

## Introduction

### *Modern Scholarship on the Homeric Hymns: Foundational Issues*

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#### 1. BEGINNINGS TO THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

The *Homeric Hymns* are a collection of thirty-three hexameter hymns, in antiquity often attributed to Homer but in fact of varied authorship, provenance, and date.<sup>1</sup> Many of the poems are short celebrations of a god's or goddess's powers and attributes, ranging from three to twenty-two lines, but a few (2–5, 7, 19) contain extended narrative sections that recount the birth of a deity or an important event in his or her life and stretch from forty-nine (19, to Pan) to almost six hundred lines (4, to Hermes) in length. Modern scholarship on the *Hymns* has its origins in the fifteenth century, when in 1488 Demetrius Chalcondyles published the first printed edition of the *Hymns* in Florence along with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. In establishing his text, Chalcondyles compared manuscript readings critically and often demonstrated admirable editorial skill.<sup>2</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> For more on the formation of the collection, see in this volume Faulkner (pp. 175–81).

<sup>2</sup> This edition seems to have been based upon a manuscript of the *f* family (probably D), with use made also of a manuscript of the *x* family (possibly L) as well as one of the *p* family. Chalcondyles also appears to have introduced a number of his own conjectures. See further Allen (1895a), 154–60, Càssola 612–13.

edition included what are now numbered *Hymns* 3–33 in the collection, incorporating the long narrative poems to Apollo (3), Hermes (4), and Aphrodite (5). Subsequent scholars gave critical attention to the language of this corpus in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the most significant study being that of the French scholar Bernard Martin.<sup>3</sup> The next major advance, however, in the study of the *Hymns* came in the eighteenth century. The British scholar Joshua Barnes published an edition of the *Hymns* in 1711, but the most important step forward came in the second half of the century when the Dutch scholar David Ruhnken turned his critical attention to the texts and undertook a systematic comparison of manuscript readings.<sup>4</sup> A significant stimulus for Ruhnken's work on the *Hymns* came in the late eighteenth century with the uncovering of the famous manuscript M in Moscow in 1777 by C. F. Matthaei, who subsequently sold the codex to Leiden. This manuscript, whose first thirty folia are missing, contains at its outset the final twelve lines of what is now known as the first *Hymn* to Dionysus, another *Hymn* that originally contained an extended narrative in its middle section, and a largely intact text of the second long *Hymn* to Demeter, which is followed by *Hymns* 3–28. 4.<sup>5</sup> Apart from a few more recent papyrus finds and ancient testimonia, M remains the sole surviving witness of the first two *Hymns*.<sup>6</sup>

Following the rediscovery of these poems, there was a flourish of scholarship on the *Hymns* at the turn of the nineteenth century, as complete editions together with critical commentaries appeared in quick succession.<sup>7</sup> Apart from matters of textual criticism and language, studies of this period gave attention to broader questions such as the authorship and performance of the *Hymns*, as well as the structure and unity of the longer narrative poems, and many of these early views have remained influential to the present day.

<sup>3</sup> Martin (1605). For more extensive surveys of early modern editions and philological work on the *Hymns* before the twentieth century, see AHS cx–cxv, Càssola 612–23. The first Latin translation of the *Hymns* was produced by Georgius Dartona in the sixteenth century.

<sup>4</sup> Barnes (1711), Ruhnken (1782). The latter compared manuscripts B, C, and M; see Càssola 619.

<sup>5</sup> On the M manuscript, see Gelzer (1994).

<sup>6</sup> On the text of *Dion.* see West (2001a), and Ch. 2 in this volume. P. Oxy. 2379 and P. Berol. 13044 contain fragments of *Dem.*; see Richardson (1974), 66–7.

<sup>7</sup> Note in particular Ilgen (1796), Matthiae (1805), Hermann (1806), Wolf (1807).

F. A. Wolf's arguments, for example, on the proemial function of the *Hymns* are still widely accepted,<sup>8</sup> while Ruhnken's suggestion that the *Hymn to Apollo* might be composed of originally separate parts paved the way for separatist views of that poem, which became dominant in the nineteenth century in accordance with the broader popularity at that time of analytical readings of Homer.<sup>9</sup>

The nineteenth century saw a great deal more work completed on the manuscript tradition of the *Hymns* and the establishment of the text. Subsequent to an important edition of the corpus by A. Baumeister in 1860, which took into account manuscripts of the  $\theta$  family for the first time since Chalcondyles in the fifteenth century, there appeared in 1886 editions of the *Hymns* by both E. Abel and A. Gemoll, who considered readings of a number of new manuscripts of the *p* family, as well as a study of the manuscript transmission by H. Hollander.<sup>10</sup> Then at the end of the century, following his editorial role in the posthumous publication of A. Goodwin's Oxford edition, T. W. Allen published a series of important articles on the text of the *Hymns*, work which would lead to the publication of his Oxford edition with commentary together with E. J. Sikes in the first years of the twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> This work, which was substantially revised in 1936 with the collaboration of W. R. Halliday, as well as Allen's Oxford Classical Text, provided the foundation for much of twentieth-century scholarship on the *Hymns* and met no equal until the edition and commentary of Càssola in 1975.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. ORAL POETICS

Starting in the early twentieth century, the study of Homeric poetry began to undergo a transformation due to an increased appreciation of the role played by oral composition in the development of early

<sup>8</sup> See below pp. 17–19.

<sup>9</sup> On the still debated question of *Apollo's* unity, see Chappell in this volume (Ch. 4).

<sup>10</sup> Baumeister (1860), Gemoll (1886), Abel (1886), Hollander (1886).

<sup>11</sup> Goodwin (1893), Allen (1895a, b; 1897a, b; 1898), AS (1904). Allen was also largely responsible for the text of the *Hymns* in Monro (1896).

<sup>12</sup> Allen (1912), AHS (1936), Càssola. Also of note is the Budé edition of Humbert (1936).

Greek hexameter poetry. As is well known to anyone who has worked on Homer, this critical shift was inspired largely by the work of Milman Parry in the 1920s and 1930s, who demonstrated the formulaic, traditionally oral quality of Homeric poetry on the levels of both versification and theme.<sup>13</sup> The formulaic nature of early hexameter poetry was for Parry a sign not just of development from an oral tradition, but of oral composition in performance by Homer, a fact which he and Albert Lord sought to demonstrate through their groundbreaking comparisons with South Slavic epic and other oral poetic traditions.<sup>14</sup>

This view naturally had implications also for the *Homeric Hymns*. Parry himself was aware of the comparative evidence of the *Hymns* and the *Epic Cycle* for the formularism of the Homeric epics, but did not make extensive use of them for the reason that 'these poems and hymns belong to different periods and clearly do not all follow the tradition with equal fidelity.'<sup>15</sup> Others, however, have subsequently argued that some of the *Homeric Hymns* are oral compositions because of their employment of formulaic language and style.<sup>16</sup> This is possible, but the view that the *Hymns* are entirely oral compositions has not gone unchallenged.<sup>17</sup> In a first instance, it is ultimately impossible to prove from their language that the *Hymns*, in much the same form as we have received them, were entirely oral compositions: poets who made use of writing might well have imitated traditional formulaic diction, such that the quantity and quality of formulae in a given composition are no sure indicator of oral composition, only congruity with oral composition.<sup>18</sup> This is true even of the Homeric epics themselves, which, although clearly the product of a poet or poets steeped in the tradition of oral composition and performance, will have reached the fixed form in which we have them through the process of being written down.<sup>19</sup> One theory is

<sup>13</sup> His writings are collected in Parry (1971). For a more detailed overview of scholarship on Homer and oral poetics, see Foley (1997).

<sup>14</sup> See in particular Lord (1960).

<sup>15</sup> Parry (1971), 4.

<sup>16</sup> See e.g. Notopoulos (1962), Preziosi (1966), Pavese (1972); cf. Postlethwaite (1979).

<sup>17</sup> Kirk (1966) rejected Notopoulos' method for determining orality in the *Hymns* on the grounds that quantity of formulae is not in itself a sign of orality. Kirk's more subjective analysis is in turn rejected by Lord (1968).

<sup>18</sup> See Janko (1982), 18–19, 40–1; cf. Richardson (1974), 31, Clay (1997), 491–2.

<sup>19</sup> See West (2001b), 3–4. For a defence of the intermediate position that the Homeric epics are 'oral-derived traditional texts', see Foley (1997), 163–4.

that the poems are oral dictated texts recorded by a scribe during oral performance,<sup>20</sup> but the poet or poets of the Homeric epics might alternatively have taken a more active role in the writing of the poems over an extended period of years, a process involving changes to the written text as it evolved.<sup>21</sup> Scholars since the time of Parry have also recognized that it is reductive to distinguish sharply between oral and literate composition, when various intermediate stages between a creative oral tradition and literate composition can be imagined.<sup>22</sup>

Literate and oral traditions can coexist,<sup>23</sup> but one must assume that writing a poem down will inherently promote its fixity, while continued creative oral composition will further its multiformity. The demonstrable uniformity of a poem in contrast to its multiformity, the latter a sign of continued creative oral composition, therefore has wide implications for how one treats its transmission at different points in antiquity. In the case of the Homeric epics, opinions continue to differ concerning the extent to which genuinely creative oral composition persisted in effecting distinctly variant forms of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. On the one hand, it is maintained that a gradual process of fixing the Homeric epics continued down to the second century BC, until which point oral performance produced multiforms of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which are reflected in the variants of the textual tradition.<sup>24</sup> On the other hand, it is argued that the Homeric epics seem to have been largely fixed by the end of the seventh century BC, or at latest the mid-sixth century BC: in comparison to oral epics of other cultures such as the *Chanson de Roland*, whose manuscript tradition preserves alternate versions that vary by thousands of lines, the evidence for variation in the tradition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is minimal, for the most part restricted to occasional additional lines and small verbal changes of little narrative import.<sup>25</sup> On this view, the continuous tradition of oral performance of Homer in the Classical

<sup>20</sup> See Janko (1998); as he points out (7), this would not preclude premeditation.

<sup>21</sup> See West (2000), *contra* the theory of oral dictated texts.

<sup>22</sup> See Richardson (1974), 337–8, Janko (1982), 41, Foley (1997), 162–4. Lord (1995), 212–37 himself later accepted an overlap between written and oral compositions.

<sup>23</sup> See e.g. Thomas (1992).

<sup>24</sup> See Nagy (1996a), esp. 107–206, with earlier bibliography. He posits five successive stages, 'showing progressively less fluidity and more rigidity' (109–10).

<sup>25</sup> See Finkelberg (2000), who provides an excellent overview of this debate with earlier bibliography. On the Doloneia as the one major interpolation in the *Iliad*, albeit part of the poem by the end of the seventh century BC, see West (2001b), 10–11.

and Hellenistic periods still produced minor oral variants, as are visible in the manuscript tradition, but aimed at reproduction of the fixed poems rather than creative oral composition.<sup>26</sup>

The date at which one considers the Homeric epics to have been in essence fixed naturally affects how one treats the *Homeric Hymns* and other archaic hexameter poetry. Some, for example, insist that it is not possible to speak of direct imitation of the Homeric epics in the *Hymns*.<sup>27</sup> One must certainly be cautious not to assume direct imitation at every turn, but if the Homeric epics were fixed by the seventh century BC or earlier and many of the *Hymns* as we have them seem to date to a period later than this, direct imitation of a fixed poem is a distinct possibility with which one must reckon.

As for the fixity of the *Homeric Hymns* themselves, approaches continue to diverge along similar lines. One might not expect the *Hymns* to have been as readily fixed as the Homeric epics. It has been shown, for example, that the tradition of the *Cypria*, a poem of the *Epic Cycle* which deals with the beginning of the Trojan War, displays greater multiformity than the Homeric epics,<sup>28</sup> a reminder that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* held a special place in the tradition. Earlier versions of hexameter hymns similar to our *Hymns* are perhaps reflected in the corpus of hymns by the Lesbian poet Alcaeus at the turn of the sixth century BC,<sup>29</sup> and Neoanalysis can potentially identify the interaction of the narratives recounted in the *Hymns* with the Homeric epics at earlier stages of the oral tradition.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, there is evidence that several of the longer *Hymns* became fixed by relatively early dates, and it seems reasonable to consider the possibility of direct imitation of the *Hymns* as fixed poems, even amongst the *Hymns* themselves, from the seventh century onward.<sup>31</sup> Another important consideration in the case of the *Hymns* is that they cannot

<sup>26</sup> See Pelliccia (2003).

<sup>27</sup> See recently the review of my commentary on *Aphr.* by Bartol (2010), 289–90: ‘his thinking of these poetic products in terms of interrelations between fixed texts is very difficult to sustain with reference to oral culture’.

<sup>28</sup> See Finkelberg (2000), 6–11.

<sup>29</sup> See West (2002a), 216–17, and in this volume (pp. 39–40); cf. Faulkner (pp. 200–1).

<sup>30</sup> See in this volume Brilllet-Dubois (Ch. 6). West (Ch. 2) argues for the influence of *Dion.* itself on Homer, dating the *Hymn* possibly to 650 BC.

<sup>31</sup> For two different, but not mutually exclusive, approaches to the reception and transmission of the *Hymns*, which give different emphasis to their fluidity in the sixth and fifth centuries, see in this volume Faulkner (Ch. 9) and Nagy (Ch. 13).

be treated as a unified body. As will be considered in the next section, their use of traditional epic language is not consistent, and it is clear that some of the poems in the collection date to the fifth century BC or later.

### 3. DATING AND LANGUAGE

The *Homeric Hymns* have often been assumed to be later compositions than both the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the Hesiodic *Theogony* and *Works and Days*. In many instances, this is clearly the case, but one must nonetheless be cautious not to assume *a priori* that the *Hymns* are post-Homeric and/or post-Hesiodic. Despite some internal markers that help to establish the dates of the poems, a chief method for determining the relative dates of the *Hymns* has been linguistic comparison. Several important investigations of the *Hymns*' language undertaken in the past fifty years have in this way attempted to date the poems in relation to other early hexameter poetry. The modification of traditional formulae in the *Hymns* was notably linked to established linguistic developments by Hoekstra, who demonstrated on these grounds that the language of *Demeter*, *Apollo*, and *Aphrodite* is at a more advanced stage of the formulaic epic tradition than the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, a sign for him also of the poems' chronological relationship.<sup>32</sup> But the most detailed and inclusive study of language is that of Janko,<sup>33</sup> who provides a thorough statistical analysis of a wide range of linguistic criteria, including the use of digamma and nu-mobile, as well as a number of alternative older and younger morphs (such as the older *o*-stem genitive *-οιο* in comparison to the more advanced contracted form *-ου*) in the Homeric epics, the Hesiodic corpus, and the *Hymns*; his statistical results are combined with careful evaluation of parallel passages, instances of modification, and other evidence for dating in each of the long *Hymns*. Just as for Hoekstra, his findings place all of the long *Hymns* later than the

<sup>32</sup> Hoekstra (1969), who excludes *Herm*. His very useful study was unfortunately accompanied by the view that increased modification of formulae indicated inferiority.

<sup>33</sup> Janko (1982), who provides (7–16) an excellent review of earlier linguistic studies and attempts at dating. This remains a widely consulted and indispensable tool for the study of the *Hymns*.

Homeric epics, which he dates to the second half of the eighth century. Also, with the exception of *Aphrodite* and the Delian section of *Apollo*, which he cautiously suggests are contemporary with Hesiod in the first half of the seventh century, Janko dates the long *Hymns* later than the *Theogony* and *Works and Days*.

Not everyone, however, has agreed that linguistic criteria are an accurate means of dating early hexameter poetry. Prior to Janko, the supposed oral composition of the *Hymns* led Notopoulos to reject comparison of linguistic criteria altogether as a tool for dating.<sup>34</sup> Few will agree with excluding linguistic criteria as a means of dating to the extent that he proposes, but some of his cautions against such an approach are nonetheless salutary and reflected in later scholarship. Pavese subsequently argued that differences in language can be explained by geographical and stylistic variation rather than chronological disparity, as part of his contention that there existed distinct mainland and Ionic traditions of early Greek poetry.<sup>35</sup> Janko, whose study in part responds to Pavese, is well aware of the possibility that geographical and stylistic factors may have played a role. He considers regional variation while refuting Pavese's more extreme divisions, but argues strongly that linguistic criteria are determinants of date. Yet, more recently, arguments have again been made against the chronological significance of linguistic criteria: 'the major determinant of the quantity of younger forms in a given poet is the extent to which his language diverges from the formulaic, and this depends on many other factors apart from his date.'<sup>36</sup> In the end, it is impossible to draw firm conclusions on this issue, but one might reasonably accept linguistic criteria as a valuable tool for evaluating the *Hymns'* place in the tradition, without assuming that they provide absolute indicators of relative date.

Below is a brief survey of the evidence for dating the individual long *Hymns*, as well as some of the mid-length and shorter *Hymns* in the collection for which it is possible to say something about date. When considering the relative dating of the *Hymns*, one must keep in mind that the dates given to Homer and Hesiod are themselves uncertain. The Homeric epics have traditionally been dated to the

<sup>34</sup> Notopoulos (1962), 362–5.

<sup>35</sup> Pavese (1972), 111–65.

<sup>36</sup> West (1995), 204–5, who, *contra* Janko, places Hesiod before Homer; see next paragraph.

second half of the eighth century, prior to Hesiod. In the *Works and Days*, Hesiod claims to have taken part in the funeral games of Amphidamas, where he may have performed the *Theogony*,<sup>37</sup> and Amphidamas is said by later sources to have been killed in the Lelantine war. The date of this war is uncertain but it will have taken place sometime in the late eighth or early seventh centuries; this, combined with possible cases of *imitatio* of Hesiod by early lyric poets, dates Hesiod at a lower extreme to the first half of the seventh century.<sup>38</sup> As regards Homer, West has alternatively maintained in recent years that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* post-date Hesiod and therefore belong to the middle to second half of the seventh century.<sup>39</sup> In making this claim, he refutes earlier attempts to show that Hesiod imitates passages in Homer, and rejects the conclusions of Janko's comparative linguistic studies. This would push down the dates of several *Hymns*. However, it remains uncertain whether Homer should in fact be dated later than Hesiod and one must remain open to the possibility of an eighth century date for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.<sup>40</sup> In turning to the dates of the *Hymns*, it should be emphasized from the outset that there is very little certainty in these matters, as is indicated by the variety of views presented below:

### First Hymn to Dionysus

The fragmentary nature of this poem, which will originally have extended to over 400 lines,<sup>41</sup> makes dating particularly challenging. Comparison of linguistic criteria is invalidated by the paucity of data. However, it may possibly be one of the oldest *Hymns* in the collection. Based upon fragments A and D, Allen, Halliday, and Sikes remarked that, '[t]here is nothing either mythological or linguistic in the fragments of this hymn which suggests a late period.' With the addition of fragment C (*P. Oxy.* 670), which recounts Hera's binding by Hephaestus, West suggests in this volume that, while the myth

<sup>37</sup> *Op.* 654–9. See West (1966), 44–5.

<sup>38</sup> See Janko (1982), 94–8, 228–31.

<sup>39</sup> See in particular West (1966), 40–8, (1995), and (2003), 12 n. 56, for a list of other scholars in agreement with a seventh-century date.

<sup>40</sup> For a recent defence of an eighth-century date for Homer, see Lane Fox (2008), 381–4.

<sup>41</sup> See West (2001a), 1.

could have existed earlier than our poem, the *Hymn* may itself have influenced the *Iliad* and therefore go back to 650 BC or earlier.<sup>42</sup> Two points of vocabulary in fragment C (*P. Oxy.* 670) are otherwise not attested before the fourth century,<sup>43</sup> although this is by no means a certain indication of a late date. Dihle, however, has argued that both it and the other fragments of the poem are Hellenistic.<sup>44</sup>

### Hymn to Demeter

This *Hymn* is in character the most Hesiodic of the corpus. It is probable that the poem draws directly upon the *Theogony*, as well as the Homeric epics.<sup>45</sup> A *terminus post quem* also seems to be established by the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, with which the poem shares a number of parallels that together point to a direct relationship; the balance of the evidence suggesting that *Demeter* is secondary.<sup>46</sup> If it is accepted that *Demeter* was influenced by these poems, the *Hymn* at the earliest belongs to the latter half of the seventh century. On the other end, a *terminus ante quem* of the mid-sixth century, the time when Athens took control of, or at least renewed interest in, the Mysteries at Eleusis, has reasonably been suggested on the grounds that *Demeter* does not mention Athens or show an interest in mythology that from this time onward became prominent in Attica.<sup>47</sup> Not everyone agrees that this is a reliable criterion,<sup>48</sup> but a date in the late seventh or early sixth century will not be far wrong.

<sup>42</sup> See in this volume West (Ch. 2).

<sup>43</sup> See Faulkner (2010a). It is possible that *P. Oxy.* 670 is late and should not be assigned to *Dion.*, even if the *Hymn* preserved in the Leiden manuscript was early and originally recounted the story of Hera's binding.

<sup>44</sup> Dihle (2002).

<sup>45</sup> See Richardson (1974), 30–41, Janko (1982), 181–3.

<sup>46</sup> See Richardson (1974), 42–3, Janko (1982), 163–5, Faulkner (2008), 38–40.

<sup>47</sup> See Richardson (1974), 5–11. This assumes that the poem was composed for performance in Eleusis.

<sup>48</sup> Clinton (1986) has argued that the lack of reference to Athens in the poem is an indication that the poet was not from Attica and unfamiliar with Eleusis; for criticism of this position, see Richardson in this volume (pp. 51–2). Foley (1994), 169–78, on the other hand suggests that the Panhellenic nature of the *Hymn* explains the poem's silence concerning Athens. Neither of these, however, argues for a late date.

## Hymn to Apollo

The dating of this poem is particularly contentious. The two sections of the *Hymn*, the Delian (1–181) and the Pythian (182–546), have often been considered originally separate compositions,<sup>49</sup> and therefore given different dates. A majority has taken the Delian section to be older, and Janko argues on the basis of his linguistic analysis that this section should have a date roughly contemporary with Hesiod.<sup>50</sup> Alternatively, West has maintained that the Pythian section is earlier and that the Delian part was modelled upon it in the sixth century.<sup>51</sup> The Pythian section has been dated by some to the 580s BC because of Apollo's prophecy in lines 540–3 that his priests will be ruled by others if they do not behave. This could refer *post eventum* to the First Sacred War (c.595–585 BC), which gave control of the Delphic oracle to the Amphictyonic league.<sup>52</sup> Amongst the arguments for the *Hymn's* original disunity is also a theory for its eventual unification in the second half of the sixth century. A scholium to Pindar's second *Nemean* informs us that a Chian poet Cynaethus composed the *Hymn to Apollo*, and it has been suggested that this Cynaethus may be responsible for the combined *Hymn*, which he performed in 523/2 BC at the festival of Delian and Pythian Apollo celebrated on Delos by the Samian tyrant Polycrates.<sup>53</sup> However, against a date in the late sixth century may be the fact that Thucydides (3. 104) speaks of the Delian section of the *Hymn* as unique evidence for poetic contests at the festival in the distant past, which were discontinued in his own time; but he has detailed knowledge of Peisistratus' purification of Delos and Polycrates' dedication of Rheneia to Delian Apollo, which could suggest that the discontinuation of poetic contests came earlier.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Against *Apollo's* original unity, see Chappell in this volume (Ch. 4). For arguments in favour of unity, see the next paragraph.

<sup>50</sup> Janko (1982), 99–115.

<sup>51</sup> West (1975), WL 10–12.

<sup>52</sup> See Janko (1982), 119–21, 127–8, Richardson (2010), 13–15.

<sup>53</sup> For more on this view, see in this volume esp. Chappell (pp. 71–3), Nagy (pp. 288–91), with bibliography. Some suggest that Cynaethus combined existing hymns, but West (WL 9–12) has argued that Cynaethus actually wrote the Delian hymn and then combined it with the Pythian hymn for Polycrates' festival. He proposes that Cynaethus added the Hera–Typhaon section to the earlier Pythian hymn to please Polycrates, as Hera was an important deity on Samos.

<sup>54</sup> See Richardson (2010), 14, also on the lack of any mention of the Pythia in the poem.

It must also be emphasized that not all scholars agree that the *Hymn* is composed of two originally separate parts. Both Miller and Clay have argued for the *Hymn*'s original unity on the grounds of thematic coherence, and Clay's arguments convinced Janko to change his mind and adopt a unitarian position in his review of her book.<sup>55</sup> Clay also argues against the view that Apollo's prophecy at 540–3 should be linked to the First Sacred War; in this case, the unified *Hymn* could go back to the first half of the seventh century, following Janko's original dating of the Delian section.<sup>56</sup> However, the *Hymn*'s description of the construction of Apollo's magnificent stone temple at Delphi (285–99) might suggest a date after 650 BC, given that our current evidence suggests that the first stone temple at Delphi belonged to the second half of the seventh century.<sup>57</sup> If one were alternatively to accept both unity and the link to the First Sacred War, the whole *Hymn* would date to the 580s.

In the end, one can date *Apollo* with reasonable confidence between the first half of the seventh and the second half of the sixth century, but it is difficult to be more precise with any certainty. A date in the early to middle sixth century BC seems attractive; it may be noteworthy that knowledge of the myth recounted in *Apollo* is not reflected in Alcaeus' hymn to Apollo, whereas narrative elements of *Dionysus*, *Hermes*, and *Hymn* 33 to the Dioscuri are echoed in his corpus of hymns.<sup>58</sup> But much depends upon whether one views *Apollo* as an originally unified poem, and the weight given to the connection of Apollo's prophecy in lines 540–3 to the First Sacred War.

### Hymn to Hermes

The poem is universally acknowledged to be the latest of the long *Homeric Hymns* and its language is certainly the least traditional;<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Miller (1979), (1986), Clay (1989), Janko (1991). The *Hymn* transmitted to us was at least intended to be received as a unity.

<sup>56</sup> See Clay (1989), 87–92, Janko (1991), 13. AHS 184–6 date the poem to the late eighth century.

<sup>57</sup> See Richardson (2010), 14.

<sup>58</sup> See West (2002a), 216–17, and in this volume West (pp. 39–40), Faulkner (pp. 200–1).

<sup>59</sup> See Janko (1982), 133–50.

composition before the sixth century seems unlikely. Nonetheless, there is much debate about the poem's precise date. A number of parallels strongly suggest the influence of the unified *Apollo* on *Hermes*.<sup>60</sup> But as we have seen above, the date of this poem is fraught with uncertainties and therefore does not provide a secure *terminus post quem*. Görgemanns proposed that *Hermes*' use of rhetoric, including argumentation based upon probability (265–73), and references to music as a *technē* (τέχνη) requiring 'practice' (τρίβος; 447–8), are aligned with sophistic thought and could indicate a date in the fifth century.<sup>61</sup> The difficulty with such criteria is the indeterminacy of how early these rhetorical techniques and ideas developed; their presence in the *Hymn* therefore does not exclude a date before the fifth century.<sup>62</sup> Artistic evidence has also been used in favour of a date in the sixth century. The syrinx, which is invented by *Hermes* in lines 511–12, is transferred from *Hermes* to *Pan* in art after the turn of the sixth century, and the motif of *Hermes* as an infant cattle thief seems to have been particularly popular between c. 565 and 490 BC.<sup>63</sup> One might not, however, wish to posit too strict a correspondence between art and literature.<sup>64</sup> Finally, it has been suggested that *Hermes*' reference to *Apollo*'s Delphic temple as an attractive and challenging mark for theft (177–81) might exclude the period c.548–505 BC, when the site is known to have been under construction;<sup>65</sup> this is possible, although such an honorific formulation need not exclude contemporary upheaval. Ultimately, a late-sixth-century date for *Hermes* seems most attractive, but the *Hymn* could also belong to the first half of the fifth century.

<sup>60</sup> See Richardson (2007), 89–91, (2010), 20–1, Thomas (2009), 289–94.

<sup>61</sup> Görgemanns (1976). On these and other arguments put forth for dating *Herm.* in the fifth century, see Janko (1982), 142, who himself prefers a late-sixth-century date.

<sup>62</sup> See Richardson (2010), 21. Nobili (2008) argues for a date c.510–500 (she attempts to tie *Herm.* to Athens and suggests performance at the Panathenaea or *symposion*, in part on the grounds that *Herm.* privileges the themes of sacrifice, communal banqueting, and music. Performance in Athens is certainly possible, but the *Hymn*'s themes of sacrifice, communal banqueting, and music could apply to a number of performance contexts. On *Herm.*'s possible links to Olympia, see below pp. 21–2). Athanassios Vergados, who kindly showed me his commentary on *Herm.* in advance of publication, also argues that these concepts may have existed earlier and prefers a date in the second half of the sixth century.

<sup>63</sup> See Nobili (2008), 184–9, Richardson (2010), 24.

<sup>64</sup> See Thomas (2009), 28 *contra* this as a secure tool for dating.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas (2009), 25.

## Hymn to Aphrodite

Sometimes called the most Homeric of the *Hymns*, the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is one of the oldest in the collection. Aphrodite's prophecy to Anchises (197–8) is very similar to Poseidon's prophecy about the future of Aeneas' race in the *Iliad* (20. 307–8), and the unique character of the passages makes a common formulaic source improbable. Reinhardt argued that the *Hymn* was in fact composed by the poet of the *Iliad*, but its language is almost certainly later than both of the Homeric epics, and is very probably also later than both the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*.<sup>66</sup> The prophecies nonetheless suggest a close link between the *Iliad* and the *Hymn*: both may have been intended to honour a family in the Troad who claimed descent from Aeneas, although this theory has not gone unchallenged.<sup>67</sup> One cannot exclude a late eighth-century date, but assuming that the *Hymn* is later than both the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*, it will most probably have been composed no earlier than the middle of the seventh century. As discussed above, a *terminus ante quem* is provided by *Demeter*, which itself seems to belong to the late seventh or early sixth century.

## Hymn 7 to Dionysus and Hymn 19 to Pan

The lack of tangible historical references or allusions in the seventh *Hymn* to Dionysus make it difficult to date this *Hymn* with any precision, although its language and straightforward style are consistent with a relatively early but post-Homeric date.<sup>68</sup> Attempts have been made to link the mention of the Tyrsenian pirates (7–8) to the Etruscans and to locate the *Hymn* in late-seventh-century Corinth.<sup>69</sup> However, such associations are at best reflected obliquely in the poem and one might rather emphasize the Panhellenic, temporally generic

<sup>66</sup> Reinhardt (1956). On *Aphr.*'s relationship to Homer and Hesiod, see Faulkner (2008), 26–38. Janko (1982), 165–9 has alternatively suggested that the poem was composed between Hesiod's *Th.* and *Op.*

<sup>67</sup> See Faulkner (2008), 3–10.

<sup>68</sup> See AHS 379–80, Janko (1982), 183–4. Càssola 287–8, who reviews earlier scholarship, concludes that the poem is undatable.

<sup>69</sup> See recently Nobili (2009).

nature of the narrative.<sup>70</sup> The fact that the myth of Dionysus' abduction is elsewhere first attested in Pindar (fr. 236) has suggested a date in the late sixth or early fifth century, which is perhaps also supported by the possible reflection of the myth on the Exekias cup of c.530,<sup>71</sup> but one should not exclude the possibility of an earlier date. As for the nineteenth *Hymn* to Pan, which seems to have been influenced by *Hermes*, it is most probable that it does not date before c.500, on the grounds that the cult of Pan did not expand beyond Arcadia before this point.<sup>72</sup> One cannot, however, rule out a date in the late sixth century; Herodotus (6. 105) reports that Pan's cult was adopted by the Athenians after the battle of Marathon, but it could have spread elsewhere earlier than this.<sup>73</sup> Also, as we have seen above, *Hermes* may itself date to the sixth century.

### Other Hymns

The remaining *Homeric Hymns*, all of which are shorter than those discussed above, often do not contain any evidence on which to make a decision about date. Janko analyses certain linguistic features of *Hymns* 6, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, and 33, which are all between 16 and 22 lines in length,<sup>74</sup> but the small data set does not allow for reliable conclusions about date. In most cases, the shorter *Hymns* can probably be assigned to the period between 700 and 500 BC, but there are a few exceptions which are worth discussing briefly here. An obvious outsider in the collection is *Hymn* 8 to Ares. Its style, distinguished by an accumulation of epithets, and its identification of Ares with the planet Mars suggest Neoplatonic authorship. It has been attributed to Proclus in the fifth century AD: this is not certain, but it should in any case not belong to a time before the third century AD.<sup>75</sup> Elsewhere, the

<sup>70</sup> See in this volume Jaillard (p. 133 n. 2).

<sup>71</sup> See WL 16–17, who also compares the juxtaposition of Egypt and the Hyperboreans to Pi. I. 6. 23. For the Exekias cup, see in this volume Fig. 2 (Chapter 7, p. 134).

<sup>72</sup> For more detailed discussion of *Hy.* 19's date and its relation to *Herm.*, see Thomas in this volume (pp. 169–72).

<sup>73</sup> See Càssola 361–2 and cf. Janko (1982), 184.

<sup>74</sup> Janko (1982), 186–7.

<sup>75</sup> For further discussion and bibliography, see in this volume Faulkner (p. 176 n. 4).

pair formed by *Hymns* 31 to Helios and 32 to Selene are distinguished from the rest of the collection by their closing formulae, which state clearly that they will go on to sing of the deeds of heroes, and have often been thought to date to the fifth century or later on stylistic grounds: a fifth-century date seems reasonable, but an earlier date cannot be ruled out entirely.<sup>76</sup> Finally, the concept in *Hymn* 20 of Hephaestus and Athena leading mankind from a primitive state in caves to civilization through their teaching of crafts could suggest a date for this poem after Protagoras in the second half of the fifth century.<sup>77</sup>

#### 4. PERFORMANCE AND FUNCTION

At the very end of the Delian section of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, which describes an Ionian festival in honour of Apollo on Delos (146–78), the poet-narrator speaks directly to the chorus of Delian maidens. He requests that, should anyone in future ask who is the sweetest singer to visit the island, the maidens identify him as that man:

ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμωσ·  
 ἔτυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἔνι παιπαλοέσση·  
 τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν αἰοίδαί·  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμέτερον κλέος οἴσομεν, ὅσσον ἐπ' αἶαν  
 ἀνθρώπων στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας.  
 οἱ δ' ἐπι δὴ πείσσονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτήτυμόν ἐστιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα  
 ὑμένειν ἀργυρότοξον, ὃν ἠΰκομος τέκε Λητώ. (*Apoll.* 171–8)

You should all answer in unison, 'He is a blind man and lives in rugged Chios, and all of his songs are best in perpetuity.' And we will carry your fame wherever we should wander between the populated cities of men. And they will believe it since it is indeed true. And I will not stop hymning far-shooting Apollo of the silver bow, whom well-tressed Leto bore.

<sup>76</sup> See Càssola 439–40, 446.

<sup>77</sup> See WL 18.

These lines portray the poet as the blind Homer himself performing the *Hymn to Apollo* at a Delian festival, just as he is said to do also in the *Certamen* (315–21), one of many such stops for him throughout the Greek world.<sup>78</sup> Whether or not this description is typical in its details, it is clear that the *Hymns* were in part performed by travelling rhapsodes at major festivals. Such performances will often have been competitive: in *Hymn 6* to Aphrodite, the singer specifically asks the goddesses ‘to grant victory in this contest’ (δὸς δ’ ἐν ἀγῶνι | νίκην τῶδε φέρεσθαι, 19–20), and one can assume that this was the case elsewhere too.<sup>79</sup>

Apart from their performance at public religious festivals, Clay points out that the *Hymns* could have been performed in more private contexts, possibly at *symposia* or as entertainment accompanying feasts in court settings.<sup>80</sup> When Odysseus visits the Phaeacians in the *Odyssey*, the bard Demodocus sings instalments from the Trojan War after dinner in the palace of Alcinous (8. 62–96, 499–535), just as Phemius sings of the war at the suitors’ private feast on Ithaca earlier in the poem (1. 325–7). During Odysseus’ visit Demodocus also sings the well-known tale of Aphrodite’s affair with Ares (8. 266–366), an account of embarrassing sexual activity which strongly resembles the narrative of the *Hymn to Aphrodite*. Demodocus performs the tale of the love affair at a more public gathering organized by the Phaeacians, which includes games and dancing, but one might nonetheless reasonably infer from the Phaeacian episode that early hexameter hymns of some length could, just as epic, have been sung in more private court settings. It has been argued, for example, that the *Hymn to Aphrodite* was composed in honour of a family in the Troad who claimed descent from Aeneas, and it is notable that this *Hymn*, in contrast to some others, shows little to no concern with cult.<sup>81</sup>

Regardless of their exact performance context, the extent to which the *Homeric Hymns* stood on their own as compositions in these settings has been a matter of debate. Since Wolf at the end of the eighteenth century, the *Hymns* have commonly been thought to serve

<sup>78</sup> On the performance of this *Hymn*, see further in this volume Nagy (Ch. 13).

<sup>79</sup> See Richardson (2010), 1–2, and in this volume Clay (pp. 236–7), Calame (p. 355). Th. 3. 104. 5 assumes that *Apoll.* was performed in a contest (*agōn*); cf. in this volume Nagy (pp. 322–3). The term *agōn* (*ἀγών*) is itself used in its basic sense of ‘gathering’ at *Apoll.* 150; cf. Richardson (2010), 105.

<sup>80</sup> Clay (1989), 7, and in this volume (pp. 249–50).

<sup>81</sup> See Faulkner (2008), 3–10, (forthcoming b).

as preludes to longer epic recitations. There is some good evidence pointing in this direction. The closing formulae of many *Hymns* indicate that the poet will go on to sing another song: most explicit is, ‘Having begun with you I will now pass on to another song’ (σέο δ’ ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον, *Aphr.* 293, *Hys.* 9. 9, 18. 11), but this introductory function could also be indicated by the more common, ‘And I will remember both you and another song’ (αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ’ ἀοιδῆς, *Dem.* 495, etc.).<sup>82</sup> *Hymns* 31 and 32 uniquely state at their close that they will go on to sing of the deeds of heroes. External sources seem to attest to this function as well. Thucydides, who is the first ancient source to quote from the *Homeric Hymns*, refers to the *Hymn to Apollo* as a *prooimion* (προοίμιον, 3. 104. 4–5), a word which can be taken to mean ‘prelude’, and Pindar claims at the beginning of his second *Nemean Ode* that the Homeridae begin their recitations with a *prooimion* to Zeus (Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου, *N.* 2. 1–5). As well, in the Homeric epics the bard Demodocus is said to begin his singing with an invocation to a god (ὁ δ’ ὄρμηθεις θεοῦ ἤρχετο, *Od.* 8. 499).

It is not, however, agreed by everyone that the long *Hymns* functioned as preludes to further epic recitation. One consideration is whether poems of 300 to 500 lines could actually have served as preludes to longer recitation when they are substantial pieces themselves.<sup>83</sup> Their size is not necessarily an obstacle, given the scale of epic and the potential ability of an ancient audience to sit through long recitations,<sup>84</sup> but Demodocus’ performance of the narrative about Ares and Aphrodite discussed above is perhaps an indication that narrative *Hymns* of some length stood on their own in performance. The term *prooimion* (προοίμιον) used by Thucydides of the *Hymn to Apollo* is not decisive evidence either, as it can indicate simply the first in a series of songs, which may or may not have included epic.<sup>85</sup> Even if the term *prooimion* was originally used of shorter hymns that preceded epic recitation, it could have been understood in a technical sense by Thucydides without the implication of a subsequent performance of any type.<sup>86</sup> There is perhaps no

<sup>82</sup> On the exact meaning of the latter, see Richardson (1974), 324–5.

<sup>83</sup> See AHS xciii–xcv.

<sup>84</sup> See Richardson (1974), 3–4, (2010), 2.

<sup>85</sup> See further Clay (1997), 494–8, and in this volume (pp. 237–40).

<sup>86</sup> AHS xciv–xcv, who compare the modern musical term ‘prélude’.

way to decide with certainty, but the extent to which one views the longer *Hymns* as preludes attached to epic poetry in performance potentially has broader interpretative repercussions. For those who see the long *Hymns* as intrinsically linked to epic, the poems will less readily be understood to stand on their own as a distinct type or genre within the tradition of ancient poetry.<sup>87</sup> And whether or not they should be thought of as an independent genre of poetry has become a central discussion in scholarship on the *Hymns* in the past twenty-five years.

## 5. GENRE, PANHELLENISM, AND LOCAL CONNECTIONS

One of the most influential books published on the *Homeric Hymns* in the past fifty years has been J. Clay's *The Politics of Olympus*.<sup>88</sup> In it, she offers a systematic reading of *Demeter*, *Apollo*, *Hermes*, and *Aphrodite* as complex literary compositions that constitute a distinct genre within archaic Greek poetry. Linear readings of all four poems argue that each of the long *Hymns* 'describes an epoch-making moment in the mythic chronology of Olympus':<sup>89</sup> in the narratives of *Apollo* and *Hermes*, the births of the two gods require a rearrangement of the Olympian hierarchy, while *Demeter* and *Aphrodite* narrate a reordering of relations among gods and between gods and mortals. As such, the *Hymns* can be seen as overlapping with but distinct from both Homeric epic and Hesiodic theogonic poetry, which constitute the pre- and post-history of the narratives recounted in the *Hymns*.

This approach has many positive implications for the study of the long *Hymns* and has opened up new avenues for scholarship.<sup>90</sup> Some differences between the *Hymns* and epic poetry are obvious at a first glance: apart from structural divergences, epic focuses chiefly upon

<sup>87</sup> See Nagy in this volume (pp. 322–32), who closely links the *Hymns* and epic.

<sup>88</sup> Clay (1989).

<sup>89</sup> Clay (1989), 15; cf. her remarks in this volume (Ch. 11).

<sup>90</sup> In this volume, see in particular Felson (Ch. 12), who following Clay examines power relations in the *Hymns* in light of theogony, and Brilllet-Dubois (Ch. 6), but also *passim*.

the world of mortals, in which the gods sometimes interfere, while the narratives of the long *Hymns* focus on deities, who at times enter into the world of mortals. Nonetheless, the *Hymns* have often been viewed in the shadow of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as subordinate, if fascinating, poetry. With Clay, we have an increased understanding of how the *Hymns* are to be viewed as compositions in their own right. Furthermore, while the *Hymns* have frequently been treated as a heterogeneous body of poetry which, apart from their shared language, should be read largely independently, Clay's work has pushed scholars to read the *Hymns* together. As such, her approach also emphasizes the Panhellenic quality of the *Hymns* in place of individual connections to local cults.<sup>91</sup>

There has been some disagreement with aspects of this approach to reading the *Hymns*. Each of the *Hymns* certainly narrates an important moment in the life of a god, but the concern with cosmic hierarchy is perhaps not equally strong in all cases.<sup>92</sup> One might wonder to what extent the composers of the *Hymns* were consistently concerned with theological order rather than entertainment.<sup>93</sup> There are also consequences open for discussion in assuming a high degree of cohesion among and within the longer *Hymns*. Whether or not, for example, the *Hymn to Apollo* is composed of two originally independent sections is a question for continued debate.<sup>94</sup> That said, Clay's work has without doubt done much to improve our understanding of the *Homeric Hymns* as unified literary works,<sup>95</sup> and the *Hymns* should never again be read in isolation from each other. While opinions about particular readings will continue to differ, it is possible to find middle ground. Even if *Apollo* is a composite of originally separate hymns, the poem as we have it has clearly been arranged to be read as a unity and benefits from being understood in this way.<sup>96</sup>

Related to these issues is the question of the extent to which the *Homeric Hymns* should be considered Panhellenic, as opposed to poems attached to particular localities and cults. In some respects,

<sup>91</sup> Clay (1989), 8–11.

<sup>92</sup> See Thalmann (1991), and on *Apoll.* Chappell in this volume (pp. 74–5). For a qualification of the cosmic significance of *Aphr.*, see Faulkner (2008), 10–18.

<sup>93</sup> See in this volume Furley (pp. 208–10).

<sup>94</sup> See in this volume Chappell (Ch. 4), *contra* the view of an originally unified *Hymn* held by Clay (1989) and Miller (1986).

<sup>95</sup> See Janko (1991).

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Richardson (2010), 15.

the *Hymns* are evidently Panhellenic in outlook. A distinction has with good reason been drawn between the *Homeric Hymns* as literary hymns and the hymns used in cult worship in Greece.<sup>97</sup> But it would be wrong to draw an absolute line between the two: the *Homeric Hymns* themselves, assuming that they were performed at religious festivals, can be understood as genuine offerings to a divinity and in this way involved in cult worship.<sup>98</sup> Nonetheless, the *Homeric Hymns* are much less attached to particular ritual contexts, and more strongly linked to the literary Panhellenic theologies of Homer and Hesiod, than cult hymns.

One might still recognize a difference between the Panhellenism of the Homeric epics and the *Homeric Hymns*, some of which, while not cult hymns *per se*, show a concern with particular cults not found in either Homer or Hesiod. On the surface, *Apollo* and *Demeter* both display an interest in local cult: the former narrates the foundation of Apollo's sanctuaries on Delos and at Delphi, while the latter tells of Demeter's foundation of the Mysteries at Eleusis. We are told in the *Certamen* (315–21) that the *Hymn to Apollo* was inscribed by the Delians and dedicated in a temple of Artemis, and one might assume a particular connection to worship at Delos and Delphi in the two halves of the poem.<sup>99</sup> With respect to *Demeter*, certain details of Demeter's visit to Eleusis are comparable to what we know of ritual practice in the Mysteries from other sources, which could suggest a relatively close relationship between the *Hymn* and Eleusis.<sup>100</sup> Elsewhere in the collection connections to cult are less obvious but have been proposed also for both *Dionysus* and *Hermes*. The myth of Dionysus freeing Hera from the bonds of Hephaestus has been linked to the Samian Tonaia, a ritual in which a cult image of Hera was bound and taken to the shore, and the fragments of the poem seem to refer at least once to the foundation of cult.<sup>101</sup> Hermes' division of meat into twelve portions in *Hermes* (127–9) could associate it

<sup>97</sup> See Furley and Bremer (2001), i. ix.

<sup>98</sup> On the *Hymns* as a musical offering to the divinity, see in this volume Calame (Ch. 14); Richardson (p. 53 n. 25) and Nagy (p. 306 n. 78) also question the rigid exclusion of the *Hymns* from the category of cult hymns.

<sup>99</sup> See in this volume Chappell (pp. 66–7).

<sup>100</sup> See Richardson (1974), 12–30, and in this volume (pp. 50–3). For arguments in favour of the poem's Panhellenic outlook see above n. 48.

<sup>101</sup> See West (2001a), 3–4. Fr. D 1–3 seem to explain the establishment of Dionysiac trieteric festivals.

with the cult of the Twelve Gods at Olympia, where Hermes was worshipped together with Apollo.<sup>102</sup> As noted above with respect to dating, it has also been argued that the seventh *Hymn* to Dionysus could be linked to Corinth.

If accepted, these links may be an indication of original performance context, but could also in some cases be the result of the *Hymns* having developed as literary expansions of cult myth.<sup>103</sup> But not all of the *Hymns* evince a connection to cult. In *Aphrodite* there is mention of the goddess's sanctuary on Paphos (58–65), but this is stock epic material and no indication of a particular link to cult; other evidence points to northern Asia Minor as the *Hymn's* place of composition.<sup>104</sup> As well, when Aphrodite first arrives before Anchises on Mt Ida, in the disguise of a young Phrygian princess, the shepherd's first reaction is to offer to build her a temple and make sacrifices to her (100–2). This has been taken by some to refer to the foundation of an actual cult on Ida,<sup>105</sup> but there is no reason to assume this here. Anchises' reaction is a general attempt at piety in the face of a miraculous stranger, whom (after her sudden appearance on his mountain) he assumes is a goddess; he mentions no geographical or cultic details, such as we find in *Demeter* and *Apollo*, and does not even know to which goddess he might be speaking.<sup>106</sup> One must, it seems, accept variation in the extent to which the *Hymns'* narratives connect them to local cults, and it cannot be assumed that the *Hymns* all developed in the same way. Yet, connections to local cult do not rule out Panhellenic appeal in the *Hymns'* narratives. It is hard to deny this even in the cases of *Apollo* and *Demeter*, which, in keeping with the status of Delphi and Eleusis as major Panhellenic sites in Greece, celebrate the universal power and significance of Apollo and Demeter. Whether they evince local connection or not, the narratives of all the long *Hymns* without doubt transcend both local and temporal boundaries.

<sup>102</sup> See Burkert (2001), 178–88, Johnston (2002), 124–6, WL 13–14, Thomas (2009), 14–20. Larson (1995) argues that the poem contains an aetiology for the cult of the bee maidens at Delphi, and Nobili (2008) connects it to the Panathenaia.

<sup>103</sup> See in this volume Furley (Ch. 10).

<sup>104</sup> See Faulkner (2008), 49–50.

<sup>105</sup> Podbielski (1971), 44–5, Càssola 549.

<sup>106</sup> See Faulkner (2008), 179.

## 6. THE PRESENT VOLUME

The preceding discussion has surveyed a number of essential questions in scholarship on the *Homeric Hymns* up to the present day. It is not by any means an exhaustive account, but it is hoped that it will provide for the reader a foundation for approaching the study of the *Hymns*, and a sense of how the individual essays in this volume, which have been referred to above in the footnotes, fit into the broader tradition of scholarship on the *Hymns*.

This book proceeds from a steady flow of interest in the *Homeric Hymns* in the past fifteen years. To name a few contributions since the turn of the century: M. L. West published an important article on the reconstruction of *Dionysus* and his Loeb edition of the *Hymns*;<sup>107</sup> following a gap of more than twenty-five years from the publication of N. J. Richardson's full commentary on *Demeter* in 1974, detailed commentaries on *Apollo*, *Hermes*, and *Aphrodite* have either been published or are currently in preparation for publication;<sup>108</sup> a book-length study of the *Hymns*' relationship to Callimachus' *Hymns* has been completed;<sup>109</sup> and N. J. Richardson has recently published his own edition and commentary on *Apollo*, *Hermes*, and *Aphrodite* in the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics series.<sup>110</sup>

But despite their recent popularity, there has never been a volume of collected essays devoted to the corpus of *Homeric Hymns*. In his review of the *New Companion to Homer* in 1999, Hainsworth noted the need for a collection of expert studies dedicated to the *Hymns* alone.<sup>111</sup> It is hoped that the present volume will fill this gap. However, this book is more than just a companion. It aims not only to evaluate the state of scholarship on the *Hymns* but also to advance it, and it is ultimately hoped that it will prove useful to a wide range of readers, from undergraduate students under the direction of an

<sup>107</sup> West (2001a), WL. See also the German edition of Pfeiff (2002) and slightly earlier the Italian edition of Zanetto (1996).

<sup>108</sup> On *Aphr.* Faulkner (2008). In preparation: expanded and revised versions of the doctoral theses whose dates are given in brackets, on *Apoll.* Chappell (1995), on *Herm.* Vergados (2007) and Thomas (2009). Nobili (2008) is another major study of *Herm.* undertaken as a doctoral thesis in recent years. Another commentary on *Aphr.* and some of the shorter *Hymns* is also now in preparation by Professor D. Olson.

<sup>109</sup> Vamvouri-Ruffy (2004).

<sup>110</sup> Richardson (2010).

<sup>111</sup> Hainsworth (1999).

instructor to experts who turn to the *Hymns* with an inquisitive eye. In pursuit of this blend, as well as general breadth of vision, the contributors to the volume are composed of both senior and emerging scholars from the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Switzerland, Greece, the United States, and Canada, who together bring a variety of methodologies and backgrounds to the study of the *Homeric Hymns*.

The volume, which is made up of thirteen original essays plus the preceding introduction to scholarship on the *Hymns*, is divided structurally into two parts. In the first part, an essay is devoted to each of the long narrative *Hymns*, as well as to the two mid-length *Hymns* to Dionysus (7) and Pan (19): **Martin West** considers the reconstruction of the fragmentary first *Hymn to Dionysus* and the relationship of its narrative to the Homeric epics; **Nicholas Richardson** revisits questions central to the interpretation of the *Hymn to Demeter* in light of scholarship since the publication of his commentary on the poem; **Mike Chappell** re-examines the question of the *Hymn to Apollo's* unity; **Athanassios Vergados** considers the unique presentation of epiphany in the *Hymn to Hermes*; **Pascale Brillat-Dubois** evaluates the *Hymn to Aphrodite's* relationship to the Iliadic tradition; **Dominique Jaillard** examines the epiphanic nature of *Hymn 7* to Dionysus in relation to the other *Hymns* in the collection; and **Oliver Thomas** offers a systematic reading of *Hymn 19* to Pan and its relationship to the *Hymn to Hermes*. In the second part, six essays give broader attention to the collection as a whole, including the shorter *Hymns*: **Andrew Faulkner** considers the formation of the collection and surveys the evidence for the transmission and reception of the *Hymns* from the seventh to the third centuries BC; **William D. Furley** explores the relationship of the *Hymns* to other early hexameter hymns and their possible genesis from theogonic hymns and cult myth; **Jenny Clay** looks at the generic coherence of the *Hymns* and their development as a genre; **Nancy Felson** offers a reading of intergenerational conflict in *Apollo* and *Hymn 28* to Athena and considers further the *Hymns'* relationship to Hesiod; **Gregory Nagy** examines the earliest phases of transmission and reception of the *Hymns* from the perspective of oral poetics and performance, with particular attention to *Apollo*; and **Claude Calame** considers musical performance in the *Homeric Hymns* and their nature as musical offerings to divinities.

All of the contributions stand on their own but not in isolation. Where possible, contributors have taken into account the relevant arguments of others in the volume, and throughout the book pertinent discussions elsewhere in the volume (whether in agreement or disagreement) are signalled in the footnotes as much as is practical. Discussion of particular topics or passages can as well be located by using the indexes. The consolidated list of works cited at the back provides a full, if not exhaustive, list of bibliography on the *Hymns*, which, it is hoped, will also be a valuable tool. In order to accommodate readers of different backgrounds, quotations in languages other than English, including Greek and Latin, are together given in the original and an English translation, except in some cases where it was not possible to include the Greek original for reasons of space. Transliteration is also used in some instances.

