonetheless be coinages in response to *HAp*'s themes (e.g. εὔυμνος, πορτιτρόφος, *κραναήπεδος).

2. Adjectives for which Homer has the simplex or other prefixes:

δυστλήμων (532), ἐπιτερπής (413), ἐπόψιος (496), πολύπυργος (242), νεόδμης (231), *περιτιμήεις (65)

The prefixes generally intensify (cf. §4). Such modification of common epithets is easier than other compound-formation, but hardly a symptom of sub-epic loss of inspiration (*pace* Zumbach 1955: 12).

3. Other new adjectives:

αἴθριος (433), Ἰηπαιήων (272, 500), Μινώϊος (396), ῥικνός (317).

All but ῥικνός have corresponding Homeric nouns.

4. Verbs for which Homer has the simplex or other preverbs.

ἀμφιγηθέω (273), ἀμφιφαείνω (202, *dub.*), ἀνασείω (403; *Sc.* 344), ἐγκιθαρίζω (201; *Herm.* 17), ἐλλείπω (213), *ἐπαντιάζω (152), ἐπικρεμάννυμι (284), καταβιβρώσκω (127), καταστρέφω (73), *μεταμέλπομαι (197), παρανίσσομαι (430), παραστείχω (217), προφυλάσσω (538), συναραρίσκω (164).

The use of intensifying prefixes to lend vigour is notable (127, 202, 273); cf. §2. Since the two ἀμφι- verbs only recur in late Greek, this formation might be the poet's own preference.

5. Other non-Homeric verbs:

ἄρδω (263; Hy. 9.3), δειμαίνω (404), μιμέομαι (163), πρυτανεύω (68), *σπάργω (121), χαλάω (6; *Hy.* 27.12).

Homer has a word of the same root in all cases except μιμέομαι, the earliest representative of this group (163n.).

6. Words with different conjugation (and occasionally meaning); the Homeric form is indicated:

ἄκμητος (520; ἀκμής), δειράς (281; δειρή, 'neck'), ἔναλος (180; ἐνάλιος), εὔβως (54; εὔβοτος), ὄχθος (17; ὄχθη, 'bank'), *σπινθαρίς (442; σπινθήρ).

7. Feminine forms with masculine counterparts in Homer:

δράκαινα (300), θεράπνη (157), μάκαιρα (14).

θεράπνη may be archaic (cf. 157n.). Otherwise such forms, which are not morphologically novel, are generally insignificant.

8. Non-Homeric nouns:

ἀνακτορίη (234), *ζηλόσυνη (100), *κρεμβαλιαστύς (162; v.l. *βαμβ-), ὀργηών (389), πλῆκτρον (184; *Herm*. 53), τλημοσύνη (191), τρύγη (55; Hom. τρυγάω),

The concrete nouns reflect *HAp*'s interests in music and cult (162, 184, 389). The abstracts have corresponding nouns/adjectives in Homer, who shows the same abstract-formation process (e.g. τέκτων/τεκτοσύνη). Among the *Hymns* only *Herm*.'s abstracts are notably numerous (Hoekstra 1969: 12).

9. Adverbs, prepositions:

ἀγχοτάτω (18), ἀπέκ (110), ἐπισχεδόν (3). (See notes ad loc. for relation to Homeric forms.)

Non-Homeric vocabulary found in Hesiod

19, 207 ὑμνέω:	*Th*. 11 (*Herm*. 1, etc.)
20 νόμος (v.l.):	*Th*. 66
81, 214, etc. χρηστήριον:	fr. 240.6 M-W
82 πολυώνυμος:	*Th*. 785 (*Dem*. 18)
91 ἄελπτος:	fr. 204.95 M-W (*Dem*. 219; cf. *Il*. 7.310 ἀελπτέω)
99 φραδμοσύνη:	*Op*. 245 (cf. *Il*. 16.638 φράδμων)
181 περίκλυστος:	*Th*. 199 (v.l.) (cf. *Od*. 4.354 πολυ-)

210 εὔιππος: fr. 150.21 M-W (name at *Il*. 16.147)

215 ζητεύω: *Op*. 215 (*Herm*. 362)

254, 294 διατίθημι: fr. 43a.40 M-W

341 φερέσβιος: *Th*. 693 (*Dem*. 450)

536 ἄφθονος: *Op*. 118 (*Hy*. 30.16)

Where *HAp*'s vocabulary is not Homeric, it is not noticeably Hesiodic but shared with other epic texts. The hymn is not therefore exploiting a separate, non-Homeric tradition as a secondary lexical source. Non-Homeric expressions which *HAp* shares with Hesiod are collected by Pavese (1972: 148-54):

DAp: 29 ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμενος ≈ *Th*. 9 (ἀπορνύμεναι)

121 ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς = *Op*. 337

149 ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ = *Sc*. 282 (but Hom. ὀρχηστυῖ ~ : 149n.)

PAp: 241 ὅς τε Λιλαίηθεν προχέει καλλίρροον ὕδωρ = fr. 70.18 M-W (with προΐ́ει)

265 ὠκυπόδων κτύπον ἵππων ~ *Sc*. 97, fr. 75.22 M-W (both with σθένος)

335 Τιτῆνές τε θεοί = *Th*. 630, 648, 668

341 γαῖα φερέσβιος = *Th*. 693

343 ἐκ τούτου δἤπειτα = *Th*. 562

374 μένος ὀξέος ᾽Ηελίοιο = *Op*. 414 (cf. Hom. μένος ἠελίοιο)

379 ἐμὸν νόον ἐξαπαφοῦσα ~ *Th*. 537, *Op*. 105 (Διὸς νόον ἐξαπαφίσκων/ἐξαλέασθαι),

396 γυάλων ὕπο Παρνησοῖο ≈ *Th*. 499 (γυάλοις)

415 φράσσασθαι μέγα θαῦμα ~ *Sc*. 218 θαῦμα μέγα φράσσασθ'

545 Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱέ ≈ *Sc*. 202 (υἱός; also *Herm*. 243, 321).

The phrasal links are not so compelling as to suggest direct dependence. But rich thematic overlap between the Typhaon episode (306-54) and the version in *Th*. 820-68 suggests familiarity with the traditions from which the latter emerged, if not with the poem itself (cf. Janko 119, Clay 66).

Atticisms

Zumbach (1955: 56-63) discusses Atticisms in the *Hymns*. *HAp* and *Aphr*. have many fewer than *Dem*. and *Herm*. διατίθημι (254), adduced by Schürmann (1859: 9), is not Attic (cf. Hdt. 1.132). The certain cases can be emended away more or less easily. ἐπηύξατο (362), whose augment is called Attic by Moeris (η 4 Hansen), could be the Homeric ἐπεύξατο. πόλεις (175) and οὖσα (330) could be πόλῑς and (τελόθ') ἐοῦσα, but both forms are attested in Homer (*Il*. 9.328, *Od*. 7.94). ἐξήει (28) has even been altered to ἐξίει (see note). Such superficialities could have arisen during later textual transmission.[40] But since some Atticisms could have entered the traditional poetic language, the desire to expunge them totally is misguided (cf. Janko 127).

[40] Janko 5 suggests that the confusion of e- and o-sounds in transmitted Ῥέη (93) and λοῦον (120) for Ῥείη and λόον, and the *scriptio plena* in μμεῖσθαι ἴσασιν, points to an intervening stage of transmission in a non-Ionic alphabet, possibly Attic.

Homeric Parallels

Forty-six lines found in Homer appear in *HAp verbatim* or slightly modified – the highest proportion (8.4%) in the major *Hymns* (next is *Aphr*. with 6.8%).[41] About 60 further lines contain a sizeable proportion of Homeric material, and shared phrases are more numerous still (Windisch 1867: 5-8, 11-17) While earlier scholars normally considered this evidence of simple borrowing between texts (e.g. Windisch, Christensen 1876), appreciation of the referential dynamics of oral poetry traditions means this approach is rightly no longer the default (cf. Foley 1999: 13-36). In the commentary, parallels cited from epos are illustrative in the broadest sense, suggesting how *HAp*, from its diction to its narrative style, coincides with or diverges from works in the same varied but basically unified tradition of hexameter poetry; they do not imply a dependent relationship: that material is traditional or linked only indirectly is generally the safer presumption.

On the other hand, the possibility of engagement with (relatively) fixed texts cannot be discounted. The role of such imitation in oral composition, though sometimes dogmatically denied (e.g. Notopoulos 1962: 360), remains contested (Currie 2016: 1-38). At any rate, the orality of *HAp* and the other *Hymns* is an open question (see above). These theoretical matters aside, the number and nature of parallels can in themselves strongly suggest close interaction. Olson (2012: 16-7), for instance, explains (sometimes incautiously) much of the abundant Homeric material in *Aphr*. as creative engagement with *Il*. and *Od*. Moreover, *HAp*'s position among the *Hymns* is singular: by presenting itself as the work of Homer, it locates itself within a poetic corpus united by his identity; though this oeuvre is not defined, early references to Homer (e.g. Simon. fr. 19 W^2) appear to associate him with the *Iliad* (cf. p. 33). If, then, Iliadic and other Homeric material appears abundantly in *HAp*, the possibility arises that the hymnist is making use of other compositions attributed to the poet on whom he fathers his hymn. While

[41] Except for 79 (≈ *Herm*. 518), the lines appear nowhere else in epos.

some of the lines cited below are formulaic, and many others are possibly under-represented traditional material, the number of specific parallels is sufficient to suggest some connection between these texts. Since these hypothetical borrowings are piecemeal, they do not presuppose interaction with the Homeric poems in their present form. Nor does any passage require recognition of these hypothetical sources to be comprehensible, although a few would be enriched by such allusiveness. Rather than a complex dialogue with a fixed and famous text well known to audiences, the impression is rather of a poet familiar with Homeric material and able to exploit it to his own creative ends – which is perhaps what might be expected from a Homerid poet (for Cynaethus, see pp. 34-8)

The Delian section has only seven of the 46 Homeric lines:

47	= *Il*. 7.151 (οἱ δέ).
69	= *Od*. 3.3, 12.385.
79 (ἀλλ' εἴ μοι)	≈ *Od*. 5.178, 10.343 (εἰ μή μοι).
84-86	= *Il*. 15.36-8, *Od*. 5.184-186.
89	= *Il*. 14.280, *Od*. 2.378, 10.346.

These are all formulaic within Homer (79, 84-6, 89 are all oath-swearing phrase) or composed of formulaic elements (cf. 47n.). Nothing suggests a direct link between Homer and *HAp*. The same is true of the many other half-verses and phrases which overlap substantially with Homeric material (noted throughout the commentary). In many cases Schröder (1975) posits dependence between *HAp* and *Il*., but his arguments rely on dubious and subjective notions of 'appropriateness' and neglect the possibility that material is traditional (cf. Richardson 1978, Förstel 57-8 for refutations). Twice in the catalogue (36, 37) Lemnos and Lesbos receive

peculiar epithets found only at *Il*. 24.753, 543. Since both are obscure and appear archaic, they may well be under-represented formulae. In only one passage (114 ~ *Il*. 5.778), a very specific but obscure simile, is it tempting to posit a borrowing (see note). The parallels between Eileithyia's captivity and Ares' (97-9 ~ *Il*. 13.521-4) are also very close (97n.). Apollo's balanced Olympian entries in 1-13 and 186-206 invite rich comparisons with his own and Zeus' behaviour in *Iliad* 1 (cf. 1-13n.), and the encomiastic force of such an allusion is noted by Teske (1936: 9-10), but they rely on typical characteristics and patterns of action (cf. 1-13n.).

Thirty-nine Homeric verses, with slight variations, make up over one tenth of *PAp*. In its first two-thirds a few (9) appear irregularly:

189	≈ *Od*. 24.60; cf. *Il*. 1.604
196	≈ *Il*. 18.594
230	≈ *Il*. 2.506
246, 378	≈ *Od*. 11.429; cf. *Il*. 8.280
311	= *Il*. 8.5, 19.101
349-50	= *Od*. 11.294-5, 14.293-4.
370	≈ *Il*. 20.393 (combines two half-verse formulae)

This is a miscellaneous group containing descriptions of the Muses and dancing (189, 196), speech-formulae (246, 370), a divine address (311) and spatial and temporal markers (230, 349-50) – all quite general material.

Most (30) occur in the narrative of the Cretan priests which forms *PAp*'s concluding third (in this list, ~ indicates greater divergence than ≈):[42]

(1) 423 = *Il*. 2.592

426-7 ≈ *Od*. 15.298/297; also 426 ≈ 13.275, 24.431

429 = *Od*. 9.2; declined at 1.245, 16.122, 19.130.

434-5 ≈ *Od*. 15.293-4

(2) 449 ≈ *Il*. 16.175

451 = *Il*. 4.284, etc. (6x Hom.)

452-5 = *Od*. 3.71-4, 9.252-5

461 ≈ *Il*. 11.89

465 ~ *Od*. 7.210

466 = *Od*. 24.402

467 = *Od*. 24.258, 13.232, etc. (7x *Od*.)

468 ~ *Od*. 13.233

471 ≈ *Od*. 1.182

472 ≈ *Od*. 9.261

486 = *Il*. 2.139, etc. (8x Hom.)

488 ≈ 506 (see below)

499 ≈ *Od*. 24.489

502 = *Od*. 15.220, etc. (11x Hom.)

[42] Line 425 is quoted as *Od*. 15.[295] by Strabo (8. 3. 26, 10. 1. 9), but the latter is not attested in any *Od*. MS. It seems the hymn has influenced the Homeric text here. *HAp* 503-7 may also be responsible for the variant text of *Il*. 1.484-94 found in a papyrus (*PSI* 1454). See further S. West (1967: 32-5).

(3) 504 = *Il*. 1.434

505 = *Il*. 1.437, etc. (5x Hom.)

506 ~ *Il*. 1.485, *Od*. 16.358

507 ≈ *Il*. 1.486

(4) 513 = *Il*. 1.469 (21x Hom.)

524 = *Od*. 20.9 (with formulaic components)

534 ≈ *Od*. 11.146

Group 1, the journey round the western Peloponnese, intersects at several points with that of Telemachus in *Od*. 15.292-300. Similar sequences of place-names, which could reflect a traditional *periplous* of this area, are not decisive, however. The reference to Aipu (423) could, along with 423, be a traditional designation and is uncertain evidence for reliance on *Iliad* Book 2, nor would recall of Telemachus' voyage clarify the narrative appreciably (*contra* Förstel 210-1). Yet the appearance of the wind motif (434-5) from the same narrative increases the likelihood of a more direct link. Even if this was the poet's model, he modifies it with material from elsewhere (cf. Baltes 1981: 37-8). Group 3, by contrast, is a general description of beaching a ship, which is likely to be an under-represented type-scene. Finally, in groups 2 and 4, where Apollo addresses the Cretans, beyond the Homeric formulae and stray Iliadic lines, the amount of Odyssean material is noticeable (465-72 are like a cento). No single *Od*. passage presents itself as a model: *HAp* uses formulae but also some unique lines about sailing (452-5, 467; 471, 472). While the concentration of such 'Odyssean' material in a passage about sailing in the western Aegean is unsurprising, and while no case is decisive, the cumulative impression

of the many specific borrowing (many of them *not* nautical) suggests a singer familiar enough with *Od*. in some form to make competent use of it where necessary.

Metre and Prosody

Dactyls and Spondees

1. The distribution of dactyls and spondees is as follows:[43]

	Iliad	*Odyssey*	Hesiod	*Dem.*	*Aphr.*	*Herm.*	*HAp*	*DAp*	*PAp*
5 da	19.2%	18.6%	17.3%	20.6%	14.2%	27.2%	15.0% (82)	12.9% (23)	16.0% (59)
4 da + 1 sp	42.6%	40.6%	40.6%	40.6%	42.4%	43.4%	39.1% (214)	38.8% (69)	39.3% (145)
3 da + 2 sp	29.7%	31.9%	32%	30.6%	31.9%	23.1%	31.8% (174)	28.7% (51)	33.3% (123)
2 da + 3 sp	7.9%	8.3%	9.2%	8.1%	11.1%	5.7%	12.6% (69)	17.4% (31)	10.3% (38)
1 da + 4 sp	0.6%	0.5%	0.9%	0.2%	0.3%	0.5%	1.3% (7)	1.7% (3)	1.1% (4)

The commonest types (1 sp, 2 sp) in *HAp* match the epic average. But lines with three or four spondees are more common than in Homer or Hesiod (see §3 below), purely dactylic lines less so.

2. The percentages for the various line-shapes are tabulated below. 29 of the 32 possible types are found.

	HAp		**DAp**		**PAp**[44]	
Five Dactyls						
DDDDD	82	15.0%	23	12.9%	59	16.0%
Four Dactyls + One Spondee						
DSDDD (=S^2)	75	13.7%	23	12.9%	52	14.1%
SDDDD (=S^1)	66	12.1%	19	10.7%	47	12.7%
DDDSD (=S^4)	32	5.9%	14	7.9%	18	4.9%
DDSDD (=S^3)	29	5.3%	11	6.2%	18	4.9%
DDDDS (=S^5)	12	2.2%	2	1.1%	10	2.7%

[43] The figures are derived from La Roche (1898a, b) for Homer and Hesiod, from Olson (2012: 35, 41) for *Aphr.* and *Dem.* and from Vergados (2012: 57) for *Herm.* The count for *HAp* is my own.
[44] *PAp* (179-546) has 369 verses, including 325a. The figures in Olson (2012: 40) imply a different total.

Three Dactyls + Two Spondees						
SSDDD (=S^1S^2)	35	6.4%	11	6.2%	24	6.5%
DSSDD (=S^2S^3)	35	6.4%	11	6.2%	24	6.5%
DSDSD (=S^2S^4)	33	6.0%	8	4.5%	25	6.8%
SDDSD (=S^1S^4)	28	5.1%	10	5.6%	18	4.9%
SDSDD (=S^1S^3)	13	2.4%	3	1.7%	10	2.7%
DDSSD (=S^3S^4)	12	2.2%	1	0.6%	11	3.0%
SDDDS (=S^1S^5)	11	2.0%	5	2.8%	6	1.6%
DSDDS (=S^2S^5)	6	1.1%	2	1.1%	4	1.1%
DDSDS (=S^3S^5)	1	0.2%	0	0	1	0.3%
DDDSS (=S^4S^5)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Two Dactyls + Three Spondees						
SSDSD (=D^3D^5)	19	3.5%	9	5.1%	10	2.7%
SSSDD (=D^4D^5)	13	2.4%	6	3.4%	7	1.9%
SSDDS (=D^3D^4)	10	1.8%	4	3.9%	6	1.6%
DSSSD (=D^1D^5)	9	1.6%	3	1.7%	6	1.6%
SDSSD (=D^2D^5)	4	0.7%	3	1.7%	1	0.3%
DSSDS (=D^1D^4)	4	0.7%	2	1.1%	2	0.5%
DSDSS (=D^1D^3)	3	0.5%	1	0.6%	2	0.5%
SDDSS (=D^2D^3)	3	0.5%	1	0.6%	2	0.5%
SDSDS (=D^2D^4)	3	0.5%	1	0.6%	2	0.5%
DDSSS (=D^1D^2)	1	0.2%	1	0.6%	0	0
One Dactyl + Four Spondees						
SSSSD (=D^5)	4	0.7%	3	1.7%	1	0.3%
SDSSS (=D^2)	2	0.4%	0	0	2	0.5%
SSSDS (=D^4)	1	0.2%	0	0	1	0.3%
SSDSS (=D^3)	0	0	0	0	0	0
DSSSS (=D^1)	0	0	0	0	0	0
Five Spondees						
SSSSS	1[45]	0.2%	1	0.6%	0	0

3. The distribution of spondees is as follows:

Spondees	1st foot	2nd foot	3rd foot	4th foot	5th foot
HAp	213 (38.9%)	248 (45.3%)	131 (23.9%)	152 (27.8%)	58 (10.6%)
DAp	76 (42.7%)	84 (47.2%)	43 (24.2%)	55 (30.9%)	20 (11.2%)
PAp	137 (37.1%)	164 (44.4%)	88 (23.8%)	97 (26.3%)	38 (10.3%)

The number of spondaic first and fourth feet is roughly in line with figures for Homer (38.5%, 29.6%) and Hesiod (40%, 28.4%).[46] Spondaic second and third feet are commoner than in

[45] See 31n.

[46] Figures for Homer are from Magnelli (2002: 61), for Hesiod from West (1966: 93).

Homer (41.1%, 15.6%) and *Th*. (40.5%, 14.0%) and close to the proportions in *Op*. (48.1%, 22.2%).[47]

Fifth-foot spondees (i.e. *spondeazontes*) appear at twice the Homeric rate (4.9%) and more often than in Hesiod (6.7%), but in line with *Aphr*. and *Dem*. (10.3%, 12.7%). The vast majority of cases have epic parallels, but they fall into a few distinct sets which reflect *HAp*'s thematic concerns. Sixteen are forms of ἄνθρωπος, generally indicating the 'mankind' for whom Delphi is founded (cf. 161n.). Thirteen are names, especially Apollo's (67, 177, 199) and those of other gods (in *DAp*: 62, 93, 94, 97, 115). Ten are adjectives in -ήεις, for which the poet has a special liking; most are applied to Apollo's cult sites: δενδρήεις (6x with ἄλσος), πετρήεις (44, 183, 390) and ποιήεις (243). Eight involve εὖ or compounds in εὐ-, for which *HAp* shows a fondness elsewhere in the line (cf. 19, 54).[48] Three are genitives in -άων (262, 278, 458). There are eight miscellaneous cases, most paralleled in epos.[49]

Caesurae, Bridges, Enjambement

Caesura	Feminine	Masculine	Hepthemimeral
HAp	53.6% (293)	45.0% (246)	1.5% (8)
DAp	56.2% (100)	42.7% (76)	1.1% (2)
PAp	52.3% (193)	46.1% (170)	1.6% (6)

1. The ratio of the feminine to the masculine caesura in Homer is 4 : 3 (West 1982: 36). In *HAp* the masculine caesura is somewhat more common, in line with the higher proportion of third-

[47] West (1966: 93) attributes this to *Op*.'s gnomic character, but no single explanation presents itself for *HAp*.
[48] 31, 54, 171, 210, 219, 418, 467, 529. La Roche (1898b) unjustifiably resolves many of these away, but the rate of *spondeazontes* remains high.
[49] 128 (~ *Il*. 3.293), 142 (~ *Il*. 18.281), 158 (~ *Op*. 2), 313 (~ *Dem*. 195), 401 (2x Hom.), 406 (12x Hom.); 10 (*Od*. 15.149 has the phrase earlier in the verse), 404 (verb unique in epos).

foot spondees.[50] The hepthemimeral, or fourth-foot, caesura matches the Iliadic rate (1.4%); five cases involve Πελοπόννησον, which first appears here.

2. A bucolic caesura, i.e. word-division after a fourth-foot dactyl, occurs in 261 lines or 47.7% (*DAp*: 83, 46.6%; *PAp*: 178, 48.2%), very close to the Homeric figure of 47% (West 1982: 154).

3. Hermann's Bridge is broken in 36 (= *Il*. 24.753).

Martin (2000: 415-9) notes eight possible cases involving prepositives, especially καί, although such cases are normally (and rightly) not counted (cf. West 1982: 38). Martin claims correpted καί in position 7.5 is a 'noticeable feature of Hesiodic verse', and that the clustering of this feature in *PAp* indicates 'an impersonation of Hesiod'. Yet this καί is only conspicuous in *Op*., in bipartite, 'gnomic' lines quite unlike those in *HAp* (e.g. *Op*. 26, 602). Moreover, the relevant phrases are paralleled, if at all, in Homer rather than Hesiod: **176** (unique phrase), **187** (= *Il*. 20.142), **194** (= Panyassis fr. 13.1 Matthews), **350** (5x *Od*.), **423** (= *Il*. 2.592), **498** = **512** (9x Hom., 3x Hes.), **534** (ἐπὶ φρεσί is in Hom., not Hes.). This is therefore a dubious mark of 'Hesiodic' style. For Hesiod and *HAp* see Appendix 2 (pp. 39-40).

4. Enjambement. 44% of lines show no enjambement, 29.1% unperiodic enjambement, and 26.9% necessary enjambement (Barnes 1979: 7). These figures are not significantly different from the *Iliad* (47%, 26.3%, 26.7%). A high percentage of unenjambed lines combined with a low proportion of necessary enjambement has sometimes been seen as a mark of oral composition (Barnes 1979; *contra* Clayman and Van Nortwick 1977); cf. pp. 44-5. Its

[50] Olson (2012: 40) gives the masculine caesura as follows: *DAp* 40.5%, *PAp* 42.8%, i.e. lower than Homer.

usefulness is clearer in extreme cases, such as a comparison of the *Iliad* and Apollonius (Janko 33). The possibility of distinguishing intermediate stages remains uncertain.[51]

Metrical Laws

The various metrical laws formulated primarily on the basis of Hellenistic poetry are, unsurprisingly, violated frequently. Janko 37-41 discusses some of these in relation to the question of oral composition: of the *Hymns*, *Herm*.'s metrical polish is such as to invite the suspicion of literate composition, whereas *HAp* is generally closer to Homer and *Aphr*. Given the limited relevance of these laws to epos, details are given below summarily.[52]

1. Meyer's First Law, that a word beginning in the first foot does not end between the two shorts of the second or at the end of the foot (thus extending over the A caesura),[53] is violated 25 times (4.6%), mostly by names and dative plural endings, e.g. Ἀπόλλωνά (15), θνητοῖσι (69), which roughly matches Homeric and Hesiodic practice (one in 20 or 30 lines: West 1982: 38).

Porter (1951: 37, 42) discusses these cases (add 519, 524, 529). He discerns a metrical effect only at 231 and 233, communicating the 'excitement' of the Onchestus rite – hardly the liveliest part of *HAp*.

[51] Friedrich (2000), for instance, suggests that the balance of unperiodic and necessary enjambement in Homer (and *HAp*) rather points to an intermediate, 'post-oral' stage. For the question of *HAp*'s orality see pp. 44-5.
[52] Figures for *Herm*. and *Aphr*. rely on Vergados (2012: 59-61) and Olson (2012: 37-8) where available (not all laws are treated by both). Figures for Homer are difficult to find for most of the laws and would be of limited use, given the frequency of violations.
[53] Avoidance of word-end at the end of the second foot is sometimes distinguished as Giseke's Law.

2. Meyer's Second Law, that words of iambic shape are avoided immediately before the main caesura (West 1982: 155), is violated 25 times, i.e. 4.6% (vs. *Aphr*. 3.1%, *Herm*. 2.2%). In Homer most words of this shape come after the caesura, but about 1 in 10 falls just before it (O'Neill 1942: 140).

3. Meyer's Third Law, that lines with a masculine caesura have a break after the fourth princeps, fourth biceps or both,[54] is violated 12 times (2.2%), slightly lower than the Homeric figure (3.16%).[55] (*Aphr*. 3.8%, *Herm*. 2.6%)

4. Hilberg's Law, that word-end after contracted second-foot biceps is avoided, is violated 24 times (4.4% vs. *Herm*. 2.1%).

5. Tiedke's Law, that word-end after fourth- and fifth-foot principes is avoided, is violated 26 times (4.8% vs. *Aphr*. 5.6%, *Herm*. 2.8%)

6. Naeke's Law, that word end after contracted fourth-foot biceps is avoided, is violated 33 times (6.0%), compared to 5.83% in Homer (*Aphr*. 3.1%, *Herm*. 4.7%).

[54] West (1982: 197) defines it as avoidance of caesura following third and fifth principes, which yields a higher figure (c. 6%).
[55] Figures in Fantuzzi-Sens (2006: 119).

Hiatus, elision and other prosodic features[56]

1. Hiatus commonly reflects the presence of a word-initial digamma (see below); many involve Apollo's epithets ἄναξ and the ἑκατ- type (e.g. 63, 90, 237, 526).[57] Otherwise hiatus usually occurs at caesurae, as commonly in epos (cf. *GH* i. 88-91):[58]

B² [pos. 5]: 27, 210, 229 = 239 = 277, 339, 460, 472.

C² [pos. 9]: 16 = 26, 210, 226.

A¹ [pos. 3]: 137, 160, 163, 309.

B¹ [pos. 5.5]: 199.

C¹ [pos. 8]: 190.

A² [pos. 2]: 51 (cj.), 120, 391

It also occurs in less common, non-caesural positions, a phenomenon of which *HAp* is more tolerant than the other major *Hymns* (cf. Janko 36):[59]

- Pos.1.5: 537 ὅσσα ἐμοί (cf. *Il*. 9.127 lὅσσά μοι).
- Pos. 6: 488 ἐπὶ ἠπείρου
- Pos. 7: 73 ὥσει ἁλός (results from verse-end formula ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν), 172 Χίῳ ἔνι (-ῳ remains long almost 1 in 4 times: *GH* i. 89), 390 Πυθοῖ ἔνι (= *Il*. 9.405).

[56] Places in the line ('pos.' = position) are noted according to the scheme of Porter (1951: 16);
[57] ἦ (ϝ)ώς (25 = 214) should probably be included (cf. *GH* i. 126). ἤ, as in ἢ ἅμα (3x in 211-2), may represent elided ἠέ: West (1998: xxxi).
[58] Càssola prints μιμεῖσθαι ἴσασιν (163), but μιμεῖσθ' ἴσασιν is preferable; he prints ἦ ἄρ (51) but the paradosis εἰ γάρ is satisfactory (see notes).
[59] Janko counts 11 cases for *Dem*., which would be in line with *HAp*; but Richardson (1974: 63) counts only 4 cases of 'illicit' hiatus.

- Pos. 10: πότνια Ἥρη (309, 332, 348, 353) reflects the original presence of an initial consonant (*GH* i. 92).

There are other cases where the paradosis involves hiatus but Càssola's text adopts emendations which either insert τε or γε (30, 88) or effect an elision (54). Emendation has also been attempted in some of the cases listed above, which Càssola does not print (e.g. 488 ἀν' ἐπ' Agar, accepted by AHS). Forderer 173 n. 38 rightly questions the scholarly tendency to obviate hiatus wherever possible, one evident already in the manuscripts (e.g. at 120 unmetrical σ' ἥιε in MS E). Given the number in *HAp* that cannot be removed, it evidently worried the composer less than modern critics. Many Homeric cases also remain, even allowing for extensive emendation (Fortassier 1989: 367-70). No metrical effect, such as Fortassier (dubiously) identifies in Homeric hiatus, is evident here. But it should perhaps not simply be dismissed as a sign of compositional incompetence.

2. 'Epic' correption is commoner between than within feet (119 vs. 70 times) and occurs most often in the third, fourth and first feet (68, 48, 38 times), less often in the fifth and second (24, 20 times). This is roughly in line with data for *Herm*. and *Aphr*. (Vergados 2012: 63, Olson 2012: 38). But correption is commoner in *HAp*, appearing once in 2.9 lines (*Herm*.: 1 in 3.8, *Aphr*. 1 in 4.3). Looser treatment is also evident in the seven cases in position 7.5 (all καί and οἵ), weak (or pseudo-) violations of Hermann's Bridge (see above).

4. Mute + liquid. Syllables sometimes remain short before this combination ('Attic' correption). Word-internally, this may accommodate words not otherwise usable: 60 ἀλλοτρίης, 94 Ἀμφιτρίτη, 195 Ἀφροδίτη; several cases affect the augment: 388 ἐφράζετο, 408 ἔπλεον (contrast 469), 439 (ἐχρίμψατο). Across word-boundaries, this treatment is

mostly found in *HAp* with βροτός (6x, e.g. 25, 351) and προσηύδα and πρός (5x, 436), as often in epos (*GH* i. 108-9). Other cases: 55, 253 = 293, 296, 300, 529. If mute + liquid lengthens a preceding syllable with a short final vowel, the latter is always in the princeps (contrast e.g. *Th*. 254, with West 1966: 97).

5. Lengthening before initial liquid (West 1982: 38) is found with μ (110, 118, 156, 198, 302) and ῥ (93, 139, 382, 394, 447, 490 = 505 = 508) but not with λ and ν. A final ν lengthens in 213, 453 and 477, a final σ in 34, 209 (2x), 491 = 491. In 37 Μάκαρος (⏑⏑-) is probably due to ἔδος (< **sed-*), a seemingly ancient formula (see note).

6. Cases of synizesis (25x) are like those in Homer (cf. *GH* i. 56-66). In χρυσέου (185) it is, remarkably, combined with correption (cf. *Op*. 144, with West 1966: 100).

7. Crasis. At 343, 436, 492 the MSS have δ' ἤπειτα (Càssola 623). Càssola's orthography δἤπειτα is a crasis often found in Homeric MSS (*GH* i. 84-5). AHS, by contrast, print δὴ ἔπειτα, with synizesis.

8. Elision occurs 387 times, in all positions except the sixth princeps; almost half of cases fall in the first foot, while it rarely happens in positions 7.5 (given Hermann's bridge: only 187), 4 (6x) and 10 (7x). Disfavoured positions differ slightly, but not significantly, from those in *Herm*. (cf. Vergados 2012: 64).

9. Digamma. AHS xcviii-ix count 69 observances (*DAp* 19, *PAp* 50) to 34 neglects (approximately 2:1). When uncertain cases involving movable *nu* are removed, the neglects number 23 or 25.0% (*DAp* 9 or 32.1%, *PAp* 14 or 21.9%). This rate lies roughly between those

for the *Iliad* (17.2%) and *Theogony* (33.7%). Though sometimes adduced in the debate over unity (e.g. West 1975: 161 n. 3), the difference between the hymn's two parts is less great than the range shown by books of the *Iliad* (c. 20%). See further pp. 42-3 and Janko 42-7.

Text and Transmission

The commentary is based on the text of Càssola (1975). For places where a different reading is preferred, see Appendix 3 below (p. 73). The following discussion relies mainly on Càssola 593-616; other important treatments of the tradition are Breuning (1929), AHS xi-lviii, Humbert 12-15.

The origin of the collection of the so-called *Homeric Hymns* (probably Hellenistic) is treated by Faulkner (2011). The *Hymns*' sequence has been explained in terms of divine hierarchies (van der Valk 1976) and the categories of rhetorical theory (Torres Guerra 2003), but not even the one certain criterion, length, is strenuously observed: West (2003: 21). All 26 manuscripts preserving any of the *Hymns* also contain *HAp*, but J and K contain only lines 1-186, H only 1-55.[60] The manuscripts all date from the 15th century; there are no relevant papyri.

All manuscripts derive from a single archetype (Ω), probably in minuscule (i.e. 9th century onwards). A large number of lacunae have been suspected by scholars, but Càssola 596 n. 2 rightly observes that such negligence would jar with Ω's care in recording variants (see below on *x*). Even the lacuna after 81, which Càssola accepts, is to be rejected (see note). The manuscript families are four in number:

M. This single manuscript, which alone contains *Dion*. and *Dem*., constitutes a branch of the tradition separate from that containing the others: see Gelzer (1994) for its history. A large lacuna omits *HAp* 23-73. In some cases, e.g. 99 (φραδμοσύνῃς), 192 (ἀφραδέες), it transmits the only correct reading.

[60] Three additional MSS are copies of the *editio princeps* (ed. D. Chalcondyles, Florence 1488): G (all *HAp*), S (*HAp* 1-357), R_3 (no *HAp*).

Ψ. This hyparchetype, possibly a 13th century codex (Pfeiffer 1953: lxxxi-ii), is the ultimate source of the families *f*, *x* and *p*.

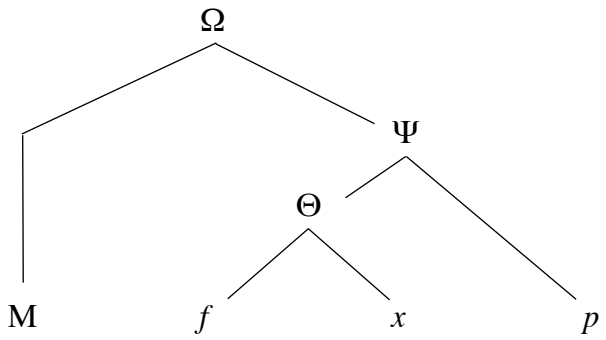
f. The family is clearly defined by its transposition of 41 after 35 (producing an erroneous itinerary) and the *lectio facilior* βήσατο (49). At and D, which agree closely, are not siblings (so Càssola 599), since Wilson (1974) has persuasively demonstrated that At derives from D. The fragmentary manuscripts H, J and K constitute the sub-family *z*, whose usefulness is limited.

x. This family preserves, in addition to the majority text, some otherwise unknown readings, including the variant βαμβαλιαστύν (162) and the entirety of lines 136-8 (which might be additional rather than alternative: see 135-9n.). It seems these readings were originally recorded in Ω and Ψ, since some have found their way into M and *f* (e.g. at *Herm*. 212, 322); but only *x* was careful in each case to preserve both variants. Sub-family *a* (= ET) is lacunose, omitting the disputed line 96, which *b* (= LΠ) preserves, and 506-8.

p. This family comprises 16 manuscripts, with several sub-families (see Càssola 602-7). *p* contains a few conjectures (e.g. 46 γαιάων), for which reason it was once disfavoured, but these are less numerous than suspected. At 72, for instance, the supposed 'conjecture' (ἀτιμήσας) is the correct reading (see 'Doublets' below).

Stemma

Càssola offers a *stemma codicum* which innovates in making *f* and *x*, whose closeness has long been recognised (note e.g. the shared error ἡμέτερον at 174), descend from the intermediate Θ (Càssola 608-12). Less convincingly, in AHS l-li *f* descends from *x*, while Humbert 15 has both depending on a separate hyparchetype from that of *p*.



Indirect Tradition

Of the several ancient references to *HAp* (cf. AHS lxiv-xxviii), a few quote the text:

1. Thucydides (3.104.4-5) quotes lines 146-50 and 165-72 with several variants (cf. 147-78, 165-72nn.). Some are slight and potentially due to misquotation or corruption within the Thucydidean tradition. But in 165 he preserves what the direct tradition has corrupted. Other differences, e.g. in 148, could reflect a period of oral transmission.

2. The quotation of lines 169-71 in Aristides (*Or*. 34.35 Keil) offers nothing substantial (see note). For Aristides' relation to Thucydides see Appendix 1 (pp. 11-2).

3. Lines 514-6 are quoted by Athenaeus (1.22b-c), with χαρίεν κιθάριζε where the MSS confusedly offer ἀγατόν/ἐρατόν/χρυσῆν κιθαρίζων.

Doublets

Besides 136-8 (see above on *x*), several other doublets have been suspected in *DAp*, normally in connection with complex separatist theories about the hymn's genesis (cf. p. 1). For Hermann (1806: xx-xxxvii) they were part of a comprehensive revision of *DAp* involving the removal of the festival section (139-78), a procedure which Jacoby 707-11, 723-30 attributed to the poet who added *PAp* to produce a unified hymn (cf. Altheim 1924, Sbardella 1999). None of this is persuasive. The syntactic oddity in ἀτιμήσας (72) is not sufficient to conclude that the line replaced 73-78 (72n.), while the reading of *p* in 78b is not alternative to the majority reading but an attempt to heal corruption (77-8n.). Lines 96 and 98, though alike in content and form, are not equivalent (96n.), and the similarity of 128 and 129 would be unobjectionable even without its rhetorical point (128-9n.). Finally, Leto's elliptical actions in lines 5-9 are not clarified by making 7-9 the variant of 6 (7-8n.), while the replacement of 10-13 with 14-18, which removes the supposedly faulty repetition of χαίρειν, destroys the rhetorical progression. The possibility of doublets, which have been suspected elsewhere in the *Hymns* (e.g. *Dion*. 13-15/16 and *Aphr*. 274-5/76-7; cf. West 2003: 20), cannot be discounted. But one should not seek to substantiate theories by faulting comprehensible passages nor, when there are difficulties, explain them always in terms of a single, unified intervention (cf. Förstel 30-5).

The Delian λεύκωμα

Cert. 315-21 reports that the 'hymn to Apollo' (quoting line 1), was performed by Homer on Delos, inscribed on a λεύκωμα (gypsum-covered wooden board) and dedicated in the Artemision. This text has been called the 'Urhandschrift des Hymnus' (Altheim 1924: 430). Legendary framing aside, the reference to the Artemis's temple rather than Apollo's, which post-dated it, lends the story credibility (cf. Förstel 71-81, Bassino ad loc.). If the hymn was composed for performance at a major festival on Delos (cf. pp. 22-5), a record of it could have been made (Càssola 99). Similar dedications are recorded for the works of Hesiod and Heraclitus (Herington 1985: 201-3). Since *HAp* purports to be the work of Homer, the *Cert*. story would be a mythical reflection of this event; the λεύκωμα text, which actually dated from the hymn's first performance, was then treated as a much older document (cf. how Thucydides treats *HAp* as Homeric). This text may therefore have occupied a prominent early place in *HAp*'s transmission, although it did not prevent a few substantial variants arising (see above), possibly a sign of the hymn's continued performance elsewhere (as it predicts: 174-6n.).

Appendix 3: Divergences between the commentary and Càssola's text

The commentary generally differs from Càssola's text by preferring the paradosis. Where appropriate, this reading is given in the lemma.

Line	Càssola	Commentary
18	ἐπ'	ὑπ'
20	νομοὶ βεβλήατ' ἀοιδῆς	νομοὶ βεβλήαται ᾠδῆς
31	Αἰγίνη	Αἴγινα
32	ἀγχιάλος	ἀγχιάλη
36	ἐϋκτιμένη	εὐκτιμένη
44	῾Ρήνεια	῾Ρηναία
51	ἦ ἄρ	εἰ γάρ
54	σ' ἔσσεσθαι	σε ἔσεσθαι
62	μεγάλου Κοίοιο	μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο
73	ὤσει	ὥσῃ
post 81	lacuna	no lacuna
88	σέ γ' ἔξοχα	σε ἔξοχα
91	ἀέπτοις	ἀέλπτοις
96	bracketed	not bracketed
110	ἀπέκ	ἀπό
133	ἐπί	ἀπό
162	βαμβαλιαστύν	κρεμβαλιαστύν
163	μιμεῖσθαι ἴσασιν	μιμεῖσθ' ἴσασιν
171	εὐφήμως	ἀφ' ἡμέων

Commentary

Title. M has τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμήρου ὕμνοι εἰς ἀπόλλωνα, and the plural appears also in the *p* manuscripts; the *x* family wavers between plural (E T Π) and singular (At D L). ὕμνοι is found in titles for other hymns too (e.g. M has τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕμνοι εἰς ἑρμῆν for *Herm.*), so this is no evidence that *HAp* was thought to comprise two hymns. ὁμήρου ὕμνοι denotes the collection, and in manuscripts of the *p* family ὕμνοι ὁμήρου is actually followed by a stop, i.e. 'Homer's *Hymns*: *To Apollo*'. Cf. Càssola ad loc.

1-29: A tripartite prologue precedes the birth narrative (cf. pp. 14-5):

A. After the introductory verse (1), a brief scene describes the terrifying effect on the other gods of Apollo's habitual arrival on Olympus (2-13).

B. A transitional apostrophe felicitates Leto for her children and adumbrates the Delian birth story (14-18).

C. Now addressing Apollo, the hymnist ponders his theme (19-29), again in three parts:

C1. A geographical catalogue sketches the wealth of potential material (20-24);

C2. A theme-statement selects Apollo's birth on Delos (25-28);

C3. A transitional verse (29) introduces the geographical catalogue of 30-44. The double function of this catalogue, which describes both Apollo's rule (developing 29) and Leto's wanderings (anticipating 45), blurs the division at this point.

Hymns containing a myth may, instead of narrating it immediately, as *Dem.* and *Herm.* do, preface it with an 'attributive' section describing the god's characteristic behaviour, producing hymns of 'composite' type (Janko 1981a: 12). *Aphr.*, the only other major composite *Hymn*, likewise delays the myth considerably in order to delimit Aphrodite's power among the

gods (1-44, also tripartite: see Faulkner ad loc.). The *Theogony* proem, which is also formally a composite hymn, includes description of the Muses' typical behaviour on Olympus before narrating their birth (*Th*. 36-52, 53-60) – the same sequence as *DAp* (cf. also *Hy*. 19). The *Theogony*, like *HAp*, also foregrounds the poet's persona extensively, as other hymns do not. But *HAp*'s combination is unique: a pithy, dramatic Olympian description – closer to the concise scenes of shorter hymns, both attributive and mythic (e.g. *Hy*. 27, 28) – with extensive apostrophe and dramatisation of theme-choice.

An analogous tripartite prologue, with slightly altered sequence, opens *PAp*: **A**. 179-181 apostrophe to Apollo (~ 14-18), **B**. 182-206 Olympian scene ~ (2-13), **C**. 207-15 theme-selection (~ 19-29). In this case the apostrophe, instead of transitioning between the two parts of the prologue, links *DAp* to *PAp*, in place of a second introductory verse (~ 1). In both cases the narrative's protagonist (Leto, Apollo) is addressed, and in such a way as to preview the narrative's essential point (Leto's children are supreme, Apollo's rule is universal). The two Olympian scenes interact by means of a carefully constructed contrastive parallelism (cf. 2-13n.), based on Apollo's twin aspects of archer and lyre-player, while the two theme-selections echo each other verbally (19 = 207: cf. 19-29n.). The parallelism between *DAp* and *PAp* is most exact at the beginning, therefore. At the place where *HAp*'s untraditional double structure was most likely to cause confusion (i.e. the beginning of the second half), the poet refers his audience back to a pattern he has already deployed; at the same time, he encourages *PAp* to be interpreted with (or against) *DAp*, bringing out various facets of his divine subject and his relation to the world (cf. p. 15).

1. **μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι**: 'let me call to mind and not forget'. *HAp*'s eccentricity in its handling of hymnic tropes is evident already in its introduction – i.e. the portion preceding the

first relative clause (Janko 1981a: 9-10) – which is the shortest of the major *Hymns* (*Herm.*'s fills almost three verses). In hymnic introductions the verb describing the poet's task – usually some form of 'sing' (16x, e.g. *Dem.* 1 ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν) – or a Muse-invocation, typically *follows* the god's naming in the initial position, which in epos is commonly occupied by the theme (e.g. *Il.* 1.1, *Od.* 1.1). Like *HAp*, *Aphr.* also alters this sequence; but there metrical constraints are more evident (Faulkner ad loc.), whereas Ἀπόλλωνος and Ἀπόλλωνα are commonly found both before the main caesura and at verse-end, so that e.g. Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον (= *Il.* 15.254) ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν was possible. μιμνήσκομαι, meanwhile, though standard in hymnic epilogues (12x, including 546), is introductory only in *Hy.* 7.1-2 (ἀμφὶ Διώνυσον … | μνήσομαι) – the first of *HAp*'s several non-epilogic uses of epilogic motifs (cf. 14-18n., 165-76n.). The unusual word-choice, foregrounded by the inverted sequence, yields an emphatic declaration of intent which οὐδὲ λάθωμαι, by denying the opposite (e.g. *Th.* 102-3; cf. *GP* 191), further underlines. The poet thus asserts his conscientiousness at the very outset of the encomium. The same contrast between remembering and forgetting defines the correct hymnic attitude at *Dion.* 18-19 (epilogue) and Thgn. 1-2.

While μνήσομαι's replacement of a 'sing' verb indicates their functional equivalence (cf. Thgn. 1-2 οὔποτε σεῖο / λήσομαι ~ 3-4 αἰεὶ…ἀείσω), their semantics differ (Metcalf 2015: 141-2; *contra* Moran 1975). μιμνήσκομαι, 'bring to mind' (not simply 'remember'), suggests that the song – a poetic artefact, eventually specified by ὑμνήσω (19) – issues from a more basic mental engagement with its divine subject (for the notion of 'poetry as recall' see Bakker 2002, West 2007: 33). The proem's vivid presentation of Apollo's typical appearance (2-13) immediately proves the hymnist's ability to imagine the god and to communicate that image verbally to his audience. The distinction is also evident in the description of various forms of 'commemoration', including singing, at the Delian festival (150, 160). μνήσομαι thus introduces one of the poem's recurring motifs, which is the worshipper's proper attitude to the

god. Although hymn-singing is just one of its manifestations, *HAp* will implicitly argue for song's supremacy by making the festival culminate with the hymnist's own self-presentation (cf. 165-76n.).

The pairing with λάθωμαι suggests μνήσομαι is a short-vowel, voluntative subjunctive rather than a future (*pace* AHS, Càssola ad loc.). Yet the difference in meaning is slight, and mixed pairings are found (cf. *GH* i. 455, ii. 207). In general, there are considerable difficulties, both formally and functionally, in distinguishing the two: Willmott (2007: 63-4).

For the quotation of this verse at *Cert*. 318 see p. 72.

Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο: the formula, with digamma observed, occurs at *Il*. 7.83, *Od*. 20.295, Hy. 24.1 and *Th*. 94 (v.l.). Its metrical doublet, ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος (*Il*. 1.13, 372, *Th*. 94), shows the younger genitive in -ου.

ἕκατος is an abbreviation of ἑκατηβόλος (cf. 134) which, like ἑκατηβελέτης (cf. 157), is an expansion of ἑκηβόλος (cf. 45), from ἑκᾰβόλος with metrical lengthening (see Chantraine s.v. ἑκατηβόλος; slightly differently: Frisk s.v. ἑκατηβελέτης). The first element, found also in ἑκάεργος (cf. 56) and in a plurality of Apollo's epithets in *HAp* (22x), is probably ϝεκα- (cf. ἕκων), yielding 'he who shoots/works *at will*', i.e. a description of divine potency. A widespread ancient etymology, however, identified it as ἑκάς, i.e. 'he who shoots/works *from afar*', especially appropriate for an archer god. If the poet and his audience understood it this way, it announces an aspect of Apollo which the Olympian scene (2-13) then develops.

2-13. The introduction leads swiftly to a description of Apollo's entry, with bow drawn, among the gods assembled on Olympus, who leap up in fright at his approach. Only Leto remains calmly seated next to Zeus. She disarms her son, stores away his bow and seats him beside his father. Zeus offers Apollo a cup of nectar, whereupon the other gods return to their seats and

Leto rejoices at his greatness. The scene praises Apollo by showing his power among the gods, which it grounds in his distinctive type of strength – the bow – and the paternity of Zeus (cf. 10-11n.).

The scene is articulated by a series of divergent reactions to Apollo who, notably, remains the object in all main clauses (subject only in 4b): **A** gods (2-4) – **B** Leto (5-9) – **C** Zeus (10-11) – **A** gods (11-12) – **B** Leto (12-13). The progression is not annular but by juxtaposed contrasts between the behaviour of the nameless divine collective and the individual Leto (A/B twice). Leto answers their confused passivity with effective intervention to neutralise the bow's perceived threat. With her Zeus forms a complementary pair, and he is the hinge about which the action turns (C), capping Leto's preparation by confirming with a significant gesture Apollo's admission to the feast and directing an about-turn by the other gods, thereby reconstituting the assembly. Spatially, Zeus, seated throughout, marks a stable centre; Leto, trafficking between this and the periphery at which Apollo arrives, effects her son's transition to the heart of the divine grouping, the other gods being implicitly located around the named trio. Emotionally, the scene illustrates programmatically the archetypal pattern of response to Apollo, replicated (and doubled) in the birth-narrative, in which fear yields to joy (τρομέω: 2 ~ 47, 66; χαίρω: 12 ~ 61, 90); cf. Forderer 149. The same pattern is discernible, though without the verbal correspondences, in the Cretans' initial fearful silence and eventual singing (404, 517). *Hy*. 28 embeds the pattern in a situation almost identical to *HAp*'s: born fully armed, Athena provokes fear in the immortals until she disarms, at which Zeus rejoices.

Many scholars have argued that this scene, also like *Hy*. 28, represents Apollo's first visit to Olympus (e.g. Jacoby 728-9, Heubeck 1972a: 64), which the past tenses in 5-10 might suggest. A new god's arrival is a recurrent motif in the *Hymns*: *Herm*. 322ff., *Hy*. 6.15-18, 19.42-47, 28.4-16, possibly *Dion*. (West 2011: 31); cf. *Th*. 61ff. Beyond these scenes Olympus'

role is slight (cf. *Dem*. 483, *Herm*. 503, *Aphr*. 291, *Hy*. 15). Unfamiliarity might explain the gods' fear of Apollo and his disruptive behaviour: only his parents would know him, and Zeus' gesture would be the first public acknowledgement of his son. Yet this interpretation is decisively excluded by the present tenses in 2-4 and 12, which can only indicate a habitual activity (see pp. 82-3). Other first arrivals come, naturally, towards the end of a hymn, following the tale of the birth; displacement, though not inconceivable (especially if, say, the birth were *not* narrated), would be irregular. Nevertheless, two major functions of first-arrival scenes – to show a god's recognition by his peers and to delineate his nature by means of their reactions (as in *HAp*, Zeus' is especially important: *Herm*. 389, *Hy*. 28.16) – are also performed by 2-13. In the birth narrative Apollo achieves full development only at 127-32, after Leto's long indignity: by foregrounding his splendour, the proem forestalls any slight to his stature.

While Zeus' welcoming gesture may be equally suitable to a unique or a typical scene, Apollo's bow-drawing, and the fear it causes, are unexpected in a description of everyday Olympian feasting. Somewhat fantastically, Apollo 'draws the bow' (4b) but does not shoot, like a blend of Odysseus shooting into the hall from the threshold (*Od*. 22.1ff.) and Heracles always about to shoot (*Od*. 11.606-8); this mix of dynamism and stasis recalls pictorial and plastic representations of him as an archer (cf. *LIMC* II s.v. 'Apollon', nos. 18-50).

The gesture and its effect illustrate concisely the darker, potentially violent side of Apollo's nature, which is evident even among the gods (contrast *Il*. 8.18-27, where Zeus' threat is only verbal). This encomiastic purpose exceeds any requirement of 'realism', and attempts to explain it in such terms – that Apollo has just returned from hunting or roaming (Baumeister 118, Miller 15), or that he is joking (Gemoll 121) – supply background or motivation that is not offered. One might reasonably infer, since this is the gesture's effect, that Apollo intends to frighten the gods and assert his supremacy; but it can just as well be understood as a spontaneous expression of his nature, like Athena's post-natal spear-shaking (*Hy*. 28.9).

Likewise, to see it as a motif awkwardly transposed from a putative first-arrival scene (Burckhardt-Biedermann 1878: 8-9) or an (undefined) theomachic context (Förstel 170) is to posit sources unnecessarily. The scene results from the placement of Apollo's archery, for which any number of 'natural' contexts can be imagined (cf. the serpent-killing at 357), in a uniquely inappropriate one, a typical Olympian feast. The poet varies the typical contrast between a god's individual, often violent activities outdoors and their harmonious participation in domestic festivity, e.g. *Hy*. 27.4-18 (Artemis' hunt -> dance), by postponing the expected behavioural shift (i.e. disarming on the threshold, e.g. *Hy*. 27.12), so that the two usually separate spheres merge, temporarily but explosively.

The obvious impetus for the creation of such an episode was its intended pairing with the second Olympian scene (186-206), the hymn's signal instance of contrastive parallelism (cf. p. 16) and adequate explanation for all of the present's scene's oddities. There, Apollo's parents again admire his display of mastery over the other gods (204-6 ~ 12-3), but this time in the form of a harmonious song and dance, i.e. the behaviour expected of Apollo on Olympus. A connection between the two scenes has long been recognised, but it is generally the dependence of one on the other, as copy and model in separate hymns, that is noted (e.g. West 1975: 163), whereas in a unified hymn they must have been conceived interdependently. Together they treat two sides of Apollo's character, embodied in his two distinctive instruments (announced as such at 131). Both facets are also on display at *Il*. 1.43-52, 604-5 (Ludwich 1908: 184), but there they are distinguished by their locations and objects (bow ~ earth, mankind; lyre ~ Olympus, gods). *HAp* reveals the nature of the bow, and with it Apollo, more vividly by doing so in a setting where it does not normally belong, modelling it on the traditional picture of the feast which finds expression in the second scene. Since both purport to describe habitual behaviour, they reveal Apollo's intense ambiguity; nevertheless, a certain hierarchy is suggested by their sequence, the second scene's greater length and the fact that the

jollity of the second is already anticipated, though not fulfilled (*contra* Miller 15) in the joyful conclusion of the first. Apollo's ideal Olympian posture is thus musical, but it conceals a threat.

Though the insertion of the bow has produced an exceptional situation, continuities with typical epic scenes are discernible. The interrupted feast, involving the feasters' reaction to and reception of a new arrival, is a recurrent motif, e.g. *Il*. 15.85-88, 23.201-5; especially close is 1.533-36, where Zeus' supremacy is marked by the awe with which the gods rise at his coming. Among human instances of this 'visit' type-scene (cf. Arend 1933: 34-53), closest in choreography, though divergent in mood, is Telemachus' reception of Athena-Mentes (*Od*. 1.113-43): after receiving her in the doorway, he stores her spear in a rack against a column before leading her to a seat and serving a meal (~ 9-10); many of these elements also recur in *Od*. 8.62-70.

These continuities do not, however, signal that Apollo is still an outsider on Olympus (cf. Thetis at *Il*. 24.95-100). The complex, formalised welcome rather emphasises the gap between his bow-wielding form and ideal Olympian conditions (which also implies his disordering potential) and makes room for his parents' significant expressions of favour. The lack of two 'visit' components, on the other hand, reveals the poet's technique: by omitting the guest's preceding journey (~ 182-8) and the description of what he finds on arrival, he increases the sudden force of Apollo's irruption. Instead of accompanying the god to Olympus, as in the second scene, the external audience is imaginatively placed 'within' Olympus and observes his arrival from the other gods' perspective, which foregrounds its epiphanic quality (for the combination of 'visit' and 'epiphany' type-scenes see Richardson on *Dem*. 180ff.). The poet thereby demonstrates his ability, anticipated in line 1, to summon the god's presence (cf. 14-18n.).

Given these connections, lines 2-13 appear as a unique blend of traditional elements. Comparisons with similar scenes in Near Eastern literature, which have been adduced as potential models, consequently lose their explanatory potential, although the parallels remain striking. In the Sumerian hymn *An-gim*, Ninurta's arrival risks terrifying the assembled gods, including his mother, until he disarms and, entering, is honoured by them, while in Babylonian tradition Marduk is a young god who frightens the others by displaying his powers (cf. Kroll 1956, Penglase 1994: 83-4, West 1997: 354-5). Apollo's archer aspect has been plausibly linked to Near Eastern influences by Guida (1972) and Burkert (1975b), but *HAp* is developing traits already firmly established by the time of Homer.

Tenses The nature of the scene has been somewhat obscured by its tenses. Presents (2-4) are followed first by a lone imperfect (5), then by aorists (6, 8-10), before presents return (12). The near-symmetrical distribution near-symmetrical distribution suggests deliberation rather than clumsy improvisation (Janko 1981a: 17) or a poet's addiction to past narration (Wilamowitz 1916: 442 n. 2). Given the absence of the historical present in early poetry (*GH* ii. 191; *contra* Forderer 167 n. 23, mistakenly), the present tenses point to a 'timeless' or typical scene, reinforced by 'epic' or generalising τε in 2, 3[61] and 12; the aorists must therefore also be timeless. Aorists are often found alternating with presents where the contrast is not between past and present but immediate, completed action and continuous or 'background' events (*GH* ii. 185-7). Here the present tenses describe the collective, drawn-out actions of the gods (2-4) and Leto's permanent attitude (12), while against this background aorists describe the several distinct and decisive actions performed by Leto and Zeus individually (cf. Förstel 103-4).

[61] τ' Hermann: γ' codd. καί ῥα τ(ε) is unique in epos but more likely than ~ γε: see Ruijgh (1971: §746).

The imperfect tense (5), however, does not traditionally allow any timeless interpretation; its appearance would therefore seem to undermine the scene's typical character. Yet this and three other imperfects in present-tense hymnic description (*Th*. 10, 269 and *Hy*. 19.29) have been persuasively identified as relics of the Indo-European present-stem injunctive, a tense-neutral form which in line 12 would be coloured by the preceding presents (i.e. conjunction reduction). The injunctive may in fact also be the origin of the timeless aorist. See further Pelliccia (1985), West (1989).

Other attributive sections contain a mixture of presents and aorists comparable to *HAp*'s, e.g. *Aphr*. 1-44, *Th*. 1-10. Clay 26-7 suggests that this blending depends on the nature of gods, whose 'unique manifestations are indistinguishable from their eternal ones' and for whom 'past and present are almost interchangeable'. The scene might therefore describe both Apollo's habitual behaviour *and* his first arrival, which would explain its combination of features appropriate to both situations. But while this might explain the combination of tenses, it cannot explain their distribution, as the aspectual interpretation adopted here does (Clay 24 n. 18 dismisses the 'timeless' aorist too easily). Faulkner (2005) shows how aorists in such contexts are not all equally timeless, since reference to a specific past action may be signalled or implied (e.g. *Aphr*. 12 πρώτη…ἐδίδαξε), yet nothing makes Leto's actions more past than the other gods'. The mere absence of a marker like epic τε, which appears with the present tenses, is insufficient to give the aorists a noticeably more historical reference (*contra* Faulkner 2005: 70). Apollo's habitual behaviour may imply what his first arrival was like, but this is different from simultaneous description. Other first-arrivals do reveal features of gods that will always be true (e.g. *Hy*. 6.15-18), but the poets have no difficulty in showing that these are unique occasions.

2. A generalising (τε) relative clause forms the hinge between the introduction and the attributive section (cf. *Aphr*. 2). That the gods *fear* Apollo is a striking initial statement; it concisely communicates the scene's initial impulse without capturing its entirety (*pace* Förstel 105), since it omits the joyful outcome (contrast 188, where the scene's mood is uniform). In the other major *Hymns,* the first relative summarises the main narrative (*Dem*. 2-3), its first part (*Herm*. 3-4), or a major theme (*Aphr*. 2). Here there is no précis of the coming story, but instead a pithy statement of the hymnist's basic conception of Apollo: that he is superior to all gods (except Zeus: 10-11n.).

κατὰ δῶμα Διὸς: cf. Διὸς πρὸς δῶμα (187), Διὸς κατὰ δῶμα (*Aphr*. 204). The gods are pictured in Zeus's palace, specifically its μέγαρον, their habitual place of feasting (e.g. *Il*. 4.1-4, *Od*. 1.27). κατὰ δῶμα, which enveloping word-order ties primarily to the gods, may mean vaguely 'in the house' (e.g. *Il*. 22.478), but it is also applicable to feasters spread 'throughout' a hall (e.g. *Il*. 4.386, *Od*. 22.23); at the same time, Apollo himself moves *through* it. The arrangement of Homeric μέγαρα is normally obscure and/or of little importance (Knox 1973: 5-6), but here spatial relations (centre/periphery) and seating plans (proximity to Zeus) are significant (see 2-13, 10-11nn.).

τρομέουσιν ἰόντα: τρομέω = 'tremble', whence the (quasi-)transitive sense 'tremble before/at' (*LfgrE* s.v. B I2). Translations such as 'revere' or 'venerate' (e.g. Matthiae 108, Baumeister 119) unjustifiably remove the idea of fear, which is uppermost given Apollo's threatening gesture and which is not excluded by the gods' familiarity. Even the physical notion of shuddering movement, which is original to τρομέω but normally eclipsed by its emotional aspect (i.e. simply 'fear'; cf. Chantraine s.v. τρέμω), is present as the gods, responding to Apollo's onward rush (ἰόντα), are themselves set moving; this transposes the more familiar

motif of the natural world trembling at divine movement (cf. *Il*. 13.18-9, *Hy*. 27.6-7). Fear is a typical human response to an epiphany (cf. Pfister 1924: 317-8), and this is the first of several occasions where Apollo's relations with other gods are framed in terms familiar from *human* interactions with the divine (cf. 119, 135) – a daring way of drawing distinctions *within* the pantheon which transforms Apollo into something like a super-divinity, second only to Zeus.

3-4. Two verses develop (ῥά) the foregoing summary statement. The gods now dart up from their seats. Apollo's role becomes more prominent, even occupying more of the verse as he shifts from object (2) to subject (4b) via an enclosed genitive absolute (3). Line 3b paraphrases and augments plain ἰόντα; 4a embellishes ἀναΐσσουσιν with a weighty progressive enjambement; and 4b reveals the climactic detail of Apollo's drawn bow.

ἀναΐσσουσιν…πάντες ἀφ' ἑδράων: cf. πάντες ἀνήϊξαν (*Il*. 15.86, 23.203) and πάντες ἀνέσταν | ἐξ ἑδέων (1.533-4), in all cases a respectful response to a guest's sudden arrival; here the gods' 'darting up' is more panicked. With πάντες the 'totality' motif first appears which characterises Apollo throughout *HAp*: his effect or range is repeatedly presented as complete, whether it affects gods (92, 134), his environment (22 = 144, 129, 445) or mankind (29, 57, 82, 253 = 293, 386, 483). This motif is a feature of the traditionally 'hyperbolic' hymnic style in all periods (cf. Keyssner 1932: 30-1; e.g. πᾶς 3x in *Dem*. 10-14, 2x in *Aphr*. 249-51), but *HAp*'s reliance on it to define the god's powers exceeds the other major *Hymns*.

ἐπὶ σχεδὸν ἐρχομένοιο: probably a tmesis (Peppmüller 1884: 196). ἐπισχεδόν, the reading of M and *p*, is first certain at A.R. 2.490, while ἐπέρχομαι is split by an adverb at *Od*. 22.205 = 24.502 (ἐπ' ἀγχίμολον … ἦλθε). Homer uses σχεδόν + ἔρχομαι or ἔπερχομαι, with clear semantic overlap; here their combination produces an abundant phrase (cf. 70 for

this phenomenon). Though common in battle contexts (e.g. *Il*. 12.136, 20.178), and thus suitable to an armed Apollo, such phrases are not necessarily hostile; ἐπερχόμενος (*Il*. 1.535) describes the awesome approach of Zeus, where *potential* violence as perceived by others is likewise at issue.

φαίδιμα τόξα τιταίνει: here τόξα τιταίνειν (6x epos) surely means drawing the bow with an arrow (cf. *Hy*. 27.5), given its effect, not the anterior action of stringing it (cf. *Od*. 21.259): Forderer 166 n. 17. φαίδιμα τόξα is a unique combination. Common epithets of bows, e.g. καμπύλα (a metrical doublet of φαίδιμα used at 131), denote the curved shape of the 'composite' bow (see x). Whereas these have a practical basis, here pure visual effect is stressed, specifically the gleam of the silver bow that is Apollo's distinctive trait (cf. 140n. ἀργυρότοξος). Applied in Homer to heroes and their γυῖα (71x), φαίδιμος here may retain its connotations of heroic beauty (cf. 7 ἰφθίμων). Such sparkling brightness attends Apollo's appearances throughout the hymn (119-21, 133-39, 202-3, 441-2; cf. Sowa 1984: 323-4); it is variously a cause of delight or, as here, terror.

5-9. A detailed description of Leto's activity occupies the scene's centre. By disarming Apollo, storing away his equipment and leading him to his seat she oversees his integration into the divine collective and lays the groundwork for Zeus's conclusive gesture (10). Her mediation between Apollo, Zeus, and the other, more peripheral gods is essential to the shift between terrified confusion and joyful order which prevents a ruined feast (for other such mediators cf. Hephaestus at *Il*. 1.571ff. and Themis at 15.87ff.). This also anticipates Leto's negotiating role in the birth-narrative.

There are four stages to Leto's intervention. She **A** unstrings the bow (6a), **B** shuts the quiver (6b), **B** takes the quiver from Apollo's shoulders (7) and **A** hangs the bow from a peg

on a column beside Zeus (8-9a). The description balances bow and quiver chiastically (cf. 15-16), but the limbs also grow, with the bow receiving final prominence as the cause of disruption is now disabled. Some details are omitted: Leto's initial and concluding movements (i.e. between 5-6, after 9), mention of arrows (6), and either attachment of bow to quiver or storage of the quiver (depending on interpretation). The abbreviated style has produced some obscurities (cf. 7n.). Förstel 168 exhaustively analyses the omissions, rightly concluding that the bow's significance has determined the treatment. But he is wrong to judge 9b as illogically postponed, on the ground that Leto must lead Apollo to his seat before she stores away his weapon (8); as the text stands, the disarming is completed and *then* Apollo makes his (now correct) entry.

The passage shows a typical hymnic structure: Leto is named (5), this is picked up by the relative ἥ (6), and typical activities are described (6-9, 12-13), concluding with the unexpected 'epilogic' χαῖρε (14n.). Lines 1-18 could never have formed an independent 'proem to Leto' (*pace* Wilamowitz 1916: 443), since Apollo is the declared subject (cf. 1-2), but the embedding of a miniature hymn anticipates Leto's central role in *HAp*'s praise. The device is later exploited to praise the Deliades (165-78n.) and is evident in the treatment of the three goddesses in *Aphr*. 7-33 (cf. Faulkner ad loc.).

5. **Λητὼ δ' οἵη μίμνε**: seated beside Zeus (whose failure to rise goes without saying), Leto is singled out emphatically against πάντες (4). For the pattern 'all … , but *x* alone remained' cf. *Il*. 8.80, *Od*. 6.139. No one remains seated at Zeus' approach (cf. *Il*. 1.534-5 οὐδέ τις ἔτλη | μεῖναι ἐπερχόμενον), but Apollo's parents mark the limit of his power to terrify. The restrictions on a god's otherwise universal influence are similarly sketched in the proem to *Aphr*. (2-32). For the lone imperfect μίμνε see 2-13n.

Leto here occupies a position like that of the Iliadic Hera, who later appears as the opponent of Apollo and Zeus (95-100, 305-55); she must be among the 'other gods' (2, 11), if she comes to mind at all (cf. Jacoby 704). Their supposed incompatibility has wrongly encouraged excision of all reference to Hera (see 95n., and Bethe 1931: 15), yet her Homeric pre-eminence coexists with considerable respect for Leto as mother of Zeus' children (cf. *Il*. 21.499, *Od*. 11.580; Wehrli 1931: 568-9). Leto's present prominence is the corollary of *HAp*'s focus on Apollo (cf. *Il*. 5.370, where Dione's sole appearance, beside Zeus and Hera, is prompted by Aphrodite's role).

παραὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ: = *Dem*. 485b. Leto's position as πάρεδρος of Zeus (also 205) indicates high honour. While the gods collectively can be said to 'sit beside Zeus' (e.g. *Il*. 4.1), the place *next to* him is a privilege (e.g. *Il*. 24.100), and proximity to Zeus marks Apollo's own integration (cf. 10n.). Elsewhere Zeus' πάρεδροι help to characterise his rule (e.g. *Th*. 388, *Hy*. 23.3; cf. West on *Op*. 259), and *HAp* likewise expresses Apollo's importance by centring the Olympian pantheon on his family.

The two ideal pictures of Leto seated beside Zeus frame her wanderings in the birth narrative (cf. 45-50) and, compared with them, this mobility appears aberrant. *HAp* tends to deprecate female mobility (343-8) and vaunt female rootedness (166-70); Apollo, by contrast, and the hymnist himself are linked but not tied to their homes (cf. 140-6, 174-60).

6. βιόν τ' ἐχάλασσε καὶ ἐκλήϊσε φαρέτρην: between lines 5 and 6 Leto must rise and move towards Apollo (~ *Il*. 15.88, *Od*. 1.119-20), but the act is passed over as relatively insignificant. She disarms him in two stages, framed in an artful chiasmus (itself embedded in the larger chiastic pattern: 5-9n.). The formulaic nominal pairing βιὸν -⏑ φαρέτρην| (4x Hom.) is expanded by two verbs. βιός, which is a rarer metonymic alternative to τόξον mostly confined

to epos (cf. Trümpy 1950: 66-7), etymologically means 'bow-string' and is thus appropriate with χαλάω, 'loosen' (not Homeric; cf. *Hy*. 27.12, with τόξα).The quiver is 'closed' with a lid (πῶμα): e.g. *Od*. 9.314, *Il*. 4.116; cf. Buchholz (2010: 262-3).

7-8. 'And after taking [the quiver] from his strong shoulders, she hung up the bow (τόξον)…'. The object of ἐλοῦσα is best understood as φαρέτρην, whose normal place is strapped over the shoulder, not τόξον. While plural τόξα can mean 'bow' (as in 4, 131) or 'bow, quiver and arrows' (e.g. *Il*. 21.502-3), singular τόξον always means 'bow' (*LfgrE* s.v.). Yet if the *unstrung* bow is to be hung on the peg, it must surely be attached to the quiver, a procedure illustrated in art (cf. Buchholz 2010: 262); this stage is omitted, and only the bow, as the focus of interest, is mentioned metonymically. If τόξον is understood with ἐλοῦσα, the bow that Apollo has just been drawing suddenly finds itself on his shoulder ('after taking the bow from his shoulders, she hung it up…'). Since only a strung bow can be slung over the shoulder (cf. *Il*. 1.45), in this case too the bow must be attached to the quiver and stand for the whole assemblage.

For discussion of the technical details, see Deubner (1938: 272-4), Lorimer (1950: 298-9). In either case, the bow is prominent at the expense of precise description. Jacoby 729 seeks to remove the problem by supposing that 7-9 were a variant meant to replace 6; but the two are not really incompatible, and the order 6/10 produces an even jumpier narrative.

ἰφθίμων ὤμων: cf. *Il*. 18.204 (dat.). Apollo's physical strength is noted even as he is disarmed. Like φαίδιμος (4), ἴφθιμος is also applicable to mortal warriors; its etymology is unknown (Chantraine s.v.), but the conventional interpretation, 'stout, strong', is apposite here.

8-9. The bow and quiver are hung on a hook against a column, like Demodocus' lyre at *Od*. 8.67, disabled but near at hand. A bow is placed on a peg at *Il*. 5.209 and *Od*. 21.53. Simonides (*PMG* 519 fr. 41) mentions a bow, apparently Apollo's (if ἄν]αξ is correct), hung from a hook οἴκῳ Διός, but the context is not preserved. For ἀνακρεμάννυμι cf. *Od*. 1.400 (with πασσάλῳ); otherwise Homer uses κατα- or the simplex.

πρὸς κίονα πατρὸς ἑοῖο: the combination of two formulae (πρὸς κίονα 5x *Od*., πατρὸς ἑοῖο 5x Hom.) has produced an obscurity, 'against a column of his father', which requires unpacking. 'Where his father sat' (AHS ad loc.) is preferable: chairs may rest against a column (e.g. *Od*. 6.307, 8.473), and the person seated there is the focus of interest (cf. Knox 1973: 5). 'Of his father's house' (Richardson), by contrast, is otiose. (Note that ἐν/εἰς + genitive meaning 'in/to *x*'s house' is a different idiom that depends on particularities of those prepositions, whereas here πρός has its noun: *GH* ii. 104-5.) The bow's placement beside Zeus suggests the harnessing of Apollo's power in support of him, here called 'father' for the first time (cf. 10-11n.); the only other use of the bow in *HAp* is against the Delphic serpent, who is a double of Zeus' enemy Typhaon (cf. 305-54). For the symbolism of proximity see 5n.

ἑοῖο is originally and normally, though not always, reflexive. Here its non-reflexivity (Leto is the subject) is due to the use of the formula πατρὸς ἑοῖο and the fact that Apollo and *his* relationship with Zeus are the centre of attention: cf. *HG* §254.

πασσάλου ἐκ χρυσέου: a practical detail is turned to ornamental effect, augmenting the picture of lustre (cf. 4 φαίδιμος). The conventional metal of the gods in both Near Eastern and Indo-European literatures (West 1997: 112, 2007: 153-4), gold connotes wealth, beauty and imperishableness (cf. *LfgrE* s.vv. χρύσε(ι)ος, χρυσός). Zeus' house is imagined as

constructed of precious metals at *Od*. 4.72-4. By contrast, all Homeric pegs are human and lack epithets (6x).

As with πάντες (4), χρυσέου is the first instance of a recurring motif. A golden thread runs through 1-206 (Forderer 150-1; not *DAp* only, *pace* Frolíková 1963: 99-100), with golden objects at 10, 98, 104, 122, 128, 135, 185; for compounds in χρυσ-, whose distribution is not so demarcated, see 123, 205, 305, 395. Gold clusters, unsurprisingly, on Olympus or at other divine gatherings, while it is notably absent from the mortal assembly on Delos and from the whole of *PAp*. Although Delos' metamorphosis (135-9) prefigures the wealth of the Delian cult (and note 155 κτήματα), the poet prefers to emphasise sacrifices and music as its outstanding features (56-60, 149-50). At Delphi, likewise, despite its proverbial riches (e.g. *Il*. 9.404-5, *Herm*. 178-181), the emphasis is on *sacrificial* wealth (288, 366).

τὸν δ' εἰς θρόνον εἶσεν ἄγουσα: cf. Ἰαὐτὴν δ' ἐς θρόνον εἶσεν ἄγων (*Od*. 1.130). A θρόνος is a large, ornate chair (not a unique 'throne'); ranking first in the hierarchy of Homeric seating, it is commonly offered to a guest (e.g. *Od*. 5.86). All the Olympians sit on θρόνοι (cf. *Il*. 8.199, 15.124), but the present juxtaposition of θρόνος with generic ἕδραι (4), 'seats', confers on Apollo an elevating distinction (as on Zeus at *Il*. 1.534-6; cf. Laser 1968: 41).

10-11. Parallelism (τὸν δέ ~ τῷ δέ) allows an easy glide between the two parents' complementary acts of solicitude. Zeus, presumably still seated, passes a cup of nectar to Apollo, who must be near to – or even beside – him (cf. 5n.). This single intervention, a simple cap to Leto's intricate activity, forms the scene's climax, the remainder of which (11b-13) responds to it. The offer of nectar to his son by the king of the gods confirms Apollo's central position in the Olympian hierarchy: loyally subordinate to his father, and by that closeness

superior to the other gods. This act, and Zeus' earlier failure to be alarmed (5), mean there is no warrant for seeing even a hint of possible tension between father and son (*contra* Clay 19, 38, who argues that 2-13 evoke Apollo's potential overthrow of Zeus); cf. 67-9n.

This emphatic assertion of paternity, which is restated at 204-6, provides important background for the coming narratives. Zeus is almost totally absent from *HAp*, and when present is silent (cf. 322-30) – an extreme case of a tendency found in the other major *Hymns* except *Herm*. (cf. Faulkner 2016). In these Zeus' role as ultimate arbiter or cause is clear (*Dem*. 3, *Aphr*. 45, *Herm*. 327-9), but he plays no role in *HAp*'s action. Pindar's assignment to him of a providential role in the birth (fr. 52m.10-11 S-M) seems to be aimed critically at the hymn's treatment: Rutherford (1988: 71-2). Yet Apollo defines the oracle-foundation as a service to Zeus (cf. 131-2n., 480-85), and during it he is repeatedly named as his son (136, 301, 437, 514, 531), while a favourable wind is said to come from him (427, 433). These references may be conventional (so Chappell 2011: 80), but cumulatively, and following Zeus' emphatic approval of his son in 2-13, they point to his endorsement of Apollo's project. At the same time, his 'distance' from the narrative leaves room for his son's glorious deeds, chief among which is, precisely, to be the mediator of Zeus for mankind (cf. 132).

πατήρ…φίλον υἱόν: the genealogical theme, adumbrated in 8 (πατρός), finds full expression in this complementary pair (cf. 12-13 for its *maternal* counterpart); by performing the distinctive act of the feast (a toast), Zeus establishes a direct bond with Apollo and thereby restores order. φίλος in epos fluctuates between possessive ('own') and affective ('dear') meanings (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.); with family relations the former is inextricable and potentially otiose, but the latter can overlay it, as the parental admiration of 204-6, for instance, makes clear.

νέκταρ: nectar is the drink of the gods, their equivalent of wine, and its consumption is a centrepiece of their feasts and, by extension, a mark of membership of the Olympian community (*Il*. 1.598, 4.3, *Dem*. 49; cf. Clay 1981-2); its etymology is obscure (*LfgrE* s.v. E), but its function is apparently to prevent decay (e.g. *Il*. 19.38). Since Zeus is the dispenser of the gods' τιμαί (cf. *Th*. 74), and ambrosia (the other component of divine nourishment) is said to belong to him (*Od*. 12.63), his offer is not simply a paternal gesture but proves that Apollo's claim to this signal divine privilege is unimpeachable. Themis' nursing of the newborn Apollo with nectar (123-5n.) echoes Zeus' act, which is thereby presented as archetypal.

δέπαϊ χρυσείῳ: golden drinking cups are standard components of divine tableware (e.g. *Il*. 4.3, 24.101) and add to the hymn's picture of Olympian opulence. Since the δέπας is usually held with one hand (e.g. *Il*. 1.584), Zeus' other hand would be free for a further gesture of welcome (cf. δεικνύμενος).

δεικνύμενος: 'indicate' (< δείκνυμι), whether by the act of passing the cup or with the other hand, gives tolerable sense. However, some cases of this participle (*Il*. 9.196, *Od*. 4.59; not *Il*. 23.401), along with instances of δειδέχαται (4x), δεικανάομαι (3x) and δειδίσκομαι (4x) – all in contexts indicating a formalised act or gesture of greeting, often by means of a cup and/or with words – are generally agreed to constitute a group of epic relics, though of obscure origin and interrelation. Of the several etymologies proposed, the most attractive derives the forms from δέχομαι, 'receive' (i.e. δεικνύμενος < *δεκνύμενος), while allowing some influence from δείκνυμι (Willi 2018: 163-4). Alternative interpretations either start from δείκνυμι or compare Skt. *dāśnóti*, 'pay homage' (see further *LfgrE* s.v. δειδέχαται). Etymology aside, in the present context all three ideas are relevant: Zeus *receives* Apollo with a gesture which by *pointing* him out – the other gods notice and respond (11-12) – does him

honour. Here the act involves passing a cup (cf. *Il*. 15.86), but perhaps a preceding 'toast' is also meant (cf. *Il*. 4.4, where cups are not passed).

11-12. **ἔπειτα δὲ δαίμονες ἄλλοι | ἔνθα καθίζουσιν**·: 'thereupon the other gods sit down there'. The gods respond immediately to Zeus' signal and resume their orderly arrangement, reversing ἀναΐσσουσιν (3) and returning to the situation which notionally preceded Apollo's entry. Since *sequence* (ἔπειτα) is key, local ἔνθα is surprisingly emphatic but not too difficult to construe (*contra* Chappell ad loc.); its placement is probably due to formular composition, since ἔνθα καθίζ- or καθεζομεν- begins a verse 7x in epos. Alternatively, Gemoll notes that ἔνθα…ἔπειτα, with temporal ἔνθα (= 'thereupon'), is the normal sequence (e.g. *Il*. 11.770, *Od*. 7.196) and places a full stop after 11, supplying a verb from δεικνύμενος: 'And next the other gods (greet him). Then they sit down.' (approved by Richardson). A standing collective toast is recorded at *Il*. 15.85-6, and the compression of the whole passage (as in 5-9) makes this reading quite possible, but the difficulties of the one adopted here (also favoured by Càssola and Humbert) have been exaggerated. Allen and Sikes (ad loc.) suggest ἔπειτα…ἔνθα = *tum demum,* but this is unparalleled.

12-13: ≈ 125-6. Leto rejoices 'because she bore a strong archer son'. Her response to the preceding sequence of events can be framed as a general description of Apollo's nature because they were, for all their specificity, an illustration of some of his distinctive traits. The almost verbatim repetition of these lines immediately after Apollo's birth (125-6) reinforces the impression that they capture something of his essence as *HAp* conceives it.

χαίρει: this stands in strong contrast with initial τρομέουσιν (2) and completes the progression from disorder to stability. Leto's joyful reaction to Apollo likewise marks the end

of a scene at 125-6 and 204-6, emotional climaxes helping to articulate structure (cf. Miller 17). Other hymnic Olympian scenes (*Hy*. 6.15-18, 19.45-6) also conclude with a god's effect on his peers, and this reaction is normally paradigmatic. The fact that rejoicing is limited to Leto, who has a familial bond with Apollo, reflects his ambiguous nature. The same double aspect is present at *Hy*. 28.16, where Zeus' pride in Athena stands out against the others' fear.

πότνια Λητώ: the combination recurs at 49 and Thgn. 5, both in the context of Apollo's birth, i.e. the event that guarantees Leto's status. πότνια, 'mistress', is an honorific title used in epos chiefly of goddesses – principally Hera, as also in *HAp* (309, 332, 348, 353). Leto has not however 'usurped' Hera's epithet, since πότνια + name/μήτηρ at verse-end is a common pattern, e.g. πότνια Ἥβη (*Il*. 4.2).

13. **τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱόν**: since the bow is the primary manifestation of Apollo's strength, the paired epithets are almost a hendiadys. Later it is a 'mighty arrow' that kills the Delphic serpent (357-8 ἰὸν…καρτερόν). τοξοφόρος, which the preceding scene has actually dramatised, is applied to Artemis in its only other epic appearance (*Il*. 21.483): the siblings who share functions also share epithets (cf. Miroux 1981).

ἔτικτεν: the imperfect expresses the action's lasting effect, i.e. the mature Apollo as revealed in 2-13, whereas the aorists τέκε(ς) in 14 and 178 focus on the event itself: Koller (1951: 92-3). For the expression of a child's nature in 'genealogical' form (i.e. τίκτω + epithets), which may suggest character is innate, cf. 100-1 (also with κρατερόν), *Aphr*. 42 (κυδίστην … μιν τέκετο Κρόνος) and *Il*. 18.55 (τέκον υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε). Here τίκτω is especially pertinent since it anticipates the choice of the birth theme in 19-29.

14-18. In a four-verse apostrophe, the poet bids Leto rejoice in her great children, Apollo and Artemis, and makes summary reference to their births. This passage has often been disparaged as an irrelevant interpolation (Gemoll ad loc. surveys earlier views), but it effects a skilful transition away from the Olympian scene to the next section: the use of apostrophe introduces the device in which the poet will frame the theme-selection (19-24), while allusion to the birth adumbrates the theme he will eventually choose (25-9). Leto's maternal perspective justifies the mention of Artemis, whose own birth, as another potential narrative topic, functions as a foil to Apollo's. And since Leto is almost the protagonist of the birth narrative, securing her favour – and doing so demonstratively – is rhetorically shrewd, since the hymnist establishes his status as a conscientious encomiast (cf. Miller 17-9, Förstel 114-20). More generally, since it suggests the god's presence, apostrophe 'proves' both the hymn's cletic efficacy and the hymnist's privileged intercourse with the divine (cf. Hunzinger 2013: 39, García 2002); by transposing to the very beginning a device normally found at the end (see below), the hymnist gives a programmatic display of the potency of his art.

Apostrophe The use of apostrophe at this point is both the natural conclusion of the 'hymn to Leto' embedded in the Olympian scene (see 5-9n.) and an arresting contravention of hymnic norms. In the other *Hymns* it is confined to Muse-invocations and stereotyped epilogues (as well as a few short, attributive hymns, e.g. *Hy*. 12, which are closer to cult songs), and the addressee is always (if not the Muse) the primary hymnic subject (Hunzinger 2013: 40-41). In *HAp* there are *two* subsidiary addressees, Leto and the Deliades (165-76), while numerous apostrophes to Apollo himself occur in both present-tense passages (19-29, 143-6, 179-81, 207-8) and narrative (120, 127-8, 140-2, 216-46, 277-82). In most cases it appears at a structural division; in *DAp* it appears sporadically and generally gives a strong impression of

the hymnist's emotional engagement (e.g. 120), whereas in *PAp* it takes the form of a regular refrain (229 = 239 = 277, partially repeated at 215, 222, 243, 281).

Explanation for its prominence in *HAp* has been sought in the paean (Ludwich (1908: 165), in which the cry ἰή παιάν was often addressed to Apollo as a refrain: cf. Παιάν marking strophe-end in Aristonoos' paean (Powell 1925: 162-4; cf. Rutherford 2001: 21). Some such influence is plausible, and the hymn alludes to the paeanic refrain (119n.). But, apart from in *PAp*'s own 'refrain', the hymn's apostrophes are varied and lack the regular form and incidence of the paean cry; nor are they addressed only to Apollo. Since apostrophe, relative to third-person narrative, draws greater attention to the narrator, its use in *HAp* should probably be linked to the hymnist's prominent self-presentation in the *sphragis* of 165-76 (the apostrophe to the Deliades), which in turn is related to the hymn's unique interest in revealing its own authorship (cf. p. 32).

14. Continuity with the preceding scene is achieved through detailed echoes of 12-13: χαῖρε ~ χαίρει, Λητοῖ ~ Λητώ, τέκες ~ ἔτικτεν. The cases of cross-clause repetition assembled by West (1966: 76-7), e.g. *Th*. 395-6 (ἄτιμος…τιμῆς), are slight by comparison. Here the partial repetitions also underline the shift from the third to second person (not a sign of interpolation, *pace* Jacoby 726). As if infected by Leto's enthusiasm, the hymnist seems almost to invade the Olympian assembly by addressing her. Such 'metaleptic' blurring of narrative levels, by which the narrator suddenly inserts himself into a description, appears also at 165 and 544-6 (cf. Capponi 2003, de Jong 2009). The display of enthusiasm suggests that genuine devotion underlies the hymnist's praise (cf. Miller 19). At the same time, such 'pseudo-spontaneity' (Morrison 2007: 67) introduces the narratorial persona necessary for the dramatised theme-selection (19-29), where the hymnist presents himself as making decisions 'in real time'.

χαῖρε: except here and at 166, narratorial χαῖρε is exclusively a feature of hymnic epilogues, in which, before moving to another song, the hymnist takes leave of his divine subject (= 'farewell') by inviting them to take pleasure in the foregoing praise (= 'rejoice'), with an implicit hope for favour in return (sometimes made explicit in a prayer, e.g. a request for victory: *Hy*. 6.20): Calame (1994: 395-6). These generic resonances are present here too, though transposed to a *secondary* divine addressee to form an *internal* transition. While χαῖρε completes the hymn-like structure in 2-13 (cf. 5-9n.), it lacks its usual valedictory force and is rather a salutation ('hail!'), since the hymnist looks forward to the birth narrative (16-8) in which Leto is central. While there is no express request for support, since the hymnist has already pleased Leto with the Olympian scene (12-13), he can expect support with the birth-narrative too; indeed, her joy in the latter theme (14-18) prospectively sanctions its choice at 25-29.

μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοῖ: this common inversion accentuates the adjective: cf. *Hy*. 26.11 (χαῖρε) πολυστάφυλ' ὦ Διόνυσε, *Il*. 4.186, E. *Ba*. 565. A common epithet of the gods collectively (5x *HAp*) and designating their lives of ease (*LfgrE* s.v.), μάκαρ here has a more specific point since the μακαρισμός is genealogically grounded, i.e. in Leto's children, as at *Od*. 6.153-4 (μάκαρες μὲν σοί γε πατὴρ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ); cf. Richardson on *Dem*. 480. ὦ + vocative is generally lively and familiar (*GH* ii.37), connotations it retains even though it also supplies the necessary long syllable (see Coray et al. on *Il*. 4.169 for metrics vs. emotion in such cases). The hymnist uses the combination twice more (169 ὦ κοῦραι, 181 ὦ ἄνα), whereas in the *Hymns* it appears only at *Hy*. 26.11. It contributes to the hymnist's animated self-presentation; with μάκαιρα, the tone is enthusiastic but respectful.

τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα: a flexible combination, e.g. *Od*. 11.249 (Ιτέξεαι ἀγλαὰ τέκνα), 285 (τέκεν…ἀγλαὰ τέκνα), *Aphr*. 127, Hes. fr. 31.2-4 MW. The *figura etymologica* τέκνον τίκτειν, which has become a cliché (17x epos), has its full significance here as it prepares for the birth theme (with 13 ἔτικτεν). With ἀγλαὰ τέκνα (13x epos) Apollo and Artemis are momentarily undifferentiated, before birthplace (16) becomes the distinguishing mark, anticipating the hymn's Delian focus.

15-16. The siblings and their birthplaces are named in an artful chiasmus of four hemistichs: **A1** Apollo – **B1** Artemis – **B2** Ortygia – **A2** Delos. Artemis, enveloped by her brother, is treated with respectful balance in a micro-digression (15b-16a) after which the Apolline focus is restored (16b), before the expansion of 17-18. The 'Olympian' trio Apollo-Zeus-Leto that provided the focus in 2-13 (as in 205-6) now yields to a Delian triad (cf. 158-9).

15: ≈ *Th*. 14 (Φοῖβόν τ' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν), 918 (Λητὼ δ' Ἀπ. ~). ἄναξ, 'lord', is, after Φοῖβος (cf. 19n.), Apollo's commonest epithet in *HAp* (18x). Like πότνια, it is a term of respect, used in addresses at 179, 257; but the pregnant sense of Apollo's 'rulership' over his cult sites will also be thematised in the hymn: cf. 29, 181, 383, 395.

Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν: = 159; cf. 199 (nominative and verse-initial). ἰοχέαιρα, 'arrow-pourer', is Artemis' distinctive epithet (15x epos); although conventional, it associates her with an activity which 2-13 have claimed as outstandingly Apolline. As with their birthplaces (16), the siblings are assimilated to Apollo's advantage; of Leto's two great children, he emerges as the greater. The effectiveness of praising by comparison rather than in isolation explains the reference to her here, even though she plays no role in *HAp*'s narrative (other versions of the birth made her prominent, e.g. as Leto's midwife: Apollod. 1.4.1; cf. Roscher, i. 577-8).

Besides her prominent performance on Olympus as ὁμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνι (199), she appears only as one of the gods worshipped on Delos (158-9, 165). Hignard (1864: 210) suggested it was this cult role that justified her inclusion here, but the hymn's attitude is not simple piety. Artemis predated Apollo on Delos (cf. Bruneau 1970: 171-206), yet *HAp* presents Delos as primarily Apollo's island, where Artemis – born elsewhere – is subordinate to him (even syntactically in 158-9, 165).

16: = Orph. H. 35.5 (with 15 ≈ 35.4), a hymn to Leto. The borrowing is certainly from *HAp*; the contrary movement, argued by Wehrli (1931: 566), presupposes interpolation of 14-18 (see note).

ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ: in *HAp*'s conception, Artemis was not born on Delos, as in later sources (cf. Pi. fr. 33c S-M, Hdt. 6.97, Str. 10.5.2). Her cult position there (cf.15n.) is consequently importantly different from Apollo's, whose birth actually determined Delos' nature (as the coming narrative seeks to show). The temporal relation of the two births remains vague (πρῶτον in 25 does not mean Apollo is older, since Artemis is no longer in view). Some versions had Artemis born the day before her brother (e.g. D. L. 2.44; probably not in Delian tradition: Bruneau 1970: 89-91), but in *HAp* they do not even appear to be twins (cf. 45). The placement of Athena's birth, mentioned in 314, relative to Apollo's is also unclear; it seems that possible claims to seniority are obscured rather than denied.

The Ortygia referred to here, its connotations and possible contrasts with Delos cannot be determined with certainty. The two Homeric mentions of an Ortygia are unclear (*Od*. 15.404; 5.123: Artemis killed Orion there). Of the several places so called, two developed prominent claims to be Artemis' birthplace: the island beside Syracuse (Pi. *P*. 2.6-7, *N*. 1.2-3) and a grove near Ephesus (Str. 14.1.20). Strabo (10.5.5) also claims – uniquely – that Rheneia

was formerly called Ortygia (the text is ambiguous and could equate Delos with Ortygia: see Schmidt 1942: 1525). Tréheux (1946) therefore plausibly argues that the places called Νῆσος and Ὀρτυγία referred to in later Delian inscriptions as sites of Artemis' worship are respectively Rheneia and Rheneia's eastern part. This would accommodate the naming of Ortygia here and Rheneia in 44. This placement would also be acceptable on Delos, in which context *HAp* possibly arose (see p. 24). Yet the very indeterminacy of Ortygia would also have been a boon during its expected performance elsewhere (cf. 174-6). Whereas Delos was never seriously questioned as the place of Apollo's birth, the various Ortygias that claimed Artemis may have resulted from competing identifications of an originally mythical place (cf. Schmidt 1942). No audience could be disturbed by Delos' claim to Apollo, whereas they could identify Ortygia as it suited them.

One identification at least can certainly be rejected: Pindar (fr. 52h.48), apparently reacting against *HAp*, also knows Ortygia as an alternative name for Delos. The name became associated with Leto's sister Asteria, whose pursuit by Zeus and transformation into an island (and, occasionally, a quail = ὄρτυξ) preceded Apollo's birth – all details unknown to *HAp*'s more austere birth-narrative (cf. Rutherford 1988: 70).

16-18. These lines look like a promising starting-point for a birth-narrative. In the first of several cases of misdirection (cf. 30-44n.), the hymnist first indicates a theme and then problematises it (19-24), before finally returning to it in lines echoing these (25-28). By imagining Leto already on Delos, 16b-18 presuppose a relatively advanced point in the story which the hymnist will actually tell (~ 116); the repetition at 25-8 helps to prepare for the 'background' supplied in 45-115.

κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ: cf. 26 (κραναῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ), 72 (κραναήπεδος). The epithet is geographically apt, since Delos is indeed rocky (details in Bruneau and Ducat 2005: 28-30). The poverty of the island was apt to make it an appropriate neutral meeting place for communities, but the eventual wealth of the cult fostered thereby was felt as a deep paradox (e.g. Call. *Hy*. 4.264-70; cf. Graf 1993: 105). The puzzle is already adumbrated here in the juxtaposition of κραναός with ἀγλαός and ἄναξ. The same contrast between greatness and modest origins is found when Odysseus' Ithaca is called κραναός at *Il*. 3.201 (cf. *Od*. 9.27, where it is τρηχεῖ', ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κουροτρόφος). Delos' barrenness is a recurring motif in the narrative (cf. 51-60n.), and the contrasting picture of the wealthy festival (147-55) will be *DAp*'s outstanding example of Apollo's power.

17-18. The location of the birth is evoked more precisely by reference to three Delian landmarks: Mount Cynthus, the palm-tree and the river Inopus.

The two local names and the palm-tree's unexplained prominence suggest that the lines are conjuring, if not a definite plot, at least a familiar mythical mise-en-scène. The same tendency to evoke the birth by drawing from a relatively small set of details, mostly topographic and arboreal, persists in later versions, though the set expands: Thgn. 5-10 (palm, lake), E. *Ion* 919-22 (laurel, palm), E. *IT* 1098-1105 (Cynthus, palm, laurel, olive), Lyc. 674-5 (Cynthus, Inopus), Call. *Hy*. 4. 10, 206, 210, etc. (Cynthus, Inopus, palm, lake, etc.; unsurprisingly, Callimachus gives the complete set). These elements, embedded in the tradition, form the constant background to the birth and can even allude to it metonymically. The earliest such allusion is probably *Od*. 6.161-2, where Odysseus' σέβας at the palm beside Apollo's Delian altar suggests it is Leto's tree (cf. AHS, Le Roy 1973: 266). *HAp*, however, is the earliest certain reference to Apollo's birth on Delos.

17: ~ 26 Κύνθου ὄρος. A grand circumlocution suits Mount Cynthus' role in the birth, if not its modest appearance: ὄρος ψιλὸν ὁ Κύνθος καὶ τραχύ (Str. 10.5.2). μακρός is not used metaphorically for 'famous' (so Càssola ad loc.), though its fame would justify some exaggeration. Yet even though Cynthus is only 112 metres high, as the dominant peak on Delos it can reasonably be called 'tall'.

The καί is explicative or epexegetical, with the second limb defining the first more exactly (cf. Humbert 1945: 412-3). Denniston (*GP* 291) rightly compares *Il*. 5.398 (πρὸς δῶμα Διὸς καὶ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον), but without adequately treating the type. The term 'hendiadys' (so Richardson ad loc., Forderer 65), where the two limbs are not nearly synonymous (Sansone 1984), is less satisfactory. Appearing here first, ὄχθος, like ὄρος, can mean 'hill' (cf. *LfgrE* s.vv.). Similar periphrases for Cynthus occur at Pi. fr. 52m.8 S-M (Κύ]νθιον παρὰ κρημνόν), Ar. *Av*. 596-7 (Κυνθίαν…πέρτραν) and E. *IT*. 1098 παρὰ Κύνθιον ὄχθον. Euripides may be relying on *HAp*, which was known in fifth-century Athens (cf. 114, 146-50nn.). These passages suggest the use of the adjective is stylistically elevated, although Herodotus can say both ὁ Καύκασις and τὸ Καυκάσιον ὄρος (1.203.8, 1.104.8)

κεκλιμένη πρός: ~ 26 κλινθεῖσα πρός: 'leaning against', presumably for support. 'Leaning towards' is also possible (cf. 24 κεκλιμέναι εἰς), since all Homeric cases of κεκλιμεν- take the dative of the thing leant upon (e.g. *Il*. 3.135, *Od*. 6.307), but here direction has less point than contact. Leto can easily be said to lean on a hill slope since the great size of the gods, who can even step between mountain peaks, is traditional (cf. 141, *Il*. 13.17-21, 14.225-30). This is, therefore, a normal use of κλίνω πρός (e.g. *Il*. 8.435), but in a unique situation (*contra* Le Roy 1973: 284-5).

In the narrative proper Leto holds the palm while kneeling on the meadow (117-8) and Cynthus is unmentioned. Kiesel (1835: 41) suggested the passages were incompatible and

evidence of two versions. It is indeed hard to picture Leto resting against the hill *and* holding the palm, but the notion of support in κλίνω is too vague to suggest unambiguously a different birthing posture (e.g. 'lean[ing] back': Clay 235 n. 99). One might invoke the human inability to describe fantastic divine behaviour, but the hymn never actually requires the audience to combine both descriptions. Leto's contact is stressed with whatever piece of Delian scenery the poet wants to foreground at that moment. Cynthus is prominent here because of the high places in 22-3, while the palm's starring role is reserved for the climax. It seems Callimachus noted the disjunction, since he makes Leto lean back against the tree: ἀπὸ δ' ἐκλίθη ἔμπαλιν ὤμοις | φοίνικος ποτὶ πρέμνον (*Hy*. 4.209-10), thus blending and clarifying *HAp*; cf. Most (1981), who links the change to contemporary medical theories.

The mistaken attempt to combine the passages, along with misapprehensions about Cynthus' archaeology, promoted the erroneous idea (e.g. Allen and Sikes ad loc.) of a version of the birth in which the palm was on the hill and Apollo was born there (rather than in the plain as in Thgn. 5-10). Not only does *HAp* provide no support, but such a version is not attested elsewhere (Le Roy 1973). Apollo was never worshipped on Cynthus, only Zeus and Athena (Bruneau 1970: 222-32). Apollo Κύνθιος (Call. *Hy*. 4.10) is a purely literary epithet. See also 141n.

18. **ἀγχοτάτω φοίνικος**: 'right beside the palm' is studiously vague, holding in reserve the precise, dramatic clasping gesture of 117, which any mention of the sacred palm must presuppose (since support is its only mythological function). Several palm-trees, both living and ornamental, are mentioned in Delian accounts; which was the special palm shown to pilgrims and tourists throughout antiquity (e.g. Pliny *NH* 16.89) cannot be determined, although it was certainly within the main sanctuary: see Le Roy (1973). *HAp* implies a similar

location, since the λειμών (118) where the birth occurs is surely the more fertile part of Delos, watered by Inopus, where the later sanctuary was located (cf. 19n.).

In later sources, the palm is not the only tree in the standard Delian scenery (17-18n.) but coexists with, or is supplanted by, the olive and/or laurel: e.g. E. *Hec*. 459, *Ion* 919, *IT* 1099-1101; Limenius, *Pae. Delph*. 6. The laurel is a Delphic feature (cf. 396) and purely literary invention, an assimilation of Apollo's two most famous sanctuaries; the olive, a piece of Athenian propaganda, was reflected in Delian cult: see Valois (1924: 435-45), Le Roy (1973: 267-72).

ἀγχοτάτω: a superlative of ἀγχοῦ; it does not appear in Homer, who uses the metrically near-equivalent ἄγχιστον once (*Od*. 5.280). It is not an Atticism (so Zumbach 1955: 27, Kirk 1966: 168) since it is found in Herodotus (e.g. 2.169.15); Homer has ἑκαστάτω and τηλοτάτω (*Il*. 10.113, *Od*. 7.322).

ὑπ' Ἰνωποῖο ῥεέθροις: cf. ἐπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥέεθρα*l* (*Il*. 23.305). Inopus, Delos' only significant watercourse, is really a small intermittent stream (Str. 10.5.2) that rises on the south flank of Cynthus, turns west and then flows north down towards the sanctuary: see Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 273-4. The topography guarantees the preposition 'beneath' (Wilamowitz 1916: 443 n. 3), without requiring emendation to ἐπί 'at' (Reiz, Càssola), or interpreting ὑπό as 'by' (AHS).

19-29. The poet asks Apollo how to praise him (19), justifying his difficulty by noting that the whole world offers material for songs about the god (20-24). He then suggests the birth theme, providing another brief summary (25-28) and concluding with the assertion that Delos was the origin of Apollo's universal rule (29).

The hymnist begins anew: having announced his *subject* (1), he now ponders his *theme* (Jacoby 702). Belying the earlier smooth introduction of the Olympian and birth material, he now confesses to difficulty (ἀπορία) before the abundance of potential themes offered by Apollo. Such introductory aporetic questions have auxetic and ethical functions, expressing both the magnitude of the poet's task and his conscientiousness in performing it: e.g. *Od*. 9.14-16, Theoc. 17.11; cf. Miller 24, Förstel 149-50. Their apologetic character is especially relevant when the singer is addressing a god, whose displeasure is to be avoided.

The profusion of material is metaphorically a 'pasture of song' spread throughout the world (20). The idea is then developed in a short typological catalogue of geographical features in which Apollo 'takes pleasure' (hills, rivers, coastlines), its progressive divisions emphasising his presence in all spheres (21-24). Finally, the birth on Delos is proposed as a theme (25-8). The catalogue therefore serves as a priamel, its terms providing a foil for the eventual choice (cf. Bundy 1962: 5). The mismatch between those terms – all *places* – and the capping term – the birth *theme* – is only apparent. Since Delos' role as birthplace has already been firmly established as significant (16-8), to choose the birth theme also entails a place. Equally, all the places catalogued may imply Apolline themes (Wilamowitz 1916: 443 n. 1, Jacoby 702); since they are not named, no particular traditions are alluded to, and each listener can supply his own from whatever Apolline associations the list evokes.

The lack of specific alternatives is therefore not simply a 'perfunctory treatment' of a traditional priamel scheme (*pace* West 1975: 164). The terms of the foil are generic precisely because Apollo is a universal figure (note 19 πάντως, 20 πάντῃ, 22 πᾶσαι, 29 πᾶσι; for the 'totality' motif see 4n.). The effect of this contrast between non-specific places and merely implied themes is that Delos and the birth emerge against this global background as the Apolline place and theme *par excellence*, as if no other really competes. Far from 'perfunctory',

the passage is a skilful blend of geographical and thematic priamels, types that the hymnist deploys later in their 'pure' forms at 140-6 and 207-15 respectively; that 19-24 is a mixture of these two is clear from verbatim repetitions (19 = 207, 22-3 = 143-4).

This sort of self-conscious dramatisation of theme-choice is unique in early epos (Jacoby 702), especially notable because a god's birth is an entirely orthodox theme (*Herm*. 3, *Hy*. 6.3-7, 19.35-6). Rather than to justify an eccentricity, its effect is to underline the subject's importance. By returning circuitously to a theme broached unselfconsciously in 16-18, the poet gives the impression of resisting an easy impulse, perhaps an implicit critique of typical hymnic practice. In the *Hymns*, the subject is simply announced in the first line; the choice this presupposes is never laid bare or justified, nor does the narrator pose questions. Homer also declares his theme; his narratorial questions (addressed implicitly to the Muse), e.g. *Il*. 1.9-10, 15.508-10, help to focus themes without problematising them.

Closest to *HAp*, as in other things (cf. 165-76n.), is *Th*. 33-4, where the choice of theme, though never questioned, is justified by the Muses' own prescription; in both cases, a dramatised engagement with a divinity produces the right theme. But whereas the Muses dictate to Hesiod, the hymnist presents himself as standing daunted before his *laudandus* (this sense of human frailty appears at *Il*. 2.484ff.). Also comparable to *HAp* is *Dion*. 2-7, where a priamel prefaces the theme-statement; but there the hymnist confidently rejects false *versions* Dionysus' birth, without wondering about a hierarchy of themes. Though not totally isolated, *HAp*'s particular combination of aporetic question and thematic priamel is found only later, e.g. in Pindar (fr. 29 S-M, *I*. 7.1-5); Callimachus, probably influenced by Pindar and *HAp*, makes this a regular opening of hymns: *Hy*. 1.1-4, 4.28-30; cf. Morrison (2007: 116-7).

19: = 207. 'How should I sing of you, seeing as you are in every way good for singing?' The apostrophe constitutes the hymnist's first unmediated interaction with Apollo (cf. third person in 1). ἐόντα (masc.) implies that Leto is no longer the addressee, which is confirmed by Φοῖβε (20). This imprecision has often been criticised, and various remedies proposed, including omission of 14-18, which is unjustified (see note), and a pause before line 19, which is unverifiable (cf. Franke ad loc., Deubner 1938: 263). It can be explained by the fact that Apollo is always uppermost in the poet's mind (cf. 8n. on ἑοῖο). Given the way the hymnist exploits ambiguity elsewhere (cf. 30-44n.), it is possible that it is intentional here (i.e. Leto initially enjoys the benefit of the compliment, πάντως εὔυμνον, intended for Apollo) and not simply the result of ineptitude.

ὑμνήσω: by promising a *song*, the hymnist defines his relation to Apollo more narrowly than with μνήσομαι (1); cf. van Groningen 306. Homer has only the noun, in the obscure pairing ἀοιδῆς ὕμνος (*Od*. 8.429), where the theme is not specified. Later ὕμνος acquires the technical meaning 'song of praise for a god' (e.g. Pl. *Rep*. 10.607a; cf. Furley and Bremer 2001: i. 9), but at 161 and 190 it refers to a grand though not exclusively divine theme. Nevertheless, ὑμνέω is the hymnist's favourite term for his song of praise to Apollo (178, 207) and others like it (158: the Deliades' song). Only Hesiod gives it comparable emphasis (7x in *Th*. proem), while the other *Hymns* use it only conventionally, announcing their theme with ὕμνει Μοῦσα (4x) or concluding with reference to 'another ὕμνος' (3x).

εὔυμνον: 'rich in songs, easy to sing'. The prefix εὐ- may indicate ease or abundance (Chantraine s.v. ἐύς): many songs have been, and could be, sung about Apollo; the 'pastures of song' image in 20-4 is compatible with both. Callimachus *Hy*. 2.30-1 reuses the epithet, seeming to gloss both aspects: οὐδ' ὁ χορὸς τὸν Φοῖβον ἐφ' ἓν μόνον ἦμαρ ἀείσει (= rich

in songs) | ἔστι γὰρ εὔυμνος· τίς ἂν οὐ ῥέα Φοῖβον ἀείδοι; (= easy to sing). πολύυμνος (*Hy*. 26.7), by contrast, stresses only abundance. Here the sheer number of possible approaches actually hinders rather than helps the poet: 'εὐπορία issues in ἀπορία' (Miller 21). For the motif of thematic abundance cf. Call. *Hy*. 4.28 (λίην πολέες σε περιτροχόωσιν ἀοιδαί), Theoc. 17.11 (πάρα μυρία εἰπεῖν). By magnifying the difficulty of his task, the poet not only communicates Apollo's greatness but also increases his own glory in the event of success.

ταρ: in 19 the MSS unanimously read γάρ, but in the equivalent line 207 τ' ἄρ. Minor variation between *iterata* is not objectionable (e.g. 22 ~ 144), but in 19 there is no obvious causal link: it does not explain the preceding address to Leto (so Forderer 65-6), nor does it justify a supposed self-interruption after 18 (so Miller 28 n. 71, who suggests the poet explains why he does not proceed with the birth story in 16-18; but Miller's argument depends on supplementing the text extensively). τ' ἄρ (Barnes) is therefore preferable (for the corruption cf. *Il*. 10.61). Better still, however, is τάρ (AHS), 'How ever?' Reece (2009: 217-30) persuasively argues that ταρ is an independent particle with Indo-European cognates (i.e. not < τε + ἄρα) used after interrogatives.

20. **Φοῖβε**: the title is used 20x in *HAp*: 9x alone, the majority in the combinations Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων| or |Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος (9x/2x). Φοῖβε is the poet's preferred way of addressing the god (also 120, 127, 146; cf. 257, *Il*. 15.221, 365). Its etymology is not established, but a connection to Apollo's purifying function is most likely (Chantraine s.v.), early evidence for which is the application of φοῖβος to water and fire (Hes. fr. dub. 363 M-W, Bacchyl.13.139, A. *PV*. 22). The hymnist never makes the connection, however, and for him Φοῖβος is simply a solemn title. The references to brightness at 201, 440-7 do not reveal a solar conception of

Φοῖβος (so Lavoie 1970: 23-4); this is simply a common attribute of Apollo throughout the hymn (cf. 4n.)

πάντῃ…νομοὶ βεβλήαται ᾠδῆς: 'everywhere pastures of song have been laid down for you'. That is, any locale might 'nourish' an Apolline theme, so that the singer's praise can range throughout the world, as animals range over and feed on pasture. Comparable metaphorical uses of νομός, in figures expressing great quantity and variety, are *Il*. 20.248-9 (ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα) and *Op*. 402-3 (ἀχρεῖος δ' ἔσται ἐπέων νομός). τοι is 'for you', since Apollo enjoys the songs, but also perhaps 'by you', since his roaming through the world is the origin of the material, as *HAp* shows (e.g. 140-5, 216-82).

The MSS give νόμος βεβλήαται ᾠδῆς, but βεβλήαται is an Ionic perfect of the third-person plural (*GH* i. 475-7). AHS collect instances where this type has been confused for a singular verb (e.g. v.ll. at *Il*. 11.660, *Od*. 438); but whereas they use this to defend singular νομός, it rather suggests the plural has been altered mistakenly, since the composer's own ignorance is less likely. Semantically, νομός or νομοί, 'pasture(s)', is preferable to νόμος/νόμοι. While νόμος ᾠδῆς, 'the custom of singing' (cf. Humbert), is clear, it fits the geographical catalogue less well. A musical sense of νόμος, 'melody', which appears first in Alcm. fr. 67 *PMG*, again lacks the spatial component, and goes poorly with βάλλω, while Ludwich's νομὸς βέβληται ἀοιδῆς is both unnecessary and more intrusive: contracted ᾠδή is found at *Th*. 48, *Dem*. 494, so the uncontracted, Homeric form is not superior. For βάλλω as 'lay down, spread out' cf. *Od*. 11.194-5 (πάντῃ…φύλλων…βεβλήαται εὐναί) and 10.352. Pindar frequently uses the verb for laying a 'foundation of song' (e.g. *N*. 1.8; cf. Slater s.v. dβ).

21. 'Mainland and islands' bifurcates the preceding πάντῃ. For this uncommon polarity cf. *Od*. 13.234-5; Call. *Hy*. 4.62-6 (perhaps echoing its importance in *HAp*). *Th*. 964 adds the sea, and

land/sea is the commoner pairing (e.g. *Aphr*. 5, *Th*. 972). Mention of islands anticipates Delos, although she will eventually be judged supreme in both spheres (cf. 138 νήσων ἠπείρου τε). This undermines the claim that the pairing is programmatic and corresponds to an insular *DAp* and a continental *PAp* (so Roux 1964: 6).

ποϱτιτϱόφον: 'heifer-nourishing', recurring only at Bacchyl. 11.30. Epithets for places in -τϱόφος are common, e.g. κουϱοτϱόφος (*Od*. 9.27), ἱπποτϱόφος (*Op*. 507). It may be the poet's own coinage; Janko 28 suggests the sonically similar phrase ἤπειϱος πολλὰ τϱέφει (*Aphr*. 5, *Cypr*. fr. 9.12 Bernabé) influenced the creation. The reading of *p*, παντοτϱόφον (also A. fr. 192.4), is either a conjecture or graphical corruption (Allen 1895: 261), perhaps prompted by the surrounding παν- forms.

22-24: 22-23 = 144-45. The preceding dichotomy is further divided into more precise topographical features: mountain peaks, rivers, headlands and harbours. The lines are composed of traditional formulae, with slight divergences from Homer. The progression is from inland heights down to the seashore; *Il*. 12.281-86 and Alcm. fr. 89 *PMG* show a similar movement (Roux 1964: 6). This perspective is divine, specifically that of Apollo as he roams the world. Humbert's bracketing of 24 disturbs the development: the triple mention of the sea in 23-4 is not 'redundant' but emphatically states a goal, while the non-repetition of 24 after 145 is due to the compensating addition of 143 (see 143-5n.).

These natural features are both a picturesque periphrasis (= 'the whole world') *and* places with religious resonance. Cults of Apollo Delios tend to be conspicuously located, in high places or on coastlines (Rubensohn 1962: 39-43), while the pairing of a spring and a hill is a common element in a type of Apollo cult found especially in Boeotia (Schachter 1967: 8); Telphousa herself (382-3) is part of this set, and Delphi combines the same features (283, 300).

Given how widespread Apollo's cults were, most Greek audiences could have supplied one with at least some of these characteristics.

22. **σκοπιαί … καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι**: 'peaks and headlands', both with ὀρέων (23). Cf. πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρώονες ἄκροι / καὶ νάπαι (*Il*. 8.557-8, 16.299-300). *HAp* replaces καὶ νάπαι with another formula (cf. 23n.).

τοι ἄδον: ~ 144 τε φίλαι. Listing the god's favourite haunts is a common form of praise, e.g. 140-6, *Hy*. 19.2-13, 22.3, 27.4-14. The implication is that Delos is chosen in 25 because it gives Apollo most pleasure (explicitly stated at 146). Pleasure (or displeasure) pervades *HAp* as the criterion guiding Apollo's movement through space and consequently his bond with his cult sites (note ἀνδάνω at 75, 220, 244). *Aphr*. is the only other hymn to use ἀνδάνω to indicate divine attributes (*Aphr*. 9, 10, 18, 21); μέλω is functionally and semantically kindred (188, *Herm*. 451, *Aphr*. 6, etc.). The aorist here, like those in 2-13 (see note), is temporally non-specific; a historical dimension is relevant, though, since it is the pleasure of the first encounter that establishes the lasting bond (as at 220, 244, where ἄδ- is purely historic); cf. Faulkner (2005: 70).

23: **ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ποταμοί θ' ἅλαδε προρέοντες**: ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων occurs verse-initially at *Il*. 12.282, *Od*. 9.192, *Hy*. 27.7 (twice in Homer elsewhere in the line). 23b appears declined at *Il*. 5.598 (dat. sg.) and *Op*. 757 (gen. pl.), expanded at *Od*. 10.351 (ποταμῶν, οἵ τ' ~).

ἅλαδε here and at 145 is preferable to ἅλα δέ (AHS), likewise χέρσονδε (28), φόωσδε (119), ἤπειρονδε (506). The allative suffix -δε ('-wards') is always written *coniunctim* in the MSS of the *Hymns*, while the ancient grammarians' rationale for division, which has guided modern scholars, is faulty: Càssola 626-7, West (1998: xxviii).

M breaks off at this point, omitting 23-73.

24. **ἀκταί τ' εἰς ἅλα κεκλιμέναι**: the headlands 'slope into/towards the sea', presumably meaning they jut out and incline downwards into it. The closest Homeric phrases use the dative: ἀκτὴ | κεῖθ' ἁλὶ κεκλιμένη (*Od*. 13.324), νήσων…αἵ θ' ἁλὶ κεκλίαται (4.608); *HAp*'s phrase recurs at A.R. 1.936-8 (νῆσος…εἰς ἅλα κεκλιμένη), of an island 'resting upon' the sea. Janni (1967: 15-16) notes the imprecision of these phrases, in which κεκλιμεν- is weakened to something like κεῖται; cf. 17n.

λιμένες τε θαλάσσης: cf. λιμένας τε θαλάσσης (*Od*. 5.418, 440). Here harbours, not 'ports', given the catalogue's focus on natural features without reference to humans.

25-28. The theme-statement reworks 16b-18, with components of the latter variously compressed and expanded, while the palm and Inopus (18) are replaced by waves and winds (27b-28). The local details of the myth acquire stature following the priamel, as Delos and Cynthus become the outstanding instances of two types listed there (νῆσος and ὄρος in 26 echo 21 and 23): Delos becomes 'a paradigm of all [Apollo's] haunts' (Thalmann 1984: 15-16). This added significance, and the verbal variation, make the link between 25-8 and 16-18 one of dynamic interaction, not otiose repetition (*contra* Baumeister 120: '*putidissma iteratio*').

Inopus might likewise have answered the rivers in 23; instead, a darker picture of a wind- and wave-beaten island is sketched. If harsh meteorological conditions attending the birth are meant (so Förstel 194), nothing of this is mentioned in the narrative itself, where nature's reaction is *joyful* (cf. 118). Instead, this second birth-summary adds to the first, which focused exclusively on its local landmarks, the notion of Delos' smallness and isolation in mid-

sea, i.e. its relation to the wider world. The paradoxical element in Apollo's link to Delos (cf. 16n.) is further emphasised. How this link came about is what 45-88 aim to show; for this reason, the narrative does not start with the birth itself, as 16-18 had implied it would.

25. 'Or [shall I sing] how Leto bore you…?' Supply ὑμνήσω from 19. The question maintains a tentative colouring: the hymnist selects a theme he thinks will please, but cannot presume.

σε…Λητὼ τέκε: recalls 14; again, the alteration of addressee is underlined by verbal echoes (cf. 14n.). Similar theme-announcements occur at *Dion*. 7 (σὲ δ' ἔτικτε πατήρ) and *Herm*. 3 (ὃν τέκε Μαῖα).

ἦ ὡς…πρῶτον: ~ 214 ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον (second theme-statement), imitated in Call. *Hy*. 4.30 ἢ ὡς τὰ πρώτιστα. ἦ may propose an answer to a preceding question (e.g. *Il*. 1.203, *Od*. 4.710; cf. *GP* 283), whereas at 214 disjunctive ἤ follows an alternative. Race (1982: 7 n. 5) would print ἤ in 25 too, where the MSS are ambiguous, since 'it is a mannerism of this *topos* to present the final choice as a disjunctive question whether or not other options precede', as they do not here; but he can cite only Callimachus (above) and two imperial prose writers, so the '*topos*' is weakly established.

πρῶτον: marks the origin or beginning of Apollo's life, the first possible topic. For πρῶτον + τίκτω in this sense cf. *Il*. 6.345, *Od*. 19.355. *HAp* is much concerned with what happens 'in the beginning': 71, 80, 237, 493, 214. This theme-selection strategy reflects an ingrained Greek aetiological habit of thought: cf. *Il*. 1.6, *Th*. 108, *Herm*. 428, Call. *Hy*. 4.29. By starting at the beginning the hymnist leaves open the possibility that more themes will

follow (cf. *Od*. 9.14 τί πρῶτον…τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω;); but the aetiological use of πρῶτον means a programmatic sense is not unambiguously present (Miller 26 finds both).

χάρμα βροτοῖσι: the birth is characterised from the beginning by its beneficent effect on mortals, widening the range of responses beyond those of the gods. This sort of apposition is common in divine praise, e.g. *Il*. 14.325, *Hy*. 16.4 (Keyssner 1932: 120-21), and the hymnist applies negative forms of the pattern to the Delphic serpent and Typhon to reflect at the phrasal level their diametrical opposition to Apollo: πῆμα/δήλημα βροτοῖσιν (306, 352, 364). No specific Apolline benefit is yet specified by χάρμα, but the oracle is later presented as Apollo's outstanding service to mankind (e.g. 132, 214, 530). This initial signalling of his beneficence will lend Delos' anxieties (67-9) an ironic colouring.

26. **κλινθεῖσα πρὸς Κύνθου ὄρος**: a compressed version of line 17, with Cynthus named more modestly. The MSS offer the neuter Κύνθος, which the masculine Κύνθου (141) shows is wrong; the error is possibly by assimilation to πρὸς…ὄρος. ὄρος + name (gen.) is the usual form (cf. 35, etc.).

26-27. **κραναῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ | Δήλῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ**: doubles 16b chiastically, exploiting the metrical equivalence of νήσος and Δήλος; cf. Δίῃ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ (*Od*. 11.325) and νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ (3x *Od*.). The weighty naming of Delos indicates how integral to the birth theme it is (19-29n.). κραναός, Delos' more distinctive epithet is retained from 16, while the more generic ἀμφίρυτος widens the perspective to Delos' situation.

27-28. **ἑκάτερθε δὲ κῦμα κελαινὸν | ἐξῄει χέρσονδε**: 'and [sing how] on both sides the dark wave(s) came out towards the shore, (blown) by whistling winds.' The question opened with

ἦ (25) may extend to these lines (West) or only to ἀμφιρύτῃ (AHS, Càssola), with little difference. This colourful gloss on ἀμφιρύτη (Ilgen ad loc.) paints a dramatic picture of howling winds and waves crashing against the shore, an image of noisy, violent movement familiar from similes (e.g. *Il*. 2.394-7, 4.422-6, 14.394-5); at *Il*. 9.6-5 in particular a κῦμα κελαινόν, battering the shore, strews it with seaweed (cf. on ἐξῄει). ἑκάτερθε, 'on either side' (~ ἀμφι-), would normally be odd for an island but is justified by Delos' shape (c. 6 x 1.2 km).

ἐξῄει: ἐξιέναι is unexpected of waves; elsewhere they 'rise towards' or 'break against the shore': χέρσῳ ῥηγνύμενον (*Il*. 4.425), ποτὶ χέρσον | ποντόθεν ὀρνύμενον (14.395). The (forceful) meeting of water and earth is often in view with χέρσος (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.). ἐξῄει with χέρσονδε suggests waves rushing 'out of' the sea and onto the shore itself; cf. *Il*. 21.237-8 (τοὺς ἔκβαλλε θύραζε…χέρσονδε, of corpses driven by a river onto the bank).

The imperfect ἐξῄει is an Attic form. The three verse-final Homeric instances of the simplex ᾔει (*Il*. 10.289, etc.) can be rewritten ἦε (*GH* i. 285-6). ἐξίει, 'flow' (< ἐξίημι), proposed by Cantilena (1980) and used of a river at e.g. Hdt. 1.6 (simplex at *Od*. 7.130, 11.239), would remove the form. Even though *HAp*'s certain Atticisms are few, the necessity of expurgating them all is doubtful (see p. 51).

λιγυπνοίοις ἀνέμοισιν: the dative is comitative, describing a circumstance (*GH* ii. 75); but we understand that the waves are driven *by* the wind. λιγύπνοιος is found only here, but cf. LSJ s.vv. λιγύπνοος (also the reading of *p*), λιγυρόπνοος. It describes the shrill sound (λιγύς) of the winds' gusts (πνοιή); 'le souffle harmonieux des vents' (Humbert) is too gentle, although λιγύς is elsewhere used of pleasant music (e.g. *Hy*. 21.3; cf. Kaimio 1977: 108). It may well be the poet's coinage, easily formed from traditional phrases, e.g. ζεφύροιο λιγὺ

πνείοντος (*Od*. 4.567), πνοιῇ ὕπο λιγυρῇ (*Il*. 23.215); a comparable case would be the *hapax* λιγύμολπος beside λιγυρῇσιν…μολπαῖς at *Hy*. 19.19, 24.

29. **ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμενος**: the phrase recurs only at *Th*. 9 (with ἀπορνύμεναι), of the Muses setting off from their base, Helicon. Likewise, Delos' is the starting point of Apollo's worldwide rule, a paradoxical contrast with the image of Delos battered by waves (cf. 25-8n.). The sequence (Delos -> world) will underpin Leto's agreement with Delos (80-2) and maps onto the hymn's twofold structure (*DAp -> PAp*). The phrase also bridges two temporal levels: taken strictly with ἀνάσσεις, it describes Apollo's recurrent departures from Delos to visit the rest of his 'empire'; but following the past-tense summary in 25-8, it alludes to Apollo's *initial* departure from the island. This event is actually narrated at 140-45, where the past again merges with the present (see note).

πᾶσι θνητοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις: echoing ἄνακτα (15), rulership adds another facet to Apollo's universality (cf. 25 χάρμα). The phrase recalls statements about Zeus, e.g. ὃς πᾶσι θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσει (*Il*. 12.242); cf. *Th*. 506, Thgn. 803. ἀθανάτοισιν is absent from 29 because Delos is the origin of Apollo's *terrestrial* empire, not because a distinction is being drawn with Zeus; Apollo's superiority to the other gods is clear from 2-13 and stated at 67-9 (see note).

30-44. The reference to Apollo's universal rule (29) appears to be developed in a list of populations, as if ὅσσους picked up θνητοῖσιν. This seems to delay yet again the start of the birth narrative, as the hymnist circles back and doubles the short geographical priamel of 21-24 by means of a more extensive and specific catalogue of places. Only in 45 does it emerge that τόσσον is correlative to ὅσσους and that the preceding list described Leto's wanderings

in search of a place to bear Apollo. This double function is made easier by the fact that the populations are given in terms of the places that 'contain' them (30 ὅσσους…ἐντός ἔχει); all entries depend on this initial phrase, with the result that the implied populations are soon lost sight of and the list of places rather suggests an itinerary (cf. Miller 32-3). This audacious ambiguity develops the theme of Apollo's rise from humble beginnings to greatness (25-8n.) by showing that his subsequent domination is as extensive as his mother's earlier rejection. The ambiguous simile at *Od*. 23.233-40 (where *Penelope*, not Odysseus, is like the shipwrecked sailor) exploits a similar blurring of differences (Race 1982: 49-50); cf. Morrison (1992) for Homeric misdirection generally. Besides making this thematic point, the catalogue also allows the hymnist a virtuoso display of memory (non-narrative lists of names pose special performative challenges: Minchin 1996); audiences can also enjoy the evocative litany of names, the imaginative mapping of the emergent route and the eventual realisation of the destination.

Various unsatisfactory attempts have been made to banish the ambiguity, which has wrongly been perceived as inept or impossible. Hermann (ad loc.) simply evaded it by positing a lacuna after 29 in which Leto's role was clarified. Alternatively, τόσσον ('so far') is not taken as correlative with ὅσσους, which goes with θνητοῖσιν only (so Ilgen). Yet even then τόσσον must at least refer back to the route sketched in 30-44, so the distinction is somewhat artificial. Moreover, the asyndeton in 29, which appears to link ὅσσους and θνητοῖσιν closely, and the supposed oddity of the mixed pairing ὅσσους–τόσσον that Ilgen adduces are actually closely paralleled in *Il*. 24.544-6 ὅσσον Λέσβος…ἐντὸς ἐέργει | καὶ Φρυγίη…τῶν σε…φασὶ κεκάσθαι. Finally, though on the page a full stop after 29 (AHS) separates ὅσσους from θνητοῖσιν and encourages one to wait for τόσσον, in performance the θνητοῖσιν-ὅσσους link would be unavoidable (unless one invokes another mid-performance performance pause: Förstel 112; cf. 19n.), while τόσσον is uniquely distant from its correlative.

Content and Organisation The catalogue's 15 verses contain 31 items falling into three types: 1) eighteen islands (though Aigai and Eiresiai in 32 are uncertain),[62] 2) eight mountains,[63] and 3) five coastal sites.[64] They are instances, therefore, of the geographical types in 21-24 (Forderer 70-1), and once again Delos is singled out in the capping term (49). This priamel is double-edged: as the last visited, Delos appears the humblest; as the only one that offers Leto refuge, the most admirable.

The catalogue's organising principle is hodological: it describes a clockwise circular movement around the whole Aegean coast (see Richardson 2010, Map 1), generally hugging the shore like a Greek ship, as it passes through major island hubs and sails past promontories like Athos that were important sailors' landmarks, visible from great distances (cf. Priem 1878: 9-10, Neumann and Partsch 1885: 148). It thus partially overlaps with *HAp*'s third catalogue (409-439), an actual sailors' journey. For this reason, Koller (1968: 22) even suggests that 30-44 reused a pre-existing *periplous*; but such hodology is too deeply embedded a tendency to require a specific source (see further Gehrke 2007). The few divergences from the most direct route (e.g. 33, where Pelion -> Athos is the 'natural' path between Peparethus and Samothrace) are due to constraints of verse; such disruption is already recognised as a Homeric habit by Strabo 8.6.17. The transposition of 35 after 37 would soften the most frantic stretch, but at the cost of disturbing a verbal pattern (cf. 35n.). The lack of verbs after 30 does not make the catalogue 'static' (so Baltes 1981: 28 and de Jong 2012: 47); while this might be true of random toponyms strung together, here they form a comprehensible route for the listener's imagination.

Despite these aspects of a human perspective, the many high places and the extraordinary speed conveyed by the concatenation of names also recall traditional

[62] Crete, Aegina, Euboea, Peparethos, Samothrace, Scyros, Imbros, Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Cos, Carpathos, Naxos, Paros, Rheneia (+ Aigai? Eiresia?).
[63] Athos, Pelion, Ida, Autokane, Mimas, Corycus, Aisagea, Mycale.
[64] Athens, Phocaea, Claros, Miletus, Cnidus.

representations of divine travel between mountain peaks, e.g. *Il*. 13.18-21, 14.225-30. Even before the catalogue is explicitly said to describe a journey (45), an audience, prompted by 29, will imagine Apollo roaming the world (as he does in 140-5, 216ff.). The catalogue has even been thought to list Apollo's cult sites and/or participants in the Delian theoric network (Matthiae 114, Baumeister 123-26, Kowalzig 2007: 78). The number of mountains – even if associated with neighbouring communities – show that any such religious purpose can only be secondary to the geographical rationale. Yet Apolline connections can, unsurprisingly, be found for many of the sites, although the overall impression is extremely uneven. Several places with known cults of Apollo Delios are represented (Athens, Euboea, Chios, Cos, Naxos, Paros; also Erythrae, implied in 39), but other prominent cases (e.g. Rhodes) are omitted (details in Jessen 1901, Rubensohn 1962: 39-43, Kowalzig 2007: 72-80). Others, like Claros and Miletus, had their own famous Apollo cults. Some places, by contrast, are closely linked with other deities (Poseidon at Aigai and Mycale, Hera at Samos). Other cults cited by AHS and Richardson (ad loc.) are of doubtful significance (e.g. Apollo Maloeis on Lesbos), while elsewhere the Apolline connection is obscure or tenuous, e.g. Lemnos' Delian fire (Philostratus, *Her*. 53.5 de Lannoy) or the town Apollonia on Athos (Pliny *NH* 4.37).

Even if the catalogue was not designed as a list of cult sites or a precise reflection of cult participation, it retains religious significance by expressing Apollo's potentially Aegean-wide reach, which radiates from his centre at Delos; the particular places named are therefore less important than the impression of total coverage which together they create. The catalogue places the island as the central point of a circle encompassing the whole Aegean, augmenting the traditional notion that it was the centre of the Cyclades (implicit in their name, explicit at Call. *Hy*. 4.300-1, D.P. 526). The marginality implied by Delos' being named last is thus counterbalanced by her spatial centrality, which anticipates her presentation in 146-55 as a gathering place for pilgrim groups from afar (cf. Thomas 2015: 38). Its natural position (the

island does not wander as in Callimachus: see 70-3n.) and the exigencies of Leto's pregnancy unexpectedly align to form an aetiology for the universal claims of the later cult (Kiesel 1835: 44-5, Kowalzig 2007: 78-9). In fact, the inclusion of Dorian places (Crete, Aegina, Cos, Cnidus, Carpathus) sketches a more ecumenical cult participation than the later emphasis on Ionians (cf. 147n.).

Structure Verses have one (37, 38), two (30-1, 33-4, 36, 39-43) or three (32, 35, 44) items. In three-name verses the last is augmented with an epithet (a familiar Greek and Indo-European pattern: West 2004). In two-name verses both have either an epithet or a periphrastic naming (e.g. δῆμος Ἀθηνῶν), but in 30 a verb disrupts the pattern, in 42 a longer epithetic phrase. The one-verse lines have two epithets (37) or, significantly, a relative clause (38). These patterns are recognisable from the 'list' type of catalogues to which 30-44 belong, in which names and epithets are strung together without elaboration, sometimes without verbs, e.g. *Il*. 9.150-2, *Th*. 243-62; cf. Edwards (1980: 99).

A few of the epithets are place-specific (36b, 37, 42); the rest are appropriately chosen but applicable to any similar place, as in the Catalogue of Ships (cf. Brügger et al. 2003: 149-50). The (near-)synonymous verse-end mountain designations in particular neatly illustrate the accommodation of differently shaped names (e.g. 39 ἄκρα κάρηνα, 41 αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα). Most of the epithets are found in Homer, but their combination with nouns is only Homeric at 36, 37 and 41b.

Careful structuring is suggested by the fact that the one-name verses appear near the centre, that explicit references to mountains occur in threes at verse-end (33-35, 39-41), that triplets of verses containing two, two and three items (2-2-3) occur three times (30-32, 33-35, 42-44). The patterning is not perfect: 39-41 lack the 2-2-3 shape, while the central triplet (36-38), though it contains only islands, is not verbally unified like the others. The patterns within

and between verses, set within the larger unity of the circular itinerary, nevertheless lend the catalogue a high degree of coherence (cf. Baltes 1981: 27-8, Forderer 70-1).

30. **ὅσσους…ἐντὸς ἔχει**: cf. ὅσσον Λέσβος ἄνω … ἐντὸς ἐέργει | καὶ Φρυγίη καθύπερθε καὶ Ἑλλήσποντος (*Il*. 24.544-5; cf. 2.616-7); this defines a population as all those who live within a territory bounded by several points, whereas in 30-45, given its hodological perspective, the populations are each separately 'contained' within the island or city where they live (*contra* Förstel 110, who claims both passages equivalent).

Κρήτη: Crete's primacy corresponds to its centrality in *PAp*. *HAp*'s first catalogue starts in Crete and ends in Delos, while its third (393-439) starts in Crete and ends in Delphi. Its choice was further encouraged by Crete's dominant position at the Aegean's southern edge, which makes it an apt point of departure for a circular itinerary (cf. how Crete heads the second 'cycle' in the Catalogue of Ships, *Il*. 2.654-52). More importantly, since Crete is the largest Aegean island, famously populous and fertile (*Od*. 19.172ff.), contrast with the barren and deserted Delos (53-54) could not be greater. The same contrast between Crete's wealth and Delphi's poverty is exploited at 475-8, 526-30. As a place blessed by nature, Crete is the mirror image of Apollo's cult sites, whose wealth is 'artificial' and owed to his intervention.

δῆμος Ἀθηνῶν: δῆμος = 'territory', as the other toponyms show (cf. *Il*. 2.828 δῆμον Ἀπαισοῦ), rather than 'community'. The topographic aspect may be original, but the two notions generally merge inextricably (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.). Epos elsewhere has only the earlier, uncontracted forms Ἀθηνάων (2x) and Ἀθηνέων (3x), with synizesis; but there is no need to restore Ἀθηνέων (Hermann).

A rich mythological web, centred on Theseus, connected Athens to Crete and Delos, where he was said to have founded the first festival (Bruneau 1970: 19-35); the Peisistratids are commonly credited with its promotion (Hall 2007: 338-46; *contra* Walker 1995). *HAp* might allude to this link (for *HAp* and the Peisistratids see pp. 24-9); but this is very tenuous, and the hymn omits any 'heroic' stage in Delian cult history where Theseus would appear (cf. 140-6n.).

31. The line is wholly spondaic. Though very rare – La Roche (1898: 68-9) counts six examples in epos – it is misguided to attempt to eliminate this phenomenon by introducing unparalleled resolutions, e.g. ναυσικλεϊτή τ' Ἐΰβοια (Allen and Sikes ad loc.). The metrical rarity would certainly have been noticeable, but no specific effect is discernible here (cf. Pye 1964: 6).

νῆσος τ' Αἴγινα: ≈ Hes. fr. 204.47 M-W νῆσόν τ' Αἴγιναν. Transmitted Αἴγῑνα is the usual form (2x epos, also *Il*. 2.562) but apparently unmetrical here. Metrical lengthening is however commonest before the masculine caesura (Meister 1921: 41n.1), while Ἀιγίνη (Barnes, printed by AHS, Càssola) is only weakly supported by the variant Ἀιγίνην at Hdt. 3.59.4. Αἴγινα should therefore be retained. Schneidewin's ingenious Αἰγίνης yields a reference to the island's eponymous nymph (if νῆσος is paired with an island's name, they are in the same case, e.g. *Od*. 1.85, 3.171; contrast ὄρος + genitive at 26); but this is out of keeping with the catalogue's plain style and focus on human populations.

ναυσικλειτή τ' Εὔβοια: the epithet, 'famous for ships', is used of the Phaeacian Dymas at *Od*. 6.22, while ναυσικλυτός (with different vocalisation) is applied 6x in *Od*. to the Phaeacians and Phoenicians; cf. also Hes. fr. 193.16 M-W (Taphians), Pi. *N*. 5.9, *I*. 9.1 (Aegina). The noun-epithet combination recurs at 219 (genitive) in Apollo's first journey – the

only coincidence, besides Crete and Delphi, between *HAp*'s three otherwise distinct catalogues (cf. pp. 5-7).

Euboean cities, particularly Chalcis and Eretria, had taken a leading and long-remembered (e.g. Th. 6.3-4) role in Greek colonisation, which the epithet might reflect (Crielaard 1992-93). A specific reference to Eretria's late sixth-century hegemony (so Boffa 2015) is unlikely, since this did not really begin until 506 (Walker 2004: 270), later than the hymn's likely date (see pp. 19-29).

32. **Αἰγαί**: of the several places so called and securely located, context makes the Aigai on the west coast of Euboea likeliest, even though Euboea as a whole has just been named, rather than the one on the north coast of Achaea. The latter is probably meant at *Il*. 8.203, where it is named with Achaean Helice as a cult site of Poseidon. The Aigai at 13.21 is his submarine dwelling, magical and not therefore locatable. Poseidon also had a temple at Euboean Aigai (Str. 9.2.13). Alternatively, ancient scholars claimed there was an island called Aigai *off* Euboea, again sacred to Poseidon, which had 'disappeared', i.e. could no longer be identified (Hsch. α 1680, schol. EVP *Od*. 5.381). Càssola surveys several candidates and suggests modern Ποντικονήσι, which is suitably located north of Euboea (there is another of the same name near Corfu).

Εἰρεσίαι: unknown. Pliny (*NH* 4.72) places an island *Iresia* in the Thermaic Gulf, which suits this stage of the journey but does not allow a more precise identification. Bengtson and Milojčić (1953: Tab. 18-19, E3) suggest it is the island Πιπέρι.

Ruhnken read Πειρεσιαί for τ' Εἰρεσίαι (for the asyndeton cf. 35n.). Its probable location, in central Thessaly, is too far inland (A. R. 1.37, Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀστέριον), but A.R.

1.584 may however point to a different place of the same name more suitably located in coastal Magnesia.

ἀγχιάλη Πεπάρηθος: Peparethus is an island of the northern Sporades lying off the Thessalian coast, today called Skopelos. A reference to the island is more likely, given the preceding islands, than to the homonymous main town (*contra LfgrE* s.v.; cf. 42n.). Though ἀγχίαλος originally refers to places 'beside the sea' (4x epos, e.g. *Il*. 2.640), the meaning 'sea-girt' is found of islands at A. *Pers*. 887, S. *Aj*. 135.

The two-termination ἀγχίαλος (*p*) is the minority reading, which Càssola prints as the *lectio difficilior* (cf. Càssola 625). But since two-termination compound adjectives (i.e. feminine in -ος) are regular, ἀγχιάλη (Θ) is the more difficult, as well as the majority, reading. For a three-termination compound cf. 27 ἀμφιρύτῃ; the tradition is often divided, e.g. at *Il*. 2.697 (La Roche 1866: 387-9).

33. **Θρηΐκιός τ' Ἀθόως**: lying on the easternmost prong of Chalcidice, Mount Athos is the dominant landmark for sailors in the North Aegean (Neumann and Partsch 1885: 148). *Il*. 2.844-5 places Thracian territory further east, above the Hellespont, but *Il*. 14.225-30 names Athos among the 'mountains of the Thracians' (cf. Janko ad loc.) and it is 'Thracian' at S. fr. 237 Radt. Thucydides (4.109) describes a mixed population of Greeks and barbarians. The form Ἀθόως (Barnes), with diectasis, is restored from transmitted Ἄθως, which is the later, contracted form (cf. 42 Κόως and Janko on *Il*. 14.229-30).

Πηλίου ἄκρα κάρηνα: Pelion is the highest peak in the mountain range on the Magnesia peninsula. Its mythology is rich – Chiron, Achilles, the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (at which Apollo performed, e.g. A. fr. 350 Radt) – but none of it is obviously relevant to *HAp*

(cf. *LfgrE* s.v.). ἄκρα κάρηνα, 'high tops', recurs at 39 and Hes. fr. 26.12 M-W; cf. 41 αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα.

34. **Θρηϊκίη…Σάμος**: = Samothrace, here distinguished from Samos in the eastern Aegean (cf. 41n.). Homer calls it 'Thracian Samos' or simply 'Samos' (*Il*. 13.12-3, 24.78). σάμος was apparently an ancient word signifying a height (Str. 8.3.19), hence the name's proliferation. Mount Phengari (1161 m) was a prominent sailors' landmark, like Ida (see below); at *Il*. 13.13 Poseidon can see one from the other (for the catalogue's blend of human and divine perspectives cf. 30-44n.).

Ἴδης ὄρεα σκιόεντα: Ida is a range with several peaks, so ὄρεα could be a true plural rather than plural for singular (plural at *Il*. 8.170, *Aphr*. 54; singular at *Cypr*. fr. 5.4 Bernabé). σκιόεις is combined with ὄρος 6x in epos (4x ὄρεα σκιόεντα at verse-end); whether it refers to a mountain's thickly wooded surface, the shadows it casts, or a generally 'gloomy' aspect is difficult to determine (cf. Moreux 1967: 246-8, Treu 1968: 115).

35. **Σκῦρος**: the asyndeton is unique in this catalogue, but common with verse-initial items in lists (cf. West on *Th*. 245). This line marks the greatest divergence from a straightforward itinerary, as Leto recrosses the sea to Scyros, returns to the Asia Minor coast and then heads north from Phocaea to Autokane, after which she picks off three islands (36-7) that might have been expected earlier. A less labyrinthine route results if 35 is printed after 37 (Humbert and West), but this destroys the mountainous triplet in 33-5 and the central pair of one-name lines in 36-7 (cf. 30-44n.), and in any case Scyros remains a considerable divagation. All trans-Aegean to-ing and fro-ing is avoided if Scyros is not the well-known island east of Euboea but an unknown city in the Troad which some ancient scholars thought lay behind the mention of

a Scyros at *Il*. 9.688 (cf. schol. A ad loc., Wilamowitz 1916: 445-5). Since Leto's route need not be the most efficient or direct, this is an ingenious but desperate solution to a non-existent problem.

Φώκαια: Phocaea was the northernmost member of the Ionian Dodecapolis, which included Chios (38), Samos (41) and Miletus (42); its common sanctuary was at Mycale (41n.).

Αὐτοκάνης ὄρος αἰπύ: Hdt. 7.41 refers to a Κάνης ὄρος near the river Caicus in Aeolis; this and the nearby town of Κάνη/Κάναι lay on the promontory opposite the southern point of Lesbos (Str. 13.1.68). The name in *HAp* is guaranteed by the legend AYTOKANA on fourth-century coins, one showing Apollo's head (Head 1911: 552), but there it must refer to a settlement. The meaning of the prefix αὐτο- is uncertain but may specify a part of Kane, e.g. the harbour, or mean 'Kane proper' (Oldfather 1919, Hansen and Nielsen 2004: 1040, no. 804). Name + ὄρος αἰπύ is a common pattern: 40, 428, *Il*. 2.603.

36, Imbros and Lemnos occur together at *Il*. 14.281, in Hera's journey, and with Samothrace (34) at 24.753. There the vicinity of Troy explains their appearance; here they are simply major islands in the NE Aegean.

Ἴμβρος τ' εὐκτιμένη: εὐκτίμενος (εὖ + κτίζω) is used of islands at e.g. *Il*. 9.271 (Lesbos) and 21.40 (Lemnos) and indicates a place made fit for human settlement, for instance by building or agriculture (Casevitz 1985: 21-24); hence its later application to Delos is odd (cf. 102n.). The participle is pentasyllabic in its 40 other epic uses (including 102), and Hermann's removal of τε restores it; but this is unnecessary, since such contractions became increasingly common (cf. 265 εὐποίητα) and εὐκτιμεν- is established in Bacchyl. 5.149, 11.122 (but ἐϋ- in 1.10, 6.10).

Λῆμνος ἀμιχθαλόεσσα: this opaque epithet, distinctive of Lemnos, occurs elsewhere only at *Il*. 24.753. Ancient lexicographers explained it either as 'inhospitable' (< ἄμικτος), because the island was harbourless or rugged or inhabited by marauding Sintians (cf. *Il*. 1.594), or as 'misty, smoky' (< ὀμιχλώδης) because it hosted Hephaestus' forge (cf. schol. bT, D *Il*. 24.753). Modern scholars incline towards the latter (Chantraine s.v.). Bettarini (2003) surveys approaches and links the meaning 'inhospitable' to the myth of the Lemnian women. What the hymnist thought is not recoverable; to him it may have been an obscure but impressively archaic epithet.

37. 'Sacred Lesbos, seat of Makar son of Aeolus'. ἠγάθεος, 'most holy' is used elsewhere in epos of Pylos, Lemnos and Pytho (7x, 3x, 4x) and suggests a close divine connection, although only Pytho was primarily known for such a link (to Apollo). Instead it may be more vaguely eulogistic, pointing to an august history (Defradas 1955: 211-2)

Μάκαρος ἕδος Αἰολίωνος: Lesbos is Μάκαρος ἕδος also at *Il*. 24.544; *HAp* adds the patronymic. For a place individualised in terms of its founder and king cf. Κῶν Εὐρυπύλοιο πόλιν (*Il*. 2.677), Λῆμνον…πόλιν θείοιο Θόαντος (14.230). In the lengthiest account, D. S. 5.81-2 (relying on Hesiod fr. 184 M-W), Makar is rather the son of Krinakos (cf. schol. D. *Il*. 24.544), and he is lacking in Hesiod's list of Αἰολίδαι (fr. 10 M-W). *HAp*'s genealogy, which reflects traditions about Aeolian settlement of Lesbos, reappears in Pausanias (10.38.4) and Euripides' *Aiolos*: West (1985: 2-4), Fowler (2000-13: ii. 515-6).

Μάκαρος (⏑⏑–) is probably due to ἕδος < **sed-* (cf. Chantraine s.v.) rather than lengthening by the final continuant -σ; this is especially likely if the phrase is ancient, which its reference to local mythology suggests.

38. **Χίος, ἣ νήσων λιπαρωτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται**: cf. πανυπερτάτη εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖται (*Od*. 9.25), Κυκλάδες, αἳ νήσων ἱερώταται εἰν ἁλὶ κεῖνται (Call. *Hy*. 4.3, imitating 38). In the most explicitly complimentary entry, the poet's homeland (cf. 172n.) is singled out among the islands for its wealth (contrast 138: Delos singled out for Apollo's favour). The point is underlined syntactically, with a relative clause departing from the catalogue's otherwise uniform syntax. λιπαρός (< λίπα) properly denotes the sheen of one anointed with oil, i.e. a brilliant outward appearance indicating prosperity (*LfgrE* s.v.); for this 'fat of the land' notion cf. 48n. Chios' fertile south and south-east had 'fat' in abundance, and its inhabitants became known as the 'richest of the Greeks' (Th. 8.45.5). As with Crete (30n.), the catalogue mentions a place distinguished by what Delos utterly lacks (for her poverty and isolation: 53-5).

39. Mimas and Corycus, two of the most prominent Ionian mountains, are located at the northern and southern ends of the Erythrae peninsula, opposite Chios. At *Od*. 3.172 a possible sailing route runs ὑπένερθε Χίοιο παρ' ἠνεμόεντα Μίμαντα, while Callimachus positions Iris ἐφ' ὑψηλοῖο Μίμαντος to thwart Leto (*Hy*. 4.157), possibly an allusion to 39.

παιπαλόεις: applied later to Cynthus and Chios (141, 172), this is an obscure epic epithet of mountains, mountain paths and (mountainous) islands (e.g. *Il*. 12.168, 13.17, *Od*. 3.170); the conventional translation, 'rocky, rugged', is suitable, though the etymology is disputed (see *LfgrE* s.v.).

40. Claros, first named here, was a prominent oracular sanctuary of Apollo in the territory of Colophon, originating in the Protogeometric period and with a temple dating from the mid-sixth century (La Genière 1998). The place is listed among Apollo's favourite haunts by

Ananius fr. 1 West (with Naxos and Miletus: see 42, 44) and A. R. 1.308-9 (with Delos, Delphi and Lycia). Artemis was also worshipped there: cf. *Hy*. 9. αἰγλήεις, 'gleaming', in Homer only of Olympus (*Il*. 1.532, *Od*. 20.103), while αἴγλη denotes an extraordinary – usually divine – radiance (cf. *LfgrE* s.vv.). αἴγλη envelops Apollo at 202, and with αἰγλήεις his cult seems endowed with his characteristic radiance (cf. 4n.); it does not merely indicate rich dedications (Gemoll ad loc.) or 'the brightness of an elevated city' (Allen and Sikes ad loc.).

Αἰσαγέης ὄρος αἰπύ: unidentified, but Nicander *Th*. 218 refers to Αἰσαγέης πρηών together with Kerkaphos, which was a mountain near Kolophon (schol. Lyc. 424), and this suits *HAp*. According to the scholia on the Nicander passage, Αἰσαγέης is nominative, but the common name (gen.) + ὄρος pattern (26n., 34-5) points to a genitive. This reference, which does not rely on traditional material, suggests intimate knowledge of this coastline and substantiates the poet's claimed Chian origin (cf. Richardson ad loc.).

41. **Σάμος ὑδρηλή**: this is the first reference to Ionian Samos in the eastern Aegean. Homer mentions only 'Thracian Samos' (cf. 34n.) and the Samos in the Ionian Sea (*Il*. 2.634), i.e. Cephallenia (called Σάμη at *HAp* 429), but it seems unlikely that his (Ionian) tradition was ignorant of Ionian Samos.

ὑδρηλός, 'watery', which appears in epos only at *Od*. 9.133 (meadows), is apt since Samos was extremely fertile (Shipley 1987: 272-75). For *HAp*'s possible genesis in the orbit of Polycrates of Samos see pp. 25-9. Aloni (2004: 22) suggests 'watery' (ὑδρηλή) is discreet praise for Polycrates' famous aqueduct (Hdt. 3.56), but this would be subtle in the extreme and rather suggests that any link with Polycrates has not altered the hymn's fabric at this level. The reference to Chios (38) shows how the poet can praise when he wants to.

Μυκάλης αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα: = 2.869. Mycale, a mountain ridge terminating in Cape Trogilium opposite Samos, was the site of the Panionion, the federal sanctuary, dedicated to Poseidon, of the Ionian Dodecapolis and the Panionia festival (Hdt. 1.148; seventh century?). For members of the Dodecapolis in the present catalogue see 35n. Its claim to represent 'Ionians' was like *HAp*'s presentation of Delos (147), although participation was confined to cities of Asia Minor. For these competing claims see pp. 29-31.

42. **Μίλητός τε Κόως τε**: Apollo's great oracle at Didyma was under the control of Miletus, which receives more generous notice at 180 as one of his favourite sites. In Dorian Cos the cult of Apollo Δάλιος was perhaps the most important, and a fourth-century sacred law suggests complex and longstanding cultic relations with Delos (Sherwin-White 1973: 299-300, Rutherford 2009).

πόλις Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων: the main town is homonymous with the island for which it stands (cf. *Il*. 14.230, with Janko's note). Meropes was a name for the people of Cos, itself sometimes called Meropis (e.g. Pi. *N*. 4.26, *I*. 6.31; Th. 8.41.2, Call. *Hy*. 4.160). Elsewhere in epos μέροπες is an epithet of humans collectively (19x). A link between the two uses is likely, but the word's etymology is unknown; cf. the probably non-Greek tribal names Δόλοπες, Δρύοπες, etc. Koller (1968) argues that the Homeric formula resulted from misunderstanding and generalisation of the tribal designation, in which case 42 would represent the original usage. But the combination of tribal name + ἄνθρωποι is unique in epos, suggesting *HAp*'s phrase exploits the Homeric pattern (cf. *LfgrE* s.v. Μέροπες); Koller adduces Πυλοιγενέας τ' ἀνθρώπους (398), but Πυλοιγενέας is not a name. Chantraine (1936) shows how the coincidence of Μέροπες and μέροπες could have arisen if μέροπες means something like

'terrestrial' (~ ἐπιχθόνιος) and the Coan progenitor Μέροψ was earthborn, as some sources suggest (he is γηγενής at Steph. Byz. s.v. Κῶς).

πόλεις (*p*) implies πόλεις μερόπων ἀνθρώπων (4x *Il*.) and would refer to Cos *and* Miletus – an easy confusion, surely due to ignorance about the Μέροπες.

43. **Κνίδος αἰπεινὴ καὶ Κάρπαθος ἠνεμόεσσα**: Cnidus was a city on the high Dorian Chersonesos, hence αἰπεινή, 'steep'. Its principal deity was Aphrodite, but at nearby Cape Triopium the Dorian Hexapolis celebrated its ἀγών in the sanctuary of Apollo Triopios (Hdt. 1.144). Karpathos, an island lying between Rhodes and Crete, appears at *Il*. 2.676 as Κράπαθος (< *Krpathos*; cf. καρδίη/κραδίη and Schwyzer i. 104). ἠνεμόεις, 'windy', which Homer uses of Mount Mimas (39n.), is also applicable to islands exposed to sea breezes (cf. Delos in 27-8).

44. **Νάξος τ' ἠδὲ Πάρος**: instead of completing the circle by returning to Crete, Apollo/Leto moves towards its centre and reaches two of the major Cycladic islands. Both had important cults of Apollo Delios and were among the most influential participants in the cult on Delos itself during the archaic period, the Naxians in particular making significant contributions to the sanctuary's monumentalisation: Constantakopoulou (2007: 43-7).

῾Ρηναία: Rheneia leaves no doubt as to the eventual destination (named at 49). Close enough to Delos (c. 600 m) to be chained to it by Polycrates (Th. 1.13.6, 3.104.2), the island's history was inextricably linked to that of its smaller neighbour: Bürchner (1914). The manuscripts read ῾Ρηναία, which is found at Hdt. 6.97.1 (v.l. ῾Ρηνέη), Theoc. 17.70, Steph. Byz. s.v. and in a few inscriptions (e.g. *IG* IX 4, 543), but Càssola follows Gemoll in printing ῾Ρήνεια. This is the normal form in Attic inscriptions and is used by Thucydides (*loc. cit.*);

Dittenberger (1906: 172) argues that it is the only correct form, but if so the 'error' seems fairly well established. For Rheneia as the possible site of Ortygia see 16n.

45-50. A short transitional passage, which sets the scene for the following meeting between Leto and Delos, forces the audience to revise, quickly and fundamentally, its conception of the catalogue. A vague impression of Apollo's triumphant procession through his 'empire' yields to the image of the pregnant Leto, wandering desperately and everywhere rejected, retrospectively embedding the named places in a definite narrative, one *preceding* Apollo's birth. In a piquant irony, the unborn Apollo is seen to have already traversed his later realm, a notion exploited by Callimachus when he makes him prophesy from Leto's womb (*Hy*. 4.162-95). By leaving the catalogue internally undefined (i.e. a non-narrative list), therefore, the poet has been able to exploit it in two ways, at only a slight risk of temporary confusion and with much thematic payoff. It also gives an impression of Leto's lengthy, difficult journey without narrating it at length (Call. *Hy*. 4.59-196 consciously fills this gap). Instead, the narrative begins with the final, decisive dialogue with Delos (which implies a pattern for Leto's interaction with the other places too); this is a much earlier stage than 16-18 had hinted, but the whole backstory is omitted (Zeus' wooing, consummation, etc.; cf. *Herm*. 4-9).

45. **τόσσον ἔπι**: 'over such a distance' (also *Od*. 5.251), i.e. the implied route connecting the catalogue's place names (30n.).

Ἑκηβόλον: for the form see 1n. It is substantivised 5/21x in epos, but an epithet at 177. The first of several Apolline titles in this scene (52, 63, 87), it points to his future glory and thus emphasises the incongruity of Leto's present difficulty.

ὠδίνουσα: 'labour over'; normally intransitive, the verb occasionally takes a direct object, e.g. E. *IA* 1234. ὠδῖνες are 'birth pangs', so the birth is imminent and Leto's

desperation has reached its climax. Chappell (ad loc.) judges the word premature because Leto is later 'pierced by ὠδῖνες' (91); hence Gemoll (ad loc.) suggests ὠδινέουσα (fut.). But 91 probably marks an unexpected continuation, not a new stage (see note). The extraordinary extension of Apollo's birth strains traditional obstetrics: Eileithyia traditionally 'sends ὠδῖνες' (*Il*. 11.269-71), but she only hears about the birth at 112.

46. 'To see if any land would be willing to make her son a home.' Cf. εἶμι…αἴ κ' ἐθέλῃσιν | υἱεῖ ἐμῷ δόμεναι…τεύχεα (*Il*. 18.143-4, of Thetis' maternal solicitude). For final εἰ see *GH* ii. 278-9. This is the first hint of the personification of places developed below (47n.), but the form of the catalogue still leaves open a metonymic equation of places with their populations.

γαιέων: this form, disyllabic with synizesis, is not in Homer, who has the older γαιάων (3x *Od*.), a minority reading in *p* that would necessitate the omission of the idiomatic οἱ ('for her sake'). Other genitive plurals of *a*-stems in -άων are: ἑδράων (4), ὠκειάων (262), ὑβριστάων (278), ἀλφηστάων (458); in -έων: πηγέων (263). For this criterion, which is too rare to help with relative chronology, see Janko 49 (cf. pp. 42-3).

υἱεῖ θέλοι: the usual epic form is ἐθέλω. Other cases of θέλω (2x Hom., 4x Hes., 3x *Hymns*), mostly variants, can be emended away more easily (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.). The best attempt here is Franke's υἱεῖ ἐθέλοι, but this requires an odd synaloepha (i.e. synizesis *between* words), as in the harsh Πηλεΐδη ἔθελ' (*Il*. 1.277). θέλω is found at Solon 27.12 and Semon. 7.13 West, and should stand here. Unresolvable υἱεῖ is the later form, of which there are no certain Homeric cases (Hoekstra 1969: 22).

οἰκία θέσθαι: a god's 'dwelling' is his temple (cf. 52), just as Apollo will 'dwell' in Pytho (522 οἰκήσειν). A temple must therefore have been part of Leto's offer – and rejected – from the start. The phrase recurs at 137 to round off the birth-narrative.

47. **αἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδείδισαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη**: = *Il*. 7.151. The dismissal of the other places anticipates the naming of Delos (49), who though poor does what the richer ones (48) do not; for the 'all …, *x* alone' motif see 5n. In the *Iliad* passage, likewise, the young Nestor ventures what none of his elders dare. The close similarity could suggest imitation, but the verses are not wholly isolated. τρομέω (or cognates) and δείδω are paired at e.g. *Il*. 15.627-8, 20.44-5 and *Od*. 18.80, while οὐδέ τις ἔτλη (10x epos) singles out a figure in the same way as 47 at *Il*. 19.14, *Od*. 2.82; cf. Kelly (2007a: 121-2).

Since Apollo's birth was declared a χάρμα (25) and Leto's current state is unintimidating, a fearful reaction is a surprise, one only deepened by the lack of explanation. This eventually comes from Delos herself in 66-9, who feels inadequate to Apollo's potentially violent superiority; the applicability of her explanation to the others is indicated by the careful repetition of τρομέω and δείδω in 66, 70 (see notes). An alert audience, recalling that τρομέω described the gods' reaction in 2, might suspect his fearsome nature is the cause. Some scholars have filled the temporary (and intended) motivational gap by reading in the explanation of Call. *Hy*. 4.55-69, where places reject Leto when threatened by a jealous Hera (AHS, Baumeister 123; *contra* Gemoll 130-1, Förstel 181-2, rightly). Hera *is* jealous in *HAp*, but the effect is more limited (cf. 95-101n.).

48. **Φοῖβον δέξασθαι**: δέχομαι (also 64), 'receive, welcome', is sometimes used specifically of a nurse receiving her charge to nurture, e.g. 305, 320, *Dem*. 231; in the *Hymns* this is normally the newborn god: *Hy*. 6.6, 19.41, 26.4. The latent notion of Delos as nurse – a traditional figure for one's homeland: cf. κουροτρόφος of Ithaca (*Od*. 9.27) – is developed by Call. *Hy*. 4.2, 264-74 (blending Delos with Themis in 123-50).

καὶ πιοτέρη περ ἐοῦσα: 'even if they were richer'. This may be a true comparative going with Delos in the next line, or -τερος may retain its original contrastive function (*GH* ii. 150), i.e. 'even those who were rich', like Chios (36), 'rather than poor', like rocky Rheneia (44); cf. Förstel 425. For πίων, 'fertile, wealthy' (~ πῖαρ, 'fat'), of lands, cf. 250, *Il*. 5.710, *Dem*. 93. The comparative is irregularly formed from neuter πῖον (Leumann 1945: 5-7); contrast e.g. εὐδαίμων, εὐδαιμονέστερος.

The relevance of the contrast between rich and poor only becomes clear when Delos explains that she fears Apollo will scorn her poverty (72). The implication, perceived retrospectively, is that even the wealthy places, which were less likely to be scorned, worried that he would judge them insufficient.

49. **ἐπὶ Δήλου ἐβήσετο … Λητώ**: ~ 115 ἐπὶ Δήλου ἔβαινε…Εἰλείθυια. The birth's two decisive stages, Leto's and Eileithyia's arrivals on Delos, are carefully aligned. ἐπιβαίνω + genitive expressing contact (*GH* ii. 107) recurs at 141 (see note) and 244, also significant journeys. Leto must be imagined stepping effortlessly between Rheneia and Delos (cf. Hera at *Il*. 14.229-30). The 'mixed aorist' ἐβήσετο sometimes has an imperfective aspect (Prince Roth 1974), which the parallel with ἔβαινε might suggest. But in 115 the imperfect probably stresses that Eileithyia's arrival is still *in progress* (see note); this is not relevant in 49, where Leto's arrival marks the concluding point of her journey, so ἐβήσετο should probably be understood as aoristic.

πρίν γ' ὅτε δή: the phrase (9x epos) signals the pivotal moment; cf. *Dem*. 96 (Demeter's wandering ends when she reaches Eleusis). Leto's successful supplication is glimpsed proleptically (van Groningen 307); but the route to the outcome, and what it entails for the future, remain to be answered in 51-88.

50. **καί μιν ἀνειρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα**: a unique speech-introduction, this varies the pattern (--) ἀμειβόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα (3x *Il.*, *Sc.* 117), 'reply' being obviously unsuitable here; ἀμειβόμενος and ἀνειρόμενος are also interchanged in the otherwise identical speech-introductions at 463, 525. Elsewhere ἀνειρόμενος appears only in the verse-end phrase ἀνειρόμενος προσέειπε| (*Od.* 4.461, 631). A traditional formula, καί μιν φωνήσασ' ἔπεα (9x epos in fem., e.g. *Il.* 15.35), which can be followed by a question (e.g. *Il.* 1.201), was possible; but semantic non-equivalence ('speak' vs. 'ask') means they are not a true doublet (cf. Chappell ad loc.).

50-88. The first part of the birth narrative comprises the negotiation between Leto and Delos over the terms of latter's acceptance of Apollo. The scene is wholly occupied by speech, as the second is dominated by action (cf. 89-139n.). Leto's pair of speeches, the second half the size of the first (51-60, 84-88), surround Delos' expansive response (62-82). Leto first holds out acceptance of Apollo's birth, and the temple and pilgrims that will follow, as Delos' only means of escaping the neglect to which her barrenness condemns her. The island is inclined to accept but, given rumours about Apollo, seeks an oath guaranteeing he will not abandon her; this Leto immediately swears. The first two speeches are both tripartite and broadly parallel in their movement (offer – negative alternative – positive alternative); for triplets as a recurrent pattern in Homeric speech-composition see Lohmann (1970: 11). This structure reflects the complex calculations of the speakers; by contrast, Leto's oath is a brief but solemn speech-act, which brings the scene to an emphatic close.

<u>Personification</u> Since Delos can speak, it is initially tempting to imagine her – Δῆλος is grammatically feminine – as the island's eponymous deity or nymph (so Richardson ad loc.), bound to it but not identical (e.g. the naiads who can visit Olympus at *Il.* 21.8-9; see further

Roscher, ii. 2074-139). Delos is represented as such in the only certain picture of her, on a fifth-century pyxis (*LIMC* III.1, s.v. 'Delos', no. 1), and in the Hellenistic period she received cult on the island (Bruneau 1970: 448-9). Pindar exploits this double aspect repeatedly, e.g. *P.* 9.56 εὐρυλείμων πότνια … Λιβύα; cf. *P.* 12.1-3, *I.* 8.16-21. Yet while Delos is richly personified in emotional terms (e.g. 66, 70), and is concerned with honour (65, 72), the only hints of *physical* anthropomorphism are slight and formulaic (70). When Leto says οὐδὲ τρύγην οἴσεις (55) and Delos calls herself νῆσος and κραναήπεδος (72), she is equated with the land itself, and her 'head' (74) with its top. The presentation of Telphousa – emotionally humanised, physically indistinguishable from her spring – is identical (see below), which is more notable because springs were nymphs' abodes *par excellence* (Larson 2001: 5).

The personification is partial because, while engagement in dialogue naturally entails a degree of emotional complexity, both Delos and Telphousa are primarily of interest to Apollo as *places*. How they speak and feel, and how the audience should visualise them, pass unexplained. By contrast, the closest Homeric passage, where Scamander is both 'like a man' and yet one that 'speaks from the deep eddy' (*Il.* 21.212-3), attempts an explanation, although visualisation remains difficult. Delos' doubleness lends the scene a certain piquancy (Fröhder 1994: 8). Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* develops *HAp*'s picture, primarily by drawing attention to the ambiguities which the hymn does not resolve (e.g. his Delos is a metamorphosed nymph who, while an island, can wash and clothe the baby Apollo: *Hy.* 4.6); cf. Klooster 2012.

Telphousa The same basic situation – a personified locality is met by a wandering god and must respond to their intention to settle – underlies the Telphousa episode (244-76, 375-87), but with a tellingly different outcome. While Delos answers Leto's generous offer by stating her concerns and demands honestly, Telphousa parries Apollo's domineering resolution with flattery and misleading advice, offering Pytho as an alternative site, despite the presence of the

serpent. Delos wins honour and a golden metamorphosis (135-9), while Telphousa's trick is uncovered, her spring ruined and her name appropriated by Apollo.

Some scholars have seen in the two scenes the reward and punishment of contrasting types of virtue and vice: Delos is modest, generous and sincere, Telphousa proud, spiteful and deceptive (Förstel 245-7, Miller 76-80). The essential contrast is right, despite a tendency to exaggerate Telphousa's faults (e.g. Miller imaginatively extrapolates about her 'vanity' and 'contempt' for Apollo). But Delos is as wily as Telphousa in seeking to maximise her glory, but enjoys a more favourable situation (cf. Chappell ad loc.): while a desperate Leto mediates between Delos and her son, Telphousa must face an overbearing Apollo directly. Nevertheless, Telphousa's sending Apollo against the serpent is undoubtedly a hostile act. And even if her situation and Delos' are analogous, the hymn's Apolline perspective necessarily views his helpers positively and his enemies as worthy of punishment.

51-60. Leto's speech. In three stages of increasing length, Leto outlines (**A**) her offer of Apollo's temple (51-2); (**B**) the downside of refusal: continuing poverty (53-55); and (**C**) the benefits of acceptance: visitors and wealth (56-60). Despite her desperate situation, Leto's speech is remarkably controlled, even somewhat imperious in outlining Delos' deficiencies. In part this reflects a chasm in status between goddess and island; but her failure to demand either respect or pity, and to instead concentrate solely on her interlocutor's interests and Apollo's benefits to her (Miller 79), is both rhetorically shrewd and the best way to secure what her son requires. Focus on her desperation would also risk downgrading her offer. By contrast, Apollo's less diplomatic speech to Telphousa (247-53) is self-assertive and ignores her interests, and consequently ends in a debacle for both parties.

51-52. The offer is made through an augmented paraphrase of 46, with near-synonymous ἕδος ἔμμεναι and θέσθαι…νηόν doubling οἰκία θέσθαι, while Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος (10x epos, including 395) expands Φοῖβον (cf. how 26-7 amplify 16). ἕδος is commonly used of Olympus, the θεῶν ἕδος (109, etc.), here of a terrestrial cult; cf. Pi. *P*. 12.2.

εἰ γάϱ κ' ἐθέλοις: εἰ γάϱ + optative expresses a wish: 'if only you would be willing…' (West). In this construction the particle κε is rare but not unknown, where it focuses on the particular case at issue, e.g. εἰ γάϱ κεν σὺ…μίμνοις (*Od*. 15.545); cf. *GH* ii. 213-4, 218. In the *Od*. passage the wish shades into a conditional, and here too the conditional aspect of εἰ γάϱ is resumed, following parenthetic 53-5, in the protasis of 56 (cf. Heubeck 1972a: 135 n. 7). Matthiae, followed by Càssola, prints ἦ ἄϱ, on the ground that ἀνειϱομένη (50) demands a real question, comparing ἦ ἄϱ κ' ἐθέλοις (*Od*. 18.357). But since an interrogative need not follow ἀνείϱομαι (e.g. *Od*. 7.21 ἀνείϱετο … 'οὐκ ἄν μοι…ἠγήσαιο;'), here it can import a questioning *tone* rather than *form*: 'If only you would (would you?)'. The tendency to reduce 51-2 to either pure wish or pure condition, or to alter it to an unambiguous question, simplifies their complex tone (cf. Tabachovitz 1951: 126-8)

πίονα νηόν: a 'rich temple' appears at *Il*. 2.549, *Od*. 12.346, *Dem*. 297, *Herm*. 148, but the phrase's frequency in *PAp* is notable (252, 292, 478, 482, 501, 523). This temple is the οἰκία of 46 (νηός < ναίω, 'dwell'). πίων may include all temple offerings, but sacrificial victims and their fat (59 δημός) are particularly in view – targeted compensation for Delos' lack of *natural* richness (60 πῖαϱ; cf. 48n. πιοτέϱη). A temple is a recurrent motif in both parts of *HAp* (56, 76, 80; 15x in *PAp*), and its construction forms the centrepiece of *PAp* (294-299). It is notably absent from the Delian festival (147-55), where music becomes the focus. Any audience on or familiar with Delos would know, however, that Leto's promise had been

fulfilled. *Dem*. 270 likewise aetiologises the Eleusinian temple by means of a divine declaration. For Apollo's first temple on Delos see pp. 22-3.

53-55. Before enumerating the cult's benefits (56-60), Leto parenthetically lays the groundwork by sketching, briefly but forcefully (six negations in three lines), the complete absence of natural endowments that might attract anyone else to Delos. Her catalogue of shortcomings inverts tropes employed in encomia of places, a type found at *Od*. 4.605-8, 9.116-24, 15.403-12, where fitness for agriculture and animal husbandry are vaunted as characteristics of attractive settlements. ἄλλος (53) includes gods as well as men, since a god normally prefers rich places where there are men (cf. *Od*. 5.100-2), hence Delos' fear (72). A preference for barren places, including both Delos and Delphi, is an oddity distinctive of Apollo (Miller 75). In this way Delos, though a contingent choice, becomes the prototype of an Apolline cult site.

53. **ἄλλος δ' οὔ τις**: ἄλλως (JS), 'otherwise, if not' [sc. if you do not accept the temple], is possible, but ἄλλος δ' οὔ τις (~ *Il*. 21.275) focuses on Apollo as Delos' only hope (*contra* Chappell ad loc., who thinks ἄλλος 'weak', ἄλλως 'forceful').

σεῖο ποθ' ἅψεται: ἅπτομαι, 'lay hold of', in epos is always of physical contact to varying degrees (cf. *LfgrE*). Later it can mean 'reach', of a locality (e.g. Pi. *O*. 3.43), but also has the vaguer, figurative sense 'engage with' (e.g. Pi. *P*. 3. 29). Both are relevant since Delos is without settlers and generally deprecated by humanity (cf. 59-60, 64-6). Since the contrast is with Apollo's settling on the island (51-2), possibly a more forceful notion, e.g. 'take possession of', is appropriate; cf. 180, where Apollo 'holds' (ἔχεις) his cult sites.

οὐδέ σε τίσει: τίσει (Ernesti) gives good sense and recurs at 88. The transmitted text λίσσει is defended unpersuasively by Forderer 174 n. 44 and Förstel 427 as an instance – unparalleled for this verb – of active for middle voice (= λίσσεται, future of λίτομαι, 'entreat'); ἅπτομαι would then have its common supplicatory meaning (e.g. *Il*. 1.512). Apart from the linguistic difficulty, this focuses oddly on the uniqueness of *Leto*'s act (whose supplicatory character is not in fact stressed: 51-60n.) rather than Apollo's, which is the main point. λήσει (Agar 1896: 388) yields a Homeric phrase 'nor shall [it] escape your notice' (*Il*. 23.326 = *Od*. 11.126, of a tomb). But it destroys the parallelism with ἅψεται by awkwardly making the whole clause ('no one shall touch you') the subject of λήσει, with pointless emphasis. δήσει, 'bind' (Dunshirn 2010) is ingenious but would be the sole reference in *HAp* to the story that Delos once floated (cf. 70-73n.); even if an audience had the story in mind, such a brief reference would be almost incomprehensible.

54. **οὐδ' εὔβων…οὔδ' εὔμηλον**: 'rich in cattle, rich in sheep'; cf. εὔβοτος εὔμηλος (*Od*. 15.406), πολύρρηνες πολυβοῦται (*Il*. 9.154). Paired εὐ- compounds also occur at 194; cf. Fehling (1969: 247). The rare form βῶν, instead of the usual βοῦν, also appears at *Il*. 7.238 (suggesting that the earliest texts of both did not lack ω: Janko 1992: 35); εὔβουν (*p*) must be a normalisation. Delos' lack of flocks will be compensated by Apollo's sacrificial animals (57-9), a neat demonstration of his overflowing abundance (cf. 19 εὔυμνος), with a suggestion of the superiority of cultic to natural wealth. Similar negated compounds describe Delphi's pre-Apolline state: οὔτε τρυγηφόρος…οὔτε εὐλείμων (529).

σε ἔσεσθαι ὀΐομαι: the transmitted text contains a hiatus which can be avoided with σε γ' ἔσεσθαι (Hermann) or σ' ἔσσεσθαι (Wilamowitz 1916: 441, Càssola); but another hiatus

with σε is transmitted at 88, and also at *Il*. 19.288, *Od*. 6.151. Humbert retains the paradosis, probably rightly. For hiatus in *HAp* see pp. 64-5.

55. **οὐδὲ τρύγην οἴσεις**: producing no harvest, Delos is ἀτρύγετος, like the surrounding sea that threatens to obliterate her (27-8); Delphi likewise is not τρυγηφόρος (529), perhaps coined after the present line. πολλήν, a superscript or marginal addition confined to the *x* family, would balance μυρία, as οἴσεις does φύσεις. Not obviously superior, it has been preferred only by Gemoll (1886: 7). τρυγηφόρος counts against it, and Ἀπόλλωνος (56) might explain the slip (Janko 256 n. 66).

οὔτ' ἄρ φυτὰ μυρία φύσεις: a resonant *figura etymologica* encloses the hyperbolic μυρία, augmenting 55a: Delos will not produce a regular harvest (τρύγη), let alone extraordinary bounties. φυτά are especially *cultivated* plants (*LfgrE* s.v., e.g. *Il*. 14.123), which implies, like τρυγή, a settled population.

56-60. The benefits of receiving Apollo now stand out against their grim alternative (53-55), which they reverse comprehensively: πάντες ~ οὔ τις, αἰεί ~ οὐ…ποτε, ἄσπεστος ~ οὐ…μυρία. The vicious cycle of infertility – natural barrenness prevents crops and herds, which prevents settlement – is broken by the temple, which will bring pilgrims for worship, animals to sacrifice and wealth to sustain a local population. The three items – men gathering to sacrifice, the savour of fat, and Delos' 'feeding' of her inhabitants – correspond to three stages of the sacrificial rite: procession, burning, feast (cf. Burkert 1985: 55-7). The ambiguities of personification (cf. 50-88n.) are further exploited, as Delos is likened to a recipient of cult (57-8), i.e. an eponymous goddess, but also imagined as a land that will 'feed' its people (57-8).

56. **αἰ δέ κ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκαέργου νηὸν ἔχησθα**: the condition conveyed by the wish in 51-2 is restated more vividly (for subjunctive + κε cf. *GH* ii. 279). Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκαέργου is a unique modification by declension of the common verse-end formula ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων (5x *PAp*, 10x Hom., etc.). For ἑκάεργος, 'working from afar', see 1n.; here it communicates Apollo's power, which is apt before the description of its effects (57-60).

57. **ἄνθρωποί τοι πάντες ἀγινήσουσ' ἑκατόμβας**: cf. ἐνθάδ' ἀγινήσουσι τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας (249 = 260 = 289 = 366), Apollo's standard description of Delphic worship (with ἀνθρώπων/-οις in 248, 259, 288). After the temple, sacrifice is the essential component of both foundations, and Delos' universalist pretensions (πάντες) are echoed in the corresponding Delphic context (250-1 = 290-1). In each case a god's promise aetiologises the practice of later worshippers, potentially including the hymn's audience (cf. *Dion*. 12 ἄνθρωποι ῥέξουσι τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας). τοι (also 58) literally means only that Delos will derive some benefit from the sacrifices, but by eliding Apollo as their recipient Leto enticingly makes them sound like Delos' own (cf. Miller 77).

ἑκατόμβας: etymologically 'one hundred cows', but at 536 sheep are imagined (cf. *Il*. 23.146); the term is often imprecisely used (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.). Proximity to ἑκαέργου (56), and the sonic similarity of other Apolline ἑκατ- epithets (see 1n.), could encourage the idea that they are linked – or at least that hecatombs are particularly suitable for the god. Ἑκατόμβαιος was in fact an epiclesis of Apollo at Athens (Hsch. ε 1270), and Delos later had a month Hecatombaion, probably due to Athenian influence (cf. Jessen 1912). But a special connection between him and this type of sacrifice, except insofar as the latter indicates his importance, is hard to discern (cf. Zeus Ἑκατόμβαιος in Crete and Arcadia).

58. **ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι**: ≈ 539 (-ων), *Od*. 16.390, 17.379 (feasts). The festival scene of the gathered Ionians is anticipated (cf. 147 ἠγερέθονται), although sacrifice is absent there. As both the means of communication between gods and men and the surest mark of their separation (Vernant 1979: 44), sacrifice would prevent the Ionians from being mistaken for gods (151), while the emphasis on music assimilates them to the Olympians (147-55n.).

κνίση…δημοῦ ἀναΐξει: κνίση is the savour, which 'rises to heaven', emitted by the fat in which the roasted meat is wrapped (e.g. *Il*. 1.317, 23.243). ἀΐσσω is used at *Od*. 10.99 of smoke 'darting upwards' (Chappell ad loc. compares only *Il*. 22.147-8, of πηγαί, and therefore finds the verb 'surprising').

ἄσπετος αἰεί: ἄσπετος, lit. 'unspeakable' (Chantraine s.v.), stresses with αἰεί the miraculous abundance and persistence of the coming cult; likewise, Delphi's sheep will be αἰεί…ἄφθονα (536). The idea of permanence (αἰεί), which befits an everlasting god, is another motif that pervades the scene (cf. 74, 87).

59-60. βοσκήσεις θ' οἵ κέ σ' ἔχωσι | χειρὸς ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίης: 'you will feed whoever possesses you from the hand of another.' The transmitted text is badly corrupted, but this reconstruction is probable and generally adopted. οἵ κέ σ' ἔχωσιν points to a future population, since 53 implied Delos is currently deserted; for ἔχω, 'inhabit', cf. 250, *Il*. 21.267, *Od*. 6.123, etc. The notion of the earth 'feeding' mankind and animals is traditional: *Od*. 11.365 (βόσκει γαῖα … ἀνθρώπους), 9.124 (βόσκει … αἶγας). But here the process is mediated and artificial: χειρὸς ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίης refers proximately to the outsiders who will bring offerings

(later recorded in inscriptions: Bruneau 1970: 93-114), but ultimately to the generous 'hand' of Apollo (the hand also representing power and protection: cf. *Il*. 2.374, 9.420).

West (1975: 164) argues this passage is modelled on 526-37 (the Delphic priests will live off sacrifices), on the ground that reference to a population is not an 'obvious' inducement to Delos. The poverty of that criterion aside, a resident community would in fact constitute a reversal of 53-5. The parasitic dependence of a cult on offerings was a theme especially associated with Delphi from at least the fifth century (cf. AHS on 536). In favour of West's theory of imitation, Chappell (1995: 118) alleges that it was never applied to Delos, but cf. Crito fr. 3 K-A (παρασίτους τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς Δηλίους). Delos and Delphi are similar because the hymnist chooses to assimilate them, not because *DAp* is an imitation of *PAp* (or vice versa).

οὔ τοι πῖαρ ὑπ' οὖδας: cf. μάλα πῖαρ ὑπ' οὖδας (*Od*. 9.135), judged by Odysseus a necessary precondition for the island's settlement (cf. 56-60n.). Leto effectively rounds off her speech by returning, briefly but emphatically, to the denials of 53-55, juxtaposing present want with the promise of future plenty; cf. πίων νηός (52n.). For ὑπό + accusative of extension without movement see *GH* ii. 144.

61-82. Delos' response. A long speech, comprising the majority of lines spoken in *DAp* (21/38), forms the scene's centrepiece. Also tripartite, with a tripartite central section, it shadows Leto's closely: (**A**) Delos quickly accepts the offer and the acknowledges its attractions (62-65 ~ 51-2); (**B**) then ponders at length the risks of acceptance (66-78 ~ 53-55), considering (**i**) the rumour of Apollo's presumptuousness (66-69), (**ii**) the danger that he will scorn and submerge her (70-3) and (**iii**) her consequent transformation into a reef (74-78); (**C**) finally she demands an oath that Apollo will fulfil what Leto promises (79-81 ~ 56-60). Telphousa's speech in 257-74 shows a similar pattern (Förstel 247).

The speech is rhetorically effective, combining a careful argumentative structure with colourful imaginative flights. Delos' complex character, which emerges clearly in a piece of 'masterly ἠθοποιία' (Miller 42), is one of *HAp*'s most charming features. She expresses her reservation candidly and is astute in specifying her demands; without illusions about her own modest stature, she is also given to outlandish fantasies, although she can shrewdly turn even these to her benefit. Once satisfied, she is effusively and genuinely pleased with her distinction, one which is offered to her by chance but which she secures by her own prudence.

61. **ὣς φάτο· χαῖρε δὲ Δῆλος, ἀμειβομένη δὲ προσηύδα**: immediate joy shows Leto's offer has hit the mark; but Delos' balanced response belies the impression of precipitate naivety. For the same dense, tripartite 'speech-reaction-reply' pattern cf. *Il*. 14.270 (ὣς φάτο, χήρατο δ' Ὕπνος, ἀμειβόμενος δὲ προσηύδα). This modifies a 'speech-rejoice' pattern of the form ὣς φάτο, γήθησεν δὲ + name (e.g. *Il*. 6.212); the addition of the reply element (ἀμειβόμεν-) necessitates the shorter χαίρε in place of γήθησεν (Finkelberg 1989: 182-3).

62. Leto said only Δῆλ' (51), but here a respectful whole-verse address, with reference to glorious ancestry, reflects Delos' subordinate status: cf. *Il*. 14.194 = 243 (Ἥρη, πρέσβα θεά, θύγατερ μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο), *Dem*. 75 (Ῥείης ἠϋκόμου θύγατερ, Δήμητερ ἄνασσα). Telphousa's greeting (257) also heaps up respectful epithets, but the effect is wheedling.

θύγατερ μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο: elsewhere a designation of Hera (4x epos), this is the unanimous reading of the manuscripts. μεγάλου Κοίοιο (Barnes), however, has been almost universally accepted. All other sources agree that Koios, an obscure Titan and little more than genealogical filler (see West on *Th*. 134, 404-10), was Leto's father, e.g. Sappho(?) 44a.2 Voigt, Pindar frr. 33d3, 52m.13; Call. *Hy*. 4.150, A.R. 2.710, Aristonous, *Paean* 5.

Replacement of the unfamiliar by the familiar name would be easy (Allen and Sikes ad loc. make it easier by hypothesising an original μεγάλοιο Κοῖοιο or Κόοιο). Yet the flexibility of the Greek mythological tradition was considerable, and the possibility that the poet has altered Leto's parentage (not likely to be controversial, given Koios' obscurity) to elevate her should be taken seriously (Jacoby 705). This would make her Zeus' sister, like Hera whom she supplants (cf. 5n.). Forderer 175 n. 45 adduces other unique genealogies, e.g. Agamemnon's daughter Iphianassa (*Il*. 9.145). He also notes that Rhea, who would then be Leto's mother, is present in 93; but that is sufficiently justified by her relation to Zeus (i.e. Apollo's grandmother).

63-64. **ἀσπασίη κεν ἐγώ γε … δεξαίμην**: the potential optative with κε only admits the possibility (*GH* ii. 218-9), while ἐγώ γε underlines the contingent tone: '*I* for one would gladly welcome Apollo's birth…' (cf. Forderer 73); ἀλλά (66) then introduces a complicating factor. 'Glad' does not quite capture the notion of 'welcome' already present in ἀσπασίη (< ἀσπάζομαι), which is then doubled in δεξαίμην. The claim that ἀσπασίη here is uniquely weakened in epos (*LfgrE* s.v. B: 'willing' rather than 'glad') is unfounded. For the nursing connotations of δέχομαι, see 48n.; the nurse 'gladly receives' her charge at *Hy*. 6.6, Hes. fr. 30.30 M-W.

γονὴν ἑκάτοιο ἄνακτος: ≈ 90 (γόνῳ); γονή and γόνος both mean 'birth'. Elsewhere each word's various meanings ('offspring', etc.) and the distinctions between the words can be hard to define (cf. *LfgrE* s.vv.); but nothing supports the sense 'offspring' here (*pace* Chappell ad loc.). Though conventional for Apollo (cf. 15n.), ἄναξ has added point because he will be lord of Delos (181 ἀνάσσεις).

64-65. **αἰνῶς…γενοίμην**: with the balancing of δυσηχής and περιτιμήεσσα Delos concisely repeats the contrast between infamy and fame in Leto's speech (53-5/56-60). ἐτήτυμον, 'truly', concedes that Leto's description corresponds to reality (cf. 176n.). αἰνῶς, 'dreadfully, exceedingly', possibly has a colloquial colour (e.g. *Il*. 3.158, *Od*. 17.24); its repetition at 70 suggests Delos' animated speech, with its own mannerisms.

δυσηχής: the context demands 'of ill repute', but in Homer the word is applied to πόλεμος and θάνατος (10x), and ἄχος is the probable origin of the second element, i.e. 'causing much misery'. With the vowel lengthened in composition as expected (Risch 1974: §82), it was then reinterpreted as from ἠχή, i.e. 'ill-sounding'; this was the origin of the present metaphorical extension and is later the normal meaning (*DGE* s.v.); cf. *LfgrE* s.v. and Förstel 427 n. 490. ἀνδράσιν, 'in the eyes of mankind', is a dative of judgement (*GH* ii. 74; cf. 169).

περιτιμήεσσα: 'exceedingly honoured', by Apollo primarily but also by men (as promised in 56-60). The word is never found again, but was easily coined: cf. περὶ μέν σε τίον (*Il*. 8.161), περὶ κῆρι…τιμήσουσι (*Od*. 5.36, etc.). It neatly encapsulates the theme of superabundance in Leto's description (56-60). The analogous formation περικαλλέα (80) lends Delos' speech a hyperbolic tone. It is charmingly unusual to see the island calculate about her own reputation (cf. 50-88n.), but this ability to endow with honour shows what status Apollo himself has.

66. **ἀλλὰ…τρομέω, Λητοῖ**: ἀλλά marks the unexpected turn, while Λητοῖ (repeated from 62) points to the new beginning, viz. her reasons to fear Apollo. The earlier narrative returns to view as τρομέω recalls ἐτρόμεον (47; cf. 70n.). The wisdom of delaying the explanation of

the places' refusal becomes clear: Delos can communicate it directly and vigorously, and her acceptance is valorised by being juxtaposed with reasons for refusing.

τόδε… ἔπος: literally 'the following word', i.e. 'what I will tell you' (cf. *Il*. 22.454); but also 'what they say', since Delos reports a rumour (67 φασιν). ἔπος is certainly not 'oracle, prophecy' (*pace* Chappell, citing *Od*. 12.266-7; but there the sense is influenced by the presence of μάντηος).

οὐδέ σε κεύσω: also *Od*. 3.187, 23.273. Like οὐδ' ἐπικεύσωl vel. sim. (13x epos), it is an emphatic declaration of candour (cf. 2 οὐδὲ λάθωμαι),

67-69. Delos reveals a rumour predicting that Apollo will (A) be 'very presumptuous' and (B) 'greatly lord it over gods and men'.

(A) λίην…τινα…ἀτάσθαλον: ἀτάσθαλος, 'presumptuous, arrogant', has often been judged singularly inappropriate to Apollo, the Delphic god whose maxims enjoined moderation and self-control and who at 540 rebukes mortals for their ὕβρις (e.g. Regenbogen 1956: 55, Kroll 1956:185). ἀτασθαλίη and ὕβρις are kindred concepts, occurring 12x together in epos and applied particularly to the Suitors, e.g. λίην γὰρ ἀτάσθαλον ὕβριν ἔχουσι (*Od*. 16.86); they share the notion of exploiting strength to transgress the rights of others (cf. *LfgrE* s.vv. ἀτασθαλίη, ἀτάσθαλος). Underplaying this transgressive aspect, Förstel 416 claims that ἀτάσθαλος is like ὑπέρβιος and can neutrally designate extraordinary power; but in his only example, *Il*. 13.634-6, ἀτάσθαλος is actually juxtaposed with ὑβρισταί and cannot (as he claims) be distinguished from it. Deeds that are ἀτάσθαλα are also attributed to the mortal Heracles at *Hy*. 15.6, and these have likewise been unduly softened (*LfgrE* s.v.,

'außerordentlich'; Càssola ad loc. 'smisurate'), although his crimes were notorious (e.g. *Od.* 21.26-7). Like Herakles, Apollo's supreme power and position (both sons of Zeus) puts him beyond normal ethical constraints; when censuring ὕβρις he castigates *mortal* transgression of divine prerogatives without thereby limiting his own action. Apollo's initial attitude to Telphousa shows a fine disregard for her perspective (cf. 50-88n.), and her disfiguration is a violent assertion of his desire for κλέος (381), not disinterested punishment of deception. The same desire to punish disrespect – often ferociously – and to enforce the limit separating gods and men, is evident in the Iliadic Apollo, e.g. *Il.* 1.35-45, 5.440-2, and there is therefore no discontinuity between this conception and the hymn's (cf. Chappell ad loc.; *contra* Càssola ad loc.)

Yet Apollo's actions have three important limits. (**1**) First, his Olympian appearance (2-13) combined forceful, potentially violent, self-assertion towards the other gods with respect for Zeus' authority. His ἀτασθαλίη, therefore, does not extend to destabilising generational conflict – the only other situation in which the word is applied to gods (*Th.* 164, 209). By focusing mainly on this aspect, which the ambiguity of 68-69 encourages (see below), Clay 37-8 wrongly concludes that the rumour, understood narrowly as a prediction of Apollo's violent overthrow of Zeus, goes unfulfilled, and that this is significant. Yet she is right to see that Apollo's harmonious co-existence with Zeus defines and undergirds Zeus' uniquely stable rule (cf. 10-11n.).

(**2**) Secondly, the risk that Apollo might disrespect Delos as unworthy of him is obviated by Leto's oath, which secures her against Telphousa's fate. Miller 40-1 argues that this is the only form Apollo's ἀτασθαλίη could take, since it is only in their 'natality' that gods are contingent (i.e. though immortal, they must first be born), and it is ἀτασθαλίη to neglect such contingencies. Like Clay's reading, this narrows the term's range excessively, and has even less support in the text. Since on this reading Apollo's ἀτασθαλίη can never come

about, his treatment of Telphousa must be softened (i.e. it cannot be admitted as an act of self-assertion that transgresses Telphousa's rights).

(**3**) Finally, the rhetorical context of ἀτάσθαλος means that it is not simply the hymnist's own judgement, which might justify attempts to soften it. The word appears predominantly in direct speech, as a charge of wrongdoing subjectively perceived (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.). Weaker parties like Telphousa might well judge Apollo's behaviour in such terms, but from Zeus' perspective his role is perfectly delimited. Being a rumour, the prediction also blends hyperbole and imprecision (λίην…τις), while Delos herself, whose imagination is lively (70ff.), has an interest in exaggerating the danger to extract a sworn guarantee.

φασιν: with φασι a speaker normally expresses his reliance on conventional belief for information of which he has no direct experience; such statements often concern the gods and/or genealogy (*Il*. 2.783, *Il*. 6.100, *Th*. 306), i.e. matters which mortals by definition cannot be sure about, while at other times they more vaguely describe reputation (e.g. *Il*. 4.375, 24.546); cf. Beck (2012: 84). Generally, the statement is true and the audience can recognise it as such; but the only other case of φασιν predicting the *future* is false (*Od*. 2.238 ≈ 11.176: Odysseus will not return). The form of Delos' statement, therefore, does not unambiguously signal its truth value. But since she knows that Apollo will be πολυώνυμος (82), it seems that Apollo's nature is accurately known before his birth (and presumably predicted on the basis of his relation to Zeus). Believing that the prediction is false, Clay 74 treats φασιν as indicating a rumour which must have a particular source, which she identifies as Hera. But even though Hera seeks to delay Apollo's birth (95-101), nothing in the hymn suggests she is behind any false rumour (cf. Thalmann 1991: 145).

(B) μέγα…πρυτανευσέμεν: the verb first appears here, the related noun in lyric (see below). Πρύτανις is a Lycian at *Il*. 5.678, and the word is probably a Near Eastern borrowing (Chantraine s.v.); later it is mostly a technical term of the Athenian πρυτανεία, i.e. 'be president'. This isolation obscures its connotations, but there is no basis for the view that it suggests 'despotic rule' (Clay 37) or is pejorative vis-à-vis βασιλεύω (*LfgrE* s.v.). In lyric, 'πρύτανις of *x*' describes a god's 'mastery' of his special field (Pi. *P*. 6.24, Stesich. 272 F-D, Simon. 62 *FGE*), and Zeus may be πρύτανις *tout court* (A. *Pr*. 170, E. *Tro*. 1288; Pi. fr. 52f.69 S-M). μέγα is sometimes 'excessively' (e.g. *Od*. 22.288), which suits ἀτάσθαλος; since the latter is applicable to Apollo, there is no reason why 'excess' could not be predicated of him here. But often μέγα is just 'mightily' (cf. 181 Δήλοιο μέγ' ἀνάσσεις); again, different perspectives will judge him differently (see above).

Clay 37-8 argues that, since rule over 'immortals and mortals' is normally Zeus' prerogative (e.g. *Il*. 12.242, *Th*. 506), 68 can only mean that Apollo will supplant his father. But the pairing 'gods and men' is a common way of complimenting a divinity's universal influence, e.g. *Il*. 14.198-9 (Aphrodite), *Dem*. 268-9, while 69 (καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν) = *Od*. 3.3, 12.385 and describes Helios' global reach. If πρυτανεύω strictly designated 'kingship', Clay's reading would be persuasive and the prediction would prove false. But a looser sort of 'mastery' – combining strength and status, sometimes disregard of the rights of inferiors – that extends over all except Zeus would exactly conform to Apollo's role in 2-13 and *HAp* generally, e.g. 'lord it over' (West), 'avrà un grande potere fra gl'immortali' (Càssola). Far from Apollo's disobedience, 69 points to his near-identification with Zeus and his rule. Only Athena is ever so elevated in early poetry, when she and Zeus are together said to 'have power (κρατέουσι) over gods and men' (*Od*. 13.265).

70-73. Against the background of Apollo's expected ἀτασθαλίη Delos grounds her fear (note the careful τῷ, 'therefore'), viz. that on being born and seeing her barrenness he will scornfully drive her beneath the waves. No longer constrained by the abnormal circumstances that have brought Leto and Delos together in mutual dependence, Apollo might forget the gratitude owed for his birth and, judging Delos unworthy, assert his superiority with a display of unrestrained violence against the passive island (cf. Miller 41). Since it was obscurity that brought Leto to her, Delos exploits the irony that the improvement she is promised might actually eventuate in her complete disappearance. The fear perverts the motif of a newborn god's precociousness (cf. 127-32n.). Its fulfilment is transposed to Telphousa's spoliation (379-87), while Delos experiences its joyful obverse in the form of a golden metamorphosis (135-9)

The idea of the island's submersion, a special instance of the Olympians gods' obliterating power (e.g. *Il*. 12.17-33, *Od*. 13.149-52), is also a hyperbolic example of the motif of earth shaken beneath divine feet (e.g. *Il*. 13.18-9, 14.285). Greece's high seismicity means islands were in fact submerged by tsunamis (e.g. Paus. 7.24.3-7 on Helice), while the most famous 'geomyth', Atlantis, concerns a sunken island (Pl. *Tim*. 25d). Palaeoseismology indicates that the Cyclades and especially Delos are uncommonly aseismic, and the latter's unshakeability was proverbial (Hdt. 6.98.4, Th. 2.8.3; cf. Rusten 2013). For Delos to suffer such a fate – and at the hands of Apollo himself – therefore doubly inverts the natural order. A notion related to Delos' unshakeability, and sometimes merged with it (e.g. Sen. *QN* 6.26.2-41), is the stability it received after its original wandering (first in Pi. fr. 33c S-M). There is no sign that *HAp* presupposes this story (so Gemoll 118, 133, *dubitanter*); a floating island is considerably more fantastic than a sunken one, though this passage could nevertheless have influenced Pindar.

70. **τῷ ῥ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν**: δείδοικα recalls ἐδείδισαν (47; cf. 66n.). The verse crosses the fearing formula αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα μὴ… (4x Hom., e.g. *Il*. 1.555) with the adverbial half-verse phrase κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν (20x Hom.), used predominantly with verbs of pondering and knowing (e.g. *Il*. 4.163, *Od*. 4.120). The addition of θυμός fills out the line, producing a weightier expression of fear, but without adding any definite psychological specification, given the interchangeability of θυμός and other 'psychic organs' (cf. Rutherford on *Il*. 18.15, Cairns 2014: 31-41). The terms are not incompatible with Delos' physical identification with the island, since they are traditional and unmarked expressions of emotion; but that identity is only clear at 72-5, so this line might initially suggest a nymph-like form (50-88n.).

71: ≈ *Aphr*. 256. 'Seeing the light of the sun' is a traditional periphrasis for being alive (e.g. *Il*. 18.442, *Od*. 4.540). The equation of the world with what is 'under the sun', and birth, life and death as coming into the light, seeing it and passing from it, are widespread in both Indo-European and Near Eastern literatures (Durante 1976: 116-7; West 2007: 86-7, 1997: 235). Apollo's birth will be a 'leap into the light' (119). Epos has ζώει(ν) καὶ ὁρᾶν/ὁρᾷ φάος ἠελίοιο/ι (9x). The aorist ἴδῃ, with neglect of digamma, points to formular modification: Janko 153.

72. **νῆσον**: Delos unambiguously identifies herself with the island: νῆσον, immediately followed by εἰμί, is parallel to ἐμέ in 74 (i.e. 'me, an island', not e.g. 'my island'). Jacoby 707 objected that Delos' poverty is at issue, not her insular nature; but the hymn has already made clear that with Delos 'island' means a rocky, barren island (cf. 26-8, 53-55), and κραναήπεδος (73) makes this explicit.

ἀτιμήσας: the word comprises two related notions: Apollo 'disdains' Delos because of her humble appearance, which is implicitly unworthy of himself; and with this attitude he acts to 'dishonour' her, failing to respect her service to him (*LfgrE* s.v. B2 recognises both notions but identifies only the first in 72)

ἀτιμήσας stands in asyndeton with καταστρέψας. Asyndetic participial pairs occur elsewhere (e.g. *Il*. 8.231-2; cf. *GH* ii. 321-2); this one is eased by the parenthesis in 72b. While the family *p* has ἀτιμήσας, Θ (= *f* and *x*) offers the nonsensical ἀτιμήσω, with superscript -ῃ in two *f* manuscripts (At D). Objecting wrongly to the asyndeton and believing ἀτιμήσας a Byzantine conjecture (also wrongly: see Càssola ad loc.), Jacoby 707-8 argued that 72, with ἀτιμήσῃ, was a softer, 'colourless' variant intended to replace the 'rougher' action in 73-78; ἀτιμήσας was a botched attempt to fuse the two versions. But without 72 Apollo's motivation is lacking. And since 2-13 have already shown clearly his potential violence (predicted in 67-69), and since Delos' fear is not realised but serves as foil to the *positive* outcome, the theory explains nothing and injects confusion where there is none. The muddle and attempted repairs in Θ strengthen the impression that ἀτιμήσας is genuine.

ἐπεὶ ἦ κραναήπεδός εἰμι: the self-deprecating parenthesis practically forgives Apollo for his inevitable scorn; ἦ, 'in truth', is almost 'and, of course, he would be quite justified…': Delos has 'internalised' the contemptuous evaluation of others (cf. 64-5). The phrase is carefully echoed and inverted at 82 (ἐπεὶ ἦ πολυώνυμος ἔσται). Both modify the pattern ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερός ἐστιν| vel. sim (14x Hom. cf. Kelly 2007a: 173-6), likewise an admission of another's superiority, by inserting weighty compound adjectives. κραναήπεδος, 'with rocky ground' (κραναός + πέδον), is unique and echoes κραναή in 16 and 26. Long -η- instead of the usual connecting vowel -o- is metrically necessary, its choice possibly influenced

by the earlier cases of κραναή (also the only Homeric form): Solmsen (1901: 31-4), Zumbach (1955: 18); cf. δυσηχής (64).

73: **ποσσὶ καταστρέψας ὦσῃ**: with his feet Apollo 'overturns' the island and 'thrusts' it into the sea; 'trample on' (LSJ s.v.) lacks the notion of turning in στρεφ-. Using the feet alone suggests both contempt and the ease characteristic of all divine action (for earth shaking under gods' feet cf. 70-3n.). The submersion of an entire island, as an image of nonchalant destructiveness, surpasses even Apollo's levelling of the Achaean wall (*Il*. 15.356 ποσσὶν ἐρείπων). In a grim inversion, while Delos fears being submerged in water, Telphousa's springs are covered in rock (382-3, with ἐπὶ ῥίον ὦσεν).

ὦσῃ: the reading of *p*; Θ has ὤσει. Marx (1907: 620), followed by Càssola, prefers ὤσει since Ionic inscriptions show short-vowel subjunctives of the sigmatic aorist until the fifth century (e.g. ἀποκρύψει: *SIG*^{3} 1167, 6th c. Ephesus; cf. Stüber 1996: 131-2). Short-vowel subjunctives, which are only securely attested when not metrically identical (here they are), must lie behind many long-vowel subjunctives in our Homeric texts; but when such 'older' forms appear as variants they could well be later errors, not relics (e.g. *Il*. 147 κινήσῃ/-ει; cf. *GH* i. 454).

ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν: = *Od*. 5.335, *Hy*. 33.15. πέλαγος, which normally means the 'open sea', here in the plural seems to mean the sea's *depths*, as possibly at *Od*. 5.335 (*Hy*. 33.15 refers to surface waves). ἐν + dative may be used pregnantly with verbs of motion, comprising both motion *into* and the resulting position *in*, e.g. *Il*. 5.588 βάλον ἐν κονίῃσι; cf. *GH* ii. 100-2. It is not therefore an oddity implying the inappropriate reuse of a formula (so Chappell ad loc.).

74-78. Delos' vanishing beneath the waves might have been the end of it, but she develops the nightmare further. She pans back and forth: Delos (74-75) – Apollo (75-76) – Delos (77-78). This effectively contrasts their fates: free of Delos, Apollo can do as he pleases, while she must suffer the consequences of his act.

M, which broke off at 23, returns in 74.

ἔνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν μέγα κῦμα κατὰ κρατὸς ἅλις αἰεὶ | κλύσσει: the waves to which the tiny island is exposed (cf. 27-28, 181 περικλύστου) would overwhelm her. The rapid succession of *m* and *k* sounds lends the line a suitably relentless quality. μέγα κῦμα, a collective singular (cf. *Il*. 4.422), subsumes all the waves in a unified image. For κῦμα + κλύζω cf. *Il*. 23.61 (κύματ' ἐπ' ἠϊόνος κλύζεσκον).

ἐμὲ … κατὰ κρατὸς … κλύσσει: unusually, κλύζω here governs the accusative ἐμέ, meaning 'wash over me'. κατακλύζω + accusative means 'inundate' at e.g. Archil. fr. 24.12 West, but here κατά governs κρατός (cf. *Od*. 10.362, of water poured over the head). 'Head' suggests the island's highest point, Cynthus, i.e. total submersion. The poet exploits the habit of using anatomical terms topographically, e.g. κρατὸς ἀπ' Οὐλύμποιο (*Il*. 20.5); cf. Πηλίου…κάρηνα (33). Here too Callimachus follows his model (e.g. *Hy*. 4.48 νήσοιο διάβροχον ὕδατι μαστόν); cf. Klooster (2012: §18).

ἅλις αἰεί: the combination is not found elsewhere; it perverts the everlasting abundance of the sacrificial smoke (cf. 58 ἄσπετος αἰεί). Regenbogen (1956: 34) emends ἅλις to ἁλός (cf. *Il*. 6.136 ἁλὸς κατὰ κῦμα, and 2x elsewhere with κύματα); but the phrase is otiose and the alteration unlikely.

75. ἥ κεν ἄδῃ οἱ: cf. τοι οὐχ ἅδε θυμῷ (220), τόθι τοι ἅδε χῶρος (244). Apollo will go where he pleases (cf. 22n.), while Delos bitterly imagines the cult others will enjoy instead (76). Delos is right that Apollo will go elsewhere, and this is developed in *PAp*; but it does not follow her abandonment.

76. **τεύξασθαι νηόν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα**: the phrase is closely echoed at 143 and exactly repeated at 221 and 245, verbal repetition being one mark of the careful integration of the hymn's two parts (cf. 80-1n. and pp. 17-8). The infinitive τεύξασθαι expresses both goal and consequence (cf. *GH* ii. 301; Chappell ad loc. distinguishes them too finely, even suggesting that 221 and 245 'misunderstand' the construction of 76).

νηόν τε καὶ ἄλσεα: as its later repetition shows, this pair forms a summary description of a model Apolline cult; here it has added bite given Delos' lack of vegetation (cf. 55). The only real grove subsequently mentioned is by Telphousa's spring (Delphi too is barren), and it receives only an altar (384). Though no arboreal deity, Apollo seems to have had more sacred groves than any other god; as sites that are natural but tended, situated between urban and rural spaces, groves exemplify the sort of liminal space over which Apollo in his ephebic, kourotrophic aspect presides (Birge 1994; cf. 134n.).

77-78. **πουλύποδες δ' ἐν ἐμοὶ θαλάμας φώκαί τε μέλαιναι**: Delos' nightmare reaches its colourful climax in a travesty of Leto's promise (56-60). In a fate worse than total abandonment (cf. 53), the island is demoted to a reef, infested with octopuses and seals, not thronged by a resident population and pilgrim crowds; their 'dens', not the 'house' of Apollo, will occupy

her. The octopus' θαλάμη (also *Od*. 5.432) is the hole where it lays its eggs (Arist. *HA* 549b32ff.).

οἰκία ποιήσονται: used at *Il*. 12.168 (bees' nests), the phrase recalls οἰκία θέσθαι (46). Once prevalent in Delos' vicinity (Bruneau 1985), seals, which must periodically haul-out (cf. *Od*. 4.448-9), could not strictly 'live' permanently on a reef, but might, say, 'haunt' it. Callimachus reuses the seal motif (and with correct zoology) at *Hy*. 4.242-3: ὅθι φῶκαι εἰνάλιαι τίκτουσιν, ἐνὶ σπιλάδεσσιν ἐρήμοις.

ἀκηδέα χήτεϊ λαῶν: 'untroubled because of lack of people'. ἀκηδής is surely passive, since no one disturbs the dens; less probable is the active 'heedless', transferred from the animals to their abodes (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.). Delos' loss is the animals' gain, and they even surpass her in agency (only in this are they like Apollo).

ἕκαστα τε φῦλα νεπούδων (*p*), with its incorrect form (for νεπόδων), reuses *Od*. 4.404 (φῶκαι νέποδες…ἁλοσύδνης), apparently to repair ἀκήδεα ἄχη τειλάων (ET), which has been corrupted by misdivision (AHS ad loc.).

79-82. Delos concludes – ἀλλά again marks off a new section (cf. 66) – by requesting a sworn guarantee that Apollo will build his first temple on her. Temporal priority is all she demands, since he is bound to have numerous cult sites. Surviving references to women's oaths in fact chiefly concern the rights and claims of their sons (Sommerstein and Torrance 2014: 172). Oath-taking on another's behalf, though rare, is paralleled by Agamemnon's swearing the oath of Tyndareus for Menelaus (Hes. fr. 197.4-5 M-W). The curse presumably threatens the swearer alone, but family ties constrain the other. When Apollo is born, his favour appears spontaneous – there is nothing here of the impishly insubordinate son in Alcaeus' *Hymn* (fr.

307 Voigt) – and the oath potentially superfluous; but it magnifies the seriousness of Delos' choice and solemnifies her bond with Apollo.

79. **ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τλαίης γε θεὰ μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμόσσαι**: = *Od*. 5.178, 10.343 (εἰ μὴ μοι ~), *Herm*. 518 (θεῶν). In all cases, as here, one party (normally the weaker) extracts an oath that an interlocutor's seemingly attractive offer will not cause harm. The argument in *Herm*. 514-20 (Apollo to Hermes) is especially close: δείδια μή… γάρ (basis for fear) … ἀλλ' εἰ… . The other passages all contain an apodosis ('then I would…' vel sim.), which is lacking here, giving the form of a wish ('If you only you would…'), as in 51-2 (see note). But an apodosis, equivalent to Delos' initial statement (63-4: 'I would gladly accept…'), can easily be supplied, since the choice between acceptance or rejection has dominated the entire speech. A 'great' oath (also 83) is simply a solemn guarantee, but for the gods it takes a particular form (83n.)

80-83. Delos stipulates that Apollo will 'first build a temple here, to be an oracle for mankind, and then [build temples] among all men'. The passage's awkwardness has been overstated. 'Build temples' in the second limb is easily supplied from τεύξειν νηόν in the first. ἐνθάδε πρῶτον is balanced by αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα | πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, sketching a temporal and spatial progression radiating outwards from Delos (cf. 29n.). ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον parenthetically defines the Delian temple; Humbert suggests it is balanced by αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα…, meaning 'to be an oracle (first) for (local) people, then for all men', but ἀνθρώπων has no such specification: ἐνθάδε is both widely separated and already engaged.

Hermann placed a lacuna after line 81, suspecting a reference to Apollo's fame was required. Similarly, Latacz (1968) observes that in Homer the formula πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους (4x, e.g. *Il*. 10.213) always defines the spread of κλέος, and suggests the supplement ἄλλῃ τευξάσθω νηοὺς καί οἱ κλέος εἴῃ, on the ground that the transmitted text,

without κλέος, would be an improbably extensive 'refunctionalisation' of a traditional formula. But this overlooks πολυώνυμος (82) and the fact that in *HAp* Apollo's temples, and the epithets he acquires thereby, are the manifestations of his fame. Still less attractive, Allen's supplement τευξάσθω νηούς τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα recasts 76 and merely states explicitly what he wrongly claims cannot be extracted from τεύξειν νηόν (80). τευξάσθω would also remove 'temples elsewhere' from the infinitival construction of the oath stipulation, but its inclusion is unproblematic: Delos is not actually demanding as a condition of her acceptance that Apollo build *other* temples, merely conceding (complimentarily) that her claim to him cannot be total; 'then elsewhere' serves to reinforce 'here first'.

80-81. **ἐνθάδε μιν πρῶτον τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηὸν | ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον**: the lines recur three times, with slight variations, in *PAp*, forming Apollo's announcement of his intention to settle at Telphousa's spring, her dissuasive response and his repetition of the declaration at Pytho.

1. 247-8: Τελφοῦσ' ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω περικαλλέα νηὸν | ἀνθρώπων τεῦξαι χρηστήριον
2. 258-9: ἐνθάδ' ἐπεὶ φρονέεις τεῦξαι περικαλλέα νηὸν | ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον
3. 287-8: ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηὸν | ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον

The pairing of χρηστήριον with ἄνθρωποι is constant, since an oracle is conceived of as the principal institution mediating between men and gods (cf. Miller 121). In *PAp* the temple's priority, which was Delos' concern, disappears in favour of an emphasis on its universality (developed in 250-1 = 290-1). 80-81 share the genitive with (1) and ἔμμεναι with (2) and (3). These variations are typical of a non-rigid use of formular diction (Cantilena 1982: 209). In an attempt to prove the oracular reference in 80-81 a later insertion in *DAp*, Sbardella (1999: 165)

unjustifiably claims that they show 'confused imitation' in combining elements of *PAp*'s lines. But *PAp*'s final ἔμμεναι + dative is not clearly prior to the genitive found in 81 (Janko 111). Bethe (1931: 20) and West (1975: 165) explain the oracle's mention here as careless or casual reuse of the *PAp* material (specifically as *DAp*'s imitation of the latter, although a single poet could conceivably deploy his *own* material clumsily); but the repetition is significant (cf. 87-88n.).

χρηστήριον: the request that the temple should be oracular comes unexpectedly. The existence of a Delian oracle has been reasonably doubted. Of the fourteen literary sources assembled and discussed by Bruneau (1970: 142-60), all but two concern mythical consultations or consultations that *did not* take place, or they describe an oracle that existed 'anciently' or has fallen silent. In some of these texts the importation of Delphic elements into the picture of Delos is clear, e.g. Verg. *Aen*. 3.90-2 (laurel, tripod; cf. Heyworth and Morwood ad loc.). Of the two more reliable sources, Semos of Delos (c. 200 BC) mentions τῶν Δηλίων μάντεις (*FGrHist* 396 F 12), but these may have been professional seers rather than functionaries of an oracular foundation, while the fifth-century Christian Theodoret's reference to Julian's Delian consultation (*Hist*. *Eccl*. 3.16) is confused (details in Bruneau 1970: 153-4). A fragmentary inscription refers to a μαντεῖον (*IG* XI, 2 165.44, c. 280 BC). Its tutelary god is unknown, but expenses for the Asklepeion immediately precede; or it might have belonged to other minor oracular powers, such as Brizo and Glaukos. A μαντεῖον of Apollo would probably have left clearer epigraphic traces.

Overall, then, there are very slight indications of third-century oracular activity, but it is minor and its institutional and/or Apolline character is uncertain. Some scholars have been inclined to suppose that, given Apollo's oracular nature, an oracle must have existed much earlier before being overshadowed by Delphi (cf. Càssola 88, Gallet de Santerre 1958: 249-

50). The only reliable evidence for earlier activity is *HAp* itself. Leto's reply does not mention an oracle, and the implications of this are difficult to judge. There is even a possibility that *HAp* represents the earliest attempt to assimilate Delos to Delphi (see 87-88n.).

ἐπεὶ ἦ πολυώνυμος ἔσται: a ringing statement of Apollo's coming glory rounds off the speech, phrased analogously to Delos' self-deprecation (72n.) and also inverting Leto's concluding words (60). Delos recognises that she cannot prevent Apollo from establishing his fame globally, but also that her precedence over other cults is a surer guarantee of her own reputation than an exclusive claim to the god.

πολυώνυμος: this can mean 'of great name, famous', as at *Th*. 785 (Styx), which is not inappropriate here; but the prediction of numerous cults points to the sense 'of many names', i.e. place-specific cult epithets (cf. *Dem*. 18). Apollo's acquisition of three such names – Pythios, Telphousios, Delphinios – provides the framework of *PAp* (373, 386, 495). Though polyonymy is a deeply embedded characteristic of Greek gods, Dornseiff (1933: 14) rightly recognises the line's programmatic function as an argument for *HAp*'s unity. Another aspect of polyonymy involves a god's several 'focusing epithets' that pick out functions rather than places (Parker 2017: 13-18). This has already been abundantly illustrated in the hymnist's (and his characters') use of various epicleses for Apollo (cf. 20n.) – a subtle proof of Delos' prediction.

83. **ὣς ἄρ' ἔφη· Λητὼ δὲ θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον ὄμοσσεν**: ≈ *Od*. 2.377 (note 89 = 2.378). Instead of narrating the oath-swearing briefly and indirectly, as in the *Od*. passage, the hymnist gives space to Leto's solemn speech-act. Similar weighty divine declarations, which aetiologise religious practices and related ideas, pervade the hymn (e.g. 131-2, 287-93).

θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον: the 'gods' great oath' is by the river Styx (cf. *Th*. 400, 784, *Dem*. 259; *Herm*. 518-9), but additional guarantors may be named (see 84-86n.). How Styx became the premier oath-guarantor of the gods is explained at *Th*. 383-403; it is 'greatest and most dread' (85-6) because it was established by Zeus and threatens dire punishment for perjurers.

84-86: = *Il*. 15.36-8, *Od*. 5.184-6. The whole cosmos is called to witness by the naming of its three constituent realms: Earth, Heaven and Styx (~ Underworld). These are older, cosmic powers whom the gods habitually invoke because they cannot swear by themselves (cf. Janko on *Il*. 14.271-9, 15.37-44, Sommerstein and Torrance 2014: 195-7; Bernabé 2015 for partial Near Eastern parallels). The triad's three limbs grow progressively larger, with Styx's naming – appropriate to its status – the weightiest of all. In 86 ὅρκος is what one swears *by*, probably its original meaning (Chantraine s.v.), whereas in 79 and 83 it is *what* one swears. Styx's water is κατειβόμενον because it 'drips down' from a cliff (~ *Th*. 786 καταλείβεται).

In Hera's formally analogous prayer at 334-6 the chthonic element is represented by the Titans. There and in 84 Γαῖα and Οὐρανός, the gods of the realms they are named for, should be capitalised (so West; Càssola capitalises only the second, AHS neither).

87-88. The promise itself does not merely repeat or paraphrase 80-82. Instead of a temple and oracle, Leto pledges an altar and precinct; whereas Delos requests temporal priority over Apollo's other cults, Leto promises an everlasting cult and honour above all others. By contrast, in Homer an oath-request is commonly answered by a phrase such as 'He swore as requested' (e.g. *Il*. 14.278, *Od*. 10.345). If the oath is given directly, the swearer may repeat the requested promise verbatim (e.g. *Od*. 5.187 = 5.179) or with variation (e.g. *Il*. 1.76-91, 10.322-31, 19.176, 261-2); but that variation unambiguously serves to emphasise, not alter, the promise (cf. Arend

1933: 123). Càssola (1954: 362) dismisses the non-repetition here as insignificant; but the divergence between promise and request is greater than elsewhere and could be meaningful. Leto does not straightforwardly reject anything, but her failure to mention the oracle leaves Delos' request hanging.

Some elements are more secure than others. Leto's promise of supreme honour, at least, is clearly a supplement, not an alternative, to temporal priority, since it follows from Delos' being the first to welcome Apollo. Leto's failure to mention a temple also surely does not signal any amendment (see below; *contra* Eitrem 1938: 130), since this was the main point of her offer (52, 56) and Delos' request (80)

As for the oracle, since only Delos mentioned it, it has been argued that Leto's silence is to be interpreted as rejection, specifically in anticipation of *PAp*, where Delphi will enjoy the first oracle (Miller 44, Clay 39). Any argument from silence is naturally uncertain; given the treatment of the other elements, in which Leto's divergent phrasing nevertheless seems to answer Delos' request, this is especially dubious. A tacit rejection cannot be excluded *a priori* on the ground that such a snub would be impossible in a 'Delian hymn' (so Chappell ad loc.); this presupposes a simplistically binary notion of encomium (*either* Delos *or* Delphi), when in fact the honour bestowed on Delos is considerable (cf. 88), even without an oracle. Delphi's own status is somewhat ambiguous, but probably compatible with a Delian oracle. If τὸ πρῶτον χρηστήριον (214) means 'the first oracle', and if *HAp* is a coherent whole (as argued on pp. 1-10), Delos' request must fail. But τὸ πρῶτον can equally mean 'in the beginning', and this reading is encouraged by its appearance in the first theme-statement (25n.). Delos' possession of an earlier oracle would not impair Delphi's honour, since *PAp*'s lengthy treatment leaves no doubt that its oracle is superior by far. Overall, then, the argument that Leto rejects the request is unpersuasive. If Delos did in fact possess a minor oracle (cf. 80-1n.), it was proper to mention it with the foundation of the cult; if it had no oracle, the importance of

Apollo's oracular aspect (which should manifest itself in his first cult) and, especially, a desire to align Delos and Delphi (cf. pp. 3-5) encouraged the hymnist to make a glancing reference to it which is not afterwards developed.

ἦ μήν: this is the first recorded instance of this pairing introducing an oath, which is common later (e.g. A. *Th*. 531, Th. 4.88.1); cf. οὐ μήν (213). Homer uses ἦ μήν twice before strong asseverations (*Il*. 2.291, 7.393; cf. *Sc*. 101), while ἦ μέν is sometimes found before oaths (e.g. *Il*. 1.77, *Od*. 14.160). μέν is the Ionic form and seems to have been replaced in Homer by its Attic equivalent μήν, which is occasionally attested without variant (*GH* i. 16). Since the use of an Attic form is not impossible (see p. 51), and since a strong asseveration and an oath are closely related types of speech, there is little to recommend altering to ἦ μέν here (*pace* Chappell ad loc.).

θυώδης…βωμὸς καί τέμενος: altar and precinct are paired in the Homeric formula τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις (4x, e.g. *Il*. 8.48). τέμενος βωμός τε θυώδης (*Aphr*. 59), with θυώδης replacing θυήεις, is intermediate between Homer and *HAp*. The hymn's modification is indicated by the harsh enjambement, as the verse-end phrase ἔσσεται αἰέν (only found at 496, of the Delphic altar), divides the epithet from its noun (cf. Janko 254 n. 13). θυώδης, 'fragrant' (i.e. of the κνίση in 58), which Homer applies to garments etc., became a sacrificial term and infiltrated the contexts of synonymous θυήεις (cf. *LfgrE* s.vv.).

βωμὸς καί τέμενος: 'altar and precinct' are not necessarily equivalent to a temple (so Unte 1968: 31 n. 3), being found both with and without one (e.g. *Aphr*. 59 vs. *Il*. 8.48); a τέμενος is simply any land marked off for a god's use, while Apollo's later altars (384, 495)

involve no temple. Here the pair is not an alternative to the temple, which is the cult's central feature, but enriches the promise with supplementary features.

Though the phrase is traditional, βωμός would call to mind the famous Altar of Horns (*GD* 39) which was the cult's central feature from the early archaic period, long before any temple (Bruneau 1970: 19-23); this is probably the βωμός seen by Odysseus (*Od*. 6.162). Callimachus' antiquarian style makes this local peculiarity central to his treatment of Delos (*Hy*. 2.60ff, 4.307-324), whereas *HAp*'s focus on the temple reflects the spatial reconfiguration which the sanctuary underwent from the early seventh century, as temples acquired prominence at the altar's expense (cf. Picard 1992, Sourvinou-Inwood 1993: 10)

αἰέν: this form is unanimously transmitted, but most editors have accepted αἰεί (Barnes), which is the usual form at verse-end (over 30x epos) and appears here nine times in *HAp* (58, 74, 151, 248 = 288 ≈ 259, 299, 412, 496). While normally found in the fifth foot, αἰέν occurs at verse-end in *Il*. 11.827, *Od*. 1.68 and 19.591. Since a poet need not be consistent on this point, αἰέν should be retained (Càssola 625), although no reason for its use only in this verse (e.g. sound effect, avoidance of repeated sound) presents itself. The word's refrain-like repetition throughout *HAp* reflects its aetiological perspective: Apollo, who is himself eternal, founds institutions and practices that likewise last forever.

τίσει δέ σε ἔξοχα πάντων: cf. τίεν δέ μιν ἔξοχον ἄλλων (*Od*. 19.247), τὸν ἔξοχα τῖες ἀπάντων (24.78). A resounding conclusion to the scene, as Delos' supreme honour replaces her universal disregard (64-5); the reversal is clearer still if τίσει (53) is correct (see note). For the transformative capacity of oaths, which can establish new status and honour, see Fletcher (2008: 28-9) – although her claim that Leto's oath 'emphasises Apollo's honours more

than Delos' rewards' is contradicted by the text. Delos' honour may ultimately depend on Apollo, but here it is in focus. For the hiatus cf. 54n.

89-139. With Leto's oath the birth narrative's first part comes to an end, the future bond between Delos and Apollo secured. In the second part speech gives way to action. But the birth does not proceed as expected now that Delos has been found, and another impediment must be discovered and surmounted. Leto's fruitless wandering is succeeded by obstructed labour pains, whose explanation – Eileithyia's absence – emerges only gradually. The section's four scenes, all 12 or 13 lines long – with Eileithyia's arrival and the birth forming the central point (115-9) – are clearly articulated by spatial shifts (102, 115) and the characters' emotional responses to Apollo (125-6, 137-8). Though the scenes are balanced in length, the tempo is highly variable, as moments of stasis or detailed description are succeeded by bursts of action.

(**A**) Firstly, the poet complicates the scenario and expands the *dramatis personae* by introducing divine helpers and linking Delian events to Olympian intrigue (89-101). (**B**) The outcome is a breathless sequence of action as Iris cunningly secures Eileithyia's presence (102-114). (**C**) With the last obstacle overcome, the central event – the birth itself – can occur, which happens with intense brevity and in marked contrast with its lengthy and complex preliminaries; then the poet turns to the details of Apollo's nursing (115-126). (D) The birth story culminates in the god's miraculous maturation, a declaration of his nature and the reaction of his audience; Delos, who after dominating the first part has receded into the background, re-emerges in a spectacular metamorphosis (127-139).

89-101. The oath-swearing formula (89) forms the bridge between the two sections, picking up 83 but subordinate to the main clause in 90-2. Leto is pierced by nine days of labour pains, and a group of older goddesses attend her (89-95). Eileithyia is being restrained on Olympus by

Hera, who is envious of Apollo's destined greatness (96-101). For discussion of the scene see especially Forderer 78-80, Förstel 184-187 and Clay 40-42.

89: = *Il*. 14.280, *Od*. 2.378, 10.346; (plural) *Od*. 12.304, 15.438, 18.59. In these cases, except for *Od*. 2.378 (≈ 83), the line is not preceded by a direct statement of the oath but follows ὄμνυε δ' ὡς ἐκέλευε *vel sim*. (cf. 87-8n.). The hymn's 'misuse' (by Homeric standards) gives the oath-swearing greater moment.

90. **Δῆλος μὲν μάλα χαῖρε**: with her concerns allayed, Delos' joy flows freely. μάλα χαῖρε amplifies χαῖρε (61) and is amplified in turn by her rejoicing at 137 (γηθοσύνῃ). Her joy is an index of the plot's progression and increases as Apollo's arrival draws nearer.

γόνῳ ἑκάτοιο ἄνακτος: ~ γονὴν ἑκάτοιο ἄνακτος (61); the echo highlights the progress from tentativeness at the negotiation's start to confidence at its conclusion. A. *Supp*. 172 is usually cited as the first instance of γόνος = 'birth', hence γονῇ (Franke), which would make 90 closer to 61. But γόνος = 'birth' is probable at *Od*. 12.130 (cf. *LfgrE* s.v. B1 for difficulties of translation); even if not, there is no reason why *HAp* should not show the earliest occurrence of this sense.

91-2. **Λητὼ…ἀέλπτοις | ὠδίνεσσι πέπαρτο**: while Delos rejoices, Leto is 'pierced by unexpected labour pains'. Normally used literally of weapons, πείρω well conveys her physical torment; for the figurative extension cf. ὀδύνῃσι πεπαρμένος (5.399). The metaphor is latent in the simile at *Il*. 11.268-71, where the 'sharp labour pains' of the Eileithyiai are a βέλος ὀξύ. That Leto was ὠδίνουσα in 45 signalled the birth's imminence (see note); now she has found a place to settle, narrative logic – if not medical science – suggests the birth should proceed.

But a further impediment supervenes, so that labour pains lasting nine days are indeed 'unexpected'.

In epos ἄελπτος is only used of an 'unexpected', long-awaited child (*Dem*. 219, 252, Hes. fr. 204.95 M-W), whereas here the surprise is unwelcome; harsh enjambement separating adjective and noun underlines it. An active sense, 'hopeless, desperate', is a possible but less attractive alternative (Gemoll 135, Zumbach 1955: 40). Wackernagel (1927: 27-8), followed by Càssola, finds ἄελπτος inappropriate here and suggests ἀέπτοις, 'unspeakable, terrible', a non-epic word found at A. *Suppl*. 908 and confused with ἄελπτος at *Ag*. 141. Although the sense fits, the change is unnecessary.

ἐννῆμαρ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας: nine is a conventional epic quantity (cf. 104), but 'days *and* nights' is unusually emphatic: cf. ἐννῆμαρ … νύκτας τε καὶ ἦμαρ (*Od*. 10.28). Typically, something lasting nine days is completed in the tenth (e.g. *Il*. 1.53-4, *Th*. 722-25), so 'and on the tenth she gave birth' (*vel sim*.) is expected to follow. But the audience is misdirected again (cf. 45-50n.) and gradually learns that this labour, far from being typical, is maliciously prolonged by Hera (95-101); the expected sequel comes only in 116. A labour so long, even if unexpectedly so, exemplifies the immensity characteristic of gods: Leto suffers in proportion to her son's greatness (*tantae molis erat*…). This emphasis on Leto's pain was picked up by Call. *Hy*. 4.63, whereas Pi. fr. 52m.13 S-M seems consciously to reject it in favour of Zeus' benevolence (cf. 10-11n.).

92-95 In another surprise, Leto is attended by 'all the best goddesses', who have come in response to her need and will secure Eileithyia's presence (102-6). Having shown Leto's abandonment, the poet now reveals her support (cf. Clay 40-1). The failure to mention their arrival is of a piece with the scene's condensed texture and also clarifies the parallelism of

Leto's and Eileithyia's arrivals (see 115n.). Like human women (e.g. Hippoc. *Foet. Exsect.* 4 = 8,516 L.), the goddesses serve as midwives (120-25), whose care marks Apollo's admission to the divine community. They also constitute an internal audience, offering with their devotion and wonder the first, paradigmatic reaction to the newborn god (134-5).

Four goddesses are singled out: Dione, Rhea, Themis and Amphitrite. A single criterion of choice is difficult to discern. None had a securely attested cult on Delos (despite speculations in Gallet de Santerre 1958: 149-153), but all belong to the previous generation of gods (Kiesel 1835: 62). Dione and Rhea are parents of Olympians, while Olympians themselves are absent (cf. 95n.). As older goddesses, they are natural helpers of the younger mother Leto (although she, as mother of an Olympian, was sometimes grouped with the Titans: see West on *Th.* 11-21, 136). In any case, as august divinities they reflect the birth's significance and signal the older generation's approval of Apollo. Zeus' absence is notable, yet an impression of total abandonment has been forestalled by his intimacy with Apollo and Leto in the proem (cf. 10-11n.). The fact that all the named goddess (including Iris but not Amphitrite) have close links with him (see notes) may hint at his beneficent, though mediated, contribution.

92-93. **θεαὶ δ' ἔσαν ἔνδοθι πᾶσαι | ὅσσαι ἄριστα ἔσαν**: the group is characterised by plenitude (πᾶσαι: cf. 4n.) and superlative status (93a ≈ *Il.* 17.377). ἔνδοθι, 'within' is odd but does not require emendation (e.g. Hermann's ἐνθάδε): the formula ἔνδον ἐόντα, normally 'who was present (inside)', is likewise misused of someone *outside* at *Il.* 13.363 (see Janko ad loc.). The extension is clearer at ὅσσοι ἔσαν…ἔνδοθι νήσου (Hes. fr. 205.4 M-W), where to be *on* the island is to be *within* its limits (cf. 18.287 ἔνδοθι πύργων). Call. *Hy.* 4.222 likewise has Leto ἔνδοθι νήσου, perhaps clarifying *HAp*.

Διώνη τε Ῥείη τε: cf. *Th*. 135 Θείαν τε Ῥείαν τε. Ῥείη, the commonest epic form, is a metrically necessary correction for transmitted Ῥέη. Διώνη is scanned Δῐ̆ώνη in its four occurrences in Homer and Hesiod, which prompted Wolf's ἔᾱσι (pres.) for ἔσαν (impf.). Epic prosodic licence, especially with names (West 1982: 26-7), suggests the change is not necessary, although the lengthening is not satisfactorily explained: possibly δῖα θεάων was the model (Debrunner 1927: 183), or the name Δῑών (Schulze 1892: 155 n. 7).

Dione's presence is best explained by her status as mother by Zeus of Aphrodite (*Il*. 5.370), like Apollo a young Olympian god; this may also underlie her prominence at *Th*. 17, since at *Th*. 353 she is simply an Oceanid (Walcot 1957: 40-1). Her position is thus parallel to Leto's own. As Cronus' wife, Rhea is the mother of the older Olympian gods, and therefore Apollo's grandmother (she need not be Leto's mother: see 62n.). In her other epic appearances (*Th*. 453-91, *Dem*. 441-69) she promotes Zeus' rule, as she does here by supporting Leto.

94. **Θέμις**: Themis is initially given no special prominence, but at 123-5 she becomes the protagonist in Apollo's nursing. Of all the goddesses, she is the most symbolically significant. In Hesiod she is a Titan and Zeus' second wife, mother of the Horai, Dike and other embodiments of stability (*Th*. 135, 901-2), while she herself personifies the 'order of things', i.e. what is laid down (< τίθημι) by nature or custom and divinely guaranteed (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.). As πάρεδρος of Zeus, her advice – including, from the fifth century, oracular prediction – helps to preserve his rule, which is thereby orderly (*Hy*. 23.2, Pi. *I*. 8.31). In her Homeric role as supervisor of divine and human assemblies she presides over the premier social institution for the maintenance of order, again linked to Zeus: on Olympus Zeus proclaims his will, while on earth rulers establish his θέμιστες (e.g. *Il*. 2.206, 11.807, 20.4, *Od*. 2.68; cf. Vos 1956: 20-22, Lesky 1985: 6-17, 42-47).

Themis' presence and later nursing therefore suggest Apollo's orderliness and loyalty to Zeus. The analogy is later exploited further: Apollo's oracle communicates the will of Zeus (132), and in founding it (διέθηκε θεμείλια) he defines his purpose precisely as θεμιστεύειν, 'to declare right' (253-4 = 293-4), instituting priests as messengers of his θέμιστες (394). The order embodied by Themis is therefore constitutive of *HAp*'s conception of Apollo. Her presence is not a simple contradiction of the ἀτασθαλίη predicted in 67 (so Miller 48-9): Apollo's promotion of order in *HAp* is the obverse of his self-assertion, which is limited by loyalty to Zeus (cf. 67-9n.); their coexistence is neatly illustrated in his violent and boastful, but basically civilising, conquest of the Delphic serpent (355-74).

Later sources make Themis one of the pre-Apolline owners of the Delphic oracle (e.g. A. *Eum*. 2-4, E. *IT* 1259), but *PAp* gives no room to any predecessors. Bommelaer (1991: 17) suggests Themis' prominence is a reminiscence of this earlier stage, but Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) convincingly argues that the 'previous owners' myth arose in the fifth century. *HAp* is however already making and exploiting analogies between the two gods which later encouraged Themis' integration into Delphic myth, where she mediates between her chthonic mother Gaia and the Olympian Apollo (cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1991: 230). As Themis later acquired Apollo's oracular function as a 'previous owner', so her presence here imbues him with overtones of order.

Ἰχναίη: Strabo (9.5.14) connects this rare epithet with the Thessalian town Ἴχναι, where Themis was worshipped. An audience (and poets) unfamiliar with the cult background would have understood it as 'tracking' (< ἴχνος), appropriate for a personification of law; it has this meaning at schol. Lyc. 126 and (extended to Nemesis) at A.P. 9.405. For doubly interpretable divine epithets, designating either place or function, cf. Ἀλαλκομενήϊς (*Il*. 5.908) and Wilamowitz (1931-2: i. 139, 203).

ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη: Amphitrite alone lacks strong links to Zeus. In Hesiod she is the Nereid wife of Poseidon (*Th*. 243, 930); he was worshipped on Delos and is prominent in later versions of the birth myth (Bruneau 1970: 257-67), but her cult is found only later at Tenos (Étienne and Braun 1986: 181-4). [*Delos*] *gratissima … Nereidum matri* (Verg. *Aen*. 3.74-5) probably refers to Doris (cf. *Th*. 241) and is too general to indicate worship (*contra DNP* s.v. Amphitrite). In Homer Amphitrite simply stands for the sea, especially its waves and creatures (4x *Od*., e.g. 5.422). Delos' island character may therefore have motivated the choice (Gallet de Santerre 1958: 159). Loud winds and rough waves accompanying the birth were emphasised at 27-9, and their noise is well conveyed by her distinctive epithet ἀγάστονος, 'loud-roaring' (intensive ἀγα- + στένω), found also at *Od* 12.97, Hes. fr. 31.6 M-W.

95. **ἄλλαι τ' ἀθάναται**: the four named goddesses reveal the group's character; this summary phrase retrospectively stresses its completeness while anticipating the focus on the one significant exception, Hera (95b).

Kirk (1981: 171) wonders why Athena, Aphrodite and Artemis have not been reckoned among 'all the best goddesses'. Although 95a is capaciously vague, the predominance of Titans does not encourage us to include the younger Olympians (for Hera, an older Olympian, see below). All appear in later versions of Apollo's birth, however: Artemis as Leto's midwife (15n.), and Athena as her guide (Athenian propaganda: Laager 1957: 89-97), while on a fourth-century *pyxis* Aphrodite (and possibly Themis and Amphitrite) observe the birth (*LIMC* VI, s.v. 'Leto', no. 6). *HAp*'s aim is surely to avoid giving them priority over Apollo. This is suggested by its imprecision about the sequence of Artemis' and Athena's birth relative to Apollo's (16n.) and especially by the second Olympian scene, where he leads the dance of Zeus' children and grandchildren, including Artemis and Aphrodite (195, 199).

νόσφιν λευκωλένου Ἥρης: the previous list was also a priamel to underscore Hera's absence (Miller 45), another instance of the 'all except' motif (5n.). The lack of the supreme goddess among the ἄριστοι would be notable, but Hera's notorious hostility to the offspring of Zeus' mates makes it all too familiar. Her *willing* absence is not yet clear, since Zeus can deceive her to further his affairs (e.g. *Dion*. 7 κρύπτων…Ἥρην); but ἀέλπτοις (91) signalled that something was afoot, as 96-101 reveal.

The genitive λευκωλένου Ἥρης (also 99, 105) appears only here in epos (Homer has nom., acc., dat.). Its metrical near-equivalent χρυσοθρόνου Ἥρης occurs at *Il*. 15.5 and 305 (separated). νόσφιν (also 105, 318, 338) signals a division in heaven (Clay 41). The activity of one god 'without' others is in *HAp* strongly gendered (cf. 5n.): Zeus ignores Hera in promoting Apollo and Athena, to universal advantage, while Hera's solo actions only fail to thwart Zeus – or, with Typhon, to overthrow him.

96-101. The background and consequences of Hera's absence are accounted for in knotty detail. Her non-attendance is not itself crucial but explains why Eileithyia is not present to complete Leto's labour: she is deceptively restrained by Hera on Olympus. The motive – envy – is emphatically reserved for the conclusion (100). The scene's lack of polish, especially in the likeness of 96/98 (see 96n.), has been recognised (e.g. Forderer 80, Förstel 185), but Kirk (1981: 171) exaggerates the poet's 'confusion'. By line 101 a complex picture, with distinctions of place, knowledge and motivation, has been sketched in annular form, introducing Hera (95-6), focusing on Eileithyia (97-9a), then returning to Hera with amplification and clarification (99b-101).

West (1975: 169-70) discerns two alternative versions explaining Eileithyia's absence, one involving Hera (95 + 97 + 98-101 + 105-6), another without her (97 + 96). He judges

Hera's involvement secondary because 'there just was not room in this poem for Hera besides Leto'. Yet their incompatibility is doubtful (see 5n.), and West's putative original is also incoherent: merely being on Olympus would not explain Eileithyia's absence (see 98n.), and the golden necklace (103), which in the text's transmitted form is inducement to disobey her mother, loses its motivation and becomes a reward for performance of her usual function.

96. **ἦστο γὰϱ ἐν μεγάϱοισι Διὸς νεφεληγεϱέταο**: the clarification seems purposely partial, giving the *where* but not the *why*, which is postponed until 100-1. ἐν μεγάϱοισι Διὸς (cf. *Od*. 1.27, etc.) returns the audience to the scene of the proem. Whereas Zeus and Leto there concertedly maintained order, Hera, apparently unconstrained by his (male) influence, now becomes a dominating, disordering force.

Line 96 is missing in M and ET (= sub-group *a* of the *x* family), i.e. in both branches of the tradition, and has been suspected by most editors. Sub-group *a* is, however, characterised by a considerable number of omissions (e.g. 506-8; cf. Càssola 601). The repetition of ἦστο γάϱ in 98, though inelegant, is not in itself problematic: underlining the goddesses' shared location throws their unequal knowledge into relief. The line has been judged a variant of 98 (e.g. Jacoby 708-9) but, while both refer to Olympus, 96 cannot replace 98, since only the clouds of the latter verse can explain Eileithyia's ignorance (Förstel 122). Others have considered 96 an interpolation unnecessary to the sense (e.g. Càssola ad loc.), yet the fact that Hera's position can be inferred from what follows (105, 110) is a weak objection, and some further statement is expected after 95b. It is more probable that some copyists, questioning the lines' verbal similarity and perceived semantic equivalence, removed 96 than that someone intervened to specify Hera's position; this would, however, be an unusually drastic intervention. Unconscious omission is less plausible: AHS explain it by homoearchon, but the lines are non-consecutive and 97 is retained (Breuning 1929: 64).

97. μούνη δ' οὐκ ἐπέπυστο… Εἰλείθυια: a second exception – only Eileithyia had not *heard* about Leto – further complicates the situation, but also now explains the 'unexpected' labour in 91-2. Like Hera, Eileithyia was on Olympus; but the outward situational parallelism (97 ~ 95b, 98 ~ 96) is revealed to be Hera's contrivance (99). A second absence is not incompatible with νόσφιν Ἥρης (95) (so West 1975: 169-70): instead of listing all exceptions at once, they are disclosed in turn, since the distinction between conscious and unconscious absence is key. This careful exposition shows the poet revelling in his privileged ability to describe complex divine machinations.

Eileithyia's situation is closely paralleled in *Il*. 13.521-4, where Zeus' golden clouds keep Ares ignorant about his son's death (97 ~ 521, 98-99 ~ 523-524); when he finds out, the question arises whether to disobey by intervening (15.113-42). The same is implicit here in the promise of the necklace (103) and instruction to avoid Hera (105). Other cases of the 'but *x* did not know…' motif likewise focus ironically on the ignorance of the most interested party, which necessitates the intervention of others and anticipates the critical moment of discovery: cf. Edwards on *Il*. 17.377-83, de Jong on 22.437-46.

Εἰλείθυια: Eileithyia is the goddess of childbirth who 'leads out' or 'reveals' the child (*Il*. 16.187, 19.103); the final stage of labour cannot therefore occur without her. Hera's ability to thwart a love rival's labour must be based, somewhat ironically, at least in part on her maternal authority over her daughter (cf. *Il*. 11.270, *Th*. 922). The same ruse hinders Alcmene's bearing of Heracles (*Il*. 19.119), where Eileithyia's absence 'stops τόκος' (cf. 116). At *Il*. 11.271 the Eileithyiai (they are sometimes plural: cf. Μοῖρα/Μοῖραι) 'possess sharp labour pains'. Leto's ability to suffer pains (45, 92) *without* Eileithyia's knowing exemplifies the oddity of Apollo's birth.

Eileithyia had a prominent place in early Delian cult, with a temple possibly dating from the archaic period (Bruneau 1970: 212-9, Pingiatoglou 1981: 33-36, 79-80). Myths about the spread of her cult show she was a key figure in Delian claims to religious priority: Hdt. 4.35, Paus. 1.18.5. *HAp* likewise gives her a pivotal role in its version of the birth.

μογοστόκος: Eileithyia's particular epithet links her to the toil (μογέω) of childbirth (τόκος): cf. schol. D *Il*. 11.270. A common modern etymology derives μογοσ- from an accusative plural *μόγ-ονς, meaning Eileithyia figuratively 'gives birth to', i.e. causes, the mother's labour (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.). But the labour is surely literal and the mother's own; rather than indicating an original plural, the sigma in μογοσ- is simply a metrical convenience (cf. Chantraine s.v.).

98. **ἦστο γὰρ ἄκρῳ Ὀλύμπῳ ὑπὸ χρυσέοισι νέφεσσιν**: ≈ *Il*. 13.523. Obscuring clouds, not mere separation, prevent Eileithyia from seeing Leto's travail from Olympus. Not even all-seeing Helios can penetrate a golden cloud (*Il*. 14.343). Eileithyia is first ἄκρῳ Ὀλύμπῳ, then summoned ἀπὸ μεγάροιο (110). There is no inconsistency (so West 1975: 198): Zeus' house is on Olympus' highest peak (*Il*. 8.2-3), which the cloud envelops, as at *Il*. 13.524-5. Eileithyia is therefore where Hera is in 96; the repetition of ἦστο γάρ accompanies a slight intensification, with ἄκρῳ Ὀλύμπῳ emphasising distance from Delos (Forderer 79). The juxtaposition of νέφεσσιν and Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο (96) nicely suggests Hera's usurpation of Zeus' prerogative to thwart his purpose. But as with her shaking of Olympus at *Il*. 8.443, any such arrogation is doomed to failure (cf. Kelly 2007a: 216-7).

99. **Ἥρης φραδμοσύνῃς λευκωλένου, ἥ μιν ἔρυκε**: cf. Γαίης/Ζηνὸς φραδμοσύνῃσι (*Th*. 626, 884, 891; *Op*. 245). The Hesiodic parallels support the plural -ῃς (M), rather than -ῃ (Ψ),

readings with equal MS authority. In 99 the short dative plural is due to the mobility and separation of the noun-epithet formula (Janko 103; cf. 95n.).

Hera restrains by guile rather than by force. Wyss (1954: 30) wrongly claims the sense 'trickery' is new in *HAp*. The choice between a derogatory and more neutral translation ('contrivance', say) involves a gendered value judgement. Hera's deceptions parallel Gaia's as threats to the dominant male order, trickery being a method associated with the weaker (female) party, e.g. θῆλυς ἐοῦσα δολοφροσύνῃς ἀπάτησεν (*Il.* 19.97, of Hera delaying Heracles' birth). Zeus himself appropriates 'guile', personified by the goddess Metis, but his schemes are approved as establishing order and justice (cf. Holmberg 1997). When *PAp* dramatises a contest of μῆτις between Zeus and Hera (322, 325a), the latter's guile produces cosmic instability. The present scene is a more modest plot and easily overcome in 102-14 by the counter-contrivance of goddesses who favour Apollo (and therefore Zeus).

100-101. Hera's motivation – envy at Apollo's excellence – is finally revealed. The question raised at 95 is answered, and the situations on Olympus and Delos become comprehensible and fully related. Implicit in Hera's envy is the relatively poor quality of her own children by Zeus, and therefore jealousy prompted by a perceived slight to her status as wife. By having his greatest offspring with minor 'wives' Zeus prevents the allegiances of son and (grand)mother that overthrew Ouranos and Kronos: Bonnafé (1985: 87-92), Kelly (2007a: 424-5). This brings stability to his rule – exemplified by the Apollo-Leto-Zeus triad of 2-13 – but conflict to his marriage. The same frustrations underlying Hera's opposition to Apollo's birth are given more explicit and explosive expression in the Typhaon episode, where Hera disparagingly compares Hephaestus to Athena (314-7), there Apollo's double. These complex Olympian dynamics are not allowed to overshadow the focus on the birth narrative, but can be supplied from the traditional mythological background, and *PAp* shows their importance to the poet. Hera's

opposition in *DAp* may be easily overcome, but it nonetheless speaks of Apollo's place in the divine hierarchy and is not only a narrative device to increase tension through delay.

100. **ζηλοσύνῃ ὅτ' ἄρ' υἱόν**: for similar sense and construction cf. γηθοσύνῃ, ὅ οἱ υἱὸν ἔφην ἀριδείκετον εἶναι (*Od*. 11.540). The syntax of 100-1 is unusually complex, however. ζηλοσύνη, 'envy', appears only here, but cf. ζῆλος (*Op*. 195) and ζηλήμων (*Il*. 5.118). Another 'new' abstract in -σύνη is τλημοσύνη (191); cf. Wyss (1954: 30).

υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε: the formula occurs 4x in Homer and, without υἱόν, 2x in Hesiod (e.g. *Il*. 4.89, *Th*. 1013). In form and content it echoes τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱόν (13 = 126). There Apollo's physical excellence provokes his mother's joy; here, focalized by Hera, it causes envy. But since envy necessarily compliments its object, even Hera's spite serves the poet's encomium. All Homeric cases of ἀμύμων (100+) refer to mortals, but *LfgrE* s.v. wrongly claims it is applied to gods only here (cf. *Th*. 263, 654). Its meaning is contested: the traditional 'blameless' would, as often, be blandly innocuous here, but Parry (1973: 157) persuasively argues it originally denoted 'beautiful in body', a suitable complement to κρατερός indicating physical strength.

101. **Λητὼ τέξεσθαι καλλιπλόκαμος τότ' ἔμελλεν**: the line contrastively parallels 99. In both a name and flattering epithet sandwich a description of a goddess' activity, the one productive (birth), the other obstructive (trickery) – a concise picture of sexual rivalry (Forderer 79). καλλιπλόκαμος is a standard commendation for goddesses and women (9x epos, e.g. *Od*. 10.220), although Leto's commonest epithet, ἠΰκομος (5x epos, including 178), encodes hair as her outstanding feature. Here the syntax encourages reading it as focalized by Hera, whose jealousy compliments Leto as her envy does Apollo (100n.). Insofar as Leto's beauty evokes

Zeus' lust, now recalled angrily by Hera, the passage is *doubly* focalized. With this concluding reference to Leto the hymnist deftly returns to Delos and the situation of 91-2, in preparation for the following scene.

τέξεσθα…ἔμελλεν: all occurrences of this combination involve significant births: *Il*. 19.98-9 (Herakles), *Th*. 468, 478 (Zeus), 888 (Athena), 898 (Metis' son). All concern the furtherance or limitation of Zeus' control, and in every case, as here, the prospective child's greatness prompts drastic action to promote or prevent the birth. For this suspenseful 'interruptive μέλλω' see de Jong (2001: 156).

102-114. After the previous section's suspended action and background-sketching, there follows an energetic, abbreviated version of a typical messenger scene, as Iris is dispatched to escort Eileithyia to Delos. The pattern (Arend 1933: 54-7), with *HAp*'s deviations, is as follows:

(1) 102-6: The message-giver instructs the messenger – here in *indirect* speech.

(2) 107: The messenger obeys – here implicit in Iris' immediate departure.

(3) 108: Journey.

(4) 109: Arrival.

(5) 110-111a: Target's situation – instead of approaching Eileithyia, Iris calls her outside.

(6) 111b-112: Message – again indirect.

(7) 113: The addressee obeys.

All elements are treated in 1-1.5 verses except the first, whose complexity reflects the particular demands of the situation. The overall impression is of urgency and alacrity, yet the very inclusion of the scene defers the birth further, giving substance to Hera's opposition and

heightening audience anticipation. This combination of energy and deferral means the narrative rushes towards its goal, so to speak, rather than simply arriving at it. This brevity is achieved mainly by the scene's major divergence from the Homeric pattern, viz. the omission of direct speech (absent only at *Il*. 7.416). Iris' message (6) even lacks specific content and merely points back to her instructions (1). Indirect speech also suits Iris' clandestine task, like her unusual strategy of summoning the message's recipient outdoors. A longer-term effect is that Apollo's first words (131-2) are the only speech in the entire section (cf. the omission of the goddesses' arrival: 92-5n.). *Dem*.'s messenger scenes also omit direct speech, again for brevity (cf. Richardson on *Dem*. 314-23).

Of the *Hymns, HAp* contains the smallest proportion of direct speech (31%; next is *Dem*. with 39%) – and considerably less than Homer (c. 50%; cf. Beck 2001: 56). Yet, unlike at 107 and 111, in 89 another (non-Homeric) 'misuse' of a speech formula entailed *including* direct speech so as to underline a significant pronouncement. The reduction of direct speech is not therefore uniform; along with the handling of speech-introduction formulae, it serves the needs of the narrative.

102-3. As usual, Iris is at hand without need of explanation. In *Il*. and *Dem*. 314-24, Iris is Zeus' messenger (Hermes' role in *Od*.). Even when, uniquely, Hera sends her κρύβδα Διός (*Il*. 18.168), this accords with his wishes. Since Iris usually embodies Zeus' will (Erbse 1986: 58), it is tempting to see here a hint of his engagement (cf. 92-5n.). More immediately, however, Iris is the poet's tool to further his narrative: cf. *Il*. 23.198-212 and Kelly (2007a: 324).

Call. *Hy*. 4.157 reverses *HAp* by allying Iris with Hera against Leto, exploiting Iris' violent devotion to Hera in E. *HF* 822-42. The Delians apparently sacrificed to Iris on the

nearby ‘isle of Hekate’ (Semos of Delos, *FGrH* 396 F 5); whether this was in thanks for her role in Apollo’s birth (as with Eileithyia: 97n.) is unknown.

ἐϋκτιμένης ἀπὸ νήσου: for the adjective see 36n. ‘Well-cultivated’ is singularly inappropriate to barren Delos. Unless the hymnist understood it differently or used it thoughtlessly, perhaps following a traditional pattern like ἐϋκτιμένῃ ἐνὶ Λέσβῳ (*Od*. 4.342), it must anticipate the island’s later state, i.e. 146-55 (Ilgen ad loc.); Apollo’s epithets are also used proleptically (cf. 56n.). In both cases the language corresponds to the poet’s dominant idea of the character.

ὑποσχόμεναι μέγαν ὅρμον: cf. ὑποσχόμενοι μέγα δῶρον (*Il*. 9.576). The necklace is to tempt Eileithyia to disobey her mother Hera; Hypnos’ fear of Zeus likewise extracts a reward from Hera at *Il*. 14.238-9. Chappell (ad loc.) claims the necklace is promised to Iris and implies awareness of a special connection between them, exemplified by E. *HF* and Call. *Hy*. 4 (see above); but the connection is not attested earlier, and the disobedience – hence the reward – is clearly Eileithyia’s.

ὅρμον: a long necklace which hangs over the chest (contrast the neck-hugging ἴσθμιον: schol. QV *Od*. 18.300, Bielefield 1968: 5-6). Golden necklaces are a recurrent divine adornment (e.g. *Aphr*. 88, *Op*. 74), and their ability to entice women is assumed at *Od*. 15.460, 18.295. Delian inventories record golden necklaces dedicated in Eileithyia’s temple (e.g. *IG* XI,2 205.B3-4), and Richardson (ad loc.) suggests the story aetiologises one such offering. But the necklace’s length (cf. 104) is surely too great for it to have had a real counterpart; possibly the myth reflects the *practice* of offering necklaces. In any case, its presence is sufficiently justified by its narrative function.

χρυσείοισι λίνοισιν ἐερμένον: the transmitted text is ἐεργμένον, either from ἔρδω (Förstel 430) or ἔργω (Forderer 176 n. 49). Though the noun ἔργον, lit. 'what is wrought', would suit a necklace (e.g. *Il*. 19.22, *Od*. 4.617), the cognate verb ἔρδω, means 'do, perform' (deeds, sacrifices: cf. 303, 355), not 'make, work', for which ἐργάζομαι is used. ἔργω, 'shut in, enclose', is also difficult to construe.

The easy emendation ἐερμένον (Barnes), from εἴρω, 'string, fasten together', is therefore preferable. The verb is used of necklaces elsewhere: χρύσεον ὅρμον…μετὰ δ' ἠλέκτροισιν ἔερτο (*Od*. 15.460), [ὅρμον] χρύσεον, ἠλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον (18.296), i.e. necklaces 'strung with' pieces of amber (where ἔερκτο and ἐεργμένον are variants). In 104 no ornament is mentioned, and the translation 'strung *on* gilded threads' (AHS) leaves it oddly unspecified. 'Put together out of golden threads' gives better sense: cf. εἴρειν στεφάνους (Pi. *N*. 7.77). For the instrumental dative indicating material, cf. τετεύχαται…ἐλέφαντι (*Od*. 19.563) and *GH* ii. 76-7. Intricately worked wires of gold and other metals were commonly used to make chains for necklaces (Higgins 1980: 15-17). λίνα are properly threads of flax (λίνον), here extended to gold thread.

ἐννεάπηχυν: for the number's conventionality see 91-2n. Even so, the necklace's length corresponds to the days of Leto's agony, a neat symmetry of service and reward. This length (*c*. 4 m), far from 'absurdly exaggerated' (Richardson), is eminently suitable for a goddess. ἐννεάπηχυς is elsewhere the length of a yoke-strap and the breadth of a giant (*Il*. 24.270, *Od*. 11.311).

105-6. 'They bade [Iris] call [Eileithyia] apart from Hera, so that she would not divert her with words as she went.' The situation requires only a simple message; the way it is conveyed is more delicate, and the goddesses' clever plan proves the value of their presence. νόσφιν Ἥρης

(cf. 95n.) means Iris should not deliver her message in Hera's presence, and so she shrewdly calls Eileithyia outside (110-11).

ἐπέεσσιν ἀποστρέψειεν: again, Hera's restraint stops short of force. ἐπέεσσιν ἀποτρέψεις/-πέτω occurs 4x in *Il*., with ἀποστρέψεις a variant at *Il*. 12.249, 20.256. ἀποστρέψειεν is the unanimous reading in *HAp*. The two verbs are basically synonymous ('turn back') and could easily compete in such a phrase (cf. *LfgrE* s.vv.).

107-108. **αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε…βῆ ῥα θέειν**: cf. *Il*. 20.318-9, *Od*. 13.159-60. No sooner has Iris heard the command than she sets off to fulfil it. The wholly dactylic form of 107-8 gives an impression of haste: cf. *Il*. 6.511, 13.29-30 and 24.691 (with Richardson's note). αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε follows direct speech in its six Homeric appearances, but not here or at *Dem*. 334 (cf. 102-114n.).

ποδήνεμος ὠκέα Ἶρις: 'wind-footed swift Iris' (9x Hom., e.g. *Il*. 2.786). ποδήνεμος = 'swift as the wind' (schol. Gen. *Il*. 11.195), speed being key to her task (cf. 108 ταχέως). She is usually depicted with wings (*LIMC* V1 s.v. 'Iris', 758; cf. χρυσόπτερος), but ποδήνεμος does not indicate winged *feet* (*contra* AHS).

διήνυσε πᾶν τὸ μεσηγύ: 'she traversed the whole intervening space'; cf. μεσσηγὺ διέδραμεν (*Dem*. 317, also Iris), τὸ μεσηγύ (Thgn. 553). The article substantivises the adverb/preposition (*GH* ii. 163). For διανύω, 'accomplish', describing a journey, cf. κέλευθα διήνυσαν (*Dem*. 380, of the messenger Hermes).

109. **αὐτὰρ ἐπεί ῥ' ἵκανε…Ὄλυμπον**: ≈ *Il*. 5.367 (αἶψα δ' ἔπειθ' ἵκοντο ~). Since ἱκάνω has a 'completive' aspect, the imperfect ἵκανε is like an aorist (*GH* i. 316; cf. *Il*. 1.431, 2.17); its combination with temporal ἐπεί is rare but not faulty (cf. *Od*. 17.28; *contra* Schröder 1975: 25). It does not suggest that Iris calls out (προσηύδα) while she is arriving (contrast 115).

The repetition of αὐτὰρ ἐπεί from 107 is notable; it occasionally clusters in type scenes, e.g. 5x in *Il*. 1.458-84 (sacrifice). Rather than a sign of clumsiness, the syntax lends the scene a forward-driving motion as the actions in the αὐτὰρ ἐπεί clauses anticipate the next stage in the following main clauses. Cf. 89 and 127, where it marks new developments arising from what precedes.

110-111. Unlike a normal messenger, Iris does not enter to find the recipient but calls her outside for a secret conference; this would be inexplicable unless Hera was part of the original conception (cf. 96-101n.). Hera's apparent carelessness does not require realistic justification, since the birth demands her scheme's failure; but Iris has authority as Zeus' messenger (cf. 102n.).

ἀπὸ μεγάροιο θύραζε: ἀπὸ M : ἀπέκ Ψ. The variants have equal manuscript authority, with one in each branch of the tradition, and have both found editorial favour. ἀπό is marginally preferable. Except as a preverb in ἀπεκλελάθεσθε (*Od*. 24.394) and later in Quintus Smyrnaeus (4.540, 14.230), ἀπέκ appears only as a weakly attested variant for ἀπό before μεγάροιο and μελέων (4x), which may suggest attempts to save metre when lengthening before μ- was not recognised. ἀπέκ could have been derived from crossing ἀπὸ μεγάροιο (3x *Od*.) and διὲκ μεγάροιο (8x); cf. διέκ (432). Nevertheless, the Homeric use of διέκ where διά was metrically possible (e.g. *Od*. 10.388 διὲκ μεγάροιο) shows that poets themselves might prefer double prepositions, perhaps as more forceful; and the fact that μ-

lengthens elsewhere in the hymn (e.g. 118, 156) does not require the licence to be exploited on every occasion (cf. 87n. αἰέν). In some *HAp* MSS ἀπέκ appears as ἄπ' ἐκ, which is usual in the Homeric paradosis and probably better orthography if that reading is accepted (*GH* ii. 146).

111. **ἐκπροκαλεσσαμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα**: ≈ *Od*. 22.436 (εἰς ἣ καλεσσάμενος ~). For ἐκπροκαλεσσαμένη, 'calling her out (ἐκ) and towards (πρό) her' cf. *Od*. 2.400 (with μεγάρων, likewise of confidential instructions). Line 111 is the only case in epos where ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα does not introduce direct speech, as it does in 50 and 451. At *Od*. 13.253 a two-verse parenthesis precedes the speech; while it does not alter the syntax, this shows a certain flexibility in handling the formula.

112. **πάντα μάλ' ὡς ἐπέτελλον Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι**: for 112a, cf. *Il*. 2.10, 11.768. μάλα emphasises πάντα, 'absolutely everything': Iris is a conscientious messenger. 112b is the feminine of the common periphrasis Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες = θεοί; all other instances describe the Muses (6x epos, e.g. *Il*. 2.484, *Th*. 75). The goddesses are not typical Olympians (92-5n.), but the phrase suggests their importance.

113. **τῇ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔπειθεν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι**: cf. ὣς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθε (*Il*. 6.51). Eileithyia immediately complies. The line crosses θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔπειθε/-ον (6x epos) with θυμὸν/-ὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισιν (524, 8x Hom.), entailing the movement of ἔπειθεν (with movable *nu*). Cf. 70n. for more formular blending.

114. **βὰν δὲ ποσὶ τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοῖαι**: ≈ *Il*. 5.778 αἳ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοῖαι (Athena and Hera hurry into battle). The nature of the comparison to doves/pigeons is uncertain. In epos τρήρων is always an epithet of the πέλεια and probably

means ‘timid’, while ἴθματα (< εἶμι) are ‘motions’, i.e. ‘steps, gait’ (only here and Call. *Hy.* 6.58). The comparison focuses on movement and does not seem to involve a metamorphosis (for the question of gods’ avian metamorphoses see Erbse 1980). The several explanations canvassed by schol. bT *Il.* 5.778 show that the image was soon open to different interpretations. It is said to describe τὴν ὁρμὴν καὶ τὴν πτῆσιν, i.e. initial movement and ensuing flight. This suits 114, where the context requires the goddesses to take flight from Olympus to Delos, while ποσί (not in 5.778) implies some movement on the ground. Although ποσί may accompany verbs of motion without affecting the meaning appreciably (cf. 520 προσέβαν ποσίν, *LfgrE* s.v. B I2bγ), this always involves terrestrial movement. The scholium also mentions the supposed faintness of doves’ footprints, judging this a suitable simile for those wishing to avoid detection. The timidity (τρήρων) of doves probably includes skittishness and readiness to take flight (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.), and both aspects suit 114 well, as the goddesses escape from Hera. Overall, it seems that Iris and Eileithyia are pictured making quick but careful steps as they move to take flight without attracting Hera’s attention.

There is a probable allusion to this line in Ar. *Av.* 575: Ἶριν δέ γ’ Ὅμηρος ἔφασκ’ ἰκέλην εἶναι τρήρωνι πελείῃ. As the scholia record, some ancient readers thought only of *Il.* 5.778 and considered this a jesting falsehood (ψεύδεται παίζων), but others remembered the *Hymns* (εἰσὶ γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὕμνοι). See further Dunbar ad loc. Càssola (ad loc.) is unduly sceptical when he doubts the allusion on the ground that the comparison was probably used by other rhapsodes. This may be so, but the echo of 443 at *Eq.* 1016 suggests that Aristophanes knew *HAp.*

The relationship between 114 and *Il.* 5.778 is less clear. 114 cannot be a later, learned interpolation (so Groddeck 1786: 78) because a description of departure is needed between 113 and 115. Their near-identity and contextual similarities, and the specificity and isolation of the

comparison and its phrasing (especially ἴθματα), constitute a good *prima facie* case for imitation by *HAp*. Three Homeric similes involve pigeons (*Il*. 21.493, 22.140, *Od*. 22.468), but the birds are pursued by a predator or caught in a trap. Schröder (1975: 25) argues that 5.778 cannot be the model for 114 because only the hymn's situation has the secrecy which the line requires (thus 114 is the model!); but the image is multivalent, as noted above. The possibility that the comparison is traditional but underrepresented cannot be discounted, but the hymnist could well have been attracted by a daring image he found in (some version of) the *Iliad*. Other possible Iliadic allusions lend this view further support (cf. pp. 52-7).

115-126. With all obstacles overcome, Apollo can finally be born. This occurs rapidly (116-9), with most stages occupying only half a verse, giving a lively impression of liberated energy. The god himself emerges, remarkably, in just half a verse (119a). After the tortuous narrative hitherto, the short climax, far from being incongruent, suggests supreme effortlessness on Apollo's part. The usual rule of Homeric narrative, that length corresponds to significance (cf. Austin 1966), is inverted and the birth becomes a point around which events turn. Focus immediately shifts to how the goddesses honour him. The proem showed the same pattern, in which Apollo's single potent gesture motivates a series of responses, and through these its significance is explored. The link is encouraged by the echo 125-6 = 12-3.

115. **εὖτ' ἐπὶ Δήλου ἔβαινε**: ~ 49. Parallel to Leto's earlier arrival, Eileithyia's advent represents the decisive moment (τότε δή) and effects the birth's fulfilment. A likely etymology of Εἰλείθυια derives it from the root ἐλευθ-, i.e. she is the one who 'comes' during labour (Heubeck 1972b). *HAp* therefore dramatises an essential aspect of the goddess which her name encodes (whether or not the poet knew the etymology, which Hsch. ε 2025 records). The combination of imperfect ἔβαινε and aorist εἶλε (116) – 'as she was setting foot upon…it

seized her' – suggests that Eileithyia's mere approach is efficacious (Gemoll ad loc.); cf. *Od*. 22.182-7 εὖθ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔβαινε…ἑλέτην ('as he was crossing…they seized'). Although in some formulae the imperfect and aorist of βαίνω alternate without discernible difference of meaning (e.g. *Il*. 3.261 ~ 311), here the juxtaposition of tenses is expressive (*contra* Chappell ad loc.).

116. **τὴν τότε δὴ τόκος εἶλε**: 'then labour seized her'. Leto (τήν) has not been named since 101, but remains the protagonist. αἱρέω is a common metaphor for the onset of sudden and intense physical and mental states (e.g. *Il*. 19.14 πάντας ἕλε τρόμος, *LfgrE* s.v. B, IAaβ; cf. 461 ἵμερος and 447 δέος [v.l.]). τόκος can 'seize' Leto, as if from without, because the causality of labour is externalised and embodied in Eileithyia. The polyptoton in μογοστόκος, τόκος, τεκέσθαι (cf. 13-14) underlines the decisive moment (Forderer 81) and even sketches its mechanism as 'birth' arrives with Eileithyia, possesses Leto and finally becomes linked to her own μένος (see below). τόκος εἶλε may have been suggested by μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια (Chappell ad loc.). The echo cannot but sound like an etymology, i.e. Eileithyia the one through whom 'labour seizes' a mother. Such etymological wordplay, implicit and explicit, is widespread in early epos (cf. 57n., *Il*. 13.481-2, *Th*. 195-200, *Aphr*. 198-9 and O'Hara 1996: 7-13); for its role in *PAp* see 81n. (πολυώνυμος).

μενοίνησεν δὲ τεκέσθαι: 'and she strove to be delivered' (West). μενοινάω expresses a strong desire (e.g. *Il*. 19.164, *Od*. 4.480). But since μένος can be aroused in someone by another (Bakker 2008: 71-2; e.g. *Il*. 21.145), it seems that Leto experiences an access of strength with Eileithyia's arrival which frees her from her earlier passivity.

117-118. Leto assumes a posture appropriate for childbirth: arms forward embracing the palm, knees driven into the ground (contrast the earlier summary: 17n.). The child comes μητρὸς πρὸς γούνατα (*Th*. 460) or falls μετὰ ποσσὶ γυναικός (*Il*. 19.110), and there was a statue of Eileithyia at Tegea called 'Auge on her knees' (Paus. 8.48.7). On this basis it has been argued that kneeling was standard practice in childbirth (Samter 1911: 6-14). Medical handbooks, however, treat the use of birthing stools as typical (Bettini 2013: 54-9). The lack of one here gives the impression of improvisation which suits the difficult situation and its location in the deep mythological past.

ἀμφὶ δὲ φοίνικι βάλε πήχεε: cf. ἀμφὶ δὲ παιδὶ φίλῳ βάλε πήχεε (*Od*. 17.38, 24.347). Leto's embrace of the palm connects it intimately with Apollo and helps to explain the special reverence in which it was held, since it became a sort of relic rather than just a rare and beautiful plant (cf. 18n.). The motif recurs at Thgn. 6 (φοίνικος…χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη), while Limen. *Pae*. *Delph*. 6 inserts the olive (χερσὶ γλαυκᾶς ἐλαίας θιγοῦ[σ' ὄζον). In the few representations of Apollo's birth in visual art, either a palm is present or Leto actually grasps it (*LIMC* VI s.v. Leto, nos. 5 and 6: both 4th c.)

φοίνικι: the dative has the expected short ending -ĭ in its five Homeric occurrences, in 117 long -ī. Hoekstra (1969: 25) suggests this is due to replacement of παιδὶ φίλῳ in the *Od*. formula (see previous note), which required a long syllable. But Homer also has over a dozen athematic datives which show -ī, e.g. *Il*. 23.244 (Ἄϊδι), *Od*. 3.41 (δέπαϊ); cf. *Dem*. 99, 101, 248. The availability of the long dative may reflect the hesitation between two dative forms, long *-ei* and short *-i*, already found in Mycenean (Wathelet 1962), although by the time of *HAp* long -ī might also be justified by analogy with cases like λειμῶνῑ μαλακῷ (118). In λειμῶνῑ

the presence of a long dative -ῑ is uncertain given the metrical licence of lengthening before liquids (*GH* i. 176; cf. p. 66).

γοῦνα δ' ἔρεισε | λειμῶνι μαλακῷ: Leto 'braced her knees against the soft meadow'. The goddess' struggle is answered sympathetically by the environment – luxuriant ground as well as a palm. After the earlier emphasis on Delos' rocky infertility (55, 72), its sudden appearance is unexplained and rather miraculous, and should be understood, together with the earth's 'smile' in 118b, as the result of contact with Leto. Vegetation grows where gods step at *Il*. 14.347-9 (Zeus and Hera's lovemaking) and *Th*. 194-5 (Aphrodite's birth), and the labouring Leto is no less fecund. In all six of its epic occurrences a λειμὼν μαλακός is a scene of divine activity (e.g. *Od*. 5.72, *Dem*. 7, *Th*. 279). And since Leto has just adopted a birthing position, the fructifying influence surely emanates ultimately from Apollo. It is common for a god's epiphany to be prefigured by a hint of divinity, e.g. *Dem*. 189, *Aphr*. 174; cf. Turkeltaub (2003: 22-3). Delos' partial transformation presages the total metamorphosis that follows the birth (135-9). Line 118 therefore represents an intermediate stage in a progression from barrenness to bounty: the passages are neither inconsistent nor unconnected (*contra* Chappell ad loc.). The location of the palm and the later sanctuary, where legend placed the birth, was actually watered by the island's only major watercourse, Inopus (18n.), easily suggesting a link between this rare patch of fertility and the myth.

μείδησε δὲ γαῖ' ὑπένερθεν: 'the earth smiled up from beneath' – a remarkable phrase. If the vegetation grows in response to Leto's touch (see above), the earth's reaction expresses its joy, the vegetable equivalent of a human smile; the link is made expressly in 135-9 (see note). This arresting conceit, which exploits nature's traditional reactiveness – often joyful –

to divine epiphany (e.g. *Il*. 13.29, *Hy*. 28.9-14), is the pinnacle of the poem's consciously ambiguous personification of Delos (cf. 50-88n.).

μείδησε: the verb is metaphorical only here in epos. Comparable, and a possible model for *HAp*'s daring extension, is the application of γελάω to earth at *Il*. 19.362, *Dem*. 14. That (easier) usage was suggested both by the habitual personification of earth (cf. Gaia) and by the fact that γελάω's original meaning is 'brighten' (cf. Stanford 1936: 114-7, Chantraine s.v.). Richardson (ad loc.) suggests Gaia as a goddess of fertility lies behind 118, but it is surely *Delos*' ground and personification that are relevant. Nature responds similarly in other versions of the birth: ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη, | γήθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος (Thgn. 9-10), γ]άθησε πόλος (Limen. *Pae*. *Delph*. 7-10).

119. **ἐκ δ' ἔθορε πρὸ φόωσδε**: Apollo 'leapt forth [from the womb] into the light'. His first emergence already displays strength and gives an impression of energy bursting its constraints, the first glimpse of the traditional motif of divine precociousness (cf. 127-32n.). The assimilation of his birth to mortal patterns (midwives, birthing positions) underlines the way he exceeds that frame with his first act. (ἐκ)θρῴσκω describes other divine births at *Th*. 281, *Herm*. 20, while at *Hy*. 28.8 Athena 'rises up' (ὤρουσεν). Such dynamism differs from the passivity of human children, who 'fall' from their mothers (*Il*. 19.110) or are 'led forth' or 'revealed' by Eileithyia (*Il*. 16.188, 19.104). Later the foetus' active role in labour became widespread medical doctrine (e.g. *Nat*. *puer*. 30 = 7.530 L), but in early literature only gods have this ability.

θεαὶ δ' ὀλόλυξαν ἅπασαι: the goddesses' exclamation answers Apollo's arrival. Probably a high-pitched, repetitive ululation, the ὀλολυγή was a ritual cry performed

exclusively by women. It had no intrinsic connection to childbirth, but other narratives of Apollo's birth follow *HAp*'s pattern: Simon. 519 *PMG* fr. 55.3, Pi. fr. 52m.17 S-M, Call. *Hy*. 4.258 (always with *local* women/nymphs). Its basic function was apparently to greet the presence of the divine, an experience in which awe, joy and fear potentially mingle (Rudhardt 1992: 178-80; see also *LfgrE* s.v.) – all emotions which Apollo's arrival might inspire. Its habitual performance at the climax of a sacrifice (e.g. *Od*. 3.450) also suggests it expresses the release of pent-up emotion – appropriate after Leto's delayed labour (cf. Wilamowitz 1916: 448).

Since it greets divinity, the ὀλολυγή of goddesses is rare. Here it is not simply due to their assimilation to human midwives (so Chappell ad loc.). The cry is the first of several acknowledgements of Apollo's divine status (cf. 123-5). Even though both parties are gods, Apollo soon claims a status above the others and second only to Zeus (cf. 132). As a forceful collective response of awe to his first display of power, their ὀλολυγή is the archetype of the pattern instantiated in the proem (2-13). The pattern is later doubled in the (explicitly fearful) ὀλολυγή of the Krisaean women as Apollo 'rises out' (ἐκ…ὄρουσεν) of the ship in astral form (cf. φόωσδε here) before finalising the Delphic foundation (440-7). The hymn's two foundational moments are thus carefully aligned and ritualised in the same way (cf. Karanika 2009). For the ὀλολυγή's link to the paean see 120n.

120-125. The poet lavishes detail on the goddesses' washing and swaddling of the baby (120-2), which they perform in the order usual for human midwives (cf. Soranus, *Gyn*. ii.12-15) while also shadowing the epic 'Bath' type-scene (e.g. *Od*. 17.87-90; cf. Arend 1933: 124-6). Yet an abundance of adjectives and adverbs denoting brightness, purity and beauty elevates this nursing above the common type. Though Apollo is still of rather indeterminate personality, these characteristics delineate aspects of his mature form, e.g. φαίδιμα (4n.), Φοῖβε (20n.),

ἀκερσεκόμης (134n.). Similarly, the newborn Pan is dressed in skins and Aphrodite in finery (*Hy*. 19.38-43, *Hy*. 7.5-11). Although Themis' 'nursing' (123-5) marks a partial but decisive deviation from human patterns, that model underlies Apollo's whole experience: nursing primarily signals acceptance by the group, and Apollo is hereby welcomed into the gods' society; the nurse and her charge commonly develop an intimate bond (e.g. *Od*. 19.482-3, *Dem*. 164-68), and the new god thus forms close ties with several older divinities – most significant and suggestive in the case of Themis (cf. 123-5n.). Callimachus also recognises the importance of the nurse's functions by having Delos perform them all (*Hy*. 4.4-6).

σὲ, ἴϊε Φοῖβε: = *Il*. 15.365 (σύ), 20.152, also narratorial apostrophes. Last employed during the theme-selection in 19-29, apostrophe resumes *in narrative* and coincides with the climax. Used prospectively at 48, 52, 87, Φοῖβος now becomes a true epiclesis, and by using it the poet becomes, as it were, Apollo's first worshipper. The earlier apostrophe made clear, before the narrative proper, that the god was the hymn's primary audience; by disrupting the third-person narrative flow and inserting himself, the hymnist draws Apollo's attention to the narrative he has constructed *about* and *for* him. The effect is subtly deictic, as the hymnist implicitly points to the realisation of the narrative promised when he last addressed Apollo; the speaker's narrating function is especially evident given the disjunction between the child Apollo referred to and the mature Apollo addressed.

ἴϊε: the word appears only in the phrase ἴϊε Φοῖβε (see previous note) in epos and seems to be an abbreviation of ἰήϊε, itself an amalgamation of the paeanic invocation ἰὴ ἰέ. Thus ἴϊε is not 'you who are invoked with ἰή' but the cry itself, while the adjective ἴϊος is a back-formation (cf. schol. D and Janko on *Il*. 15.365; note Hsch. ε 265 ἴϊος· παιανιστής). Fittingly, the paean-cry expresses extreme emotion, normally joy (Rutherford 2001: 18-19). In

Homer Apollo's association with the paean is not unambiguous: contrast *Il*. 1.472-4 with 22.391-4 (Richardson 2011: 25-6). However, the cry ἴϊε Φοῖβε – the only divine apostrophes in Homer, the Muses aside – must be derived from a paeanic context, even if such connotations are potentially obscured behind a stereotyped address (cf. de Jong 2009: 95-6). In *HAp*, by contrast, Apollo is unambiguously the god of the paean, invoked at Delphi with the title Ἰηπαιήων (~ the ritual cry ἰή παιῆον) in Cretan-derived παιήονες (272, 517-8). The hymnist thus 'performs' at Delos the genre whose origin he later narrates. For the paean at Delos cf. ἰήιε Δάλι' Ἄπολλον (Pi. *Pa*. V, fr. 52e.37 S-M).

In 120 paeanic associations are further encouraged by the preceding ὀλολυγή. Though the latter is a more general cry (cf. 119n.), it often describes the female accompaniment to the male paean-shout, e.g. Sapph. fr. 44.31 Voigt, Bacchyl. 17.127, A. *Th*. 267-8. As in 12-14 (χαίρε Λητώ ~ χαῖρε Λητοῖ), the poet here appears to echo his characters' response to Apollo at a moment of high emotion. In 119-20 his intoning of the appropriate (male) cry after their own even suggests a sort of joint choral performance (cf. how he and the Deliades are analogous encomiasts in 156-76). Here however the temporality is more complex. On the one hand, by responding suddenly and energetically to his own narrative the hymnist inserts himself into the mythical event before his audience (for this effect of apostrophe see 14-18n.). On the other, his address, embedded as it is in past narration, does not totally merge the two diegetic levels (viz. the narrating and the narrated). The gap is bridged both by the omnitemporality, so to speak, of Apollo himself and by the implied continuity of a cult practice whose origin lies in the goddesses' ὀλολυγή (cf. Klooster 2013: 154-6, who identifies this effect at *Il*. 15.365, where however the ritual cry inhabits only the narrator's level). Later Delian choral songs by Pindar and Simonides aetiologise their own (paeanic) performance in a similar fashion, by effecting a blending with the ur-performance of the ὀλολυγή at Apollo's birth (Kowalzig 2007: 64-7).

120-121. **λόον ὕδατι καλῷ | ἁγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς**: the child's first bath was a practicality that became endowed with the significance of a purificatory rite, indicated here by the ritual formula ἁγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς (also *Op*. 337; cf. West ad loc.). ἁγνός, 'holy', is common in epos of goddesses (e.g. *Od*. 5.123, *Op*. 465), and Gemoll (ad loc.) finds it superfluous; but it shares with καθαρός the notion of ritual purity (Frisk s.v.): the goddesses remain free of any taint, as mortal women would not (cf. Ginouvès 1962: 235-8, Parker 1983: 50-1). The bathing motif recurs in later divine births, e.g. Call. *Hy*. 1.16-17, 4.6, A. R. 4.1311. It helped to connect the god to a particular place, as Apollo was later tied to the rivers Kenchrios and Xanthos (Str. 14.1.20, Ant. Lib. 35; the motif allows non-Delian claims). Here the water must come from Inopus (cf. 18) which, like the palm in 117, acquires a certain sanctity thereby. The attraction of the scene is suggested by its appearance much later in one of the few visual representations of Apollo's birth (*LIMC* VI s.v. Leto, no. 7, a relief in the theatre at Hierapolis, *c*. 205-10 AD).

ὕδατι καλῷ: unique; the usual phrase is ὕδατι λευκῷ (3x epos, e.g. *Il*. 23.282), here altered in anticipation of φάρεϊ λευκῷ in 121 (Cantilena 1982: 212). Repetition is not always avoided (e.g. φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων| in 537, 538), but here it allows the additional notion of beauty to enrich the picture.

121-122. **σπάρξαν…ἦκαν**: for swaddling clothes Apollo is wrapped in a φᾶρος, a large and costly single-piece cloth; normally worn by adults as an outer garment, it suggests a large child not a small φᾶρος (so *LfgrE* s.v.; for divine proportions cf. 104n. ὅρμον). The triple run of adjectives helps to distinguish this φᾶρος as special. λευκός, 'white', combines the notions of purity and brightness (cf. *LfgrE* s.v. B4). λεπτός, 'fine-spun', traditionally connotes high quality (e.g. *Il*. 18.595, *Od*. 10.544). νηγάτεος is of unknown meaning and derivation: it is

used of a tunic and head-dress, both called 'beautiful', at *Il*. 2.43, 14.185; the likeliest suggestion is 'new, unworn' (Frisk s.v.), but a meaning like 'unsullied' would also fit (cf. Càssola's 'intatto'). σπάργω is one of several unique early forms (e.g. *Th*. 485 σπαργανίζω), after which σπαργανόω establishes itself as normal. The appropriately golden (9n.) στρόφος is presumably a cord holding the φᾶρος in place. With the unique περί + ἵημι, 'fasten about', cf. *Il*. 18.612 ἐπί…ἦκε, 'put' and περιβάλλω used of a ζώνη securing a φᾶρος at *Od*. 10.544. περιίημι is not found in Greek.

123-125. Leto did not suckle Apollo, but Themis fed him nectar and ambrosia. Apollo's nursing has hitherto been elevated by its agents and materials above that of a normal child (cf. 120-125n.), but the basic pattern has been the same. At the climax, this is exploited further, since Themis is like a human wet nurse, and then decisively broken, when Apollo receives not milk but food reserved for gods.

χρυσάορα: the athematic declension χρυσάωρ gave rise to a metrically useful thematic form χρυσάορος, found at 395 (Janko 1978: 194). Traditionally translated 'with golden sword', the epithet is applied predominantly to Apollo (e.g. *Il*. 15.256, *Op*. 771, *Hy*. 27.3; Bacchyl. 3.28) but also to Demeter, Artemis and Orpheus (*Dem*. 4; Hdt. 8.77; Pi. fr. 128c.12 S-M). Apollo is occasionally shown wielding a sword in Gigantomachies and against Tityos (*LIMC* II s.v. 'Apollo', G, H). Given his much commoner association with the bow, some ancient scholars interpreted χρυσάωρ as 'with golden strap', i.e. of a bow or lyre (schol. bT, D *Il*. 15.256). If ἄορ (in Homer exclusively 'sword') meant only 'something suspended' (< ἀείρω), the epithet's use with miscellaneous deities might be explained (e.g. Demeter's sickle; cf. Chantraine s.v.). But the ancient link with ἀείρω is not certain (Beekes s.v. ἄορ), and a generalisation from ἄορ = 'sword' to 'weapon, implement' is also possible. Though

frequency suggests the epithet's connection with Apollo is strong and ancient, its history is murky; in any case, the difficulty of granting Apollo a golden sword has been considerably overstated.

θήσατο μήτηρ: 'gave to suck'. With θῆσθαι the child is normally the subject, e.g. *Il*. 24.58, *Dem*. 236. Goddesses are only rarely said to nurse their offspring: when Hermes speaks of his fondness for Maia's milk (*Herm*. 267) the self-exculpatory assimilation to a mortal child stands in opposition to his precocious divine achievements. Yet the use of wet nurses was widespread, so that by failing to nurse her son Leto continues to track human – especially aristocratic – practices (see below). The significant difference lies in the avoidance of *human* milk: a goat suckles Zeus (Call. *Hy*. 1.48), while Hector is 'mortal and was suckled at a woman's breast' (*Il*. 24.58). The nursing also slightly weakens Apollo's bond with Leto in favour of one with a representative of Zeus' order (see below).

Θέμις: previously one name among several (93-4), then part of an undifferentiated group (119), Themis now distinguishes herself. Her choice must be significant given the honour in which wet nurses were held and the stress that is laid on their proper selection, e.g. *Od*. 1.429-33, *Dem*. 164-68; cf. Soranus, *Gyn*. 2.12.19-15.29. One reason is suggested by Themis' function as overseer of divine gatherings (94n.), where while presiding in Zeus' absence she offers Hera a cup of nectar (*Il*. 15.87-8; cf. 10-11n.). Since participation in the gods' festivities and access to their food are mutually implicated marks of divinity, Themis is a natural dispenser of such sustenance, and her nursing represents a further stage in Apollo's admission to the divine community.

Another reason is that gods and heroes receive nurses befitting their status and personality (e.g. *Il*. 6.132-5, *Aphr*. 257; Themis is Zeus' nurse at Musaeus fr. 83 Bernabé), and

the nurse was believed to transmit her character with her milk (Garland 1990: 116). *HAp* exploits this notion in the parallelism between Typhaon and his nurse the Delphic serpent (cf. 354 κακῷ κακόν; a contrasting doublet of Apollo-Themis). As the embodiment of Zeus' cosmic order, Themis' presence signals Apollo's integration into his father's regime, in which his role reflects her character (θεμιστεύειν: 94n.). That Themis is a link between Apollo and Zeus is revealed by the parallelism of her initial nursing and Zeus' offer of nectar in the proem (with 125-6 = 12-13). Within *HAp* her act echoes Zeus', while in Apollo's biography it anticipates it. The scenes are complementary: in the first the supreme, paternal figure presides on Olympus, but his gesture is typical and he offers nectar alone; in the second a lesser, female figure works on Delos, but her act is the first and contains both nectar and ambrosia.

νέκταρ τε καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινήν: = *Il*. 19.374, 353, *Herm*. 248, *Th*. 642 (with variations by separation and declension). In 10 nectar is a wine-like liquid, as always in epos (but 'eaten' at Alcm. fr. 42 *PMG*). Ambrosia's state is less clear, both in epos and *HAp* (cf. Onians 1973: 292-9). It may be 'dripped' (*Il*. 19.38) or used to anoint the skin (*Il*. 16.670, *Dem*. 237), suggesting a consistency like oil or honey; it can therefore be 'eaten' (*Od*. 5.94). In 125 ἐπήρξατο, a word normally used of wine, governs both substances, as does κατέβρως … εἶδαρ (127), which would normally suggest food. However, since ἐπάρχομαι really means 'serve', καταβιβρώσκω 'devour' and εἶδαρ 'sustenance' (see notes), the picture is not incoherent, but vague (contrast West on *Th*. 640, who argues 127 requires a solid).

Their functions are not clearly defined. νέκταρ's etymology is unknown, but ἀμβροσίη is transparently 'immortality' (*LfgrE* s. vv.). Yet in epos ambrosia alone does not suffice to immortalise (e.g. *Dem*. 236-7, *Aphr*. 260; contrast Pi. *P*. 9.63). It is likely its original role was to prevent ageing (Clay 1981-2), as it can fortify and preserve mortals (*Il*. 19.352, 16.670). ἀμβροσίη and ἀθανάτῃσιν (125) emphasise the 'immortal' aspect of Themis' act,

which does not however make Apollo a god: divinity is already evident in his leap, the ὀλολυγή and the magnificence of his nursing. The meal's immediate effect is to banish infancy, with its indeterminacy and human resonances, by promoting miraculous growth and strength (127-9; cf. *Dem*. 235-7, *Th*. 641). Thereafter Apollo defines his functions and acquires a distinct divine personality (131-2).

ἀθανάτῃσιν χερσὶν ἐπήρξατο: the verb appears in epos only in the combination ἐπάρχεσθαι δεπάεσσιν (7x Hom., e.g. *Il*. 1.471), an abbreviated ritual phrase denoting libation preliminaries, when the οἰνοχόος 'begins' by pouring a few drops – with ἐπινέμων *vel sim*. understood – into (or with) the cups of the participants (*LfgrE* s.v. ἄρχω, BII,3, Zumbach 1955: 46). In 125 χερσίν replaces δεπάεσσιν, and the basic sense of ἐπήρξατο must be 'serve, offer', derived from its traditional context. This extended meaning (still within the religious sphere) is attested in a fourth-century inscription (*IG* XII,9 192.10, of choruses for Dionysus), and ἀπάρχεσθαι shows the same development from 'begin the ritual' to 'make an offering' (*DGE* s.v.)

Yet the present scene, describing an offering of (food and) drink to a god, remains close to the Homeric libation scenes. Simon (1953: 91-93) persuasively discerns a connection with Classical vase paintings in which newborn gods are welcomed with a libation by their fellow divinities (cf. Patton 2009: 69-71). This would help to explain use of a term from human ritual and would suggest that ἐπάρχεσθαι has not been wholly secularised. Its notion of 'beginning' would now refer to Apollo's first meal. Framing this in terms redolent of *human* worship would be an especially loaded way of signalling his assumption of divine status (i.e. his first divine meal is simultaneously the first 'sacrifice' to him). For the hymn's tendency to frame Apollo's relations with other divinities in terms adopted from divine-human interactions see 119n. (ὀλόλυξαν), 134-5n. (θάμβεον).

125-126. **χαῖρε…ἔτικτεν**: ≈ 12-13. Leto is again pleased with her son's excellence, in both cases registered in the reactions of his fellow divinities, specifically in the offer of nourishment. Line 126, which Ilgen (ad loc.) deemed superfluous and West brackets, is an indispensable indication of the scenes' correspondence (otherwise obscured since χαῖρε occurs at 61, 90). Again the 'rejoicing' motif effects closure, but here only partially. Instead of ending the scene (as 12-13), the lines offer a brief reflective pause before the second half of the post-natal activity (127-39); the motif is doubled and Delos' joyful metamorphosis provides the real climax (135-9). Leto's first joy at her 'bow-bearing and strong son' matched Apollo's appearance perfectly, whereas here the disjunction with the swaddled child is glaring (cf. 120-5n.). Yet immediately afterwards Apollo proves its truth by claiming his bow. The impression is of a god whose nature is predetermined (cf. 67-69n.), yet whose will exactly coincides with the role he is destined to play (whereas in *Herm*. divine functions are provisional: 130n.).

127-32. The first meal promotes sudden growth, and Apollo frees himself from his swaddling clothes to claim three privileges: lyre, bow and prophecy. The superhuman strength with which he 'leapt' (119) from his confinement in the womb is displayed more spectacularly as he escapes from his swaddling clothes. Precociousness in the form of supernatural growth and miraculous early exploits is a recurrent feature of divine biographies, since the gods' ability to bypass helpless infancy elevates them above mortals (cf. Richardson on *Dem*. 235, West 2007: 149-50). Thus Zeus grows strong and supplants Kronos within a year (*Th*. 492-6), Hermes' inventiveness is clear on the first day (*Herm*. 17-19), and Athena is born fully-grown and armed (*Hy*. 28.5). Yet such displays of strength are generic; distinctively Apolline is the way precociousness manifests itself in an authoritative, oracle-like declaration (131-2). Whereas the hymn emphasises the suddenness and completeness of the transition between childish state and

individualised maturity, later treatments follow *Herm*. in exploiting a disjunction between childish form and divine achievement, e.g. E. *IT* 1250-2 (infant Apollo kills Python), A. R. 2.707 (founds Delphi), Call. *Hy*. 2.58 (builds Delian altar); cf. Ambühl (2005: 231).

127. The verse is analogous to the bland feast-concluding transition formula αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο (513, 21x Hom.), but the return of Φοῖβε (cf. 120) combined with αὐτὰρ ἐπεί (cf. 109n.) signals an important hinge-point. Φοῖβε will be progressively augmented in 130 and 134 as the scene approaches its climax.

κατέβρως ἄμβροτον εἶδαρ: cf. ἄμβροτον εἶδαρ ἔδουσι (*Aphr*. 260). βιβρώσκω, 'devour', has a more vigorous, even violent, sense compared to ἔδω, further strengthened by κατα- (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.); the impression is of a strong, hungry child. εἶδαρ normally seems to refer to solid food, but ἄμβροτον εἶδαρ probably encompasses both nectar and ambrosia (cf. 123-5n.). ἔδω is used with both at *Th*. 640, while ἐδωδή can mean food *and* drink (*Od*. 5.196).

128-129. The careful swaddling of childhood is represented as a 'bondage' from which Apollo liberates himself as he grows to adulthood. It is described in an emphatic tricolon: 128 is formally parallel to 129a (οὐ + 'bond' + verb), while 129b summarises both in positive form. In 129 οὐδέ τι 'not at all' is better attested (ΜΘΓ), but οὔδ' ἔτι (*p*) 'no longer' parallels οὐ…ἔπειτα (128) and more effectively indicates a transformative moment. The notion of restraint in ἔρυκε (129) echoes Hera's earlier intervention (99); the first is overcome by (female) guile, the second by (male) force. Dionysus' ability to undo his bonds also reveals his divinity: τὸν δ' οὐκ ἴσχανε δεσμά, λύγοι δ' ἀπὸ τηλόσ' ἔπιπτον (*Hy*. 7.13).

χρύσεοι στρόφοι…δέσματ'…πείρατα: how this picture relates to 121-2 (φάρεϊ…χρύσεον στρόφον), particularly the identity of the three terms, is unclear. στρόφοι recalls στρόφος (122) and, being gold, cannot be identified with φᾶρος in 121. The plural suggests several cords or the several coils of one cord. Their sudden multiplication blurs the picture but exaggerates Apollo's feat. Deubner (1938: 274-5) neatly suggested that δέσματα and πείρατα were respectively the φᾶρος and the 'ends' of both στρόφοι and φᾶρος; but the terms are less precise. δέσματα, as any tie or fastening, could encompass στρόφοι. πεῖραρ sometimes means 'limit, end' but may also mean 'bond, rope' (*LfgrE* s.v.; e.g. *Od*. 12.51 = 162); thus πείρατα could refer to στρόφοι and φᾶρος as wholes, not just their ends. λύοντο, 'were loosed', supports the former reading, unless the 'ends' are knots that are 'undone' (cf. *Od*. 12.162). The nouns are therefore probably an accumulation of vaguely synonymous terms emphasising what restraints Apollo overcomes and therefore his strength (cf. Forderer 179 n. 57). Given this rhetorical point, Jacoby 32 is mistaken to dismiss 129 as an 'unnecessary' doublet of 128.

δέσματ': the majority reading is δεσμά τ' (ΜΘ), but τε ruins the syntax; *p* offers δεσμά σ'. δεσμά is the plural form at *Herm*. 57, 409, *Hy*. 7.13 – the first of which certainly post-dates *HAp* – and often later (in tragedy, etc.). The Homeric plural is δέσματα (3x), which does not appear later except in ancient scholarship (*contra* Richardson ad loc.). δέσματ' (Barnes) is therefore attractive. δεσμά τ' suggests misdivision of a rare form to yield a familiar one, whose syntax was then improved by repeating σέ from 128. AHS prefer δεσμά σ' on the ground that δεσμά is 'the plural … in the *Hymns*', but the coherence and distinctness relative to Homer that this gives the collection is illusory (cf. Chappell ad loc.).

ἀσπαίροντα: ἀσπαίρω is used of a child at *Dem*. 289 and Hdt. 1.111.3 and denotes convulsive movement of the limbs; here Apollo kicks against his clothes. Homer uses the verb for death throes only, but *Od*. 19.231 (a fawn struggles when seized by a dog) also has the notion of restraint found in 129.

130. **αὐτίκα δ' ἀθανάτῃσι μετηύδα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων**: cf. *Il*. 24.32, *Od*. 12.376. The return to the third person (cf. 127) marks off this act from the preceding one and does not indicate a diminution of significance. Apollo 'speaks among' his fellow divinities but does not address them; his words meet with their admiration (135) without requiring their approval. This sort of peremptory, declarative style is characteristic of his speech in the hymn (246-54, 363-9; 287-93 even lack an audience) and suits his oracular role. In birth narratives a god's first act tends to be revealing, e.g. *Herm*. 22 (Hermes' theft), *Hy*. 6.6-13 (Aphrodite's toilet), *Hy*. 28.9 (Athena's martial gesture). But whereas others seem to act by instinct and Hermes defines his role by improvisation (Clay 102), only Apollo, who is neither ready-made nor malleable, makes an authoritative, self-defining announcement ('Wesensaussage': Unte 1968:105).

Apollo's selection of his own τιμαί, over which Zeus has ultimate authority (cf. *Th*. 885), suggests his high status; but far from usurping Zeus, the son recognises his father – inverting the human custom (cf. *Hy*. 19.40-1) – and subordinates himself to him (132). By choosing to be Zeus' spokesman, Apollo shows himself already aware of his will, so that his first words instantiate the function he claims. Zeus' programmatic acceptance of his son in the proem forestalls any impression of presumptuousness (10-11n.). Contrast Alcaeus' *Hymn* (fr. 307 Voigt), in which Zeus commissions Apollo as a musician and prophet, but the latter only obeys after a rebellious stay with the Hyperboreans.

131-132. 'Let the lyre be mine and the curved bow, and I will prophesy the unerring will of Zeus.' An increasing tricolon enumerates three prerogatives corresponding to Apollo's principal roles in *HAp*, viz. musician, archer and prophet. The pairing of bow and lyre (131) reflects their complementary distribution between the two Olympian scenes (cf. 2-13n.), and each also appears briefly at two key moments in *PAp* (356-7, 514-5). Prophecy enjoys the weightier statement of a whole verse, in line with its role as *PAp*'s ruling theme (Kakridis 1937: 108). The lines sketch a *Lebensprogramm*, but its fulfilment is not confined to *PAp* (so Dornseiff 1933: 7-14) and in fact begins with the proem; the appearance of one item *before* 131-2 encourages the expectation that the other two must appear.

Attempts to deny this programmatic function as part of separatist approaches to the hymn are unpersuasive. Drerup (1937: 112-3) notes that much of *HAp* is not canvassed in 131-2, e.g. Apollo as lover (208-13), wanderer (216-85) and sailor (391-439); but the first is simply a thematic foil, while the others are subordinate to the oracle-foundation (cf. Unte 1968: 39). Alternatively, 132 might be linked to the request for an oracle (81) and the lyre to the music of the Delian festival (149); but in this case Apollo would be shown actually using only the bow: only with *PAp* is treatment of the three prerogatives balanced. More compellingly, Deubner (1938: 252) and Chappell (ad loc.) argue that the three types are simply Apollo's main roles in epic: in Homer he is the patron of seers, archers and musicians (*Il*. 1.72, 15.441, *Od*. 8.488), appears with bow and lyre (*Il*. 1.45, 1.603), but is only briefly mentioned as an oracular god (*Il*. 9.404-5, *Od*. 8.79-80). The emphasis on the oracle (132) does not therefore correspond exactly to Homer's picture. And even if the characteristics in 131-2 are merely conventional, the announcement itself is highly unusual and not a typical device of 'birth hymns' (*contra* Chappell 2011: 74). While the lines cannot, as Chappell notes, unambiguously prove *HAp*'s original unity (cf. pp. 8-10), his attempts to account for them in terms of the different separatist

theories of imitation (*DAp* planned them as a link to *PAp*; *PAp* used them as guide when copying *DAp*) tend to reintroduce the programmaticism which those theories deny.

131. The pairing of lyre and bow recurs at *Herm*. 515 (see below). As the syntax of 131-2 (two nouns + one verb) suggests, *HAp* clearly conceives of the bow and lyre as a complementary pair, with contrasting effects (disordering/harmonising), within Apollo's triple τιμαί (cf. 2-13n.). Whereas the oracle is aetiologised at length, how Apollo actually acquires these two attributes is not described. The same tendency to jump between authoritative prediction and mature manifestation is evident in the gap between Leto's oath and the Delian festival (cf. 140-6n.). Some versions made Apollo the inventor of both (e.g. Call. *Hy*. 2.253, Men. Rh. p. 442 Sp.), or the lyre was received from Hermes or Zeus (*Herm*. 499-502; Alc. fr. 308c). Apollo's statement does not seem to leave room for any such intermediary.

κίθαρίς: probably a round-based box lyre (West 1992: 50), which *HAp* (like Homer) sometimes calls a φόρμιγξ (184, 188; cf. *Il*. 1.603). Depictions of Apollo as a citharist are common from the earliest period (*LIMC* II, s.v. 'Apollon', D).

καμπύλα τόξα: this traditional formula (10x epos, e.g. *Il*. 21.502) is equivalent to the unique phrase φαίδιμα τόξα (4). καμπύλα, 'curved', shows that τόξα means the bow (as in 4), even if arrows are necessarily implied. Artistic representations of Apollo as an archer are equally common (*LIMC* II s.v. Apollo, 191-9)

φίλη: predicative with both nouns ('let them be mine'), not attributive to κίθαρις alone (e.g. 'give me my dear bow'; *contra* Gemoll ad loc.). The two notions, possessive and affective,

contained in φίλος (cf. 10-11n.) merge in descriptions of divine attributes (cf. 144 φίλαι): the lyre and bow *belong* to Apollo and are also his *favourite* pursuits.

132. The tricolon's climactic limb moves beyond what is φίλος to Apollo himself and locates him as the oracular intermediary between Zeus and mankind. The addition of Zeus as the ultimate originator of any oracle completes the scheme sketched in 81, where the only parties were Apollo and men (80-81n.). This line, Delos' request in 81 and especially the narrative of *PAp* argue that Apollo's prophetic aspect is an essential part of his character and that he is the prophetic god *par excellence*; it does not go so far as to suggest, however, that mankind enjoyed no oracles before Apollo (*contra* Clay 44). Line 132 also shows that Apollo's honour is inextricably bound to Zeus himself, although it does not prove that earlier predictions of ἀτασθαλίη were false (*contra* Clay 44; cf. 67-69n.). Subordination to Zeus is the ultimate limit of Apollo's self-assertion, which can be directed elsewhere.

Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν: νημερτής is 'what does not miss the mark' (νη- + ἁμαρτάνω), i.e. a plan that will not fail to be fulfilled (cf. Luther 1935: 42-3, Cole 1983: 13-4). νημερτέα βουλήν recurs at *Od*. 1.86 = 5.30, where it is Zeus' will (shared by the other gods), and at 252 = 292, where βουλὴν…θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων is Apollo's programme for Delphi. The absence of Zeus' name in the latter cases does not indicate a different conception from 131-2 (so Jacoby 731 n. 2): throughout *HAp* Apollo remains his father's spokesman (cf. Casevitz 1998: 210-11), and no divine βουλή except Zeus' could ultimately be νημερτής, since only he has the supreme power to guarantee its fulfilment.

133-134. Having defined himself, Apollo sets off at once. His failure to mention or interact with Delos is glaring. Though she does not suffer his scorn and violence, this sort of hurried

departure was another of her fears (75-6). Even if the lack of overt disrespect points to the fulfilment of Leto's earlier promise, it is achieved rather mutedly. Yet in 137-8 a joyful Delos considers herself chosen and loved by Apollo (the tenses show this is not a timeless description of their bond). The gap is best bridged if the miraculous transformation of Delos is considered Apollo's favour to her (cf. 135/139/136n.); the hint at his disregard makes her re-entry more spectacular.

133. **ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης**: the formula (4x in epos, e.g. *Od*. 3.453, *Op*. 197) describes Apollo 'setting off' (ἐβίβασκεν) by rising up from the ground (ἀπό) as he leaves the island (~ 29 ἔνθεν ἀπορνύμενος). Gods often make flying departures (cf. 186 ἀπὸ χθονός; *Od*. 3.371, with ἀπέβη), so there is no need to keep Apollo earth-bound, as does ἐπί = 'upon' (Matthiae), which most editors have accepted against the MSS. AHS (ad loc.) cite several passages for ἀπό = 'on' (e.g. *Il*. 5.13, 14.153), but there, as is usual, it marks separation or origin. Taking flight is more likely to inspire wonder (135) than walking (Chappell ad loc.). The lack of specified destination is unproblematic (*contra* Richardson ad loc.), since this is the first stage of Apollo's worldwide wanderings and is developed in 140-2.

134. **Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης ἑκατηβόλος**: an impressive concatenation of epithets prepares for the goddesses' admiration in 134-5 and suggests the complexity of the mature Apollo who has, so to speak, now become himself. ἑκατηβόλος, 'far-shooter' (1n.) picks up τόξα (131). In particular, ἀκερσεκόμης, 'with unshorn hair' (applied to Apollo at *Il*. 20.39, Hes. fr. 60.3 M-W, etc.) presents him as a long-haired young man. This is his commonest form in Archaic art (*LIMC* II s.v. 'Apollo', 316), and he appears 'disguised' in this form at 449-50 (ἀνέρι εἰδόμενος…χαίτῃς εἰλυμένος εὐρέας ὤμους). The cutting and offering of hair, often to Apollo himself, was a ceremony marking the ephebe's transition to adulthood (Burkert 1975a:

18-9). Apollo's remarkable hair is therefore not simply typical divine beauty (cf. 101 καλλιπλόκαμος), but captures an essential part of his nature.

134-135. **αἱ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι | θάμβεον ἀθάναται**: the goddesses 'marvel' at Apollo, with θάμβεον emphasised by enjambement – presumably a response the whole preceding sequence of growth, speech and movement. Birth narratives commonly end with such a collective response to the newborn, e.g. *Hy*. 6.15-18, 19.45-6, 28.6-16. θάμβος is a feeling of awe or astonishment, often blended with fear, and is usually a reaction to divine epiphany or something otherwise uncanny (cf. *LfgrE* s.v. B); it is, unsurprisingly, rarely experienced by gods (e.g. *Dem*. 15). Its use here therefore suggests Apollo's superiority even among other divinities (cf. 123-5n.).

135-139. Jubilant at being honoured by Apollo above all other places, Delos undergoes a miraculous golden metamorphosis, likened to a hill becoming heavy with flowers.

Lines 136-8 are found only in the *x* family: in the margin of ETL, after 135 in Π (the order adopted by the *editio princeps*). In all cases the lines are preceded by an *antisigma*, i.e. Ↄ, and the words ἐν ἑτέρῳ κεῖνται καὶ οὗτοι οἱ στίχοι. The *antisigma* had various uses in ancient scholarship, including to mark either a variant or an additional passage; often its meaning is quite unclear, and the information in ancient grammatical compendia is often at odds with the practices of papyri and manuscripts (McNamee 1992: 14-5, Schironi 2017). The *stigme* printed before 139 by AHS to indicate a variant has no MS authority.

The marginal note (καὶ οὗτοι) suggests the verses are not in fact a variant but *additional* to 139. Their insertion by Π (and *ed. princ*.) after 135 is unsatisfactory: 139 is left in a harsh asyndeton, and the gap between ἤνθησ(ε) and χρυσῷ obscures the transformation (without χρυσῷ Delos' 'flowering' becomes real and the simile is rather lame: 'flowered as a

hill flowers'); Barnes' emendation (ἤνθεε δ') solves only the asyndeton. A better way of combining the verses is 135/139/136-8 (Gemoll ad loc.), and it is adopted here (with caution). If βεβρίθει is included in the simile of 139 then another asyndeton (though less harsh than 138/139) is avoided, but the pluperfect must be altered slightly to the perfect βέβριθεν or βεβρίθῃ. The main objection, that βεβρίθει is an insignificant verb and this gives it excessive prominence (Förstel 125), is not decisive: a simile may end after the first foot (*Il*. 23.763), and *Dem*. 473 has | ἔβρισ'·. The relation of the shorter version found in most MSS (i.e. 135/9) to this putative longer original is unclear. Though 136-8, confined to *x*, have been dismissed as a later ornamental interpolation (Baumeister ad loc.), they respond to *HAp*'s themes better than the universally attested 139, which has a better claim to being merely decorative (see below).

Compatible as they are, there is the possibility that they are alternatives (so Hermann 1806: xxi-vii and most recent scholars, including Càssola, Chappell, and Richardson); this would be the only one of the suspected doublets in *HAp* to be indicated externally (cf. p. 71). Both versions have their attractions and weaknesses. 135/139 elucidate Delos' gilding with a concise and vivid nature simile, while 135/136-8 give her emotional reaction. Without the simile, the nature of the change is obscure; without Delos' emotions, its cause.

If they are alternatives, priority cannot be determined. Call. *Hy*. 4.260-3, which augments Delos' aurification considerably, is compatible with either version, since both contain χρυσῷ (Jacoby 710 n. 1; *contra* Wilamowitz 1916: 449-50). The language of 136-8 does not prove that they date from the fifth century (see notes ad loc.). Jacoby 710-11 condemns the statement that Apollo chose Delos and loved her more than others (136-8) as anticipating 140-6, which describe her supremacy in his affections, and concludes that 136-8 were added in a later version lacking 140-78. But such anticipation is not objectionable, and Delos herself has already conceded Apollo's love for others (80-2). With 136-8 this theme is developed, and the motif of Delos' joy (61, 90) finds its climactic expression. Line 139, for all its vividness,

lacks any such connection with the preceding narrative. It leaves the reason for the metamorphosis to be inferred, which the context would suggest is simply the same θάμβος felt by the goddesses. Though the relation of the putative alternatives remains uncertain, of the two 136-8 is less dispensable. See further Forderer 89-94, Förstel 123-8.

135/139/136. **χρυσῷ δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἅπασα | ἤνθησ' ὡς ὅτε τε ῥίον οὔρεος ἄνθεσιν ὕλης | βεβρίθῃ**: 'all Delos flowered with gold, as when the spur of a hill is heavy with the copse's flowers'. The poet again singles out a highly individualised action or response – the most significant – against a collective background, here the goddesses' wonder (cf. Leto in 5, Themis in 124); partial parallelism (ἅπασα ~ 134 πᾶσαι) again underlines a difference.

The motif of nature's response to divine epiphany anticipated the birth (117-8n.). The notion latent there, that nature's blossoming expresses its joy, is now explicit (137 γηθοσύνῃ). But Delos' joy alone could not overcome her natural sterility: as grass grew beneath Leto, so this transformation must show the working of Apollo's presence. His failure to interact with Delos hitherto (133-4n.) is not therefore an oversight, nor is Delos' belief in his favour (137-8) merely the result of not being scorned as she feared.

The miracle is, naturally, difficult to picture. Callimachus' imitation has Delos actually *turn into* gold (*Hy*. 4.260-3). In *HAp* the simile – one of the few in the *Hymns* (cf. 186, 448; Edwards 1991: 24 n. 30) – suggests she is covered with flowers *of gold* (χρυσῷ is parallel to ἄνθεσιν); if 139 is removed (cf. 135-9n.), the same image is implied by βρίθω, a verb commonly used of bountiful harvests (e.g. *Il*. 18.561, *Dem*. 472-3). χρυσός must be real gold, not merely a golden 'radiance' (Gemoll) or a 'golden' flowering of natural scrub (AHS): the former disregards the simile, the latter renders it otiose, and both underplay the miraculous element. A possible inspiration was the sudden springtime bloom on Delos, which coincided with Apollo's birth in Hieros (February-March); cf. Bruneau (1970: 89).

The wonder is a careful combination of the natural and the unnatural. Gold, the symbol of wealth *par excellence*, literally takes the place of the natural bounty Delos lacks, prefiguring her future wealth in fulfilment of Leto's promise (Dumézil 1982: 27). Similarly, in Pi. *O*. 7.34 golden snow at Athena's birth portends Rhodes' wealth. Real flowers would reverse her sterile condition, but without the element of 'artificiality' which underlies her relationship with Apollo (cf. 59-60n.). The similarity of rocky Delos and the ῥίον οὔρεος, and the comparison of the flowering to a real bloom, puts the unnaturalness of the gold in relief (Förstel 126). Finally, gold, which also symbolises high status and imperishableness (cf. 9n.), proliferated around Apollo's birth (122, 123, 128), so that the island's gilding suggests her assimilation to the god at the inauguration of an everlasting relationship of honour.

The language of the simile is not exactly paralleled, but cf. ῥίῳ ὑλήεντι | ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων (*Od*. 9.191-2).

136. **καθορῶσα Διὸς Λητοῦς τε γενέθλην**: καθοράω properly means 'look down upon', as of Zeus watching from Ida (*Il*. 11.337, 13.4). Later cases show the more general sense 'observe, behold', as here (e.g. Pi. *P*. 9.49, E. fr. 910.5 N.). In Homer γενέθλη normally means 'stock, family', but 'offspring' is found at *Il*. 5.270 (cf. *LfgrE* s.v. B2). The common formula Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱόν (544, etc.) was possible, and the variation reflects the special moment, underlining that Apollo has just been born.

137-138. **γηθοσύνῃ**: even if the metamorphosis depends on Apollo's power (135/139/136n.), it is equally the outward manifestation of Delos' joy, an amplification of the earth's 'smile' conceit (118) and the culmination of a series of expressions of joy (61, 90). Emotional and physical sympathy between a god and his realm is also found at *Il*. 13.29, where the sea parts for Poseidon 'in joy' (γηθοσύνῃ). The adjective γηθοσύνος/-η (e.g. *Il*. 7.122) seems to have

arisen from misinterpretation of the noun γηθοσύνη (Latacz 1966: 151-6), so there is no need to read it here ('joyful because…'), where the noun is transmitted ('through joy because…'). The syntax echoes ζηλοσύνῃ ὅ τε (100) and contrasts Delos' honest delight with Hera's devious envy.

εἵλετο οἰκία θέσθαι: repeated from 46, οἰκία θέσθαι recasts Leto's desperate offer as Apollo's free choice (developed by Call. *Hy*. 4.195, where the unborn god selects Delos). Lines 140-6 describe Delos' present place in the hierarchy of Apollo's favourite places, whereas 137-8 ground it in his initial 'choice'. The two passages are linked but not pointlessly repetitive (*contra* Jacoby 710-1). Apollo is never shown building his οἰκία (a theme reserved for Delphi: 294-9), but the festival (147-76) proves that Leto's promise was fulfilled.

νήσων ἠπείρου τε: cf. ἤπειρον…νήσους (21), describing Apollo's universal reach; Delos' joy is in being the first (cf. 80-1). The genitives are partitive with μν (137), so εἵλετο = 'chose from among'. AHS (ad loc.) wrongly construe as 'preferred to', a later construction (e.g. S. *Ph*. 1100), and therefore conclude that 136-8 must be a later insertion (cf. 135-9n.).

φίλησε δὲ κηρόθι μᾶλλον: 'and he loved her more in his heart'. The subject remains Apollo, since his 'love' causes her joy. φίλησε is parallel to εἵλετο and further defines his choice. κηρόθι μᾶλλον (7x Hom., *Sc*. 85) is used of strong emotions, e.g. φίλει δέ με κηρόθι μᾶλλον (*Od*. 15.370). In other cases, the comparative force of μᾶλλον has no obvious point and seems merely intensive; but that is not so here, where Delos is contrasted with the 'islands and mainland' (*contra* Förstel 127). Baumeister (ad loc.) condemned the phrase as ambiguous on the ground that Delos could also 'love' Apollo; but the ambiguity is very slight and no justification for removing 136-8.

140-6. The birth and festival sections are bridged by a summary priamel (Race 1982: 50-1) describing Apollo's wanderings, chiastically structured around two poles: A: Cynthus (= Delos) (141) – B: elsewhere (142) – B': elsewhere (143-45) – A' Delos (146ff.). Travel, explicit in the first pair, is developed implicitly in terms of Apollo's pleasure in the second. AB is finely balanced, B'A' an increasing crescendo. Somewhat unusually, the capping term is present at the beginning and end (albeit amplified in Cynthus -> Delos), rendering Apollo's route circular. This reflects Delos' status among his cult sites, viz. original and central but not exclusive (as predicted at 29, 80-2, 88, 137-8); contrast *Dion*. 1-9, where choice of one place means dismissal of others.

Geographical shifts are overlaid by temporal ones. The modulation of present and past tenses is a uniquely meticulous instance of the typical hymnic shift to the present after mythic narration ('prolongation': Janko 1981a: 14), e.g. *Dem*. 485-9, *Herm*. 576-8, *Th*. 75-104. Apollo's original departure (133) yields first to historical wanderings (141-2), then temporally indeterminate love for places (143-5) and finally his current and eternal preference for Delos (146); cf. Förstel 113. Unduly flattened by the description 'omnitemporal' (de Jong 2009: 109), these temporal and geographical shifts complement one another: the intervening *panoramic* narratorial perspective eases the transition between two identically localised but temporally discontinuous *scenes*. For the structural function of the scene/panorama distinction cf. *Il*. 24.1-2, *Od*. 8.16-17 and de Jong and Nünlist 2004: 69-70.

Lines 140-6 echo the priamel which initially chose the theme (143-5 = 22-3). The best *theme* is again determined by what *place* most pleases Apollo (146 ἐπιτέρπεαι ~ 22 ἄδον). All *aporia* has now vanished: the foregoing narrative has secured Delos' primacy as both place and theme, which Apollo's circular itinerary confirms. His pleasure in Delos now expands to involve the festival commemorating his birth. The priamels thus align the two themes as interrelated episodes in Apollo's Delian history. This parallelism is missed if 140-6 announce

PAp but are interrupted by the festival (so Thalmann 1984: 66); or if the priamels, sandwiching the birth narrative, produce a ring structure linking the festival to the (very different) proem (Niles 1979).

140. The whole-line naming, whose chain of epithets amplifies 134, re-establishes from 127-9 the apostrophe which now extends to 150. After Apollo's behaviour has been focalized by the goddesses (135-9), αὐτός underlines the narrator's re-emergence in dialogue with his subject (cf. 317 for αὐτός claiming an addressee's attention). Titles other than Φοῖβε promote a sense of narrative progression (cf. Chappell ad loc.), while the first use of Ἄπολλον adds a certain intimacy to the solemn, lengthy epithets. ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον becomes the poet's refrain in *PAp*'s first catalogue, another travelogue (215, 222, 229, 239, 277); cf. *Od*. 8.339 (also with ἄναξ).

ἀργυρότοξε: ἀργυρότοξος, 'he of the silver bow', is among the commonest Apolline epithets (21x epos) – addressed to him by both gods and mortals (e.g. *Il*. 1.37), but only here in narratorial apostrophe – and blends his archer aspect with his characteristic radiance (cf. 4 φαίδιμα τόξα). Apollo's bow is 'silver' at *Il*. 1.49, 24.605. A bow *made* of silver, like a golden sword (cf. 123n.), is a suitably miraculous divine weapon (*contra* Eust. vol. i. p. 53 van der Valk, whose gloss λαμπρότοξος, 'with shining bow', seeks to explain it away). Divine implements are usually golden (see 8n.), and at Pi. *O*. 14.10 Apollo is χρυσότοξος (unusable in hexameters), but silver also connotes value and imperishability, e.g. *Il*. 5.726, *Od*. 10.35.

141-2. For the hymnic motif of a god wandering through favoured haunts cf. *Hy*. 9.3-6, 19.9-11 (also ἄλλοτε 2x), 27.4-14, *Th*. 2-8 and *Hy*. 26.9-10. While these depict gods as linked to the hunt, the wild or specific localities, Apollo's more comprehensive itinerary reflects his

universalism. Ending the birth narrative, which began with the rejected Leto's desperate roaming, this masterful progress represents a decisive reversal, realising the picture misleadingly implied in 29-44 and overturned in 45-9 (cf. 30-44n.).

ἐπὶ Κύνθου: Delos' appearance in 141 and 146 is essential to the priamel's 'circular' form (cf. 140-6n.). Though wrongly objecting to the duplication, Guttmann (1869: 19) identifies (inadvertently) the conscious amplification ('*Cynthi nomen… Deli ipsius nomen*'); yet Cynthus, whose importance has already been established (17, 26), is not simply *pars pro toto* for Delos (Δήλου was possible: cf. 49, 115): the priamel's emphasis on high places (144-5 = 22-3) once again makes it Apollo's archetypal mountain (cf. 25-8n.). Richardson, following Gemoll 142, supposes a reference to an otherwise unevidenced Apollo cult on the hill (cf. 17n.).

ἐβήσαο: this unique form, unanimously transmitted, looks like a normalisation of the 'mixed aorist' in -σε-, found in ἐβήσετο (49). There the variant ἐβήσατο occurs, as often in Homer. Dismissing all -σα- forms as scribal tinkering, Cobet (1862: 291) preferred ἐβήσεο here (cf. Prince Roth 1974: 4). But βήσατο is transmitted without variant at *Herm*. 99, 233, *Sc*. 33, and some cases of -σα- could be original. Since mixed aorists often have an imperfective aspect (*GH* i. 417; cf. ἠλάσκαζες 142), ἐβήσαο is more clearly aoristic and seems to refer to 133: 'at one time you went (aor.) … at others you wandered (impf.)'; cf. Forderer 95.

νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας: 'islands and men' is an odd combination, partially recalling ἀν' ἤπειρον … ἠδ' ἀνὰ νήσους (21) and νήσων ἠπείρου τε (138). Though unspecified, ἀνέρας probably means mankind in general (as 65; cf. Ilgen 236: '*nationes*'); this use of ἄνερες instead of ἄνθρωποι (cf. 82 for the latter), seems particular to *HAp* (*LfgrE* s.v. BII, 1d). νήσους, mentioned because relevant to Delos, is therefore subsumed in a claim about

Apollo's global reach. Understanding ἀνέρας as 'islanders' (Matthiae 136, Chappell ad loc.) is too narrow in view of lines 21 and 138, while 'mainlanders' (AHS, Richardson ad loc.) hews too closely to them.

ἠλάσκαζες: 'you roamed': intransitive at *Il*. 18.281, but transitive at *Od*. 9.457 (where however it means 'shun'). D'Orville's emendation ἂν (= ἀνά) for αὖ, accepted by AHS, is not therefore necessary, especially since ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ occurs 5x in epos. Apollo's roaming can be imagined as including sojourns at each place in turn, not merely passing though; the poet does the same (cf. 175).

143-145. The echo of the earlier priamel is unmistakable but not total. Line 142 recalls 21 and 144-5 = 22-3, but 25 is not repeated. Restoring it (so Matthiae 137) assumes the poet reused his material mechanically. The omission is, moreover, balanced by the addition of 143, which reworks 76 (= 221, 245) – Delos' prediction of Apollo's future foundations, now fulfilled (but according to her stipulation in 80-2, not her fear in 74-6). νηοί τε καὶ ἄλσεα, the poet's byword for an Apollo's cult (76n.), is fittingly introduced here since the coming scene describes his pleasure in worship, whereas the first priamel focused on Delos' natural features as props in the birth narrative (cf. Förstel 195). The differences are therefore context-sensitive, and their unmistakable parallelism has a structural function (cf. 140-6n.).

Despite this, Humbert prints 179-81 in place of 143-5, while West (1975: 167-8) replaces 144-5 with 179-80. Both wrongly condemn the repetition and suppose that 179-81, another priamel concluding with Delos but also complimenting Miletus, were removed when the latter fell to the Persians, the gap being filled with material from 22-3. West at least avoids Humbert's rhetorically absurd juxtaposition of 181/146, but he must posit a redactor who, oddly, created 181 to supplement lines he was removing. In fact, 179-81 are placed at the end

of *DAp* not because they are a remnant of it but because they, like the other priamels, are transitional (cf. Richardson ad loc.).

τε φίλαι: the omission of the copula eases the shift between the past and present tenses in 141-2 and 146 (Janko 1981a: 18-19). Lines 143-5 are temporally non-specific (not unambiguously present; *contra* Chappell): these places were, are and will be dear to Apollo. This indeterminacy might explain the replacement of the aoristic τοι ἄδον (but cf. 22n. for its possible timelessness); φίλαι could have been suggested by the recent cluster φίλη (131) and φίλησε (138), while the notion of pleasure in ἄδον is covered by ἐπιτέρπεαι (146).

146. **ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλῳ Φοῖβε μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ**: The priamel culminates in Apollo's return to Delos. Every word of the line 'reinforces the sense of climax' (Race 1982: 51). ἀλλά brackets off the preceding foil and signals a new opening (cf. 165), while μάλιστα provides a superlative (cf. *Od*. 22.61 πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοί). σύ underlines Apollo's move from indirect object to subject (hence not inexplicably emphatic; *contra* van Groningen 311 n. 2). With Φοῖβε, it encloses Delos' name – a syntactic reflection of intimacy – while the specificity of Δήλῳ itself stands in contrast to preceding generalities (and augments Κύνθου: 141n.). ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ defines the relationship as a strong emotional bond, with an intensifying addition of the organ ('in your heart'); cf. φίλησε κηρόθι (138), ἐπιτέρπονται θυμόν (204); Latacz (1966: 218-9). For Thucydides' reading of this line cf. 147-78n.

147-178. A complex, tripartite passage about Apollo's festival on Delos concludes *DAp*. The first part (147-55) offers a summary description of the assembled Ionians, particularly emphasising Apollo's enjoyment of their music-making and the godlike appearance they acquire thereby. The second (156-64) focuses on a unique local wonder, the maiden chorus of

the Deliades who praise the local gods and hold pilgrims spellbound with their distinctive performances. Finally, the poet addresses the Maidens and offers to spread their fame if they foster his reputation as the best of singers (165-76), while his promise to continue singing Apollo's praises (177-8) prepares for the next theme (179ff.).

Compared with the birth narrative (45-139), this section represents a shift from unique, mythical events to recurrent, contemporary ones; from gods to men; from individuals to collectives; and from direct participation in events to their celebration and commemoration. Internally, the narrative 'zooms' from a panoramic overview (continued from 140-6) of an undifferentiated mass to a single outstanding group described in detail, finally turning the lens on itself, as it were, when the poet reveals his presence and praises the art which has captured the scene. Beyond the basic coherence of the festival situation, song constitutes the primary unifying thread, linking its three sub-sections (149, 161, 169) just as it binds the musicians to their various audiences. Among several other leitmotifs deployed in each sub-section are the anonymous internal audiences who pass authoritative judgement on the performances (151, 163, 167); the 'commemorative' attitude of the performers (150, 160, 167); the pleasure experienced by the spectators (150, 153, 161, 170); and the plenitude which characterises the whole event (note πᾶς at 153, 162, 173: cf. 4n., Forderer 103, 109). When these motifs finally converge around the poet himself, he emerges as the quintessence of the entire festival.

The lengthy description of a contemporary human cult is unparalleled in the *Hymns*, where present-tense passages normally concern gods directly, and references to men are brief and generic (e.g. *Hy*. 20.5-7). Though strongly aetiological (Clay 15), the major hymns tend to narrate decisive events, not their later outcomes: thus *PAp* ends once Delphi's foundation is complete, while *Dem*. 480-2 only summarises the blessings of Eleusinian cult. But even if the festival were not *HAp*'s ostensible performance context, exploited to make special claims about

its creator (cf. 165-78n.), thematic links with the rest of *DAp* and its contribution to praise of Apollo fully justify it.

Above all, it provides a fitting climax to the birth narrative by illustrating the fulfilment of Leto's promise to Delos (56-60); yet in place of Leto's emphasis on a temple and sacrifices, music is elevated as the defining component of Delian cult. The section also explains Apollo's recurrent returns to Delos (cf. 140-6n.), so its introduction seems prompted by the god's own choice (for this theme-selection strategy cf. 22, 220, 244). Since he enjoys the festival, an artful description of it should also please him (Miller 58) – in part because both reflect his nature by including activities (athletics and music) especially dear to him (cf. Heubeck 1972a: 137). And because these skills are in Apollo's gift (cf. 157n.), the celebration's coincidence with his periodic epiphany (ἐπιδημία) suggests he is not just drawn by it to Delos – as music draws him to Delphi in Alc. fr. 307 Voigt – but actually manifests his power through it. It is thus the enduring analogue of Delos' golden metamorphosis in response to the archetypal epiphany of the birth (135-9n.); cf. Versnel (1994: 298) for birth and ἐπιδημία. By eliding all intervening time and religious history, 140-55 bring forth the mature cult with a similar effect of sudden, miraculous transformation; in both cases the agent of change is Apollo's presence. By contrast, the oracle-foundation (285ff.), like *Dem.* 293-302, 473-77, involves complicated preparations, with the god overseeing the temple-building and communicating rites to human protégés. The pairing of the Delian and Delphic narratives purposely juxtaposes alternative approaches to a cult-foundation narrative.

For the festival's historical background and its relation to *HAp*'s genesis, see pp. 22-31.

Thucydides 3.104.5

ἀλλ' ὅτε Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστά **γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης**,
ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται
σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν·
ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ **ὀρχηστυῖ** καὶ ἀοιδῇ
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν **καθέσωσιν** ἀγῶνα

Thucydides quotes 146-50, with deviations from the direct tradition of varying significance (cf. 167-72n. for his second quotation). Each should be judged on its merits rather than as part of two distinct 'recensions' (Förstel 128-34, *contra* Breuning 1928: 66-9). Some are formally and/or semantically slight: ὀρχηστυῖ for ὀχηθμῷ and ἔνθα for οἱ δέ (149), and καθέσωσιν for στήσωνται (150), which could be explained as later corruptions or lapses in Thucydides' memory (van der Valk 1977: 444-5). By contrast, σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν (148) introduces an entirely different notion, better explained as a genuine ancient – possibly oral – variant (cf. 135-9n. for variants in the *direct* tradition). Even the minor variants above, along with 148a, could be explained as slightly different uses by poets of traditional diction to communicate the same idea (Janko 2-3; cf. notes ad loc.).

A more complex case is line 146 (ἀλλ' ὅτε … γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης), which exhibits similar meaning but considerable lexical and syntactic alterations – possibly another performance variant (*contra* Förstel 132, who credits Thucydides himself); for θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης cf. 153, *Od*. 1.107, *Hy*. 19.45. The phrase is best understood as referring to Apollo's original choice (cf. 138 φίλησε) whose outcome is the festival: 'But since you took most pleasure in Delos, there the Ionians gather' (cf. Breuning 66-8). The (later common) causal use of ὅτε is rare in epos (but cf. *Il*. 20.29, *Od*. 17.461; both ὅτε δή). An alternative reading

preserves temporal ὅτε – 'whenever you have taken most pleasure in Delos, there they gather' (Humbert, AHS) – but this relegates Apollo's preference for Delos to something periodic. Van Groningen 310-2 judged ἀλλ' ὅτε too difficult to construe and adopted Camerarius' conjecture ἄλλοτε, entailing the (convoluted) hypothesis that Thucydides' version was substantially different (viz. 140/142/146); but this also relies on the unjustified claim that 143-5 are an (unexplained) later addition (cf. 143-5n.). For less persuasive iterations of the same idea see West (1975: 170) and Janko 233-4.

147-55. The Ionian families and the musical and athletic programme are described summarily (147-9); the underlying commemorative purpose is noted (150); finally, the impression of divinity experienced by a hypothetical observer is given at length (151-55). The tableau presents the festival not as a specific event but according to its essential, enduring features. Doubly timeless, it also lacks the internal progressions of a festival's typical ritual sequences, which feature prominently in the description of Nicias' Delian *theoria* (Plut. *Nic*. 3.5-8) and scholarly reconstructions of the Delian festival (e.g. Homolle 1881: 56-9, Bethe 1938: 105-12). Rather than bustling movement and dramatic activity, *HAp*'s picture depends on rapt contemplation – by selection of a few telling details (wives, clothing, song, etc.), but even more by discerning features that link all participants and Apollo himself (godlike appearance, commemoration, χάρις and τέρψις).

The festival shares elements with the second Olympian scene (188-206): collective celebration in the form of song and dance, dominated by a female chorus (Deliades ~ Muses) and a male soloist (hymnist ~ Apollo) – analogies encouraged by the present description (cf. 157n., 175n.; Kakridis 1937). The pairing elevates Delos and its worshippers as Olympus' terrestrial counterparts, while their common denominator, music (including the hymn itself), is invested with an almost magical power to divinise. This view of festivals as special occasions

where mortals approach a more godlike state is echoed in later sources, e.g. Pl. *Lg*. 634d, Str. 10.3.9; cf. Petrovic (2013: 204-8). The Muses' song about human wretchedness and mortality (190-3) has, however, been taken to 'correct' or undermine this 'optimistic' view (Kakridis 1937: 105, Heubeck 1972a: 144). The hymnist's access to Olympus does imply a special authority not available to the anonymous spectator of 151-5, but to introduce the latter only to undermine him as delusional would pointlessly weaken the praise of Delos. Godlike mortals can coexist with Olympian contempt (e.g. Apollo vs. Achilles at *Il*. 22.8ff.); indeed, a statement of human misery highlights the festival's role as the best, albeit temporary, bridge between two separate states. The rich interactions between these two passages shows *HAp*'s careful construction, although they are not decisive proof of unity since the comparison to divinities (151-5) does not in fact require the later 'correction' (*pace* Kakridis).

147. **ἔνθα**: AHS understand this as the relative 'where', but a semi-colon and a slight pause between the priamel's conclusion (146) and the following scene is preferable: 'you take pleasure in Delos: *there* the Ionians…'. Delos' personification ends here as she becomes the meeting-place for others who continue her service to Apollo.

τοι: all the festival's activity is directed towards Apollo; cf. σε (149). Yet the scene is not simply focalized by him (*pace* de Jong 2014: 325-6), since the apostrophe foregrounds the narrator's voice and perspective. As in 120-2, he describes for Apollo the honour he receives from others, which is then offered up to the god, as it were, by the direct address.

ἑλκεχίτωνες ᾽Ιάονες: the combination appears in *Il*. 13.685 as ᾽Ιάονες ἑλκεχίτωνες, referring to Athenians. For the (less complete) Ionianness of the historical festival see pp. 29-31. The Aeolic vocalism in ᾽Ιάονες (for *᾽Ιήονες) and the inappropriateness of ἑλκεχίτωνες

in the martial context of 13.685 point to an old traditional phrase (Janko on *Il*. 13.685-8). Here it communicates a picture of elite luxury, specifically the ancient splendour of the Ionians who are worthy contemporaries of Homer himself (cf. 172-3n.); this in turn compliments their descendants (either on Delos or in other Ionian cities). Ἰάονες are the men only (wives in 149). The χιτών or tunic was originally a male undergarment, eventually extended to women. Long tunics were exceptional, emblematic of the famous extravagance of the old Ionian dress: cf. Th. 1.6.3, van Wees (2005). In Asius' comparable sketch of past Ionian glories, Samians at the festival of Hera also wear trailing robes (fr. 13 Bernabé; see further Bowra 1957).

ἠγερέθονται: a lengthened form of ἀγείρομαι (*GH* i. 98). The notion of 'gathering', predicted by Leto at 58 and decreed at 539 by Apollo (ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι/-ων), is essential to the characterisation of Apollo's Delian and Delphic cults as central points in his cultic networks (cf. 250-1).

148. **αὐτοῖς σὺν παίδεσσι**: cf. Τρῶες…σὺν παισὶ καὶ αἰδοίῃς ἀλόχοισι (*Il*. 21.459-60). In epic αὐτός + comitative dative may be used with σύν (which Attic omits), e.g. *Il*. 9.194; cf. *GH* ii. 76, 136. αὐτοῖσιν (Hermann) is therefore an unnecessary change, nor is the short dative αὐτοῖς objectionable, as Gemoll 144 implies. The emphasis which αὐτοῖς lends to παῖδες ('children', encompassing sons *and* daughters) is not totally clear. It seems to balance them against ἀλόχοισιν and underline that the pilgrim groups are complete families, which characterises the festival as an institution transmitted across generations. Family participation was common but not a given (Parker 2005: 180; cf. Strabo 14.6.3 for families at the Old Paphos *panegyris*). The attractive emendation αὐτοί (Gemoll) would refer anaphorically to Ἰάονες and produce a pattern like αὐτῷ καὶ παίδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι (*Od*. 3.381), but the paradosis is not clearly corrupt. Later Delian inscriptions record athletic and choral

competitions by boys (Bruneau 1970: 67, 70), while girls may have participated in choruses (Str. 10.5.2).

σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν: while the rest of Thucydides' version of this line is standard epic fare (cf. *Il*. 4.162, *Op*. 399), this divergence is unusual. Gathering in the ἄγυια, 'street', recalls processions which brought the singing pilgrims to the sanctuary (Breuning 1929: 68; e.g. Plut. *Nic*. 3.5), which alters the character of the festival (in its directly transmitted form) by introducing movement and sequence (148 procession -> 149 contests); cf. 147-55n. Guttmann (1869: 20) argued that ἄγυια meant a place for contests before the temple, which AHS approve. But this hardly suits the word's usual meaning ('street', lit. 'that which leads somewhere' < ἄγω; but cf. 150n. ἀγῶνα), nor the large meadow east of the Letoon (later the Agora of the Italians: *GD* 52) where the pilgrims probably assembled (Bethe 1937: 196).

Càssola plausibly identifies this ἄγυια as the Sacred Way leading from the main (western) harbour to the sanctuary; for details see Gallet de Santerre (1958: 74, 77-9, 234-5, Map E). This may reflect the spatial reorganisation of the second half of the sixth century, and hypotheses about an earlier *northern* highway (e.g. Förstel 133) founder on doubts about a harbour at Scardana (Bruneau and Ducat 2005: 161-2). Aloni (1989: 117-8) has speculated that Thucydides' text is a later, 'Athenian' version praising Peisistratid intervention on Delos. Yet the contrary movement, replacing the unusual with the bland, is surely likelier (van Groningen 309); if ἄγυια has a specific local reference, perhaps the aim was to 'delocalize' the text (although in that case Thucydides would have a 'Delian version').

149. A similar combination of music, dance and gymnastics (including boxing) forms the Phaeacians' entertainment for Odysseus in *Od*. 8 (noted by Welcker 1865: 161). The hymnist catalogues the Ionians' talents as Alcinous does at 8.253 (ναυτιλίῃ καὶ ποσσὶ καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ

καὶ ἀοιδῇ). In both cases, a group's variegated displays of sporting and artistic prowess honour their god or guest.

οἱ δέ: ἔνθα (Thucydides) may result from assimilation to ἔνθα in 147 (Förstel 133). But the anaphora effectively underlines Delos' role as a meeting place; even if not original (so Breuning 1929: 68), it could be a poet's attempted improvement rather than scribal error.

πυγμαχίῃ: Apollo is the patron of boxing and linked to it in several myths (cf. *Il*. 23.660-1, with Richardson's note) – one form of his kourotrophic care for young men (cf. 134n.). Hellenistic inscriptions from Delos mention πυγμή among several athletic contests (Bruneau 1970: 67). Jünther (1939: 256) argues that *HAp*'s single event reflects the original, simpler programme, but a larger range is, historically, likelier (Homolle 1881: 57). *HAp* probably chooses one especially Apolline sport to stand for them all (cf. Richardson ad loc.).

ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ: = *Sc*. 282, Thgn. 791, while Thucydides' ὀρχηστυῖ is the Homeric form in this pairing (*Od*. 8.253, 17.605); Homer uses (the later more common) ὀρχηθ- only in the genitive ὀρχηθμοῖο (5x). Distribution suggests ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ is a 'morphological' modification of a traditional formula (although different poets could have used ὀρχηθμῷ or ὀρχηστυῖ contemporaneously). Though Förstel 134 suspects Thucydides' variant is original, later assimilation to the familiar Homeric form is perhaps likelier (cf. Chappell ad loc.).

Given the formularity of 'dance and song', a reflection of the culturally embedded link between them (= μολπή or, collectively, χορεία), 149 is not a tricolon but a dicolon dominated by μουσική, not sport – anticipating the poet's later focus. Dance was pervasive in Delian cult: ἐν Δήλῳ δέ γε οὐδὲ αἱ θυσίαι ἄνευ ὀρχήσεως (Lucian, *Salt*. 16); some local styles,

especially the *geranos* and 'flagellation' dances, were famously peculiar (Gallet de Santerre 1958: 178-84). As practitioners of χορεία, the Deliades would certainly have combined song with dance (the latter is explicit if κρεμβαλιαστύν is read in 162). Yet in what follows more weight is given to their singing (158-61), since they share this with the hymnist.

150. **μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν**: the different events (149) are instruments in the overarching task of A) 'bringing Apollo to mind' and B) 'pleasing' him thereby – leitmotifs running through the festival (cf. 147-78n. and Taddei 2007). Having already characterised itself in the same terms (cf. 1, 22, 146), *HAp* appears as a microcosm of the festival even before it emerges in 165 as a constituent part of it. Singing is one way – the best – to commemorate Apollo, but singing and commemoration are not 'co-extensive' (so Moran 1975: 210; cf. 1n.). For τέρψις as the effect of music, cf. *Od*. 1.346-7, *Th*. 91; here athletics also give pleasure.

ὅταν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα: ἀγών originally denoted a gathering, then specifically the contest commonly held on such an occasion, as at *Hy*. 6.19, *Th*. 435. στήσωνται, 'establish, institute', is compatible with either meaning (*LfgrE* s.v. ἀγών, B3 implies it necessitates 'contest'); cf. στησάμενοι…μάχην (*Il*. 18.533), ἀγορὰς στησάμενοι (Hdt. 1.153). Thucydides' reading καθέσωσιν, 'seat', better suits 'gathering', i.e. the audience seated to watch the show, as at *Il*. 23.258 (ἵζανεν…ἀγῶνα); cf. *Od*. 2.59 (ἀγοράς). He uses the hymn to prove there was an athletic contest (γυμνικὸς ἀγών), but this is deducible from πυγμαχίῃ.

151-55. The hymnist communicates the intensely graceful, even divine effect of the scene by means of an imaginary spectator, specifically a traveller pictured as coming upon the Ionian congregation and supposing them to be gods. Comparison to divinities is a traditional encomiastic strategy (e.g. 464-5, *Aphr*. 92, *Od*. 6.149-52), but its application to a collective

rather than outstanding individuals is notable (cf. θεοειδής, etc. of heroes). The divine quality of Apollo's worshippers magnifies his stature (as did the *human* quality of gods beside him: see 119, 123-5, 134-5nn.). Despite its novelty, the 'anonymous focalizer' permits the narrator to privilege this view as the paradigmatic response: how an internal audience reacts to events they can actually 'see' guides the external audience's reception of the narrative about those events (which they can only hear and imagine); cf. de Jong (1987: 58-60). For other examples see *Il*. 4.539-42, *Od*. 18.218, 5.73-4 (none in other *Hymns*). Further striking instances of the figure appear at 163-4, 167-8, again as ideal audiences for aesthetic experiences.

The spectator is minimally characterised, defined only by his exclusion from the congregation, which implies impartial judgement (Miller 58). Any Delian audience would be gratified by an outsider's admiration of them. Since the poet presents himself as a fellow pilgrim, the device allows him to generalise his compliment beyond his own (not disinterested) perspective. At the same time, the spectator is a potential model for the widest range of possible audiences, including those predicted by the poet in 174-6, who he implies will also be unfamiliar with Delian matters (cf. Spelman 2018: 168). By contrast, the divinity of the internal audiences in 119, 135-9 lends their perspective authority but also limits audience identification (easier with the hymnist in 120: see note). It is the Everyman-quality of the spectator that implies the validity of his view. He is therefore not a vehicle for views too 'daring' for the poet to voice personally (*pace* Forderer 98), even less for a perspective which he refutes in 190-3 (see 147-55n.); nor does he see what the blind poet cannot (so Richardson ad loc.), since the narrator has already displayed an equally panoramic view in 147-50 (de Jong 2014: 326 n. 23).

151. **φαίη**: 'say, think'; this form of φημί always expresses an anonymous focalizer's judgement: 163, *Od*. 18.218, 23.135. There is a commoner related expression in which φαίης refers to the narratee (e.g. *Il*. 3.220, 17.366, *Od*. 3.124; cf. de Jong 2014: 317).

ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως: 'immortal and ageless', a common formula for the divine state (20x epos), defined by contrast with the distinctive limitations of mortals, who cannot find θανάτοιό τ' ἄκος καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ (193). The phrase appears predominantly in character-text (*contra Il*. 2.447 aegis, *Od*. 7.94 Alcinous' dogs, *Th*. 305 Echidna) and is never applied to the Olympians. It can, as in 151, describe the divine condition as *perceived by men* (e.g. *Il*. 8.539, 12.322); elsewhere it contrasts a divinity with a mortal (*Il*. 17.444, *Od*. 5.218, *Th*. 277) or describes apotheosis, i.e. transition between the two states (*Od*. 5.136, *Dem*. 242, *Th*. 949); in all cases the context activates the contrast inherent in the phrase itself. For its history see Janko (1981b).

ἔμμεναι αἰεί: this fills the space occupied by ἤματα πάντα in half of all cases of the 'immortal and ageless' formula, expressing the same idea while accommodating the indirect statement. ἔμμεναι αἰεί only recurs at 299, of the Delphic temple which gains 'immortality' through song. At Delos there is only a temporary impression of eternity, requiring the specific circumstances defined by τότ(ε)…ὅτ(ε) in 152 (cf. Forderer 98); though evanescent, the impression returns with each festival – thereby elevated as the intersection between divine and human planes – and enjoys its own permanent record in *HAp*. ἀνήρ (Θ) unnecessarily provides a subject for φαίη and antecedent for 152. Wilamowitz (1916: 441 n. 2) curiously defends it on the ground that the spectator can think the Ionians divine, but not everlastingly so – yet the latter is inherent in the former.

152. **ἐπαντιάσει'**: the confusion of the MSS (οἳ…ἐπαντία σεῖο τ' Θ *p* : ἐπ' ἀντιᾶσι M) is the result of misdivision and was convincingly repaired by Martin's conjecture ἐπαντιάσει (the optative is Ilgen's slight improvement), which entailed referring 152 to the spectator (151)

with ὅς. Clumsier is Ruhnken's attempt to retain the paradosis by reading the more common φαίης in 151 (see note) and γ' here, i.e. '*you* would think the Ionians *before you* immortal'. The compound ἐπαντιάζω is unique, but epos has forms in ὑπ- and συν- (*Il*. 6.17, *Od*. 16.333). ἐπ(ι) suggests an outsider 'coming upon' a scene (Ilgen: '*qui casu intervenisset*'); cf. 168 ἐπελθών (v.l.), of the second anonymous spectator.

153. **πάντων γάρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν**: the cause of the spectator's impression is the scene's pervasive χάρις, or charming beauty. ἴδοιτο tells the external audience what they *should* see, i.e. imagine, by describing what the anonymous focalizer 'would see'. πάντων initially seems to refer to Ἰάονες, but 155 extends the picture to include their possessions.

In epos χάρις rarely describes a god's own appearance (e.g. *Il*. 14.183, Hera's jewellery); it is more often the tincture of divinity which they bestow on their favourites, as Athena sheds χάρις on Odysseus, causing Nausicaa to wonder and think him a god (*Od*. 6.229-43). Since the festival manifests Apollo's power (cf. 147-78n.), it is tempting to think the present χάρις an emanation from him which assimilates worshipper to god. In the analogous Olympian gathering, the Χάριτες participate and radiance streams from Apollo (194, 202). To an audience reliant on the hymn to 'see' what the spectator sees, χάρις will equally be a property of the poet's verbal description. The notion of a pleasing χάρις shed by *poets* upon the subjects they praise is developed by Pindar (cf. *I*. 4.72b τερπνὰν ἐπιστάζων χάριν).

τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμόν: cf. ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ (146). The spectator duplicates Apollo's reaction, but the sense of *aesthetic* pleasure is stronger here since he stands outside the reciprocities of worship. Later his attitude is doubled in turn by Zeus and Leto's pleasure in Apollo's performance at 204 (ἐπιτέρπονται θυμόν … εἰσορόωντες; cf. 154 εἰσορόων). For the conclusive 'pleasure' motif cf. 12-3n. Parallels of structure and mood make the link

unmistakable: the Ionians are like gods because Delos is like Olympus (cf. 147-55n.). At the same time as praising his subject, the poet indicates to his audience the proper response to artistic excellence, which he himself later claims (cf. 170-3).

154-55. The unified impression of χάρις is given specificity by the selection of representative details. The reference to men and women (154) echoes the scene's beginning (147-8), but the amplificatory reference to ships and possessions (156) provides a suitably emphatic ending.

ἄνδρας … καλλιζώνους τε γυναῖκας: ≈ *Il*. 7.139, 24.698, *Od*. 23.147 (nom./gen.). The Ionians' fine clothing indicates distinction and contributes to the scene's beauty (cf. 147 ἑλκεχίτωνες). Beyond the girdle's quality, καλλιζώνος also brings to mind the attractive fold (κόλπος) in the πέπλος hanging over the ζωνή (cf. Marinatos 1967: 11). Only here and in *Od*. 23 (a wedding) does the epithet answer the context.

νῆάς τ' ὠκείας: ὠκύς, 'swift', is used 6x of ναῦς in epos (*Il*. 8.197, etc.). Even their ships reflect the Ionians' excellence. The Athenians reserved a special ship for their *theoria* to Delos (Pl. *Phd*. 58a-b), and the sight of countless ships arriving on the island must have contributed to the experience of the festival as a gathering of a large cult network.

αὐτῶν κτήματα πολλά: αὐτῶν probably refers to the men and women of 154; AHS judge αὐτῶν 'pleonastic', but this adds weight, underlining the augmentation ('the Ionians…and the many possessions *of them*'). Alternatively, αὐτῶν could refer to νῆας, 'ships and their cargoes' (the meaning of κτήματα at *Od*. 3.153, 312). Traders were drawn to Delos by the crowds of pilgrims, who could not be supported by the island nor bring everything required for the several days of the festival. For the symbiosis of festivals and markets see

Chandezon (2000). Here however the reference is not unambiguously to trade (*pace* AHS): the point is less exchange than *display*, just as the κτήματα πολλά (266) of Apollo's temple will be a marvel (with εἰσοῤάασθαι, cf. 154).

156-64. The description culminates in an account of the chorus of Delian Maidens ('Deliades') equal in length to the preceding section (nine verses). As the Delian festival capped Apollo's other (anonymous) cult sites (140-6), so the distinctively local Deliades cap the (relatively generic) features described in 147-55 – specifically by expanding the reference to song and dance in 149. By combining praise of Apollo with virtuosic musicality, they capture the essence of the festival as the poet conceives it – and are also, not accidentally, his own closest analogues (a link exploited in 165-76). The two sections are structurally similar: summary introduction (156-7 ~ 147-8), details of activity (158-60 ~ 149-50), reaction of internal audience (161-4 ~ 151-55). In both cases, the last sub-section, an extraordinary aesthetic experience, outweighs the others, which promotes the festival's characterisation as an outstanding artistic, not just religious, spectacle.

Appropriately, given its encomiastic function and the Deliades' own hymnic practice, the section is structured like a miniature hymn (Miller 1979: 182 and n. 34; cf. 5-9n.). Line 156 announces praise of a worthy topic, with deictic τόδε signalling a narratorial presence (~ 1a), then 157 names the topic with epithetic expansion (~ 1b). Opening with the 'hymnic' relative αἵ (~ 2 ὅν), the central, 'attributive' section (158-64) describes typical activity; its concluding reference to the subject's effect on others (161-4) is paralleled by *Hy*. 6.15-8, 19.45-7. The unique epilogue (165-76) is, remarkably, longer than the mini-hymn itself and doubles as the conclusion of *HAp*'s first part.

156. **πρὸς δέ**: like ἀλλά (147), this signals the capping term by bracketing it off from what precedes. Initially the division is blurred since 156 could continue the spectator's vision (154-5); the nominatives in 157 confirm the altered construction ('and [there is] also this wonder…'). The sense is 'and what is more' rather than 'and additionally', an intensification not a mere extension: cf. *Od*. 16.291; *GH* ii. 131. It does not suggest that the foregoing scene was equally a θαῦμα (*pace* Kurke 2013: 168 n. 49), which would flatten the rhetorical progression.

τόδε: the deictic pronoun has been judged the first certain indication of the poet's presence at the scene he describes (de Jong 2012: 50), but that is the apostrophe at 166. Rather than proximal ('this by me'), the deixis could be cataphoric ('the following'). The former appears at 87, 529, the latter at 66, 84 (all character-text); *Dem*. 480 is similarly ambiguous. Cataphora intimates the narrator's organising function without necessitating his literal presence: the hymnist moves gradually towards that revelation, not in a single bound.

μέγα θαῦμα: the 'wonder' motif is again transitional (cf. 135); but instead of concluding a section, it now previews what follows (cf. 151-55, where a summary impression prefaces details). Enthusiastic praise, besides heightening audience anticipation (Tschiedel 1975: 24), justifies the topic's treatment and guides its reception. The 'miracle' which θαῦμα denotes is normally linked with the divine (Mette 1950: 49-54), and μέγα θαῦμα recurs at 415 to describe Apollo's dolphin epiphany. No specific cause is expressed here, but everything points to Apollo: the chorus are his 'servants' (157), outstanding practitioners of his musical art, and the embodiment of a festival which also manifests his power (*contra LfgrE* s.v. B, denying a divine source). θαῦμα's epiphanic connotations are noted by De Martino (1982: 82), but he relates them only to analogies between the Deliades and the Muses (cf. 157n.).

A subset of θαύματα into which the chorus' performance falls are artistic feats provoking a specifically *aesthetic* pleasure (cf. Hunzinger 1994, who does not discuss *HAp*). These θαύματα, like Odysseus' brooch (*Od*. 19.225-32) or the shields of Achilles and Heracles (*Il*. 18.478-608, *Sc*. 139ff.), are beguiling and paradoxical, particularly in their representational abilities (e.g. 18.539 ὥς τε ζωοὶ βροτοί, *Sc*. 189 ὡς εἰ ζωοί περ ἐόντες); they are usually characterised by multiplicity of form and colour (18.590 ποίκιλλε, *Sc*. 315 πολυδαίδαλον), while the supreme instances achieve universality (Achilles' shield represents the cosmos: Rutherford 2019: 26). Likewise, the Deliades' performances bewitch audiences (161 θέλγουσι) through the exhaustive variety (162 πάντων) of their imitative (163 μιμεῖσθαι) song and dance, which appeal to and represent all men (163-4).

ὅου: equivalent to the contemporary vernacular οὗ, this form replaced original *ὅο by diectasis; cf. *Il*. 2.325, *Od*. 1.70 and *GH* i. 45, 82.

κλέος οὔποτ' ὀλεῖται: = *Il*. 2.325, 7.91, *Od*. 24.196, Hes. fr. 70.7 M-W, Thgn. 867. In all these cases κλέος concerns divine acts or heroic excellence, conferring on the Deliades the aura of great mythological figures (later claimed by the hymnist too: 166-7n.). The phrase also points to *HAp* itself, since poetry, as the foremost means of preserving memory, is almost always implied by κλέος (Nagy 1979: 15-18, Goldhill 1990: 69 n. 2); the hymn is thereby promoted as a potentially everlasting monument to the Deliades' – and therefore the poet's – fame. These implications are later fleshed out in his promise to spread their κλέος (cf. 174-6n.). The Homeric narrator never explicitly predicts his characters' fame (the passages cited above are in character-speech; but cf. de Jong 2006); for him κλέος is a tenuous thread linking him to the past for which he is dependent on the Muses, who 'are present and know all' (*Il*. 2.485-6; cf. Goldhill 1990: 70). While Hesiod relies on the Muses *and* personal experience

(e.g. *Op*. 650-62), *HAp* actually substitutes the Muses' authority with the poet's own autopsy (although he does seek the Deliades' approval: 165-79n.). It can do this because the poet is 'Homer': that is, *HAp*'s extravagant claims to memorialising power rely in part on poems more 'modest' (or less explicit) about their own achievement. See further pp. 32-8.

To preserve the κλέος of a θαῦμα, moreover, is a special accomplishment: 'what is heard' (< κλύω) and thus passed on is combined with an intense and unmediated, generally *visual* experience (cf. *LfgrE* s.vv.). These fields and terms are therefore rarely paired. That poets were conscious of the challenge of bridging the gap and keen to claim they had succeeded in doing so is suggested by the recurrent use of θαῦμα (ἰδέσθαι) in ecphrases (e.g. *Il*. 18.377, 549; 5x in *Sc*.), where a second-order *verbal* representation seeks to communicate the (visual) effect of an original (cf. Hunzinger 1994: 6). The hymnist promises not merely to preserve the chorus' name but to convey its marvellous effect (cf. 176n. for ἐτήτυμον).

157. A grand four-word verse announces the Deliades (cf. Bassett 1919: 225-6 for nominal *versus tetracoloi*; the case in 111, due to formular combination, is not obviously expressive). The details – youthfulness, geographical link, subordination to a male god (here in worship, not paternity) – are typical of designations for female (choral) groups, e.g. Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο (*Th*. 25), νύμφαι ὀρεστιάδες ~ (*Il*. 6.420), νύμφαι Νηϊάδες ~ (*Od*. 13.356); cf. Calame 2001: 30-33. This pattern was too widely productive for their naming to be modelled specifically on the Muses (*pace* Condello 2007: 46), whose mention at 190 does not show the pattern. Nevertheless, the parallels between the scenes (147-55n.) suggest the Deliades are 'the paradigmatic earthly instantiation of the Muses' archetypal chorus' (Peponi 2009: 54; cf. Nagy 1990: 375-7). Even before this link is established retrospectively, the chorus' superlative hymn-singing presents them as practitioners of the Muses' art (cf. *Th*. 43-51), though to call them 'the local Muses of Delos' (Nagy 2013: 237)

exaggerates their divinity and the parallel with Hesiod's encounter with the Muses (*Th*. 22-34; cf. 165-78n.).

The hymn's presentation of the Deliades as paradigmatic Apolline worshippers overlaps partially with their later literary appearances. In Euripides, perhaps under *HAp*'s influence, they appear as idealised choral singers: *Hec*. 462, *HF* 687-90; cf. Henrichs (1996: 54-60). Just as *HAp* makes them Homer's contemporaries, so in Euripides their practice reaches into the deep mythological past. In Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, by contrast, where reliance on *HAp* is more certain, the Deliades appear differently and doubled, as nymphs who greet the birth (cf. 119n.) and local girls who offer hair to the Hyperboreans (296-8; cf. Hdt. 4.33). It is possible that this offering and the chorus' singing together constituted a rite of passage within a kourotrophic Delian festival (Calame 2001: 108), but *HAp* focuses only on their musicality and relation to the main gods (for the elision of the Hyperboreans cf. 147-78n., 160n.).

Their appearances in later epigraphic evidence are also partial, in essence confirming *HAp* but also hinting at its special emphases. In Hellenistic Delian inscriptions they are, as in the hymn, the foremost local performers – sometimes simply called χορός – and participated in the festivals of Apollo and Artemis (the subjects of their songs in 158-9), but also at the Aphrodisia and others. An annually employed aulete proves that they were a permanent, not occasional, chorus. In *HAp* too they have a corporate identity which persists across the recurring festivals, so that any later chorus would be the successor of the one it claims Homer engaged with. Their second main historical function was to perform for embassies (Bruneau 1970: 94-106), but this probably does not lie behind the obscure claim that they 'imitate all men' (see 162-4n.). The hymn does not mention theoric choruses (*pace* Th. 3.104.3, who discerns them in line 149); but one should not conclude that the Deliades performed for *theoriai* before and after the classical period, whereas during the time of Athenian dominance, when the Deliades are not epigraphically attested, only foreign choruses were sent (Bruneau 1970:

108-9, Kowalzig 2007: 102); such a schematic picture is contradicted by Thucydides' claim (χορούς ἀνῆγον αἱ πόλεις) and the story of Eumelus' Messenian *prooimion* (see p. 29). It is likelier that pilgrims had a range of options – theoric chorus, Deliades, no song at all – though preferences could have shifted over time (cf. Rutherford 2000: 611-12). *HAp*'s presentation is determined by its desire to vaunt Delos' local attraction: presented as an undifferentiated collective, the Ionians focus on this shared institution, not the choruses of separate communities.

κοῦραι Δηλιάδες: 'maidens of Delos'. κοῦραι here and in 169 insists on their virginity. Thucydides (3.104.5) and some Delian inscriptions refer to them as χορὸς τῶν γυναικῶν, which presumably means 'female chorus', not 'chorus of (married) women'; alternatively, Larson (2001: 316 n. 210) suggests that professionalism eventually trumped marital status.

Denominatives in -αδ- form feminine collective names denoting geographical links (e.g. ὀρεστιάδες, etc.). The chorus' spatial rootedness is underlined by contrast, firstly, with the assembled Ionians (147), then with other mobile visitors, including the hymnist (168, 175-6). Later inscriptions suggest the chorus members are locals, and it is plausible that they were always selected from among the daughters of (aristocratic?) Delian families (Homolle 1881: 55 n. 13). That such apparently marginal figures could speak for their community is illustrated by e.g. Alcm. fr. 1 *PMG* (cf. Stehle 1997: 30-9). Attempts to prove that the girls came from other communities in the cult network are generally unpersuasive (*pace* Talamo 1996: 239, Papadopoulou-Belmehdi and Papadopoulou 2002: 159-61). The best evidence is an obscure (unpublished) second-century Coan inscription mentioning 'Daliades', who might be a local group or visitors from Delos (Rutherford 2009: 673 n. 72). Even if the Deliades were non-

Delians, *HAp* would illustrate, as it does with the Ionians, the submersion of their separate local identities under a collective one defined by a shared cult centre.

Ἑκατηβελέταο θεράπναι: 'servants of the Far-shooter'. Here a substantive, ἑκατηβελέτης is a lengthened form of ἑκατηβόλος (134, 140; cf. 1n.); it recurs as Apollo's epithet at *Il*. 1.75, *Sc*. 100 (also four-word verses). This seven-syllable title is suitably dignified for designating his servants. The odd form θεράπνη derives from an *n*-stem θεράπων, while the common θεράπαινα depends on a secondary *nt*-stem (Peters 1980: 148); it is not due to syncope of θεράπαινα (Baumeister ad loc.), nor should the usual form be restored with -εω θεράπαιναι (Barnes). For *HAp*, they are Apollo's 'servants' because they regularly praise him in song at his festival (158). At 390, likewise, θεραπεύω, applied to the Delphic priests, is more institutional than the general sense 'worship' found elsewhere (e.g. *Op*. 135, Pi. O. 3.16). The chorus' official, privileged status is later evidenced by their being supplied (uniquely) not by χορηγοί but by the ἱεροποιοί, who also oversaw the temples (Bruneau 1970: 68-9). Yet in *HAp* they are not 'intimates of the temple' (*pace* Power 2011: 103; cf. Talamo 1996: 239), as they seem to be at E. *HF* 687-8 and as Ion is at Delphi (cf. E. *Ion* 183 θεράπων). Absent from the festival, the temple plays no role in *HAp*'s conception of them; in fact, their supreme musicality has *replaced* the temple as Delos' greatest draw (cf. 56-60).

'θεράπων of *x*' may also be used figuratively of one engaged in a god's special domain: thus singers are servants of the Muses (e.g. *Th*. 100, Hy. 32.20, Thgn. 769; *Margites*, fr. 1.2 W. adds Apollo), warriors of Ares, kings of Zeus (cf. *LfgrE* s.v. B 4). Since Apollo is the patron of musicians (e.g. *Od*. 8.488), the chorus' skill can be imagined as issuing from him, while they in turn make use of it to praise him: their 'service' manifests Apollo's power while giving him pleasure. θεράπων's Homeric application, 'attendant, squire', illustrates the combination

of dependence and honour (cf. Jäkel 1971: 245-49); the notion of dishonourable servility (first in Herodotus, e.g. 1.30) is absent (Murray 1981: 97).

158-161. The best punctuation, adopted by the majority of recent editors (including Richardson, Càssola and AHS), construes μνησάμεναι as beginning the main clause and governing the following genitives (as in 1, 167, 546). Lines 158 and 159 are therefore parallel, as πρῶτον μέν … αὖτις δ' αὖ suggests, while ὑμνήσωσιν (158) is supplied in 159: 'after hymning Apollo first, then Leto and Artemis, they sing a hymn recalling men and women of old.' The performance is framed by 'singing' verbs: ὑμνήσωσιν … ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν (cf. ἐγέραιρε at *Herm*. 429, 433). If a comma is placed *after* μνησάμεναι (Matthiae 140, wrongly judging μνησάμεναι … ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν a tautology: cf. 150n.), it governs the accusatives in 159 (now awkwardly enjambed), with ἀνδρῶν … ὕμνον meaning 'a song *about* men'.

The chorus' performance encompasses the Delian triad (158-9) and mortal figures of the past (160). To sing of both gods and men indicates mastery of the full thematic range (cf. 190, *Od*. 1.338, *Th*. 100-1). The pairing may also describe, besides a hierarchy of typical themes, a traditional performance sequence (De Martino 1981: 41, Weber 1933: 13). The choice of themes and their order coincides with *HAp*'s, which focuses first on gods, then involves mankind; this is the primary analogy, not the rhapsodic practice of singing hymns before epic (*pace* Condello 2007: 48). *HAp* does not actually present itself as prefacing epic (*contra Hy*. 31.18-9 and 32.18-9), even if its claim to Homeric authorship implies a generic link; equally, choral treatment of mythological themes was well established (cf. 160n.). It is possible that the Deliades sang paeans or even dithyrambs (Rutherford 2001: 29, Aloni 1993: 138), but if so *HAp* avoids all such dissimilation and shares generic terms (cf. ὑμνέω at 19, 158, 178; contrast paeanic terminology at 500, 517); only the wonder (162-4) that undergirds the chorus' authority differentiates their performance. Given these shared features, joint

performance has been mooted (e.g. Bethe 1931: 39), but this is pure speculation. The parallelism which the poet constructs between himself and the chorus as authoritative Apolline singers is mutually aggrandising without necessitating actual collaboration (cf. 165-78n.).

158-59. Apollo stands first and receives a whole verse, while Leto and Artemis share a line and depend on his verb (ὑμνήσωσιν). πρῶτον μέν … αὖτις δ' αὖ could also imply a series of hymns to each divinity (Tichy 1983: 217), but here it primarily marks a thematic hierarchy matching the gods' importance in the festival and, by extension, Delian cult; as with gods and men (cf. 158-61n.), it also reflects their significance in *HAp* (Leto's importance fades after the birth). Similarly, the (theogonic) structuring of the Muses' inset song (*Th*. 43-50) – earliest gods (πρῶτον), Zeus (δεύτερον αὖτε), men and Giants (αὖτις δέ) – mirrors that of the framing poem (West on *Th*. 44, Harden 2012: 101). αὖτις δ' αὖ is a strengthened form of αὖτις δέ and recurs only at *Th*. 237.

Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν: = 15b. This epic-sounding phrase helps to assimilate the inset and framing songs. Since the Deliades performed at the Artemisia (Bruneau 1970: 201), they had independent links with Artemis obscured by *HAp*'s Apolline perspective. Given that Artemis preceded Apollo on Delos and had closer connections to maiden choruses (Calame 2001: 91-101), their link to her might be original. But this is not proved by their praising her alone at E. *Hec*. 456 (a case of 'choral projection'), since they praise Apollo alone at E. *HF* 687-90 (*pace* Kowalzig 2007: 66, 120).

160. **ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἠδε γυναικῶν**: the words are too general to identify particular songs or themes but suggest a comprehensive engagement with heroic subjects. παλαιός and πάλαι are appropriate for celebrated figures of the past, e.g. *Il*. 7.89, *Od*. 2.118; cf. also *Th*.

100 κλεῖα προτέρων ἀνθρώπων (paired with gods in 101). Wilamowitz (1916: 451) argues that the reference is to Olen's hymn to the Hyperborean maidens, which was sung by local women and spread among 'islanders and Ionians' (Hdt. 4.35); the 'men' would be their male companions (Hdt. 4.33, Call. *Hy*. 4.293-4). It is historically plausible that the Deliades sang this song, but *HAp* prefers a general statement over a narrow reference to local lore.

161. **ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν**: cf. ὕμνον ἀείδειν| (*Op*. 662). This is equivalent to ὑμνήσωσιν (158) and therefore need not indicate a single song (cf. 160n.). The application of ὕμνος to 'secular' subjects illustrates its original, generic meaning, 'song' (cf. *LfgrE* s.v.), not the extension of a 'religious' use (*pace* Wegner 1968: 32-3); cf. 19n.

θέλγουσι: the description of the performance is followed by its effect on the audience, as at 204-6, *Herm*. 434-5; cf. Harden (2012: 82). θέλγειν, 'bewitch', denotes the exercise (often by gods) of an overwhelming, even magical power which catches its 'victim' in a state of suspension or enthralment, one that is frequently pleasurable but deceptive (*LfgrE* s.v.); it is used of poetry at *Od*. 12.40, 17.521. All these aspects are relevant to the chorus' miraculous, possibly divine song (cf. 156 θαῦμα), which entrances its hearers with its beauty and beguiles them with the perfection of its imitation (162-4). See further Maehler (1963: 29-30), Halliwell (2012: 47-49).

φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων: 'tribes of men', indicates the chorus' ability to appeal to everyone, as later it communicates Delphi's wide reach (298, 537-8). For Weber (1933: 195) it shows the festival is not purely Ionian, but the phrase is imprecise. φῦλα + gen. can denote a large number of a certain class (e.g. *Il*. 9.130 φῦλα γυναικῶν) without reference to ethnicity (cf. *LfgrE* s.v. B 2bα). At 355 it refers to the immediate environs of Delphi and stresses the serpent's brutality.

HAp is fond of the phrase, with five of its 18 occurrences in epos, a reflection of its emphasis on the widespread appeal of Apollo's cults.

162-64. The passage ends with an enigmatic description of the chorus' technique, apparently the essence of the θαῦμα. Since ἀοιδή (164) recalls ἀείδουσιν (161), this surely specifies the style of the preceding songs, not a separate display of virtuosity (*pace* Brillante 2008). It is clear that their skill in imitating voices (and possibly movement) is complete in range and perfect enough to provoke identification. *Who* they imitate is less clear – either the characters of their songs or, less probably, the Ionian pilgrims.

The combination of song with dance imitating what the words express had the generic name ὑπόρχημα (Athen. 1.15d, Plut. *Mor*. 748ab), and it is plausible that this is described here (Franke ad loc., Koller 1954: 37; cf. Calame 2001: 104). Much about it is obscure, but it should not be dismissed too easily (*contra* Peponi 2009: 56). Hyporchemes are attested for (boys') choruses on Delos (Lucian, *Salt*. 16); the γέρανος was one such imitative dance (albeit one performed by Athenian youths, *not* the Deliades: Bruneau 1970: 31; *contra* Koller 1954: 41-2). The praise of gods and men in the Deliades' repertoire (158-61) are themes found in the fragments of Pindar's hyporchemes (frr. 108ab, 111 S-M), where μιμέο (fr. 107a.3) denotes the chorus' interpretative song-and-dance (cf. 163). The Deliades presumably represented Delian myths, perhaps including that of the Hyperboreans (cf. 160n.). This reading depends heavily on the variant κρεμβαλιαστύν, 'dancing' (162n.). Although sources on the hyporcheme do not emphasise *vocal* imitation, the example attributed to Pratinas (fr. 3 Snell) is highly onomatopoeic, and Pi. fr. 107a.3 draws attention to its 'curved song' as part of the imitation. Further details are collected in Mathiesen (1999: 88-94), Barker (1984: 214-5) and Diehl (1914). A related reading credits the Deliades with songs like those of Stesichorus, rich in the varied speech of mythological characters (Burkert 1987: 54). Dancing is less central

here, so either variant in 162 will do; but the role of vocal imitation in such a style is, as Burkert admits, speculation (though not perhaps unreasonable). The performance of Stesichorus is also disputed, but Finglass (2014: 30-2) concludes that, while monody cannot be excluded, choruses were probably the primary performers.

The main alternative interpretation identifies in 162 the dialects and/or languages of the pilgrims (e.g. Miller 59-60; AHS misleadingly link this to the hyporcheme). The likeliest context for such 'imitation' is the Deliades' role performing songs commissioned by *theoriai*; 'voices and dance' would refer to the linguistic and performance idioms of the various communities (Matthiae 142, Webster 1959: 6-10; cf. 157n.). But while cults were sometimes multilingual, *HAp*'s Ionian emphasis denies this, and it would be inept for the festival's central wonder to contradict its general character. And mastery of Ionian dialectal variation only would hardly be miraculous (Bing 1993: 195). Still less persuasive are readings which depend on βαμβασλιαστύν, 'babble', as meaning non-Greek languages, either of Near Eastern pilgrims (Humbert 1937) or of remnants in the Delian liturgy owed to the Lycian hymnographer Olen (Wilamowitz 1916: 450-52). Nothing suggests his hymns were not wholly Greek (Peponi 2009: 44), while the maidens' mastery of foreign tongues is improbable. Finally, the notion of a Pentecost-like glossolalic miracle (Tschiedel 1975) is totally divorced from *HAp*'s picture of skilled and *regular* musical performance.

πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων: 'of all people' indicates the complete range of their imitative skill ('Universalitätsaussage': Förstel 303); in this they reflect Apollo, whose reach is described with the same words (56, 81, 482). The phrase picks up 'men and women' (160) rather than the nearer ἀνθρώπων (161); failure to mention gods (158-9) could suggest their mimetic style does not extend to religious hymns, but the brief description is necessarily selective (cf. 163-4n. φθέγγεσθαι).

φωνάς: φωνή primarily denotes vocal quality or timbre, i.e. voice as sound (*LfgrE* s.v. B I1), including a singing voice: *Il*. 18.571, *Th*. 39, *Herm*. 426. A parallel for imitation of voices is Helen's mimicry at *Od*. 4.279, where she 'likens her voice to [the voices of] all the Argives' wives' (πάντων Ἀργείων φωνὴν ἴσκουσ' ἀλόχοισιν); such is the likeness, most of the men are fooled (cf. 163-4). Assuming another's voice is also part of divine disguise (cf. *Il*. 13.44, 20.80), hence appropriately judged a θαῦμα (156). The meaning 'dialect' on which many interpretations rely is a Classical development: LSJ s.v. II.2, Tichy (1983: 218 n. 24). A. *Cho*. 563-4, often adduced for imitation of dialect, is not clear-cut (see Garvie ad loc.).

κρεμβαλιαστύν: the majority reading (M *f p*), this unique word derives from κρέμβαλα, 'castanets, clappers' (normally called κρόταλα), which dancers – especially female groups – used to mark rhythm or accentuate movement (Wegner 1968: 22-24, West 1992: 122-4). Virtuoso castanet-playing therefore suggests metonymically a variety of dance styles and moves (cf. Gemoll 146). The Deliades dance at E. *HF* 690, suggesting this was a regular part of their performance. On the hyporchemic reading adopted here, to 'imitate the dance' of someone must mean to imitate them *through* dance. Rather than practitioners of narrow artistic tricks, their expertise in dance and song (φωνάς) makes the Deliades masters of both components of χορεία (Peponi 2009: 55).

βαμβαλιαστύν is confined to the *x* family (ET have it alone; ΛΠ have it superscript above κρεμβαλιαστύν). Though equally unique, its cognates are commoner, e.g. βαμβαλύζω (Hippon. 17), βαμβαίνω (*Il*. 10.375). It is more likely to have replaced κρεμβαλιαστύν (*contra* Forderer 180 n. 66), though the case is finely balanced. These onomatopoeic reduplicated forms seem to denote stammering or other inarticulate vocal production (Chantraine s.v. βαμβαίνω), which would suit sound effects peppering a dramatic

performance. Referring it to foreign languages (Humbert 1937, Càssola ad loc.) is contextually inappropriate (cf. 162-4n.). Peponi (2009: 45-8) persuasively denies the word can denote *any* completed utterance, although this would not totally exclude Greek *perceptions* of foreign speech.

μιμεῖσθ' ἴσασιν: this is possibly the earliest instance of the μιμ- group, found also at Thgn. 370 (mid-sixth century? cf. p. 21). The passage's obscurity complicates its evidence for the word's earliest meaning, but 'imitate' is satisfactory. Already imitation appears as a prized skill central to a work of high artistry, one whose achievement is marked by identification or recognition on the part of an ideal audience (cf. 163-4n.). This goes beyond 'mimicry', the earliest meaning identified by Else (1958), although mimicry could certainly play some role in their representations of characters (Else holds the 'linguistic' interpretation of the Deliades, where mimicking or copying a few distinctive dialectal features is more at home). A more holistic sense of μίμησις as dramatic representation (*Darstellung*) was rightly identified by Koller (1954: 119); yet his claim, incautiously generalised from the Deliades, that originally μίμησις necessarily involved portrayal *in dance* of 'cult history' is untenable (cf. Else 1958: 78).

Barnes' slight emendation (with ἴσασιν scanned ---) is preferable to transmitted [μιμεῖσθαι] ἴσασιν (⏑⏑-), which Càssola retains (following Wilamowitz 1916: 450 n. 3). In Homer the first syllable of ἴσασιν is more often long than short (10x / 7x), whereas in Hesiod it is always short (4x). But in epos the alpha is always long, and cases of the 'Ionic' perfect in -ᾱσι are rare and usually condemned (*Od*. 7.114 πεφύκασι, 11.304 λελόγχασι; cf. *GH* i.470).

163-164. **φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος | φθέγγεσθ'**: 'each would think that he himself is speaking' (but see below for φθέγγεσθαι). This must refer not to the audience members, but to the characters themselves (Tichy 1983: 219); that is, if the represented figures of the past

could view the performance, they would be amazed to see themselves so perfectly portrayed. This is a striking extension of the anonymous focalizer device (cf. 151-5n.); though slightly fantastical, such identification is the surest proof of accuracy. The device's two other uses in *HAp* (151-2, 167-8) equally display the hymnist's ability to develop the conceit beyond his plainer inherited models (see notes). For a (painted) representation mistaken for the person it represents cf. A. fr. 78a.16-7 Radt.

On the 'linguistic' reading, the pilgrims simply recognise their own dialect being spoken. This is realistic but pedestrian, and not clearly relevant to the beauty stressed in 164. Förstel 303-4 argues that the audience's identification with the performance is an effect of the sublime, but for this philosophical notion he can only quote [Long.] *de Subl*. 7.2-3; cf. Peponi (2009: 62).

φθέγγεσθ': the verb properly means 'utter', with reference to the *sound* of the voice, rather than 'speak' (*LfgrE* s.v.), which strengthens the impression that vocal tone and timbre contribute to their imitation, not particular dialectal features (although the latter might involve 'accent'). The word therefore looks back to φωνάς rather than κρεμβαλιαστύν, but this does not decisively favour the more clearly vocal βαμβαλιαστύν: φθέγγεσθαι selects the performance's most notable feature or, perhaps, stands metonymically for the whole (*contra* Peponi 2009: 57-60, who argues unconvincingly that φθέγγεσθαι denotes song *and* dance).

οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν ἀοιδή: 'such is the construction of their beautiful singing', i.e. so as to achieve the effect just described. ἀοιδή echoes ὕμνον ἀείδουσιν (161), as ὕμνον did ὑμνήσωσιν (158), thus closing the second of the two frames (content – effect) containing the performance. This translation refers σφιν to the Deliades and συνάρηρεν to the common musical application of the root ἀρ-, e.g. *Th*. 39 ὁμηρεῦσαι (of voices in concord)

and, later, ἁρμονία (*DGE* s.v. III1; cf. Nagy 1979: 296-300). Although the easier construal, it leaves the imitation obscure, since beauty alone would not cause identification (*pace* Förstel 303-4). The alternative, 'so closely fitted [to the objects of imitation]' (Miller 59), probably supplies too much, but is easier if σφιν refers to the characters, i.e. 'so well fitted to them is the beautiful singing'. ἀράρισκω + dative can be used literally of equipment which 'fits' the body (cf. *LfgrE* s.v. B2aα). This would be a daring and rather obscure metaphor, but perhaps not excessively so given the inventive use of the focalizer device, and it better explains how the imitation effects the recognition.

165-78. The hymnist addresses the Deliades and asks to be remembered as the 'blind Chian' and the best poet.

This section concludes the 'hymn to the Deliades' (cf. 156-64n.) with an adaptation of a hymnic epilogue. The three typical components – salutation, prayer for favour and promise of future song (Förstel 155, Janko 1981a: 15-16) – are represented by (**A**) χαίρετε (166a), (**B**) the request that the chorus remember the hymnist (166b-73) and (**C**) the promise to propagate their fame (174-6). Two elements are doubled and concern Apollo – ἱλήκοι (165) recalls the alternative hymnic salutation ἵληθι (see note) while 177-8 promise further praise – but their third-person form is unparalleled. There is therefore a superabundance of epilogic elements (545-6 contain only salutation and promise), but in a wholly atypical configuration. The primary, divine subject is not directly addressed, while a subsidiary addressee receives the fullest epilogue possible. The Deliades are thereby dismissed, bringing the festival section and *HAp*'s Delian portion to an end. References to Apollo, rather than being a second, stunted epilogue giving the 'feel of an ending' (Chappell 2011: 64), serve a transitional purpose, bringing the god back into focus after the interruption in 146 and preparing for the next theme (cf. Gemoll 112, Miller 1979).

Addressing the Deliades clarifies the deictic ambiguity in τόδε (cf. 156n.). The festival emerges as the hymnist's own performance context: the Deliades are his fellow performers and their audience is also his (contrast the parallel address to Leto at 14-18, where the hymnist was only imaginatively intervening in the Olympian assembly). Such focus on the singer's person and environment is unique in the *Hymns*, yet it represents an extreme development of the pragmatic tendencies of regular hymnic epilogues, the only place (beside introductions) where various deictic markers (pronouns, demonstratives, imperatives and apostrophe) sketch an enunciative context for the third-person narrative (Calame 1994, Capponi 2003). Instead of a minimal and stereotyped situation, in which an anonymous singer may occasionally express a desire for victory and favour (e.g. *Hy*. 6.20, 20.8) or locate his performance at a cult or competition (e.g. *Dem*. 480, Hy. 6.19), *HAp* offers a defined location, occasion and performer. The primary aim of identifying the speaker as the 'blind Chian' is to make the hymn declare explicitly its Homeric authorship, which in turn may have buttressed historical claims about the Delian festival (see 172-3n.). But this also elevates the encomium in progress: by presenting his own practice as the festival's final, climactic element, the poet both aetiologises his own work and accords it a privileged position in the god's worship. He manipulates the epilogic 'prayer' element to turn a request for remembrance into a bald assertion of superiority (166-73). As for the Deliades, their presentation as divinely inspired Apolline singers (156-64) sanctions their assumption of the divinity's position in the epilogic schema (which honours them even more). The hymnist then deploys them as (another) ideal audience, exploiting their authority in an act of ventriloquism through which he acclaims his own art (172-3).

If *HAp* develops tendencies latent in hymnic epilogues, richer parallels lie outside the corpus, above all in Hesiod's meeting with the Muses (*Th*. 22-34, also a hymn: Janko 1981a: 20-2), in which the poet's personality likewise emerges through, and is authorised by, interaction (there in past narration) with an archetypal female musical group (cf. Griffith 1983:

47-50, Nagy 2009b: 283-7). Similarly, Alcman asks a maiden chorus to propagate his fame (fr. 26 *PMG* = 90 Calame; cf. Vestrheim 2004), while Theognis, in dialogue with Cyrnus and quoting a future third party, states his name, city and poetic excellence (21-2). These passage (or some of them) have sometimes been grouped with *HAp* 165-78 as instances of the 'sphragis', the term for the penultimate section of the Terpandrean citharodic *nomos* in which, apparently, the author mentioned himself (Wilamowitz 1903: 99-100, Aly 1929). Used more broadly, as an extra-generic term for any authorial self-reference, the term is both applicable to *HAp* and hermeneutically unhelpful (cf. Edmunds 1997). More compelling is the claim that *HAp* actually exemplifies the Terpandrean scheme, with 165-78 the *sphragis* (Crusius 1888: 261, 266; Thesleff 1949: 120). Such arguments, however, rely on necessarily speculative reconstructions of generic development. *HAp*'s affinities with the other *Hymns* are obvious, and ancient theorists never linked these to the νόμοι (Chappell 20 n. 50). Generic cross-fertilisation is eminently possible (cf. Power 2010: 202 n. 43), but *HAp*'s dependence on a single fixed pattern is doubtful; the tendency of authorial personae to appear at a work's extremities is widespread (cf. Kranz 1961).

165-72. These lines form Thucydides' second quotation (3.104.5) of the hymn; for the first see 147-78n. He quotes only enough to establish that 'Homer' is speaking, so the view (first in Ruhnken 1782: 13) that 173-6 are interpolated is unfounded. Divergences from the direct tradition are fewer and slighter compared to the first quotation, none necessarily representing an oral variant (cf. 168n., 171n.). In line 165, however, Thucydides preserves the likely original.

ἀλλ' ἄγεθ': 'but come now!'. The narrator enters with a sudden jolt, energetically demanding his addressees' attention. At *Dem*. 486 and *Hy*. 20.8 the phrase introduces the

hymn's conclusion, here that of the festival. The idiom anticipates an imperative (cf. 486, *LfgrE* s.v. ἀλλά B3), which follows with χαίρετε and, at least functionally, ἱλήκοι (e.g., *Od*. 21.263 ἀλλ' ἄγετ', οἰνοχόος … ἐπαρξάσθω). Since Apollo's spectatorship is assumed (cf. 146-50), the exclamation need not refer to the Deliades only (*pace* Chappell ad loc., who finds it 'pointless').

The *HAp* MSS read ἀλλά γε (or ἀλλ' ἄγε) Λητὼ μὲν (καί), which lacks a verb to balance χαίρετε δέ (166). Thucydides' ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ἱλήκοι μὲν preserves the original. If the text was corrupted by indistinct lettering or etacism, it would have been easy to discern Leto's name beside her children's (cf. Franke ad loc., van Groningen 310 n. 1).

ἱλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν: cf. εἴ κεν Ἀπόλλων | ἡμῖν ἱλήκῃσι καὶ … θεοὶ ἄλλοι (*Od*. 21.365), the ἱλήκ-'s only other occurrence in epos. Its perfective aspect suggests a general attitude ('be propitious, favourably disposed'), but the following poetic agreement between Apollo's two worshippers would clearly benefit from his favour (Miller 1979: 182 wrongly sees an apology for neglect in what follows). ἵληθι is also the rarer alternative to χαῖρε in hymnic epilogues (*Dion*. 17, *Hy*. 20.8 (+ ἀλλά), 23.4; both found at *Hy*. 19.48), adding a closural colouring. The naming of Artemis with her brother, apparently formulaic (= *Od*. 15.410b), is pertinent: not only is she is a major Delian goddess, but both hymnist and chorus are her (potential) encomiasts (15-6, 159). Throughout early epos she and Apollo offer a model of male-female co-operation such as the hymnist requests of the Deliades. She also seems to be associated with the cult's 'cultural inheritance', in which the hymnist demands a share (167-72): *HAp* itself was apparently recorded and stored in her temple (*Cert*. 315-21; cf. p. 72), and the Homereion was apparently located nearby (attested by *ID* 443, 178 BC; see further Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 190-2).

χαίρετε: the poet asks the chorus to 'rejoice' in the encomium, in anticipation of a balancing request. The same function is performed by the regular epilogic χαῖρε to the god (27/33 cases), where the foregoing praise is offered as a ground for granting the coming prayer (cf. Calame 1995: 10-11). Parallelism with the functionally equivalent ἱλήκοι, underlined by μέν…δέ, helps to activate these traditional divine connotations which, given the balancing of the chorus with the gods in 165, confirms the impression of a 'hymn to the Deliades'. The poet's adaptation of hymnic form therefore substantiates his claim about the almost divine θαῦμα of the chorus. That χαῖρε may signal sectional rather than textual closure is shown by the parallel, equally unusual χαῖρε…Λητοῖ (14), which by concluding only the proem partially recalibrated audience expectations. In both cases vivid description performs a sort of κλῆσις (5-13 ~ 156-64), after which the subject can be apostrophised (García 2002).

ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι: with ὑμεῖς the section's careful pronominal balancing begins (cf. ἐμεῖο, 171, 174), while πᾶσαι continues the theme of totality and unanimity (153, 162, 171; cf. 4n.)

166-67. ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε | μνήσασθ': cf. 160 μνησάμεναι. The request to be remembered corresponds to an epilogic prayer, which often seeks promotion of the poet's art, e.g. *Hy*. 6.19-20 (δὸς δ' ἐν ἀγῶνι νίκην τῷδε φέρεσθαι), 10.5 (δὸς δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν), 13.3, 24.5. As a beneficiary of the chorus' memorialising capacity, the hymnist is almost ranked with the gods and heroes normally celebrated; likewise, he elevated them while 'remembering' Apollo (cf. 1 μνήσομαι). The form of this memorialisation is prescribed in the following imagined dialogue (167-73). For remembrance in return for service cf. *Od*. 8.461-2 χαῖρε…μνήσῃ ἐμεῖο (Nausicaa to Odysseus); in *HAp* the notion of cherishing a memory is less important than *spreading* renown among others.

Suggestions that the chorus will 'remember' by actually performing the dialogue or another song composed by the poet (Clay 51-2), or by preserving a record of *HAp* (Papadopoulou-Belmehdi and Papadopoulou 2002: 163-4), are doubtful. All that is clear from the hymn is that by ventriloquising (172-3) a chorus whose authority as Delian and Apolline musicians has been emphatically established, the hymnist contrives effective self-praise as Apollo's encomiast. If the poet is meant to be Homer, *HAp* records an ancient compact sanctioning his (i.e. his poems') place in Delian musical life (cf. Nagy 2011: 294).

167-8. The introduction of a third anonymous focalizer (cf. 151-5, 163-4) again provides an audience to construct an ideal aesthetic judgement, but here as a short imaginary narrative in praise of the poet himself. This focalizer is, like the first, a travelling outsider (explicitly a ξεῖνος); but rather than viewing from a distance, he appeals to the Deliades as authoritative judges (169-70). This role has been prepared in their earlier presentation as Delos' pre-eminent singers but equally develops the poet's compliment; it also fosters an image of the island as essentially defined by music. This focalizer is also more closely defined as 'wretched', which explains his desire for the 'sweetest singer' (Forderer 103, Miller 62): the earlier illusion of divinity gives way to consolations for mortality.

ὁππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων: ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων, 'earth-dwelling men' (16x epos), casts the net as wide as possible, beyond the Ionian pilgrims, suggesting the hymnist's universal appeal. With ὁππότε, κε normally indicates a specific, temporally indefinite case (*GH* ii. 257), but some instances show repeatability (e.g. *Od*. 20.83). The present situation is potentially repeatable: the specificity concerns the question and reply, not the stranger himself, whose Everyman character is key (cf. 168n.).

168. **ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών**: cf. ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος ἐνθάδ' ἱκάνω (*Od*. 7.24). ταλαπείριος, 'one who has endured trials' (5x *Od*.), always modifies ξεῖνος (3x) or ἱκέτης. Wretched itinerants who roam the Aegean form a recognised class (*Od*. 19.379). The stranger's broad experience suggests critical judgement and receptiveness to poetry's soothing effects (cf. 169n.). Odysseus is the outstanding ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος, and *HAp* may be familiar with parts of *Od*. (see pp. 55-7), but a reference here to his visit to Delos in *Od*. 6.162-5 (so De Martino 1980: 575-6) has no obvious point.

Thucydides reads ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθών, blending the traditional and the unusual: ἄλλος ἐπελθών appears at *Il*. 4.334, ἐπελθών is found at verse-end 16x in epos and ταλαπείριος occupies its Homeric *sedes*; by contrast, the wide separation of τις…ἄλλος and substantivised ταλαπείριος are unusual but hardly insurmountable (*contra* Förstel 135-6). Rather than simple mechanical error (Forderer 184), oral variation cannot be excluded. With ἄλλος, the other ταλαπείριος must be the poet himself, which is unsurprising since he is a wanderer (174-5). This does not imply an identity between singer and ξεῖνος (*pace* Nagy 2009b: 286).

169-170. In a striking 'dialogization of apostrophe' (de Jong 2009: 112), the poet directly quotes the stranger's enquiry and the chorus' suggested answer (172-3). Embedded within the poet's own lively speech, this renders the passage unusually polyphonic, even though he himself sets the terms of the evaluation (sweetness, pleasure) and determines the judgement (everlasting ἀρετή). This oddity is the most striking in the hymn's handling of direct speech (cf. 102-14n.). As in the birth narrative's first part, where it was dominant, dialogue establishes for the poet (as earlier for Apollo) a special link to Delos. The pattern of stipulating the answer to an imagined future enquiry appears also at *Od*. 9.502-5, *Aphr*. 281-5 (both indirect).

169. **τίς δ' ὔμμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος ἀοιδῶν**: the appeal to the chorus' verdict, underlined by the dative of judgement ὔμμιν (cf. 65 ἀνδράσιν), recalls questions of the form τίς ἄριστος/πρῶτος; addressed to the Muses (e.g. *Il*. 2.760, 11.298; cf. De Martino 1980: 575). For the Deliades' Muse-like qualities see 157n. Poetry's 'sweetness' is a commonplace (*Od*. 8.64, *Th*. 40; cf. 519 μηλίγηρυν, and γλυκερός at *Hy*. 7.59, 25.5 = *Th*. 97), but while a singer may be ἡδυεπής (*Hy*. 21.3, *Th*. 965), only here is he himself 'sweet'. For questions with δέ, including after apostrophes (as here), see *GP* 174-5; the effect may vigorous or emphatic, as in *Od*. 19.500 (μαῖα, τίη δὲ σὺ τὰς μυθήσεαι;).

170. **ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται**: the poet's habitual visits to Delos (πωλέομαι is frequentative) present him as a 'regular fixture' at the festival and, presumably, competitions. For rhapsodic itinerancy see 175n. The repetition of ἐνθάδε (cf. 168), now in the stranger's voice ('metaleptic merging': de Jong 2012: 50), conveys Delos' nodal position for all parties concerned with poetry. The hymnist's familiarity buttresses his judgement on the Deliades and lends his intimate tone plausibility. Equally, any later claim about Homer's centrality (or his performers', e.g. the Homeridae) in a Delian repertoire could rely on the poet's own presence. Indeed, his request here looks like an attempt to preserve his local reputation beyond death, which later performances of *HAp* would fulfil (cf. p. 36).

τέῳ τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;: τέρψις is a conventional effect of song (cf. 150n.); but given its prominence as the festival's reigning mood (146, 153), to be judged '*most* pleasing' – echoing Apollo's attitude to Delos (146 μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεαι) – by Apollo's own local singers makes the poet the truest representative of the festival's nature.

171. **ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι**: apparently a conflation of εὖ μάλα (3x epos) and πᾶς μάλα/μάλα πᾶς (< 20x epos), i.e. probably 'absolutely all of you' (cf. Baumeister ad loc.: '*communiter omnes, ad unam omnes*'), with emphatic unanimity reflecting the statement's truth (Chappell ad loc.), rather than 'all of you very well' (taking εὖ separately), which would stress the importance of the coming answer (172-3). εὖ μάλα πᾶς recurs at Theoc. 24.94, 25.19, Arat. 465, 610, but the phrase's coherence is variable. In εὖ μάλα πάντα καὶ ἀτρεκέως (*Od*. 24.123), εὖ is separate and parallel to ἀτρεκέως. Amplifying χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι (166), the parallel phrasing frames their answer as a return for the poet's favour.

ὑποκρίνασθαι: 'reply, answer'. The word probably retains the sense of an *authoritative* answer (e.g. *Il*. 7.407) which developed in Ionic from its original application to the expert interpretation of signs; cf. González (2011: 647-66). The notion of 'responding by way of performing' is not basic to the word (*pace* Nagy 2003: 21), although ὑποκριτής became the Attic technical term for 'actor'. For speculation about the Deliades' performance see 166-7n.

ὑποκρίνασθαι, an imperatival infinitive (*GH* ii. 316-7), is Thucydides' reading and best fits the majority reading ἀφ' ἡμέων, since ὑποκρίνασθε (Ψ) produces hiatus (but cf. pp. 64-5); elided forms (ὑποκρίνεσθ' M, ὑποκρίνασθ' Ruhnken), which could be imperatives or infinitives, depend on textual variants or emendation (see next note). Aristides' quotation of 169-72 at Or. 34.35 K. reads ἀποκρίνασθε (RDUT) or -αι (A), obviously a 'correction' (perhaps Aristides' own) giving the usual later word for 'reply' to avoid the specialised Attic usage of ὑποκρίνομαι ('play a part'), which Aristides uses at *Or*. 28.6, 97 K.

ἀφ' ἡμέων: the reading of most MSS (*Mfb*) and implied by ἀφ' ὑμ(έ)ων (ET, *p*), which was apparently prompted by ὑμεῖς earlier in the line (aided by etacism?). Thucydides

reads ἀφήμως, corrected in three *recentiores* to εὐφήμως. The mutilated reading in an Aristides MS (R) may imply εὐφήμως, which was altered to ἀφ' ἡμῶν (R^2).

ἀφ' ἡμέων has been almost universally rejected, but the sense 'from me', i.e. 'reply as I tell you', fits the dictated answer that follows and the role of intermediaries assumed by the Deliades; ἡμέων is plural for singular (cf. 174-6n.). First proposed by Ernesti (1764: 12) – '*a nobis, ut ego vobis nunc praescribo*' – and defended by Forderer 182-3, it also explains the origin of the other variants (i.e. ἀφ' ἡμέων -> ἀφήμως -> εὐφήμως). Somewhat differently, Förstel 136-8 argues the sense is 'about me', a weakening of ἀπό indicating source and a usage occasionally found in Herodotus (e.g. 4.54; cf. Powell s.v. IV.4), but his other supposed cases are either obscure (*Il*. 22.126 ἀπό δρυὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης) or doubtful (Ar. *Ra*. 761-2, with Dover ad loc.). The emendation ἀμφ' ἡμέων (Marx 1907: 620, accepted by AHS) would secure the meaning 'about' more easily. Nasals are sometimes omitted in inscriptions and manuscripts (e.g. *PMG* 938e ἀ<μ>φί), but this is non-standard orthography (not a metrical convenience, *pace* Humbert 1938). Marx improbably supposes that Thucydides adopted from his text of *HAp* this unusual spelling (whence ἀφήμως); alternatively, if he read ἀμφί, the oddity must have arisen independently in both traditions.

ἀφήμως is normally understood as 'with one voice, all together' (Gemoll, Richardson, West). φήμη can mean 'utterance', although it normally refers to an omen (*LfgrE* s.v.), while ἀ- must be understood copulatively. It could conceivably derive from Thucydides himself, but looks more like the result of misdivision and misunderstanding of ἀφ' ἡμέων. The variant's considerable age is attested by the Thucydidean schol. BFc_2 ἀφήμως· ἡσύχως, σιγῇ πάντως, ἀθρόως; cf. Hsch. α 8646 ἀφήμως· ἐν κόσμῳ, ἡσυχῇ. These look like attempts to wring meaning from obscurity in Thucydides' text; only ἀθρόως, 'together', gives appropriate sense. Any notion of 'silence' (with privative ἀ-) hardly fits. Burkert (1979: 61) suggests the meaning 'anonymously', since the poet studiously avoids giving his name; yet φήμη does not mean

'name'. There is no support in Hsch. α 8642 (ἄφημοι· ἀνώνυμοι, ἀκλεεῖς) since there ἀνώνυμοι like ἀκλεεῖς clearly means 'inglorious' (as often: *DGE* s.v. ἀνώνυμος, I4).

εὐφήμως is often preferred and is printed by Càssola. But it is weakly attested (see above) and clearly an attempt to replace the obscure ἀφήμως. Its primary meaning, 'speak words of good omen', is unsuitable; the sense 'speak in praise of', which fits perfectly and was obviously the emendator's intention, is reasonably common (cf. LSJ s.v. εὐφημέω, II.2).

172-73. In an increasing tricolon, the poet describes himself as (1) blind, (2) an inhabitant of Chios and (3) the creator of songs that will be 'supreme hereafter'. The chosen details – 'name' (cf. 172n.), home, fame – recall Odysseus' mini-autobiographies: εἴμ' Ὀδυσεὺς … μευ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει … ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην (*Od*. 9.19-21); the parallel case at 9.505 is prescribed like 172-3. Rather than being the self-description of the historical author of *HAp*, this riddling 'signature' makes use of established components of Homer's biography to identify him as its creator. For the view that this was probably the work of the Homeridae rhapsodes, quite possibly one Cynaethus of Chios, see pp. 32-8. The hymn's allusive manner of referring to Homer is shared by Simonides' Χῖος ἀνήρ (fr. 19.1 W^2), although fr. 20.14 might be from the same poem and preserve the name (Sider 1996). Theocritus (7.47, 22.218) at least later uses Χῖος ἀνήρ anonymously (Sbardella 2004). By identifying himself so indirectly the Chian actually acknowledges his fame, as does Bacchylides' self-description as the 'Cean nightingale' (3.98).

172. **τυφλὸς ἀνήρ**: answering τίς ἀνήρ; (169), τυφλός takes the place of a name and receives considerable emphasis thereby. By foregrounding this impairment at the conclusion of the festival's vivid description, the hymnist proves himself the possessor of superhuman insight. For blindness as a sign of closeness to the gods and proof of divine authority see

Graziosi (2002: 150-9), Kahane (2005: 33). Given the Delian context and the poet's craft and subject, it is natural to infer Apolline inspiration, especially since his 'view' of the festival merged with Apollo's (cf. 147-50). Whether the description gives itself away as the work of a sighted poet debatable (West 1999: 371; *contra* Abramowicz 1935: 272); there is, at least, no attempt to substantiate the fiction by focusing only on auditory phenomena (*pace* Dornseiff 1933: 36), since the visual is equally prominent (cf. 153 ἴδοιτο). Such 'slips' would, anyway, only magnify the impression of the poet's special insight.

οἰκεῖ: the present is unproblematic if 'Homer' refers to himself, since any later performance will necessarily be quoting him; hence there is no need to alter to imperfect οἴκει, interpret it as 'timeless', or posit a blending of temporal planes (cf. Burkert 1987: 55, Aloni 1989: 127, Sbardella 2012: 88-9). Though οἰκεῖν does not *prove* Chian origin (Ilgen 242), it suffices to establish this geographical link as primary; Chios can claim a special link even when the poet is dead. Nagy (1990: 22 n. 23) unjustifiably suggests the reference is to a hero cult, but that meaning is not established for οἰκεῖν, and a cult is attested only from the fourth century (Alcidamas fr. 10 Avezzù, *Cert*. 302-8; cf. Kimmel-Clauzet 2013: 201-3). A quadrennial festival, perhaps managed by the Homeridae, attracted attendees from beyond Chios and may have involved musical competition (Graf 1985: 135-7).

Χίῳ ἔνι παιπαλοέσσῃ: Chios' laudatory description as νήσων λιπαρωτάτη (38) becomes comprehensible. παιπαλόεις, 'rocky', foregrounds a different aspect (cf. 39n.). It is applied to Chios, whose interior is hilly, at *Od*. 3.170, as well as to other islands (e.g. *Il*. 13.33). Yet there may be a careful modulation between the first mention, in a catalogue vaunting wealth in order to humble Delos, and the second, by which point Apollo's bounty – especially

in music – has proved itself superior to natural prosperity. Again assimilating himself to the god, the Chian re-centres his island's greatest boast around himself and his art (cf. 173).

173. **τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν ἀοιδαί**: 'all his songs are best afterwards'. The transmitted text blends present and future, describing a superiority that already exists but will endure 'in time to come' (μετόπισθεν; cf. Forderer 105). Similarly, in the prediction at *Od*. 15.533 (ὑμετέρου δ' οὐκ ἔστι γένευς βασιλεύτερον ἄλλο… ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς καρτεροὶ αἰεί) the present tense in place of future signals the persistence of the current situation (cf. *GH* ii. 191 and 175 στρεφόμεσθα). ἀριστεύσουσιν (Barnes) is superficially 'correct' but simplifies the temporal blurring. AHS and Förstel 139 argue that μετόπισθεν means 'after he has sung them', i.e. he wins every competition, but this requires too much supplementation, which the context does not provide. Thucydides' view (3.104.5) that 165-72 prove a μουσικῆς ἀγών is not decisive given his (mistaken) identification of choruses in 146-50; in both cases he sees what he wants and expects. Singing contests were certainly held on Delos (West 2010: 74; *contra* Aloni 1993), but the Chian's superiority renders him *hors concours* (just as the Deliades overshadow theoric choruses: 157n.).

ἀριστεύουσιν: in epos ἀριστεύω always refers to humans, particularly heroic valour, but it is widely applied to inanimates in Pindar (e.g. *O*. 3.42 ὕδωρ; cf. Slater s.v.). Beyond its basic meaning ('be best'), the word's traditional background may add a heroizing touch; at any rate, *HAp* elevates Homer to a great figure like the heroes of old (so too the Deliades: 157n.). The songs are the subject because their longevity is at issue (Chappell ad loc.), though the post-mortem survival of the Chian's reputation through them is equally significant.

πᾶσαι … ἀοιδαί: the singer boasts of a consistently high-quality repertoire, specifically a *corpus* of poems held together and marked out by his authorship. References elsewhere in the *Hymns* to the poet's other songs are confined to the modest promise in epilogues (cf. 546). Like *HAp*, *Od*. 8.496-8 envisages a named poet's enduring fame, but does not link this to the transmission of his songs. The elevation of the author offers audiences a new criterion for engaging with poetry to set beside pleasure, grace, novelty, etc. (cf. 170-1, *Od*. 11.367, 1.352). The identity of the author of the Homeric poems seems to have become a live issue towards the end of the sixth century (Burkert 1987: 44-5, West 1999: 364): see pp. 36-7. The fact that the hymn treats Homer as a well-known figure suggests ἀοιδαί alludes to whatever songs his reputation then relied on – presumably *Il*. and *Od*., but no doubt others too. The Homeric oeuvre within which *HAp* locates itself is purposely open-ended: any song (and singer) that successfully claims Homer's authorship can, like the hymn, hope to benefit from this guarantee of quality. For the gradual and contested stabilisation of the Homeric corpus, in which rhapsodes played a decisive role, see Schwartz (1940), Graziosi (2002: 165-8), Nagy (2010: 311-80).

This prediction has been taken to presuppose a high degree of textual fixity, possibly in writing (Chappell ad loc., Currie 2016: 20). In oral traditions a famous ancient poet can be credited with songs showing great fluidity (Foley 1999: 51-2). Yet since Homer speaks in *HAp*, its performer(s) must have *claimed* to be repeating his words *verbatim* (West 1999: 370). Yet a fixity implicit in the fiction of its provenance does not require fixity in the text of *HAp* itself. Nevertheless, the variants in Thucydides' quotations show a small degree of fluidity between basically identical texts; at least some of these could have arisen in performance (cf. 146-50n., 165-72n.).

174-176. Adapting the epilogic promise to praise the god in future (e.g. 546; see Richardson on *Dem*. 495) and projecting the χάρις-bond (166) beyond the present situation, the poet promises to spread the Deliades' fame wherever he travels. Likewise, Odysseus undertakes to communicate Demodocus' skill, which promotes his own renown, 'among all mankind' (*Od*. 8.497-8; cf. 17.418). The hymnist does not specify how, but reperformances of *HAp* are perhaps implied (cf. Miller 113, Spelman 2018: 165-6). The hymn therefore presupposes widespread interest in Delian themes and numerous potential performance contexts for itself (cf. p. 24). If *HAp* purports to record Homer's ancient Delian performance (cf. 172-3n.), its later 'reperformance' will prove the fulfilment of his promise.

ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμέτερον: ἡμέτερον (Θ), 'our fame' (preferred by Gemoll), does not fit the κλέος-economy established hitherto and 176 better suits a report about a third party; for the error, cf. ὑμέων for ἡμέων (171). As in 166 and 171, pronominal juxtaposition underlines reciprocity.

ἡμεῖς is plural for singular, like ἡμέων (171); the plural alternates chiastically with the singular (166 ἐμεῖο, 177 ἐγών); cf. *Od*. 1.1, 10 (μοι, ἡμῖν). Some authorial plurals (perhaps *Od*. 1.10) probably include the audience (*GH* ii. 34, Floyd 1969: 136), but here only the poet can be meant. The coincidence with his proud self-description and promise suggests a self-aggrandising *pluralis maiestatis* (Forderer 182). Homeric instances of this type are doubtful or, like *Il*. 15.224, 16.244, confined to ἡμέτερος, whose singular use is better established (cf. Zilliacus 1953: 12-20). ἡμεῖς has been thought to refer to rhapsodes who will perform the hymn and spread the poet's fame (Ilgen 243, Dyer 1975); but ἡμεῖς and ἐμεῖο (166) are spoken by the same speaker, and no additional speaker is signalled. Aloni (1989: 127-8) claims a concluding shift to the plural is a mark of 'Homerid' ownership, but his examples can be read

as plural for singular or as references to poets in general rather than a particular collective (*Dion*. 17-19, *Hy*. 26.11-13; *Hy*. 32.17-20 is irrelevant).

κλέος οἴσομεν: the prediction of everlasting κλέος (156) is now explicitly tied to the poet's own future activity; the implication, substantiated by his supremacy (173), is that his songs will last equally long. By spreading κλέος, which he 'carries' like a possession on the road, the poet appropriates and personalises a process normally either a divine privilege (*Od*. 1.283, 7.332) or diffuse and anonymous (*Od*. 3.204, 19.333). This narratorial stance towards a *contemporary* subject, for whom the poet becomes 'originator and individual controller of *kleos*' (Carey 2000: 166), is most familiar from lyric poetry, e.g. Thgn. 237-54, Pind. O. 1.115-6, Bacchyl. 3.90-8; cf. Rawles (2018: 247-51). *HAp*'s notion of mutually dependent κλέος is particularly evident in Ibycus S151.47-8 *SLG* (καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἕξεῖς | ὡς κὰτ ἀοιδὰν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος). The same posture could not be adopted towards gods and already-famous ancient heroes; nevertheless, diffusion of the Deliades' reputation implies praise of Apollo, and thus contributes to the hymn's primary encomiastic purpose (cf. Floratos 1952: 299-300).

174-5. **ὅσσον … ναιεταώσας**: developing πωλεῖται (170), the poet enriches his offer by presenting his appeal as potentially global, adding geographical reach to eternal fame (for the pairing cf. Thgn. 237-8, 245-6, Pind. *I*. 4.40-2). This aspect of his persona, which by looking beyond Delos anticipates the shift to the Delphic theme with the resumption of Apollo's wanderings in 182-7 (interrupted at 146), has in fact already been anticipated and 'proved' by the virtuoso catalogue in 30-44. It assimilates him to Apollo, the traveller archetype who starts from Delos to spread his own and the island's fame (cf. 20-24, 29-44, 140-146 and Spelman 2018: 166). As a mobile male poet visiting different communities, the Chian embodies a

Panhellenism which complements that of the fixed female chorus which entertains pilgrims; the two models, which Apollo straddles, are partially blended as each promises the other the benefits of rootedness or mobility (cf. Nagy 2013: 238). This conception of universalism, deriving its authority from the creator's original presence and tying its movement to his own, differs markedly from the essential 'placelessness' of Homeric epic (on which see Ford 1992: 94).

Itinerancy was common for historical rhapsodes, who travelled between cities and festivals to perform (cf. Hunter and Rutherford 2009, West 2010), though it is elided in the idealised Homeric picture of localised performers (cf. Steiner on *Od*. 17.385, Hainsworth on 8.62-103). In the later biographical tradition Homer is sometimes portrayed as a travelling singer (e.g. *Vita* IV, 8-9, *Cert*. 55-7); for his legendary performance of *HAp* on Delos see pp. 36, 72. Present already in Heraclitus (22 B 42 D-K) and Plato (*Rep*. 600d5-e2), these stories seem to reflect rhapsodes' attempts to fashion Homer in their own image (Graziosi 2002: 21-50). *HAp* contributes to this picture, valorising travel experience as basic to the poet's appeal and painting the festival in idealised terms as his honourable reception.

στρεφόμεσθα: 'tour, visit', with accusative of goal (cf. 142 ἠλάσκαζες); similar epic phrases rely on preverbs, e.g. ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας (*Od*. 17.486), γαῖαν ἐπιστρέφεται (*Th*. 753). The present tense stands for the future (cf. 173n.). στρωφάομαι is applied by Thgn. 247 and Bacchyl. 13.180 to their subjects' fame, whose diffusion is likened to a journey (cf. Pi. *O*. 9.24-5, *I*. 4.40-2 and Becker 1937: 83-4). This motif tends to emphasise the report's ability to outstrip its creator, whereas in *HAp* it depends on the poet's own progress (also suggested by the relative ὅσσον ἐπ' αἶαν, which adapts πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν, 5x Hom.).

πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας: 'well-situated cities' = *Il*. 2.648, Hes. fr. 141.17 M-W. Usually meaning 'inhabit', ναιετάω may be used intransitively of places (e.g. *Il*. 4.45, *Od*. 1.404). The MSS all read ναιεταώσας, the predominant form in Homeric manuscripts, where the uncontracted form (ναιεταούσας) is also found, while the expected form by diectasis (ναιετοώσας), though preferred by Aristarchus, is rare: e.g. *Il*. 3.387, *Od*. 1.404; cf. Meister (1921: 65-71), West (1998: xxxii). Gemoll prints ναιεταούσας here (approved by Chappell), but the -αω- forms seem too well established to dismiss as metagrammatistic errors (the -αου- was -AO- in the Old Attic and Ionic alphabets). The odd diectasis in -αω- may be influenced by iterative forms like ναιετάασκον (279; cf. *GH* i. 79). πόλεις instead of πόλις is Attic (*GH* i. 218); cf. 27b-8n.

176. 'And they *will* be persuaded, since it is *true*'. Concluding with an emphatic prediction (note δή and καί), the hymnist looks beyond his current – ostensible – auditors to his future reception (simultaneously a cue to any later audience). ἐτήτυμον asserts that his report (κλέος) corresponds to reality (cf. Krescher 1965: 166-7). The causal link (ἐπεί) between truth and belief is obscure (noted by Chappell), yet a supplementary declaration of truth answers three possible objections, beyond poetry's reputation for misleading (e.g. *Th*. 27): (1) θαῦμα, which is potentially resistant to mediated experience (see 156n.), is accurately communicated; (2) reciprocal χάρις between hymnist and subject has not introduced bias; and (3) the poet, despite being ἥδιστος (169), is reliable. Likewise, Pindar's κλέος ἐτήτυμον (*N*. 7.63) is genuine praise, without flattery or 'sweet-voiced' Homer's misleading embellishments. For the potential trade-off between pleasure and truth cf. Pratt (1993: 30-2), Halliwell (2012: 42-3). Hesiod makes a similar programmatic declaration that he speaks ἐτήτυμα (*Op*. 10).

177-178. Pivoting away from the festival, the poet promises to continue singing of Apollo – a progression by means of return to the primary theme interrupted in 146.

αὐτὰρ ἐγών: the phrase introduces predictions of future song in 13 hymnic epilogues, e.g. 546, *Dem*. 495, *Herm*. 580, and adds a note of closure here. The primary contrast (αὐτάρ) is not between the speaker's 'I' and the 'they' in 176, but between the Deliades (174) and Apollo (177) as parallel subjects.

οὐ λήξω … ὑμνέων: this replaces the usual epilogic verb μνήσομαι (cf. 1n.), recalling ὑμνήσω which idiosyncratically introduces the main themes at 19 = 207. The promise of praise doubles the one just made to the Deliades, facilitating the shift of thematic focus; cf. how, inversely, the 'rejoice' element in 166 (chorus) doubled 165 (Apollo). Paired with ἄρχομαι, λήγω elsewhere delimits hymnic performance (*Dion*. 17-8, *Th*. 48, Hes. fr. 305 M-W) and more generally denotes the cessation of an activity *in progress* (e.g. *Il*. 21.224-5; *LfgrE* s.v. B). Negated, it indicates the hymnist's intention to *continue* the song. A text-external reference would not be excluded – if *HAp* ended in line 178. But this reading is not more 'natural', nor does the related promise to the Deliades prove that it also must be for the future (*pace* Chappell). Even if 177-8 did once conclude an independent *DAp*, they were sufficiently ambiguous to introduce *PAp* (cf. Jacoby 719). Chappell (2011: 63) cites οὐ λήξω…ἀείδων from the 'concluding section' of a first-century BC *Hymn to Isis* (*SEG* 8.548.25); but since the catalogue in 29-34 mirrors that of 14-24, οὐ λήξω there seems to herald continuation, as in *HAp*.

ἑκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα | … ἀργυρότοξον: the two epithets, combined with Apollo's name, precisely echo line 140 in the earlier transition (Heubeck 1972a: 137-8); *Th*. 35-6

likewise marks the end of a digression by recalling *Th*. 1 (Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα 2x). A typical epilogue apostrophises the god, which only happens in the unusual transitional priamel at 179-81 (which also looks back to 140-6). The third person declaration here, which prepares for *PAp*, more closely resembles line 1. Cf. 165 (ἱλήκοι) for another epilogic element translated into the third person.

ὃν ἠΰκομος τέκε Λητώ: = *Il*. 1.36 (τόν), 19.413, *Od*. 11.318; cf. [Hes.] fr. 357.3 M-W. Though the phrasal epithet is traditional, here it enjoys all the rich significance with which the preceding birth narrative endows it. It echoes ὥς σε πρῶτον Λητὼ τέκε (25), which announced the theme.

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