

WILLIAM D. FURLEY
JAN MAARTEN BREMER

Greek Hymns

Volume I
The Texts in Translation

*Studien und Texte zu
Antike und Christentum*

9

Mohr Siebeck

Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum
Studies and Texts in Antiquity and Christianity

Herausgeber/Editor: CHRISTOPH MARKSCHIES (Heidelberg)

Beirat/Advisory Board

HUBERT CANKI (Tübingen) · GIOVANNI CASADIO (Salerno)

SUSANNA ELM (Berkeley) · JOHANNES HAHN (Münster)

JÖRG RÜPKE (Erfurt)

9



William D. Furley
Jan Maarten Bremer

Greek Hymns

Selected Cult Songs
from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period

Volume I

The Texts in Translation

Mohr Siebeck

WILLIAM D. FURLEY, born 1953; studied Classics at University College, London; 1979 Ph.D. Cambridge (Trinity College); 1979–80 Assistant at the University of Tübingen, 1980–83 at the University of Heidelberg; since 1983 tenured position at the Department of Classics, University of Heidelberg; 1989 ‘Habilitation’; since 1989 ‘Privatdozent’ at the Department of Classics, University of Heidelberg.

JAN MAARTEN BREMER, born 1932; studied Classics at Amsterdam and at Cambridge (Jesus College); 1969 Ph.D. Amsterdam. From 1968 Assistant Professor, 1976–96 full Professor of Greek Literature at the University of Amsterdam; 1986–99 member, then chairman of the comité scientifique of the Fondation Hardt, Geneva. Guest professorships in the USA (Brown, Providence; Columbia, New York), in Hungary (Budapest) and Poland (Lublin).

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Greek Hymns / William D. Furley ; Jan Maarten Bremer. – Tübingen : Mohr Siebeck
Vol 1. The texts in translation. – 2001

(Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum ; 9)

ISBN 3-16-147527-5 paper

ISBN 3-16-147676-X cloth

978-3-16-158655-2 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

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).

© 2001 by J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), P.O.Box 2040, D-72010 Tübingen.

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher's written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Heinr. Koch in Tübingen.

Printed in Germany.

ISSN 1436-3003



Figure 1: Apollo and Artemis, with Hermes (left) and Leto (right). Rf volute krater, possibly by Palermo Painter. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California. 415-410 BC.

For
Alexandra and Friederike

Preface

γεράων δὲ θεοῖς κάλλιστον ἀοιδαί

“Songs are the finest of gifts to the gods” (Theocritus 22.223)

This work is a collection and discussion of Greek hymns, i.e. of songs used by ancient Greeks in worship. Why did we bring them together? In the first place: nobody has ever done this before, and it seemed to us high time that a ‘source-book’ of Greek cult hymns was made. The last two centuries have seen the rediscovery, through archaeological excavation, of many lost hymnic texts: a number of Hellenistic and later hymns have been discovered as inscriptions on stone in the course of excavations at Delphi, Epidauros and elsewhere. At the same time finds of papyri from Egypt have returned to the human eye substantial portions of cult songs composed by choral lyricists, Pindar in particular, as well as new fragments of e.g. Sappho and Alkaios. These scattered texts, combined with those transmitted in the normal manuscript tradition, have all been published previously, but never before as a *corpus*, and never from the dedicated viewpoint of Greek hymnology. Our collection deliberately omits the well-known corpora of literary hymns: the *Homeric Hymns* and Callimachus’ six hymns. For one thing, excellent editions of these texts already exist; secondly, these texts are not cult songs proper. They serve a more literary purpose, being assimilated to other literary genres more concerned with narrative and literary *mimesis* than worship pure and simple.

There were two main decisions for us to take: which texts to include in our collection, and how to arrange them. As to the first, we decided not to produce a corpus in the technical sense: an exhaustive publication of all available evidence, including even the smallest, barely decipherable, scraps. Our collection should therefore be considered a selection. Nor did we include texts from the Graeco-Roman period, partly because we did not feel competent to treat adequately the texts addressed to newcomers in the Greek pantheon such as Isis, Sarapis, Mithras, and partly because the

book would have become too large. As for the second decision: over the years we have considered various arrangements, such as 1. chronological (the oldest specimens coming first etc.), 2. according to the genres distinguished by Alexandrian scholars: hymns, paians, dithyrambs, prosodia, partheneia, 3. according to the gods addressed in the hymns. We came to the conclusion that none of these three would really work, and decided in the end for the present arrangement, according to the cult centre in which the hymns functioned: Crete, Delphi, Delos, etc. Why? because – as biblical scholars have discovered in studying the Psalms – it is of the greatest importance to relate this type of texts to their *Sitz im Leben*: they are not autonomous works of art but rather the formalized script of certain types of worship offered in concrete situations and locations.

There is another aspect to the arrangement of our *Greek Hymns*, and for this we have followed the example set by ‘bilingual’ works such as Long and Sedley’s *Hellenistic Philosophy*. Like these we have divided our material into two volumes. Volume I, in which all material is translated into English, contains our general introduction, the hymns in translation, accompanied in each case by general remarks aimed at situating the song in its context of production and performance. Volume II presents all texts in the original Greek, with critical apparatus, metrical analysis and line-by-line commentary. We trust that volume I will be of use not only to classicists but also to those scholars (juniors and seniors) who – without advanced knowledge of Greek – are actively engaged in disciplines such as the history of religion, cultural anthropology, theology; this volume contains its own bibliography and general subject index. Classical scholars will of course prefer to use both volumes, side by side.

This book is a product of joint authorship. In 1992 WDF took the formal initiative towards it and invited JMB to cooperate in the undertaking, taking him up on his paper ‘Greek hymns’ (Bremer, 1981). From then onwards we have divided the material between us, WDF assuming the (somewhat) heavier burdens. We have intervened so intensely in each other’s contributions, sometimes rewriting parts, that we accept joint responsibility for the entire book. It fell also to WDF to give the book, in its two volumes, final shape and format. The entire process of orientation, research, writing and rewriting has – given the numerous other obligations and responsibilities of university teaching – taken us nearly a decade. During this process we have incurred many debts. The biggest debt we owe to our last benefactor, Richard Gordon, who most generously read, cor-

rected, and suggested revisions of, the penultimate version of the entire book. His knowledge of *Religionswissenschaft* has been of great value to us. JMB records gratefully the meetings of the Amsterdam 'Hellenistenclub' to whose members he was allowed to present first drafts of some particularly difficult pieces. Among these members C.J. Ruijgh deserves special mention for his advice on matters of Greek linguistics. Colin Austin has read the chapter on Aristophanes, especially the series of songs taken from *Thesmophoriazousai*: his observations were of great value. WDF thanks his Heidelberg colleagues A. Chaniotis and G.W. Most for their kind willingness to read sections of the whole work and offer critical comment. I.C. Rutherford (Reading) kindly made sections of his forthcoming edition, with commentary, of Pindar's paians available prior to publication. The typesetting of the book would not have been possible without all those legion T_EX specialists throughout the world who have contributed to such a versatile scholarly tool; in particular we wish to thank P. Mackay (Washington) for his Greek and metrical fonts, and A. Dafferner (Heidelberg) for countless useful tips.

Relatively late in the development of this work we were informed by C. Austin that the late Joan Haldane had been working on a monograph devoted to the Greek *hymnos* up until her death; her papers (including some nearly complete, typewritten chapters) had been entrusted to Austin, who kindly made them available to us. We refer to this work at several points and gratefully express here our respect for this unpublished predecessor.

Finally, we express our gratitude to various institutions for facilities and/or funds: our universities and libraries, Dr. Pflug of the Heidelberg dept. of classical archaeology (for the cover picture and help with illustrations), the Van der Valk-fonds (administered by the trustees of the A.U.V., Amsterdam) for allowing us to buy computer equipment; our publisher Mohr-Siebeck for taking on a lengthy work with enthusiasm and energy. Particular thanks go to Ch. Marksches (Heidelberg), tactful and resourceful editor of the series *Studien zu Antike und Christentum*. We are also grateful to the museums for permission to reproduce the illustrations.

We dedicate this, the fruits of our labour, to our wives Friederike B. (née van Katwijk) and Alexandra F. (née Horowski) in gratitude for their patience, support, and the fruits of their labour.

JMB (Amsterdam), WDF (Heidelberg) July 4, 2001

Contents

Preface	IX
List of Illustrations	XIX
List of Abbreviations	XXI
Introduction	1
1 The nature of Greek hymns	1
1.1 What is a hymn?	1
1.2 Ancient theory	8
1.3 Cult song	14
1.4 Performance	20
1.5 Cult song and Pan-Hellenic festival	35
2 A survey of the extant remains	40
2.1 The Homeric Hymns	41
2.2 Lyric monody	43
2.3 Choral lyric	44
2.4 Callimachus	45
2.5 Philosophical and allegorical hymns	47
2.6 Magical hymns	47
2.7 Prose hymns	48
2.8 The Orphic Hymns and Proklos	49
3 Form and composition	50
3.1 Invocation	52
3.2 Praise	56
3.3 Prayer	60
3.4 An example	63
1 Crete	65
1.1 A Cretan hymn to Zeus of Mt. Dikta	68

2	Delphi	77
	Theory of the Paian	84
	Early Delphic Hymns	91
	Delphic mythical tradition	93
2.1	Alkaios' paian to Apollo	99
2.2	Pindar's 6th paian	102
2.3	Aristonoos' hymn to Hestia	116
2.4	Aristonoos' paian to Apollo	119
2.5	Philodamos' paian to Dionysos	121
2.6	Two paians to Apollo with musical notation	129
	2.6.1 ?Athenaios' paian and prosodion to Apollo	135
	2.6.2 Limenios' paian and prosodion to Apollo	137
3	Delos	139
	Olen and the Hyperboreans	146
	International <i>theōriai</i> to Delos	151
	Fragments of Pindar's <i>Deliaka</i>	153
3.1	<i>Paian</i> 7b	153
3.2	<i>Paian</i> 5, For the Athenians	156
3.3	(?) <i>Paian</i> 12, ?For the Naxians	157
4	Lyric Hymns from Lesbos and Ionia	159
4.1	Sappho's invocation of Aphrodite	163
4.2	Sappho's prayer to Hera	165
4.3	Alkaios' hymn to the Dioskouroi	166
4.4	Alkaios' hymn to Hera, Zeus and Dionysos	171
4.5	Anakreon's request to Dionysos	176
4.6	Anakreon's bow to Artemis	178
5	Thebes	181
	Theban myth and cult song	182
	Pindar	187
5.1	Pindar's Theban hymn to Zeus	191
5.2	Pindar's Theban dithyramb	197
5.3	Pindar's ninth paian	199

6	The healing cult of Epidauros	207
6.1	Paian to Asklepios	211
6.2	Hymn to the Mother of the Gods	214
6.3	Ariphron's Paian to Hygieia	224
6.4	Isyllos' paian to Apollo and Asklepios	227
6.5	Hymn to Pan	240
6.6	A prayer to Asklepios in Herodas	243
6.7	Hymn to All the Gods	244
7	Athens	247
	Dionysos and the Dithyramb	248
7.1	Pindar's dithyramb to Dionysos	256
7.2	Attic skolia	258
	7.2.1 Athena	259
	7.2.2 Demeter and Persephone	259
	7.2.3 Leto, Apollo and Artemis	259
	7.2.4 Pan	260
7.3	Sophocles' paian to Asklepios	261
7.4	Aristotle's hymn to Virtue	262
7.5	Makedonikos' paian to Apollo and Asklepios	266
7.6	A morning-song for Asklepios	267
7.7	Two hymns to Telesphoros	268
	7.7.1 Hymn 1	268
	7.7.2 Hymn 2	269
8	Hymns in Drama I: Aeschylus	273
	General introduction: hymns in tragedy	273
8.1	Hymns to Zeus in the <i>Suppliants</i>	279
	8.1.1 Ancestral gods and Zeus	280
	8.1.2 'Lord of Lords'	281
8.2	Zeus in the <i>Agamemnon</i>	286
	8.2.1 'Zeus, whoever he may be'	286
	8.2.2 'Almighty Zeus and friendly Night'	288
8.3	The Erinyes in <i>Eumenides</i>	290
	8.3.1 A 'binding song' of the Erinyes	290
	8.3.2 Banishing the Erinyes	293

9	Hymns in Drama II: Sophocles	297
9.1	Eros and Dionysos in <i>Antigone</i>	299
9.1.1	Eros and Aphrodite	299
9.1.2	A hymn to Theban Dionysos	301
9.2	A paian in time of plague in <i>OT</i>	304
9.3	Hades and Kore in <i>OC</i>	308
10	Hymns in Drama III: Euripides	311
10.1	Purity and love in <i>Hippolytos</i>	312
10.1.1	A hunter's song to Artemis	313
10.1.2	The power of Eros and Aphrodite	315
10.2	A patriotic hymn in time of war in <i>Herakleidai</i>	316
10.3	The hymns in <i>Ion</i>	320
10.3.1	Ion's monody	320
10.3.2	Athena Nike and Artemis	324
10.3.3	Kreousa's denunciation of Apollo	326
10.3.4	Einodia	328
10.4	A narrative hymn in <i>Iphigeneia in Tauris</i>	329
11	Hymns in Drama IV: Aristophanes	337
11.1	Two parabasis-songs in the <i>Knights</i>	342
11.1.1	Poseidon Hippios	345
11.1.2	Athena Nike	345
11.2	Hymns to ratify a peace treaty in <i>Lysistrata</i>	346
11.3	The hymns in <i>Thesmophoriazousai</i>	349
11.3.1	Agathon's song to Apollo, Artemis and Leto	350
11.3.2	A song to All the Gods	354
11.3.3	'Come, join the dance'	357
11.3.4	Pallas Athena, Demeter and Kore	360
11.4	The hymns to Eleusinian deities in <i>Frogs</i>	361
11.4.1	Iakchos	364
11.4.2	?Kore	365
11.4.3	Demeter	366
11.4.4	Iakchos	367
12	Some Miscellaneous Hymns	369
12.1	Invocation of Dionysos by the women of Elis	369
12.2	A hymn to Poseidon and the dolphins	372

12.3 A women's song to Artemis	376
12.4 An anonymous paian to Apollo	378
12.5 A hymnic temple-dedication from Paros	379
 Bibliography	 383
 General Index	 393

List of Illustrations

- Fig. 1 (p. V) Apollo and Artemis, with Hermes (left) and Leto (right). Rf volute krater, possibly by Palermo Painter. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, California
- Fig. 2 (p. 22) Dancers of a partheneion. Rf krater by Villa Giulia Painter in Rome, Villa Giulia inv. 909
- Fig. 3 (p. 27) A dithyramb chorus in action. Rf bell krater by Kleophon Painter. Copenhagen, National Museum of Denmark, Dept. of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities, inv. 13817
- Fig. 4 (p. 29) Sacrifice with processional hymn. Painted wooden tablet from Pitsa. Athens, National Archaeological Museum, inv. 16464
- Fig. 1.1 (p. 76) The Palaikastro Kouros. LM1 B ±1500 BC. Photo courtesy of the authors of MacGillivray *et al.* (2000)
- Fig. 2.1 (p. 79) A *theoria* arrives at Delphi. Rf volute krater by Kleophon Painter in Ferrara inv. T 57C
- Fig. 2.2 (p. 98) Apollo flies over the sea on his winged tripod. Hydria by Berlin Painter. Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (Vatican) inv. 16568
- Fig. 2.3 (p. 128) Dionysos greets Apollo at Delphi on his return from the Hyperboreans. Rf bell krater by the Kadmos painter in the State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, inv. Yu O.28
- Fig. 2.4 (p. 133) Apollo with foot on Gallic shields. Archaeological Museum, Delos, inv. A.4124
- Fig. 3.1 (p. 140) The Delian Trinity: Leto, Apollo and Artemis. Rf pelike by Villa Giulia Painter, Basel inv. Lu 49
- Fig. 3.2 (p. 142) Apollo arrives on swan-back on Delos. Bell krater by Meleager Painter. London 1917.7
- Fig. 3.3 (p. 144) A chorus of young women: the Deliades? Lebes gamikos from Delos, École Française d'Athènes, no. S 2275
- Fig. 4.1 (p. 162) A symposiast strikes up a hymn to Apollo and (Artemis). Fragment of Rf krater by Euphronios. Munich inv. 8935
- Fig. 4.2 (p. 168) The Dioskouroi attend a *theoxenia*. Attic rf hydria by the Kadmos Painter, Plovdiv
- Fig. 6.1 (p. 211) Asklepios and his healing family. Votive relief from Luku in the Peloponnese. Athens National Museum, relief no. 1402.

- Fig. 6.2 (p. 226) Hygieia and related personified blessings. Rf pyxis in the British Museum, inv. E 775. Photograph © The British Museum
- Fig. 7.1 (p. 255) Dionysos Lenaios amid the Bacchants. Rf cup by Makron. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung
- Fig. 11.1 (p. 344) Athena and Poseidon. Bf neck amphora by Amasis Painter in Paris, Cabinet des Médailles inv. 222
- Fig. 11.2 (p. 352) Chorus-leader and chorus of young women. Rf astragalos by Sotades in British Museum, inv. E 804. Photograph © The British Museum
- Fig. 12.1 (p. 377) A girl with *krotala* dancing to aulos music. Detail from rf. lekythos by Bowdoin Painter. Basel inv. BS 1944.2699

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations of names of periodicals follow the conventions of *L'Année Philologique*.

- AL** E. Diehl (ed.), *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*, Leipzig vol. I 1925, II 1942
AP *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina*, see H. Beckby (ed.), *Anthologia Graeca*, 4 vols., Munich 1965-67
ARV J.D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase Painters*, Oxford 1963²
BKT Berliner Klassiker Texte
CA I.U. Powell (ed.), *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford 1925
CGS L.R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, vol. I-V, Oxford 1896-1909
CEG P.A. Hansen (ed.), *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*, Berlin 1983
CIG A. Boeckh (ed.), *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin 1928ff.
DK H. Diels (ed.), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, Griechisch u. Deutsch*, 6th edition by W. Kranz, Zürich/Bern 1951
EG G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca, ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berlin 1878
EM Th. Gaisford (ed.), *Etymologicon Magnum*, Oxford 1848
FGrH F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923ff.
GDK E. Heitsch (ed.), *Griechische Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. I Göttingen 1961, vol. II *ibid.* 1964
GL D.A. Campbell (ed.), *Greek Lyric*, 5 vols., Cambridge Mass. 1982-1993
HCT A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, K.J. Dover, *An Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, five volumes, Oxford 1945-1981
HE A.S.F. Gow & D.L. Page (eds.), *The Greek Anthology, Hellenistic Epigrams*, two vols. Cambridge 1965
IC Margarita Guarducci (ed.), *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. III, Rome 1942
IG *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873ff.
KG R. Kühner, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 3rd edition by F. Blass & B. Gerth, 1890-1904
LIMC O. Reverdin, Lilly Kahil (eds.), *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Munich 1981ff. (8 vols.)
LSCG F. Sokolowski (ed.), *Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques*, Paris 1969

- LSS* F. Sokolowski (ed.), *Lois Sacrées des Cités Grecques*, Supplément, Paris 1962
- LSJ* H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford⁹, 1968
- NP* H. Cancik & H. Schneider (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly. Reallexikon der Antike*, Stuttgart 1996ff.
- PCG* R. Kassel & C.F. Austin (eds.), *Poetae Comici Graeci*, Berlin/New York, 1983ff.
- PGM* K. Preisendanz, E. Heitsch & A. Henrichs (eds.), *Papyri Graecae Magicae: die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, vols. I and II, Stuttgart² 1973-1974
- PMG* D.L. Page (ed.), *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962
- POxy* B.P. Grenfell & A.S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London 1898ff.
- RE* *Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaften*, Stuttgart 1894-1970; Munich 1972ff. (34 vols., 15 supplements)
- RGG* H.D. Betz, D.S. Browning, B. Janowski & E. Jüngel (eds.), *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Tübingen⁴ 1998ff.
- SH* H. Lloyd Jones & P.J. Parsons (eds.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin and New York 1983
- SEG* J.J.E. Hondius (ed.) et al., *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Leiden 1923-1975; Amsterdam 1976ff.
- SIG* W. Dittenberger (ed.), *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Leipzig 1915ff.
- SLG* D.L. Page (ed.), *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis. Poetarum Lycicorum Fragmenta quae recens innotuerunt*, Oxford 1974
- TGF* B. Snell, R. Kannicht, S. Radt (eds.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 4 vols., Göttingen 1971-1999

Introduction

1 The nature of Greek hymns

1.1 What is a hymn?

When we consider basic forms of religious worship both in antiquity and in modern societies, the singing of hymns in some form or other features conspicuously. The religious act typically constitutes a demonstrative change in behaviour or situation compared with a secular norm. A person adopts a particular attitude in order to pray, whether standing with hands clasped, or kneeling with head bowed, or prostrate on the ground: the important point is that the attitude marks the person praying in a manner recognizable to him and to others – and to the god concerned. One or more people may move from secular to sacred space around an altar, temple or shrine in order to offer worship. Buildings serving a religious purpose are normally marked off from surrounding construction by the style of architecture or the objects (altar, statuary, votive offerings etc.) set up in or around them. Religious dress, hairstyle, manner of walking or speech may differ from the everyday. And the transition between secular and sacred behaviour is frequently ritualized, whether by ceremonial washing, or a formal call for silence (Greek εὐφημεῖν) or a gesture (the Catholic crossing himself with holy water on entering a church). An animal destined for sacrifice is similarly marked out from the rest of the herd: it may be washed or adorned in some manner in order to make it seemly for sacrifice. From the point of view of the worshipper, all these actions serve to make his approach to god more acceptable: by adopting conventional modes of dress, behaviour, speech, location and even attitude of mind, the worshipper believes he will find god's favour and come closer to achieving his purpose. From an observer's point of view, religious behaviour represents a complex of utterances and actions (Greek: λεγόμενα καὶ δρώμενα) intricately linked with, but markedly distinct from, other areas of social life.

The hymn may also be viewed in this light. As a form of utterance,

it is distinguished from normal speech by any or all of the following features: words uttered by a group of people in unison; melody; metre or rhythm; musical accompaniment; dance performed either by the hymn-singers themselves or an associated group; repetition from occasion to occasion. And when we wish to distinguish the hymn from other forms of song, even choral song, we only have to consider the person or entity to whom the composition is addressed: the hymn differs from normal speech or song in turning from human society to address a god or company of gods either directly (second-person address: 'Du-Stil') or indirectly (third-person address: 'Er-Stil') or even vicariously (first-person annunciation). The hymn-singer has typically removed himself from a secular environment to join with others in abandoning their normal manner of everyday discourse in order to address a god using all the resources of artistic embellishment available.

Of course, there is considerable overlap between hymns and other forms of utterance in terms of form, content, and function. Formally, a hymn may be indistinguishable from a secular poem: there is no metre, poetic register or compositional technique¹ exclusively reserved for religious poems performed in cult. And a distinction based on religious content can be difficult to maintain too. As Easterling (1985, 34-49) correctly observes, there is no clear distinction in Greek poetry between the sacred and the secular: many forms, such as epinician odes or tragedy, are imbued with religious elements such as hymnic address, prayer, divine or mythic narrative; likewise, many hymns contain literary elements such as narrative of divine or heroic exploits, or *ekphrasis* of places favoured by gods, or dialogue between gods or gods and people. The most ribald forms of literature – a satyr-play, for example, or Aristophanic comedy – may concern the gods directly or contain a choral ode indistinguishable from a cult hymn. But even if we cannot draw an absolute distinction between hymns and other lyric forms in terms of religious content, there is a pragmatic difference of emphasis and purpose between the cult hymn and the literary piece, however religious in theme. The cult hymn is a form of worship directed towards winning a god's goodwill and securing his or her assistance or favour. Literature is concerned with the entertainment and enlightenment of the audience addressed: it may treat of the gods but it does not address them directly. It may guide an audience to a heightened

¹With the exception of certain repeated cries or refrains (*epiphthegmata*) such as ἰὴ παῖάν in a paian or Ἰαχχ' ὦ Ἰαχχε in the procession of Eleusinian *mystai*.

understanding of the influence of divinity on human affairs, but it does not devote its resources to securing something from that divinity through its performance.

There is another form of discourse which shares the hymn's goal of securing divine goodwill: prayer.² Hymns share many of the compositional elements characteristic of prayers: there is the same direct address of a deity, the same gesture of supplication and often the same express request for help or protection. A distinction may be possible here by considering both the compositional elements of the two forms and their differing function in worship. Formally a hymn is likely to be a more finished artistic product than a prayer, both in terms of articulated speech and narrative and in performance. For the case of Mesopotamian hymns and prayers, Edzard draws a distinction with respect to the speed and manner of delivery of both forms: prayers tend to be uttered quickly, more in the manner of normal speech, without overt artistic embellishment, whilst hymns are sung or recited in a slow, deliberate and repetitive manner which emphasizes the performance itself.³ Simply to say that prayers are spoken and hymns are sung, however, will not do.⁴ As we will see, there were various forms of Greek hymn which were spoken or recited rather than sung, and, conversely, prayers which were spoken in unison and rhythmically by a congregation. In terms of function Pulleyn (1997, 49f.) has drawn an interesting distinction between prayer and hymn: the latter, by being a finished artistic product employing refined techniques of praise and persuasion, represents a kind of offering to the god, a verbal ἄγαλαμα, or 'delight', comparable to a sacrifice or a votive offering, designed to please the god and store up divine favour (χάρις) toward the hymn-singer and the com-

² A number of collections and studies of ancient Greek prayers have appeared in recent decades: Versnel (1981); Graf in Faraone & Obbink (1991, 188-213); Aubriot-Sévin (1992); Pulleyn (1997); Kiley (1997).

³ 'Sumerische und akkadische Hymnen' in Burkert & Stolz (1994, 19-32); Pulleyn (1997, 54) writes: "The most obvious superficial difference between hymns and prayers consists in the fact that hymns were of their essence musical and prayers were not. A prayer can in principle be very simple. When one starts rehearsing a catalogue of the attributes of the deity, one is getting onto different territory. When one puts the whole thing into verse and sets it to music, it has moved a long way from being a prayer."

⁴ Pulleyn (1997, 44f.) takes issue with Bremer's earlier definition of a hymn as a 'sung prayer'. Pulleyn's main objection is not that hymns were not sung, but rather that the prayer element of a hymn may be small or negligible compared to the praise and adoration of the god; accordingly he denies that the performance criterion of singing/not singing is decisive.

munity he/she represents. Prayer, on the other hand, is a less embellished form of request in return for a different kind of offering on the part of the petitioner (sacrifice, libation, votive offering or promise to perform such in the future). In fact, however, this distinction is hard to apply rigorously; as Pulleyn is the first to admit, many spoken prayers contain elements of hymnic embellishment, and many hymns contain prayers, sometimes extensive and detailed.⁵ He suggests that linguistic embellishment of prayers is the result of the influence of hymns, but one could easily argue the reverse, that hymns are simply more refined prayers which develop and elaborate the elements of linguistic and artistic embellishment. We must content ourselves with recognizing complementary forms of religious discourse here, with a greater emphasis in the case of hymns on the attributes of song and dance, in short, performance on the part of the worshipper(s).⁶

Because hymns represent a relatively advanced, artistic, form of worship we should not regard them as secondary, or late, in any way compared to other forms. The earliest cultures of which we have cognizance, and the most primitive still existing today, have their songs of worship or supplication of divinities. There is no stage of Greek literature or culture known to us which lacks a fully developed range of cult songs. Homer, for example, refers explicitly to paian songs sung to Apollo, choruses to Artemis, songs in honour of agricultural deities such as Linos.⁷ And the collection of essays in *Hymnen der alten Welt im Kulturvergleich* (Burkert & Stolz, 1994) shows that the Greeks' Egyptian, Hittite, Mesopotamian and Persian neighbours and predecessors all possessed a vital hymnic tradition as part of their divine worship. Together with prayer, the performance or recitation of hymns forms the verbally articulated complement to expressive action in religious worship. The doing and the saying or singing are inextricably linked and mutually supportive. When people move in procession to a place of worship they not only (typically) carry an effigy or symbol of the god in whose honour they are processing, they sing a hymn celebrating the god's glory: the action is identified and justified by the use of traditional

⁵For an interesting example of a prayer to Asklepios (for relief from gout) composed in a metrical and hymnic form, see *IG III i* Addenda no. 171a (pp. 488-9), a composition by Diophantos Sphettios.

⁶Race (1990, 103 n.50) says: "The distinction between cultic hymns and prayers mainly involves a question of emphasis"; prayers, in his opinion, emphasize the request made of a god, whereas hymns "have more elaborate invocations", and sometimes contain no request.

⁷Paian: *Il.* 1.146; choruses for Artemis: 16.181; Linos-song: 18.570.

songs.⁸ And when they reach the god's altar they form up and sing more hymns before performing an action such as sacrifice or libation. The hymn is communication within the community and with the god(s) addressed.⁹ As soon as ritual action is conceived as being performed *for* some deity, or in his honour, verbal communication becomes necessary and legitimate. And we know of virtually no religion which does not in some form posit gods attributed with intelligence.¹⁰ For this reason it appears to us of dubious heuristic value to 'explain' religious cult through ritual behaviour postulated for early man on the basis of observation of primates, to the virtual exclusion of higher expressions of religious belief such as are found in hymns.¹¹ True, the sacrificial rite may reflect hunting rituals among early man, which may in turn bear some resemblance to primates' behaviour, but it is only when a 'Mistress of Animals' has been conceived of, *for* whom one performs the sacrificial ritual and *to* whom one sings such songs as Euripides, *Hipp.* 61-71 (our no. 10.3.2), that religion has been born.

It is particularly necessary to stake out a claim for the importance of our subject within Hellenic studies, as, whilst many might agree that ancient Greek hymns were important in the arts and religion, there is a *de facto* tendency to ignore them. The reason is not far to seek: the vast majority of archaic and classical cult hymns have vanished without trace. Wilamowitz (1921, 242) wrote: "Die gottesdienstliche Poesie der alten Zeit ist verloren",¹² and the statement is not far from the truth. It is only in the Hellenistic period that survivals become more frequent owing to the increasing use of written records of religious cult. Below we will exam-

⁸Note the interesting passage in Apuleius, *Met.* 11.9.5 Helm, describing religious hymns sung during a procession in honour of Isis: *carmen vetustum iterantes, quod Camenarum favore sollers poeta modulatus edixerat, quod argumentum referebat interim maiorum antecantamenta votorum*, "they repeat an ancient hymn which a skillful poet had composed with the help of the Muses, and which had as its contents the preludes (or *aetia*) of their ancestors' sacred rites".

⁹This double aspect of communication is brought out well in Danielewicz (1976, English summary pp. 116-26). See further below p. 59.

¹⁰Buddhism being a notable exception.

¹¹We have in mind particularly the 'ethological' interpretations sometimes proposed by W. Burkert, most recently in *Creation of the Sacred. Tracks of Biology in Early Religion*, Cambridge Mass. 1996.

¹²Cf. N.D. Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City*, (first published 1864), reprint 1980, Baltimore, 6: "But where are the hymns of the ancient Hellenes? They, as well as the Italians, had ancient hymns, and old sacred books: but nothing of these has come down to us."

ine the discrepancy between the acknowledged fact of the prominence of hymn-singing in all forms of religious worship and the sad state of transmission of texts. At this juncture it is essential to point out the dangers involved in allowing this dearth of transmitted texts to distort our reading of Greek literature and religion. For many forms of literary production appear to have descended directly or indirectly from choral worship of the gods: Aristotle, for example, states that both Attic tragedy and comedy descended from various forms of cult song (*Poet.* 1449a10ff).¹³ Even more directly, choral lyric generally would simply not have arisen without a long tradition of ‘choruses for the gods and heroes’. But the dependence of later (transmitted) literature on (lost) hymns does not end with the external conditions of performance or delivery. There is a whole hymnic tradition of praise poetry which makes itself apparent in epinician poetry,¹⁴ in encomia of people and places, and in literary hymns which employ the form of ancient cult hymns in new social and emotional settings.¹⁵

The disregard of hymns for lack of texts is even more regrettable in the field of Greek religion. In the leading works on Greek religion of our time, hymns are scarcely mentioned as a vital part of cult. Indeed we are repeatedly told that what mattered in Greek religion was doing the right things: sacrificing in the right manner above all. When the verbal aspect of religion *is* considered, it tends to be under the heading of ‘myth’. What is seldom adequately realized, however, is that myth is the substance of hymns, and that the stories told about the gods in myths were in fact the stories sung *to* the gods in worship in order to flatter, remind, praise and cajole a recalcitrant stone image into beneficial action.¹⁶ Once this is realized, myths cease to appear merely as speculative narratives *about* the uncanny powers of the universe,¹⁷ and may be seen partly, and perhaps primarily, as

¹³The major and persuasive thesis of Herington’s *Poetry into Drama* (1985) is that tragedy represented a new amalgam of traditional forms, mainly various forms of cult poetry.

¹⁴Well analyzed by Race (1990, 85-117) in his chapter ‘Style and Rhetoric in Opening Hymns’.

¹⁵Examples in our chapter on ‘Lesbos and Ionia’. Cf. Danielewicz (1974).

¹⁶Cf. Furley (1995a, 40-45). Even the subtle analysis of J.-P. Vernant tends to neglect this intrinsic connection: he treats myth and ritual as two separable aspects of religion in (e.g. 1987, 164-68).

¹⁷B. Gladigow, ‘Mythische Experimente – experimentelle Mythen’, in: R. Schlesi-er (ed.), *Faszination des Mythos. Studien zu antiken und modernen Interpretationen*, Basel/Frankfurt 1985, 61-85, uses the expression ‘Gedankenexperiment’.

narratives designed to ‘capture’ precisely those powers through words.¹⁸ By reminding a god through hymnic worship of his mighty and beneficent deeds in the past, the worshipper wishes both to define the deity addressed and his powers, and to secure a measure of that power for himself through divine grace.¹⁹ Whilst the whole ‘myth and ritual’ school of interpretation has worked on the premiss that there is an intrinsic connection between the two modes – the ritual and the mythical – it has not been adequately grasped just how close the link in fact was: the myths formed the substance of hymns sung before or during the ritual.²⁰ Conversely, narrative acquires a new and enhanced dimension when it is realized that it was not intended solely for human recipients, but primarily for the ears of the deity about whom it narrates. The Python myth in Apolline cult, for example, is not only narrative of an exciting kind, it also features in numerous hymns to Apollo which seek to emphasize his might, and to petition for help in a current situation. By narrating the deeds of the gods, the *Homeric Hymns* define the characters and areas of power of these gods (see Clay, 1989). These definitions then become the basis and legitimation of cult. Thus the narrative becomes a kind of charter for the god’s claim to worship of a certain kind, and conversely the basis for the worshipper’s expectation of help. In practical terms, the student of ancient religion must, in our opinion, pay close attention to any surviving hymnic texts relating to a cult concerned, and, in their absence, consider notices relating to their possible content. Later scholarship in antiquity is frequently helpful here: in one instance, a late author, Himerios, relates in prose the entire content of an original (lost) hymn to Apollo by Alkaios (no. 2.1).

One main purpose of this book, then, is to attempt to restore an imbalance. By collecting surviving hymnic texts from various anomalous contexts – inscriptions, papyri, Hellenistic scholarship as well as literary genres such as epic, lyric, tragedy, comedy – we attempt to gain as full a picture as possible of the sum of ancient Greek hymns and the variety within the genre as a whole. Just as the restorer of vases must collect a

¹⁸One may compare the excellent elucidation of this aspect of mythical narrative in the case of epinician poetry in A.P. Burnett’s *Art of Bacchylides* 1985, ch. 1.

¹⁹Race (1990, ch. 4) uses the term ‘hypomnesis’ to describe this function of narrative in hymns: the god is ‘reminded’ of his prowess so as to induce him to repeat the performance in the worshipper’s interest.

²⁰For all her enthusiasms, Harrison (1963) was not guilty of this bias, as she made the ‘Hymn of the Kouretes’ (our no. 1.1) the basis of *Themis*.

multitude of shattered fragments, assess their original position, reassemble them as best he can, while conscious that there are gaps which will probably never be filled, we have collected and attempted to order the *disiecta membra* of ancient Greek hymnography. We hope that the result will be profitable for both literary and religious studies.

1.2 Ancient theory

It is time now to consider the principles of that order more carefully. Was there a genre of hymn in ancient Greece, or rather, was there *one* genre or many? ‘Hymn’ is, of course, a Greek word (ὕμνος) but its etymology and origin remain obscure. We find a number of ancient etymologies, none convincing. The *Etym. Gud.* 540.38 Sturz gives the following account: “Hymn comes from ‘remain’, being something which ‘remains’, because it draws the words of praise and the virtues into a durable form”.²¹ This derivation emphasizes the celebratory aspect of hymns, their function to record and document praiseworthy deeds and powers. It does not explicitly mention the gods. Linguistically it is more than suspect, involving a most unlikely syncopation of the verb *hypomenō* to *hymenō*, hence *hymnos* from *hypomonos*. This ‘etymology’ is also given by Proklos, who records another possible derivation, from the (rare) verb ὕδειν, which he glosses as ‘speak’ (ibid.). Here one would have to assume a syncopated form of a passive participle of the verb;²² but even if such a process was linguistically viable, the meaning ‘speak’ is hardly germane, or germinal, to any essential quality of the hymn. Finally, a number of passages in poetry exploit the similarity between the stems *hymn-* and *hyph-* from the verb *hyphainō*, ‘weave’.²³ However, such etymological play belongs more in the realm of lyric inventiveness than the essential development of language.²⁴

²¹ ὕμνος· παρὰ τὸ ὑμένα τὸ ὑπομένα, ὑπόμονός τις ὢν, καὶ ἐν συγκοπῇ ὕμνος, καθὸ εἰς ὑπομονὴν καὶ πράξιν ἄγειν τὰς τῶν ἐπαίνων ἀκοάς, καὶ ἀρετάς. Cf. Proklos ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 320a9-10: ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑπόμονόν τινα εἶναι; *E.M.* s.v. ὕμνος· κατὰ συγκοπὴν, ὑπόμονός τις ὢν, καθὸ εἰς ὑπομονὴν καὶ μνήμην ἄγει τὰς τῶν ἐπαινουμένων πράξεις καὶ ἀρετάς, “‘hymn’: a thing which is lasting (*hypomonos*), because it draws the deeds and powers of those praised into a durable and memorable form”.

²² Perfect ὑσμένος→ὕμνος, or ὑδόμενος→ὑδέμενος→ὕμνος cf. Wünsch (1914, 141).

²³ ὕμνον ὑφαίνειν, cf. Bacchylides 5.9; id. *Dith.* 19.8. For the force of the metaphor ‘weave a hymn’ see Scheid & Svenbro (1996, 118-19).

²⁴ Wünsch (1914, 141) approves this derivation whilst Chantraine, *Dict. Etym.* s.v. cautions against it.

At an early stage it bore the general sense of ‘song’, though possibly with connotations of praise or celebration.²⁵ The more specific meaning ‘song of praise for a god’ developed from that, and is current in the classical period. Plato, for example, draws a clear distinction between hymns (ὑμνοὶ) as songs in praise of gods, and encomia (ἐγκώμια) for men (*Rep.* 10.607a).²⁶ An ancient definition of *hymnos* used in this religious sense runs “*hymnos* is discourse in the form of adoration, with prayer conjoined with praise, addressed to a god”.²⁷ The definition contains a number of essential points: the hymn *worships* (προσκυνέω) *gods* with combined *prayer* (εὐχή) and *praise* (ἔπαινος). We may compare this with another ancient definition given by Dionysios Thrax (2nd c. BC): “the ‘hymn’ is a poem comprising praises of the gods and heroes with thanksgiving”.²⁸ This formulation specifies that a hymn has *poetic* form (ποίημα), includes heroes among recipients of hymnic worship,²⁹ and uses the expression *eucharistia*, ‘thanksgiving’ to denote an essential element of the worshippers’ offering of song.

In a way the more general ancient term for the collective singing of a deity’s praise by a group denoted the whole activity (song, dance, place of worship): *choros*, the chorus which learnt the dance steps, the words and the melody which in combination constituted the hymn’s performance. To ‘set up a chorus’ (χορὸν ἱστάναι) for the performance of ritual songs became the standard term for the inauguration of hymns in performance.³⁰ Numerous passages describe the founding of the cult of a god or hero, either in conjunction with the erection of an altar and/or temple in his/her honour or with reorganization of the cult. For example, at Bacchylides 11.108ff., when Artemis persuaded Hera to relieve the daughters of Proitos from their god-sent madness, they built her an altar and temenos and ‘in-

²⁵ See the *PW* article ‘Hymnos’ by Wunsch, 141-2.

²⁶ Cf. *Etym. Gud.* 540.42 Sturz.

²⁷ *Etym. Gud.* ὕμνος· ἔστιν ὁ μετὰ προσκυνήσεως καὶ εὐχῆς κεκραμένης ἔπαινω λόγος εἰς θεόν.

²⁸ 451.6 Hilgard: ὕμνος ἐστὶ ποίημα περιέχον θεῶν ἐγκώμια καὶ ἡρώων μετ’ εὐχαριστίας.

²⁹ In this collection we do not include hymns to heroes, limiting ourselves to those addressed to recognized divinities. For an interesting early ‘hymn’ to the hero Achilles see Simonides fr. 10-11 West²; cf. L. Sbardella, ‘Achille e gli eroi di Platea. Simonide fr. 10-11 W²’, *ZPE* 129, 2000, 1-11.

³⁰ LSJ s.v. ἱστῆμι iii 4; cf. Aristoph. *Clouds* 271 with Dover’s note, and *Birds* 219 with Dunbar’s note; Burkert (1977, 168).

stituted choruses of women' (καὶ χοροὺς ἴσταν γυναικῶν), whose role no doubt was to hymn Artemis. The hymn-singing which typically accompanied the inauguration or restitution of a cult is well illustrated by Aristophanes *Peace* 774ff., where the goddess Peace is restored to the accompaniment of joyous hymn-singing. Names such as Stesichoros, 'Chorus-Trainer' or Hagesichora, 'Chorus-Leader', Terpsichora (one of the Muses), 'Chorus-lover', point to the familiarity of the concept. At Eur. *El.* 177-78 we find the term used not of inaugural rites but of the regular choral singing performed by Argive girls for Hera.³¹

In earlier work we have discussed in greater detail the relation of the generic term ὕμνος with the various sub-categories of sacred song named in antiquity.³² Our position may be summarized here. A passage of Plato might at first sight be taken to point to a distinction between hymns proper and other types such as paians, dithyramps and nomes.³³ The Alexandrian classification of religious choral lyric (by e.g. Pindar, Bacchylides) into separate books of paians, dithyramps etc. and hymns seems to point in the same direction. And at one point in his discussion of this very point, the taxonomy of sacred song, Proklos uses the expression 'the hymn proper' (ὁ κυρίως ὕμνος) of a song of divine praise sung round the god's altar³⁴ in contradistinction to prosodia and other forms which, although addressed to the gods, are, by implication, distinct from 'hymns proper'. These and other passages led Harvey (1955, 166) to conclude that there was a specific poetic form for the 'hymn proper', a monostrophic poem to the gods sung by a stationary chorus.

On the other hand, as Harvey recognizes, there was a general sense to the word ὕμνος current in antiquity which made it the generic word for songs for gods, and other terms, such as dithyramps and paians, subdivisions of the genus. A statement of Didymos quoted by Orion (p. 155-6 Sturz) runs: "The hymn is distinct from enkomia, prosodia and paians not in that the latter are not hymns, but as genus (sc. is distinct) from species. For we call all forms of song for the gods hymns, and add a qualifying

³¹ οὐδ' ἴστασα χοροὺς / Ἀργεῖαις ἅμα νύμφαις.

³² Bremer (1981, 204); Furley (1993, 22-24); Furley (1995a, 31-32).

³³ *Laws* 700b1-5: καὶ τι ἦν εἶδος ὠιδῆς εὐχαὶ πρὸς θεοῦς, ὄνομα δὲ ὕμνοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο. . . καὶ παίωνες ἕτερον, καὶ ἄλλο, Διονύσου γένεσις οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος: "... and one form of song consisted of prayers to the gods – these were called 'hymns' – ... and paians were another form, and another, the birth of Dionysos, I think, was called 'dithyramb'".

³⁴ *Bibl.* 320a19-20 ὁ δὲ κυρίως ὕμνος πρὸς κιθάραν ἦιδετο ἐστώτων.

Index

- abstract entities
 worshipped as gods, 289
- Achilles, 266, 375
 cenotaph at Elis, 370
 hymn to, 9
- Acts of the Apostles*
 28.11, 170
- Aelius Aristides, 49
 cured by Telesphoros, 270
- Aeschylus
 Ag.
 parodos, 287
 Aigyptioi, 284
 Egyptian trilogy, 284
 Eum.
 1-9, 96
 Pers.
 629ff., 275
 Seven
 176-81, 57
 Suppl.
 1039-42, 289
- Agathe Tyche, 224
- Agathon, 350
 effeminacy of, 354
- Agdistis, 224
- Aiakos, 105
- Aias, 266
- Aidoneus, *see* Hades
- aidōs*
 of women, 285
- Aigina, 105
 cult of Asklepios, 210
- Aigla, 229
- Aigyptos, 279
- aischrologia*, 350
- aition*
 of festival, 13, 18–20
- Akeso
 daughter of Asklepios, 213
- Alkaios
 Alexandrian edition of, 99
 and politics, 171, 174
 exile, 102
 fr. 129, 101
 fr. 348, 175
 hymn to Apollo, 83
 prooimion to Apollo, 91
- Alkestis, 277
- Alkman
 Partheneion, 22, 218
- All the Gods, 355, 357, 359
 at Epidauros, 245
- altar of horns
 at Delos, 141
- Amasis Painter, 343
- Amazons
 dance of, 377
- amoibaion*, 349, 352
- Amphikleia, 128
- Amphiktyons
 at Delphi, 127
- anabolē*, 255
- Anakreon, 160
 and Homer, 177
 and politics, 178
 hymns to boys, 179
 PMG 356b, 177
 PMG 410, 177
- Ananke, 277
- Anthesteria
 and dithyramb, 257

- Antigone, 300
 Aphrodite, 313
 at Delos, 152
 cult attributes, 164
 destructive power of, 314, 316
 in Aeschylus' *Suppl.*, 285
 in Lesbos, 164
 Apollo
 accused of negligence, 327
 and archery, 322
 and Artemis, 332
 and Asklepios, 213
 and aulos, 100
 and Hyperboreans, 100, 149
 and Neoptolemos, 108
 and nome, 334
 arrival at Delphi, 78
 as ephebe, 90, 322
 as kitharode, 14
 at Megara, 35
 Daphnephoros
 at Eretria, 94
 father of Ion, 322
 favoured places, 378
 hymn to in Theognis, 163
 hymnic attributes, 327
 in winter, 127
 kitharōdos, 34, 145
 Maleatas, 228
 Nomimos, 335
 Paian, 84, 207
 Phoibos, 96
 Pythios, 331
 and dithyramps, 252
 Apollonia
 at Delos, 142, 144, 151
 Apollonius of Rhodes
 Arg.
 1.1097-1102, 217
 Apuleius
 Met.
 11.9.5, 5
 Arate, 235
 Archilochos, 159
 fr. 117, 250
 fr. 120, 121, 159
 Hymn to Herakles, 159
 test. 4 Tarditi, 251
 Areopagus, 291
 Ares
 unarmoured, 307
 aretalogy
 of Isis, 48
Aretē
 hymn to, 262
aretē
 ode to in Euripides, 266
 argument
 in hymns, 56
 Arion, 159, 335, 373
 and dithyramb, 251
 Arion of Methymna, *see* Arion
 Ariphron of Sikyon, 224, 265
 Aristarchos, 333
 Aristeas of Prokonnesos
 Arimaspea, 149
 aristocracy
 at Epidauros, 230
 in Mytilene, 174
 Aristonoos of Corinth, 116-121
 Aristophanes
 Σ. Ach.
 637, 257
 Birds
 1373-1404, 254
 557-60, 337
 910-925, 155
 Clouds
 300-13, 320
 311-13, 255
 595ff., 307
 Σ Frogs
 479, 362
 Lys.
 1-3, 164
 641-646, 21

- Peace*
796, 348
- Σ *Plut.*
431, 216
- Wasps*
122-23, 236
- Wealth*
653ff., 210
662ff., 235
- Aristotle, 263
accused of impiety, 264
and origin of drama, 274
Ath. Pol.
56, 152
in Themistios 26.316d, 274
monument to Hermias in Delphi, 264
- Poet.*
1449a10, 6
1449a11, 274
- Pol.*
1271b31-35, 65
1285a35-37, 175
1342a-b, 254
- Rhet.*
1415a11, 42
tutor of Alexander, 263
- Artemis, 178, 376
Agrotera, 259, 347
and Nymphs, 218
and wild animals, 178
at Delos, 158
at Delphi, 306
Ephesia, 377
girls' choruses for, 23
huntress, 314
Korythalia, 218
kourotrophos, 381
Leukophryene, 178
Loch(e)ia, 140, 325
Orth(e)ia, 23, 218
Polo, 380
temple at Delos, 146
torch-bearing, 381
- Asklepieion
in Athens, 213, 267
on Aigina, 236
- Asklepios, 208
1st temple at Epidauros, 237
and Apollo, 208
and votive weaponry, 209
and war wounds, 209
arrival in Athens, 261
birth of, 238-239
daughters of, 210
related deities, 210
sacrifice of cock to, 244
- Assembly
and religious ceremonial, 356
- Assos, 263
- Asteria, 156
=Delos, 154
- Astylaidas of Epidauros, 229
- asylum
and Alkaios, 176
- Atē*, 289
- Athena, 318
and Athenian democracy, 319
and Poseidon
in Attica, 342
birth of, 325
Chalkioikos, 348
Nike, 325
temple at Athens, 346
old temple on Athenian Acropolis, 342
Pallas, 360
Pronaia, 96
at Delphi, 306
women attendants of, 293
- Athenaios
192b, 161
253b,d, 29
463e, 164
696b, 264
Athenaios (technites), 129, 135

- Athens, 36
 main festivals, 255
- Attic skolia, 161
- Attis, 216
- Aulis, 287
- aulody
 at Delphi, 92
- Bacchylides
 11.108ff., 9
 16.5-12, 127
 16.8-10, 83
 17 *Eitheoi*, 333
 17.124-29, 90
 17, 152
 apopemptic hymns, 295
 dithyrambs, 45, 250
 Kassandra, 333
- Basilinna
 at Athens, 370
- binding song, *see* hymnos desmios
- binding spells, 291
 judicial, 291
- Boio, 150
 and Delphic hymn, 92
- Brennus, 132, 306
- Bromios
 =Dionysos, 256
- bryllichistai*, 218
- calendar
 Athenian, 319
- Callimachus
 and Ptolemies, 227
 edition of *Hymns*, 47
- H*
 2.6-8, 31
 2.97-104, 134
 3.122ff., 207
 3.170, 23
 3.237-45, 377
 4.281-295, 150
 4.296-99, 150
- 4.300-03, 145
 4.304-6, 31, 147
 4.304f., 335
 4.307-315, 152
 4.36-38, 156
 6.1-2, 353, 362
 hymns, 45-47
 mimetic hymns, 362
- castanets, 376
- Celts, 270
- chaire*, 62
- charis*, 61
- Charites, 227, 348
- Charition Mime, 332
- choregia*, 21
- choreia*, 33
 as education, 21
- choros*, 9
- chorus, *see choros*
 secondary, in Aristophanes, 353
 secondary, in Euripides, 314
- choruses
 of girls on Athenian Acropolis,
 320
- Chrysothemis
 and the nome, 335
 at Delphi, 80
- Corpus Theognideum*
 773-82, 163
- cosmic powers
 in hymns, 318
- Cretans
 at Delphi, 80
- Crete, 65-68
- Crimea, 139
- Curetes, 222
- curse
 in hymn, 172
- Damophon of Pisa, 370
- Danaids, 281
- Danaos, 284
- dance, 359

- and dithyramb, 253
- and ecstasy, 364
- Bacchic, 33
- geranos, 33
- pyrlis, 33, 377
- pyrrhic, 33, 222
- tyrbasia, 254
- Daphnephoria, 19
 - at Rhegion, 24
- death
 - as helper, 299
 - eased by hymn, 309
- defixiones*, see binding spells, 329
- Dei Cucullati, 270
- Deliades, 143–145
 - and mimetic song, 151
- Delian trinity, 36, 139, 154, 351
- Delos, 36, 327
 - centre of Cyclades, 145
 - French excavations of, 141
 - landmarks, 140
- Delphi
 - and Crete, 80
 - Apollo's return in spring, 83
 - Athenian treasure-house, 132
 - competition for hymn to Apollo, 44
 - Cretan votive offerings at, 81
 - dithyrambs in winter, 127
 - early hymns at, 91–93
 - early victors in hymn-singing, 91
 - embassies to, 77
 - first hymn to Apollo, 91
 - first hymn, 334
 - first temples, 93–95
 - Mycenaean remains, 96
 - myth, 93–102
 - myths of advent, 97–98
 - pantheon, 36
 - reconstruction of temple, 125
- Delphic hymns, 36
- Delphic Oracle
 - and Isyllos, 231
 - and plague, 306
 - in drama, 322
 - myth of previous owners, 95–97
- Demeter, 362
 - and grain, 324, 366
- Demeter and Kore, 349
- Demetrios Poliorketes, 29
- Demophilos
 - accuser of Aristotle, 264
- Dexiōn*, see Sophocles
- Didymos
 - 06.6., 263
 - 6.15–17, 264
 - 6.39–43, 264
 - ap. Orion
 - p. 155–6, 10
- diēgēsis*, 58
- Dikaiopolis, 340
- Dikta
 - and Zeus' birth, 74
 - in Crete, 73
- Diodorus
 - 5.70, 74
- Diogenes of Epidauros, 223, 245
- Dion, 213
- Dionysia
 - at Athens, 160, 252
 - City, 256, 348
 - rural, 340
- Dionysios Thrax
 - 451.6, 9
- Dionysios Hal.
 - De comp.*
 - 17, 170
 - 22, 257
- Dionysos, 176, 369
 - and Apollo, 303
 - and Eleusinian Mysteries, 303
 - and Iakchos, 368
 - and wine, 303
 - and bull, 371

- and dithyramb, 258
- and healing, 303
- and Iakchos, 303
- and Mt. Kithairon, 359
- and theatre, 126
- and Thebes, 302
- and Underworld, 361
- and wine, 270
- as Paian, 127
- at Delphi, 126
- at Teos, 31
- birth of, 250
- devourer of deer, 175
- favoured places, 302
- in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, 337
- in paian, 307
- in Sophocles' plays, 302
- lord of dance, 359
- Diophantos Sphettios, 4
- Dioskouroi, 166
 - and white horses, 167
 - at Sparta, 167
 - in the Aegean, 168
 - prayers to, 170
 - protectors of seafarers, 169
- diplomats, 348
- dithyramb, 248–256
 - 'new', 255
 - a song for Dionysos, 248
 - ancient concept of, 248–250
 - and bull, 251, 371
 - and Dionysos, 334
 - and *kyklios choros*, 251
 - and myth, 252, 253
 - and tragedy, 252
 - and wine, 250
 - as narrative hymn, 333
 - at Athens, 251
 - at City Dionysia, 252
 - diction of, 254
 - in vase painting, 253
 - in Proklos, 12
 - musical style of, 249
 - new, 374
 - Pindaric style of, 257
 - popular etymologies of, 250
- dithyrambs
 - at Athenian festivals, 252
- Dithyramphos
 - on Attic vase, 254
- divine precedent, 14–18
- dokana*
 - and Dioskouroi, 168
- dolphin, 373
 - music-loving, 375
- Doric farce, 218
- doubt
 - in Aeschylean hymns, 283
- drama
 - and song-dance, 273
- Drimios, 173
- East Crete, 73
- Egypt
 - influence on Crete, 65
- Eileithyia, 148
 - and childbirth, 325
 - at Delos, 146
- Einodia, 328
- elegy
 - sympotic, 163
- Eleusinian Mysteries
 - profanation of, 161
- Eleusinian myth, 217
- Eleusinian Mysteries, 340, 361–368
 - and afterlife, 361
 - gods of, 362
- Eleusis, *see* Eleusinian Mysteries
 - flowery grove, 368
- Elis, 369
 - archaeology of, 371
- ephebes
 - at Athens, 371
 - in Athenian ritual, 320
- ep hymnion*
 - in Callimachus' *Hymns*, 362

- in hymn, 291
 Epidauros
 cult of Asklepios, 208
 hymn with musical notation, 209
 pantheon, 37
epiklēsis, 52
 Epione, 210
 epiphany, 58, 327
 of Asklepios, 234, 235
epiphthegma, 295, 349
 Erato, 229
 Erechtheion, 346
 Erinyes, 290, 329
 and madness, 291
 functions of, 292
 in magic, 292
 stage presence, 292
 underworld deities, 293
 Erinys, 175
 Eros
 and Aphrodite, 300, 315
 in Hellenistic poetry, 227
 Erythrai, 212
 Eteocretans, 73
 Etymondas
 archon at Delphi, 124, 126
euchē, 60
eulogia, 56
 Eumelos, 29
 Eumenides, 293
euphēmia, 56
 Euphronios
 krater, 161
 Euripides
 Alk.
 962-983, 277
 Andr.
 768-801, 266
 Andromeda
 parodied, 361
 Ba
 200-14, 365
 3f., 166
 El.
 174-80, 274
 432-41, 375
 860-65, 276
 Erech. fr. 65, 135
 Hek.
 462-65, 144
 Hel.
 1301-52, 216
 1301-68, 219
 1495-1505, 170
 HF
 348-441, 276
 687-90, 143
 Hipp.
 141ff., 208
 hymns to Eros, 277
 in Aristophanes' *Thesm.*, 351
 Ion
 94-97, 210
 125-27 and 141-43, 83
 196-200, 324
 283-85, 133
 IT
 1089-1105, 139
 Med.
 395ff., 328
 Mountain Mother ode, 333
 soul of, 361
 Suppl., 318
 180-83, 63
 exarchon
 of dithyramb, 254, 274
 exhortation
 in hymns, 51
 fertility
 rites, 350
 festivals, 16
 pan-Hellenic, 38
 François vase, 152
 Gaia

- at Delphi, 332
- Galloi, 222
- Gauls
 - in Delphi, 132
- Ge
 - =Mountain Mother, 220
 - at Delphi, 95
- genealogy
 - in hymn, 238
- generic allusion
 - in drama, 276
- gephyrismos*
 - at Eleusis, 368
- Gera(i)rai, 370
- girls' rites, 21–23
- gods
 - advent, 18
 - and cult centres, 37
 - awe of, 53
 - chthonian, 53
 - epiphany, 18
 - favoured places of, 54
 - hungry, 244
 - imitation by men, 16–18
 - jokes about, 340
 - of healing, 223
 - of seafaring, 169
 - plurality in prayer, 38
 - verbs expressing presence of, 55
 - worshipped in Mycenaean Crete, 67
- gold
 - and Apollo, 327
- Gortys, 209
- Graces, *see* Charites
- Hades
 - =Aidoneus, 308
- Hebros (river), 127
- Hekate, 328
- Heliodoros
 - Aith.* 3.2, 30
- Helios, 298, *see* cosmic powers, 322
 - at Epidauros, 245
- Hephaestion
 - de poem.* 4.8, 178
- Hera, 165
 - at Argos, 274
 - in Lesbos, 172
 - prayers to, 166
- Hera, Zeus and Dionysos
 - in Lesbos, 171
 - location of cult in Lesbos, 173
- Herakleidai
 - Athenians' defence of, 318
- Herakleides of Pontos
 - fr. 157, 334
- Herakleitos All.
 - 5.9, 171
- Herakles, 159, 297
 - enkomion to, 277
- Hermes
 - speaks prologue, 322
- Hermias, 263
 - heroic death of, 264
- Hermokles of Chios, 348
- Herodotus
 - 1.23, 251
 - 1.23–24, 373
 - 3.121, 43
 - 4.32–35, 146
 - 4.33.4–5, 150
 - 5.7.9, 149
 - 5.75.2, 167
 - 6.27.2, 24
- Herophile
 - hymn to Apollo, 92
- Hesiod
 - Th.* 36–44, 15
 - W&D* 597–8, 609–11, 72
- hesitation
 - as hymnic topos, 56
- hieros gamos*

- of Zeus and Hera, 166
- Hippolytos, 312
- Homer
 - at Delos, 38
 - Il.*
 - 1.37-38, 53
 - 1.472-73, 84
 - 1.472-4, 20
 - 3.243-44, 168
 - 3.245ff., 348
 - 4.193; 514-15, 207
 - 6.297ff., 278
 - 9.448ff., 329
 - 16.233-48, 288
 - 18.570, 323
- Homeric hexameters
 - cited in hymn, 245
- Homeric Hymns, 41-43
 - and competitive performance, 42
 - closing formula, 41
 - place of performance, 43
 - to Apollo
 - 514-19, 80
 - to Aphrodite
 - 117-21, 23
 - to Apollo, 140
 - 147-64, 142
 - 156-64, 151
 - 187-206, 14
 - 388ff., 78
 - 445-50, 90
 - 514-18, 15
 - to Demeter, 39
 - 24ff., 329
 - to Dioskouroi (33), 169
 - 6-15, 169
 - to Pan, 240
 - to Poseidon (22)
 - 4-5, 343
 - to the Mother of the Gods (13),
 - 219
- Hyakinthia, 348
- Hygieia, 210, 224, 244, 278
- hymeneal, 349
 - in Aristophanes, 342
- hymn, *see* hymns
 - adaptation in drama, 288
 - ancient definition of, 8-13
 - and private piety, 381
 - and character in drama, 314, 322
 - and prayer, 3-4
 - apopemptic, 295
 - argument in, 170
 - as stop-gap in drama, 331
 - as *agalma*, 381
 - as part of dramatic plot, 331
 - as song-dance, 9
 - at inaugural ceremony, 379
 - at start of drama, 274
 - clitic, 164, 165, 177, 325, 356, 360
 - comic elements, 217
 - in hexameters with musical notation, 380
 - in private worship, 322
 - monodic, 353, 374
 - narrative, 332
 - nature of, 1-4
 - patriotic, 258, 346
 - playful, 177
 - political, 175
 - processional, 365
 - to Thetis and Neoptolemos, 31
 - to Anubis, 48
 - to Artemis, *see* oupingos
 - to cult object, 323
 - to personified abstraction, 289
 - to Phales, 340, 342
 - with musical notation, 378
- hymnōdoi*, 24
- hymnos*
 - as generic term, 10
 - etymology, 8
- hymnos desmios*, 290
- hymns

- Alexandrian classification, 10–13
- ancient classification, 10–13
- ancient collection of, 41
- and diplomacy, 347
- and generic freedom in drama, 276
- and hero-worship, 9
- and myth, 6
- and audience, 59
- and dance, 33–34
- and diplomacy, 349
- and dramatic irony, 297, 304, 311
- and dramatic performance, 219
- and joy, 358
- and literary genres, 41
- and manual work, *see* worksongs
- and mime, 219
- and mimesis, 275
- and *mimesis*, 17
- and music, 34–35
- and myth, 7
- and pan-Hellenic festivals, 35–40
- and para-hymns in tragedy, 276, 322
- and state embassies, 78
- and versimilitude in drama, 274
- antithetical, 313
- as traditional songs, 28
- at private gatherings, 43
- at symposion, 32, 258
- at temple-doors, 31
- at the symposion, 43
- choral, 44–45
- clitic, 61
- definition of parts, 51
- disappearance of, 5
- dramatic, 40
- epigraphic, 45
- formal elements, 50–64
- in Aeschylus, 279
- in Aristophanes, 37, 337, 340
- in drama, 37, 273–279
- in Euripides, 311
- in Greek religion, 4–7
- in Homer, 4
- in parabasis, 37, 338, 342
- in Sophocles, 297–299
- literary, 375
- literary and hieratic, 38–39
- literary and non-literary, 112
- magical, 47–48
- mimetic, 46
- monodic, 43–44
- nocturnal, 365
- patriotic, 319
- performance, 20–28
- philosophical, 47
- place of performance, 28–32
- primitive, 39
- private, 32
- prose, 48–49
- repetition of, 314
- revelation in, 49
- rhapsodic, 42
- sequence of, 363
- solo performance, 26
- solo performance, 25
- sung in sequence, 268
- suppression of unseemly elements, 239
- symptotic, 162
- to abstract entities, 227, 311
- to All the Gods, 38
- tripartite structure, 51, 307
- Hyperborean women, 150, 377
 - grave in Delos, 146
 - worship at Delos, 147
- Hyperboreans, 35, 149
 - and Delos, 146–151
 - offerings sent to Delos, 150
- Hypodikos of Chalkis, 252
- hypomnēsis*, 57
 - in hymns, 7

- Iakchos, 362, 367
 chant, 363
- iamata*
 Epidaurian, 209
- Ida
 in Crete, 74
- imagery
 fire, 307
 in Sophocles' hymns, 307
- incubation, 209, 235
- inscriptions
CIG
 3538, 278
 Epidaurian *Iamata*
 B 21, 235
- IC*
 I 8.11, 349
 III 4.7, 74
 III 4.8, 74
- IG*
 I 2(5).893, 380
 II, 545, 371
 II-2, 1006, 371
 II² 3045, 124
 III i Addenda no. 171a, 4
 V 1.1548-1551, 169
 VII 1787, 372
 XII 3.359, 169
- Inschriften von Pergamon
 II no. 324, 278
- Kassel Stone, 224
- SEG*
 38 no. 1476, 239
- SIG*
 579, 348
 II 695, 178
- invocation, 52–56
- Iole, 316
- Ion, 320
 forefather of Ionians, 323
- Ionian migration, 157
- Iphigeneia, 287, 329
- Isis, 48
- Isyllos, 18
 and Lykourgos of Sparta, 232
- Isyllos of Epidauros, *see* Isyllos
- ivy
 and Dionysos, 254
- Kallikrates, 346
- Kassel Stone, 268, 269
- kastoreion*, 167
- katadesmoi*, *see* binding spells
- Keledones
 at Delphi, 94
- Keraton, 141
- Kinesias
 dithyrambic poet, 254
- kitharody, 243
- Kleanthes
Hymn to Zeus, 47
- Kleoboulos
 and Anakreon, 177
- Kleochares of Athens, 120
- Kleophon Painter, 26
- kōma*
 in cult of Aphrodite, 165
- Kore, 329
- Koronis, 208, 229, 238
 mother of Asklepios, 261
- Korybantēs
 in cult of Kybele, 220
- Kos, 208
 Asklepieion, 244
- Kouretes, 17
 and Palaikastro hymn, 75
- Kreousa, 328
 mother of Ion, 327
- Kronia, 217
- Kybele, 216
 hymns to, 220
 riotous processions, 221
- Kydonia
 in Crete, 173
- Kynaithos
 and *HHApollo*, 38

- lament, 28
 Lampon of Athens, 348
 Lasos of Hermione, 251
 and dithyramb, 252
 laurel
 and Apollo, 237, 267, 322
 Lenaia, 362
 Lesbos
 and archaic lyric poetry, 159
 Leto, 142
 on Delos, 140
 temple at Delos, 141
 light
 as gift of god, 381
 Limenios of Athens, 129
 Linear B
 in Cretan documents, 67
 Linear B tablets
 Gh 3, 173
 Tn 316, 173
 Linos, 323
 lions
 in cult of Mother, 218, 220
 location
 in hymnic address, 54
locus amoenus
 in hymn, 164
 Lucian
 de saltat.
 16, 31
 [Lucian]
 Demosth. laud.
 27, 214
 Lucretius
 dRN
 2.600-60, 222
 lustration, 323, 356
 of temple, 322
 Lyceum, 264
 Lykambes, 160
 Lykourgos
 rhetra, 232
 lyre
 and Apollo, 327
 lyric monody, 162
 Lysias
 13.80, 319
 magic, 329
 in hymns, 328
 spells, 291
 magical hymns
 to Pythian Apollo, 295
 magical spells
 in hymns, 48
 Magnesia, 178
 sacked by Kimmerians, 178
Magnificat
 in Luke 1.46-55, 341
 Makedonikos of Amphipolis, 266
 Makedonios, *see* Makedonikos
 Malos, 229, 238
 Marathon
 battle of, 259
 Maximus of Tyre
 37.5, 179
 Medea, 328
 Melian Krater, 141
 Menander Rhetor
 Apollo Smintheus, 49
 Epid.
 333, 295
 336, 295
 Mentor of Rhodes, 264
 Mesomedes, 47
 hymns, 242
 Messenia
 and birth of Asklepios, 238
metragyrtes, 216, 222
 metre
 cretic, 82, 291
 dactylic, 245
 dactylo-epitrite, 226, 265
 elegiac, 380
 ionic, 351
 lyric dactyls, 287

- paionic, 134
 - polymetry, 373
 - pondaic, 378
 - stichic, 241
 - telesilleian, 215
 - trochaic, 243
 - trochaic-iambic, 287
- Metroon
 - in Athens, 222
- mimesis*
 - in hymns, 17
- Minoans, 65
- Mistress of Animals, 66
- monody
 - hymnic, 322
 - Kreousa's anti-hymn, 327
- morning-song
 - for Asklepios, 267
- Mother
 - =Mountain Mother?, 216
 - and Pindar, 221
 - at Thebes, 221
 - cult in Athens, 221
 - cult in Greece, 220
 - cult of in Attica, 216
 - iconography, 218
- Mother Goddess, 66
 - in pre-historic Aegean, 173
 - Phrygian-Anatolian, 221
- Mother of the Gods
 - and Asklepios, 223
 - at Epidauros, 214, 218
- Mountain Mother, 219
- Mousaios
 - Eumolpia*, 95
- Muses, 15, 107, 136, 154, 216, 266, 354
- music
 - and Delphic paians, 132
 - in cult, 16
- musical instruments, 34
- Myrsilos, 174
- mystai*, 361
- Mysteries, *see* Eleusinian Mysteries
 - Lesser, 362
- mysteries
 - and myths of wandering, 223
- myth
 - as negative exemplum, 316
 - in Pindar's hymns, 154
- naming
 - in hymns, 53–54
- narrative
 - in hymns, 58
- nativity
 - of Jesus, 239
- necromancy
 - in *Persians*, 275
- neōkoros*, 322
- Neoptolemos
 - at Delphi, 30, 106–112
- Nereids, 356, 374
- New Testament
 - Luke
 - 1.46–55, 341
 - 2.3–6, 239
- Night, *see* Nyx
- Nike, *see* Victory
- Nikiades of Paros, 379
- Nikias
 - and Delos, 30
 - theoria to Delos, 152
- Nikias of Paros, 379
- nome, 44, 334–336
 - contrasted with dithyramb, 335
 - in Proklos, 13
 - kitharodic, 334
 - Pythian, 334, 336
- nomos, *see* nome
- Nymphs, 176
 - as women's deities, 356
- Nysa
 - and Dionysos' birth, 249, 250
- Nyx, 288, 291
- oath, 348

- Oedipus, 298, 306
- Old Testament
 Haggai
 i 14-ii 9, 126
- Olen
 and Delian hymns, 36, 146–151
 at Delphi, 150
 hymn to Achaiaia, 149
 hymn to Eileithyia, 148
 nome of, 335
- olive
 and Asklepios, 237, 267
- ololyge*, 90, 294
- ololygmos*, 297
- Olympians
 company of, 241, 257, 355, 359
- omphalos
 at Delphi, 81
- Orestes, 331
 and matricide, 291
 madness of, 292
- Orion
 and Palaikastro Kouros, 71
- Orphic Hymns, 49
- Orphic lamellae, 309
- Osiris, 71
- oupingos*, 377
- Oupis, 377
- paian
 ancient definition of, 84
 and ephebes, 23
 and supplication, 278
 and Apollo, 24
 and initiation, 89
 and paionic metre, 82
 and state ceremonial, 232
 as healing song, 84
 as monody, 323
 as remedy to plague, 306
 at Delphi, 81–84
 clitic, 101
 epiphthegma, 322
 hymn of supplication, 86
 I.C. Rutherford's theory of, 88
 in Homer, 84
 in tragedy, 276
 L. Käppel's theory of, 85–88
 Lesbian, 82
 national, 130
 occasions for singing, 85
 political character, 231
 refrain, 86, 90, 134
 S. Schröder's theory of, 87–88
 sung by women, 144
 theory of, 84–91
 to Apollo
 at Erythrai, 212
 to Health, 225
 to Poseidon, 20
- paians
 in honour of men, 265
- Paieon, 82, 207
 in Homer, 84
- Palaikastro hymn
 and inscriptions from Itanos, 74
 dating, 69
 discovery of, 67
- Palaikastro Kouros, 71–73
- palm-tree
 at Delos, 141
- Pan, 240, 277
 and Apollo, 297
 and dance, 241
 and Nymphs, 34, 241
 cave of, 259
 cosmic, 242
 epiphany of, 259
 play on name, 240
- Panathenaia, 319
- pannychis*
 at Eleusinian Mysteries, 368
- papyri
 P. Berlin 5026.183, 295
 P. Louvre 2391.257-62, 295
- PGM*

- II hymns no. I and II, 241
 POxy 413, 332
 Σ *POxy* 23.2368, 333
parabasis
 in Old Comedy, 338
parabōmion, 32
 Parnes, 133
 parody, 353, 356
 Paros, 379
 partheneia, 22
 for Hera, 274
 partheneion, 376
 Parthenon, 342
 Parthenon frieze, 319
 Pausanias
 1.18.5, 148
 2.26.3-6, 239
 5.16, 370
 5.7.7-8, 149
 6.22.9, 218
 7.24.4, 70
 8.21.3, 148
 9.27.2, 148
 10.12.10, 92
 10.24.5, 114
 10.33.11, 128
 10.4.3, 78
 10.5.5-7, 95
 10.7.2, 81, 91
 Peace of Nikias, 348
Peithō, 289
 Pelasgos
 king of Argos, 281
 Peleiadai, 92
 Pentheus, 372
peplos
 at Panathenaia, 319, 342
 for Hera at Elis, 370
 performative speech, 291
 Pergamon
 hymn to Zeus et al., 278
 Persephone, 308, 380
 rape by Hades, 329
 personification
 of abstract entities, 47
 Phaidra, 312
 Pheidias
 statue of Athena, 346
 Philikos
 hymn to Demeter, 217
 Philip II of Macedon, 125, 231, 233,
 263
 Philodamos of Skarpheia, 121-128
 Philoktetes, 276
 Philostratos
 Vit. Apoll.
 8.7.28, 262
 Phlegyas, 229, 238
 Phoibe
 at Delphi, 96
 Phoinix, 329
 Phokas
 in Lesbos, 173
 Phrygian mode, 254
 Phrynīs of Mytilene, 335
 Pindar
 1st person statements, 157
 1st person statements, 155
 and Athenian Dionysia, 257
 and Homer, 155
 cult songs on papyri, 45
 dithyrambs, 253, 333
 epinikia with hymnic proem, 265
 fr. 2.8-9, 221
 fr. 70 B, 15
 fr. 128c, 83
 N
 2.1, 42
 O
 13.18-19, 251
 P
 3.47-53, 209
 3.77-79, 221
 10.37-39, 35
 Pa
 8, 93-95

- paians for Delphi, 82
 poetic persona, 258
 speaking voice, 113
 structure of paians, 154–155
 works, 12
- Pindar's throne
 at Delphi, 114
- Pittakos, 174–175
 aisymnetes, 175
- Plato
 Laws
 700b1-5, 10, 11, 250
 700b5-6, 335
 712b, 165
 Menex.
 239b, 318
 Rep.
 10.607a, 9
 394b8-c4, 333
- pleasing
 to god, 62
- Plestiadas
 dedication to Tyndaridai, 167
- Plutarch
 de E apud Delph.
 388-9, 127
 de E apud Delph.
 389c, 82
 Lyc.
 6, 232
 Lys.
 12, 167
 Mor.
 388e-89c, 249
 Nikias
 3.4-6, 30
- [Plutarch]
 de Mus.
 1132d, 334
 14, 1135f., 100
 17.1136f., 23
 6.1133c, 42
 14, 35
- PMG*
 519 fr. 35, 133
 519 fr. 55, 144
- Podaleirios and Machaon, 207, 210
- poison, 328
- Pollux
 Onom.
 I 38, 11
- Polybios
 4.20.8-11, 28
- Polykrates of Samos, 140, 179
- Poseidon, 375
 at Delphi, 95
 Hippios, 232, 342
- Praisos
 in Crete, 73
- prayer
 apotropaic, 316
 for childbirth, 325
 for wealth, 121
 in hymns, 60–61
 rhetoric of, 50
- predication, 56–59
 grammatical forms of, 56
- procession
 of *mystai*, 363
 to Asklepios, 237
 torchlit, 294
- proimion
 kitharodic, 44
- Proitos, 9
- Proklos, 49
 Chrest.
 320a12-17, 11
 320a18-20, 12
 320a19-20, 10
 320a21-24, 84
 320a26-33, 248
 320a5, 335
 320b1-4, 335
 320b12-16, 249
 321a, 19

- classification of choral lyric, 12–13
- proimion, 41–42
 - kitharodic, 334
- Propompoi
 - attendants of Athena, 294
- prosodia, 158
- prosodion, 29, 132, 315
 - paian and prosodion by Limerios, 131
- prosodion-hymn, 11
- Prote, 169
- proverb
 - ‘nothing to do with Dionysos’, 252
- proxeny
 - at Delphi, 120
- Ptolemais
 - paian to Asklepios, 213
- purification, 331
- Pythais, 21, 129, 132–135
- Pythia, 93
- Pythian nome, 92
- Pythias
 - wife of Aristotle, 263
- Pytho, 107
- Python, 336
- reciprocity
 - as concept in worship, 62
- religion
 - Aeolian, 173
 - and politics at Athens, 232
 - Minoan, 66
 - Mycenaean, 67
 - pre-Hellenic, 172
- repetition
 - as device in hymns, 291
- Rhea, 220, 221
- Rheneia, 153
- ring composition
 - in hymn, 178, 300
- ritual begging, 147
- ritual play, 366
- Sacred Way
 - to Delphi, 78
- Sakadas
 - and Pythian nome, 92
- Sappho
 - fr. 1, 177
 - fr. 5, 171
 - fr. 17, 172
- self-referentiality
 - in hymns, 59, 307
- Semele, 251, 316
 - in dithyramb, 258
- semi-choruses
 - in hymnic performance, 219
- Semnai Theai
 - at Athens, 293, 294
- Simonides, 160
 - dithyrambs, 250, 371
 - elegy for dead at Plataiai, 167
 - Hymn to Achilles, 9
- Skirophoria, 355
- skolia
 - Attic, 258
- skolion, 258
- Sleep
 - hymnic invocation of, 276
- SLG*
 - S 317, 161
- Sophocles
 - Ai.*
 - 693-705, 277, 297
 - Ant.*
 - 100ff., 298
 - as priest, 261
 - calmed a storm, 262
 - Dexiōn*, 261
 - El.*
 - 637-659, 304
 - OC*
 - 1157ff., 298
 - 668-719, 343

- OT*
 151-215, 37
 parodos, 276
 paian to Asklepios, 214, 261
Phil.
 391-402, 220
 827-32, 276
Trach.
 205-224, 297
- Soteria
 at Delphi, 132
- Sparta, 347
 constitution of, 231
- St. Elmo's Fire
 and Dioskouroi, 169
- Stepterion
 at Delphi, 97
- Stobaios
 1.131a, 245
- storm
 image of political turbulence, 171
- Strabo
 10.467-468, 16
 478, 74
 617, 175
- suppliants, 318
- swan
 and Apollo, 323
- symplokē*, 121
 in hymn, 177
- symposion
 and lyric poetry, 160
 hymns sung at, 161
 in sanctuary, 176
- syncretism, 217, 219, 271
 in hymns, 48
- syzygy
 in Old Comedy, 356
- Tainaron, 373
- Te Deum*
 in Catholic church, 319
- Technitai*, 129, 131, 135
 of Dionysos, 25
- Telesilla, 215
- Telesphoros, 268
 at Athens, 268
 at Epidauros, 270
 at Pergamon, 270
 iconography, 270
 popular etymologies of, 270
- Terpander, 159, 334
 ἀμφιαννακτίζειν, 52
 and kitharodic prooimion, 44
orthios nomos, 334
- Themis
 at Delphi, 95, 332
- Theocritus
 2 *Pharmakeutria*, 328
 10.42-55, 324
 Adonis-song, 288
- Theodoros *hymnōdos*, 24
- Theognis
 773-78, 35
theōria, 98, 134
 Naxians to Delos, 158
 of Athenians to Delos, 157
 of Athenians to Delos, 152
 to Delos, 21, 151-153
 to Delphi, 21, 77
- Theoxenia, 115, 231
 and Dioskouroi, 170
 at Delphi, 104, 121
- Theseus, 152, 333
 at Delos, 145
- Thesmophoria, 349
 elements of, 360
 gods of, 355
- Thesmophorion
 at Athens, 349
- thiasos, 177
 of women, 160
- Thucydides
 3.104.6, 151
- Thyiades, 78
- Thyone

- =Semele, 166, 172
- Timotheos, 374
 - nomes, 334
 - Persai*, 336
- Tityos, 378
- torches, 381
- traditional language
 - in hymns, 50
- Trikka, 208
- tripods
 - and dithyramb competitions, 252
- Troizen, 377
- Trophonios and Agamedes
 - temple-builders, 93
- Troy, 351
- ty(m)pana
 - in cult of Mother, 220
- ty(m)panon, 216
- Tyndaridai
 - =Dioskouroi, 167
- Tyrbas
 - on Attic vase, 254
- Victory, 346
- virginity
 - of goddesses, 325
- W.H. Auden
 - Shield of Achilles, 40
- water
 - in Asklepios' cult, 210
- wedding
 - in Aristophanes, 342
- Φελλάδος
 - in Crete, 72
- women
 - at Thesmophoria, 349
 - of Elis, 370
- work-songs, 323
- Xanthos
 - and birth of Asklepios, 239
- Xenophanes
 - A 39, 170
- A 45, 170
 - fr. 1, 161
 - fr. 1.11-14, 44
- Xenophon
 - Ages.*
 - 2.17, 28
 - Hell.*
 - 2.4.39, 319
- Zeus
 - Ammon, 284
 - and human suffering, 287
 - and Mother of the Gods, 216
 - and suppliants, 318
 - anger, 217
 - as young man, 67-71
 - birth of, 222
 - birth of in Crete, 70
 - Diktaios, 73
 - in Aeschylus, 283
 - in Aeschylus' *Ag.*, 286-289
 - in Aeschylus' *Suppl.*, 280-285
 - Katachthonios, 329
 - torch-bearing, 378
 - Xenios, 289
- Zeus, Hera, Dionysos
 - cult on Lesbos, 166
- Zonnyosos
 - =Dionysos, 172

Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum

Edited by Christoph Markschies

- 1 Der Tractatus Tripartus aus Nag Hammadi Codex I (Codex Jung)
neu übersetzt von Peter Nagel
1998. VII, 120 pages. Paper
- 2 Katharina Bracht
Vollkommenheit und Vollendung
1999. XIV, 438 pages. Paper.
- 3 John Granger Cook
The Interpretation of the New Testament in Greco-Roman Paganism
2000. XVI, 385 pages. Paper.
- 4 Hans Förster
Die Feier der Geburt Christi in der Alten Kirche
2000. X, 218 pages. Paper.
- 5 Jutta Henner
Fragmenta Liturgica Coptica
2000. XIII, 257 pages. Paper.
- 6 Claudia Tiersch
Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel (398-404)
Weltsicht und Wirken eines Bischofs in der Hauptstadt des Oströmischen Reiches
2001. Ca. 450 pages. Paper.
- 7 Mark W. Elliott
The Song of Songs and Christology in the Early Church
2000. X, 206 pages. Paper.
- 8 Barbara Conring
Hieronymus als Briefschreiber
2001. X, 273 S. Paper.
- 9 William D. Furley and Jan Maarten Bremer
Greek Hymns I
2001. XXII, 411 pages. Paper.
- 10 William D. Furley and Jan Maarten Bremer
Greek Hymns II
2001. VIII, 443 pages. Paper and cloth.
- 11 Matthias Henze
The Syriac Apocalypse of Daniel
2001. VII, 158 pages. Paper.

Mohr Siebeck

