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Greek Hymns

Volume II
Greek Texts and Commentary

Mohr Siebeck

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Selected Cult Songs
from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period

Volume II

Greek Texts and Commentary

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Inside front and back cover picture: Apollo with lyre, offering a libation before an altar. Attic red-figure lekythos c. 470 BC. Antikenmuseum, Department of Archaeology, Heidelberg University (inv. 75/3).

Contents

Chapter 1

Crete

1.1 A Cretan hymn to Zeus of Mt. Dikta

Ed. princ.: R.C. Bosanquet & G. Murray, 'The Palaikastro Hymn of the Kouretes', in: *ABSA* 15 (1908-9), 339-365.[1]
Editions and Studies: Harrison (1963, 1-30); K. Latte, 'De saltationibus Graecorum' *RGVV* 13, 3, Giessen 1913, 43-51; Wilamowitz (1921, 499-503); Powell (1925, 160-162); Guarducci (1942); M.L. West, 'The Dictaean Hymn to the Kouros', *JHS* 5, 1965, 149-159; M. Guarducci (2), 'Ancora sull' inno cretese a Zeus Dicteo', in: *Antichità Cretesi, Studi Doro Levi* Catania 1974 /1978, II 34-35; H. Verbruggen, *Le Zeus crétois*, Paris 1981, 101-111 and passim;[2] P. Perlman, '*Invocatio* and *Imprecatio*: the Hymn to the Kouros from Palaikastro', *JHS* 115, 1995, 161-167; MacGillivray *et al.* (2000).

     Ἰὼ μέγιστε κοῦρε,
     χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε,
     παγκρατὲς γάνος, βέβακες
     δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος·
5   Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἕρπε
     καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾶι,

     τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι
     μείξαντες ἅμ' αὐλοῖσιν

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[1]Bosanquet, one of the British archaeologists who found the inscription in 1904, describes site and inscription; Jebb, invited to give an interpretation of the text, died before he could do so; his task was passed on to Gilbert Murray.

[2]Cf. the reviews of this book by P. Faure in *REG* 96 (1983), 295, R. Parker in *CR* 33 (1983),144-5 and Y. Duhoux in *RBPh* 61 (1983), 236-7.

καὶ στάντες ἀείδομεν τεὸν
10 ἀμφὶ βωμὸν οὐερκῆ,
   ἰὼ μέγιστε κοῦρε κτλ.

   ἐνθα γάρ σε παῖδ' ἄμβροτον
   ἀσπίδ[
   πὰρ Ῥέας λαβόντες πόδα
15 κ[
   ἰὼ μέγιστε κοῦρε κτλ.

   (missing
   missing
   missing)
20   τᾶ]ς καλᾶς Ἀõς,
   ἰὼ μέγιστε κοῦρε κτλ.

   Ὧραι δ' ἔβ]ρυον κατῆτος
   καὶ βροτὸς Δίκα κατῆχε
   [καὶ πάντα δι]ῆπε ζώ[ι']
25 ἁ φίλολβος Εἰρήνα,
   ἰὼ μέγιστε κοῦρε κτλ.

   ἀ[λλ', ἄναξ, θόρ' ἐς στα]μνία
   καὶ θόρ' εὔποκ' ἐ[ς πώεα
   κὲς λάι]α καρπῶν θόρε
30 κὲς τελεσφ[όρος οἴκος,]
   ἰὼ μέγιστε κοῦρε κτλ.

   θόρε κὲς] πόληας ἁμῶν,
   θόρε κὲς ποντοπόρος νᾶας,
   θόρε κὲς ν[έος πο]λείτας,
35 θόρε κὲς θέμιν κλ[ηνάν,
   ἰὼ μέγιστε κοῦρε κτλ.

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3 γάνος Wilam.: γανους lapis, edd. pl.: γᾶν ὃς West   10 ουερκη lapis:
εὐερκῆ Bosanquet   12 αμορτον lapis, corr. Bosanquet   13 ἀσπίδ[εσσι
Κουρῆτες Bosanquet, Wilam.: ἀσπιδ[ηφόροι τροφῆς Murray, Powell   14

πολα lapis: πόδα Bosanquet: ὅπλα West ('fortasse')   15 κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυ-
ψαν Murray: κ[υκλῶντες ἀπέκρυψαν] Wilam.: κ[ρούοντες ἀντάχον Powell   22
Ὧραι δὲ β]ρύον Murray: καρποὶ δὲ West ('fortasse')   24 καὶ πάντα δι]ῆπε
ζώι' Wilam.: .πεζωαφιλολβοσειρηνα lap.: πάντα τ' ἄγρι' ἄμφ]επε ζῶι' Mur-
ray   27 ἀ[λλ', ἄναξ West: ἀ[λλὰ βῶν θόρ' ἐς ποί]μνια Wilam.: ἄ[μιν θόρε
κὲς στα]μνία Murray: ἀ[μῶν δὲ θόρ' ἐς ποί]μνια Guarducci (2)   28 ἐ[ς πώεα
Wilam.: ἐ[ς μῆλα Guarducci (2): ἐ[ς ποίμνια Murray   29 κὲς λήι]α Murray:
λάι]α Latte   31 τελεσφ[όρως οἶκος Wilam.: -φ[όρους σίμβλους Murray: -
φ[όρους ἄγρους Bosanquet: -φ[όρος βότρυς Latte   32 suppl. Murray   33
ποντοφορος lap., corr. Powell   33 suppl. Bosanquet   35 κλ[ηνάν Wilam.:
κα]λάν Murray: κλ[είτην Bosanquet. ๑

Metre

The stanzas are composed in *ionici a maiore* (either 'normal' ⏤⏤⏑⏑ or
'anaclastic' ⏤⏑⏤⏑), and consist of four dimeters, the last running invari-
ably in the form ⏤⏑⏤⏑⏤⏑⏤๑ tro dim. The final stanza, however, is in
ionici a minore. The switch or swing from *a maiore* to *a minore* will have
been intentional and expressive, to underline the importance of this last
stanza. – In Greek poetry of the fifth c. BC *ionici a minore* were associated
with processional songs: the parodos of the Elders in Aesch. *Pers*. from 65
on-wards, culminating in the deeply religious 93-114, of the maenads in
Eur. *Bacch*. 64ff. and of the *mystai* in Ar. *Frogs* 323ff. (cf. *Thesm*. 101-129).
This metre is also used in the paeans composed by Philodamos (339/8 BC,
for the dating see section 2.5) and Isyllos (last quarter of 4th c.). If we go
by the poetry which has come down to us, *ionici a maiore* do not occur at
all in archaic or classical poetry; they are found for the first time in just
two lines quoted from the fourth-century poet Kleomachos of Magnesia
(*SH* 341, cf. West (1982b, 144)); cf. Koster, *Traité* 1966 (4th ed.), 199-200
and 207-9, and more recently West (1982a, 9-12). The refrain goes as
follows:

1	⏑⏤⏑⏤⏑⏤⏤	ia dim cat
2	⏤⏑⏤⏑⏤⏤	ith
3	⏤⏑⏤⏑⏤⏑⏤×	tr dim
4	⏤⏑⏤⏤⏤⏑⏤	tr dim cat
5	⏤⏤⏤⏑⏑⏤⏑⏤⏤	hipp
6	⏤⏑⏤⏑⏤⏤	ith

For the refrain West (1982b, 148) compares Archilochus 324 and observes
that "the Cretan poet has evidently incorporated something of a traditional
acclamation".

Date of the Hymn

In vol. I we have considered in general terms how the dating of the inscription and the hymn involves at least three separate considerations: (1) the dating of the inscription; (2) the age of the text and (3) the age of the cult to which the hymn belonged. As to (1), Guarducci (1942) observes that the letter-forms prove beyond doubt that the actual chiselling was done in the third c. A.D. This tallies with some instances of late orthography like the itacism πολείτας; the form βέβαχες (instead of βέβηχας) by analogy with 3rd person sing. βέβαχε; and the Attic/koinē ending χρέχο̱μεν instead of the normal Doric ending on -μες. As to (2), it is certain that the text was re-inscribed from an earlier original, perhaps because an older inscription was damaged or had become difficult to read. A number of metrical and stylistic features indicate that the text belongs in mainstream Greek poetry of the late classical period. For the metrical form see above; elements derived from the language of choral lyric are χοῦρος instead of Cretan χῶρος; the dat. plur. -οισιν; the acc.plur. πόληας instead of Cretan πόλινς or πόλῑς; Homeric words like βροτός, ἄμβροτος; and poetic compounds like παγχρατής, φίλολβος, ποντόπορος. These elements form a thin veneer over a text with basically (East-)Cretan features: ἔς = Attic εἰς, the length being metrically certain in the recurrent phrase ἐς ἐνιαυτόν, ἀὸς = Attic ἠοῦς; ἀγώμενος = Attic ἠγούμενος; οὐερχῆ instead of εὐ-; ἔρπω is also Doric where Ionic-Attic would use ἔρχομαι; the acc. plur. of o-stems on -ὸς, as in βροτὸς (23) and ποντοπόρος (33), while in the law code of Gortyn (5th c. B.C.) one still finds forms ending on -ονς, and other Doric dialects, e.g. Laconian, have -ως. All this points to, or is at least compatible with, a date of composition in the 4th c. B.C. For (3), the age of the cult itself, see our remarks in vol. I, especially on the possible relation between this song and the (Minoan) Palaikastro Kouros.

Notes

1. μέγιστε: as often in religious contexts μέγας denotes power rather than size, cf. M. Bissinger, *Das Adjektiv MEGAS in der griechischen Dichtung*, München 1966, 67-71.

χοῦρε: Other edd. (Guarducci, West) print Κοῦρε and take the noun as a theonym. In Homer χοῦροι is the normal word for young men (*Iliad* 2.510, 551, 562; 4.321; 9.86 etc.; twice for dancers 18.494; *Od* 8.286).

The word was not used in common Attic or Ionic (but Plato uses it in *Laws* 772a, 785a). Significantly, Kritias (6,14 West) has Λακεδαιμονίων κόροι: in Doric speech the noun remained in use to denote adolescents.

Who is this κοῦρος? For the Greeks in the historical period, of course, Apollo is the adolescent god *par excellence*. Hesychius s.v. κουρίδιον tells us that the Laconians call Apollo κουρίδιος. In Theran inscriptions (*IG* XII 3, 354,355) ϙορες, presumably to be understood as κόρης occurs as the name of a god, presumably Apollo; some scholars have identified him with the young god of the Palaikastro hymn. However, since di-ka-ta-jo di-we, Δικταίωι Διϝεῖ, is found on tablets from Knossos (KN Fp 1,2), and above all because this same κοῦρος is given the patronymic Κρόνειε in the next line, the identification of this god who is asked to come to Dikte as Zeus is beyond reasonable doubt.

This hymnic text is something of an exception in not taking meticulous care to call the god by his name. In fact it does not even name the god at all, apart from the patronymic 'son of Kronos'. Even so, one has to take this text as a hymn to Zeus: neither Poseidon nor Hades, the other sons of Kronos, would fit in the hymnic discourse which follows; and there is an unmistakable suggestion of the supremacy of this god in δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος (4). But κοῦρος is a surprising epithet for Zeus, who is traditionally "father of gods and men". Ap. Rhod. 1.508-9 uses it, but only in the course of Orpheus' narrative about the three generations of gods: Ζεὺς ἔτι κοῦρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς, Δικταῖον ναίεσκεν ὑπὸ σπέος. We have already referred in vol. I p. 70 to the cult of Zeus as a boy at Aigion.

2. χαῖρε. Greeks used χαῖρε as a greeting, but also to say farewell. Quite a few hymnic prayers start with a χαῖρε, as here: e.g. Eur. *Hipp.* 64 and Aristoph. *Thesm.* 111; a 6th-c BC hymnic text begins with χαῖρε ϝάναξ hέρακλες (*CEG* 396). One also finds it at the end of hymns: in many Homeric hymns the poet takes leave of the god with καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε κτλ. (3.545; 4.579; 9.7 etc.) or simply with χαῖρε (5.292; 10.4; 11.5 etc.). Wachter (1998, 69) suggests that in archaic hymnic poetry χαῖρε functioned as "eine Aufforderung an eine Gottheit, eine Votivopfergabe freudig anzunehmen, wobei auf die Gabe selber mit einem grammatischen Komponent Bezug genommen werden kann". The instance in this Cretan hymn confirms his point, for in line 6 the singers repeat and rephrase χαῖρε as γέγαθι μολπᾶι. – On χαῖρε and χάρις in general as key terms in worship see vol. I p. 61f. and Bremer (1998).

The expression χαῖρέ μοι is used in tragedy and comedy to express intimacy between speaker and addressee: between parents and children in Eur. *Hec.* 426, *Hipp.* 1453, *Troad.* 458, *Phoen.* 618, *Ba* 1379, Men. *Samia* 128. With more distance, but still as a sign of endearment and devotion, it is used by Oedipus in addressing Theseus at S. *OC* 1137, by Hippolytus' hunter-friends addressing Artemis Eur. *Hipp.* 64 and 70, by Iphigeneia to the light of life she is about to leave Eur. *IA* 1509. The χαῖρέ μοι here in this hymn is certainly an instance of this second category.

2. Κρόνειε. The formation of patronymics in -ειος is common in Aeolic dialects (Boeotian, Thessalian, Lesbian) but not unknown elsewhere. The use of the patronymic here has particularly force as it is Zeus' youthful aspect which is receiving emphasis.

3. ΓΑΝΟΥΣ. The word can be read three times on the stone; in the first case the stonecutter, having first written ΓΑΝΟΣ, inserted a diminutive Υ between Ο and Σ; in the two other cases it is written ΓΑΝΟΥΣ. This opens the way for three possible readings:

a. παγκρατὲς γάνους: so Murray (358), who translated the phrase: 'lord of all that is wet and gleaming'. – Referring to Hesychius who gives παράδεισος as one of the meanings of γάνος, A. Motte, *Prairies et Jardins de la Grèce antique*, Brussels 1973, 59, interprets the phrase in our hymn as 'almighty lord of the garden'. But Hesychius may be defining a sense of γάνος which derives from Semitic 'gan'='garden'. – Guarducci (1974-8: 34-35) translates παγκρατὲς γάνους by 'signore supremo della gioia', taking the element παγ- as 'completamente dominatore'; for the meaning of γάνος she, too, refers to Hesychius (who gives also χάρμα, ἡδονή).

There are two serious objections to reading γάνους in this way, one syntactical, the other morphological: (i) wherever the vocative παγκρατές occurs – and one finds it in no less than twelve cases used as an attribute of a god or divine power – Simon. 541.5; Pind. *N* 4.62, fr. 70b15; Bacchyl. 11.44, 17.24, fr. 14.4; Aesch. *Suppl.* 816, *Eum.* 918, Eur. *Rhes.* 231, Aristoph. *Thesm.* 317, 368 and Cleanthes' hymn 1 – it is invariably a self-sufficient term without an object in the genitive. The παν- element already represents a kind of object to the action implied by κρατ-, making a second object syntactically impossible. Probably this was what Wilamowitz meant when he wrote in his apodeictic way: "der Genetiv 'allmächtig über γάνος' gibt gar keinen Sinn" (500). In a similar vein West (151): "it is

simply not Greek". (ii) γάνους would be an Atticism (or koiné form) in a text which shows several characteristics of East Cretan: the contraction of ε + ο should lead to γάνως, as in ἀγώμενος.

b. παγκρατές, γᾶν ὅς. West's conjecture is intended to kill several birds with one stone: 1) he provides βέβαχες with an object phrase (γᾶν, 'to earth') 2) he eliminates the asyndeton between the βέβαχες statement and the following ἕρπε, 3) he obtains an opening stanza which conforms to the traditional pattern of invocation ('der Relativstil der Prädikation', Norden (1913, 168ff.)), and 4) he is rid of the problematic genitive γάνους (see point a). For the presence of the Υ in ΓΑΝΟΥΣ he offers the ingenious explanation (151-2) that the insertion of this Υ was prompted by the mis-reading of a rough breathing just above ΟΣ in the hand-copy[3] which the engraver used.

But this reading, too, involves serious difficulties. To take the last point first: a rough breathing (of whatever shape) in the stonecutter's hand copy (if he had one) would have been positioned either before, or possibly above, the omikron of ΟΣ. It is not readily comprehensible why the cutter should have confused any sign in this position with an upsilon *between* the omikron and sigma of ΟΣ. Second, it is difficult to accept West's own in-terpretation of γᾶν ὅς βέβαχες as "who to earth art gone"[4], for which he adduces as parallel Persephone "who vanishes below the earth in the winter months and returns in the spring" (156). If one looks in early Greek poetry for expressions denoting 'going below the earth', one finds ὑπὸ χθόνα or ὑπὸ χθονός (Pind. fr. 137; Semon. 1.14)[5], γῆς ὑπὸ ζόφον (Aesch. *Pers.* 839) or ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης (Theognis 243). – There are cases of γᾶν be-ing the destination to which someone has gone (or is requested to come), but then it is not the nether world: to take three examples from one text: Καδμείων ἔμολον γᾶν E. *Phoen.* 216, ἔβας ὦ γᾶν πατρῴαν ibid. 295, and βᾶθι τάνδε γᾶν ibid. 682. In all cases, however, γᾶν is specified (Καδμείων, πατρῴαν, τάνδε). Third, how are we to envisage the Kouros

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[3]Most probably this was a copy written on a papyrus, see E. Turner in *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, Oxford 1971, 14, who points out that breathings are noted in papyri from the second century B.C., and that the rough breathing could take the form ⊢, ⌐ or ν.

[4]In his comm. on Hesiod's *Theog.* (published in 1966, one year after his *JHS* article) West repeats this interpretation on p. 291.

[5]*Il.* 6.411 has the phrase χθόνα δύμεναι. But there the verb implies the notion of going down.

"who to earth art gone" leading a retinue of gods (δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος)? If the idea is that the Kouros goes underground, then surely we are not to imagine the other Olympians following him;[6] if he is thought to have come to *this* earth, i.e. Crete, what is the sense of the cletic appeal in the following line "come to Dikta!" (Δίκταν... ἕρπε)? An awkward reduplication of the idea and construction "come to..." results.

c. παγκρατὲς γάνος. Wilamowitz, comparing this phrase to Aratus 15 χαῖρε πάτερ, μέγα θαῦμα, μέγ' ἀνθρώποισι ὄνειαρ, takes the poet of this hymn to have meant something prior to, or beyond, myth: "der Mythos ist bereits nur ein Ornament, fast Rudiment, und er tritt ganz zurück vor einer universalen Lebensempfindung des παγκρατὲς γάνος, des universalen Lebensprinzipes, der allgegenwärtigen Gottheit." (501-2) Two other arguments support this reading: a general one, viz. that in the choice of words and phrases this hymn seems strongly influenced by fifth-century poetry, in which case a word used so prominently by Aeschylus and Euripides is hardly surprising; and a more specific one, viz. that γάνος belongs to the language of ritual and cult: it may refer to the god-givenness of what is decisive for the quality of human life: water, wine, honey. The word γάνος, not found in epic, elegiac or early lyric poetry, occurs several times in Aesch. and Eur. (not Soph.). In Aesch. *Ag.* 1391-2 διοσδότωι γάνει refers to rain as Zeus' gift; the miraculous supply of water in Egypt is called Νείλου γάνος in Eur. *Hel.* 462 (and perhaps also in Aesch. fr. 300.3). Wine is referred to as ἀμπέλου γάνος in *Pers.* 615 and Eur. fr. 146.3, as βότρυος γάνος in Eur. *Ba.* 261, 383, as Διονύσου γάνος in *Cycl.* 415; in *IT* 634 honey is described as ἀνθεμόρρυτον γάνος μελίσσης. E. Fraenkel observes in his note on *Ag.* 1392 : "...in this particular usage (of water, wine and honey) the word perhaps goes back to the language of ritual and cult".

Therefore something like 'almighty splendour' by itself is acceptable as a hymnic invocation. One still has to explain an isolated βέβαχες. LSJ inform us that perfect forms of βαίνειν can mean *stand* or *be* in a place, e.g. Arch. 114.4 ἀσφαλέως βεβηκὼς ποσσί, 'standing firmly on his feet'. In other instances[7] an isolated βέβηχε (βεβᾶσι) means: 'he is gone, dis-

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[6]West prefers to think of the Kouretes following this Cretan Zeus: "perhaps the Kouretes are all the gods concerned in this religion" (156).

[7]Aesch. *Pers.* 1002-3; Soph. *El.* 1151; *Phil.* 494, *OC* 1678; Eur. *Alc.* 392, 394, *Androm.* 1022, *Or.* 971, *Tro.* 582, *Suppl.* 1138.

appeared, died'. This latter meaning is clearly inapplicable here, but the former gives good sense, particularly when taken closely with the following phrase δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος, "you stand at the head of (a train of) gods" (see next note); cf. in particular Eur. *Hcld* 910-11 ἔστιν ἐν οὐρανῶι βεβακώς, "he (sc. Herakles) has taken up his position in heaven".

4. δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος: this expression must refer to Zeus' leadership of the gods in general. Already in *Il.* 1.494-5 one finds him walking ahead of the gods towards Olympus: καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἴσαν θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες / πάντες ἅμα, Ζεὺς δ' ἦρχε. Cf. Terpander fr. 1 Ζεῦ, πάντων ἀρχά / πάντων ἀγήτωρ.... As for the wording, Guarducci (1) adduces a striking parallel from Plato's *Phaedrus*: ὁ μὲν **μέγας ἡγεμὼν** ἐν οὐρανῶι **Ζεύς**, ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἅρμα, πρῶτος πορεύεται, τῶι δ' ἔπεται στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ **δαιμόνων** (246E). A magnificent rf. dinos in Basel by the Berlin Painter (inv. Lu 39) shows the scene of Zeus mounting his chariot at the head of a train of (six) gods; the picture captures in a visual image Zeus' leadership of the gods.

5. Δίκταν. Although modern maps show Mt. Dikta (with a 'cave of Zeus' etc.) at the Lasithi massif near Agios Nikolaos, it is virtually certain that Dikta was the ancient name of the mountain, nowadays called Petsophas, close to the site at Palaikastro in E. Crete, halfway between the ancient towns of Itanos and Praisos.[8] Here British excavators found remains of a Minoan town, and – not at the highest point of this town but half way up the SE slope – the remains of a Greek temple dating from the seventh century B.C. and later: an altar, remains of pediment and sima; an antefix and a bronze lion; and, some distance from all this, the stone with our hymn inscribed on front and back. "This lonely Hellenic temple, which stood a thousand years later on the ruins of the prehistoric town, occupied – by chance or by some direct religious survival – a site of immemorial sanctity." (*BSA* 11, 1904, 310). – There never was a 'Dictaean Cave'; this

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[8]C. Crowther, 'A note on Minoan Dikta', *BSA* 83, 1988, 37-44, points out that there are only relatively late, Hellenistic and literary references to a 'Diktaian Cave', and that there is no archaeological evidence whatsoever for it. In MacGillivray *et al.* (2000, 147) Crowther restates his case: "I conclude that the classical toponym Dikte, the mountain on which Cretan Zeus was believed to have been born, corresponds to Mt. Petsophas" – The identification of the *Idaean* Cave, on the other hand, is beyond doubt. New investigations have been undertaken there, discussed by J.A. Sakellarakis, *Kernos* 1, 1988, 207-14; he stresses that "the sequence from Minoan to Greek worship was unbroken: the Idaean Cave went on to be a most important shrine".

conception probably arose out of a mistaken identification of Mount Dikta
with Mount Ida in Central Crete (with its famous Idaean cave[9]). Strabo
10.4.12 took pains to point out that Dikta was far from Mt. Ida and close to
Praisos in Eastern Crete, ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερὸν, καὶ
γὰρ χιλίους ἡ Δίκτη τῆς Ἴδης ἀπέχει, πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον ἀπ' αὐτῆς
κειμένη. It must have been a sanctuary where worshippers of various cities
came together. Zeus Diktaios occurs in oath-formulas of Praisos (*IC* III,
vi 7, 15-16), of Itanos (ibid. iv 8,3) and of Hierapytna ibid. iii 5, 11-12);
the sanctuary of Zeus Diktaios is mentioned four times in a treaty between
Hierapytna and Itanos (ibid. iv 9, 38/69/82). The fact that a number of
cities were linked to the cult of Zeus Diktaios fits in very well with the
plural πόληας ἁμῶν in line 32. There is, finally, the interesting item in
the (admittedly late) Etym. Magnum: Δίκτη· ἐνταῦθα δὲ Διὸς ἄγαλμα
ἀγένειον ἵστατο.

5. ἐνιαυτόν. In this context this word probably refers not to a 'year' as a
span of time but to the celebration of the 'anniversary'; cf. LSJ s.v. A good
example is a Phocian inscription about rituals in honour of the deceased:
μηδὲ τᾶι ὑστεραίαι μήδ' ἐν ταῖς δεκάταις μήδ' ἐν τοῖς ἐνιαυτοῖς μήτ'
οἰμώιζειν μήτ' ὀτοτύζειν (C. Michel, *Rec. Inscr. Gr.*, Brussels 1900, 995,
C49).

5. ἕρπε: in Homer this verb refers to walking on earth (of men and an-
imals), as opposed to swimming (fishes) or flying (birds). In the Doric
dialect of choral lyric, and hence in Attic tragedy, ἕρπω is simply 'to walk,
go, come'; e.g. Eur. *Andr.* 433, *Hel.* 477. In *IC* III (East Crete), one finds
instances of ἕρπω used in the same general sense, e.g. iii, 1B,15 and iii
3B,3. In this hymn ἕρπε certainly means 'come', and it characterizes this
hymn, already in its first stanza, as a ὕμνος κλητικός, a song calling upon
the god to come and appear. In the last two stanzas this invocation is inten-
sified: θόρε θόρε is more urgent than ἕρπε. Note that the specific meaning
'creep' (=Latin serpere) is confined to Attic, and only from Aristophanes
onwards: *Knights* 607 (of a crab), *Clouds* 710 (of lice).[10]

6. γέγαθι: this is a poetical form, obviously related to Homeric γηθέω
perf. γέγηθα. Schwyzer *Gr. Gramm.* I 800, suggests that the form ought
to have been γέγαθε (imper. from the perfect γέγαθα), and that -θι is used

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[9]See previous note.

[10]Its prose career can be briefly traced as follows: not in Hdt. Thuc. Xen. Plato. Then
again in Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* 501 a3, *Part. Anim.* 686b9-10) etc.

to accommodate it to the aorist imperatives κλῦθι, ἵληθι, φάνηθι, which occur frequently in invocations addressed to the gods. Alternatively, one can take γα- as the verbal stem, cf. γάνυμαι, γαίω.

6. μολπᾶι: in lines 7-9 the choir describes itself as singing (ἀείδομεν) having taken up a position (στάντες) round the altar; they do not mention dance, although neither στάντες nor ἀείδομεν strictly precludes dancing; after all, the chorus' dance in tragedy is denoted by στάσιμον; for μέλπεσθαι denoting song *and* dance, cf. *Iliad* 7.241, 16.182.

7. μολπᾶι τὰν... κρέκομεν: originally κρέκω is the technical term for weaving. As early as Bacchylides 5.9 one finds ὑφαίνειν ὕμνον, 'weave a hymn'. At the end of the 5th cent. BC the poet Telestes (victory with a dithyramb is attested for him by the *Marm. Par.* in 402/401) uses κρέκω metaphorically for making music on a stringed instrument: ... ὀξυφώνοις πηκτίδων ψαλμοῖς κρέκον Λύδιον ὕμνον (*PMG* 810). The strings are comparable to standing threads of the warp (στήμων), while the πλῆκτρον used by a player to pluck notes from the strings can be seen as the shuttle (κερκίς) used by the weaver to pass the horizontal thread (κρόκη) nimbly between the vertical ones of the warp. The verb κρέκω is then also used for vocal music (Eur. *Hyps.* fr. 1 ii 9-11 with Bond's comm.), and even for playing the flute (Ar. *Birds* 682 with Dunbar ad loc; Pae. Delph. i (no. 2.6.1) 14-15). On this metaphorical use of weaving to denote the composition of a text see Scheid & Svenbro (1996, 111-30), who, surprisingly, make no reference to κρέκω itself; these authors argue that the metaphor became current first with the choral lyricists Pindar (e.g. *O* 6.86-7 πλέκων ὕμνον) and Bacchylides (above); cf. J. McIntosh Snyder, 'The Web of Song', *CJ* 76, 1981, 194-5.

7. πακτίσι A πηκτίς seems originally to have been a many-stringed harp of Lydian origin, cf. Pind. fr. 125 (Snell-M) Λύδων ψαλμὸν ὑψηλᾶς ἀκούων πακτίδος, and Telestes *PMG* 810 (quoted above). Athenaios 14. 636b quotes lines from the *Semele* of Diogenes showing the use of the πηκτίς in the Lydian cult of Artemis: ψαλμοῖς τριγώνων πηκτίδων ... κρεκούσας κτλ.; cf. West (1992, 70-75); in 'When is a harp a panpipe?', *CQ* 47, 1997, 48-55, M.L. West collects passages showing that the meaning of πηκτίς varied from harp to lyre or lute, or even panpipe (this only in late texts); on p. 51 he suggests that the πηκτίδες in this hymn were in fact lyres: "There is no proof that these are not still harps, but I can recall no evidence for harps in cult use, or in combination with auloi, whereas lyres

can certainly be documented in both connections. As the singers all(?) seem to be equipped with them, something humbler than the kithara is likely". The pēktis is possibly referred to in a fragmentary hymn to Apollo from Tenos (Kaibel, 1878, no. 1025) as "friend to (?)heavenly celebration [and choral dance]" (9 πη]κ[τί]δα δ' οὐρανίων ἑτάρην θαλίης τ[ε χορῶν τε]). For illustrations of the pēktis see de Martino & Vox (1996, 1388-91). – Note that if this text were composed in pure Doric it would have been πακτίσσι (<-ιδσι).

7-10. This first stanza is a good specimen of what has been called in vol. I (p. 60) the 'self-referentiality' of a hymn: the singers sing about their singing.

10. βωμόν: the site and size of this altar has been precisely determined by the excavators (see above p. 9).

10. οὐερχῆ: this refers most probably to the wall which surrounded the entire precinct; the excavators have been able to trace the remains of this wall over a distance of 36 metres. The diphthong ου for Attic ευ is occasionally found in Cretan inscriptions (*IC* iii 1,3 στρατουόμενοι, and i 19,1 ἐλούθερος). Note Pindar *Pa* 6.114 ἑρκεῖον βωμὸν, 'walled altar', or 'forecourt altar'; Aesch. *Suppl.* 955 εὐερχῆ πόλιν.

12-14. ἔνθα... πὰρ 'Ρέας λαβόντες: ἔνθα relates anaphorically to Dikta. The worshippers believed, or claimed, that the location where they were performing, Dikta, was where Rhea had handed the recipient of this hymn, as a baby god, παῖδ' ἄμβροτον, to – yes, to whom? The text as it stands does not contain Κουρῆτες. But tradition is unanimous that it was the Kouretes who received the infant Zeus from Rhea and protected him from his child-swallowing father Kronos by clashing their metal weapons together and thus drowning the tell-tale wails of the baby (Eur. *Ba* 120-125;[11] Corinna 654 i 12-16 *PMG*; Call. *Hymn to Zeus* 52-53; Strabo X 468,11; Diod. Sic. V 65+70, ps.-Apollod. I 1.6; Hyginus 139.3). As Strabo's is the most explicit statement,[12] we quote it here verbatim: Ἐν δὲ

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[11] Kouretes are mentioned in Eur. *Cretans* fr. 79 Austin, *Hyps.* p. 28 Bond. West (1983, 131-32) points out that 'baby Zeus protected by the Kouretes' was also part of what he calls the Eudemian Theogony.

[12] In his tenth book Strabo, dealing with Acarnania and Aetolia, comes upon the Kouretes (c. 463) and embarks upon a long discussion in which he presents geographical, historical and mythological data; the Kouretes are compared with Satyrs, Korybantes, Idaean Dactyls, Telchines. In c. 474 he apologizes for this long excursus, resumes the thread of

τῆι Κρήτηι… τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὰ ἰδίως ἐπετελεῖτο μετ' ὀργιασμοῦ καὶ
τοιούτων προπόλων οἷοι περὶ τὸν Διόνυσόν εἰσιν οἱ Σάτυροι· τούτους
δ' ὠνόμαζον Κουρῆτας, νέους τινὰς ἐνόπλιον κίνησιν μετ' ὀρχήσεως
ἀποδιδόντας, προστησάμενοι μῦθον τὸν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως,
ἐν ὧι τὸν μὲν Κρόνον εἰσάγουσιν εἰθισμένον καταπίνειν τὰ τέκνα
ἀπὸ τῆς γενέσεως εὐθύς, τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν πειρωμένην ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τὰς
ὠδῖνας καὶ τὸ γεννηθὲν βρέφος ἐκποδὼν ποιεῖν καὶ περισώιζειν εἰς
δύναμιν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτο συνεργοὺς λαβεῖν τοὺς Κουρῆτας, οἳ μετὰ
τυμπάνων (…) καὶ ἐνοπλίου χορείας καὶ θορύβου περιέποντες τὴν
θεὸν ἐκπλήξειν ἔμελλον τὸν Κρόνον καὶ λήσειν ὑποσπάσαντες αὐτοῦ
τὸν παῖδα.[13] – It is therefore fair to assume that the Kouretes were men-
tioned or at least referred to in line 13 of our hymn. The two supplements
which have been suggested reflect this assumption: ἀσπίδ[εσσι Κουρῆτες
conforms to the rhythm of line 28, and ἀσπίδ[ηφόροι τροφῆες to the rhythm
of line 23.

14-15. πόδα x[: in support of Wilamowitz' supplement one can adduce
the phrase πόδα κυκλοῦν in Eur. *El.* 561, *Or.* 632 and in Aristoph. *Birds*
1379. The idea of the Kouretes hiding the baby Zeus is traditional (see the
Strabo passage above).

20. καλᾶς Ἀ̃ὸς. All other stanzas end on ◡ − − −. Therefore metre requires
here a short first syllable. But the Cretan dialect normally has κᾱλος,
κῶρος.

16-20. τᾶς καλᾶς Ἀ̃ὸς. One would like to think that the full text of this
stanza told in a few words that the young Zeus, having defeated Kronos,
was the bringer "of beautiful Dawn" = "of a new era to the world". This
metaphorical use of the word is trite for us, but one looks in vain for it in
Greek. LSJ gives only: 'dawn', 'daybreak', 'East". – Another possibility
is that this stanza describes the coming to power of Zeus, his enthrone-

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his exposition and passes on to Crete.

[13]"In Crete the rites of Zeus were celebrated in a noteworthy manner with revelry and
by attendants comparable to the satyrs of Dionysiac cult: the name they gave these was
Kouretes, young men who perform an enhoplian dance, whereby they cite the myth about
Zeus' birth which relates that Kronos was accustomed to swallow down his children im-
mediately after their birth, whilst Rhea tried to conceal her labour-pains and to save the
new-born infant from his clutches and to preserve it to maturity, and that she availed her-
self of the assistance of the Kouretes to this end, who planned, by surrounding the baby
with drum-beats and dancing-in-armour and hubbub, to thwart Kronos' purpose and to
remove the baby from his grasp undetected."

ment so to speak; in that context he might have been described as "[more radiant] than the beautiful Dawn". – Guarducci (1) suggests that this stanza described the way in which Zeus ordained the boundaries of day and night, of the year and the entire course of nature. – We simply do not and will never know what stood in the text here.

22. Murray's supplement has been accepted by most scholars. Hesiod's *Theogony* informs us that Zeus, after his union with Metis of which Athena was the issue,

> δεύτερον ἠγάγετο λιπαρὴν Θέμιν, ἣ τέκεν Ὥρας,
> Εὐνομίην τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν,
> αἵ τ' ἔργ' ὠρεύουσι καταθνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι (901-3)

Three centuries later, Bacchylides insists that Zeus has provided mankind with these divine conditions of happiness: ἐν μέσωι κεῖται κιχεῖν / πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις Δίκαν ἰθεῖαν, ἀγνᾶς / Εὐνομίας ἀκόλουθον καὶ πινυτᾶς Θέμιτος (15.53-55). The occurrence of Δίκα (23) and Εἰρήνη (25), and θέμις coming at the very end of the hymn make Ὥραι a probable supplement, the term for the group as a whole coming first. It is interesting to see how this element of myth functions in the hymn: "*then* your birth, Zeus, produced peace and justice, sheer bliss, on earth; come *now* again, Zeus, and let our cities, too, share in that prosperity" (see vol. I p. 14f.). This will be spelled out in the last two stanzas. – It is worth noting an anonymous fragment (*PMG* 1018b = Stob. *ecl.* i.76ff.) which invokes the Moirai, Daughters of Night, to send Good Rule, Justice and Peace to a city:

> πέμπετ' ἄμμιν ⟨τὰν⟩ ῥοδόκολπον
> Εὐνομίαν λιπαροθρόνους τ' ἀδελφὰς
> Δίκαν καὶ στεφανηφόρον Εἰράναν,
> πόλιν τε τάνδε βαρυφρόνων
> λελάθοιτε συντυχιᾶν.

"Send to us rosy-bosomed Good Government and the sisters on their polished thrones, Justice and crown-bearing Peace, and help this city to forget distressing disasters."

22. ἔβρυον. Hesychius informs us that βρύω is used properly for the growing of olives: μάλιστα ἐπὶ ἐλαίων. This may go back to *Iliad* 17.56 where

the poet describes a young olive-tree which is in full splendour of white blossom: καί τε βρύει ἄνθει λευκῶι. A similar evocation of rich growth with βρύω in Eur. *Ba* 107. The word ἔμβρυον (in *Od* 1.245 of a lamb, in Hippocr. of the fruit in the womb) of course also has to do with fertility.

22. κατῆτος Murray suggested reading κατῆτος, the phonetical changes being from κατὰ ϝέτος → κατὰ ἔτος → κατῆτος, cf. the Mycenaean za-we-te (PY Ma 225,2) → Att. τῆτες, 'of this year'). West (157) points out that ἔβρυον κατῆτος would suit the idea of a Golden Age better if κατῆτος meant '*throughout* the year', but this meaning is only found in cases like Hdt 6.42.1 κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τοῦτο. The expression κατ' ἔτος (with or without ἕκαστον) means 'annually' (Thuc. 1.56.2; 2.31.3; 3.58.4; 4.53 and 66.1; D.L. ii 14); therefore one probably has to suppose that this phrase in the hymn means that the crops (West prefers to read καρποὶ δ]ὲ) "were abundant every year".

23. βροτός is acc. plur., like ποντοπόρος in 33, and the very probable supplements τελεσφ[όρος οἶκος] in 30 and νέος in 34. See above p. 4

24. καὶ πάντα δι]ῆπε We have followed Wilamowitz, confirmed by Guarducci who reads before the Π "potius H quam E", and at the end ΖΩ. Murray's supplement ἄμφ]επε is impossible: before the Π is an upright. According to West, "iota is the only one that fits the preserved trace", and he suggests ἤ[ρ]ιπε in a transitive sense (only Nic. *Th*. 724 is a parallel for that). After the epsilon he reads ΞΩ and not ΖΩ. But he does not suggest a supplement. It is hard to imagine Eirene presented as throwing out forcefully – what? something evil? – Hesiod describes the activity of the Horai in *Th*. 903: "they help mortals by keeping a close watch over their fields" (see West ad locum, pp. 406-7). This hymn then extends their realm from the cultivated fields to πάντα ζῶια, all living creatures: animals and mankind.

22-25. For this and the two following stanzas two passages in Hesiod's *W&D* are relevant:

οἳ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσιν
ἰθείας καὶ μή τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου,
τοῖσι τέθηλε πόλις, λαοὶ δ' ἀνθέουσιν ἐν αὐτῆι.
Εἰρήνη δ' ἀνὰ γᾶν κουροτρόφος, οὐδέ ποτ' αὐτοῖς
ἀργαλέον πόλεμον τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς. (225-29)

and also:

τοῖσι φέρει μὲν γαῖα πολὺν βίον, οὔρεσι δὲ δρῦς
ἄκρη μέν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσας·
εἰροπόκοι δ' ὄιες μαλλοῖς καταβεβρίθασιν·
τίκτουσιν δὲ γυναῖκες ἐοικότα τέκνα γονεῦσιν. (232-35)

Hesiod leaves it in no doubt that farming and politics cannot lead to prosperity if the local population is attacked by enemies from abroad (πόλεμος) or riven by internal strife and injustice. The situation envisaged by the worshippers in this Dictaean hymn is strictly comparable to the ideal sketched by Hesiod: under the protection of the supreme god Zeus, his daughters the Horai lead a polis to prosperity (n.b. the adjective φίλολβος occurs only here).

27. ἀ[λλ' ἄναξ. Photios' lexicon (ed. Theodoridis) has an item ἀ[λλ' ἄναξ· κιθαρωιδικοῦ ἐξοδίου ἀρχή. Denniston (1954, 14): "ἀλλά in commands and exhortations expresses a break-off in the thought, a transition from arguments for action to a statement of the action required. Hence ἀλλά in this sense usually occurs near the end of a speech as a clinching and final appeal". This would be very appropriate here. Cf. Pind. *O* 2.12 ἀλλ' ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ 'Ρέας; 4.6 ἀλλὰ Κρόνου παῖ; 7.87-90 ἀλλ' ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ. Other instances of ἀλλά at the end of a prayer followed by the name or title of the god invoked are *HHDem* 490, Theognis 781, Aesch. *Pers.* 628, 640; Soph. *OT* 903, *Phil.* 1040; Eur. *Hipp.* 82; Timotheus *Pers.* 237 *PMG* 791; Philod. Scarph. (no. 2.5) 144, Aristonoos (no. 2.4) 41, Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* 32; Limenius (no. 2.6.2) 33. Therefore it is no exaggeration to call West's suggestion ἀ[λλ' ἄναξ a *palmaria*. One can understand why Guarducci (2) wants in 27 to have a form of the first person plural, ἁμῶν in 27, compared with the other in 32, but hardly how she can reject West's ἄναξ as a mere filler: "ha l'aria di una zeppa" (36).

27ff. Latte supposes that the anaphora of θόρε in the last two stanzas evokes a very old, sacred formula; he adds wisely: "quam quo sensu sacerdotes intellexerint, nescimus" (49). According to him θόρε does not convey the notion of Zeus dancing. Similarly Guarducci (1): "θόρε non saltantis sed insilientis". Θρώισκω is, however, used of dancing, e.g. Eur. *Ba* 13.90. – Expressions describing a god jumping and dashing towards something or someone are found elsewhere in Greek poetry, but they usually denote a menace or impending catastrophe e.g. Aesch. *Pers.* 515-6,

Ag. 1175 and 1468; Soph. *Trach.* 1028, *OT* 263 and 1300, *Ant.* 782 and 1346. – Here the imperative θόρε evidently functions as an intensification of the appeal we find in other cletic hymns: ἐλθέ, δεῦρο, κλῦθι, φάνηθι κτλ. There are two possible associations: either with a renewal of the god's birth: West (157) refers to ἐκ δ' ἔθορε πρὸ φόωσδε (*HHApollo* 119), and ὃς καὶ ἐπεὶ δὴ μητρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων θόρε γυίων (*HHHermes* 20), or with the fertilizing power of the god, the verb θρώισκω being also used for the sexual activity of the male: 'mounting'; cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 660; fr. 15; the same poet makes the chorus in *Suppl.* 301 describe Zeus as πρέποντα βου**θόρωι** ταύρωι δέμας.

27. According to West, Wilamowitz' βοῶν θόρ' ἐς ποίμνια is "unacceptable: ποίμνιον βοῶν is no more Greek than 'flock of cows' is English" (153). He prefers the god to jump into Murray's σταμνία. About these jars Wilamowitz had already said: "in die Kruge wird der Gott nicht springen" (500). But it is not *more* strange *a priori* that a god would jump into wine-jars than into houses or young citizens. Of course the fertility of the cattle is important, but they come in the next line. Cf. Eur. *Alc.* 569ff., esp. 588-592 where Apollo's presence is celebrated as causing the well-being and fertility of Admetus' flocks.

28. The adjective εὔποκος, 'woolly', occurs also in Aesch. *Ag* 1416 for flocks of sheep. At *El* 705 Eur. talks of an ἄρνα καλλίποκον (Heath, Diggle: καλλιπλόκαμον L), 'well-fleeced lamb'. – Wilamowitz' supplement πώεα, 'flocks' (sc. of sheep) is preferable to Guarducci's unmetrical μῆλα.

29. λάϊα. The word λήϊον occurs already in Homer (*Iliad* 11.560 and 23.599) for the 'standing crop'. Latte was of course right in writing the word with the Doric α.

30. κὲς τελεσφ[όρος οἶκος]. In all cases the last line of a stanza ends with ⏑ – – – . Not only is Wilamowitz' supplement correct in this respect, it has the great merit of conforming to Hesychius s.v. τελεσφόρος οἶκος· τοῦ γεγαμηκότος καὶ τεκνώσαντος. But one must be cautious: Hesychius will not have taken his lemma from our hymn, which is not a literary poem but a cult song. But one may assume that the phrase τελεσφόρος οἶκος occurred in another Greek poem which has not come down to us. There is an apparent objection to this supplement, viz that the last syllable of τελεσφόρος should be long, but the acc. plural of the o-stems in Cretan Greek, if not -ονς, is -ος which must be taken as -ὸς. The answer to this

objection is that in Crete the digamma remained in force until the 3rd (and in Central Crete even into the 2nd) century B.C. So the syllable is long by position, as in the cases of βροτὸς Δίϰα (23), -πόρος νᾶας (33) and ν[έος πο]λείτας. (34)

32. πόληας ἀμῶν, a remarkable phrase: πόληας is a poetic formation *metri causa* taken from Homer, *Od.* 17.486, and ἀμῶν comes from the language of choral lyric. The Cretan forms would be πόλινς (or πόλιας, πόλεις, see Thumb-Kieckers, *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte*, Heidelberg 1932, vol. I, 162). πόλις was already in use in the Mycenaean period,[14] most probably referring to the citadel, the fortified section of a human settlement; in the archaic period (cf. A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece*, London 1980, ch. 3) the meaning of the word was gradually extended to the area around it and the community inhabiting it with its institutions, temple(s) etc. The cities which are meant here are most probably Praisos, Itanos and Hierapytna (see vol. I, p. 73 and note on line 5 Δίϰτα).

33. The metre requires -τοπόρος νᾶας to be scanned as ◡◡——. Herodianus i 328 gives the acc. sing. νᾶν as Doric, and with this form an acc. plur. νᾶς would go very well. Ruijgh (1967, # 108 n. 163) compares the Mycenaean acc. plur. γwῶνς standing beside the acc. sing. βῶν, which is found in Homer.

34. The supplement ν[έος πο]λείτας has been universally accepted since the discovery of the inscription. It inspired Jane Harrison's hypothesis that the hymn is a vital part of the annual ritual in which boys on reaching manhood were initiated into full citizenship. She perceived a line running straight from the ϰοῦρε (1) via the Κουρῆτες (13) to the ν[έος πο]λείτας (34), and she took the *kouretes* to be young men of privileged status who lead this ceremony because they have already been initiated themselves. In Harrison's words: "they will initiate other young men; instruct them in tribal duties and tribal dances, will steal them away from their mothers, conceal them, make away with them by some pretended death and finally bring them back as new-born, grown youths, full members of their tribe. The word *koures* is simply a specialized derivative of Kouros, as γυμνής of γυμνός" (1963, 19-20). They centre around their mythical paradigm, the Kouros; they form his thiasos and sing a hymn

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[14] As πτόλις belonged to the vocabulary of Arcado-Cyprian (C.J. Ruijgh, *L'élément achéen dans la langue épique*, Assen 1957, 75-6), it will have been a word in Mycenaean Greek. The personal name po-to-ri-jo (Πτο-λί-yων) occurs on KN As 1517.12.

which contains an aetiology of their dancing around this altar. She finds strong support for her view in the statement of Strabo x 11.468, that the Cretans themselves associated the ritual dancing with the myth: ἐν δὲ τῆι Κρήτηι τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἱερὰ ἰδίως ἐπετελεῖτο κτλ... τούτους δ' ὠνόμαζον Κουρῆτας, προστησάμενοι μῦθον τὸν περὶ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως. The text (quoted in full above in the annotation to line 12-14) suggests that in Strabo's time the ritual was a thing of the past: ἐπετελεῖτο, imperfect tense. For information about the rituals of initiation in Cretan cities see Willetts (1962, 213ff.). Koehl (in MacGillivray *et al.*, 2000, ch. III, 11) deals with a body of evidence found on Mt. Petsophas, a peak sanctuary in the immediate proximity of Palaikastro. A large number of LM terracotta figurines has been found there, roughly resembling the chryselephantine kouros but without its distinctive size, precious materials or outstanding craftsmanship. He suggests that while the Kouros represents a Minoan divinity, the figurines represent his mortal peers, and offers a speculative reconstruction of initiation rites undergone by Cretan youths during that period. This looks like further confirmation from archaeology that elements of the Kouros hymn go back many centuries before the text was composed, let alone inscribed on stone. If one combines the textual *data* (Κοῦρε, νέος πολείτας with 1) the Cretan mythographic tradition as recorded by Strabo, 2) the archaeological finds discussed by Koehl and 3) the oath taken by young Itanians (see vol. I p. 74), it is not rash to conclude that this Kouros-hymn functioned in a context which was political as well religious: the inauguration of new citizens into the body-politic, with Kronos' son himself leading the way.

35. ἐς θέμιν κλ[ηνάν. The difficulty here is not so much in the adjective (given the certainty of κλ[, Wilamowitz' guess is as good as Bosanquet's) but in the status of the noun. Murray, Harrison, Guarducci print a capital Θ. Are we to suppose that the worshippers pray to Zeus to 'rush on' to her, to repeat the original copulation as a result of which the Horai were born? Certainly not: that would give an almost obscene ending to the hymn, and it would not fit with the trend of the prayer in the last two stanzas (see next note, on 27-35). Harrison at least does not take it that way. In her last chapter she observes, rightly, that θέμιν printed with Θ or θ connotes ἀγορή, the place where men organize the life of their community according to rules. Two Homeric passages are relevant:

λίσσομαι ἠμὲν Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἠδὲ Θέμιστος
ἥ τ' ἀνδρῶν ἀγορὰς ἠμὲν λύει ἠδὲ καθίζει κτλ. (*Od.* 2.68-9)

in the second passage Patroklos comes running to the ships of Odysseus,

...ἵνα σφ' ἀγορή τε θέμις τε
ἤην, τῆι δὴ καί σφι θεῶν ἐτετεύχατο βωμοί. (*Il.* 11.807-8).

It is evident that this concept of *themis*, like the Latin word *fas*, refers to a social imperative with religious force behind it. In the words of H. Vos (*ΘΕΜΙΣ*, Assen 1956, 2): "Diese θέμις wurde als göttlich empfunden und erlebt, war also eine Göttin, und zwar die Göttin des staatlichen Zusammenlebens, das sich in der ἀγορή konzentrierte". See now Rudhardt (1999, 25).

27-35. In these two stanzas there is a powerful rhetorical climax (Guarducci 2, 37-38). In the first the worshippers pray for the availability of wine and cheese (27), warm clothes (28), food (29), and they pray also for children (30). All these are blessings in the private life of the individual families. In the following and last stanza, lines 32-35, community life in the cities (32) becomes the issue; they pray for the crews who cross the sea (33), for the young generation of citizens (34), and finally for law-and-order (35). – With this widening of perspective the meaning of the 'magical' θόρε changes: in lines 27-28 one might think of a lustful and salacious god like Pan, but gradually the god assumes more impressive features and ends by promoting justice. Perhaps one can take the final two words of the hymn thus: having entreated the god to bestow prosperity on their private life, the worshippers in the last stanza pray to him to bless their community with his presence in such a way that they will be famous for their well-ordered existence. The adjective κλ[ηνάν would then be used in a predicative-proleptic fashion, like τελεσφόρος in 30.

Chapter 2

Delphi

2.1 Alkaios' paian to Apollo

Alkaios fr. 307c Voigt ap. Himerion, *Or.* 48.
Editions and Studies: F. Duebner, *Himerii sophistae declamationes*, 1849;
A. Colonna, *Himerii Declamationes et Orationes*, Rome 1951, 200; Page
(1955, 244-52); Käppel (1992, no. 1B); Libermann (1999, fr. 307a-e).

Ἐθέλω δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ Ἀλκαίου τινὰ λόγον εἰπεῖν, ὃν ἐκεῖνος
ἦισεν ἐν μέλεσι παιᾶνα γράφων Ἀπόλλωνι. ἐρῶ δὲ
ὑμῖν οὐ κατὰ τὰ μέλη τὰ Λέσβια, ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ποιητικός τις
ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέτρον αὐτὸ λύσας εἰς λόγον τῆς λύρας.
5   ὅτε Ἀπόλλων ἐγένετο, κοσμήσας αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς μίτραι τε
χρυσῆι καὶ λύραι, δούς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅρμα ἐλαύνειν –
κύκνοι δὲ ἦσαν τὸ ἅρμα – εἰς Δελφοὺς πέμπει ⟨καὶ⟩
Κασταλίας νάματα, ἐκεῖθεν προφητεύσοντα δίκην καὶ θέμιν
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιβὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἁρμάτων ἐφῆκε τοὺς
10   κύκνους ἐς Ὑπερβορέους πέτεσθαι. Δελφοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὡς
ἤισθοντο, παιᾶνα συνθέντες καὶ μέλος, καὶ χοροὺς ἠϊθέων
περὶ τὸν τρίποδα στήσαντες, ἐκάλουν τὸν θεὸν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων
ἐλθεῖν. ὁ δὲ ἔτος ὅλον παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεμιστεύσας
ἀνθρώποις, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἐνόμιζε καὶ τοὺς Δελφικοὺς ἠχῆσαι
15   τρίποδας, αὖθις κελεύει τοῖς κύκνοις ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων
ἀφίπτασθαι. ἦν μὲν οὖν θέρος καὶ τοῦ θέρους τὸ μέσον
αὐτό, ὅτε ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων Ἀλκαῖος ἄγει τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα·
ὅθεν δὴ θέρους ἐκλάμποντος καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντος Ἀπόλλωνος
θερινόν τι καὶ ἡ λύρα περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἁβρύνεται. ᾄδουσι
20   μὲν ἀηδόνες αὐτῶι ὁποῖον εἰκὸς ᾆσαι παρ' Ἀλκαίωι τὰς
ὄρνιθας· ᾄδουσι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες καὶ τέττιγες, οὐ τὴν

ἑαυτῶν τύχην τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγγέλλουσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ
μέλη κατὰ θεοῦ φθεγγόμεναι· ῥεῖ καὶ ἀργυροῖς ἡ Κασταλία
κατὰ ποίησιν νάμασι, καὶ Κηφισσὸς μέγας αἴρεται πορφύρων
25 τοῖς κύμασι, τὸν Ἐνιπέα τοῦ Ὁμήρου μιμούμενος. βιάζεται
μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκαῖος ὁμοίως Ὁμήρωι ποιῆσαι καὶ ὕδωρ θεῶν
ἐπιδημίαν αἰσθέσθαι δυνάμενον.

1 Ἀλκαίου edd.: ἀναγκαῖον cod.   8 προφητεύσοντα Duebner: προφητεύοντα
cod.   14 ἐνόμιζε edd.: ἐνόμοτ᾽ cod.: ἐνομοθέτει Colonna.

Notes

5. Alkaios reflects oriental influence in his choice of a μίτρα as Apollo's
distinguishing headgear. The mitra was commonly called 'Lydian' (e.g.
Alcman 23, 67; Pindar, *N.* 8, 15) and in Herodotus (1.195) denoted a Baby-
lonian head-dress. Sappho's poetry also contains signs of the influence of
nearby Lydia (e.g. 16.19: τὰ Λύδων ἄρματα; 44.30: earliest mention in
Greek of the oriental imports myrrh, cassia and incense; 96: mention of
Sardis and a girl who has gone to Lydia; cf. μιτράνα in frg. 98 (a) 10, (b)
3 L.-P.). At Soph. *OT* 209 Dionysos is invoked as τὸν χρυσομίτραν. On
the oriental elements in archaic Greek poetry cf. J.-P. Vernant, *Origins of
Greek Thought*, London 1982, 72; West (1997, 526-533).

10. Pindar, *P* 10.30ff., says that Apollo particularly relished the outlandish
sacrifice of donkeys practised by the Hyperboreans and appreciated the
fine choruses of girls who sang at these celebrations. On Apollo's annual
visit to the Hyperboreans see vol. I, p. 126f. with n. 54.

11 παιᾶνα συνθέντες. . . ἐκάλουν τὸν θεόν: Bacchyl. 16.8-10, says that
Apollo comes to Delphi to appreciate the 'flowers of song' (παιηόνων
ἄνθεα) which the Delphic choruses sing for him (11-12); i.e. the paian
has a cletic quality.

18ff. Fr. 347, from a drinking song, has a comparable description of cicada
song in mid-summer heat. Their song is relevant to Apollo's return to
Delphi as they were creatures favoured by the god; he had given them their
musical song: see *Carm. anacr.* 34.12-14 West: φιλέουσι μέν σε (sc. the
cricket) Μοῦσαι, / φιλέει δὲ Φοῖβος αὐτός, / λιγυρὴν δ᾽ ἔδωκεν οἴμην.
Plato, *Phaidros* 230c2, describes the spot by the Ilisos where Socrates and

Phaidros sit θερινόν τε καὶ λιγυρὸν ὑπηχεῖ τῶι τῶν τεττίγων χορῶι, "it resounds to the clear and summery sound of the chorus of cicadas".

20ff. Callimachus' *HApollo* opens with the signs among normally inanimate things of Apollo's approach: the shaking of the god's laurel and the whole temple; footsteps resounding on the threshold; the nodding of the god's palm-tree; and the swan-song (1-5). That the Kephisos here flowed silver to mark the event is similar to mythical accounts of the alchemic effects of Apollo's birth: cf. id. *HDelos* 260-4, where the whole of Delos, including the river Inopos, turns to gold when Leto gives birth to Apollo (on the birth 'epiphany' of Apollo see introduction to this chapter in vol. I and below p. 95f.).

21f. Himerios' reference to the fate of the swallows and cicadas while among men (not necessarily mentioned in the original Alkaios text) probably refers to stories of humans being turned into these creatures as a result of some accident or misfortune. Philomela, the sister of Prokne, was turned into a swallow, whose twittering song relates to the fact that she lost her tongue at the hands of Tereus.[1] Plato, *Phaidros* 259b5-c6, invents an aetiological story telling how cicadas were once men who, on learning the art of music and song from the Muses, 'singing, took no thought for food or drink, and died before they realized what they were doing'. Or Himerios may have had Tithonos in mind, who was mercifully turned into a cicada when he grew older and older but could not die (schol. *Il.* 3.151; 11.1).

23f. Although Himerios mentions the behaviour of both Kastalian Spring and river Kephisos, this is not necessarily the passage to which Pausanias refers (10.8.10), when he says that, according to Alkaios' 'prooimion to Apollo', the water of the Kastalian Spring was a gift of the Kephisos (see Libermann, 1999, fr. 307d). The idea that the Kephisos fed the Kastalian Spring through an underground source is difficult topographically as the spring is higher than the river, a fact noted by Page (1955, 245-6); but perhaps Page's logic is too pedantic in context: divine rivers could perhaps give gifts uphill! Libermann (1999, fr. 307e) cites a very corrupted passage of Strabo (= fr. 307b Voigt) which contains the information that Alkaios described the Kastalian Spring at Delphi as γ]άνος Τριτάα[ς, 'drop of Trita[i]a' (i.e. a town called Tritaia in Phokis), 'endowed with prophetic waters' (μ[αντι]κ[ὸ]ν ἔχουσα [ὕδωρ]).

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[1]Cf. Radt, *TGF* IV 435-7.

24ff. Homer, *Od.* 11.235-252, describes the seduction of Tyro by Poseidon
in the guise of the river-god Enipeus. The river's waters are said to rise up
in a screening curtain around the union of the god and the mortal woman.
Thus Himerios is comparing Alkaios' attribution of emotional sensibility
to a river with that of Homer, not its shiny radiance (ἀργυροῖς νάμασι),
as one might think at first. Himerios' πορφύρων may reflect Homer's de-
scription of the Enipeus as πορφύρεος (ibid. 243).

2.2   Pindar's 6th paian

Editions: (ed. princ.) Grenfell & Hunt (1908); O. Schroeder, *Pindari
carmina cum fragmentis selectis*, Leipzig 1908; Radt (1958); Snell &
Maehler (1975); Rutherford (2001)
Studies: A.E. Housman, 'On the paeans of Pindar', *CR* 22, 1908, 8-12; T.
Tosi, 'Sul sesto Peana di Pindaro', *Atene e Roma* 11, 1908, 201-20; A.W.
Verrall, 'The paeans of Pindar and other new literature', *CR* 22, 1908, 110-
18; J. Sitzler, 'Zum sechsten Paian Pindars', *WKPh* 28, 1911, 1015-18; H.
Jurenka, 'Zu Pindars sechstem Päan', *WS* 35, 1913, 382-83; J.H. Finley,
'The date of Paean 6 and Nemean 7', *HSCP* 60, 1951, 61-80 (= *Studies
Pease* 61-80); Pavese (1993); Burnett (1998).

Title: Δελφοῖς εἰς Πυθώ

Πρὸς Ὀλυμπίου Διός σε, χρυσέα   [στρ. α΄
    κλυτόμαντι Πυθοῖ,
λίσσομαι Χαρίτεσ-
    σίν τε καὶ σὺν Ἀφροδίται
5   ἐν ζαθέωι με δέξαι χρόνωι
    ἀοιδίμων Πιερίδων προφάταν·
    ὕδατι γὰρ ἐπὶ χαλκοπύλωι
        ψόφον ἀϊὼν Κασταλίας
    ὀρφανὸν ἀνδρῶν χορεύσιος ἦλθον
10 ἔταις ἀμαχανίαν ἀ[φ]έξων
        τεοῖσιν ἐμαῖς τε τιμ[α]ῖς·
    ἦτορι δὲ φίλωι παῖς ἄτε ματέρι κεδνᾶι
        πειθόμενος κατέβαν στεφάνων
        καὶ θαλιᾶν τροφὸν ἄλσος Ἀ-

15   πόλλωνος, τόθι Λατοΐδαν
     θαμινὰ Δελφῶν κόραι
     χθονὸς ὀμφαλὸν παρὰ σκιάεντα μελπ[ό]μεναι
     ποδὶ κροτέο[ντι γᾶν θο]ῶι

vv. 19-49 desunt

50   καὶ πόθεν ἀθαν[ατ—‿‿ ἄ]ρξατο,   [ἐπ. α´
     ταῦτα θεοῖσι [μ]ὲν
     πιθεῖν σοφοὺ[ς] δυνατόν,
     βροτοῖσιν δ' ἀμάχανο[ν εὑ]ρέμεν·
     ἀλλὰ παρθένοι γάρ, ἴσθ' ὅτ[ι], Μο[ῖ]σαι,
55   πάντα, κε[λαι]νεφεῖ σὺν
     πατρὶ Μναμοσ[ύν]αι τε
     τοῦτον ἔσχετ[ε τεθ]μόν,
     κλῦτε νῦν· ἔρα[ται] δέ μο[ι
     γλῶσσα μέλιτος ἄωτον γλυκὺν [κελαδῆσαι
60   ἀγῶνα Λοξία{ι} καταβάντ' εὐρὺν
     ἐν θεῶν ξενίαι.

     θύεται γὰρ ἀγλαᾶς ὑπὲρ Πανελ-   [στρ. β´
     λάδος, ἄν τε Δελφῶν
     ἔθ[ν]ος εὔξατο λι-
65   μοῦ θ[
     (vv. 66-78 pleraque non leguntur)
     71 χρησ[τ]η[ρι... 72 Πυ]θωνόθ[εν...
     73 καί ποτε[... 74 Πανθοο[...
     75 δ' ἐς Τροΐα[ν... ἤνεγκε[ν
     76/77 ...θρασυμήδεα πάϊς...
     78 ...]ον ἐμβα[λ...
     Πάριος ἑ[καβόλος βροτη-
80   σίωι δέμαϊ θεός,
     Ἰλίου δὲ θῆκεν ἄφαρ
     ὀψιτέραν ἅλωσιν,

     κυανοπλόκοιο παῖδα ποντίας   [ἀντ. β´
     Θέτιος βιατάν,
85   πιστὸν ἔρκος Ἀχαι-

ῶν, θρασεῖ φόνωι πεδάσαις·
ὅσσα τ' ἔριξε λευκωλένωι
ἄκναμπτον Ἥραι μένος ἀν[τ]ερείδων
ὅσα τε Πολιάδι. πρὸ πόνων
90   δέ κε μεγάλων Δαρδανίαν
ἔπραθεν, εἰ μὴ φύλασσεν Ἀπό[λ]λ[ω]ν·
νέφε⟨σ⟩σι δ' ἐν χρυσέοις Ὀλύμποι-
    ο καὶ κορυφα[ῖσι]ν ἵζων
μόρσιμ' ἀνα[λ]ύεν Ζεὺς ὁ θεῶν σκοπὸς οὐ τόλ-
95   μα· περὶ δ' ὑψικόμωι [Ἑ]λέναι
    χρῆν ἄρα Πέργαμον εὐρὺ[ν] ἀ-
    ιστῶσαι σέλας αἰθομένου
    πυρός· ἐπεὶ δ' ἄλκιμον
νέκυν [ἐ]ν τά[φωι] πολυστόνωι θέντο Πηλεΐδαν,
100   ἁλὸς ἐπὶ κῦμα βάντες [ἦ]λ-
    θον ἄγγελο[ι] ὀπίσω
    Σκυρόθεν Ν[ε]οπτόλεμο[ν]
    εὐρυβίαν ἄγοντες,

ὃς διέπερσεν Ἰλίου πόλ[ιν·   [ἐπ. β´
105   ἀλλ' οὔτε ματέρ' ἔπειτα κεδνὰν
    ἔϊδεν οὔτε πατρωΐαις ἐν ἀρού[ραις
    ἵππους Μυρμιδόνων,
    χαλκοκορυ[στ]ὰν [ὅ]μιλον ἐγε[ίρ]ων.
    σχεδὸν δ[ὲ Το]μάρου Μολοσσίδα γαῖαν
110   ἐξίκετ' οὐδ' [ἀ]νέμους ἔ[λ]α[θ]εν
    οὐδὲ τὸν [ε]ὐρυφαρέτραν ἑκαβόλον·
        ὤ[μο]σε [γὰρ θ]εός,
    γέ[ρον]θ' ὅ[τι] Πρίαμον
    π[ρ]ὸς ἑρκεῖον ἤναρε βωμὸν ἐ[π-
115   εν]θορόντα, μή νιν εὔφρον' ἐς οἶ[κ]ον
    μήτ' ἐπὶ γῆρας ἰξέ-
        μεν βίου· ἀμφιπόλοις δὲ
        μ]υριᾶν περὶ τιμᾶν
    δηρι]αζόμενον κτάνεν
120   ⟨ἐν⟩ τεμέ]νεῖ φίλωι γᾶς παρ' ὀμφαλὸν εὐρύν.
        ⟨ἰὴ⟩ ἰῆτε νῦν, μέτρα παιηό-
        ν]ων ἰῆτε νέοι.

6 ἀοιδίμων Π^s: ἀοίδιμον Π, edd. pl.   8 ἄϊων G.H.   10 nos coll. *N* 7.61 ἀπέχων ψόγον: α[.]εξων Π, ἀ[ρ]ήξων Π^s, ἀέξων Σ: ἀ[λ]έξων edd. pl.   14 κλυτὸν ἄλσος Σ   17 Housman: σκιοεντα Π   18 edd.: χροτεῦ[Π   50 ἀθαν[άτων ἔρις Bury: ἀθάν[ατος πόνος Poland: alii alia   52 πείθειν Π^s, πι[Σ   54 Jurenka: ἴσον ⟨γε ν⟩έμοισαι Bury, G.H.: ἴσ{σ}τε ⟨γε⟩ Μοῖσαι Schröder: ἴσ{σ}ατε Μοῖσαι Snell   57 κόσ]μον Slater   59 G.H.: καταλείβειν Wilamowitz: καταχεῦαι Kamerbeek ap. Radt   60 G.H., Snell: λοξιαι Π, Radt, Rutherford   65 θ[ύειν Snell   83 κυανοκόμοιο Σ   91 ἔπραθον Bury, G.H.   92 corr. G.H. metri gratia   96 Schroeder: περγαμογευρυ[.]. / ιστῶσαι Π: εὐρὺ δι(α)ιστῶσαι G.H.   97 αἰθόμενος Π   99 πηλεΐδαν Π: Πηλεΐδα G.H.   109 G.H., edd. pl.: δ[...]μαρ..υ legit Radt i.e.]μαριου vel sim.   112 Housman: ω[..]σε[....]εος· Π: ὤμοσεν δὲ θεός G.H.   113 Turyn: γεραιὸν ὅς G.H.   115 Housman: οἶμον G.H.   118 Radt, Rutherford: .]υρ[.˘.] Π, Σ, Πυθιᾶν Σ, μυρίαν Σ *N* 7: μ]⟨οι⟩ρ[ιᾶν] Boeckh, G.H.: κ]υριᾶν Housman   119 Σ, G.H.: κτανεῖν/[....]νει Π   121 suppl. e γρ(άφεται) ιηιητε Σ   122 suppl. e γρ(άφεται) [ι]ηιητε νέοι Σ

Metre

Aeolic with lyric iambs. For the variety of aeolic measures and freedom in responsion see Radt (1958, 93-96)

Strophe:

1	∪∪—∪—	ia ia ^hipp
	∪—∪— ∪—∪∪—∪——	
2	—∪—∪∪——	pher ia ba
	∪—∪—∪——	
3	—∪∪—∪——∪—	cho ba ∪—
4	∪—∪——∪∪—∪∪∪—	ia cho ba
5	∪∪∪∪∪—∪∪—	4 cho
	∪∪∪∪——∪∪—	
6	—∪∪—	cho pher
	—∪—∪∪∪∪—	
7	⊽—∪—∪∪—∪——	×—^hipp
	⊽—∪∪—∪——	
8	—∪∪∪∪——∪∪—∪∪——	cr pher^d 4da
	—∪∪—∪∪—∪∪—	
	—∪∪—∪∪—∪∪——	4da 3da^ 2cr
	—∪∪—∪∪—	
	∪∪∪——∪—	

9	∪∪—∪—	⌣ia ia (pher)
	∪—∪—	
	—∪—∪∪—	
10	∪∪∪—∪—	(^gl) ia cho
	∪—∪—∪∪∪—	
11	—∪—∪—∪∪—	cho dim
12	—∪∪—∪——	cho ba
ΕΠ		
1	—∪∪—∪—∪—∪—	(^gl ia
2	——∪—∪∪—∪——	sp ^hipp
3	∪∪—∪∪—∪—∪∪——	gl io
4	———∪∪—	sp cho
5	—∪∪——∪—∪∪——	cho pher
6	∪—∪∪——∪—∪∪——	2^pher
7	——∪—∪∪—∪——	sp ^hipp
8	—∪∪—∪∪—∪∪—∪∪—∪∪—∪—	gl³ᵈ
9	∪—∪—∪∪—	^cho dim
10	∪——∪—∪∪—∪∪—∪—∪—∪⌣∪∪⌣—	ba ^glᵈ ia io
11	—∪∪—∪—ᵥ—ᵥᵥ—∪∪—∪—∪—∪∪——	(^gl) (^glᵈ) ^pher
12	—∪—∪∪—∪—	gl
13	—⌣⌣⌣∪——∪—∪∪——	pher ^pher
	∪—∪—	ia ^pher^ cho dim
	∪—∪∪——ᵥ—∪—∪∪—	

Notes

Title ΔΕΛΦΟΙΣ ΕΙΣ ΠΥΘΩ. This must mean 'for the Delphians to (i.e. in) Delphi', comparable with *Pa* 7b ΕΙΣ ΔΗΛΟ[Ν, not 'in honour of Pytho'. It is true that the poem opens with apostrophe of Pytho, but the place is hardly the recipient of the paian as a whole. Callimachus can write one of his literary hymns 'to Delos' but places were not the recipients of cult hymns normally. Εἰς is used in the title of hymns to indicate in whose honour the hymn is sung, but in the titles of choral poems sung by choruses representing their state *theōria* at a pan-Hellenic cult centre, εἰς means that the poet is sending his song *to* a cult destination. The paian's destination

'to Apollo' emerges from the god's twin epiphanies in the poem (once to kill Achilles and again to kill Neoptolemos) and in the Apolline paian-cry invoked in l. 121-2 (cf. Burnett, 1998).

1-6. The opening prayer or *captatio benevolentiae* serves to secure a favourable reception for Pindar's song in Delphi similar to that in *Pa* 5.44-48, where Leto's children are asked to receive θεράποντα ὑμέτερον at Delos with 'kindly heart' (no. 3.2). For the combination of λίσσομαι with imperative δέξαι Radt compares Alkaios fr. 374 LP δέξαι με κωμάσδοντα, δέξαι, λίσσομαί σε, λίσσομαι; see too the Pindaric parallel *N* 3.1-3 λίσσομαι... ἵχεο. The direct address is to Pytho, the *genius loci* of Delphi, with the Charites and Aphrodite. Pindar appeals to the *place* and two deities standing, in this case, for the aesthetic success of his song: *charm* and *loveliness*. We should take σύν *apo koinou* with Χαρίτεσσιν and Ἀφροδίται, as τε καὶ indicate. Note the two-tier appeal to deity: the prayer is to Pytho, *by* Zeus. That Zeus has pride of place among the deities addressed reflects Pindar's own observation *N* 2.1-3 that the Homeridai have established the convention of commencing with Zeus. – For the identity of με see intro. to this piece in vol. I and p. 211 below. When we imagine this piece being performed before the assembled pilgrims to the Theoxenia and the imagined divine guests, we see that these lines are the opening prayer, or exordium, to the paian proper (whose addressee is, of course, Apollo: 60, 182), designed to open the song on a propitiatory note (ἀφοσιόομαι).

1. πρὸς Ὀλυμπίου Διός. In the first instance an appeal by the poet to Zeus, but perhaps also with the connotation that Pytho (i.e. the Delphic oracle) has received its privileged position by Zeus' approval, to be his mouthpiece on earth.

χρυσέα, 'golden' in the widest sense of 'treasured', 'splendid', but also (*pace* Radt) with reference to the gold hoarded at the oracle: *P* 2.54 Delphi is the πολύχρυσον δῶμα of Apollo; *P* 6.7-8 πολυχρύσωι Ἀπολλωνίαι νάπαι.

2. Χαρίτεσσίν τε καὶ σὺν Ἀφροδίται. We take (above) these words to mean that Pindar is appealing to Pytho *with* the Charites and Aphrodite. σύν in that case would be parallel to its use in l. 55 where Pindar says that the Muses have *in common with* Zeus and Mnemosyne universal knowledge. Others construe λίσσομαι σύν..., i.e. Pindar appeals to Pytho with

the help of the Charites and Aphrodite (= the charm of his song); Radt: "sie sind es ja, die dem Lied, um dessen Aufnahme Pindar die Pytho bittet, Anmut verliehen haben, und stehen daher bei einer solchen Bitte auf seiner Seite". But this is to accuse Pindar of *hybris*: he is not *claiming* that the Charites and Aphrodite are attributes of his song, but rather *wishing* they be such. Alternatively, but probably less attractively, one might construe δέξαι με σὺν. . . , "receive me in the company of (= favoured by) the Charites and Aphrodite". Presumably the sense of the whole introductory prayer is analogous to *O* 4.8-11 ὦ Κρόνου παῖ. . . Ὀλυμπιονίκαν / δέξαι Χαρίτων θ' ἕκατι τόνδε κῶμον, "Son of Kronos, receive this song of Olympic victory *for the sake of* (or) *on behalf of* the Charites", where Χαρίτων ἕκατι parallels σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν in this paian. The supreme importance of the Charites in lending poetry its charm is acknowledged by Pindar in a hymnic address at the beginning of *O* 14 (cf. *O* 9.27-9); see W.J. Verdenius, *Commentaries on Pindar*, Leiden 1987, 103-106 (= his introduction to *O* 14). A telling phrase is found in *O* 10.94: τὶν δ' ἀδυεπής τε λύρα γλυκύς τ' αὐλὸς ἀναπάσσει χάριν: it is the music of the pleasing lyre and sweet pipes which gives χάριν to Pindar's epinician. – For the combination Aphrodite + Charites cf. *P* 6.1-3, Aristoph. *Lys.* 1279-90 (our no. 11.2); *Peace* 40-41; cf. ibid. 456 (Charites and Aphrodite, among others, should send peace).

5. ζαθέωι χρόνωι. The occasion is specified at 61, the Theoxenia, an annual Delphic festival celebrated probably in March/April (see below p. 60f. and Rutherford (2001, 310f.) with notes). For ζάθεος see p. 327.

6. ἀοιδίμων. It is surely preferable to accept the scribe's correction here rather than have Pindar call himself 'famous'. In *P* 8.59 Pindar calls Delphi γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν ἀοίδιμον and in fr. 70 he applies the epithet to Athens. In *O* 14.3 we find ἀοίδιμοι βασίλειαι, of the Charites, but the reading ἀοίδιμοι is disputed here (see W. Verdenius' comm. ad loc.). Radt strives to interpret ἀοίδιμον as 'liederreich, Lieder singend', thus acquitting Pindar of the charge of boasting, but this is going against the normal sense of ἀοίδιμος.

7-18 The poet's calling. Pindar explains his personal motivation in contributing a paian to the Theoxenia (see vol. 1).

7. ὕδατι χαλκοπύλωι. A scholion reads ἐπεὶ διὰ χαλκῶν λεοντοχα[σμά]-των ῥεῖ εἰς αὐτ(ὴν) ὁ Κηφισός, though what λεοντοχάσματα might mean is uncertain: perhaps funnels or spouts in the form of lions' heads (Radt:

'bronzene Mündungen in Form von Löwenköpfen'); these, on the other hand, do not seem compatible with 'gate' in χαλκοπύλωι. The fact that the scholion mentions Kephisos here reflects the belief that the river Kephisos fed the Kastalian Spring through Mt. Parnassos (see p. 23).

8. ἀιὼν. Aorist, rather than ἀίων, present: Schwyzer I 686. Radt argues that this verb can only signify direct acoustic perception (i.e. not hearing *that...*); hence Pindar was *at* the Kastalian Spring when he *noticed* that men were not dancing round it; thereupon he composed the present song for the Delphians. But this is strained philology: to imagine Pindar listening to the noise of water bubbling from the Kastalian Spring and *noticing* that it was not accompanied by the sound of dancing feet is quite absurd. There is no reason why the construction of ἀίω should not be like that of ἀκούω: there ἀκούω + acc. (& participle) occupies an intermediate position between (1) ἀκ. + gen. (direct acoustic perception) and (3) ἀκ. + inf. (by report), and then closer to (3) than to (1); cf. KG I 360 Anm. 8+9.

9. ἀνδρῶν χορεύσιος. For our interpretation of this as 'choral dancing of (young) men', compatible with the νέοι addressed in 122, see vol. 1.

10-13. Note how the image of Kastalia 'orphaned' of a chorus is maintained in the further image of Pindar arriving in Delphi 'like a child obeying its mother'. In *O* 10.86 Pindar uses a similar image of a child welcoming a father home (ἀλλ' ὥτε παῖς...) to illustrate the welcome Pindar's song will give the returning athlete.

10-11. ἀ[φ]έξων, 'keeping off', 'preventing', seems preferable to ἀ[λ]έξων, as most editors who adopt this latter supplement believe that the form is future, an otherwise unattested form. For ἀπέχω in the sense 'prevent', 'keep distant' cf. *N* 7.61 ἀπέχων ψόγον, in exactly the same sense: Pindar is 'keeping blame distant' by praising the athlete.[2] For the construction ἀπέχω + acc. & dat. of the person cf. *Od.* 20.263. Moreover, ἀπέχω is preventive or prophylactic, whilst ἀλέξω is combative, when a threat exists: it is not clear why the absence of a chorus of men at Delphi for this festival constitutes a threat to Pindar's honour(s) in particular. Radt suggests that by ἐμαῖς τε τιμ[α]ῖς Pindar is referring to specific privileges (προμαντεία, προεδρία) which late sources say that Pindar enjoyed at Delphi. In particular Plut. *de ser. num. vind.* 557f, says that Pindar and his descendants

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[2]One might even speculate that *because* ἀπέχω was used in *Pa* 6 Pindar uses it again in the (palinodic) *N* 7.

enjoyed the privilege at the Theoxenia of receiving a choice portion of the
sacrifice (μερίς); whether this privilege accrued to Pindar as a result of *Pa*
6, or preceded it and is included in ἐμαῖς τιμαῖς we cannot know. On the
ἀμηχανία which poetry may alleviate (in Pindar and other poets) see R.P.
Martin, *Healing, sacrifice and battle. Amechania and related concepts in
early Greek poetry*, Innsbruck 1983 (= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprach-
wissenschaft vol. 41), pp. 55-58 (56-57 on the present instance).

12. παῖς ἅτε ματέρι. Radt sees an inconsistency between the image here
(dependent on inner motivation) and the previous statement that Pindar was
coming to Delphi to fill a gap (outer motivation). But this is too literal;
in fact the two images combine well. Pindar noticed the lack at Delphi,
then, obeying his 'conscience', as we say, made his way there. Note the
emphasis on the female quality of Delphi in the lines which follow the
image – τροφὸν 20, κόραι 16, γᾶν 18 – thus underlining why Pindar's call
to Delphi was like that of a mother calling her child. Pindar emphasizes
his feeling of piety toward Delphic Apollo, comparable to filial piety, cf.
Plato *Symp.* 188c-d where Eryximachos defines ἀσέβεια as failure to obey
the κόσμιος Ἔρως in relations with parents, living and dead people, and
the gods.

16f. Δελφῶν κόραι. The chorus of Delphic women/girls appears to
have been a standing institution, comparable to the *Deliades* on Delos (see
p. 87).

17. σκιάεντα, 'shaded', 'shadowy'. Radt believes χθονὸς ὀμφαλὸν should
be taken in a broad sense, 'temple', 'sanctuary', not specifically the Del-
phic *omphalos*, an oval rock decorated with criss-crossing fillets (see p. 81).
He takes σκιάεντα as 'dark', referring to the inside of the temple, but we
should consider other passages which refer to the shade cast by laurels at
Apollo's sanctuary (see p. 326). At *O* 3.16 Herakles acquires the σκιαρὸν
φύτευμα (an olive) for Olympia. Shade from trees was a blessed commod-
ity in the Mediterranean heat! (cf. ibid. 23ff.)

50-61 Appeal to Muses. Pindar appeals to the Muses' command of knowl-
edge accessible only to gods for guidance in tracing the origin of the myth
he is about to relate. The appeal to the Muses for poetic guidance is, of
course, a commonplace, but Pindar employs it prominently, and, no doubt,
devoutly; the effect is to mark his poetry with divine authority. Cf. *Pa*
7b.15-20 τυφλα[ὶ γὰ]ρ ἀνδρῶν φρένες, / ὅ]στις ἄνευθ᾽ Ἑλικωνιάδων /

βαθεῖαν...ἐρευνᾶι σοφίας ὁδόν. Verdenius *ap.* Radt (1958, 126) compares *Il.* 2.484ff. (θεαί ἐστε πάρεστέ τε ἴστε τε πάντα) for the appeal to the Muses for divinely inspired knowledge compared to mankind's ignorance.

50. Clearly some form of ἀθάνατος follows πόθεν and the verb at the end is plausibly restored as ἄρξατο. The missing noun required as subject depends on interpretation. S.-M., following Bury, print ἀθαν[άτων ἔρις, believing that the line anticipates the divine struggle between Apollo and Hera + Athena in lines 88-9, but Radt and Rutherford correctly observe that the motive of divine struggle is peripheral to the Neoptolemos myth as a whole and therefore makes a poor introduction to the myth in line 50. Rutherford (see vol. 1) favours a word connecting with the lines which follow more closely, i.e. the question as to how the Theoxenia festival began (2001, 309). He writes ἀθάν[ατος πόνος, referring to the 'divine labour' of celebrating the Theoxenia, comparable with Aristonoos' ἀθανάτοις ἀμοι[βαῖς (no. 2.4, 27-8). He might also have adduced *Pa* 7b.22 (our no. 3.1) ἀθάνατ[ο]ν πόνον in support of this supplement. Sitzler, thinking on the same lines, suggests γέρας, 'privilege, honour'; one might also consider ἀθαν[άτα (or ἀθαν[άτων χάρις as alternatives.

54. ἴσθ' ὅτ[ι]. Rutherford prefers Snell's ἴσ{σ}ατ[ε] (which he accredits to Ferrari, 1992), a rare form of οἶδα, 'you know'. But, as he points out (2001, 309 n. 13), delayed ὅτι is by no means rare in Pindar, and ἴσατε, whilst removing the involved syntax of 54-58, leaves the verbs ἔσχετε and κλῦτε stranded of construction and necessitating punctuation after πάντα. Rutherford seems unaware of Radt's rejection of ἴσατε on palaeographical and metrical grounds (we need −∪∪ but ἴσατε would give ∪∪∪). Reading ἴσθ' ὅτι (with Jurenka and Radt) we get the prose word-order ἀλλὰ παρθένοι Μοῖσαι, ὅτι (=διότι) ἴστε πάντα, ἔσχετε γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τεθμόν (...), , κλῦτε, "but, maiden Muses, since you know everything – for you received this privilege (...) – listen!"

ἔραται γλῶσσα. The hymn singer often claims that part of his mind or body feels the urge to sing a hymn; cf. the beginning of a mutilated popular hymn to Artemis in Athenaios 14.636cd (our no. 12.3): Ἄρτεμι σοί μέ τι φρὴν ἐφίμερον ὕμνον †υεναιτε†, "Artemis, my heart (urges) me (to sing) a lovely song to you..."; the beginning of a hymn to Hermes by Alkaios (fr. 308b V): χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι / θῦμος ὕμνην: "I salute you, god of Kyllene: my heart induces me to hymn you..." Pindar

O 3.38 ἐμὲ θυμὸς ὀτρύνει φάμεν.... These expressions are part of the 'enthusiasm' necessary on the hymn-singer's part in order to inspire the chorus and the worshipping community with reciprocal enthusiasm. Note Euripides' remark in *Suppliant Women* 180ff. (quoted in vol. I p. 63), that the hymnodist must himself feel happy if his works are to cheer others.

59. μέλιτος. Literally 'honey', frequently in Pindar practically equivalent to μέλος, 'song' e.g. *N* 7.53 (LSJ I 2). In *P* 10.53-4 Pindar compares his poetic activity to the bee's: ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων ἐπ' ἄλλοτ' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον. See J.H. Waszink, 'Biene und Honig als Symbole des Dichters in der griechisch-römischen Antike', *Rhein.-Westf. Akad. Wiss.* Vorträge G 196, Opladen 1974.

Of suggested supplements for the infinitive required at the end of the line κελαδῆσαι (G.H.) seems most convincing; cf. *Pa* 2.101 κελαδ[έον]τι γλυ-κὺν αὐδᾶι [τρόπ]ον; *O* 2.2; 11.14 ἀδυμελῆ κόσμον κελαδήσω; *Pa* 5 κε-λαδεννᾶι / σὺν μελιγάρυϊ παι-/ ἄνος ἀγακλέος ὀμφᾶι; Eur. *Ion* 91-93 βοάς, / ἃς ἂν Ἀπόλλων κελαδήσηι; *HF* 691-4 παιᾶνας... κελαδήσω.

60. ἀγῶνα... εὐρὺν. These accusatives are governed by καταβάντ', as in ll. 13-14 κατέβαν... ἄλσος, 'I have come to Apollo's grove'. Radt points to the attribute εὐρύν, 'wide' (of space), and to Homeric parallels, in support of his view that ἀγών here means 'versammelte Menge, Versammlungsplatz'. See vol. 1 and below p. 60 for the non-competitive nature of the 'assembly' of gods, heroes and state embassies participating at the Theoxenia. – We follow G.H. and S.M. in deleting ι in Λοξία{ι} (against e.g. Radt and Rutherford) as the dative sits awkwardly with following καταβάντ', which is presumably dative (not accusative), with μοι. That the participle could apply to Apollo 'descending' to his festival is unlikely in view of κατέβαν (13).

61. θεῶν ξενίαι. Literally 'banquet of the gods', a periphrasis for the name of the festival Theoxenia (Radt: 'Die Dichtung – und nicht nur die antike – vermeidet technische Ausdrücke und zieht es vor, sie zu umschreiben'). Similar periphrases at *O* 3.21 μεγάλων ἀέθλων ἁγνὰν κρίσιν for the Olympic Games; *O* 3.39-40 ξεινίαις τραπέζαις of a Theoxenia festival. Vollgraff (*BCH* 49, 1925, 121) suggested reading ξένια (an unnecessary emendation). On the festival see vol. 1 and below p. 60.

64. λιμοῦ. In vol. 1 we suggested that, although the circumstances of this famine are neither clear in the poem (because of the missing lines

65ff.) nor known to us from independent sources, we might conjecture that it was Neoptolemos' death, or perhaps the lack of respect shown to him after his death, which was thought to have caused divine displeasure resulting in famine. The Theoxenia is here depicted as a pan-Hellenic festival going back to an original Delphic sacrifice for deliverance from famine. A scholion beside line 62 runs:] . [. . . .]ητ . τὴν Ἑλλάδα /]περὶ ε[ὐ]ετηρίας /]αν, ἃς καὶ μέχρι /]ἑκάστ[ο]υ ἔτους[from which we can at least extract the information that the festival was annual and aimed to secure εὐετηρία, 'a good annual harvest', i.e. the opposite of famine.

73-120 Myth of Neoptolemos. It is not quite clear where the myth starts, but καί ποτε in 73 looks a likely beginning (Rutherford). The myth traces Apollo's resistance to the remorseless onslaught of the Greeks, aided by Hera and Athena, on Troy. Hera's and Athena's antipathy toward Troy is explained (trivially, one feels) by Paris' preference of Aphrodite over them (*Il.* 20.313 and 24.27); Apollo's support of Troy goes back to his building the city walls with Poseidon (*Il.* 21.441-457.; Eur. *Andr.* 1009-11).

89. πρὸ πόνων. . . ἔπραθεν. Radt defends the reading of the papyrus (ἔπραθ-εν), of which Achilles must be supplied as subject, against those who feel that sense is smoother if the subject of the previous sentence (Hera and Athena) is understood here and the verb emended to ἔπραθον. We agree; it is hardly a question of the goddesses sacking Troy; rather, Achilles sacking it with their help. – Radt and Rutherford are no doubt right (against G.-H.) that πρὸ here means 'before', not 'in return for' (i.e. owing to). The sense is: Achilles would have sacked Troy much sooner ('before a multitude of labours') if Apollo had not defended Troy.

96. Πέργαμον εὐρὺ[ν]. Πέργαμος is feminine and εὐρύς is used as an adj. with two terminations (Radt).

109. The Molossan land (in Epeiros), mentioned also in [Aesch.] *Prom.* 829 as one of the extremities of civilization visited by Io in her wander-ings. In Pindar *N* 7.38-9 Neoptolemos is said to have ruled in Molossia for a short while, leaving descendants who continued his line of rule; cf. J. Perret, 'Néoptolème et les Molosses', *Rev. Ét. Anc.*, 48, 1946, 5-28.

110. ἔ[λ]α[θ]εν (‿—‿) from λήθω, not aor. of λανθάνω.

114. ἑρκεῖον βωμὸν. A reference to the altar of Zeus Herkeios in Troy, cf.

Paus. 4.17.4 Νεοπτολέμωι γὰρ τῶι Ἀχιλλέως, ἀποκτείναντι Πρίαμον ἐπὶ τῆι ἐσχάραι τοῦ Ἑρκείου κτλ.; in id. 10.27.2 we read of a variant maintained by Lescheos: Priam was not killed at the altar of (Zeus) Herkeios but rather Neoptolemos dragged him from the altar and killed him 'at the doorway'.

117ff. ἀμφιπόλοις...δηρι]αζόμενον κτάνεν. The scholiast on *N* 7 has two completely different explanations for the 'quarrel with the (temple-) attendants': ἤτοι τῶν κ[ρεῶν ἃ διαρπαζόντων συνήθως τῶν Δ[ελφ]ῶν ἐδυσχέραινε καὶ ἐκώλυε, διὸ καὶ ἀνήιρηται· ἢ τῶν χρημάτων ἃ διαρπάζων εἰς ἐκδικίαν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνηιρέθη. These alternatives bear some relation to the two visits of Neoptolemos to Delphi in Euripides' *Andr.* In the first Neoptolemos was foolhardy enough to demand reparations from Apollo for killing his father; in the second, when he returned to Delphi to make good his previous affrontery to the god, the temple attendants thought he was still an enemy of Delphic Apollo and decided to ambush him while at sacrifice. Thus in the second visit it is Neoptolemos who is rather the injured party (corresponding more closely with the scholiast's first explanation), whilst in the first he demanded reparations from Apollo (congruent with the scholiast's second explanation). In Pindar's seventh Nemean ode with its apologetic tendency Neoptolemos is cleared of all blame. He 'rushes to the aid of' Delphi (33 βοαθοῶν), where, intending to dedicate some of the spoils from Troy to the god (κτέατ' ἄγων), he was killed by a 'man with a knife' when they fell out 'over meat' (42-3). In this version Neoptolemos' intentions were thoroughly honourable; he was killed by 'a man' (not a temple-attendant) and his Delphian hosts were grievously troubled (43 βάρυνθεν περισσά) by his death.

118. μ]υριᾶν περὶ τιμᾶν. In a detailed discussion of the constitution of the text Radt ends by defending μ]υριᾶν περὶ τιμᾶν in the sense of 'unzählige Opfergaben' brought by participants at the Theoxenia. He suggests that Neoptolemos in the myth *attended* this very festival – curiously he does not refer to Euripides *Andr.* 1086-7, where it is stated that Neoptolemos' party stayed three days at Delphi 'watching the spectacle' before he was assassinated – and was killed when he intervened in a fight over the apportioning of these meat sacrifices. Against the conjectures κυριῶν (Housman), μοιριῶν (Wilamowitz, G.H.), and the scholion Π]υθιᾶν Rutherford (2001, 313 n. 34) concludes that they are not "necessary since μυριᾶν is comprehensible". Comprehensible perhaps, but ambivalent and surpris-

ing. The strongest argument for μυριᾶν is schol. Pindar *N* 7.94a which reports that the Aiginetans were offended by Pindar's 'paian for the Delphians', in particular by his account of Neoptolemos' death while fighting with temple-attendants μυρίαν περὶ τιμὰν. Although the scholion is not a literal quotation from the paian (cf. Radt, 1958, 164) one wonders how μυρίαν found its way into the note if it was not in the original.

119. κτάνεν seems the best restoration of κτανεῖν in the papyrus combined with the scholia ζ(ητεῖται) κτάνεν ἐν· γρ(άφεται) [κταν]έν. One might consider whether a future infinitive (κτενεῖν) might not have stood here, parallel to ἰξέμεν (116), but the construction μή ... μήτ' seems complete after βίου. The next sentence (adversative δὲ) shows what happened to prevent Neoptolemos reaching old age. We should not, perhaps, be surprised by the formulation 'Apollo killed' when previously Pindar had written that Apollo, *in the shape of Paris*, killed Achilles (78ff.). In this second case we must also assume that a man (or men) killed Neoptolemos, but Apollo willed it. Some confirmation of the reading κτάνεν (Apollo subject) comes in the adjective φίλωι applied (probably) to Apollo's τέμενος and having the force of a possessive pronoun.

121. ἰῆτε. As Rutherford (2001, 316-18) says, an unparalleled plural form of the ritual paian-cry ἰή. He points out that the verb αἰάζω is formed from a similar ritual cry αἰαῖ. Some help comes from other odd plural formations, e.g. δεῦτε, 'come here!' (plural), from the adverb δεῦρο, also common in hymnic invocations (see p. 114), τῆτε from τῆ (Wackernagel). Rutherford discusses two main options: (1) ἰῆτε is a 'pluralized interjection' and such interjections (like αἰαῖ) are often constructed with an accusative 'object'; (2) (after Wilamowitz) the form deliberately recalls a form of ἵημι (e.g. ἱεῖτε, 'may you send'), and this verb was sometimes (e.g. Callimachus *H* 2.103) associated by a playful etymology with the Pythoktonia (Apollo shot Python to cries from Delphians 'shoot (ἵει) an arrow!'). Rutherford goes so far as to suggest that the latter interpretation points to a deliberate analogy here on Pindar's part between the triumphant cry following Neoptolemos' demise and the Pythoktonia; i.e. Neoptolemos in challenging Delphic prerogatives is a kind of latter-day Python. In our opinion this is a far-fetched hypothesis.