

‘ORPHEIOI HYMNOI’
The generic contexts of the *Orphic Hymns*

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Abstract

Uncertainty surrounds the circumstances of *Orphic Hymns*' composition and their intended use. Their author has substituted their own identity for that of the mythological poet and there is no certain reference to the extant collection in any ancient source. They are, in this sense, decontextualised. This study aims to make a contribution to the ongoing debate concerning the hymns' composition, and the original function they might have served, through an analysis of their poetic and generic contexts. Following a detailed survey of scholarship on the hymns, I reflect first on the collection as a unified text, the constitutive parts of the individual hymns and the methods they employ for addressing, describing and praying to the gods. I then study a select group of stylistic features that the hymns prominently display: their use of phonic effects, including etymological figures, of antithesis and symmetrical patterning, and their extensive repetition of poetic formulae. In each case I discuss the deployment and significance of these poetic elements within the collection and consider the intertextual parallels suggested by their recurrence in Greek literary texts of all periods. This analysis reveals the hymns' engagement with an overlapping set of poetic traditions, including, most prominently, cultic hymns and oracles, gnomic poetry, the theological discourses of the Presocratic philosophers and, in particular, Orphic poetry in its many forms. It suggests moreover that the hymns engage deeply with the oral strategies of the earliest Greek poets, underscoring the conclusion reached by several recent scholars, that the extant collection is essentially performative and was intended to be recited and heard. I argue that the *Orphic Hymns* were not a unique text in their employment of the stylistic features studied here, but drew extensively upon earlier hymns composed in Orpheus' name. I further consider, in the light of this argument, the bearing this study has on the unresolved questions of the hymns' composition, whether by a single author or many, and the aims of the poet(s) who composed them.

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Introduction

The *Orphic Hymns* are a remarkable survival: a collection of eighty-eight cultic hymns to an expansive pantheon of Greek divinities that is a testament to the worship and conceptualisation of a polytheistic system of gods at the time of its composition. The significance of the collection for the study of Greek religion is enhanced by the fact that the remains of Greek hymns that we can be certain were performed in a cult setting are relatively few. Alcman's *Partheneion*, the paeans of Pindar, or those inscribed at Delphi and Epidauros, the Dictaeon hymn to Zeus and the hymns of the Egyptian magical papyri, texts widely separated in poetic form and the contexts of their performance, are among the few important survivals. Much besides can be learned from texts composed in literary contexts that adapt and develop cultic forms in different directions, from the hymnic odes of the dramatists to the literary or devotional hymns of Callimachus, Cleanthes and, in prose, Aelius Aristides,¹ but the *Orphic Hymns*, in terms of both their scope and their apparent claim to cultic performance within a closed mystery cult, are unique. Despite the recognition of this fact by several scholars, however, who have emphasised the need for further study, they continue to occupy the margins of academic discourse.² Scholarly interest in the hymns, and indeed their value as documents in the history of ancient religion, is, in effect, circumscribed by the paucity of explicit evidence, both within the hymns and in contemporary or later authors, for the circumstances of their composition and original performance. The hymns' poetic and cultic contexts, in this sense, are unclear, erased on the one hand by their author's assumption of the identity of the mythological poet, and on the other by a notable, indeed significant, silence concerning the hymns that is not broken until their appearance in Italy in the fifteenth century, in a Byzantine manuscript tradition that groups them with the hymns of Homer, Proclus and Callimachus.³ This decontextualisation of hymns limits our understanding of when and where they were composed and the functions they might originally have served. Theories on their date have ranged from before the Trojan War, to Pisistratean Athens, to the Hellenistic period and each of the first five centuries of the Common Era. They have been described as literary fictions of the Byzantine era, as a genuine revelation of Orpheus, the founder of mysteries, as philosophical speculation, whether Stoic, Neopythagorean or Neoplatonist, and as the hymn book of an Orphic or Bacchic community. They have been praised for their beauty and their theological insights, and scorned as poetically and conceptually bereft. Perceptions and assessments of the hymns have varied widely depending on the focus of each study undertaken and the contexts considered, whether poetic, philosophical or ritual, as well as the intellectual contexts of the individual scholars who have discussed them, from the Italian Renaissance to the present day. Contemporary scholarship emphasises the ritual and performative aspect of the hymns and has opened up a new area of

¹ On the extant remains of cultic hymns and intersections with literary texts, Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 14-50.

² Morand 2001: 33-34, Rudhardt 2002: 485-6, Graf & Johnston 2007: 141.

³ With the exception of their (undated) citation by John Diaconus Galenus in his commentary on Hesiod's *Theogony*, on which, see Quandt 1955²: 3*, West 1968: 288.

discussion around the subjective experience of their recitation, but essential questions concerning the hymns' composition, and the identity of the individuals or communities that might have performed them, remain open to debate.

This study aims to make a contribution to the ongoing conversation around these questions by discussing the poetic and generic contexts of the hymns. The particular question addressed is where, in terms of their form, style and methods of addressing and describing the gods, the hymns stand in relation to other texts in the Greek literary tradition. To this end I have selected a number of stylistic features that the hymns prominently display: their hymnic form and structure, their use of phonic repetition, paronomasia and etymological figures, antithesis and symmetrical patterning, and their repetition of poetic phrases. I study the deployment of these poetic features in the collection, in particular the manner in which they interact with and reinforce meaning, and consider the parallel occurrence of the same features in Greek poetry and prose of all periods. The subject is broad, but there is value in this breadth of scope. The subject of the hymns' poetic contexts is one that requires further consideration and comparison with a single text or group of texts cannot do it justice. Nor can the analysis of a single stylistic feature in the hymns and comparative texts shed light on more than one aspect of their poetics. By studying the hymns from a number of angles, this thesis aims to present a picture of their place within the Greek literary tradition that is multidimensional; that shows how they interact with different poetic texts and traditions from different perspectives, to form a rounded view of their engagement with the literature that preceded and followed them. In selecting the subjects treated here I have looked, in part, to the work of Anne-France Morand and Jean Rudhardt, but I have also aimed to consider areas that have not been discussed in detail in earlier studies. Morand's monograph 'Études sur les Hymnes orphiques' (2001) is a wide-ranging analysis of the hymns. The first, extensive chapter, 'La question du genre', takes in the divisions of the hymns: the invocations, prayers and the central, descriptive section which Morand, following Rudhardt, terms the 'développement'. Morand's study includes a survey of the sound effects, including alliteration, assonance, anaphora and paronomasia, that frequently mark this central element.⁴ Comparison with other texts is limited however to brief discussions of the two 'alphabetic hymns' of the *Greek Anthology*, two hymnic passages in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* and the hymns of the magical papyri.⁵ As the author states, 'La comparaison entre les *Hymnes orphiques* et d'autres hymnes ne sera faite que dans une mesure limitée, car cet objet constituerait une recherche en soi'.⁶ This study is, in part, intended to provide that research, but it also aims to complement and expand upon Morand's own analysis of the structure of the individual hymns and their prosodic effects. Rudhardt's study, 'Recherches sur les Hymnes orphiques', which this important scholar of Greek religion did not live to complete, similarly aims to provide a broad overview.⁷ Of the two completed sections, the first ('La forme des

⁴ Subsequent chapters focus on the ritual use of the hymns: the incense offerings, the gods (in particular Mise, Hipta, Melinoe and Erikepaïos), references to the afterlife and the destiny of souls, and the mystic titles that describe the community that used the hymns.

⁵ *AG* 9.524 (Dionysos), 525 (Apollo), Nonn. *Dion.* 40.369-410 (Herakles-Helios), 44.191-216 (Selene), *PGM* 4.2785-2890 (hy. 18 Preisendanz, 15 Bortolani): Morand 2001: 81-89.

⁶ *ibid.* 39.

⁷ The completed sections were published in 2008, five years after Rudhardt's death, in his *Opera inedita*.

hymnes’) includes, again, a formal analysis of the invocations, *développements* and prayers, together with a study of the hymns’ use of compound epithets.⁸ The second section (‘Les croyances relatives aux dieux’) looks at two sets of gods in particular; Protogonos, Zeus and Dionysos, and Demeter and Persephone, together with associated divinities. My study builds upon Rudhardt’s observations on the hymns’ form and style, while maintaining a focus on comparative texts and complementing his analysis of compound epithets with one on the use of poetic formulae in the hymns.

Methodology and structure of the thesis

I begin, in chapter one, by locating this study within the history of scholarship on the hymns in the modern era, a subject that has not received detailed treatment to date. Beginning with their reception in fifteenth century Italy, inspired by a Neoplatonist interpretation of the Orphic tradition and its place at the source of Ficino’s *prisca theologia*, I trace the evolving conversation on the authorship of the hymns and their original function through the centuries to the present day. This overview does, it must be said, represent my own reception of the secondary literature and may be selective on those grounds, but I have aimed to provide an account that presents the salient arguments of each scholar as accurately as possible, while reflecting on the extent to which they engage with their predecessors and contemporaries. The survey aims to be as broad and comprehensive as possible, a challenge as regards any ancient text, but desirable in itself and made feasible in this case by the relatively limited amount of attention the hymns have received, prior to the renewed scholarly interest of the last two decades. This chapter gives context to my own approach to the hymns, and the areas I have chosen to study, but also serves to show that the, often briefly-stated, contemporary consensus on their composition and function - that they date to the second or third century CE, originate in Asia Minor and were designed for cultic performance - necessarily elides the nuanced observations these summative conclusions are based upon, the relative influence of individual scholars’ authority, the diversity of theories that have been advanced, and the conflicting results that different approaches to studying the hymns have produced.

In the second chapter I turn to the form and structure of the hymns. I begin with the collection as a whole, considering the relationship between the ‘proem’ or *εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον*, the extended invocation to all gods that precedes the main sequence, and the eighty-seven hymns themselves. I review the significance of the series in which the hymns are arranged and examine the titles, both that of the collection itself and those of the individual hymns that prescribe, in most cases, the ‘fumigation’ or *θυμίαμα* of the offering. My aim here is to explore the unity of the collection as a ‘pantheic telete’,⁹ and allusions in the sequence of divinities to one or more of the Orphic

⁸ Rudhardt 2008: 218-250.

⁹ *πάνθειος τελετή* (OH 35.7, 53.9, 54.7) is a term that the hymns apparently use to describe themselves. See further ch. 2.2.2, 4.1.2.5 and 5.5.

theogonies, but also to consider the questions that have been raised over that unity, in particular as regards the proem and the first hymn, to Hekate, and variations in the format of the titles. Building on the analyses of earlier and contemporary scholarship, I argue that the main sequence is cohesive, that three main ‘movements’ or series of divinities are detectable within it, and that, together with the titles of the hymns, this sequence and the collection as we have it should be attributed to a single author. I then provide an analysis of the constitutive elements of the hymns according to Ausfeld’s division of the Greek hymn into the invocation, the body of the hymn and the prayer.¹⁰ The first and last of these formal elements are considered in terms of the formulae, terminology, and structures employed. The central element, the *pars epica* or *eulogia*¹¹ is discussed with reference to its chief characteristic in the *Orphic Hymns*, the asyndetic accumulation of epicleses and predication. This, I argue, is a variation on the traditional, often narrative *eulogia*, that consists, in the *Orphic Hymns*, of a prolongation of the invocation itself, which is marked in Greek hymns of all periods by a series of predication. My study of the hymns in these terms looks to the structural analyses of Rudhardt and Morand, but also explores new perspectives. The prayers, according to this analysis, regularly display one or more of three parts: a reinvocation, a kletic request to ‘come kind’ that focalises the group praying, and a specific request to give or avert a particular object. Variations in the frequency of the kletic prayer, and in the use of innovative or conservative terminology, are found to correlate, to an extent, with specific areas of the sequence. My study of the types of predication that make up the *accumulatio* or *synathroismos* of the hymns identifies the different verse structures that occur according to syntactically distinguishable units, from individual epithets to longer, discursive passages of poetry, and constitutes an original approach to the subject. A quantitative analysis is used here to show that, again, variations in predication length occur across the collection, with hymns formed largely of catalogues of short epicleses occurring more frequently in the first half of the sequence, and particularly in the first, ‘cosmogonic’ third, while, conversely, more expository or descriptive passages are concentrated in the third, final ‘movement’. Combinations of predication types in different hymns, and the internal rhythms these achieve, are considered, as well as hymns or sections of hymns that appear to be anomalous, or have been identified as such in earlier studies. Chapter two provides, in sum, a survey of the collection as a whole and of the formal structures of the hymns, considered within the context of the broader Greek hymnic tradition. It reflects on the unity of the collection in terms of the overarching sequence, and in light of the degree of stylistic cohesion, or variation, that is detectable within it.

The third chapter provides an analysis of the prosodic features of the predication: the sound and patterning that are employed as figures to mark and elevate the poetic discourse of the hymns. Two areas of the hymns’ prosody are treated here, phonic repetition and antithesis. My study of the sound effects that frequently occur in the collection builds upon Morand’s analysis of alliteration,

¹⁰ Ausfeld 1903.

¹¹ Ausfeld describes the central section of a hymn as the *pars epica*. *Eulogia* is the term suggested by Furley & Bremer (2001 I: 51).

assonance and paronomasia in the hymns, reflecting on the ways these underscore the surface meaning of the predication and create phonic harmonies. Morand is, again, the starting point for my discussion of the repetition of theonyms and the use of etymological figures, whether explicit or suggested by paronomasia or ‘punning’.¹² Parallels for the use of these figures in Greek poetry and prose texts are considered, as well as their significance for our understanding of the hymns’ reception by their projected audience as heard texts. The second and third parts of this chapter, on antithesis in the hymns, treat another prominent feature of their poetic and rhetorical style, one that has not been studied in detail to date. I first consider antithetical predication within the hymns that present a divinity as occupying opposite positions, whether simultaneously or by turns, grouping these ‘antitheses of meaning’ thematically. Literary comparanda here include, most notably, Presocratic authors and, in particular, Heraclitus. My analysis then turns to formal antithesis and symmetrical or chiasmic patterning within individual verses, which itself looks to the Homeric poems, tragedy and lament, ritual formulae and gnomic poetry, and, again, the Presocratics. I argue that, together with the phonic patterning and repetition, antithesis, both of meaning and of form, creates harmonies that speak to the hymns’ conceptualisation of the nature of each divinity, to the idea of each hymn as an *ἄγαλμα* or offering in its own right,¹³ and to the aural, incantatory mode of their performance.

Chapter four is a study of formularity and phrasal repetition in the *Orphic Hymns*, a feature of their poetics that has not been treated in its own right in earlier studies, although repeated phrases are identified in the apparatuses of the editions of Quandt, Ricciardelli and Fayant, and are discussed individually in the commentaries of the latter two authors.¹⁴ A collection of phrasal echoes, both those that recur within the *Orphic Hymns* and those traceable in Greek poetry and prose texts of all periods, which draws and substantially expands upon earlier scholarship, is provided here in the appendices to chapter four, together with an index and a quantitative analysis of the texts, grouped by period and genre, that most frequently occur as sources of *loci paralleli*. Metrically stable phrases employed in the hymns reveal a web of connections with other texts and authors and are, in themselves, an important index to the overlapping poetic traditions that the *Orphic Hymns* can be located within. These intertextual connections and contexts are discussed in the second part of chapter four, while the first part of the chapter focuses on intratextual repetition within the collection. The hymns’ use of formulae to underscore thematic connections between divinities’ attributes is analysed here, as well as echoes that speak to the identification or association of individual gods with the binding personality of Dionysos and with other key divinities, such as Zeus, Helios and Ge. Identification, this study suggests, is rarely straightforward. Epithets are

¹² Morand 2001: 61-8 (‘Assonances, allitérations, anaphores, paronomases et jeux étymologiques’), 2010 (etymology specifically).

¹³ Pulleyn (1997: 49-55) makes an important distinction between hymns and prayers on this basis, arguing that the former are not merely ‘sung prayers’, as Bremer defines them (1981: 193), but, in terms of their function, verbal offerings.

¹⁴ Quandt 1955², Ricciardelli 2000, Fayant 2014.

shared but the use of repeated metrical phrases is marked above all by formulaic adaptation that tailors predication to the individual gods. Shared attributes are presented as reflections of common themes, but viewed through the lens of each god's idiosyncratic and composite nature; phrasal repetition in the hymns is simultaneously a means of highlighting connections between divinities and of individuating them. The intratextual and intertextual use of poetic formulae in the hymns speaks, like the prosodic figures studied in chapter three, to their engagement with oral poetics, and this chapter considers both the reasons for this engagement and the purposes such poetic strategies may have served. I argue here that phrasal repetition, like phonic repetition, forms part of the network of allusions that cross the collection itself and that make reference to several poetic traditions, the most significant of which is Orphic poetry. Formulae drawn from the *Rhapsodic Theogony* appear to be particularly important, directing the reader to points of contact with this mythological poem, while reinforcing the author's claim to the Orphic persona. Allusion and cross-reference, whether internal or with external texts, are pervasive features of the hymns' poetics, and a characteristic of their broader aim to condense meaning into brief predication that require reflection and interpretation.

The detailed studies of specific areas of the hymns' poetic style in chapters two to four suggest a diverse set of affinities with individual texts and broader categories of texts or traditions. In the fifth and final chapter, these generic contexts are reviewed. This concluding analysis raises the important question of what we mean by 'genre' itself: how categories of texts are defined, and by whom, and whether these may have a normative force, insofar as they exert an influence on composition, or are merely descriptive.¹⁵ Although the focus of comparison in chapters two to four is on individual texts, generic categories are identified and discussed, and it is necessary to consider the essential issue of genre here at the outset and to clarify my use of a term that is complex and subject in itself to debate.¹⁶ Categories of texts may be defined by any number of shared characteristics, and as a result may, on the one hand, be qualitatively different from one another and, on the other, overlap at many points. A group of texts, for example, may be linked by their date or place of composition, by their subject matter, by their format (or, in the case of poetry, metre), by the circumstances of their performance, where this applies, or by shared engagement with a particular literary or textual tradition. The *Iliad*, for instance, by each of these measures, might be grouped with other surviving examples of Ionian poetry of the eighth or seventh centuries BCE, with heroic narrative poetry of all periods, with hexameter poetry, whether broadly or, more narrowly, poetry composed in the process of live performance; and with all poetry, including lyric and elegy, that draws upon the same stock of poetic formulae and prosodic strategies that derive from the oral tradition of professional, Ionian *aoidoi*. It might be defined as 'Archaic', 'epic' or 'orally-composed' (or

¹⁵ This important distinction is noted by Depew and Obbink (2000: 6).

¹⁶ On the problematic definition of 'genre' and the complexity of speaking of ancient genres in particular, see Depew & Obbink 2000, Farrell 2003, Rosenmeyer 2006, Cairns 2007², Papanghelis *et al.* 2013 (esp. the essays by Hutchinson and Kahane) and Foster *et al.* 2019.

‘-derived’) according to these criteria, each of which unites a number of texts. Where these broad categories meet, more closely related groups of text can be identified, such as Archaic hexameter poetry, including Hesiod, or Archaic heroic narrative, including the *Odyssey* and fragments of the Epic Cycle. Genre, in this broad sense, is a loose category defined by one or more shared characteristics then; where multiple factors are present it may be more cohesive, but to use Wittgenstein’s concept of polythetic definition, individual texts need not share all the characteristics that define an ‘ideal’ representative of the group.¹⁷ Individual works do not, moreover, belong to a single genre. They may possess characteristics that bridge several, as the example of the *Iliad* shows, and the degree to which they belong to any will depend on the number of characteristic features they share with others in the same category, or the number of elements, in a polythetic definition of a given category, that they possess.¹⁸

The genres discussed in this thesis should be considered in this light. ‘Hymns’ are regularly poetic texts, but are not necessarily so;¹⁹ they may address a divinity directly, or describe them in the third person, or even, in the case of aretalogies, present a first person account.²⁰ They celebrate a god’s powers and attributes in all cases, but may do this by narrating a myth or by cataloguing the god’s attributes or spheres of activity. They invariably contain an opening invocation and a concluding prayer, but, as Menander Rhetor argues, theological discourses may share the celebratory or descriptive characteristics of a hymn, while dispensing with the formal features.²¹ Subtypes of hymn can also be defined, as again, Menander specifies kletic or apopemptic hymns, physical or mythical, fictive or precatory: categories that share a more specific set of characteristics based on their ritual context, subject matter, or narrative mode. Such categories, it must be emphasised, are descriptive or reflective - they are tools invented by scholars for heuristic purposes, and it is clearly mistaken to assume that a given author composed a work with reference to such a category. Hymns more broadly understood, however, were an ancient category, and the formulae of invocation and prayer are employed by poets as referents to earlier poems in this tradition.²² In this case it is important to recognise, however, that referents such as the prosodic features studied in chapter three, or poetic formulae, may draw on other types of texts, whether or not they were considered to belong to discrete categories by the author.²³ For example, the type of hymn that I have described in

¹⁷ Wittgenstein 1963³: 66-67, Swales 1990: 49.

¹⁸ Cf. Derrida 1980: 65 ‘Every text participates in one or several genres, there is no genreless text; there is always a genre and genres, yet such participation never amounts to belonging’.

¹⁹ The prose hymns of Aelius Aristides are a case in point, as is the ‘Sminthiac oration’ of Menander Rhetor (437.5-446.13 Russell & Wilson). The latter’s description of hymns is also expansive, and examples given include ‘hymnic’ elements in philosophical poems or treatises (333.31-334.24, 337.12-26).

²⁰ On Greek hymns as a genre, Depew 2000: 59-79 (Archaic hymns in particular), Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 1-40. On *du-Stil* and *er-Stil* in Greek hymns, Norden 1923²: 143-166.

²¹ Men. Rh. 337.22-26.

²² On ancient definitions and subcategories of hymns, Harvey 1955, Furley 1995: 31-32, Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 8-14.

²³ Kroll’s concept of the ‘Kreuzung der Gattungen’ (1924: 202) is relevant here, but presupposes formal categories. On the intersection of genres in Classical literature, see further Barchiesi 2001, Rosenmeyer 2006 and Papanghelis *et al.* 2013, Weiss 2019: 167-190.

this study as ‘epicletic’, being formed of sequences of epicleses or predication that are essentially, as stated, a prolongation of the traditional invocation, share formal elements and epicleses with the *Homeric Hymns* and the choral or sympotic hymns of the lyric poets, but they also show stylistic points of contact with hymnic odes in the dramatists, with oracular poetry, theogonic poetry and with the Presocratic philosophers, as sharing a ritual, performative context, or a revelatory mode of discourse, or theological subject matter. The structural and prosodic features of the *Orphic Hymns* reveal, in sum, a complex set of interactions with many descriptive categories of poetry, some by nature of the proximity of cultic hymns to these categories, others idiosyncratically.

In chapter five I discuss, in addition to these generic categories and overlaps, a genre that is, I argue, perhaps the most critical literary context for the *Orphic Hymns*, yet one that is poorly attested in surviving texts: hymns attributed to Orpheus. This category of poetry was recognised in antiquity as occupying the intersection of the Orphic poetic tradition and the hymnic mode of addressing and describing the gods. My discussion focuses on the question of whether such poems shared characteristics as a subtype of hymn, and where they stood in relation to other Orphic poetry. Although our ability to describe such hymns is limited by the available evidence, it does seem certain that, as the claimed productions of Orpheus, Orphic hymns shared the broader Orphic tradition’s strong cohesion in terms of the recurrence of poetic formulae and the claim to contain secret revelations about the gods: that a poet composing such hymns would engage with other Orphic poems and other Orphic hymns, at the very least to reinforce their claim to the same authorial persona.²⁴ In this case we can speak of a normative category or ‘genre’ rather than a purely descriptive one. The author of the *Orphic Hymns*, as this study suggests, knew of other Orphic hymns, drew phrases from them, and composed a collection that would show generic affinities of style and subject matter with them. They ‘participated’ in this genre, to use Derrida’s phrase.

In sum, this study of the generic contexts of the hymns does not presuppose that ‘genre’ is a monolithic concept, or that the aim to identify generic contexts is a matter of assigning hymns to one or more categories of poetry. It is important to recognise that such categories are inherently flexible and unstable, and that they overlap or ‘cross’ in complex ways; that some categories are descriptive tools for conceptualising distinctions and connections within poetic corpora, while others were known to ancient poets and in some cases, exerted a considerable influence on the type of poetry they composed.²⁵

²⁴ On the Orphic claim to authority and secrecy, see Henrichs 2003, Graf & Johnston 2007 178-82, Calame 2010 and ch. 5.3 of this study. On the authorial persona in Classical literature, Clay 1998, Mayer 2003 and Schironi 2019 (in choral lyric).

²⁵ The distinction between ancient and modern categories is discussed by Rosenmeyer 2006 and Feeney 2006. The distinction between the ‘normative’ and ‘descriptive’ types described here is proposed by Depew & Obbink (2000: 1-16). Cf. Ford 2019: 57 ‘The fact that the authority and perpetuation of genres depend on poets and audiences at least as much as on scholars is not always acknowledged, nor is the reality that genres are omnipresent and inescapable: we greet no song without a frame’.

This study of the poetic contexts of the hymns, of their place in the broader complex of the Greek literary tradition, viewed in terms of the formal and prosodic features discussed, aims to make a contribution to the ongoing recontextualisation of this text. This approach is necessarily limited in its scope, it does not take in poetic features such as diction or metre, and further study of these areas of the hymns' poetic make-up would add substantially to the picture presented here.²⁶ The present study is, at the same time, broad in terms of the range of comparative texts considered, but it has been my intention not to limit its scope in this regard. In a study of this kind, as broad a survey as possible of the texts and traditions that the hymns engage with is desirable. Other perspectives on the hymns have been advanced: their connections with the inscriptional evidence for cult praxis and communities in the Imperial period is treated in detail by Morand, but merits further discussion, as does their reflection of Stoic and, potentially, Neopythagorean theology.²⁷ These subjects all have important bearing on the question of the hymns' composition and the circumstances of their performance. To the extent that the present study of the hymns' poetic contexts bears also on these topics, I also reflect on them in the final chapter. Our understanding of the identity and aims of this 'Orpheus', and the 'Musaeus' or the *mystai* for whom the hymns were composed, is unlikely to be conclusively answered, but the subject will continue to be explored, and I hope that the present study, in a limited way, makes a contribution to the ongoing debate around this essential question and, as all studies have, to our appreciation of the subtlety and complexity of the manner in which the hymns approach and conceptualise the gods.

Appendices

The appendices to this thesis are extensive and require brief discussion beyond that provided in the chapters they serve to illustrate or corroborate. The first provides a full text and translation of the hymns. This thesis is not a new edition of the text, but I have felt that a full text and translation is useful to the reader, providing context, if required, for the quotations and discussion presented in the individual chapters. The text itself is that of Ricciardelli (2000), which makes a number of improvements to Quandt's text (1955²), and has not, in my opinion, been superseded by that of Fayant (2014), although this does contain a number of improved readings. I have adopted several of Fayant's readings and emendations and suggested several of my own. All departures from Ricciardelli's text are marked by an asterisk and explained in the endnotes to appendix 1. My translation is, of course, itself interpretative, but I have aimed not to extrapolate or unpack meaning where the hymns do not. I have made full use of the excellent translations of Ricciardelli, in Italian, and Fayant, in French, as well as the valuable anonymous Latin translation in a manuscript of the Biblioteca Laurenziana, which dates to the early sixteenth century and provides a

²⁶ For a detailed study of the individual epithets found in the hymns, see now Macedo, Kölligan & Barbieri 2021.

²⁷ Morand 2001: 231-298. On the Stoic and Neopythagorean features of the hymns, Petersen (1868) and Baudnik (1905) remain important studies.

literal interpretation of the text.²⁸ I have similarly aimed to be literal here, where possible rendering compound epithets by a single word in English and avoiding paraphrase, but I have also attempted to remain as close as possible to the form and style of the original. It is important, regarding this text in particular, to convey in translation the clipped, asyndetic format of the hymns, and to leave open the potential, inherent in this, for connecting or decoupling adjacent epicleses: to preserve, in Rudhardt's words, the 'latent syntax' of the hymns' accumulation of predications.²⁹ The allusiveness of the hymns is dependent on their compact juxtaposition of attributes, and this should be preserved as far as possible in translation. For the sake of accuracy I have similarly aimed to convey the formularity of the hymns by rendering identical or similar epicleses and phrases consistently, and some attempt has also been made to preserve the dactylo-spondaic rhythm of the hymns, where it was possible to do this without sacrificing strict accuracy of translation. Many of the compound epithets I have used here are neologistic, but this in itself reflects the hymns' diction, which abounds in *bapax legomena* because, where possible, individual epicleses condense complex meanings and associations into a single word. As Rudhardt argues, any interpretative translation of the hymns that attempts to unpack these meanings faces the problem of multivalency, of choosing one potential interpretation among several.³⁰ The translation provided here seeks to address this problem by preserving as far as possible the asyndetic character of the hymns and the allusive, implicit meanings of their 'latent syntax'.

Appendices 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 present in a summary, but complete, format the analyses of the structure of the invocations, prayers and predications discussed in chapter two. Appendices 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 similarly summarize my analyses of phonic effects, antithesis and symmetrical patterning in chapter three. Appendix 4.1 is a detailed collection of phrases and formulae repeated within the *Orphic Hymns* and parallels in other authors. These authors are, for reference, indexed in appendix 4.2 and the number of parallel phrases in each is quantitatively presented, as stated, in appendix 4.3. My discussion of each of these features is necessarily selective in the chapters themselves, and the appendices are designed to supply a complete survey of each subject treated here, for the reader's reference.

A full bibliography of texts consulted is provided, together with an index of abbreviations used in citing encyclopedias and collections of poetry or inscriptions. Editions of ancient authors cited are given in appendix 4.2, or, if the author does not appear there, in the footnotes at the first citation of that author. The text of the *Orphic Hymns* used in this thesis is that of Ricciardelli. The *Orphic*

²⁸ Laur. Plut. 36.35, fol. 1r-23v:

[http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOIsoANI1A4r7GxMLiH&c=I.%20Orphei%20Hymni%20LXXXVI.%20praevia%20precatione%20ad%20Musaeum.%20e%20graeco%20in%20latinum%20conversi.%20interprete%20anonymo%20\(f.%20Mars.%20Ficino\)#/book](http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOIsoANI1A4r7GxMLiH&c=I.%20Orphei%20Hymni%20LXXXVI.%20praevia%20precatione%20ad%20Musaeum.%20e%20graeco%20in%20latinum%20conversi.%20interprete%20anonymo%20(f.%20Mars.%20Ficino)#/book). This translation is attributed to Marsilio Ficino by Klutstein (1987: 6), and to Janus Lascaris by Gentile (1984: 229-39). See further ch. 1.1.

²⁹ Rudhardt 1991: 267 'Une syntaxe est latente dans la parataxe'.

³⁰ Rudhardt 2008: 248-50.

Hymns are abbreviated as *OH* in this study, followed by hymn and verse number. Verses from the proem, which is not numbered as part of the sequence, are quoted as P., followed by the verse number. The Orphic *Argonautica* is abbreviated as *O.Arg.*, and Orphic fragments from Bernabé's *Poetae Epici Graeci* as *OF*. The *Homeric Hymns* are abbreviated as *HHy.* and hymns of the magical papyri as *PGM hy.*, followed in each case by the hymn number.³¹ 'Hymn' as a title (e.g. Callimachus or Proclus) is abbreviated as 'Hy.' throughout. References to the *Anthology* are given as *AG*. Other abbreviations follow the usage of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* or the *LSJ*. My transliteration of the names of divinities in the hymns is phonetic, that of the names of authors (including 'Musaeus') is conventional. All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

³¹ The numbering of the *PGM* hymns is that of Preisendanz. On my use of this text, see ch. 4.2.5, n. 214.

Chapter 1. Scholarship and reception

Scholarship on the *Orphic Hymns* has, from their first appearance in the fifteenth century, been concerned with two closely connected issues: the composition of the collection and its original purpose. The first, which was the primary focus of earlier studies, concerns the identity of the hymns' author or collector, and more recently their date and place of origin. The second deals with that author's intention: why, and for which audience were the hymns composed? Some scholars have made the hymns the particular object of their study, others have discussed them in the context of other topics, but insofar as they have all to some extent responded to earlier or contemporary theories concerning the hymns, their statements and opinions amount to a conversation that has developed, and continues to evolve, for more than five centuries. The roots of this conversation lie in the fifteenth century, where the first manuscripts of the hymns appeared in Italy, brought from the fading embers of the Byzantine Empire.¹ The debate over the provenance of the *Orphic Hymns* is slow moving: periods of animated discussion have alternated with long stretches of silence. But it is important, I believe, to recognise that theories and opinions voiced today rarely constitute fully original ideas, although the conversation is certainly advanced by the appearance of new data and new currents of thought in the fields of ancient literature and religion. I hope, in this study, to show how the scholarly consensus of the present day is, to an extent, a response to the theories of the past, with a view to discovering what about it is definitive, and what may, like earlier consensuses on this topic, be time-bound and subject to further investigation.

1.1 The occult tradition

The first scholars to comment on the *Orphic Hymns* drew upon the Neoplatonist teachings of the late Byzantine scholar George Gemistos Plethon. Plethon did not himself write about the hymns, but his knowledge of them is certain: his autograph copy of a selection of the hymns survives in Venice, and the hymns he prescribes in his *magnum opus*, *Peri Nomon*, to be sung in his utopian state, are in honour of the same group of gods as those represented in this selection.² The extent of Marsilio Ficino's debt to Plethon is a matter of debate, but the Florentine seems to have taken from the Byzantine scholar at least the idea of the ancient tradition of theology that could be traced from Zoroaster (i.e. the *Chaldean Oracles*), Orpheus and Pythagoras to Plato and his successors, the basis

¹ On the manuscript tradition of the *OH*, Quandt 1955²: 1*-34*. The archetype Ψ, which contained the *Orphic Argonautica* and *Hymns* and hymns of Proclus, Callimachus and Homer, has not survived, but may have dated to the 10th century. It may have been one of two manuscripts brought to Italy from Constantinople in 1423 and 1427 by John Aurispa and Francisco Philelpho. On Ψ, see further Pfeiffer 1953: lxxix-lxxxvi, Quandt 1955²: 26*-34*, Bulloch 1985: 67-74.

² Plethon's autograph copy of the *OH*: Keydell 1942a: 77-80, Diller 1956: 37. Hymns in the *Περὶ Νόμων*: Alexandre 1858: 202-227.

of Ficino's own theory of a *prisca theologia*.³ For Ficino the identity of the hymns' author was not in doubt: they were the genuine productions of Orpheus, the teletarch of the Greeks, and he cites them frequently as a divinely inspired revelation.⁴ As Orpheus was, for Ficino, a forerunner of Christianity, the manifest polytheism of the hymns must be seen in an allegorical light, inoculating them (and Ficino's use of them) against the charge of paganism. Ficino's interest in the hymns lay in their function. They were, in his opinion, instruments for harmonising the dissonances in the soul produced by its association with the body.⁵ He translated the hymns into Latin early in his career,⁶ and set them to music, often assuming the persona of Orpheus himself. This 'rediscovery' of the music of the hymns was, in his own opinion, together with the revival of Plato, one of the great achievements of his time.⁷

Pico della Mirandola followed Ficino's lead: 'nothing is more efficacious than the Hymns of Orpheus in natural magic, if the necessary music, intention of the soul and other circumstances (which wise men know) are present'. He includes thirty-one 'theses' on the hymns among the 900, in which by means of 'aphoristic hints' he sets out a mode of interpretation that combines allegory and numerology.⁸ Although his method is idiosyncratic, the hymns are again, for Pico, vehicles of profound theological truths, hidden from the casual reader:

Sed qui erat veterum mos Theologorum, ita Orpheus dogmatum mysteria fabularum intexit involucris, et poetico velamento dissimulavit, ut si quis legat illius hymnos, nihil subesse credat praeter fabellas nugisque meracissimas.⁹

³ 'Prisca Gentilium Theologia, in qua Zoroaster, Mercurius, Orpheus, Aglaophemus, Pythagoras consenserunt, tota in Platonis nostri uoluminibus continetur.' (*De Christiana religione* c. 23, *Opera* p. 25). See Kristeller 1943: 15, Walker 1953: 105, Woodhouse 1986: 373. Ficino used Plethon's text and commentary on the *Chaldean Oracles* and mentions his influence on Cosimo de Medici. The Platonic succession goes back to the Neoplatonists: Proclus's own commentary on the *Chaldean Oracles* contained (according to the *Suda*) an attempt to reconcile them with Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato and his predecessor Syrianus wrote a treatise on the *Harmony of Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato with the Chaldean Oracles*. See also Proclus *In Tim.* III.168.9 (Diehl) and Iamblichus (*VP* 28) on Pythagoras in the succession, and Riedweg 2002: 8-9. On the Neoplatonists and Orpheus, Brisson 2008, Edmonds 2013: 37-43.

⁴ *Marsilii Ficini Opera* (Basel 1576): 98, 104, 325, 395, 421, 440, 760, 854, 968. Full titles and place of publication are given for works relating to the *OH* in this chapter, in addition to the date of publication.

⁵ On Ficino's use of the hymns, Walker 1953: 100-120 (esp. pp. 100-103), Yates 1964: 78-80, Voss 2001, Klitenic Wear 2011.

⁶ He destroyed the translation ('Vulcano dedi') rather than reveal the hymn's divine truths to the common crowd (Letter to Marius Uranius, 1492, *Opera* p. 933). Laur. Plut. 36.35 contains a Latin translation of the hymns which Bandinus (1775: 240) suggests is Ficino's: 'Forte est versio Marsilii Ficini, de qua mentio fit in eius Vita ab Io. Corsio eius discipulo edita'. Klutstein (1987: 6) agrees. Apart from Ficino's own claim to have destroyed his translation however, the Greek text used by the translator appears to be that of an early printed edition (Iunta 1500 or Aldus 1517) - Ficino died in 1499. Gentile (1984: 229-39) attributes the translation to Janus Lascaris (1445-1535).

⁷ 'He set forth the hymns of Orpheus and sang them to the lyre in the ancient manner with incredible sweetness, so people say' (Orphei hymnos exposuit, miraque, ut ferunt, dulcedine ad lyram antiquo more cecinit). C. G. Corsi, *Vita Marsili Ficini* (cited in Walker 1953: 102). See Voss 2001: 227-241, Falco 2007: 104.

⁸ *Conclusiones* (1486), *Opera* (Basel 1572-3) I: 106-7. See Farmer 1998: 504-515 for a commentary on the theses.

⁹ *Oratio de hominis dignitate* (1486), *Opera* I: 331. The original orthography is retained in all quotations. All translations in this thesis are my own, unless noted.

But as was the custom of the ancient Theologians, Orpheus so wove the mysteries of his doctrines into the fabric of myths, and disguised them with a cloak of poetry, that anyone reading his hymns would believe there is nothing in them but the most unadulterated stories and trifles.

This occult tradition continued into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹⁰ Agrippa (1533) prescribes the hymns for ‘attracting’ a particular star or *numen*,¹¹ discussing the allegorical meanings of the individual gods, and the pantheic character of the collection as a whole.¹² Both he and Athanasius Kircher (1653) follow Pico closely. The latter elaborates on the underlying meaning revealed by Pico’s ‘secret analogy’:

Dum enim Saturnum, Iovem, Pana, Mercurium, Bacchum, Neptunum, Plutonem, reliquamque Deorum, Dearumque progeniem cantu mystico describit, quid aliud indicat, nisi diversas unius Dei in rebus mundanis absconditas virtutes, quibus pulsus malis contrariisque beati efficiamur? Totum igitur secretum hymnorum dependet ab analogia partium Mundi ad supremas rerum virtutes, quam qui nesciverit, is in abdito hymnorum Orphaicorum sensu percipiendi nulloper laboravit.¹³

When he describes Saturn, Jove, Pan, Mercury, Bacchus, Neptune, Pluto, and the remaining progeny of Gods and Goddesses in mystic song, what else is he indicating but the diverse virtues of the one God, hidden in mundane things, by which, with the evil and contrary elements expelled, we may be rendered blessed? The whole secret of the hymns depends then on an analogy between the parts of the World and the supreme virtues of things; he who is ignorant of this labours to no avail in seeking to learn the secret meaning of the *Orphic Hymns*.

The hymns, according to these scholars, have a theurgic function: they can attract daemonic powers, but their message is also theological. The pagan gods are to be understood symbolically, ‘naturalium virtutum divinarumque sunt nomina, a vero deo in utilitatem maxime hominis, si eis uti sciverit, mundo distributarum’:¹⁴ they are powers and ‘virtues’ of nature, and facets of the one

¹⁰ Jacob 1983 and Rizzo 2017 discuss the transmission of the *OH* in 16th c. Otranto, an occult tradition passed on from master to acolytes. Cf. Canter, G. 1566: 84 ‘Orphei qui circumferuntur hymni, tametsi a paucis recipiuntur, mihi tamen propter antiquitatem et elegantiam suam valde placuerunt semper, ut et aliis nonnullis, qui in his etiam non parva naturalis Magiae mysteria putant latere’.

¹¹ Agrippa, *De occulta philosophia libri III* (Cologne 1533): lib. I, c. 71 (1550 edition, p. 161). Compare Ficino’s use of the hymns to draw down celestial powers in his *De coelitus vita comparanda* (Walker 1958: 22), and Pico’s *Conclusio* 28 ‘frustra adit naturam et protheum (Proteum), qui Pana non attraxerit’.

¹² *De occulta philosophia*, lib. III, c.10 (1550: 368-73). ‘Hinc illa numinum multiplex varietas, propter multiplicem et variam gratiarum distributionem; deus autem unus, a quo omnia.’

¹³ Kircher, *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* II (Rome 1653): 152. Kircher was familiar enough with the hymns to invent occasional verses in the appropriate style, as is apparently the case *ibid.* III. 123 (‘σκηπτουχε κλεινοῖο πόλου πολυώνυμε, σεμνή, ἥ κατέχεις κόσμοιο μέσον θρόνον· [= *OH* 27.5-6] ὅς θ’ ἀπὸ ἄρκτου Ἐννεάδος σήμαντρα ἔχεις’). See Lobeck 1829: 409-10.

¹⁴ Pico, *Conclusio* 3.

god, which is in fact the basis of the *prisca theologia*, Ficino's accommodation between the ancient theologians and Christianity. This tradition ultimately draws upon Neoplatonist approaches to the Orphic poems. It fully accepts the claim of the Orphic *sphragis*, that such poetry constitutes a revelation to the initiated, one withheld from the *profani*. The hymns themselves are, according to it, the genuine works of Orpheus and a miraculous survival.¹⁵ This reception of the hymns, as a text conveying profound theological insights that also possesses magical or theurgic powers, coexisted from the start however with another, critical perspective that sought to assign to the poems a historical context: an author, a date and a place of composition.

1.2 The question of authorship from the 15th to 17th centuries

Already in the early fifteenth century Leonardo Bruni (1420) expressed scepticism about the Orphic claim, quoting Aristotle's statement that 'Orpheus' never existed.¹⁶ Steuco (1540) suggested that the hymns were written by 'another Orpheus of a much later period', and Gyraldus (1544) cites the *Suda*: they were composed by the 'second Orpheus' from Bisaltia in Thrace.¹⁷ While Pighius (1568) maintained that the hymns, 'arcanis mysteriis refertissimos', were authored before the Trojan war, his contemporary Stephanus places the surviving Orphica in his chronologically ordered collection of epic poetry after Hesiod.¹⁸ He may already have had in mind the theory that became established in the following century: that the hymns were the work of the sixth century BCE Athenian, Onomacritus. Daniel Heinsius (1627) was the first to make this claim.¹⁹ The hymns, Heinsius maintains, are composed of series of individual attributes and are not trifles ('lusus oblectationes') like the alphabetic hymns of the *Anthology*,²⁰ but genuine documents of

¹⁵ Kircher 1653 II: 150: 'hymnosque complures, qui quidem soli veluti assumpta quaedam ex tam nobilium mercium naufragio ad nostra usque tempora integri pervenerunt'.

¹⁶ Bruni (*Proemium in quasdam orationes Homeri*, c. 1420), Gian-Francesco Pico (1496), both cited by Walker 1953: 104 n. 6. Cicero (*Nat. D.* 1.107 Ax = *OF* 889 I, 1101 IV), in reference to Aristotle's lost treatise *On Philosophy*, is the source: 'Orpheum poetam docet <Aristoteles> numquam fuisse'. Aristotle's scepticism is evident in his two surviving references to the 'so-called verses of Orpheus' (*Gen. an.* 734a Drossaardt Lulofs ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις Ὀρφέως ἔπεισι, *De an.* 410b Ross ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς καλουμένοις ἔπεισι = *OF* 404, 421).

¹⁷ Steuco, *De perenni philosophia* (Lyons 1540): 63, 'si tamen eius sunt hymni, non potius alterius Orphei aetatis multo posterioris'. Gyraldus (*Lili Gregori Gyraldi Opera*, Leyden 1696), *Suda* s.v. Ὀρφεύς, Lascaris *Prolegomena* 97 (*OF* 870 II, VI), δεύτερος Κικοναῖος ἐκ Βισσαλτίας τῆς Θρακικῆς ἐποποιός, πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν καὶ αὐτός, ὃς συνέγραψε μυθοποιῶν ἐπιγράμματα καὶ ὕμνους.

¹⁸ Pighius, *Themis Dea, seu de lege divina* (Antwerp 1568): 30-31; Stephanus, *Poetae graeci principes heroici carminis* (Paris 1566). Walker (1953: 104), followed by Edmonds (2013: 51, n. 152), claims that Stephanus considered the hymns later than the Orphic fragments (principally the *Diatheke*). In fact he argues the opposite (p. 487) 'Orpheum non parum negotii nobis exhibuisse, docebunt annotationes. Huic quamvis post Hesiodum locum dederim, longe tamen falletur qui veterem illum esse ex quo fragmenta addidimus, existimabit: imo vero ne eiusdem quidem utrumque esse opus credibile est'. 'Our annotations will show that Orpheus required not a little work from us. But although I have assigned him a place after Hesiod, he will be far deceived who supposes the author from whom we have added the fragments to be ancient: indeed it is not credible that each work is by the same poet'.

¹⁹ Fabricius however (1705: 116) quotes Gottfried Jungermann in an unpublished letter dated 1603 referring to 'Orphei vel Onomacriti hymnos et Argonautica'.

²⁰ *AG* 9.524, 525.

ancient paganism, a ‘vera Satanae ipsius liturgia’.²¹ Heinsius’ source for the ascription to Onomacritus is John Philoponus’ comment on Aristotle’s reference to the ‘so-called Orphic verses’ in the *De Anima*:

λεγομένοις εἶπεν ἐπειδὴ μὴ δοκεῖ Ὀρφέως εἶναι τὰ ἔπη, ὥς καὶ <αὐτὸς> ἐν τοῖς περὶ φιλοσοφίας λέγει· αὐτοῦ μὲν γὰρ εἰσι τὰ δόγματα, ταῦτα δὲ φασιν Ὀνομάκριτον ἐν ἔπεσι καταθεῖναι.²²

‘so-called’ because he does not think the verses are by Orpheus, as he says in the *Peri Philosophias*: for they are his doctrines but they say Onomacritus versified them.

Cicero cites the same passage from the lost *Peri Philosophias*, with a different ascription,²³ making it unlikely that Onomacritus was named in this context by Aristotle himself. Still, this theory of Orphic authorship long antedates Philoponus, writing in the sixth century. Pausanias attributes the *orgia* of Dionysos and the myth of his dismemberment by the Titans to Onomacritus,²⁴ and in his other references to Onomacritus’ poetry he very likely means that of Orpheus or Musaeus.²⁵ Tatian, Pausanias’ second century contemporary, claims that Onomacritus ‘arranged’ the poetry of Orpheus.²⁶ The ultimate source of this theory is Herodotus, who reports that the Athenian χρησμολόγος arranged the oracles of Musaeus, and was exiled for including one of his own in the collection.²⁷ By the second century Onomacritus’ theorised activities had expanded: he was

²¹ Heinsius, *Aristarchus Sacer* (Leiden 1627): 42-43. Heinsius also argues that the hymns refer to gods, such as Priapus, that were unknown to Homer.

²² Philopon. *In de an.* 186, 24 Hayduck (*OF* 421 II, 1115). Hayduck reads κατατεῖναι here (MS κατατεῖνε), ‘extended in verse’. Similar expressions are collected by Lobeck (1829: 349) but I follow Cudworth’s reading καταθεῖναι.

²³ Cic. *Nat. D.* I. 107 (*OF* 889 I, 1101 IV) ‘Orpheum poetam docet <Aristoteles> numquam fuisse et hoc Orphicum carmen Pythagorei ferunt cuiusdam fuisse Cercopis.’ The reference here is probably to the *Rhapsodic Theogony* and based on Epigenes’ attribution of an Orphic *Hieros Logos* to Kerkops the Pythagorean (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1, 21, 131, 5 Stählin = *OF* 1128 I). See further Linforth 1941: 162-4, West 1983: 248.

²⁴ Paus. 8.75.5 (*OF* 39, 1113). The fragments and references to the myth are collected by Bernabé, *OF* 35-39 (older references deriving from Plato, Xenocrates, Callimachus and Euphorion which West (1983: 140-175) attributes to the ‘Eudemian Theogony’), and *OF* 301-329 (‘Rhapsodic Theogony’). Festugière (1935a) however thinks the Orphic association with this myth does not predate the 3rd c. BCE. The myth certainly formed part of the later (1st c. BCE/CE) *Rhapsodic Theogony*. Proclus cites Orpheus for its details repeatedly (e.g. *OF* 301, 303, 305 I, 309 V, VI, 314 I, 317 I, 321) and the myth is positively attributed to Orpheus by Diodorus in the 1st c. BCE (5.75.4 = *OF* 311 XII: τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν... ὃν Ὀρφεὺς κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς παρέδωκε διασπώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων). Clem. Al. also associates the myth with Orpheus (*Protr.* 2.17.2 = *OF* 306 I) and Plutarch implies as much when he tells us that it is earlier than Empedocles (*De esu carn.* I 7, 996b = *OF* 318 II). On Onomacritus and the Titan myth, Nilsson 1935: 202, 1967³ I: 685-8, Linforth 1941: 351-3, Dodds 1962: 155, West 1983: 268, Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 43, Edmonds 2013: 350-1, Meisner 2018: 246.

²⁵ Paus. 8.31.3 Spiro (*OF* 351, 1114 II, Herakles one of the Idaean Dactyls), 9.35.5 (*OF* 254 II, on the names of the Charites). He is more explicit in attributing the poetry of Musaeus to Onomacritus (1.22.7 = *OF* 1119, *PEG* Mus. fr. 59 II), but also insists on the similarity of the two mythological poets: Musaeus ‘imitates Orpheus in everything’ (10.7.2 = *OF* 552, *PEG* Mus. fr. 25).

²⁶ Tatian *Ad Gr.* 41.2 Goodspeed (*OF* 1110 I): Ὀρφεὺς δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Ἡρακλεῖ γέγονεν ἄλλως τε καὶ τὰ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιφερόμενά φασιν ὑπὸ Ὀνομακρίτου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου συντετάχθαι γενομένου κατὰ τὴν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἀρχὴν περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα. τοῦ δὲ Ὀρφέως Μουσαῖος μαθητής.

²⁷ Hdt. 7.6.2 Legrand (*OF* 807, 1109, *PEG* Mus. fr. 68): Ὀνομάκριτον, ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον χρησμολόγον τε καὶ διαθέτην χρησμῶν τῶν Μουσαίου... Ἐξηλάσθη γὰρ ὑπὸ Ἰππάρχου τοῦ Πεισιστράτου ὁ Ὀνομάκριτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν, ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ

responsible for the majority of Musaeus' poetry and, by analogy, that of Orpheus as well. In Tatian's case, he seems also to have assumed the role of his probable contemporary Pherecydes the Athenian, who collected Orpheus' works according to the *Suda*.²⁸ The Onomacritan theory is repeated by Sextus Empiricus and Clement of Alexandria, and resolved into specific works in the *Suda*: he is responsible for the Orphic *Chresmoi* and *Teletai* in particular.²⁹ The convenience of Onomacritus as an Orphic source lay on the one hand in his existing reputation, deriving from Herodotus, as a forger involved in the production of sacred poetry, and on the other in his date and association (like Pherecydes) with the Pisistratids. As West argues, the production of the *Hieroi Logoi* in 24 *Rhapsodies* in particular was connected with the Pisistratean recension of Homer, one of whose editors was reputed to be Onomacritus.³⁰

For critics of the seventeenth century, as for those of the second, Onomacritus was a conveniently early, but historically firm, peg to hang the Orphic poems from. The question of whether he was responsible for all the Orphic corpus or a specific part of it, its composer or merely a redactor, also gave room for debate. Heinsius was a maximalist: 'Orpheus' was simply Onomacritus. Vossius (1654) agrees that the poems extant in antiquity were by Onomacritus, and the surviving poems, including the hymns, 'non sunt antiquiora Pisistrati temporibus'.³¹ Borrichius (1683) accepts that the *Argonautica* is Pisistratean, but refers the hymns and *Lithica* to the mythical Orpheus.³² Eschenbach, in his preface to the first edition of the Orphica to appear since Stephanus (1689), is sceptical that all were written by Onomacritus but candid in his inability to say more:

Antiquum illum Orpheum nihil horum scripsisse, cum plerisque scio. Onomacritum omnia, dubito. Non unum eundemque Auctorem esse Argonauticῶν, Hymnorum & de Lapidibus libelli, facile credo. Quinam verò auctores fuerint, qui singula scripserunt, cum omnibus nescio. Antiqua, imprimis Argonautica & Hymnos, esse agnosco: quo verò tempore exarata,

ἄλλους ὑπὸ Λάσου τοῦ Ἑρμιονέος ἐμποιέων ἐς τὰ Μουσαίου χρησμὸν ὡς αἱ ἐπὶ Λήμνῳ ἐπικείμεναι νῆσοι ἀφανιστάτο κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης.

²⁸ *Suda* s.v. Adler (OF 1127): Φερεκύδης Ἀθηναῖος, πρεσβύτερος τοῦ Συρίου, ὃν λόγος τὰ Ὀρφείως συναγαγεῖν. Linforth 1941: 104-5, West 1983: 20 n. 46, 250.

²⁹ Sext. Emp. *Pyrrhon.* 3.30 = *Adv. math.* 9.361 Mutschmann (OF 1114 I): Ὀνομάκριτος ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.131.1 (OF 1110 II): Ναὶ μὲν Ὀνομάκριτος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, οὗ τὰ εἰς Ὀρφέα φερόμενα ποιήματα λέγεται εἶναι, κατὰ τὴν τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν ἀρχὴν περὶ τὴν πεντηκοστὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα εὐρίσκεται. *Suda* s.v. Ὀρφεύς (OF 1018 IV, on the works of Orpheus).

³⁰ Tzetzes *De Com.* 20 Koster (OF 1116). The other two editors named (the name of the fourth is corrupt) also have clear Orphic associations: Orpheus of Kroton (credited with the *Dodecateridae* and *Argonautica* by the *Suda*) and Zopyros of Heraclea (a Pythagorean to whom the *Suda* attributes the *Krateres*, *Peplos* and *Diktyon*). West 1983: 249-251.

³¹ Vossius, *De veterum poetarum temporibus libri duo* (Amsterdam 1654): 8, 23, against Pighius' claim that the hymns date to before the Trojan war.

³² Borrichius, *Dissertationes academicae de poetis* (Frankfurt 1683): 7: 'istuc nunc eunt doctorum iudicia, Argonautica Orpheos vetustiora haud esse temporibus Pisistrati, sive Olympiade circiter quinquagesima sexta, eaque aetate ab Onomacriti calamo profluxisse. Mitior est censura plerumque de hymnis Orpheos, et opera περὶ λίθων, haec enim ad antiquum Orpheia referunt.'

definire nequeo. Gemmas tamen habes, Lector, quas ex ipso precio aestumare debes, licet nescias, quo praecisè terrarum angulo repertae; & a quo erutae fuerint.³³

That the ancient Orpheus wrote none of these, with many others, I know. That Onomacritus wrote all, I doubt. That the *Argonautica*, Hymns and the book on Stones did not have one and the same author, I may easily believe. But who the authors were who wrote each work, like all I do not know. That they are ancient, especially the *Argonautica* and Hymns, I recognise: when they were written down, I cannot say. But you have gems, reader, which you should appraise from their own value, though you do not know exactly in what corner of the world they were discovered, and by whom they were brought to light.

Who wrote the extant Orphic poems? Was it Orpheus, Onomacritus, or some other poet? Were several poets involved? When did these poems appear? With regard to the hymns in particular, what purpose did their author imagine that they would serve? These are the questions that frame the debate on the compositional context of the hymns, and Eschenbach's cheerful scepticism in the face of them does him some credit, held against the many erudite certainties that have appeared in the three centuries since he wrote his prologue to the poems. But the critical position he adopts, dismissing the possibility of Orpheus' authorship and raising the question of their date, also sits comfortably beside a genuine reverence for the hymns, more felt than reasoned - the intuition that they revealed deeply hidden truths:

In Abyssum quendam mysteriorum venerandae antiquitatis descendere videbar, quotienscunque silente mundo, solis vigilantibus astris & luna, μελανήφατους istos Hymnos ad manus sumsi...³⁴

I seemed to descend into an abyss of mysteries of venerable antiquity whenever, when the world was silent and only the stars and moon were awake, I took in hand those *dark-speaking* hymns.

1.3 Criticism of the 18th century, the Göttingen School

The question of Onomacritus' authorship continued to be debated for a century after Eschenbach. Souchay (1743) held that the hymns were indeed by Orpheus, but had been adapted by the Athenian to the Ionian dialect,³⁵ a theory developed by Gesner in the *prolegomena* to his 1764 edition of the Orphica: Onomacritus had copied out the 'Thracian tablets' described by Euripides

³³ Eschenbach, *Orphei Argonautica Hymni et de Lapidibus* (Utrecht 1689): 23-24. Eschenbach was only 26 when his edition appeared. The text is largely that of Stephanus, with notes by Stephanus, Scaliger and Casaubon appended.

³⁴ *ibid.* 16.

³⁵ Souchay, *Dissertation sur les Hymnes des Anciens* (Paris [I] 1743, [II] 1749): I. 4, II. 507. Philoponus had claimed that Onomacritus versified ancient Orphic material (see above, Ὀνομάκριτον ἐν ἔπεσι καταθεῖναι).

and changed the dialect from the original Doric to Ionic.³⁶ He may have made additions or alterations, as he did with the oracles of Musaeus, but he could not have composed all the Orphic material. At least some of the poetry extant in antiquity must have been the genuine work of Orpheus.³⁷ Heringa (1749) found confirmation for Onomacritus' authorship of the hymns in Pausanias.³⁸ Ruhnken (1751) thought that, while the hymns were easily the best of the extant Orphic poems, the *Argonautica* sometimes rises to their level: both are old and either by Onomacritus or some other *vetustissimus*.³⁹

This comfortable consensus, that the extant Orphica are genuinely early and for the most part dateable to the sixth century BCE, was roundly attacked by a series of scholars associated with the University of Göttingen in the late eighteenth century, several of whom were members of the Göttingen School, which sought to establish a scientific basis for the study of history.⁴⁰ Johann Gottlob Schneider,⁴¹ in an essay on the date of the *Hymns* and *Argonautica*, argued that the lack of ancient references to either work was proof that they were late forgeries, composed as ammunition in the war between Neoplatonist and Christian apologists. Remove the aura of antiquity, Schneider declared, and the hymns' stylistic and doctrinal poverty is laid bare: far from the pious and venerable poetry of Pisistratean Athens, they are a 'hogwash of mystical sayings and allegorical prattlings', knocked out by an individual 'non nimis astutus', probably in the third century CE.⁴² Christoph Meiners, in a work published three years later, went further.⁴³ A critical study of the

³⁶ Gesner, *Prolegomena Orphica* (Leipzig 1764): 25-6, Eur. *Alc.* 965-9 (*OF* 812, οὐδέ τι φάρμακον Θρήϊσσαις ἐν σανίσιν, τὰς Ὀρφεῖα κατέγραψεν γῆρυς).

³⁷ Cf. Taylor 1824: xxxix-xli.

³⁸ Heringa, *Observationum Criticarum Liber Singularis* (Leeuwarden 1749): 85. 'quanquam facile probari queat, eos Orpheo minime attribuendos esse, contra tamen et illud certum est, Hymnos hos e Graecorum monumentis, quae ad nos pervenerunt, Omnium fere vetustissimos esse. Nisi enim fallat Pausanias, patrem agnoscunt Onomacritum.' The passage in question is Paus. 9.35.5 (*OF* 254 II): Ἡσίοδος δὲ ἐν Θεογονίαι – προσιέσθω δὲ ὅτῳ φίλον τὴν Θεογονίαν – , ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ ποιήσει ταύτῃ τὰς Χάριτας φησιν εἶναι Διὸς τε καὶ Εὐρυνόμης καὶ σφισιν ὀνόματα Εὐφροσύνην τε καὶ Ἀγλαΐαν εἶναι καὶ Θαλίαν. κατὰ ταῦτ' αὖ δὲ ἐν ἑπεσὶν ἔστι τοῖς Ὀνομακρίτου. Cf. the hymn to the Charites, *OH* 60.2-3: θυγάτερες Ζηνός τε καὶ Εὐνομῆς βαθυκόλπου | Ἀγλαίῃ Θαλίῃ τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνῃ πολύλβῃ. Heringa follows Schrader (1742: 188) in emending Εὐνομῆς in the *OH* to Εὐρυνόμης. Heringa also draws attention to the connections between the hymns and the Orphic theogonies (later explored by Kern 1889 and Dieterich 1891): 'id tantum addo, dignissima esse haec carmina, continentia quippe passim multa eorum, quae ex Orphica Theologia producunt veteres' (*ibid.* 86). Cf. the similar view of his contemporary van Lennep, who published his emendations of the hymns in an appendix to his edition of Coluthus (Leeuwarden 1747: 127): '...Hymni, qui sub nomine *Orphei* ab *Onomacrito* conscripti videntur; tum ob antiquitatem, tum ob singularem, quam in explicanda vetustissima illa Orphica Theologia praestant'.

³⁹ Ruhnken, *Epistolae Criticae II in Callimachum et Apollonium Rhodium* (Leiden 1751): 69-86.

⁴⁰ Longo 2009: 515-547. Members relevant to this study include Heyne, Meiners and Heeren. Schneider and Tiedemann also studied at Göttingen under Heyne. A generation earlier (in 1759), Gesner delivered his *Prolegomena Orphica* to the Society of Sciences at Göttingen.

⁴¹ Schneider, *Analecta Critica in Scriptores Veteres* (Frankfurt 1777): 51-84 (c. 4 'De dubia carminum Orphicorum auctoritate et vetustate').

⁴² Schneider 1777: 57: 'nugas istas et hominis male feriat deliramenta', 'sententiarum mysticarum et argutiarum allegoricarum... colluvie[s]'. 58: 'Hymnos Orphicos, quos quidem hodie habemus, recentissimis demum temporibus ab homine non nimis astuto excusos et confictos esse.' Schneider bases this date on two parallels with Ps-Opian (pp. 83-4): *OH* 19.16 ≈ *Hal.* 1. 281 (see van Liempt 1930: 20-21) and *OH* 22.8 ≈ *Hal.* 1. 115.

⁴³ Meiners, *Historia Doctrinae de vero Deo* (Lemgo 1780): 197-202. Meiners had already criticised the hymns in his *Versuch über die Religionsgeschichte der ältesten Völker* (Göttingen 1775): 276-7. 'Wenn Hyperbeln, und unbestimmte

vocabulary of the hymns shows that they are post-Classical, as does the inclusion of gods, such as the Clouds, whose worship was ridiculed by Aristophanes.⁴⁴ The author⁴⁵ follows the Stoic custom of describing the gods as parts of the cosmos, but this is an inconsistent, piecemeal kind of Stoicism: every second god is a ‘rerum parens’, and abstract concepts such as nature or law are split into several divinities. Finally the style of the hymns speaks for a late date. It is *horridus*, far from the *suavitas* of the ancient poets, abounding in *verborum monstra*: more barbarous than Greek.

Non possum non in illam descendere sententiam, ea a barbaro quodam homine tum temporis ficta esse, quum Graecorum lingua per omnem fere terrarum orbem propagata esset, ubique vero externorum vitiorum aliquid traheret.⁴⁶

I cannot but descend to the idea that they were composed by some barbarian at that time when the Greek language had been spread over almost the whole world, and everywhere absorbed foreign vices.

Meiners’ friend Dieterich Tiedemann, writing in the same year, countered Schneider’s argument for a late author by dividing the hymns into three types which would have been composed at different periods.⁴⁷ The first group are appeals (*beschwörungen*) to the gods, of the kind attributed by Plato to the Orphic *agyrtai* of the fourth century BCE.⁴⁸ The second consists of initiations into the mysteries (e.g. *OH* 4.9 νεοφάντηι and 6.11 ὀργιοφάνταις), and the third hymns proper, containing the gods’ praises and attributes. The collection itself is thus secondary, a compilation of existing hymns, and the question of date cannot be settled by selective analysis: each hymn must be appraised individually.⁴⁹ *OH* 60 (Charites) must be early, ‘Onomacritan’, as Pausanias seems to refer to it,⁵⁰ and hymns 1-18 (including the proem) are discussed in turn. The proem is late, possibly Neoplatonist; hymn 2 is too ‘lifeless’ to be early; *OH* 3 (Nyx) is early and Pythagorean; *OH* 4 (Ouranos) and 7 (Asteres) are astrological and thus late; *OH* 5, 6 and 8-14 appear to be

übertriebene Lobeserhebungen philosophische richtige Begriffe enthalten; so hatt keiner von allen Theilen der Natur besser philosophirt, als der Verfasser der Hymnen, die dem Orpheus zugeschrieben werden.’ See also *Abhandlung über den Thierdienst der Egyptier*, in *Philologische Bibliothek Bd. III* (Göttingen 1775: 112). The hymns are derivative (‘Nachklänge von den Geheimnisse Asiens und Egyptens’) and, in common with the majority of Orphic fragments, late: ‘die meisten Orphischen Fragmente erst nach Christi Geburt zu verschiedenen Zeiten von verschiedenen Schwärmern gemacht werden’. Meiners is more famous as a pioneering ethnologist who laid the foundations of scientific racism. See further Vermeulen 2015: 383-386.

⁴⁴ Vocabulary: specifically ὕλη (*OH* 25.3) and φαντασίαι (*OH* 11.7, 39.4, 10), which, he argues, would be χρήματα and φάσματα in Classical writers. Both terms first appear (in the sense used here) in Aristotle.

⁴⁵ ‘If they were composed by one person’, p. 199.

⁴⁶ Meiners 1780: 201.

⁴⁷ Tiedemann, *Griechenlands Erste Philosophen* (Leipzig 1780): 76-85. Meiners is cited for the suggestion of multiple authors.

⁴⁸ Pl. *Resp.* 364d, e.

⁴⁹ ‘Ein ungeschickter, des Alterthums wenig kundiger Sammler, hat alles was er von Gedichten dieser Art unter Orpheus’ Namen angeführt fand, zusammen genommen, und unter einem Titel herausgegeben’, p. 77.

⁵⁰ See above. Tiedemann argues that Eurynome in Pausanias should be emended to Eunomie to match the hymns, Heringa (1749: 86) and Ruhnken (1782: 266) emend Eunomie in the hymns to Eurynome. Lobeck (1829: 397) notes that any argument for correlation that must rely on emending one of two texts is inherently flawed.

Pythagorean ('and so Onomacritan'); *OH* 15 (Zeus) contains 'matte prosaische Stellen' and so belongs to a later period. The criteria are subjective, and Tiedemann makes no attempt to assign the individual hymns to the 'categories' he specifies, but his theory of a collection composed from multiple sources was revisited by several later scholars.

The critical approach of the Göttingen scholars marks a turning point in the study of the hymns. Not all were convinced by Schneider and Meiners that all (or most) of the hymns were the productions of late antiquity. Ruhnken defended the assessment he had made thirty years earlier,⁵¹ and Caspar Valckenaer reaffirmed the quality and antiquity of the hymns in his last work.⁵² Thomas Taylor, the English Neoplatonist, published a translation of the hymns in 1787 with an extensive introduction, arguing that they reflect 'symbolically' the doctrine of the One and the intelligible triad, standing at the head of the 'golden chain' that runs back through Proclus, Porphyry, Plato and Pythagoras to Orpheus, its fountainhead.⁵³ His interest is theological and itself part of a mystical interpretative tradition that goes back, through the Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth, to Pico and Ficino.⁵⁴ On the authorship of the hymns, Taylor is no doubt: Gesner was right, Onomacritus adapted them to the Ionic dialect (though it is unlikely he would have altered much). The possibility of composition in the Roman period is dismissed out of hand: it is an insult to the learned men of antiquity who cited the extant Orphic poems.⁵⁵

1.4 The question of function

Tiedemann's categories are defined by what he perceived to be the primary function in each case: supplication, initiation and praise respectively. Discussion of the hymns' original function did not begin here (it was the focus of Ficino and his successors), but from this point it occupied an

⁵¹ Ruhnken, *Duae Epistolae Criticae* (2nd ed. Leiden 1782): 230-1. In answer to Schneider's central argument, that no ancient author cites the hymns, he provided two examples: Ps-Demosthenes *In Aristogeiton* and Pausanias, following Heringa (1749: 85-6) for the latter reference. The former, he argues, provides a reference for the hymns to Dike (*OH* 62), the latter for the hymn to the Charites (*OH* 60). Lobeck showed both to be illusory.

⁵² Valckenaer, *Diatriba de Aristobulo Judaeo* (1785, published Leiden 1806): 84-5. The hymns are older than the majority of the fragments, as well as the other extant poems. Wolf also maintained that the hymn to Dike (*OH* 60) belonged to the 6th c. BCE (1795: xlviii, n. 12).

⁵³ Taylor, *The Mystical Hymns of Orpheus* (London) 1787: 12-44; 2nd edition 1824: ix-xxxii.

⁵⁴ 'These verses [the *Hymn to Zeus* from the *Rhapsodies*] contain what Dr Cudworth calls the grand arcanum of Orphic theology, that God is all things', p. 33. Cudworth himself discusses the question of whether 'Orpheus were the author of the Poems called Orphical' in *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (London 1678). On the concept of Orphic pantheism Taylor also draws on Agrippa in describing the gods as 'united to the one God, like rays to light' (1824: xiii). Cf. Agrippa 1550: 368 'Deus ipse... esse tamen in eo multa quaedam numina, veluti radios ex eo emanantes, non ambigimus'.

⁵⁵ Taylor 1824: xlii. Taylor does not identify these quotations, but may have Pausanias in mind. Gesner had claimed, wrongly, that the preface to the *Lithica* is found in Stobaeus.

increasingly important place in the debate around the collection's point of origin. Joseph Scaliger, who published a Latin translation of the hymns,⁵⁶ had insisted on their ritual character:

Hic liber non proprie sunt ὕμνοι, sed τελεταί, nam in Hymnis natalia, gesta et eiusmodi narrantur: hic vero tantum invocationes Deorum, quibus utebantur in mysteriis, qui sacris cuiuspiam Dei initiarentur.⁵⁷

This book is not properly *hymns* but *rites*, for in hymns births, deeds etc are narrated: here indeed are only the invocations of the gods that were used in the mysteries by those being initiated into the rites of each divinity.

These are not 'hymns', Scaliger argues, which describe the deeds and virtues of the gods, but invocations composed entirely of *cognomina*, for use in the mysteries. Souchay likewise described them as 'theurgic' hymns, composed for use in cult by initiates, as opposed to 'poetic' hymns (for public cult) or 'philosophical' ones,⁵⁸ and Taylor argued that they were in fact the hymns of the Eleusinian mysteries, in which the Lykomidai (who had preserved them according to Pausanias) were hereditary *dadouchoi*.⁵⁹ Pausanias does indeed say that the Lykomidai possessed hymns by Orpheus (the only Orphic hymns he considered to be genuine, after conversation with the *dadouchos*), which were sung or 'chanted' as part of the rite (δρώμενα) at the mysteries of Ge Megale which the family presided over at Phlya.⁶⁰ Were these identical with the extant collection? Those inclined to accept the antiquity of the latter had sufficient reason to argue this - according to Pausanias the former were similarly short and (presumably, given their similarity to the *Homeric Hymns*) dactylic.⁶¹ Lobeck (rightly) pointed out however that the hymns of the Lykomidai were emphatically few in number, which cannot be said of the eighty-seven in the extant collection.⁶²

⁵⁶ The translation itself is impressively obscure: much of the vocabulary is taken from Varro. Fabricius (1705: 113): 'Scaliger, intra quinque dierum, velut ipse testatur, spatium haec Orphei initia sive indigitamenta Musaeo inscripta versibus antiquis Latinis expressit doctissime et felicissime, etsi haec illius Metaphrasis lectorem requirit non e vulgo'. The translation was made in 1562 when Scaliger was 22 (Quandt 34*, Grafton 1983 I: 104) but published after his death (*Opuscula varia antehac non edita*, Paris 1610).

⁵⁷ *Annotationes in initia Orphei*, 1610: 205.

⁵⁸ Souchay 1743: 21: 'Les Hymnes Théurgiques n'étoient propres qu'aux Initiez, & ils ne renferment, avec des invocations singulières, que les attributs divins, exprimez par des noms mystiques. Les Hymnes populaires en général, saisoient partie du Culte public, & ils roulent sur les aventures fabuleuses des Dieux. Enfin, les Hymnes Philosophiques, ou n'étoient point chantez, ou ils l'étoient seulement dans ces festins dont parle Athénée; & ils sont, à proprement parler, un hommage secret que les Philosophes ont rendu à la Divinité.'

⁵⁹ Taylor 1824: xxxiii-xxxviii. The theory is not included in the 1787 edition. On the Lykomidai and Eleusis, Plut. *Them*, Paus. 1.37.1, Farnell 1907 III: 151. Taylor also links the injunction against the offering of beans to Ge in *OH* 26 with Paus. 1.37.4 (*OF* 649 I) who attributes this to both the Eleusinian mysteries and the 'so-called Orphica'. A connection between the *Orphic Hymns* and Eleusis had already been made by Warburton (*The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated*, London 1766³ I: 294).

⁶⁰ Paus. 9.27.2 (*OF* 531 I), 9.30.12 (*OF* 531 II). See further ch. 4.2.1, 5.3.

⁶¹ E.g. Valckenaer (*Adnotationes ad Herodotum* in Wesseling 1763, p. 296, cited by Lobeck 1824: 8 and 1829: 400) 'sub Orphei nomine legit Pausanias Hymnos, quos habemus superstites; in his merito versuum miramur elegantiam'.

⁶² Lobeck 1829: 400. 'Certe Homericis, quibuscum componuntur, pauciores'. Heeren had already distinguished between the extant hymns and those of the Lykomidai (*Ideen über die Politik, den Verkehr und den Handel der*

If the older, Onomacritan view of the hymns and Meiners' theory that the collection was composed in late antiquity formed opposing sides of the debate around date and authorship at this period, Tiedemann provided one means of bridging the gap: early and late hymns sit side by side in the collection we possess. The Danish scholar Frederik Snedorf, a former student of Meiners and Heyne at Göttingen, provided another. It would be unreasonable to expect, he argues, that ancient hymns associated with mystery cult would remain unchanged through the centuries. Rather, they would change over time, as they were periodically adapted to the character of the age.⁶³ We should not imagine, however, a single (albeit evolving) collection: the extant hymns were probably assembled and edited by a collector of the Roman period. They might be the productions of different periods and poets, 'Orphic' not necessarily in terms of doctrine, but generically, in terms of style: the signature feature of such hymns being the accumulation of epithets. 'Orphic' hymns should be seen in relation to Orpheus as 'Aesopic' fables are to Aesop. They are named after the originator of the genre. Snedorf believes that the hymns were originally composed for mysteries (hence the mystic terms they contain), but suspects that the current collection's purpose is didactic rather than ritual:

Epithetorum in Hymnis Orphicis usus non videtur eo tantum referendus esse, ut laudentur ac celebrentur Dii, sed ut rerum Cosmologicarum ac Theologicarum, sive Historiae naturalis et Metaphysices, quaedam praecipua capita vel momenta discantur, et memoria facile retineantur.⁶⁴

But the use of epithets in the *Orphic Hymns* does not appear to be aimed at praising and celebrating the gods so much as at teaching certain special points or ideas on cosmological or theological matters, or on natural history or metaphysics; and retaining these easily in the memory.

The philosophical element of the hymns had been raised by Meiners (a barbarised Stoicism) and Tiedemann (Stoicism with Pythagorean and Neoplatonist inclusions): the basis of these scholars' analyses was in fact an attempt to locate the hymns within the history of ideas.⁶⁵ Snedorf appears to be the first however to argue that the primary function of the collection, if not the individual hymns, is grounded in this element, that the hymn book as we possess it was compiled to communicate philosophical ideas and to serve as an *aide memoire*. In effect, he transfers the hymns from Souchay's 'theurgic' category to his philosophical one. But it should also be emphasised that

vornehmsten Völker der alten Welt, 1821 III i: 160): 'blöße Anrufungen und Lobpreisungen der Götter... Auch die ältern, wenn es deren gab, waren nicht anders. Man sehe Pausanias IX.' So too Matthias 1800 and Bode (1824: 140): 'Nolo cum aliis longius progredi, et contendere, esse ipsos Lycomedarum hymnos, qui ad nostram pervenerint aetatem. Hanc farraginem Pausaniae non imputabimus Orpheo dignam iudicaturum fuisse'.

⁶³ Snedorf, *De Hymnis Veterum Graecorum* (Copenhagen 1786): 48-59.

⁶⁴ *ibid.* 53.

⁶⁵ Meiners' focus (1775, 1780) was the history of religious thought, Tiedemann's (1780) the history of philosophy.

Snedorf saw the hymns as changing over time, and this change applied to function as well as content. They began as ritual texts and their didactic function was one that followed from their inclusion in this collection of the Roman era.⁶⁶

The idea that the hymns might represent different layers of composition was subsequently explored from several angles. Heyne, the doyen of the Göttingen school, viewed them as a ‘strange’ mixture of elements: early cosmological myth, Neoplatonist concepts and borrowings from initiatory rites cobbled together to form a kind of ‘corrupt philosophical fable’.⁶⁷ But the fact that they contain early features does not make them early. The extant hymns have no earlier incarnations in his view, they are themselves late assemblages.⁶⁸ Johann Gerlach, in a dissertation on the hymns defended at Göttingen in 1797, pursued the evolutionary model: the hymns described by Pausanias were a substrate that was interpolated and edited by an ‘Alexandrian’ author (and Orphic initiate), after Pausanias’ era.⁶⁹ Gottfried Hermann, who accurately dated the Orphic *Argonautica* to the period between Quintus and Nonnus in an extensive study of the evolution of epic metre and diction,⁷⁰ thought the hymns were older, but that they also contained many traces of a later date.⁷¹ Creuzer and Sickler agree that the extant hymns are by an author of the Alexandrian or even Roman period, but that they should be considered modernised versions of much older poems.⁷² Both authors, it should be noted, had an interest in showing that the content, if not the linguistic form, of the hymns was early. Sickler uses them as evidence for his Semitic etymology of ‘Silenos’, while Creuzer is more deeply invested: the Orphic poems of Onomacritus (from which the hymns and fragments

⁶⁶ Matthias (*Animadversiones ad Hymnos Homericos*, Leipzig 1800: 3-8) presents a version of this idea in arguing that mystic (i.e. ritually performed) and philosophical hymns are developmental stages in the same genre, defined in opposition to ‘mythological’ hymns and consisting of recondite, allusive, and frequently allegorical descriptions of the gods.

⁶⁷ Heyne, *Vorrede* in M. Hermann’s *Handbuch der Mythologie*, Bd. II (Berlin 1790): vii: ‘De sogenannte Orphische Hymne ist freylich ein sonderbares Gemisch: es liegt alte cosmogonische Fabel zum Grunde; das is nicht zu läugnen; aber es ist noch mehr spätere neuplatonische Vorstellungsart darinnen kenntlich; manches scheint aus gewissen Initien entlehnt zu seyn; und oben drein Volksreligion mit Superstition eigner Art. In allem Betracht macht die Orphische Hymne eine Fabel eigner Art aus; wir würden sie eine verdorbne philosophische Fabel nennen’. Heyne had earlier assigned a late date to the hymn to the Muses in particular (*OH* 78), since they represent all the arts, rather than music specifically (*Litterarum Artiumque inter Graecos Antiquiores Conditione* (1772: 312), as Schneider noted (1777: 58).

⁶⁸ Zoega, *Abhandlungen* (Göttingen 1817: 213-5) likewise argues for late compositions (by a single poet) with some earlier inclusions: ‘einige wenige vorhandene Bruchstücke und vielleicht einige Hymnen mögen verdienen, für früher als die gewöhnliche Zeitrechnung gehalten zu werden; das übrige zeigt, wenn ich mich nicht irre, augenscheinliche Spurre späterer Erfindung.’

⁶⁹ Gerlach *De Hymnis Orphicis* (Göttingen 1797). A selective analysis of the hymns identifies the proem and hymns 11, 12, 21, 22, 23, 56 and 87 as late. *OH* 6, 34 and 55 are Egyptian. *OH* 68 and 78 ‘ob simplicitatem placent’ and are likely to be old.

⁷⁰ Hermann, *De Aetate Scriptoris Argonauticorum Dissertatio*, in his *Orphica* (Leipzig 1805: 673-826).

⁷¹ *ibid.* 677: ‘Hymni quidem de quibus docte disputavit Tiedemannus in primis Graeciae philosophis, quin et Argonauticis et Lithicis antiquiores sint, dubitari non potest: quamquam etiam in hymnis sunt, qui recentioris aetatis non dubia contineant indicia’.

⁷² Creuzer, *Symbolik und Mythologie der Alten Völker* (Leipzig 1810-12) III: 157-61. Sickler, *Kadmus* (Hildburghausen 1818): cix, n. ‘Zeit zu zeit sprachlich modernisirte’ (or copied down from ‘Tempelhieroglyphen’).

derive) contained ‘the most essential tenets’ of the mysteries of Dionysos and Demeter, and the hymns can thus be used to reveal these.⁷³

Snedorf’s ‘evolutionary model’ could assume a number of forms then. The hymns could be presented as ancient but modernised, or late with early elements, depending on the emphasis required. A late date might also be defended by arguing, as Heeren and Bode do, that our hymns were closely modelled on earlier prototypes (such as the Lykomidai hymns):⁷⁴ that the early element may lie in the form or style of the hymns, rather than in scattered ideas and phrases, as Heyne thought.

1.5 19th century criticism: scepticism and reaction

These various accommodations between an early and a late dating were temporarily silenced by the weight of Augustus Lobeck’s response to Creuzer’s theory on the origins of Orphic myth in his monumental study of the Greek mystery cults, *Aglaophamus*.⁷⁵ Lobeck’s assessment of the hymns is thorough and clear-sighted. It is substantially in agreement with Schneider, whose argument that the hymns are not cited by any ancient author is accepted by Lobeck as conclusive in any consideration of their date. They are not in the lists of Orphic works found in Clement or the *Suda*, nor can they be identified with the Orphic hymns described by Pausanias, Menander or Aristides. The references in pseudo-Demosthenes and Pausanias adduced by Ruhnken (see above) are dismissed as wishful thinking. On the other hand, the hymns’ *novitas verborum* and their neglect of the epic dialect (which should be reprehended, not corrected in the manner of Hermann, he fears) point, together with the lack of citations, to a very late date.⁷⁶ Why would they not be cited if they were genuinely early? Grammarians, philosophers and mythographers would have referred to their elaborate compounds and obscure myths continuously if they thought they were the words of Orpheus, and yet there is not a single quotation even in Proclus, who never stops citing the *theologos*. Gesner’s argument that a ‘mystic silence’ prevented the faithful from revealing

⁷³ *ibid.* III: 159, IV: 556-60. *OH* 29 (Persephone) and 40 (Demeter Eleusinia) reveal the ‘Inhalt der Mysterienlehre’. On the debate between Creuzer and Lobeck regarding Orphic poetry, see further Graf 1974: 3, Graf & Iles Johnston 2007: 51 and Edmonds 2013: 53.

⁷⁴ Heeren (1821² III.i: 160). The earliest Greek hymns were ‘bloße Anrufungen und Lobpreisungen der Götter’: the extant Orphic hymns represent this type, modelled as they are on earlier hymns of Orpheus, such as those of the Lykomidai. Bode *Orpheus, Poetarum Graecorum Antiquissimus* (Göttingen 1824): 139-141. ‘Jam maxime probabilis eorum mihi sententia esse videtur, qui, quum nostram hymnorum collectionem seriore aevo consarcinatam esse recte statuunt, in singulis tamen antiquiorum formam servatam esse putant.’

⁷⁵ Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* (Königsburg 1829). On the *OH*, pp. 389-410, 983-6. Many of the arguments made here are taken directly from his *De Carminibus Orphicis Dissertatio I* (Königsburg 1824): 6-8.

⁷⁶ The epic diction of the hymns was briefly analysed by Lehrs (1825), who found in the wide range of dialect forms exhibited (-α/-η and dative plurals of the first declension, -ου/-εϋ/-αιο of the second, μού/μεϋ, σοῦ/σεϋ) a parallel for the *verborum novitas* Lobeck described in his 1824 dissertation. Petersen argues (1868: 397-8) that this freedom is already found in the Hellenistic poets. A more serious objection to drawing conclusions from dialect forms, acknowledged by Lehrs, is the corrupt state of the text in the manuscripts.

them is unconvincing: why are so many other Orphic poems cited? As for the idea that the hymns were associated with a mystic cult or community of initiates, which cult or community worshipped so many gods? Lobeck's own view is that these *inficetae trivialesque cantilenae* are the work of a Byzantine author, and a demonstration of the kind of thing Orpheus would have written as a guide to invoking the gods - not that the author believed they would actually be used, they were composed rather for his own amusement.⁷⁷ They may contain traces of older material, but they are undoubtedly the work of one, talentless, poet: the repetition of words and phrases across the collection is proof of this.⁷⁸

A bad poet, caught in the gyre of the few phrases he knew and so endlessly repetitive. Lobeck is genuinely perplexed at the positive comments of scholars such as Ruhnken and Valckenaer. This tiresome accumulation of predication, he argues, is anything but 'elegant'. Schneider claimed that the Orphic label inspired an irrational compulsion to defend their antiquity,⁷⁹ and Lobeck agrees: in the Renaissance the 'mendax titulus doctorum oculos praestrinxit', and the force of tradition has continued to blind scholars to the plain reality of just how bad the hymns are.⁸⁰ One important consideration in reviewing the compositional theories of the scholars of the German Enlightenment is the extent to which perceived quality, a subjective criterion, is linked to arguments for the dating of the hymns. Good, elegant, refined: these are the marks of antiquity.⁸¹ Bad, uninspired, lifeless: sure indications of an 'inferioris aetatis'.⁸² Such assessments are certainly not the only criteria used, but they do appear to either inform or reinforce each scholar's conclusion. Just as Lobeck suspects that belief in the hymns' antiquity has influenced critical assessment of their quality, conversely, in his own case, the conviction that they are later than Proclus may either have inspired (or been inspired by) his own negative assessment. This tendency to interweave subjective and objective criteria in establishing date is most explicit among the critics of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in which the Classical ideal was so fetishised, but it may also be a factor in the assessments of later scholars, like Wilamowitz, which appear to have a visceral undercurrent.

⁷⁷ Lobeck 1829: 395 'haec mihi sententia est, has precationum formulas quicumque composuerit nulli certo aut sacrorum aut hominum generi destinasse sed omnibus, qui deorum aliquem propitiaturi essent, quasi verbis praeire voluisse, non quo crederet, quemquam his usurum sed animi causa et ut ostenderet, quid Orpheus, si voluisset optimam precandi rationem tradere, praecepturus fuisset'.

⁷⁸ *ibid.* 986. 'Enotavi talia plurima [repeated phrases] iam satis nosci puto huius paupertini poetae angustias, paucissimorum verborum et sententiarum gyro circumclusi.'

⁷⁹ Schneider 1777: 53.

⁸⁰ Lobeck 1829: 406.

⁸¹ Valckenaer 1785: 85 'Hymni qui vocantur ut multis modis meliora, *sic* et mihi semper visa poemata ceteris [Orphicis] longe antiquiora' (my italics).

⁸² E.g. Schneider 1777: 55 'habitu et quasi vultu non apparet natus ille et austerus sermonis antiqui color.' Meiners 1780: 200 'ab antiquorum Poetarum suavitate abhorrens.' Tiedemann 1780: 84 (on *OH* 15) 'matte prosaische Stellen... von einem Dichterlein späterer Zeiten.'

For several decades, Lobeck's view remained unchallenged. Bernhardt (1845) and Büschsenschütz (1851) are substantially in agreement with it in regard to both the date of the hymns and their literary quality.⁸³ Bernhardt is unremittingly negative: the hymns are arid, mechanical, repetitive lists of predication, strung together without logic. They have no genuine connection with the mysteries (the mystic terminology is figurative), but are characteristic of the latest stage of Greek paganism and the Neoplatonists in particular - hence their concern with 'niche gods' and philosophical abstractions.⁸⁴ With Lobeck, he imagines a single author, an inexperienced and mediocre scholar ineptly imitating Proclus.⁸⁵ Büschsenschütz's 1851 dissertation on the hymns focuses on the issue of date. Diction and dialect are a better index of this than doctrine, he argues, which is more easily imitated.⁸⁶ His analysis of metre and vocabulary however yield conclusions that are in fact predetermined by his deference to Lobeck: although the hymns' metric, judged by Hermann's criteria⁸⁷ appears to be earlier than Nonnus, this must be the result of conscious archaism on the poet's part - the hymns cannot be earlier than Proclus, or that author would have cited them.⁸⁸ Liberal borrowing from Homer and Hesiod, the number of *hapax legomena*, the unsystematic accumulation of both epithets and doctrines: everything Büschsenschütz considers confirms a date in the fifth century. The hymns are not mystic documents but either *ludi mediocris grammatici*, composed for his students' benefit, or a late pagan polemic. The medley of Orphic and Stoic elements is not evidence of many hands, as Tiedemann thought, but of a single, late poet drawing on a wide variety of sources. Again, a single author is taken to be the necessary corollary of a single (late) date for the hymns.

Christian Petersen mounted the first serious challenge to Lobeck in a book-length monograph on the hymns published in 1868.⁸⁹ The opposite view to Büschsenschütz is taken: diction and dialect are poor clues to date taken by themselves, particularly where extensive use of earlier formulae, and

⁸³ Bernhardt, *Grundriß der Griechischen Litteratur* (Halle 1845) II.i: 273-7. The book went through five editions between 1845 and 1872 with substantial revisions in each. Büschsenschütz *De hymnis Orphicis* (Berlin 1851).

⁸⁴ Bernhardt 1845 II.i: 274. A Neoplatonist context for the collection as a whole had already been proposed by Schneider (1777: 52, 58) and elements within the collection described as Neoplatonist by several scholars associated with the Göttingen School: Tiedemann 1780: 83 (the proem), Heyne 1790: xv, Gerlach 1797: 25 (*OH* 34), Bode 1838: 174. Petersen (1868: 399) ascribes the Neoplatonist theory to Lobeck, but Lobeck only says the hymns are later than Proclus 'eiusque gregales' (1829: 404) and belong to the Byzantine period (p. 396): the *terminus ante* is given by Galenus and Tzetzes. In fact, while Lobeck accepts Heyne's judgment that the hymns contain Neoplatonist elements, he argues that the same could be said of Tzetzes (p. 405).

⁸⁵ Bernhardt 1845 II.i: 275-6. Individual hymns may have been composed separately: *OH* 38 and 55 are 'better'; 34, 86 and 87 among the worst ('nichts anderes als versifizierte Prosa oder Schulsprache').

⁸⁶ Büschsenschütz 1851: 9. Cf. Ulrich 1835: 106-7, n. 26, the only certain criterion for the date of the hymns is language.

⁸⁷ Hermann (1805: 673-826) considered caesura, lengthening in caesura, hiatus and Attic correction in dating the *Argonautica*.

⁸⁸ Büschsenschütz 1851: 13-4.

⁸⁹ Petersen 'Ueber den Ursprung der unter Orpheus Namen vorhandenen Hymnen', *Philologus* 27 (1868): 385-431. Like Lobeck, Petersen had outlined his ideas on the hymns in an earlier article (*Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste*, vol. 82 (1864): 175-6).

probably vocabulary too, has occurred.⁹⁰ Doctrine on the other hand, the religious and philosophical outlook of the author, should be seen as decisive. He finds no trace of Neoplatonism here, but abundant evidence of Stoicism: the representation of the gods as natural phenomena and the presence of specifically Stoic abstractions, such as Pronoia, Physis and Nomos are only the most visible marks of the pervasive influence of the Stoa, and of the theology of Chrysippus in particular.

⁹¹ The hymns, in Petersen's view, present a synthesis of the Orphico-Pythagorean tradition with Stoicism.⁹² While Chrysippus himself is said to have accommodated Orphic (and Homeric) myth to Stoicism, Petersen sees the eclecticism of the first centuries BCE and CE as the likeliest context for the creation of the collection. This was the period that saw the revival of Pythagoreanism by Nigidius Figulus and the Sextii, in a form combined with Stoicism,⁹³ and the eclectic allegorical theology of the Stoic Cornutus. Here he finds 'die einzige zeit des alterthums, in der eine gleiche richtung nachzuweisen ist'.⁹⁴ The date might be extended into the second century CE (there are phrasal echoes in the *Sententiae* of Secundus and Marcus Aurelius), but the hymns can be no later: Stoicism itself disappears by the third century. As to the composition and purpose of the collection, Petersen is, with reason, less certain. He agrees that the majority of the hymns and the overall arrangement of the collection are by a single hand, but thinks that many elements and several entire hymns may derive from earlier sources. The epithetic style of hymn is itself early, as Lobeck also conceded,⁹⁵ and the poet must have drawn freely on earlier models, ('Orphic' or otherwise) which have not survived. A select number of these models were incorporated whole: the hymns to Aphrodite (*OH* 55), the Kouretes (*OH* 38) are, he believes, Hellenistic in date, and the hymn to the Moirai (*OH* 59) older still.⁹⁶ Other hymns which have fewer predicates, a 'mehr individualisirten Inhalt' and which may be foreign, include the hymns to Hera (*OH* 16), Pluto (*OH* 18), Meter (*OH* 26), Nike (*OH* 32) and Hermes Chthonios (*OH* 56). The last three hymns of the collection are questionable: though different, they may be the result of the main author imitating a different model.⁹⁷

Petersen also considers, but dismisses, a distinction between hymns which contain mystic terminology (e.g. μύσται, τελεταί, ὄργια) and those which do not. Regardless of whether these terms

⁹⁰ Büschsenchütz identified Homeric and Hesiodic formulae in the hymns, as well as *hapax legomena*. Petersen argues that the latter may also be drawn from earlier poetry (1868: 395, 409).

⁹¹ Meiners had noted the presence of an inconsistent and contradictory form of Stoicism in the hymns (1780: 198-9).

⁹² Specifically Pythagorean elements include the bloodless offering formulae, the references to the central fire (*OH* 84.2, 5) and the music of the spheres (*OH* 11.5, 34.16-20). Petersen 1868: 411, 415-6.

⁹³ Cic. *Tim.* 1, Sen. *Ep.* 108. 17-18, *QNat.* 7.32.2. On Nigidius, Thesleff 1961: 52-54, Musiał 2001, Riedweg 2002: 123-4; the School of the Sextii, Larson 1992, Griffin 2007, Di Paola 2014.

⁹⁴ Petersen 1868: 408-9.

⁹⁵ *ibid.* 407, Lobeck 1829: 401-2. E.g. the hymns to Dionysos in Ovid *Met.* 4.11-32 and Arrian *Alex.* 5.2.6.

⁹⁶ Petersen 1868: 421-9. Bernhardt had already identified these three hymns as different (superior to the rest, 1845 II.i: 273, 274, 276), together with *OH* 34, 86 and 87 (inferior). Hermann (1805: 325-6) also commented on the 'aliud genus dictionis' found in *OH* 59 and suspected a more recent date (i.e. than the 6th c. BCE).

⁹⁷ Petersen 1868: 429-30. Hermann also thought *OH* 16 different (more recent, 1805: 276. Likewise *OH* 19, *ibid.* 281).

are present or not, the mystery context appears to be pervasive.⁹⁸ But is it literal or figurative (as Bernhardt argues)? Has the author, in other words, composed the collection for the ritual use of a group of initiates, or for private contemplation or worship? Petersen thinks the latter:

Sie sind nicht für die mysterien selbst gedichtet, sondern der reflex derselben, wahrscheinlich für privaterbauung, zum theil zur vorbereitung, zum theil vielleicht auch zur erinnerung.⁹⁹

They were not composed for the mysteries themselves, but for a reflection of them: probably for private edification, in part for preparation, in part perhaps also for memory.

The philosophical character of the hymns, in Petersen's view, reveals their true purpose: they are the expression of an individual poet's theology, his 'heart-outpourings', rather than a practical liturgy.¹⁰⁰ In emphasising philosophy over ritual he is in fact looking back to Snedorf (without reference), who argued that the hymns in their current form had a primarily didactic, rather than celebratory, function that was similarly grounded in memorisation.¹⁰¹

1.6 Inscriptional evidence and the ritual function of the hymns

The idea of a primarily philosophical function would be revisited,¹⁰² but remained very much a minority view. Like the literary, 'jeu d'esprit' theory advanced by Lobeck, it requires looking past the information that the hymns themselves provide about their context. They proclaim this loudly: they are composed on behalf of a group of initiates, possibly (if hymns 1 and 31 are original parts of the collection) by a *boukolos*, who sings on behalf of the mystic community, requesting the gods' presence at their *ἔργια* or *τελεταί*.¹⁰³ The idea that their primary purpose is ritual was insisted upon by Scaliger and most subsequent critics who discussed the hymns' function.¹⁰⁴ It receded in the nineteenth century under the influence of the literary and philosophical theories of Lobeck and Petersen, but made an emphatic, and lasting, recovery in the light of the late nineteenth century German excavations in Pergamon and the Troad.

⁹⁸ Petersen 1868: 390-1, 418-9 'alle götter in beziehung auf die mysterien gesetzt oder gedacht sind'.

⁹⁹ *ibid.* 409.

¹⁰⁰ Petersen 1864: 175-6 'Wir haben demnach in den Orphischen Hymnen wahrscheinlich die Herzensergießungen oder die in Hymnenform gekleideten Ansichten eines frommen Stoikers aus dem 1. Jahrh. oder dem Anfange des 2. Jahrh. n. Chr.'

¹⁰¹ Snedorf 1786: 53.

¹⁰² Novosadsky 1900, Baudnik 1905 and cf. Kern 1940.

¹⁰³ *OH* 1.9-10 (Hekate) *λίσσόμενος κούρην τελεταῖς ὁσίαισι παρῆναι, | βουκόλῳ εὐμενέουσιν ἀεὶ κεχαρηότι θυμῷ; 31.7 (Kouretes) βουκόλῳ εὐάντητοι ἀεὶ κεχαρηότι θυμῷ.*

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Gesner (1764: 186), citing a passage of the *Lithica* 'qui dubium nullum de scopo et usu horum hymnorum relinquit': *Τέρπονται γὰρ ἐπὶν κέ τις ἐν τελετῇσι | Μυστικὸν αἰείδῃσιν ἐπώνυμον οὐρανίωνων* (v. 726-7).

The term βουκόλος first attracted attention. Petersen tried to avoid the conclusion that the poems were composed by a (literal) cowherd¹⁰⁵ by suggesting that the sense in *OH* 1.10 and 31.7 is adjectival: ‘come with a herdsman (i.e. protective) heart, ever gracious’. Five years later, however, Ernst Curtius published an inscription that was among the first finds from the acropolis at Pergamon, which confirmed that the term was an official title associated with the cult of Dionysos Kathegemon in the first century CE.¹⁰⁶

Οἱ βουκόλοι ἐτείμησαν	The boukoloi honoured
Σωτήρα Ἀ[ρ]τειμιδώρου τὸν	Soter son of Artemidoros,
Ἀρχιβουκόλον διὰ τοῦ εὐσεβῶς	archiboukolos, for piously
Καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ καθηγεμόνος	and worthily presiding over
Διονύσου προῖστασθαι τῶν	the divine mysteries
Θείων μυστηρίων.	of Dionysos Kathegemon.
Εἰσὶν δὲ οἱ βουκόλοι...	The boukoloi are...

The names of seventeen βουκόλοι follow, as well as two ὑμνοδιδάσκαλοι, two σειλήνιοι and a χορηγός. Rudolf Schöll connected this, together with the Bacchic inscription from Perinthus (which contained the term ἀρχιβουκόλος), with the *Orphic Hymns*.¹⁰⁷ Lobeck and Petersen, he argues, were wrong: the term shows that these hymns are a relic of a Bacchic mystery cult. They are precisely the kind of cult hymn that such communities would have performed, led by their *hymnodidaskaloi*.¹⁰⁸ The number of gods they address is not problematic, as Lobeck contended, since Dionysos himself is central to the collection. This theory would moreover account for the lack of ancient references, Lobeck’s chief argument for a late date and against cult use: ‘id non mirandum in obscuris hymnographorum fetibus per mystarum secreta conventicula propagatis’.

Schöll’s ideas were explored in detail by Albrecht Dieterich in his *Habilitationsschrift* on the hymns, a work credited with establishing beyond doubt their original ritual function.¹⁰⁹ Dieterich’s argument is set out in the first of five chapters, in which he reviews the inscriptional evidence for the office of βουκόλος from North-West Anatolia and Rome. Βουκόλοι (and ἀρχιβουκόλοι) are the

¹⁰⁵ He cites (without reference) J H Voss for the opinion that they were composed for the initiation of a cowherd, rather (1868: 420).

¹⁰⁶ Curtius 1873: 39-40. *PHI IvP II* (Fränkel 1890) no. 485.

¹⁰⁷ Schöll, *De communibus et collegiis quibusdam Graecorum* (1879): 176-80. The (lost) Perinthus inscription was recorded in the 15th century by Cyriac of Ancona. The text is in Kaibel 1879: 211 (no. 1036a = *OF* 320 XI, 661, *PHI* Perinthus-Heracleia 57): χρησμὸς Σιβύλλης. Ἐπὶ δ’ ὁ Βάκχος εὐάσας πλησ[θήσε]τα[ι] (πλη[γή]σ[ε]τα[ι] Dieterich), [τ]ό[τ]ε αἶμα καὶ πῦρ καὶ κόνις μὴήσεται. Σπέλλιος Εὐήθης ἀρχιβουκόλος, Ἡρακλείδου Ἀλεξάνδρου ἀρχιμυστοῦντος, Ἀλέξανδρος σπείραρχος (four names follow). See further Morand 2001: 264-5.

¹⁰⁸ Schöll 1879: 178 ‘contendo hymnos illos cum litandi praeceptis adjunctis reapse mystarum coetibus qualis bubulcorum Bacchicorum est destinatos fuisse.’ Schöll is more sympathetic to Lobeck’s view than Petersen’s, dismissing the Stoic element: ‘cum preces istae sacrificae et epiphonematum ampullae nullo discrimine in saccum fusae non minus abhorreant a sententiosa Stoicorum gravitate quam a Platonistarum abstrusa et recondita subtilitate’.

¹⁰⁹ Dieterich *De hymnis Orphicis capitula V* (Marburg 1891). On the importance of this study, Kern 1940: 25, Graf 2009: 169-70.

ministri ac cultores of Dionysos, either as officiants, herdsmen of the god's devotees ('cows' in the same sense as Artemis' 'bears' at Brauron), or as attendants of the god as divine bull, the form he takes in the hymn of the Eleian women.¹¹⁰ The Perinthus inscription moreover, which may be interpreted as a reference to the Orphic anthropogonic myth of Dionysos and the Titans, suggests a connection between this office and Orphic rites in North-West Anatolia. The collection we possess, Dieterich concludes, is the hymn book of an Orphico-Bacchic mystery cult, and a unique survival. At the time of its composition however it would not have been anything special: every such community would have had its own book of hymns, all of which were likely to have been titled Ὀρφῆως ὕμνοι.¹¹¹ An analysis of the mystery terminology in the hymns, for rites (μυστήρια, τελεταί, θίασος) and initiates (μύσται, νεομύσται, νεοφάντης), leads Dieterich to conclude that the community for whom the collection was composed had a hierarchy.¹¹² The βουκόλος himself is more than a common initiate, and the νεομύσται are in the process of becoming initiates. The inscriptions however suggest that in Bacchic cults both the βουκόλοι and their leader, the ἀρχιβουκόλος, were subordinate to the ἀρχιμύστης, the high priest. The 'herdsmen' were high ranking, but not at the apex of the hierarchy, and Dieterich concludes that they formed a subset of initiates tasked with ritual performance in particular: with δραματουργία, dancing (hence the reference in *OH* 31, to the Kouretes) and hymnody. The self-referencing βουκόλος of the *Orphic Hymns* thus sings on behalf of the congregation, or λαός (*OH* 34.10), fulfilling the role of ὕμνοδιδάσκαλος.¹¹³

Further evidence for the ritual use of the hymns is presented in a second chapter on their form, order and origin.¹¹⁴ Hekate's hymn stands *extra ordinem*, at the end of the proem.¹¹⁵ As the sequence of hymns follows a cosmological pattern, Hekate is presented here as cosmic queen, presiding over the pantheon. Dieterich envisages a statue at the entrance to the *sacellum* used by the group at which offerings were made to the goddess as a preliminary rite.¹¹⁶ The sequence of hymns itself, bracketed by Prothyraia and Thanatos, and following (to a some degree) the pattern of an

¹¹⁰ Dieterich 1891: 3-5. The Eleian hymn: *PMG* 871. Cf. *OH* 30.4 ταυρωπόν, 45.1 ταυρομέτωπε.

¹¹¹ *ibid.* 8.

¹¹² *ibid.* 11-13.

¹¹³ *ibid.* 13. 'iam tunc in Orphicorum sacello λαῶν ὑπερ preces ac vota misit ad numina divina Bacchi βουκόλος'. *OH* 34.10: κλῦθί μου εὐχομένου λαῶν ὑπερ εὐφρονη θυμῶι.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.* 14-25. The third to fifth chapters are devoted to textual emendations and traces of Orphic hymns in the gold lamellae and magical papyri.

¹¹⁵ In all MSS. Hermann's edition is the first to print it as the first hymn (1805: 254), although Canter (1566: 85) already referred to it as a separate *suffimen*, and the 'h' group of manuscripts (Plethon's recension) contains the proem without it. Petersen was in favour of keeping it joined to the proem: 'Dass die zueignung mit einem ausführlichen gebet an die Hekate schliesst kann nicht auffallen, wenn mann erwägt, das dieselbe von den ältesten zeiten bis auf die spätesten eine hervorragende stelle in den mysterien aller art eingenommen hat' (1868: 387). So too Dieterich (1891: 16) 'qui versus minime sunt separandi a proemio quod vocatur εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον: iam huic ipsi subiungitur summae deae adoratio'. Maass (1895: 175), Jacobi (1930: 74, n. 3) and Ricciardelli (2000: xliii-iv) argue that the proem and the hymn to Hekate are later additions to the collection. See ch. 2.1.1.

¹¹⁶ Dieterich 1891: 16. The theory is revisited by Graf (2009: 171).

Orphic theogony,¹¹⁷ and even the superscription *ἐντυχῶς χρῶ ἑταῖρε*, point, in Dieterich's view, to the ritual, liturgical use of the hymns by an Orphico-Bacchic sect. On the origin of the hymns, Dieterich had already expressed the opinion that they must predate the hymns of the magical papyri.¹¹⁸ Here he suggests a date in the last two centuries BCE, and thinks either littoral Asia Minor or (more likely) Alexandria the place of composition.¹¹⁹ Dieterich allows that the collection has been augmented and changed over time however. He ascribes the discrepancy between the gods of the proem and the hymns themselves, which Petersen thought compatible with a single author, to either the addition of the proem from another collection, or the loss of several hymns from this one.¹²⁰

Writing four years later, Ernst Maass takes a much looser view of the collection as it stands, maintaining that the hymns are indeed liturgical in origin, but that they derive from a number of different types of *thiasoi*: they are not exclusively Bacchic.¹²¹ The hymn to Hekate, for instance, addresses the goddess as a *propolos* of Kore-Persephone, and must have its origins in the cult of that divinity. The *boukolos* is, Maass argues, not a functionary but Orpheus himself: the 'real' leader of this *thiasos*. The 'herdsman' of the flock is its founder and *teletarch*. The hymn collection is Orphic then, but not specifically Bacchic, or composed as one document for a particular Orphic community. It is a *gesamtliederbuch*, a codification of Orphic prayer poetry, which has been 'lately and loosely' gathered and arranged into the partially theogonic sequence described by Dieterich. Echoing Lobeck, Maass argues that no single cult could have worshipped this range of divinities. Rather, there is a centralising pantheism, linked to the figure of Orpheus and his putative role in the establishment of all mysteries. The collection brings the gods of the many individual mysteries together into one *pantheic telete*: Orpheus' summative revelation. Maass also maintains that the characteristic style of the hymns, the accumulation of epithets, is a primitive feature, typical of hieratic hymns from an early period. In this he is in agreement with Lobeck,¹²² and indeed with Snedorf.¹²³ Like Snedorf he also sees a parallel between the development of the *Orphic Hymns* and that of the Jewish Psalter, both of which have expanded from an early core (such as the Lykomidai hymns in the case of the former), or from several early cult-specific collections.¹²⁴ These will have

¹¹⁷ *ibid.* 16-24. Petersen also studies the significance of the sequence (1868: 389-90). See further ch. 2.1.3.

¹¹⁸ Dieterich 1888: 778 'iam ca. 200 p. Chr. hymnorum thesauros ad manus fuisse compilatoribus magicis certum est'.

¹¹⁹ Dieterich 1891: 25, 52. He finds support for this date in the frequent prayers for peace, which may reflect the warfare of the period preceding the *pax Romana*. Dieterich finds Egypt's claim more likely given the prominence of Bacchic cults in Ptolemaic Alexandria.

¹²⁰ Petersen 1868: 389 'Wenn wir eine freie bearbeitung des gesammten in den hymnen ausgeführten stoffs in der kürze annehmen, ein so strenger anschluss nicht zu fordern ist'. Cf Gesner 1764: 180 'quasi breviarium et summam opusculi, liberam tamen, nec numero Deorum Dearumque serviliter adstrictam'. Dieterich 1891: 25, n. 6.

¹²¹ Maass, *Orpheus* (Munich 1895) s. III 'Aus dem Orphischen Hymnenbuch', pp. 174-204.

¹²² Lobeck 1829: 400-2. Like Lobeck, Maass sees echoes of this hieratic style in early Christian hymnody (1895: 197, 199). Dieterich (1891: 52) also suggests that early Christian hymns looked to lost Orphic models.

¹²³ Snedorf 1786: 52-3. Cf. Heinsius 1627: 40-3, who compares the use of epithets in the Hebrew tradition (*Exod.* 34, *Jerem.* 32).

¹²⁴ Maass 1895: 202, Snedorf 1786: 51. Snedorf however discusses the evolution of individual psalms or hymns, Maass that of the collection as a whole.

continued to exist as hymn books in specific cults, but the extant collection is not, as Dieterich insists, one of them.

There is no single author in Maass' view then, only a late collector and the binding figure of Orpheus himself. This speaks to a defining distinction between the theories of critics following Schneider: was there a single author, composing as Orpheus, or an editor-collector of earlier Orphic material? Schneider, Meiners, Lobeck and other critics who took a dim view of the collection favoured a single author, late in date, who may have incorporated earlier material (Heyne), or looked to earlier models (Matthias, Lobeck). Petersen and Dieterich, for all their differences over the original function of the hymns, are in agreement with these scholars: there was a single author, but composing earlier than previously thought, in the first centuries BCE or CE. The theory of an editor on the other hand is advanced by scholars who believe that the collection consists largely of early material that has been subsequently assembled, revised and supplemented.¹²⁵ The range of opinions on this subject, whether the collection is an assemblage or a unitary composition, forms one axis in the complex of critical views. Opinions on the function of the hymns and/or the collection, whether liturgical or philosophical, form another. Most early critics leaned towards a philosophical, speculative or didactic aim on the part of either the author or collector, although accepting that the author's models, or the collector's source material may have been cultic. Following Schöll and Dieterich however, the prevailing view shifted in favour of the theory that the collection itself was a genuine liturgy, performed in a ritual context.

Otto Gruppe, in his 1902 article for Roscher's *Lexikon* largely dismisses the philosophical element as reflecting the eclectic, personal beliefs of an author who composed the collection to be performed by a cult community led by a *boukolos*.¹²⁶ The Stoic elements identified by Petersen were, he argues, widespread by the first century BCE, a date also suggested by the *Götterwelt* of the hymns, with their references to Isis, Memphite Apollo and the Samothracian gods. Gruppe agrees with Dieterich that the hymns must predate those of the magical papyri, but argues that the epithet strings that characterise both Orphic and *PGM* hymns point to a functional connection: they are incantatory, and in both cases rooted in the belief that no sacred name can be omitted if an invocation or spell is to be effective. Gruppe derives this epithetic style from Egypt, but argues that it was already evident in Athens in the fifth century BCE.¹²⁷ Other contemporary scholars supported a cultic context for the hymns but not an early date. Röhde was persuaded that the hymns were composed together for cult performance, but not before the third century revival of 'Orphism' under the Severans.¹²⁸ Adami agrees, but accommodates Dieterich's dating by reverting

¹²⁵ i.e. Tiedemann, Snedorf, Creuzer, Bode and Maass.

¹²⁶ Gruppe in Roscher s.v. 'Orpheus', h) 'Orphische Hymnen' (Bd. 3.1 [1897-1902]: 1149-1154).

¹²⁷ Gruppe 1902: 1153-4. 5th century BCE: noting traces in tragedy and citing Dieterich's paper on Orphic hymn formulae in the *Clouds* (Dieterich 1893a: 275-83).

¹²⁸ Röhde *Psyche* (2nd ed. Leipzig 1898) II: 399, n. 1.

to the theory of a late redactor rather than a single author: individual hymns and formulae may date to the second or first centuries BCE but not the collection as a whole.¹²⁹

Two studies of the hymns that appeared in the first decade of the twentieth century had far less impact than that of Dieterich, but deserve to be better known. Nikolai Novossadsky's doctoral research on the *Orphic Hymns*, published in Russian in 1900, was the only book-length study on the subject to appear in the twentieth century.¹³⁰ It contains valuable studies of the hymns' metre, phonology, morphology and syntax, as well as an extensive analysis of their philosophical influences, particularly Stoic, Pythagorean and Heraclitean, and their reflections of popular religion, including references to ghosts and divine *οἱστρος*.¹³¹ On the basis of his metrical and linguistic analysis, Novossadsky sees a close connection with Callimachus and Apollonius Rhodius and argues that the collection was originally composed in the 2nd century BCE, but has suffered extensive textual corruption, including the transposition of verses from one hymn to another, and undergone a revision which may have introduced the many atticisms he detects.¹³² He agrees with Dieterich that the hymns were composed to be performed in the ritual context of a mystery cult, arguing that the hymns' description of themselves as *εὐχαί* (*OH* 27.2), the rubric of the associated offerings, and the references to the *μύσται* they were performed for, all support this conclusion.¹³³

The second of these studies was the work of the Czech scholar Zdenko Baudnik.¹³⁴ In his 1905 monograph on the hymns, Baudnik reviews the work of earlier critics, and argues that Petersen's arguments are worth reconsideration. He offers a detailed analysis of the Stoic and Pythagorean concepts found in the collection, noting the significant parallels with Philo of Alexandria in particular. Baudnik concludes that the hymns were not composed by a single author, and do not provide a systematic philosophical treatment of the gods. They are however, he suggests, of a

¹²⁹ Adami, *De poetis scaenicis Graecis hymnorum sacrorum imitatoribus* (1901): 216-7.

¹³⁰ Novossadsky, *Орфический гимны* (Warsaw 1900). Novossadsky published a preliminary paper on textual emendations in the *OH* four years earlier, in Latin: 'Observationes criticae in hymnos Orphicos' (*Charisteria*, Moscow 1896: 175-83). Quandt secured a copy and a translation of Novossadsky's book: '[Bruno Snell] vir humanissimus etiam perrarum misit librum a Nicolao Novossadsky de hymnis Orphicis Russice scriptum, quem anno 1923 ab ipso auctore acceperat, ut studia mea augetet. Quem librum Eccehardus Brandes collega... magna liberalitate nostram vertit in linguam' (1955: 39*). Of more recent scholars only Ricciardelli (2000) cites this author widely.

¹³¹ Metre, diction: pp. 114-228, philosophy: pp. 53-102, religion: pp. 102-114.

¹³² Novossadsky 1900: 229-236 'While placing the composition of the *Orphic Hymns* that have come down to us at the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, I am far from considering them preserved in their original form. The text of the hymns in the manuscripts is so corrupt that in many places not only the correctness of the metre, but even the meaning is misplaced.' (p. 230).

¹³³ *ibid.* 240. 'The *Orphic Hymns* represent a remnant of the hieratic poetry of the Hellenistic period, with strictly conservative forms of the hexameter and traces of living Hellenic speech. Despite the weak development of a narrative element in the hymns they contain rich material for the study of Orphism. The theological and cosmogonic scholarship of the Orphics, their pantheism, their relation to the philosophical schools and to the popular religion of the Greeks, the identification of the gods with manifestations of nature, the belief in ghosts, the gods as animals, the apparition of the dead: all this is revealed to us in bright, though fragmentary, outlines'.

¹³⁴ Baudnik, *Ein Beitrag zur Analyse und Datierung der orphischen Hymnensammlung* (Krummhou 1905).

similar date, in the range 200 BCE to 200 CE, with the balance of probability pointing to the first century CE, and Alexandria as the place of composition.

Die Entstehung der Sammlung, die eben eine solche Mischung verschiedener Anschauungen aufweist, dürfte daher in eine Zeit fallen, in welcher schon das allgemeine Bestreben herrschte, die verschiedenen philosophischen Systeme und Religionen mit einander zu verschmelzen, der Stoizismus, der zwar immer noch ein übermächtige Rolle spielte und bei weitem noch nicht ganz in fremde Anschauungen übergegangen war, trotzdem schon neupythagoreische Einflüsse in sich aufgenommen hatte, und besonders auf alexandrinischem Boden in dem theosophischen System des Juden Philo mit der platonischen Philosophie eine innige Verbindung eingegangen war, eine Zeit, in welcher Heraklit, Cornutus, Philo und Secundus, mit deren Schriften die Hymnen manche Übereinstimmung aufzuweisen haben, lebten; kurz es war wohl das 1. Jahrhundert nach Christus jene Zeit und Alexandria der Ort, wo eine orphisierende Literatur entstehen und gedeihen konnte, die den Charakter unserer Hymnen trug.¹³⁵

The creation of the collection, which has such a mixture of different views, should therefore be assigned to a period when there was already a general effort to merge the different philosophical systems and religions with one another; when Stoicism, which still played an overpowering role and was still far from being changed completely into alien views, nevertheless had already taken on Neopythagorean influences and, especially on Alexandrian soil, had entered into an intimate association with Platonic philosophy in the theosophical system of Philo Judaeus - a time in which Heraclitus, Cornutus, Philo and Secundus, with whose writings the hymns have some agreement, lived. In short, it was probably the first century after Christ, and Alexandria the place, where an orphising literature could arise and flourish, that gave rise to the character of our hymns.

The keynote of the hymns, for Baudnik, is a characteristically Stoic fusion of philosophical doctrine and popular religion; but they are also marked by an eclecticism, as their echoes of Pythagoreanism and the middle Platonism of Philo show, that appears to reflect the direction taken by popular Stoicism in the early Imperial period. Orpheus and the mysteries are the vehicles here for a pantheistic theology: as Petersen maintained, the hymns are not to be taken literally as ritual texts performed in the mysteries. Baudnik's remains the most thorough study of Stoic allegory and etymology in the hymns produced to date.¹³⁶ In his focus on philosophy over ritual he was against the tide of scholarly opinion, however, which remained overwhelmingly in favour of a primarily cultic context for the collection.¹³⁷ Scholarship at the turn of the twentieth century was, following Dieterich, increasingly in favour of a single author composing for a Bacchic mystery cult, with the

¹³⁵ *ibid.* 19.

¹³⁶ On etymological allusion in the *OH*, see now Morand 2001: 61-68 and 2010.

¹³⁷ Stengel 1898: 74 is another rare dissenting voice: like the *Homeric Hymns*, he states, without argument, the *OH* are not liturgical poems.

proviso that the collection may have undergone subsequent additions and deletions. The theory of a collector of disparate earlier material remained current however, in the views of Maass and Baudnik, and an intermediate position also emerged: that two main figures should be envisaged, an original author and a later editor, as Novossadsky and Adami maintained.

1.7 Otto Kern and location of the *OH* community

Fifty years separate the first article on the *Orphic Hymns* by Otto Kern from the last, a half century marked by the discovery of an increasing amount of inscriptional evidence, which, in Kern's view, conclusively established the cultic function of the collection and western Anatolia, specifically Pergamon, as its place of origin. Kern's first study, published in 1889 soon after his doctoral dissertation on early Greek theogonies, focusses on allusions to the Orphic theogony in the collection.¹³⁸ These are, he argues, found in a limited number of hymns, specifically *OH* 3 (Nyx), 6 (Protogonos), 11 (Pan), 30 (Dionysos) and 52 (Liknites), and are attributable to a late (the period is not specified) interpolator. Dieterich's dissertation, published two years later, disputed this, asserting that the hymns were composed for an Orphic community, a theory that Kern later accepted without reservation.¹³⁹

In 1910 Kern reviewed the recently uncovered dedications to several of the more obscure deities found in the hymns: the cult of Hipta and Sabazios was now conclusively attested in the city of Maeonia (modern Menye, now Gökçeören) in Lydia, twenty-five kilometres north of Mount Tmolus, which is named in Hipta's hymn.¹⁴⁰ Erikepaios (*OH* 6.4, 52.6) appears on a second-century altar from Hierocaesaria (modern Sazoba), again in Lydia, while Melinoe is identified with Hekate in the magician's apparatus discovered at Pergamon and published by Wunsch in 1905.¹⁴¹ Taken with the inscriptional evidence for Dionysian mystery communities in western Asia Minor and the Aegean,¹⁴² Kern concludes, 'Die vorliegende Fassung unseres

¹³⁸ Kern, 'Zu den orphischen Hymnen' (*Hermes* 1889: 498-508). Dissertation: *De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis Theogonis quaestiones criticae* (Berlin 1888). Kern's work on Orphic literature culminated in his *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (Berlin 1922).

¹³⁹ Kern, 'Das Prooimion des orphischen Hymnenbuches' (*Hermes* 1940: 20-26), p. 20: '[Dieterich] diesen Versuch mit vollem Rechte verurteilte und die Ansicht begründete, daß dies Hymnenbuch das Gebetbuch einer orphischen Gemeinde gewesen sei'.

¹⁴⁰ Kern, 'Die Herkunft des orphischen Hymnenbuches' (in *C. Robert, Genethliakon*, Halle 1910: 87-102). *OH* 49.6: ἡ Τιμῶλος τέρπει σε, καλὸν Λυδοῖσι θόασμα. 'Hipta', previously unattested outside the collection, was emended to 'Hippra' (an alternative MS reading, corroborated by Proclus, *In Plat. Tim.* 1.407) by earlier editors of the hymns. The Menye dedication (*TAM* V.1, 529) followed the earlier discovery of one at nearby Kula to Μητρὶ Ἰππᾶ καὶ Διὶ Σα[βαζίῳ] (*TAM* V.1, 352). See now also *TAM* V.1, 459 (2nd-3rd c. CE) from Ayazviran (Ayazören), 3 kilometres from Menye.

¹⁴¹ Wunsch 1905. Further Anatolian connections are found in the *OH* 6 (Protogonos - Priapos), 19 (Keraunos Zeus), 34 (Apollo), 42 (Mise). Dieterich (1893: 1-12) had already discussed the case of Mise, as well as Hipta (pp. 5-6, on the basis of the Kula inscription).

¹⁴² These were subsequently surveyed by Quandt in his doctoral dissertation (supervised by Kern) *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* (Halle 1912).

Hymnenbuchs ist nach meiner Überzeugung also für einen dionysischen Mysterienverein Kleinasiens bestimmt, der in einem *ἱερός οἶκος* oder *Βακχείον* seinen Kult ausübte'.¹⁴³

The following year Kern published a second paper which identified Pergamon in particular as the hymns' place of origin. In addition to the original *βουκόλος* inscription adduced by Schöll, and Wünsch's *Zaubergerät*, the German excavations there, begun under Carl Humann in 1878, had uncovered a wealth of material from the sanctuary of Demeter on the south side of the acropolis, including a dedication to the goddess *Mise*.¹⁴⁴ The hymns to Demeter Eleusinia, Meter Antaia and *Mise* (*OH* 40-42) are, Kern argues, finally linked to Anatolia and, in the Pergamene cult of Demeter we have the nexus that links the Eleusinian deities to the rest of the collection.¹⁴⁵ Dedications uncovered at the sanctuary to an array of divinities not obviously connected with Demeter, including the Winds, Nyx, Hermes, Asklepios and abstractions such as *Telete*, *Arete* and *Sophrosyne* are cited as parallels, and an altar *ΤΩΙ ΠΑΝΘΕΙΩΙ*, dedicated by the hierophant M. Aurelius Menogenes, is taken to be conclusive: a pantheon of gods like that of the *Orphic Hymns* was worshipped at the sanctuary.¹⁴⁶ Kern concedes that the lack of dedications to the Dionysian circle of gods, which forms the heart of the hymn collection, is problematic for his theory, but suggests that a second sanctuary, that of Dionysos Kathegemon, also played a role: the *Orphic Hymns* may represent a collaboration between these two cult centres.¹⁴⁷

Kern's identification of western Anatolia as the hymns' place of composition was definitive, and universally accepted: the arguments in favour of Alexandria put forward by Dieterich and Baudnik were far more tenuous. His certainty regarding Pergamon in particular was received with more caution.¹⁴⁸ If the cult for which the hymns were composed were official (as those of Demeter and Dionysos Kathegemon were at Pergamon), the lack of references to the Attalids, or the later Imperial cult, is surprising, as Kern admits.¹⁴⁹ If the hymns date to the second century or later, the absence of Isis, to whom a major sanctuary (the 'Red Basilica') was dedicated at Pergamon in the

¹⁴³ 'The present version of our hymnbook is thus, in my opinion, intended for a Dionysian mystery association in Asia Minor, which practised its cult in a *hieros oikos* or *Baccheion*', Kern 1910: 98.

¹⁴⁴ Kern, 'Das Demeterheiligtum von Pergamon und die orphischen Hymnen' (*Hermes* 1911: 431-6). The dedications discussed here were published by Hepding (1911: 401-493). Dedications from the sanctuary of Demeter are pp. 437-462, n. 22-43, the altar to *Mise* pp. 444-5, n. 26.

¹⁴⁵ Kern 1911: 432: 'Wenn die Hymnen Kulthymnen sind, woran zu zweifeln heute nicht mehr erlaubt ist, muß ein Kult gesucht werden, in dem einheimisch kleinasiatischer Kult und attisch-eleusinischer verbunden sind'.

¹⁴⁶ Hepding 1911: 450-462 nos. 31 Athena, 32 Asklepios, 33-34 Hermes, 35 Zeus Ktesios, 36 Helios, 37 Herakles, 38 Pantheon (*Τῷ Πανθείῳ τὸν βωμὸν Μ. Αὐρ. Μηνογένης ἱεροφάντης καὶ πρύτανις*), 39 Theoi Agnostoi, Anemoi, 40 Nyx, *Telete*, *Automaton* (dedicated by Claudia Telesphoriana, *ὑμνήτρια*), 41 *Arete*, *Sophrosyne*, 42 *Pistis*, *Homonoia*. No. 43, an altar to Dionysos Kathegemon, was found north of the gymnasium.

¹⁴⁷ Kern 1911: 436.

¹⁴⁸ E.g. Wilamowitz 1932 II: 516-7 'Daß diese Mysteren nach Kleinasien gehörten, wie Kern mehrfach gezeigt hat, ist jedem Zweifel entrückt, seit dort die *Mise* und namentlich die lydische *Hipta* nachgewiesen sind. Nur scheint mir Pergamon selbst als Ort dieses Kultvereins dadurch nicht bewiesen, daß einzelne Götter dort vorkommen'.

¹⁴⁹ Kern 1911: 89, Quandt 1912: 262.

first half of the second century, is equally notable.¹⁵⁰ On the other hand, the presence of dedications to Stoic abstractions at the sanctuary of Demeter is compelling: although these do not match those found in the *Orphic Hymns*, they point to a similar synthesis of philosophy and traditional cult in Pergamon of the Imperial period.¹⁵¹

The discovery of the *lex sacra* at Alaşehir (ancient Philadelphia, at the foot of Mount Tmolus, twenty-five kilometres south of Menye and the Hipta inscriptions) showed, however, that this kind of synthesis, and the association of pantheism and mystery cult, was not exclusive to Pergamon or the Antonine period. Here, in an inscription dating to the late second or early first centuries BCE, was the description of a private sanctuary (οἶκος), established by a Dionysios in response to instructions given to him in a dream by Zeus.¹⁵² The sanctuary contained altars to twelve gods, to whom offerings were made on a monthly and yearly basis.¹⁵³ Other elements of the ἱερά included ritual purifications (ἀγνισμοί, καθαρμοί), and the body of the inscription contains details of an oath to be taken by all who enter, forswearing ill-intention and adultery. Otto Weinreich explored the parallels with the *Orphic Hymns* in detail. Apart from the divinities worshipped, which include ethical abstractions such as Eudaimonia and Arete, he points to a similar concern with sexual propriety in *OH* 58, the hymn to Eros, and possible echoes of the style of prayer in the Orphic collection with the inscription's concluding prayer to Zeus Soter.¹⁵⁴ The correspondence is not exact ('Anregungen, starke Berührungen, nicht mehr, aber auch nicht weniger'), but provided evidence for the kind of private sanctuary envisaged by Dieterich (and Kern in his 1910 paper), albeit one lacking any clear association with the cult of Dionysos.

The connection between the hymns and western Anatolia (Lydia and Phrygia in particular) was underscored in two studies published in 1930. Friedrich Jacobi, in a survey of cultic pantheism, argues that the πάνθειος τελετή referred to in *OH* 35, 53 and 54 was a celebration, at certain points in the calendar, of all the gods represented at a private shrine, like that at Philadelphia.¹⁵⁵ Following Kern, he favours Pergamon as the place, but insists that the community was an Orphic one, rejecting any direct link with the cult of Demeter. This type of shrine should be seen, he argues, in the context of an increase in dedications to 'all gods' in the Hellenistic kingdoms from the third century BCE and into the first centuries of Roman rule. The pantheism of the hymns should be

¹⁵⁰ Isis is referred to in *OH* 42.2 as one form of the Great Mother with whom Mithras is associated.

¹⁵¹ The Pergamon inscriptions are not all dated by Hepding. Jacobi dates the Pantheon altar to the 2nd c. CE (1930: 48), but the name of the dedicator, M. Aurelius Menogenes, suggests the 3rd rather, after the Edict of Caracalla (Salway 1994: 133-6). The dedications to Arete and Sophrosyne, and to Pistis and Homonoia were both made by L. Castricius Paulus, a μύσσης, and are assigned by Hepding to the reign of Hadrian (1911: 460).

¹⁵² Keil & von Premerstein 1914 (*ed. pr.*), Weinreich 1919, Sokolowski 1955: 53-58, Petzl 2007 (*TAM* V.3, 1539), Herrero de Jáuregui 2015, de Hoz 2017 (who dates the inscription to the 1st c. BCE/CE).

¹⁵³ Zeus Eumene, Hestia (his *paredros*), Theoi Soteres, Eudaimonia, Ploutos, Arete, [Hygieia], Tyche Agathe, Agathos [Daimon], Mneme [or PHEME], Charites and Nike (ll. 6-11).

¹⁵⁴ As restored by Weinreich (1919: 50-54).

¹⁵⁵ Jacobi, ΠΑΝΤΕΣ ΘΕΟΙ (Halle 1930).

viewed then as cultic rather than philosophical, as Petersen, Novossadsky and Baudnik claimed. This speaks to an important shortcoming in his work however, as he makes no attempt to trace a philosophical influence behind the increase of pantheist dedications that he identifies, attributing this exclusively to the rise in syncretism, and a consequent depersonalisation of divinities, following the conquests of Alexander. In the same year William Guthrie, using the hymn to Athena as a case study, showed that epithets in the collection, rather than being random *epiphonemata*, were carefully chosen with reference to each deity and point to two main contextual spheres: Anatolia and Orphic literature, the *Rhapsodic Theogony* in particular.¹⁵⁶ Guthrie surveyed the hymns in more general terms in his study of Orphism, published four years later,¹⁵⁷ concluding that the hymns belong to a late Roman Bacchic cult-society, probably based at Pergamon, as Kern had argued. ‘Orpheus was its saint’, but the society was not dogmatically Orphic: it did not (apparently) subscribe to the central tenet of Orphism that he identifies, the immortality of the soul.

Here we have a group of worshippers of Dionysos, with mysteries as part of their religion, and, like the Lykomidai in Attica, ‘singing the hymns of Orpheus at their ceremonies’. They do not answer the question whether that society believed in the Orphic dogmas, though they make it probable that it did not. No doubt there always had been people who celebrated the mysteries of Dionysos and sang the hymns of Orpheus without mastering the teaching of the *hieroi logoi* or living up to their precepts. They show also that the worship of the society was extended to all the chief gods of Phrygia, and had at least a flavour of the popular Stoicism of the day.¹⁵⁸

Jacobi’s ‘Orphic’ cult is not defined, beyond its commitment to pantheism. Guthrie’s cult is Bacchic and only superficially Orphic, insofar as Orpheus is its hymnodist. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, whose last work *Der Glaube der Hellenen* appeared the following year, also reflected on the kind of group that might have used the hymns, since he too accepted Dieterich’s thesis that they are a hymn book, composed for a private cult or *oikos* by a single author ‘of the lower classes’.¹⁵⁹ Wilamowitz accepts however that the fit is not a straightforward one. There are many more gods in the extant collection than we would expect for a ‘pantheic rite’, and he concedes that the poet’s intention in composing hymns for this pantheon may not correspond with the actual praxis of the community.¹⁶⁰ The terminology of the mysteries is clearly present, but references to the afterlife are not. He suggests that afterlife beliefs may have been rarer in Orphic or Bacchic mysteries of the late Roman period, citing epigrams that contain mystic terms while lamenting death. But, as he notes, this goes beyond omission: the 87th hymn actually prays for the extinction of the soul. This critical issue, glossed over by Dieterich, points to a significant

¹⁵⁶ Guthrie, ‘Epithets in the Orphic Hymns’ (*Classical Review*, 1930).

¹⁵⁷ Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London 1935): 257-261.

¹⁵⁸ *ibid.* 216.

¹⁵⁹ Wilamowitz *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin 1931-2), Bd. II: 513-7.

¹⁶⁰ *ibid.* 515.

disjunction between the hymns and the mystery cult they were thought to be composed for. Belief in a privileged afterlife was not a feature of all mystery cults, but it did feature in the Bacchic and Eleusinian cults that the hymns point to.¹⁶¹ Wilamowitz did not go further: it is ‘surprising’, but not sufficient grounds for modifying his primary conclusion: these ‘wretched’ hymns were composed by a single author for a single, private cult. Style, diction and metre all support a single author, he argues, ‘not one idea is of a different origin’, and that author is not as early as Dieterich thought. The quality of the poetry, its ‘unbearable monotony’ and abominable diction point to the Severan period, ‘frühestens gegen Ende des zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.’.¹⁶² This conclusion, and his disdain for the hymns, was a long held one. Twenty five years earlier he had assigned them to the latter part of the Second Sophistic (although stating that they were ‘finally edited’ then, leaving room for earlier versions), describing a collection ‘as empty of edification as of poetry’.¹⁶³

Like Lobeck and Bernhardt, Wilamowitz could see no merit in the hymns, but he combines this assessment with a commitment to the liturgical function that Lobeck had rejected. They were, in his opinion, characteristic of the latter part of the Second Sophistic, as poor in poetry as it is rich in prose. His particular arguments for this date, however, based on metre and diction, are less than conclusive. The metrical errors he specifies are either emendable (his argument in fact is that they shouldn’t be corrected) or have Homeric precedent.¹⁶⁴ Regarding diction, he looks to a doctoral dissertation published in 1930 by Leonard van Liempt, who aimed to determine the date of the hymns with reference to their vocabulary.¹⁶⁵ Van Liempt was not the first to try this approach: Büschsenchütz considered the elaborate compound epithets and *hapax legomena* to be indications of a very late date, and Hauck (1911) had argued, on the basis of phrasal echoes in Manetho, Dionysius Periegetes, Quintus Smyrnaeus, the *Orphic Argonautica*, Proclus and Nonnus, that the

¹⁶¹ Burkert 1987: 21-9.

¹⁶² Wilamowitz 1932 II: 514: ‘Der Versbau ist im ganzen nicht fehlerhaft, paßt aber nur in die Spätzeit, welche Stil und Sprache fordern, und dann werden auch die überlieferten Fehler ertragen werden müssen. Hellenistische Verse klingen anders, was freilich die unerträgliche Monotonie des Stiles vor allem verschuldet; die meisten Verse bestehen ja aus Vokativen; wenn anaphorische Relativsätze, ὅς mit einem Verbum in zweiter Person, dafür eintreten, wirkt es kaum besser’. Regarding diction, ‘abominations’ include κρυψίδρομοι (OH 51.3) and ὄπλον κλονοκάρδιον ὀρθοθέειρον (OH 19.8). One can’t help imagining it was the great philologist’s hair that stood on end as he read this.

¹⁶³ Wilamowitz 1905: 185 ‘leer für Erbauung wie für Poesie’. In the third edition of this work he extends this assessment to the ‘cult they served’ (1912³: 264): ‘hohle Phrasen, leer von religiösen, leer von poetischem Gehalte, wie die Kulte, denen sie dienen’.

¹⁶⁴ Wilamowitz 1932 II: 514 n. 1. Metrical indications include hiatus after καί, unshortened before a vowel (OH 38.14), and the elision of -αι in χέουσι ὑγεινόν (OH 51.18), which occurs in the MSS but is corrected to χέουσαι ὑγεινόν by van Herwerden (1886: 23). Wilamowitz argues that it shouldn’t be corrected: the poet would have pronounced the final syllable of χέουσαι as a short vowel. Hiatus after καί is frequent, he argues, in the *Sibylline Oracles* and inscriptions. It does occur in Homer and Hesiod before the third or fourth foot however. Examples collected by Hermann (1805: 728) (without digamma) include *Od.* 2.230, 234 and *Hes. Th.* 250. Quandt (1955: 41*) collects examples of hiatus in the OH: in addition to OH 38.14 it occurs after καί in P.7, 32, OH 10.14. Hermann removes the hiatus in OH 10.14 and 38.14 with the addition of τε. OH 11.15 ἐν ὕδασι is also noted by Wilamowitz, but the text is corrupt here (see app. 1 *ad loc.*).

¹⁶⁵ Van Liempt *De vocabulario hymnorum Orphicorum atque aetate* (Purmerend 1930).

hymns were dependent on these authors and should be assigned to the sixth century CE.¹⁶⁶ Van Liempt shows how flawed Hauck's argument is. Many of the phrases Hauck adduced can also be found in earlier works, but the graver criticism is that in most cases the determination of priority is ultimately subjective: 'si [nexus] adisset, dirimi liquido quaestio posset, uter utrum excrississet'.¹⁶⁷ Specific correspondences cannot be conclusive, but if taken in aggregate, van Liempt argues, they may point to a date for the collection. Van Liempt looks to individual words rather than phrases, selecting three hundred and in each case identifying its earliest use or closest parallel outside the collection. Many are *hapax*, relatively few recur in poets of the fifth or sixth centuries,¹⁶⁸ but he finds a major correspondence with poets of the third and fourth centuries.

Ex permultis autem vocabulis, quae Orphicorum hymnorum scriptori cum poetis, qui *III aut IV saeculo* carmina vel oracula condiderunt, communia sunt, cum quadam verisimilitudine concludere possumus *hymnos illi aetate tribuendos esse*.¹⁶⁹

From the very many words which are common to the writer of the *Orphic Hymns* and the poets who composed poetry or oracles in the third or fourth centuries, we can conclude with some certainty that the hymns should be attributed to that era.

The breadth and detail of van Liempt's study is impressive, but his single page conclusion is surprisingly abrupt. He makes no attempt to quantify the results of his study, and a close reading of his thesis suggests that the parallels with third and fourth century authors are not as predominant as he claims.¹⁷⁰

A Leiden dissertation by Madeleine Koops, which also appeared at this period, provided the first commentary on the hymns since Hermann, focusing on textual issues and parallels in literary and epigraphical sources.¹⁷¹ Koops gives renewed emphasis to the number of elements drawn from

¹⁶⁶ Hauck *De hymnorum Orphicorum aetate* (Breslau 1911), critiques by Aly 1911, Kern 1912, Weinreich 1912: 42, and in Guthrie's review of van Liempt (1931: 152). Hauck finds, like Büchschütz, metre to be an inconclusive guide to date.

¹⁶⁷ Van Liempt 1930: 8-9.

¹⁶⁸ He thinks it likely that the *Orphic Argonautica*, Proclus and Nonnus were, *contra* Hauck, familiar with the hymns (1930: 72). Wilamowitz also thought that Proclus knew them (1907: 272).

¹⁶⁹ Van Liempt 1930: 72 (the author's italics).

¹⁷⁰ Only words otherwise unattested before the 5th century CE are marked by van Liempt. Taking the last 100 words analysed as a sample (a third of the total), 58 are *hapax* (of which 44 have their closest parallel before the 3rd c. CE), 8 do not occur elsewhere before the 5th c. CE, 12 before the 3rd-4th c., 9 before the 1st-2nd c., and 12 are found in authors of the 1st c. BCE or earlier. Of the total number of parallels cited (where a date can be assigned to the author): 24 are 4th c. BCE or earlier, 27 are 3rd-1st c. BCE, 26 are 1st-2nd c. CE, 35 are 3rd-4th c. CE, 17 are 5th c. or later. There are additionally 13 examples from the hymns of the *PGM*, whose date is uncertain but which should be added to the totals for the 1st to 4th c. (Bortolani 2016: 33). The greatest number of parallels does occur in 3rd-4th century authors then, but this does not hold for the earliest instance of each word. The parallels cited here are not exhaustive either (Guthrie 1931: 152), leaving aside the question of the proportion of material extant for each period (Rudhardt 2008: 223).

¹⁷¹ Koops, *Observationes in hymnos Orphicos* (Leiden 1932).

other Orphic fragments and testimonia, which had been collected by Kern in his 1922 *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, and to theological and poetic parallels with the magical papyri, concluding the hymns are indeed ‘Orphic’, albeit late and eclectic, and, like the magical hymns, ‘carmina mediocria’, of a sub-literary type.¹⁷²

1.8 Theories of authorship

The Second World War saw the publication of three important studies of the hymns,¹⁷³ as well as the appearance of a definitive edition of the text,¹⁷⁴ which, in combination, drew a line under the debate over provenance and function that to some extent has persisted to the present day. Kern, Linforth and Keydell all reconsidered what had emerged as the key, and interlinked, questions of authorship and function: Were the hymns composed by one author or collected by an editor? Were they composed to be used in a ritual context, as a cult hymn book, or as a philosophical exercise? The ritual function, as seen, was almost universally accepted to some degree: if a single author, this must have been their primary purpose. This was Wilamowitz’s view, and the weight of his opinion is evident in each of these studies. But as Wilamowitz admitted (and Lobeck insisted), the scope of divinities addressed in the collection complicates the theory of composition for a single cult.¹⁷⁵ Ivan Linforth devotes a section of his influential study of Orphic poetry and cult to the hymns, and his assessment should be seen in the context of his broader argument: that there was no unified Orphic doctrine and, *a fortiori*, no Orphic religion or cult.¹⁷⁶ The only persistent mark of ‘Orphism’, he argues, is the claim of authorship by the mythical theologian, a claim to divine revelation. In Linforth’s view then, if the hymns were composed for cult, they cannot be taken as evidence for the existence of an Orphic society *per se*, and in fact key features that would be attributed to such a society by modern scholars are missing. There is no asceticism here, no blessed afterlife for the initiate. There are ‘Orphic’ gods such as Protogonos, but these are a small minority and only prove that the author was familiar with theogonic Orphic literature, references to which he included to bolster his claim to the identity of the ‘supreme theologian’. This is not an Orphic society then in

¹⁷² *ibid.* 85-93.

¹⁷³ Kern, ‘Das Prooimion des orphischen Hymnenbuches’ (*Hermes* 1940), Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus* (Berkeley 1941, pp. 179-189 on the *OH*), Keydell, ‘Orphische Dichtung, Hymnen’ in *RE* 18 (H.Bd. 36.1, 1942): 1321-33.

¹⁷⁴ Quandt, *Orphici hymni* (Berlin 1941, 1955²), with reviews by Keydell (1942a) and von Blumenthal (1943), replacing Abel’s earlier edition of the hymns (in his *Orphica*, Leipzig 1885), which was criticised by Dieterich, van Liempt (‘satis prava’) and Keydell. Quandt provides a detailed study of the manuscript tradition, a conservative edition of the text with a brief *apparatus* of parallel passages, and indices. This invaluable work also contains observations on metre, prosody and grammatical features. A short conclusion on the date and origin of the hymns takes Wilamowitz’s assessment to be definitive, ‘non ante alterius p. Chr. n. saeculi finem sed ante Nonnum conditum esse demonstravit’ (1955²: 44*). Starred pages in this edition refer to the *Prolegomena*.

¹⁷⁵ Lobeck 1829: 394, ‘Equidem nullum tempus festum reperio, quo tanta deorum diversissimorum turba convocari potuerit’.

¹⁷⁶ On Linforth’s sceptical reaction to ‘maximalist’ positions in Orphic scholarship, see West 1983: 2-3, Graf & Iles Johnston 2007: 61, Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 7, Edmonds 2013: 58. The gold lamellae are completely excluded from his study.

terms of doctrine, or even, as Dieterich and Guthrie argued, a specifically Bacchic one: the hymns to Dionysos and his attendants account for only a tenth of the total.¹⁷⁷ Linforth does not dispute that the hymns (or the majority at least) were composed for cult, ‘their form, the prevalence of the technical language of the mysteries, and their inferior literary quality’ strongly suggest this.¹⁷⁸ But he does envisage two possible scenarios for authorship: a single author and a liturgical purpose (whether for a state institution or a private organisation), or a compiler who has gathered hymns composed for different purposes. Wilamowitz’s insistence on the former, he argues, should be weighed against his suggestion that the poet composed for more gods than the cult society regularly worshipped:

This admission, that certain of the hymns do not really fit in the hymnbook of a cult society, lends a little support to the possibility that our collection was made by an editor who gathered the hymns from various quarters, some being ritual hymns used in the cult of various deities, some being purely literary productions.¹⁷⁹

In his final essay on the hymns, Kern addresses the same question, but goes further than Linforth in proposing a solution. Dieterich was right, he maintains, in identifying the collection as the hymnbook of a cult society (‘ein Gemeindegebetbuch’): no one can dispute this, the fumigations alone prove it. But the text we possess is the result of a redaction by a Stoic editor, who added the proem, originally a separate hymn to *pantes theoi*,¹⁸⁰ and an unspecified number of additional hymns.

Daß das liturgische Buch, wie es in den Handschriften überliefert ist, eine Redaktion erfahren hat, wodurch sich die Anklänge an die Stoa, die zuerst Chr. Petersen aufgedeckt hat, sehr leicht erklären, hat wohl niemand bisher bestritten. Auch daß einige Hymnen bei der endgültigen Feststellung der Texte hinzugefügt sind, wird nicht geleugnet werden können.¹⁸¹

That the liturgical book, as transmitted in the manuscripts, has undergone a redaction, as a result of which the echoes of the Stoa that Chr. Petersen first revealed very readily declare themselves, no one has hitherto disputed. Moreover that certain hymns were added in the final establishment of the text cannot be denied.

¹⁷⁷ Linforth 1941: 188.

¹⁷⁸ *ibid.* 183.

¹⁷⁹ *ibid.* 184. This is substantially the view of Maass and Baudnik. Cf. also Geffcken, *Das Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* (Heidelberg 1920) p. 18, ‘Es ist bekannt, daß die zeitliche Einordnung dieser Gesänge große Schwierigkeiten bereitet; man schiebt sie durch die Jahrhunderte, von 200 v. Chr. bis in die Epoche nach Nonnos. Sie können aber weder so früh noch so spät fallen, überhaupt sind sie, trotz der engen Stilverwandtschaft der einzelnen Stücke, nicht alle in dieselbe Zeit zu verlegen’. Geffcken dates the assemblage of the collection to the 2nd c. CE, ‘diesseits der großen religiösen Bewegung des 3. Jahrhunderts’.

¹⁸⁰ As Tiedemann, Gerlach, Dieterich, Maass, and Jacobi had already claimed. Kern suggests that verses 1-2 and 42-4. were added by the editor who joined it to the collection (1940: 24 n. 2).

¹⁸¹ Kern 1940: 20.

The nucleus of the collection, in Kern's view, is the Dionysian (and Orphic) centre: the gods whose cult can chiefly be located in Phrygia and Lydia. The redaction, which introduced hymns not intended for ritual use, the Stoic elements and the many rhetorical antitheses, is a product of the Second Sophistic, 'a purely literary exercise'.¹⁸² In a sense then Kern returned to the argument he had made fifty years earlier, for an 'Orphic interpolator', with the important distinction that the interpolator was Stoic and the majority of the Orphic elements original. In this way he accounts for both the ritual and the philosophical or literary facets of the collection: his editor has taken a cult prayer book and revised and amplified it. This idea, which goes back to Tiedemann and was revisited by Novossadsky, provides a compromise between the two possibilities identified by Linforth, a single author or a collector of originally disparate material. The question of exactly how much should be attributed to the Stoic redactor is left unanswered however. The proem certainly, but also, one is left to assume, the more clearly Stoic hymns, such as those to Physis (*OH* 10) and the gods of justice (*OH* 61-64). But are the pantheic sequence and the references to a pantheic *telete* original, or were they introduced by the editor? Kern argues that, with the hymn to Hekate, we move into a different sphere: the Stoic proem starts with Zeus, the *Gebetbuch* itself with Hekate, the ἡγεμόνη of the mysteries. The hymns proper begin with a cult god then, but the sixth hymn, to Protogonos, is, he thinks, an Orphic feature of the original collection, moved to fit the cosmogonic sequence, suggesting that the sequence itself was introduced by the editor.¹⁸³

Rudolf Keydell's wide-ranging article on the hymns for the Pauly-Wissowa *Realenzyklopädie* appeared two years later. A synthesis of earlier studies, Keydell follows Dieterich on cult contexts, Kern's earlier work on Orphic and Anatolian references, Baudnik on philosophy,¹⁸⁴ and above all Wilamowitz, whose insistence on a single author and ritual usage is taken to be definitive. Keydell again addresses the inconsistency between philosophy and religious outlook in the hymns: the mysteries look to the afterlife, Stoicism says there is none and none is detectable here - philosophy trumps religion.¹⁸⁵ How can this be reconciled with the theory of composition for cult use? Keydell will not entertain the possibility of more than one writer: Wilamowitz has ruled this out.¹⁸⁶ The solution Keydell suggests is a development of an idea hinted at by Wilamowitz, that the author may simply have imposed their own philosophical views on the hymn book they were tasked with composing, creating a literary work - 'Orpheus on the pantheon' - out of the cult society's liturgy:

Die Hymnen sind die persönliche Leistung eines Einzelnen, der orphische Dichtung und stoisch-platonische Philosophie in sich aufgenommen hatte und als Leiter eines Kultvereins

¹⁸² *ibid.* 25.

¹⁸³ *ibid.* 22-3.

¹⁸⁴ Keydell finds no trace however of Neopythagoreanism (1942: 1325-6).

¹⁸⁵ *ibid.* 1328. Only *OH* 57 (Hermes Chthonios) makes any reference to the afterlife.

¹⁸⁶ With the possible exception of the proem, which Wilamowitz conceded was not composed for cult (1932 II: 515 n. 2).

seine eigenen Gedanken im Gottesdienst zur Geltung brachte. Er hat die Hymnen für seine Kultgenossenschaft gedichtet, einige nicht für den Kult bestimmte zur Abrundung hinzugefügt, sicher auch selbst dem Ganzen die mit dem Inhalt durchaus kongruierende Reihenfolge gegeben.¹⁸⁷

The hymns are the personal production of a person who had absorbed Orphic poetry and Stoic-Platonic philosophy, and, as head of a cult association, brought in his own thoughts to bear on the divine service. He wrote the hymns for his cult group, added some that were not intended for the cult to round it off, and certainly gave the whole thing the sequence, which is entirely congruent with the content.

Crucially, he adds that the book was then published, and that the proem (whether or not it was composed by the same author) was included at this point. Although this idea is not explored further, it does in fact give additional support to Keydell's theory: the philosophical and literary characteristics of the collection may be the result of the original author's own revision of his work for publication. Essentially, Keydell unites Kern's earlier author and later editor in one person who had two aims. He first composed a hymn book for his cult society and then repackaged it for a wider, literary audience. Both stages of composition occurred in the same period and place, around 200 CE in western Anatolia.

The sixty years that separate Schöll's argument for a cult hymn book and the summative work of Linforth, Kern and Keydell represent a rich period of reflection on the essential question of the hymns' provenance. On the one hand the inscriptional evidence from Pergamon and its hinterland provided a means to connect the collection with a particular place and, within broad parameters, time. The hymns, it could now be shown, had a basis in cult activity, corroborating the implicit claim of the fumigations and the explicit one of their references to *mystai* and *teletai*. On the other, the fact that this ritual context could be distanced from the final arrangement of the extant text by positing a later collector or editor of cultic material meant that a range of positions regarding composition and date persisted. The language, diction and style of the hymns were consistently taken to imply a date during or after the Second Sophistic, although the fifth or sixth century date favoured by Schneider and Lobeck was effectively ruled out. The philosophical tenor of the collection seemed to point to the first or second century CE however, and since the range of divinities included spoke more to a pantheist theology than a pantheic rite, this remained problematic for the theory of a single author composing for their cult community. Different approaches to the hymns, from cultic, doctrinal or literary perspectives, in effect yielded different results, and a compositional theory that could reconcile these was needed. A single author could be maintained by positing a fairly late date, as Wilamowitz did, and a writer with philosophical

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.* 1332. Cf. 1330, 'Die Hymnen sind zwar aus praktischem Bedürfnis entstanden, die Sammlung als Ganze ist Litteraturzeugnis'.

interests or pretensions. Keydell provided the most compelling interpretation of this theory in suggesting that the hymns were revised for publication by their author. The alternative, a late collector from various sources, although favoured by Maass and Baudnik and entertained by Linforth, was subject to the objection that the style of the hymns is so uniform, and the fact that they are deeply connected by shared formulae. This left Kern's intermediate position, that there were two stages of composition: an original cultic collection and a philosophical reworking, which left open the question of how much of the text we possess should be attributed to each stage. Where these theories meet a consensus was established: that the hymns found their final form at least in the late second or early third century CE, in western Asia Minor.

1.9 Recent scholarship

With these studies and Quandt's edition the subject seemed to be exhausted, no major developments occurred for more than a generation. Scholarship on the hymns appeared sporadically, but focused on textual emendation and the manuscript tradition.¹⁸⁸ On the subject of date, Quandt argued that a *terminus post c.* 100 CE is provided by the pseudo-Aristotelian *De Mundo*, which he identified as the source of several epithets found in *OH* 15 (Zeus), but the correspondence is not conclusive.¹⁸⁹ Nilsson saw a connection with the *De Iside et Osiride* and supported a date 'not very much later than the old age of Plutarch'.¹⁹⁰ Martin West took up the argument that the proem was an originally separate composition (together with *OH* 1) and should be identified with the *Thyepolikon* listed as one of Orpheus' works in the *Suda*.¹⁹¹ In his general study of Orphic poetry the hymns receive scant mention. They are in fact dismissed as a relatively late and emphatically low-brow instance of Orphic pseudepigraphy:

They were used by members of a private cult society who met at night in a house and prayed to all the gods they could think of, to the light of torches and the fragrances of eight varieties of incense. Occasionally their ceremonial activity went as far as a libation of milk. We get a picture of cheerful and inexpensive dabbling in religion by a literary-minded burgher and his friends, perhaps in the second or third century of our era.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ Textual emendation: Theiler 1941, Maas 1954 (*OH* 78), West 1962, 1968, Marcovich 1969 (*OH* 69). Transmission: Keydell 1942a, von Blumenthal 1943 (reviews of Quandt; the 'h' family of MSS), Jacob 1983 (MS Vat. Gr. 2264), Janko 1985 (*OH* 76, 77 and Proclus).

¹⁸⁹ Quandt, 'Bemerkungen zu den Orphischen Hymnen' (*Hermes* 1953). The date of the *De Mundo* is itself disputed. See Thom 2014: 3-8, who favours an earlier date.

¹⁹⁰ Nilsson 1953: 183, followed by Fauth 1967: 2264. Plutarch died *c.* 120 CE. The hymns' reference to the reawakening of Liknites at Delphi provides the point of contact.

¹⁹¹ West, 'Notes on the *Orphic Hymns*' (*Classical Quarterly* 1968): 188-9. Tiedemann, Gerlach, Dieterich, Kern and Wilamowitz all suspected that the proem is a later addition to the collection. See also Ricciardelli (1995: 63-8, 2000: xlii-xlv, 2008: 327-30) and Fayant (2014: lxxx). The abbreviation *θυηπολ.*, written in the margin of Laur. 32.45 at verse 45 of the proem (verse 1 of the hymn to Hekate) is the basis of West's conjecture. Kern (1917: 150) argued on the same grounds that *Thyepolikon* was the original title of the whole collection.

¹⁹² West 1983: 28-9.

By the 1980s, the hymns had become something of a footnote.¹⁹³ In the previous decade however, Jean Rudhardt had begun a seminar on the hymns at Geneva, which culminated in two important articles and an extensive study which remained uncompleted on his death in 2003, but was published in 2008.¹⁹⁴ Rudhardt's work represents a step-change in perceptions of the collection and catalysed a renewed interest in the hymns which continues to this day. The hymns, he argues, have been deeply underappreciated. Analysing the use of epithets, and compound adjectives in particular, in the 'développement' (his term for the *pars media*, as a development or amplification of the invocation), he detects a subtle and sophisticated network of sound effects, mythical allusions and connections, between adjacent epithets and between divinities. The epithet lists, in his view, have a complexity that belies, and underlies, their banal, and arguably tedious, surface appearance. They may be read as separate predication, as the punctuation of modern editions suggests they should, but there is in fact an intentional polyvalency at play. The compound epithets that the collection abounds in may be expanded into clauses: they have a kind of internal, potential syntax.¹⁹⁵ Adjacent compounds may be coupled and decoupled, 'une syntaxe est latente dans la parataxe'.¹⁹⁶ The author further argues that individual verses composed of multiple epithets, in particular *tetracoloi*, often form semantic units, anchored by a key epithet whose meaning is extrapolated by its neighbours. This presents a perhaps insuperable challenge to the translator, whose job should be to unpack these potential meanings. Rudhardt never in fact completed his planned translation.¹⁹⁷

The significance of this web of shifting connections is, Rudhardt argues, a kind of *aporia*: the language of the hymns itself suggests the mystery or alterity of the sacred, creating an image of divinity that is not only multi-faceted, but fluid. The hymns encourage, demand even, reflection and interpretation, imitating in fact the belief that divinity manifests through signs that must be decoded:

¹⁹³ Mention must be made here of Hunsucker, *A Selective Commentary on the Orphic Hymns* (Diss. Princeton 1974), which I have been unable to access; Athanassakis' English translation of the hymns, first published in 1977, and Khasapis, *Τὰ Ὀρφικά* (Athens 1984), an eccentric study that seeks to prove on astronomical grounds that the hymns and fragments date to around the 17th century BCE. This includes a Modern Greek translation by S Mangina. Alberto Bernabé's *Orphei Hymnorum Concordantia* (Hildesheim 1988) is a valuable resource.

¹⁹⁴ Rudhardt, 'Quelques réflexions sur les hymnes orphiques' (in *Orphisme et Orphée*, ed. P. Bourgeaud, Geneva 1991), 'Les deux mères de Dionysos, Perséphone et Sémélé, dans les *Hymnes orphiques*' (*Revue de l'histoire des religions* 2002), 'Recherches sur les Hymnes orphiques' (in *Opera inedita*, Liège 2008).

¹⁹⁵ Rudhardt 1991: 265-9, 2008: 218-250.

¹⁹⁶ Rudhardt 1991: 267. Cf. 2008: 248: 'En bref, la parataxe des épithètes et des appositions peut dissimuler une sorte de syntaxe. Les mots juxtaposés peuvent entretenir les uns avec les autres des rapports subtils que n'indique clairement aucun signe grammatical, comme font entre eux les éléments d'un mot composé.' For example, *OH* 3.5 (Nyx), *εὐφροσύνη, τερπινή, φιλοπάννυχε, μήτηρ δονείρων*, may be read as 'Joie, charmante, aimant les veilles prolongées du soir au matin, mère des songes', or 'Charmante Joie, aimant les veilles prolongées du soir au matin, mère des songes', or 'Que tu te plaises aux veilles prolongées du soir au matin ou que tu enfantes des rêves, tu es la Joie charmante'.

¹⁹⁷ Bourgeaud in Rudhardt 2008: 160.

Dans le monde, dans l'histoire et dans son âme, le divin se manifeste à l'homme par des signes qu'il lui faut déchiffrer. De pareille façon, le langage orphique joue des signes mystérieux qui s'offrent à l'interprétation du lecteur. Il ne s'agit pas pour lui de le traduire dans un langage univoque et parfaitement clair mais de s'ouvrir aux suggestions qu'il propose, de laisser son esprit se mouvoir sous les impulsions qu'il communique, en quête d'un divin toujours inaccessible à l'intelligence des mortels.¹⁹⁸

In the world, in history, in his soul, the divine manifests to man through signs he must decipher. In a similar way, Orphic language plays with mysterious signs that offer themselves to the reader's interpretation. It is not for him to translate it in a language that is unequivocal and perfectly clear, but to open himself to the suggestions they propose, to let his spirit move under the impulses they communicate, in search of a divine forever inaccessible to mortal intelligence.

Rudhardt insists then that the hymns were designed to be chanted, meditated upon, explored, and that their cumulative effect is intentionally impressionistic: 'la récitation des Hymnes produit un effet sur les imaginations et les sensibilités, autant que sur les intelligences'.¹⁹⁹ A subjective reading of the hymns is necessary if we are to recognise the unstable nature of meaning within them. The idea of shifting connections applies moreover to the treatment of the gods as a collective, as well as individual divinities. Phonic echoes and shared epithets suggest a malleable, moving pantheon, and one that is structured around certain central gods: the Orphic 'trinity' of Phanes-Zeus-Dionysos, who should be seen as manifestations of the same divinity, and the Eleusinian goddesses, Demeter and Persephone.²⁰⁰

The hymns have two intended audiences then: the gods themselves, whose attention and benevolence they solicit, and the mortal participants or readers, upon whose imaginations they act and who are inducted through them into the complex, but essentially 'Orphic' image of the divine realm. This is a fundamentally different perspective from that of West and the cheerful burgher. Rudhardt did not complete his intended chapter on the ritual context of the hymns, or discuss the question of date and authorship,²⁰¹ but the level of sophistication he identifies presents a serious challenge to the perception of the hymns as low-brow 'dabbling'. It also opened up a new and fruitful avenue of enquiry: the manner in which the hymns were meant to be experienced by the audience for whom they were composed.

¹⁹⁸ *ibid.* 250.

¹⁹⁹ *ibid.* 176.

²⁰⁰ This idea is explored in detail *ibid.* 251-309. Cf. Rudhardt 1991: 269-274.

²⁰¹ Rudhardt argues for the compositional unity of the collection, attributing stylistic differences between the hymns to the differing requirements of the gods they address rather than multiple authors. He does however suggest that the poem and 'one or two' other hymns may be by a different poet (2008: 171-4).

Rudhardt's influence is clear in two important studies that appeared in 2001. Marianne Hopman-Govers' paper on epithet lists reveals, on the one hand, a number of 'grands thèmes' that link divinities across the collection, such as omnipresence, polymorphism, and the Bacchic and Orphic themes, and on the other, specific links between the predication and the prayers within individual hymns.²⁰² Like Rudhardt, Hopman-Govers sees the essential function on the epithet lists as incantatory: rhythmic regularity, anaphora, antitheses and other 'jeux sur les sonorités' recall magical praxis. But the aim here is not coercive (as Gruppe suggested); rather a definition of the nature of each divinity is condensed into as few words as possible. The distillation of verbal clauses into adjectival compounds

supprime les nuances temporelles et modales habituellement véhiculées par le verbe conjugué et donne de la divinité une image hors du temps, atemporelle et amodale. Le verbe sous-entendu est le verbe être, conjugué à un éternel présent.²⁰³

removes the temporal and modal nuances usually conveyed by a conjugated verb and gives a divine image of time, atemporal and amodal. The implied verb is the verb to be, conjugated in an eternal present.

The sophistication of the hymns is again emphasised here. In fact Hopman-Govers sees in the collection a double status, both literary and cultic, that speaks to the devotion of *mystai* who were 'literate, cultivated men'.²⁰⁴

Anne-France Morand's book-length study of the hymns, the first to appear since that of Novossadsky a century earlier, is wide-ranging and systematic. The author's stated aim is to study the rich use of allusion in the hymns and to extrapolate from this information about the group that used them.²⁰⁵ The extensive first chapter, an analysis of the structure of the hymns that follows Rudhardt's tripartite division into an invocation, development and request, forms the basis of the study. The incantatory character of the 'développement' is again underscored, and the use of anaphora, puns, etymological figures and antitheses is explored.²⁰⁶ These 'phonic harmonies', in Morand's opinion, have a ritual efficacy. Like Hopman-Govers Morand draws a connection with the use of names and *voces magicae* in the magical papyri, but points to a broader underlying concept: the search for unity behind the diversity and complexity of divine manifestations. Within each hymn there is a tension between exhaustivity in the number of aspects presented, and the precision of individual predication. The aim, in Morand's view, is soliciting the gods' *charis*, the

²⁰² Hopman-Govers, 'Le jeu des épithètes dans les *Hymnes orphiques*' (Kernos 2001).

²⁰³ *ibid.* 47.

²⁰⁴ *ibid.* 49.

²⁰⁵ Morand, *Études sur les Hymnes orphiques* (Leiden 2001): 34.

²⁰⁶ *ibid.* 39-100. On etymology, see also Morand 2010 ('Etymologies of Divine Names in Orphic Texts', in *Orfeo y el orfismo: nuevas perspectivas* ed. Bernabé *et al.*).

generic focus of Greek hymnody, through an attempt to embrace their true, and ultimately ineffable, nature.

Un autre aspect fascinant des développements est le parallélisme entre le choix des formules littéraires et les croyances du groupe. L'asyndète, qui caractérise ce texte, s'oppose à une recherche d'unité, reflétée dans les répétitions de sons qui produisent un effet d'ensemble à la fois musical et incantatoire. De manière similaire, les expressions polaires expriment le divin au moyen d'oppositions souvent irréductibles. Ces figures, comme les assimilations de dieux... rendent compte de l'unité divine au sein d'une complexité de manifestations... De manière générale, les *Hymnes orphiques* révèlent une tension entre la recherche du mot juste et celle qui vise à l'exhaustivité, à l'harmonie du tout, susceptible de charmer la divinité.²⁰⁷

Another fascinating aspect of the 'developments' is the parallelism between the choice of literary formulae and the beliefs of the group. The asyndeton which characterises these texts sits in opposition to a search for unity, reflected in the repetition of sounds that produce a cumulative effect that is at once musical and incantatory. In a similar manner, polar expressions express the divine by means of oppositions that are often irreducible. These figures, like the assimilations between gods... render an account of the divine unity in terms of a complexity of manifestations... In general, the *Orphic Hymns* reveal a tension between the search for the right word and the search for exhaustivity, for the harmony of all, capable of charming the divinity.

Subsequent chapters build on this compelling analysis. The offerings suggest a nocturnal rite in honour of Dionysos and are taken, together with the recurring mystic terminology, as evidence for the existence of the Bacchic mystery group that performed the hymns.²⁰⁸ Parallels are sought in the inscriptional evidence for cult titles, for example the Torre Nova dedication, which points to a date in the second or third centuries CE. But the picture of this group and their rite remains unclear. The references to pantheic and trieteric *teletai* are hard to square; a pantheic rite to celebrate Dionysos' return must be inferred, and the possibility that the hymns refer to multiple rites rather than one is admitted.²⁰⁹ Initiation is clearly suggested by the mystic terminology, but the hymns

²⁰⁷ Morand 2001: 76.

²⁰⁸ Offerings: *ibid.* 101-152; titles and the group: 231-287; nocturnal rite: 141-2, 150.

²⁰⁹ *ibid.* 78 'À deux reprises, un mystère commun à tous les dieux est mentionné dans un hymne adressé à Dionysos (53.9 Amphiétés; 54.7 Silène, Satyre, Bacchantes). Il se peut que ces mystères aient un rapport avec les fêtes triétériques; mais dans ce cas, il faudrait expliquer pourquoi Léo est aussi conviée à ce mystère commun à tous les dieux (35.7)'. Cf. 141: 'Trois fois, les dieux sont invités à un rite d'initiation qui se rapporte à tous les dieux (πάνθεις τελετή)', yet 'Dans les hymnes 53 et 54, la cérémonie semble liée au mythe relatif à Dionysos chthonien, à sa présence auprès de Perséphone, au cortège dionysiaque et à la période triétérique'. Separate rites, 150: 'L'hymne à Sémélé désigne, semble-t-il, un rituel et des mystères spécifiques. La πάνθεις τελετή se réfère à une fête spéciale, elle aussi liée, à ce qu'il semble, à Dionysos.'

themselves do not, Morand argues, constitute part of this secret rite.²¹⁰ The lack of references to the afterlife is similarly explained in terms of secrecy surrounding the ὄργιον ἄρρητον of the community, but an underlying interest in the fate of the soul is taken to be implicit in the allusions to the Bacchic mysteries.²¹¹ This complexity regarding the ritual context of the hymns, already noted by Wilamowitz, continues to be problematic. Cult terminology, such as ὄργιοφάνται (OH 6.11, 31.5) or νεομύσται (OH 43.10), clearly points to initiation; the prayers show a concern with purity and salvation, but not the immortality of the soul. As one reviewer notes, the problem here may lie in the literal interpretation of the cult titles, which fails to take into account the possibility of ‘projection and idealisation’ in religious poetry of this type.²¹²

Despite the difficulty in defining a cultic context on the strength of the internal evidence provided by the hymns, the consensus that a community existed is well established. Gabriella Ricciardelli, in the first major edition of the hymns to appear since Quandt’s, considers the matter settled. The hymns were, as Schöll and Dieterich maintained, a ‘libro di culto’, used by an association whose principal god was Dionysos, practised initiation and performed the hymns under the leadership of their *boukolos*,²¹³ most likely before a succession of altars within a sanctuary.²¹⁴ Ricciardelli’s introductory essays provide a succinct overview of the subject however, and the importance of this work lies in the revised text and the excellent textual apparatus and commentary it provides. It is an indispensable tool for present scholars of the hymns, which has been complemented but not superseded by more recent editions. In addressing the issue of the lack of references to the afterlife, Ricciardelli notes Guthrie’s argument that Orphic rites of the Roman period may have shed their eschatological concerns, but elsewhere suggests that this omission may be attributable to the fact that the hymns are ‘commemorative’ rather than ‘normative’: their aim is to honour the gods, not expound doctrine.²¹⁵ Regarding the composition of the collection, Ricciardelli argues for a single author, writing in the second or third centuries CE, but views the proem and the hymn to Hekate as separate compositions and identifies several other hymns that may be also on the basis of stylistic difference or the fact that they belong to a distinctive sub-group.²¹⁶

²¹⁰ Initiatory context: 54, 67, 140-2, titles: 235-244; non-initiatory hymns: 150, 229 ‘La seule lecture des *Hymnes* ne suffisait probablement pas à l’initiation’.

²¹¹ *ibid.* 227-9.

²¹² Martin 2007: 82.

²¹³ Morand shows, however, in an extensive review of the inscriptional evidence, that while the *boukoloi* appear to have occupied varying positions in the hierarchies of Bacchic cults, they are never the cult leader (2001: 283-5), as Dieterich also concluded.

²¹⁴ Ricciardelli, *Inni Orfici* (Milan 2000).

²¹⁵ *ibid.* xxxvii; Ricciardelli, ‘Los himnos órficos’ (in *Orfeo y la tradición orfica* ed. Bernabé *et al.* 2008): 346 ‘estas composiciones no son un texto normativo, sino conmemorativo; no están destinadas a instruir a los iniciados, sino a honrar a los dioses durante las ceremonias. No podemos, por ello, esperar una exposición programática de reglas o una ilustración del pensamiento religioso; todo esto se desprende indirectamente de los *Himnos*.’

²¹⁶ Ricciardelli 2000: xxxi-ii ‘La silloge presenta nel complesso uno stile unitario, se si esclude qualche inno che sembra non far parte del nucleo originario della raccolta. Mi sembrano differenti l’inno 59 alle Moire, il 55 ad Afrodite, forse il 38 ai Cureti e il 57 a Ermete ctonio. Alcuni inni presentano particolari somiglianze fra loro, come quelli alle divinità della giustizia (61-4: Nemisi, Giustizia, Rettitudine, Legge), o gli ultimi tre (Sonno, Sogno, Morte), o quelli a Plutone e

The argument for the ritual use of the hymns as a liturgical sequence is most compellingly supported and developed by Fritz Graf, who takes Dieterich's suggestion that the hymn to Hekate was performed at the entrance to the sanctuary as a springboard for the theory that the collection as a whole describes the progression of a nocturnal ritual, culminating in the hymn to the Dawn (*OH* 78).²¹⁷ The collection is a unified liturgy then, the centre of which is occupied by the Bacchic hymns. Graf focuses on the dangerous, frightening aspects of the ritual. The initiates fear meeting a hostile apparition: gods are asked to come 'kindly', and some prayers specifically ask the god to avert a hostile encounter. These initiates were afraid of ghosts, which could be so terrifying as to induce madness. Night terrors were a particular concern. But this is an intrinsic part of the mysteries, Graf argues: rites in which one came face to face with the god. In the Dionysian mysteries *mania* was central and had a positive aspect, as 'a kind of vaccination', against the negative madness, which is the result of wrathful gods or daimons. The emotionally subjective experience of the hymns is explored here from the angle of ritual: if, as Hopman-Govers argues, the hymns have a literary and cultic status, just as Rudhardt points the way to understanding the impact of the former on the audience, Graf shows that the latter may also be studied in terms of experience.

These critical developments of the 1990s and 2000s have provided the basis for a profusion of studies that have appeared in the last decade. Individual hymns, and individual authors' connections with the collection have been the subject of book chapters by Faraone (*OH* 37), Edmonds (*OH* 50, 52 'Epaphios'), Torallas Tovar (*OH* 86 and Philo) and Otlewska-Jung (Nonnus).²¹⁸ Three new editions have been produced. Athanassakis and Wolkow provide a new edition of Athanassakis' English translation, with an introduction and commentary.²¹⁹ Although this is far less complete than Ricciardelli, the authors make a revealing comparison between the hymns and Christian and Islamic mystical poetry that complements Rudhardt's analysis:

Names chanted or better yet sung or even simply recited in a particular sacred tone have power. Each epithet reverberates into the mind of the celebrant and spins out its own plot and its own action.²²⁰

Persefone (18 e 29), che sono tramandati con una differente forma del titolo, senza indicazione di profumi, e presentano accenni al mito del rapimento di Persefone, come il 41 (Madre Antaia).' See also Ricciardelli 2008: 345-6. On the proem and *OH* 1, 2000: xlii-v, 2008: 327-30 and Ricciardelli 1995.

²¹⁷ Graf, 'Serious Singing: the Orphic Hymns as Religious Texts' (*Kernos* 2009).

²¹⁸ Faraone, 'Orphic Hymn 37' (in *Tracing Orpheus*, ed. Herrero de Jáuregui *et al.*, 2011), Edmonds, 'Dionysos in Egypt? Epaphian Dionysos in the *Orphic Hymns*' (in *Redefining Dionysos* ed. Bernabé *et al.*, 2013), Torallas Tovar, 'Orphic Hymn 86 'To Dream': On Orphic Sleep and Philo' (in *Tracing Orpheus*, ed. Herrero de Jáuregui, 2011), Otlewska-Jung, 'Orpheus and Orphic Hymns in the Dionysiaca' (in *Nonnus of Panopolis in Context*, ed. Spanoudakis, 2014).

²¹⁹ Athanassakis & Wolkow, *The Orphic Hymns* (Baltimore 2013). Gordon's criticism of this translation's 'combination of bathos and gushing paraphrase' (2020: 39) is overly harsh, but the translation is a loose one in places.

²²⁰ *ibid.* xxi.

Fayant's French edition of the hymns is more scholarly, presents a revised text, and gives a particularly good treatment of the structure of the collection and assimilations between divinities. In a detailed study of the proem Fayant concludes, like Ricciardelli, that it is a later addition to the work.²²¹ Barbieri Antunes, in a so far unpublished dissertation, provides a similarly complete introduction, text, (Portuguese) translation and commentary.²²² In an excellent set of introductory essays Barbieri Antunes studies the question of performance. While raising the possibility that the ritual language of the hymns is symbolic, and posing the question of whether the words accompany performance or *are* the performance, the author rightly insists that, performed or not, the hymns are composed with performance in mind: the ritual language has an 'operative function' that distinguishes it from that of mythological or theological texts.²²³ Unlike Morand, Barbieri Antunes emphasises the looseness of the technical vocabulary of the mysteries, but argues ultimately that this supports the theory of a literal cultic performance, enacted by a real initiatory group with soteriological aims, on the, perhaps counterintuitive, grounds that a purely 'literary' work would have a greater demand for terminological precision.

The historical and geographical context of the hymns is revisited by Galjanić and Lebreton.²²⁴ Galjanić finds underlying structural parallels with Indo-European poetry (bipartite quantifiers, noun-phrase figures) and Babylonian and Hurrian hymns (lists of attributes in noun phrases or relative clauses, 'you alone' statements), arguing that the collection represents a characteristically Anatolian (and ultimately Hittite) fusion of influences.²²⁵ Lebreton compares the epithets of the hymns with geographically anchored epicleses in the *BDEG* database, furthering Kern's attempt to localise the group they were composed for. Although the search is justifiably narrowed to epithets occurring in the titles of the hymns, the result remains inconclusive: the epithets used draw on cults from across the Greek-speaking world. Rather than jettisoning the idea of a localised community however, the author argues that a distinction should be made between the 'internal' pantheon of a mystery group and the 'external' pantheon of local civic cults.²²⁶

The narrative structure of the hymns is addressed in two important essays by Morand and Herrero de Jáuregui in the same volume.²²⁷ Both scholars consider the significance of the authorial 'I',

²²¹ Fayant, *Hymnes orphiques* (Paris 2014). Organisation of the collection: pp. xxxvi-lxiii; assimilations are collected in an appendix, pp. 681-689; proem: lxiii-lxxx. For a recent defence of the unity of the proem and the hymns, Morand 2015: 209-11.

²²² Barbieri Antunes, *Hinos órficos: Edição, estudo geral e comentários filológicos* (Diss. São Paulo 2018).

²²³ *ibid.* 32.

²²⁴ Galjanić, 'Three and then some: typology of invocation and enumeration in the *Orphic Hymns*' (in *Orfeo y Orfismo*, ed. Bernabé *et al.*, 2010), Lebreton, 'Les épicleses dans les Hymnes orphiques: l'exemple de Dionysos' (in *Hymnes de la Grèce antique*, ed. Bouchon *et al.*, 2012).

²²⁵ It may be countered that many of these features appear in Egyptian and Sanskrit hymns also.

²²⁶ A more systematic study of the divine epithets that occur in the hymns, in the form of a lexicon that gives detailed literary and epigraphic parallels, has been provided by Macedo, Kölligan and Barbieri (2021).

²²⁷ Morand 'The Narrative Techniques of the *Orphic Hymns*', Herrero de Jáuregui, 'The Poet and his Addressees in Orphic Hymns' (in *Hymnic Narrative and the Narratology of Greek Hymns*, ed. Faulkner, 2015).

embracing as it does the mythical poet, the historical composer and the reader at each performance. Morand, taking *OH* 6 (Protogonos) as a case study, analyses the mythical allusions, sound effects and etymological references that ‘create threads’ within and between the hymns that the audience is invited to follow. Herrero de Jáuregui focuses on the hymns’ addressees, the complement to the authorial ‘I’: Musaeus (corresponding to Orpheus), the initiates (corresponding to the composer and reader) and, supervening these, the gods themselves. A key insight presented here is the location of the hymns within a generic group: hymns attributed to Orpheus. Although only fragments and brief descriptions of these remain, they are united by the address to Musaeus, by an explicit claim to religious superiority, by their references to initiation, and by ‘the same paratactic and condensed style in which the intertextual references to previous traditions provides the key to interpretation’.²²⁸ Although the hymns were used in different religious contexts, the author argues, they shared important generic conventions which point ultimately to a common aim: to reveal the divine personality in the truest and most complete way possible, exploring all its dimensions. Herrero de Jáuregui maintains that such hymns were not didactic since they presuppose prior instruction. They aim rather to please the gods and to serve as a mystic *symbolon* that speaks to the ‘initiated’, the *sunetoi* of the Orphic *sphragis*, a sign of mutual recognition. The idea of the mystic community is essential, and both Morand and Herrero de Jáuregui support Graf’s description of its activity.

Giulia Sfameni Gasparro similarly insists on the existence of the ritual community.²²⁹ Although identifying a ‘double discourse’ that is both theological and cultic (like Hopman-Govers), the latter is prioritised. Building on Rudhardt’s study of the centrality of Dionysos, Sfameni Gasparro gives a brilliant analysis of the henotheistic significance of the god in the *Orphic Hymns*, showing how he interlaces the pantheon, combining and refracting identities in a way that reflects his own polymorphic nature and the Orphic concern with the divine one and the many. Like Herrero de Jáuregui, Sfameni Gasparro draws a distinction between didactic, theogonic narratives and the hymns, which are fundamentally cultic and experiential. A core part of this experience, it is argued, is the manifestation of Dionysos as a henotheistic, unifying divinity.²³⁰

The theme of experience is taken up again by Gordon, who analyses the *Orphic Hymns* alongside those of Mesomedes and the magical papyri as examples of generic experimentation in the Imperial era.²³¹ On composition and function Gordon is brief, but he doubts Graf’s commitment to a single

²²⁸ Herrero de Jáuregui 2015: 226. On this subject, see further Herrero de Jáuregui 2010a.

²²⁹ Sfameni Gasparro, ‘Dioniso tra polinomia ed enoteismo: il caso degli *Inni Orfici*’ (in *Redefining Dionysos*, ed. Bernabé et al., 2013).

²³⁰ In the same way Rudhardt insists that the hymns, and Orphic thought in general, is not syncretic as such: ‘Les divinités assimilées les unes aux autres ne sont pas confondues; chacune d’entre elles conserve des caractères propres; mais on perçoit en elles toutes d’un être divin inaccessible à l’homme... Selon la tradition proprement orphique, l’un et le multiple sont toujours également présents dans la réalité divine.’ Rudhardt 1991: 274.

²³¹ Gordon, ‘(Re-)modelling religious experience: some experiments with hymnic form in the imperial period’ (in *Lived Religion in the Ancient World*, ed. Gasparini et al., 2020).

author and a single liturgical sequence. The focus of this study is a development of Rudhardt's observations on the subtlety of the hymns' rhetorical effects, which the author similarly sees as creating an internalised vision of a shifting divine reality. While Rudhardt saw that this experience is created in the potential links between epithets and between gods, Gordon emphasises the importance of unresolved tensions in the hymns, citing the juxtaposition of images in *OH* 51 (Nymphs), which he takes as a case study:

As a whole, the hymn seeks to maintain a constantly renewed tension between the points of fecund, dark wetness, light æry joy and the disturbingly uncanny, darting rapidly from one crystalline thought to another, now evoking epic, now contemporary poetic usage, and skillfully interweaving allusions to the arch-shapeshifter Dionysos. I see this as an attempt to communicate a vision of a complex, never to be comprehended, divine reality, a vision that, through being committed to memory via repeated performance, becomes the experience of these divinities that the worshipper internalizes – an experience that is itself brilliantly faceted, elusive and yet pregnant with possibility. The hymn can be imagined as a sort of Antonine Virtual Reality headset, at once super-real and totally phantasmagoric.²³²

Like Rudhardt, Gordon sees these tensions as a figure for the 'central aporia' of the collection: the knowledge of god in a complex polytheistic system.

Rudhardt's insights continue to be explored. The characterisation of the hymns as trivial or low-brow, advanced by Wilamowitz and maintained by West, has given way to a deeper appreciation of the subtlety of the effects achieved through the accumulated series of epithets, and the connections that the hymns seem to encourage the reader or auditor to make between individual gods' attributes, and between the gods. The completeness that the parataxis of predications clearly aims at has been shown to have far more depth and complexity than was previously imagined. This has led to other important insights. The group or audience for whom the hymns were composed, who were encouraged to make these connections and meditate on mythic illusions, must have been literate and sophisticated. They must have viewed themselves as an elite, 'those of understanding'. The Orphic label is not casually applied. Whatever the group's connection with the types of initiation, with the eschatology and soteriology that are associated with Classical and Hellenistic Orphic poetry, these Orphic hymns engage deeply with the henotheistic idea that Phanes, Zeus and Dionysos are, in some sense, one god. They also bear important generic affinities with other hymns attributed to the great teletarch. The hymns embrace two modes of discourse, theological and cultic. They explore the nature of the gods, and divinity itself in a polytheistic system, but this function cannot be separated from the experience of ritual recitation. The truths they communicate operate above and below the level of consciousness; the divinity they aim to describe is, in an important sense, indescribable.

²³² *ibid.* 39-40.

The debate over authorship and composition has receded: most (but not all) scholars support a single author, and a date in the second or third century CE, and western Anatolia as the place of composition. The tension between philosophy and cult, which divided scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has also received less attention. To an extent it has given way to the idea that the religious function is paramount and philosophy is just one of the avenues explored as a route to understanding the nature of divinity. Attempts to pin down the specific cult community and a single ritual context have been less successful. That the community revered Dionysos above all seems certain; that the pantheon is in many ways articulated by this central divinity has been conclusively shown. But the fact remains that there is a disjunction between the hymns' actual references to *teletai*, whether pantheic or trieteric, and it is questionable whether they can serve as literal descriptions of the rite the hymns were composed for. The possibility that the recitation of the hymns is itself the rite, raised by Barbieri Antunes (as it was much earlier by scholars such as Petersen, Maass and Baudnik) remains. That said, the near unanimous consensus of recent scholars is that, as Dieterich argued, an actual community existed and used the hymns as the liturgy of their rite.

This literature review has aimed to provide a detailed overview of more than five hundred years of scholarship on the *Orphic Hymns*. This has never been a popular work, even among scholars, but the conversation across the centuries has been a continuous one. Some of the studies discussed here have broken new ground and stimulated renewed interest in the hymns: Schneider, Dieterich and Rudhardt must be counted among these. New perspectives and insights have deepened understanding of the hymns' nature and contexts. These have predictably, but interestingly, often reflected the intellectual climate of the day. The Neoplatonist-inspired enthusiasm of the Italian Renaissance, the scepticism and romanticism of the German Enlightenment, the late nineteenth century's recognition of the importance of ritual, more recent interest in narrative technique and subjective experience: the hymns' stock has risen and fallen with these trends. But it is revealing that it has been highest when the hymns' enigmatic and allusive nature has been embraced and they have been read as (we may imagine) their author intended them to be, when meditation on the hints and connections they offer allows the reader to feel and imagine, as much as think about, the image of the pantheon they project. In this sense the recent emphasis on the incantatory nature of the collection and its kaleidoscopic vision of divinity marks something of a return to the mysticism of the Renaissance, and the subjective responses of Eschenbach or Taylor. This is not to say, of course, that academic analysis and even the most negative assessments have been without value. If we understand better today the importance of reading the hymns within an attentive and sympathetic ear to their enigmatic style, we are also much more aware of the philosophical, religious and literary contexts in which they were composed. Nothing about the hymns is easy to pin down, they are hard to bring into focus. But we may be certain that that too is as their author intended.

Chapter 2. The collection and the hymns

The aim of this chapter is to provide an analysis of the formal characteristics of the *Orphic Hymns* which can serve as a basis for comparison with other texts. I begin by looking at the collection as a whole: the sequence of hymns, their titles, together with their ritual prescriptions, and the relationship between the main sequence of eighty-seven hymns and the ‘proem’, the pantheic hymn that precedes them. This topic has been the subject of several recent studies, and my aim here is to survey the current state of research and to add further observations. I then review the formal characteristics of the individual hymns in the collection, beginning with the first and last elements of Ausfeld’s structural classification of the hymn,¹ the opening invocation and the concluding prayer, studying the terminologies employed and the variety of forms encountered. My analysis then proceeds to the central element of the hymns: the *eulogia* or sequence of predication, taking in the types of epiclesis and the longer, syntactically connected passages that constitute this essential feature of the hymns, and considering the ways in which these are combined within the collection. Following my analysis of the formal character or structure of the *eulogia*, in the next two chapters I identify and study four important elements of style within the predication: sound effects, conceptual antithesis, formal symmetry or circularity and finally intratextual and intertextual formularity.

The topics covered in this chapter are not intended to provide an exhaustive analysis. By reflecting on the unity and coherence of the collection (section 2.1) I aim to provide context for my analysis of the formal and stylistic features of the hymns (section 2.2 and chapters 3 and 4), which may, as stated, serve as a basis for further comparison. In my selection of these features I have kept this particular aim in mind, focusing on elements of the hymns that are, if not unique within Greek literature, then at least remarkable, and which serve to distinguish the hymns most clearly as an idiosyncratic religious and literary text. As this thesis aims to show, although the features discussed in this chapter do mark the hymns out as ‘niche’ or *sui generis*, they are not unique: each has important parallels in comparable texts, and taken together they serve to adumbrate the overlapping generic traditions within which the *Orphic Hymns* were composed.

2.1 The collection

The *Orphic Hymns*, a collection of 88 individual texts, show a remarkable degree of formal, stylistic, and conceptual coherence. Although, as the literature review of the previous chapter has shown, a number of scholars have proposed a degree of complexity in the process of their composition and more than one author, such theories have maintained at least the idea of a single editor or redactor.

¹ Ausfeld 1903: 514-5, the *invocatio*, *pars epica* and *preces*. See further Furley & Bremer (2001 I: 50-63), who suggest the terms *epiclesis*, *eulogia* and *euche*, with the caveat that these do not necessarily reflect ancient usage (p. 51).

I will begin by reviewing the overall composition of the collection, to corroborate its structural unity, but also to establish apparent anomalies in that unity, and variations or thematic groupings and movements within the broader sequence, which will help to show whether the features analysed in this chapter are indeed broadly characteristic of the *Orphic Hymns*, or of discrete elements and sequences of hymns within it. The collection, as I hope to show here, like the individual hymns, is not monotonous: it has its own rhythms and texture.

2.1.1 The proem and the hymn to Hekate

The proem, or Εὐχή πρὸς Μουσαῖον,² is a 44-verse hymn addressing the complete pantheon of gods. The title establishes an important convention within the Orphic genre, that the text of the proem, and by extension the entire collection, is a form of instruction, bestowed by the supreme theologian upon his disciple (or son) Musaeus, an idea that is further stated in the first two verses of the proem.³

ΟΡΦΕΥΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΝ.

Εὐτυχῶς χρώ, ἑταῖρε.

Μάνθανε δὴ, Μουσαῖε, θνητολὴν περισέμνην,
εὐχὴν, ἣ δὴ τοι προφερεστέρα ἐστὶν ἀπασέων...

Orpheus to Musaeus.

Use prosperously my friend.

Learn then, Musaeus, the all-holy sacrifice,
the prayer that surpasses all others...

Similar addresses in the theogonic poems make explicit the claim that is present here also: the instruction is also a revelation about the truth about the gods, περισέμνη⁴ and προφερεστέρα, superior to any other. Crucially, the θνητολὴ, the ritual offering that will be taught, is identified with the εὐχή that follows. The opening prayer lacks a specified burnt offering and there is a clear implication here that the prayer itself is the ritual offering. The title has an epistolary form, and

² This is the title given in editions and studies prior to Quandt. Kern (1940: 21) attributes it to Abel, but it is already found in Stephanus' edition (1566: 97). It does not appear in the MSS, several of which have πρὸς Μουσαῖον alone: the term εὐχή has been taken from the second verse of the proem.

³ Orpheus and Musaeus: Linforth 1941: 123-8, West 1983: 33-34, Ricciardelli 2000: xiv, Morand 2015: 211-2, Herrero de Jáuregui 2015: 232-3. Musaeus, Orpheus' disciple (or son): PEG III: 8, 13-14 (Musaeus 10, 20-22). Orphic addresses to Musaeus: OF 138 (*Rhapsodic Theogony*), 377 and 378 (*Diatheke*), 759 (*Ephemerides*), 778 (*Peri Seismon*), O.Arg. 308, 858, 1191, 1347. On the 'authority of Orpheus', Calame 2010. On the Near Eastern roots of the didactic convention of master and student, see West 1978: 3-15, 1997: 76-8.

⁴ Ricciardelli and Fayant follow the MSS reading περὶ σέμνην (see also West 1968: 289, 'Learn the prayer for the solemn sacrifice'). Hermann, Abel and Quandt read περισέμνην, Schneider's emendation (Hermann *ad loc.*, cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 604).

Gesner suggested that it is in fact a feature of the hymns' later transmission: a dedicatory note inscribed in one copy given as a gift.⁵ Whether this is the case or not, the ambivalent status of the authorial 'I' is foregrounded here: the author is simultaneously Orpheus, the anonymous composer of the hymns, and the reader or performer, an identity which the donor would also have assumed.⁶

The pantheic prayer stands out from the main sequence in several ways, beginning with the order in which the gods are presented. Here we begin with Zeus and the four elements: Zeus (v. 3, sky or air), Gaia (v. 3, earth), Sun, Moon, Stars (v. 4, fire) and Poseidon (v. 5, water). The principle of arrangement governing the divinities that follow is not consistent, or always easy to detect. Ricciardelli sees Zeus as its basis, arguing that, as in Hesiod's *Theogony*, the pantheon is viewed, in part at least, in terms of the supreme god's children and their mothers. Certainly, Zeus' position at the start is emphatic, and his children figure prominently in verses 6-14 (Persephone, Artemis, Apollo, Dionysos, Ares, Hephaistos, Aphrodite, Hebe, Eileithyia, Herakles), but Hermes and Pallas Athene come later (v. 22-3, 38). Verses 15-23, which begin with a reinvocation (κυκλήσκω) and a resulting shift from the vocative to the accusative case, focus on collectivities (Nymphs, Muses, Charites, Horai, Kouretes, Korybantes, Kabeiroi and the Dioskouroi), as Fayant notes,⁷ but the elder generation of gods intrudes in places (Pluto v. 12, Hera v. 16, Leto, Theia and Dione v. 19, Themis v. 23). Mothers are in some instances linked with their children.⁸ In the third part of the proem (v. 24-33) pairs of gods and small groups can be identified: Nyx and Hemar (v. 24, symmetrically arranged around an invocatory καλέω); Pistis, Dike, Thesmodoteira (v. 25, but Dikaioyne and Eusebeia are in v. 14); the Titans (or primordial parents, v. 26-27); and the gods of time (Aion, Chronos v. 28-29). Styx, the 'Melichioi' and Pronoia follow (v. 29-30), the first two possibly as chthonic divinities.⁹ The third movement culminates in the various Daimons, good and bad, of heavens, airs, waters, earth, the underworld and the empyrean: the parts of the cosmos (v. 31-33). 'Good' (ἀγαθήν, v. 30) Pronoia may stand in apposition to Agathos Daimon, who follows her. In the fourth and final movement, the gods associated with Dionysos (v. 34-35) and Athene (v. 36-38, with Asklepios) are followed by the Winds and the four parts of the cosmos (v. 39-40), and finally by two mother goddesses with their *paredroi*: Meter Theon and Ourania (Aphrodite,

⁵ Gesner 1764: 180: 'verba εὐτυχῶς χρῶ ἐπαῖρε... nihil aliud fuere, quam verba alicuius, qui exemplum libelli sic amico donaret et transcriberet'.

⁶ Morand 2015: 212-3, Herrero de Jáuregui 2015: 229-32.

⁷ Fayant (2014: lxxv-xlv) identifies four main groups: 1. Zeus as cosmic ruler and the major Olympians (v. 3-13), 2. Interlaced themes and divine collectivities (v. 14-23), 3. Return to the primordial divinities and personifications (v. 23-33), and 4. Dionysos, Asklepios and cosmic divinities (v. 34-42).

⁸ Persephone and Demeter (v. 6), Mnemosyne and the Muses (v. 16). Cf. the adjacent hymns to the latter goddesses in the main sequence also (OH 76, 77), as well as the position of the hymn to Leto between those of Apollo and Artemis (OH 34-36). Eos (OH 78) comes before her children, Boreas, Zephyros and Notos (OH 80-82), but is immediately followed by the hymn to Themis. Further instances of parent-child pairs in the main sequence include Persephone and Dionysos (OH 29, 30), Semele and Dionysos Bassareus Trieterikos (OH 44, 45), Asklepios and Hygieia (OH 67, 68), and Leukothea and Palaemon (OH 74, 75). Aphrodite and Adonis are followed by two of Aphrodite's children: Hermes Chthonios and Eros (OH 55-58).

⁹ Ricciardelli (2000: 221) suggests that the 'gentle' gods and Providence stand in apposition to Styx (cf. στρυγεῖν).

apparently distinguished from the ἀφρογενής θεά of v. 11). The sequence ends with Arche and Peras, a reflection on the completeness of the pantheon and the cosmic system, which brings us back to the beginning: the four elements and Zeus himself, who is ‘first and last’ in the Orphic *Hymn to Zeus*.¹⁰

Parallels with the main sequence of hymns are notable: Stoic abstractions, the elements, the hint at a cosmic system and the (possible) allusion to the Orphic theogony in association of Zeus with beginning and end. The pairing of related divinities is also a significant parallel, as will be seen. But there are important differences too: the prominence of Zeus, and correspondingly minor position of Dionysos (although he has ‘greatest honours among the blessed’ v. 8-9 and associated deities appear at v. 34-35). Many of the gods in the proem do not recur in the hymns, and *vice versa*.¹¹ On the question of whether the proem and the hymns were composed by the same author scholars are divided. Gesner saw the proem as a loose overview of the main sequence ‘quasi breviarium et summam opusculi, liberum tamen, nec numero Deorum Dearumque adstrictam, apparet’.¹² Morand is notable among modern critics in her defence of a single author, however,¹³ and the majority of scholars that have discussed the topic have argued for a separate origin.¹⁴ Morand’s argument, that the differences in style sequence point to a different aim rather than author, is valid, and the consonances between the proem and the hymns are significant. On balance however, the theory of a separate composition is more likely. Perhaps the decisive factor is the use of the term

¹⁰ OF 14.1, 30.1, 243.1 Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀρχικέρανος.

¹¹ Only in the proem: Hebe, Eusebeia, Eniautos, Dione, Kabeiroi, Dioskouroi, Hemar, Pistis, Thesmodoteira, Tethys (but cf. Thalassa, OH 22.1 γλαυκώπιδα Τηθύν), Okeanidai, Atlas, Aion, Chronos, Styx, Meilichoi (cf. Tyche OH 72.2 and Daimon OH 73.2, μειλίχιον Δία), Pronoia (but cf. Physis OH 10.27),Adrasteia, Attis, Men, Arche, Peras. Only in the hymns: Hekate, Prothyraia, Ouranos, Aither, Protogonos, Physis, Nephe, Thalassa, Nereus, Nereides, Proteus, Meter Antaia, Mise, Sabazios, Hipta, Silenos (cf. P.34 Βάκχου τε συνευαστήρας ἅπαντας), Eros, Moirai, Nemesis, Hygieia, Erinyes, Melinoe, Tyche, Eos, Boreas, Zephyros, Notos, Hestia, Hypnos, Oneiros, Thanatos.

¹² Gesner 1764: 180.

¹³ Morand 2001: 37 ‘La différence entre le prologue et le reste du texte est probablement liée à la différence de fonction de ces parties. Les hymnes et le prologue semblent obéir au même souci d’exhaustivité et ils formulent de manière similaire le désir de présence divine aux célébrations du groupe. Le rattachement du prologue aux hymnes me semble donc acquis’. See also Morand 2015: 209-210.

¹⁴ Proem a separate composition, later than the hymns: Tiedemann 1780: 83 (with reference to Pan and the Daimones), Gerlach 1797: 20-21 (a separate hymn later added as a proem, with the first two verses), Dieterich 1891: 25, n. (‘Prooemio ipso evincitur aut ante in hoc volumine plures conlectos esse hymnos aut prooemium ipsum ex simili opere praefixum esse. Ibi memorantur quae non ipsis celebrantur numina... quorum plurima posterius aevum sapiunt’), Jacobi 1930: 74 (a separately composed hymn to all the gods), Wilamowitz 1932 II: 515 n. 2 (not composed for cult use), Kern 1940: 24 (‘der Eindruck entsteht, daß der Dichter des Prooimions oberflächlich verfahren ist. Es mutet fast so an, daß es sich um einen ursprünglich vollkommen unabhängigen Hymnus an die Πάντες θεοί handelt.’), Keydell 1942: 1332 (added when the hymns were published), West 1968 (the *Thyepolikon* mentioned in the *Suda*, added to the hymns by accident), Ricciardelli 2000: xlii-xliii (‘il proemio, composto *ad hoc* o preesistente, sia stato anteposto agli *Inni* in un secondo tempo.’), 2008: 327-330, Rudhardt 2008: 174 (evidence for more than one poet), Fayant 2014: lxxvii-lxxix (a separate composition but earlier than the hymns: ‘Sans doute est-ce l’auteur du recueil lui-même qui a placé ce texte en tête de son oeuvre pour l’ancrer dans la tradition orphique.’), Gordon 2020: 35 (‘it is certain that the proem (ἐὐχή), which purports to be an address by Orpheus to Musaeus, has been cobbled on’).

θυηπολίη in the proem (v. 1 and 43), which does not appear at all in the hymns: the ‘rites’ and ‘offerings’ here are consistently referred to as τελεταί or ιερά.¹⁵

The opening hymn of the main sequence, the hymn to Hekate, is joined to the proem in all manuscripts and lacks its own title or offering rubric. Although some scholars have argued that it is an integral part of the proem,¹⁶ the majority have seen it as a distinct composition. Kern, Jacobi and Ricciardelli argue that it was added to the collection at the same time as the proem; West that John Diaconus Galenus, who provides the first direct reference to the hymns, possessed a text that lacked the proem and began with the hymn to Hekate, and that the two were subsequently joined by an ‘accident of transmission’.¹⁷ There are reasons to suspect that it was composed by a different author: it is one of the very few hymns in the collection that is exclusively ‘epicletic’, formed solely of predication shorter than a verse. The hymn to Hekate does, however, share formulae with other hymns, including the final verse with its reference to the *boukolos* of the rite (*OH* 1.10 ≈ 31.7). There is, moreover, a clear logic to Hekate’s position at the start of the sequence, ‘in foribus’. She is a gatekeeper and guide, a god who presides over the liminal space between realms.¹⁸ Whether or not the hymn was literally performed at the hekataion of a community’s sanctuary, as Dieterich and Graf suggest,¹⁹ standing on the threshold of the collection, Hekate ushers the reader from the profane world into the divine realm.

2.1.2 The titles

The primary title of the collection varies in the manuscripts:

τοῦ αὐτοῦ²⁰ [Ὀρφέως] πρὸς μουσαῖον (Par. 2763, 2765, Vat. Pal. 139, Marc. 406, Laur. 70.35
[all φ], Iunta [*ed. pr.*]; Vat. 1691 [A]; Ambr. 425 [B])
ὄρφεως ποιητοῦ ὕμνοι πρὸς μουσαῖον (Leid. 59, [φ])

¹⁵ West 1968: 288.

¹⁶ Petersen 1868: 387, Dieterich 1891: 15-16.

¹⁷ All editors since Hermann have divided the hymn from the proem. A division is marked in some manuscripts: in Lascaris’ manuscript (Matritensis 4562), the initial E of Εἰνοδία (*OH* 1.1) is larger. In Laur. 32.45 θυηπολ (the λ superscript) is written in the margin, in red ink, beside the v. 45 of the proem (the first verse of the hymn to Hekate). See Kern 1917: 150. The h family of MSS, deriving from Plethon’s autograph, transmit the proem without the hymn to Hekate. On the hymn to Hekate as a separate composition, Jacobi 1930: 70 n. 3, Ricciardelli 2000: xlv. West (1968: 289) argues that Galenus (who may have been writing in the 10th c.), had the full title Ἑκάτης. θυμίαμα ἀρώματα in his copy (*ibid.* 288).

¹⁸ See Sarian 1992 (*LIMC* 6.1): 985-8. Gatekeeper: e.g. Ar. *Vesp.* 804, ὥσπερ Ἑκαταῖον πανταχοῦ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν, Paus. 2.30.2 (Hekate Ἐπιπυργιδία on the Athenian Akropolis), Hesych. προπυλαία· ἡ Ἑκάτη. Guide: πρόδρομος Aesch. fr. 388, ἡγεμόνη *OH* 1.8 (cf. 72.3), but also Hekate’s association with torches and role as guide in *HHy.* 2.51-61. Temples or shrines to the goddess stood at the entrance to the sanctuaries of Demeter and Persephone at Selinus and Eleusis. (Selinus: *SEG* 34.971, Zuntz 1971: 98, Sarian 1992: 986, Faraone & Obbink 2013: 26; Eleusis [the temple of Artemis Propylaea]: Paus. 1.38.6, Mylonas 1961: 167-8, Evans 2002: 236). On Hekate’s position on the threshold of the main sequence in the *OH*, see Maass 1895: 175-9, who views the hymn as a second *prooimion*.

¹⁹ Dieterich 1891: 16, Graf 2009: 171.

²⁰ The *Orphic Argonautica* precedes the hymns in these MSS.

ὄρφεὺς πρὸς μουσαῖον (Vat. 2264 and 1371 [πρὸς μουσαῖον only], Matrit. 4562 [all θ])
 ὄρφέως ὕμνοι πρὸς μουσαῖον (Vat 1463, Vat. Pal. 139, Marc. 519 [all φ]; Par. suppl. 1095 [θ])
 ὄρφέως τελεταὶ πρὸς μουσαῖον (Harl. 1752, Marc. 406 [h])²¹

The common element here is [ὄρφέως / ὄρφεὺς] πρὸς μουσαῖον, and the title in the archetype (Ψ) may have been πρὸς μουσαῖον only (as in Vat. 1371), the epistolary formula that, taken together with the dedication εὐτυχῶς χρῶ, may be read as the title of the proem alone. The genitive Ὄρφέως, alone or with ὕμνοι (or τελεταί in Plethon's copy) seems to have been added by fifteenth century copyists. Several manuscripts have a secondary title, τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕμνοι, above the hymn to Prothyraia, indicating that πρὸς Μουσαῖον is to be read as the title of the proem alone.²² We find the same variety of forms in the subscriptions that follow the hymns of Proclus, which are appended to the *Orphic Hymns* without a clear division in most manuscripts:

τέλος τῶν ὕμνων ὄρφέως ποιητοῦ (Ambr. 11 [θ])
 τέλος τῶν τοῦ ὄρφέως εὐχῶν (Vat. 36 [A])
 τέλος τῶν θυμιαμάτων καὶ ὕμνων εἰς θεοὺς τοῦ σοφοῦ ὄρφέως (Vat. 1371, Neapol. 167 II F 10
 [both θ])²³

Εὐχαί and θυμιάματα are additionally found here, both terms that appear frequently in the text of the hymns. They may be inferences from the text, but there is slight evidence that θυμιάματα may have been an earlier title. Galenus' quotations from *OH* 8 and 9 are referred to Ὄρφεὺς ἐν τοῖς θυμίοις ἀρώμασι. West argues that this was taken from the lost title of the hymn to Hekate, Ἑκάτης θυμίαμα ἀρώματα,²⁴ but it is possible that Galenus misread Ὄρφέως θυμιάματα, or that this title had already become corrupted in his text.²⁵ In sum however, on the basis of the manuscript evidence, the title of the whole collection seems to have been lost, unless it was itself the epistolary title Ὄρφεὺς πρὸς Μουσαῖον. Several modern scholars have attempted to supply a title from the extensive list of Orphic works recorded in the *Suda*.²⁶ Ὑμνοι do appear here, without further detail, but the existence of other Orphic hymns is well established and those in the *Suda* cannot be definitely identified with the extant collection. Τελεταί also appear (ascribed to Onomacritus). This is the title given in the h group of manuscripts, but these derive from Gemistus Plethon's copy, and it seems likely that Plethon himself supplied it. Giseke suggests that we possess the Ὀνομαστικόν (in 1200

²¹ Quandt 1955²: 1, Ricciardelli 2000: 6. Quandt's analysis of the MSS (1955²: 11*-34*) shows that A, B (both extant as Vat. 1691 and Ambr. 425), φ and θ (both lost) were copies of Ψ, the archetype; the h family derives from Plethon's autograph copy, Marc. 406.

²² Vat. 1463, Par. 2765, Laur. 70.35 (both φ), followed by the *ed. pr.* (Iunta 1500) and the Aldine edition (1517).

²³ Ludwig 1895: 8.

²⁴ West 1968: 288. The relevant passages from Galenus are quoted by Quandt (1955²: 3*). See Heinsius, *Hesiodi Ascræi cum Scholiis Procli, Moschopuli, Tzetzae, Io. Diaconi* (Raphelengii 1603), p. 267.

²⁵ Vat. 1371 (θ group) has the Latin title 'orpei thymiamata & hymni deorum' on the page preceding the hymns (fol. 79 v).

²⁶ *OF* 1018 IV.

verses), an index of divine names corresponding to the epicleses of the hymns.²⁷ Kern argues for the *Θυηπολικόν*, on the basis that *θυηπολή* occurs twice in the proem, and the fact that the marginal note *θυηπολ* is found next to the first verse of the hymn to Hekate in one of the manuscripts (Laur. 32.45). West takes up this argument, but identifies the proem alone with the *Thyepolikon*.²⁸ These attempts are ultimately speculative however. The Ψ codex seems to have preserved only the dedicatory superscription. It is possible that, if the proem and the hymn to Hekate were joined by accident, as West suggests, the title to the main sequence was lost in the process. The most likely candidate must remain *ὀρφῆως ὕμνοι*, the title restored in several of the ϕ group manuscripts, possibly on the basis of other references to Orphic *hymnoi* in the ancient testimonia.

The titles of the hymns in the main sequence have been studied in detail by Morand.²⁹ In the majority of cases (78 out of 87) the divinity's name in the genitive case is followed by *θυμίαμα*, and, in the accusative case, the incense to be burnt. Six types of incense are repeatedly prescribed (*ἀρώματα*, or spices, twenty times, frankincense seventeen times, storax eleven times, 'manna' ten times, myrrh five times and frankincense-manna three times), and there appears to be little thematic correspondence between the incense and gods in these cases.³⁰ These titles can be read in two ways, either taking *θυμίαμα* with the name of the god (e.g. *Προθυραίας θυμίαμα στύρακα*, 'the offering of Prothyraia: storax'), or, as most editors have preferred, following Petersen,³¹ understanding 'hymn' and taking *θυμίαμα* with the incense (e.g. '[the hymn] of Prothyraia, the offering: storax'). In both readings the accusative case of the incense is puzzling, and, as Petersen suggests, a verb such as *λάβε* or *θυμιᾶ* must be understood. As Ricciardelli argues, the former is preferable: the hymns themselves may be understood as offerings, and in this regard the identification of *εὐχη* and *θυηπολή* in the proem serves as an analogue.³²

In a number of cases, the offering is unique and often clearly appropriate: firebrands for Nyx, saffron for Aither,³³ *ποικίλα* for Pan and Meter Theon and poppy for Hypnos. Ge is offered *πάν σπέρμα πλὴν κυάμων καὶ ἀρωμάτων*, 'every seed except beans and spices', an apparent reference to the Orphico-Pythagorean taboo on eating beans.³⁴ More mysteriously, Amphietes is to be offered

²⁷ Giseke 1853: 92. Kern is dismissive of this theory (1922: 311), 'hariolatus est'.

²⁸ Kern 1917: 150, West 1968: 288-9.

²⁹ Morand 2001: 103-137.

³⁰ Connected deities may share the same offering: frankincense is prescribed for the Kouretes and Korybant, Dike and Dikaioisynē, Tyche and Daimon, the Mousai and Mnemosynē, and for the three Winds. Spices are apparently reserved for female gods in the first half of the collection; manna is shared by Apollo and Artemis, and by Asklepios and Hygieia. Morand (2001: 115-6) gives further examples.

³¹ Petersen 1868: 416, Morand 2001: 110. Abel, Quandt and Fayant interpret the titles in this way.

³² Ricciardelli 2000: xxxvii 'profumo e composizione poetica sono legati strettamente'.

³³ The colour of saffron (*χρυσανγής κρόκος*, Soph. *Ant.* 685) appears to be associated with Aither's fiery nature. Morand 2001: 124.

³⁴ Morand 2001: 130-33, who notes a similar ban on beans in the cult of Demeter at Pheneus (Paus. 8.15.3-4). On the Orphic and Pythagorean taboo, see Thom 2013: 82 and Bernabé 2013: 123. The Orphic testimonia are collected in *OF* 648-9.

πάντα πλὴν λιβάνου, καὶ σπένδε γάλα, ‘everything except frankincense, and make a libation of milk’: the only occurrence of a verb in one of the titles.³⁵ The Erinyes, uniquely, have two of the standard offerings, storax and manna. The remaining hymns diverge in a number of ways. Four have εἰς followed by the god’s name in the accusative case: *OH* 8 Helios and *OH* 9 Selene (both of whom then have a θυμίαμα), *OH* 18 Pluto³⁶ and *OH* 55 Aphrodite (both of whom lack a θυμίαμα). Five hymns have ὕμνος with the name of the god in the genitive, without an offering: *OH* 29 Persephone, *OH* 31 Kouretes, *OH* 45 Dionysus Bassareus Trieterikos, *OH* 61 Nemesis, and *OH* 64 Nomos. *OH* 50, to Lysios Lenaïos, has only the god’s name in the genitive.

Wilamowitz attributes the anomalous titles to scribal error:³⁷ it is possible that if a full title was lost, it was replaced by the name of the god, minus the θυμίαμα. The possibility that hymns with anomalous titles are themselves later additions appears to be ruled out by the fact that the majority do not show any stylistic divergence from the rest of the collection.³⁸ In fact, if the titles were added by an editor or collector who also added hymns, they would have been standardised to disguise the interpolation, so it seems most likely that the defective titles are the result of later errors or omission in transcription, as Wilamowitz argues. The hymns that combine εἰς with the standard rubric (*OH* 8 and 9 to Helios and Selene) are hard to explain: the offering was not lost in these cases. In the instances however where the offering is unique or appropriate, it may be that the creator of the titles incorporated a ritual prescription found in an earlier source. This seems particularly likely in the detailed offerings to Ge and Amphietes (*OH* 26 and 53).

2.1.3 The sequence

The titles provide strong evidence for the coherence of the collection, albeit with some discrepancies that suggest damage to the text at some point in its transmission, and the possibility at least of the use or incorporation of earlier material by the author or editor responsible for adding them. This impression of cohesiveness is compellingly reinforced by the sequence itself, as several critics have shown.³⁹ Following the hymn to Hekate, who, as stated, may represent the guide or hierophant who ushers the reader into the divine realm, the main sequence begins with Prothyraia (Eileithyia), another goddess linked with Artemis. The goddess of birth is clearly paired with the god of death (*OH* 87) as the alpha and omega, or ἀρχή and πέρας (the terms used in the proem), of

³⁵ On the connection with Dionysos and milk, Morand (2001: 134-6) notes Eur. *Bacch.* 142-5 (although here milk, wine and honey are accompanied by frankincense) and the formula found in several of the ‘Orphic’ funerary lamellae, e.g. 5.9 Graf–Johnston, ἔριφος ἐς γάλ’ ἔπετον. See further Torjussen 2014.

³⁶ The title of the hymn to Pluto is Εἰς Τυφῶνα in all MSS. It was emended to Πλούτονα by Stephanus. See Morand 2001: 105, ‘La convergence entre les Papyrus magiques et les *Hymnes orphiques* a peut-être induit cette erreur.’

³⁷ Wilamowitz 1932 II: 514 n. 2.

³⁸ In the majority of cases: see below on *OH* 55 (Aphrodite). The hymn most often singled out as stylistically distinctive, *OH* 59 (Moirai), has a standard title.

³⁹ Petersen 1868: 389-90, Dieterich 1891: 14-24, Keydell 1942: 1321-3, Ricciardelli 2000: xl-xlii, Graf 2009: 171-3, Fayant 2014: xxxvi-lxiii, Barbieri Antunes 2018: 35-40.

the pantheon.⁴⁰ As Dieterich showed, the hymns then follow a sequence that reflects the cosmogonic narrative of one or more of the Orphic theogonies. Significantly, the opening sequence (Nyx, Ouranos, Aither, Protogonos, *OH* 3-6) does not appear to follow the *Rhapsodic Theogony*, in which Nyx and Ouranos come after Protogonos, but another version in which Nyx was the first god.⁴¹ This was the case in the Eudemian theogony, and in the theogony known to the Derveni commentator.⁴² In the latter, Ouranos, the son of Nyx, is the ‘firstborn’ and first in the succession of divine rulers: Οὐρανὸς Εὐφρονίδης, ὃς πρώτιστος βασιλευσεν, a version that seems to be echoed also in *OH* 14.1, where Rhea is addressed as the daughter of Πρωτόγονος.⁴³ Burkert’s suggestion that the phrase ὃς αἰθέρα ἔκθορε πρῶτος (*OF* 8) refers to Ouranos’ ejaculation of the aither, if correct, would also correlate with the sequence of gods we find here: Aither was created by Ouranos.⁴⁴ Whether Protogonos-Phanes and the cosmic egg appeared in the Derveni theogony is a subject of debate: most scholars agree with Burkert that they did not.⁴⁵ In the *Rhapsodic Theogony*, the synthesis and compilation of earlier Orphic poems most frequently cited by the Neoplatonists, the succession of first beings is Chronos, Aither and Chaos, Protogonos, Nyx. Protogonos is described as the son of Aither, corresponding to the positions of *OH* 5 to Aither and 6 to Protogonos in the *Orphic Hymns*.⁴⁶ In sum, the *Hymns* appear to draw on more than one version

⁴⁰ In Cornutus’ *Epidrome*, a work that shows many points of contact with the *OH*, the sequence of gods ends with Eileithyia and Hades.

⁴¹ There is however, some indication of a first Nyx in the *Rhapsodic Theogony* who preceded Protogonos. See West 1983: 70, 208: ‘Night’ stood in the text as another name of the Erebus which Chronos produced together with Aither and Chaos’. *OF* 107 (*Suda* s.v. Ὀρφεύς) ἐντεῦθεν καέκειθεν τοῦ Αἰθέρος ἦν Χάος καὶ Νύξ ζοφερά πάντα κατείχε καὶ ἐκάλυπτε τὰ ὑπὸ τὸν Αἰθέρα, σημάινων τὴν Νύκτα πρωτεύειν. This appears to have been a primordial darkness, as opposed to the later personified Nyx, the daughter of Protogonos and mother of Ouranos: Bernabé *ad loc* (*PEG* II.i: 115): ‘mihi videtur Nox in hoc carmine non Temporis filia, sed materia primordialis’. The metrical phrase Νύξ ζοφερά, which likely stood in the *Rhapsodic Theogony*, describing the first Nyx, is echoed in *OH* 78.4 (Eos), νυκτὸς ζοφόντα... πορείην. Night was also the first god in the theogonies of Epimenides (B 5 DK, *PEG* II.iii fr. 46, paired with Aer) and Musaeus (B 14 DK, *PEG* II.iii fr. 81, paired with Tartaros). Cf. also Nyx in Hes. *Th.* 124 (the daughter of Chaos) and *Il.* 14. 259, Νύξ δμῆταιρα θεῶν. Chrysippus also placed Nyx first in the Περὶ Φύσεως (*SVF* II 636, Philod. *De Piet.* 14): καὶ τῷ πρώτῳ τὴν Νύκτα θεῶν φησὶν εἶναι πρωτίστην. On Night in the *Rhapsodies*, see further Meisner 2018: 200-212.

⁴² Nyx in the Derveni theogony: *OF* 6 (P. Derv. col. VIII 4-5), Bernabé 2002: 103-4, 2007: 110-11, 126-8, Betegh 2004: 153-4, Kouremenos 2006: 25, Meisner 2018: 35-8, 85. In the Eudemian theogony: *OF* 20 I-V, West 1983: 116-7, Betegh 2004: 146, Meisner 2018: 87-101. For a comparison of the Derveni and Eudemian theogonies, Bernabé 2007: 129, Meisner 2018: 94-101.

⁴³ *OF* 10 = P. Derv. col. XIV 6. Ricciardelli (2000: 295) argues that Rhea is presented the daughter of Phanes, who holds the ‘seeds of the gods’ (*OF* 140), but cites Faggin (1991: 228) who supports my suggestion here, that she is the daughter of Ouranos Πρωτόγονος. Cf. *OH* 13.6: Kronos is the child of Ge and Ouranos.

⁴⁴ Burkert 1999: 97-98, Bernabé 2007: 107-8. *Contra* Betegh 2004: 154-6, Kouremenos 2006: 26. The alternative interpretation, ‘who first sprung into the aither’, does not account for the accusative case of αἰθέρα.

⁴⁵ The question hinges on whether the αἰδοῖον swallowed by Zeus is the penis of Ouranos (Burkert 1999: 101-106, Janko 2001: 24, Betegh 2004: 154-8, Bernabé 2007: 107-9) or the ‘reverend’ Protogonos himself, as in the *Rhapsodic Theogony* (West 1983: 85, Kouremenos 2006: 23-8). The Derveni commentator interpreted it as a penis (col. XIII 8-10) and in *OF* 260 Aphrodite is born from the αἰδοῖα of Ouranos. Phanes and the cosmic egg appeared in both the *Rhapsodic Theogony* and the theogony attributed by Damascius to Hieronymus and Hellanicus, but, in spite of Burkert’s argument that Phanes in the *Rhapsodic Theogony* is a sanitised version of the penis of Ouranos, swallowed by Zeus prior to his recreation of the cosmos (1999: 106), Aristophanes’ parodic theogony (*Av.* 690-702 = *OF* 64) provides evidence that an egg version of the Orphic cosmogony was also current in the late 5th c. BCE (cf. also Eur. fr. 484 = *OF* 66). See further Herrero de Jáuregui 2010a: 81, Meisner 2018: 75-85.

⁴⁶ The succession of first beings in the *Rhapsodies*: *OF* 96-98. Aither and Protogonos: *OF* 124 and 125 Πρωτόγονος φαέθων, περιμήκεος Αἰθέρος υἱός.

of the Orphic myth: one related to the Derveni theogony for the sequence Nyx, Ouranos, Aither; and the *Rhapsodic Theogony* (or another poem) for the position of Protogonos.

Protogonos' creation unfolds in the next series of celestial bodies: the stars, sun and moon (*OH* 7-9), and three gods who represent the cosmic system itself, Physis, Pan and Herakles (*OH* 10-12). Physis is the Stoic embodiment of the guiding principle of the cosmos,⁴⁷ Pan the universe itself and Herakles represents time (*OH* 12 χρόνου πάτηρ), an identification made in the Orphic theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus.⁴⁸ Next come the second and third generations of gods: Kronos and Rhea, then Zeus and Hera together with Poseidon and Pluto. The four Olympians represent the four elements, fire, air, water and earth.⁴⁹ This elemental principle governs hymns 19 to 27 also: *OH* 19 and 20 are two, stylistically contrasting, hymns to the physical manifestations of Zeus' power, symbolising fire; *OH* 21 to the Nephe represents air; *OH* 22 to 25 address the gods of the sea, Thalassa, Nereus, the Nereidai and Proteus; *OH* 26 and 27, to Ge and Meter Theon, represent the earth. The opening sequence, *OH* 3 to 27, follows a cosmological pattern then, as Deiterich showed. The creation of the cosmos unfolds in this series, from the primordial divinities to the present cosmic system, and the pattern followed is that of one or more of the Orphic theogonies. A central position is taken, as in the *Rhapsodic Theogony*, by Zeus, in his own hymn (*OH* 15) and in the hymn to Pan (*OH* 11), both of which recall Zeus' act of creation in the Orphic poem.

The next series continues the Rhapsodic narrative, which culminated in the Orphic myth of Dionysos and the fate of human souls.⁵⁰ There is continuity here: *OH* 28-30, to Hermes, Persephone and Dionysos, take us from the earth (*OH* 26-27, Ge and Meter Theon) to the underworld; but there is also a division in the sequence. Hermes (*OH* 28), like Hekate at the start, guides us into a new realm, that of the gods of the mysteries and Dionysos above all. Hymns 29 to 37 appear to mark out the Orphic myth of Dionysos.⁵¹ *OH* 29 (Persephone), 30 (Dionysos) and 31

⁴⁷ Cf. Zeno *SVF* I 172 (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.58, ipsius vero mundi, qui omnia complexu suo coerces et continet, natura non artificiosa solum sed plane artifex ab eodem Zenone dicitur, consultrix et provida utilitatum opportunitatumque omnium), 176 (Aët. 1.27.5 Ζήνων ὁ Στωικὸς ἐν τῷ Περὶ φύσεως, δύναμιν κινητικὴν τῆς ὕλης κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὡσαύτως, ἥντινα μὴ διαφέρειν πρόνοιαν καὶ φύσιν καλεῖν). On the identification of Physis and Pronoia, cf. *OH* 10.27, ἀθανάτη τε πρόνοια. On the personification of Physis, Chrysipp. *SVF* II 945 (Alex. Aphr. *De Fato* p. 192 Brun) τὴν δὲ εἰμαρμένην αὐτὴν καὶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὸν λόγον, καθ' ὃν διοικεῖται τὸ πᾶν, θεὸν εἶναί φασιν.

⁴⁸ Cf. Pan's identification here with Zeus in the pantheic form he takes in the *Hymn to Zeus* (*OF* 243.14, with *OH* 11.12 ἀληθὴς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης). In the theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus Zeus was called Pan (*OF* 86). Herakles-Chronos: *OF* 76, West 1983: 192-4, Brisson 1985: 41-5. On the cosmic significance of Herakles, cf. also Cornutus (c. 31) Ἡρακλῆς δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις λόγος καθ' ὃν ἡ φύσις ἰσχυρὰ καὶ κραταιὰ ἐστίν.

⁴⁹ Fayant 2014: xlv, Barbieri Antunes 2018: 37. The difference between this arrangement and that of the proem, where Zeus apparently represents air, the celestial bodies fire and Gaia earth (P.3-5), is notable. Empedocles' identification of the four elements with the gods Zeus, Hera, Nestis and Aidoneus is the ultimate model (B 6 DK), and agrees (according to the usual interpretation, *contra* Kingsley 1995: 13-48) with the *OH* sequence, with Nestis for Poseidon. Cf. also the gold lamella from Thurii (4 Graf-Johnston, *OF* 492), which contains (v. 5) the words Ἄερ, Πῦρ, Μᾶτηρ, Νῆστι, followed by Νῦξ and Ἡμέρα.

⁵⁰ *OF* 291-336, 337-340.

⁵¹ Cf. Graf 2009: 172 and Barbieri Antunes 2018: 39. Ricciardelli (2000: xli) and Fayant (2014: xlix-l) view this series as the children of Zeus rather. Fayant groups *OH* 28-43 as 'Divinités gouvernant les activités humaines'. Principles of

(Kouretes) allude to Persephone's rape, (*OF* 280 - 283), the first birth of the god, and his enthronement, guarded by the Kouretes (*OF* 296-300). The hymns to Athene and Nike (*OH* 32-33), and Apollo, Leto, and Artemis (*OH* 34-36) hint similarly at their roles in the myth. Athene is leader of the Kouretes (*OF* 267-268) and rescues the heart of Dionysos (*OF* 315-316); Artemis informs Zeus of the murder (*OF* 317); Apollo (called Helios) collects the limbs of the slain god and buries them at Delphi (*OF* 321, 323).⁵² Finally we are presented with the Titans themselves (*OH* 37) with an allusion to the anthropogony from their lightning-struck remains (*OF* 318-320). The main elements of the myth are pointed to in this sequence, but explicit references in the hymns themselves are few, associated gods (Nike and Leto) are worked in, and the actual death of Dionysos is only hinted at by the sequence itself.

This Orphic sequence, which takes us to the end of the Rhapsodic narrative, is followed by the main series of mystery gods: *OH* 38-39, the gods of Samothrace (Kabeiroi, Korybant); *OH* 40-43, the Eleusinian gods (Demeter, Meter Antaia, Mise and the Horai, Persephone's companions) and *OH* 44-54, the Bacchic circle. The last of these, the centerpiece of the collection, contains hymns to Semele (the second birth of Dionysus), Sabazios and Hipta (the third birth) and six further manifestations of the god himself (Dionysos Bassareus Trieterikos, Liknites, Perikionios, Lysios Lenaioi, Trieterikos and Amphietes), together with the Nymphs and Silenoi, members of his thiasos. The second and third births of the god are followed here by his trieteric return from the underworld (described in *OH* 53 and celebrated by Silenos and the Bakkhai in *OH* 54). The next group, *OH* 55-58, to Aphrodite, Adonis, Hermes Chthonios and Eros, a family unit, are also connected with Dionysos, who is identified with Adonis. But the last two hymns here are again transitional and once more Hermes guides us to the next part of the sequence, which Dieterich thought proceeded from Eros, the principle of love.⁵³ These are the gods who govern human life: the gods of destiny (*OH* 59-60 Moirai, Charites, 72-73 Tyche, Daimon), and of justice and morality (*OH* 61-64 Nemesis, Dike, Dikaosyne, Nomos, and 69-71 the Furies). In the centre of this series are two pairs of divinities: Ares and Hephaistos (strife and fire), Asklepios and Hygieia, who may be in apposition, representing destruction and healing respectively. Pairs of gods are clearly marked here (cf. also *OH* 69-70, Erinyes and Eumenides, 71-72, Melinoe and Tyche) but also overlap (*OH* 70-71, Eumenides and Melinoe, 72-73 Tyche and Daimon). The pairs continue with *OH* 74-75, Leukothea and Palaemon, saviours at sea who are also connected with Dionysos, and *OH* 76-77, Mousai and Mnemosyne, whose importance for the *teletai* is underscored.

In the last hymns of the collection we return to the physical cosmos. Dieterich argued that there is another sequence of elements in *OH* 79-84, with Themis standing for earth, the Boreas, Zephyros

arrangement are not necessarily exclusive however, and the explanation given here does correlate with a shift to the second generation of Olympians.

⁵² Graf & Johnston 2007: 77. Apollo may have healed Dionysos also (*OF* 322).

⁵³ Dieterich 1891: 23.

and Notos for air, Okeanos for water and Hestia for fire.⁵⁴ But an alternative reading is possible: only three of the four winds are addressed, of the North, West and South, but their mother, Eos (OH 78), may be understood to represent the East, so that we have a reference here to the four cardinal points, or the Κόσμου μέρη τετρακίονος, a phrase that follows the Ἄνεμοι and Βρονταί in the proem (P.39-40). In that case Eos and Themis (OH 78 and 79) may have been transposed, and the latter goddess, who is closely linked with the *teletai*, should be connected with the Muses and Mnemosyne.⁵⁵ OH 83-84, Okeanos and Hestia, appear to represent another view of the physical world: the periphery and the centre.⁵⁶ If that is the case, hymns 78 to 84 present a conceptual geography of the world humans inhabit, in keeping with the largely anthropocentric tenor of this third main section of the sequence. Finally, hymns 85 to 87 to Hypnos, Oneiros and Thanatos, a stylistically cohesive group, provide a conclusion that links back to the start of the sequence: Thanatos corresponding with Prothyraia (OH 2), and both Hypnos and Thanatos with their mother, Nyx (OH 3).⁵⁷

This remarkable sequence adds an important layer of meaning to the hymns and argues strongly for a single authorial or editorial presence. The main outlines are not in doubt, but the overall shape of the sequence has been interpreted in different ways. Keydell sees a broad progression from the most comprehensive powers to gods presiding over narrower areas of life.⁵⁸ Fayant argues for an ‘annular’ structure, viewing hymns 3-37 (A) and 78-84 (A’) as counterparts that present the gods of the cosmos, framing hymns 28-41 (B) and 59-77 (B’), the gods who govern human life, with the Bacchic thiasos (44-58) as the central element (and 1-2 with 85-87 as an outer frame).⁵⁹ Barbieri Antunes sees the Orphic myth of Dionysos as the performative heart of the collection, but one of three ‘axial’ movements: cosmogony, the Dionysian myth and ‘the end of existence’, the last of which speaks, in this scholar’s view, to the soteriological aims of the group that performed the hymns. Barbieri Antunes also proposes that the myth of Dionysos corresponds with the initiatory

⁵⁴ *ibid.*

⁵⁵ A similar case of substitution may have occurred with the hymns to the Moirai and Charites (OH 59 and 60): the latter are closely associated with Eros (OH 58).

⁵⁶ OH 83.3 (Okeanos) δς περικυμαίνει γαίης περιτέρμονα κύκλον. Hestia is associated with earth as well as fire: Eur. fr. 944, καὶ Γαῖα μήτηρ. Ἑστία δὲ σ’ οἱ σοφοὶ βροτῶν καλοῦσιν ἡμένην ἐν αἰθέρι. The *sophoi* here may include Orpheus: cf. the verse of a hymn quoted by the Derveni commentator (col. XXII.12 = OF 398): Δημήτηρ, [P]έα, Γῆ, Μη[τ]ήρ Ἑστία Δηιώ. In OH 27.9 Meter is called Hestia. Hestia as the central fire in Pythagorean cosmology: Philolaus B 7 DK: τὸ πρῶτον ἄρμωσθὲν, τὸ ἕν, ἐν τῷ μέσῳ τᾶς σφαίρας ἑστία καλεῖται; A 16 DK (Aet. II 6.5): Φιλόλαος πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ περὶ τὸ κέντρον, ὅπερ ἑστίαν τοῦ παντὸς καλεῖ καὶ Διὸς οἶκον καὶ μητέρα θεῶν βωμόν τε καὶ συνοχήν καὶ μέτρον φύσεως. Cf. OH 84.2 ἢ μέσον οἶκον ἔχεις πυρὸς ἀεναίοιο, but also 84.5-6 οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταῖόν... χλοόμορφε. Both conceptions of the goddess, as fire and as earth, appear to be present in the hymn, but the idea of the ‘centre’ is supervening. Cf. Aristonous, *Hy. Hestia* (CA p. 164-5, Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 116-8, II: 38-45), v. 2-4 Ἑστίαν [ὑ]μνησομεν, & καὶ Ὀλυμπο[ν] καὶ μυ[χ]δὸν γ[α]ίας μεσόμφορον αἰεὶ Πυθίαν [τε δ] ἄφραν κατέχουσα, a reference to Hestia’s association with Delphi as the centre of the world (as in *HHy.* 24.1-3).

⁵⁷ *Il.* 14.231, 259-60, Hes. *Th.* 211-12. Cf. also the representation of Nyx on the Chest of Kypselos with a white child and a black one (i.e. Hypnos and Thanatos) in her arms, Paus. 5.18.1.

⁵⁸ Keydell 1942: 1323.

⁵⁹ Fayant 2014: lxii-lxiii.

ritual of the group.⁶⁰ The idea that the sequence itself marks out the course of the group's ritual is also put forward by Graf, who argues that the nocturnal rite begins with Nyx (*OH* 3) and its end is signalled by Eos (*OH* 78). Its initiatory purpose is revealed by the reference to the νεοφάντης in *OH* 4, and the liturgy is the Bacchic sequence, which Graf identifies as beginning with the hymn to Persephone (*OH* 29).⁶¹ These theories all have interpretative value, but each is debatable in some respect. Graf does not account for the continuation of the sequence from Eos to Thanatos. Fayant's identification of hymns 28-43 as gods governing human activity overlooks their significance in a specifically Dionysian, and Orphic, context. Barbieri Antunes on the other hand may overstate the significance of the Orphic myth of Dionysos' *sparagmos*: other rites and myths are present in the central sequence, including the Bacchic Lenaia and Trieterica. At this stage I wish to emphasise (like Barbieri Antunes) one important aspect of the sequence: there are three main movements, each introduced by a god of boundaries and transitions, Hekate, Hermes and Hermes Chthonios (*OH* 1, 28, 57). *OH* 1-27 address the gods of the cosmos, 28-58 the gods of the mysteries, and 59-87 gods associated with the human realm. This division appears to be significant, conceptually, and, as I will later discuss, on formal and stylistic grounds also. Conceptually, the cosmos or macrocosm, and human life, or microcosm, seem to be in apposition, mediated by the gods of the mysteries, and Dionysos in particular. The exact divisions should not be overstated however: the boundaries between the movements, although marked by the hymns to Hermes, are also blurred to some extent. Persephone bridges the first two movements, just as Eros does the second and third.

The number of hymns in the collection deserves brief consideration here: there are eighty-seven, if the hymn to Hekate is included, as I think it must be. Pico thought there was a numerological significance: 'Tantus est numerus hymnorum Orphei, quantus est numerus cum quo deus triplex creavit saeculum, sub quaternarii pythagorici forma numeratus'.⁶² According to Kircher he meant the number eighty-four, with reference to the *Timaeus* and Neoplatonist numerology: 3 (god) x 4 (the tetractys and the elements) x 7 (the celestial bodies).⁶³ Unfortunately eighty-four is not the total number of hymns, but the possibility that the original number was significant should not be dismissed, given the close attention the author paid to the arrangement of the sequence. As Dieterich argued, however, we cannot be confident that the intended number was eighty-six or

⁶⁰ Barbieri Antunes 2018: 40, 'é possível que, com a chegada do mito central, poderia haver uma emulação simbólica ou uma encenação *de facto* dessa narrativa, condizendo com a curva dramática da possível iniciação do grupo representado no hinário'.

⁶¹ Graf 2009: 171-3.

⁶² Pico *Conclusiones* 10.5 (Farmer 1998: 506).

⁶³ Kircher 1653: 151, 'Ternarius quidem numerus, Mundi Archetypi; quaternarius, Mundi Elementaris; septenarius verò, Siderei Mundi symbolum est: unitas enim intelligibilis in seipsam evoluta, triadem constituit, id est, Mundum intelligibilem; Ternarius in quaternarium evolutus, Mundum sensibilem exhibet; ex ternario vero et quaternario Mundus Sidereus constat.'

eighty-seven: hymns may have been added, transposed or lost.⁶⁴ In the formal and stylistic analyses that follow, where the three movements of the sequence are referred to, I divide the total number of hymns evenly into three sets of twenty-nine hymns. This is for the sake of simplicity only: if each movement does begin with Hekate or Hermes, then there are twenty-seven hymns in the first, twenty-nine in the second and thirty-one in the third. It is also possible, however, that an even division of this kind was intended, as it places Dionysos (*OH* 30) himself at the start of the second section and the Moirai (*OH* 59), the goddesses who oversee the sphere of human activities, at the start of the third. Taking Hekate (*OH* 1) as a symbolically cosmic power,⁶⁵ we can see, on this reading, each movement beginning with a programmatically significant divinity. The divisions between the three movements are not, in sum, clear-cut. Hekate and Prothyraia (*OH* 1, 2) begin the first; Hermes, Persephone and Dionysos (*OH* 28-30) mark a transition to the second and Hekate, Chthonios, Eros and the Moirai (*OH* 57-9) to the third.

2.2 Formal features of the hymns: *epiclesis*, *eulogia* and *euche*

Turning now from the collection as a whole to the individual hymns, I will look at the formal features that characterise their constitutive elements: first the invocation, then the prayer and finally the body of the hymn, the predication. My analyses of the invocations and prayers will build on the studies of Morand, Rudhardt and Fayant.⁶⁶ My study of the body of the hymns, the paratactic sequence of epithets and longer descriptive passages that characterises them, will consider first the syntactic forms these may take, and then the ways in which these are combined. In the next chapter I will turn to stylistic features found within the predication, focussing on three areas in particular: sound effects, conceptual antithesis and formal antithesis.

The most durable model for the formal analysis of Greek hymns is Karl Ausfeld's threefold division (of prayer) into an *invocatio*, *pars epica* (or *media*) and *preces*.⁶⁷ The relationship between prayer and hymn is not straightforward: hymns are not merely sung prayers, but a form of offering in themselves.⁶⁸ While there is a distinction to be made in terms of performance and rhetorical emphasis however, Ausfeld's triple division may be applied to both forms of addressing the gods, and provides a useful starting point for considering the position of the *Orphic Hymns* within the

⁶⁴ Dieterich 1891: 24 n. 2. If the original number did have a numerological significance, it might have been 81 or three to the fourth power (δυναμοδύναμις, the square of the square), on the Pythagorean significance of which cf. Plut. *De anim. procreat. in Tim.* 1028b, Hippol. *Ref.* 1.2.10, Anon. *De Phil. Plat.* 4.26 Westerlink (οὗτος δὲ ὁ πα' ἀριθμὸς δυναμοδύναμις λέγεται ὡς ἂν τοῦ γ', ἀριθμοῦ πρώτου ὄντος διὰ τὸ ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τελευτήν, πολλαπλασιαζομένου καὶ ἀπογεννώντος τὸν θ' (τριάκις γὰρ τρία θ') καὶ τοῦ ἐννέα τὸν πα' ἀριθμόν).

⁶⁵ *ibid.* 15, Graf 2009: 171.

⁶⁶ Morand 2001: 42-58, with App. 2 (309-17), Rudhardt 2008: 183-194 (invocations), 208-218 (prayers), Fayant 2014: lxxxii-cxii.

⁶⁷ Ausfeld 1903: 514-5.

⁶⁸ Pulleyn 1997: 49-55, *contra* Bremer 1981: 193; Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 3-5.

broader tradition of Greek hymnody.⁶⁹ The invocation or *epiclesis*, in both prayers and hymns, is the call to the god. It may take the form of an exordium or statement of subject ('I sing' or 'sing Muse' in the *Homeric Hymns*), or of a direct address, whether simply in the vocative case or following a verb such as 'I call' or 'hear'.⁷⁰ In either case however, and from the earliest examples, the first section of the Greek hymn comprises an asyndetic list of names and epicleses. The latter include nominal phrases, adjectives, participles and short relative clauses that describe key features of the god: their appearance, sphere of influence, parentage and favourite places. The distinction between names and other epicleses is not easily maintained. Cult titles derived from specific locations, such as Branchios or Pythios, may be treated as names, as may adjectival descriptions whose meaning has become either stereotyped or obscure, such as Phoibos or Smintheus. Where names in particular are listed we can speak of stylistic 'polyonymy', but this is in fact quite rare. It may serve to link deities usually considered distinct, for example in the single verse of an Orphic hymn preserved in the Derveni papyrus:

Δημήτηρ, [P]έα, Γῆ, Μήτηρ Ἑστία Δηιώ⁷¹

Demeter, Rhea, Ge, Meter, Hestia, Deio

It may also emphasise the underlying unity of the localised manifestations of the god.⁷² Πολυώνυμος is itself a eulogistic title, implying the broad, manifold nature of the god's cult.⁷³ It is a desirable property for a god: in Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, the infant goddess asks her father for the gift of πολωνυμῖη.⁷⁴ Usener theorised that polyonymy was the result of the consolidation of distinct *Sondergötter* into single, panhellenic identities. The older, separate gods were subsumed, but their names remained as *Beinamen* which poets listed in their invocations on the principle that too much of a good thing is better than risking the omission of a critical term.⁷⁵ The second part of this argument has proved more durable than the first: there does appear to be a degree of anxiety in

⁶⁹ Bremer 1981: 194-7, Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 51-63.

⁷⁰ On invocatory formulae, Adami 1901: 219-221, Keyssner 1932: 9-28, Pulleyn 1997: 133-144.

⁷¹ P. Derv. col. XXII 7-12 (Kouremenos *et al.* 2006: 105 = OF 398). Obbink (1994: 123 n. 43) argues that the goddesses were invoked in series; Rudhardt (1991: 269) and Bernabé (PEG II.i: 331) see 'plura nomina unius deae'. Compare the first verse of the hymnic oracle preserved by Eusebius (*Prep. Ev.* III.15, see ch. 4.2.5): Ἥλιος, Ὠρος, Ὀσιρις, Ἄναξ, Διόνυσος, Ἀπόλλων. A number of such associations occur in fragments of the lost plays of Euripides: Dionysos and Apollo (δέσποτα φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, παιᾶν Ἀπολλων εὔλυρε fr. 477), Helios and Apollo (fr. 781), Gaia and Hestia (fr. 944).

⁷² E.g. Phaestus (SH 670) Ζεῦ Λιβύης Ἄμμων κερατηφόρε κέκλυθι μάντι.

⁷³ The epithet, which occurs 12 times in the *Orphic Hymns*, first appears in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (v. 18), of Pluto. Cf. also Pind. *Isthm.* 5.1, of Theia; Bacchyl. *Epigr.* 1.1, of Nike; Soph. *Ant.* 1115, of Dionysos; Ar. *Thesm.* 320, of Artemis. See further Chaniotis 2010: 132, Versnel 2011: 54-6 ('terms like *polyonymos*... function like pearls in the crown of praise'), Sfameni Gasparro 2013: 439-41 and Bierl 2018 (Dionysos).

⁷⁴ Call. *Hy.* 3.6-7 δὸς μοι... καὶ πολωνυμῖην, ἵνα μή μοι Φοῖβος ἐρίζηι. Cf. also Ar. *Plut.* 1164, where Hermes revels in his many epithets: ὡς ἀγαθὸν ἐστ' ἐπωνυμίας πολλὰς ἔχειν.

⁷⁵ Usener 1896: 336.

Greek religion around the possibility of getting a god's name wrong, or the sin of omission.⁷⁶ The related convention in Latin hymnody of appending 'by whatever name you like to be called' to the list of epicleses is symptomatic: all bases need to be covered.⁷⁷ But this is not the whole story either, polyonymy and the 'heaping up' of epithets and predication serve several, albeit linked, purposes in hymnody. Ausfeld argued that the importance of getting the right name is grounded in the idea that the god can be compelled by the *vis nominis*.⁷⁸ This is explicitly the case in the Greco-Egyptian magical papyri, in which names embedded in the *voces magicae* may have the power to coerce the god,⁷⁹ and Gruppe saw the same coercive element in the epithets of the *Orphic Hymns*.⁸⁰ But the concept of the 'name of power' does not occur in Greek religious thought, as it does in Egyptian,⁸¹ and the listing of epicleses in Greek hymns is not motivated by a desire to compel, but one to please. The poet thereby demonstrates their expertise and knowledge, and the god hears the name or names that please them most.⁸² As Socrates states in the *Cratylus*, while we do not know the gods' names for themselves, we can please them with a catalogue of the names we do know:

ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς νόμος ἐστὶν ἡμῖν εὐχεσθαι, οἵτινές τε καὶ ὁπόθεν χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι, ταῦτα καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς καλεῖν, ὥς ἄλλο μηδὲν εἰδότας⁸³

In prayers it is our custom to call the gods by whatever names and from whatever places please them, since we know no others.

This speaks to a fundamental principle of Greek hymnody: *χάρις*. The gratitude of the worshipper and the grace of the god, articulated in hymns, engender each other.⁸⁴ The description of the god in hymn, including the listing of names and titles, aims to please the divine subject. The hymn is itself,

⁷⁶ Versnel 2011: 37-60. Cf. Socrates' anxiety regarding the names of the gods (*Philb.* 12c): Τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέος, ὦ Πρώταρχε, αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματα οὐκ ἔστι κατ' ἀνθρώπον, ἀλλὰ πέρα τοῦ μεγίστου φόβου.

⁷⁷ Norden 1923²: 144-6 on the 'quocumque nomine' formula, which he argues derives from Greek models. More recently, Pulleyn 1994 and Versnel 2011: 49-60.

⁷⁸ Ausfeld 1903: 519.

⁷⁹ E.g. *PGM* 2.127, 3.158, 12.92: ἐδωρήσω τὴν τοῦ μεγίστου σου ὀνόματος γνώσιν. *PGM* 4.2414 (hymn 17.100 Preisendanz): ὅτι οἶδα σου τὰ καλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, Κόρη, ὀνόματα σεμνά. Regarding the hymns in particular, Bortolani 2016: 22. Graf (1991) argues however that the *voces* are functionally no different to other epicleses and that coercion is, even in the *PGM*, a strategy of last resort. The *voces* in this view constitute a display of the magician's knowledge, rather than an attempt to compel the god.

⁸⁰ Gruppe 1902: 1150-1 'Die Vergleichung der sonstigen magischen Texte ergibt mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit dass die Hymnen trotz der Gebete an die Gottheit und deren Verherrlichung als Beschwörungsformeln gedacht sind, durch welche die Gottheit gezwungen werden könne, dem Zauberer zu willens zu sein'.

⁸¹ Egypt: Pinch 1994: 30-1, 72-3, Teeter 2011: 164. The coercive power of a sacred name is a feature of Egyptian religion, but it should be emphasised that not all names and epicleses possess it. In Egyptian hymns that consist of litanies of titles and powers, such as the hymn to Amun-Re in P. Boulaq 17 (16th c. BCE, *ANET*: 365-367), the aim is clearly praise rather than coercion. So too in the *PGM* hymns, the use of coercive *voces* is selective and embedded in eulogistic predication, names that bring 'joy'. On this, see Petrovic 2015: 258.

⁸² Pulleyn 1994: 17-25.

⁸³ Pl. *Crat.* 400e. Cf. Eur. fr. 912.2: Ζεὺς εἴτ' Αἴδης ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις.

⁸⁴ Race 1982: 8, Furley 1995: 32, Pulleyn 1997: 16-38, Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 61-3.

as scholars have emphasised, a verbal *ἄγαλμα*: an offering in its own right.⁸⁵ It is a representation of the god that, like an image, is aesthetically pleasing and celebratory. The channel of communication this establishes between the poet or hymnodist and the divinity is critical. But in the majority of cases it is complemented by a parallel function: communication between the poet and the hymn's human audience.⁸⁶ If the description of the god aims to please the god through praise and beauty, it also serves to create, or instantiate, the god in the imaginations of the worshippers who hear it, and on whose behalf it is sung. In this sense we can understand the 'kletic' or invocatory aspect of the hymn on two levels. The god is invited to attend the rite, and sanctify it by their presence. But they are also conjured; invited to appear in the minds of the audience. It is not the case, as Ausfeld and Gruppe held, that the names of the gods aim to compel their presence, but they do, in this parallel sense, possess the power to achieve what amounts to a virtual, internal epiphany.⁸⁷ This bidirectionality, or simultaneity of communicative function is fundamental to our understanding of Greek hymnody. In every case we must consider how the hymn speaks to its divine audience, and to its human one.

In the *Orphic Hymns* we find that the body of the hymn is not only an elaboration of the descriptive element of the invocation, it is essentially a prolongation of the invocation itself. There is no clear division between *epiclesis* and *eulogia*.⁸⁸ The final prayers however are, in most cases, clearly marked off from the body, often by means of *ἀλλά, νῦν* or a reinvocatory verb. The invocation (or evocation)⁸⁹ - that condensed, asyndetic series of names and predications - forms the substance of the individual hymns. They do not open out into a descriptive narrative, ecphrasis or aretology (in most cases), but remain rooted in the clipped, allusive style of the traditional opening address. The hymnic invocation is itself a species of praise, defining the god by appealing to their essential features, their names, genealogy and cult, and it is this definitive function that the *Orphic Hymns* are ultimately concerned with. Rather than focus on one particular aspect of the god, as the *Homeric Hymns* proceed to do in the *pars epica* - a characteristic activity or foundational myth - the *Orphic Hymns* enumerate, or 'accumulate', all the facets of the god's nature. They build up a

⁸⁵ Pulleyn 1997: 49, Depew 2000: 59-79 (this function unifies the hymnic genre), Furley & Bremer 2001: I 3-4, Calame 2011: 334-57, Richardson 2015: 30.

⁸⁶ Danielewicz 1976: 119, Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 59 'In every hymn there is always the internal communication addressed by the worshipping mortal(s) to the god. But in many cases there is also *external* communication between the poet and/or performers and the audience'. These scholars, it should be emphasised, have direct addresses to the audience, or meta-textual formulae at the beginning and end of a hymn, in mind. But even where the stated addressee is the god, the hymn simultaneously speaks to the audience.

⁸⁷ Cf. Gordon 2020, esp. pp. 26, 39-40.

⁸⁸ The term 'développement' is used by Morand (2001: 40, 58), following Rudhardt 1991: 264 'un développement qui constitue sans doute la partie la plus longue de l'hymne mais il se rattache à l'invocation d'une manière si étroite que l'on ne voit pas toujours clairement où celle-ci se termine, où celui-là commence. Au vrai, il en est une simple amplification.' See also Rudhardt 2008: 183-4. Fayant however argues against any distinction between the invocation and body of the hymn in most cases (2014: lxxx-lxxxii).

⁸⁹ Calame (1995: 6, 2011: 334) distinguishes between the *evocatio*, a third person address, and an *invocatio* in the second person.

multifaceted, complex (and sometimes contradictory)⁹⁰ portrait of each divinity, exploring their allegorically conceived manifestations in the physical world, their gifts and powers, cults and myths. The hymns are compendious in this way, but simultaneously concise. The predication, a litany of allusions, accumulate up to the rhetorical climax of the hymn, the prayer.⁹¹ The idea of the *Orphic Hymns* as a ‘litany’ goes back at least as far as Heinsius, and the early Christian parallels were briefly discussed by Lobeck, Dieterich and Maass.⁹² Functionally, the parallel is instructive. Coercion is not a credible feature in either tradition. As regards the human-divine channel of communication in the *Orphic Hymns*, the object is, as stated, pleasing the god through eulogistic description, and perhaps also the display of the poet’s knowledge.⁹³ But the human-human channel is perhaps more significant. As Hopman-Govers argues, there is a meditative, incantatory quality to this style of hymn that is created by rhythmic regularity, repetition and sound effects in the epicleses themselves.⁹⁴ The singer, or the singer’s audience, is invited to contemplate the significance of each predication by its very allusiveness. Meaning, in the *Orphic Hymns*, is conveyed on the surface, but also in a number of subtle ways: in the epithets and formulae that link divinities across the collection, in the sound effects, puns and etymologies that are frequently explored; in the shifting possibilities of linkage between adjacent nouns and adjectives; in references to Orphic literature, philosophical theory, obscure myths and specific cults; and in the patterning that can be detected both within and between verses. The hymns encourage reflection. Their epicleses are, in a manner of speaking, seeds that require contemplation to bear fruit.⁹⁵ In this sense, as already stated, they do aim to ‘conjure’ the god, not literally, through coercion, but in the minds of their readers.

2.2.1 Invocation

The opening address in Greek hymnody serves two main purposes: to attract the god’s attention, and by extension, to establish a relationship or line of communication between the individual or group praying and the addressee; and as a statement of subject.⁹⁶ These aims correlate broadly with the two channels of communication that have been discussed above, between the singer and the

⁹⁰ E.g. the interweaving of pastoral and cosmic predication in *OH* 11 (Pan). See further Gordon 2020: 39-41.

⁹¹ In this sense the traditional invocatory parataxis is extended by means of the allied rhetorical device of συναθροισμός, the asyndetic ‘accumulation’ of terms, often in crescendo. See Morand 2001: 96, citing Quintil. *Inst.* 8.4; Alex. Rhet. *De Figuris* 17; Rhet. Anon. Περὶ τῶν σχημ. 7 (*Rhet. Gr.* III p. 174 Spengel): Συναθροισμός δέ ἐστι συναγωγή πραγμάτων πλειόνων εἰς κεφάλαιον ἐν δηλωτικὸν πολλῶν, εἰ καὶ ἐνικῶς λέγεται, ἢ κατ’ ἐμφασιν.

⁹² Heinsius 1627: 42, Lobeck 1829: 400-1, Dieterich 1891: 52-4, Maass 1895: 199. Cf. Jacobi 1930: 74 n.1 (on the Proem) ‘quem autem tot deorum nominatim invocatorum coacervatio offendet, conferat litaniam omnium sanctorum in ritu Catholico usitatam’.

⁹³ Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 52 ‘The composers of Greek hymns often used more names than one to address and identify a god; their motive may have been partly to avoid the sin of omission, and partly to demonstrate technical proficiency to their divine and human listeners’.

⁹⁴ Hopman-Govers 2001: 45-6.

⁹⁵ Cf. Rudhardt 2008: 250, Hopman-Govers 2001: 46-7: ‘Un premier effet est celui de concentration, de raccourci’, the epithets are condensed descriptions, encapsulating the ‘essence’ of the deity.

⁹⁶ Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 52-56.

god on the one hand, and the singer and the audience on the other. Although these functions overlap, the style and formulae of invocation do focus on one or the other. In the cases where the deity is directly addressed, the former is underscored; where there is an *evocatio* rather than an *invocatio*, for example ‘I sing’, the latter is. In the *Orphic Hymns*, the mode of direct address is almost universally found. In this section I review the formulae employed in these opening addresses. The short sequence of names and epithets that frequently characterise the invocation in Greek hymns, preceding the *eulogia*, need not be treated here, since in this collection they form the actual body of the hymns, which is itself a *développement* or continuation of the invocation. The forms the invocation takes are regularly formulaic, with a limited number of terms repeated throughout the sequence. There is, however, substantial variation in the precise order of words, in part depending on the metrical requirements of the god’s name in each case, and more significantly anomalous forms also occur. The invocation is, in a majority of cases, signalled in the first word of the hymn, whether by the name of the divinity, by the vocative particle ὦ, by a command to ‘hear’ or ‘come’, or by a first person form of a verb ‘to call’.⁹⁷

2.2.1.1 ‘I call’, ‘I sing’

One of the basic formulae of the kletic hymn is a verb ‘to call’ in the first person singular,⁹⁸ which occurs in the *Orphic Hymns* in three forms. Κικλήσκω is found thirteen times as the invocatory verb, usually (in eight cases) as the first word of the hymn, either followed by the name of the god in the accusative case (directly in *OH* 30.1, 47.1, postponed in 20.1, 39.1, 44.1, 58.1), or by σε and epicleses in the vocative case (*OH* 52.1, 75.3, 86.1). In four cases the verb follows the name of the god (*OH* 25.1, 46.1, 49.1, 73.1) and in one (*OH* 75.3) the verb and the god’s name are postponed to the third verse, after an opening series of epicleses. Κικλήσκω occurs throughout the sequence, including the proem, but is particularly frequent in the central third, which accounts for eight of the thirteen examples given here. Καλέω (once contracted to καλῶ, *OH* 11.1) is also found thirteen times in the first verse,⁹⁹ in most cases (eleven) immediately before the caesura,¹⁰⁰ and, usually, immediately after the god’s name, so that the invocation is contained in the first hemistich of the hymn. This preferred arrangement requires a choriambic name (–vv–) however, and in four cases the theonym is delayed and an epiclesis occupies the opening position (*OH* 22.1, 33.1, 42.1, 79.1). In *OH* 72.1 only, Δεῦρο, Τύχη· καλέω σ’, the verb is preceded by the imperative form δεῦρο and followed by σε and vocative forms: in all other cases καλέω is followed by predication in the accusative case. Seven of the thirteen examples given here are found in the final third of the collection. Two more verbs ‘to call’ occur in the hymns. Κληίζω is found twice: in *OH* 1.1, where it is preceded by the name of the goddess in the accusative case, and *OH* 61.1, with σε and vocative

⁹⁷ See appendix 2.1: Invocations.

⁹⁸ Cf. Men. Rh. 334.32 Russell & Wilson πολλαχόθεν ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνακαλεῖ.

⁹⁹ *OH* 6, 11, 22, 33, 42, 53, 64, 71, 72, 74, 77, 79, 83.

¹⁰⁰ Exceptions: *OH* 11.1 Πᾶνα καλῶ κρατερόν, and 79.1, where καλέω comes after the caesura.

forms. Ἐκπροκαλοῦμαι occurs once, in *OH* 7.1, followed by κικλήσκων in the second verse. Although a variation of the ‘I call’ formula, in this case the first distich of the hymn forms a type of self-contained prologue: a vocative sequence begins with the theonym (Ἀστέρες) in the third verse.

These kletic formulae are not frequently met in the surviving corpus of Greek hexameter hymns. Κικλήσκω occurs in the hymn to Asklepios preserved by Hippolytus;¹⁰¹ κληίζωμεν in a second century oracular inscription from Didyma;¹⁰² and κληίζω in the invocation of Lamprocles’ hymn to Athene, Παλλάδα περσέπολιν κληίζω πολεμαδόκον ἀγνάν.¹⁰³ The first verse of *OH* 1 is formally very similar to the last example: κληίζω follows two epicleses, including the name of the goddess, after the caesura, and precedes two more: Εἰνοδίαν Ἐκάτην κληίζω, τριοδίτιν, ἔραννήν. The hymns of the magical papyri provide a number of parallels for κληίζω and καλῶ, but not in the opening invocation.¹⁰⁴ Casting the net wider to include hymns in lyric metres, κικλήσκω is used in Sophocles’ hymn for deliverance in the *Oedipus Tyrannos* (209) and by Aristophanes in the *Clouds* (565). Aristophanes also employs κληίζω (*Thesm.* 107, 116), in the sense of ‘to glorify’ or ‘celebrate’ (which must underlie, however, its use in hymns as a synonym for καλέω).¹⁰⁵ Forms of καλέω are rarely found in Greek hymns, apart from the instances of σε καλῶ in the *PGM* hymns,¹⁰⁶ but it is used in ritual formulae. The scholia on Aristophanes’ *Frogs* 479 (Xanthias: κάλει θεόν) preserve two formulae from the Lenaia: in response to the Dadouchos’ instruction, καλεῖτε θεόν, the audience shouted Σεμελή! Ἰακχε πλουτοδότα; after the libation they concluded with ἐκκέχυνται· κάλει θεόν.¹⁰⁷ In the Gurōb papyrus, which contains the fragmentary prescriptions and formulae of an Orphic *telete*, the phrase Εὐβουλῆα καλῶ[μεν] (followed by κικλήσκω[μεν]) occurs.¹⁰⁸ In sum, the formula ‘I call’, found in a third of invocations in the *Orphic Hymns*, is part of the traditional vocabulary of Greek hymnody and ritual, but is rarely found in the surviving sources as an invocatory formula.

‘I sing’, as a programmatic statement of subject, occurs only twice in the collection, in the hymn to Nyx (*OH* 3.1 Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν αἰέσομαι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν) and Dike (*OH* 62.1 Ὅμμα Δίκης

¹⁰¹ Hippol. *Ref.* 4.32. 3 Marcovich = Heitsch 53, p. 170-1, κικλήσκω λοιβαῖσι μολεῖν ἐπίκουρον ἐμαῖσιν (v. 2).

¹⁰² *PHI I.Didyma* 504, Kern 1917: 149, θεὸς ἔχρησεν. Σώτιραν κληίζωμεν ὑπ’ εὐιέροις βοαῖσι. Cf the contemporary oracular inscription from Tralles, also cited by Kern *ibid.* (and Robert 1971: 610), which prescribes an invocation to Poseidon (*PHI I.Tral.* 1.10): καλείσθω ἀσφάλιος, τεμενοῦχος, ἀπότροπος, ἵππιος, ἀργής.

¹⁰³ *PMG* 735.

¹⁰⁴ *PGM* hymns 4.7 = 8.20 (κλυθι μάκαρ, κληίζω σε), 4.23 = 8.30 (κληίζω δ’ οὐνομα σόν), 5.10 (κλ[ηίζω]), 7.1, 4, 7 (anaphora of σε καλῶ), 11 (κληίζω), 21.9, 23.5, 24.12 (all σε καλῶ). Cf also the hymnic oracle on Plotinus (Porph. *Vit. Plot.* 22 Henry = *AG App. Orac.* 120.4) κληίζω καὶ Μούσας ξυνήν ὅπα γηρύσασθαι.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Eur. *IA* 1522 (κληισώμεν), Castorion’s hymn to Pan (*SH* 310, κλησω) and the verse that Aelius Aristides claims comes from an ἀρχαῖον ᾄσμα (Aristid. *Or.* 47.30 Keil = Heitsch 47, p. 165): Δία τὸν πάντων ὑπατον κληίζω.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. also *IG* IV.i 129 = *PMG* 937.6, an inscriptional hymn to all the gods from Epidaurus, δισσοῦς τε καλεῖτε Διοσκόρους. Reisenfeld (1946, see Bortolani 2016: 30) argues that σε καλῶ in the *PGM* hymns is a feature of an ‘oriental’ hymnic style, as opposed to the Greek conventional invocations ἴλαθι or κλυθι or χαῖρε.

¹⁰⁷ Σ Ar. *Ran.* 479 Dübner = *PMG* 879 (*Carm. Pop.* 33). Cf. also Ar. *Ran.* 395-7 νῦν καὶ τὸν ὥραιον θεὸν παρακαλεῖτε δεῦρο ὠδαῖσι, τὸν ξυνέμπορον τῆσδε τῆς χορείας. Ἰακχε πολυτίμητε...

¹⁰⁸ P. Gurōb (Egypt, 3rd c. BCE) col. I 19-20 = *OF* 578. See Hordern 2000 for a detailed commentary. West (1983: 170-1) restores the first person plural endings, the *ed. pr.* (Smyly 1921) has καλ[ῶ] and κικλήσκ[ω].

μέλπω πανδερκέος, ἀγλαομόρφου). In the hymn to Nyx the first two verses form a short prooimion, as in *OH* 7 (Asteres), followed in the third verse by a vocative sequence beginning with κλῦθι; in the hymn to Dike, however, there is no further invocation. The ‘I sing’ formula, characteristic of the *Homeric Hymns* and recurring in hexameter or elegiac hymns of all periods, is an anomalous feature in this collection and these two examples may represent metrical phrases or verses that have been adapted from other sources.¹⁰⁹ Another traditional formula of invocation in Greek hymns, χαίρει or χαίρετε, perhaps the most frequently encountered in all periods, is conspicuously absent from the collection, although forms of χαίρειν are abundant within the predication.

2.2.1.2 ‘Hear’, ‘come’, vocative invocations

The implied or intended result of the ‘call’ is expressed in two alternative invocatory verbs: the imperative instructions to ‘hear’ and to ‘come’. The first speaks to the invocatory aim of securing the god’s attention, the second to the literally kletic desire for their presence. Κλῦθι, a widespread invocatory formula in Greek hymns,¹¹⁰ occurs seventeen times as an opening invocation in the *Orphic Hymns*, in fifteen of these cases as the first word.¹¹¹ In another four hymns it forms either a secondary invocation or part of an intermediate prayer.¹¹² It is often followed by the first person pronoun in the genitive or dative case, ‘hear me’, and in two cases is part of the absolute construction κλῦθι μου εὐχομένου, which is otherwise found in prayers, whether intermediate or final.¹¹³ Like the command to ‘hear’, ‘come’ occurs in both invocations and prayers in the *Orphic Hymns*, but is rarer in the former and much more common in the latter. This request for the god’s attendance at a rite is frequently found in Greek hymns.¹¹⁴ It is perhaps most explicit in two hymns

¹⁰⁹ The case of the hymn to Nyx is discussed further below. For αἰέσομαι, cf. *HHy.* 6, 10, 15, 23, 30 (but almost all the *Homeric Hymns* begin with a form of ‘I sing’), Alc. 28, 29 *PMG*; μέλπω: Lasus 1.1 (*PMG* 702) Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι ἄλοχον, *PGM hy.* 12.1 Μέλπω σ[ε] μάκαρ, cf. *AG* 9.524.1 Μελπῶμεν.

¹¹⁰ Invocatory κλῦθι in hymns and poetic prayers: *Il.* 1.37, 451, 5.115, 10.278, 284, 16.515, 19.101, *Od.* 2.262 etc. (κλῦθι μεν or κέκλυθι in most cases), *Hom. Ep.* 12, κλῦθι μεν εὐχομένου, 6.1, κλῦθι Ποσειδάων, Hes. *Op.* 9, κλῦθι ἰδὼν αἰών τε, Archil. 108 *IEG*, Sapph. 86.5 Voigt (cf. Alc. 129.11 Voigt, ἀκούσατ’), Solon 13.2 *IEG*, Thgn. 4, 13, Anac. 73 (*PMG* 418) κλῦθί μεο, Melanipp. 6 (*PMG* 762), *Lyr. Adesp.* 60b (*PMG* 978), 100a (*PMG* 1018), Pind. *Dith.* 78, Ap. Rhod. 1.411, Phaestus *CA* p. 28, *PGM hymns* 4.8 (= 8.21), 11.8, 21.5, 21.5, *HHy.* 8.9 (the late hymn to Ares, as a reinvocation), Procl. *Hy.* 1.1, 2, 4.1, 7.1. It occurs in dramatic hymns also, but not as a primary invocation (Aesch. *Cho.* 332, 802, Eur. *Bacch.* 577, *Hipp.* 872).

¹¹¹ *OH* 2, 8, 9, 17, 28, 36, 48, 50, 54, 56, 59 (v. 2), 60, 68 (v. 2), 69, 70, 74, 87.

¹¹² *OH* 3.3 (after αἰέσομαι) 34.10 and 49.4 (both κλῦθι μου εὐχομένου) 74.3 (after invocatory καλέω).

¹¹³ Κλῦθι μοι *OH* 2.1, 60.1; μου 28.1, 36.1, 54.1, 56.1, 59.1, 70.1; μεν 87.1. Invocatory κλῦθι μου εὐχομένου *OH* 56.1, 59.2. In prayers *OH* 34.10, 49.4 (intermediate), 28.11, 32.15 (final).

¹¹⁴ Invocatory ‘come’ (excluding intermediate and final prayers): ἐλθεῖν, Sapph. 1.5 Voigt (ἀλλὰ τινὶδ’ ἐλθ’), *Carm. Pop.* 25.1 (*PMG* 871, ἐλθεῖν first word), Ar. *Nub.* 269 (ἐλθετ’ ὀητ’), *Ran.* 326 (ἐλθέ), *PGM hy.* 8.1, 18.1 (ἐλθέ first word); ἐρχέσθαι: *PGM hy.* 9.1 (ἐρχεο χαίρων); μόλειν: Soph. *Paian* (*PMG* 737, μόλοις v. 6), cf. also *Carm. Pop.* 12.8 (*PMG* 858), Eur. *Rhes.* 226, *Paian Delph. CA* p. 141 (μόλι[τ]ε v. 3), *Hy. Hecate* v. 1 (Hippol. *Ref.* 4.35.5 = Heitsch 54, p. 171, μόλε); δεῦρο, δεῦτε: Hes. *Op.* 2 (δεῦτε), Sapph. 2.1 (δεῦρο?), 127 (δεῦρο δηῦτε), Alc. 33.3, 34.1 (δεῦτε μοι, restored), Stesich. 16 (*PMG* 193, δεῦρ’ αὔτε), 63 (*PMG* 240, δεῦρ’ ἄγε), *Lyr. Adesp.* 16.2 (*PMG* 935, δεῦρ’ ἐλθετ’ ἀπ’ ὠρανῶ), Philod. Scarph. *Paian* v. 1 *CA* p. 165-71 (restored); *PGM hy.* 2.1, 9.2, 3, 10.2, 21.1, 24.3; ἴθι, ἴτε: *Lyr. Adesp.* 113 (*PMG* 1131, ἴθι μάκαρ), 115 (*PMG* 1133, ἴθι μόλε), Aesch. *Sept.* 109 (ἴτε), Philod. Scarph. *Paian* v. 11, 24 etc (ἴθι in the refrain) *CA* p. 165-171; ἴκου: Eur. *Rhes.* 227.

which, while not necessarily early in the forms in which they have been preserved, represent very early types of Greek cultic song, the Dictaeon hymn to Zeus the Kouros, and the song of the Eleian women, in both of which invocation and prayer are closely interwoven in a request for the god's epiphany.¹¹⁵ In the *Orphic Hymns* ἐλθέ occurs twice as the first word (*OH* 34.1, 45.1) and four more times after an opening sequence of epicleses (*OH* 11.4, 29.1, 80.2, 82.3); μόλοις is similarly postponed in two cases, to the second or third verses (*OH* 27.2, 67.3), and ἔρχεο marks the start of the second part of the hymn to Aphrodite (*OH* 55.15). Δεῦρο occurs once, together with καλέω σε, as the first word of the hymn to Tyche (*OH* 72.1). With the exception of the hymns to Pan and Aphrodite (*OH* 11.4, 55.15), where it constitutes a reinvocation, the instances of a postponed verb to 'come' are really cases of intermediate, or even invocatory, prayers. In the hymn to Meter Theon (*OH* 27), for example, the second verse forms a single request that refers to both the location of the singer and the song ('prayer'): τῇδε μόλοις, κράντειρα θεά, σέο, πότνι', ἐπ' εὐχαῖς.¹¹⁶ Similar references to the εὐχαί are found in the invocations of the hymns to Liknites and Tyche (*OH* 46.1, 72.1), but they also occur in the final prayers of the hymns to the Moirai and Thanatos.¹¹⁷ In the hymn to Persephone (*OH* 29) the ἐλθέ of the first verse governs a prayer formula in the second, κεχαρισμένα δ' ἱερὰ δέξαι;¹¹⁸ Asklepios (*OH* 67) is asked to come (μόλοις) bringing health and stopping disease. In two of the very short hymns to the Winds, 'come', although following the invocation, is directly linked to the final prayer.

In thirty-five of the hymns there is no invocatory verb but a direct address in the vocative case. Five hymns begin with the vocative particle ὦ;¹¹⁹ sixteen begin with the name of the god (in addition to the instances where a theonym at the start of a hymn is followed by 'I call', 'hear' or 'come'), another traditional feature of Greek hymnody.¹²⁰ In three more cases, the theonym follows an epithet as it cannot, metrically, occupy the first position (*OH* 14 Πότνα Πέα, 21 Ἀέριοι νεφέλαι, 67

¹¹⁵ Dictaeon hymn (*CA* p. 160-2): βέβακες and ἔρπε in the invocation/refrain. Eleian hymn (*PMG* 871): ἐλθεῖν, ἦρω Διόνυσσε. On both hymns, Furley and Bremer 2001 I: 65-76, 369-72, II: 1-19, 373-77. On the Dictaeon hymn, West 1965, Bremer 1981: 205-6, Alonge 2006. On the Eleian hymn, Brown 1982, Scullion 2001, Genova 2018: 171-182, who disputes that the text preserved by Plutarch is very early.

¹¹⁶ Cf. *Ar. Nub.* 269, ἔλθετε δῆτ', ὦ πολυτίμητοι Νεφέλαι, τῷδ' εἰς ἐπίδειξιν (with parodic 'demonstration' in place of the conventional 'prayers').

¹¹⁷ *OH* 59.19, Μοῖραι, ἀκούσατ' ἐμῶν δόσιων λαιβῶν τε καὶ εὐχῶν, 87.11 αἰτοῦμαι, θυσίαισι καὶ εὐχολαῖς λιτανεύων.

¹¹⁸ Cf. the final prayer in *OH* 46 (Liknites) and 84 (Hestia).

¹¹⁹ ὦ: *OH* 5.1, 10.1, 18.1, 23.1, 62.1 (followed by κληίζω σε), 63.1.

¹²⁰ God's name in voc. the first word: *OH* 4, 5 (after ὦ), 12, 15, 19, 26, 32, 35, 37, 40, 41, 43, 51, 55 (Οὐρανία), 66, 84, 85. In voc. followed by 'hear', 'come': 59 (κληῦτε), 29 (ἐλθέ). In acc. followed by 'I call' or 'I sing': *OH* 25, 49, 73 (κικλήσκω), 6, 11, 53, 71, 74, 77, 83 (καλέω), 1, 62 (κληίζω), 3 (ἄεισομαι). Cf. also *OH* 7 (Ἀστρον οὐρανίων ἱερὸν σέλας ἐκπροκαλοῦμαι) and 62 (Ὅμμα Δίκης μέλπω). Including the last two examples, 34 hymns begin with the god's name, and another 6 (*OH* 14, 21, 31, 38, 67, 81) with an epithet + name phrase. The *Homeric Hymns* begin with the name of the god, or ἀμφί, or an epithet + name, with few exceptions (*HHy.* 3, 5, 6, 19). Only three of the *HHy.* begin with the vocative however, without 'sing': *HHy.* 21, 24, 29 (and the late hymn to Ares, *HHy.* 8). The convention of beginning a hymn with god's name, without a further verb of invocation, is widespread however. Cf. Corinna *PMG* 674, Solon 31 *IEG*, Thgn. 5 *IEG*, Ariphron *Hy. Hygieia* *PMG* 813, Arist. *Hy. Arete* *PMG* 842, Skolia 1, 4 (*PMG* 884, 887), *Hy. Tyche* *PMG* 1019, Moero *CA* p. 21, *Hy. Curetes* *CA* p. 160, Cleanth. *Hy. Zeus*, Kaibel 1023, 1026, 1028, 1029A, *AG* 5.17, 6.10, 10.25, *AG App. Ex.* 261, *Hy. Hecate* (Heitsch 54), *PGM hy.* 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13/14, 15/16, 22, 23 and 26.

Ἰητῆρ πάντων, Ἀσκληπιέ¹²¹). Hymns 31 and 38, both to the Kouretes, similarly begin with an epithet + name phrase, but not *metri gratia*. In eleven hymns, including four of the five that begin with ὦ, the name of the god is postponed to the second verse or later (to the fifth verse in *OH* 13, to Kronos). In the three remaining examples the name of the god is expressed periphrastically (*OH* 24 Νηρέος εἰναλίου νύμφαι, 81 Αὔραι ποντογενεῖς Ζεφυρίτιδες) or does not occur at all (*OH* 82, to Notos) - as is also the case in three hymns that begin with κλῦθι (*OH* 8 Helios, 36 Artemis, 87 Thanatos). In hymns which contain no invocatory verb then, the god's name begins the hymn (or follows ὦ or an epithet) in most cases. But exceptions to the rule are many: an opening sequence of epithets or longer predications often serves as a kind of preamble to the name itself.

2.2.1.3 Conclusion

The invocatory formulae in the *Orphic Hymns* are clearly rooted in the Greek hymnic tradition, particularly kletic hymns.¹²² The invocations fall into several types, but the occurrence of reinocations, where an invocatory verb or the god's name is repeated (e.g. *OH* 15.6, 29.16), or intermediate prayers, blurs the line between these. The 'I call' formula is easily identified and accounts for a third of the hymns. Κλῦθι (or κλῦτε) is similarly prominent as the first word, but in several cases also appears as a secondary invocation or intermediate prayer.¹²³ 'Come' is in most cases secondary in the same way, following an opening vocative sequence.¹²⁴ Vocative invocations regularly substitute the name of the god for a performative verb or command, but show a significant degree of variation, overlapping with 'hear' or 'come' invocations where these verbs are delayed.

A small number of distinctive invocations occur: those containing a programmatic verb to 'sing' (*OH* 3, 62), and *OH* 7, in which the opening couplet, with the similarly unique verb ἐκπροκαλοῦμαι, also forms a short prooimion, followed by a vocative sequence that opens with the name of the god (Ἀστέρες). The programmatic statement that begins the hymn to Pan (*OH* 11), preceding ἐλθέ in v. 4, is also comparable. Hymns that begin with an opening prayer are also notable: *OH* 27, 'come to your prayers', *OH* 29, 'come to receive your offerings' and *OH* 67, 'come bringing health' have already been mentioned in this context. *OH* 18 begins with ὦ and an opening couplet before naming the god (Ζεῦ χθόνιε, v. 3) and requesting that he, like Persephone, 'accept the offerings'.¹²⁵ *OH* 15, to Zeus, is perhaps the most unusual case however. An opening couplet here

¹²¹ Cf. *HHy.* 16.1 Ἰητῆρα νόσων Ἀσκληπιόν.

¹²² On kletic hymns, Men. Rh. 334.25-336.4. Menander gives as examples Sappho and Alcman and identifies the key feature of such hymns as an extended description of the place the god is summoned from. His own *Sminthiac Oration* is framed as a kletic hymn (335.22-31). Cf. Aristophanes' parody of the type, *Nub.* 269-73 and, in the *OH*, the hymn to Aphrodite, both of which include a list of places the divinity might come from.

¹²³ *OH* 3.3, 34.10, 49.4, 59.2 (after Μοῖραι in v. 1), 73.3, 83.6.

¹²⁴ *OH* 11.4, 27.2, 29.1-2, 55.15, 67.3, 80.2, 82.3.

¹²⁵ See Morand 2001: 48-49 on the intermediate prayers.

(preceding ὦ βασιλεῦ in v. 3) and an invocation (Ζεῦ Κρόνιε v. 6) contain a reference to the performative context of the hymn that recalls both the programmatic statement of *OH* 7 and the opening prayers of *OH* 18 and 19.

Ζεῦ πολύτιμε, μέγας, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε, τήνδε τοι ἡμεῖς
μαρτυρίαν τιθέμεσθα λυτήριον ἡδὲ πρόσευξιν

Zeus revered, great, Zeus immortal, we make you
this releasing testimony and prayer.¹²⁶

These lines are so distinctive that the possibility of their inclusion from another source, specifically a hymn of atonement, should perhaps be considered.¹²⁷ There is no direct parallel in the collection for the term ‘testimony’ (or ‘confession’); the first person plural verb is also unusual, as is the compound term for ‘prayer’.¹²⁸ On the other hand references to ‘release’ do occur frequently,¹²⁹ and there is a parallel for the idea that prayer itself can achieve release from ills. Oneiros reveals the future to the pious, giving them ‘respite from ills’ (κακῶν ἀναπαῦλαν) by consoling them with the knowledge of good things to come. The pious are those, we are told, ‘who with offering and prayer have dissolved the lords’ wrath’ (*OH* 86.11 εὐχωλαῖς θυσίαις τε χόλον λύσαντες ἀνάκτων). Significantly, this statement is introduced by the phrase ὅπως θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐνίσπηι, ‘as the god himself says’, and may be a reference to an oracular instruction or, in an Orphic context such as this, a ἱερός λόγος revealed to Orpheus by Apollo.¹³⁰ The reference in the hymn to Zeus may be to a similar instruction to appease divine anger with prayer, and if the source is Orphic then that anger, and the

¹²⁶ Ricciardelli adds μέγας, all other editors keep πολύτιμητε (the reading in l and h). All translators take λυτήριον as an adjective describing μαρτυρίαν, but it may be read with both μαρτυρίαν and πρόσευξιν: Laur. Plut. 36.35 ‘Iuppiter valde honorande incorruptibilis (immortalis) hoc tibi nos | Testimonium reddimus liberatorium et votum’; Scaliger ‘O venerande Iouis, Iouis sempiternae, tibi ista | Averrunca damus nos, adtestataque vota’; Athanassakis ‘we lay before you in prayer | redeeming testimony’; Ricciardelli ‘a te noi offriamo | questa testimonianza liberatrice e questa preghiera’; Fayant ‘voici le témoignage que nous | Nous t’apportons, comme expiation et comme prière’; Barbieri Antunes ‘a ti nós | Oferecemos esta prece e este testemunho libertador’.

¹²⁷ Ricciardelli (2000: 299), ‘nessun altro inno è definito così.’ Fayant 2014: 147: ‘énigmatique et sans analogue dans le recueil.’ Keydell (1942: 1328) describes it as an isolated prayer to liberate from sin and suggests a specifically Anatolian context. Fayant (2014: 154) however argues that the rustic stelai Keydell has in mind point to a very different social context.

¹²⁸ On τιθέμεσθα, cf. *OH* 3.2 καλέσωμεν and see below on λιτόμεσθα in the final prayer of *OH* 82. Prayer: εὐχή *P.2*, εὐχαί *OH* 27.2, 59.19, 87.9, ἐπευχαί *OH* 46.1 72.1, εὐχωλαί *OH* 86.11, 87.11. Cf. εὐχος *OH* 33.5, 72.4.

¹²⁹ The verb λύειν is used to describe release from birth pains (*OH* 2.9), contest (*OH* 33.2), a bitter fate (*OH* 74), and overcast skies (*OH* 80.3). Λύσιος is an epithet of Dionysos (*OH* 50 title, 2, 8, λύσειον 42.4 and λυσεῦ 52.2), λύτετρα of Physis (of ripe fruits *OH* 10.17) and Athene (from κακῶν *OH* 32.13), λυτηρία of Artemis and λυτηριάς of Rhea (*OH* 36.7, 14.8). The compound epithets λυσίζωνε (*OH* 2.7, 36.5), λυσιμελεῖς (οἴστρωι *OH* 70.9), λυσιμέριμνε (*OH* 28.6, 36.5, 85.5) and λυσιπήμονες (*OH* 2.11, 59.20) also occur. The references to ‘release’ are varied then, whether Bacchic or from evils of different kinds.

¹³⁰ Cf. the invocation of Apollo at the start of the *Rhapsodic Theogony*, *OF* 102.4-5 δωδεκάτην δὴ τήνδε παρὰ σεῖο ἔκλυον ὁμήν, σεῖο φαμένου, the proem of *Dodecaterides*, *OF* 731.2-3 κέκλυθι τάξιν ἅπασαν, ὅσην τεκμήρατο δαίμων, ἐκ τε μῆς νυκτός, ἡδ’ ἐξ ἐνὸς ἡματος αὐτῶς, and that of the *Orphic Argonautica* (v. 4 πέμπε δ’ ἐπὶ πραπίδεςσιν ἐμαῖς ἐτυμηγόρον αὐδὴν). See Calame 2010 (esp. p. 22) on authority and divine revelation in Orphic poetry.

release, may be understood in terms of the myth of Dionysos and the *teletai* that free initiates from the guilt of their ancestors. The clearest reference to this comes from the *Rhapsodic Theogony*:

ἄνθρωποι δὲ τελέεσσας ἑκατόμβας
 πέμψουσιν πάσῃσιν ἐν ὥραις ἀμφιέτησιν
 ὀργιά τ' ἐκτελέσουσι λύσιν προγόνων ἀθεμίστων
 μαιόμενοι· σὺ δὲ τοῖσιν ἔχων κράτος, οὓς κε θέλησθα
 λύσεις ἐκ τε πόνων χαλεπῶν καὶ ἀπείρονος οἴστρου

And men, accomplishing hecatombs,
 will send them in every trieteric season,
 and they will perform rites seeking release from their lawless
 ancestors: And you will have power over them, whom you wish
 you will release from hard pains and boundless frenzy.¹³¹

Morand argues that the distinctive invocation of *OH* 15 is attributable to the status and the preeminent power of the god in question.¹³² Viewing it in the context of the Orphic myth of Dionysos and the associated doctrine of release would account for its presence in the hymn to Zeus in terms of the father's wrath rather, as a hint at Zeus' role in the *Rhapsodic Theogony*, like the reference to his creation of the cosmos in verses 3-5.

2.2.2 Prayers

Like the primary invocation, the prayer in Greek hymnody is formally conservative and, in the *Orphic Hymns*, may be broken down into three fairly discrete sections: 1. a call for attention or reinvocation, 2. a kletic request to 'come' and 3. a specific request for good things, or the removal of bad ones.¹³³ These three elements are not found together in all hymns: a third lack the first and the majority have either the second or the third. There is also significant variation in the terminology used in each hymn, particularly, of course, in the final, specific request, which is frequently tailored to the nature of the divinity in question. This analysis is revealing however in terms of both the degree of structural uniformity within the collection, and the degree of variation, which marks out

¹³¹ *OF* 350, from the end of the *Rhapsodic Theogony*. The addressee is Dionysos, the speaker may be Zeus (West 1983: 99-100 suggests Nyx). Plato's description of the mendicant Orphic priests, who claim the power to cure the gods' wrath or ancestral guilt, frames the same idea of atonement in terms of prayers and offerings (*Resp.* 364b = *OF* 573): ἀγύρται δὲ καὶ μάντιες ἐπὶ πλουσίων θύρας ἰόντες πείθουσιν ὡς ἔστι παρὰ σφίσι δύναμις ἐκ θεῶν πορίζομένη θυσίαις τε καὶ ἐπιδαῖς, εἴτε τι ἀδίκημά του γέγονεν αὐτοῦ ἢ προγόνων, ἀκείσθαι μεθ' ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἑορτῶν. Cf. also *P. Derv.* col. 6.1 (*OF* 471) εὐ]χαὶ καὶ θυσι[αὶ μ[ε]ιλ[ί]ισσουσι τ[ὰς] ψυχάς]. See Kouremenos (2006: 166-8), who suggests Ἐρινῶς for ψυχάς (proposed with reservations by Tsantsanoglou 1997: 110). On Orphic purification and release, see Parker 1983: 281-297; on purity in the *OH*, Graf 2009: 181-2.

¹³² Morand 2001: 44, 'Cette invocation semble particulièrement révérencielle, ce qui s'explique sans doute par le fait que l'orant s'adresse à Zeus.'

¹³³ Appendix 2 provides a formal analysis of the prayers according to this division.

certain elements within the sequence of eighty-seven hymns as either particularly conservative or innovative.

2.2.2.1 Part 1, the call for attention

The final prayer is, in most cases, clearly marked out from the preceding sequence of predications, frequently by ἀλλά (in 26 hymns) or νῦν (in four cases), or τοιγάρ τοι (in two);¹³⁴ a traditional feature of Greek hymnody that signals a change in tone and time, bringing the text back from the atemporal, or mythical *eulogia*, with its description of the god's attributes or activities, to the present context of the hymn's performance.¹³⁵ As in the opening invocation, the relationship between the person or group praying and the divinity is foregrounded, now as a prelude to the request, and this correlation between invocation and prayer is in fact often marked by a reinvocation that echoes or, in some cases, repeats the opening 'call' using the same terms: 'I call' or 'hear'.¹³⁶ The verb 'I call' takes the same forms encountered in the invocations: κικλήσκω (*OH* 5.6, 24.9, 37.7, 70.11, 75.3, in the last of which the same verb links both invocation and prayer), καλέω (*OH* 3.12, 44.11, 50.10, 55.28), κληίζω (*OH* 66.10), as well as ἀγκαλέω (*OH* 18.19). Alternatively, the stronger term 'I beg' or 'beseech' is used, anticipating the request directly: λίτομαι, either alone or in combination with a verb to call; κικλήσκων λίτομαι occurs in *OH* 5.6, λίτομαι καλέων in *OH* 44.10-11 and the variant αἰτοῦμαι λιτανεύων in *OH* 87.11.¹³⁷ In *OH* 82.6, the plural of the first person, λιτόμεσθα, is found. This departure from the singular, with its implication of a single author, clearly refers to the group of *mystai*, to whom the blessings of the prayer are often directed (although not in *OH* 82). There are two other instances of this slipping of authorial 'I': the τιθέμεσθα in *OH* 15.2, which, as discussed above, occurs in an invocatory prologue that is marked out by other unusual terms, and καλέσωμεν in *OH* 3.2, a verse athetised by most editors, which will be discussed below.¹³⁸ The intermediate prayer of *OH* 34 to Apollo (v. 10) may also be compared: κλῦθί μου εὐχομένου λαῶν ὕπερ εὐφροني θυμῶι, 'hear me praying for the people with kind heart'. Here the (singular) author announces that he speaks on behalf of the group. The imperative κλῦθι

¹³⁴ Ἀλλά: *OH* 6, 10, 16, 19, 23, 25, 26, 33, 41, 48, 57, 59, 62, 64, 68, 69 (twice), 71, 72, 74, 76, 77, 78, 79, 85, 86, 87 (fifteen instances occur in the last third of the collection); νῦν: *OH* 3, 21, 44, 50; τοιγάρ τοι: *OH* 73, 82.

¹³⁵ Ἀλλά before prayer: *Od.* 3.380, *HHy.* 2.490, 3.165 (at the end of the Delian hymn), 20.8, *Thgn.* 341, 781, *Pind. Ol.* 2.12, *Call. Hy.* 5.137, *Cleant. Hy. Zeus* v. 32, *Delph. Paian I* v. 22 *CA* p. 150, *Aristonous, Paian* v. 41 *CA* p. 164, *Philod. Scarph. Paian* v. 144, *CA* p. 169, *Kaibel* 812.5, *PGM hy.* 12.17, 21.22, *Procl. Hy.* 1.33, 2.14, 3.10, 4.13, 5.12. Menander Rhetor (445.25-8, *Sminthiac Oration*) recommends this type of conclusion in a hymnic speech (Μέλλων δὲ πληροῦν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν χρῆσθαι ἀνακλητικοῖς ὀνόμασι τοῦ θεοῦ οὕτως. ἀλλ' ὃ Σμίνθιε καὶ Πύθιε, ἀπὸ σοῦ γὰρ ἀρξάμενος ὁ λόγος εἰς σὲ καὶ τελευτήσει); *Nῦν*: cf. *Sapph.* 1.25 *Voigt*, *Soph. OT* 167, *Eur. Bacch.* 583, *Ar. Ran.* 395, *Ap. Rhod.* 1.420. Despite the relatively few instances of νῦν in this context in the surviving texts, the use of both words was proverbial. Hesychius glosses both ἀλλ' ἀναξ and νῦν δὲ θεοὶ μάκαρες as shorthand for hymnic *exodia*. On ἀλλά in Greek prayers, Pulleyn 1997: 132-3.

¹³⁶ Race 1982: 10-14, Pulleyn 1997: 133-144, Furlley & Bremer 2001 I: 60-63. *OH*: Morand 2001: 49-50, Hopman-Govers 2001: 43-4, Rudhardt 2008: 208-215.

¹³⁷ Λίτομαι: *OH* 1.9 λισσόμενος, syntactically linked with the invocatory 'I call', 21.6, 41.9, 44.10, 71.10, 72.9, 82.6, 85.9, 86.16. For λίσσομαι in prayers, cf. *Od.* 3.98, 21.278, *Pind. Paian* 52f.3, *Soph. OC* 1559.

¹³⁸ Rudhardt defends it (2008: 189), Fayant accepts it.

(or κλῦτε) occurs seventeen times in the hymns as the introduction to the prayer and ἀκούσατε once (OH 59.19).¹³⁹ The combination κλῦθι κλήϊζω is found in OH 66.10. Ἀλλά, νῦν or τοιγάρ τοι occur with these reinvocatory terms twelve times (including all the cases of νῦν).

Part 1 occurs in 38 (44%) of the hymns. The terms employed are limited in number, as they are in the opening invocations, but unusual forms, as noted, do occur: the participle λισσόμενος in OH 1, ἀγκαλέω in OH 18, ἀκούσατε in OH 59 (a hymn that is distinctive in other respects, as will be discussed below), κλήϊζω (after κλῦθι) in OH 66 and αἰτοῦμαι λιτανεύων in OH 87.¹⁴⁰

2.2.2.2 Part 2, ‘come kind’

In this part of the prayer, the imperative (or optative) ‘come’, which is also seen, albeit more rarely, as an invocatory verb, forms the basis of a simple kletic request: the god is asked to (a) come, (b) to the *teletai* or *mystai*, (c) in a particular manner, most frequently ‘kind’ or ‘joyful’, although not all three of these elements identified here are present in each case. Sixty-one (70%) of the hymns have this part of the prayer in some form; twenty-three in combination with part 1, a reinvocatory verb or ‘hear’; twenty-three in combination with ἄλλά or νῦν (not τοιγάρ τοι); and nine with both. The majority of hymns that have part 2 contain imperative ‘come’, but not all: in a small number only part 2c is present, a request to ‘be kind’ or favourable which qualifies the verb of the specific request (part 3).¹⁴¹ The terms used in the request to ‘come’ (2a) vary. Ἐλθέ, ἔλθετε or the infinitive ἐλθεῖν (after a verb of reinvocation) occur eighteen times, and the optative forms ἔλθοις, ἔλθοιτε a further ten times.¹⁴² The variant ἐπέλθοις is found in OH 48. Forms of μολεῖν occur nine times and βαῖνε four times.¹⁴³ In addition to these forty-one instances, a number of non-standard terms are also found: ἔρχεο (OH 27.9 and 13, 49.7, 55.15 in addition to ἐλθέ), ἐρχόμεναι (OH 59.20 in addition to μόλετε), δεῦρο (OH 54.7), πελάζῃς or πελάζειν (OH 70.11, 86.17, 87.10), ἰκάνειν (OH 85.9), παρεῖναι (OH 1.9), συνέρχου (OH 58.9) and φαίνουσα (OH 71.12). The last is particularly appropriate to Melinoë, whose appearance and association with apparitions (φαντάσματα) are emphatic in her hymn (OH 71.6-9).¹⁴⁴ As with the invocations, a few hymns stand out in this regard: OH 1, 58, 59, 70 and the final hymns of the sequence, 85-87.

¹³⁹ Κλῦθι: OH 2.13, 4.9, 8.20, 13.9 (κλύων), 15.10, 22.9, 28.11, 29.17, 30.8, 32.15, 34.10/27 (twice), 35.6, 39.9, 49.4, 63.12, 66.10, 83.6 (only once in the final third of the sequence).

¹⁴⁰ λιτανεύω: cf. Pind. *Paian* 52k.38.

¹⁴¹ Part 2c only: OH 5, 20, 22, 26, 30, 64. Part 2b and c only: 19, 44. On ‘come’ in Greek prayer, Pulleyn 1997: 136-144 (on the OH, p. 136), who disputes Ausfeld’s argument (1903: 516-7) that it implies a degree of coercion, as opposed to ‘hear’.

¹⁴² Ἐλθέ, ἔλθετε: OH 7.12, 9.11, 12.14, 14.12, 36.13, 40.18, 43.10, 45.7, 46.8, 47.6, 51.17, 52.13, 55.27, 56.12, 61.10, 67.8 (frequently in the central third); ἐλθεῖν: OH 41.10, 75.4; ἔλθοις, ἔλθοιτε: OH 3.14, 16.10, 31.6, 33.8, 42.11, 60.7, 66.11, 79.11, 81.5, 83.8.

¹⁴³ Μόλε: OH 25.10, 62.10, 68.12; μόλετε: OH 59.16; μολεῖν: OH 18.19, 50.10, 72.9; μόλοις: OH 74.8; μόλοιτε: OH 76.11; βαῖνε: (OH 6.10, 11.21, 35.7, 53.9).

¹⁴⁴ See Graf 2009: 180-1. The φαν- stem is repeated in v. 6, 7 and 8. On phonic echoes of this kind between the predication and prayers, see Hopman Govers 2001: 43 and Morand 2001: 54.

In a large number of hymns the place or people to whom the god should come is specified (2b), and invariably the terminology of the mysteries, or of ritual more generally, occurs here:

Rite:

To the *teletai*: *OH* 1.9, 6.11 (*telete*), 7.12 (*telete*), 27.11, 43.10, 75.3, 79.12.

To the *pantheic telete*: *OH* 35.7, 53.9, 54.7.

To the *thuepolie*: *P*.44.

To the libations: *P*.44 (σπονδήν), *OH* 19.20 (λοιβαῖσι), 66.10 (ἐπιλοιβάς).

To the *hiera*: *OH* 51.17.

Initiate:

To the *mystai*: *OH* 18.19, 36.13, 41.10 (*mystes*) 44.11, 50.10, 52.13, 58.9, 59.20, 60.7, 61.10, 71.12, 76.11, 83.8.

To the *boukolos*: *OH* 1.10, 31.7; *neomystai*: *OH* 43.10;¹⁴⁵ *mystipoloi*: *OH* 25.10, 48.6, 68.12;¹⁴⁶ *orgiophantai*: *OH* 6.11.¹⁴⁷

Further variations are rare, occurring only in *OH* 62.10 ‘come to good intentions’ (γνώμαις ἐσθλαῖσι) and *OH* 74.9 ‘come to the ships’. The function of the kletic prayer is, in this light, beyond a simple request for the deity’s presence, to draw attention to the context of the hymn’s performance: the place, the rites and the community. It is in most cases, furthermore, not a simple request for presence. There is an evident consciousness that such a presence may not be favourable, and the god is specifically asked to come in a good mood (2c): ‘kind’, ‘gentle’ or ‘happy’, or alternatively as a helper or saviour (and often a combination of these).¹⁴⁸ The range of qualifiers found in this part of the prayer is given below (masculine, singular and nominative forms stand for all genders and cases).

¹⁴⁵ *OH* 43.10 ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐφήμους τελετὰς δόσιας νεομύσταις. Ricciardelli adopts West’s emendation (1968: 293) of the MS reading νεομύστους. Hermann suggested νεομύστοις (cf. *OH* 4.9 μύστηι νεοφάντη). Νεομύστους, qualifying the *teletai*, is retained by Quandt and defended by White (1989: 17). It may be correct: *teletai* here would have their own short asyndetic list of adjectives.

¹⁴⁶ The term may mean ‘rites’ in both these instances however: it qualifies τελεταί in *OH* 76.7, 79.12 and (if Maass’ emendation is correct) 49.2.

¹⁴⁷ *OH* 6.10-11 βαῖνε γεγηθώς | ἐς τελετὴν ἁγίαν πολυποίκιλον ὀργιοφάνταις. West (1968: 290) emends to πολυποίκιλος, comparing *OH* 76.11 (Muses: πολυποίκιλοι). I suggest that, in addition to West’s reading, for ὀργιοφάνταις we should read ὀργιοφάντης here: Protogonos himself is the ‘all-varied hierophant’. Cf. *OH* 31.5 (Kouretes: ὀργιοφάνται). *Orgiophantes* describes a high-ranking cult functionary and its use to describe the *mystai* in general terms, who are otherwise referred to as νεοφάνται (*OH* 4.9) seems less likely than its application to the god, as in the hymn to the Kouretes. It was employed as an equivalent for the *hierophantes* at Lerna (on Kleadas and his father Erotios [3rd c. CE], *AG* 9.688, *SEG* 48.238), the cult of Hekate at Lagina (*PHI I. Strat.* 541, Karatas 2019: 64), and in Bacchic mysteries at Puteoli (Nilsson 1974³ II: 360, Schuddeboom 2009: 230). It also occurs in a sepulchral epigram of Sacerdos, a high-ranking priest and official from Nicaea who died in the reign of Hadrian (*AG* 15.4, Nyquist 2014: 17-20). See further Morand 2001: 243-4, Bremmer 2014: 107.

¹⁴⁸ On the fear of frightening apparitions in the hymn, Graf 2009: 174-81, in particular the use of εὐάντητος.

- Kind or gentle: εὐάντητος: *OH* 3.13 (Nyx), 31.7 (Kouretes), 36.14 (Artemis), 41.10 (Antaia).¹⁴⁹
 εὐμενέων: P.43 (all gods), *OH* 1.10 (Hekate), 3.14 (Nyx), 16.10 (Hera), 20.6 (Astrapaios),
 22.9 (Thalassa), 42.11 (Mise), 48.6 (Sabazios), 72.9 (Tyche), 75.4 (Palaimon), 81.5
 (Zephyros), 83.8 (Okeanos).¹⁵⁰
 εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων: *OH* 26.11 (Ge), 30.9 (Dionysos), 64.13 (Nomos); εὐμενὲς [φαίνουσα]
 πρόσωπον: *OH* 71.12 (Melinoe).
 εὐφρων: *OH* 9.11 (Selene), 46.8 (Liknites); εὐφρονι βουλῇ: *OH* 14.12 (Rhea), 34.10
 (Apollo), 59.20 (Moirai), 74.1 (Leukothea), 79.11 (Themis).¹⁵¹
 ἥμερος: *OH* 66.11 (Hephaistos).
 ἡδύς: *OH* 50.10 (Lysios Lenaïos), 85.5 (Hypnos).
 ἴλαος: *OH* 18.19 (Pluto); ἴλαον ἦτορ ἔχων: *OH* 35.6 (Leto).¹⁵²
 πρηύνος: *OH* 44.11 (Semele).
 προσηνής: *OH* 60.7 (Charites).
- Happy: γεγηθώς: *OH* 6.10 (Protogonos); γεγηθυίαις παπιδεσσιν: *OH* 47.6 (Perikionios); γήθουσα:
OH 16.10 (Hera); γήθουσα, γήθοντα, γανόωντι προσώπωι: *OH* 49.7 (Hipta), 75.4
 (Palaimon), 53.9 (Amphitetes); γηθόσυνος: *OH* 27.4 (Meter Theon).
 χαρείς: *OH* 19.20 (Keraunos), κεχαρηότα: *OH* 18.19 (Pluto); κεχαρηότι θυμῷ: *OH* 1.10
 (Hekate), 31.7 (Kouretes), 51.19 (Nymphai);
 κεχαρημένος: *OH* 27.14 (Meter Theon), 52.13 (Trieterikos), 79.11 (Themis); κεχαρημένον
 ἦτορ ἔχων: P.43 (all gods); κεχαρισμένος: *OH* 83.8 (Okeanos).
- Helper: ἐπαρωγός: *OH* 48.6 (Sabazios), 74.8 (Leukothea); ἐπαρήγοις: *OH* 22.9 (Thalassa);
 ἐπιτάρροθος: *OH* 61.10 (Nemesis), 68.12 (Hygieia).
- Saviour: σωτήριος: *OH* 14.12 (Rhea), 74.9 (Leukothea); σῶτειρα: *OH* 36.13 (Artemis); σωτήρ: *OH*
 67.8 (Asklepios).

A variety of terms are employed here to describe the manner of the god's coming, alone or in combination. In addition, several descriptions are more closely tailored to the god in question:

Aither, <i>OH</i> 5.6	κεκραμένον εὐδιδον εἶναι, 'be fine and temperate'.
Selene, <i>OH</i> 9.12	λαμπομένη, 'shining'.
Proteus, <i>OH</i> 25.10	όσίοις προνοίαις, 'with foresight'.
Nike, <i>OH</i> 33.8	πεποθημένη, 'yearned for'.
Demeter, <i>OH</i> 40.18	καρποῖς βρίθουσα, 'brimming with fruits'.

¹⁴⁹ εὐάντητος, cf. *Hy. Hekate* v. 8 (Heitsch 54), *Call. Hy.* 3.268 εὐάντησον ἀοιδῇ.

¹⁵⁰ εὐμενής, cf. *Anac.* 12.6-7 *PMG* 357 (σὺ δ' εὐμενής | ἔλθ' ἡμῖν), *Simon. fr.* 35b.4 *PMG* 519 (ἐν]θάδ' εὐμενεῖ φρενί), *Pind. Paian* 52e.45, *Aesch. Supp.* 686, *Eur. Alc.* 791, *IT* 1086, *Supp.* 631, *Ar. Lys.* 204, *PGM hy.* 11.42, 12.29.

¹⁵¹ εὐφρων, cf. *Aesch. Pers.* 627, *Ar. Thesm.* 1168, *Philod. Scaph. Paian* v. 12 (*CA* p. 165, within the refrain), Kaible.

¹⁵² ἴλαος, cf. *Archil.* 108.2 *IEG*, *Paian Erythraeus* v. 19 *PGM* 934, *Aristocles, Hy. Dem.* v. 6 *SH* 206, *AG* 10.25 (Antipater), 12.131 (Posidippus).

Trieterikos, <i>OH</i> 52.13	βρύων, ‘teeming’.
Amphietes, <i>OH</i> 53.10	βρυάζων, ‘teeming’.
Silenos, <i>OH</i> 54.11	εὐάζων, ‘revelling’.
Aphrodite, <i>OH</i> 55.27	ἐπήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσα, ‘with lovely form’.
Eros, <i>OH</i> 58.9	καθαραῖς γνώμαις, ‘with pure thoughts’.
Dike, <i>OH</i> 62.10	δικαία, ‘righteous’.
Eumenides, <i>OH</i> 70.11	γνώμαις ὁσίοις, ‘with holy thoughts’.
Tyche, <i>OH</i> 72.10	ὀλβοῖσι πλήθουσιν, ‘full of blessings’.
Mousai, <i>OH</i> 76.11	πολυποίκιλοι, ἀγναί, ‘variegate, pure’.
Zephyros, <i>OH</i> 81.5	ἐπιπνεύουσαι, ‘inspiring’.
Hypnos, <i>OH</i> 85.9	κεκραμένον, ‘temperate’.
Oneiros, <i>OH</i> 86.17	γνώμαις ὀρθαῖς κατὰ πάντα, ‘thoughts right in all’.
Thanatos, <i>OH</i> 87.10	μακροῖσι χρόνοις ζώης, ‘after long years of life’.

In some cases the significance here is clear, in others it is more recondite: Proteus is presented as all-knowing (*OH* 25.4-5 ἐπιστάμενος τά τ’ ἐόντα | ὅσσα τε πρόσθεν ἔην ὅσα τ’ ἔσσεται ὕστερον αὐτίς), and so is asked to come with the gift of foresight; Amphietes is ‘fruitful’ (*OH* 53.8 κάρπιμε), possibly since he returns in the Spring, hence ‘come teeming’ (and the same explanation would apply to Trieterikos).¹⁵³ The unusual title of the hymn to Amphietes, with its prescription to offer πάντα πλὴν λιβάνου makes a similar reference.¹⁵⁴ Hymns 58 (Eros), 70 (Eumenides), 85 (Hypnos), 86 (Oneiros) and 87 (Thanatos), in which the verb ‘to come’ is unusual (see above, 2a), are similarly idiosyncratic in the description that accompanies it: γνώμαις ὁσίοις (*OH* 70.11) strongly recalls γνώμαις ὀρθαῖς (*OH* 86.17), as well as the noteworthy request in *OH* 58.9 for Eros to ‘unite with *mystai* in καθαραῖς γνώμαις’. The last example in fact points to a deeper significance in the kletic prayer: a sense of (at least anticipated) communion between the divinity and the devotees. The final hymn of the collection is most anomalous. Understandably, the prayer to come here is actually inverted: the god should only come later, ‘after long years of life’.

¹⁵³ The Trieteris at Delphi took place in November (Festugière 1935: 210, West 1983: 150), but the biennial return of the god was celebrated in many different forms (Merkelbach 1988: 86-8). In Phrygia and Paphlagonia he slept in the Winter and was ‘roused’ in the Spring (Plut. *De Isid. et Os.* 378e-f, Nilson 1953: 181). Processions of Dionysos frequently included fruits, e.g. the Little and Great Dionysia in Athens (Ricciardelli 2008: 282). Cf. also *OH* 56.11-12: Adonis is described as ὠριόκαρπον on return from the underworld and similarly asked to bring ‘fruits from the earth’. The Nymphs, Dionysos’ nurses (*OH* 51.3) are associated with fruits (καρποτρόφοι 51.4, ἀγλαόκαρποι 51.12) and the Spring (εἰαροτερπεῖς 51.14).

¹⁵⁴ Βρύω: ‘swell or teem with’, ‘abound, grow luxuriantly’ ‘burst forth’ (*LSJ*); βρυάζω can, in addition mean ‘wax wanton’ or ‘revel in’ (with the dative). Both words occur repeatedly in the *OH*, usually with an object in the dative. In Nike lies the glory of contest, ‘teeming with joys’ (βρυάζων, *OH* 33.7); Persephone and Amphietes ‘teem’ with fruits (βρυούσα *OH* 29.10, βρυάζων 53.10), Herakles with labours (βρύων, *OH* 12.2), Thalassa with streams (βρυούσης, *OH* 22.8) and Ge with ‘fair seasons’ (βρύουσα *OH* 26.3). Daimon is ‘wealth-giving’ when he enters a house βρυάζων (73.4). But the sense ‘revelling in’, although only attested otherwise for βρυάζων (e.g. Duris 50, αἱ γυναῖκες ἐβρύαζον ταῖς Δωρίαις στολαῖς), could apply in each of these cases, and might make better sense where Selene is described as καλοῖς ἄστροισι βρύουσα (*OH* 9.7) and Adonis with ‘songs of longing’ (*OH* 56.2, cf. Philodamus’ description of Dionysos as ὕμνοβρυής, *Paian* v. 19 *CA* p. 166). Trieterikos and Amphietes may come to the *mystai* ‘teeming’ then or ‘revelling’, as Silenos does.

2.2.2.3 Part 3, the request

Sixty-one of the hymns contain a specific request, which can be analysed in terms of the verb (or verbs) employed (3a), the object(s) of the request (3b) and the recipient, where specified (3c). In twenty-six cases this follows a reinvocation (part 1), in twenty-one cases ἀλλὰ, νῦν or τοιγάρ τοι, and in thirty-five instances is combined with a kletic prayer (part 2).¹⁵⁵ In ten of the hymns all three parts of the prayer identified here are present;¹⁵⁶ in eleven part 3 forms the only element of the prayer.¹⁵⁷ The basic types of request are positive and negative: ‘give’, ‘send’ or ‘bring’ on the one hand, and ‘remove’ on the other. The objects of the prayer are often stereotyped: peace, health, wealth, happiness and ‘a good end to life’ are recurrent, terms which are traditional in prayers, although not frequently encountered in surviving texts apart from the *Homeric Hymns* and inscriptional hymns: literary hymns largely avoid them.¹⁵⁸ In the present collection, although these standard requests are frequent, even more often the object of the prayer is specific to the divinity’s sphere of power. Departures from the stereotyped form of prayer include variation in both the verb of request and its object, which are particularly notable in the final third of the collection.

Positive verbs, whether imperative, participles (after ‘come’ in part 2 of the prayer) or infinitives (after ‘I call’ or ‘pray’ in part 1) most frequently take the form of synonyms for ‘give’, ‘send’ or ‘bring’. In the list that follows (a) and (b) refer to the first or second part of a double request.

‘Give’, ‘grant’

Prothraia, <i>OH</i> 2.13 (a)	δίδου (help at birth)
Pan, <i>OH</i> 11.22 (a)	ῥπασον (a good end to life)
Zeus, <i>OH</i> 15.10	δίδου (health, peace, wealth)

¹⁵⁵ Parts 1 and 3 only: *OH* 2, 4, 8, 10, 13, 15, 21, 24, 28, 29, 32, 34, 37, 39, 63, 82 (16 instances, rarely in the second half of the sequence). Parts 2 and 3 only: *OH* 7, 9, 11, 12, 14, 19, 20, 25, 26, 33, 36, 40, 43, 45, 46, 51, 54, 56, 58, 61, 64, 67, 68, 74, 76 (25 instances).

¹⁵⁶ Parts 1, 2 and 3: *OH* 3, 22, 30, 35, 66, 71, 75, 85, 86, 87.

¹⁵⁷ Part 3 only: *OH* 17, 23, 38, 57, 65, 69, 73, 77, 78, 80, 84.

¹⁵⁸ Burkert (1987: 18), with reference to the *OH*, compares a Hadrianic relief from Athens that represents the allegorical figure ‘Telete’ together with ‘Euthenia’ and ‘Epiktesis’ (Athens National Museum no. 1390). Prayers for these objects are not frequent outside the *OH* and mainly occur in inscriptions. **Happiness** (ἔλβος): *HHy.* 15.9, 20.8 (= Call. *Hy.* 1.95, δίδου δ’ ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ἔλβον), Solon fr. 13.3 *IEG*, Aristonous *Paian* v. 46, *Hy. Hygieia* v. 16 (*CA* p. 164, 165), Philod. Scarph. *Paian* v. 13 (*CA* p. 166), Isidor. *Hy.* 2.30, Kaibel 812.6 (a dedication to Hermes, Lesbos 2nd c. CE, ἀφθονον ἔλβον); εὐδαιμονίη: *HHy.* 11.5; **livelihood** (βίος): *HHy.* 2.494, 30.18, 31.17; **health** (ὑγίεια): Isyllus *Paian* v. 60 (*CA* p. 134), *Paian Erythraeus* v. 24 (*CA* p. 136); **wealth** (πλούτος): *AG App. Ex.* 68.7 (MS Laur. 24.31, fol. 161v.) δός μοι, καὶ πλουτεῖν, ὥσθ’ ἄλις αἰὲν ἔχειν; ἀφενος: Call. *Hy.* 1.93; **peace** (εἰρήνη): Call. *Hy.* 6.137, *Lyr. Adesp.* 100b.5-7 (*PMG* 1018b, a hymn to the Moirai, possibly by Simonides) πέμπειτ’ ἄμμιν <τὰν> ῥοδόκολλον | Εὐνομίαν λιπαροθρόνους τ’ ἀδελφὰς | Δίκαν καὶ στεφανηφόρον Εἰράναν. Isyllus’ *lex sacra* (*CA* p. 133, Furley & Bremer 2001 II: 181, Epidauros 4th c. BCE) prescribes this type of prayer (ll. 21-3): καὶ ἐπεύχεσθαι πολιᾶταις πᾶσιν αἰεὶ διδόμεν τέκνοις τ’ ἐρατὰν ὑγίειαν, εὐνομίαν τε καὶ εἰράναν καὶ πλούτον ἀμεμφῇ, ‘and they are to pray [to Apollo and Asklepios] to grant all citizens and their children forever lovely health, good-order, peace and blameless wealth’. The series of requests here echoes the prayer of the Orphic hymn to Demeter (*OH* 40.19: Eirene, Eunomia, Ploutos, Hygieia), while the specification that wealth should be ‘blameless’ is found in the hymn to Zeus (*OH* 15.11): δίδου δ’ Ὑγίειαν ἀμεμφῇ | Εἰρήνην τε θεὰν καὶ πλούτου δόξαν ἀμεμπτον.

Keraunos, <i>OH</i> 19.20 (b)	δίδου ('all that is fitting', happiness, peace, wealth)
Hermes, <i>OH</i> 28.11	ὀπάζων (a good end to life)
Athene, <i>OH</i> 32.15	δός (peace)
Nemesis, <i>OH</i> 61.11 (a)	δός (διάνοιαν, understanding)
Asklepios, <i>OH</i> 67.8	ὀπάζων (a good end to life)
Daimon, <i>OH</i> 73.9 (b)	ὀπάζοις (a good end to life)

'Bring'

Ouranos, <i>OH</i> 4.9	ἐπάγων (a holy life)
Physis, <i>OH</i> 10.30	ἄγειν (peace, health, increase)
Herakles, <i>OH</i> 12.14 (a)	κομίζων (charms against disease)
Rhea, <i>OH</i> 14.13(a)	κατάγουσα (peace, prosperity)
Poseidon, <i>OH</i> 17.10 (b)	ἄγων (health, peace, wealth)
Zeus Astrap., <i>OH</i> 20.6	φέρειν (a good end to life)
Nike, <i>OH</i> 33.9	ἄγουσα (glory)
Leto, <i>OH</i> 35.7	φέρουσα (a sweet end)
Artemis, <i>OH</i> 36.14 (a)	ἄγουσα (fruits, peace, wealth)
Demeter, <i>OH</i> 40.19	κατάγουσα (peace, <i>eunomia</i> , wealth, health)
Horai, <i>OH</i> 43.11	ἐπάγουσα (fruitful seasons)
Dionysos B. T., <i>OH</i> 45.7	φέρων (joy)
Adonis, <i>OH</i> 56.12	φέρων (fruits)
Leukothea, <i>OH</i> 74.10	ἄγουσα (a fair wind)
Mousai, <i>OH</i> 76.12	ἄγουσα (zeal)

'Send'

Kronos, <i>OH</i> 13.10	πέμπους (a happy end to life)
Nephe, <i>OH</i> 21.7	πέμπειν (rain)
Thalassa, <i>OH</i> 22.10	πέμπουσα (a fair wind)
Nereus, <i>OH</i> 23.7 (b)	πέμπει (peace, health)
Nereidai, <i>OH</i> 24.9	πέμπειν (happiness)
Proteus, <i>OH</i> 25.11	πέμπων (a good end to a happy life in works)
Persephone, <i>OH</i> 29.17	ἀναπέμπ' (fruits, peace, health, happiness)
Hermes Ch., <i>OH</i> 57.12	πέμπους (a good end in works)
Nomos, <i>OH</i> 64.13	πέμπει (remembrance of you)
Notos, <i>OH</i> 82.7(b)	πέμπειν (rain) wealth (πλούτος, κτεάματα), ¹⁵⁹ health (ὕγεια, ὑγεία) ¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Wealth, possessions: *OH* 14.13 σὺν εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσι, 15.11 πλούτου δόξαν ἄμεμπτον, 40.20 πλούτον, 72.10 ἐπ' εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσιν. Cf. *OH* 32.16 κόρον, 'satiety, abundance' and (arguably) 19.23 βίον εὐθύμοισιν αἰεὶ θάλλοντα λογισμοῖς 'a life flourishing in cheerful accounts'. Daimon is πλουτοδότην (*OH* 73.4), Pluto πλουτοδοτῶν (18.5), Demeter πλουτοδότειρα (40.3) and there is no πλούτος without Hygieia (68.9).

¹⁶⁰ Health (ὕγεια or ὑγεία): *OH* 10.3, 15.10, 17.10, 19.21, 23.8, 29.18, 36.15, 40.20, 84.8. Cf. *OH* 51.18 νᾶμα χέουσai ὑγινόν, and the hymn to Hygieia herself (*OH* 68).

and happiness (ὄλβος)¹⁶¹.

In the majority of cases here the request is a stereotyped one, for a ‘good end to life’,¹⁶² peace (εἰρήνην).¹⁶³ Fruits (κάρποι) are also a frequent object of prayer.¹⁶⁴ More specific requests do occur however: Prothyraia (*OH* 2) is asked to give help at birth, Nemesis (*OH* 61) to give ‘understanding’, Herakles (*OH* 12) ‘charms against disease’,¹⁶⁵ Nike (*OH* 33) the ‘glory’ of victory and the Muses (*OH* 76) should send ‘zeal’: the spirit of contest. Both the Clouds (*OH* 21) and Notos (*OH* 82) are asked to send rain; Thalassa (*OH* 22) and Leukothea (*OH* 74) ‘a fair wind’. In all cases the connection between the nature of these specific requests and the god in question is clear. Verbs to ‘bring’ almost exclusively follow a verb to ‘come’ in part 2a;¹⁶⁶ conversely verbs to ‘send’ do not.¹⁶⁷ The distinction between ‘bring’ and ‘send’ is linked to the presence or distance of the god then, while ‘give’ is a neutral term. The Clouds and gods of the sea (*OH* 21-25) are not asked to attend (with the exception of Proteus *OH* 25) and each of these hymns contains a form of πέμπειν, accounting for half of the instances of a verb to ‘send’. Kronos, Hermes Chthonios and Persephone are likewise ‘distant’ gods. Persephone’s position in the underworld is emphasised by the use of the compound form ἀναπέμπ’.

Alternative verbs framing a positive request, in several cases tailored to divinity in question (e.g. *OH* 8, 7, 26, 51) include:

Reveal, πρόφαινε (a sweet life: Helios *OH* 8.20); ἀναφαίνων (the *orgia*: Silenos *OH* 54.10).

Fulfil, ἐκτελέοντες (the course with deeds of fame: Asteres *OH* 7.13 [as μοιριδιοί, v. 6]).

Increase, αὔξοις (fruits: Ge *OH* 26.10; the light: Eos *OH* 78.13).

Pour, χέουσαι (the waters of health: Nymphai *OH* 51.18).

Keep, ἔχων (nature’s spark in our bodies: Hephaistos *OH* 66.13, paired with the negative ‘stop’ the rage of fire).

Rouse, ἐπέγειρε (the rite’s memory: Mnemosyne *OH* 77.9, paired with the negative ‘dispel’ oblivion).

¹⁶¹ Happiness (ὄλβος): *OH* 23.8, 24.9, 84.8. Cf. *OH* 19.21 ζώην τ’ ὀλβιόθυμον and 29.19 βίωι εὐόλβωι. The epithets ὀλβιοδότης, ὀλβιοδώτης, ὀλβιοδότις, ὀλβιοδῶτις, ὀλβιοδότειρα also occur frequently in the hymns (P.35, *OH* 27.9, 34.2, 40.2, 60.7, 65.9, 68.9). Cf. also γῆθος in *OH* 45.7.

¹⁶² A good end: *OH* 11.22 ἀγαθὴν δ’ ὅπασον βιότοιο τελευτήν, 13.10 εὐὸλβον βιότου τέλος, 20.6 γλυκερὴν βιότοιο τελευτήν, 25.11 εὐόλβου βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ’ ἔργοις, 28.11 βιότου τέλος ἐσθλόν, 57.12 τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ’ ἔργοις, 67.8 βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλόν, 73.9 ἐνδοξον βιοτῆς γλυκερὸν τέλος ἐσθλόν. Five of the eight instances occur in the first third of the collection. The use of βιοτῆς in lieu of βιότου or βιότοιο in the two instances from the last third is also noteworthy.

¹⁶³ Peace: *OH* 10.30, 14.13, 15.11, 17.10, 19.22, 23.8, 29.18, 32.15, 36.15, 40.19, all instances in the first and second thirds of the sequence. Cf. also the hymn to Ares however (*OH* 65.9), discussed below. Εἰρήνη also occurs as the name of the goddess (*OH* 43.2, Horai) and within predications (*OH* 28.7, 63.9).

¹⁶⁴ Fruits: *OH* 26.10, 29.17, 36.14, 40.18, 53.10, 56.12. Cf. also *OH* 43.11 εὐκάρπους καιρῶν γενέσεις. Cf. the prayer to Helios in *AG App. Ex.* 51.3

¹⁶⁵ See below.

¹⁶⁶ *OH* 10, 17 are exceptions, having ‘bring’ without ‘come’.

¹⁶⁷ Except *OH* 25, which has both ‘come’ and ‘send’.

Make, *τιθείς* ('make' all bright: Boreas *OH* 80.5, paired with 'break up the clouds').
 Convert, *μεταθέσθε* ('make' life's repute gentle: Erinyes *OH* 69.17)
 Inspire, *ἐπιπνεύουσα* (happiness, health: Hestia *OH* 84.8; used intransitively in *OH* 30.8
 Dionysos and 38.25 Kouretes).

Here, the verb as well as the object is often adapted to the god in question: Helios 'shows forth' a sweet life with his light, the Nymphs, as the personifications of streams, 'pour forth the waters of health'. The objects of request are more varied than they are after verbs to 'give', 'bring' or 'send': among these examples a general prayer for happiness and health is only found in the hymn to Hestia (although the hymn to Helios contains a variation on the 'good end to life' theme, and the hymn to the Nymphs adapts the standard request for health). These more inventive prayers are much more frequent in the final third of the sequence than the first two.

In addition to these positive requests for some kind of blessing, there are several hymns that contain a specific request to 'save', with the direct object being the *mystai* (*OH* 34.27, 75.5, 85.10, 'your suppliants' *OH* 9.12) and, in the case of Poseidon *OH* 17.9, 'the seats of the earth'.¹⁶⁸ In the hymn to Prothyraia, *OH* 2.14, *σώζ* is used intransitively.¹⁶⁹ *Ἐφορᾶτε*, 'watch over' in the hymn to the Erinyes, *OH* 69.15, is comparable. The *mystai* are similarly the object of *ἀναδείξαις* in the hymn to Hestia (*OH* 84.3), 'dedicate' the *mystai* to the *teletai*, a prayer that is accompanied by a request to 'accept the *ἱερά*'. The same prayer occurs in *OH* 46.8 (*ἱερά δέξαι*) and a variation in *OH* 82.6 (*ἱεροῖσι χαρέντα*, 'rejoice in the offerings'). In these cases references to the rites or initiates, usually connected with the kletic part of the prayer, appear in the specific request. This is also the case in the hymn to Ouranos, who is asked to 'grant a holy life to the *neophant*' and in several other hymns where the *mystai* are specified as the indirect object of the request.¹⁷⁰ Specific prayers that refer to the *teletai*, another term which is normally linked to 'come', include *OH* 24, to the Nereids, in which a standard request to 'send *ἄλβος* to the *mystai*' is followed by an explanation that these goddesses revealed the *telete* of Bakkhos and Persephone, together with 'mother Kalliope and Apollo' to, presumably, Orpheus. *OH* 54 (Silenos) expands its kletic prayer to 'come to the pantheic *telete*', with a description of the procession of Bakkhai and Satyrs the god leads. This incorporates the specific prayer to 'reveal the nocturnal rites with holy *teletai*' (*ὄργια νυκτιφαῆ τελεταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναφαίνων*).¹⁷¹ Like the Nereids, Silenos is a *teletarch* (*θιάσου νομίου τελετάρχα*, v. 4).¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ A prayer to 'save' is, like requests for 'happiness', 'peace' and 'wealth', most often encountered in inscriptional hymns: e.g. *HHy.* 13.3, *Call. Hy.* 6.134, *Moero* 3.3 *CA* p. 22, *Macedon. Paian* v. 28 *CA* p. 139, *Limenius Paian* v. 36 *CA* p. 150, *Aristonous Paian* v. 47 *CA* p. 164, *Hy. Epidaur.* v. 12 *PGM* 937, *Kaibel* 812.6 (*Dedic. Hermes*), 1023.9 (*Hy. Mandoulis*), 1026.7 (*Hy. Paian*).

¹⁶⁹ Cf. the use of 'saviour' as a description of the god in part 2c (*OH* 14, 36, 67, 74).

¹⁷⁰ *OH* 4.9 (*νεοφάντη*). *Mystai* as indirect object: *OH* 8.20, 23.7, 24.9, 56.12, 57.12, 74.10, 77.9, 78.13.

¹⁷¹ Cf. *Procl. Hy.* 4.15 *ὄργια καὶ τελετὰς ἱερῶν ἀναφαίνετε μύθων*.

¹⁷² See further ch. 4.1.2.5.

Negative requests to remove some evil are, in most cases, the corollary of a positive request.¹⁷³ The most frequent types of verb here are forms of ‘send away’: ἀποπέμπειν, ἐκπέμπειν or πέμπειν with a remote destination specified.

‘send away’

Nyx, <i>OH</i> 3.14	ἀπόπεμπε (night terrors)
Pan, <i>OH</i> 11.23 (b)	ἐκπέμπων (frenzy; paired with ‘give a good life’)
Herakles, <i>OH</i> 12.16 (c)	ἀπόπεμπε (difficult dooms)
Rhea, <i>OH</i> 14.14 (b)	πέμπουσ’ ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης (death, defilement; paired with ‘bring peace, possessions’)
Keraunos, <i>OH</i> 19.18 (a)	πέμπους ἐπὶ κύμασι πόντου ¹⁷⁴ (your anger; paired with ‘give all the is fitting, happiness, health, peace’)
Artemis, <i>OH</i> 36.16 (b)	πέμπους δ’ εἰς ὀρέων κεφαλᾶς (sickness, pain; paired with ‘bring fruits, peace, health’)
Titanes, <i>OH</i> 37.7	ἀποπέμπειν (anger)
Korybas, <i>OH</i> 39.9 (a)	ἀποπέμπεο (anger; paired with ‘stop apparitions’)
Eros, <i>OH</i> 58.10	ἀπόπεμπε (bad or ‘foreign’ impulses)
Melinoe, <i>OH</i> 71.11	ἐκπέμπειν (frenzy)
Mnemosyne, <i>OH</i> 77.10 (b)	ἀπόπεμπε (oblivion; paired with ‘rouse memory of the <i>telete</i> ’)

The use of ἐκπέμπειν is interestingly linked with οἶστρος in the hymns to Pan and Melinoe, which share the formula ἐκπέμπων οἶστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης. The sense here is to ‘cast out’ frenzy from people afflicted by it.¹⁷⁵ Alternative negative verbs include:

- Avert, ἀπώτρειπε (earthquakes:¹⁷⁶ Nereus *OH* 23.7 (a); paired with ‘send happiness, peace, health’).
 Dispel, ἐξέλασον (bad mischiefs: Herakles *OH* 12.15); ἐλάσσας (cares: Daimon *OH* 73.7 (a); paired with ‘grant a sweet end to life’).
 Stop, παύων (apparitions: Korybant *OH* 39.10 (b); paired with ‘dispel anger’); παύουσα (evil thoughts: Nemesis *OH* 61.11 (b); paired with ‘give understanding’; παῦσον (the rage

¹⁷³ In fourteen of the twenty instances of a negative request. *OH* 3, 37, 63, 68 and 71 contain a negative request only. *OH* 39 (Korybant) contains two negative requests, *OH* 12 (Herakles) a positive and two negatives.

¹⁷⁴ (θυμὸν) πέμπους ἐπὶ is suggested by Ricciardelli *ad loc*: there was a lacuna here in Ψ (Quandt 1955: 27*), supplied in the φ group of MSS by ὄβριμον ἔμβαλε, which is hypermetric. All editors follow Slothouwer’s reading βαρὺν ἔμβαλε. I suggest θυμὸν τέον ἔμβαλε (app. 1 *ad loc*).

¹⁷⁵ The Eumenides are λυσίμελεις οἶστροι (*OH* 70.9) and Athene inflicts frenzy, οἶστροῦσα βροτῶν ψυχὰς μανίαισι (*OH* 32.6) and is φιλοιστρος (v. 9), as are Meter (*OH* 27.13) and Artemis (*OH* 36.5). On Melinoe and madness in the hymns, Graf 2009: 179-81.

¹⁷⁶ Nereus is described as the source of earthquakes, trapping winds in cavities beneath the earth (*OH* 23.5-6 δὲ κλονεῖς Δηοῦς ἱερὸν βάθρον, ἥνικα πνοιᾶς | ἐν νυχίοις κευθμῶσιν ἐλαυνόμενας ἀποκλείησι). A similar account is found in Seneca, *QNat.* 6.23 Oltremare, attributed to Callisthenes: ‘Spiritus intrat terram per occulta foramina, quemadmodum ubique, ita et sub mari; deinde, cum obstructus ille est trames per quem descenderat, reditum autem illi a tergo resistens aqua abstulit, huc et illuc refertur et sibi ipse occurrens terram labefactat. Ideo frequentissime mari apposita uexantur et inde Neptuno haec assignata est maris mouendi potentia.’ For ‘spiritus’, cf. πνοιᾶς, *OH* 23.5. Poseidon is asked to ‘save the seats of the earth’ (*OH* 17.9), a similar reference.

of fire: Hephaistos *OH* 66.12 (b); paired with ‘keep the spark of nature in our bodies’.¹⁷⁷
 Shatter, θραύουσα (evil: Dikaosyne *OH* 63.12).
 Ward off, ῥυομένη (disease: Hygieia *OH* 68.13).¹⁷⁸
 Break up, λῦε (overcast sky: Boras *OH* 80.3 (a); paired with ‘make everything fine’).¹⁷⁹

The object of the negative prayers varies widely. The anger of the god(s) in question is a recurrent theme (*OH* 19, 37, 39, cf. 66), as is sickness (*OH* 36, 68) and frenzy (*OH* 11, 71, cf. ‘night terrors’ *OH* 3). In hymns containing both a positive and a negative request there is in some cases a contrast between these: Hephaistos (*OH* 66) is asked to remove and retain the bad and good aspects of fire; Mnemosyne (*OH* 77) to give memory and banish oblivion; Boreas (*OH* 82) to break up the clouds and make the weather fine.

Four hymns are different enough to deserve separate treatment. The hymn to Herakles (*OH* 12.14-16) contains three requests: to bring charms against diseases, to drive out ‘bad mischiefs’ (κακὰς ἄτας) with his club and to send away ‘difficult dooms’ (κῆρας χαλεπὰς) with his arrows. All three speak to Herakles’ role as *alexikakos* here, a god who wards off evil, an epithet also often associated with Apollo, with whom Herakles appears to be identified here as a similarly solar divinity (v. 5 τόξοτα, μάντι, v. 10 Παιών).¹⁸⁰ In the hymn to Ares (*OH* 65.6-10) there is a string of commands:

στήσον ἔριν λυσσῶσαν, ἄνες πόνον ἀλγεσίθυμον,
 εἰς δὲ πόθον νεῦσον Κύπριδος κώμους τε Λυαίου
 ἀλλάξας ἀλκὴν ὀπλῶν εἰς ἔργα τὰ Διούς,
 Εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ὀλβιοδῶτιν.

Stay ravening strife, leave heart-grieving pain,
 lean toward Kypri’s desire and Lyaïos’ revels,
 change the might of arms for the works of Deo,
 crave youth-rearing Peace, the giver of bliss.

There is a progression in the five verbs used here, from the negative to the positive (stop strife, leave pain, lean to pleasure, switch to farming, desire peace), with the first, negative request and last, positive request mediated by verbs indicating a change in direction. In effect, the destructive nature of the god is managed here and turned around, with reference to positive divine models,

¹⁷⁷ Cf. Procl. *Hy.* 2.21 (παύουσα).

¹⁷⁸ Cf. Alc. 34.7, 129.12 Voigt (ῥύεσθε), Cleanth. *Hy. Zeus* v. 33 (ῥύου, in apposition to δός)

¹⁷⁹ Cf. Sapph. 1.25 Voigt χαλέπαν δὲ λύσον | ἐκ μερίμναν.

¹⁸⁰ Herakles as *alexikakos*: Burkert 1992: 87, 2011: 323, Stafford 2012: 176-7. A lead tablet from Phalasarna (4th c. BCE) contains an invocation of Zeus *Alexikakos*, Herakles and Apollo (Jordan 1992, Edmonds 2013b: 99). The epithet is normally associated with Herakles and Apollo in inscriptions (Herakles: *BDEG* nos. 2891, 2907-10, 6043, 6814, 7321; Apollo: 386-7, 8774-5).

Aphrodite, Dionysos and Demeter. *OH* 86 to Oneiros contains another variation on the positive/negative theme (v. 16-18):

ἀλλά, μάκαρ, λίτομαί σε θεῶν μηνύματα φράζειν,
ὥς ἂν αἰὲ γνῶμαις ὀρθαῖς κατὰ πάντα πελάζῃς
μηδὲν ἐπ' ἀλλοκότοις κακῶν σημεῖα προφαίνων.

But, blessed one, I pray you, tell the gods' messages,
ever draw near with thoughts righteous in all,
never by portents show signs of ill-tiding.

The god is asked to send the gods' messages, averting the bad ones, and the kletic request intervenes between the positive and negative prayers. Finally, *OH* 87.10-12 to Thanatos:

ἀλλά, μάκαρ, μακροῖσι χρόνοις ζωῆς σε πελάζειν
αἰτοῦμαι, θυσίαισι καὶ εὐχολαῖς λιτανεύων,
ὥς ἂν ἔοι γέρας ἐσθλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις τὸ γῆρας.

But, blessed one, I beg you, come after long years
of life; with offerings and vows I entreat you,
grant people the prize of noble old age.

The final prayer here, for 'the prize' of a long life is in apposition to the anomalous kletic request already mentioned, 'approach after long years', which itself functions as a type of apotroptic prayer.

Other prayers are elaborated in different ways. Many incorporate additional epicleses, and in some cases these may occupy one or two verses within the prayer.¹⁸¹ The prayer of the second hymn to the Kouretes (*OH* 38), although one of the longest in the collection, consists solely of the optative verb ἐπιπνέοιτε in the final verse, embedded in epicleses. Two hymns expand on the idea of 'a good end' by specifically asking for blessings up to the point of death, for example *OH* 29 to Persephone (v. 19-20): καὶ βίωι εὐόλβωι λιπαρὸν γῆρας κατάγοντι | πρὸς σὸν χώρον, ἄνασσα, καὶ εὐδύνατον Πλούτωνα, 'and a happy life that leads sleek old age to your country, queen, and to mighty Pluto'.

¹⁸² The prayers to the Nereidai and Silenos (*OH* 24 and 54) have already been discussed: both contain a brief ecphrasis, the former describing how the Nereids 'revealed the *teletai*' to Orpheus, the latter how Silenos performs the same function in the act of his coming with his thiasos of

¹⁸¹ E.g. *OH* 27.12-14, 32.18, 59.18-19, 81.6 (all qualifying ἔλθοιτε, and comprising the whole prayer), 83.6-7.

¹⁸² Cf. *OH* 62.10-11, ἀλλά, θεά, μόλ' ἐπὶ γνῶμαις ἐσθλαῖσι δικαία, | ὥς ἂν αἰὲ βιοτῆς τὸ πεπρωμένον ἡμᾶρ ἐπέλθοι, 'but, goddess, come righteous to noble intentions, always, until life's destined day should arrive'.

Bakkhai.¹⁸³ *OH* 63 to Dikaiosyne and 75 to Palaimon both have explanatory digressions following the prayer. Dikaiosyne is asked to ‘justly shatter the evil of mortals’ (v. 12), *so that* life may fare well, for people and for all living creatures (v. 13-16). Palaimon’s hymn contains a prayer to come to the *teletai* and to save the *mystai* by land and sea (v. 3-5), *for* the god appears to sailors in distress (v. 6-8). In this unique case the prayer occupies the *pars media* of the hymn, following the invocation directly: the author has swapped the position of the prayer and an extended predication so that the latter can serve explicitly as a rationale for the granting of the request.

2.2.2.4 Conclusion

A number of observations remain to be made. General or stereotyped requests occur most frequently in the first third of the collection, where they appear in around half of the prayers.¹⁸⁴ They are rare on the other hand in the final third, which is far more innovative, showing a greater range of final requests (and the verbs that introduce them) and, in some cases, variation in the otherwise conservative kletic request, such as in the hymn to the Eumenides (*OH* 70), and the final three hymns (with which the hymn to Eros, *OH* 58, may be compared).¹⁸⁵ There is also a notable focus on morality in several hymns of the final third, specifically (and understandably) those in the ‘justice’ sequence, *OH* 61-64 to Nemesis, Dikaiosyne, Dike and Nomos, which reference wrongdoing and right or wrong ‘thoughts’ or ‘intentions’ (γνώμαι); but these are also found in the prayers to the Eumenides and Oneiros, and again, in the hymn to Eros.¹⁸⁶ Shorter sequences of adjacent hymns, throughout the collection, show an element of stylistic cohesion. Hymns 7-9, to the Stars, Sun and Moon, are marked by the use of unusual verbs in a part of the collection that otherwise tends towards more general requests. Hymns 21-25, to the gods of the air and sea all, as noted, employ a simple verb to ‘send’ in their prayers. Hymns 37-39, to the Titans, Kouretes and Korybant, lack both a kletic and a positive request. The sequence of seventeen hymns between, and including, *OH* 40 (Demeter) and 56 (Adonis) is notably cohesive with respect to the types of prayer it contains. All have a request for the god’s presence (part 2) and relatively few contain parts 1 or 3 in addition to this. These are, significantly, I think, the gods associated with the mysteries of Demeter and Dionysos and, although the kletic request is by no means limited to this sequence, the

¹⁸³ Cf. *OH* 80 to Boreas also: the two verses containing the negative and positive requests (v. 3, 5) are each followed by a verse that describes the result.

¹⁸⁴ Of the 40 individual requests for ‘a good end’, peace, wealth, health and happiness (see notes 159-63 above), 26 occur in the first third of the collection, 9 in the second and 5 in the third. ‘Fruits’ are more frequent in the central third (4 of 6 examples). Of the 34 instances of ‘give’, ‘bring’ or ‘send’, 18 occur in the first third, 9 in the second and 7 in the third. The central third stands out for its preference for ‘bring’, which accounts for 7 of its 9 instances as a ‘standard verb’. This is connected with the prevalence of type 2 kletic prayers in the central section, as ‘come’ and ‘bring’ are frequently associated.

¹⁸⁵ In the third ‘movement’ only *OH* 67 (Asklepios), 73 (Daimon) and 84 (Hestia) contain requests for a good end, happiness or health.

¹⁸⁶ Κακή, κακότης: *OH* 63.12 (Dikaiosyne), 64.11 (Nomos). Γνώμαι: *OH* 58.9 (Eros), 61.12 (Nemesis), 62.10 (Dike), 64.9 (Nomos), 70.11 (Eumenides), 86.17 (Oneiros).

emphasis these hymns place on it may suggest a close connection between the rites or mysteries of these gods and this style of prayer. Where specific requests are made in this group of hymns, they are simple: the focus is rather on the actual advent of the god and the mood in which they will come.

In sum, there is an interesting contrast between hymns that lack a specific prayer (part 3), which are particularly concentrated in the ‘telestic’ sequence of *OH* 40-56, and those that have one. Within the latter group there is a degree of contrast between hymns in which the part 3 request is stereotyped, employing a verb to ‘give’, ‘bring’ or ‘send’, and aiming at peace, health, wealth, ὀλβος and ‘a good end’, and those that make a specific or elaborate request. The hymns of the cosmological sequence in the first third of the collection, and up to *OH* 36 (Artemis), are more likely to belong to the former group; those in the ‘anthropocentric’ sequence, beginning, perhaps, with Eros (*OH* 58), as Dieterich argued, are more likely to have elaborate prayers that employ distinctive verbs of request and to have objects specific to the nature of the god in question. These are broad patterns, however, and should not be overstated. Elaborated prayers do occur throughout the sequence (e.g. *OH* 12, Herakles), as do generalised ones (e.g. *OH* 67, Asklepios), and the structural analysis undertaken here also shows a deeper level of cohesion underlying the surface details. The hymns are broadly united in the attention they give in their prayers to the presence of the divinity, the kindness or joy with which they are asked to attend the rite, and the relationship between each god and the *mystai* on whose behalf the authorial ‘I’ speaks.

2.2.3 The body of the hymn

The *Orphic Hymns* are characterised by an asyndetic parataxis of epicleses or longer, periphrastic predications, a feature of Greek hymnody that, as discussed above, is usually confined to the opening invocation. The first hymn in the collection provides an example of some of the forms these predications may take, and the information they contain.

[Ἑκάτης]

Εἰνοδίαν Ἑκάτην κλήζω, τριοδίτιν, ἔραννῆν,
οὐρανίαν χθονίαν τε καὶ εἰναλίαν, κροκόπεπλον,
τυμβιδίαν, ψυχαῖς νεκύων μέτα βακχεύουσιν,
Περσείαν, φιλήρημον, ἀγαλλομένην ἐλάφοισι,
νυκτερίαν, σκυλακίτιν, ἀμαιμάκετον βασίλειαν, 5
θηρόβρομον, ἄζωστον, ἀπρόσμαχον εἶδος ἔχουσαν,
ταυροπόλον, παντὸς κόσμου κληιδουῆχον ἄνασσαν,
ἡγεμόνην, νύμφην, κουροτρόφον, οὐρεσιφοῖτιν,
λίσσόμενος κούρην τελεταῖς ὅσiaisι παρῆναι
βουκόλῳ εὐμενέουσιν αἰεὶ κεχαρητότι θυμῷ. 10

[Hekate]

Einodia Hekate I call, of the crossroad, lovely,
of sky, of earth and of sea, saffron-robed,
of the tomb, revelling with the souls of the dead.
Perseia, the hermit, rejoicing in deer,
of the night, of the dog, furious queen, 5
beast-roarer, ungirdled, with form irresistible,
of the bull-offering, key-holding queen of all cosmos,
leader, bride, youth-rearer, dweller on mountains;
I beg the maiden, be here at our hallowed rituals,
to the boukolos kind, with a heart ever gracious. 10

This hymn consists mainly of short, one-word epicleses. These may be divided into proper names, formal epithets and simple adjectives, but the distinction is not always clear. Proper names are in fact few. There is normally one chief name, echoing that of the title, and it most frequently occurs at the start.¹⁸⁷ Εἰνοδία Ἑκάτη appears to be treated as an epithet-name combination, but Εἰνοδία is itself the name of a Thessalian goddess syncretised with Hekate at an early period.¹⁸⁸ The vast majority of one-word epicleses are adjectives, a relatively small subset of which are formal epithets, associated with the deity in question or related gods (in this case Artemis) and attested in cult. Examples here include τριοδίτις, Περσεία, ταυροπόλος, ἡγεμόνη and κουροτρόφος.¹⁸⁹ Again there may be some ambiguity here where a formal epithet is weakly attested. Σκυλακίτις is found only in the *Orphic Hymns*, and may be taken as simply descriptive, but the termination suggests a formal title (compare τριοδίτις) and Εἰνοδία Σκυλάκαινα appears in a Lydian inscription.¹⁹⁰ No firm distinction can be made then between formal epithets and adjectives. Many of the epicleses found in the *Orphic Hymns* may simply be the latter (e.g. ἐρανή). They may however allude to or paraphrase either formal epithets that are only weakly attested for the god in question,¹⁹¹ or to a purely literary

¹⁸⁷ In a majority of the hymns (47 of 87) it is found in the opening hemistich (*OH* 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 43, 35, 36, 51, 53, 59, 60, 61, 62, 66, 67, 70, 71, 71, 73, 74, 77, 83, 84, 85).

¹⁸⁸ Chrysostomou 1991. As an epithet of Hekate, the name occurs frequently in inscriptions, In poetry, Hes. fr. 23a.26, Soph. *Ant.* 1199, fr. 535, Eur. *Hel.* 570, *Ion* 1048 (daughter of Demeter), fr. 308, *AG* 6.199, 16.6. It also occurs in the *Hy. Hecate* (Heitsch 54) and in three of the hymns from the *PGM* (18.46, 20.35, 21.8).

¹⁸⁹ **Τριοδίτις**: *IG* XII 3. 1329 (Thera), Chariclides fr. 1 *PCG*, Cornut. c. 72, *Hy. Hecate* (Heitsch 54) v. 1, *PGM* hymns 18.25, 20.4, 21.10, Steph. Byz. s.v. τρίδος. **Περσεία**: may be taken as a patronym (cf. Hes. *Th.* 411, *HHy.* 2.24), or as a name in its own right (cf. Pugliese Caratelli 1958 *La dea Micinea Per(e)sa e Persefone*). As an epithet, *IG* XIV 1017 (Rome), Ap. Rhod. 3.467, Diod. Sic. 5.77.8, *PGM* hy. 17.30, 21.2. **Ταυροπόλος**: *IG* IV (2) 1.496 (Epidauros), IX 1(2).3.716 (Locris), *SEG* 28.526 (Macedonia), Eur. *IT* 1457, Ar. *Lys.* 447. **ἡγεμόνη**: frequently of Artemis in inscriptions (*BDEG* nos. 1323-30), Call. *Hy.* 3.227. **Κουροτρόφος**: as a name, *BDEG* nos. 7847, 7863, 7878, 7880, 7909, 7930, 7941 (Attica, Cos, Samos), *Hom. Epigr.* 12; as an epithet of Hekate or Artemis, *SEG* 16.431 (Delphi), Hes. *Th.* 450, Ap. Rhod. 3.861, Diod. Sic. 5.73.6. See further Price 1978: 106-112, Munn 2006: 339.

¹⁹⁰ *TAM* V.1 523.

¹⁹¹ E.g. **τυμβιδία**, cf. Aphrodite ἐπιτυμβία (Plut. *Aet. Gr et Rom.* 269b), of Hekate (periphrastically) cf. Theoc. *Id.* 2.13, *PGM* hy. 18.48; **φιλήρημος**, cf. Zeus ἐρημήσιος (Hesych. s.v.), and φιλήρεμε of Hekate *PGM* hy. 18.16 ; **νυκτερία**, cf. Dionysos νυκτέλιος (Ov. *Met.* 4.15, Plut. *De E ap. Delph.* 389a) and νυκτιπόλος of Hekate, Ap. Rhod. 3.862, 4.148,

convention.¹⁹² In addition to adjectival forms, we also encounter a number of nominal predications, both stand-alone (νύμφη, κούρη) and nominal phrases (παντὸς κόσμου κληιδούχον ἄνασσαν). One word epicleses frequently take the form of compound adjectives or nouns. If an idea can be expressed in a single word, every effort is apparently made to do so: the number of *hapax legomena* is striking, and has been an occasional source of critical scorn.¹⁹³ More complex ideas are expressed periphrastically however, in nominal phrases of the type just cited, and, in particular, through participial clauses such as we find here in verses 3, 4 and 6. More elaborate or descriptive attributes are expressed in relative clauses containing a finite verb, which may extend over several verses. None occur however in the hymn to Hekate.

Each predication, whether nominal or adjectival, simple, compound or phrasal, provides a snapshot of one of the god's attributes: in this example her association with roads and crossroads, or tombs, with particular animals or locations, her physical appearance and her demeanour are referenced. These specify and define the god from every angle, amounting together to a complex representation of their nature. As Hopman-Govers has argued, the fact that verbal forms are generally limited to compound elements and participles creates an 'atemporal' effect. It is the eternal essence or being of the divinity that is presented:

L'effet de la substantivation est remarquable en ce qu'elle supprime les nuances temporelles et modales habituellement véhiculées par le verbe conjugué et donne de la divinité une image hors du temps, atemporelle et amodale. Le verbe sous-entendu est le verbe être, conjugué à un éternel présent.¹⁹⁴

The effect of the substantivisation is remarkable in that it expresses the temporal and modal nuances usually conveyed by a conjugated verb and gives the divinity an image that is 'out of time', atemporal and amodal. The implied verb is the verb 'to be', conjugated in an eternal present.

The lists of epicleses and predications, in sum, take the definitive function of the traditional invocation of the god and apply it to the body of the hymn. They encapsulate the divinity's nature. At the same time, epithets and poetic formulae which recur in more than one hymn in the collection serve to link divinities who share key attributes. Like Hekate, Selene (*OH* 9.3) and

829, 1020; οὐρσεσφοῖτις, cf. ὄρεια, a frequent epithet of Meter, as well as of Aphrodite (*BDEG* 238, Cyprus), Athena (*BDEG* 2145, Cilicia) and Rhea (Σ. Ap. Rhod. 2.722), and ἐρίπλανε of Hekate, *PGM* hy. 18.47 = 20.35.

¹⁹² E.g. κροκοπέπλος, of Eos *Il.* 8.1, 19.1, Hes. *Th.* 273, 358. The reference here may be to the colour of the moon (Koops 1932: 4, Morand 2001: 182). See further ch. 3.1.3 on the possible etymological connection between this epithet and Melinoë.

¹⁹³ Büchschütz 1851: 15, Bernhardt 1867³: 417 'reich an Wörtern von neuem und schlechtem Gepräge', Wilamowitz 1932 II: 514 'Scheußlichkeiten'. An extensive study of compound adjectives, including a list of 140 *hapax legomena*, is undertaken by Rudhardt (2008: 220-235).

¹⁹⁴ Hopman-Govers 2001: 47.

Artemis (*OH* 36.6) are ‘nocturnal’, Physis (*OH* 10.12) and Tyche (*OH* 72.3) are ‘guide’. Artemis, the god with whom Hekate is most frequently identified,¹⁹⁵ is similarly associated with ungirdling, keys, deer, mountains and dogs.¹⁹⁶ Tyche is ἐνοδίτις and τυμβιδία (*OH* 72.2, 5), Melinoe is νύμφη and κροκόπεπλος (*OH* 71.1). These goddesses form a closely knit group, but a wider set of connections is established by more general terms such as κούρη, ἄνασσα and βασίλεια.¹⁹⁷ Titles such as these, and predication describing omnipresence (e.g. οὐρανίαν χθονίαν τε καὶ εἰναλίαν) or polymorphism speak to a concept of divinity that underlies the entire pantheon.¹⁹⁸

The order in which the epicleses of each hymn are arranged is far from haphazard, ‘nullo nec ordine nec delectu’, as Lobeck claims.¹⁹⁹ In the hymn to Hekate structure is given to the sequence of predication in several ways. There is a nested, symmetrical arrangement of verses from lines 2 to 8, or the ‘body’ of the hymn excluding the primary invocation (itself chiasmic) and the prayer. Verses 2, 5 and 8 consist of lines containing four (at least potentially) separate epicleses. Verses 3 and 7 have a single epiclesis followed by a longer predication, and 4 and 6 are similarly parallel: two epithets with a participial clause after the caesura. This symmetry is reinforced by alliteration: the second hemistich in verses 4-6 begins with α, while verses 3 and 7 begin with τ. At the same time all verses (1-8) begin with a single choriambic epithet, creating a unifying rhythm.²⁰⁰ In terms of the aspects of the goddess described, there is also an alternating pattern. On the one hand Hekate is a cosmic queen, associated (like Artemis) with the Anatolian Great Goddess.²⁰¹ She is also goddess of the wild, *Potnia Theron* and *Kourotrophos*. On the other hand there is the chthonic side of the goddess: dark, terrible, nocturnal, associated with the crossroads, dogs, and the dead. In this hymn the two aspects of the goddess, light and dark, life and death, are interwoven. Verses 3 (tombs, the dead) and 5-6 (night, dog, fury) are devoted to the chthonic Hekate; verses 2, 4 and 7-8 to the cosmic queen, goddess of the wild and of childbirth.²⁰²

¹⁹⁵ From the 5th c. BCE: Aesch. *Supp.* 676 Ἄρτεμιν δ’ ἐκάταν, Eur. *Phoen.* 109-110 παῖ Λατοῦς Ἑκάτα. Cf. Hes. fr. 23a.26 Ἄρτεμιν εἰνοδί[ην]. See further Sarian 1992: 985.

¹⁹⁶ Ungirdling: *OH* 36.5 λυσίζωνε. Key: 36.7. The MSS have either κλησία ‘famed’ or κλεισία (Hermann 1805: 299 ‘κλεισίη eadem videtur, quae κλειδοῦχος’). Quandt and Ricciardelli prefer κλησία but the parallel with *OH* 1.7 is in favour of κλεισία. Cf. also Prothyraia *OH* 2.5. Deer and mountains: Artemis *OH* 36.10; σκυλακίτις 36.12.

¹⁹⁷ On the group Hekate Selene Artemis, see Rudhardt 1991: 274-83, 2008: 310-25. **Κούρη**: Selene (*OH* 9.3, 10, 12), Physis (10.12), Rhea (14.3), Nereidai (23.2, 24.3), Ge (26.4), Persephone (29.7, 10, 70.3), Artemis (36.1), Demeter (40.13), Semele (44.1, 10), Hipta (49.1), Nymphai (51.10, 14), Adonis (56.4), Aphrodite (57.4), Erinyes (69.8), Eumenides (70.10), Themis (79.2, 12). **Ἄνασσα**: Physis (10.2, 28), Thalassa (22.2), Mise (42.3), Semele (44.10), Aphrodite (55.24), Hygieia (68.5), Eumenides (70.6), Muses (76.6), Mnemosyne (77.1). **Βασίλεια**: Selene (9.1), Persephone (29.6), Athene (32.17), Leto (35.2), Artemis (36.1), Antaia (41.1, 9), Hipta (49.4), Aphrodite (55.16), Nemesis (61.1), Melinoe (71.10), Hestia (84.1).

¹⁹⁸ Hopman-Govers 2001: 38-9 identifies several ‘grands thèmes’ that unify the collection in this way, including androgyny, associations with cosmic origins, rotation and light, with the Dionysian thiasos and with Orphic myth.

¹⁹⁹ Lobeck 1829: 400.

²⁰⁰ Noted by Hopman-Govers 2001: 45.

²⁰¹ As she is in Hes. *Th.* 411-452, the Hesiodic ‘hymn to Hekate’. Cf. v. 413: μοῖραν ἔχειν γαίης τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης, | ἥ δὲ καὶ ἀστερόεντος ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ ἔμμορε τιμῆς, and v. 452 κουροτρόφος. Kraus 1960: 55 suggests a link between Hekate and the Hurrian goddess Hepat. On Artemis and the Great Goddess, *Potnia Theron*: Burkert 2011²: 231-2.

²⁰² On the juxtaposition of contrasting ideas in the hymn to the Nymphai (*OH* 51), Gordon 2020: 40-41.

This structural complexity, detectable both within and between verses, is characteristic of the collection as a whole. Sound effects, rhythm, antithesis and symmetry are repeatedly employed to underscore both the significance of particular predications, and the idea of completeness arising from the catalogue that each hymn comprises. The next section of this chapter will provide an analysis of the forms the predications may take in the collection, as a corollary to the structural analyses of the invocations and prayers. An overview of the effects and patterns most frequently encountered within the hymns' parataxis of epicicles will follow in chapter 3.

2.2.3.1 The structure of the predications

The body or 'praise' section of the hymns can be analysed in terms of its subject matter and structure into two main elements: verses that consist of short sequences of predications on the one hand, of the type illustrated by the hymn to Hekate, and longer, descriptive passages on the other. The distinction is certainly not absolute: in terms of the length of syntactical elements there is a continuum from isolated words to passages of up to sixteen verses, but as I hope to show, the hymns are regularly divided into sections of short predications, up to one verse in length, and longer sections of two or more verses. I refer to the former here as 'epicletic' verses, since they are frequently (though not exclusively) formed of sequences of epicicles. In these, although there may be a continuity of meaning between predications, as Rudhardt has shown, and from one verse to another, there is a clear syntactical division, either within the verse or separating it from its neighbours. The asyndeton, in other words, that is so characteristic of the *Orphic Hymns*, occurs here either within or between individual verses. Each epicletic verse is syntactically self-contained, although occasional instances of run-on, or of predications extending over one and a half verses do occur. These verses are the basis of *accumulatio* in the hymns, the long strings of descriptive labels to which scholars since Heinsius have drawn attention. Longer passages, containing ecphrastic descriptions in the present tense, mythical narratives in the past tense, or digressive explanations of short predications (usually introduced by γάρ), are a less noticed feature of the collection, yet a significant proportion of the hymns consist of nothing else. The characterisation of the hymns as simple epithet strings and nothing more is inaccurate. While a minority of the hymns are composed entirely of epicletic verses, others are entirely descriptive, and a third class, the largest, is intermediate, containing sections of both and invariably progressing from the former to the latter. It is moreover a notable feature of the collection that certain types of hymn, analysed in this way, are concentrated in particular sequences. In this section I begin by briefly reviewing the varieties of predication encountered in the *Orphic Hymns* and the types of hexameter that these combine to form, as well as the types of longer descriptive passage. I then look at the ways that these are combined to form each of the three main types of hymn just described (epicletic, descriptive or intermediate) and finally at patterns in the distribution of these types in the collection.

If we take the asyndeton encountered in the hymns at face value, and consider the predication that are unlinked with their neighbours by explicit conjunctions, a number of formal types of verse emerge, which may be grouped by the number of individual predication they contain. Many predication consist of a single word: a name or epicletic adjective, as seen in the hymn to Hekate. Others consist of two or more words syntactically linked, and in many cases these extend beyond a single verse to create a longer, digressive or extended passage within a hymn. I will begin by looking first at predication shorter than, or up to the length of a single verse, before turning to longer passages that extend over several verses. A useful set of terms in describing verse types, viewed as collocations of sequences of epicleses, is provided by the third century grammarian Marius Plotius, who describes a hexameter consisting of four discrete words as a ‘tetracolos’ and one of five words as a ‘pentacolos’.²⁰³ In this analysis I adapt this terminology, referring by ‘tetracolos’ or ‘pentacolos’ to a verse containing four or five epicleses respectively, whether these consist of one word each (as Plotius’ definition would demand), or of more than one word where there is an explicit grammatical or syntactic link that groups these words into one semantic unit. ‘Tricolos’, ‘dicolos’ and ‘monocolos’ describe, accordingly, verses containing three, two or a single predication. This analysis necessarily leaves Rudhardt’s ‘latent’ syntax to one side and follows, in the main, the punctuation given by modern editors. I should be clear that I do not dispute the existence of semantic connections between adjacent epicleses - these are a crucial feature of the hymns - but am interested here in detecting rhythms and patterns within the parataxis of epithets that are marked by the juxtaposition of asyndetic and syntactically continuous predication. Instances of each of the types of verse and of longer predication identified here are collected in appendix 2.3.

1. Pentacolos

Verses containing five separate (or separable) predication are few: eleven occur in the collection, and more than half of these are in three hymns, *OH* 10 (Physis), 30 (Dionysos) and 34 (Apollo). *OH* 8.6 (Helios) provides an example:

εὐδρομε, ῥοιζήτωρ, πυρόεις, φαιδρωπέ, διφρευτά
fair-courser, rusher, fiery one, bright-face, charioteer

Here, as in all cases of the pentacolos, the penthemimeral caesura divides the first two predication from the final three. In this example the semantic potential that Rudhardt describes is evident. The

²⁰³ Marius Plotius Sacerdos *Art. Gramm.* III. 3.21 (p. 505 Keil) ‘tetracolos, id est quattuor verbis vel quibuslibet partibus orationis fuerit divisus, cuius virtutis exemplum latinum melius lectum est quam graecum, “saltantis satyros imitabitur Alpheisiboeus” [Verg. *Ecl.* 731], graecum sic “αἰδέομαι βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκλήνης” [cf. *Il.* 11.46] sed πολύ fecit illum quasi pentacolon, nam πολυχρύσος compositum nomen est’. Bassett 1919 (‘Versus Tetracolos’) studies the types and frequency of such verses in Greek hexameter poetry. On the *OH*, see esp. p. 233.

five predications, each in the vocative case, are syntactically separate but may be coupled in a number of ways by linking the nouns *ῥοιζήτωρ* and *διφρευτά* with one or more of the adjectives that are adjacent to them.²⁰⁴

2. Tetracolos

Tetracoli containing four epicleses are the most common type of epicletic verse and perhaps the most recognisable stylistic feature of the *Orphic Hymns*. The simplest type (2.1), consisting of four adjectives (or, more rarely, nouns) in asyndeton, is found only once in Homer but sixty times in the *Orphic Hymns*.²⁰⁵ *OH* 1.8 (Hekate) is an example that includes nouns:

ἡγεμόνην, νύμφην, κουροτρόφον, οὐρεσιφοῖτιν
leader, bride, youth-rearer, dweller on mountains

Again, the penthemimeral caesura marks the division after the second epiclesis, although in three instances this comes after a hepthemimeral caesura.²⁰⁶ In most examples the final epiclesis occupies the fifth and sixth feet of the hexameter, after a bucolic diaeresis.²⁰⁷ In a further forty-three verses one of the epicleses is a noun-adjective combination, resulting in a tetracolos (in the sense employed here) of five words (2.2), for example *OH* 2.5 (Prothyraia):

κλειδοῦχ', εὐάντητε, φιλοτρόφε, πᾶσι προσηνής
keykeeper, well-met, nourisher, gentle to all

In most of these cases the two-word epiclesis is found, as here, at the end of the verse, i.e. as the fourth epiclesis, but it occurs seven times in the second position, and four times each in the first and third positions. I include here the two instances where an invocatory verb is followed by four epicleses (*OH* 11.4, 20.1).

²⁰⁴ Cf. the invocation to Poseidon in the Tralles oracle cited above (*PHI I. Tral.* 1.10): καλείσθω ἀσφάλιος, τεμενοῦχος, ἀπότροπος, ἵππιος, ἀργής.

²⁰⁵ Bassett 1919: 233 'The tetracolos consisting of four adjectives deserves special attention. It is found once in Homer (*O* 406) [*sic*, for *o* 406, εὐβοος εὐμηλος, οἶνοπληθής πολύπυρος], Hesiod (*Theog.* 925), *Batr.* (295); twice in the *Hom. Hymns* (viii. 2; xix. 37); the Alexandrians avoid it entirely. It occurs more frequently in [Oppian] *Cyn.* (ii. 102, 103, 104, 177, 178, 423, 607; iv. 235) and in Manetho (δ 58, 283, 307, 563, ε 199), and finally is the most common type of verse in the *Orphic Hymns*, being found 57 times, or once in every 20 verses.' In the *Homeric Hymns*, 27.2 and 28.3 (excluded by Bassett as the first word is *παρθένον*) should also be noted, while 8.2 occurs in the late *Hymn to Ares* (on which, see ch. 5.1).

²⁰⁶ *OH* 10.21 after *κινησιφόρε*, 43.3 and 51.4 after *λειμωνιάδες*.

²⁰⁷ Exceptions: *OH* 9.6, 10.3, 10.21, 27.13, 40.5, 43.3, 51.4, 51.7, 55.12, 69.7, 84.6.

Finally, in eleven cases there are tetracoli of four predication in which two consist of more than one word (2.3),²⁰⁸ e.g. *OH* 8.13 (Helios):

ἀιθαλής, ἀμίαντε, χρόνου πάτερ, ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ
 ever-blooming, undefiled, time's father, undying Zeus

In total there are 114 instances of tetracolos in the hymns, comprising 13% of the 868 verses that occur before the final prayer, and excluding the proem.²⁰⁹ A significant majority of these (96 examples) are found in the first two thirds of the collection.²¹⁰ Conversely, there are relatively few tetracoli (and no pentacoli) in the last third.

3. Tricolos

Verses containing three separable predication may similarly be divided into three groups: 3.1, three short predication, with the central predication bridging the caesura; 3.2, in which the first predication occupies the first half of the hexameter, up to the main caesura; 3.3, in which the third predication occupies the second half of the verse, following the main caesura. For example:

3.1 (*OH* 2.4, Prothyraia): ὠκυλόχεια, παροῦσα νέαις θνητῶν, Προθυραία
 quick-birth, present at mortal births, Prothyraia

3.2 (*OH* 2.3, Prothyraia): θηλειῶν σώτειρα μόνη, φιλόπαις, ἀγανόφρον
 sole saviour of women, child-lover, mild one

3.3 (*OH* 1.4, Hekate): Περσεΐαν, φιλέρημον, ἀγαλλομένην ἐλάφοισι
 Perseia, the hermit, rejoicing in deer

There are 157 tricoli of these types in the eighty-seven hymns, accounting for 18% of all verses (again, excluding the prayers and the proem). As with the pentacoli and tetracoli, there are relatively few tricoli in the last third of the collection.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ Including four instances of a verb of invocation followed by four predication in five words (*OH* 34.1, 48.1, 50.1, 58.1) and one verse of the same type beginning with ἀλλά, an epithetic introduction to the prayer at *OH* 64.12.

²⁰⁹ The prayers, which are clearly distinguished from the extended invocation, or, in Rudhardt's terms, the invocation and développement, are excluded from this analysis. Although in some cases additional predication are included in the prayers, the focus here is the invocatory parataxis of predication.

²¹⁰ Tetracoli: first third: 51 examples, central third: 45, final third: 18.

²¹¹ Tricoli: first third: 64 examples, central third: 57, final third: 30.

4. Dicolos

Dicoloi may similarly be grouped into three types: 4.1, verses which fall clearly into two halves, separated by the main caesura; 4.2 a short predication followed by a longer clause that occupies the second part of the verse and which frequently expands the meaning of the first epicletic (as, in the example given below ‘tomb goddess’ is extrapolated in ‘bacchant with the souls of the dead’);²¹² 4.3 the inverse pattern: a clause followed by a short epicletic in the fifth and, or sixth feet:

4.1 (*OH* 2.2, Prothyraia): ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ, λεχῶν ἡδεῖα πρόσσοψι
helper in pangs, sweet sight in childbirth

4.2 (*OH* 1.3, Hekate): τυμβιδίαν, ψυχαῖς νεκύων μέτα βακχεύουσιν
of the tomb, revelling with the souls of the dead

4.3 (*OH* 1.2, Hekate): οὐρανίαν χθονίαν τε καὶ εἰναλίαν, κροκόπεπλον
of sky, of earth and of sea, saffron-robed

Taken together, there are 112 examples of dicolos, or 13% of all verses preceding the final prayer. Like the other types of epicletic verses described, there are relatively fewer of these in the final third of the sequence.²¹³

Verses containing between two and five predications then - the divided or epicletic verses that characterise the collection as a whole - have an uneven distribution. Of the 393 examples collected in appendix 2.3, comprising nearly half (46%) of verses in the eighty-seven hymns that precede the final prayers, 175 (44.5% of the total) occur in the first twenty-nine hymns, 143 (36.4%) in the second twenty-nine, and only 75 (19%) in the last twenty-nine. To put this another way, since each ‘third’ of twenty-nine hymns contains a different number of verses in total,²¹⁴ epicletic verses of the types described above account for 45% of the verses in the first third of the collection and 40% of the verses in the second third, but only 23% of verses in the final third.

5. Monocolos

Moving again from the shorter types of predication to the longer types, we can identify 122 verses in the collection which are monocoloi, forming a single, syntactically connected predication. Again,

²¹² E.g. *OH* 2.9, 3.6, 3.8, 3.9, 4.2, 7.6, 8.9, 15.7, 25.2, 29.12, 32.6, 39.6, 43.4, 61.2.

²¹³ Dicoloi: first third: 55 examples, central third: 35, final third: 22. Of the 38 examples of type 4.2, 23 occur in the first third; none of the 18 examples of type 4.3 occur in the final third.

²¹⁴ Hymns 1-29: 386 verses (318 preceding the final prayers); hymns 30-58: 356 (303); hymns 59-87: 322 (246). The difference is largely due to the fact that the ten longest hymns (20 verses or longer) are disproportionately found in the first half of the collection. I.e. *OH* 8 Helios (20 verses), 10 Physis (30 verses), 11 Pan (23 verses), 29 Persephone (20 verses), 34 Apollo (27 verses), 38 Kouretes (25 verses), 40 Demeter (20 verses), 55 Aphrodite (28 verses).

these can be subdivided into a small number of types, but on the basis of the type of grammatical clause they contain: 5.1 participial clauses (fifty-seven examples); 5.2 relative clauses (twenty-five examples); 5.3 nominal clauses (twenty-nine examples, nearly half of which describe parentage); 5.4 finite clauses, containing one or more verbs in the indicative mood (eleven examples).

5.1 (*OH* 3.4, Nyx): ἡσυχίῃ χαίρουσα καὶ ἡρεμίῃ πολύπνῳι
happy in silence and sleep-bringing rest

5.2 (*OH* 2.6, Prothyraia): ἥ κατέχεις οἴκους πάντων θαλίαις τε γέγηθας
who dwells in the houses of all, rejoices in cheer

5.3 (*OH* 5.2, Aither): ἄστρον ἡελίου τε σεληναίης τε μέρος
portion of stars, of the sun and the moon

5.4 (*OH* 2.8, Prothyraia): συμπάσχεις ὠδίσι καὶ εὐτοκίῃσι γέγηθας
you feel for the pangs and rejoice in good births

In terms of the distribution of monocoloi across the collection, we find a significant preponderance in the first twenty-nine hymns: as many as occur in the remaining fifty-eight taken together.²¹⁵

6. Couplets

Predications which extend to two verses may be divided into run-on verses (6.1) and full couplets (6.2). The former consist of pairs of verses in which one predication extends from one to the next, in most cases comprising the half of the first verse and the whole of the second. For example, *OH* 25.4-5 (Proteus):

πάντιμος, πολύβουλος, ἐπιστάμενος τὰ τ' ἐόντα
ὅσα τε πρόσθεν ἔην ὅσα τ' ἔσσεται ὕστερον αὖτις

all-honoured, counsellor, knower of things that are
all that was before, and all that will be after

Here, as is often the case with type 4.2 dicoloi also, the longer predication expands or explains the meaning of a single epiclesis: Proteus is πολύβουλος *in that* he 'knows all that is, all that has been and all that will be hereafter'.²¹⁶ Full couplets, like the monocoloi considered above, may consist of

²¹⁵ Monocoloi: first third: 61 examples, central third: 31, final third: 30.

²¹⁶ Cf. *OH* 85.5 (Hypnos), a couplet that expands the meaning of the first epithet: λυσιμέριμνε, κόπων ἡδεῖαν ἔχων ἀνάπαυσιν | καὶ πάσης λύπης ἱερὸν παραμύθιον ἔρδων.

participial, relative, nominal or finite clauses. Of the last sub-group, finite clauses, the majority are explicitly epexegetic, containing the word γάρ. *OH* 2.10-11 (Prothyraia):

μούνην γὰρ σὲ καλοῦσι λεχοὶ ψυχῆς ἀνάπαυμα·
ἐν γὰρ σοὶ τοκετῶν λυσιπήμενές εἰσιν ἀνῖαι

for you alone mothers call for spirit's respite;
for in you are the sorrows of labour undone

In this case the preceding dicolos, Εἰλείθυια, λύουσα πόνους δειναῖς ἐν ἀνάγκαις, itself possibly an etymological explanation of the name Eileithyia in terms of λύουσα,²¹⁷ is developed further with a focus on the key terms ἀνάπαυμα and λυσιπήμενές. Epexegetic γάρ clauses make such expansions of meaning explicit, but as noted, they are also often implicit in participial clauses, as in the examples cited above for type 4.2 dicoloi and 6.1 run-ons. Unlike verses consisting of a single, or multiple predications, couplets are evenly distributed across the collection: of the sixty-one examples (comprising 122 verses, or 14% of verses preceding the final prayer), twenty-one are found in the first and final thirds of the collection, and nineteen in the central third.

7. Longer passages of poetry

The last group of predications to consider consist of longer passages in which three or more verses are linked syntactically.²¹⁸ The syntactic structures that occur here, such as participial or relative clauses, are varied, and it is more revealing to consider these passages in terms of their subject matter. Myths, involving past tense narratives or allusions, marked by aorist finite verbs and participles, and, in some cases, by πότε,²¹⁹ are a notable sub-group. Examples here include the birth of Protogonos (*OH* 6.6-9), the rape of Kore (*OH* 18.12-15) and Demeter's search (*OH* 41.3-8), and several myths associated with the birth and trieteric return of Dionysos (*OH* 44.4-9, 46.4-7, 47.2-5, 48.2-4). These longer narratives are predominantly found in the central, Dionysian, part of the sequence accordingly, but briefer past tense references to myth also occur in couplets throughout the collection.²²⁰ In these passages the *Orphic Hymns* come closest to the shorter *Homeric Hymns* that include a short mythical narrative.²²¹ The listing of the places in which a divinity may be found

²¹⁷ See ch. 3.1.3.

²¹⁸ The longest, comprising 16 verses, occurs in *OH* 34.11-26 (Apollo).

²¹⁹ Πότε: *OH* 18.12, 41.3, 46.4.

²²⁰ E.g. *OH* 12.7-8 Herakles' labours, 18.6-7 Hades' lot, 35.4-5 the birth of the Letoidai, 39.7-8 Korybant, 71.2-3 and 4-5 the birth and rape of Melinoe (or Persephone, the meaning here is disputed).

²²¹ I.e. *HHy.* 7, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 26, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33. In both collections the start of the myth is introduced by a relative pronoun. See Janko 1981 on this feature of the *HHy.* The use of historic πότε is another point of contact (cf. *HHy.* 32.15 to Selene).

is also grounded in the hymnic genre.²²² In the *Orphic Hymns* there are two important examples of this type of catalogue: *OH* 42.5-10 (Mise) lists Eleusis, Phrygia, Cyprus and Egypt as the places the goddess is worshipped in her different guises, and *OH* 55.15-26 (Aphrodite) gives the chief homes of the goddess (Olympus, Syria, Egypt and Cyprus). Two further two-verse examples are found, like these, in the central third of the collection: *OH* 49.5-6 (Hipta) and 56.10-11 (Adonis). The (interrupted) sequence of cult titles in *OH* 34.1-7 (Apollo) is also comparable.²²³

Of the remaining longer passages found in the collection, a number are ecphrastic, presenting a descriptive image in the present tense of a god's activity, such as Zeus' lightning (*OH* 19.5-7, 15-17), the Nereids at sea (24.3-6), the dance of the Nymphs (43.7-9), or the Moirai (59.2-14) and Nomos (64.2-6) flying over the earth. These tableaux are iconic and atemporal, in contrast to the temporally grounded myths, and the coexistence of these two descriptive modes again recalls the shorter *Homeric Hymns*, which alternate between present tense descriptions and past tense narratives.²²⁴ Overlapping to some extent with the ecphrases, are the numerous epexegetic developments introduced by γάρ.²²⁵ Expansions on the significance of individual epicleses are, as already discussed, found in couplets and dicoloi consisting of an epiclesis followed by a longer clause. The hymns are allusive and cryptic, but they do also explain certain ideas, particularly when these pertain to philosophical doctrines. In *OH* 16 (Hera), the epithet παντογένηθλε, which caps a tricolos presenting the goddess as nurse and mother, is explained in this way:

χωρίς γὰρ σέθεν οὐδὲν ὄλως ζωῆς φύσιν ἔγνω·
κοινωνεῖς γὰρ ἅπασι κεκραμένη ἡέρι σεμνῶι·
πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη πάντεσσί τ' ἀνάσσεις
ἡερίοις ῥοίζοισι τινασσομένη κατὰ χεῦμα.

²²² On the εἴτε... εἴτε... convention in Greek hymns, Norden 1923²: 145-7, Keyssner 1932: 45. On catalogues of *topoi*, Adami 1901: 227-231, Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 54-55. The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* gives an extensive list of the places Leto passed through (v. 30-45), but the listing of cult places and haunts as an invocatory convention was established in 'kletic hymns' (Men. Rh. 334.26-30: ...μέτρον μέντοι τῶν κλητικῶν ὕμνων ἐν μὲν ποιήσει ἐπιμηκέστερον. ἀναμιμνήσκων γὰρ πολλῶν τόπων ἐκείνοις ἔξεστιν, ὥς παρὰ τῇ Σαπφοῖ καὶ τῷ Ἀλκμαῖνι πολλαχοῦ εὐρίσκομεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἄρτεμιν ἐκ μυρίων ὁρέων, μυρίων δὲ πόλεων, ἔτι δὲ ποταμῶν ἀνακαλεῖ, ἡ δὲ Ἀφροδίτην <ἐκ> Κύπρου, Κνίδου, Συρίας, πολλαχόθεν ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνακαλεῖ.). E.g. Alc. fr. 55 *PMG*, Sappho fr. 35 (Voigt) and Aristophanes' parody, *Nub.* 269-73: ἔλθετε δῆτ', ὦ πολυτίμητοι Νεφέλαι, τῷδ' εἰς ἐπίδειξιν. | εἴτ' ἐπ' Ὀλύμπου κορυφαῖς ἱεραῖς χιονοβλήτοισι κάθησθε, | εἴτ' Ὀκεανοῦ πατὴρ ἐν κήποις ἱερὸν χορὸν ἴστατε Νύμφαις, | εἴτ' ἄρα Νείλου προχοαῖς ὑδάτων χρυσέαις ἀρύτεσθε πρόχοισιν, | ἡ Μαιῶτιν λίμνην ἔχετ' ἡ σκόπελον νιφόεντα Μίμαντος. Similar examples in occur in later poets: e.g. Theoc. *Id.* 1.123-4 (Pan), *Aetna* 4-6, the anonymous *Hymn to Asclepius* preserved by Hippolytus (Heitsch 53, p. 170-1), and Isidorus *Hymn* 3.20-5.

²²³ Λυκωρεῦ, Μεμφίτ', Πύθιε, Γρύνειε, Σμινθεῦ, Δελφικέ, Βράγχιε καὶ Διδυμεῦ.

²²⁴ Janko 1981: 13 distinguishes between 'attributive' and 'mythic' hymns on this basis.

²²⁵ If ecphrastic and epexegetic passages are distinguished by the absence or presence of γάρ, the distribution of passages longer than a couplet is as follows. Epexegetes: 103 verses (first third 16, middle third 24, final third 63), ecphrases: 72 verses (first third 13, middle third 26, final third 33), myths: 37 verses (first third 11, middle third 23, final third 3), *topoi*: 18 verses (middle third only). While myths and places are concentrated in the central section of the collection, epexegetes are much more frequent in the final third. Taken together, longer passages account for 230 verses, or 27% of verses preceding the final prayers (and excluding the proem): 12.6% of these verses occur in the first third of the collection, 30% in the central third and 40.2% in the final third.

for without you nothing knows wholly the nature of life;
 for you share in all, mingled with holy air;
 for you rule all alone, you are queen of all things,
 shaking over the stream in rushes of air.

Hera is the allegorical personification of air, a concept which may have been found in the *Rhapsodic Theogony*,²²⁶ but which was already asserted by Theagenes of Rhegium (A 2 DK) and Empedocles (B 6 DK) and is referred to by Plato (*Crat.* 404c).²²⁷ These lines may also explore the idea, attributed by Aristotle to the ‘so-called Orphic poems’, that souls are carried to living creatures on the air, which is the medium, accordingly, of life itself.²²⁸ Similarly, in the hymn to Proteus (*OH* 25), the couplet stating that Proteus knows all (v. 4-5) is expanded and explained in terms of the idea that the god is a primeval repository of forms, possibly in the Platonic sense (v. 6-9):

πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔχων μεταβάλλεται οὐδὲ τις ἄλλος
 ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσιν ἔδος νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου
 καὶ πόντον καὶ γαῖαν ἐνῆέριοί τε ποτῶνται·
 † πάντα γὰρ † Πρωτεῖ πρώτη Φύσις ἐγκατέθηκε.

for he holds and alters all - alone of the
 immortals who hold the throne of snowy Olympus
 and the sea and earth, and hover in the air:
 for the first Nature stored up all things in Proteus.²²⁹

There is in fact a double explanation here: verse 9, repeating γάρ, sums up the idea. In the longest continuous passage in the collection (*OH* 34.11-26), Apollo’s identification with the sun (v. 8 φαεσίμβροτον ὄμμα) is explored in a description of the sun’s path through the cosmos and its harmonising function, symbolised by Apollo’s lyre: a reference to the Pythagorean music of the

²²⁶ Cf. Damasc. in *Parm.* 283 Ruelle (*OF* 202 I) ἔτι δὲ κατ’ Ὀρφέα, δύο προβάλλεται ζωογόνους θεότητας, τὴν μὲν κατὰ τὸ κινούμενον μᾶλλον, τὴν δὲ μᾶλλον κατὰ τὸ [ἔστί]ς, Ἥραν φημί καὶ Ἑστίαν. Apion *ap.* Ps.Clem. *Hom.* 6.8.2 Rehm (*OF* 202 IV) ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ διήκοντος Διὸς - τοῦ θερμοτάτου αἰθέρος - ὁ ἀήρ μέχρι τῶν ἐνταῦθα διικνεῖται τόπων, ἣν ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἥραν.

²²⁷ Theagenes (6th c. BCE) interpreted the theomachy of *Iliad* 21 as a battle of the elements. See Kingsley 1995: 26, who disputes the traditional interpretation of Empedocles’ association of Hera with air in favour of earth (*ibid.* 45-6. On Hera as air in Stoic allegory, cf. Zeno *SVF* I 69 (Min. Fel. *Oct.* 19.10) ‘Idem (Zeno) interpretando Iunonem aera, Iovem caelum, Neptunum mare, ignem esse Vulcanum, et ceteros similiter vulgi deos elementa esse monstrando, publicum arguit graviter et revincit errorem’, Chrysipp. *SVF* II 1021 (Diog. Laert. 7.147), Cornut. c. 3 ἢ Ἥρα, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὁ ἀήρ.

²²⁸ Arist. *De an.* 410b 27-30 (*OF* 412) τοῦτο δὲ πέπονθε καὶ ὁ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς καλουμένοις ἔπεισι λόγος· φησὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου εἰσιέναι ἀναπνεόντων, φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων. Cf. the Orphic verse quoted by Vettius Valens (317.19 Pingree, *OF* 422) Αἶρα δ’ ἔλκοντες ψυχὴν θείαν δρεπόμεσθα, and Damascius’ description (cited above) of Hera as ζωογόνος.

²²⁹ Fayant (*ad loc.*) follows Gesner here in restoring the metre by adding ἐν after γάρ. Theiler (1941: 250) suggests πάντα γ’ ἐπεὶ, and cites Heraclitus *Quaest. Hom.* 65.4 for a similar allegorical interpretation of Proteus. Cf. also Chrysipp. *SVF* II 1100 (Σ Arat. v. 1) οὗτος (Proteus) γὰρ ἐστὶ πηγὴ πάντων.

spheres and Cleanthes' conception of the sun as a 'plectrum', which can itself be traced back to Scythinus, the strings of the cosmic lyre corresponding to the seasons.²³⁰ Aphrodite is μήτηρ Ἀνάγκης, possibly in terms of the Empedoclean idea of a cosmic force of attraction (*OH* 55.4-7 πάντα γὰρ ἐκ σέθεν ἐστίν, ὑπερέξω δέ τε κόσμον, cf. also Eros 58.5-8); Hephaistos is the aither, sun, stars and moon, 'for' he is the allegorical representation of fire (*OH* 66.6-9).²³¹ In two instances an epexegetic passage follows, and forms part of, the final prayer: *OH* 24 Nereidai ('send the initiates happiness, for you first revealed the *telete*'), *OH* 63 Dikaioisyne ('shatter evil, so that life may fare well for men and all living creatures').

2.2.3.2 Combination of forms

Explanatory passages, together with the ecphrases and short mythical narratives or references, serve to modulate the sequence of predication in the collection, balancing the clipped parataxis of epicletic verses with syntactically continuous sections of poetry. If we consider, however, how the poet (or poets) of the *Orphic Hymns* combines the forms of predication described here, from asyndetic pentacoloï and tetracoloï to the longest continuous passages, we find that there is a significant degree of variation in the composition of individual hymns, which belies their characterisation as a series of epithets and short clauses, monotonous or otherwise.²³² There are hymns that consist solely of epicletic verses (before the final prayer), but they are in fact very few and are never formed exclusively of single-word epicleses, as for example, the often cited parallels of the alphabetic hymns to Apollo and Dionysos in the *Anthology* are.²³³ Only *OH* 1 (Hekate), 30 (Dionysos) and 31 (Kouretes) are exclusively formed of predication shorter than a single verse. Hymns in which a full-verse monocolos is the longest type of predication are more numerous: twenty two hymns fall into this category, a quarter of the collection.²³⁴ It is noteworthy that more than half of these occur in the first third of the collection, and only three in the final third. Within hymns formed entirely of shorter, asyndetic predication, an internal rhythm or structure is often detectable. In some instances longer predication appear to punctuate series of epicleses at regular intervals, for example in *OH* 50 (Lysios Lenaïos), in which monocoloi occur at verses 3, 6 and 9, following tetracoloï and tricoloi.²³⁵

²³⁰ Cleanth. *SVF* I 502 (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 5.8.48). Scythinus fr. 1 *IEG* ἀρμόζεται | Ζηνὸς εὐειδὴς Ἀπόλλων πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος | συλλαβῶν, ἔχει δὲ λαμπρὸν πλῆκτρον ἡλίου φάος. On Scythinus, West 1974: 176-7 (possibly late 5th c. BCE), 1983: 30 (in relation to the lost Orphico-Pythagorean poem, the *Lyre* [*OF* 417-420]).

²³¹ Hephaistos as fire: Emped. B 96 and 98 DK, Zeno *SVF* I 169 (Min. Fel. *Oct.* 19.10), Chrysipp. *SVF* II 1021 (Diog. Laert. 7.147) 'τεχνικὸν πῦρ', Cornut. c. 19.

²³² E.g. Wilamowitz 1932 II: 514 ('unerträgliche Monotonie'), Gordon 2020: 37.

²³³ *AG* 9.924, 925, already adduced as a parallel by Heinsius. See further Morand 2001: 82-3 and ch. 5.1 of this thesis.

²³⁴ *OH* 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 20, 21, 28, 36, 37, 50, 51, 52, 60, 67, 77. *OH* 32 (Athena) and 40 (Demeter) contain one and two couplets respectively but are otherwise, similarly, sequences of short predication.

²³⁵ Cf. also *OH* 45 Bassareus, 54 Silenos and 56 Adonis.

Conversely, a number of hymns are formed either largely or almost entirely of predication longer than a single verse, following the opening invocation.²³⁶ In contrast to the epicletic hymns described above, which are concentrated in the first third of the collection, those formed entirely of longer passages are largely found in the final third (fourteen of the twenty-one examples cited here). In addition to these, in several hymns we find a single expository passage between the invocation and the prayer. Here, Ausfeld's tripartite division is properly applicable: there is a *pars media*, in contrast to the majority of the *Orphic Hymns*, which consist of an extended invocation or 'développement'. In almost all examples, this is a mythical narrative. Hymns of this type include *OH* 35 (Leto), which describes the birth of Apollo and Artemis; 41 (Meter Antaia), Demeter's search and katabasis; 44 (Semele), Semele's apotheosis and honours at the Trieteric festival; 46 (Liknites), Dionysos' descent and return; 47 (Perikionios), the myth of the destruction of the palace of Kadmos; 48 (Sabazios), Dionysos' birth from Zeus' thigh; 53 (Amphietes), an ecphrasis on Dionysos' trieteric return; 75 (Palaimon), a description of the god's manifestations (following the prayer in this case); 80 (Boreas), a structurally unified prayer. Formally tripartite hymns of this type are almost uniquely a feature of the central third of the collection, hymns addressing a god associated with the mysteries. I do not mean to suggest that these hymns lack stylistic affinity with the remainder of the collection: they do not. We find, for instance, elements of asyndeton within the longer descriptive passages or myths, such as the epicleses of Dionysos that are included within the brief myth recounted in the hymn to Sabazios (*OH* 48). There is also, to some extent, a continuum of forms that mediate between more purely epicletic hymns, and hymns with a defined and syntactically unified *pars media*. A large number of the hymns progress from shorter, asyndetically listed predication to longer ones. A culminating couplet before the final prayer is particularly frequent.²³⁷ Of these a number fall into two parts: an epicletic section followed by a continuous passage, a type which includes some of the longest hymns in the collection (*OH* 11 Pan, 34 Apollo and 55 Aphrodite).²³⁸ In the latter two cases the break between the halves is so clear that the possibility of two separate compositions may be considered. In the hymn to Apollo for instance each part is concluded by a prayer (*OH* 34.10, 27).

In sum, there is extensive variation in the length of the predication in the eighty-seven hymns of the main sequence, in the predominance of shorter epicleses or longer descriptive passages in

²³⁶ *OH* 18 (exc. v. 11, 16-18), 19 (exc. v. 1-4), 23 (exc. v. 1, 4), 27 (exc. v. 3-4), 33 (exc. v. 1), 38 (exc. v. 1-3, 7, 14, 20, 24), 49 (exc. v. 1, 4), 59 (exc. v. 16-19), 62 (exc. v. 1), 63 (exc. v. 1-3, 8-9), 64 (exc. v. 1), 68 (exc. v. 1-2, 7), 69 (exc. v. 1-2, 7), 71 (exc. v. 1), 76 (exc. v. 1-2), 78 (exc. v. 1-3, 6), 79 (exc. v. 1-2), 82 (exc. v. 1-2), 85, 86 (exc. v. 1-2), 87 (exc. v. 1-2).

²³⁷ Hymns that progress from shorter to longer predication, or conclude with a final long predication: *OH* 2 (concluding couplet), 3 (couplet), 6, 11, 14 (couplet), 15, 16, 22 (couplet), 24, 25, 26 (couplet), 34, 37 (monocolos), 39 (couplet), 42, 43, 44 (couplet), 45 (couplet), 46, 51 (monocolos), 54 (ecphrasis in the prayer, uniquely), 55, 56 (couplet), 58, 61, 65 (monocolos), 66, 69, 72, 73, 74, 81 (monocolos), 83 (couplet). Hymns which begin with longer predication and conclude with a string of epithets are much rarer (*OH* 15, 70, 84).

²³⁸ Hymns that comprise two halves: *OH* 6 (epicleses, myth), 11 (epicleses, epexegesis), 15 (epexegesis, epicleses), 16 (epicleses, epexegesis), 25 (epicleses, epexegesis), 34 (epicleses, epexegesis), 42 (epicleses, *topoi*), 55 (epicleses, *topoi*), 58 (epicleses, epexegesis), 61 (epicleses, epexegesis), 66 (epicleses, epexegesis), 73 (epicleses, epexegesis).

individual hymns, and in the ways that these are combined. Further variance is found in the styles of invocation and prayer: some hymns contain a short prooimion of their own (*OH* 15, 16, 18, 23, 27, 57), in others the prayer occupies a central position, or itself contains predications (*OH* 54). This alone cannot be taken as evidence of multiple authors: there is no reason why a single author should not have varied the style of hymns in the collection. In fact the interweaving of hymns of the types identified here has an analogue in the combination of longer and shorter predications within individual hymns: both may be the result of a conscious attempt to avoid monotony. The concentration of epicletic hymns in the first third of the collection, non-epicletic hymns in the final third, and tripartite hymns in the central, Dionysian sequence is notable, but may be attributable to the differing natures of the gods addressed and described, as Rudhardt argues.²³⁹ There is a striking degree of difference between the most epicletic and the most discursive of the hymns - between the first and last hymns of the collection, for instance - but the abundance of mediating forms that combine the basic elements of the epithet and the continuous passage do argue for an overarching stylistic unity to the collection, as Wilamowitz claimed.²⁴⁰ The poetic formulae that interlace the collection can also be taken, as Lobeck argued, as evidence of compositional unity.²⁴¹

2.2.3.3 Possible additions and interpolations

Several nineteenth century scholars, and more recent critics such as Ricciardelli, have maintained, on stylistic grounds, that a number of hymns are later additions to the sequence, but there is little consensus on exactly which these are.²⁴² The proem and the hymn to Hekate have already been discussed in this light. In spite of disagreement among scholars it appears likely that the proem, and possible that the hymn to Hekate, are originally separate compositions. Three hymns, *OH* 38 (Kouretes), 55 (Aphrodite) and 59 (Moirai) have been suspected by several critics, from Bernhardt to Ricciardelli. *OH* 38, the second hymn to the Kouretes (after *OH* 31), is in fact directed at the Kabeiroi, the saviour gods of Samothrace.²⁴³ The hymn is unusual in several respects. There is an intermediate prayer at v. 9-10, and reinvocations at v. 8 and 20. Three ecphrastic passages (v. 4-6, 8-13, 15-19) are divided by short predications, and the hymn concludes with six epicletic verses (v.

²³⁹ Rudhardt (2008: 173) considers as examples of hymns containing fewer epicleses *OH* 64 (Nomos) and *OH* 71 (Melinoe). Nomos, he argues, as an abstract divinity, cannot be adequately described by 'adjectifs pittoresques', while Melinoe's obscurity requires a more explicit narration of her myth.

²⁴⁰ Wilamowitz 1932 II: 514.

²⁴¹ Lobeck 1829: 986, see further ch. 4 and 5.6.

²⁴² Hermann 1805 *ad loc.*: *OH* 16 (Hera), 19 (Keraunos), 59 (Moirai) contain later diction; Voss 1827 I: 120-1: *OH* 28 (Hermes) is later (than most - he suspects many authors); Bernhardt 1867³: 416-420: *OH* 38 (Kouretes), 55 (Aphrodite) 'better', possibly 34 (Apollo), 86 (Oneiros), 87 (Thanatos); Petersen 1868: *OH* 38, 55 (Hellenistic), 59 (in part archaic), and possibly 16 (early), 18, 27, 33, 57 and 85-87; Ricciardelli 2000: xxxi-ii: *OH* 38, 55, 57, 59; and, additionally (2008: 345-6) 1 (Hekate), 41 (Meter Antaia), noting also the particular similarities within two sequences, 61-64 (the 'justice' hymns) and 85-7 (Hypnos, Oneiros, Thanatos). Kern (1940: 20) and Rudhardt (2008: 174) suggest that certain hymns are later additions but do not specify which.

²⁴³ As Kern argues, 1910: 96. On the Kabeiroi and the Samothracian mysteries, Burkert 1993 (*Kl. Schr.* III 2006: 137-51), Bremmer 2014: 21-54.

20-25), contrary to the regular pattern in the collection of a movement from shorter predication to longer. There is no clear division before the final prayer, which consists solely of the optative ἐπιπνέοιτε in the last line. Taken together, these features suggest the possibility that the hymn may be a medley of originally separate parts, as may also be the case with several of the hymns of the magical papyri. *OH* 55 to Aphrodite, another long hymn, is distinctive in its extended list of *topoi* (longer at 12 verses than many of the other hymns), which effectively divides the hymn into two halves. This impression is reinforced by the invocatory ἔρχεο at the start of the second section. It is possible that the second half of the hymn (v. 15-26, preceding the final prayer) has been added from another source. *OH* 42 also lists the cult places of Mise, as discussed above, albeit with the distinction that this amounts to a catalogue of the divinities with whom Mise is identified.

OH 59 provides perhaps the clearest evidence of a different origin. Hermann thought the diction distinctive, and Ricciardelli describes the tone as ‘inspired’, recalling the hymns of Proclus.²⁴⁴ The body of the hymn is formed of a long ecphrasis (v. 2-14) that cryptically describes the Moirai’s celestial (lunar?) home and their oversight of the human race, with reference to the Parmenidean idea of δόξα governing the mortal realm. There is a linked explanatory passage in v. 11-14, which makes an abrupt transition from the plural to the singular ‘Moirai’. The final prayer (v. 15-21) is a double one, with two verses of epicleses (v. 18-19) dividing the first prayer from the second, which itself begins with a re-invocatory ‘Μοῖραι’. Finally, and uniquely, there is an additional verse appended to the hymn (v. 22): Μοιράων τέλος ἔλλαβ’ αἰδοῖ, ἣν ὕφαν’ Ὀρφεύς ‘here the song of the Moirai, which Orpheus wove, took its end’. Gesner (who suggested ἔλλαβ’ for the ἐλθ’ or ἐλλ’ of the manuscripts) thought it added by a copyist whose text of the hymns ended here: ‘locum ultimum occupavit’. Lobeck (preferring ἦλθεν αἰδοῖσας) also took it to be a scribal interpolation.²⁴⁵ It is possible that this is the case, that the verse began as a marginal note and was later incorporated into the text, but the question of why only the hymn to the Moirai was treated in this way remains. The alternative, that the verse came with the hymn from another source, in which this hymn was the only ‘Orphic’ text, remains a possibility, given the other distinctive features of the hymn.²⁴⁶ As with the other examples considered here, however, the fact remains that, stylistically, the hymn to the Moirai is broadly consistent with the other hymns in the collection and shares a number of formulae with them. While it is possible to identify hymns that are distinctive, any claim that these may constitute evidence of multiple authors needs to take both stylistic consonance and the poetic phrases and formulae that link the collection into account.

²⁴⁴ Hermann 1805: 325 ‘Aliud genus dictionis in hoc hymno est, atque in plerisque aliis, ut vix dubitari possit, quin et scriptoris alius, et aetatis aliquanto recentioris sit’. Ricciardelli 2000: 460.

²⁴⁵ Gesner 1764: 258, Lobeck 1829: 379 n 1.

²⁴⁶ This is Ricciardelli’s argument (2000: 465) ‘Credo piuttosto che il verso sia un’ulteriore prova che l’inno proviene da una raccolta diversa; il verso serviva allora a distinguere l’inno alle Moire da altre composizioni che lo seguivano, che non erano attribuite a Orfeo’. See also Athanassakis & Wolkow, and Fayant *ad loc.*

Four further possible instances of interpolation may be considered here as suggesting, if not multiple authors, then at least a degree of bricolage in the composition of certain hymns. The first two verses of the hymn to Nyx (*OH* 3) appear to have been added from another source:

Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν αἰέσομαι ἥδ' ἐκὼν ἀνδρῶν.

[Νύξ γένεσις πάντων, ἣν καὶ Κύπριν καλέσωμεν]

Night will I sing, parent of gods and of men,

[Night, birth of all, whom we also call Kypris]

As discussed above, the verb αἰέσομαι is characteristic of the *Homeric Hymns*, but unique in this collection, in which the normal verbs of invocation are ‘I call’ and ‘hear’ (κλῦθι occurs in this hymn in the third verse).²⁴⁷ There is one other instance of a programmatic verb to ‘sing’: μέλπω in *OH* 62.1 (Dike).²⁴⁸ In these cases the performative announcement of the rhapsodic type of hymn, exemplified by the *Homeric Hymns* and epic *prooimia*, has found its way into a collection otherwise characterised by kletic invocatory formulae. The aorist subjunctive verb of the second verse, καλέσωμεν, is similarly unique in the collection. Morand suggests that the anomalous invocation intentionally marks out Nyx as a, or the, primordial parent of the Orphic theogonies.²⁴⁹ Lobeck suggested that the whole hymn was added from another source ‘nam exordium Αἰέσομαι cantori convenit, non precatori’; Kern argued that the first two verses were interpolated, and I think this is likely.²⁵⁰ The first verse may have been taken from another, earlier hymn to Nyx in the rhapsodic style. Given Night’s prominence in the Orphic theogonies, this older hymn would very likely have also been by ‘Orpheus’.²⁵¹ The second verse, athetized by Hermann and Quandt, may come from the same, or another source, whether a hymn or a narrative poem.²⁵² It is noteworthy that the idea of Nyx as mother, the focus of both verses and a reference to her role in the Orphic theogonies, does not recur in the rest of the hymn. After the invocation (v. 3) the hymn falls into two epicletic quatrains. The first presents Nyx’s attributes as they relate to human life: bringer of sleep, festivity, dreams. The second takes in the goddess’ cosmic attributes, exploring the motion of the night sky.

²⁴⁷ *HHy.* 6, 10, 15, 23, 30. Compare in particular *HHy.* 23.1 Ζῆνα θεῶν ἄριστον αἰέσομαι ἥδ' ἐκὼν μέγιστον.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Lasus of Hermione (fr. 1, *PMG* 702) Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον, and *AG* 9.524 (μέλπωμεν).

²⁴⁹ Morand 2001: 43. Nyx in the Orphic theogonies: *OF* 20, 25, 65, 98, 106-7, 112, 168-170, 174.

²⁵⁰ Lobeck 1829: 405 n. 2, Kern 1889: 1-2.

²⁵¹ Cf. the similar references to the θεῶν γενέτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν in hymns 18.32 and 22.1 of the magical papyrus (see ch. 4.2.5).

²⁵² The identification of Nyx with Kypris here may provide a clue to the source. Ricciardelli cites Pausanias (1.40.61), who refers to a sanctuary of Aphrodite Epistrophia and an oracle of Nyx on the acropolis of Megara, and Hesiod (*Th.* 224), who makes Philotes one of the daughters of Nyx, but this is merely an expression of the idea that love-making often occurs at night, under cover of darkness: Philotes is here paired with Apate, ‘deceit’. The connection between Nyx and Aphrodite should be seen rather in terms of the roles of both goddesses as primordial beings (γένεσις πάντων, *OH* 3.2) in Presocratic cosmologies. Cf. in particular Aphrodite in Empedocles B 17, 22, 151 (ζείδωρος) DK, but also Eros as a primeval force in Hesiod (*Th.* 120-2). The source of *OH* 3.2, or the object of the reference that it makes, may be a theogonic poem.

Hymns 19 (Zeus Keraunos)²⁵³ and 69 (Erinyes) both contain two prayers. In the hymn to Keraunos, the text of which is corrupt at v. 5-7, the ἀλλά which frequently signals the shift to the final prayer is repeated at v. 18 and 20. The first prayer, a request to avert the threat of lightning, and the second, for blessings, may be viewed as complementary, but the repetition of ἀλλά is jarring. It is possible that the hymn is a combination of originally separate elements. This may also be the case in *OH* 69, the hymn to the Erinyes, in which the ἀλλά that marks the prayer is similarly repeated (v. 14 and 16). The four verses that precede this double prayer are incongruous and may themselves have been inserted into the hymn from another source.²⁵⁴

Finally, West argues that the final, corrupt verse of the hymn to Boreas (*OH* 80.6) is a Byzantine interpolation, an addition analogous to the final verse of *OH* 59.²⁵⁵

2.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have sought to provide a detailed study of the formal characteristics of the *Orphic Hymns* beginning with the collection itself and progressing to constituent elements of the individual hymns. The primary aim of this analysis has been to provide a basis for comparison with other texts, but it has also provided the means to compare the hymns within the collection and to consider afresh the question raised many times in the scholarship of the past two and half centuries: are the hymns a unified text composed by a single author? Among recent scholars Rudhardt has paid closest attention to this question.²⁵⁶ Selecting seven hymns which show a variety of divergent characteristics, he argues that the language they share is consistent.²⁵⁷ Some hymns have fewer compound epithets (e.g. *OH* 64 and 71), but this, he concludes, is attributable to the requirements of the gods in question: Nomos as an abstract power and Melinoe as a ‘foreign’ god who requires explicit description. While accepting that some hymns may be later additions, including the proem, he maintains that a single author is responsible for the vast majority.

Evidence for the compositional unity of the collection takes many forms. The sequence of divinities is, as I have argued, compelling in itself. The eighty-seven hymns have been carefully arranged in an

²⁵³ Ricciardelli adopts the φ reading of the title, Κεραυνίου Διός, ‘Zeus of the lightning’. Quandt and Fayant retain that of Ψ, Κεραυνοῦ Διός, which may be read as ‘Zeus Keraunos’ or ‘the Lightning of Zeus’. Zeus Keraunos also appears in an inscription (*IG* V 2.288, Mantinea, 5th c. BCE) and cf. Heraclitus B 64 DK τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει Κεραυνός (see ch. 4.1.2, 4.2.6).

²⁵⁴ Ruhnken (1782: 281) thought they were taken from *OH* 60 (Charites). Keydell (1911: 18 n. 26) suggests that only v. 11-13 were interpolated.

²⁵⁵ West 1962: 122, 1968: 296. The verse is omitted in the φ group of MSS.

²⁵⁶ Rudhardt 2008: 168-176.

²⁵⁷ *ibid.* 172: *OH* 15 Zeus (major divinity, epithets with independent clauses), *OH* 51 Nymphs (minor divinities, long parataxis of epithets), *OH* 52 Trieterikos (Dionysos, purely epithets), *OH* 71 Melinoe (foreign god, longer phrases), *OH* 80 Boreas (meteorological or cosmic god, complex prayer), *OH* 68 Hygieia (abstract personification, longer phrases), *OH* 64 Nomos (abstract personification, epithets and phrases).

order that is as allusive and suggestive as the individual hymns themselves. It presents the individual gods as a coherent pantheon, which follows in part the cosmogonic sequence of the *Rhapsodic Theogony*, and hints at the Orphic myth of the first birth and death of Dionysos. Centred on the gods of the mysteries, and Dionysos in particular, it appears to juxtapose the gods of the cosmos with those who oversee the human realm. The unity of the pantheon is suggested by that of sequence itself: like the poet of the Orphic *Smaller Krater*, our poet hints at the idea that ‘all these are one’.²⁵⁸ The titles of the hymns similarly point to a compositional unity. Anomalies and omissions among them suggest, not that hymns have been added, but that certain titles have been lost, with the implication that at one point they were consistent across the collection. That the collection was put together in its current form by one person seems certain. But the possibility remains that, as Kern thought, this author did not compose all of the hymns, but assembled them, created the sequence as we have it, and added the proem and the titles. Regarding the individual hymns, the structural analyses undertaken in this chapter add weight to the cause of unity in many respects. The invocatory formulae used are broadly consistent, and although rooted in the traditional language of Greek hymnody, are also idiosyncratic, for example in the prevalence of invocatory verbs ‘to call’ across the collection and the absence of invocatory χαῖρε. Prayer formulae show greater variation, but two basic types are recurrent and regularly interwoven: the kletic request to ‘come kind’ and the generalised prayer for peace, health or ‘a good end to life’.

On the other hand the formal analyses in this chapter have also revealed a significant amount of variation across the collection that correlates, to some degree, with different parts of the sequence. Invocatory verbs ‘to call’ occur throughout, but hymns in the central, ‘telestic’ portion favour κικλήσκω, while in the later ‘anthropocentric’ third καλέω is more frequently employed. Certain hymns have a short invocatory prologue or an opening prayer, and these are, with few exceptions, found in the first ‘cosmological’ section. The kletic prayer is invariably made in lieu of a specific request in the hymns to the circles of Demeter and Dionysos, but not in the hymns to the second generation of Olympians that plot the Orphic myth of Dionysos and which precede these in the central portion of the sequence. Hymns of the cosmological and anthropocentric areas of the sequence also show a degree of contrast: simpler, generalised prayers are much more common in the former and more elaborate prayers employing non-formulaic vocabulary in the latter. The hymns to Eros, the gods of justice and the final hymns to Hypnos, Oneiros and Thanatos also show an affinity in their concern for right or wrong intentions, as well as in diction. These patterns are borne out by the analysis of predication types. Accumulations of shorter epicleses, and hymns formed largely of these, are particularly common in the hymns to the cosmological gods and significantly rarer in the anthropocentric sequence, which is characterised by longer, syntactically continuous passages of poetry that are explanatory or expository. Longer, more elaborate hymns, which themselves show a variety of forms, are, however, absent from the final third of the

²⁵⁸ OF 413, ἐν τὰδε πάντα, in reference to eleven divinities described in sequence.

collection.²⁵⁹ Hymns containing a discrete *pars media*, a short mythical narrative that divides the invocation from the prayer and that recalls the format of the shorter *Homeric Hymns*, are a particular feature of the central sequence of mystery gods.

In sum, the formal elements studied here do vary and the degree of variation is not randomly distributed. The cosmological sequence that begins with the first gods and extends to those representing the four elements is, in broad terms, characterised by shorter predications and simpler prayers, but several longer and more discursive hymns occur here; the gods associated with the mysteries are characterised by short mythical narratives and kletic prayers, and the gods loosely grouped as governing human affairs in the last movement are more discursive, containing longer descriptive passages and more innovative, less formulaic prayers. These variations are notable and require explanation. As I have emphasised, distinctions or boundaries between the three movements of the sequence are not sharply drawn, and these observations describe trends within each movement only. Epicletic hymns may be more frequent in the first third, but they occur throughout the collection. Within the telestic sequence, for example, hymns 50, 51 and 52 (to Lysios Lenaïos, Nymphai and Trieterikos) are of this type, and contrast in this regard with their neighbours. A comparison of the hymns to Trieterikos (*OH* 52) and Amphietes (*OH* 53) show just how clear the juxtaposition of different types of hymn, in this case to the same deity, may be. It is arguable that this kind of contrast was intended by the hymns' author as a means of varying the tenor of the collection. As Rudhardt argues, the hymns share a common language: they are interlaced by recurring epithets and poetic formulae that transcend these differences.²⁶⁰ It may be the case, as Rudhardt maintains, that the formal and stylistic variations described here are the result of the differing natures of the gods: that a single author has thought some required more discursive treatment (as he argues for Nomos and Melinoë), particularly those in the last movement. The gods that personify philosophical abstractions, such as the gods of justice, it may be argued, are less susceptible to description by short epicleses. This is not the case however with Physis (*OH* 10), the recipient of the longest hymn in the collection, which is composed entirely of short, allusive predications. The observations made in this chapter do not rule out the possibility that a single author has composed hymns of varying styles, but they may lend support to the theory of an editor who composed many, or the majority, of the hymns but also incorporated and revised many from other sources. If, as seems likely, the final three hymns were composed for the current sequence, it is arguable that the more discursive or elaborate hymns are the work of this collector. The question of the shared language and formulae in the collection needs to be addressed however in this context, and this will follow in the next two chapters. Setting the vexed question of authorship to one side however, the fact remains that the collection is not as stylistically uniform as critics such as Wilamowitz have suggested. Just as within the individual hymns the series of predications is

²⁵⁹ E.g. *OH* 8 Helios, 10 Physis, 11 Pan, 12 Herakles, 18 Pluto, 19 Zeus Keraunos, 29 Persephone, 34 Apollo, 38 Kouretes, 40 Demeter, 55 Aphrodite, 59 Moirai.

²⁶⁰ Rudhardt 2008: 173-4.

modulated, creating an internal rhythm through the juxtaposition of verse types and longer passages, within the collection as a whole there is a juxtaposition of hymns containing variations of the formal features described here. Concentrations of these in the three main movements of the sequence speak to a broader rhythm that, as in many of the individual hymns again, moves from short, clipped lists of epicleses to longer, more expository reflections.

Chapter 3. Sound and patterning

The sequence or *accumulatio* of predications that broadly characterises the *Orphic Hymns* is, as I have aimed to show in the previous chapter, richly varied in terms of its overall structure. Hymns which are formed exclusively of asyndetic lists of short epicleses are relatively few in number, and counterbalanced by those in which longer descriptive elements predominate. The majority of hymns in the collection however combine shorter and more expansive elements, interweaving syntactically continuous verses that often unpack the significance of an individual epiclesis, and in many cases progressing from epicletic verses to longer statements. While this progression reflects, to some extent, the traditional pattern of Greek hymns, in which lists of epithets are reserved to the invocation, the shift to a more descriptive *eulogia* is not clearly marked, as, for example, it is in the *Homeric Hymns* by the relative pronoun. Although there are several hymns in the central, telestic, sequence that do approach the tripartite model, with a *pars epica* that succinctly relates a key myth, in terms of structure the *Orphic Hymns* are essentially extended invocations culminating in a prayer. The variety of structural forms identified within these invocations modulates and gives rhythmic complexity to the sequence of hymns, and it is not randomly distributed. As in many of the individual hymns, within the collection itself there is a broad progression from a predominance of short, clipped predications, to longer meditations on the nature and powers of each divinity. The hymns to the cosmological gods of the first ‘movement’ are strongly characterised by short epicleses and more formulaic prayers; those of the third, anthropocentric movement by continuous, particularly epexegetic, or explanatory, statements and innovative prayers. Within the central telestic, or Dionysian, movement, there is a juxtaposition of types: the most heavily asyndetic hymns occur here (e.g. *OH* 30, 36, 50-52), but, as stated, these sit beside a larger number of hymns that present a connected, if brief, mythical narrative. In terms of the final prayer, the central movement is characterised by simple *kletic* requests to ‘come kind’. The composer of the collection was, it seems, sensitive to the risk of monotony, a charge that has been unfairly leveled at the hymns by several critics.¹ Within the parameters of the asyndetic style, each hymn is unique. Their interest in rhythmic effects is evident moreover within each parataxis of predications, as recent scholarship has emphasised.² Connections between the syntactically distinct epicleses are either implicit, providing a range of semantic possibilities, as Rudhardt observes, or marked by sound effects, repetition and structural symmetries. Morand has described a number of additional methods employed to vary the rhythm of individual hymns, including reinvocation at the start of a verse (whether with the repetition of the god’s name or that of an associated deity, examples of which are considered below); shifts from *er-Stil* to *du-Stil*, and the frequent use of explanatory γάρ, which

¹ E.g. Lobeck, Bernhardt, Wilamowitz. On *poikilia* in Greek poetry and the avoidance of monotony, Nünlist 2009: 198-202.

² E.g. Rudhardt, Morand, Gordon.

underscores a key idea.³ These features of the hymns punctuate the series of predications marking shifts in tone, as does the ἀλλὰ or reinvocation that marks the start of the final prayer.

In this chapter I consider these internal stylistic features of the hymns, beginning with forms of repetition, including alliteration, assonance, word-play and etymological figures, and then turning to instances of formal symmetry: both conceptual antithesis, or the juxtaposition of contrasting ideas, and structural symmetry or chiasmus. Sound effects and patterning of this kind may be collectively described as the prosody of the hymns. The term, which originally referred to sound effects alone, embraces, in recent poetic theory, visual patterning also. In this sense prosody amounts to the collective markers of poetic language: the linguistic embroidery that is the essential feature of poetry, drawing the hearer's (or reader's) attention away from the linear progression of meaning:

When density of features is high enough to foreground language itself, rhythm draws the reader away from sense into the flow of the rhythm itself. It is the nature of poetic language to move against and counteract the semantic system.⁴

Prosody imposes rhythm on sense, but of course interacts with meaning as well, reinforcing and giving resonance to particular ideas. This is an important function of sound and patterning in the *Orphic Hymns*, in which the dense parataxis of epicleses often requires of the reader the extrapolation of meanings. It is, in one sense, a means of unlocking the 'latent syntax' of the predications described by Rudhardt, hinting at connections between them.

The prosody of the hymns cannot in all cases be linked with meaning, however, and an overarching function of sound and patterning in the collection is euphony for its own sake. Harmony of sounds and the idea of balance that underpins the use of antithesis and symmetry speak directly to the nature of divinity itself that the hymns aim to express and describe. Morand, employing Saussure's term 'harmonie phonique', views these effects as having a ritual efficacy, comparing the phonic effects and emphasis on names found in the magical papyri: they please the god, presenting the hymn as an offering, or *agalma*, in its own right, a function Race has attributed to Greek hymns in general.⁵ The effect of euphony or phonic harmony on the hearer or reader should also be considered however. Stanford argues that Aristotle's idea of the cathartic effect of tragedy may be grounded in the ability of euphony and rhythm to harmonise the emotions, citing Plato's example of a child cured of psychological distress by rocking, and the use of music and dancing to cure forms of madness.⁶ The therapeutic use of music was attributed to Pythagoras, who, according to

³ Morand 2001: 60-61. On γάρ in Greek hymns, Norden 1923²: 157; in the *OH*, chapter 2.2.3.1 on epexegetic passages.

⁴ Winslow 2012: 1117.

⁵ Morand 2001: 68-75, Race 1982: 8-10, Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 45.

⁶ Stanford 1967: 93, 1981: 133-4. Cf. Pl. *Resp.* 398b-400c, *Leg.* 790e-791b. On Plato, Aristotle and the effects of harmony, Schoen-Nazzaro 1978. Music therapy: Antrim 1944, Pelosi 2016.

Iamblichus, prescribed different types of music, to cure particular maladies or passions of the soul, including hymns to encourage tranquil sleep.⁷ The connection between harmony and the soul was explored by Damon and in cosmic terms, by Plato.⁸ The phonic harmonies of the hymns may be viewed in this light, as a corollary of the incantatory style that has been discussed in the previous chapter: the euphonous arrangement of words may itself have a harmonising and therapeutic effect on their reader.⁹ It may be argued that the ‘bidirectionality’ of the hymns then, with its parallel effect on its divine recipient and its audience is present in the aims of its prosody, as well as in more expansive descriptions of the nature or personality of the god.

3.1 Phonic repetition

The hymns abound in the repetition of sounds within a phrase, verse or couplet, whether that of the initial consonant or vowel, of a prefix, of internal sounds, or of case endings. These figures are distinguished in modern terminology as alliteration, assonance, paronomasia and rhyme, but it is not clear that they were by ancient scholars of prosody and rhetoric.¹⁰ Ancient rhetorical theory devised a number of specialised terms for figures marked by the repetition of words and sounds, which may, with some caution, be applied to poetry. *Pariosis*, the use of structurally parallel clauses, may be reinforced by the use of the same word of the start of each clause (*anaphora*), or at the end (*epiphora*), or by the repetition of both the first and last words in each clause (*epanalepsis*).¹¹ To these instances of exact repetition are added forms in which the case ending of a word differs (*polyptoton*), or in which two words, although possessing different meanings, have similar sounds (*paronomasia*, or punning). Etymological figures often take the form of paronomasia, analogising from a phonic relationship to a semantic one.¹² The repetition of sounds within adjacent words falls under the broad heading of *parechesis*, with no distinction made between what is now defined as alliteration (repetition of the same initial consonant), assonance (vowel repetition) and consonance (consonant repetition).¹³ Rhyme, the conjunction of assonance and consonance at the

⁷ Iambl. *VP* 25, Riedweg 2002: 30-1, Casadesús Bordoy 2013: 159, Provenza 2015. On Ficino’s use of the *Orphic Hymns* in this way, see Allen 2014: 439-40.

⁸ Damon B 6 DK, Pl. *Tim.* 36e-37a, 47d (attunement of the human soul). See Leask 2016, Lynch 2020: 146-52. Cf. also Hippoc. *De vict.* 1.5-8, Pelosi 2016.

⁹ Therapy of incantation: Boyancé 1937: 93-137, Laín Entralgo 1970, Kingsley 1995: 247.

¹⁰ Silk (*OCD*, 2012⁴ s.v. ‘Assonance’) describes the four forms given here as 1. consonantal repetition (alliteration), 2. vocalic repetition (whether initial or internal), 3. syllabic repetition or the near repetition of stems, 4. syllabic repetition of the near repetition of final syllables (rhyme).

¹¹ Walde 2006; repetition figures: Lausberg 1998: 274-97.

¹² *ibid.* 221-2, Quint. *Inst.* 1.6.28.

¹³ Hermog. *Inv.* 4.7 Παρήχησις δέ ἐστι κάλλος ὁμοίων ὀνομάτων ἐν διαφόρῳ γνώσει ταῦτόν ἡχούτων. Eust. *Il.* 1.193 ὅταν καὶ παρήχηι τις ἐν ἀνομοιότητι γραφῆς φωνηέντων ὁμοίως τοῖς πρὸ τούτου καὶ τὴν ταῦτοφωνίαν δέ πως ἀλλοιοῖ. καθὸ καὶ ἡναντίωται τοῦτο τῷ πρὸ αὐτοῦ, τῷ παντελῶς ταῦτοφώνῳ, οἷον τὸ «Σκύλλη κοίλης ἐκ νηός» καὶ «Ἐπειδὴ ἐποίησε σὺν Ἀθήνῃ» καὶ «φίλησε δὲ φύλον αἰδῶν». Tsagalis, in an analysis of sound effects in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, uses this term to embrace the various forms of phonic repetition (2017: 192), as do I in this chapter.

end of words, is defined by the ancient rhetoricians as *homoioтелеuton* (or *homoioptoton*).¹⁴ The coincidence of parechesis and pariosis, the repetition of sounds within parallel cola, is *paromoiosis*.¹⁵ The absence of a term for alliteration within this extensive vocabulary for verbal and phonic repetition is notable, and it has been debated whether it should be recognised as an independent feature of Greek poetry as opposed, for example, to Latin verse, in which it is regularly encountered.¹⁶ Fehling, in an extensive study of the types of repetition in Greek poetry and prose of the fifth century BCE and earlier, maintains that it is always combined with another figure, whether with simple anaphora or paronomasia, the repetition of words that sound similar.¹⁷ With reference to poetry, Homer and Hesiod employ an extensive range of sound effects, from sonic mimicry to concentrations of vowels and consonants, particularly in catalogues that present a dense series of names in a paratactic form that recalls the sequence of predications in the *Orphic Hymns*. Phonic repetition is a notable feature of gnomic statements in particular and of lament, as Alexiou shows: in the former case it gives memorability to a proverb, in the latter it serves to underscore emotional intensity. These effects are regularly encountered in hymnic poetry of all periods.¹⁸

3.1.1 Repetition of sounds and letters

The repetition of consonants and vowels within a verse is found in the majority of hymns in the collection. Where the coincidence of sounds is very close, this can be described as a form of paronomasia, linking or contrasting the words involved:

OH 8.16 (Helios)	δείκτα δικαιοσύνης (a possible <i>figura etymologica</i>). ¹⁹
OH 10.19 (Physis)	ωριας όρμή ('fresh onrush').

¹⁴ The opposite figure, *homoiokatarkton*, describing similar sounds at the start of words is occasionally employed by modern critics (Robertson 1893: 18, Stanford 1967: 83, 95 n. 30, Kambylis 1976: 257), but occurs only in Dion. Hal. *ap. schol. Hermog. Id. II* p. 422 Osann (it is also restored in Philod. *Rhet.* 4 col. 1.12, 1.162 Sudhaus [τῶν] μὲν ῥητορικῶν [σοφισ]τῶν οἱ μέγιστοι τοῖς ὁ[μο]ι[ο]τελεύτοις καὶ ὁ[μο]ι[ο]πτότοις καὶ ὁμοιο[κατάρκτοις] ἀ[πρεπ]έστατα φαίν[ο]ν[ται] πεπ[ι]λα[ν]μένοι). *TGL* s.v. ὁμοιοκατάρκτον, 'qui simile habet initium'; see further Silk 2012: 186.

¹⁵ Arist. *Rh.* 1410a παρίσῳσις δ' ἐὰν ἴσα τὰ κῶλα, παρομοίωσις δὲ ἐὰν ὅμοια τὰ ἔσχατα ἔχη ἐκάτερον τὸ κῶλον. Anaxim. *Arx Rhet.* 28 Παρομοίωσις δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ μείζων τῆς παρίσῳσεως· οὐ γὰρ μόνον ἴσα τὰ κῶλα ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅμοια ἐξ ὁμοίων ὀνομάτων, οἷον· †δεῖ σε† λόγου μίμημα, φέρε πόθου τέχνασμα.

¹⁶ Denniston 1952: 126-9, Opert 1958, Lilja 1968: 35-7, Silk 1974: 173-5.

¹⁷ Fehling 1969: 78.

¹⁸ Homer and Hesiod: Shewan 1925, West 1966: 77, Stanford 1981, Tsagalis 2009: 162-3, 2017. Catalogues: Tsagalis 2009: 163. Gnomic poetry: Russo 1983. Lament: Alexiou 2002: 151-6, 233 n. 46. Hymns, e.g. *HHy.* 9.1, 10.1, 2, 3, 11.2, 3, 12.4, 13.2, 14.4, 15.5, 16.1, 17.4, 18.9, 12, 19.6, 27, 28, 29, 33, 37, 21.2, 27.5, 17-18, 28.12, 30.3-4, 11-12, 31.2, 32.16, 17, 33.13; *PMG*: Terp. 2, Alcm. 14a, 63, 153, Apollod. 701, Lamprocl. 735, Soph. 737, Licymn. 769, *Carm. Pop.* 851b, 855, 862, 872, Lyr. adesp. 929c, 936, 937, 955; *IEG*: Archil. 108, Hippon. 31, Ion Chius 26; Sapph. 1.1-2, 127; Pind. *Paean* 52f.178, *Dith.* 70b.10, 15, 18, 75.10, 78.3, *Hy.* 33a; Bacchyl. *Dith.* 2.12, 5.8; Callim. *Hy.* 1.4, 3.225, 4.325, 6.2; Cleanth. *Hy.* *Zeus* 1, 3, 6, 13, 15, 19, 27, 31; Isidor. *Hy.* 1.16-19, 27, 2.26, 3.2, 10-11; *CA*: p. 160 *Hy. Cur.* 1-2, 47-8; *SH*: Crates 359.5, 9, Melinno 541.4, Adesp. 1122-3; Heitsch: 53.1, 2, 7, 54.7; *AG*: 9.524, 525 (the 'alphabetic' hymns to Dionysos and Apollo), 13.1.3-4. The hymnic choruses of the dramatists (e.g. Aesch. *Sept.* 106-180) and the hymns of the magical papyri are particularly rich in sound repetition.

¹⁹ See below on etymologies of divine names and cf. the paronomasia of πολύκτιτε δαῖμον (OH 10.2, 20) and πολύκμιτε, δαῖμον (10.11) in the hymn to Physis (Morand 2001: 67).

<i>OH</i> 12.13 (Herakles)	πολύπειρος, ἀπείριτος (marking a conceptual antithesis).
<i>OH</i> 25.8 (Proteus)	πόντον... ποτώνται (apposition of sea and air).
<i>OH</i> 87.12 (Thanatos)	γέρας... γῆρας ('old age' as a 'prize').

The repetition of sounds in adjacent epiclines may serve to underscore a semantic connection between them, for example, *OH* 10.21 (Physis) ἀΐδια, κινησιφόρε, πολὺπειρε, περίφρων, where the concepts of 'experience' and 'thoughtfulness' are linked by the repetition of π, ρ, ι and ε.²⁰ Antitheses are similarly highlighted by the conjunction of sounds, for example *OH* 11.7 (Pan) φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ, φόβων ἐκπαγλε βροτείων, a parallelism (ABAB) that presents Pan as both helper and terror within the realm of apparitions, reinforced by alliteration and homoioteleuton (an instance in fact of 'paromoiosis').²¹ In *OH* 10.17 (Physis) πίειρα πεπαινομένων τε λύτειρα, 'fat one, deliverer of ripe things', the same sound effects mark an antithesis, with the second element (πεπαινομένων τε λύτειρα) presented as a phonic expansion of the first (πίειρα), both elements beginning with π and ending in -ειρα.

Repeated sounds may also be imitative of the sounds the words describe. For example, the sibilance of the double sigmas in *OH* 6.6 (Protogonos), ὄσων δς σκοτόεσαν ἀπημαύρωσας ὀμίζλην, appears to express the hissing of Protogonos as κρύφιον ροιζήτορα (v. 5).²² In the hymn to Pan the god's song is equated with the music of the spheres (*OH* 11.6): ἀρμονίαν χόσμοιο κρέκων φιλοπαίγμονι μολπήι, 'with playful song strumming the tune of the cosmos', a verse which counterpoints the alliteration of κ with the repetition of the sounds ο, λ and π in φιλοπαίγμονι μολπήι, a harmonious echo of the song itself. Onomatopoeic effects this kind are used to describe the thunder (*OH* 10.25 Physis, βαρυβρεμέτειρα κρατίστη) and the clashing of Rhea's cymbals (*OH* 14.3 χαλκόκροτε κούρη). In the hymn to Poseidon, 'thundering' assonance is employed to provide a bridge between juxtaposed spheres of the god's power, the sea and earthquakes (*OH* 17.4): ποντομέδων, ἀλίδουπε, βαρύκτυπε, ἐννοσίγαιε, 'sea-lord, salt-sounding, loud-crashing, shake-earth'. The conjunction of phonic repetition and imagery is also found: for example, in the hymn to Aphrodite, where the concentric arrangement of κ and χρ sounds imitates the circle of dancing whales: *OH* 55.21 ἐρχομένη χαίρεις κητῶν κυκλίσαι χορείαις.²³

²⁰ Cf. *OH* 22.2 (Thalassa) κυανόπεπλον... κυμαίνουσιν (the sea), 55.3 (Aphrodite) νυκτερία ζεύκτειρα (night and sex, cf. Hes. *Th.* 224).

²¹ Cf. *OH* 63.9 (Dikaiosyne) εἰρήνηι χαίρουσα, βίον ζηλοῦσα βέβαιον.

²² Sibilance, cf. *OH* 11.19 (Pan) ἀλλάσσεις δὲ φύσεις πάντων ταῖς σαῖσι προνοίαις, 70.6 (Eumenides) κυανόχρωτοι ἄνασσαι, ἀπαστράπτουσαι ἀπ' ὄσων. In *OH* 16.8 (Hera) and 17.6 (Poseidon) variations of the same phrase connect the sibilance with the word ροιζοῖσι, 'hissing'.

²³ Cf. *OH* 56.5 (Adonis) σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις, where phonic repetition and homoioteleuton express the idea of recurrence itself, and *OH* 7.4 (Asteres) ἐγκυκλίοις δίναισι † περιθρόνια κυκλέοντες: the repetition of κυκλ- figures the circling motion of the stars around the celestial pole. A similar effect is found in *PGM* hy. 18.6 ἡ Χαρίτων τρισσῶν τρισσαῖς μορφαῖσι χορεύεις.

In a majority of cases however a connection between sound and sense is harder to detect. Parechesis may be extensive within a verse, for example *ερων, ος, λ, ο, κ, χ* in *OH* 56.8-9 (Adonis):

ἱμερόνους, Κύπριδος γλυκερόν θάλος, ἔρνος Ἐρωτος,
Φερσεφόνης ἐρασιπλοκάμου λέκτροισι λοχευθείς

gentle-minded, sweet shoot of Kypris, fruit of Love,
brought forth from the bed of lovely-tressed Phersephone

Alliteration may be also, whether alone (e.g. *OH* 23.4 Nereus, *πυθμὴν μὲν πόντου, γαίης πέρας, ἀρχὴ ἀπάντων*) or in combination with repetition of internal sounds (e.g. *OH* 86.14 Oneiros, *ὄψις ὄνειρήεσσα, κακῶν ἐξάγγελος ἔρχων*).²⁴ The use of alliterative formulae in the fifth and sixth feet also occurs in several instances.²⁵ Alliteration occurs frequently by itself, but in very many instances there is an interweaving of this figure with other forms of phonic repetition within a verse, for example in *OH* 27.1 (Meter Theon), where we find a chain of repeated sounds (θ, τμ, τρ), together with homoioteleuton:

Ἀθανάτων θεότιμε θεῶν μήτερ, τροφὴ πάντων
God-honoured mother of immortal gods, nurse of all

This effect may be described as a kind of phonic *symploke*:²⁶

<i>OH</i> 32.1 (Athena)	Παλλὰς μουνογενής, μεγάλου Διὸς ἔκγονε σεμνή
<i>OH</i> 34.16 (Apollo)	παντοθαλής, σὺ δὲ πάντα πόλον κιθάρηι πολυκρέκται
<i>OH</i> 63.12 (Dikaioyne)	κλυῖθι, θεά, κακίην θνητῶν θράουσα δικαίως

A majority of the hymns contain sound effects or phonic echoes of these types: only a small selection of examples have been cited here.²⁷ On the other hand, while in certain hymns (e.g. *OH* 10 Physis, 11 Pan, 40 Demeter, 51 Nymphai) these effects are particularly abundant, in most they are employed fairly sparingly: it is certainly not the case that they occur in most verses. They are one of the methods employed by the poet(s) to embroider or give euphony to the individual hymns:

²⁴ I use the term alliteration here to describe word-initial correspondence of both consonants and vowels, rather than consonants alone.

²⁵ E.g. αἰὲν ἀτειρές *OH* 4.1, 5.1, 7.9, 59.17, 13.10 (αἰὲν ἄμεμπτον); πᾶσι προσηγής *OH* 2.5, 40.2; πᾶσι ποθεινή *OH* 3.12, 64.12; κατὰ κόσμον *OH* 6.4, 21.2, 37.6, 78.2. Silk (1974: 174) describes such formulae as 'dead' alliterations. See also Tsagalis 2017: 195 'Dead alliteration is likely to occur in conventional collocations and formulas. Here the aural link is downplayed by the fact that the listener's ear hears the two words as a single semantic unit'.

²⁶ As a rhetorical figure, the repetition of the first and last words in parallel cola. Alex. Rhet. *De Fig.* 2.5 Τοῦτο τὸ σχῆμα μικτόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς ἀναφορᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀντιστροφῆς, διὸ καὶ οὕτω κέκληται· καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τῶν κώλων καὶ ἐπὶ τελευτῆς τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει λέξιν, ὥς Αἰσχίνης, <ἐπὶ σαυτὸν καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους καλεῖς, ἐπὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν καλεῖς.>. Fehling 1969: 10, Lausberg 1998: 284-5, Dean Anderson 2000: 69.

²⁷ The full range of phonic repetitions are collected in appendix 3.1.

whether euphony for its own sake or, as in certain examples considered here, a phonic harmony that overlays, reinforces or illustrates the sense of the words themselves.

3.1.2 Repetition of words, stems and prefixes

A clear distinction between phonic repetition of the types considered above and the repetition of semantically connected, or identical, words cannot be made, but under this heading I include instances of anaphora that occur at the beginning of successive verses and throughout individual hymns, as well as within verses. While meaning is occasionally reinforced by simple parechesis, as the examples given above show, this is always the case where the repeated element derives from the same word and speaks to the nature of the divinity in question. The very many instances of the repetition of ‘παν’, as a compound element or prefix, are a significant example. These may occur twice, three or even four times in a single verse, often underscored by additional π alliteration (as in *OH* 34.16 Apollo, cited above).²⁸ The insistence on the completeness of a divinity’s power in a given sphere is found in most hymns,²⁹ but the repetition of παν is particularly notable in two of the hymns to the gods of the cosmos, Physis (*OH* 10, eighteen instances of παν) and Herakles (*OH* 12, six instances in v. 4-6), as well as the hymns to Apollo (*OH* 34, nine), Nemesis (*OH* 61, nine), Ares (*OH* 65, seven), Hephaistos (*OH* 66, seven) and Ouranos (*OH* 4, seven).³⁰ Compound epithets beginning with πολυ- are also frequently juxtaposed: a form of parechesis that emphasises the idea of multiplicity.³¹ The ‘polymorphous’ nature of Protogonos (*OH* 6.4 πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον, 6.10 πολύμητι, πολύσπορε, 6.11 πολυποίκιλον) is highlighted in this way, as is the abundant variety of the Earth in the hymns to Ge (*OH* 26, six instances) and Demeter (*OH* 40, eight):

OH 40.16-17 (Demeter) μουνογενής, πολύτεκνε θεά, πολυπότνια θνητοῖς
ἥς πολλὰ μορφαὶ πολυάνθεμοι, ἱεροθαλεῖς

only-born, multiparous, mistress to mortals,
whose forms are many, blooming and sacred

²⁸ Twice in a verse: *OH* 5.3 (with π alliteration), 8.3 (π), 10.3, 11.10 (π), 34.16 (π), 59.14, 64.12 (π), 83.4 (π); three times: *OH* 10.4, 10.16, 26.2, 61.8; four times *OH* 12.6 (Herakles) παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ, 66.5 (Hephaistos) παμφάγε, πανδαμάτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, παντοδαίαιτε. In the last two examples, permutations of the same verse, each epicletic in a tetracolos begins with παν. On the repetition of ‘παν’ in divine predications, Fehling 1969: 201-2.

²⁹ Twenty-three hymns have no ‘all’ word and a further eighteen only one.

³⁰ There are six instances in the hymn to Hera (*OH* 16) and five in the hymns to Zeus, Hygieia and Hypnos (*OH* 15, 68, 85).

³¹ Cf. Tsagalis 2017: 202-3.

A corollary of the repetition of παν- stems, expressing the limitless nature of a god's powers, is that of compounds beginning with the *alpha privativum*, which are also clustered in tricoloi and tetracoloi:

OH 12.13 (Herakles) ἄθάνατος, πολὺπείρος, ἀπείριτος, ἀστυφέλικτος
undying, many-trialed, boundless, unshaken

OH 59.17 (Moirai) ἄεριοι, ἀφανείς, ἀμετάτροποι, αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς (with additional α alliteration)³²
airy, invisible, unbendable, ever unyielding

Eὐ- compounds are similarly gathered in a number of verses: a form of alliteration that combines euphony with praise.³³

The repetition of stems is employed to mark an antithesis in OH 10.3 (Physis, πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε), 40.13 (Demeter, κουροτρόφε κούρα), 62.4 (Dike, τοῖς ἀδίκους... δικαία, cf. v. 8-9 also), and 63.5 (Dikaio-syne, ἄθραυστος... θραύεις). It is also the basis of the majority of the *figurae etymologicae* considered below. In some cases a particular attribute of the god is emphasised in this way: the starry appearance of Ouranos (OH 4.7 παναίολε, αἰολόμορφε), the cosmic nature of Pan (OH 11.1 κόσμοιο, 6 κόσμοιο, 11 κοσμοκράτωρ, 20 κόσμον), or the association of Dionysos Trieterikos with fruits (OH 54.8 χλοόκαρπε, 9 κάρπιμε, 10 καρποῖσι).

Anaphora in the hymns takes a number of forms: it may be concentrated in a single verse or series of verses, such as the polyptoton of σύ in OH 27.79 (Meter, ἐκ σέο, σοί, σέ) and the simple anaphora of the same pronoun marking a tricolos in OH 40.12 (Demeter, σὺ χθονία, σὺ δὲ φαινομένη, σὺ δὲ πᾶσι προσηγής).³⁴ Triple anaphora in a single verse is also found in OH 61.8 (Nemesis) and 66.8 (Hephaistos), with πάντα. Anaphora also occurs at the beginning of successive verses. The priamel-like repetition of εἴτε and ἤ in lists of the places visited by the god is found in the hymns to Aphrodite (OH 55.15-17, 20, 22, 24) and Mise (OH 42.5-8).³⁵ The relative pronoun similarly

³² Cf. OH 1.4-6 (Hekate), where three successive verses begin with α (ἀγαλλομένην, ἀμαιμάκετον, ἀπρόσμαχον), and 64.3 (Nomos) ἀκλινῇ ἀστασίαστον αἰὲν τηροῦντα νόμοισιν. Tetracoloi in which each predication begins with the *alpha privativum* occur among the oracles preserved in the *Tübingen Theosophy* (Theos. 1.2.14 αὐτοφυής, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ, ἀστυφέλικτος, 1.18.1 Αὐτοφανής, ἀλόχευτος, ἀσώματος ἡδέ τ' ἄϋλος), in the *Sibylline Oracles* (8.429 αὐτογένητος, ἄχραντος, ἀένναος αἰδιδός τε), and in a verse quoted by Didymus Caecus, possibly from the same source (*De Trin.* 3, PG 38, p. 888 Ἀφθιτος, ἀστυφέλικτος, ἀῖδιος, αἰὲν ὅμοιος. Cf. OF 111 (Chronos in the *Rhapsodies*) ἀγήραος, ἀφθιτόμητις, OF 243.22-3 (the *Hymn to Zeus* from the *Rhapsodies*: a probable source for OH 59.13) ἀπείρτον, ἀστυφέλικτον, ἄτρομον, OF 691.14 (Orphic hymn to the one god) ἀφθιτον, ἀθάνατον; and PGM hy. 5.25 αὐτομαθής, ἀδίδακτος.

³³ OH 41.10, 50.4, 51.11, 71.12. Cf. Fehling 1969: 246-7.

³⁴ Cf. OH 68.3 ἐκ σέο, 4 εἵνεκα σεῖο, 5 σε, 6 σ', 8 σοὺ γὰρ ἄτερ, 10 ἄτερ σεῖο. On anaphoric 'you' in Greek and Latin hymns, Norden 1923²: 149-60.

³⁵ 'Whether... or': *ibid.* 144-7. With places specifically, cf. Eur. *Her.* 355-6, Ar. *Nub.* 270-2, Theoc. *Id.* 1.123-4.

marks out the start of each of the verse- or couplet-length clauses that make up the hymn to Pluto (*OH* 18. 4, 6, 8, 10-12).³⁶

Compounds of *παν*, in addition to clusters within verses, occur anaphorically at the start of successive verses in the hymn to Herakles (*OH* 12.4-6) and Apollo (*OH* 34.15-16, 19), in the latter case interleaved with *ἀρμόζεις* (v. 17) and *ἀρμονίη* (v. 20) in the hymn's description of the cosmic harmony orchestrated by the sun. Further examples of phonic anaphora at the beginning of verses are found in *OH* 31 to the Kouretes (v. 2 *ποσσίκρουτοι*, 3 *κρουσιλύροι*), 71 to Melinoe (8 *ἀλλοκότοις*, 9 *ἄλλοτε*, 11 *ἄλλά*), and in the *ευ* and *υ* assonance that recurs throughout *OH* 74 to Leukothea, echoing the name of the goddess.³⁷ The coincidence of assonance and pitch accent in the last two verses of *OH* 66, to Hephaistos (13 *παῦσον*, 14 *καῦσιν*), or the paronomasia identified by Morand in the last couplet of *OH* 67, to Asklepios (7 *ἐχθρέ*, 8 *ἐλθέ*) are also notable.³⁸ The initial position in a verse is, in sum, significant for the location of words and sounds that are repeated in the collection, a type of poetic anaphora that is analogous to the use of the same word at the start of parallel cola in prose.³⁹

3.1.3 Names and etymologies

In addition to the examples of anaphora at the start of verse given above, the name of the divinity is occasionally repeated in the same position as a reinvoation: *OH* 3.1 *Νύκτα*, 2 *Νύξ*; 7.1 *Ἄστρων*, 3 *Ἄστερες*; 15.1 *Ζεῦ*, 6 *Ζεῦ*; 29.1 *Φερσεφόνη*, 16 *Φερσεφόνη*; 43.1 *Ῥραι*, 5 *Ῥραι*; 59.1 *Μοῖραι*, 11 *Μοῖρα*, 14 *Μοῖρα*, 19 *Μοῖραι*.⁴⁰ This particular type of anaphora is a regular feature of Greek hymns, as is the repetition of the name within a verse, which occurs in the collection in the hymns to Kronos and Zeus (*OH* 13.5, 15.1).⁴¹ Reinvoation at the start of a verse with an alternative name, or that of a connected divinity, is also found in a number of hymns, serving the same purpose: to punctuate the series of predication, as well as linking the gods in question.⁴²

³⁶ Cf. *OH* 75.7 (Palaimon) *οἷς μέν*, 8 *οἷς δέ*.

³⁷ *OH* 74.1 *Λευκοθέαν*, 2 *εὐδύνατον*, 3 *κλυῖθι*, 4 *κύμασι*, 6 *μόνῃ*, 9 *νηυσίν*, 10 *μύσταις*.

³⁸ Morand 2001: 62.

³⁹ Anaphora at the beginning of a verse occurs in hexameter poetry of all periods. E.g. (among the earliest and latest hexameter poets) *Il.* 2.382-4, 18.609-12, 21.176-7, Hes. *Th.* 27-8, *Op.* 5-7 and Procl. *Hy.* 6.1-3, 13-15, 7.8-24. Callimachus in particular makes use of this device for rhetorical effect, cf. *Hy.* 1.8-9, 87-8, 94-5, 2.6-7, 35-6, 3.139-40, 172-3, 262-6 etc. See Hopkinson 1982: 164. The fragments of the *Rhapsodic Theogony* are also notable in this regard, given the small number of consecutive verses preserved (*OF* 211.1-3, 237.2-3, 243.1-5, 6-7, 338.6-8).

⁴⁰ Cf. P.31 *Δαίμονα*, 32 *Δαίμονες*, and *OH* 38.1, 7, 20 *Κοῦρητες* (after an epithet in the first two instances).

⁴¹ E.g. at the beginning of verses *HHy.* 27.1, 16, 29.1, 6, 31.1, 7, Terp. fr. 2 *PMG*, Soph. *Ant.* 781-2, Eur. *Ion* 129, 136, 140, Theoc. *Id.* 2.143-4, Bion fr. 11.1-2; within a verse, e.g. Archil. fr. 177 *IEG*, Hippon. fr. 32 *IEG*, Aesch. fr. 70, Soph. *Trach.* 96, Eur. *Bacch.* 584, *Hippol.* 525, fr. 781. In the Orphic *Hymn to Zeus* from the *Rhapsodic Theogony* (*OF* 243), 'Zeus' begins each of the first five verses and recurs within vs 1, 2, 3 and 5 also. In the shorter version quoted in the *De Mundo* (*OF* 31) 'Zeus' occurs fourteen times in the first seven verses.

⁴² *OH* 2 (Prothyraia) v. 9 *Εἰλείθυια*, 11 *Ἄρτεμις Εἰλείθυια*; 14 (Rhea) v. 9 *μήτηρ*; 18 (Pluto) v. 3 *Ζεῦ χθόνιε*, 4 *Πλούτων*, 12 *Εὐβουλ'*; 27 (Meter) v. 9 *Ἑστία*; 29 (Persephone) 5 *Πραξιδική*; 30 (Dionysos) v. 6 *Εὐβουλεῦ*; 34 (Apollo) v. 25 *Πᾶνα*; 36

The names of divinities are also, in many instances, paired with like sounding words: paronomasia that is clearly intended to serve as a *figura etymologica*.⁴³ In the cases of Protogonos and Persephone the etymological explanation is explicitly stated:

OH 6.8-9 (Protogonos) λαμπρὸν ἄγων φάος ἄγνόν, ἀφ' οὗ σε Φάνητα κικλήσκω
ἡδὲ Πρίηπον ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἐλίκωπον

bringing bright, holy light, whence I call you Phanes
and Priapos the king and bright-eyed Antauges

‘Phanes’ is derived here from φάος, the light Protogonos brings to the cosmos at his birth: an event that may be suggested in v. 8 in the framing of φάος by the parechesis of ἄγων and ἄγνόν. Less obviously, ‘Priapos’ is also accounted for in this way. Cornutus, associating the name with the god Pan, explains it as καθ' ὃν πρόεισιν εἰς φῶς πάντα.⁴⁴ The derivation of both Phanes and Priapos from the φάος may account for the fact that the usual etymology of Phanes, from φαίνω, is implied rather than stated here.⁴⁵ Persephone's name begins the first verse of her hymn and the final verse before the prayer:

OH 29.16 (Persephone) Φερσεφόνη· φέρβεις γὰρ αἰὲ καὶ πάντα φονεύεις
Persephone: for you ever feed and slay all

The etymology given here is an antithesis presented chiastically, with ‘feed’ and ‘kill’ framing the words that express the universality of her power, αἰὲ and πάντα. The reference may be drawn from Cleanthes, who derived Persephone from φέρω and φονεύω.⁴⁶ The name of Pan is similarly accounted for in the hymn to Apollo with οὐνεκα (*OH 34.25-6*): Πᾶνα... οὐνεκα παντὸς ἔχεις κόσμου σφραῖδα τυπῶτιν.

In addition to these explicit etymologies, in a number of instances the name of the god, as presented in the title or invocation, is echoed within the hymn and the etymology of the name is

(Artemis) v. 8 Ὀρθία; 52 (Trieterikos) v. 6 Πρωτόγον', 11 Παιάν; 56 (Adonis) v. 3 Εὐβουλεῦ; 72 (Tyche) v. 2 Ἄρτεμιν; 73 (Daimon) v. 3 Ζῆνα.

⁴³ Morand 2001: 62-5, 2010. On etymological figures, Fehling 1969: 51-2, 260-3.

⁴⁴ Cornut. c. 27. Cf. *OF* 540.3, 6 ὃν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον... πρῶτος δ' ἐς φάος ἦλθε.

⁴⁵ Phanes, φαίνεσθαι: *OF* 126, 127 I, II, 149, *O.Arg.* 15-16 ὃν ῥα Φάνητα | ὀπλότεροι καλέουσι βροτοί· πρῶτος γὰρ ἐφάνθη. The derivation from φάος is also found however in *OF* 540, the Orphic hymn to Helios-Dionysos, v. 6 πρῶτος δ' ἐς φάος ἦλθε.

⁴⁶ Cleanth. *SVF* I 547 (Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 377d). Cf. the hymn to Ge, *OH* 26.2 παντρόφε, πανδώτειρα, τελεσφόρε, παντολέτειρα, where the same antithetical idea of feeding and destroying is reinforced by the repetition of παν- and parallel homoioteleuton.

suggested by paronomasia or stem-repetition alone.⁴⁷ In a few hymns the connection is made clear by direct apposition, as in the hymn to Pan (*OH* 11.1 Πᾶνα καλῶ κρατερόν, νόμιον, κόσμοιο τὸ σύμπαν), where the syllable παν frames the first verse, a concentric pattern emphasised by κ alliteration. The connection is similarly prominent in the hymns to Proteus (*OH* 25.9 Πρωτεῖ πρώτη), Dionysos (*OH* 30.6 Εὐβουλεῦ, πολύβουλε), and Pluto (*OH* 18.4-5), where Πλούτων and πλουτοδοτῶν begin adjacent verses.⁴⁸ In a larger number of hymns in the collection a phonic echo, or a word that actually derives from the theonym (e.g. Nomos, Notos), is embedded in the hymn as a hint at the name's meaning:

<i>OH</i> 4 (Ouranos)	v. 5 οὐράνιος. ⁴⁹
<i>OH</i> 16 (Hera)	v. 2 Ἥρα, v. 1 ἀερόμορφε , v. 8 ἡερίοις. ⁵⁰
<i>OH</i> 17 (Poseidon)	v. 1 Ποσειδάων, v. 8 πόντιε δαῖμον . ⁵¹
<i>OH</i> 19 (Zeus Keraunos)	tit. Κεραυνοῦ Διός, v. 6 κεραυνούς , 15 κεραυνός , 17 Κεραυνόν .
<i>OH</i> 20 (Zeus Astrapaaios)	tit. Διὸς Ἀστραπαίου, v. 5 Ἀστραπαῖον Δία, v. 3 Ἀστράπτοντα.
<i>OH</i> 28 (Hermes)	v. 1 Ἑρμεία, v. 6 ἑρμηνεῦ πάντων. ⁵²
<i>OH</i> 30 (Dionysos)	v. 1 Διόνυσον, v. 2 διφυῆ, v. 3 δικέρωτα, δίμορφον. ⁵³
<i>OH</i> 41 (Meter Antaia)	v. 1 Ἀνταία, v. 11 ἐλθεῖν εὐάντητον.
<i>OH</i> 58 (Eros)	v. 1 Ἔρωτα , v. 1 ἐράσιμον.
<i>OH</i> 59 (Moirai)	v. 16 Ἄτροπε, v. 17 ἀμετάτροποι. ⁵⁴
<i>OH</i> 60 (Charites)	v. 1 Χάριτες, v. 4 χαρμοσύνης γενέτειραι; v. 3 Ἀγλαΐη Θαλίη τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνη, v. 1 Ἀγλαότιμοι , v. 5 ἀειθαλέες, v. 4 εὐφρονες.
<i>OH</i> 64 (Nomos)	v. 2 Νόμον, v. 4 νόμοισιν , v. 11 νομίμοις, ἀνόμοις.
<i>OH</i> 65 (Ares)	v. 3 Ἄρες, v. 1 Ἄρρηκτ'.
<i>OH</i> 67 (Asklepios)	v. 1 Ἀσκληπιέ, v. 3 ἡπιόδωρε. ⁵⁵
<i>OH</i> 69 (Erinyes)	tit. Ἑρινύων, v. 1 ἐρίβρομοι, v. 7 ἐρισθενέες.
<i>OH</i> 70 (Eumenides)	v. 1 Εὐμενίδες, v. 1 εὐφροني βουλή .

⁴⁷ Bernabé, in his analysis of Orphic etymology, distinguishes between 1. indirect etymologies, or associative echoes, 2. paraphrasis, and 3. explicit or 'authentic' etymologies, introduced by οὐνεκα, ὅτι or γὰρ (1992: 32-4). The following examples correspond to the first group. Cf. Hecht 1882: 91, who labels three of the examples given here 'paretymologiae': etymologies based on parechsis or paronomasia alone (pp. 8-9).

⁴⁸ Cf. also *OH* 40.1 (Demeter) Δηῶ, παμμήτειρα, 2 σεμνὴ Δήμητερ (Cornut. c. 28 Δήμητραν οἰοῖν γῆν μητέρα οὖσαν ἢ Δηῶ μητέρα).

⁴⁹ The full verse here, οὐράνιος χθονίος τε φύλαξ πάντων περιβληθείς, may contain an additional allusion to an etymology in the *Rhapsodies*, reconstructed by Bernabé as *OF* 151, [Οὐρανὸν εὐρύν, ἴν'] οὐρος ἀπάντων | ἡδὲ φύλαξ [εἴη], 'limit' or 'watcher' and guardian of all'. The double meaning of οὐρος is hinted at there by the apposition of φύλαξ.

⁵⁰ On the derivation of Ἥρα from ἡρ, see ch. 2.2.3.1.7.

⁵¹ The connection is conjectural here, but cf. v. 4 | ποντομέδων (and v. 3 πόντοιο): the poet does appear to play with the possibility of a link between Poseidon and πόντος. Plato (*Crat.* 402e) suggests a derivation from ποσιδεσμον.

⁵² *OF* 413.1 (*Mikroteros Krater*) || Ἑρμῆς δ' ἑρμηνεὺς τῶν πάντων.

⁵³ Ricciardelli (*ad loc.*) notes the numeric progression in *OH* 30.2, Πρωτόγονον, διφυῆ, τρίγονον, an allusion to the three births of Dionysos and, perhaps, the association of Phanes, Zeus and Dionysos in the *Rhapsodic Theogony*. See also Morand 2001: 67, 2010: 161. Cf. *PGM* hy. 3.6 ὅστε δισύλλαβος εἶ, ΑΗ, καὶ πρωτοφανῆς εἶ.

⁵⁴ *OH* 59.9 μεριμνῶν | may be an echo of Μοῖραι. Cf. *OF* 407 (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 5.8.49): according to Epigenes Orpheus connected the name of the Moirai with τὰ μέρη τῆς σελήνης, a similar instance of μερ- parechsis. Ἀμετάτροποι: Chrysipp. *SVF* II 1092 (Σ Hes. *Th.* 211), Ἄτροπον, ὡς ποιοῦσαν τὸ ἀποκληρωθὲν ἀμετάτρεπτον.

⁵⁵ Cf. P.36 Ἀσκληπιὸν ἡπιόδωτην, Cornut. c. 33 ἡπίως.

OH 72 (Tyche)	v. 1 Τύχη, v. 7 τεύχεις. ⁵⁶
OH 73 (Daimon)	v. 1 Δαίμονα, v. 2 μειλίχιον Δία. ⁵⁷
OH 76 (Mousai)	v. 8 Κλειώ, v. 9 Ἐρατώ, Πολύμνιά, v. 12 εὐκλειαν ζῆλόν τ' ἔρατὸν πολὺμνον ἄγουσαι.
OH 77 (Mnemosyne)	v. 1 Μνημοσύνην, v. 2 μνήμης, v. 6 ὑπομνήσκουσά, v. 9 μνήμην. ⁵⁸
OH 79 (Themis)	v. 1 Θέμιν, v. 4 θεμιστεύουσα. ⁵⁹
OH 82 (Notos)	tit. Νότου, v. 3 νεφέλαις νοτίαις.

The connecting word is often marked by its position at the start or end of a verse (marked by the vertical bar here), and, in OH 77, 79 and 82, by alliteration. Paronomasia of this kind provides an echo or reflection of the name of the god in question, refocusing the reader's attention upon the name and presenting the predication that contain the echo as intrinsically linked to the god's nature. These forms of phonic repetition occur throughout the sequence of hymns, but are particularly frequent in the last third of the collection, which provides thirteen of the twenty-two examples given here (and fourteen if the hymn to Eros is assigned to it). On the other hand only one instance occurs in the central, telestic sequence, in the hymn to Meter Antaia (OH 41). More persistent echoes of the divine name are found in the hymns to Pan (OH 11.1, 2, 3, 10, 19) and Dike (OH 62.4, 7, 8, 9, 10).

In several instances the etymology is more recondite, or expressed periphrastically rather than phonetically. The derivation of the oblique cases of 'Zeus' from διά, discussed by Plato and Chrysippus but already suggested by Hesiod,⁶⁰ is alluded to in the hymn to Zeus (OH 15.3 ὦ βασιλεῦ, διὰ σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφάνη τάδε θεῖα), a simultaneous allusion to the Orphic narrative of Zeus' regurgitation of the cosmos,⁶¹ and again in the hymn to the Moirai (OH 59.14 Μοῖρά τε καὶ Διὸς οἶδε νόος διὰ παντὸς ἅπαντα). Eileithyia is equated with Eleutho by Cornutus (c. 34), an association that may be hinted at in the phonic echo λύουσα in OH 2.9, Εἰλείθυια, λύουσα πόνους δειναῖς ἐν ἀνάγκαις.⁶² Kronos is clearly connected with Chronos in OH 13.3-5, αἰῶνος Κρόνε παργενέτωρ, but the term χρόνος itself is not explicitly stated.⁶³ Cornutus derives Hestia from ἐστάναι, 'standing

⁵⁶ Cornut. c. 13 τεύχειν.

⁵⁷ The connection is again conjectural: Daimon may be presented as a contraction of Δία μειλίχιον (cf. Poseidon, πόντιε δαῖμον or Demeter, Δηώ, παμμήτειρα).

⁵⁸ OH 77.9 ἀλλά, μάκαιρα θεά, μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε: alliteration in this verse gives emphasis the sound of μνήμην.

⁵⁹ θεμιστεύουσα θεοῖσι: again, with alliteration. Cf. OF 413.9 (*Mikroteros Krater*) καὶ Θέμις ἥπερ ἅπασι θεμιστεύει τὰ δίκαια.

⁶⁰ Pl. *Crat.* 396a-b, Chrysipp. *SVF* II 312 (Simpl. in *Phys.* 25.15), 1062 (Stob. *Ed.* 31.11), Cornut. c. 2. Cf. also the Orphic *Mikroteros Krater* (OF 416.3). Hes. *Op.* 2-3 Δι' ἐννέπετε... ὃν τε διὰ βροτοὶ ἄνδρες ὁμῶς ἀφατοὶ τε φατοὶ τε. See further Bernabé 1992: 33.

⁶¹ OF 243.31-2.

⁶² Cf. also λυσίζων' v. 7, which is also cited as an epithet of the goddess by Cornutus, c. 34.

⁶³ Cf. Chrys. *SVF* II 1091 (Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2.64), Corn. c. 15, OF 207 I (= OF 56 Kern, Apion *ap.* Ps.-Clem. *Hom.* 6.7.3), Plut. *Aet. Rom. et Gr.* 266f ὥσπερ ἐνιοι τῶν φιλοσόφων, χρόνον οἶονται τὸν Κρόνον εἶναι (cf. *De Is. et Os.* 363d). Κρονοτέκνε, an epithet of Ouranos (OH 4.8) may point to the same association on the basis that time is marked by the motion of the heavenly bodies: cf. χρόνου πάτερ in OH 8.13 (Helios) and 12.3 (Herakles, identified with the sun), and χρόνου μήτηρ in OH 9.5 (Selene). On the hymn to Kronos, see further Alderink 1997.

firm', a concept expressed by *στήριγμα* in her hymn (*OH* 84.5), and Athena from *ἀ-θήλεια*, which may correspond with the predication *ἄρσῃν μὲν καὶ θήλυσ* (*OH* 32.10).⁶⁴ In these cases the etymology is a subtext, suggested by periphrasis or a synonym of the word that actually explains the name. The same type of allusion may also be present in the hymn to Melinoe (*OH* 71). The name of this obscure goddess has been interpreted either as 'gentle-minded', deriving from *μειλινόη*, or 'russet' from *μήλινος*, a reference to the colour of the moon.⁶⁵ Morand supports the latter derivation, noting *κροκόπεπλος* at the end of the first verse, in apposition to Melinoe's name; but the former may be suggested as well, by *εὐμενές* at the start of the final verse.⁶⁶ *Εἰραφιώτην*, a reference to Dionysos in the hymn to Sabazios (*OH* 48.2) is explained in the following verse: *μηρῶι ἐγκατέραιψας*, an allusion to the etymology given in Hesychius.⁶⁷ A final example of periphrastic etymology may be found in the hymn to Trieterikos, which connects Dionysos with Protogonos:

OH 52.6 (Trieterikos) Πρωτόγον', Ἑρικεπαῖε, θεῶν πάτερ ἡδὲ καὶ υἱέ
 Protogonos, Erikepaios, father and son of the gods

The name Erikepaios, which also occurs in the hymn to Protogonos (*OH* 6.4) and the *Rhapsodic Theogony*,⁶⁸ and appears as an epithet of Dionysos in Hesychius and a Lydian inscription, is interpreted by Malalas as *ζωοδοτήρ*, 'life-giver'.⁶⁹ A funerary lamella from Pherai in Thessaly apparently refers to the name in the repeated *symbolon* or password *ἀνδρικεπαιδίθυρσον*, 'man-and-child-thyrsos'.⁷⁰ If this represents an etymological reading of Erikepaios, as seems possible, then the phrase that follows the epithet in the Orphic hymn, 'father and son of the gods' may be an allusion to it: a reference in itself to the Orphic identification of Protogonos and Dionysos, first and last in the succession of divine rulers, and a significant point of contact between the hymns and the lamellae.⁷¹

⁶⁴ Hestia, Cornut. 28 διὰ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῆς ὥσανει ἐπὶ θεμελίου τὸν ὅλον ἐστάναι κόσμον; Athena, Cornut. c. 20 διὰ τὸ καίπερ θήλειαν οὔσαν ἥκιστα θηλύτητος καὶ ἐκλύσεως μετέχειν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν.

⁶⁵ Μειλινόη: Lobeck 1829: 818 n. 1. Cf. the 16th century Latin translation of the *OH* in Laur. Plut. 36.35 fol. 20r, which gives the title of *OH* 71 as 'Melinoes, i[d est] placidae mentis'. Μήλινος: Wunsch 1905, followed by Bannert 1978: 135 and Morand 2001: 182.

⁶⁶ For a double etymology of this kind, cf. *Od.* 1.55, 62 and 5.160, 339, where the name of Odysseus is connected with both *ὀδύρομαι* and *ὀδύσσομαι*, or Hes. *Th.* 207-10 (Titans, *τιταίνοντας, τίσιν*).

⁶⁷ Hesych. Εἰραφιώτης· ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ τὸ <ἐρράφθαι> ἐν τῷ μηρῷ τοῦ Διός. Cf. Cornut. c. 30 ἐρραφθεῖς δ' εἰς τὸν μηρὸν τοῦ Διός.

⁶⁸ *OF* 96, 97, 98, 134, 135, 162, 167.2, 170, 241.1 (referring to Protogonos in the *Rhapsodies*). In the Gurôb papyrus (col. I 22a, *OF* 578) it appears as Ἑρικεπαῖγε.

⁶⁹ For discussion of the name, see Guthrie 1935: 97-100, West 1983: 205-6, Morand 2001: 189-94, Bernabé & Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008: 152-5, Bremmer 2013: 40, n. 53, Meisner 2018: 192-3. Malalas *Chron.* 4.89 (*OF* 97), Hesych. Ἑρικεπαῖος· ὁ Διόνυσος. Inscription (Hierocaesarea, 2nd c. CE): *TAM* 5.2 1256, discussed by Morand 2001: 193.

⁷⁰ *OF* 493, Parker & Stamatopoulou 2004, Graf & Johnston 2007: 38 (no. 27, Pherai I), 133, Edmonds 2011: 37.

⁷¹ Protogonos, (Zeus) and Dionysos as one god: Rudhardt 2008: 277-280.

3.1.4 Conclusion

The association of sound and meaning in the *Orphic Hymns* is particularly important in connection with the names of divinities, as Morand has shown.⁷² The use of parechesis to ‘unpack’ the meaning of a name is found in both Homer and Hesiod, alongside explicit etymologies,⁷³ but although the *figura etymologica* is a traditional feature of Greek poetry, its systematic use as a heuristic tool is rooted in Presocratic ideas about the connection between language and reality. The classic text on the subject is Plato’s *Cratylus*, in which Cratylus himself maintains the argument that true language is ‘natural’, assigned by the gods and, once stripped of the accretions of usage, can serve as a guide to the true nature of being: reality is coeval with, and encoded in words.⁷⁴ Cratylus’ position is a radical one in the dialogue: it is countered by Hermogenes’ argument that words are conventional, and Socrates himself proposes a mediating theory. The dialogue’s exploration of etymology descends into a seemingly parodic analysis of phonemes.⁷⁵ Plato was however building on a century and a half or more of speculation on the subject. Cratylus himself claims to be a follower of Heraclitus, whose statement that the bow is life but deals death expresses a paradox inherent in the surface opposition between the meanings of βίος.⁷⁶ Democritus, according to the very late testimony of Proclus, offered a critique of the theory of natural language that Heraclitus may have espoused, based on the existence of homonyms, synonyms, changes in name and the absence of them. He maintained however that in many cases there is an essential link between a word and its referent, giving the example of divine names, which he described as ἀγάλματα φωνήεντα, ‘phonic images’: representations of a divinity analogous to the visual or iconic.⁷⁷ Burkert traces the same idea through Parmenides and Anaxagoras to the Derveni commentator, who interprets an Orphic theogony some fifty years before Plato on the basis of the etymologies of the names Orpheus assigned to the gods. The naming of divinities is, for this author, an intrinsic part of the cosmogonic sequence, viewed as a process of separation.⁷⁸ Orpheus, in the commentator’s reading, is a guide to natural language: he has assigned names that serve as markers of deeper meaning.⁷⁹ Orphic poetry does in fact show a notable interest in etymology, which extends at least as far back as the poems studied by the Derveni commentator. Aside from that

⁷² Morand 2001: 63-75, 2010.

⁷³ Gambarara 1984, Bernabé 1992, Reece 1999, Davies 2017: 83-95, O’Hara 2017²: 7-13. E.g. the echoes of the names of the Muses in the *prooimion* of the *Theogony* (v. 37, 44) and the play on the name of Odysseus, *Od.* 1.55, 62, 5.160, 339. Explicit etymologies of names in Homer and Hesiod (employing οὔνεκα, ὅτι or γάρ): *Il.* 6.403 (Astyanax), 7.140 (Areithoos), 9.562 (Alkyone); *Od.* 18.7 (Iros), 19.403 (Autolykos); *HHy.* 3.373 (Pytho), 387 (Telphousios), 5.198 (Aeneas), 19.47 (Pan); Hes. *Th.* 144 (Cyclopes), 197-200 (Aphrodite), 207-10 (Titans), 235 (Nereus), 282 (Pegasus) *Op.* 81 (Pandora), fr. 233 (Trichaikes), 235 (Ileus).

⁷⁴ Pl. *Crat.* 383a-b, 434a-35d, 438c. Amsler 1989: 19-31, Baxter 1992: 8-15, Sedley 2003: 147-151, Ademollo 2011: 23-36, Montgomery Ewegen 2014: 17-29.

⁷⁵ Pl. *Crat.* 425d. Burkert 1970: 454, Montgomery Ewegen 2014: 11.

⁷⁶ Pl. *Crat.* 440e, Arist. *Met.* 987a, 1010a. Heracl. B 48 DK βίος· τῷ οὖν τόξῳ ὄνομα βίος, ἔργον δὲ θάνατος.

⁷⁷ Democr. B 26 DK (Procl. *In Crat.* 16), B 142 DK. Amsler 1989: 33.

⁷⁸ P. Derv. col. 21.13-14 (Kouremenos) ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ π[ρ]όσθεν, ὠνόμασθη δὲ γενέσθ[αι] ἐπεὶ διεκρίθ[η]. See Burkert 1970: 444-7, Edmonds 2013: 131-3.

⁷⁹ On divine names in the Derveni papyrus, Myerston 2013.

author's interpretations, the single verse of a hymn quoted by him connects the name of Demeter with Ge Meter, and in the surviving fragments of the *Rhapsodic Theogony* we find etymological references to the names of Phanes, Ouranos, Aphrodite and Demeter again.⁸⁰ Orpheus' alternative mythology was bolstered by the association of name and meaning, which served to connect divinities to the Orphic version of the theogonic narrative, whether new (Phanes) or traditional (Demeter). In this sense the Orphic poets were building on a method already found in Hesiod, who similarly etymologises names in order to root the gods or heroes that bear them into his account of the world's origins.⁸¹ Burkert argues moreover that there is a more fundamental link between naming and accounts of creation, traceable in the *Enuma Eliš* and in *Genesis*: the idea that the assigning of names is itself part of the creative process, crystallising and separating elements into divinities and living or physical entities: 'Dès l'origine la cosmogonie est à la fois onomatogonie'.⁸² The figure of Orpheus himself is also critical however in this regard: the assigning of names that reveal meaning is part of the revelatory character of Orphic poetry, a 'preferable' version that derives from the gods themselves, in which natural language is embedded and which that language serves to corroborate.⁸³

As an interpretive tool, in a theological or metaphysical context, etymology was embraced by the Stoics, together with physical allegory, with which it is closely associated.⁸⁴ Stoic language theory posited a small number of elementary words, *πρῶται φωναί*, which constituted natural language and had been assigned by ancient wise men as basic representations of reality: a development of the position held by Cratylus. In theological terms, this was again the basis for the etymological interpretation of divine names.⁸⁵ Zeno, Cleanthes and, in particular, Chrysippus unpack the gods' names and epithets; Chrysippus simultaneously interpreting the myths of Orpheus, Musaeus, Homer and Hesiod to accommodate them to his physical theory of the cosmos.⁸⁶ As in the hands of the Derveni author, etymology was used by Chrysippus as a means of confirming a cosmological

⁸⁰ Derveni hymn: P. Derv. col. 22.12, Morand 2010: 160. Phanes: *OF* 126, 127 I, II, 149, Ouranos: *OF* 151, Aphrodite: *OF* 189, 260, Demeter: *OF* 206. Cf. *OF* 188 (Giants), 315 I-III (Pallas), 83 (Titans, assigned by Bernabé to the theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus), and *OF* 130, in which the 'roaring' of Protogonos (*βρίμας*) explains the Dionysian epithet *Βρόμιος*, given to him in *OF* 141. On etymologies in Orphic poetry, Hecht 1882: 90-91, Baudnik 1905, Bernabé 1992, Morand 2010: 160, 173. Cf. also the *σῶμα-σῆμα* doctrine, *OF* 430 (Pl. *Crat.* 400c, *Gorg.* 493a), on which see Bernabé 1995.

⁸¹ Bernabé 1992: 49-52.

⁸² Burkert 1970: 450.

⁸³ Morand 2010: 158-60. 'Preferable': cf. *προφερεστέρα* *OH* P.2. Orpheus' access to the language of the gods, displayed where the divine and human names of a divinity are given (*OF* 140 Phanes, 155 Selene), expresses the same idea. Bernabé 1992: 31-2, 39-40, Morand 2010: 159.

⁸⁴ Cf. Burkert 1970: 450, 'on pourrait dire que l'allégorie étymologise le contexte d'une narration, l'étymologie allégorise le mot individuel'.

⁸⁵ Most 1989: 2027-9, Amsler 1989: 22-3, Tieleman 1996: 196-203, Schenkeveld & Barnes 1999: 179-84, O'Hara 2017²: 19-21.

⁸⁶ Zeno *SVF* I.103, Cleanthes *SVF* I.535, 540-43, 546-7, Chrysippus *SVF* II.1021, 1062-3, 1076, 1081-92, 1094-5, 1098-1100. *SVF* II.1078 (Philodem. *de Piet.* 13) *τά τε εἰς Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον ἀναφερόμενα καὶ τὰ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ καὶ Ἡσίοδῳ καὶ Εὐριπίδῃ κ[αὶ] ποιηταῖς ἄλλοις, ὡς καὶ Κλεάνθης, πειράται συνοικεῖν ταῖς δόξαις αὐτῶν*. On Stoic allegory, Steinmetz 1986, Boys-Stones 2001: 28-43, 2003: 189-216, Brisson 2008a: 41-55.

hypothesis with reference to the natural language embedded in mythical narrative. Cornutus' *Epidrome*, a Stoic treatise of the first century CE, serves as a digest of theological data, collecting epithets, etymologies and allegorical interpretations of the gods.⁸⁷

The *Orphic Hymns* show many points of contact with this interpretative tradition, from the etymology of 'Zeus' found in Hesiod, Plato and Chrysippus, to the several identical etymologies they share with Cornutus. They have been influenced by Stoic conceptions of divinity here, as in several other respects,⁸⁸ but their interest in the meaning of names should also be viewed in the context of the Orphic tradition, as Morand maintains: Orpheus gave names to the gods that speak to their true natures.⁸⁹ Apart from the Derveni hymn and the fragments of the *Rhapsodic Theogony* already cited, the short fragments quoted by Galenus from a poem called the *Smaller Krater* show a close proximity to the hymns of the extant collection in terms of etymology, physical allegory and phraseology: Ἑρμῆς δ' ἐρμηνεὺς τῶν πάντων ἀγγελός ἐστι... καὶ Θέμις, ἥπερ ἅπανσι θεμιστεύει τὰ δίκαια (*OF* 413.1, 9). The Orphic hymn to Helios-Dionysos-Protogonos cited by Macrobius shows the same interest in etymology.⁹⁰ Names are important in the Orphic tradition, as they are in the hymns. Just as the accumulation of epithets and predication sheds light on the nature and significance of each divinity in the collection, so too does the exploration of a theonym as the essential, distilled predication of the god: the icon or *symbolon* of the god, in Hierocles' description of the name of Zeus: τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὄνομα σύμβολόν ἐστι καὶ εἰκὼν ἐν φωνῇ δημιουργικῆς οὐσίας.⁹¹ As this section has shown moreover, etymology in the hymns is also part of a broader interest in exploring the connections between sound and meaning, and connected with the pattern of phonic repetitions that are encountered in almost every hymn. Alliteration, assonance, rhyme and paronomasia are recurrent features of their poetic prosody and they appear to serve a number of connected aims. They embroider and elevate the language of the poetry, as is frequently the case in Greek hymns; they create phonic harmonies that please the gods and the ears of the individuals that read or hear them; they connect ideas and mark antitheses, as the next section of this chapter will show, drawing meaning from sound. Sound effects in the hymns are, in sum, a key method employed by the poet to explore the attributes of each divinity and hint at levels of meaning beneath the surface asyndeton of predication. The harmonies they reveal speak to a broader, conceptual harmony in each case: the nature of the god as a synthesis of attributes and powers. The hymns in the collection are themselves, in this light, analogous to Democritus' description of the divine names that form their central point of reference: they are ἀγάλματα φωνήεντα that aim to both depict and delight their subjects.

⁸⁷ Cornutus: Most 1989, Boys-Stones 2001: 49-59, 2003: 196-204, 2018: 1-40.

⁸⁸ Petersen 1868, Baudnik 1905.

⁸⁹ Athenagoras *Leg.* 18.3 (*OF* 1020 II) Ὀρφῶς δέ, ὃς καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν πρῶτος ἐξηῦρεν καὶ τὰς γενέσεις διεξῆλθεν καὶ ὅσα ἐκάστοις πέπρακται εἶπεν καὶ πεπίστευται παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀληθέστερον θεολογεῖν.

⁹⁰ *OF* 539-40. The derivation of Dionysos from δινεῖται here (*OF* 540.7) suggests that δινηθεῖς in the hymn to Protogonos (*OH* 6.7) alludes to the identification of these gods (as is explicitly the case in *OH* 52.6).

⁹¹ Hierocl. in *Aur. Carm.* 25.2 (Democr. B 142 DK).

3.2. Antithetical predication

The *Orphic Hymns* exhibit, to a remarkable degree, the rhetorical device that arranges words, cola and verses in a symmetrical, or antithetical way.⁹² These antitheses take a number of forms. Some are purely formal, based on alliteration, assonance or homoioteleuton; in others the pattern is clearly intended to emphasise a contrast between two opposed ideas. In many cases two antithetical epithets or predicates are simply juxtaposed. There are antitheses of form then and antithesis of meaning, with a significant amount of overlap between the two categories. This section will consider antitheses of meaning, instances of contrasted epicleses; the next will focus on formal antithesis and chiasmus.

Antithesis in descriptions of the gods' powers is already evident in Hesiod. In the proem to the *Works and Days* Zeus is praised in terms of the fates he can dispense to mortals: through him they may be ὀμῶς ἄφατοι τε φατοί τε, ῥητοί τ' ἄρρητοί τε.⁹³ He makes the weak strong and the strong weak, he humbles the proud and raises up the obscure, he straightens the crooked and smites the proud. Here, antithesis conveys the breadth of Zeus' powers, as it does in the *Orphic Hymns* also, albeit in a more abstract sense. The god's ability to occupy two perfectly opposing positions simultaneously conveys the idea that gods are above the mortal sphere of possibilities. Perhaps more fundamentally, antithesis underscores the multiplicity of each divinity's nature, the idea of many in one. This is of course evident in the range of epicleses devoted to each deity, but it is encapsulated in these antitheses, each of which is itself a perfect unity formed of opposite qualities. Aspects of the god, they tell us, are not just many, they may be perfectly contradictory, a contradiction that is itself a symbol of perfection.

The idea is found in Heraclitus: ὁ θεὸς ἡμέρη εὐφρόνη, χειμῶν θέρος, πόλεμος εἰρήνη, κόρος λιμός ('God is day-night, winter-summer, war-peace, satiety-famine').⁹⁴ This is itself an expression of the idea that harmony arises from the balance or tension of opposite qualities:

οὐ ξυνιᾶσιν ὅπως διαφερόμενον ἑωυτῶι ὁμολογέει· παλίντροπος ἁρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης.

They do not understand how that which differs from itself is in agreement: harmony consists of opposing tension, like that of the bow or lyre.⁹⁵

⁹² Antithesis as a rhetorical figure: Denniston 1952: 72-7, Lausberg 1998: 349-58, Dean Anderson 2000: 21-2.

⁹³ Hes. *Op.* 3-4. Analysis in West 1978: 136-42, Tsagalis 2009: 142-3.

⁹⁴ Heracl. B 67 DK. Cf. fragments B 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 65, 88, 103 DK. Translations of Heraclitus in this chapter are from Freeman 1948.

⁹⁵ Heracl. B 51 DK. On the identity of opposites in Heraclitus and παλίντροπος ἁρμονία, Kirk & Raven 1957: 189-195, West 1971: 138-140, Emlyn-Jones 1976: 89-114, Snyder 1984: 91-95, Graham in Curd & Graham 2008: 175, Dilcher in Sider & Obbink 2013: 263-280.

A number of themes that can be detected in the antitheses of the *Orphic Hymns* present specific points of contact with Heraclitus: unity and multiplicity, beginning and end, above and below, creation and destruction, the hidden and the manifest.⁹⁶ Others appear to show a connection with the ten Pythagorean ἀρχαί, as described by Aristotle.⁹⁷ The connections between the antitheses presented by the hymns and Orphic myth are considered individually below, but the link between the latter and Presocratic thought in general should be noted.⁹⁸ In the pantheist version of *Hymn to Zeus* from the *Rhapsodic Theogony* the god, as creator, unites several elemental pairs in addition to being both male and female:

πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἡμαρ·
καὶ Μῆτις πρῶτος γενέτωρ καὶ Ἔρως πολυτελής

fire and water and earth and aither, night and day,
and Metis first parent and Eros the delightful.⁹⁹

These pairs occur again, with some variation, in the Orphic oath preserved by Theon Smyrnaeus:

ναὶ μὴν ἀθανάτων γεννήτορας αἰὲν ἐόντων
πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ γαῖαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἡδὲ σελήνην
ἥελιόν τε Φανῆ τε μέγαν καὶ Νύκτα μέλαιναν.¹⁰⁰

Yes, by the parents of the immortals who are forever,
fire and water, earth and sky, moon
and sun, great Phanes and black Night.

⁹⁶ One and many: fr. B 10 DK; beginning and end: fr. 103; above and below: fr. 60; creation and destruction: cf. fr. 15 (Dionysos, Hades), 21 and 88 (life, death), 67 (war, peace); hidden and manifest: fr. 54, 67 (day, night), 93 (speak, conceal); earth and water: fr. 31, 36.

⁹⁷ Arist. *Metaph.* 986a (Pyth. B 5 DK) ἔτεροι δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων τὰς ἀρχὰς δέκα λέγουσιν εἶναι τὰς κατὰ συστοιχίαν λεγομένας, πέρας [καὶ] ἄπειρον, περιττὸν [καὶ] ἄρτιον, ἐν [καὶ] πλῆθος, δεξιὸν [καὶ] ἀριστερόν, ἄρρεν [καὶ] θῆλυ, ἡρεμοῦν [καὶ] κινούμενον, εὐθὺ [καὶ] καμπύλον, φῶς [καὶ] σκότος, ἀγαθὸν [καὶ] κακόν, τετράγωνον [καὶ] ἑτερόμηκες. Limit-infinity, one-many, right-left, male-female, stillness-movement, light-dark in particular appear here. On the table of opposites, Burkert 1972: 51-2, Zhmud 2013: 339-42, Casertano 2013: 348-53, Lloyd 2014: 36. The Pythagorean opposites, unlike those of Heraclitus, are normative: there is a good column and a bad one. A connection with Zoroastrian dualism is suggested by Burkert (1972: 52 n. 121): Aristoxenus (fr. 13 Wehrli) reports that Pythagoras received from 'Zaratas' the doctrine that there is a father (who is light) and a mother (who is darkness).

⁹⁸ On Presocratic thought and Orphic myth, Burkert 1968: 93-114, Betegh 2004 (esp. pp. 167-348), Riedweg 2002: 89 (Pythagoras in particular).

⁹⁹ *OF* 243.8-9.

¹⁰⁰ *OF* 619 I. See West 1983: 34, Brisson 1990: 2923. Theon adds that these correspond to the Ogdoad of gods taken from an Egyptian stele by Euandros, identified by Bernabé (*ad loc.*) with the Pythagorean named in Iamblichus *VP* 35 (Pyth. A 58 DK).

Oppositions of this type appear to have played a key role in Orphic cosmology, as they did in other areas of Presocratic thought,¹⁰¹ and the hymns appear to have drawn upon this source as well as directly from Heraclitus and the Pythagoreans. These connections are briefly explored below, under each of the themes that appear to link the examples of antithesis we find here.

3.2.1 Unity and multiplicity

This tension is implicit in each hymn's presentation of a single divine nature composed of multiple, accumulated aspects. As a formal, predicative antithesis however, it only occurs in the hymn to Physis, in the summative verse that precedes the prayer (*OH* 10.28):

πάντα σύ ἐσσι, ἄνασσα· σὺ γὰρ μούνη τάδε τεύχεις.
you are all, queen: for you alone bring this to pass.

Πάντα and μούνη are juxtaposed here in a chiasmic arrangement that flanks the central ἄνασσα with σύ.¹⁰² The juxtaposition of 'all' and 'alone' is repeated however in several instances that contrast the uniqueness of the divinity with the diversity of the world that is subject to them. In the hymn to Physis again we find (*OH* 10.9) κοινὴ μὲν πάντεσσιν, ἀκοινώνητε δὲ μούνη, 'common to all, alone unshared', and the formula πάντων γὰρ κρατείεις μούνη/-ος 'you alone rule all' occurs several times in the collection.¹⁰³

3.2.2 Beginning and end

In the proem to the hymns the sequence of deities culminates with Ἀρχὴν τ' ἡδὲ Πέρασ – τὸ γὰρ ἔπλετο πᾶσι μέγιστον, a pairing that recurs in several hymns. Ouranos (*OH* 4.2) and Zeus (*OH* 15.7) are ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτῇ, 'source of all, all's end', a phrase in which chiasmus and anaphora reinforce the sense. In the latter case the reference may be to the first verse of the *Hymn to Zeus* that formed part of several of the Orphic theogonies, which is first cited by the Derveni

¹⁰¹ Cosmogonic pairs, e.g. Epimenides B 5 DK (Air, Night), Pherecydes B 1 DK (Zas, Chthonie/Ge), Acusilaus B 1 DK (Erebus, Nyx). Cf. also Parmenides: in the *logos*, γίγνεσθαι τε καὶ ὄλλυσθαι, εἶναι τε καὶ οὐχί (B 8.40 DK); in the *doxa*, φῶς καὶ νύξ (B 9.1 DK). Empedocles: Κότος, Φιλότης (B 21.7-8 DK), but also the 'Titans' of B 122 DK ἐνθ' ἦσαν Χθονίη τε καὶ Ἡλιόπη ταναῶπις, | Δῆρις θ' αἰματόεσσα καὶ Ἀρμονίη θεμερώπις, | Καλλιστῶ τ' Αἰσχρῇ τε, Θόωσά τε Δηναίη τε | Νημερτῆς τ' ἐρόεσσα μελάγκουρός τ' Ἀσάφεια, and B 123 DK Φυσῶ τε Φθιμένη τε, καὶ Εὐναίη καὶ Ἐγερεσις, | Κινῶ τ' Ἀστεμφῆς τε, πολυστέφανός τε Μεγιστῶ | καὶ Φορῷ, Σωπῇ τε καὶ Ὀμφαίῃ.

¹⁰² This (and the assonance of the words σύ ἐσσι, ἄνασσα· σὺ) speaks against Ricciardelli's emendation of the verse (πάντα σοι εἰσί· τὰ πάντα σὺ γὰρ τάδε μούνη τεύχεις).

¹⁰³ *OH* 16.7 (Hera), 68.11 (Hygieia), 85.3 (Hypnos). The source of the formula, without μούνος, is *Il.* 1.288 πάντων μὲν κρατεῖν ἐθέλει, πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν. Cf. also *OH* 87.8 Thanatos, ἐν σοὶ γὰρ μούνῳ πάντων τὸ κριθὲν τελεοῦται. The hymn to Hekate-Selene in *PGM* IV 2786-2870 (hy. 18.35) combines this formula with the 'beginning and end' antithesis: ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος εἶ, πάντων δὲ σὺ μούνη ἀνάσσεις.

commentator: Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένητο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀργικέραυνος.¹⁰⁴ That Gemistos Plethon thought so is suggested by his emendation of verse 8 of the shorter version of the *Hymn to Zeus* to match the formula found in the *Orphic Hymns*.¹⁰⁵ Orphic poetry, like *OH* 15, associates beginning and end with Zeus in particular,¹⁰⁶ but the concept of the connection of beginning and end is itself a staple of Presocratic thought.¹⁰⁷ Heraclitus' statement ξυνὸν γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας ἐπὶ κύκλου περιφερείας ('beginning and end are joined in the circumference of a circle') is an illustration of the essential unity of opposites: any point on the circumference is simultaneously both.¹⁰⁸ This particular idea may underlie another instance of the opposition of beginning and end, in the hymn to Apollo (*OH* 34.15). In the form of the sun, circling the world and so holding the *πείρατα κόσμου*, or its presiding over its circumference, Apollo is said to 'have a care for both beginning and end': σοὶ δ' ἀρχὴ τε τελευτή τ' ἐστὶ μέλουσα. A different meaning is given to the association of beginning and end with the circle in *OH* 83.7, in which Okeanos is described as *τέρμα φίλον γαίης, ἀρχὴ πόλου* ('earth's own limit, source of the sky'). The distinction here is apparently between the inside and outside of the circle. Ocean, encircling the earth, marks the boundary where earth ends and the sky begins.

The use of the antithesis in the hymns to Ouranos and Zeus combines a spatial sense with a temporal one. Like Apollo, Ouranos circles the earth, *σφαιρηδὸν ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν* (*OH* 4.3 'spinning sphere-wise round the earth'), but he is also *ἀρχὴ πάντων* as one of the primal deities in early versions of the Orphic theogony: hence *παγγενέτωρ* (*OH* 4.1), *πρεσβυγένηθλ'* (*OH* 4.2), and the position of his hymn at the start of the theogonic sequence.¹⁰⁹ Zeus is beginning and end as

¹⁰⁴ *OF* 14.1 (P. Derv.), 31.1 (the shorter version cited in the *De Mundo*), 243.1 (the longer version which occurred in the *Rhapsodic Theogony*). Cf. *OF* 688a.1 [Ζεὺς] πάντων ἀρχή, Ζεὺς [μέσσα, Ζεὺς δὲ τε] τελευτή, a version found in a 2nd c. papyrus. On the hymn to Zeus, Forderer 1981, West 1983: 89-90, 239-41, Brisson 1990: 2889-92, 1997: 88-90, Burkert 2006: 107, Edmonds 2013: 169-171, Meisner 2018: 101-114. Near Eastern analogies in Reitzenstein 1926, Olerud 1951, West 1971. For a detailed discussion of Clement's citation of *OF* 243, Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 187-90. An early reference to this verse of the hymn is found in Plat. *Leg.* 715e (*OF* 31 III): ὁ μὲν δὲ θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτήν καὶ μέσσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων.

¹⁰⁵ In a copy of the shorter version of the hymn, found in the 'h' family of MSS of the *OH*, which derives from Gemistos Plethon's autograph (Keydell 1942a: 77, Quandt 1955²: 82-3), the phrase from *OH* 15.7, Ζεὺς ἀρχὴ πάντων ἦδε καὶ τελευτή, is substituted for Ζεὺς ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων ἀργικέραυνος (*OF* 31.8). The autograph itself is in Venice (Marcianus 406): a copy, Harleianus 1752 ('h' in Quandt's survey of the MSS) is accessible in the British Library (www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_1752). The *Hymn to Zeus* follows the *Orphic Hymns* and hymns of Proclus on fol. 14r.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. also *OF* 378.35 (the 'Diatheke') ἀρχὴν αὐτὸς ἔχων καὶ μέσσον ἦδὲ τελευτήν, another reference to the *Hymn to Zeus*.

¹⁰⁷ E.g. Hippocr. *De Alim.* 9.98 (Heracl. C 2.9 DK) Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων μία καὶ τελευτὴ πάντων μία καὶ αὐτὴ τελευτὴ καὶ ἀρχή. Thales expresses the opposite idea to the Orphic poems: Diog. Laert. 1.35 (Thales A 1 DK) τί τὸ θεῖον, 'τὸ μήτε ἀρχὴν ἔχον μήτε τελευτήν'. Cf. also Parm. B 8.3 DK (on Being) ἀγέννητον ἐὼν καὶ ἀνώλεθρόν ἐστιν, B 8.26 DK ἔστιν ἀναρχον ἄπαυστον.

¹⁰⁸ Heracl. B 103 DK.

¹⁰⁹ Ouranos as primal deity in the Derveni theogony (after Nyx): P. Derv. col. 14.6 (*OF* 10.2) Οὐρανὸς Εὐφρονίδης, ὅς πρωτίστος βασιλευσεν. See Betegh 2004: 118-121, 153-9, Burkert 2006: 99-100, Bernabé 2007: 107-9, Meisner 2018: 75-85. In the Eudemian theogony, *OF* 19-27 (20 I-V on the first gods), West 1983: 116-124, Meisner 2018: 94-102. See further ch. 2.1.3.

creator, by virtue of his re-creation of the cosmos in Orphic myth,¹¹⁰ but he is also connected with the sky. In Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* (v. 7) there is a close parallel for the phrase cited above from the hymn to Ouranos: σοὶ δὴ πᾶς ὄδε κόσμος, ἐλίσσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν.

3.2.3 Above and below

Other spatial dichotomies occur in the hymns. Ouranos is οὐράνιος χθονίος τε (*OH* 4.5), 'celestial and chthonic' in the sense that he circles the earth: he is both above and below. The idea is developed in the second half of the verse: as a result, he is φύλαξ πάντων περιβληθείς, 'the enveloping watcher of all'. The same concept appears in the hymn to Nyx, who is ἡμιτελής, χθονία ἢ δ' οὐρανία πάλιν αὐτή, 'half-whole, chthonic and celestial again herself' (*OH* 3.8). Here the antithesis is itself an explanation of ἡμιτελής: night is half of the sky and either above or below as the sky rotates.¹¹¹ The rotation of the heavens is matched by that of the sun in the hymn to Apollo, who, like Ouranos, sees all from above and below in an antithesis that extends over four verses (*OH* 34.11-14):

τόνδε σὺ γὰρ λεύσσεις τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα πάντα
γαῖαν δ' ὀλβιόμοιρον ὑπερθέ τε καὶ δι' ἀμολγοῦ,
νυκτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίαισιν ὑπ' ἀστεροόμματος ὄρφνην
ρίζας νέρθε δέδορκα

for you gaze upon all this boundless aither
and bliss-portioned earth from above, and through the twilight
in night's stillness under the starry-eyed darkness
you look on the roots from below

In the hymn to the Helios (*OH* 8.4) there is an antithesis between East ('right') and West ('left') rather, δεξιὲ μὲν γενέτωρ ἡοῦς, εὐώνυμε νυκτός ('on the right, dawn's parent, night's on the left'), which also juxtaposes light and darkness. The conceptualisation of East and West as left and right here suggests a reference to the Pythagorean pairing of δεξιὸν καὶ ἀριστερόν.¹¹² Earth and sea are structurally opposed in the hymns to Poseidon (*OH* 17.4) and Nereus (*OH* 23.4). In the former they form the outer frame of the verse (ποντομέδων, ἀλίδουπε, βαρύκτυπε, ἐννοσίγαιε), in the latter the central portion of a chiasmic phrase, flanked by words signifying limit (πυθμὴν μὲν πόντου, γαίης

¹¹⁰ Zeus' act of creation: *OF* 31, 240-4, cf. *OH* 15.3-5. Burkert 2006: 101-10, Bernabé 2007: 118-121, 2010: 67-97.

¹¹¹ The following lines give further clarification: Night chases the light from the underworld and flees to Hades in her turn (*OH* 3.9-11, cf. the hymn to Eos, *OH* 78.4-5, who sends night to Hades). The sky has a bright and a dark half that circle the earth daily as though chasing each other. The same idea applies to the Stars, who are similarly οὐράνιοι χθονίοι τε (*OH* 7.9).

¹¹² Arist. *Metaph.* 986a (Pyth. B 5 DK).

πέρας).¹¹³ This phrase is itself juxtaposed with ἀρχή ἀπάντων ('source of all'), which completes the hexameter, another instance of the antithesis of beginning and end.

3.2.4 Gender and generation: male-female, virgin-mother, son-father

Another set of antitheses present the gods as simultaneously male and female.¹¹⁴ Male and female are another of the ten Pythagorean ἀρχαί and treated as a Heraclitean pair in the *De Mundo*.¹¹⁵ As with the ἀρχή-τελευτή binary however, the *Hymn to Zeus* of the Orphic theogonies provides the closest parallel for the androgynous treatment of a god: Ζεὺς ἄρσῃν γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφῃ ('Zeus was male, Zeus an immortal nymph').¹¹⁶ The female, maternal aspect of the god is further emphasised in the later description of the earth as his womb.¹¹⁷ In this androgynous form, Zeus is a doublet of Protogonos, who is διφυῆ in this collection and described as physically bisexual in the *Rhapsodies*.¹¹⁸ In the cases of Zeus and Protogonos this hermaphroditism is connected to their roles as creators: they are, like Physis in this collection (*OH* 10.18), both mother and father. This is not the case in the majority of examples found in the *Orphic Hymns*. Mise and Adonis are both identified with Dionysos, himself an androgynous figure. In the case of Mise, this attribute is clearly foregrounded by the fact that she is otherwise presented as female.¹¹⁹ Athene has masculine traits as a warrior goddess: she is ἀνδροθέα in an epigram from the *Anthology* and Proclus calls her ἀρσενόθυμος.¹²⁰ Guthrie however notes another possible connection here with Adrasteia, the

¹¹³ On the water-earth antithesis, cf. Heracl. B 31 & 36 DK. Water and earth are the two ἀρχαί in the Orphic theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus: *OF* 75, West 1983: 183, Meisner 2018: 131-2.

¹¹⁴ *OH* 9.4 Selene, θῆλύς τε καὶ ἄρσῃν; 10.18 Physis πατήρ, μήτηρ; 32.10 Athene, ἄρσῃν μὲν καὶ θῆλυς, 42.4 Mise, ἄρσενα καὶ θῆλυν, 56.4 Adonis κούρε καὶ κόρε. A similar antithesis is implied in the description of Artemis as ἀρσενόμορφε (*OH* 36.7).

¹¹⁵ Cf. *De Mundo* 396a (Heracl. B 10 DK) ἴσως δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ἢ φύσις γλίχεται καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἀποτελεῖ τὸ σύμφωνον, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων. ὥσπερ ἀμέλει τὸ ἄρρεν συνήγαγε πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ, and Heracl. A 22 DK οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶναι <ἀρμονίαν> μὴ ὄντος ὀξέος καὶ βαρέος οὐδὲ τὰ ζῶια ἄνευ θήλεος καὶ ἄρρενος ἐναντίων ὄντων: there can be no harmony without high and low pitch, no life without female and male.

¹¹⁶ *OF* 31.4 = 243.3. Zeus' androgyny here is discussed by Brisson 1997: 87-91 and Bernabé 2010: 78, 87-8. Cf. also the phrase cited by Diogenes Bab. (*SVF* III 217.17), Ζεὺς ἄρρῃν, Ζεὺς θῆλυσ, which may be a reference to the variant of the *Hymn to Zeus* preserved in a papyrus fragment (*OF* 688a.3 [Ζεὺς ἄρσῃν] Ζεὺς θῆλυσ), and the Orphic hymn in Macrobius, which describes the one god as μητροπάτωρ (*OF* 691.5). Synesius places the same theme in a Christian setting (hy. 2.64 σὺ δὲ ἄρρῃν, σὺ δὲ θήλυσ). In a fragmentary hymn attributed by Varro to Valerius Soranus (*PLM* VI: 273 Baehrens) Jupiter is similarly 'Progenitor genetrixque deum, deus unus et omnes'. Other Latin examples of divine androgyny are collected by Versnel (1990: 214 n. 44).

¹¹⁷ *OF* 243.26-7 ἱερὴ δὲ οἱ ἔπλετο νηδὺς | γαῖά τε παμμήτωρ.

¹¹⁸ διφυῆ: *OH* 6.1. Cf. *O.Arg.* 14. Dionysos, Mise and Eros are similarly διφυῆ (*OH* 30.2, 42.4, 58.4). The same term is differently used of Korybant, who may be part-serpent (*OH* 39.5, Ricciardelli *ad loc.*). Bisexual: *OF* 80 (theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus; *Rhapsodic Theogony*: *OF* 121.3 (ἀρσενόθηλυσ), 134 (θήλυσ καὶ γενέτωρ), 135 I-II (sexual anatomy). Protogonos impregnates himself to create the first gods: West 1983: 70, 202 n. 85, 207. On hermaphroditism in Orphic myth, Brisson 1997: 78-92.

¹¹⁹ Dionysos' androgyny: Jameson 1993: 44-64, Zeitlin 2002: 204. Cf. Io. Lydus *De Mens.* 4.160, Διόνυσός... πυρίτοκος ἐκλήθη καὶ μηροτραφῆς καὶ ἀρσενόθηλυσ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. Mise: Dieterich 1893, Ricciardelli 2000: 398-400, Morand 2001: 169-74. She is otherwise equated with Kore as the child of the 'mourning mother': Edmonds 2011a: 85, 100 n. 59.

¹²⁰ *AG* 15.22.1, Proc. *Hy.* 7.3. Ishtar, a similarly martial deity, is sometimes depicted as bearded (as is Aphrodite, possibly by association): Burkert 2011²: 236. Cornutus, as noted in the previous section, derives Athene's name from ἀ-θήλεια (Cornut. c. 20).

primeval deity associated with Ananke in Damascius' account of the theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus, who is described as ἀρρενόθηλυσ.¹²¹ Selene's androgyny (*OH* 9.4 θῆλύς τε καὶ ἄρσῃν) is mentioned by Plato in the *Symposium*, without further explanation, and Lobeck took this as the Orphic hymn's source.¹²² It is possible that the idea is linked with the changing lunar phases: the antithesis here follows αὐξομένη καὶ λειμομένη.¹²³ In the magical papyri Hekate (identified with the moon) is fused with Hermes as one hermaphroditic god, but this may represent a later Greco-Egyptian syncretism.¹²⁴ In sum, while the male-female antithesis forms a theme in the collection that links a number of deities, and while it draws upon a well-known motif in the Orphic theogonies, its significance in the hymns is intended to be understood in reference to particular traditions surrounding each deity. Each god is androgynous in their own way, whether as parent-creator, virago, or by association with Dionysos.

The theme of 'virgin-mother' links a number of female deities. Persephone is κούρη at the end of *OH* 29.7 (a line referring to her own conception) and μήτηρ at the start of 29.8 (the conception of Dionysos). The parallel between her mother's rape by Zeus and her own in the Orphic tradition is thus underscored by an antithesis that frames the goddess as both daughter and mother.¹²⁵ A variation on this theme is found in the hymn to Athena (*OH* 32.8, φυγόμεκτρε, τεχνῶν μήτηρ): the goddess is chaste, but mother of the arts. Other goddesses are both maidens and nurses. Hekate is νύμφην, κουροτρόφον (*OH* 1.8) and Demeter, more emphatically (and chastically), κουροτρόφε κούρα (*OH* 40.13). Physis is similarly παντρόφε κούρη (*OH* 10.12), and Artemis (though midwife rather than nurse) ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγὴ καὶ ὠδίνων ἀμύητε (*OH* 36.4) 'helper in birth and untried in birth'. The role of midwife is also given to Physis, but contrasted with her fecundity rather than her virginity: αὐξιτρόφος πίειρα πεπαινομένων τε λύτεира (*OH* 10.17) 'self-rearing fat one, ripe things' deliverer'.¹²⁶

¹²¹ Guthrie 1930: 219. In the *OH* proem (v. 36) Adrasteia is linked with Nike (though Pallas appears separately in v. 38). Adrasteia is, in the *Rhapsodies*, a nurse of Zeus: a connection possibly alluded to by the epithet ἀντροδίαιτος in hymn to Athena (*OH* 32.3). On cosmic Adrasteia: Damasc. *De Princ.* 123 bis = *OF* 54 Kern (the passage is divided in Bernabé's edition between *OF* 69, 75 I, 76 I, 77, 78, 79 I, 80 I, 86, 109 X, 111 VI and 1138).

¹²² Pl. *Symp.* 190b (of the three sexes described by Aristophanes, the third is born of the moon): ἦν δὲ διὰ ταῦτα τρία τὰ γένη καὶ τοιαῦτα, ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν ἦν τοῦ ἡλίου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκγονον, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ τῆς γῆς, τὸ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων μετέχον τῆς σελήνης, ὅτι καὶ ἡ σελήνη ἀμφοτέρων μετέχει. Lobeck 1829: 932. Kern (1889: 507 n.1) thinks that Plato and the *OH* draw on the same Orphic source. Cf. also Macrob. *Sat.* 3.8: 'Philochorus quoque in Atthide eandem adfirmat esse lunam, et ei sacrificium facere viros cum veste muliebri, mulieres cum virili, quod eadem et mas aestimatur et femina'.

¹²³ Fauth 2006: 27-31, Bortolani 2016: 259. Cf. Plutarch (*De Is. et Os.* 368c-d): the moon has an androgynous nature because associated with both Isis and Osiris, and because she both 'becomes pregnant' and 'disseminates', presumably a reference to the lunar phases (φύσιν ἔχειν ἀρσενόθηλυν οἶονται πληρουμένην ὑφ' ἡλίου καὶ κυσκομένην, αὐτὴν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὸν ἄερα προϊεμένην γεννητικὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ κατασπείρουσαν).

¹²⁴ *PGM* IV 2610-11 (hy. 19.25-26): καλῶ σε τριπρόσωπον θεάν, Μήνην, ἐράσμιον φῶς, | Ἑρμῆν τε καὶ Ἑκάτην ὁμοῦ, ἀρσενόθηλυν ἔρνος. Cf. *PGM* III 47-8 Ἑ[ρ]μῆ, Ἑκάτ[η] Ἑρμῆ, Ἑρμεκάτη. Bortolani (2016: 259-60) notes that this may reflect the association of a Greek lunar deity with an Egyptian one, Thoth. Hekate and Hermes are linked from an early period however: cf. Hes. *Th.* 444, and, as chthonic deities, on Attic *defixiones* from the 4th c. BCE (*IG* III App. 105-7, Gager 1992: 126-7, 165) and amulets (*ibid.* 222).

¹²⁵ *OF* 276-282. On this parallel in Orphic myth of Dionysos, Graf & Johnston 2007: 3-80.

¹²⁶ Ricciardelli 2000: 'Generosa nutrice opulenta e dissolutrice di ciò che è maturato' (removing the comma that Quandt places after αὐξιτρόφος).

Under the heading of gender and generation, the description of Trieterikos as the son and father of the gods, discussed above as an explanation of Erikepaïos, should be mentioned (*OH* 52.6 θεῶν πάτερ ἡδὲ καὶ υἱέ). As Ricciardelli suggests, this may be an allusion to the identification of Protogonos and Dionysos, the first and last in the *Rhapsodic Theogony*'s succession of rulers.¹²⁷ Physis is, paradoxically, both father of herself and fatherless: αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ (*OH* 10.10).¹²⁸

3.2.5 Hidden and manifest

A large group of antitheses contrast what is manifest to the senses and what is not: the visible and invisible (and I include here contrasts of light and dark), the silent and the spoken. The concept is again found in Heraclitus: ἀρμονίῃ ἀφανῆς φανερῆς κρείττων (B 54 DK, 'the invisible harmony is mightier than the visible'), an example of formal antithesis closely paralleled in the hymn to Pluto (*OH* 18.16) μῶνος ἔφους ἀφανῶν ἔργων φανερῶν τε βραβευτής 'you are sole judge of deeds seen and unseen'.¹²⁹ Gods themselves may be hidden or manifest: Prothyraia (*OH* 2.7 ἀφανῆς, ἔργοισι δὲ φαίνῃ ἀπασι) is invisible but seen in her works, the Nymphs and Aphrodite are simply 'seen and unseen'. The Nymphs (*OH* 51.7 φαινόμεναι, ἀφανεῖς) are associated with streams and running water, hence 'unseen' below ground (κρυψίδρομοι *OH* 51.3) or visible above (πηγαῖαι, δρομάδες *OH* 51.6).¹³⁰ In the case of Aphrodite (*OH* 55.10 φαινομένη, ἀφανῆς) the antithesis may form a bridge between κρυφία χαριδῶτι, 'hidden joy-giver', in the previous line and the visual epithet ἐρατοπλοκαμ' that follows. Melinoe, who changes her form at will, is hidden or manifest by turns: ἄλλοτε μὲν προφανῆς, ποτὲ δὲ σκοτόεσσα (*OH* 71.8).

Helios is 'extinguished and shining' (*OH* 8.15 σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε) in the same way that Selene is 'waxing and waning' (*OH* 9.4 αὐξομένη καὶ λειπομένη). The moon goddess is also of the night, yet brilliant (*OH* 9.3 ἐννυχία, δαιδοῦχε, 'nocturnal torchbearer'), and the same contrast between darkness and light occurs in the hymn to Physis (*OH* 10.6 ἐννυχία... σελασφόρε). The connection

¹²⁷ Ricciardelli 2000: 434. The first half of the verse, πρωτόγον', Ἡρικεπαῖε, makes the connection explicitly, as do several other hymns to Dionysos in the collection (e.g. *OH* 30.2, 3; 40.2; 50.2). On the identification of Protogonos, Zeus and Dionysos in the *Rhapsodies*, cf. *OF* 141, West 1983: 206, Parker 1995: 494, Rudhardt 2008: 254-280, and the hymn to Helios-Dionysos quoted by Macrobius, *OF* 540.3-4, ὃν δὴ νῦν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον | Εὐβουλῆά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἀρίδηλον. Clement Al. cites an Orphic verse which echoes the father-son antithesis and may again refer to Dionysos-Protogonos (*OF* 690 υἱὲ Διὸς μεγάλιοι, πάτερ Διὸς αἰγιόχοι<ο>). West (1983: 35 n. 107), followed by Bernabé (*ad loc.* *OF* 690), thinks Kronos (Chronos) is the subject. Herrero de Jáuregui (2010: 193-5) suggests it is Zeus.

¹²⁸ Cf. Eur. *El.* 1154 μήτηρ ἀμήτωρ, 'mother who is no mother' (itself an echo of *Od.* 23.97 μήτηρ ἐμὴ δύσμητηρ) and *Theos.* 1.2.14 αὐτοφυῆς, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμητωρ.

¹²⁹ Cf. the *gnome* attributed to Solon as one of the Seven Sages (Stob. 3.1.172 = Die Sieben Weisen 10.3 β.20 (I 63.22) DK) τὰ ἀφανῆ τοῖς φανεροῖς τεκμαίρου; *OF* 149 δεῖξεν τ' ἐξ ἀφανῶν φανερούς; Epimenides B 11 DK θεοὶς δῆλος, θνητοῖσι δ' ἀφαντος.

¹³⁰ Rudhardt (1991: 267) uses the example of the Nymphs in arguing that antitheses in the hymns form a kind of 'proposition' in their own right: there is a latent syntax between them. Φαινόμεναι ἀφανεῖς can be unpacked as 'qui vous manifestez sans vous laisser voir'. They are analogous to compound epithets in this way.

here is made by the intervening epithet πολύτερε ‘many-starred’:¹³¹ Physis is apparently identified here with the cosmic sphere, figured as the starry night sky.¹³²

Protogonos is ‘hidden’ but ‘all-shining’ (*OH* 6.5 ἄρρητον κρύφιον ροιζήτορα, παμφαές ἔρνος), Demeter ‘chthonic’ but ‘manifest’ (*OH* 40.12 σὺ χθονία, σὺ δὲ φαινόμενη). In the case of the former, the hidden aspect may be related to mysteries (ἄρρητος and κρύφιος are linked with Dionysos elsewhere in the hymns),¹³³ but the *Rhapsodic Theogony* also emphasises his paradoxical invisibility:

Πρωτόγονόν γε μὲν οὐτις ἐσέδρακεν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,
εἰ μὴ Νύξ ἱερὴ μούνη· τοῖ δ’ ἄλλοι ἅπαντες
θαύμαζον καθορώντες ἐν αἰθέρι φέγγος ἅελπτον·
τοῖον ἀπέστιλβε χροὸς ἀθανάτοιο Φάνητος¹³⁴

None looked upon Protogonos with their eyes,
except holy Nyx alone: but all the others
wondered when they saw the unexpected light in the aither:
so did it shine from the immortal skin of Phanes

There is also a contrast in *OH* 6.5 between the audible (ροιζήτορα) and the visual (παμφαές): Phanes brings light but is simultaneously an invisible ‘hisser’, attributes which may connect him with the sun.¹³⁵ In Demeter’s case the allusion may be to the corn hidden below and visible above the

¹³¹ Stephanus’ correction πολύτερε is adopted by later editors. The Ψ reading πολύτερε is restored by Ricciardelli however: the framing antithesis described here confirms it (Ricciardelli 2000: 273).

¹³² The following verse would, in this reading, describe the motions of the heaven: ἄψοφον ἀστραγάλοις ποδῶν ἔρνος εἰλίσσουσα, ‘rolling a noiseless path on the balls her feet’. In the *OH* Ouranos ‘holds in his breast the unbearable necessity of nature’, φύσεως ἄτλητον ἀνάγκην (*OH* 4.6) and the ‘cosmos of stars’ rolls around Ge, Φύσει ἀενάωι καὶ ῥεύμασι δεινοῖς (*OH* 26.8-9). The association of Physis with the heavens is allied to her identification with Heimarmene and Ananke in the Stoic tradition. Chrysipp. *SVF* II 1076 (Philodem. *De piet.* 11): τόν τε κόσμον ἔμψ[υ]χον εἶναι καὶ θεό[ν, κ]αὶ τὸ ἡ[γεμονι]κὸν [κ]αὶ τὴν ὀ[λ]ην ψ[υ]χ[ή]ν· καὶ [.....]ιαν ὀν[ομά]ζεσθαι τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν κοινὴν πάντων φύσιν καὶ εἰμαρμ[έ]νην καὶ ἀνά[γ]κην. The ‘Hegemonikon’ of the cosmos (cf. *OH* 10.12 ἡγεμόνη) is in turn identified with the sky: Chrysipp. *SVF* II 644 (Diog. Laert. 8.39): Χρύσιππος δὲ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ προνοίας καὶ Ποσειδώνιος ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν φασὶ τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τοῦ κόσμου, Κλεάνθης δὲ τὸν ἥλιον.

¹³³ *OH* 30.2 Dionysos, 52.5 Trieterikos. The opposition of darkness and light is itself a feature of the mysteries: e.g. Plut. fr.178 Sandbach (*OF* 594), Burkert 1987: 89-93.

¹³⁴ *OF* 123. The reference to the cave Phanes hides within (*OF* 163) may also express the idea of his invisibility. On the cave, West 1983: 213.

¹³⁵ Helios is also ροιζήτωρ, ‘rusher’, ‘hisser’ *OH* 8.6 (Scaliger’s emendation of the Ψ reading ριζωτήρ, which Quandt alone retains), as well as συρικτά (‘piper’ v. 11, cf. *OH* 34.25 Apollo). The reference here is to the sound the celestial bodies make on their paths, the music of the spheres heard by Pythagoras (Iamb. *VP* 65, ροιζήματα), see further Kingsley 1999: 125-33. A connection between Phanes and the sun may be detectable in the Derveni papyrus: the commentator identifies the sun with the severed penis of Ouranos, which Burkert argues is replaced by Phanes in the *Rhapsodies* (col. XIII 8-10, Burkert 1999: 106, see chapter 2.1.3), and West argues that many of Phanes’ attributes derive from the Egyptian sun god Re (1983: 105). Cf. also Soph. fr. 1017, “Ἡλιε... ὅν οἱ σοφοὶ λέγουσι γεννητὴν θεῶν καὶ πατέρα πάντων. In the *Rhapsodies* however Phanes creates the sun (*OF* 152) and, on resigning the kingship to Nyx, sets off a circling course (*OF* 118, West 1983: 71; Bernabé attributes this to the motion of the egg rather). It is possible then that he is conceived of as an invisible element of the cosmic system and that the ‘rushing’ refers to the sound of Phanes’ wings (cf. Ar. *Av.* 1182), or the ‘hissing’ of his serpent’s head (as Ricciardelli argues, *ad loc.*). The sound itself is

ground.¹³⁶ The goddess is in general terms chthonic and associated with the earth,¹³⁷ but the juxtaposition of terms here suggests that we should look for an additional meaning in *χθονία* as the antithesis of *φαινομένη*.

We find a similar concept in the antithesis of dying and reviving, or sleeping and waking, in the hymns of Liknites, Amphietes and Adonis (*OH* 46, 53, 56), three deities that are versions of, or identified with, Dionysos. Liknites, Dionysos of the winnowing fan, is connected by Plutarch with the trieteric festival at Delphi, where he was ‘awakened’ by the Thyiades in the month Dadophorios, at the beginning of winter.¹³⁸ Similar *Trietereis* were celebrated in the cities of Ionia and on the island of Rhodes: all concerned the kathodos of Dionysos to Hades and his return. In *OH* 46, Liknites is ‘led by the counsels of Zeus to august Persephone’, and then ‘brought to birth’. The descent and reappearance of the god are juxtaposed in the antithesis *ἄχθεις ἐξετράφης* (*OH* 46.7). The biennial festival and the epithet *Τριετηρικός* are mentioned again in hymns 45 (Dionysos Bassareus *Trieterikos*), 52 (*Trieterikos*), 53 (*Amphietes*) and 54 (*Silenos, Bakkhai*). In the last two of these we find sleeping and waking specifically contrasted. *Amphietes* is ‘awakened’ at the beginning of the second and end of the fifth verse, and ‘sleeps’ at the end of the second and beginning of the third, a symmetrical construction that imitates the cycle of the *Trieteris* itself.¹³⁹ In the seventh verse there is the direct antithesis *εὐνάζων κινῶν τε*, ‘sleeping and stirring’. *Adonis* is similarly described (like the sun) as *σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε*, ‘setting and shining (in circular seasons)’, an allusion to his cyclical death and rebirth.¹⁴⁰

Analogous to the antithesis of the visible and invisible is that of the audible and inaudible, which recalls Empedocles pair of Titans, *Σωπή τε καὶ Ὀμφαίη*, Silence and Voice.¹⁴¹ *Athene* is ‘unspoken and spoken’ (*OH* 32.3 *ἄρρητε, ῥητή*): celebrated (*μεγαλῶννυμε* follows *ῥητή*) yet also worshipped in

represented by the extensive sibilance in the following verse (noted above, 3.1.1). A possible cosmogonic parallel for the Rhapsodic myth of Phanes’ birth and circling course is attributed to Epicurus (Epiphan. *Adv. Haer.* 1.186-7, cit. West, 1983: 202): the world is created from the two halves of an egg and a ‘serpentine wind’ circles the cosmos, driving the motion of the heavens.

¹³⁶ Cf. the similar allegorical treatment of Persephone, *OH* 29.13-14.

¹³⁷ So Ricciardelli 2000: 393: ‘Demetra è collegata alla terra, e quindi ctonia’. Demeter Chthonia: Paus. 3.14.5, Zuntz 1971: 399-400. According to Plutarch (*De Facie* 943b) the Athenians called the dead *Δημητρείοι*.

¹³⁸ Liknites: Eur. *Ion* 716-18, Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 365a, *De E apud Delph.* 389c. See further Festugière 1935: 210, Nilsson 1953: 178-183 (on the *OH* esp. pp. 182-3), Dietrich 1958: 244-8, Kerényi 1977: 212-26, Zeitlin 1989: 157, 186 n. 48 and 2011: 545-6, Suárez de la Torre 2013: 61-70 (esp. p. 64). Cf. the modern survival of a similar ritual in Northern Greece: Sarrou 1900: 347-351; Beaton 1980: 145-6, Alexiou 2002²: 78-82.

¹³⁹ *OH* 53.2-5: *ἐγρόμενον / ἱεροῖσι δόμοισι ἱαύων / κοιμίζει τριετῆρα χρόνον / ἐγείρηι*. The antithesis of waking and sleep is also found in Heraclitus, B 21 DK *θάνατός ἐστιν ὁκόσα ἐγερθέντες ὀρέομεν, ὁκόσα δὲ εὐδοντες ὕπνος*. Cf. also B 26 DK.

¹⁴⁰ *OH* 56.5. Koops (1932: 65) suggests that, in light of the colon shared with the hymn to Helios, Adonis is presented here as a solar deity. But the repurposing of phrases such as this to convey different meanings is frequent in the *OH*, cf. the male-female antithesis discussed above and, on shared formulae generally, ch. 4.1.5. On the annual return and death of Adonis, Theoc. *Id.* 15: 100-144, Burkert 2011²: 272-3.

¹⁴¹ B 123.4 DK.

secret.¹⁴² In the hymn to Oneiros, silence and sound are contrasted. Oneiros comes silently to the sleeping but speaks out to their souls (*OH* 86.3-4 σιγηλὸς ἐπελθὼν, | προσφωνῶν, 86.6 σιγῶν... προσφωνῶν).¹⁴³

3.2.6 Creation and destruction

Several deities are presented as simultaneously benevolent and malevolent, creators and destroyers. Herakles is all-consuming and all-begetting (*OH* 12.6 παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ), insofar as he is identified with Time. Kronos (also assimilated with Chronos) is similarly said to ‘consume and increase’.¹⁴⁴ Rather than eating and begetting, several gods feed or nurse and kill. Ge is παντρόφε... παντολέτειρα (*OH* 26.2, framing the verse), and the Kouretes are τροφῆες καὶ αὐτ’ ὀλετήρες (*OH* 38.14).¹⁴⁵ Persephone, in the etymological explanation of her name discussed above, ‘feeds’ and ‘slays’ (*OH* 29.16 φέρβεις γὰρ αἰὲ καὶ πάντα φονεύεις). This is itself a development of the antithesis in the previous verse: the goddess is both life and death, ζωὴ καὶ θάνατος. The identification of life and death, or rather the idea that life is death and death life, is found in Heraclitus, as well as in early Orphic poetry. Euripides is famously parodied for embracing it in the *Frogs*.¹⁴⁶ The idea that the powers of life and death may be found in one deity is also Heraclitean: ὦντὸς δὲ Αἰδῆς καὶ Διόνυσος.¹⁴⁷ The gods of fate give and take from mortals. The Moirai are παντοδόταιραι, ἀφαιρέτιδες (*OH* 59.19), Tyche and Daimon bestow both abundance and penury.¹⁴⁸ In the hymn to Hygieia there is, uniquely, an antithesis that embraces two contrasting gods, separated by six verses but linked by homoioteleuton and anaphora of αἰεῖ: Hades is the destroyer of lives, Hygieia herself is helper (*OH* 68.6, 12 ψυχοφθόρος αἰεῖ |, ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεῖ |).

¹⁴² Cf. ἄρρητος as a predication of Protogonos (*OH* 6.5), Herakles (12.4, an outlier in this group. An alternative reading may be ἄρρηκτ’, cf. 19.11 Keraunos, 65.1 and 3 Ares.), Dionysos (30.3), Mises (42.2) and Trieterikos (52.5), and, in 29.7 and 30.7, of the ‘secret’ conceptions of Persephone and Dionysos. Guthrie (1930: 219) suggests that the ἄρρητε, ῥητή antithesis here refers to two versions of Athena in the Orphic theogonies: primordial Adrasteia and the canonical daughter of Zeus. If ἄρρητ’ is the correct reading in *OH* 12.4, Herakles may be ‘unspoken’ in the same sense. In the theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus he appeared as a version of Chronos, the partner of Ananke-Adrasteia (*OF* 77).

¹⁴³ On silence and revelation in *OH* 86, Torallas Tovar 2011: 405-11.

¹⁴⁴ *OH* 13.3 δὲ δαπαναῖς μὲν ἅπαντα καὶ αὖξιν ἐμπαλιν αὐτός. Cf. Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.64 (Chrysipp. *SVF* II 1091), ‘Kρόνος autem dicitur, qui est idem χρόνος, id est spatium temporis... ex se enim natos comesse fingitur solitus, quia consumit aetas temporum spatia’ (and Milton *On Time*, ‘glut thyself with what thy womb devours’). Herakles as Time: see chapter 2.1.3. In the Orphic theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus the primordial god, a winged serpent with the heads of a bull, a lion and a god, is called Chronos and Herakles (*OF* 76-79). In *OH* 12.10 the god is described as ‘flashing with firstborn scales’ (πρωτογόνοις στράψας φολίσιν), an apparent reference to the same myth.

¹⁴⁵ In the verse cited from the hymn to Ge, *OH* 26.2 παντρόφε, πανδώτειρα, τελεσφόρε, παντολέτειρα, there is a progression from creation to destruction by way of the central predications, ‘all-giving’ and ‘fulfilling’. See section 3.1.1 on *OH* 17.4 for a similar progression from sea to earth in the hymn to Poseidon.

¹⁴⁶ Heracl. B 21, 62, 77, 88 DK. Orphica: *OF* 430 (σῶμα-σῆμα). Ar. *Ran.* 1082, 1477 (and Dover 1993 *ad loc.*). Cf. Eur. fr. 638 (*Polyidos* = *OF* 457), 833 (*Phrixos*).

¹⁴⁷ B 15 DK. Cf. Pindar’s association of Dionysos with life and fertility, fr. 153 Snell: δεινδρέων δὲ νομὸν Διόνυσος πολυγαθῆς αὐξάνοι, ἀγνὸν φέγγος ὀπώρας.

¹⁴⁸ Tyche *OH* 72.7-8, Daimon *OH* 73.4-5.

3.2.7 Favour and disfavour

In the examples of antithesis considered so far gods embody or represent opposing attributes. In a related set of antitheses their behaviour in response to what they like or dislike is juxtaposed. In most cases this is connected with human morality: they favour the good and punish the wicked. Helios is, in a chiasmic verse, a guide to the pious but furious to the impious, Physis is bitter to the mean (or ‘petty’) but sweet to the obedient.¹⁴⁹ Athene is φιλοιστρος to the evil, to the good φρόνησις (OH 32.9), a juxtaposition of the madness she provokes as an aspect of the Anatolian Mother and the reason she embodies in Orphic theology.¹⁵⁰ Thanatos does not show favour but is at least common to all, while unjust to some (OH 87.6 κοινὸς μὲν πάντων, ἄδικος δ’ ἐνίοισιν). Lysios Lenaios on the other hand favours (is ‘kind’ to) all but is particularly favourable (‘manifest’) to the few.¹⁵¹ A related antithesis, expressed in a chiasmus, is an attribute of Prothyraia, who sympathetically suffers with the labours of women in childbirth and rejoices in easy births (OH 2.8 συμπάσχεις ὠδίσι καὶ εὐτοκίησι γέγηθας). Two of the hymns to the gods of justice (OH 61-64) juxtapose the fates of just and unjust mortals. Dike is, summatively, enemy to the latter but kind to the former (OH 62.9 ἐχθρὰ τῶν ἀδίκων, εὐφρων δὲ σύνεσσι δικαίοις). This is after the pattern of the examples already cited, in which the structural antithesis embraces both the god’s actions and their human objects. In others the focus is exclusively on the latter. Nomos dwells with the lawful but brings evil to the lawless (OH 64.10-11): νομίμοις and ἀνόμοις are in apposition here. In the same way εὐσεβέσιν and τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς are juxtaposed at the beginning of successive verses in the hymn to Oneiros (OH 86.12-13). In the hymn to Dikaiosyne however, the antithesis is between the abstract qualities that underpin the poet’s conception of justice: she hates excess and loves balance. Hygieia, conversely, is herself loved (by the cosmos) and hated (by Hades alone).¹⁵²

In two cases the god’s gift or power is presented in a binary manner, in terms of both the positive when it is given and the negative when it is withheld. Asklepios ‘brings health’ and, as a corollary ‘stops disease’ (OH 67.3-4 μόλοις κατάγων Ὑγίειαν | καὶ παύων νόσους); Mnemosyne is asked to ‘rouse memory’ (of the rite) and to ‘banish oblivion’ (OH 77.9-10 μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε | εὐιέρου τελετῆς, λήθην δ’ ἀπὸ τῶνδ’ ἀπόπεμπε). In both these cases the antithesis forms part of a prayer: an intermediate one in the case of Asklepios and the final prayer in Mnemosyne’s hymn.

¹⁴⁹ OH 8.8 εὐσεβέσιν καθοδηγὲ καλῶν, ζαμενῆς ἀσεβοῦσι; OH 10.15 πικρὰ μὲν φαύλοισι, γλυκεῖα δὲ πειθομένοισι. Bitter and sweet, γλυκὺ πικρὸν, is an antithesis attributed to the Pythagoreans by Aristotle (*Metaph.* 986a = Alcm. A 3 DK).

¹⁵⁰ OH 32.9 φιλοιστρε κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ φρόνησις. Cf. 32.6 οἰστρουσα βροτῶν ψυχὰς μανίαισι. On the association with Meter, Guthrie 1930: 219-20. Athena’s association with ‘frenzy’ may also be connected with the fury of war however (see ch. 4.2.2). Φιλοιστρε: cf. OH 27.13 (Meter), 36.5 (Artemis). Φρόνησις: Cornut. c. 20, Apion *ap.* Ps-Clem. *Hom.* 6.8 (OF 263 = OF 56 Kern).

¹⁵¹ OH 50.8-9 πᾶσιν εὐφρων, | οἷς ἐθέλεις θνητῶν ἢ δ’ ἀθανάτων ἐπιφάυσκων.

¹⁵² Dikaiosyne: OH 63.10 τὸ πλεον στυγέεις, ἰσότητι δὲ χαίρεις. Hygieia: OH 68.5-6 ποθεῖ δὲ σε κόσμος, ἄνασσα, | μούνος δὲ στυγέει σ’ Αἰδης.

3.2.8 Pure antitheses

Apart from the broad thematic groups described, there are a number of cases of antithesis in the hymns that are more specifically aimed at the deity they describe. In several cases the antithesis consists of a simple oxymoron in which a predicate is paired with its opposite, formed of the same stem with the *alpha privativum*. One example occurs in the hymn to Herakles, and another four in the hymn to Physis.¹⁵³ Other cases of oxymoron are less formal.¹⁵⁴ Demeter is *μουνογένης*,¹⁵⁵ but as goddess of the earth she is *πολύτεκνε* (OH 40.16); Aphrodite is *φίλανδρε, ποθεινοτάτη*: both desiring and desired (OH 55.12); Asklepios is both gentle and mighty (67.3 *ἡπιόδωρε, κραταίε*). Hypnos binds the bodies of sleepers but loosens their cares (OH 85.4-5 *σώματα δεσμεύων | λυσιμέριμνε*), while Pan, in a verse that expresses contrast through a formal, chiasmic structure reinforced by assonance, is both helper and terror (OH 11.7):

φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ, φόβων ἔκπαγλε βροτείων
apparitions' helper, terrible to mortal fears.

3.2.9 Conclusion

The themes I have grouped these antitheses under are broad categories, but I do not think it is accidental that they so frequently match or recall pairs of opposites found in Heraclitus and among the Pythagorean elements. By identifying or associating the gods with these elemental pairs, the poet of the hymns appears to hint at a cosmological significance grounded in Presocratic thought. Heraclitus' *παλίντροπος ἁρμονίη* and the Pythagorean cosmos are formed of the tension or interaction of these binaries, and the gods of the *Orphic Hymns* are shown by the connection to be fundamentally part of the fabric of the world. This is perhaps most evident in the hymn to Physis,

¹⁵³ Herakles: OH 12.13 *πολύπειρος, ἀπείριτος*. Physis: OH 10.3 *πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε*, 10.8 *ἀτελής τε τελευταίη* (cf. the Pythagorean pairing of *πέρας* and *ἄπειρον*, Pyth. B 5 DK), 10.9 *κοινὴ μὲν πάντεσσιν, ἀκοινώνητε δὲ μούνη*, 10.10 *αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ*. Cf. also Dikaioyne OH 63.5 *ἄθραυστος τὸ συνειδὸς αἰέ· θραύεις γὰρ ἅπαντας*. Formally similar examples in tragedy: Aesch. *Ag.* 1545 *ἄχαριν χάριν*, *Cho.* 42 *χάριν ἄχαριν*, Soph. *Ant.* 923-4 *δυσσέβειαν εὐσεβοῦς*, *OC* 1692-3 *βίος οὐ βιωτός*, Eur. *Trö.* 1223 *θανεῖ οὐ θανοῦσα*, 1316 *ὄσιον ἀνοσίαις*, *Hipp.* 821 *ἀβίωτος βίου*, *Ion* 1444 *ὁ καθθανών τε κοῦ θανών*.

¹⁵⁴ There is no exact parallel in the OH for the juxtaposition of an active and middle participle of the same verb that we find in OF 225 as a predication of Kronos: *τέμνων καὶ τεμνόμενος*. Cf. PGM hy. 17.88 (to Hekate), *ἡ θεωροῦσα καὶ θεωρουμένη*, hy. 18.42, *Δαμνὼ Δαμνομένη*, and *Orac. Sib.* 3.12 *ἀόρατος, ὀρώμενος αὐτὸς ἅπαντα*.

¹⁵⁵ The description of Demeter as 'only-born' (e.g. Hekate, Hes. *Th.* 426) is strange: she has one child (who is appropriately *μουνογένεια*, OH 29.2) but several siblings. The epithet is also applied to Athena (OH 32.1), but the circumstances of her birth are unique and she is the only child of Metis. Koops (1932: 51) takes *μουνογένης* as equivalent to *μούνη*, Fayant (2014: 345) sees it as a result of the identification of Demeter with Rhea (OF 206). In terms of the antithesis the meaning should be 'with one child': Demeter has one daughter but, as personification of the earth, all living creatures are her children. *Μουνόγονος* would provide this meaning. The word is not otherwise attested (cf. *πολύγονος* 'with many children'), but there are numerous hapaxes in the OH and *μουνόγονος* could have been altered to the very close and familiar form *μουνογένης*.

which contains a far greater number of antithetical predications than any other in the collection.¹⁵⁶ These show, in aggregate, that the goddess is to be understood as representing the cosmos itself, as do the numerous epithets formed with ‘*παν*’.¹⁵⁷ Physis stands out in this regard, but where applied to the other gods, the antitheses echo or adumbrate the same cosmic significance. On the other hand, the case by case analysis offered above also shows that, while the overarching themes do link various divinities, the antitheses are understood in each instance in a way that is entirely specific to the deity in question. The male-female pairing hints at the hermaphroditism of the Orphic creator (specifically Protogonos and Zeus), and at the elemental bisexuality of Physis, but it is also, as discussed, mythologically relevant in each case: Athene is female but masculine, Mise is a goddess identified with Dionysos, Adonis is, like Dionysos himself, androgynous. This alignment of shared and specific attributes in the collection has been noted by Hopman-Govers.¹⁵⁸ There are ‘grand themes’ such as polymorphism and androgyny that link divinities and bind the collection together, as well as epithets and formulaic phrases that are shared between hymns: intentional echoes that are slightly adapted to fit their particular contexts.¹⁵⁹ In a more abstract sense however, these polar expressions also speak to the ‘*aporia*’ that Rudhardt and Gordon see as part of the subjective experience that the hymns inspire in their audience.¹⁶⁰ The gods are ultimately unknowable and cannot be pinned down: meaning in them is fluid and often contradictory. Antitheses that frame the gods as simultaneously one thing and its opposite go beyond logic, suggesting that the nature of divinity is beyond the realm of human comprehension and yet, at the same time, that it is characterised by a fundamental harmony that is implicit in the reconciliation of opposite attributes.

3.3. Formal antithesis, structural symmetry

The examples of antithesis considered above set opposing attributes in juxtaposition. Whether these are simultaneously exhibited by a divinity, or by turns, the effect is to show that in the range of their attributes there is not merely diversity, but a completeness: a divine ability to occupy both ends of a spectrum. These antitheses have so far been considered from a conceptual perspective, as means of describing divinity, and grouped thematically according to the ideas that connect the various examples. But they can also be analysed formally, in terms of the figures employed to express them. In the majority of cases this is simply formal antithesis: the terms in question are placed next to each other in order to maximise the contrast between them. As a poetic device, the juxtaposition of contrasting or antithetical words and phrases is widespread in early Greek narrative

¹⁵⁶ 10.3 πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε, 10.6 ἐννυχία... σελασφόρε, 10.8 ἀτελής τε τελευτή, 10.9 κοινή μὲν πάντεσσιν, ἀκοινώνητε δὲ μούνη, 10.10 αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ, 10.12 παντρώφε κούρη, 10.15 πικρὰ μὲν φαύλοισι, γλυκεῖα δὲ πειθομένοισι, 10.17 ἀξίτροφος πείρα, πεπαινομένων τε λύτεια, 10.18 πατήρ, μήτηρ, 10.28 πάντα σύ ἐσσι, ἄνασσα· σὺ γὰρ μούνη τάδε τεύχεις.

¹⁵⁷ Παμμήτειρα, πανδαμάτωρ, παναυγής, παντοκράτειρα, πανυπέρτατε πᾶσιν, κοινή μὲν πάντεσσιν, παντρώφε, πάνσοφε, πανδώτειρα, παμβασίλεια, παντοτεχνές, πάνρυτε, πάντα σύ ἐσσι. See above, 3.1.2

¹⁵⁸ Hopman-Govers 2001: 38-9.

¹⁵⁹ On formulae in this context, see ch. 4.1.5.

¹⁶⁰ Rudhardt 2008: 205, Gordon 2020: 39.

poetry¹⁶¹ and in tragedy, where it is particularly common in *threnoi* and associated with parallelism, isocolon, the repetition of key words, alliteration, assonance and homoioteleuton.¹⁶² In the late fifth century BCE Gorgias introduced an antithetical style of balanced cola to rhetorical prose, the classic example of which is his *Encomium*, a funeral speech which, Thomson argues, may itself draw on the traditional characteristics of threnody and lament.¹⁶³ Formal antitheses and balanced, repetitive cola are also a feature of liturgical formulae (antiphonal response may provide the link with threnody), and Thomson again suggests that Heraclitus' use of these figures is grounded in ritual usage, comparing his *logos* in this light with Orphic *hieroi logoi*.¹⁶⁴ This is possible: ritual formulae do show symmetrical structures. Magical charms, for instance, frequently consist of balanced or repetitive phrases.¹⁶⁵ The language of proverbs and gnomic poetry however, where sound effects and symmetry aid memorability and give a lapidary finish, may be another significant model for such figures in Heraclitus and other early prose authors.¹⁶⁶

Chiasmus is an elaborated type of formal antithesis, in which the juxtaposition of contrasting words is extended to other grammatical elements of the sentence, or to a longer series, so that they pivot symmetrically around a central point. If simple antithesis is the juxtaposition AA', chiasmus is in its simplest form the elaboration ABB'A'.¹⁶⁷ Symmetry gives emphasis to the contrast between the constitutive elements, and also creates a sense of balance. In this section I use the term 'chiasmus' in this sense, to describe the symmetrical or annular arrangement of words within a clause or verse,¹⁶⁸ but it should be noted that this does not conform with the ancient use of the term. The ancient rhetoricians invariably used 'chiasmus' to describe the 'cross' arrangement of

¹⁶¹ West 1966: 75-77 gives examples from Homer and Hesiod, distinguishing antithesis of clauses (achieved through the juxtaposition of key words) and antithesis within the same clause. Examples of the former: *Il.* 1.501, Hes. *Th.* 178-9 (both: σκαίῃ, δεξιτερῇ), 605 (ζῶει, ἀποφθιμένον), *Op.* 10 (τύνη, ἐγὼ), 155 (μέλας, λαμπρόν); of the latter: *Il.* 6.236, 22.481, *Od.* 2.241, 3.296, 18.73, 21.325, 22.13, 23.12-13, 23.97, Hes. *Th.* 447, 497, 585, 602, 609, 942, 967-8, *Op.* 3-4 (see above), 179, 193, 490, 497 (also chiasmus), 538, 751, 753-4.

¹⁶² Thomson 1953: 81-3, Alexiou 2002²: 150 (with n. 45 and 46, p. 233), who connects these stylistic features with antiphony as a fundamental characteristic of lament.

¹⁶³ Gorgias B 6 DK, Thomson 1953: 79-83. On Gorgias' influence on Greek prose style, Norden 1915³ (esp. pp. 16-29).

¹⁶⁴ Thomson 1953: 83. E.g. the Eleusinian formula ἐκ τύμπανου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον (Clem. Al. *Prot.* 2.14), or, from the cult of Attis, ἔφυγον κακόν, εἶρον ἄμεινον (Dem. *De cor.* 259). Cf. also the *synthemata* in the Orphico-Bacchic lamellae: νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένον (26a/b.1 Graf-Johnston), ταῦρος εἰς γάλα ἔθορες, αἶψα εἰς γάλα ἔθορες, κριὸς εἰς γάλα ἔπεςες (26a.3-5 Graf-Johnston). These and similar liturgical formulae are collected by Dieterich 1910²: 213-8.

¹⁶⁵ See Richardson 1974: 229 on incantation and sound effects in the *HHy.Dem.* (228-9). Parallelism, alliteration and homoioteleuton in metrical charms: Heim 1892: 544-50; see also *PGM* IX 12-13 (hy. 30), XX 6-20 (hy. 28). Jaeger (1926: 69-85) suggests that Solon's use of antithesis, chiasmus and anaphora is an echo of cult poetry.

¹⁶⁶ Russo 1983: 121-30 (esp. p. 124 on parallelism). Late examples, such as the *Sententiae Pythagoreorum* or the sententiae of Sextus and Demophilus are extensively antithetical (texts in Elter 1892, Chadwick 1959). On Neopythagorean sententiae, Adrados 2009: 169-75, Wilson 2012. Antithesis or parallelism in early gnomic poetry: e.g. Hes. *Op.* 311, 319, 354-5, 723, 751, 753-4, Phocyl. 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 (Diehl), Thgn. 17, 621, 831 (Young), Adesp. Gnom. 1.3, 5, 6, 8 (West 1978a: 40-44). See further Fehling 1969: 296-8. Antithesis in early Greek prose: Denniston 1952: 71-74, Lilja 1968 (discussed below).

¹⁶⁷ Thomson 1995: 25-6, Welch 1995: 1-14, Engel 2009: 5, Thomas 2013: 57. Antithesis and chiasmus from a linguistic perspective: Slings 1997: 169-192.

¹⁶⁸ See Brogan, Hansall and Hunter in *PEPP* 2012⁴ s.v. 'Chiasmus': 'The repetition of a pair of sounds, words, phrases or ideas in the reverse order, producing an *abba* structure'.

words or clauses, for example Aeschylus, *Septem* 695: φίλου γὰρ ἐχθρά μοι πατὴρ μέλαιν' Ἀρά.¹⁶⁹ In some instances however, it is employed to describe the ABB'A' figure, for example Eustathius on *Il.* 3.103-4 (οἷσ' ἄρν', ἕτερον λευκόν, ἑτέραν δὲ μέλαιναν, | Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλῳι): σύγχυσιν ποιεῖ καὶ συνεστραμμένον τι σχῆμά ἐστι καὶ περινενοημένον, ὡς οἷα περιοδικόν, χιαστόν, τετράκωλον.¹⁷⁰ The ABB'A' form that the modern term 'chiasmus' describes is partly covered by the ancient figure of *antimetabole* (or *commutatio*), 'the opposition of an idea and its converse by means of the repetition of the word stems with reciprocal exchange of meaning'.¹⁷¹ This is not simply a symmetrical arrangement however, but an inversion of meaning as well - 'working hard or hardly working?'. Simple symmetry within a clause or verse is not defined by ancient writers as such, except as a type of antithesis or 'exchange'.¹⁷²

In the Homeric poems chiasmus is relatively abundant, and part of a much broader system of symmetrical, concentric arrangement. Chiasmus as a 'verbal figure' that occurs within a single hexameter has its corollaries in *hysteron-proteron*, the symmetrical arrangement of ideas, for example questions and their corresponding answers in speeches, and, at the largest scale, in ring structures: the concentric or nested arrangement of entire episodes.¹⁷³ Symmetry is in fact a key element of Homeric composition. Connections with geometric or black-figure vase painting and pedimental sculptural arrangements have been proposed,¹⁷⁴ but while analogies with visual art are valid the phenomenon is intrinsically poetic, and one of the compositional methods that Greek narrative poetry inherited from the Near Eastern 'cultural *koiné*'.¹⁷⁵ Symmetrical elements of composition are

¹⁶⁹ Σ Ξα (Smith) καὶ ἔστι τὸ σχῆμα τοῦτο χιαστόν. Hermog. *Inv.* 4.3.144 (Rabe) πῶς δὲ ἀναδέχεται τὸν χιασμόν; ὅταν ἐν ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς προτάσεσιν ἀμφοτέραι ἀρμόζωσιν αἱ ἀποδόσεις καὶ ἐναλλάξ.

¹⁷⁰ Eust. *Il.* 1.613 (van der Valk). Cf. the scholium on *Il.* 16.564 (Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Μυρμιδόνες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ) σχῆμα· τὸ χιαστόν (Erbse 1969 *ad loc.* thinks this is also late however, 'scholam mediaevalem olet').

¹⁷¹ Lausberg 1998: 354-7. *Rhet. Her.* 4.39 'Commutatio est, cum duae sententiae inter se discrepantes ex traiectione ita efferuntur, ut a priore posterior contraria priori proficiscatur, hoc modo "Esse oportet, ut vivas, non vivere, ut edas"'. The T scholia use the term ἀντιμεταβολή to describe the chiasmic figure in *Il.* 22.485-6 (οὔτε σὺ τούτῳ | ἔσσειαι ἔκτορ ὄνειαρ ἐπεὶ θάνες, οὔτε σοὶ οὗτος).

¹⁷² E.g. Σ T on *Il.* 22.158 (πρόσθε μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔφευγε, δίωκε δὲ μιν μέγ' ἀμείνων): τῷ ἀντιθέτω σχήματι; Σ ATb on *Il.* 9.443 (μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων): σημείωσαι ὅτι τὸ ὁμοιοτέλετον ἔφυγε μεταβαλὼν τὴν φράσιν. This scholium misses the point of the figure however: homoioteleuton is not avoided here, it reinforces the symmetry.

¹⁷³ The literature on Homeric ring composition is extensive. On chiasmus, *hysteron-proteron* and ring composition in the *Iliad*: Edwards 1991: 44-46. Chiasmus: Welch 1981: 251-9. *Hysteron-proteron*: Bassett 1920: 39-62, 1938: 119-128, Parks 1988: 237-52, Bakker 1997: 86-122, Lohmann 1999: 239-257, Minchin 2001, 2007: 102-116, Benediktson 2013: 29-44. Ring composition: Myres 1932: 269-96 (*Iliad*), 1952: 1-19 (*Odyssey*), Whitman 1958: 89-101, 249-84 ('the [*Iliad*] as a whole forms one large concentric pattern, within which a vast system of smaller ones, sometimes distinct and sometimes interlocking, gives shape to the separate parts.' p. 97), Gordesiani 1986: 26-62, Richardson 1993: 4-13, Stanley 1993, Minchin 1995, 2007: 42-3, Reece 1995, Nimis 1999: 65-78, Douglas 2007, Thomas 2013: 50-88, Person 2016: 30-51.

¹⁷⁴ Geometric art: Wilamowitz 1912³: 17, Whitman 1958: 89-101, Andrae & Flashar 1977. Black-figure vases: Mackay, Harrison & Masters 1999: 115-42. Sculpture: Myres 1952, Thomas 2013.

¹⁷⁵ Already suggested by Bassett (1938: 128). Chiasmus and symmetry in Mesopotamian epic: Cooper 1977: 508-12, Smith 1998: 11-40, Noegel 2005: 233 (cf. Wyatt 2005: 247 on chiasmus in Ugaritic epic). The epic of *Gilgamesh* provides notable examples of ring composition (Tigay 1982: 5-10, George 2003: I 446, 526-8). On the 'cultural *koiné*' (Burkert's term) and Greek epic: West 1988: 169-72 and 1997 *passim*, Burkert 1992: 88-120 and 2005: 291-301, Loudon 2011 (*Odyssey*), Metcalf 2015 (Greek religious poetry). It should be noted, however, that ring composition is a global phenomenon in traditional poetry (Douglas 2007: x).

deeply connected with oral composition and performance of poetry. The function of these structures has been variously explained as aids to composition, strategies for focussing attention on a central point, marking digressions, or reflections of normal speech patterns.¹⁷⁶ Symmetry is part of the traditional grammar of poetic language, but in Homer the overlap with formulae is slight. Regarding Homeric chiasmus and ‘short-range’ symmetries in particular, a subject that has received less attention than *hysteron-proteron* or ring composition, it is notable that these figures are often found in speeches. Their purpose is to some extent ornamental (symmetry is aesthetically pleasing) but it may also be rhetorical, graphically expressive of a contrast or comparison between two objects, which can form either the wings or the centrepiece of the figure.¹⁷⁷ In Homer chiasmus is regularly used to highlight the pairing of two substantives, with the nouns usually flanking two other elements: adjectives (examples 1, 2, 6, 7, 9 below, cf. 3 with nouns that form sub-groups), participles (4) or verbs (5, 8). The figure may occupy an entire verse (2, 4, 7, 8, 10), or a portion of one (1, 5, 6). The symmetry may be exact (1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7), or interrupted (5, 8, 9). In the following examples the chiastic elements are underlined (‘s’ indicates that the verse occurs in a speech):

- | | | | |
|----|-------------------|---|-----|
| 1. | <i>Il.</i> 3.179 | ἀμφότερον βασιλεύς τ' ἀγαθὸς κρατερός τ' αἰχμητής | (s) |
| 2. | <i>Il.</i> 16.224 | <u>χλαινάων</u> τ' ἀνεμοσκεπέων οὐλῶν τε ταπήτων | |
| 3. | <i>Il.</i> 16.564 | Τρῶες καὶ Λύκιοι καὶ Μυρμιδόνες καὶ Ἀχαιοί | |
| 4. | <i>Il.</i> 16.857 | ὃν <u>πότμον</u> γοόωσα λιποῦσ' ἀνδροτήτα καὶ ἥβην | |
| 5. | <i>Il.</i> 22.158 | πρόσθε μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔφρευγε, δῖωκε δέ μιν μέγ' ἀμείνων | |
| 6. | <i>Il.</i> 24.730 | ρύσκει, ἔχες δ' <u>ἀλόχους</u> <u>κεδνάς</u> καὶ <u>νήπια τέκνα</u> | (s) |
| 7. | <i>Od.</i> 3.310 | <u>μητρός</u> τε <u>στρυγερῆς</u> καὶ <u>ἀνάλκιδος</u> Αἰγίσθοιο | (s) |
| 8. | <i>Od.</i> 10.235 | <u>οἴνω</u> Πραμνεῖω <u>ἐκύκα</u> ἀνέμισγε δὲ <u>σίτῳ</u> | |
| 9. | <i>Od.</i> 24.340 | <u>ὄγγας</u> μοι δῶκας <u>τρεῖς</u> καὶ <u>δέκα</u> <u>μηλέας</u> | (s) |

Where the substantives are qualified by other nouns however (10, 11, 14), and in some cases where they are governed by participles (12, 13), they are themselves framed. Examples 10 and 14 below show a very similar arrangement with the infinitive *εἶμεναι* at the centre of the verse.¹⁷⁸

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|-----|
| 10. | <i>Il.</i> 9.443 | <u>μύθων</u> τε <u>ρήτῃρ'</u> <u>εἶμεναι</u> <u>πρηκτῆρά</u> τε <u>ἔργων</u> | (s) |
| 11. | <i>Il.</i> 15.474 | αὐτὰρ <u>χερσὶν</u> ἐλὼν <u>δολιχὸν δόρυ</u> καὶ <u>σάκος ὦμι</u> | (s) |
| 12. | <i>Il.</i> 24.632 | <u>εἰσορόων</u> ὄψιν τ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ <u>μῦθον</u> <u>ἀκούων</u> | |
| 13. | <i>Od.</i> 13.409-410 | <u>ἔσθουσαι</u> <u>βάλανον</u> <u>μενοεικέα</u> καὶ <u>μέλαν ὕδωρ</u> <u>πίνουσαι</u> | (s) |
| 14. | <i>Od.</i> 16.242 | <u>χεῖράς</u> τ' αἰχμητὴν <u>εἶμεναι</u> καὶ <u>ἐπίφρονα</u> <u>βουλήν</u> | (s) |

¹⁷⁶ Stanley 1993, Nimis 1999, Mackay *et al.* 1999, Person 2016.

¹⁷⁷ Ornament or rhetoric: Verdenius 1985: 14 ‘the figures of speech in archaic literature do not have an ornamental function, but in most cases serve to lend emphasis to the expression of thought or emotion’. The rhetorical function is confirmed by the fact that many of the cases of chiasmus we find in Homer occur in speeches (seven of the twelve cited here), but the aesthetic element should not be dismissed altogether and the significant number of examples that do not occur in speeches should also be noted. On poetic innovation in Homeric speeches, Griffin 1986: 36-57.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. also *H.Hy.* 22.5 ἵππων τε δημητῆρ' εἶμεναι σωτήρᾳ τε νηῶν.

A rhetorical contrast is apparent in several of these examples (4 death-life, 5 good-better, 10 words-deeds, 14 deeds-words), but the neat arrangement of a natural pair (6 wives-children, 9 apples-pears, 13 food-drink) is the basis of the figure in most cases.

Chiasmus can be detected in a wide range of pre-Classical hexameter poets, as well as in elegy, iambus and lyric.¹⁷⁹ It is more prevalent in the earliest prose authors, who regularly employ it either when the same word is repeated in adjacent clauses, or, in Denniston's words, 'to sharpen the contrast between diametrically opposed ideas'.¹⁸⁰ The Ionian logographers and philosophers use chiasmus frequently,¹⁸¹ and chiasmus in Heraclitus should be seen in this context. In Heraclitus' works however, this figure is not simply ornamental or rhetorical: it is clearly intended to give expression to his doctrine of the harmony of opposites. Vieira argues that this is a case of text imitating reality: just as nature loves to hide (B 123 DK), Heraclitus uses antithesis and chiasmus to cryptically describe its operation. Vieira calls the arrangement of words in a reciprocal sequence 'bow composition' in reference to the *παλίντροπος* (or *-τονος*) *ἁρμονίη* of the bow and lyre (B 51 DK),¹⁸² a harmony of opposites that runs both ways, palindromically: 'the way up and down is one and the same' (B 60 DK). Heraclitus' use of chiasmus may be philosophically pointed, but it is not always: in some instances it is as casually rhetorical as in other early prose authors, for example in the *incipit* to his work.¹⁸³ Formally also there is a great deal of variety here. In B 62 DK there is both exact repetition and the grammatically marked contrast of opposites,¹⁸⁴ side by side:

ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι, ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεώτες

¹⁷⁹ E.g. Hes. *Op.* 3-4, 227 τοῖσι τέθλε πόλις, λαοὶ δ' ἀνθεῖσιν ἐν αὐτῇ (see Berres 1975: 260-71), 244, 299-300, 346, 723. *HHy.* 4.77-8 (Hermes), 5.35, 94 (Aphrodite), 19.27 (Pan); in the shorter hymns: 7.24, 9.5, 10.4-5, 13.1-2, 14.5, 18.9, 22.5, 32.5, 33.3; *Homeric Epigrams* (from the *Vita Herodotea*) 1.2, 3.3-4, 5.1-2, 6.3, 8, 9.2, 14.13; Tyrtaeus 10.9 *IEG* αἰσχύνει τε γένος, κατὰ δ' ἀγλαὸν εἶδος ἐλέγχει, 10.29 ἀνδράσι μὲν θηητὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐρατὸς δὲ γυναιξί (see Adkins 1977: 78, 83), cf. also fr. 11.5-6. Solon 4.34 *IEG* τραχέα λειαίνει, παύει κόρον, ὕβριν ἄμαυροῖ (a double chiasmus, on which see Jaeger 1926: 82-85); Lyric: Sappho 104a.1 (Voigt) Ἔσπερε πάντα φέρης ὅσα φαίνολις ἐσκέδασ' Αἰῶς, Alc. 34.5-6 (Voigt) κατ' εὐρηαν χ[θόνα] καὶ θάλασσαν | παῖσαν, Anac. 12.2-3 *PMG* καὶ Νύμφαι κυανώπιδες | πορφυρῇ τ' Ἀφροδίτῃ, Pind. *hy.* 33e.6 τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον. On larger ring structures in Hesiod, West 1966: 38; in the *Homeric Hymns*, Pearce 1999 (*Hymn to Demeter*), Germany 2005 (*Hymn to Pan*), Vergados 2012: 125-9 (*Hymn to Hermes*), Strolonga 2015 (*Hymn to Demeter*). Chiasmus in the tragedians: Slings 1997: 185-192, Dik 2007: 23, 59, 78-9. E.g. Aesch. fr. 341 ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ βακχεὺς ὁ μάντις, Soph. *El.* 1027 Ζηλῶ σε τοῦ νοῦ, τῆς δὲ δειλίας στυγῶ. Chiasmus in Latin authors has attracted more attention: Steele 1891 (Sallust, Caesar, Tacitus, Justinus), 1901 (Livy), Traill 1988 (Catullus), Quint 2011 (Vergil), Welch 1981: 261-8, Thomas 2013: 68-70.

¹⁸⁰ Denniston 1952: 74-7, 127 'the marked chiastic bias of early prose'. This author notes however that, apart from early prose writers, chiasmus is relatively rare in Greek literature (p. 3). It does appear however in non-literary contexts: in 5th c. Attic boundary stone inscriptions antithetical clauses are arranged chiastically as often as not: Dover 1960: 54.

¹⁸¹ Denniston 1952: 74, Lilja 1968: 72, 133 (with examples from Pherecydes of Samos, Hecataeus, Acusilaus, Charon, Hellanicus, Heraclitus and Pherecydes of Athens). Among later prose writers, Plato and Demosthenes in particular employ chiasmus: examples in Denniston, pp. 75-6.

¹⁸² Vieira 2013: 473-90. *παλίντροπος* or *παλίντονος*: Kirk & Raven 1957: 193-4, n. 1, Vieira 2013: 478 n. 15.

¹⁸³ B 1 DK: τοῦ δὲ λόγου τοῦδ' ἐόντος αἰὲ ἀξύνετοι γίνονται ἄνθρωποι καὶ πρόσθεν ἢ ἀκούσαι καὶ ἀκούσαντες τὸ πρῶτον.

¹⁸⁴ I.e. where the correspondence is between matching parts of speech. Cf. also B 1 DK, λανθάνει ὁκόσα ἐγερθέντες ποιοῦσιν, ὅκωσπερ ὁκόσα εὐδοντες ἐπιλανθάνονται.

Immortals are mortal, mortals are immortal: (*each*) lives the death of the other, and dies their life.¹⁸⁵

There is repetition with paronomasia: μόροι γὰρ μέζονες μέζονας μοίρας λαγχάνουσι (B 25 DK), alliterative chiasmus: ἐξηπάτησαν εἰπόντες· ὅσα εἶδομεν καὶ ἐλάβομεν (B 56 DK), and chiasmus of sense (i.e. matching stems) combined with grammatical parallelism: ἐκ πάντων ἐν καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς πάντα (B 10 DK), τὰ ψυχρὰ θέρεται, θερμὸν ψύχεται (B 126 DK). B 90 DK has the same construction, but preceded by (and serving as an analogy for) its inverse, a grammatical chiasmus (genitive, nominative, nominative, genitive) with parallelism of sense (πυρ-, παν-, πυρ-, παν-):

πυρός τε ἀνταμοιβή τὰ πάντα καὶ πῦρ ἀπάντων ὅκωσπερ χρυσοῦ χρήματα καὶ χρημάτων χρυσός

There is an exchange: all things for Fire and Fire for all things, like goods for gold and gold for goods.

B 36 DK contains an elaborate chiasmus of three mirrored elements, describing a reciprocal process of evolution with destruction on the one side of the equation and creation on the other:

ψυχήμιν θάνατος ὑδωρ γενέσθαι, (AB)

ὑδατι δὲ θάνατος γῆν γενέσθαι, (BC)

ἐκ γῆς δὲ ὑδωρ γίνεται, (C'B')

ἐξ ὑδατος δὲ ψυχή (B'A')

To souls, it is death to become water; to water, it is death to become earth. From earth comes water, and from water, soul.

The idea of reciprocal change between opposites is similarly expressed, in general terms, in B 88 DK:

ταῦτό τ' ἐνὶ ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκὸς καὶ [τὸ] ἐγρηγορὸς καὶ καθεῦδον καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν· τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα ἐκεῖνά ἐστι κακεῖνα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα

What is in us is the same thing: living and dead, awake and sleeping, as well as young and old; for the latter having changed becomes the former, and this again having changed becomes the latter.

Heraclitus makes full use of the freedom afforded by his prose medium to explore the different ways chiasmus can mark both contrast and change or alternation between opposites, and given his

¹⁸⁵ All translations of Heraclitus are from Freeman 1948.

apparent influence on the antithetical concept of divinity we see in the *Orphic Hymns*, the hymns' expression of this concept in chiasmus and parallelism may also echo his method of 'bow composition'. Examples within the collection of antithetical predication framed in a chiasmus include Helios' treatment of the pious and impious, or Prothyraia's sympathy with women in labour (see section 3.2.7):

OH 8.8 (Helios)	<u>εὐσεβέσιν καθοδηγέ</u> καλῶν, <u>ζαμενῆς ἀσεβοῦσι</u> guide that calls to the pious, to the impious wrathful
OH 2.8 (Prothyraia)	<u>συμπάσχεις ὠδίσι</u> καὶ <u>εὐτοκίησι γέγηθας</u> you share suffering in birth-pains and in good births you rejoice ¹⁸⁶

We see here the overlap of conceptual and formal antithesis. Antithetical predications consisting of two elements each (whether noun plus noun or adjective, or verb plus adverb or object) are arranged symmetrically, either around a central word or in direct apposition. The figure underscores the idea behind the antithesis stated above: that the divinities described in this way possess the ability to simultaneously occupy both ends of a spectrum.

While formal chiasmus is frequently linked with antithesis in the hymns however, it is not reserved for such cases, and it is only one type of a range of formal symmetries that the collection exhibits. While the earliest Greek prose writers found that liberation from the constraints of metre gave them freer range to explore the possibilities of symmetry, as a vehicle for expressing structural balance the hexameter verse has the advantage of being a self-contained metrical unit with its own beginning, centre and end. Full-verse chiasmus exploits this potential for aligning verse and symmetry, but so do other less elaborate arrangements. The first and last words of a verse may mirror each other, either by repeating the same word or stem (the figure of *kyklos*),¹⁸⁷ or by pairing prominent substantives such as names. This is a pared back type of symmetry, without the internal elements of a chiasmus, and is encountered often in the *Homeric Hymns*:

¹⁸⁶ Other examples of chiastic antithesis (comprising less than a whole verse): OH 10.28 (Physis) πάντα σύ ἐσσι, ἀνασσα· σὺ γὰρ μούνη; 15.7 (Zeus) ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή; 18.7 (Pluto) ἔδρανον ἀθανάτων, θνητῶν στήριγμα; 23.4 (Nereus) πυθμὴν μὲν πόντου, γαίης πέρας; 29.16 (Persephone) φέρβεις γὰρ αἰὲ καὶ πάντα φονεύεις; 32.9 (Athena) φίλοιστρε κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ φρόνησις; 40.13 (Demeter) εὐτεκνε, παιδοφίλη, σεμνή, κουροτρόφε κούρα. The last is, remarkably, an example of a chiasmus formed of two chiasmi (see sec. 3.3.3.2). Antithesis with parallelism (ABA'B'): OH 10.9 (Physis) κοινὴ μὲν πάντεςσιν, ἀκοινώνητε δὲ μούνη; 10.15 πικρὰ μὲν φάυλοισι, γλυκεῖα δὲ πειθομένοισι; 11.7 (Pan) φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ, φόβων ἔκπαγλε; 36.4 (Artemis) ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ καὶ ὠδίνων ἀμύητε.

¹⁸⁷ *Kyklos*: Hermog. *Inv.* 4.8 (Rabe) Κύκλος ἐστὶ σχῆμα λόγου καὶ αὐτὸ ἐρμηνείας ἴδιον κάλλος ἐμπεριέχον. γίνεται δέ, ὅταν, ἀφ' οὗ ἄρξηται τις ὀνόματος ἢ ῥήματος, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ καταλήξει πάλιν μήτε πτώσιν ἀλλάξας μήτε σχῆμα μήτε χρόνον μήτε ἀριθμὸν μήτε ἄλλο τι. ὡς «σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦν κλέπτης ὁ πατήρ, εἶπερ ἦν ὁμοῖος σοί». E.g. Hdt. 6.86d Γλαύκου νῦν οὕτε τι ἀπόγονον ἔστι οὐδὲν οὗτ' ἰστίη οὐδεμία νομιζομένη εἶναι Γλαύκου. Fehling 1969: 64, 320-1 'Für den Fall der Wortwiederholung hat die traditionelle Terminologie danach Anapher, Epiphora, Sympleke und Kyklos unterschieden'. (As an aside, Hermogenes himself is the subject of the neat chiasmus (or antimetabole) Ἑρμογένης ὁ ἐν παισὶν γέρων καὶ ἐν γέροισι παῖς. A prodigy in his youth he lost his mind and was incapacitated for the rest of his life, *Suda* s.v. Ἑρμογένης.)

Ἡρην ἀείδω χρυσόθρονον, ἣν τέκε Ρείη¹⁸⁸
Hera I sing, golden-throned, born of Rheia

Conversely, the central portion of the verse may be symmetrical without the ‘wings’:

ἐκ σέο δ' εὐπαιδές τε καὶ εὐκαρποὶ τελέθουσι¹⁸⁹
through you [mortals] flourish in children and harvests

We also find in Homer verses in which both internal and external elements balance, without showing chiasmus,¹⁹⁰ and smaller scale symmetrical phrases, such as the predication of Poseidon, γαίηοχος ἐννοσίγαιος.¹⁹¹ Symmetry that is purely phonic is also found in refrains, such as the Olympian victor's salute τήνελλα καλλίνικε, or the prayer to Aphrodite recorded by Plutarch, ἀνάβαλλ' ἄνω.¹⁹²

As with antithesis and repetition of sounds, sacred poetry and formulae may have provided models for such symmetries, including full chiasmus. Heraclitus (the author of the allegorical commentary on Homer) records a verse he claims had become (by the first c. CE) a popular ‘rhyme’:

ἥλιος Ἀπόλλων, ὁ δέ γε Ἀπόλλων ἥλιος¹⁹³
The sun is Apollo and Apollo the sun.

This cannot be earlier than the fifth c. BCE,¹⁹⁴ but the (sung) prayer of the Peleides from Dodona may be:

Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστίν, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται· ὦ μέγαλε Ζεῦ.
Γᾶ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήιζετε Ματέρα γαῖαν.¹⁹⁵

Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus will be: O great Zeus.
Earth sends up fruits, so call mother Earth.

¹⁸⁸ *HHy.* 12.1 (with assonance linking the names of daughter and mother). Cf. *HHy.* 9.1 (Ἄρτεμιν... Ἐκάτοιο), 15.3 (Ἀλκμήνη... Κρονίωνι), 16.4 (χάρμα... ὀδυνάων), 22.2 (γαίης... θαλάσσης), 28.16 (Παλλάς... Ζεύς).

¹⁸⁹ *HHy.* 30.5. Cf. 31.8 δς φαίνει θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.

¹⁹⁰ E.g. *Od.* 8.253 ναυτιλίη καὶ ποσσὶ καὶ ὀρχηστῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ, a verse whose non-chiastic symmetry depends on the series of datives linked by καί, the pariosis of the two hemistichs and the homoioteleuton of the first and last words.

¹⁹¹ *Il.* 9.183, 13.43, 59, 677, 14.355, 15.222, 23.584, *Od.* 11.241, *Hes. Th.* 15, fr. 17a.13, 253.2.

¹⁹² Archil. 324 *IEG*, *Carm. Pop. PMG* 872.

¹⁹³ Heracl. *Q. Hom.* 6.6 Buffière.

¹⁹⁴ Apollo-Helios is first encountered in Aeschylus (*Bassarai*, pp. 138-9 Radt = *OF* 1148 I, West 1983a: 63) and Eur. fr. 781.11-13 (Ἀπόλλων δ' ἐν βροτοῖς ὀρθῶς καλῇ, ὅστις τὰ σιγῶντ' ὀνόματ' οἶδε δαιμόνων), both of which suggest an Orphic or Pythagorean context for the identification. Cf. *Hdt.* 2.144 (Apollo = Horus).

¹⁹⁵ Paus. 10.12.10 τὰς Πελειάδας δὲ Φημιονόης τε ἔτι προτέρας γενέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ αἴσαι γυναικῶν πρῶτας τὰδε τὰ ἔπη.

This is not strictly chiasmus, but there is a ‘cyclic’ symmetry. Zeus frames the first verse just as Ge does the second, in which there is balance also in the central words ἀνίει διὸ κλῆιζετε (a causal relationship mediated by διὸ). There are similar examples of symmetry in the earliest oracles from Delphi, which may also reflect a style considered appropriate to short, hieratic utterances.¹⁹⁶ Jaeger argues that Solon imitates this style, and Thompson, as stated above, that Heraclitus does also.¹⁹⁷ The same may be true of Xenophanes,¹⁹⁸ Parmenides, who makes extensive use of repetition, assonance, antithesis and symmetry,¹⁹⁹ and Empedocles.²⁰⁰ Chiasmus and verse-level symmetry also feature prominently in poetry, both earlier and later, associated with the Orphic and Pythagorean traditions.²⁰¹ In the fragments of the *Rhapsodies* these figures are used to juxtapose divinities, perhaps most notably in the case of Zeus and Dionysos in *OF* 300, κραῖνε μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς πάντα πατήρ, Βάκχος δ’ ἐπέκραινε (‘Zeus ruled all then, the father; after ruled Bakkhos’). The chiasmus is underscored here by the stem repetition and parechesis that frame the gods’ names, presenting Zeus and Bakkhos as mirror images of each other.²⁰² In *OF* 348.2 the ‘wheel’ of metempsychosis is graphically figured: κύκλου τε λῆξαι καὶ ἀναψῦξαι κακότητος (‘to end the cycle and give relief from evil’);²⁰³ in *OF* 339 Hermes is effectively represented as psychopomp by the apposition of his name with ψύχας, with the operative verb in the centre (ψύχας ἀθανάτας κατάγει Κυλλήνιος Ἑρμῆς): the god leads, the souls follow. In several other instances in the surviving fragments of the *Rhapsodies*

¹⁹⁶ Parke & Wormell (1956) nos. 1.2, 3.1, 7.1, 8.2, 33.3, 43.1, 48.1, 55.1 (6th c. BCE and earlier), 74.8, 84.1, 229.4, (5th c. and earlier) 321.1-2, 326.1, 379.2, 422 (3rd c. and earlier).

¹⁹⁷ Solon 4.34 *IEG*, Jaeger 1926: 82-85, Thompson 1953: 79, 83. See also Deichgräber 1933 ‘Hymnische Elemente in der philosophischen Prosa der Vorsokratiker’.

¹⁹⁸ Xenophanes: B 23 DK εἷς θεός, ἐν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος, | οὔτι δέμας θνητοῖσιν ὁμοίος οὐδὲ νόημα, B 33 πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα. The anaphora of B 24 DK (οὔλος ὄρῃ, οὔλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὔλος δὲ τ’ ἀκούει) recalls that of the Peleides’ hymn (see above). Cf. *OH* 61.8 πάντ’ ἐσορᾷς καὶ πάντ’ ἐπακούεις, πάντα βραβεύεις (see sec. 3.1.2).

¹⁹⁹ Parmenides: antithesis B 6.1-2 DK, B 8.3, 27, 40 DK; repetition esp. B 1 DK, cf. B 6.3 DK / B 7.2 DK, B 8.2-4 DK; anaphora B 1.4 DK, B 8.22-4 DK; assonance B1.19, 32, B 8.43-4 DK; symmetry B 1.9-10 DK (light and dark frame both verses: Ἡλιάδες . . . Νυκτός | εἰς φάος . . . καλύπτρας), 11 ἐνθα πύλαι Νυκτός τε καὶ Ἡματός εἰσι κελεύθων (central pair), B 8.21 DK τῶς γένεσις μὲν ἀπέσβεσται καὶ ἄπυστος ὄλεθρος, 50 μάνθανε κόσμον ἐμῶν ἐπέων ἀπατηλὸν ἀκούων, B.8.4 DK (if we accept Proclus’ reading over Plutarch’s, see Diehl’s apparatus). On sound effects and incantatory language in Parmenides, Pfeiffer 1975: 172-88, Kingsley 1999: 116-29. Parmenides and the language of oracles, hymns and initiation: Deichgräber 1933: 360, Kahn 1960: 227, Burkert 1969: 5, Henn 2003: 8.

²⁰⁰ Symmetry in Empedocles is emphatic in the catalogue of ‘Titans’ (as Cornutus calls them, c. 17) who represent antithetical qualities: B 122.1 DK ἐνθ’ ἦσαν Χθονίη τε καὶ Ἡλιόπη ταναώπις (central pair), v. 4 Νημερτής τ’ ἐρόεσσα μελάγκουρος τ’ Ἀσάφεια (full chiasmus), B 123.1 DK Φυσώ τε Φθιμένη τε, καὶ Εὐναίη καὶ Ἑγερεσις (alliterative pairs), v. 3 καὶ Φορύη, Σωπή τε καὶ Ὀμφαίη... (central pair).

²⁰¹ Earlier: e.g. Ion Chius (whose lost *Triagmoi* concerned the Pythagoreans, Diog. Laert. 8.8), *PMG* 744 on Dionysos: παῖδα ταυρωπὸν, νέον οὐ νέον, ἥδιστον πρόπολον (chiasmus with an additional central element), and the single verse from the Derveni hymn (see sec. 3.1.3), which is framed by the stem Δη- (etymologised here as γῆ). Cf. also the gold lamella from Pherai: Δήμητρος Χθονίας τε <τέ>λη καὶ Μητρὸς Ὀρεῖ[ας] (28.2 Graf–Johnston). Later: the *Golden Verses* (v. 1-2, 6, 30, 50, 53, 64).

²⁰² Cf. *OF* 140.1 Μῆτιν... Φάνητα, 141.1 [Πρωτόγονος] Βρόμιός τε μέγας καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτης (Bromios and Zeus as aspects of Protogonos) and, in the recently discovered Sinai fragments (fol. 2v.12, Rossetto 2021: 52) Ἡελίου... Σελήνην.

²⁰³ The verse is quoted in variant forms by Proclus and Damascius: ἀναπεῦσαι ‘recover from’ is a possible alternative for ἀναψῦξαι, which would require ψύχας in the following verse. Cf. Zuntz 1971: 321, and, for the κύκλος, the Thurii lamella (5.5 Graf–Johnston).

verse-level symmetry is similarly used to frame and mark out a pair of nouns, whether at the flanks or at the centre of a verse.²⁰⁴

These texts appear to be participating in a set of formal generic features that were, from a very early period, associated with hymnic or oracular poetry. The use of small-scale symmetrical structures is itself a traditional referent in this context which, like the forms of repetition already considered, may elevate a text or mark it out as theologically charged. The *Orphic Hymns* partake fully in this tradition, exhibiting a wide range of symmetrical structures. In addition to cases of full chiasmus several other types of symmetry can be identified, which include the framing of a verse either with names or with words paired by alliteration or sense; a central element, whether a single key term, a pair or three where a central word is framed; an elaboration of verse framing where names or nouns are placed at the beginning, centre and end of the verse, separated by adjectives ('NANAN', where N is *nomen*, A *adjectivum*);²⁰⁵ and tetracolo in which the four elements are either names or marked by alliteration. Examples of parallelism (ABA'B' compared with the ABB'A' of chiasmus) may also be considered under this heading. Each of these forms of verse-level symmetry, as it occurs in the hymns, is discussed in this section, and examples are collected in appendix 3.3. My treatment of this subject aims to be as complete as possible, as it is an aspect of the hymns' prosody that has so far received little attention.

3.3.1 Verse-level symmetry

3.3.1.1 Full chiasmus

In addition to the examples of chiasmus linked with antithesis of predications considered above (which account for all of the instances where the figure takes in less than a whole verse), there are at least nine more cases of full chiasmus in the *Orphic Hymns*. P.24 combines a full chiasmus around a central performative verb (see below), with a frame composed of names in apposition: Night and Day.

P. 24 Νύκτα τε πρεσβίστην καλέω καὶ φωσφόρον Ἥμαρ
Night the eldest I call and light-bringing Day.

²⁰⁴ OF 149.1 Γαῖάν τε καὶ Οὐρανόν, 208 Ἴδη τ' εὐειδῆς καὶ ὁμόσπορος Ἀδρήστεια (true chiasmus), 237.5 οὐρανόν, ἐν δέ τε γαῖαν ἀπείριτον, ἐν δὲ θάλασσα, 338.1 πατέρες τε καὶ υἱέες, 339.1 θηρῶν τε καὶ οἰωνῶν, 350.5 πόνων χαλεπῶν καὶ ἀπείρονος οἴστρου (true chiasmus), 357 καὶ βέδν... ὕδωρ ('water', the explanation of βέδν, in apposition to it). The *Hymn to Zeus* (OF 243) from the *Rhapsodies* is particularly rich in symmetrical effects: cf. v. 3 ἄρσην... νύμφη, 8 πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ νύξ τε καὶ ἡμαρ, 17 νοῦς δέ οἱ ἀψευδῆς βασιλῆϊος ἀφθιτος αἰθήρ, 19 αὐδὴ οὐτ' ἐνοπή οὐτε κτύπος οὐδὲ μὲν ὄσσα, 29 τάρταρα... γαίης.

²⁰⁵ In this section N and A will be used consistently in this sense, where names (or nouns) and adjectives are patterned. So a chiasmus may be described as ABB'A' in general terms, but as NAA'N' in specific cases. The latter notation is useful in describing non-chiastic figures (such as NANAN).

As in Parmenides B 1.9-11 DK, the symmetry provides a graphic representation of the contrast between darkness and light. The Mother of the Gods is the birth of all (*OH* 27.7): ἐκ σέο δ' ἀθανάτων τε γένος θνητῶν τ' ἐλοχέυθη. Here too we have a nested construction, with the key term γένος at the centre (reinforcing the idea of a 'source'), bracketed first by the antithesis of ἀθανάτων and θνητῶν,²⁰⁶ and then by an alliterative pair (ἐκ σέο, ἐλοχέυθη) that both signal birth. The same concept is found in the hymn to Okeanos (*OH* 83.2), who is similarly 'birth of gods and men': ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων.²⁰⁷ In this instance the chiasmus is alliterative, ἀθανάτων is set against ἀνθρώπων and θεῶν against θνητῶν, as they are also in *OH* 41.2 where Meter Antaia (Demeter) is presented as mother of gods and mortals, ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. The perfect balance of these verses, while contrasting the mortal and immortal races, expresses the idea of completeness: gods and humans are presented as the two branches of life itself.

In the hymn to the Kouretes the gods are predicated as 'life-engendering breezes' and 'illustrious saviours' in a chiastic arrangement that frames the word κόσμου (*OH* 38.3 ζωιογόνοι πνοιαί, κόσμου σωτήρες ἀγαυοί). All editors take κόσμου with the second colon, but there is perhaps an intentional ambivalence here, suggested by the symmetry itself, that allows it to be read with either half of the verse. Chiasmus occurs twice in concluding prayers. Artemis is asked to bring εἰρήνην τ' ἐρατὴν καλλιπλόκαμόν θ' ὑγίειαν (*OH* 36.15), while the poet begs Thanatos to come after long years: αἰτούμαι, θυσίαισι καὶ εὐχολαῖς λιτανεύων (*OH* 87.11).²⁰⁸ In the former case we have a regular NAA'N' construction, in the latter verbs of supplication frame a central pair of 'offerings' (physical and verbal) that refer to the hymn collection itself.²⁰⁹ The hymn to Semele similarly uses chiasmus to describe cult practice: in this case two elements of the trieteric festival, the 'table' and the 'mysteries', performed (τελῶσιν) by worshippers are presented in an ANN'A' pattern: εὐιέρων τε τράπεζαν ἰδὲ μυστήρια θ' ἀγνά (*OH* 44.9). A final instance of full chiasmus occurs in the hymn to Hephaistos, who, as fire, is said to possess every home, city and race of humanity: πάντα δὲ οἶκον ἔχεις, πᾶσαν πόλιν, ἔθνεα πάντα (*OH* 66.8). The triple repetition of πᾶς here, at the beginning, middle and end of the verse, creates two chiastic structures, with πάντα δὲ οἶκον and ἔθνεα πάντα framing the verse and πᾶσαν πόλιν, ἔθνεα πάντα forming its own symmetry. The exact repetition of πάντα provides a rare example of formal *kyklos*, the framing of a clause by the same word.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Heracl. B 62 DK.

²⁰⁷ An echo of *Il.* 14.201 Ὀκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύνην, itself an instance of chiasmus. Cf. *OH* 14.246 Ὀκεανοῦ, ὅς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται. See further West 1983: 119-121.

²⁰⁸ The hymn to Aphrodite provides another example of chiasmus in a prayer: ψυχῇ γὰρ σε καλῶ σεμνήϊ ἀγίοισι λόγοισιν (*OH* 55.28), but the symmetry does not embrace the whole verse here.

²⁰⁹ Morand 2001: 79.

3.3.2 Framing

3.3.2.1 Names

As described above, this figure mediates between chiasmus and *kyklos*. It consists of a chiasmus in which substantives are counterposed at the beginning and end of the line, but which lacks an internal symmetry (the Bs of ABB'A'). It does not meet the definition of *kyklos* either, in that the paired terms are not the same word. These distinctions are blurred however, and examples that do approximate either one of the two formal figures are met in the hymns. In all cases however, the mirroring of the beginning and end of the verse creates a 'cyclic' effect. Three subcategories of framing can be identified: the words beginning and ending the verse may be paired names, they may form a conceptual pair (such as usually form the subject of Homeric chiasmus), or they may be marked out by alliteration.

In the proem's catalogue of gods we find several examples of symmetrically paired divinities. In fact most of the proem's verses are devoted to two gods, many of whom are closely associated. The example of full chiasmus linking Nyx and Hemar at P.25 has already been discussed. At P.7, Artemis and Phoibos are likewise paired:²¹⁰

Ἄρτεμί τ' ἰοχέαιρα, κόρη, καὶ ἦε Φοῖβε

Artemis the archer maiden and Eios Phoibos.

This is a chiastic arrangement: τ' ἰοχέαιρα and καὶ ἦε may be taken as the internal element, but this internal symmetry is clearly subordinate to the names on the 'wings' and is compromised by the allocation of the centre of the verse to Artemis (κόρη). The same reservation applies to P.41, Οὐρανίαν τε θεάν, σὺν τ' ἄμβροτον ἄγρον Ἄδωνιν, a chiasmus but weighted in Adonis' favour. Earth and sea are paired by framing in the hymn to Dikaioyne (OH 63.16), γαῖα θεὰ μήτηρ καὶ πόντιος εἰνάλιος Ζεὺς, as they are also in the *Homeric Hymn* to Poseidon.²¹¹ The internal section is not symmetrical here, but the verse is divided into two cola at the caesura and since each deity is qualified by two descriptors, the arrangement is again chiastic. *Il.* 14.201, (Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν) is the source of the framing effect in the hymn to Thalassa: Ὠκεανοῦ καλέω νύμφην, γλαυκώπιδα Τηθύν (OH 22.1). The internal element of the Homeric chiasmus is missing here but the counterposition of names is retained as emblematic of the primordial couple.

²¹⁰ Cf. *HHy.* 9.1 Ἄρτεμιν ὕμνει, Μοῦσα, κασιγνήτην Ἑκατοιο.

²¹¹ *HHy.* 22.2 γαίης κινητήρα καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης.

Ειρήνη, ὑγεία and ἄλβος, the frequent objects of prayer in the hymns, are similarly counterposed in two instances.²¹² Eirene and Hygieia are fully personified in hymns 43 and 68 respectively, and these may be taken as further examples of names framing a verse.²¹³ The structure in these cases is not chiasmic but these verses do consist of two equal cola linked by καί. To these instances of near-chiasmus may be added two examples in which the name of the divinity is paired with an appositional noun. These are in fact variations of the same formula:²¹⁴

OH 12.1 (Herakles) Ἡρακλῆς ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τιτάν
Herakles mighty-heart, great-strength, stout Titan.

OH 66.1 (Hephaistos) Ἡφαιστ' ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἀκάματον πῦρ
Hephaistos mighty-heart, great-strength, weariless fire.

Herakles is ‘Titan’ here through identification with the sun, while Hephaistos is allegorically presented as the element of fire. In both cases the associated adjectives give an ABB’A’ structure, with a central adjective, μεγασθενές, that may be taken with either side of the verse: we could also schematize this as ‘NAAAN’. In OH 11.1 (Pan), again in the opening verse of the hymn, the name of the god is similarly matched by a nominal predication: Πᾶνα καλῶ κρατερόν, νόμιον, κόσμοιο τὸ σύμπαν. Here we have an exact repetition of the syllable παν, a form of kyklos, emphasising the hymn’s identification of the god with the cosmos as a whole.²¹⁵ The symmetry is underscored by the alliteration of καλῶ κρατερόν and κόσμοιο, which give the verse a chiasmic pattern that centres on the epithet νόμιον.²¹⁶

A final example of framing by a name and a predication may be considered here. ‘Prothyraia’ is paired with the epithet ὠκυλόχεια, linked by sense and the compound nature of each word. The central, periphrastic element expands on the meaning that links the two epikleses and also draws attention to the balance between them on the flanks of the verse: ὠκυλόχεια, παρούσα νέαις θνητῶν, Προθυραία (OH 2.4, ‘swift-birth, present at mortal beginnings, Prothyraia’). In fact the framing effect here shows that distinguishing between Προθυραία as a name and ὠκυλόχεια as an

²¹² OH 29.18 (Persephone) εἰρήνηι θάλλουσα καὶ ἡπιόχειρῳ ὑγείῃ, 84.8 (Hestia) ἄλβον ἐπιπνείουσα καὶ ἡπιόχειρον ὑγείαν. These verses are formulaically identical from the beginning of the 3rd foot. Εἰρήνη, ὑγεία and ἄλβος in the prayers: Morand 2001: 55-6.

²¹³ Ricciardelli capitalises all instances of Εἰρήνη and Ὑγεία. Their epithets (Eirene is κουροτρόφος OH 12.8, 19.22, 65.9, ἐρατή 36.15 and ἄλβιοδώτις 65.9, Hygieia καλλιπλόκαμος 36.15) do suggest a degree of personification in the prayers also, but ἄλβος (linked with both peace and health at 17.10 and 23.8) is not clearly personified. Cf. however πλοῦτος in 40.20 (πολύολβος) and 68.9 (ἄλβιοδότης), also capitalised by Ricciardelli.

²¹⁴ Cf. also OH 65.1 (Ares) Ἄρρηκτ', ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε δαίμον. It is notable that in all three cases the formula occurs in the first verse of the hymn.

²¹⁵ On the *figura etymologica* here, see section 3.1.3.

²¹⁶ Cf. Bacchyl. *Epigr.* 1.1 Κούρα Πάλλαντος πολυώνυμε, πότνια Νίκη, where alliteration similarly marks the apposition of κούρα and Νίκη at the beginning and end of the verse.

adjective is misleading. Both terms are graphically descriptive, and we have a contrast here between the basic images of the bed and the door as symbols of childbirth.

3.3.2.2. Alliteration, assonance and stem repetition

The use of alliteration and assonance to mark framing pairs is found in a number of instances, some simple, others more elaborate and significant.²¹⁷ The Stars are described ἐγκυκλίους δίναισι περιὶ τὸν θρόνον κυκλόντες (*OH* 7.4 ‘circling heaven’s throne in spiral whorls’),²¹⁸ the repetition of the stem κυκλ- reinforcing the concept of cyclical movement (see section 3.1.1). This figurative echo of the cosmic sphere may be present in the hymn to Kronos also: δεσμούς ἀρρήκτους δς ἔχεις κατ’ ἀπείρονα κόσμον (*OH* 13.4 ‘who holds the boundless cosmos’ unbreakable bonds’). Here the repetition of σμ in δεσμούς and κόσμον is complemented by the alliteration of ἀρρήκτους and ἀπείρονα, in both cases with the *alpha privativum*, and by the chiasmic pattern ABB’A’. Other instances of framing depend on the repetition of a stem, as in *OH* 7.4. In the hymn to Herakles (*OH* 12.2) καρτερόχειρ is chiasmically mirrored by ἄθλοισι κραταιοῖς; in hymn 40.3 (Demeter) πλουτοδότειρα and παντοδότειρα frame the verse.²¹⁹ Repetition of a stem in a compound epithet at the two ends of a verse is also found in the hymns to Artemis and Aphrodite (framing an antithesis at the centre of the verse).²²⁰ These examples give a correspondence between words based on both sound and sense, but sense alone may also link elements in a verse. Poseidon is σεισίχθων, αὐξήτά, καθάρσιε, παντοτινάκτα (*OH* 15.8): σεισί- and -τινάκτα, ‘shaking’, frame the line. Artemis, in the verse immediately following the one just cited, is εὐδρομε... νυκτερόφοιτε (*OH* 36.6), and Oneiros ‘silently reveals’ the future to sleeping souls: σιγῶν σιγῶσαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντα προφαίνων (*OH* 86.6). Σιγῶν and προφαίνων are linked here both by sense, as an antithetical pair (see section 3.2.5), and through homoioteleuton, as participles. In another instance of antithesis combined with framing, Dike is described as ‘to the unjust an avenger, roaring, just’, τοῖς ἀδίκους τιμωρὸς ἐπιβρίθουσα δικάια (*OH* 62.4).

Assonance (σμ, στ) is combined with homoioteleuton in *OH* 18.18: σεμνοῖς μυστιπόλοις χαίρων δόσις τε σεβασμοῖς: an instance of alliterative framing combined with a grammatical parallelism (ABA’B’) of paired cola surrounding, and linked by, the central χαίρων. Homoioteleuton and assonance again link the outer terms in *OH* 40.19 εἰρήνην κατάγουσα καὶ εὐνομίην ἐρατεινήν: with

²¹⁷ Simple alliteration: P.18 ἐννέα καὶ Χάριτάς τε καὶ Ὀρας ἥδ’ Ἐνιαυτὸν, *OH* 22.2 (Thalassa) κυανόπεπλον ἄνασσαν, εὐτροχα κυμαίνουσαν. In both cases the verse is composed of two balanced cola.

²¹⁸ Ψ: ἐγκυκλίους δίναισι † περιθρόνια κυκλόντες. On this reading, see appendix 1 *ad loc*.

²¹⁹ *OH* 12.2 (Herakles) καρτερόχειρ, ἀδάμαστε, βρύων ἄθλοισι κραταιοῖς, 40.3 (Demeter) πλουτοδότειρα θεά, σταχυοτρόφε, παντοδότειρα. Cf. also *OH* 75.7 (Palaimon) φαινομένου σωτῆρ μούνος θνητοῖς ἀναφαίνῃ.

²²⁰ *OH* 36.5 (Artemis) λυσίζωνε, φίλοιστρε, κυνηγέτι, λυσιμέριμνε, 55.12 (Aphrodite) γεννοδότειρα, φίλανδρε, ποθεινοτάτη, βιοδῶτι.

itacism there is a full rhyme between εἰρήνην and ἐρατεινήν.²²¹ Itacism of η and υ, which is possible if the hymns date to the 1st or 2nd c. CE, would also compound the alliterative correspondence between Ἡβη and ἡύ as the framing elements of P.13.²²² The hymn to the Stars gives another instance of phonic correspondence between the first and last syllables of a verse: ἄνταυγείς, πυρόεντες, αἰ γενετῆρες ἀπ' ἄντων (OH 7.5). The homoioteleuton of πυρόεντες and γενετῆρες, and the central position of αἰ underscore the symmetry here.

The means of establishing a correspondence between the first and last words in verse are varied then. Pairs may consist of the names of associated divinities, such as Apollo and Artemis, or Okeanos and Tethys; they may consist of the name of a deity and a key predication; or they may be a pair of predications linked by alliteration, assonance or a shared stem. The function of this framing is invariably to emphasise the correspondence between the pair of words in question, but other effects may be achieved at the same time. In many cases the verse falls into two cola and the framing pair accentuate a symmetrical structure, in others (OH 7.4, 13.4) the circular effect of the framing reflects the sense of the line. While there is a range in the degree of symmetry achieved in a verse, from full chiasmus and the correspondence of all elements (e.g. P.25) to simple alliteration between the first and last words (e.g. P.18), in all cases the overall effect is similar: the mirroring or echo between the beginning and end of the verse marks it with a kind of circularity and as a structure complete in itself.

3.3.3 Central element

3.3.3.1 Central word

If we imagine the various types of symmetry we encounter in the hymns as impressing a kind of circularity on a verse, then in the examples considered in the previous section focus is on the periphery. Here it is on the centre: on a word or pair of words or phrase that occupies the middle point of a line. Labelling a single word as evidence of intentional symmetry may appear arbitrary, but there are several instances in the hymns where the performative verb of the invocation or a concluding participle in the prayer is emphatically placed in the centre of a verse that otherwise

²²¹ Itacism: Bubenik 2018: 162 ‘the raisings $\bar{\epsilon} > \bar{\iota}$ and $\bar{\epsilon} > \bar{\epsilon}$ are dated to the 3rd - 2nd c. BC in Attic-Ionic koine’. On εἰ and η itacism in Ptolemaic Egypt, Mayser 1923: 87-94 and 82-85 respectively. Examples of εἰ written as ι are frequent in literary papyri from the 1st c. BCE: e.g. SH 988 (P. Tebt 3.1-12), 996 (PSI XV 1481); and in Attic inscriptions from the 3rd c. BCE (Threatte 1980: 190-199, esp. 195); η as ι is found in Athenian school slates of the late 5th c. BCE: SEG XIX 37, Duhoux 1987: 190-8, Brixhe 2000: 65-75, García Ramón 2018: 64-5 (but a date in the Roman period has also been proposed by Threatte 2007). Inscriptional examples from Attica (rare before the 2nd c. CE) in Threatte 1980: 165-71.

²²² Ἡβη τ' Εἰλείθυια καὶ Ἡρακλέος μένος ἡύ. Confusion between η and υ is already apparent in letters of the Ptolemaic period (3rd c. BCE): examples in Mayser 1923: 85-6 (such as ἔφν for ἔφη) and Alexiou 2002: 239 n. 61. The evidence is limited to Egypt however and Sidney Allen argues that υ was not generally itacised until the Byzantine period (1968: 65). For Attica (where υ / ι confusion is common but υ / η rare), see Threatte 1980: 261-7.

consists of two equal cola, immediately following the main (penthemimeral) caesura. One example of each has already been cited (in verses that have a complete symmetry): in P.25 καλέω occupies the centre of a chiasmus (Νύκτα τε πρεσβίστην καλέω καὶ φωσφόρον Ἥμαρ), and in *OH* 18.18, in the prayer of the hymn to Pluto, χαίρων sits between and governs two cola linked by alliteration and assonance (σεμνοῖς μυστιπόλοις χαίρων ὅσοις τε σεβασμοῖς). A central verb of invocation also occurs in *OH* 1.1 (Hekate, Εἰνοδίαν Ἐκάτην κλήζω, τριοδίτιν, ἔραννήν), 7.2 (Asteres, εὐιέροις φωναῖσι κικλήσκων δαίμονας ἀγνούς) and 79.1 (Themis, Οὐρανόπαιδ' ἀγνήν καλέω Θέμιν εὐπατέρειαν). In each of these cases we find cola of two words each surrounding the verb. A close parallel for the first verse of the hymn to Hekate (*OH* 1.1) is found in Lamprocles' invocation of Athena: Παλλάδα περσέπολιν κλήζω πολεμαδόκον ἀγνάν (*PMG* 735a), which similarly places the verb κλήζω in the centre of four epicleses, marked by alliteration. In the hymn to Themis (*OH* 79.1) there is an additional correspondence of meaning between the two references to the goddess' father that frame the line. Another instance of a central participle in the prayer occurs in the final verse of the hymn to Poseidon (*OH* 17.10): εἰρήνην, ὑγίειαν ἄγων ἥδ' ὄλβον ἀμεμφῇ.

The central position in a verse of five words may be used to give emphasis then, and this also appears to be the case where it is occupied by the name of the god,²²³ or by the adjective μόνος. In the verse that appears as both *OH* 16.7 (Hera) and 68.11 (Hygieia, 85.3 in the hymn to Hypnos is a variant), πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη πάντεσσι τ' ἀνάσσεις, the centrality of μόνος gives emphasis to the meaning of the line, standing in contrast to the two parallel cola that frame it (see section 3.2.1). In the hymn to Palaimon (*OH* 75.7 φαινομένου σωτῆρ μόνος θνητοῖς ἀναφαίνῃ) the central position of μόνος is marked by the stem repetition that frames the verse. A fifth example of a central μόνος occurs in the hymn to Persephone.²²⁴ In all these instances the sense of the word appears to be emphasised by its position: it is isolated at the centre of the verse, conveying the idea of singularity. A similar effect appears in Parmenides' description of the One: in successive verses μένον, μένει and ἔχει occupy the centre of the line at the caesura, giving graphic emphasis to the idea of permanence and stability.²²⁵ At the beginning of the same fragment μόνος and ταύτη are similarly placed, emphasising the uniqueness of the 'way of truth'.²²⁶ In this light it seems reasonable to identify other instances of a central term in the *Orphic Hymns* as placed for emphasis, where it occurs in a verse of five words.²²⁷

²²³ Name: *OH* 23.3 (Nereus) καλλιτέκνοισι χοροῖς, Νηρεῦ, μεγάλωννυμε δαῖμον, 33.1 (Nike) Εὐδύνατον καλέω Νίκην, θνητοῖσι ποθεινήν, 42.3 (Mise) ἀγνήν εὐιέρόν τε Μίσην ἄρρητον ἀνασσαν.

²²⁴ *OH* 29.15 (Persephone) ζῶν καὶ θάνατος μούνη θνητοῖς πολυμύχοις.

²²⁵ B 8.29-31 DK. Cf. Xenophanes on the divine sphere (B 26 DK): αἰεὶ δ' ἐν ταύτῳ μέμνει κινούμενος οὐδέν.

²²⁶ B 8.1-2 DK. Cf. also Parmenides' repetition of κοῦραι in the same position, B 1.5 and 15 DK.

²²⁷ E.g. *OH* 4.5-6 (Ouranos) οὐράνιος χθονίος τε φύλαξ πάντων περιβληθείς, | ἐν στέρνοισιν ἔχων φύσεως ἄτλητον ἀνάγκην, 87.7 (Thanatos) ἐν ταχυτῇτι βίου παύων νεοήλικας ἀκμάς. Cf. also the central αἰεὶ in *OH* 7.5 (Asteres, discussed above), in 1.10 (Hekate) βουκόλῳ εὐμενέουσιν αἰεὶ κεχαρηότι θυμῷ, and 31.10 (Kouretes) βουκόλῳ εὐάντητοι αἰεὶ κεχαρηότι θυμῷ, where the outer elements of the verse are linked by homoioteleuton.

3.3.3.2 Central triad

In fact, as with the cases of *μούνος* shown here, the central word is frequently marked by the addition of framing words which make the symmetrical arrangement explicit. Where two words frame the central word the symmetric element occupies the main portion of the verse, with the exception of the beginning and end: an arrangement that is the inverse of the instances of framing considered in section 3.3.2. For example, in invocation of the hymn to Prothyraia (*OH* 2.1, *Κλῦθί μοι, ὦ πολύσεμνε θεά, πολύννυμε δαΐμον*) *θεά* is framed by two compound epithets of equal length, whose first element is *πολυ-*. The hymn to Demeter presents the same arrangement (*OH* 40.17 *μουνογενής, πολύτεκνε θεά, πολυπότνια θνητοῖς*). These verses can be read, syntactically, as two parallel cola beginning in the second foot, but also as structurally symmetrical, and centred on the term *θεά*. As Rudhardt argues, there is a polyvalency in the sequence of epiclases: they can be viewed, read and understood from different angles.²²⁸ In the hymn to Prothyraia again the antithesis of *OH* 2.7, *λυσίζων', ἀφανής, ἔργοισι δὲ φαίνῃ ἅπανσι* (see sec. 3.2.5), is similarly presented, with the antithetical terms themselves framing a central *ἔργοισι*; so too the very close echo of this arrangement in the hymn to Pluto (*OH* 18.16 *μούνος ἔφρυς ἀφανῶν ἔργων φανερώων τε βραβευτής*).

The repetition of the first element of a compound adjective or verb in the pair of words flanking the centre, such as the *πολυ-* in *OH* 2.1 and 40.17, is found in several other cases. Okeanos (*OH* 83.3) circles the earth in a graphic construction that places *γαίης* between *περικυμαίνει* and *περιτέρμονα*, while Leukothea (*OH* 74.9), as *σωτήριος*, is framed by two *εὖ-* compounds.²²⁹ Two other cases involving *εὖ-* compounds occur in the hymns to the Kouretes and the Nymphs.²³⁰ Simple alliteration is also employed however to achieve the same effect, for example in the hymn to Poseidon: *ἵππιε, χαλκοτόρευτον ἔχων χεῖρεσσι τρίαιναν* (*OH* 17.2).

In two cases we find alliteration linking the words in the outer cola: *OH* 30.3 (Dionysos, *ἄγριον, ἄρρητον, κρύφιον, δικέρωτα, δίμορφον*) and 39.8 (Kouretes, *θηρότυπον θέμενος μορφήν δνοφεροῖο δράκοντος*). These verses have an emphatic central word, but a complete symmetry, rather than one limited to three words in the middle. Two other instances of full symmetry may be considered here as pivoting on the centre of the verse, both of which are chiasmic. The Mother of the Gods is invoked as *Ἀθανάτων θεότιμε θεῶν μήτερ, τροφὲ πάντων* (*OH* 27.1), an arrangement which places both elements of her name at the centre of a chiasmus. In the hymn to Demeter we find *εὐτεκνε, παιδοφίλη, σεμνή, κουροτρόφε κούρα* (*OH* 40.13), in which the first colon forms a chiasmus of sense

²²⁸ Rudhardt 1991: 264-5.

²²⁹ *OH* 83.3 (Okeanos) *ὃς περικυμαίνει γαίης περιτέρμονα κύκλον*, 74.9 (Leukothea) *νηυσὶν ἐπ' εὐσέλμοις σωτήριος εὐφροني βουλή*.

²³⁰ *OH* 31.7 (Kouretes) *ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέοντες ἐπ' εὐφήμοισι λόγοισι* (with assonance connecting the outer words), 51.11 (Nymphai) *παρθένοι εὐώδεις, λευχείμονες, εὐπνοοὶ αὔραις*.

(fair-child, child-loving) and the second a symmetrical antithesis (youth-nurse youth). This is a symmetrical verse formed of symmetrical cola framing a central epithet.

3.3.3.3 ‘NANAN’

Under this heading I include verses of five words in which there is an alternation between nouns and adjectives which creates a loose chiasmus with a central word that takes in the entire verse (NANAN). The sun, for example is invoked as *Τιτὰν χρυσαυγής, Ὑπερίων, οὐράνιον φῶς* (OH 8.2) and Asklepios as *Ἰητὴρ πάντων, Ἀσκληπιέ, δέσποτα Παιάν* (OH 67.1).²³¹ In both cases there is a chiastic arrangement of ABB'A', with a name at the centre of the verse. Three initial verses (OH 10.1, 40.1 and 41.1), which are closely related to each other phraseologically, show a similar pattern.²³² In the first verse of the hymn to Demeter (which mediates between the other two)²³³ *θεά* is ringed first with two alliterative compound epithets, and then with two nouns beginning with δ: *Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυώνυμε δαῖμον* (OH 40.1). There is a structural symmetry here which underlies the syntax of two parallel adjective-noun cola following *Δηώ* (indicated by the editor's punctuation),²³⁴ which again consists of a nested arrangement of nouns and adjectives in the order NANAN. The same structure is seen in the first verses of the hymns to Physis (OH 10) and Meter Antaia (OH 41, another version of Demeter), but with less alliteration in the former, and none in the latter to reinforce the symmetry. The inverse of this NANAN pattern (ANANA) is seen in the hymn to Zeus Astrapaïos, where *Δία* and *βασιλῆα* sit between three adjectives in a chiastic arrangement with *παγγενέτην* at the centre of the verse.²³⁵

3.3.3.4 Central pair

The examples of symmetry considered in the previous two sections consist, for all the variety of forms they present, of a central word, usually framed, in a verse containing five elements. The instances grouped here on the other hand, while still focussed on the centre of the verse, consist of a pair of terms, linked by sense or sound effect. As in 3.3.3.1 the periphery is not, in most cases, part

²³¹ In the second example there are no adjectives, but *πάντων* and *δέσποτα* qualify *Ἰητὴρ* and *Παιάν* respectively. Cf. also OH 53.1 (Amphietes) *Ἀμφιετὴ καλέω Βάκχον, χθόνιον Διόνυσον*, which has *καλέω* in place of the first adjective but the same triple arrangement of nouns/names.

²³² OH 10.1 (Physis) *Ἦ Φύσι, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυμήχανε μήτηρ* (alliteration and assonance connect the adjectives), 40.1 (Demeter) *Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυώνυμε δαῖμον*, 41.1 (Meter Antaia) *Ἀνταία βασίλεια, θεά, πολυώνυμε μήτηρ*.

²³³ This raises the question of whether OH 40.1 was the model for 10.1 and 41.1 (as well as 2.1), and predates the others. It may be, but this cannot be certain. While these echoes do appear intentional, connecting four maternal deities, all three may look to an earlier model, or a single poet could have partially repeated a verse of their own composition. See further ch. 4.1.4.

²³⁴ Cf. the very similar example (identical from the caesura) of OH 2.1 (Prothyraia), considered in the previous section: *Κλυθί μοι, ὦ πολύσευμε θεά, πολυώνυμε δαῖμον*. In this case however the invocatory verb has displaced the initial N of the ‘NANAN’ pattern.

²³⁵ OH 20.5 (Zeus Astrapaïos) *ἀστραπαῖον Δία, παγγενέτην, βασιλῆα μέγιστον*.

of the symmetrical pattern. Just as Artemis and Apollo are paired at the beginning and end of P.7 (see above, 3.3.2.1), they are too at the centre of *OH* 35.4 (Leto): *γειναμένη Φοῖβόν τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν*. The sun and moon are similarly juxtaposed at the centre of the verse in the hymn to Aither, as is the antithesis *χθονία ἡδ' οὐρανία* in the hymn to Nyx (see section 3.2.3).²³⁶ In the hymn to Selene we find the double antithesis *αὐξομένη καὶ λειπομένη, θῆλύς τε καὶ ἄρσην* (*OH* 9.4), a pair of pairs that mirror each other, if the waxing and waning of the moon are linked with her male and female aspects (see section 3.2.4).

The remaining instances of a central pair are linked by assonance, alliteration or the repetition of a prefix, although in *OH* 14.9 (Rhea) and 50.9 (Lysios Lenaios), where mortals and immortals are paired, there is a correspondence of both sound and sense.²³⁷ Compounds with *πολυ-* are paired in four examples (twice in the hymn to Protogonos), three of which are echoes of the same formula,²³⁸ and *ἐπ-* links *ἐπαρωγὸς ἐπέλθοις* in prayer of the hymn to Sabazios (*OH* 48.6). Close assonance between *κινῶς κρίνεις* and *κυκλάδες καλυκώπιδες* in the hymns to Apollo and the Charites respectively marks the centre of the verse in each case.²³⁹

3.3.4 Tricoloi and tetracoloi

Symmetry that embraces an entire verse may also be marked by the (usually alliterative) correspondence of the three elements in a tricolos or the four in a tetracolos.²⁴⁰ Among the former, *OH* 69.2 presents the names of the three Erinyes, *Τισιφὼν τε καὶ Ἀλληκτὼ καὶ διὰ Μέγαιρα* in a symmetrical manner, with *Ἀλληκτὼ* at the centre framed by *καί*. In P.20, *Κουρήτάς τ' ἐνόπλους Κορύβαντάς τ' ἡδὲ Καβεῖρους*, the alliteration of the three groups of gods forms an emphatic triad. Among true tetracoloi (four predications in four words), *OH* 66.5 (Hephaistos) is notable for the repetition of *παν-* in each element: *παμφάγε, πανδαμάτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, παντοδίατε*. In other cases we find similar alliteration, but the last member of the tetracolos, occupying the fifth and sixth feet, is divided. Thus Physis is *παντοτεχνές, πλάστειρα, πολύκτιτε, ποντία δαῖμον* (*OH* 10.20), Herakles *παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ* (*OH* 12.6, a close echo of 66.5) and the Moirai *ἄεριοι, ἄφανεις, ἀμετάτροποι, αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς* (*OH* 59.17). In two further instances alliteration divides a tetracolos into two balanced cola: again in the hymn to Herakles (*OH* 12.4) *ἄρρητ', ἀγριόθυμε, πολύλλιτε, παντοδυνάστα*, and in the hymn to Dionysos Bassareus Trieterikos (*OH* 45.2) *Βάσσαρε*

²³⁶ *OH* 5.2 (Aither) *ἄστρον ἡλίου τε σεληναίης τε μέρισμα*, 3.8 (Nyx) *ἡμιτελής, χθονία ἡδ' οὐρανία* πάλιν αὐτή.

²³⁷ *OH* 14.9 (Rhea) *μήτηρ μέν τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων* (alliteration), 50.9 (Lysios Lenaios) *οἷς ἐθέλεις θνητῶν ἡδ' ἀθανάτων ἐπιφάσκων* (assonance or stem repetition).

²³⁸ Protogonos: *OH* 6.4 σπέρμα *πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον*, Ἡρικεπαῖον, 6.10 *ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πολύμνητι, πολύσπορε*, βαῖνε γεγηθῶς, Mise: 42.2 σπέρμα *πολύμνηστον, πολυώνυμον* Εὐβουλήα, Lysios Lenaios: 50.2 σπέρμα *πολύμνηστον, πολυώνυμ*, λύσειε δαῖμον. Sabazios: 48.6 *εὐμενέων ἐπαρωγὸς ἐπέλθοις* μυστιπόλοισιν.

²³⁹ *OH* 34.19 (Apollo) *πάντα πόλον κινῶς κρίνεις* βιοθρέμωνα φύλα, 60.6 (Charites) *εὐκταῖαι, κυκλάδες, καλυκώπιδες*, ἱμερόεσσαί.

²⁴⁰ By 'tricoloi' and 'tetracoloi' I mean verses consisting of three or four predications: see chapter 2.2.3.1.

καὶ Βακχεῦ, πολύννυμε, παντοδυνάστα.²⁴¹ There is a formulaic echo in the second cola of these two verses and the pattern of double alliteration here may also be formulaic.

Two more examples may be included here, which consist of four names or epithets but have a central καὶ linking the two halves of the verse. In the hymn to Prothyraia we find Ἄρτεμις Εἰλείθυια, † καὶ ἡ † σεμνή Προθυραία (*OH* 2.12). The verse may be corrupt and several emendations have been proposed,²⁴² but the symmetry of the two cola is evident. The same pattern is seen in the (second) hymn to the Kouretes: οὐράνιοι χθόνιοί τε καὶ εἰνάλιοι, πολύολβοι (*OH* 38.2).

3.3.5 Parallelism

Parallelism, where two adjacent cola correspond through repetition (ABA'B'), may be briefly considered here as further instances of structural antithesis. While examples of this figure do not constitute examples of symmetry, they do consist of two balanced cola and are, like chiasmus, often used to express a conceptual antithesis. In the examples we find in the *Orphic Hymns*, the cola may begin with the same word: Δαίμονά τ' ἡγάθεον καὶ Δαίμονα πήμονα θνητῶν (*P*.31), αἰῶνος Κρόνε παγγενέτωρ, Κρόνε ποικιλόμυθε (*OH* 13.5 Kronos, with anaphora and alliteration, see section 3.1.3), ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ καὶ ὠδίνων ἀμύητε (*OH* 36.4 Artemis); or with antithetical terms in one or both halves of each colon: κοινὴ μὲν πάντεσσιν, ἀκοινώνητε δὲ μούνη (*OH* 10.9 Physis), πικρὰ μὲν φαύλοισι, γλυκεῖα δὲ πειθομένοισι (10.15), φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ, φόβων ἔκπαγλε βροτείων (11.7 Pan), ἐχθρὰ τῶν ἀδίκων, εὐφρων δὲ σύνεσσι δικαίοις (62.9 Dike). In the hymn to Rhea (*OH* 14.13) alliteration marks the corresponding halves of the verse: εἰρήνην κατάγουσα σὺν εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσι. The pattern here is independent of the meaning but has a symmetry that recalls *OH* 18.18 (Pluto, σεμνοῖς μυστιπόλοισι χαίρων ὁσίοις τε σεβασμοῖς, see section 3.3.2.2) in which parallel cola frame a central word. Symmetry and parallelism also overlap in the hymn to Nemesis (*OH* 61.8), where three parallel cola begin with πάντα: πάντ' ἐσορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, πάντα βραβεύεις.²⁴³

3.3.6 Conclusion

The examples of in-verse symmetry studied in this section are not exhaustive. The many examples of tetracoloi composed of adjectives sharing the same case ending could also be considered under this heading. These examples are, however, a complete sample of the types described, and the relative incidence of them in the individual hymns may point to areas of the collection, whether sequential or thematic, where symmetries are either concentrated or absent. Seven examples are

²⁴¹ Cf. *OH* 30.3 and 39.8, which also have alliteration in the outer cola, but with a central word. See section 3.3.3.2.

²⁴² καὶ εὐσέμνη Hermann, καλὴ σεμνή Novossadsky, καὶ εὐστέφανος Ricciardelli. Alternatively, κόρη could be read for καὶ ἡ (see appendix 1 *ad loc.*).

²⁴³ As noted above (sec. 3.3) this verse recalls Xenophanes B 24 DK, οὐλος ὄρᾱι, οὐλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὐλος δὲ τ' ἀκούει.

taken from the proem, which, given the length of this piece (forty-four verses) and the fact that it consists for the most part of divinities listed two to a line, is not as many as might have been expected. Three hymns contain five examples each: Prothyraia (*OH* 2), Physis (*OH* 10), and Demeter (*OH* 40), and two have four: Herakles (*OH* 12) and Artemis (*OH* 36). Physis has already been mentioned as standing out for the number of antitheses it contains, and these do in fact overlap with the instances of symmetry. This is not the case for the others, however, and it is possible that it is the maternal aspects of three of these gods (an attribute shared also by Physis) that connects them in this regard, as it does with respect to the formulae they share. Three hymns have three examples of symmetry, eighteen have two and another thirty-two have one example.²⁴⁴ Around a third of the 107 examples of symmetry collected here are found in hymns which contain one case, another third in the eighteen hymns that have two cases, and another in the nine hymns that have three or more cases. That leaves twenty-seven hymns which offer no instances of symmetry at all.²⁴⁵ It is notable that hymns containing one or no examples of symmetry are disproportionately found in the second half of the collection. If we include the proem, giving a total of eighty-eight texts, thirty-nine of the forty-four hymns in the second half have either one or no examples. Of the twenty-seven hymns that show no instances of symmetry, twenty-one are in the second half (and none precede *OH* 19). Finally, of the total of 107 examples, eighty occur in the first half of the collection. It is also interesting to note that the hymns which do not show in-verse symmetry occur in series and are particularly concentrated among the hymns to the gods of the Bacchic mysteries (*OH* 43-54) and those in the range *OH* 70-82.²⁴⁶ This uneven distribution appears to be broadly connected with the incidence of shorter, asyndetic lists of predication and longer syntactically continuous passages in the collection that have been studied in the previous chapter. Verse-level symmetry is predominantly (but not exclusively) associated with the former, as a method of connecting separate predications within a verse, and giving an architectural form to individual verses. The hymns which contain the most examples of symmetrical figures are also among the most 'epicletic' in the collection (in particular *OH* 10 to Physis and 36 to Artemis). The concentration of these figures in the first half of the collection correlates then with the more epicletic character of the cosmogonic sequence. On the other hand, it must be emphasised that there are significant variations within this broad pattern and symmetries are also found in hymns that consist solely of longer predications, such as the hymns to Oneiros and Thanatos (*OH* 86 and 87).

This survey of the types of symmetry encountered within verses has explored a large number of examples, but the picture that I hope emerges from it is a simple one. The poet(s) of the *Orphic*

²⁴⁴ Three examples: *OH* 18 (Pluto), 29 (Persephone), 66 (Hephaistos). Two examples: *OH* 6, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 22, 23, 27, 31, 38, 41, 42, 50, 62, 83. One example: *OH* 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, 16, 20, 30, 33, 34, 35, 39, 44, 45, 48, 51, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 67, 68, 69, 74, 75, 79, 84, 86, 87.

²⁴⁵ *OH* 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 43, 46, 47, 49, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 64, 65, 70, 71, 72, 73, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 85.

²⁴⁶ I.e. *OH* 24-26, 46-47, 52-54, 56-57, 64-65, 70-73, 76-78, 80-82.

Hymns had a remarkable tendency to arrange verses in a manner that expresses a sense of balance or symmetry. These figures frequently reinforce the sense of the verse, linking divinities or contrasting antitheses, but they are also employed apparently for their own sake, as an aesthetically pleasing, and harmonious, arrangement of sounds and words. Harmony may in fact be the idea that underlies and unites the examples of sound effects, antithetical predication and of structural symmetry considered in this chapter. Formal and structural antithesis share this theme: by linking the ends of a spectrum, or the halves of a verse, they express the idea of a whole. Like the circle which symmetrical verses recall with their centre and periphery, the divinities described in this manner are complete in themselves, perfect and eternal: ξυνὸν γὰρ ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρασ ἐπὶ κύκλου περιφερείας (Heracl. B 103 DK).

3.4 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to show the extent of the *Orphic Hymns*' concern with sound effects and verse-level symmetry, and to show that in these features of their prosody they are drawing on a very early tradition in Greek poetry and thought. Homeric symmetries, particularly the large scale patterns that have been detected, are bound up with oral traditions of poetic composition, connected with that of the Near East. They are to some extent a mnemonic method of ordering information, but also serve an aesthetic purpose, giving an architectonic quality to the poems. Smaller scale structures, including chiasmus, are certainly detectable. Aesthetically and rhetorically, the effect is one of balance, whether of contrast or of correlation. The chiastic line is, metaphorically, a pair of scales poised in equilibrium.²⁴⁷ Symmetry was part of the Homeric literary tradition, but not one that was widely practiced in later poetry. The exception appears to have been hexameter poetry of a religious character: prayers, hymns and oracles. Again, the function of chiastic figures here is to create a sense of balance. In hymn and prayer there may be a hint of the idea of divine perfection (e.g. Zeus in the prayer of the Peleïades) or cyclic rhythm (e.g. Ge sending fruits in the same prayer, or the sun and the moon circling in Midas' epitaph), but the use of chiasmus should also be seen in the context of the prevalence here of sound effects of all types: alliteration, assonance, repetition, paronomasia and antithesis. These serve as markers for a text that is sacred, whether one directed at the gods, or, in the case of oracles, one received from them. Chiasmus, in this light, is one method of elevating an utterance, decorating it, making it an expression of harmony. Sound and symmetry are also, in this sense, part of an ongoing tradition of oral poetics. As recent scholarship has emphasised, this is by no means the preserve of poems composed before the advent of writing.²⁴⁸ Regardless of the method of composition, the reception

²⁴⁷ Welch (1981: 251) comments on children's appreciation of this kind of symmetry ('Old King Cole was a merry old soul and a merry old soul was he'). Cf. my five year old daughter recently (in song): 'Panda (the dog) mustn't drink the pond water. It's got poo in it. And it's got crabs in it. And maybe he'll get pinched by a crab. And maybe he'll taste a poo'.

²⁴⁸ See Foley and Bakker in Mackay 1999 and the introduction to the next chapter.

of poems by their audience is a critical aspect of orality, and sacred texts such as these were certainly meant to be heard. Phonic repetitions and the structural echoes provided by symmetrical figures speak, significantly, to the way such poems are heard and interpreted by their auditors. This important subject will be considered in more detail in the following chapter in the context of the formulaic phrases encountered in the *Orphic Hymns*.

Early prose writers embrace chiasmus as a rhetorical tool, and the Presocratic philosophers do so in particular because it is part of the language of cult, oracle and initiation. It is apt to the subject of discourses on cosmic reality: just as Anaxagoras, Xenophanes and Parmenides use hymnic predications to describe their primal or transcendent states of being, Heraclitus uses chiasmus to express the harmony of a higher reality composed of abstract qualities in tension. These are revelatory, theological discourses without gods, and make use of elements of the traditional language of religion accordingly. They are, like the *Orphic Hymns*, tapping into the poetics of sacred song. Early Orphic poetry did not remove the gods at all. It is Presocratic cosmology in fully theological attire,²⁴⁹ and the incidence of hymnic elements, phonic repetition and poetic symmetries in the surviving fragments of the *Rhapsodic Theogony*, which incorporated and synthesised a great deal of early material, is evidence that this poetry consciously and emphatically placed itself in the cultic tradition. It did so because it claimed the most ancient of authors, it claimed to be a type of oracular revelation and it described the gods. Mythical and doctrinal innovation was expressed in Orphic poetry in formally conservative language, the language of oracle, hymn and incantation. The *Orphic Hymns* are part of this tradition. They make the same claims and have the same pseudepigraphic motives. They use the language and prosodic effects of traditional hymns because they claim to stand at the source of the hymnic tradition. As part of the Orphic tradition, they also make extensive use of its cosmological poetry, in particular the *Rhapsodies*. They draw on the language of cult both directly, through hymn, and indirectly, through Orphism. The hymns' concern with phonic harmonies and symmetry may be understood in this context then, as a reflection of the language of cult and an inheritance from the earliest Greek poetry. But it should not be seen as merely derivative. It is an intrinsic part of the network of allusions and cross-references that the hymns suggest to their reader or hearer, and a means of exploring the underlying meaning of names and epithets as signposts to the nature of each god. It also serves a thematic purpose connected with the concept of the divinity that we find expressed in the examples of antithetical predication as well. The hymns strive to arrange their predications in a patterned, harmonious manner, and a phonically interwoven or symmetrically ordered verse is itself an expression of the balance and completeness that they attribute both to the individual divinities, in the accumulation of their attributes, and, in the overall sequence, to the pantheon itself.

²⁴⁹ Herrero de Jáuregui 2010a: 78-9.

Chapter 4. Formulae in the *Orphic Hymns*

The frequent recurrence of identical or adapted metrical phrases in the *Orphic Hymns* has been noted in the preceding chapters. This close interweaving of formulae was discussed by several early scholars. Lobeck, identifying a number of repeated phrases, viewed them as a sign of the poet's purpose: the collection, he argued, is a kind of cento of *precationum formulae*, a compendium of the type of invocations Orpheus would have composed had he wished to. But he also, less charitably, saw this kind of repetition as evidence of sheer poetic incompetence, 'the straits of a poor poet, locked in the gyre of a very small number of words and ideas'.¹ This assessment in fact recalls Lucian, who mocks the repetitive use of epithets in hymns in general terms as a mere fallback for unoriginal poets:

ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἑταίρειε καὶ ἐφέστιε καὶ ἀστεροπητὰ καὶ ὄρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδουπε καὶ εἴ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι – καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀπορώσι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα· τότε γὰρ αὐτοῖς πολυώνυμος γενόμενος ὑπερείδεις τὸ πίπτον τοῦ μέτρου καὶ ἀναπληροῖς τὸ κεχρηδὸς τοῦ ῥυθμοῦ – ποῦ σοι νῦν ἡ ἐρισμάραγος ἀστραπή καὶ ἡ βαρύβρομος βροντὴ καὶ ὁ αἰθαλόεις καὶ ἀργήεις καὶ σμερδαλέος κεραυνός.

O Zeus Philios and Xeinios and Hetaireios and Ephestios and Asteropetes and Horkios and Nephelengeretes and Erigdoupos, and anything else the be-thundered poets call you – especially when they're at a loss for the metre. For then you become many-named at their hands and prop up lapses in metre and fill gaps in the rhythm. Where now are your 'loud-thundering' lightning and 'heavy-booming' thunder and 'blazing', 'shining', 'terrible' bolt?²

Wilamowitz, like Lobeck, saw the consistent and repetitive diction of the hymns as evidence of a single author, and this argument for the compositional unity of the collection is broadly accepted by more recent scholars such as Rudhardt.³ If compositional unity has been one lens through which the formulaic language of the hymns has been viewed, another is that of their intertextual relationships with poetry that shares their vocabulary and phraseology. Parallels with Oppian were pointed out by Schneider, while the extensive Homeric element was noted by Brunck and Lobeck (who conceded that the author knew the ancient poets at least) and detailed by Büchschütz, together with phrases from Hesiod, Pindar, and Aeschylus.⁴ Studies of the hymns' intertexts were undertaken by Novossadsky (in particular invocation and prayer formulae) and by Baudnik, who

¹ Lobeck 1829: 395, 986. Cf. Bernhardt 1867³: 417 'formelhaft Grundton... so mechanisch, dass sie häufig sich wiederholen'.

² Luc. *Tim.* 1 Macleod. Lucian may even have had the *Orphic Hymns* in mind (although of course his point is just how stereotyped these phrases are). Cf. *OH* 20.1 ἐρισμάραγον, 3 ἀστράπτοντα; *OH* 19.8 πτηνὸν ὄπλον, 11 βαρύθυμον, 13 βέλος ὅξυ καταβάτου αἰθαλόεντος, 17 ἀργήτα κεραυνόν.

³ Wilamowitz 1932 II: 514, Rudhardt 2008: 172-4.

⁴ Schneider 1777: 83-4, Brunck 1785 III: 27, Lobeck 1829: 395-6, Büchschütz 1851: 19-24.

focuses on correspondences with the Stoic philosophers and Philo.⁵ Hauck emphasised the parallels in diction and phraseology with Nonnus and Proclus and concluded that the hymns drew upon these authors, and van Liempt analysed in detail the literary parallels, where available, for three hundred ‘*vocabula rariora*’, identifying a closer connection with poets of the third and fourth centuries, such as Quintus, Manetho, and the hymns of the magical papyri.⁶ The *loci paralleli* identified by these authors have been collected by Quandt and Ricciardelli, as apparatuses to the text in their editions of the hymns, and are explored in greater detail by Ricciardelli and Fayant in their commentaries. Literary and epigraphic parallels for each of the individual epithets that occur in the hymns have most recently been collected by Macedo, Kölligan and Barbieri.⁷ The subject of the hymns’ intertexts, their referentiality and formulaicity, has not been considered in its own right however, and this chapter aims to synthesise and expand upon earlier studies and to draw conclusions on the nature and functions of poetic formulae in the collection.

Intertextuality, the perception of texts as a mosaic of references to contextual literature and genres is, following the foundational discussions of Bakhtin and Kristeva on the dialogic character of texts, a critical subject in the study of ancient literatures.⁸ It is however a broad and loose label for referentiality that may take a number of forms, from verbal allusions to retellings, criticism and commentary. Bauks notes moreover a number of particular issues that pertain to the intertextual study of ancient texts as opposed to modern ones, including the frequent loss of the putative base text and the uncertainty of relative dating, and, by extension, of priority.⁹ It is often unclear, as will be seen in the study of the phraseological intertexts of the *Orphic Hymns* in this chapter, whether one extant text is engaging with another directly, or whether both are independently looking to a lost original. Another issue that is critical for the present topic is the impact of pseudepigraphy, or the adoption of a fictive persona that positions itself at the source of a tradition, and that conceptually or ‘virtually’ reverses the relative current of ideas between a text and contemporary or earlier texts that engage in the same tradition.¹⁰ Additionally, with regard to the literature of antiquity, the question of the original readers’ or audiences’ response is problematic and scholarship must engage with the issue of understanding or reconstructing the manner in which references might have been understood by those at whom a text was originally directed.¹¹ Finally, and again, critically, for the study of the *Orphic Hymns*, there is the question of the extent to which a given text is participating in a tradition of oral composition and reception. In this light, the

⁵ Novossadsky 1900: 219-228, Baudnik 1905: 9-17.

⁶ Hauck 1911, van Liempt 1930.

⁷ Macedo, Kölligan & Barbieri 2021.

⁸ Bakhtin, Kristeva and intertextuality: Still & Worton 1990: 1-44, Plett 1991: 3-29, Baron 2019: 263-344, Allen 2021³: 8-58. Intertextuality in ancient texts: Edmunds 2001, Doulamis 2011, Bauks, Horowitz & Lange 2013, Coffee *et al.* 2019. Intertextual neoanalysis and Homer: Willcock 1997: 174-189, Burgess 2006, 2012, Tsagalis 2008, 2011.

⁹ Bauks, Horowitz & Lange 2013: 11.

¹⁰ Greek pseudepigraphy: Speyer 1971; on the persona and authority of Orpheus in particular, Calame 2010: 13-36, Herrero de Jáuregui 2015.

¹¹ On reception theory and ancient literature, Budelman & Haubold 2008: 1-25.

boundary between an intertext understood as a discrete reference to another fixed text, and a formula, as a referential unit within a living and fluid oral tradition, is essentially blurred.¹² A key question then, is the extent to which the poetic formulae of the *Orphic Hymns* can be understood as features of an oral poetics. Their sheer density does indeed appear to mark out the collection as an oral text: in terms of Parry and Lord's theory of oral composition, this kind of frequency was originally thought to be diagnostic of an oral poetry.¹³ The formulae should, in this light, be viewed as ἔπη, words or signifiers within the language or oral poetic composition. Yet the putative date of the hymns' composition, and their intertextual relationship with contemporary Hellenistic and Imperial poetry and, in particular, philosophy, points clearly to written composition within a literary, and literate, context. The clear binary, however, between oral and written texts that Parry and Lord first posited has been rightly disputed by more recent scholarship, with regard to the Homeric epics as well as later poetry.¹⁴ The oral technique of composition using the language of formulae as referents to a tradition is one, important, aspect of orality. But written texts may also draw on these techniques, both in terms of composition and, critically, in terms of incorporating references to a broader poetic tradition that speak to their audience in the same way that formulae do in purely oral poetry.¹⁵ In fact, perhaps the most significant development or refinement of oral theory has been the recognition that the functions of formulae are not simply as aides to composition in an *ex tempore* performance context. Reception, the ability of formulae to suggest a narrative or thematic connection to an audience familiar with the broader tradition, is an equally important function, and one that bridges the 'great divide' between spoken and written poetry. As Foley argues, in this light the critical element in the study of oral traditions is the tradition.¹⁶ Formulae are a language full of referential meaning: by suggesting connections to poetic, mythological or narrative traditions, they carry significance for the audience or reader that goes far beyond metrical convenience. This is true of the Homeric epics, as intertextual or neoanalytical studies that factor in oral poetics have shown.¹⁷ But it is equally true of later poetry that engages with the same or variant traditions. The boundary between oral and written poetry is porous insofar as both make use of the communicative potential that formulae provide. The line is further blurred, moreover, where, regardless of the method or medium of composition, texts are meant to be heard or performed.¹⁸ In such cases, it is not only formulae that may bridge the divide, but many of the features of oral poetics, such as, in the case of the *Orphic Hymns*, the phonic and symmetrical figures studied in the previous chapter. These observations have a direct and fundamental relevance for understanding the use of formulae and the nature of formulaic phrases in the *Orphic Hymns*. Viewed as intertexts they reveal a system of connections with contemporary, earlier and later texts.

¹² Bauks 2013: 33-38.

¹³ Lord 1968: 24, 1986: 478-481, Russo 1997: 242-45.

¹⁴ Foley 1997: 162-5.

¹⁵ Bakker 1999: 30; Ready 2019: 1-12.

¹⁶ Foley 1999: 1-15, 1999a: 16-18.

¹⁷ Burgess 2012: 168-183, Kullmann 2012: 13-26.

¹⁸ Foley 1999a: 14.

Viewed as features of an oral poetics, they constitute an adaptive language that speaks to their audience, tapping into and binding the hymns to a set of overlapping poetic traditions.

In this chapter, I survey the formulae and intertexts that occur in the hymns, reviewing the forms they take and the meanings they convey through the connections they make between hymns and broader poetic traditions. I also analyse the specific parallels that can be traced with extant texts and consider whether these constitute direct intertextual engagement or shared references to a common tradition. The aim is to assess the nature of the collection's extensive formulaicity and the poetic and conceptual functions these formulae serve, as a corollary to, and building upon, the study of sound and symmetry that forms the subject of the previous chapter. I have limited my study here to collocations of words or *syntagmata*. Although predications consisting of a single word recurring in the same metrical position may also be considered formulaic,¹⁹ I have largely excluded these in order to limit the scope of this analysis, and because detailed studies of the compound epithets and parallels for the *hapax legomena* have been provided by van Liempt and, more recently, by Rudhardt.²⁰ I have also excluded looser references to philosophical concepts, which Quandt includes in his apparatus of parallels and which are explored in the commentaries of Ricciardelli and Fayant, as my focus here is on phraseological and, in particular, metrically stable correspondences. Within these parameters I have collected as many poetic and phrasal parallels as possible, collating and expanding upon the apparatuses of Quant and Ricciardelli. In terms of methodology, I have found it useful to make a distinction between what I have designated as 'primary' and 'secondary' formulae. Primary formulae, according to this definition, are formulae in the accepted sense, consisting of at least two words in the same metrical position of a hexameter verse, with allowance made for variations in inflection, for the substitution of one element in a compound word (e.g. αἰδία πολύσεμνε OH 61.3, αἰδία πολύσεπτε 26.6), or the substitution of one word in a formula for another which is a close rhyme or phonic echo (ἀπρόσμαχον εἶδος OH 1.6, ἀπρόσμαχον εἶχος 72.4).²¹ These types of variation are in accordance with the adaptation of formulae in oral poetry to different contexts, whether syntactic (i.e. inflection) or conceptual, where a variation may serve to highlight a connection by contrast as well as correspondence. I also include as primary formulae collocations of words which, while occurring in a different metrical position, or even in prose, correspond exactly in form and sequence. My 'secondary' formulae are not strictly formulae in the sense of a metrical unit, but parallels for phrases occurring in the *Orphic Hymns* in which the word order is inverted or words are separated (but still occur in the same verse). These are looser verbal echoes, but are still grounded in the close association of two more specific terms. These formulae and phrasal echoes are collected in appendix 4.1 to this chapter, for

¹⁹ Russo 1997: 244, 259.

²⁰ Rudhardt 2008: 220-235.

²¹ Russo 1997: 238-260, Finkelberg 2012: 73-7.

reference, together with an index of the authors or poems in which they occur (appendix 4.2).²² A total of 810 phrases in 110 authors, anonymous poems or collections²³ are presented here as offering either a primary (in 70% of cases) or secondary correspondence with just under five hundred (490) formulaic expressions in the *Orphic Hymns*. These intertextual parallels are outnumbered, however, by ‘intratextual’ formulae, that recur in an identical or adapted form within the collection itself.²⁴ In sum, of the 764 phrases in the 1108 verses of the *Orphic Hymns* that exhibit a formulaic parallel either internally or externally in this analysis, 71% (545) find one within the collection itself, and 64% (490, as stated) with another author. In the 36% of cases where a phrase recurs in both the *Orphic Hymns* and another author, the parallel within the collection is closer in five out of six cases. The intratexts, the instances of internal formulaic recurrence, are strikingly frequent: the hymns not only outnumber any other author as a source of correspondences, they outnumber all other authors combined. This intensive system of cross-reference within the collection is explored in the first part of this chapter, correspondences with other texts and authors are considered in the second part.

4.1 Formulae within the collection

The repetition of poetic phrases or metrical units occurs in every hymn, whether as part of the primary invocation, the final prayer, or the main series of predication. Such phrases are most regularly found at the beginning or the end of a hexameter, but the variety of metrical elements that they correspond with is extensive, and, as I discuss below, adaptation and variation of formulae to different contexts and metrical requirements is frequent. A number of complete verses recur, but with one exception,²⁵ exact repetition of a whole verse is only found where the parallel is with an external text; where a verse is shared by two hymns within the collection, there is some degree of variation:

²² In appendices 4.1 and 4.2 ‘secondary’ formulae are marked by the use of square brackets. In app. 4.1 these enclose the full reference, in app. 4.2 they enclose the *OH* reference each parallel corresponds with.

²³ *Anthologia Graeca, Supplementum Hellenisticum* (anonymous papyri) and Kaibel’s *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (verse inscriptions). The last was published in 1878, but remains a valuable collection of verse inscriptions from across the ancient world. Cross-references, where available, are given to Merkelbach & Stauber 1998-2004, *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten*, and (for papyri) to Perale 2020, *Adespota Papyracea Hexametra Graeca*. Inscriptions, oracles and papyri are each presented as one entry in appendix 4.2.

²⁴ Intratextuality is as broad a term as its better known correlative. It is ‘the phenomenon and the study of the relationship between elements within texts: it is concerned with structures such as ring composition, continuities, discontinuities, juxtapositions, story arcs and other repetitions of language, imagery, or idea’ (Sharrock 2018: 15, see further Frangoulidis 1997, Sharrock & Morales 2000 and Harrison, Frangoulidis & Papanghelis 2018). I use ‘intratexts’ here in the specific sense of phrasal echoes within the collection, as a corollary to echoes in other texts.

²⁵ *OH* 21.7 *Nephe* = 82.7 *Notos*, πέμπειν καρποτρόφους ὄμβρους ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν.

OH 3.6 (Nyx)	<u>ληθομέριμν' ἀνιῶν τε</u> ²⁶ <u>πόνων ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσα</u>
OH 85.5 (Hypnos)	<u>λυσιμέριμνε, κόπων ἡδεῖαν ἔχων ἀνάπαυσιν</u>
OH 4.2 (Ouranos)	<u>πρεσβυγένεθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή</u>
OH 15.7 (Zeus)	<u>παντογένεθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή</u>
OH 12.8 (Herakles)	<u>εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ἀγλαότιμον</u>
OH 19.22 (Keraunos)	<u>Εἰρήνην τε θεόν, κουροτρόφον, ἀγλαότιμον</u>
OH 11.23 (Pan)	<u>πανικὸν ἐκπέμπων οἷστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης</u>
OH 71.11 (Melinoe)	<u>ψυχῆς ἐκπέμπειν οἷστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης</u>

Exact repetition of a complete verse is avoided, but, as these examples show, a phonic echo frequently persists between the elements that mark the difference (πόνων/κόπων, πρεσβυ-/παντο-, ποθέων/τε θεόν, πανικόν/ψυχῆς). Adaptation of formulae to the requirements of each divinity is also seen in several instances where a complete verse is formed of two formulae that recur in other hymns, as occurs twice in the hymn to Pluto:

OH 18.3 (Pluto)	Ζεῦ χθόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε, τάδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμως
OH 15.6 (Zeus)	<u>Ζεῦ Κρόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε</u> , Καταιβάτα, ὀμβριμόθυμε
OH 84.7 (Hestia)	μειδιόωσα, μάκαιρα, <u>τάδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμως</u>
OH 18.7 (Pluto)	ἔδρανον ἀθανάτων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταῖον
OH 26.4 (Ge)	<u>ἔδρανον ἀθανάτου</u> κόσμου, πολυποίκιλε κούρη
OH 84.5 (Hypnos)	οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων, <u>θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταῖον</u>

These examples provide clear illustrations of the way in which formulae link or thread the hymns together, marking points of contact between divinities with stable but adaptable lexical units that can be decoupled and recombined, as here Pluto is connected with Zeus, Ge and Hestia (as the earth, Pluto's realm). Formulae are a key aspect of the hymns' poetics and one tool among several employed by the poet to make connections and suggest meaning. In this section my aim is to explore the way they are used and the meanings they convey.

4.1.1 Invocation and prayer

Formulae of invocation and prayer have been discussed in chapter two (2.2.1, 2.2.2). Prayers are the most regularly formulaic part of the hymns. The kletic request to 'come kind', for example, is

²⁶ The manuscripts have ἀγαθή here, emended by Pierson to ἀγαθήν (accepted by Ricciardelli and Fayant) and by Theiler to ἀγανή (followed by Quandt). I suggest reading ἀνιῶν (see the note on this verse in app. 1).

expressed in a number of regular phrases that occur, chiefly at the beginning of a verse.²⁷ The specific request, which as discussed, is often stereotyped, particularly in the first half of the collection, may also be formulaic:

|²⁸ πέμποις εὐολβον βιότου τέλος *OH* 13.10 (Kronos), 25.11 (Proteus)
 βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν *OH* 25.11 (Proteus), 28.11 (Hermes); βιοτῆς 64.7 (Nomos), 67.8 (Asklepios)
 ἐπ' εὐδόβοις κτεάτεσσι | *OH* 72.2, 72.10 (Tyche); σὺν εὐδόβοις κτεάτεσσι | 14.13 (Rhea)
 ἐπ' εὐδόξοις ἔργοις *OH* 7.13 (Asteres), 33.9 (Nike)
 | Εἰρήνην, Ὑγίειαν ἄγειν *OH* 10.30 (Physis); ἄγων 17.10 (Poseidon)
 καὶ ἡπιοχείρῳ Ὑγείῃ | *OH* 29.18 (Persephone); καὶ ἡπιόχειρον Ὑγείαν | 84.8 (Hestia); καὶ
 ὀλβιόχειρον Ὑγείην | 23.8 (Nereus)²⁹
 | Εἰρήνην κατάγουσα *OH* 14.13, 40.19

Formulae for apopemptic requests also occur:

ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπεμπε ||³⁰ *OH* 58.10 (Eros), 77.10 (Mnemosyne)
 μῆνιν χαλεπὴν ἀποπέμπειν | *OH* 37.7 (Titans), 39.9 (Korybant)
 ἐκπέμπων οἷστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης || *OH* 11.23 (Pan), 71.11 (Melinoe)

While these last examples clearly link divinities associated with wrath or frenzy, there is in general little thematic connection between the gods that share prayer formulae: they are an analogue of the stereotyped requests for benevolence, a good end, peace, health and wealth. Formulaic references to ritual or ritual offices that occur in prayers may however have a particular significance for the divinities that share them and will be considered below (section 4.1.2.5).

4.1.2 Predications

Formulae within the sequence of predications do, in a majority of cases, speak to a thematic connection between divinities. Essentially syntactic expressions, such as ἐν σοὶ γάρ or ὥς ἄν ἀεί, are

²⁷ Ἔλθοις εὐμενέουσα *OH* 3.14, 16.10, ἔλθοις εὐμενέων 83.8, ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέοντες 31.6, ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέουσαι 81.5, ἐλθεῖν εὐμενέοντα 75.4, εὐμενέουσ' ἔλθοις 42.11; ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, εὐφρων 9.11, εὐφρων ἐλθέ, μάκαρ 46.8; 'come' εὐφροني βουλήι (at verse-end) 14.12, 59.20, 70.1, 74.9, 79.11; εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχουσα 26.11, εὐ. ἦτ. ἔχων 30.9, 64.13; 'come' γήθουσα προσώπωι (at verse-end) 49.7, 55.16, γήθοντι πρ. 16.10, γήθοντα πρ. 75.4; ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, ἀγνή 40.18, 61.10.

²⁸ I use the single bar here to indicate the beginning or end of a verse.

²⁹ Ὀλβιόχειρον here was amended to ἡπιόχειρον by Ruhnken (as dittography for ὀλβον at the beginning of the verse). The MS reading is restored by Ricciardelli; Quandt and Fayant follow Ruhnken. The variation between α and η in first declension inflections is notable here. Ionic forms in -ιη occur throughout the collection, but two forms of the same name are only encountered here, with Leukothea (P.35 -ιην, *OH* 74.1 -ιαν) and Ourania (*OH* 76.9 -ιη, elsewhere -ια). In the last case the Ionic form is part of a formula taken from Hes. *Th.* 78. See also οἶηκα (*OH* 58.8, 87.1) οἶακα (64.8), and αἰδίη (84.6) αἰδία (10.21, 26.6, 61.3) in the same formula. It is possible that these variations represent scribal modifications of the text, but they may alternatively be evidence (as in the case of Ouraniē) of the incorporation of formulae from different sources.

³⁰ The double bar indicates the beginning or (as in this case) the end of a hymn.

frequently encountered in particular clusters of hymns: those to the gods of justice (*OH* 61-64 Nemesis, Dike, Dikaio-syne and Nomos), or of retribution and fortune (*OH* 69-73 Erinyes, Eumenides, Melinoe, Tyche, Daimon), and the final sequence, to Sleep, Dream, and Death (85-87), which, as discussed in chapters two and three, are otherwise notable for their innovative prayers and the relative absence of short predications and associated symmetry and sound effects.³¹ Other phrases, such as κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον, θνητῶν πολυμόχθων, θνητοῖσι ποθεινή or οἱ χθόνα ναιετάουσι are widely shared,³² describing the scope of a god's powers, in these examples with reference to their relationship with the mortal realm. General statements of power cast a broad net:

<i>OH</i> 16.7 (Hera)	πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη πάντεσσι τ' ἀνάσσεις
<i>OH</i> 68.11 (Hygieia)	πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάσσεις
<i>OH</i> 85.3 (Hypnos)	πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνος καὶ πᾶσι προσέρχῃ ³³

But these may also be pointed: Hera, as the air, and Hygieia are prerequisites for all life, as, the connection suggests, is Sleep. Similarly, κοινὴ μὲν πάντεσσιν (*OH* 10.9) links Physis, as the guiding and ordering principle of the cosmos (see chapter 3.2.5), with Hera again, and Thanatos.³⁴ Παννύπερτατε δαῖμον is shared by Ouranos (*OH* 4.8), who is literally 'above all', and Nemesis (*OH* 61.9), who is conceptually so since she is, like Ouranos, all-seeing and watches over mortal lives (61.2). Power is also symbolised by formulae that present a god as holding the 'keys' or the 'tiller' of all or a defined sphere. Eros, who holds both the keys and the tiller of all, is a focal point here, intersecting with Proteus, who, with a slight adaptation, holds the keys of the sea, and Daimon, who holds those of grief and joy (with ὀχοῦνται for ἔχοντα); as well as with Nomos and Thanatos:

<i>OH</i> 58.4 (Eros)	εὐπάλαμον, διφυή, <u>πάντων κληῖδας ἔχοντα</u>
<i>OH</i> 25.1 (Proteus)	Πρωτέα κικλήσκω, <u>πόντου κληῖδας ἔχοντα</u>
<i>OH</i> 73.6 (Daimon)	ἐν σοὶ γὰρ λύπης τε χαρᾶς † <u>κληῖδες ὀχοῦνται</u>
<i>OH</i> 58.8 (Eros)	<u>μούνος γὰρ τούτων πάντων οἴηκα κρατύνεις</u>
<i>OH</i> 64.8 (Nomos)	αὐτὸς γὰρ <u>μούνος ζώων οἴακα κρατύνει</u>
<i>OH</i> 87.1 (Thanatos)	Κλυθὶ μευ, ὃς <u>πάντων θνητῶν οἴηκα κρατύνεις</u>

³¹ ἐν σοὶ γὰρ *OH* 63.11, 72.6, 74.5, 87.8 (σοὶ γὰρ 61.6, ἐν σοὶ δ' 61.9, ἐν γὰρ σοὶ 2.11). Cf. also ἐκ σέο γὰρ 68.3, 79.10 (σοῦ 14.10), ἐκ σέο δ' 27.7, σοῦ γὰρ 68.8 and σὸς γὰρ 87.3. Ὡς ἂν αἰεὶ 62.11, 86.8, 86.17, ὡς ἂν 87.12, ὡς ἂν 63.13. The gods of justice (*OH* 61-4) and the Furies (*OH* 69-70) are linked by a number of other expressions, e.g. χαίρουσα δίκαιοις (61.3, 63.2), τιμωρὸς (62.4, 70.5), ἐξ ισότητος (62.5, 63.2), Ὅμμα Δίκης (62.1, 69.15); ἐσορώσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων (61.2), καθορώσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων (62.3), καθοράτε βίον θνητῶν ἀσεβοῦντων (70.4). Oneiros (*OH* 86) in particular shows points of contact with this group: γνώμαις ὅσαισι 70.11, γνώμαις ὀρθαῖς 86.17; βίος ἐσθλὸς ὀδεύει 63.13, νόος ἐσθλὸς ὀδεύει 86.7.

³² κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον *OH* 11.20, 13.4; θνητῶν πολυμόχθων *OH* 37.4, 73.5, πολυμόχθοις 29.15; θνητοῖσι ποθεινή *OH* 29.11, ποθεινήν 33.1, ποθειναί 60.5; οἱ χθόνα ναιετάουσι 37.5, ὅσοι 45.6, χθόνα ναιετάοντες 38.4.

³³ The verse is, perhaps ironically, modelled on *Il.* 1.288, Agamemnon's complaint about Achilles' overwhelming ambition: μούνη here replaces ἐθέλει. On the antithesis here between 'only' and 'all', see chapter 3.2.1.

³⁴ Hera: κοινωνεῖς γὰρ ἅπασι *OH* 16.6, Thanatos: κοινὸς μὲν πάντων *OH* 87.6.

The source of the second phrase may be Heraclitus, who describes the lightning as ‘guiding all’ (B 64 DK τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει Κεραυνός).

4.1.2.1 Realms of the cosmos

Several instances of shared formulae point to a specific connection between deities, and these links may be considered thematically. The five realms of the cosmos listed in the proem serve as a point of departure (P.32-33):

Δαίμονας οὐρανίους καὶ ἡερίους καὶ ἐνύδρους
καὶ χθονίους καὶ ὑποχθονίους ἥδ' ἐπιπυρφοίτους

Daimons of heaven, of airs and of waters,
of earth, of the underworld, fire-dwellers

These spheres, the sky or aither, lower air, water, earth and underworld are the basis of a system of connections between divinities in the hymns that is marked by shared formulae.³⁵ The embodiments of the first realm, Ouranos and Aither, are linked by an adapted formula that occurs in the first verse of their adjacent hymns:

OH 4.1 (Ouranos)	Οὐρανὸν παγγενέτωρ, <u>κόσμου μέρος αἰὲν ἀτειρές</u>
OH 5.1 (Aither)	ἽΩ Διὸς ὑψιμέλαθρον ἔχων <u>κράτος αἰὲν ἀτειρές</u>

The Homeric formula μένος αἰὲν ἀτειρής (*Od.* 11.270) is adapted here with words, μέρος and κράτος, the first of which echoes μένος in sound, and the second in meaning. Ouranos himself personifies this ‘portion’ of the cosmos, while Aither wields Zeus’ ‘high-halled might’, connecting Zeus with the celestial and ethereal realm. Aither, πᾶσι ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα (*OH* 5.3), is in turn connected with Pan, who embraces all elements as personification of the cosmos itself, including the air: ἀερίον τε μέρισμα τροφῆς, ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα (*OH* 11.16).³⁶ The predication ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα, ‘the spark of life’ is applied to both the aither and the air as life-giving elements, an association that recurs in the hymns to Hera and Hephaistos, who are identified with air and fire respectively.³⁷

³⁵ ἥδ' ἐπιπυρφοίτους, the MS reading, is emended by Wiel to ἥδ' ἐμπυρφοίτοις ‘empyrean dwellers’, which Quandt and Fayant adopt. This would link back to the first realm, the sky or aither. Ricciardelli retains πυρφοίτους, citing the lengthening in arsis before π in *OH* 10.21 and 50.4. It is possible that the reference here is to the fires of the underworld (cf. Kingsley 1995: 46-48, on the identification of Empedocles’ Hades with fire), but it must be said that in the collection Hades is strongly associated with the earth and fire with the heavens rather (e.g. *OH* 66.5, Hephaistos).

³⁶ Cf. also the reinforcing repetition of μέρισμα in the hymn to Aither (*OH* 5.2 ἄστρον ἡελίου τε σεληναίης τε μέρισμα).

³⁷ Hera gives mortals ‘soul-nourishing breezes’ and is the ‘birth of all’ (*OH* 16.3, 4); Hephaistos ‘dwells in the bodies of mortals’ (*OH* 66.6-9).

The upper air is characterised by fire, the lower air by moisture (Hera *OH* 16.4 *δμβρων μὲν μήτηρ*). The Nephe (21.6) and Notos (82.7) share an identical concluding prayer for rain:

πέμπειν καρποτρόφους δμβρους ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν

Notos is, in turn, linked with Boreas by the phrase ‘damp-pathed air’ (*OH* 82.1 *ἡέρος ὑγροκελεύθου*, 80.3 *ἡέρος ὑγροπόρευτον*), while *ὑγροκελεύθος* at verse-end recurs in the hymns to the Nephe (21.3), Thalassa (22.6), the Nereids (24.2), Nymphs (51.14) and Okeanos (83.7).³⁸

The gods of the sea are similarly interlaced: Poseidon’s hymn provides a point of contact between Leukothea and Palaemon:

<i>OH</i> 17.3 (Poseidon)	<i>ὃς ναίεις πόντοιο βαθυστέρνοιο θέμεθλα</i>
<i>OH</i> 74.3 (Leukothea)	<i>κλυθι, θεά, πόντοιο βαθυστέρνου μεδέουσα</i>
<i>OH</i> 75.2 (Palaemon)	<i>ὃς ναίεις πόντοιο βυθούς ἀλικύμονας, ἀγνούς</i>

Okeanos connects with Thalassa, who is identified with Tethys (*OH* 83.1 Okeanos, *Ὠκεανὸν καλέω*, 22.1 Thalassa, *Ὠκεανοῦ καλέω νύμφην*), and, on the other hand, with Meter Theon, who is identified with the earth and Hestia, and presides over the rivers and seas whose source is Okeanos:

<i>OH</i> 27.8 (Meter Theon)	<i>σοὶ ποταμοὶ κρατέονται αἰεὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα</i>
<i>OH</i> 83.4 (Hestia)	<i>ἐξ οὗπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα</i>

This overlap hints at the juxtaposition of Okeanos and Hestia in the sequence of hymns (*OH* 83 and 84, see chapter 2.1.3) as periphery and centre,³⁹ linking them through the shared element of water: rivers and seas thread the two realms together. Similarly, the Nereids and Nymphs, playful gods of the sea and springs respectively, share a formula:

<i>OH</i> 24.2 (Nereids)	<i>† σφράγλαι βύθιοι, χοροπαίγμονες, ὑγροκέλευθοι</i>
<i>OH</i> 51.4 (Nymphs)	<i>κούραι Ἀμαδρυάδες, φιλοπαίγμονες, ὑγροκέλευθοι</i>

Aphrodite also has a marine aspect: the sea is one of the *loci* catalogued in her hymn,⁴⁰ and her position within this network of gods associated with water is marked by the phrase *ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα*, which recurs in the prayer of the hymn to Palaemon (*OH* 75.8).⁴¹

³⁸ The Nephe and Nymphs are likewise *δροσοείμονες* (*OH* 21.6, 51.6), a term that connects gods associated with air, sea and springs.

³⁹ Cf. Meter Theon, *OH* 27.5 *ἥ κατέχεις κόσμοιο μέσον θρόνον*.

⁴⁰ *OH* 55.20-21 *ἥ καὶ κυκνεῖοισιν ὄχοις ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα | ἐρχομένη χαίρεις κητῶν κυκλίσαι χορεΐαις*. This speaks of course to her birth narrative: *ποντογενής* 55.2, *ἀφρογενής* P.11.

⁴¹ *OH* 75.8 *ρύόμενος μῆνιν χαλεπὴν κατὰ πόντιον οἶδμα*.

Three hymns in particular are bound together by phrases associated with earth: Ge herself (*OH* 26), Hades (*OH* 18) and Hestia (*OH* 84). Hades' portion in the triple division of the cosmos is earth:

OH 18.6-7 ὃς τριτάτης μοίρης ἔλαχες χθόνα παμβασίλειαν,
 ἔδρανον ἀθανάτων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταῖόν

who got for third portion the earth, queen of all,
 seat of immortals, mortals' mighty foundation

The predication of the seventh verse here emphasise the connection with Ge and Hestia in turn:

OH 26.4 (Ge) ἔδρανον ἀθανάτου κόσμου, πολυποίκιλε κούρη
OH 84.5 (Hestia) οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταῖόν

The fifth verse of the hymn to Hestia is a close variation of *OH* 18.7 in its apposition of gods and mortals, which in turn links Hestia with Ouranos as abode of the gods (*OH* 4.4 οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων). Hestia and Ge are also directly linked:

OH 26.6 (Ge) ἄιδία, πολύσεπτε, βαθύστερν', ὀλβιόμοιρε
OH 84.6 (Hestia) ἄιδίη, πολύμορφε, ποθεινοτάτη, χλοόμορφε

This phrase, 'unseen' followed by a compound epithet with πολυ-, also draws Nemesis (*OH* 61.3 ἄιδία, πολύσεμνε) and Physis (*OH* 10.21 ἄιδία, κινήσιφόρε, πολύπειρε) into the network. Ge and Physis are linked by a further adapted formula:

OH 10.16 (Physis) πάνσοφε, πανδώτειρα, κομίστρια, παμβασίλεια
OH 26.2 (Ge) παντρόφε, πανδώτειρα, τελεσφόρε, παντολέτειρα

While the formula establishes the goddesses' shared status as 'givers' of the means of life,⁴² the substitution of 'all-wise' for 'all-nourishing' in the hymn to Physis frames this attribute in terms of her association with providence (*OH* 10.27 αἰδῖος ζωὴ ἢ δ' ἀθανάτη τε Πρόνοια).

The series of cosmic realms is completed by the underworld, which is highlighted by two related formulae in particular, ὑπὸ κεύθεα (or νέρτερα) γαίης and ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἰκί' ἔχουσαι.⁴³ Persephone's realm (*OH* 29.4) is the destination of Hermes Chthonios as psychopomp (*OH* 57.2) and the region to which Eos banishes the night (*OH* 78.5). The second formula frames it as the home of the

⁴² Physis, *OH* 10.18 πάντων μὲν σὺ πατήρ, μήτηρ, τροφὸς ἢ δὲ τιθηνός.

⁴³ ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης *OH* 29.4, ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης 57.2, 78.5; ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἰκί' ἔχουσαι 51.2, 69.3.

Nymphs, as the gods of subterranean streams (*OH* 51.2), and of the Erinyes, Persephone's daughters (*OH* 69.3). Hermes Chthonios again has his home *παρὰ Περσεφόνης* (*OH* 57.5), a formula shared with Amphietes, who 'sleeps' in the underworld and returns to earth at the Trieteric festival (*OH* 53.3). A variation of the same phrase signals a descent to the underworld in the hymns of Meter Antaia (*OH* 41), Semele (*OH* 44) and Liknites (*OH* 46), a formula that also occurs in a gold lamella from Thurii.⁴⁴

OH 41.5 (Meter Antaia) ἤλθές τ' εἰς Αἴδην πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν

OH 44.6 (Semele) τιμὰς τευξαμένη παρ' ἀγαυῆς Περσεφονείης

OH 46.6 (Liknites) καὶ βουλαῖσι Διὸς πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Φερσεφόνειαν

This somewhat dizzying interplay of formula, theme and gods is characteristic of the hymns. The five spheres of the cosmos, marked by formulaic recurrence, connect groups of divinities as a shared facet of each god's nature. But the divisions are simultaneously porous: a phrase such as οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων connects different spheres (sky and earth); water unites the air, sea, earth and underworld; and gods such as Aphrodite or Amphietes may also bridge spheres. In addition to Pan, who unites the parts of the cosmos,⁴⁵ Hekate, Physis and the Kouretes bridge the realms explicitly, Hekate and Physis as cosmic powers and the Kouretes as winds that pervade all:⁴⁶

OH 1.2 (Hekate) οὐρανίαν χθονίαν τε καὶ εἰναλίαν, κροκόπεπλον

OH 10.14 (Physis) αἰθερία, χθονία καὶ εἰναλία μεδέουσα

OH 38.2 (Kouretes) οὐράνιοι χθόνιοί τε καὶ εἰνάλιοι, πολύολβοι

These spheres are presented in the *Orphic Hymns* as a means of articulating the points of contact between divinities and categorising their attributes, and are a corollary of the vein of physical allegory that runs through the collection, presenting divinities as manifestations of the elements (Aither, Hera, and Hephaistos most explicitly) or natural phenomena.⁴⁷ Seen in the sequence of hymns as well, this allegorical theology, closely associated with the Stoics and Chrysippus in particular,⁴⁸ is a means of presenting the gods as diverse elements of a unified Nature. In this sense, the description of Physis as ethereal, chthonic and marine is summative and should be read in apposition to the proem's invocation of the daimons of the five realms. The repeated formulae

⁴⁴ Lamella 7.6 Graf–Johnston (*OF* 489) νῦν δ' ἰκέτι(ς ἥ)κω πα(ρα)ὶ ἀγνή(ν) Φε(ρ)σεφόνειαν.

⁴⁵ Pan, *OH* 11.2-3 οὐρανὸν ἡδὲ θάλασσαν ἰδὲ χθόνα παμβασίλειαν | καὶ πῦρ ἀθάνατον· τάδε γὰρ μέλη ἐστὶ τὰ Πανός, detailed in v. 13-17.

⁴⁶ Cf. also Nomos, *OH* 64.2-3 οὐράνιον Νόμον, ἀστροθέτην, σφραγίδα δικαίαν | πόντου τ' εἰναλίου καὶ γῆς.

⁴⁷ E.g. Zeus Keraunos (*OH* 19). The Kouretes are storms (*OH* 38) and the Nymphs are streams of water above and below the ground (*OH* 51). See further ch. 5.5.

⁴⁸ Chrysippus *SVF* II 1021, 1076, 1077, Diogenes of Babylon *SVF* III 33, Cornutus *passim*. Cf. Epicharmus, an early proponent of this allegorical theology, B 8 DK (Men. fr. 838.1-2 *PCG*) ὁ μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι λέγει | ἀνέμους, ὕδωρ, γῆν, ἥλιον, πῦρ, ἀστέρας; Empedocles (B 6 DK) and Euripides fr. 781.11-13, 877, 941 (Apollo-Helios, Zeus-Aither).

discussed here underscore these categories, but also, when transferred from one category to another, explore their permeable or bridgeable points of contact.

4.1.2.2 Family

Genealogy forms another important index of connection between divinities that is also highlighted by poetic formulae.⁴⁹ The term *θάλος*, preceded by a descriptive adjective after the main caesura links the hymns to Persephone (29.5 *Δηοῦς θάλος*), Artemis (*OH* 36.11 *καλὸν θάλος*) Lysios Lenaios (50.3 *ἱερὸν θάλος*), Adonis (56.8 *γλυκερὸν θάλος*) and Asklepios (67.6 *κρατερὸν θάλος*). The emphasis in each case is on the birth of the god, but also the iconic significance of their status as child, metaphorically framed in the image of a young plant. In the hymn to Lysios Lenaios, which focuses on Dionysos' association with the vine, or that of Persephone who 'reveals her form in the green-fruited shoots' (*OH* 29.13), the formula forms part of a broader network of allusions to the growth of plants and fruits. Formulae that mark parentage also connect gods. The Stars and the Moirai are *Νυκτὸς φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης* (*OH* 7.3, 59.1); Kronos, Themis and the Titans are, with some variation, presented as the children of Ge and Ouranos in a formula that, again, recalls the gold lamellae.⁵⁰ There the initiate makes the claim 'I am a child of Earth and Sky', with reference to the Orphic anthropogony that is hinted at in the following verse of *OH* 37 (Titans, *ἡμετέρων πρόγονοι πατέρων*).⁵¹ That the reference to the anthropogony in the hymn to the Titans immediately follows this echo of the lamellae in fact suggests that the phrase 'child of Earth and Sky' may have carried this resonance, an allusion in itself to the Orphic myth of the Titans and the creation of humanity. Another example of genealogical reference among the formulae is the description of Meter, identified with Rhea (*OH* 27.12 *Κρόνου συνόμενε*), as *Οὐρανόπαι, πρέσβειρα* (v. 13), 'daughter of Ouranos', which connects this goddess in turn with Physis (*OH* 10.2 *οὐρανία, πρέσβειρα*) and Aphrodite (*OH* 55.1 *Οὐρανία, πολύμνε*): an instance of formulaic adaptation that turns the epithet 'celestial' into a patronym.

4.1.2.3 Spinning and roaring

A number of more specific associations between formulae and themes that connect divinities occur within the collection. Several divinities are described as 'rolling' or 'revolving':

⁴⁹ Morand 2001: 153-56, 331-6.

⁵⁰ Kronos, *OH* 13.6 *Γαίης τε βλάστημα καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος*; Titans 37.1 *Τιτῆνες, Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα*; Themis 84.1-2 *Οὐρανόπαιδ'... Γαίης τὸ βλάστημα*. Lamellae: e.g. 2.6 Graf-Johnston (*OF* 476.6) *εἰπεῖν· Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος*.

⁵¹ On the Orphic anthropogony and the lamellae, Graf & Johnston 2007: 85-90, 111-6, 124, Bernabé & Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008: 39-46, Betz 2011: 102-119.

OH 4.3 (Ouranos)	κόσμε πατήρ, σφαιρηδὸν <u>ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν</u>
OH 24.7 (Nereids)	ὑδρόδομοι, σκιρτηταί, <u>ἐλισσόμενοι περὶ κύμα</u> ⁵²
OH 47.2 (Perikionios)	Καδμείοισι δόμοις ὅς <u>ἐλισσόμενος πέρι πάντη</u>

Thalassa is, in an echo of this phrase, ‘brushed around the earth’ by breezes (OH 22.3 αὔραις ἡδυπνόοισι πατασσομένην περὶ γαῖαν). The formula here derives ultimately from Homer (*Il.* 13.204 σφαιρηδὸν ἐλιξάμενος δι’ ὀμίλου, of a severed head). The hymn to Ouranos, which repeats σφαιρηδόν, is closest to the Homer, but closer still to Cleanthes’ *Hymn to Zeus* where, as in OH 4.3, the phrase describes the motion of the cosmos.⁵³ The descriptions of the Nereids rolling about the waves (as dancers and, indeed, dolphins, OH 24.8), of Perikionios ‘twining about everywhere’ (in the form of ivy), and of Thalassa, appear to be further adaptations, specific to each divinity, but hinting also at the cosmic motion the phrase refers to in the hymn to Ouranos and in Cleanthes’ hymn. The revolving path of the Sun is similarly described with the image (and sound) of the ‘bullroarer’, as is the cyclone in the hymn to Zeus Keraunos with the substitution of ῥοῖζος for ῥόμβος.⁵⁴

OH 8.7 (Helios)	<u>ῥόμβου ἀπειρεσίου δινεύμασιν</u> οἶμον ἐλαύνων
OH 19.10 (Keraunos)	<u>ῥοῖζου ἀπειρεσίου δινεύμασι</u> παμφάγον ὁρμήν

This expression, and the motion it describes, is part of a wider network of allusions involving the word δίνη or δινέω ‘whirl’. Ouranos also travels in the ‘whirls of the bull-roarer’ (OH 4.4 ῥόμβου δίναισιν ὀδεύων); the Stars and Demeter move in ‘circling whirls’ (the latter in a chariot) around the earth;⁵⁵ Protogonos ‘whirls’ everywhere through the cosmos (OH 6.7 πάντη δινηθείς, recalling Perikionios), and Physis ‘spins (δινεύουσα) the swift stream in ever flowing eddies’ (OH 10.22), as the source of the cosmic motion described in the hymns to Ouranos and Helios. The term ῥοῖζος, ‘roaring’, in the hymn to the Kouretes ties it into another network: the ‘hurricane’s roaring’ recurs in the hymn to Perikionios (OH 47.5 πρηστήρως ῥοῖζοις), Protogonos and Helios are both ῥοιζήτωρ (OH 6.5, 8.6), while Hera and Poseidon share a formula that connects the ‘rushing’ of the air with that of the sea.⁵⁶

⁵² The phrase is also echoed in the fourth verse of this hymn, Τριτώνων ἐπ’ ὅχοισιν ἀγαλλόμεναι περὶ νῶτα.

⁵³ Cleanthes *Hy. Zeus* v. 7 σοὶ δὴ πᾶς ὅδε κόσμος ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν.

⁵⁴ On the ῥόμβος, cf. *PGM* hy. 17.52, 92, and Bortolani 2016 (*ad loc.* 11.52, pp. 265-6), Tavenner 1933 and Gow 1952² II: 41, 44 (on Theoc. *Id.* 2.17, 30, and plate V) on its association with the *iunx* and significance in magical praxis. The bullroarer is one of the toys used by the Titans to lure Dionysos: *OF* 306, 578 (P. Gurôb col. I.29). See Levaniouk 2007: 175-196 on the symbolic connection between the ῥόμβος (and κῶνος, the spinning top) and the Bacchic mysteries.

⁵⁵ Asteres, OH 7.4 ἐγκυκλίοις δίναισι περὶ τὸν θρόνον κυκλέοντες; Demeter, 40.15 ἐγκυκλίοις δίναις περὶ σὸν θρόνον εὐάζουσα. On my reading in OH 7.4 for περιθρόνια (Υ), see app. 1 *ad loc.*

⁵⁶ ῥοῖζος in the *Chaldean Oracles* is associated with the super-celestial spiral of fire and with Hekate (*Orac. Chald.* fr. 37.10, 146.5 Majercik, Lewy 2011³: 240-6. On the path of the Moon, fr. 107.5). Cf. the theological oracle in the *Theos*. 1.2.10 Beatrice, and, on Hekate in this context, Procl. *In Parm.* 282 ζωογόνον ῥοιζήμα. See Majercik 2001: 295. On the association of this sound with trance, Kingsley 1999: 125-133, Bergemann 2011: 324-5.

OH 16.8 (Hera)	ἡερίοις <u>ῥοίζοισι τινασσομένη</u> κατὰ χεῦμα
OH 17.6 (Poseidon)	εἰναλίοις <u>ῥοίζοισι τινάσσων</u> ἄλμυρόν ὕδωρ

In this way many formulae serve as a kind of node in a network of allusions, connecting hymns that share the phrase itself, but also those that share references to key terms within that phrase.

4.1.2.4 Dancing, rage, terror, spring, birth, providence, night

Dancing is a theme similarly anchored by shared formulae⁵⁷ as well as the term χορός itself.⁵⁸ The joy of the dance, chiefly associated with Dionysos, the Nymphs, Nereids, Horai and the Sun (or Apollo, as a metaphor for the cycle of the seasons) stands in opposition to the theme of rage. The Titans and Korybant are asked to avert their anger:

OH 37.7 (Titans)	ὕμᾱς κικλήσκω <u>μήνιν χαλεπὴν ἀποπέμπειν</u>
OH 39.9 (Korybant)	κλῦθι, μάκαρ, φωνῶν, <u>χαλεπὴν δ' ἀποπέμπεο μήνιν</u>

Herakles and Hephaistos, associated with time and fire respectively, are both ‘all-devouring’⁵⁹ and, with Ares, share the phrase ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές in the opening verse of their hymns:

OH 12.1 (Herakles)	Ἡρακλῆς <u>ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε</u> Τιτάν
OH 65.1 (Ares)	Ἄρρηκτ', <u>ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε</u> δαῖμον
OH 66.1 (Hephaistos)	Ἡφαιστ' <u>ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἀκάματον</u> πῦρ

Herakles and Ares are both asked to ‘desire youth-rearing peace’;⁶⁰ in Ares’ case this is in apposition to his true desire for the conflict of arms (OH 65.5 δὲ ποθέεις ξίφεσιν τε καὶ ἔγχεσι δῆριν ἄμουσον), a love he shares with the violent Dionysos Bassareus (OH 45.3 δὲ ξίφεσιν χαίρεις ἢ δ' αἵματι Μαινάσι θ' ἀγναῖς), who is in turn connected with Zeus Astrapaioi and Pan by the epithet βαρύμηνις (OH 45.5, 20.4, 11.12).⁶¹ The predication ὀμβριμόθυμος is additionally applied to Zeus (OH 15.6), Pluto (OH 18.1), Zeus Keraunos (OH 19.7), and, in a shared formula, to Rhea and Athena (OH 14.7, 32.2 πολεμόκλονε, ὀμβριμόθυμε). Pan connects this set of wrathful divinities with those associated with frenzy, possession and terrifying apparitions:⁶²

⁵⁷ Nereidai, OH 24.2 χοροπαίγμονες, ὕδροκέλευθοι, Nymphai, 51.14 φιλοπαίγμονες, ὕδροκέλευθοι; Kouretes, 31.3 ἐπεμβάται ἔχνεσι κοῦφοι, Nymphai, 51.6 δροσοείμονες, ἔχνεσι κοῦφαι; Horai, 43.8 κυκλίοισι χοροῖς, Aphrodite, 55.21 κητῶν κυκλίοισι χορεΐαις; Pan, 11.4 = Dionysos Bassareus, 45.7 ἔλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητά.

⁵⁸ Dionysos, P.9 Διόνυσσε χορευτά; Helios, OH 8.5 τετραβάμοσι ποσσὶ χορεύων; Nereidai, 23.3 καλλιτέκνοισι χοροῖς; Apollo, 34.6 χοροποιέ; Hipta, 49.3 νυκτερίοις τε χοροῖσι πυριβρεμέτα Ἰάκχου; Trieterikos, 52.7 χοροϊμανές, ἀγέτα κώμων.

⁵⁹ Herakles, OH 12.6 παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ; Hephaistos, 66.5 παμφάγε, πανδαμάτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, παντοδίατε.

⁶⁰ OH 12.8 = 65.9 εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον.

⁶¹ Cf. Selene, OH 9.6 ἡλεκτρίς, βαρύθυμε and Zeus Keraunos, 19.11 ἄρρηκτον, βαρύθυμον.

⁶² Frenzy (οἶστρος): Meter Theon, OH 27.13, Athena 32.9, Artemis 36.5 φίλοιστρε |; Athena, 32.6 οἶστροῦσα βροτῶν ψυχὰς μανίαισι; Eumenides 70.9 λυσίμελεῖς οἶστρωι. Possession: Pan 11.5, 11.21, Athena 32.11 φιλένθεε. Apparitions:

OH 11.23 (Pan)	πανικὸν <u>ἐκπέμπων οἶστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης</u>
OH 71.11 (Melinoe)	ψυχῆς <u>ἐκπέμπειν οἶστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης</u>
OH 11.7 (Pan)	<u>φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ</u> , φόβων ἑκπαγλε βροτείων
OH 39.4 (Korybant)	<u>φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγόν</u> , ἐρημοπλάνον Κορύβαντα

Other connecting motifs include association with the season of spring (Persephone, Horai, Zephyros);⁶³ with childbirth (Prothyraia, Artemis, Leto, Semele);⁶⁴ providence (Pan, Proteus),⁶⁵ or the night:

OH 3.4-5 (Nyx)	<u>ἡσυχίη χαίρουσα καὶ ἡρεμίη πολυύπνῳ</u> , <u>Εὐφροσύνη</u>
OH 9.8 (Selene)	<u>ἡσυχίη χαίρουσα καὶ εὐφρόνη</u> ὀλβιομοίρῳ ⁶⁶

4.1.2.5 Mysteries

Formulae are also employed to link gods associated with the mysteries.⁶⁷ The Nereids and Kouretes were the first to establish or ‘reveal’ the *teletai*:

OH 24.10 (Nereids)	<u>ὕμεις γὰρ πρῶται τελετὴν ἀνεδείξατε σεμνὴν</u>
OH 38.6 (Kouretes)	<u>ὕμεις καὶ τελετὴν πρῶτοι</u> μερόπεσσιν ἔθεσθε

In the case of the Nereids the *τελετή* is specified as that of Bakchos and Persephone, and Kalliope and Apollo, Orpheus’ mother and patron (or father) shared in the revelation.⁶⁸ The Nereids are not elsewhere connected with the mysteries in this way and the reference is obscure, but there may be a mythological association with the Muses, where the formula Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρί recurs, and who are also said to have revealed the mysteries.⁶⁹ The rite revealed by the Kouretes may be the Samothracian mysteries, particularly as the verse in question follows the reference to Samothrace in

Korybant 39.10 παύων φαντασίας, ψυχῆς ἐκπλήκτου ἀνάγκας, Melinoe 71.6 ἢ θνητοὺς μαίνει φαντάσμασιν ἡερίοισιν. On this terrifying element in the *OH* see Graf 2009.

⁶³ Spring: Persephone, *OH* 29.12 εἰαρινή, λειμωνιάσιν χαίρουσα πνοῇσιν, the Horai and Zephyros (Ζεφυρίτιδες), 43.5 = 81.3 εἰαριναί, λειμωνιάδες.

⁶⁴ Childbirth: Prothyraia and Artemis, *OH* 2.2 = 36.4 | ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ; Leto and Semele, 35.3 εὐτεκνον Ζηγνὸς γονίμην ὠδίνᾳ λαβοῦσα, 44.8 ἡνίκα σοῦ Βάκχου γονίμην ὠδίνᾳ τελῶσιν.

⁶⁵ Providence: Pan and Proteus, *OH* 11.29 ἀλλάσσεις δὲ φύσεις πάντων ταῖς σαῖσι προνοίαις, 25.10 ἀλλά, πάτερ, μόλε μυστιπόλοις ὁσαῖσι προνοίαις (cf. P.30 and Physis, 10.27 Πρόνοια |).

⁶⁶ Cf. also νυκτέριος or νυκτερινός in the first foot (Hekate *OH* 1.5, Korybant 39.4, Trieterikos 52.4, Erinyes 69.3, Eumenides 70.11), and the compound epithets νυκτερόφοιτε (Artemis 36.6, a lunar reference) and νυκτιπόλευτε (Themis 79.7, in her role as revealer of nocturnal rites).

⁶⁷ The most important study on the terminology of the mysteries in the *OH* is Morand 2001: 137-152 (rites), 231-298 (offices and the cult society).

⁶⁸ *OH* 24.11 Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρί καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνακτι. Apollo Orpheus’ father: *OF*(testimonia) 895-901.

⁶⁹ Mousai, 76.10 Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρί καὶ εὐδυνάτη θεᾷ ἀγνῇ, 76.6 αἱ τελετὰς θνητοῖς ἀνεδείξατε μυστιπολεύτους.

v. 4 and the allusion to the Kouretes' role as saviours at sea in v. 5.⁷⁰ Silenos and Themis are linked by a similar expression, part of a series of references to the mysteries in both hymns:

OH 54.10 (Silenos)	ὄργια νυκτιφαῖ <u>τελεταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναφαίνων</u>
OH 79.10 (Themis)	πρώτη γὰρ <u>τελετὰς ἀγίας</u> θνητοῖς <u>ἀνέφηνας</u>

Silenos is likewise the 'rite-founder of the pastoral revel' (OH 54.4 θιάσου νομίῳ τελετάρχῃ) and associated with the Trieteris (54.2-3). Themis' hymn falls into two sections following the invocation. The first (v. 3-6) is devoted to her invention of prophecy and the second (v. 7-10), a counterpart quatrain, to the mysteries (giving, with the two-verse prayer, a symmetrical structure to this hymn). The rites here, as in the hymns to the Nereids and Silenos, are connected explicitly with Dionysos,⁷¹ as they are also in the hymn to Semele, which is linked to Themis by another formula:

OH 79.10 (Themis)	ἐκ σέο γὰρ τιμαὶ μακάρων <u>μυστήριά θ' ἀγνά</u>
OH 44.9 (Semele)	εὐιερὸν τε τράπεζαν ἰδὲ <u>μυστήριά θ' ἀγνά</u>

Again, it is the Trieteris that is meant here, where mortals 'celebrate [Semele's] fruitful birth of Bakkhos' (OH 44.8), together with the 'sacred table and holy mysteries': the formula that precedes these verses takes us back to Silenos.⁷² The role of women and the element of dancing and acting at the Trieteric festival is emphasised by Diodorus, and the reference to the celebration of the birth of Dionysos may relate to this, while the table of Semele is glossed by Hesychius as 'a ἐορτή in Phrynichus'.⁷³

The Trieteric festival appears to be distinct from the 'pantheic *telete*' that Silenos, Amphietes and Leto are asked to attend:

OH 35.7 (Leto)	<u>βαῖν' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετὴν</u> τέλος ἡδὺ φέρουσα
OH 53.9 (Amphietes)	<u>βαῖν' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετὴν</u> γανόνωντι προσώπων
OH 54.7 (Silenos)	<u>δεῦρ' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετὴν</u> Σατύροις ἅμα πᾶσι

⁷⁰ On the mysteries of Samothrace, see Burkert 1993 (*Kl. Schr. III* 2006: 137-151). The Korybant, whose hymn comes next in the series, is also associated with Samothrace (cf. also OH 38.20 Κουρήτες Κορύβαντες). The Kouretes have two hymns in the collection (OH 31, 38), and Kern (1910: 96) suggests that the 'Kouretes' of OH 38 are in fact the Kabeiroi. Cf. P.20 Κουρήτας τ' ἐνόπλους Κορύβαντας τ' ἡδὲ Καβείρους.

⁷¹ OH 79.9 βακχιακάς ἀνὰ νύκτας ἐπευάζουσα ἄνακτα, a verse that stands out for the phonic effects that imitate the initiate's cry.

⁷² OH 44.6-8 τιμὰς τευξαμένη παρ' ἀγαυῆς Περσεφονείης | ἐν θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἀνὰ τριετηρίδας ὥρας | ἡνίκα σοῦ Βάκχου γονίμην ὠδίνα τελῶσιν; Silenos 54.2-3 τετιμένε πᾶσι θεοῖσι | καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐνὶ τριετηρίσιν ὥραις. On the Trieteris, cf. also Dionysos 30.5 τριετῇ, Dionysos Bassareus Trieterikos 45 (title), Trieterikos 52.8 βακχεύων ἀγίας τριετηρίδας, and in particular the hymn to Amphietes (OH 53).

⁷³ Diod. Sic. 4.3.3 διὸ καὶ παρὰ πολλαῖς τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων διὰ τριῶν ἐτῶν βακχεῖά τε γυναικῶν ἀθροίζεσθαι, καὶ ταῖς παρθένους νόμιμον εἶναι θυρσοφορεῖν καὶ συνενθουσιάζειν εὐαζούσας καὶ τιμώσας τὸν θεόν. τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας κατὰ συστήματα θυσιάζειν τῷ θεῷ καὶ βακχεύειν καὶ καθόλου τὴν παρουσίαν ὑμνεῖν τοῦ Διονύσου, μιμουμένης τὰς ἱστορουμένης τὸ παλαιὸν παρεδρεύειν τῷ θεῷ μαινάδας. See further Merkelbach 1988: 86-87; on OH 44, Graf & Johnston 2007: 156.

Although Silenos and Amphietes are prominently linked with the *trieterica*, it is notable that the ‘rite of all gods’ is only mentioned in concluding prayers. It is, clearly, the rite which the hymns themselves form part of and so *πάνθεις* is implicit in the other references to the *telete* in the prayers.

⁷⁴ The distinction appears to be clearest in the hymn to Silenos, where the god is invited to the present rite with his trieteric companions, the Satyrs, Naiads and Bakkhai whose revel is, in the first part of the hymn, a paradigm for the celebration of the biennial celebration.

Formulaic phrases concerning the establishment or revelation of the mysteries connect the Nereids, Kouretes, Silenos, Muses and Themis. Where the rites are identified, they are those of Dionysos, and of Persephone in the hymn to the Nereids. While these divinities are *τελετάρχαι* in this sense however, it is not clear that the rites they are associated with are identical. In the case of the Kouretes at least they appear to be distinct. It is also, I think, doubtful that the rites they have founded are those that the hymns themselves are performed within. In sum, in the mystery formulae considered here, there appears to be the same degree of multiplicity within a thematically coherent set that we find in all areas where phrasal repetition connects gods. Divinities linked by formulae, as sharing a particular attribute, remain emphatically diverse, and the groups defined in this way are porous: adaptation of a formula often suggests an oblique conceptual association, so that individual divinities, while touching at these thematic points, colour the shared attribute in their own distinct way.

4.1.3 Connecting divinities

A small number of divinities are themselves uniting figures. Ge, as the personification of the earth, shares formulae with several other gods, including Physis, Hestia (see above, 4.1.2.1), and, in the phrase *καλαῖς ὥραισι βρύουσα* (*OH* 26.3) with Selene, Persephone, Thalassa, Nike and Amphietes.⁷⁵ All these gods are ‘bursting’ or ‘teeming’, an expression of fecundity which is elsewhere associated with the earth and natural growth (as it is in the cases of Persephone and Amphietes).⁷⁶ The sun serves as a similar kind of focal point. Helios is linked with Herakles, Apollo and Pan,⁷⁷ as well as Zeus Keraunos in the example of revolving motion already discussed, and Adonis, as ‘waxing and waning’.⁷⁸ Divinities associated with the moon by formulae include Physis,⁷⁹ and, as previously

⁷⁴ *OH* 1.9, 27.11, 43.10, 49.7, 75.3, 79.12 *τελεταί*; 6.7, 7.12, 42.11 *τελετή*.

⁷⁵ Selene *OH* 9.7 *καλοῖς ἄστροισι βρύουσα*, Persephone 29.10 *κόρη καρποῖσι βρύουσα*, Thalassa 22.8 *νασμοῖσι βρυούσης*, Nike 33.7 *θαλίαισι βρυάζον*, Amphietes 53.10 *καρποῖσι τελεσιγόνουσι βρυάζων*. Cf Herakles 12.2 *βρύων ἄθλοισι κραταιαῖς*, Adonis 56.2 *βρύων ὠιδαῖσι ποθειναῖς*.

⁷⁶ *Il.* 17.53-6 *ἔρνος... βρύει ἄνθει λευκῶι*, Xen. *Cyn.* 5.1 *ὅταν δὲ ἡ γῆ βρύηι*.

⁷⁷ Helios and Herakles: *OH* 8.3, 12.9 *αὐτοφυής, ἀκάμας*; 8.17, 12.6 *παννυτέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ*; 8.13, 12.3 *χρόνου πάτερ* (cf. Selene 9.5 *χρόνου μήτηρ*). Helios and Apollo: 8.1 *πανδερκὲς ἔχων αἰώνιον ὄμμα*, 34.8 *πανδερκὲς ἔχων φαεσίμβροτον ὄμμα*. Helios and Pan: 8.12, 11.11 *κάρπιμε Παιάν*.

⁷⁸ Helios *OH* 8.15 *σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἀκτίσι φαειναῖς*, Adonis 56.5 *σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις*.

⁷⁹ Selene *OH* 9.10 *πάνσοφε κούρη*, Physis 10.12 *παντρόφε κούρη*.

noted, Nyx. Here however individual epithets rather than phrases mark out a group of goddesses that embraces Hekate, Prothyraia, Artemis, Melinoe and Tyche.⁸⁰

Zeus is associated by name with Helios, Pluto and Daimon, and, as beginning and end, with Ouranos:⁸¹

<i>OH</i> 4.2 (Ouranos)	πρεσβυγένηθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή
<i>OH</i> 15.7 (Zeus)	παντογένηθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή

Both gods are framed as creators here, Ouranos as the 'firstborn' of the Derveni theogony and Zeus in terms of his ingestion, embodiment and re-creation of the cosmos. As discussed in the previous chapter (3.2.2), the *Hymn to Zeus* in the Orphic theogonies (*OF* 14, 31, 243) is an important point of reference here. The antithesis 'beginning and end' looks to the first verse, Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀργικέραυνος, and the act of re-creation described there is alluded to in *OH* 15.3 ὦ βασιλεῦ, διὰ σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφάνη τάδε θεῖα.

The most unifying figure in the collection is of course Dionysos. The eight hymns to aspects of this central god are themselves linked by formulae,⁸² but the network of allusions also takes in Protogonos, Pan and Adonis:⁸³

<i>OH</i> 6.4 (Protogonos)	σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον, Ἡρικεπαῖον
<i>OH</i> 42.2 (Mise)	σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυώνυμον Εὐβουλήα
<i>OH</i> 50.2 (Lysios Lenaïos)	σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυώνυμε, Λύσιε δαῖμον

The hymn to Dionysos, *OH* 30, which is marked out by its position in the sequence from the main group of Bacchic hymns, in particular serves as a point of contact, sharing formulae with a range of hymns in the central section, including those to Mise, Amphietes, Silenos, and Sabazios.⁸⁴ Protogonos and Adonis again, as well as the Erinyes, are part of the web of associations that extend to and from hymn 30.⁸⁵ Again, these shared phrases are just one aspect of this network, which is

⁸⁰ See Fayant's analysis of assimilations by epithet, pp. 682-689. Hekate, Prothyraia, Artemis and Tyche (but not Selene), p. 685.

⁸¹ Zeus and Helios: *OH* 15.9 φυτάλιε Ζεῦ, 8.13 ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ; Zeus and Pluto: *OH* 15.6 Ζεῦ Κρόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε, 18.3 Ζεῦ χθόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε; Zeus and Daimon: 20.5 Ἀστραπαῖον Δία, παγγενέτην, 73.2 μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην. Cf. Pan 11.12 ἀληθὴς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης.

⁸² E.g. Dionysos Bassareus and Trieterikos: *OH* 45.4, 52.1 μανικὲ Βακχεῦ. The eight hymns are Dionysos *OH* 30, Mise *OH* 42, Dionysos Bassareus *OH* 45, Liknites *OH* 46, Perikionios *OH* 47, Lysios Lenaïos *OH* 50, Trieterikos *OH* 52 and Amphietes *OH* 53.

⁸³ Pan and Dionysos Bassareus: *OH* 11.4, 45.7 ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητά (cf. 11.5, 21 and Perikionios 47.6 βακχευτά); Dionysos and Adonis: 30.6, 56.3 Εὐβουλεῦ, πολὺβουλε.

⁸⁴ Dionysos, Amphietes, Silenos: *OH* 30.9, 53.6, 54.5 σὺν ἐυζώνοισι τιθήναις (Mise 42.10 σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι τιθήναις). Dionysos and Sabazios: 30.1, 48.2 Διόνυσσον, ἐρίβρομον. On *OH* 30, Sfameni-Gasparro 2013: 437.

⁸⁵ Dionysos and Protogonos: *OH* 6.1 Πρωτόγονον καλέω διφυῆ, 30.2 Πρωτόγονον, διφυῆ; Dionysos and Erinyes 30.1, ἐρίβρομον, εὐαστήρα, 69.1 ἐρίβρομοι, εὐάστειραι.

reinforced by individual epithets.⁸⁶ It is arguable that the use of the terms δίνη and δινέω, explored above, provide a further set of references to Dionysos. Although δίνη is not etymologically connected with his name in the hymns, it is in *OF* 540, the Orphic hymn to Helios-Dionysos: Διώνυσος δ' ἐπεκλήθη, οὐνεκα δινεῖται καὶ ἀπείρονα μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον (v. 6-7 'he is called Dionysos because he 'spins' boundless, high Olympus'). Δινηθείς in the hymn to Protogonos (*OH* 6.7), coming immediately before the etymology of Phanes, seems pointed in this light, and other references to 'whirling' in the hymns, or the 'bullroarer' that, as noted, is one of the toys used to lure Dionysos from his throne, may be allusions to the god.

Dionysos is presented as the critical and centralising divinity in the collection, both as a god that is identified with others and as the centre of a group of associated divinities that include his family and companions.⁸⁷ But, again, his set of associations is one of many that overlap. The themes that link divinities' attributes are themselves loose categories, and each speaks to just one aspect of an individual god. The entire pantheon is bound together by shared attributes that link each hymn with one or more of these overlapping groups, or with another, specific hymn, so that, for example, Hestia connects with Pluto, who connects with Zeus, who connects with Ouranos, who connects with Perikionios and Hestia again. Formulae weave the collection together, illustrating in fact the metaphor of weaving that we find at the conclusion to the hymn of the Moirai (*OH* 59.22 Μοιράων τέλος ἔλλαβ' αἰοδή, ἦν ὕφαν' Ὀρφεύς, 'here ends the song of the Moirai, which Orpheus wove'), which itself has its roots in the idea of the oral poet as the 'stitcher of songs'.⁸⁸

4.1.4 Adaptation

In terms of oral poetics the formulae do function as ἔπη, words in a specialised language; and it is significant that meaning in these 'phraseological words' is not necessarily stable.⁸⁹ As seen in several of the examples already discussed, adaptation of a formula to different contexts often involves re-tooling its primary significance, while preserving the form or shape of a phrase and hence its function as a linking device. This phenomenon is particularly striking in instances where a key term is substituted by a word that rhymes: here sound is preserved as the basis for a correspondence

⁸⁶ See Fayant's analysis, 2014: 686-9.

⁸⁷ Family: cf. Semele and Palaimon *OH* 44.3 μητέρα θυρσοφόροιο Διονύσου πολυγηθοῦς, 75.1 Σύντροφε βακχεχόροιο Διονύσου πολυγηθοῦς; Leukothea 74.2 θρέπτειραν εὐστεφάνου Διονύσου, Persephone 29.8 μήτερ ἐριβρεμέτου πολυμόρφου Εὐβουλῆος, Aphrodite 55.7 σεμνή Βάκχοιο πάρεδρε, Hermes Chthonios 57.3 βακχεχόροιο Διονύσοιο γένεθλον. Companions and nurses include Sabazios (48), Hipta (49.2 Βάκχου τροφόν), the Nymphs (51.3 Βάκχοιο τροφοί) and Silenos (54.1 Βάκχοιο τιθηνέ). Cf. also Demeter who shares a 'hearth' with Dionysos, *OH* 40.10 Βρομίοιο συνέστιος.

⁸⁸ Weaving metaphor: Snyder 1981, Scheid & Svenbro 1996: 111-130 (hymns, pp. 118-9), West 2007: 36-38 (in Indo-European poetics). E.g. Hes. fr. 357.2 μέλομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες αἰοδήν, Pind. *Nem.* 2.1-2 Ὀμηρίδαι ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων... αἰοδοί, Bacchyl. 5.9-10 ἧ σὺν Χαρίτεσσι βαθυζώνοις ὑφάνας ὕμνον. On the (now doubted) etymological connection of ὕμνος and ὑφαίνειν, see Wunsch 1914: 141, Chantraine 1968-80: 1156-7, Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 8, Beekes 2010: 1531-2.

⁸⁹ Foley 1997: 152.

between hymns, while the meaning of the formula is diverted into a new channel. The opening invocation of the hymn to Eros finds a clear parallel in that of the hymn to Zeus Astrapaïos:

<i>OH</i> 58.1 (Eros)	<u>Κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγνόν, ἐράσμιον</u> , ἥδ' ὃν Ἔρωτα
<i>OH</i> 20.1 (Astrapaïos)	<u>Κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγνόν, ἐρισμάραγον</u> , περίφαντον

While the correspondence is established by the first half of the hexameter, which is identical, it is extended into the second half also by the echo of ἐράσμιον ‘lovely’ and ἐρισμάραγον ‘flashing’, words linked by sound but carrying meanings that are entirely distinct and specific to Eros (as a play on his name) and the lightning respectively. The association of these gods appears to be slight, but the connection marked here is confirmed by a further echo in the second verse of each hymn.

<i>OH</i> 58.2 (Eros)	τοξάλκῃ, <u>πτερόεντα, πυρίδρομον</u> , εὐδρομον ὀρμῇ
<i>OH</i> 20.2 (Astrapaïos)	ἄέριον, <u>φλογόεντα, πυρίδρομον</u> , ἀεροφεγγῇ

The association rests on the analogy between Eros’ arrow and Zeus’ thunderbolt, both are ‘fire-coursing’, and attention is drawn to the key predication in this case by the phonic echo that the formula of the first verse establishes. Similarly, key terms that rhyme are substituted in the phrases πάντων κληϊδας ἔχοντα (Eros *OH* 58.4) and πόντου κληϊδας ἔχοντα (Proteus, *OH* 25.1) discussed above, or λεχῶν ἡδεῖα πρόσοψι (Prothyraia *OH* 2.2) and ζώων ἡδεῖα πρόσοψι (Helios *OH* 8.3), simultaneously connecting and distinguishing divinities through a shared predication.⁹⁰ The lightning bolt of Zeus connects, as seen, with the arrow of Eros, but also, in the hymn to Zeus Keraunos, with the power of speech in Hermes’ hymn:

<i>OH</i> 19.8 (Keraunos)	<u>πτῆνόν ὄπλον δεινόν</u> , κλονοκάρδιον, ὀρθοέθειρον
<i>OH</i> 28.10 (Hermes)	<u>γλώσσης δεινόν ὄπλον</u> τὸ σεβάσμιον ἀνθρώποισι

Hekate has an ‘uncontestable form’ (*OH* 1.6 ἀπρόσμαχον εἶδος ἔχουσιν); Tyche keeps an ‘uncontestable prayer’ or ‘vow’ (*OH* 72.4 ἀπρόσμαχον εὐχος ἔχουσιν), signalling a connection that is further marked by shared epithets.⁹¹ The substitution of εὐχος for εἶδος (which recalls πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσιν in Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, and ὑπείροχον εἶδος ἔχουσιν in the *Homeric Hymn to Hera*)⁹² is pointed however: these goddesses are linked but not identical. Hekate, like Melinoe, may appear in a terrifying form; Tyche keeps a vow that is not explained, but which may, like the reference to her birth from the blood of Eubouleus that immediately precedes this

⁹⁰ Cf. Zeus Keraunos *OH* 19.9 ἀνίκητον βέλος ἀγνόν and Zeus Astrapaïos 20.4 ἀνίκητον θεὸν ἀγνόν; Prothyraia 2.14 σώτειρα προπάντων and Demeter 40.7 θρέπτειρα προπάντων.

⁹¹ Hekate and Tyche: Εἰνοδίαν *OH* 1.1, ἐνοδίτιν 72.2; τυμβιδίαν 1.3, 72.5; ἡγεμόνην 1.8, 72.3; βουκόλῳ εὐμενέουσιν 1.10, βίῳ εὐμενέουσιν 72.9.

⁹² Hes. *Th.* 908, *HHy.* 2.315, *HHy.* 12.2.

predication, be derived from the Orphic theogony.⁹³ Cases such as this one raise the question of whether we can assign priority to one hymn in a pair that share a formula that has been repurposed. The expression in the hymn to Hekate is closer to the epic tradition, but this does not, in itself, rule out the possibility that the hymns to Hekate and Tyche are contemporary. The same author could refashion a phrase more in one context than in another. A further example of apparent priority is illustrative. Meter Theon provides nourishment for mortals as a form of the earth goddess.

OH 27.6 (Meter Theon) γαῖαν ἔχεις θνητοῖσι τροφὰς παρέχουσα προσηγεῖς

When the same formula is assigned to Hera (*OH 16.3 ψυχοτρόφους αὔρας θνητοῖς παρέχουσα προσηγεῖς*), to convey the ‘soul-nourishing’ or life-giving function of the air, the context appears to be secondary. Diodorus however uses the phrase *τροφὰς παρέχεσθαι προσηγνείς* (1.87.2), and it seems possible that this may have come from the lost Orphic hymn to Demeter that he quotes in the same book.⁹⁴ If that is the case, then the hymn to Meter may itself contain an adapted formula. In sum, while we can identify instances where a phrase has been pointedly repurposed, this does not mean that other instances of the same phrase within the collection are anterior. Both uses of the phrase may be the result of the same poet redeploying a stock formula in contexts closer or further removed from that of its ultimate source.

4.1.5 Conclusion

Within the collection formulae or phrasal repetitions are, above all, a means of drawing lines of connection between divinities, particularly within thematic areas.⁹⁵ In this sense they are a corollary of the phonic echoes encountered within individual hymns, operating at the level of the collection itself as a method of drawing the reader’s or hearer’s attention to significant associations. They are a key part of a network of allusions that operate within and between the hymns. Their deployment is not straightforward however: they highlight distinctions through variation as well as marking simple points of contact. This speaks to both the oral poetics of the hymns and the essential adaptability of the poetic language of *ἔπη*, and to the conception of divinity that they present. As

⁹³ There is also a phonic correspondence between *εὖχος* and *τεύχεις* (*OH 72.7*) and, by extension, with Tyche’s name: see chapter 3.1.3.

⁹⁴ Diod. Sic. 1.12.4 (*OF 399*) τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι γῆν μητέρα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα προσμαρτυρεῖν λέγοντα Γῆ μήτηρ πάντων, Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα. West thinks this is from the *Rhapsodies* (1983: 268). Bernabé (*OF 399 ad loc.*), rightly, I think, argues that it is the first verse of a hymn. See below, sec. 4.2.6.

⁹⁵ Rudhardt 2008: 246, Morand 2015: 218 ‘effects based on sound, such as anaphora, alliteration, assonance or even the repetition of the same word create threads within the hymns... The performers, the hearers or the readers of the *Orphic Hymns* are invited to follow such threads through the collection and the individual poems. Clues of the paths to be followed can be found in the general order of the collection, in repetition of words, assimilations and word play’.

Rudhardt argues, the hymns are not strictly syncretistic, in that divinities are not simply equated.⁹⁶ They overlap, touching and blending at specific points with other gods, sharing facets. But in each case connections are viewed through the lens of an individual god's overall, composite nature. The degree of henotheism within the collection and the overarching influence of the polymorphic Dionysos should also be seen in this light.⁹⁷ It is not straightforward. Dionysos does not connect directly with every god, but associations, where present, are emphasised, binding, and spreading out from, the central Bacchic sequence. Dionysos is not all gods, but he is, in a sense, representative of the collective: just as he has many forms that are at once overlapping and distinct, so too does the pantheon itself. Shared poetic phrases convey, perhaps above all, this idea of simultaneous connection and distinction, and a polysemy that underlies each point of contact. The allusions they make are non-static, they are open to interpretation and reveal different shades of meaning within each hymn when read in connection with the other attributes of each god. This is the 'internal' view of the formulae, as intratexts that are part of the hymns' system of repetitions and cross-reference. But they also look outwards, drawing lines of connection to other authors and poetic traditions that situate each phrase or predication within a wider referential network. This 'external' view is the subject of the next section of this chapter.

4.2 Formulae as intertexts

While the majority of formulaic phrases identified in this study (71%) find a parallel within the collection, and may be studied as part of the hymns' internal system of allusion and repetition, a similar number (64%) correspond with one or more external texts; in 29% of cases an intertextual correspondence is the only one identified.⁹⁸ In this section, my focus is the authors and poetic traditions that constitute these phraseological intertexts. I consider which areas of Greek literature are represented, whether the correspondences are likely to constitute direct references by the author of the *Orphic Hymns* to another work (or the inverse possibility, that another author has made reference to the *Orphic Hymns*), or whether they are the result of reference to a shared poetic tradition. To this end, I have grouped the authors and works identified in appendices 4.1 and 4.2 into categories that represent coherent traditions. This methodology requires caveats: the categories described are not watertight areas of Greek poetry and, of course, there is substantial interaction between them. Hexameter poetry of all periods draws extensively on the Homeric tradition. Yet distinguishing Homer, Hesiod and the Cyclic poets from those of the Hellenistic or Roman periods is also important, as the possible reasons for correspondences with the *Orphic Hymns* differ

⁹⁶ Rudhardt 1991: 274 'la pensée orphique n'est pas syncretiste. Les divinités assimilées les unes aux autres ne sont pas confondues; chacune d'entre elles conserve des caractères propres; mais on perçoit en elles toutes les manifestations concrètes d'un être divin inaccessible à l'homme'.

⁹⁷ Henotheism: Versnel 1990, Van Nuffeln 2010: 16-33; in Orphic poetry, Sfameni Gasparro 2011, Furlan 2020 (in the *OH*, with a focus on Zeus and hymns 15, 19 and 20, pp. 170-219); Dionysos and henotheism in the *OH*, Sfameni Gasparro 2013.

⁹⁸ In 36% of cases there is both an internal correspondence within the hymns and an external one with another text.

in each case and merit separate consideration. Five broad categories of poetry will be treated here: early hexameter and elegy, including Homer, Hesiod and the Homeric hymns, up to and including poetry of the fifth century BCE (4.2.1); lyric poetry and drama of all periods (4.2.2); hexameter and elegy of the Hellenistic period, from the fourth to the first centuries BCE and the Roman period, from the first to the sixth centuries CE (4.2.3); Orphic poetry (4.2.4); post-classical hexameter hymns, including those contained in the magical papyri, and oracular poetry (4.2.5). Finally phrasal echoes in prose authors of all periods will be considered (4.2.6). My focus in each case will be on the types of formulae encountered in each of these groups, and on concentrations that occur in particular authors, but the analysis of formulae presented in appendix 4.1 does allow the total number of correspondences, by author, to be quantified, and the proportions of correspondences within individual authors will also be considered. A quantitative approach such as this also requires caution: not all formulae are equally significant. For instance, a well known Homeric phrase does not tell us as much about the poetic contexts of the *Orphic Hymns* as a matching complete verse in a minor author, such as Isidorus of Narmouthis. Yet the relative quantity of references is significant. It is not enough to say that there are correspondences with both Nonnus and Proclus. The question of which of these authors shares a larger number of phrases with the hymns and why that might be the case must also be considered. To support this discussion I will make reference to appendix 4.3, which provides a quantitative overview, based on the poetic categories described,⁹⁹ with the most important individual authors or works specified. I have identified here the total number of phraseological parallels in each case and the proportion of primary and secondary formulae in this total. These figures are a useful guide, but do conceal the fact that, for example, one phrase in Homer may account for several references in the Homeric poems. They should then be viewed alongside the second calculation provided. Here I have identified, for each of the 490 phrases in the *Orphic Hymns* that have an external correspondence, the closest match and indicated the total for each category.¹⁰⁰ This approach reveals the proportions of authors that are closest to the *Orphic Hymns* phraseologically, but also requires some qualification. These numbers are affected by instances in which a phrase that recurs several times in the collection multiplies the total of ‘closest matches’ for a particular author. For example, ἔλθατε εὐμενεῖς, encountered in the magical papyri, is the only parallel for a phrase that occurs seven times in the hymns and so constitutes seven of the eleven instances where the *PGM* (excluding their hymns) provide the closest match.¹⁰¹ The two percentages provided here for each poetic category or author, the percentage of the total number of phrases in external authors (out of 810) and the percentage of closest matches (out of 490) should be viewed in conjunction then, as an indication of the relative prominence of each category or author. The phraseological parallels collected here are clearly not exhaustive and are not

⁹⁹ In app. 4.3 Homer, Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns* are separated from other examples of Archaic and Classical hexameter and elegy; lyric and dramatic poets are also treated separately, as are hexameter poets of the Hellenistic and Imperial periods.

¹⁰⁰ Where two authors, using the same phrase, are equally close, I have selected the earlier author as the closest.

¹⁰¹ Frequently repeated phrases such as this are noted in the right hand column of appendix 4.3.

equally significant, ranging as they do from well-worn Homeric phrases to possible instances of direct reference by the author of the hymns to another text. Quantification of the number occurring in individual works or authors elides these distinctions and is, by itself, of limited heuristic value. But these phrases are representative of the full range of contacts with the *Orphic Hymns* in terms of phraseology, and the statistical analysis provided in appendix 4.3 may, when read in combination with the detailed discussion in this chapter, serve as an indication of concentrations within that range and the relative prominence of a given author within the hymns' network of intertextual references.

4.2.1 Homer, Hesiod, the *Homeric Hymns*, early hexameter and elegy

By far the largest number of formulae in the *Orphic Hymns* derive from the earliest hexameter poetry: 41% of all phrases occurring in another author and 36% of the closest correspondences. The figures for Homer alone are 23.3% and 18.4% respectively, with the *Iliad* accounting for a majority (60%) of these. The second, fourteenth and twenty-fourth books of the *Iliad*, and eleventh book of the *Odyssey* are particularly well represented, but with the exception of the twenty-first and twenty-second books of the *Odyssey*, there are formulaic correspondences with all books of the Homeric epics.¹⁰² Select examples of the Homeric formulae may be considered. Oneiros is invoked as τανυσίπτερε, οἴλε Ὀνειρε (*OH* 86.1): τανυσίπτερος occurs in *Od.* 5.65 (of birds), while the phrase οἴλε Ὀνειρε 'baneful', inapposite in the context of the hymn,¹⁰³ occurs twice at the start of *Iliad* 2 (once in the accusative), of the deceptive dream sent by Zeus to Agamemnon. In this instance the phrase only recurs in the *Orphic Argonautica*.¹⁰⁴ Homeric formulae are also combined in the hymns with phrases from other sources. *OH* 6.2 χρυσέαισιν ἀγαλλόμενον πτερύγεσσι, describing Protogonos, draws on *Il.* 2.462 ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι (from the water bird simile that describes the assembling Achaeans before the 'Catalogue of Ships'), as well as the invocation of Helios at the start of the *Rhapsodic Theogony* (*OF* 106.3), Ἥελιε, χρυσέαισιν ἀειρόμενε πτεύγεσσιν, which adapts the same Homeric phrase. As such cases show, Homeric influence may be direct, or mediated by another source, or both, as here.

In a majority of cases, a Homeric phrase recurs frequently in other authors, reflecting the breadth and interconnected nature of the Greek epic hexameter tradition. The phrase ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης is

¹⁰² There is a noticeable drop in formulae in the second half of the *Odyssey*: 22 parallels compared with 54 in the first half.

¹⁰³ Fayant suggests that Oneiros is 'baneful' to the wicked (*OH* 86.12-15), but it is possible that οἴλε was intended to have a different meaning here. Eustathius tells us that some commentators thought it meant 'whole' or 'wholesome' in the *Iliad* (Eust. *Il.* I p. 254 van der Valk τινὲς δὲ οἴλον ὄνειρον τὸν ὑγιῆ φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅλος, ὅθεν καὶ οἴλος ἄρτος ὁ ἐλόκληρος). The anonymous 16th century Latin translation in Laur. Plut. 36.35 has 'crispum somnium' here, reading οἴλε as 'wooly', and Dieterich independently came to the same conclusion (1906: 147-8). There may even be a deliberate multivalency in the *OH* poet's use of the word: Oneiros may be bad, good or confusing (i.e. 'wooly'), depending on the recipient.

¹⁰⁴ *O.Arg.* 776 Ὡκα δ' ἄρ' οἴλον ὄνειρον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἦκε φέρεσθαι.

associated with Hades in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.¹⁰⁵ However, the branching, adaptive nature of the epic tradition is evident in subsequent usage of the formula. The *Odyssey* version of the full Homeric formula occurs again in the Sinai fragments of the *Rhapsodies*, while the phrase ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης is used to describe subterranean caves in Hesiod, and Hades in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Theognis, Pindar and Aeschylus.¹⁰⁶ Later writers adapt the phrase further: γαίης is replaced by λίμνης in Oppian, describing bottom-feeding fish, νεφέλης in Gregory of Nazianzus (Yahweh's epiphany to Moses on Sinai) and ἄντρον in Paulus Silentarius (a crypt).¹⁰⁷ In the *Orphic Hymns*, as discussed above (4.1.2.1) the variant forms γαίης ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν (*OH* 51.2 Nymphs; 69.3 Erinyes μυχίοις ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν), ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης (*OH* 29.4 Persephone) and ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης (*OH* 57.2 Hermes Chthonios, 78.5 Eos) connect divinities associated with the earth (Persephone, Nymphs, Erinyes) and with katabasis (Hermes Chthonios, Eos). The variation in *OH* 69.3, μυχίοις 'nooks', echoes an oracle cited by Porphyry,¹⁰⁸ while the accusative form κεύθεα, indicating motion, also occurs in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and in the *Orphic Argonautica*.¹⁰⁹ The form ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης looks to Euripides,¹¹⁰ and Euripides' phrase βᾶθι κεύθος οἴκων (Eur. *Alc.* 872) may in turn have influenced *OH* 51.2 and 69.3 ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἴκι' ἔχουσαι. The phrase οἴκι' ἔχουσαι however is itself Hesiodic.¹¹¹ Expressions such as this are repeatedly reused and adapted to new contexts, carrying with them the resonance of earlier poems and contexts. Homeric phrases are deeply woven into the fabric of the *Orphic Hymns*. They are well-worn formulae, part of the traditional vocabulary of Greek hexameter poetry, and, as such, mark the hymns out as part of that tradition. Their prevalence in the *Orphic Hymns* in comparison with other authors reflects the foundational importance of Homer in Greek literature, but the sheer number of them also speaks to the formulaic nature of the hymns themselves, which draw on and adapt phrases from a range of sources and, as the previous section has sought to show, use formulae as a key element in their internal system of cross-reference and allusion.

There is moreover a close connection between Homer and Orpheus. The Derveni papyrus quotes an Orphic verse which, as the vocative case endings suggest, may come from a hymn: Ἐρμῆ,

¹⁰⁵ *Il.* 22.482-3 (Andromache's lament) νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν Αἴδαο δόμους ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης | ἔρχεαι; *Od.* 24.203-4 (Amphimedon and Agamemnon) ἔσταότ' εἰν Αἴδαο δόμοισ', ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης.

¹⁰⁶ Sinai fr. fol. 2v.17 Rossetto; Hes. *Th.* 299-300 (Echidna's cave), 333-5 (the serpent of the Hesperides), 483 (Zeus' cave); *HHy.* 2.398-9 (Persephone's annual return to Hades); Thgn. 244 (Kyrnos' fame will outlast his death, εἰς Αἴδαο δόμους in the following verse); Pind. *Nem.* 10.56 (the Dioskouroi alternate in Hades); Aesch. *Eum.* 1034-6 (Erinyes) Νυκτὸς παῖδες ἄπαιδες, ὅπ' εὐθύφρονι πομπᾷ... γὰρ ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ὠγυγίοισιν.

¹⁰⁷ Opp. *Hal.* 4.36 νεάτης δ' ὑπὸ κεύθεσι λίμνης; Greg. Naz. *De test. et adv. Chr.* v. 28 Werhahn οὐρανόθεν καταβὰς νεφέλης ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ἀγνῆς; Paul. Sil. *Descr. ambo.* 184 ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν ἀνέρας ἄντρον.

¹⁰⁸ Porph. fr. 338 πυμάτοις ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν.

¹⁰⁹ *HHy.* 2.340, 415 (Hermes' and Persephone's descents), *O.Arg.* 174 (the death of Kaineus). The accusative form in Persephone's hymn, *OH* 29.4 ἢ κατέχεις Αἴδαο πύλας ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης, does not indicate a journey towards Hades, as νέρτερα does in *OH* 57.2 and 78.5, which suggests that the connection with Persephone in the *Homeric Hymn* has prompted the poet's use of the form of the formula found there. On κεύθεσι in *HHy.* 2.398, Richardson 1974: 283.

¹¹⁰ Eur. *Alc.* 47, fr. 450.1 νετέρας ὑπὸ χθονός.

¹¹¹ Hes. *Th.* 64 (Muses), 758 (Hypnos, Thanatos) οἴκι' ἔχουσιν.

Μαιάδος υἱέ, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἑάων.¹¹² It was originally believed that Homer is quoted here; that δηλοῖ, which introduces the quotation, is used intransitively to mean ‘it is clear that’, but more recent studies have argued that the subject of δηλοῖ is Orpheus.¹¹³ The implication, as Obbink suggests, may be that Homer borrowed from Orpheus rather than the other way around. Similarly, the hymn to Demeter ascribed to Orpheus that is summarised and quoted in a Berlin papyrus¹¹⁴ differed from the Homeric hymn at several points, according to the summary given, and the accounts of Pausanias and Clement (if these refer to the same hymn), but the actual verses cited from the hymn all occur with slight variations in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. West argues that the papyrus author simply knew the Homeric hymn under Orpheus’ name (1983: 24). Currie has more recently argued that in some instances the ‘Orphic’ hymn may represent an earlier version of the poem.¹¹⁵ In the earliest poetry associated with Orpheus there appears to have been an extremely close degree of convergence with the Homeric tradition: in poetic terms it is in fact fully part of that tradition.¹¹⁶ The extensive intertextual relationship between the *Orphic Hymns* and the Homeric epics should certainly be understood in terms of the hymns’ broad engagement with the hexameter tradition, but cannot be altogether separated from possible intersections with earlier Orphic poetry, few traces of which survive.

This potential for overlap is all the more valid when we consider the phrasal connections between the collection on the one hand and Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns* on the other, as representative of theogonic and hymnic poetry within the early hexameter or rhapsodic tradition. The influence of Hesiod’s *Theogony* is particularly notable, accounting for 6% of all parallel phrases in other authors collected here, as well as of the closest matches, compared with 2% and 0.8% respectively for the *Works and Days*, *Shield of Herakles*, and Hesiodic fragments combined. If we compare the number of closest matches found in the *Iliad* and the *Theogony*, the latter, a poem of a thousand verses, contains half as many as occur in the fifteen thousand verses of the Homeric epic. Clearly the subject matter of the *Theogony* is the main factor here. Names and epithets of gods are prominent among the Hesiodic formulae,¹¹⁷ and it is notable that verses that catalogue the names

¹¹² P. Derv. col. XXVI.2 (OF 687) δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖσδε τοῖς ἔπεσι, ὅτι ἀγαθὴν σημαίνει... Cf. *Od.* 8.335 Ἑρμεία Διὸς υἱέ, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἑάων. Two further verses quoted here correspond exactly with *Il.* 24.527-8.

¹¹³ ‘It is clear that’: Merkelbach 1967: 31 ‘es zeigt sich’, Burkert 1968: 96 ‘klar ist’. Orpheus (‘he shows’): Böhme 1988, Funghi 1997: 27, Janko 2001: 31 n. 186, Bernabé 2002: 93 n. 11, Betegh 2004: 100 n. 25. Obbink 1997: 41 n. 4 suggests that the Derveni author knew the verse as Orpheus and thought Homer had borrowed it. Bernabé (OF 687 *ad loc.*) ‘Veri simile mihi videtur hoc fr. ex Hymno Orphico in Mercurium fluere’.

¹¹⁴ P. Berol. 13044 (OF 387-9, 392-3, 396-7).

¹¹⁵ West 1983: 24, Currie 2012: 184-209, Edmonds 2013: 174-180. Richardson (1974: 85), following Wehrli, believes that the ‘Orphic’ version may represent an older, local tradition, possibly connected with the Thesmophoria. Graf however (1974: 179-80) dates the hymn to the latter half of the 5th century BCE.

¹¹⁶ Meisner 2018: 166. The first verse of an Orphic hymn to Demeter quoted by Ps-Justin (*Coh. Gr.* 17.1 = OF 386), which may be that of the Berlin papyrus, makes an emphatic connection with the *Iliad*: Μῆριν αἶειδε θεά, Δημήτερος ἀγλαοκάρπου.

¹¹⁷ E.g. Διωνύσου πολυγηθέος Hes. *Op.* 614, OH 44.3, 75.1 (πολυγηθοῦς); Λητώ κυανόπεπλον Hes. *Th.* 406, OH 35.1; ἑλικοβλέφαρόν τ’ Ἀφροδίτην Hes. *Th.* 16, OH 57.4.

of the Muses, Horai and Charites are incorporated with little or no change.¹¹⁸ Instances where a phrase from the Hesiodic poem recurred in the Orphic *Rhapsodic Theogony* are notable however. The verse naming the Charites is also attributed to the *Rhapsodies*, and the proem's description of itself as the 'prayer that is more excellent than all' (P.2 εὐχὴν, ἣ δὴ τοι προφερεστέρα ἐστὶν ἀπασέων) adapts the Hesiodic phrase προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων, which qualifies Kalliope and Styx as 'most excellent of all' the Muses and Oceanids respectively, and also stood in the Orphic poem, describing Athena.¹¹⁹ Several other instances of correspondence between the Hesiodic and Orphic theogonies suggest that the latter poem, in one or more of its versions, may, in some cases, have mediated between the *Orphic Hymns* and Hesiod.¹²⁰

The *Homeric Hymns* are equally prominent as a source of formulaic parallels, and in this case the convergence of the Homeric or rhapsodic tradition and that of hymns, as direct addresses to, and descriptions of the gods, is clearly significant. The Homeric verse cited by the Derveni author as Orphic should be considered here together with Pausanias' claim that the hymns performed by the Lykomidai at Phlya compared closely with the *Homeric Hymns*.¹²¹

ὅστις δὲ περὶ ποιήσεως ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν ἤδη, τοὺς Ὀρφείως ὕμνους οἶδεν ὄντας ἕκαστόν τε αὐτῶν ἐπὶ βραχύτατον καὶ τὸ σύμπαν οὐκ ἐξ ἀριθμὸν πολλὸν πεποιημένους· Λυκομίδαι δὲ ἴσασι τε καὶ ἐπαίδουσι τοῖς δρωμένοις. κόσμῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπῶν δευτερεῖα φέροντο ἂν μετὰ γε Ὀμήρου τοὺς ὕμνους, τιμῇ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐς πλεόν ἐκείνων ἤκουσι.

Whoever has made a close study of poetry already knows that the hymns of Orpheus are individually very short and in total not many in number. The Lykomidai know them and chant them at their *dromena*. In the elegance of their verses they might take second place to the hymns of Homer, but for reverence of the divine they far surpass them.

It is possible that earlier Orphic hymns were to some extent modelled on Homeric ones, or rather stood within the same poetic tradition.¹²² The intimate connection between the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and the Orphic version of the Berlin papyrus is a case in point, although the hymns Pausanias describes here are compared with the shorter Homeric hymns. The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* is particularly prominent in terms of formulaic parallels with the *Orphic Hymns*, accounting for nearly half of the closest matches occurring in the *Homeric Hymns*, and given the apparent references to the Orphic version of the myth of Demeter found in the *Orphic Hymns* it

¹¹⁸ Muses: Hes. *Th.* 77-9 = *OH* 76.8-10; Horai: Hes. *Th.* 902, *OH* 43.2; Charites: Hes. *Th.* 907, *OH* 60.3.

¹¹⁹ Charites: *OF* 254; προφερεστάτη: Hes. *Th.* 79, 361, *OF* 271.1.

¹²⁰ Orpheus and Hesiod: Nilsson 1935: 196-8 ('no other poem is so frequently quoted in the Orphic fragments as precisely as Hesiod'), West 1983: 101-3, 130, Edmonds 2011a: 81, Meisner 2018: 18-50.

¹²¹ Paus. 9.30.12 (*OF* 531 I). On this testimony, see Linforth 1941: 197-202, Brisson 1990: 2871-2, Obbink 1994: 125-30, Bremmer 2010: 27, 2014: 77-8.

¹²² The first verse of *OH* 3, the hymn to Nyx, is in the style of the *Homeric Hymns* and may derive from one of these early Orphic hymns. See chapter 2.3.3.3.

may be the case that these are engaging directly with the Orphic version (or versions) of the Homeric hymn.¹²³

Of other parallels among hexameter and elegiac poets of the fifth century or earlier, the largest number occur in Theognis. These are fairly stereotyped phrases that reflect the broader influence of the hexameter tradition, as in the example of ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης discussed above.¹²⁴ Parmenides however shows specific points of contact, which reinforce the association suggested by antithesis and verse-level symmetry. The Heliades who guide the poet to the ‘halls of Nyx’ and Hermes Chthonios as psychopomp both ‘lead the way’, and the phrase διὰ πάντος πάντα περῶντα ‘test all in all’ is echoed in *OH* 59.14 Μοῖρά τε καὶ Διὸς οἶδε νόος διὰ παντὸς ἅπαντα: ‘Moira and the mind of Zeus know all in all’.¹²⁵

4.2.2 Lyric poets and dramatists

Lyric poets and dramatists are perhaps surprisingly prominent, although, being outside the hexameter tradition, parallels are chiefly secondary.¹²⁶ Among the lyric poets Pindar stands out. In some cases, such as the phrase Διόνυσος πολυγαθῆς (Pind. fr. 153), these are phrases that derive from the epic tradition (Hes. *Th.* 941, *Op.* 614); other parallels in the *Orphic Hymns*, such as φῶς ἀμίαντον (‘undefiled light’ of Hephaistos, *OH* 66.6, Pind. fr.108b ἐκ νυκτὸς ἀμίαντον ὄρσαι φάος),¹²⁷ or the description of Nomos as ‘king’ of mortals and immortals (*OH* 64.1 Ἀθανάτων καλέω καὶ θνητῶν ἀγνὸν ἄνακτα, Pind. fr. 169.1-2 Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς | θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων), suggest the possibility of a direct reference to Pindar by the author of the hymns.

The three classical tragedians and Aristophanes are well represented, but Euripides is particularly important, alone accounting for around 4% of all phrases.¹²⁸ A number of these may, again, be

¹²³ Pluto snatched Kore while she was playing with the Horai (*OH* 43.7-9, but Okeanidai in *HHy.* 2 and P. Berol. 44), and took her to Eleusis, where the gates of the underworld are (18.12-15). Demeter was guided by Eubouleus, son of Dysaules, to Hades and made him a god (41.3-8). Kore is accompanied on her return to the upper world by the Moirai and Charites (29.9-14). Cf. *OF* 387-391. Demeter’s *kathodos* is hinted at in Claud. *De Rap. Pros.* 3.107: Demeter dreams that Persephone begs her to come and rescue her.

¹²⁴ Thgn. 13 εὐχομένωι μοι κλυθί, 285 βασιλῆα μέγιστον, 905 βίτου τέλος, 1325 (cf. Panyasis fr. 16.17 *PEG*) εὐφρονι θυμῶι.

¹²⁵ Parm. B 1.5 DK κοῦραι δ’ ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευσον, *OH* 57.9-11 σοὶ γὰρ ἔδωκε | τιμὴν Φερσεφόνοια θεὰ κατὰ Τάρταρον εὐρὺν | ψυχᾶς ἀνάοις θνητῶν ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν (cf. *Od.* 6.261, 7.30, 10.501, 24.225, *HHy.* 4.303). Parm. B 1.31-2 DK ἀλλ’ ἔμπης καὶ ταῦτα μαθήσεται, ὥς τὰ δοκοῦντα | χρῆν δοκίμως εἶναι διὰ παντὸς πάντα περῶντα.

¹²⁶ Phrasal parallels in lyric and dramatic poetry account for 12.7% of all formulae (60% of which are secondary, compared with 18% of those in early hexameter poets) and 15.1% of the closest parallels. Lyric poets or poems showing correspondences: Alcman, Anacreon, Antiphon, Ariphron, Aristonous, Bacchylides, *Carmina Popularia*, Isyllus, Macedonius, Melanippides, Mesomedes, *Paean Erythraeus*, Pindar, Simonides, Stesichorus, Timotheus. Dramatists: Aeschylus, Antiphanes, Aristophanes, Dionysius, Diphilus, Euripides, Lucian (*Podagra*), Menander, Pherecrates, Sophocles.

¹²⁷ Cf. also Bacchyl. 3.86 αἰθὴρ ἀμίαντος.

¹²⁸ All formulae/closest: Euripides 3.7/4.3, Aristophanes 1.7/2.4, Sophocles 1.2/2.0, Aeschylus 1.1/0.8.

direct references. The description of Athena ‘stinging the souls of mortals to madness’ (*OH* 32.6 *ὀπλοχαρής, οἰστροῦσα βροτῶν ψυχὰς μανίαισι*)¹²⁹ looks to the *Bacchae* (v. 32-3: *αὐτὰς ἐκ δόμων ὠιστρησ’ ἐγὼ | μανίαις*), and, by extension, may serve to connect Athena, intertextually, with Dionysos. The same may be true of the opening predication of the hymn of Notos, ‘light leap’ (*OH* 82.1 *λαίψηρὸν πῆδημα*), which in the *Ion* is applied to the revel of Dionysos and the Bakkhai.¹³⁰ The phrase *εὐάσμασι Βακχᾶν* (*Bacch.* 129) has a more direct correlation in the hymn to Silenos, Satyros and the Bakkhai, where Silenos gives the ‘cry of the Bacchic lord’ (*OH* 54.8 *εὐάσμα διδοὺς Βακχείου ἄνακτος*). Phrases such as *δεινὴ ἀνάγκη, αὔραις ἡδυπνόοισι* or *μορφῆς τύπον*¹³¹ also appear to look directly to Euripides. Helios ‘beholds all this boundless ether and the bliss-portioned earth from above’ (*OH* 34.11-12 *τόνδε σὺ γὰρ λεύσσεις τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα πάντα | γαῖαν δ’ ὀλβιόμοιρον ὑπερθέ*). Fragment 941, from an unidentified play, appears to be the direct source:

*ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ’ ἀπειρον αἰθέρα
καὶ γῆν περίξ ἔχονθ’ ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;
τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ’ ἡγοῦ θεόν.*

Do you see on high this boundless aither
that holds the earth about in wet embraces?
Consider it Zeus, think this god.

The popularity of Euripides as a literary and school text in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods is well established, and the number of formulae and phrasal echoes the hymns share with this author is testament to this, although clearly the number of extant plays compared with the other tragedians must also be taken into account.¹³² The ancient reception of the dramatists is complex: it is literary, and these phrases may be read as true intertexts, and yet the reperformance of classical tragedies means that the line between written and oral reception is not clear here: this poetry was heard as well as read.¹³³ The poet of the *Orphic Hymns*, by either means, knew Euripides and the other dramatists, well. There is moreover a connection here with the Orphic tradition. Euripides’ own interest in ‘Orphism’ has been discussed by Scodel.¹³⁴ The digest of ecstatic cults presented in

¹²⁹ An allusion to Athena’s proximity to Cybele, but simultaneously to the fury of war, following *ὀπλοχαρής*. Guthrie 1930: 220-21 explores the connections between Cybele and Athena in this hymn.

¹³⁰ Eur. *Ion* 716-7 *ἵνα Βάκχιος ἀμφιπύρους ἀνέχων πεύκας | λαιψηρὰ πηδαῖ νυκτιπόλοις ἅμα σὺν Βάκχαις*, Notos *OH* 82.1 *Λαιψηρὸν πῆδημα δι’ ἡέρος ὑγροπόρευτον*.

¹³¹ Eur. *Hel.* 514 *δεινῆς ἀνάγκης*, Nux *OH* 3.11 *δεινὴ γὰρ Ἀνάγκη πάντα κρατύνει*; Eur. *Med.* 840 *ἡδυπνόους αὔρας*, Thalassa *OH* 22.3 *αὔραις ἡδυπνόοισι πατασσομένην περὶ γαῖαν*; Eur. *Phoen.* 161-2 *ὁρῶ δὴτ’ οὐ σαφῶς, ὁρῶ δέ πως | μορφῆς τύπωμα στέρνα τ’ ἐξεικασμένα*, Melinoe 71.7 *ἀλλοκότοις ἰδέαις μορφῆς τύπον ἐκφαίνουσα*.

¹³² Easterling 1997: 211-27, Mastronarde 2017: 13-21, Finglass 2020: 33-41. The ten ‘select’ plays are likely a late antique or Byzantine collection, but the papyri suggest that the popularity of these plays can be traced to the Hellenistic period (Mastronarde 2017: 16-17). In this context it is worth noting however that the phrases shared with the *Orphic Hymns* occur in both the ‘select’ (*Hec.*, *Ores.*, *Phoen.*, *Alc.*, *Troiad.*, *Bacch.*) and ‘alphabetic’ plays (*Hel.*, *Herakl.*, *Elec.*, *Iph. Aul.*), and a significant number occur in the fragments.

¹³³ Easterling 1997: 225, Lamari 2020: 797-818.

¹³⁴ Scodel 2011: 79-98, cf. Bremmer 2014: 66-9.

the *Cretans* (fr. 472), the specific reference to the Orphic diet and ‘the smoke of many books’ (*Hipp.* 95.2-4), the paradox of life in death (fr. 368, 833) are important testimonies.¹³⁵ Two fragments from the lost *Pirithous*, whose attribution to Euripides is however doubtful, also recall the Orphic depiction of Time and appear, directly or otherwise, to have influenced the hymns.¹³⁶

σὲ τὸν αὐτοφυᾶ τὸν ἐν αἰθερίῳ	you, the self-born, in ethereal
ῥύμβῳ πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξανθ’	spinning entwining the nature of all,
ὃν πέρι μὲν φῶς, πέρι δ’ ὀρφναία	about whom light, about whom dark
νύξ αἰολόχρως, ἄκριτός τ’ ἄστρων	Night, variegate, and the countless
ὄχλος ἐνδελεχῶς ἀμφιχορεύει ¹³⁷	mass of stars unceasingly dance.

ἀκάμας τε χρόνος περί γ’ ἀενάῳ	and weariless time moves round in an
ρέυματι πλήρης φοιτᾷ τίκτων	ever-flowing stream, full, itself
αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, δίδυμοί τ’ ἄρκτοι	begetting itself, and the twin bears
ταῖς ὠκυπλάνοισι πετερόγων ῥιπαῖς	in swift-roaming beating of wings
τὸν Ἀτλάντειον τηροῦσι πόλον ¹³⁸	guard the Atlantean pole.

The parallels between these fragments from *Pirithous* and the hymns to Helios and Herakles, and the collection’s network of formulae describing cyclical cosmic motion, are notable. Both Helios and Herakles are αὐτοφυῆς, ἀκάμας ‘self-born, weariless’ (*OH* 8.3, 12.13, fr. 593.1, 594.1); Helios moves ῥόμβου ἀπειρεσίου δινεύμασιν ‘in the whorls of the boundless bull-roarer’ (*OH* 8.7, fr. 593.1-2), as does Ouranos (*OH* 4.4 ῥόμβου δίναισιν). Herakles ‘wears around his head dawn and black night’ (*OH* 12.11 δς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἡὼ καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν, fr. 593.3-4), while the path of night is αἰολόχρωτα in the hymn to Eos (*OH* 78.4, fr. 593.4) and Herakles himself αἰολόμορφε (*OH* 12.4). The dance of the stars in v. 5 of fr. 593 recalls the description of Helios ‘dancing on four feet’ (*OH* 8.5, cf. Apollo 34.6 χοροποιέ), and the circling motion of the Asteres around the pole (*OH* 7.4 ἐγκυκλίῳ δίναισι περὶ τὸν θρόνον κυκλέοντες). In the second fragment the ‘ever-flowing stream’ of time (fr. 594.1-2) is echoed in proem’s description of Chronos as ‘ever-flowing’ (P.29 Χρόνον ἀέναν) and in the hymn to Ge, about whom the cosmos revolves ‘with ever-flowing Nature, in terrible streams’ (*OH* 26.8-9 περὶ ἣν κόσμος πολυδαίδαλος ἄστρων | εἰλεῖται Φύσει ἀενάῳ καὶ ρεύμασι δεινοῖς).¹³⁹ The beating of the wings of the Bears (fr. 594.4), finally, contains a collocation that recurs exactly in the hymn to Protogonos ‘whirling in beating of wings through the cosmos’ (*OH*

¹³⁵ Eur. fr. 472 (*Cretes*): *OF* 567; *Hipp.* 948-957: *OF* 627; fr. 638 (*Polyidus*, cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 1477): *OF* 457.

¹³⁶ Eur. fr. 593 & 594 Nauck = Critias fr. 4 & 3 Radt. Collard (1995: 183-193, 2007: 57-68) and Cropp (2020: 235-256) present the evidence and review the debate over the authorship of this play. Both conclude that the matter is in doubt but that the author is more likely to be Euripides than Critias. On the ‘Orphic’ tone here and the association with Chronos, de Romilly 1968: 38, West 1983: 191.

¹³⁷ Eur. fr. 593 Nauck.

¹³⁸ Eur. fr. 594 Nauck.

¹³⁹ Cf. also Physis *OH* 10.22 ἀενάῳ στροφάλιγγι θοὸν ῥύμα δινεύουσα, ‘spinning the swift stream in ever-flowing eddies’.

6.7 πάντα δινηθείς πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς κατὰ κόσμον).¹⁴⁰ Who is addressed here? The parallels in the *Orphic Hymns* are chiefly with Helios and Herakles, who shows attributes of both the Sun and Time. According to Clement's source it is an Anaxagorean 'Nous the creator'.¹⁴¹ In the context of the *Pirithous*, in which the title character and Theseus are bound in Hades, it may be the sky itself that is addressed by the chorus, expressing the prisoners' longing to see it: the πόλος in both senses of the vault of heaven (cf. Apollo *OH* 34.19 πάντα πόλον κινάς) and of the celestial axis, about which the stars revolve (as in *OH* 7.4, *Asteres*). Hesychius' explanation of αἰθέριος ῥύμβος is simply οὐρανός. Whether Euripides or Critias, this fragment appears to stand in close relation to cosmological poetry of the period, which may also have informed Orphic theogonic poems. Scodel has explored other Euripidean points of contact with this tradition, including speculative allegory and etymology, presenting Euripides as a bricoleur of contemporary philosophical trends in his own right.¹⁴²

Close correspondence with the dramatists is not limited to Euripides, however. Aristophanes may be the source of expressions such as ψυχῆς θραύει (*Thanatos OH* 87.3, *Ar. Av.* 466 ὅ τι τὴν τούτων θραύσει ψυχὴν) or Νηρέος εἰναλίου νύμφαι (*Nereids OH* 24.1, *Ar. Thesm.* 325 Νηρέος εἰναλίου τε κόραι | Νύμφαι τ' ὀρείπλαγκτοι). But again the possibility that Aristophanes is himself drawing on earlier or contemporary poetry must be considered. The description of Phanes 'whirling in beating of wings' (*OH* 6.7), which, as noted, looks to the *Pirithous*, also recalls Aristophanes' avian Eros (*Ar. Av.* 697 στίλβων νώτον πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν, εἰκῶς ἀνεμώκεσι δίναις), suggesting that both dramatists could be drawing on the same description of a Phanes-like figure. There may, in sum, be a degree of convergence between the late fifth century dramatists and the Orphic tradition with which the hymns also engage.

4.2.3 Hellenistic and Imperial hexameter poetry

This group, spanning a millennium, but united in its engagement with the Homeric tradition, shows, as should be expected, broad variation in concentrations of formulaic parallels with the hymns. The longer surviving Hellenistic poems show notably few correspondences: there are more phraseological parallels in the thirty-nine verses of Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* than are found in the extant works of Callimachus, Apollonius and Lycophron combined. Apollonius' expression ἐπ' ἀστραγάλοισι ποδῶν (1.219) and Callimachus' ἄψοφον ἵχνος (*Hy.* 2.12), together with the Euripidean phrase ἵχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδός (*Tro.* 28), echo the description of Physis 'rolling a noiseless path on the balls of her feet' (*OH* 10.7 ἄψοφον ἀστραγάλοισι ποδῶν ἵχνος εἰλίσσουσα). The sole phrasal parallel with Lycophron's *Alexandra*, a work strongly marked, like the hymns, by

¹⁴⁰ Cf. also *Ar. Av.* 697 στίλβων νώτον πτερύγοιν χρυσαῖν, εἰκῶς ἀνεμώκεσι δίναις, of Eros in the cosmogony of the birds (*OF* 64).

¹⁴¹ Clem. Al. *Strom.* 5.114.2 ἐνταῦθα γὰρ τὸν μὲν αὐτοφυῆ τὸν δημιουργὸν νοῦν εἴρηκεν, τὰ δ' ἐξῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ κόσμου τάσσεται.

¹⁴² Scodel 2011, see further Dillon 2004.

allusive concatenations of divine epithets,¹⁴³ is anticipated by Euripides.¹⁴⁴ Close parallels occur in the *Batrachomyomachia*, Bion, Babrius and Aratus,¹⁴⁵ but it is with hymnic poetry and in particular Cleanthes and Isidorus of Narmouthis, the author of four hymns inscribed on the gateway of the temple of Isis Hermouthis in the Fayyum,¹⁴⁶ that the *Orphic Hymns* show the closest relationship in formulae, as well as style and diction. Cleanthes' expression ἐλίσσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν (*Hy. Zeus* v. 7); has already been noted (section 4.1.2.3). Phrases such as ἐκ σοῦ γάρ (v. 4, *OH* 14.10) and βίον ἐσθλόν (v. 25, *OH* 63.13) also recur in the *Orphic Hymns*. These are part of a broader set of shared characteristics however, including alliteration (v. 6, 13), anaphora of σὺ (v. 5-7), antithesis (v. 18-19) and diction.¹⁴⁷ While the predicatory invocation (v. 1-6) is closest to the *Orphic Hymns* as a whole in terms of style, the central section or argument (v. 7-31) recalls in particular the ethical tone of the hymns to the gods of justice (*OH* 61-64) and the final triad of Hypnos, Oneiros and Thanatos (*OH* 85-87). The critique of human failing, expressed by Cleanthes in terms of blindness or deafness, is connected by Thom with the Pythagorean and Orphic tradition,¹⁴⁸ and compares with the human objects of the displeasure of Nemesis (*OH* 61.8, the over-proud or boastful), Dike (*OH* 62.6-7, those willing excess), Dikaio-syne (*OH* 63.6-7, those who tilt the balance of justice) or Oneiros (*OH* 86.13-15, the evil who receive no warning of future ills). While unjustly won profit is 'doubtful' in the hymn to Dike (*OH* 62.6-7), the wicked in Cleanthes' hymn strive unwittingly for the opposite of what they desire (v. 30-31). Immoderation is a uniting theme here: the aims of Cleanthes' δύσμοροι, possessions (v. 23), glory, profit and pleasure (v. 27-9) are not in themselves bad, as indeed they are the objects of prayer in several of the *Orphic Hymns*.¹⁴⁹ The specific request in the hymn to Nemesis for 'understanding' (ἀγαθὴν διάνοιαν *OH* 61.11) should be compared with the ignorance of the wicked in Cleanthes: if they knew to obey the κοινὸν νόμον, they could have a good life 'with understanding' (v. 24-25):¹⁵⁰

οὐτ' ἐσορῶσι θεοῦ κοινὸν νόμον οὔτε κλύουσιν,
 ὧι κεν πειθόμενοι σὺν νῶι βίον ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιεν.

they neither look upon nor hear god's common law,

¹⁴³ Hornblower 2014, 2015: 62-92.

¹⁴⁴ Lycoph. *Alex.* 531 πῆδημα λαιψηρόν, cf. Eur. *Ion* 717.

¹⁴⁵ *Batrachom.* 66 ἄμματι κούφωι 'with a light noose', Aphrodite *OH* 55.23 θινὸς ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῖς ψαμμώδεσιν ἄμματι κούφωι 'with light leap'; Bion fr. 11.2 Ἔσπερε, κυανέας ἱερὸν, φίλε, νυκτὸς ἀγαλμα, Selene *OH* 9.9 τελεσφόρε, νυκτὸς ἀγαλμα; Babrius 1.43.10 μακρὸν ἐπέρα πεδίον ἔχουσιν κούφοις, Kouretes *OH* 31.3, Nymphai 51.6 ἔχουσι κούφαι; Aratus fr. 84, 85 *SH*, Lysios Lenaios *OH* 50.3 ἱερὸν θάλας.

¹⁴⁶ Hymns 1-3 are to Isis herself, the fourth is to the founder of the temple, Amenemhat III (Moyer 2016).

¹⁴⁷ E.g. πολυώνυμε, παγκρατές v. 1, κυβερνῶν v. 2, ἀνικῆτοις v. 9 (of lightning), πυρόεντα v. 10. The repetition of παν- (v. 2, 3, 7, 11, 14, 20, 31, 32, 35), phrasal repetition (v. 2 νόμου μετὰ πάντα κυβερνῶν, 35 δίκης μετὰ πάντα κυβερνᾷς) and structural symmetry (Thom 2006: 16) are further points of contact. Explanatory γάρ (v. 3, 11, 20) and the use of ἀλλά and a reinvocation to introduce the prayer (see chapter 2.2.2.1) are also shared features.

¹⁴⁸ Thom 2001, 2006: 118-21.

¹⁴⁹ Κλέος *OH* 33.9, δόξαν 69.17, ἀξέησιν 10.30, κτεάτεσι 14.13, πλούτος 15.11 (but insisting it should be 'blameless'), 40.20, success in business 28.12.

¹⁵⁰ Or 'obeying which with understanding, they might have a good life', Thom 2006: 41.

obeying which they might have a good life with understanding.

The phrase βίον ἐσθλόν, which itself occurs in the prayer of the hymn to Dikaio-syne,¹⁵¹ is pointed: it is not enough to pray for or strive for a good life, without the understanding of how it can be achieved. The Stoic character of the justice hymns has long been recognised, and it is possible that a Stoic poet would be familiar with Cleanthes' hymn. But Cleanthes is himself drawing on traditional forms of expression associated with hymnody,¹⁵² and while the juxtaposition of justice and injustice in the *Orphic Hymns* may look to Stoic models it is also part of the Orphic and Pythagorean tradition, and already, of course, present in Solon and Hesiod. The degree of convergence between Cleanthes and the *Orphic Hymns* is significant, but a direct connection between these texts, while possible and perhaps even likely, cannot, I think, be shown.¹⁵³

In the case of Isidorus of Narmouthis the relationship with the *Orphic Hymns* is less thematic, but again we find a density of alliterative effects, antithesis, assonance, anaphora, and shared formulae.

¹⁵⁴ The hymn to Demeter is, in particular, echoed:¹⁵⁵

Isid. Hy. 3.14 εἰρήνη<ν> τε ἄγων, καρποὶ βρίθουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶι
 παντοίων ἀγαθῶν
OH 40.18-19 ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή, καρποῖς βρίθουσα θερείοις,
 Εἰρήνην κατὰγουσα

Two adjacent formulae in the Orphic hymn are combined here by Isidorus, indicating that he may have known it, or an earlier form of it, since his date (early first century BCE) is considerably earlier than the current consensus for the *Orphic Hymns*.¹⁵⁶ The hymns of Isidorus are, like Cleanthes' hymn, personal expressions of devotion that deploy traditional phraseology, as well as prosodic

¹⁵¹ OH 63.12-13 κλύθι, θεά, κακίην θνητῶν θραύουσα δικάως, | ὥς ἂν ἰσορροπίασιν αἰεὶ βίος ἐσθλὸς ὀδεύοι.

¹⁵² Thom 2006: 20-21.

¹⁵³ Cleanthes' iambic poem on 'the Good' (fr. 3 CA) might also be compared as an example of *accumulatio*: it is a sequence of one or two-word predication which also contains alliterative effects (v. 4, 5) and assonance (v. 6). It anticipates, in some respects, the *Sententiae* of Secundus (see below, 4.2.6).

¹⁵⁴ Alliteration: Isid. Hy. 1.15-19, 27, 3.2, 10-11; assonance: 1.12; antithesis: 1.23, 3.18; anaphora (ἦ, *loci*): 3.20-25. Formulae: μεγαλῶνυμε after the caesura 2.1, 3.2, OH 32.2, 36.2 (cf. P.11, 60.1, 70.1, 72.3, 76.2); 1.1 πλουτοδότι βασιλεία θεῶν, OH 40.1 πλουτοδότειρα θεά; 1.14 ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαίη, OH 59.5 ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν; 2.11, OH 13.6 γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος; 2.19 καὶ πᾶσι μερίτ[τ]εις, OH 68.11 καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάσσεις, 85.3 καὶ πᾶσι προσέρχῃ; 2.20 οἷσι θέλεις, OH 50.9 οἷς ἐθέλεις; 3.29 τερπομένη θύμασιν, OH 55.8 τερπομένη θαλίαισι; 3.34, OH 42.9 μελανηφόρε Ἴσι; 1.6 θεσμοὺς κατέδειξας, cf. OH 24.10 τελετὴν ἀνεδείξατε, 76.7 αἰ τελετὰς θνητοῖς ἀνεδείξατε; 1.36 λύπης μ' ἀνάπαυσον ἀπάσης, cf. OH 3.6 πόνων ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσα, 85.6 πάσης λύπης ἱερὸν παραμύθιον. Vanderlip (1972) discusses stylistic and formulaic parallels with the OH in her commentary on Isidorus and pp. 87-90.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Isid. Hy. 1.3, 3.2 Δηοῖ, 1.22 Δήμητρα, but Isis is also identified here with Hera, Aphrodite, Hestia and Rhea (1.21-22).

¹⁵⁶ Vanderlip 1972: 9-16 (most likely between 88 and 80 BCE), Moyer 2016: 213 'Dual dedicatory inscriptions on the pillars date the construction of the forecourt to the 22nd year of the reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II, or 96 BCE. The hymns were probably inscribed on the gate of the forecourt not long after this date'.

embellishment, that is associated with Greek hymnic poetry.¹⁵⁷ That Cleanthes and Isidorus stand out among the survivals of Hellenistic poetry in the number of phrase and stylistic features that they share with the *Orphic Hymns* is clearly attributable to the fact that all three texts are participating in the same generic modes of expression, and a sobering reminder of how few devotional or cultic texts have survived from this, or indeed any period. Yet they are not unique: the hymns of Callimachus are an important survival, and there are hymns or hymnic elements in the poetry of Theocritus, Apollonius and other Hellenistic poets.¹⁵⁸ What appears to distinguish the hymns of Cleanthes and Isidorus from these, and connect them with the *Orphic Hymns*, is their non-literary character. They are not literary reflections or embellishments, or the work of professional poets, but genuine expressions of piety, which do not avoid stereotyped phrases but actively employ them in order to locate themselves within the hymnic tradition. Their conservatism is itself an expression of their piety.

The number of formulaic parallels rises significantly in authors of the third and fourth century such as Oppian, Quintus, the astrological poetry attributed to Manetho, and Gregory of Nazianzus. Hexameter poets of the first to fifth centuries together account for more than 16% of the phrases collected in appendix 4.1. Nonnus, in particular, stands out as a frequent source of formulaic parallels. In these cases, and, again, particularly with Nonnus, the extent of the surviving poems must of course be taken into account.¹⁵⁹ The same cannot be said however of Proclus, whose hymns provide twelve parallels in just 322 verses. The degree of phrasal correspondence with writers of the third to fifth centuries is to some extent corroborated by diction, which led Hauck to argue for a fifth century date for the hymns on the grounds that they depend on Nonnus, and van Liempt for a third or fourth century date. Van Liempt is on surer ground in arguing from the point of view of general resemblance rather than direct borrowing, as Hauck does, but using obscure diction, or formulae to date the hymns is itself remains problematic given the disproportionate amount of poetry that survives from later periods.

Phrasal correspondences with Nonnus alone account for 5% of the parallels collected in appendix 4.1. Close examples include:

Nonn. <i>D.</i> 2.223 πανδαμάτωρ ἀδάμαστος Ἔρως	<i>OH</i> 10.3 πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε
Nonn. <i>D.</i> 2.637, 9.254 διαρρήξασα χιτῶνα	<i>OH</i> 19.16 διερρήξας δὲ χιτῶνα

¹⁵⁷ On Isidorus' mediation between 'syncretic' and 'nativist' positions in Egypt of the first century BCE, Moyer 2016: 240.

¹⁵⁸ Theoc. *Id.* 1.123-30 (hymn to Pan), 2.10-16 (prayer to Selene-Hekate), 15.100-144 (hymn to Aphrodite and Adonis), 22.1-26 (hymn to the Dioskouroi); Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.411-424 (hymn to Apollo), 1.1125-1134 (hymn to Meter, described), 2.702-713 (hymn to Apollo), 4.1597-1600 (prayer to Nereus); Bion fr. 11 (prayer to Hesperos); Herodas 4 (prooemic hymn to Asklepios); Aratus *Phaen.* 1-18 (prooemic hymn to Zeus).

¹⁵⁹ Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* contains 21,286 verses in 48 books, and his paraphrase of St. John's gospel a further 3,660 (Accorinti 2016: 4). Quintus, *Posthomeric*, whose formulaic dependence on Homer is remarkable, contains 8772 verses in 14 books (Maciver 2012: 7-8).

Nonn. *D.* 3.62 ἐρημονόμων Κορυβάντων |
 Nonn. *D.* 33.24 | μαρμαρυγὴν στίλβουσιν
 Nonn. *D.* 48.43 ὀλετήρα Γιγάντων |

OH 39.4 ἐρημοπλάνον Κορύβαντα |
OH 7.11 | μαρμαρυγαῖς στίλβοντες
OH 32.12 | Φλεγραιῶν ὀλετήρα Γιγάντων

The apposition ‘tamer untamed’, a predication of Physis in *OH* 10.3, occurs twice in the *Dionysiaca*, and twice again in the *Paraphrase of St. John*.¹⁶⁰ The hymns embedded in the *Dionysiaca* have also been compared with the *Orphic Hymns*, most recently by Morand and Otlewska-Jung, who both consider lexical parallels with the hymns to Herakles-Helios Astrochiton (*Dion.* 40.369-410) and Selene (44.191-216), but note significant stylistic differences.¹⁶¹ Otlewska-Jung argues that, while Nonnus is engaging with hymnic conventions, and the Orphic tradition more broadly, he is also competing: the hymns spoken by Dionysos have precedence over those of Orpheus. Orphic myths are used in the *Dionysiaca*, and Orpheus himself appears, but briefly and allusively. Nonnus presents his poem as an alternative authority on the subject of Dionysos and upstages Orphic hymns in particular by implying that they are merely mortal reflections of the divinely composed, and effective, models contained in the *Dionysiaca*.¹⁶²

Proclus’ hymns are, again, different in style, being longer, intensely personal expressions of the author’s piety. Lexical correspondences and epithets shared with the *Orphic Hymns* are paralleled however by more exact phrasal echoes:

Procl. *Hy.* 1.38 ὄμμα Δίκης, ἥ πάντα δέδορκεν
 Procl. *Hy.* 4.1 σοφίης ἱερῆς οἴηκας ἔχοντες |
 Procl. *Hy.* 7.2 ἀλεξικάκοις τε προνοίαις |
 Procl. *Hy.* 7.12 | αἰθέρος ἐν γυάλοις

OH 62.1. || ὄμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος
OH 87.1 πάντων θνητῶν οἴηκα κρατύνεις
OH 25.10 ὁσίαισι προνοίαις
OH 19.16. | αἰθέρος ἐν γυάλοις

Van Liempt and Wilamowitz suggest that Proclus knew the *Orphic Hymns*, and van den Berg that he drew upon collections like the *Orphic Hymns* for the traditional modes of expression that occur in the hymns.¹⁶³ In Marinus’ *Life of Proclus* the philosopher is described singing the hymns of Orpheus with his students. If they began a hymn, he would complete it, particularly if the verses were Orphic.¹⁶⁴ Yet, as Lobeck points out, if Proclus knew the hymns, why is there not a single reference to them among his abundant quotations from Orphic poetry?¹⁶⁵ Lobeck dismisses

¹⁶⁰ Nonn. *Dion.* 33.109, *Paraph. S. Io.* 10.63, 11.166.

¹⁶¹ Braun 1915, Morand 2001: 83-6, Otlewska-Jung 2014.

¹⁶² Otlewska-Jung 2014: 95-6.

¹⁶³ Wilamowitz 1907: 272, van Liempt 1930: 27, van den Berg 2001: 12.

¹⁶⁴ Marinus *Vit. Proc.* 20 (*OF* 677 XI) Παρεκελεύετο οὖν ἡμῖν ἐκάστοτε ὕμνους λέγειν, καὶ λεγομένων τῶν ὕμνων, πᾶσα εἰρήνη τῶν παθῶν ἐγίγνετο καὶ ἀταραξία. Καὶ ὃ γ’ ἐτι τούτου παραδοξότερον, ὅτι καὶ μνήμην εἶχε τῶν λεγομένων, καίτοι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ἐπιλελησμένος, ἐπιβρισάσης αὐτῷ τῆς παρέσεως. Ἀρχομένων γὰρ ἡμῶν ὕμνῳ, ἐκεῖνος ἀνεπλήρου τούτους ὕμνους καὶ τῶν Ὀρφικῶν ἐπῶν τὰ πλεῖστα. καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα ἔστιν ὅτε παρόντες ἀνεγινώσκομεν.

¹⁶⁵ Lobeck 1829: 404 ‘Quid? quod ipse Proculus eiusque gregales, qui Orphicorum poematum copiis instructissimi assiduaque lectione penitus imbuti erant, nullum unum versiculum ex Hymnis protulerunt, quanquam ad sustinendam Theocrasiae causam et ad omnes allegoricas ineptias appositissimis’.

Gesner's argument that a *sanctum silentium* applied to the hymns: it clearly did not apply to the theogonies. Yet, if we accept Marinus' testimony, Proclus did know Orphic hymns, and given the lexical and phrasal affinities between his hymns and the extant collection, it is possible that he knew the hymns we possess. Menander Rhetor warns against presenting φυσικοὶ ὕμνοι that are 'riddling', such as those of the Pythagoreans, to the masses, and this is the only reason, I think, that can be given for Proclus' silence, and the complete absence of quotations from the *Orphic Hymns*, or Pythagorean hymns, in the ancient authors.¹⁶⁶

The familiarity with Orphic poetry, and in particular the *Hieroi Logoi in Twenty-four Rhapsodies*, that Nonnus shows through his use of Orphic myth, and Proclus in his quotations from the poem may account for many of the poetic phrases these authors share with the *Orphic Hymns*. The formula δολίαις ἀπάταις (*OH* 28.5, 71.4), which is echoed by Nonnus (*D.* 8.124 καὶ δολὴν Ἀπάτη), recurs in the Sinai fragments of the *Rhapsodies* that are discussed in the next section, as does a variant of the *syntagma* ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιώτην (*OH* 30.1, Sinai fr. fol. 2r.14), πυρίβρομος Εἰραφιώτης (*D.* 14.229). This lost Orphic theogony was widely read in late antiquity, and is the text most frequently cited in the polemical debate between Christian and Neoplatonist authors.¹⁶⁷ The number of phrasal parallels shared with the Sinai fragments by Gregory of Nazianzus and Quintus, as well as Nonnus, is noted by Rossetto, who suggests on this basis that the *Rhapsodies* may have been a source for these authors.¹⁶⁸ Dionysius Periegetes, who also uses the formula ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιώτην (*Dionys. Per.* 576), and Manetho also share phrases with the Sinai fragments. Gregory is the only extant parallel for the formula ὅσ' οὐρανὸς ἐντὸς ἔργει, which recurs exactly in *OF* 269.3 from the *Rhapsodies*, and, in an adapted form, in the hymn to Zeus of the present collection (*OH* 15.5 ὅπόσ' οὐρανὸς ἐντὸς ἔταξε). The poetic engagement of the *Orphic Hymns* with the *Rhapsodic Theogony* is discussed in the next section, but it may provisionally be suggested here that the number of parallel phrases that the hymns share with hexameter poets of the third to fifth centuries may be attributable, in part, to shared references to this lost poem.

4.2.4 Orphic poetry

The verse fragments of Orphic poetry, collected in Bernabé's *Poetae Epici Graeci*, together with the fourth century *Orphic Argonautica*, account for 10% of all phrases occurring in other authors, and 11% of the closest matches. The *Argonautica*, a poem of 1376 verses, accounts for roughly a third of these, and fragments attributed to the *Rhapsodic Theogony* for nearly half.¹⁶⁹ Formulae shared

¹⁶⁶ Men. Rhet. 337 ἐπιτηρεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸν πολὺν ὄχλον καὶ δῆμον ἐκφέρειν τοὺς τοιοῦτους ὕμνους· ἀπιθανώτεροι γὰρ καὶ καταγελαστικώτεροι τοῖς πολλοῖς φαίνονται. See further ch. 5.3.

¹⁶⁷ West 1983: 256, Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 32-5.

¹⁶⁸ Rossetto 2021: 42.

¹⁶⁹ I exclude the *Orphic Lithica*, which makes no claim to be Orphic: the attribution rests on its identification with the poem on stones listed in the *Suda* among the works of Orpheus (West 1983: 36).

with the *Rhapsodies* are an important phenomenon in the collection. Fewer than 250 extant verses are attributed to this poem by Bernabé, a total which has however been increased by the recent recovery of ninety verses (around half of which are, though lacunose, complete) among the palimpsests of St Catherine's monastery at Sinai.¹⁷⁰ The attribution of these fragments to the *Rhapsodies* awaits further confirmation, the *editio princeps* alone has appeared to date, but I find Rossetto's argument compelling. The subject matter, concerning the enthronement and events leading up to the death of Dionysos (which is not itself preserved), as well as the style of the poetry, which is extensively formulaic and 'archaising', support the conclusion that the source of the verses is the lost *Hieroi Logoi in Twenty-four Rhapsodies*. Fragment fol. 2r is headed by a majuscule Ψ, which appears to indicate that this forms the beginning of the twenty-third or penultimate rhapsody.¹⁷¹ This accords with the subject matter: the *sparagmos* of Dionysos occurred towards the end of the poem. It also suggests that the poem was a continuous narrative, since there is no individual proem to the book, arguing against the view advanced most recently by Meisner that the poem was a loose collection of separate *logoi*.¹⁷²

Several formulaic parallels with the *Rhapsodies* occur in the hymn to Protogonos: the description of the god 'rejoicing in golden wings' is, as stated, a combination of the Homeric phrase ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι (*Il.* 2.462) with one from the proem of the *Rhapsodies* which addresses Apollo-Helios 'lifted on golden wings' (*OF* 102.3 Ἡέλιε, χρυσέαισιν ἀειρόμενε πτεύγεσσιν). The *Rhapsodies*' similar description of Phanes, χρυσεῖαις πτερύγεσσι φορεύμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα (*OF* 136), is in turn adapted in the hymn to Notos, (*OH* 82.2 ὠκείαις πτερύγεσσι δονούμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα) using the Hesiodic phrase ὠκείης πτερύγεσσι (*Hes. Th.* 269). The primordial darkness that Phanes emerges into (*OH* 6.6 σκοτόεσσαν ἀπημαύρωσας ὁμίχλην) is described using a phrase that was likely applied in the *Rhapsodies* to the state of the cosmos before the first beings (*OF* 106 κατὰ σκοτόεσσαν ὁμίχλην). These references to the *Rhapsodies* are pointed, but oblique, transferred from one context to another. Similarly, the predications Πρωτόγον', Ἡρικεπαῖε (epithets that occur separately in the hymn to Protogonos, *OH* 6.1 and 4) are applied to Dionysos Trieterikos (*OH* 52.6), recalling the Orphic verse that describes Zeus swallowing Phanes, ὥς τότε πρωτογόνοιο χαδὼν μένος Ἡρικεπαίου (*OF* 241.1).

The Sinai fragments provide a number of parallel phrases. The collocation Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιῶτην (Sinai fr. fol. 2r.14) recurs in the hymn to Sabazios, and is itself a combination of Homeric formulae;¹⁷³ πολύννυμι Ἡρικεπαίῳ (Sinai fr. fol. 2v.18) is echoed by πολυόργιον, Ἡρικεπαῖον in the hymn to Protogonos (*OH* 6.4). A key point of reference for the *Orphic Hymns*

¹⁷⁰ Rossetto 2021.

¹⁷¹ *ibid.* 42.

¹⁷² Edmonds 2013: 149-159, Meisner 2018: 170-187, 282.

¹⁷³ *OH* 48.2-3 θς Βάκχον Διόνυσον, ἐρίβρομον, Εἰραφιῶτην | μηρῶι ἐγκατέραψας. The fragmentary Homeric hymn to Dionysos has Διώνυσ' εἰραφιῶτα (*HHy.* 1.20) and Διώνυσον ἐρίβρομον occurs in the same metrical position in *HHy.* 7.56, 26.1 (Διόνυσον) to the same god, as well as Panyasis (fr. 17.2 *PEG*). Ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιῶτην: Dionys. Per. 576.

appears to be the iconic description in the *Rhapsodies* of Dionysos enthroned and tempted by the Titans (γίγαντες here, v. 10) with gifts and toys at Hera's instigation (fol. 6v. 5-11):

ὥς δ' οὐ πείθον παῖδα Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφονείης 5
δώροις παντοίοις ὅποσα τρέφει εὐ[ρ]εῖα χθών
 οὐδ' ἀπάτης δολίησι παρα[ι]φασίησι τε μύθων
 ἐκ θρόνου ἀνστήναι βασιλῆιου αὐτίκ' ἄρ' οἳ γε
 κόσμησαν κεφαλὴν στεφάνοις ἀνθῶν ἐροέντω(ν)
παιδὸς Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος ἐριγδούποιο γίγαντες 10
 κύκλῳ δ' ἐστιχόωντο παραιφασίησι τε μύθων
 [μει]λιχίης καὶ πᾶσιν ἀθύρμασι νηπιάχοισι
]τ' ἀγανοῖσι παραιπείθεμεν μεμαῶτες

so they did not persuade the child of Zeus and Persephone
 with various gifts, whatever the broad earth nourishes,
 or with the deceitful allurements of guile and words,¹⁷⁴
 to rise from the royal throne; right away they
 adorned with garlands of lovely flowers the head
 of the child of Zeus the loud-thundering king, and the Giants
 marched in a circle and with the soothing allurements
 of words and with all the childish toys
 and gentle [gifts]¹⁷⁵ they strove to persuade...

There is a concentration of phrases here, underlined in text, that link this passage with the hymns to Dionysos, Hypnos, Meter Theon, Hermes, Melinoe and Rhea.¹⁷⁶ This cluster of formulae does not seem to be fortuitous. It is possible that the author of the hymns is deliberately employing phrases, in a variety of contexts within the collection, that hint at this passage of the *Rhapsodies*. Some are thematically consonant: the deception of Persephone (*OH* 71.4) is connected with that of her son, as is the parentage of Dionysos (*OH* 30.6). But phrases are also adapted to serve contrasting themes: 'deceitful tricks' are something Hermes delights in (*OH* 28.1); the various gifts of the Titans are reworked to become those bestowed by Meter Theon (*OH* 27.10), and Rhea is the mother of 'Zeus the King', where Dionysos in the *Rhapsodies* is his child (*OH* 14.4). The phrasal echoes of this passage in the *Orphic Hymns* appear to be another means of binding the pantheon

¹⁷⁴ Taking ἀπάτης as genitive, but here, and in [μει]λιχίης (v. 17), a dative plural seems to be intended. Cf. the parallels for this phrase in *OH* 28 and 74 discussed below.

¹⁷⁵ Δώροισιν is a likely supplement in v. 13. Cf. *Il.* 9.112-3 φραζώμεσθ' ὥς κέν μιν ἀρεσσάμενοι πεπίθωμεν | δώροισιν τ' ἀγανοῖσιν ἔπessί τε μελιχίοισι.

¹⁷⁶ Dionysos *OH* 30.6 Διὸς καὶ Περσεφονείης | ἀρρήτοις λέκτροισι τεκνωθείς (Sinai fol 6v.5 παῖδα Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφονείης); Hypnos 86.2 καὶ πάντων ζώων, ὅποσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών, Meter Theon 27.10 παντοίων ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς ὅτι δῶρα χαρίζη, v. 6 δώροις παντοίοις ὅποσα τρέφει εὐ[ρ]εῖα χθών; Hermes 28.5 γυμνάσιν δς χαίρεις δολίαις τ' ἀπάταις, Melinoe 71.4 ἦι ψευθεῖς Πλούτων ἐμίγη δολίαις ἀπάταις, v. 7 οὐδ' ἀπάτης δολίησι; Rhea 14.4 μήτηρ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος, v. 15 παιδὸς Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος.

through allusion to the Orphic theogony and to its presentation of the figure of Dionysos in particular.

The longest continuous passage from the *Rhapsodies* to survive is the *Hymn to Zeus*, a section of poetry in thirty-two verses that the hymns appear to engage with in a number of ways.¹⁷⁷ Specific phrases that recur in the hymns include:

OF 243.3 Ζεὺς ἄρσῃν γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος	OH 15.1 Ζεῦ πολυτίμητε, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε
OF 243.4 γαίης καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος	OH 13.6 Γαίης τε βλάστημα καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
OF 243.5 Ζεὺς βασιλεύς	OH P.3 Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ
OF 243.6 ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων	OH 23.4 ἀρχὴ ἀπάντων
OF 243.22 ἀπείριτον, ἀστυφέλικτον	OH 12.13 ἀπείριτος, ἀστυφέλικτος
OF 243.27 γαῖά τε παμμήτειρ'	OH 40.1 Δηώ, παμμήτειρα

The figure portrayed in this passage is essentially pantheist: Zeus, by swallowing Phanes, unites the entire cosmos in one being.¹⁷⁸ The description of the parts of the cosmos as the parts of the god's body make this clear, and OF 241, which preceded the *Hymn to Zeus* in *Rhapsodies*, emphasises that the gods themselves were, before Zeus re-emitted them, a part of this single entity:

πάντες τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοὶ καὶ θείαιαι,
 ὅσσα τ' ἔην γεγαῶτα καὶ ὕστερον ὀππὸς' ἔμελλεν,
 ἐν γένετο, Ζηνὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σύρρα πεφύκει.¹⁷⁹

and all the immortal, blessed gods and goddesses,
 all that had been born and would be thereafter,
 became one, and grew together in the belly of Zeus.

Πάντες and ἐν are in apposition here.¹⁸⁰ Like the enthronement of Dionysos, this key passage serves as a point of reference for the hymns, most explicitly in the hymn to Zeus himself, which alludes to the god's act of creation specifically in terms of the other divinities (OH 15.3 ὦ βασιλεῦ, διὰ σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφάνη τάδε θεῖα, 'O king, through your head all these divinities appeared'). Θεῖα here is deliberately ambiguous, eliding the distinction between the gods and the elements of the physical cosmos, just as the latter directly precede the former in OF 241. Like Dionysos, and more explicitly

¹⁷⁷ On the *Hymn to Zeus* (OF 243): West 1983: 239-41, Brisson 1990: 2889-92, 1997: 88-90, Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 187-92, Edmonds 2013: 169-171, Meisner 2018: 101-114. On the hymns' engagement with this passage, see chapters 2.1.3 (sequence) and 3.1.2 (phonic repetition), 3.1.3 (anaphora, etymology), 3.2 (antithesis), 3.2.1 (beginning and end), 3.2.4 (male and female), 3.3 (verse-level symmetry).

¹⁷⁸ Betegh 2004: 220-221, Mendoza 2011: 29-33, Meisner 2018: 109-110.

¹⁷⁹ OF 241.9-11.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. the *Smaller Krater*, OF 413.12 ἐν τάδε πάντα, after a catalogue of the allegorical associations of the gods that itself echoes the OH (e.g. v. 2 Νύμφαι ὕδωρ, πῦρ Ἥφαιστος, σίτος Δημήτηρ).

here, Zeus unites all the other gods. As in the enthronement scene, the concentration of phrasal echoes of this passage in the hymns points, as the internal formulae do also, to the unifying presence of Zeus in the collection. Phanes, Zeus and Dionysos: the significance of these three divinities in the *Rhapsodic Theogony* is critical, and Meisner has rightly argued that the view that the dismemberment of Dionysos was the central or culminating myth of the *Rhapsodies* is misplaced.¹⁸¹ The birth of Phanes, Zeus' act of creation, marked out by the *Hymn to Zeus*, and Dionysos' death and rebirth appear to have formed a triptych of iconic myths that punctuated the narrative, underlying the idea that the three gods are in some sense manifestations of the same divinity, as Brisson and Rudhardt have argued.¹⁸²

The hymns' engagement with the *Rhapsodies* is extensive; it is seen in the sequence of divinities, in specific allusions to the myths presented in the narrative poem, and in the abundance of shared poetic phrases. We cannot know the original length of the lost poem, but it is a matter of some certainty that such formulae would be multiplied considerably if the complete text were extant. The number of formulae appearing in the Sinai fragments confirms this (and may serve in turn to corroborate their attribution to the *Rhapsodies*). The degree of intertextual engagement with the *Rhapsodies* may provide evidence of direct reference to this text by the author of the hymns, particularly when considered in conjunction with the sequence of divinities in the first half of the collection. But once again, the issue of engagement with the broader tradition, in this case Orphic poetry, must be taken into account. That the *Rhapsodies* were the most widely read and cited Orphic text in the Imperial period, is certain.¹⁸³ But they were themselves a compendium and synthesis of earlier mythological poetry. I have suggested in chapter 2 that the theogonic sequence of the opening hymns looks to an earlier poem, and the theogonic fragments quoted by the Derveni author prove that whole verses or sections of poetry were incorporated into the *Rhapsodies*.¹⁸⁴ Bricolage is an essential feature, in fact, of the Orphic tradition, textually, in terms of the use of earlier poetic elements, as well as in terms of mythopoeia from a variety of sources.¹⁸⁵ This subject will be discussed further in the following chapter, but in terms of the formulae the hymns share with the fragments of the *Rhapsodies*, it must be stressed that, while they may be the

¹⁸¹ Meisner 2018: 278.

¹⁸² Parker 1995: 494-5, Brisson 1997: 78-92, Rudhardt 2008: 277-280 'D'une certaine façon, Phanes, Zeus et Dionysos sont contemporains. En Phanes, le divin est transcendant au monde qu'il éclaire et définit à l'extérieur de lui-même. En Zeus, le divin qui a porté le monde dans sa propre substance reste complice du monde, quand il l'a produit. En Dionysos, le divin pénètre les êtres auxquels il reste immanent. Toutefois, sous ces trois aspects, Phanes, Zeus et Dionysos sont un seul et même dieu'. Cf. the identification of Bromios and Zeus with Protogonos in *OF* 141.

¹⁸³ Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 32-3.

¹⁸⁴ In addition to the *Hymn to Zeus* itself, cf. for example the expansion of *OF* 241 from the *Rhapsodies* (quoted above) from *OF* 12 (P. Derv. col. XVI) describing Zeus swallowing the phallus of the Firstborn, to which the other gods clung: πρωτογόνου βασιλέως αιδόιου, τῷ δ' ἄρα πάντες ἄθάνατοι προσεφῶν μάκαρες θεοὶ καὶ θέιναι, καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ κρῆναι ἐπήρατοι τε πάντα, ἥσσα τότε ἦν γεγάωτ', αὐτὸς δ' ἄρα μῦθος ἔγεντο. With some adaptation and transposition the underlined phrases occurred in the *Rhapsodies* where Zeus swallows Phanes.

¹⁸⁵ Mythical bricolage in Orphic poetry: Burkert 2006 (*Kl. Schr.* III 2006: 95-111), Graf & Johnston 2007: 66-93, Edmonds 2013, Meisner 2018. On the concept of bricolage, Lévi-Strauss 1962: 26-47.

result of direct reference to that poem, they may also be drawn from earlier poetry that the *Rhapsodies* themselves have made reference to, or even incorporated.

The Orphic tradition was not limited to theogonic poetry. Ritual texts, of which the hymn collection itself is the prime surviving example, formed a significant part of it, and drew on the same stock of formulae. Orphic hymns existed from an early period, as the Derveni papyrus shows, and Pausanias maintains. The extant remains of these hymns, outside the collection under study here, are meagre. The isolated verses from hymns to Demeter quoted by the Derveni author and by Diodorus; the Demeter hymn summarised and quoted in the Berlin papyrus; a handful of verses from a *Hymn to Number*; and two hymns that may date to the last centuries BCE.¹⁸⁶ The first is addressed to the (unnamed) one god and shows traces of Jewish influence.¹⁸⁷ The second, quoted by Macrobius, is to the sun, identified with Zeus, Dionysos and Phanes. This hymn has already been discussed in terms of its etymological explanations of the names of Phanes and Dionysos, which parallel, in the first case, the derivation given in the *Orphic Hymns*.¹⁸⁸ The terminology used to describe the sun's motion here is similar,¹⁸⁹ and the verse Εὐβουλῆα τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἀρίδηλον (*OF* 540.4) provides a compelling parallel for both *OH* 6.9 (Protogonos) ἡδὲ Πρίηπον ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἐλίκωπον and 56.3 (Adonis) Εὐβουλεῦ, πολύμορφε, τροφεῦ πάντων ἀρίδηλε. Here too, however, there are signs of bricolage. The order of verses, as transmitted, appears to be out of sequence, and the hymn is quoted together with a ritual prescription for clothing a statue, giving the impression of a composite work. The hymnic portion may, whether all or in part, be drawn from an earlier poem, an Orphic hymn to Protogonos-Dionysos.¹⁹⁰

Two further points of contact with ritual texts within the Orphic tradition stand out. The first is the Gurôb papyrus, which contains among the prayers and *synthemata* spoken in a Dionysian ritual the phrase Κούρητές τ' {ε} ἔνοπλοι (cf. P.20, *OH* 31.1) as well as references to the enthronement of Dionysos.¹⁹¹ The second concerns the gold lamellae. Neither is explicitly Orphic. In the case of the Gurôb papyrus the subject matter leaves little room for doubt;¹⁹² the lamellae however have been the subject of intense debate on this count, since Comparetti connected the

¹⁸⁶ P. Derv.: *OF* 398 (and *OF* 687, possibly from a hymn to Hermes), Diodorus: *OF* 399, P. Berol. 44: *OF* 387-9, 392-3, 396-7, *Hymn to Number*: *OF* 698-705, hymn to the one god: *OF* 691 (and perhaps 690), hymn to Helios-Dionysos: *OF* 538-45. On the Demeter hymn, see above, section 4.2.1. On the surviving Orphic hymns (outside the collection), Brisson 1990: 2916-9, Herrero de Jáuregui 2015..

¹⁸⁷ *OF* 690-1, West 1983: 35-6, Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 190-5. On the cult of *Theos Hypsistos* and Judaism, see further Mitchell 2010: 185-9.

¹⁸⁸ See chapter 3.1.3. *OH* 539-40: West 1983: 253, Ricciardelli 2011: 249-53, Sfameni Gasparro 2011: 255-260. On solar henotheism, Fauth 1995 (on *OH* 8 to Helios, pp. 1-5). *OF* 540.3 is quoted in a variant form by Diodorus (1.11.2, *OF* 60 τούνεκά μιν καλέουσι Φάνητά τε καὶ Διόνυσον).

¹⁸⁹ Δίνης *OF* 539.1, δινεῖται 540.7, στροφάλιγγι... ἐλίσσων 539.2.

¹⁹⁰ *OF* 540.6-7 provides etymologies for the names given in v. 3 and may have followed it directly in an earlier version.

¹⁹¹ P. Gurôb (*OF* 578) col. 1.7, cf. also v. 22a Εὐβου]λεῦ Ἰρικεπαῖγε and *OH* 52.4 Εὐβουλεῦ, 6 Ἰρικεπαῖε. Enthronement: col. 1.29-30 (the top, bullroarer, knucklebones and mirror).

¹⁹² West 1983: 170-1, Tortorelli Ghidini 2006: 255-277, Graf & Johnston 2007: 150-5, Edmonds 2013: 357-8.

Petelia and Thurii tablets with the Orphic anthropogony.¹⁹³ I do not propose to enter this debate, beyond the observation that the poetic formulae that the lamellae share with the hymns do suggest shared references to the same poetic tradition. Phrases found here, in addition to ‘child of Earth and Sky’ (see section 4.1.2.2) include *χθονίων βασιλεια* (*OF* 488-91 v. 1), *πα(ρ)ὰ ἄγνῃ(ν) Φε(ρ) -σεφόνειαν* (*OF* 489.6, 490.6) and *αἰοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν* (*OF* 490.3) which, in the very late (c. 260 CE) lamella of Caecilia Secunda from Rome, describes the lamella itself. In *OH* 72.5 the phrase recurs as a predication of Tyche.

The *Orphic Argonautica*, dating to the fourth century CE, aligns itself with this tradition through the use of poetic formulae, a significant number of which are shared with the hymns.¹⁹⁴ The phrase *ἀμαιμάκετον βασιλειαν*, a predication of Hekate in *OH* 1.5, occurs here, describing the Argonauts (v. 515 *ἀμαιμάκετοι βασιλῆες*). The verse containing the names of the Erinyes (*OH* 69.2 *Τισιφόνη τε καὶ Ἀλληκτώ καὶ δῖα Μέγαιρα*) is reproduced exactly (v. 968). The hymn to the gods of the sea that Orpheus sings (v. 333 -352) in particular shows several points of contact with the *Orphic Hymns*.

<i>O.Arg.</i> 343 Δαίμονας εἰναλίου	P.32 Δαίμονας οὐρανίους
<i>O.Arg.</i> 335 Τηθύος ἔσχατον ὕδωρ	P.29 Στυγὸς ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ , 69.4 Στυγὸς ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
<i>O.Arg.</i> 336 (Nereus) πρέσβυστον ἀπάντων	<i>OH</i> 23.4 (Nereus) ἀρχὴ ἀπάντων
<i>O.Arg.</i> 336-7 Νηρέα... πεντήκοντα κόραις	<i>OH</i> 23.2 πεντήκοντα κόραισιν, 24.3 πεντήκοντα κόραι
<i>O.Arg.</i> 340 λαιψηρούς τ' ἀνέμους	<i>OH</i> 82.1 (Notos) Λαιψηρὸν πῆδημα
<i>O.Arg.</i> 346 μολεῖν ἐπιτάρροθον ὄρκω	<i>OH</i> 68.12 μόλε μυστιπόλοις ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεὶ

These parallels may be drawn from the *Rhapsodies*. The phrase *κατὰ σκοτόεσσαν ὁμίχλην* (v. 106, cf. *OH* 6.6), as discussed above, occurred there. The poet's knowledge of the themes at least of Orphic poetry is displayed in the catalogue of works Orpheus lays claim to in verses 7-46 (*OF* 1018 V). Here however the possibility that the hymns themselves are being referenced arises. The hymn to the sea gods appears to be modelled on a hymn by Orpheus at least, but the formulaic echoes, in particular those to the hymn of Nereus in verses 336 -337, suggest that it could be the extant collection that the author knows and makes reference to.¹⁹⁵

Orphic poetry, for all its variety of subject matter, forms a cohesive tradition insofar as elements of poetry, such as phrases and verses, were shared and reused, either directly in the process of bricolage or to signal participation in a tradition that is united by the claim to a single author. Formulaic

¹⁹³ Comparetti 1882. See in particular the detailed studies in Graf & Johnston 2007, Bernabé & Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008 and Edmonds 2011; further Calame 2008, Bremmer 2013, Torjussen 2014, Eisenfeld 2016 and the essays by Jiménez San Cristóbal, Caerols, Tortorelli Ghidini, Edmonds, Herrero de Jáuregui, Cabrera, Pérez Jiménez, Santamaría Álvarez and Betegh in Herrero de Jáuregui & Jiménez San Cristóbal 2011. Texts in Tortorelli Ghidini 2006, Graf & Johnston 2007, Edmonds 2011 and *OF* 474-496.

¹⁹⁴ Vian dates the poem to the first half of the 5th c. CE (1987: 45-7), Livrea to the second half of the 4th (2014: 55-8).

¹⁹⁵ Cf. also the symmetrical arrangement of names in v. 338 *Γλαυκὴν δ' ἰχθυόεσσαν, ἀπείριτον Ἀμφιτρίτην* and 352 *ἰθύντειρα Δίκη καὶ Ἐριννύες αἰνოდόται* (see chapter 3.3.2.1).

echoes may be employed to provide a system of cross-references, as is the case with the *Orphic Hymns*' allusions, both internally and with Orphic theogonic poetry, but they may also serve as a mark of shared authorship. A phrase employed by Orpheus in one context may be redeployed by the 'same' poet in another. In either case they speak to an audience that, like the poet that assumes the persona of Orpheus, is aware of other poems within the tradition and alive to the connections suggested. The tradition intersects deeply with the epic tradition of Homer and Hesiod. A number of formulae that the *Orphic Hymns* share with the *Rhapsodies* can be traced to Hesiod's *Theogony* in particular, and given the Orphic *Rhapsodies*' level of engagement with that author, it is likely that, had the *Rhapsodies* survived, the high degree of formulaic correspondence between the *Orphic Hymns* and Hesiod would prove to be mediated by the lost Orphic poem.

4.2.5 Hymns and oracles

Devotional hymns, such as those of Cleanthes and Isidorus, and oracles form another connected tradition that overlaps with the Orphic. Hymns and oracles can be viewed in one sense as travelling in opposite directions along the same channel of communication between humans and gods, and are in many cases connected by a formal, hieratic style that is conservative, formulaic and marked by prosodic elaborations such as phonic repetition and symmetry. These features, as discussed in the previous chapter, are also a mark of poetry in the Orphic tradition, both mythological and ritual. Insofar as Orphic poetry presents itself as revelatory, derived from the gods (and Apollo in particular), it is an analogue, in fact, of oracles. Oracles, according to the *Suda*, were also produced under Orpheus' name, but more particularly associated with that of Musaeus.¹⁹⁶ The connection of both devotional hymns and the Orphic tradition with oracular poetry is traceable in the concentration of formulae shared by the *Orphic Hymns* with oracles of the late Hellenistic period and first centuries of the Christian era. These are a heterogeneous group of texts, which include the extensive *Sibylline Oracles*, ranging in date from the first to seventh centuries CE,¹⁹⁷ the *Chaldean Oracles*, and the collections of oracles deriving, at least in part, from Didyma and Klaros, found in the sixth century *Theosophia*, a work that attempts to reconcile pagan revelation with Christianity, and in Eusebius' extracts from Porphyry's lost treatise *Philosophy from Oracles*, one that presented oracles as an answer to Christian revelation.¹⁹⁸ Additional texts include oracles preserved by

¹⁹⁶ Brisson 1990: 2915. *Suda*, s.v. Ὀρφεύς: ἔγραψε... χρησμούς, οἱ ἀναφέρονται εἰς Ὀνομάκριτον (OF 1018 IV).

¹⁹⁷ Bartlett 1985: 35-55, Buitenwerf 2003: 54-64, Collins 1984: 357-381, 2013: 6231-2. Edmonds (2013: 149-59) views the *Sibylline Oracles* as an analogue for the compositional bricolage of the *Rhapsodies*. See further Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 96-99 ('Fields of intersection').

¹⁹⁸ The *Theosophia* (also known as the *Tübingen Theosophy* after the location of the manuscript that preserves it) is divided into four books. The first contains a collection of oracles of the Greek gods, which is probably drawn, for the most part, from Porphyry's work (Beatrice 2001: xxvi, Busine 2005: 401). On the *Theosophia*: Beatrice 2001, Busine 2005: 396-418; Porphyry: O'Meara 1969, Busine 2005: 233-317, 335-356 (on the sources of Porphyry's oracles, 252-6), Johnson 2009 (texts in Smith 1993): 103-115; Klaros and Didyma: Nock 1928, Robert 1971, Fontenrose 1988, Busine 2005: 19-224, 2014, Graf 2007.

Herodotus, Pausanias, Eusebius (separately) and an oracle from the Roman Sibylline books quoted by Phlegon, which can be dated to 125 BCE.¹⁹⁹

The oracles of the *Theosophia* and Porphyry are, stylistically, and in terms of formulae, closest to the *Orphic Hymns* and together account for half of the oracular phrases collected. The dates of these texts cannot be fixed, but probably lie in the first three centuries.²⁰⁰ In subject matter they include ritual prescriptions for the creation and dedication of a statue, descriptions of the super-celestial fire or transcendent god, and the theurgic summoning of divinities, and Hekate in particular, that, in some cases, may connect with the *Chaldean Oracles* and theurgic practice.²⁰¹ Examples of phrasal correspondences that occur in the oracles of the Porphyry include ἡέρος ὑγροπόροιο (fr. 314, *OH* 82.1 ἡέρος ὑγροπόρευτον) and φύσεως δεσμά (fr. 342, *OH* 87.4); in the *Theosophia* there are parallels for the description of the Titans as ἀρχαὶ καὶ πηγαὶ πάντων (*OH* 37.4, 1.32.2 ἀρχὴ πηγὴ τε ζωῆς, of the θεὸς μέγας; 1.4.2 πάντων πηγῇ, πάντων δὲ καὶ ἀρχή, of the ἐπουρανίου πῦρ), and several for the motif of the ‘all-seeing eye’ of the sun (*OH* 8.1, 34.8), Dike (*OH* 62.1) or Zeus (*OH* 59.13).²⁰² Hymnic elements, including sequences of predications, occur in a number of oracles.²⁰³ Hekate’s description of herself (Porph. fr. 193) mirrors, in terms of its catalogue of epithets, phonic repetitions and chiasmus, *OH* 1, the hymns to Hekate-Selene of the magical papyri and the hymn to Hekate quoted by Hippolytus:

Ἕδ’ ἐγὼ εἰμι κόρη πολυφάσματος, οὐρανόφοιτος,
ταυρώπις, τρικάρηνος, ἀπηνῆς, χρυσοβέλεμνος,
Φοίβη ἀπειρολεχῆς, φαεσίμβροτος Εἰλείθυια
τριστοίχου φύσεως συνθήματα τρισσὰ φέρουσα·
αἰθέρι μὲν πυρόεσσιν ἐειδομένη εἰδώλοις²⁰⁴

And I am the maiden of many forms, sky-roaming,
bull-faced, three-headed, ungentle, gold-arrowed,
Phoibe unbedded, shine-for-mortals Eileithuia,
bearing the triple tokens of a threefold nature,

¹⁹⁹ On Phlegon’s Sibylline oracles, Parke 1988: 137-9, Hansen 1997: 126-139, Buitenwerf 2003: 102, Satterfield 2011.

²⁰⁰ Porphyry himself gives the *terminus ante* if the *Theosophia* oracles are attributed to his work. Three verses of an oracle in the *Theosophia* (1.2), cited also by Lactantius as Klarian (*Inst.* 1.7.1), are reproduced in an inscription dating to c. 200 CE from Oenoanda. See Robert 1971, Hall 1977, Freund 2006, Busine 2014: 207-8.

²⁰¹ Lewy’s argument for a theurgic context has been criticised however (Lewy [1956] 2011³: 3-65, Dodds 1961) and these texts are excluded from the editions of Des Places (1971) and Majercik (1989).

²⁰² *Theos.* 1.19.2 Ζηνὸς πανδερκέος ἄφθιτον ὄμμα, 1.20 Ζηνὸς βιοδώτορος ἀγλάαν ὄμμα, 1.21 ζωοδότου Διὸς ὄμμα, 1.39.2 ἄλκιμον ὄμμα.

²⁰³ The categories are entirely fused in the hymn addressed to the one god that the *Theosophy* introduces as an oracle from Porphyry’s treatise (*Theos.* 1.24 = Porph. fr. 325).

²⁰⁴ Porph. fr. 193.1-5. Phonic repetition: v. 1 -φάσματος, -φοιτος, v. 2, 4 τρι-, v. 5 ἐειδομένη εἰδώλοις; chiasmus v. 3; οὐρανόφοιτος v. 1, cf. οὐρεσιφοῖτιν *OH* 1.8, ἡεροφοῖτι 9.2 (Selene), νυκτερόφοιτε 36.6 (Artemis); ταυρώπις v. 2, ταυροπόλον *OH* 1.7, ταυρώπι *PGM* hy. 18.32; ἀπηνῆς v. 2, ἀμαιμάκετον *OH* 1.5; συνθήματα τρισσὰ φέρουσα v. 4, φέγγει τρισσῶι λαμπομένη *OH* 9.11-12.

seen in the aither in fiery phantoms

An oracle quoted by Eusebius from an unnamed source, which shares several phrases with the hymns, is similarly hymnic:

Ἡλιος, Ὡρος, Ὅσιρις, Ἄναξ, Διόνυσος, Ἀπόλλων,
ὥρων καὶ καιρῶν ταμίης, ἀνέμων τε καὶ δμβρων,
ἡοῦς καὶ νυκτὸς πολυαστέρου ἡνία νωμῶν,
ζαφλεγέων ἄστρων βασιλεὺς, ἡδ' ἀθάνατον πῦρ²⁰⁵

Helios, Horus, Osiris, Anax, Dionysos, Apollo,
master of hours and seasons, of winds and rains,
guiding the reins of dawn and starry night,
king of the flaming stars, immortal fire

The explicit syncretism and polyonymy of the first verse recalls the Derveni hymn to Ge-Demeter rather than the *Orphic Hymns*, but the symmetry of second verse, the etymological echo that connects Horus with ὥρων, and the short, asyndetic predication reinforce the connection suggested by the phrasal parallels with the extant Orphic collection. Rain and winds (v. 2) are similarly associated with Hera (*OH* 16.4 δμβρων μὲν μήτηρ, ἀνέμων τροφέ, and the third verse recalls the description of Helios as ‘on the right dawn’s father: night’s on the left’ (*OH* 8.4 δεξιῇ μὲν γενέτωρ ἡοῦς, εὐώνυμε νυκτός).²⁰⁶ The stylistic affinity between the hymns and this short text is notable. Eusebius tells us only that Apollo delivered this statement in response to a question about himself, connecting it with the theological oracles of the *Theosophia* that are introduced by a question on the nature of divinity, and that describe a transcendent divinity of whom all other gods are ‘small portions’.²⁰⁷ The *Orphic Hymns* do not come so close to the transcendentalism of these examples, or the *Chaldean Oracles*, but the Orphic hymn to the ‘greatest of gods’ (*OF* 691), whose throne is attended by angels and who guides the seasons (v. 9-13) and the solar henotheism of Eusebius’ oracle, which itself recalls the *Orphic Hymns* to Helios and Apollo, occupy an

²⁰⁵ Euseb. *Prep. Ev.* III.15 ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτός, εἴποι τις ἄν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἔφη που ἐν χρησμοῖς ἐρωτηθεὶς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὅστις εἶη. Ἡλιος, Ὡρος... The reading in Eusebius and John Lydus, who quotes the first three verses (*De Mens.* 2.5) is Διὸς υἱός, Ἀπόλλων, emended to Διόνυσος by Gaisford (Wolff 1856: 127). Cf. the Orphic hymn to Helios-Dionysos (*OF* 539, 540) and two further verses preserved by Macrobius (*Sat.* 1.18.17-18), *OF* 542 Ἡλιος, δὴ Διόνυσον ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέουσιν, and 543 εἰς Ζεὺς, εἰς Αἰδης, εἰς Ἡλιος, εἰς Διόνυσος. Βάκχιε is an alternative reading for Βράγχιε in *OH* 34.7 (Quandt 1955: 25*, Ricciardelli and Fayant *ad loc.*). On intersections between Dionysos and Apollo, see further Suárez de la Torre 2013: 58-81.

²⁰⁶ Cf. also ὥρων καὶ καιρῶν ταμίης v. 2, Helios *OH* 8.5 κρασιν ἔχων ὥρων, and Apollo 34.21 μίξας χειμῶνος θέρεός τ' ἴσον ἀμφοτέροισιν; ζαφλεγέων ἄστρων βασιλεὺς v. 4, Selene *OH* 9.10 ἀστράρχη; ἀθάνατον πῦρ v. 4, Hephaistos *OH* 66.1 ἀκάματον πῦρ.

²⁰⁷ *Theos.* 1.2 Ὅτι Θεοφίλου τινὸς τοῦνομα τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐρωτήσαμενος. ‘σὺ εἰ θεὸς ἢ ἄλλος;’, ἔχρησεν οὕτως...; 1.18 Ὅτι ἐρωτηθεὶς ὁ Ἀπόλλων, τί θεός, ἐξείπεν οὕτως...; 1.2.16 τοῦτο θεός· μικρὰ δὲ θεοῦ μερὶς ἄγγελοι ἡμεῖς.

intermediate position.²⁰⁸ In these oracles the language and style of devotional hymns, the accumulation of short, allusive predications marked by alliteration and symmetry, is reflected in the words of Apollo (or of Hekate) himself.

The stylistic conventions of this hymnic or hieratic tradition are most elaborately deployed in the hymns of the magical papyri. The close relationship between these texts and the *Orphic Hymns* has been recognised since their recovery in the nineteenth century. The first studies treated them simply as Orphic hymns, heavily corrupted in the course of their incorporation into the papyri.²⁰⁹ Dieterich and Nock suggested a common source rather, in the vanished stock of cult hymns composed in the first centuries CE.²¹⁰ The debate on the composition of the magical hymns has continued to evolve. The perception that they constitute a Greek element in a largely Egyptian magical practice has been challenged in recent decades by scholars who argue that both the Greek and Demotic texts were produced by members of the Egyptian priesthood in the context of temple libraries,²¹¹ a theory which is, in the case of the hymns specifically, supported by studies that emphasise the continuity between devotion and magic in ritual contexts.²¹² The hymns' most recent editor, Lubja Bortolani, accepts this view but shows that, at the same time, there is a notable lack of direct syncretism in the hymns: Greek divinities such as Apollo and Hekate are presented in their essentially Greek forms, in contrast to the largely Egyptian solar divinity. Only in the case of Hermes is there a significant overlap between a Greek and Egyptian god. The hymns are, in Bortolani's view, productions of a hellenised priestly caste for a Greek clientele, in contrast to the purely Egyptian demotic papyri, and characteristic of a cultural 'coexistence' between Greek and Egyptian in Roman Egypt, rather than cultural fusion.²¹³ This debate has important bearing on the nature of the hymns' relationship with the *Orphic Hymns*. In terms of style and language that relationship is, with significant variation among the magic hymns, a close one.²¹⁴ Lexical and formulaic parallels form an important part of Bortolani's study of the hymns to the solar and lunar divinities and to Apollo.²¹⁵ Among the many lexical parallels, Bortolani notes in particular epithets

²⁰⁸ The god of *OF* 691 is supreme, but remains connected with the physical world (v. 1 Αἰθέρος ἡδ' Αἰδου, πόντου γαίης τε τύραννε), like the god of the Orphic *Diatheke* (a version of which is included in the *Theosophia*). The god of *Theos*. 1.2 is emphatically above and beyond the physical realm.

²⁰⁹ Miller 1868: 437-458 'Hymnes Orphiques', Meineke 1870 'Drei von E. Miller edirte orphische Hymnen'. Abel (1885) included *PGM* hymns 4, 9, 11, 18, 21 and 23 in an appendix to his edition of the Orphica.

²¹⁰ Dieterich 1888: 774-8, Nock 1929: 222-4, comparing also the 'Clarian oracles in Porphyry'. See further Nilsson 1947: 131-2, 1974³ II: 696-8, Brashear 1995: 3420-22.

²¹¹ Ritner 1995: 3361-71, Frankfurter 1998: 228-233, Bortolani 2016: 10-12, 25, Petrovic 2015.

²¹² Graf 1991, 2003: 215-222, Furley 1995: 39-40, Gordon 2020: 41-44.

²¹³ Bortolani 2016: 389-92, 2019 (on Hermes-Thoth).

²¹⁴ More detailed discussions of the stylistic affinity between these texts include Miller 1868 (*PGM* hy. 4, 18, 21), Kuster 1911 (*PGM* hymns 4, 17, 22), Koops 1932: 91-3, Morand 2001: 86-8 (who also stresses the differences regarding usage and ritual context), Bortolani 2016: 351-4.

²¹⁵ The most complete edition of the hymns remains the appendix to the second volume of Preisendanz's edition of the papyri (1974: 237-266). This is problematic, as the texts are in some cases heavily restored and verses from a single sequence in the papyri are in some cases assigned to a number of hymns (e.g. *PGM* hy. 10, 13, 14). Heitsch's edition (1961) is selective however, as are the collections in Merkelbach & Totti (1990-1991) and Bortolani (2016). In order to

associated with the same or a similar divinity in both texts, such as αὐτοφυής, ἀκάμας, φερέσβιε and δέσποτα κόσμου of the solar divinity in the magical hymns and *OH* 8 and 12 to Helios and Herakles.²¹⁶ Hekate (closely assimilated with Selene, Artemis and Persephone in the papyri) is similarly οὐρανία, χθονία, φιλήρημε and κλειδοῦχε,²¹⁷ and an extensive number of epithets in the magical hymns are paralleled in the *Orphic Hymns* to Selene, Artemis, Physis, Aphrodite and the Erinyes. Formulae consisting of longer phrases are numerous: thirty-four are collected in appendix 4.1, or 4.4%, of all parallels, including 6.1% of the closest matches. Examples include:

<i>PGM</i> hy. 1.6 (Sun) πάντα κρατύνεις	<i>OH</i> 3.11 (Nyx) Ἀνάγκη πάντα κρατύνει
<i>PGM</i> hy. 4.10, 26 (Sun) δέσποτα κόσμου	<i>OH</i> 8.16 (Helios), 10.26 δέσποτα κόσμου
<i>PGM</i> hy. 5.18 (Sun) Δι[ὸς] ὄμμα τέ[λειον]	<i>OH</i> 59.13 (Moirai) Διὸς ὄμμα τέλειον
<i>PGM</i> hy. 5.25 μέσον κόσμον ἐλ[αύνων]	<i>OH</i> 19.1 (Keraunos) πυραυγέα κόσμον ἐλαύνων
<i>PGM</i> hy. 18.3 (Hekate) νυκτὸς ἄγαλμα	<i>OH</i> 9.9 (Selene) νυκτὸς ἄγαλμα
<i>PGM</i> hy. 18.38 δεσμούς ἀρρήκτους...Κρόνοιο	<i>OH</i> 13.4 (Kronos) δεσμούς ἀρρήκτους

These are, moreover, concentrated in a small number of the magical hymns: in particular hymns 4 (to the solar divinity), 18 and 20 (to Hekate-Selene). Twenty of the thirty-four phrasal parallels in the magical hymns occur in these three texts. Direct references cannot be shown, but in certain cases, the parallel is specific and close enough to suggest, at least, common reference to the same source. The solar divinity is asked to send a daimon when he goes beneath the earth ‘in the midnight hours’ (*PGM* hy. 4.12 μεσάταισι ἐν ὥραις); the prayer of the hymn to Athena asks the goddess to hear ‘day and night, in the uttermost hours’ (*OH* 32.14 νεάταισιν ἐν ὥραις). The first two verses of *PGM* hy. 22 (to Aphrodite) show a significant number of correspondences with the hymn to Physis (*OH* 10) in particular:

Ἄφρογενὲς Κυθέρεια, θεῶν γενέτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
αἰθερία, χθονία, Φύσι παμμήτωρ, ἀδάμαστε

OH P.11 | ἄφρογενὲς τε θεά
OH 3.1 θεῶν γενέτειραν αἰέσομαι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
OH 10.14 | αἰθερία, χθονία
OH 10.1 || Ὡ Φύσι, παμμήτειρα θεά
OH 10.3 | πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε

cite texts that are not in the later editions I have used numeric references here to Preisendanz’s thirty hymns, rather than the papyri themselves. For the fifteen hymns edited by Bortolani that is the text I have used.

²¹⁶ Bortolani 2016: 351: αὐτοφυής *PGM* hy. 8.16, *OH* 8.3, 12.9; ἀκάμας *PGM* hy. 11.17, *OH* 8.3, 12.9; φερέσβιε *PGM* hy. 11.27, *OH* 8.12; δέσποτα κόσμου *PGM* hy. 4.10, 26, *OH* 8.16.

²¹⁷ Οὐρανία, *PGM* hy. 20.32, 35, *OH* 1.2; χθονία *PGM* hy. 20.25, *OH* 1.2; φιλήρημε *PGM* hy. 18.16, *OH* 1.4; κλειδοῦχε *PGM* hy. 25.4, *OH* 1.7.

Bortolani argues that the vocabulary of the *Orphic Hymns* may have infiltrated the magical hymns through a group of hymns associated with female divinities, and this study tends to support that conclusion.²¹⁸ More than half of the formulae that the *PGM* hymns share with the *Orphic Hymns* occur in the six hymns to Hekate-Selene (*PGM* hy. 17-21 and 25, to Hekate and other chthonic divinities). It is also notable that a significant majority of formulae identified in the *PGM* hymns have parallels in the *Orphic Hymns* to female gods such as Nyx, Hekate, Selene, Physis, Athena, Artemis, the Moirai and the Eumenides. The implication here is that devotional hymns, like the *OH*, have served as sources of poetic expressions in the *PGM* hymns to Hekate to a greater extent than they have in the hymns to the solar divinity. This in turn supports Bortolani's conclusion that the lunar divinity of the magical hymns shows fewer Egyptian features than her solar counterpart.

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Formulae are not however the only point of contact here: the magical hymns' sequences of epithets, invocatory terms, sound effects and symmetry have already been noted.²²⁰ Stylistically, hymns 4 (to the solar god), 11 (to Apollo), 13 (to Daphne), 15/16 (to Hermes), 18, 20 and 21 (to Hekate), 22 (to Aphrodite) and 24 (to all the gods) come closest to the *Orphic Hymns* in their invocatory accumulations of epithets.²²¹ But the magical hymns are a diverse collection of texts: the predication sequences that recall the *Orphic Hymns* are interwoven with adjurations, *voces magicae*, references to ritual and even threats (as, for example, in hymn 17). As hymns they are thoroughly adapted to the magical praxis of the papyri, forming in each case (with the exception of hymn 17) one part of a specific spell or operation. That said, in their sequences of predications, style and poetic language, they are the closest extant poetry to the *Orphic Hymns*, drawing on the same branch of the Greek hymnic tradition. The remains of cultic and devotional hymn from the first centuries BCE and CE are scant, but sufficient to show that it depended heavily on the asyndetic accumulation of epithets and short descriptions, and shared the formulae of invocation, predication and prayer that we find in the Orphic and magical hymns. Elements of this type of hymn can be traced in inscriptions of the period, such as Isidorus' hymns, as well as in oracles.²²² The two hymns reserved by Hippolytus, which also share formulae with the *Orphic Hymns*, are intact examples, and echoes or imitations of the style are found in authors such as Ovid and Seneca, and in the Greek and Latin Anthologies.²²³

²¹⁸ Bortolani 2016: 353-4.

²¹⁹ *ibid.* 389.

²²⁰ Ch. 2.2.1, 3.1, 3.2.

²²¹ In particular *PGM* 4.1-9, 11.13-20 (Nilsson 1974³: II 697), 13.1-8, 15/16, 18, 20.28-36, 21.1-9, 22.1-10, 24.

²²² Inscriptions: Kaibel 1025-32, Heliodoros of Susa's hymn to Apollo (*SEG* VII 14, Canali De Rossi 2014 no. 221).

²²³ Hymns to Asklepios and Hekate: Hippol. *Ref.* 4.32.3, 35.5 (Heitsch 53, 54); Ovid *Met.* 4.11.32 (hymn to Bacchus), Seneca *Herc. Fur.* 1066-81 (hymn to Somnus), Petronius *Sat.* 133 (hymn to Priapus); *AG* 1.19-31 (Christian hymns), 5.135, 6.248, 9.229, 246 ('hymns' to wine jars, see Norden 1923²: 147-8); *PLM* 8 (Precatio Terrae), 9 (Precatio omnium herbarum), 23 (Claudii ad Lunam), 24 (Votum ad Oceanum). See further ch. 5.1.

4.2.6 Prose Authors

The last group of phrasal parallels to be discussed are those occurring in prose authors, which cannot strictly be considered poetic formulae, but may reflect references to, or resonances of the poetic traditions outlined above. These constitute six percent of the phrases occurring in other authors, and the majority are secondary, given the absence of verse metres (although the rhythms of these may of course be present in prose). The poetic origin of a phrase is however, in some cases, explicit. Firmicius Maternus quotes the phrase δίκερος δίμορφε (*OH* 30.3 δίκηρωτα, δίμορπον) from a hymn to Dionysos,²²⁴ and Plato ascribes the description of Zeus as ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων to a παλαιὸς λόγος, which is most likely an early version of the Orphic *Hymn to Zeus*.²²⁵ In other instances the phrase is not an explicit quotation or paraphrase, but there is a likely poetic antecedent. The list of Zeus' epithets in the *De Mundo*, which echoes *OH* 15.9, must derive from the hymnic tradition,²²⁶ as may Aelius Aristides and Diogenes of Babylon's references to Dionysos and Zeus respectively as both ἄρρην and θῆλυς.²²⁷ Demosthenes' expression χαίρει τῇ εἰρήνῃ, or Plato's phrases μνήμη ἐπεγείρειν and μελέτη θανάτου (both of which are potentially dactylic) may also be echoes of poetry; Aesop's ἐν σοὶ γάρ, part of an oracular response by Apollo, almost certainly is.²²⁸ Himerius' use of the phrase Δίκης ὄμμα can be traced back to Sophocles, and Josephus' description of the 'flashing gleam' (σέλας ἀπαστράπτουσα) of rue root, echoed in the hymn to Zeus Astrapaïos (*OH* 20.3 ἀστράπτοντα σέλας), looks to Aeschylus' description of Typhon 'flashing a hideous gleam from his eyes' (in defiance of Zeus). Constantine's *Speech to the Assembly of Saints*, preserved by Eusebius, contains an apostrophe to Physis, σὺ δ', ὦ παμμήτειρα φύσις, that closely echoes the opening verse of *OH* 10 to the same divinity, an expression found otherwise in the *PGM* hymn to Aphrodite and in Gregory of Nazianzus. If the

²²⁴ Firm. Mat. *De err. prof. rel.* 21.2 (*PL* 12.1030) 'invenimus enim ita dici: αἰαὶ δίκερος δίμορφε'. Αἰαὶ is Dieterich's reading of ΕΑΙΑΙΚΕΡΩΣ ΛΙΜΟΡΦΕ in the MS (1910²: 215).

²²⁵ Pl. *Leg.* 715e (*OF* 31 III) ὁ μὲν δὲ θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων. The Scholiast (317 Greene) identifies the παλαιὸς λόγος as Orphic. Cf. *OF* 31.1-2 Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀργικέραυνος | Ζεὺς κεφαλὴ, Ζεὺς μέσσα, *OF* 688a.1 [Ζεὺς] πάντων ἀρχή, Ζεὺς [μέσσα, Ζεὺς δὲ τε]λευτή.

²²⁶ [Arist.] *De mundo* 7 (401a) ἀστραπαῖός τε καὶ βρονταῖός καὶ αἰθήριος καὶ αἰθέριος κεραύνιος τε καὶ ὑέτιος... καλεῖται. Quandt (1953) identifies this as a source text of the *OH*, providing a *terminus post quem* for the hymns at the beginning of the second century CE. Thom (2014: 4) argues for an earlier date for the *De Mundo*, around the beginning of the Christian era or earlier, but more importantly the *De Mundo* is itself drawing upon hymnic sources here (as the phrase ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι suggests), and it is more likely that these epithets in the *OH* also derive from earlier hymns than from this treatise. It is notable that the epithets of Zeus that are catalogued here immediately precede the quotation of the shorter version of the Orphic *Hymn to Zeus* (*OF* 31). On the hymnic register of the *De Mundo*, Chandler 2014: 78-82, who notes also the parallel with *OH* 29.10 καρποῖσι βρύουσα in c. 3 (392b) φυτοῖς βρύουσα.

²²⁷ Aristid. *Dionysos* (*Or.* 41 Keil) 4 ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ ἄρρην τε καὶ θῆλυς ὁ θεός; Diog. Bab. fr. 33 *SVF* III (Philodem. *De piet.* 15) Ζεὺς ἄρρην Ζεὺς θῆλυς (*OH* 9.4 Selene θῆλύς τε καὶ ἄρσην, 32.10 Athena ἄρσην μὲν καὶ θῆλυς, 42.4 Μῆτις ἄρσενά καὶ θῆλυν, and *OF* 31.4 = 243.3 Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἐπλετο νόμῳ). On the male-female antithesis, see chapter 3.2.4.

²²⁸ Dem. *De Fals. Leg.* 96, *OH* 40.4 (Demeter) εἰρήνην χαίρουσα, 63.9 (Dikaïosyne) εἰρήνην χαίρουσα; Pl. *Leg.* 657d, *OH* 77.9 (Mnemosyne) μνήμην ἐπέγειρε; Pl. *Phd.* 81a, *OH* 85.7 (Hypnos) θανάτου μελέτην; Aesop *Fab.* 36.1, cf. Soph. *OT* 314 (Oedipus to Tiresias) ἐν σοὶ γάρ ἐσμεν.

reference here is not to the *Orphic Hymns* themselves, then there is a common poetic source.²²⁹ These expressions that refer to the gods are, with a greater or lesser degree of probability in each case, likely echoes of hymnic poetry.

The second connected group of formulae in prose authors appears to have its roots in the Presocratic philosophers. The expression ἀρχὴ πάντων, attributed to Thales (of water) and Pythagoras (of the monad) by Diogenes Laertius, appears in the hymns as a predication of Nereus (OH 23.4).²³⁰ Heraclitus provides the earliest example of the phrase κάματος ἀνάπαισιν ‘weariness’ respite’ (OH 81.2 Zephyros, καμάτου ἀνάπαισιν ἔχουσαι), which recurs in the *Sententiae* of Secundus as a predication of sleep. The hymn to Hypnos has the variant κόπων ἡδεῖαν ἔχων ἀνάπαισιν (OH 85.5), a phrase Basil uses to describe the Psalms.²³¹ OH 63.6 to Dikaio syne echoes the Pythagorean *Akousma* ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν,²³² and two phrases that occur in the hymn to Thanatos (OH 87.3-4) may also derive from a Pythagorean source:

σὸς γὰρ ὕπνος ψυχῆς θραύει καὶ σώματος ὀλκόν,
 ἥνικ’ ἂν ἐκλύης φύσεως κεκρατημένα δεσμά

your sleep snaps the bond between body and soul,
 whenever you loosen the powerful shackles of nature

Ψυχῆς ὀλκόν is found in Plato; σώματος ὀλκή is in Philo and Ps-Galen; variants of φύσεως δεσμά in the Oxyrhynchus fragment of Antiphon the Sophist, a contemporary of Socrates (‘the advantages laid down by the laws are chains upon nature’), as well as Philo, Iamblichus and Porphyry, and an oracle of Hekate quoted by Porphyry.²³³ Philo, who provides parallels for both these expressions, in an important point of contact, as Baudnik, who explores other parallels with this writer, argues, viewing the neo-Pythagorean, Platonist and Stoic eclecticism of Philo as mirroring the philosophical tenor of the hymns.²³⁴ The phrase ἐξ ἰσότητος, ‘impartially’, found in the hymns to Dike and Dikaio syne (OH 62.5, 63.2) recurs only in Philo and Paul’s second letter to the Corinthians. These phrasal parallels with Philo are concentrated in the ‘justice hymns’ and the hymn to Thanatos, and in fact the number of correspondences with philosophers in hymns 61-64

²²⁹ Himer. *Or.* 38.72 ὦ Δίκης ὄμμα καὶ Θέμιδος, OH 62.1 (Dike) Ὅμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος, 69.15 (Erinyes) ὄμμα Δίκης ἐφορᾶτε, Soph. fr.12 (*Aias Locrus*) τὸ χρύσειον δὲ τᾶς Δίκας δέδορκεν | ὄμμα; Joseph. *BJ* 7.181, Aesch. *PV* 356 ἐξ ὀμμάτων δ’ ἤστραπτε γοργωπὸν σέλας, OH 70.6 (Eumenides) ἀπαστράπτουσαι ἀπ’ ὄσσων looks to the same source. Euseb. *Const. Imp. orat. ad coetum sanct.* 1.2, Greg. Naz. *Carm. mor.* 2.533 (PG 37.620.11), PGM hy. 22.2.

²³⁰ Diog. Laert. 1.27 (Thales) Ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν πάντων ὕδωρ ὑπεστήσατο], 8.25 (Pythagoras) ἀρχὴν μὲν τῶν πάντων μονάδα.

²³¹ Heraclitus B 111 DK, Secundus *Sent.* 19 καμάτων ἀνάπαισις, Basil. *Hom. Psalm.* (PG 29.212) ἀνάπαισις κόπων ἡμερινῶν. Cf OH 3.6 (Nyx) πόνων ἀνάπαισιν ἔχουσα.

²³² Pyth. C 6 DK (I 465.22, 25) ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν, OH 63.2-4 θραύεις γὰρ ἅπαντας, | ὅσοι μὴ τὸ σὸν ἦλθον ὑπὸ ζυγόν, ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ | πλάστιγξί βριαραῖσι παρεγκλίναντες ἀπλήστως.

²³³ Pl. *Resp.* 7.521d, Philo *de Spec. Leg.* 4.114, Ps.-Gal. *Def. Med.* 19.375.14; Antiphon B 44 DK, Philo *de Spec. Leg.* 1.137, Iamb. *Myst.* 5.18.29, Porph. *ad Marc.* 33.4, Porph. fr. 342.

²³⁴ Baudnik 1905: 14-20. See also Torallas Tovar 2011 on parallels between Philo’s dream theory and OH 86 to Oneiros.

and 85-87 is notable. Parallels with ‘Secundus the Silent’ are similarly concentrated: the four noted in this study occur only in the hymns to Hypnos and Thanatos (*OH* 85.5-7 and 87.4-5).²³⁵ The anonymous *Vita Secundi* describes him as a Pythagorean philosopher who had taken a vow of silence, and claims that the *Sententiae* attributed to him were written responses to twenty questions submitted by Hadrian. These are a collection of short catalogues of chiefly two-word predications, each an independent proposition, on topics such as ‘What is the cosmos?’, ‘What is ocean?’, ‘What is god?’ (*Sent.* 1-3), which appear to be modelled on Cleanthes’ short iambic poem on ‘the Good’.²³⁶ The allusive phrases of the *Sententiae* recall the short predications of the hymns, and have a similar abundance of *hapax legomena*, but close phrasal echoes occur only in the last two, ‘What is sleep?’ (καμάτων ἀνάπαυσις, καθημερινή μελέτη) and ‘What is death?’ (αἰώνιος ὕπνος, ἀνάλυσις σώματος), which mirror the position of the hymns to Sleep and Death in the *Orphic Hymns*.

Several Stoic philosophers, in addition to Cleanthes, share phrases with the hymns. Diogenes of Babylon has already been mentioned; Chrysippus provides a parallel for the expression χρόνου πάτερ (*OH* 8.13, 12.3), and κατ’ ἀπείρονα κόσμον (*OH* 11.20, 13.4), a formula that is found also in the *Sibylline Oracles*, *Orphic Argonautica* and Proclus.²³⁷ Posidonius gives a notable parallel for an expression found, again, in the hymn to Thanatos, ‘for in you alone the judgement of all is fulfilled’ (*OH* 87.8 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ μούνω πάντων τὸ κριθὲν τελεοῦται).²³⁸ The passage here is from Diodorus, and it is not clear whether the expression itself belongs to Posidonius or Diodorus; it occurs however in a similar form in Polybius, whose history Posidonius continued. If the phrase preserved in Diodorus belongs to Posidonius, we may have an example here of direct reference to an author, by the composer of the 87th hymn at least. Diodorus is, however, the source of two further phrasal echoes, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις εὐδόξϊαν (*OH* 33.9 Nike ἐπ’ εὐδόξοις ἔργοις) and τροφὰς παρέχεσθαι προσηνεῖς.²³⁹ The latter, as discussed above (section 4.1.4) recalls the hymn to Meter Theon (*OH* 27.6 θνητοῖσι τροφὰς παρέχουσα προσηνεῖς) as well as *OH* 16.3 (ψυχοτρόφους αὔρας θνητοῖς παρέχουσα προσηνεῖς), which adapts the formula to the ‘soul-feeding’ breezes and Hera. In Diodorus this is part of an explanation of why the Egyptians avoid eating meat: sheep, in this case, provide wool and, in milk and cheese ‘food that is soothing and plentiful’. The dactylic rhythm of the phrase argues for a poetic reference here, and, as I have suggested, a potential source is the Orphic poem that Diodorus quotes a single verse from in the same book, Γῆ μήτηρ πάντων, Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα. West attributes this to a theogony, Bernabé to an Orphic hymn.²⁴⁰ The

²³⁵ Perry 1964. The parallels are discussed by Baudnik (1905: 17).

²³⁶ Cleanthes *SVF* I 557, *CA* p. 277, v. 1: Τᾶγαθὸν ἔρωταῖς μ’ οἶον ἔστ’; ἄκουε δὴ. Cleanthes’ catalogue is however, metrical and formed of individual adjectives.

²³⁷ Chrysipp. fr. 512 *SVF* πατὴρ δὲ χρόνου κόσμος; Chrysipp. fr. 609 *SVF*, *O.Sib.* 2.194, *O.Arg.* 758, *Procl. Hy.* 2.8.

²³⁸ Posidonius fr. 136c Theiler πᾶν τὸ κριθὲν ἐπιτελεῖν (= *Diod. Sic.* 34/35.2.28), *Polyb.* 16.31.4 τὸ κριθὲν ἐπιτελεῖν. Cf. *OH* 10.24 (Physis) μόνη τὸ κριθὲν τελέουσα.

²³⁹ *Diod. Sic.* 31.3.3, 1.87.2.

²⁴⁰ *Diod. Sic.* 1.12.4 (*OF* 399 I) τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν ὀνομάζεσθαι γῆν μητέρα, καθάπερ καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα προσμαρτυρεῖν λέγοντα Γῆ μήτηρ πάντων, Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα. Cf. *P. Derv. col. XXII 7 (OF 398)* Δήμητερ [᾿Ρ]έα Γῆ Μητερ. West 1983: 268, Bernabé *OF* 399 *ad loc.*

hymn to Demeter may draw on the same source (*OH* 40.1-3 Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά... πλουτοδότειρα), as may Isidorus (1.1-3 Πλουτοδότι βασιλεια θεῶν... Δημοί) who, as discussed, provides a further formulaic parallel to *OH* 40 that extends over two verses.

I have treated the parallels in prose authors in some detail as they reveal, I think, how deeply ingrained the formulae of the poetic tradition were in Greek literary authors. Such echoes may be simple references to familiar expressions, but they may also, as is particularly the case in the philosophical writers, serve as thematic signposts for the reader. The language of hymns is a frequent point of reference for authors discussing the nature of the gods; while that of the Presocratic philosophers seems to inform writers such as Plato, the Stoics and Philo. Parmenides and Empedocles bridge these traditions and, as the study of antithesis in the previous chapter suggests, early prose writers such as Heraclitus also engaged with the traditional poetics of hymnody. Only one phrasal parallel between the *Carmen Aureum* and the *Orphic Hymns* can be traced,²⁴¹ but Pythagorean poetic texts may also have contributed to the stock of phrases encountered in both the hymns and writers such as Philo and Secundus. In sum, theological poetry, whether hymnic or philosophical, appears to underpin the phrases that occur in the majority of these authors.

4.3 Conclusion

The formulae and phrasal parallels collected and discussed in this chapter suggest that the *Orphic Hymns* engage, poetically, with several overlapping poetic traditions. The first and most fundamental is the epic oral tradition, of which Homer is naturally the chief source, providing a stock of formulae that inform and unite Greek hexameter poetry of all periods. Lyric poetry and drama draw also on this stock, although poets such as Pindar, the tragedians and Aristophanes appear to have exerted a considerable influence in their own right. The hymns also engage deeply however with another connected tradition that forms a specific area within orally derived poetry, one that takes the gods for its subject matter: on the one hand theogonic poetry, as is evidenced by the abundant parallels with Hesiod's *Theogony*, and on the other, hymns. The extant remains of hexameter hymns are slight. If the narrative *Homeric Hymns* (*HHy.* 1-5) and the hymns of Callimachus are excluded, the texts that are included in this study amount to little over 1600 verses, yet they account for 11% of formulaic parallels and 14% of the closest matches.²⁴² The *Orphic Hymns* draw extensively on the conventional phraseology of Greek hymns, and non-narrative hexameter hymns in particular. Divine epithets as well as invocatory and precatory formulae are

²⁴¹ *Carm. aur.* 48 | παγὸν ἀενάου φύσεως, *OH* 26.9 (Ge) [περὶ ἡν κόσμος] | εἰλεῖται Φύσει ἀενάωι.

²⁴² Orphic hymns, including the *Hymn to Zeus* (*OF* 243, 398-399, 539-40, 688a, 690-1, 698, 700), Cleanthes, Isidorus, Proclus, *PGM* hymns, Hippolytus' hymns to Hekate and Asklepios, inscriptions (Kaibel, Merkelbach-Totti) and papyri (*SH*). A further 348 verses of hexameter hymns, many fragmentary, are included in Perale's *Adespota Papyracea Hexametra Graeca* (texts 17-32).

widely shared, as markers of an elevated hieratic style appropriate to poetry performed in a sacred context. Oracular poetry overlaps with hymns in this sense, and in the case of the theosophical oracles collected by Porphyry, a degree of thematic consonance with the *Orphic Hymns* further reinforces the number of shared formulae. The language of hymns may also be indirectly evident in many of the phrases shared with other authors, such as, for example, the predication applied to the celestial bodies by astrological poets like Doritheus, Maximus and Manetho, or the poetic echoes we find in prose authors, particularly in discussions on the nature of divinity. Hexameter hymns are a key poetic context for the *Orphic Hymns*, and the extant texts show that there was considerable diversity in their approaches to defining, describing and praising their subjects. The close stylistic relationship between the *Orphic Hymns* and the hymns of the magical papyri in particular shows that hymns constructed of short sequences of epithets formed a sub-category that is likely to have been widespread in the Hellenistic and early Imperial periods, but which, being associated chiefly with cult worship and private devotion was, to some extent, non-literary. The poets whose works survive in the manuscript tradition did not compose this type of hymn. With the exception of Cleanthes and Proclus (and the *Orphic Hymns*) the evidence for this type of composition is limited to echoes or imitations in literary works and survivals in contemporary inscriptions and papyri.

Theogonic or theological poetry is another important source of poetic phrases. Correspondences with Presocratic philosophers such as Parmenides, Heraclitus and Empedocles, and formulae that mark or suggest a connection with Pythagorean poetry, speak to these authors' engagement with the tradition that describes a cosmic reality in terms of the creation or current dispensation of the divine realm. Orphic theogonic poetry lies within this tradition, drawing on the same poetic and conceptual sources as the Presocratics. The relationship between theogonic or mythological poetry and hymns is particularly close.²⁴³ Orphic poetry and the *Rhapsodies* are, as this study of formulaic correspondences shows, a critical context and intertext respectively for the *Orphic Hymns*. As with devotional hexameter hymns, we are presented here with the problem of a fragmentary, largely absent source; but the number of phrases that the *Orphic Hymns* share with the portions of the *Rhapsodies* that survive suggest a deep connection between the two works. As with cult hymns, the influence of this poem may also be traced indirectly. Many of the phrases the *Orphic Hymns* share with Hesiod's *Theogony* may have recurred in the Orphic poem, which engaged extensively with the earlier theogonic narrative. I have argued, moreover, that the *Rhapsodies* may underlie a number of the correspondences between the *Orphic Hymns* and hexameter poets of the second to fifth centuries CE. The currency of the *Rhapsodies* in these centuries is well established: as a 'revealed' text, it became part of the polemical dialogue between Christian and pagan authors, cited and analysed by writers on both sides of the debate.²⁴⁴ Neoplatonists such as Proclus and Damascius cite it extensively as the work of the *theologos*, but it was widely read outside philosophical circles

²⁴³ On the rhetorical function of mythical narrative in Greek hymns, Furley 1995 and Furley & Bremer 2001: 56-60.

²⁴⁴ Herrero de Jáuregui 2010, Edmonds 2013: 27-43.

too. Claudian, for example, describes Maria, Stilicho's daughter, then marrying the emperor Honorius, as studying Homer, Orpheus and Sappho.²⁴⁵ The rise in formulae that we see in poets of the third to fifth centuries, culminating in Nonnus, may, in part, be attributable to their familiarity with this poem.²⁴⁶ Further discussion of the relationship between the hymns and the *Rhapsodies* will be reserved for the following chapter, but, in terms of phraseology and poetic formulae, the *Orphic Hymns* appear actively to engage with the *Rhapsodies* specifically, and with the broader Orphic tradition, including, notably, the gold lamellae. The *Orphic Argonautica* does also, and with this poem the case for a direct reference to the *Orphic Hymns* is valid, as it is also with the hymns of Proclus. Direct reference cannot however be certain in any of the cases of phraseological correspondence considered in this chapter: given the extensively formulaic nature of the hymns, their engagement with Orphic poetry and the undoubted existence of other Orphic hymns, individual and in collections, the possibility that the author of the *Argonautica* and Proclus knew the extant collection specifically cannot be conclusively shown.

The formulae of the *Orphic Hymns* weave them into these overlapping traditions, Homeric, hymnic, theological and Orphic. They may, in one sense, be read as manifestations of the author's familiarity with specific poems and poetic types, phrases internalised and recalled in the process of composition. But as the analysis of recurring formulae within the collection shows, they are not merely unconscious reflexes. The formulaicity of the hymns is extensive, extreme even, and while many of the Homeric phrases in particular can be attributed to the broad demands of composition within the hexameter format, those that reveal additional thematic resonance, whether intertextual or intratextual, speak to a number of related poetic and theological functions. Divinities are connected by formulae: shared attributes are signalled within and across thematic categories such as the realms of the cosmos, the physical elements and features of the natural world, mythical katabasis, rage and benevolence, dancing, the seasons and the mysteries. Key divinities such as the Sun, Zeus, Ge and, in particular, Dionysos, are presented as unifying figures whose predication and attributes form networks across the collection. Formulae are, in the *Orphic Hymns*, a medium for showing correspondence between gods, but they are adaptable, and variations or combinations of fixed phrases simultaneously express the diversity of divine natures. There is a subtlety in the deployment of these fixed and yet malleable expressions that expresses a tension between similarity and difference, between unifying themes and the way these themes are refracted by the natures of individual gods. Poetic formulae are not the only method employed by the poet to suggest such connections. Individual epithets, or terms such as δῖνῃ or ῥοῖζος, are similarly repeated, as a shorthand method for linking divinities in terms of common or similar attributes. Allusion and cross-reference within the collection may be metrically stable, as formulae are, or looser, signalled by a single word, whether occurring alone or as part of a longer predication. The latter cast wider

²⁴⁵ Claud. *De Nuptiis Honorii* 232-5, West 1983: 256-8.

²⁴⁶ Rossetto 2021: 42 argues similarly with reference to the number of phrases these authors share with the Sinai fragments of the *Rhapsodies*.

nets, but phrasal expressions provide, by their adaptability, the opportunity to show how shared attributes are not a simple case of syncretism or direct identification; they ‘rhyme’ rather, echoing each other in different contexts specific to the deities in question.

Allusion is perhaps the most important function of the formulae in the collection, but others can be identified. By pointing to broader poetic traditions and, in particular, Orphic poetry, these expressions also serve to stimulate the memory of their audience. Just as the sequence of hymns carries allusions to the Orphic theogony, the many phrases drawn from or echoing the *Rhapsodies*, in particular, suggest a mythological context for many of the predication and networks of attributes that occur in the hymns. In some cases these speak directly to a divinity’s role in the Orphic narrative, as, for example, where Ouranos is described as οὐράνιος χθονίος τε φύλαξ πάντων περιβληθείς (*OH* 4.5), a phrase that recalls the expression οὔρος ἀπάντων ἡδὲ φύλαξ (*OF* 151).²⁴⁷ The reader or hearer is reminded here of the god’s place in the Orphic narrative, and perhaps also reminded of the associated etymology from οὔρος, ‘watcher’ or ‘boundary’. As I have argued however, key episodes in the *Rhapsodies* are also repeatedly referenced by the use of allusive phrases. Protogonos’ birth, Zeus’ act of creation and Dionysos’ enthronement appear to be marked out by concentrations of formulae drawn from these episodes. In the case of the references to the enthronement of Dionysos, which the newly discovered Sinai fragments reveal, such phrases are analogous to the network of Dionysian formulae that cross the collection, and which, indeed, include allusions to Protogonos. The centrality of these three divinities, who may themselves be identified as manifestations of the same god, is thus reinforced by allusion to the Rhapsodic narrative. The shared significance of Mnemosyne in the hymns and the lamellae has been noted by Morand and other scholars.²⁴⁸ The lamellae that refer to the lake of Memory describe themselves, in the longer versions from Hipponion and Petelia, as the ‘work’ or ‘thread’ of Mnemosyne, as a device for reminding the deceased initiate of the initiation they have undergone, the topography of the underworld and the password they must give to the guardians of the pool.²⁴⁹ In the hymn to Mnemosyne, the goddess is asked to stimulate the initiates’ memory of the *telete* and to ‘banish oblivion’ (*OH* 77.9-10):²⁵⁰

²⁴⁷ This is Bernabé’s reconstruction on the basis of Damascius *In Parm.* 257 ὁ τοῦ Ὀρφέως Οὐρανὸς οὔρος πάντων καὶ φύλαξ εἶναι βούλεται. Bernabé’s metrical restorations, including this example, are criticised by West 2006: 7.

²⁴⁸ Morand 2001: 223-5, Graf & Johnston 2007: 155, Bernabé & Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008: 15-19, 2011: 75-6.

²⁴⁹ 1.1, 2.12 Graf–Johnston (*OF* 474, 476). The first half of the same verse is lost in the Entella lamella (8.1 Graf–Johnston = *OF* 475). On the term *ἔργον* here and the alternative readings *ἡριον* (‘tomb’), *θρίον* (‘tablet’ or ‘leaf’), and *ἔριον* (‘thread’), Bernabé & Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008: 12-15. The last, which these authors reject as ‘too metaphorical’ (and, oddly, contrary to the Orphic injunction against burial in wool), is the actual reading in the Hipponion lamella (only the ε is preserved in the Petelia text), and suggests, as they note, a parallel with Ariadne’s thread.

²⁵⁰ Cf. the prayers of the hymns to Nomos (*OH* 64.13 μνήμην σέο πέμπε, φέριστε) and Hermes (28.11-12 βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν δαΐζων | ἐργασίαισι, λόγου χάρισιν καὶ μνημοσύνησιν, and Protogonos’ epithet, applied also to Mise and Lysios Lenaïos, σπέρμα πολὺμνηστον (6.4, 42.4, 50.2), ‘seed full of memory’ (Morand 2015: 217).

ἀλλά, μάκαιρα θεά, μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε
εὐιέρου τελετῆς, λήθην δ' ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπεμπε

but, blessed goddess, rouse for the *mystai*
the sacred rite's memory, banish oblivion

The hymns and lamellae cast light on each other here. The prayer of *OH* 77 may be understood in terms of the specific significance of remembering the rite in the lamellae; a hint perhaps at a concept of salvation in death that is otherwise absent from the hymns. On the other hand, the hymns make explicit the connection in the lamellae between memory and the initiatory ritual that may, in its structure, have anticipated the journey, question and response located here in the underworld.²⁵¹ Memory in the hymns, it is suggested, underpins the numerous references to the *teletai*, particularly those which describe how the rites were revealed; they serve to remind the audience, who, they imply, are themselves the *mystai*, of the rites associated with specific gods (Persephone and Dionysos in *OH* 24.10-12, the Kouretes or Kabeiroi in 38.6) as well as the πάνθεις τελετή (*OH* 35.7, 53.9, 54.7) that the hymns themselves either form part of, or actually constitute. Memory provides the basis for the connections the audience is encouraged to make between the hymns and the Orphic narrative, and other intertextual points of reference. Finally the formulae may serve in themselves as aides to memory, in terms of memorising the hymns, as Proclus and his students are said to have done.²⁵² Formulaic phrases, as the ἔπη of poetic language, carry memory. Just as in orally composed poetry, as the language of the Muse, Memory's daughter, they speak to both composition and reception, stimulating both the poet's and the audience's memory with reference to the broader poetic tradition, so too in the hymns they connect the author's ideas about the links between deities, and between the hymns and the Orphic tradition, with those of the audience. They are a channel of communication between the memory of the poet and the memories of the readers.

The question was posed in the introduction to this chapter whether the extensive formularity of the hymns may be understood in terms of oral poetics: in terms of the communicative function of the formulae within the collection and between it and the overlapping traditions suggested by intertextual echoes, they may. The fact that the hymns were composed as written texts of course distinguishes them from poetry that is composed in performance, but does not preclude this conclusion: as Bakker argues, the medium of poetry may be textual, but the strategies oral.²⁵³ The hymns' catalogues of predications may be understood as ἔπη, words in a poetic language that draw

²⁵¹ Graf 1991a: 87-102, 2007: 137-164, Merkelbach 1999, Riedweg 2002a, 2011: 257-270, Edmonds 2004: 104-8, Calame 2008.

²⁵² Gordon 2020: 17. The idea that the *OH* served a mnemonic purpose was proposed by Snedorf (1786), in terms of remembering cosmological or theological principles, and Petersen (1868), in terms of remembrance of, or preparation for, the mysteries themselves.

²⁵³ Bakker 1999: 17.

meaning from the resonance they carry within a broader tradition. This speaks to the essential nature of the hymns, in fact: they are, to a large extent, composed of formulae and depend on resonance to carry meaning rather than narrative. But perhaps equally important is the fact that, regardless of the manner of their composition, they are meant to be performed and heard. In this sense repeated phrases are, like the repeated sounds and words discussed in the previous chapter, and symmetrical or parallel patterns within the predication, features of an oral poetics that speak to the ears of the audience. That is to say, the hymns are not orally composed, they are texts; but they are composed to be orally ‘received’, employing poetic strategies that derive from purely oral poetics. In terms of their prosody, their phonic echoes and patterning, they are part of a continuous hymnic tradition in this sense, songs that are meant to be performed and heard. The fact that they appear to go further in this direction than the surviving texts that they have been compared with, in their density of prosodic effects and formulaic repetitions, is attributable ultimately to their claim to be the hymns of Orpheus, the source of the hymnic tradition and, as it were, examples of its distilled and essential form: the epithetic invocation without the extended *pars media*, or rather with this more expansive treatment of the gods’ nature condensed into further invocatory epithets and predication.

The style of the hymns is, as I have argued, profoundly allusive, and that speaks to the relationship between the poet and the audience. The ‘requisite experience’, to use Gordon’s term, of the ideal reader or auditor can be posited here.²⁵⁴ They are a knowing audience, initiates, whether in a literal, ritual sense or a metaphorical, literary one, into the Orphic tradition, who are able to recognise the connections made within the collection, and between the hymns and the *Rhapsodic* narrative, or cult praxis.²⁵⁵ They are the addressees in fact of the Orphic *sphragis* (OF 1):

ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι· θύρας δ’ ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι
I sing to the wise: close your doors, you profane

The *xunetoi* are the insiders. Again, the knowing audience is a feature of oral poetics. The ability of formulae to carry meaning by reference to a broader tradition depends on the audience’s degree of familiarity with the poetry of that tradition.²⁵⁶ In Orphic poetry however, this status is specialised, reinforced by the, at least conceptual, association with cultic initiation. Allusion in the hymns, and

²⁵⁴ Gordon 2020: 25-7 ‘If we cannot have any direct knowledge of subjective states, analysis of such texts may, I suggest, give us an inkling of the responses intended to be evoked in the course of ritual performances... Adopting the terms of reader-response theory, I take “requisite” experiences as those of an ideal reader/auditor, which can now only be approximated by a learned commentator armed with lexis, concordances and data-bases and alert to the danger of myopic “atomization” of the text’.

²⁵⁵ Hopman-Govers 2001: 49. On the projected audience of initiates, Herrero de Jáuregui 2015: 232-7, 243.

²⁵⁶ Foley 1999a: 6-7 ‘I view the formulas, typical scenes, and story-patterns - the linguistic bytes or speech-acts that constitute traditional language - as also *sēmata* or signs, as concrete parts that stand for intangible wholes... Because they depend upon literal meaning only as a means to a greater end, *sēmata* or signs of other types and sizes can also encode idiomatic meanings that only the properly prepared audience is equipped to understand’.

intertextual references, speak to a projected auditor that is familiar with the Orphic tradition and able to extrapolate meaning from the signs offered by formulaic predication. In the metaphor established by the dedication to the hymns, Ὀρφεὺς πρὸς Μουσαῖον, and the opening prayer of the proem (P.1 Μάνθανε δὴ, Μουσαῖε), the paradigm for the reader is Musaeus, the privileged disciple of the poet, as was frequently the case in Orphic poetry.²⁵⁷ The hymns are framed as a lesson, but one that is part of a broader revelation that includes all other instances of Orphic poetry. ‘Musaeus’ will make the connections that pass over the heads of the βέβηλοι, allowing the secret text to hide in plain sight. As regards the author, ‘Orpheus’ himself, the formulae tell a different story, though one similarly framed by the Orphic tradition. The hymns are one part of his oeuvre and his revelation. By emphasising, through the use and adaptation of formulae, the place of the hymns within the Orphic family of texts, the author serves the purposes of allusion, but also cements their own claim to the Orphic identity and the authority this implies. Such phrases and allusions tell us that this Orpheus is identical with the poet of the *Rhapsodies* and other works that make the same authorial claim. Formulae are, in this light, subsidiary *sphragides* that stamp the work with the mark of the mythological poet. The analogy with traditional oral poetics is significant here: formulae bind oral poetry to other works within the same tradition. In Orphic poetry the relationship between poem and tradition is intensified. Poems within that tradition are bound together by the essential claim to a shared author and to the religious authority that this conveys.

In sum, the density of formulae in the *Orphic Hymns* can ultimately be understood as a symptom of two aligned aims on the part of the poet: to suggest connections between divinities across the collection, and to link the hymns, individually and together, with an overlapping set of poetic traditions, of which the most significant is that of Orphic poetry. To return to Lobeck’s assessment of the formulae, clearly, viewing them as a mark of poetic ineptitude is mistaken. Can they, however, be taken as evidence of a single poet? The collection is thoroughly interwoven by them, but in light of the function they serve in reinforcing the claim to a single author, who is Orpheus himself, the question arises whether the compositional unity they imply is real or artificial. They are clearly not incompatible with the theory of a single author, but the possibility of more than one, or of an editor who has both composed hymns and collected and revised hymns from other sources, cannot, I think, be ruled out on this basis. The cohesiveness and inter-referentiality of Orphic poetry suggests, in fact, that any poet composing hymns as Orpheus would have recourse to the stock of formulae that earlier Orphic poetry provided. Employing these phrases consolidates the authorial claim; weaving individual compositions into the Orphic tradition of poetry broadly, and hymnody specifically. The question of composition remains open. On the one hand, significant cross-references within the collection do speak for a single authorial presence. On the other, the

²⁵⁷ Morand 2001: 92-4, 2015: 211-12, Herrero de Jáuregui 2015: 224-6, 232-3. Orpheus and Musaeus: cf. the *Diatheke* (OF 377.2-3 [the version given here], 378.3-4) σὺ δ’ ἄκουε, φασεφόρου ἔκγονε Μήνης | Μουσαῖ, ἐξερέω γὰρ ἀληθέα, OF 138.1 (*Rhapsodies*) ταῦτα νόωι πεφύλαξο, φίλον τέκος, ἐν πραπίδεσσιν, OF 759.1-2 (*Ephemerides*) Πάντ’ ἐδάης Μουσαῖε θεοφράδες, εἰ δέ σ’ ἀνώγει | θυμός.

occurrence of distinctive phrases such as ἐν σοὶ γὰρ and ὥς ἔν ἀεί in particular areas of the sequence, specifically to the hymns to the gods of justice, fate and sleep and death, considered together with the more discursive character of these hymns and their less stereotyped prayers, suggests the possibility that they may have been composed separately. This is a question that requires further consideration in light of the several studies undertaken in this thesis, and I will return to it in the following, concluding chapter.

Chapter 5. The generic and poetic contexts of the *Orphic Hymns*

The Orphic hymn collection that we possess is a rich source of information on the conceptualisation and worship of divinities within a polytheistic system, but the utility of this information is to some extent circumscribed by our lack of knowledge concerning its compositional contexts. The hymns' author will never be known, their date can only be estimated, and the purpose of their composition, bound up as it is with the identity of the audience they were composed for, remains subject to debate. We have no ancient references, descriptions or explanations of this text: they have come to us without a context, beyond that implied by their titles and putative author. Their decontextualisation is, in large part, the result of their pseudepigraphy. In the previous chapters I have aimed to study what the hymns can tell us about themselves in terms of their poetic strategies, exploring the contexts that are implicit in their form, style and formularity. In doing so I have aimed to build upon previous studies, but also to reflect on how the hymns' poetics inform our understanding of the unity of the collection and its author's aims. The review of scholarship on the hymns undertaken in the first chapter serves in itself to contextualise my own analysis of the hymns, in a study of the manner in which perceptions of the hymns have evolved in the light of new potential sources of information about their contexts, both insights drawn from the text itself and from epigraphic and papyrological sources that have provided new points of comparison. The cultic context, or at least background, of the hymns has been confirmed in this way, albeit in general terms, as it has by more recent studies of their experiential aspect that have focussed on the incantatory, allusive and impressionistic nature of their accumulation and juxtaposition of epithets and longer predications.

5.1 Greek hymns and catalogues of predications

Whether a source of scholarly interest or scorn, the parataxis of epithets and phrases is the hymns' most striking stylistic feature, and the studies undertaken in the second, third and fourth chapters of this thesis have aimed to analyse the way these predications are deployed in terms of the variety of structures they take, the phonic devices and antitheses that elaborate and connect them, and the phrasal or formulaic echoes that frequently underlie them and bind the collection together. The hymns are not uniformly 'epicletic': a small minority are formed exclusively of predications shorter than a single verse; a large number are more discursive, whether expanding upon ideas suggested by epicleses or presenting ecphrastic or mythical descriptions of the gods. Many hymns combine shorter and longer elements, frequently progressing from the former to the latter. But the variety of structural forms that occur in the collection is united by the apparent aim to condense all aspects of a god's nature into one summative catalogue that, through the use of allusion and cross-reference, is greater than the sum of its parts. Meaning in the hymns is carried on the surface, but it is also suggested in the different ways that predications may be linked, in the juxtaposition of ideas, in

sound and patterning, and in the connections that the hymns invite the reader, or hearer, to explore both within the collection and within a set of overlapping poetic traditions. Meaning is implicit as well as explicit in the hymns, and this is a corollary of the accumulation of epithets and predication that characterise them.

This style of hymn is, as discussed in the second chapter, a variation of the form found in the shorter *Homeric Hymns*. The asyndetic listing of key epithets is present in these, as it is in hymns of all periods, but it is reserved for the primary invocation, preceding a *eulogia* or *pars epica* that presents a description of the god's typical activity or a foundational myth, frequently one that expresses how the god became part of the Olympian family.¹ In the *Homeric Hymns*, as also in the inscriptional paian from Delphi or Epidauros, a choice is made by the poet - as the priamel in the hymn to Apollo emphasises - to focus on a single, paradigmatic episode or aspect.² We find a similar strategy in a number of hymns in the central, telestic sequence of the *Orphic Hymns*, but in the majority there is no transition from the invocation to the *eulogia*: the invocation, with its catalogue of predication, is extended, in effect, to form the *eulogia*. The hymns are, in this sense, emphatically 'kletic', they are invocations capped with a prayer, but more importantly, the significance of this is that the poet does not make a choice. No particular aspect of the god is singled out, the full range of their characteristics is explored.³ The emphasis here is not on a single paradigm, it is on completeness; on how these facets of the god's nature complement and inform each other, and on how they are shared with other gods. This is a different approach to describing divinity, compendious, but simultaneously allusive - as indeed the epithets and formulae of the Homeric invocations are a type of imagistic shorthand for cultic and mythical associations that speak to the broader poetic tradition. The hymnic style of the *Orphic Hymns* develops the formality and referential potential of the traditional invocation into a complete and fundamentally allusive approach to describing and praising the gods.

What are the closest parallels to this style of hymn? Extreme versions of the epicletic form are extant in the two hymns to Dionysos and Apollo in the *Greek Anthology* (9.524, 525) in which following an invocatory statement (repeated at the conclusion), each verse is a tetracolon of four epithets beginning with the successive letter of the alphabet:⁴

Μέλπωμεν βασιλῆα φιλεύιον, εἰραφιώτην,
 ἄβροκόμην, ἀγροῖκον, αἰοίδιμον, ἀγλαόμορφον,
 Βοιωτόν, βρόμιον, βακχεύτορα, βοτρυοχαίτην,
 γηθόσυνον, γονόεντα, γιγαντολέτην, γελώωντα,

¹ Clay 2006²: 267-70, 2011: 241-5.

² Janko 1981: 12-13, Race 1982: 6-8. *HHy.* 3.19-21, 207-215, cf. 1.1-5, 5.34-44.

³ Herrero de Jáuregui 2015: 241.

⁴ *AG* 9.524.1-5.

Διογενῇ, δῖγονον, διθυραμβογενῇ, Διόνυσον...

Let us sing the euoe-loving king, Eiraphiotes,
soft-haired, country-dweller, storied, of shining form,
Boeotian, roarer, bacchant, grape-locked,
joyful, fruitful, giant-slayer, laughing,
Zeus-born, twice-born, dithyramb-born, Dionysos...

Epithets found in the *Orphic Hymns* recur here,⁵ but these are basically different, as Morand argues: there is little attempt to connect ideas between epithets.⁶ The *Anthology* hymns are not necessarily *lusus pueriles* as Abel suggests:⁷ Morand notes the ritual importance of the alphabet itself and of vowel sequences in the magical papyri. These hymns may be read as systematic, ‘complete’ and compendious reflections of the two gods, and are allusive insofar as epithets themselves are, but they show little of the prosodic complexity that the *Orphic Hymns* do in exploring the significance of the epithets listed.

The eighth *Homeric Hymn*, to Ares, is much closer. Ruhnken and Hermann thought it belonged to the *Orphic Hymns*,⁸ and the first half of the hymn is very similar in style, beginning with tetracoloi, progressing to dicoloi and culminating in a couplet before the prayer.

Ἄρες ὑπερμενέτα, βρισάρματε, χρυσεοπήληξ,
ὀβριμόθυμε, φέραςπι, πολισσόε, χαλκοκορυστά,
καρτερόχειρ, ἀμόγητε, δορυσθενές, ἔρκος Ὀλύμπου,
Νίκης εὐπολέμοιο πάτερ, συναρωγὲ Θέμιστος,
ἀντιβίοισι τύραννε, δικαιοτάτων ἀγὲ φωτῶν,
ἡνορέης σκηπτοῦχε, πυραυγέα κύκλον ἐλίσσων
αἰθέρος ἑπταπόροις ἐνὶ τεύρεσιν ἔνθα σε πῶλοι
ζαφλεγέες τριτάτης ὑπὲρ ἄντυγος αἰὲν ἔχουσι.

5

Ares the mighty, chariot-pressing, gold-helmeted,
strong-hearted, shield-bearer, city-saver, bronze-armed,
mighty-hand, untiring, spear-strong, defence of Olympos,
father of war-skilled Nike, helper of Themis,
ruler of enemies, leader of justest mortals,
manhood’s commander, spinning your fire-bright circle
among the seven-pathed stars of the aither, where the flaming

5

⁵ ἄβροκόμης (*OH* 56.2 Adonis), ἀοιδίμος (72.5 Tyche), ἀγλαόμορφος (14.5 Rhea, 29.9 Persephone, 56.7 Adonis, 62.1 Dike, 79.7 Themis), βρόμιος (50.8 Lysios Lenaïos), γηθοσύνος (27.14 Meter Theon), δλέτειρα Γιγάντων (32.12 Athena).

⁶ Morand 2001: 82-3. The etymology and repetition of δι- and γεν- / γον- in verse 5 is notable however.

⁷ Abel 1885: 284.

⁸ Ruhnken 1782: 60, Hermann 1805: 353. The hymn is included as the 88th *Orphic Hymn* in Hermann’s edition. Dieterich (1891: 24, n. 1) objects: ‘plane alius generis et certe ab hoc collectionis loco alienissimus’.

horses keep you above the third rim forever.

The names of Nike and Themis frame the fourth verse and the formula *πυραυγέα κύκλον ἐλίσσων* (v. 6) echoes *OH* 19.1, *πυραυγέα κόσμον ἐλαύνων*. The reference to planetary Ares in v. 6-8 has no parallel in the *Orphic Hymns* however, and the prayer, which comprises more than half the hymn, is personal in tone, a request to dispel cowardice and fury from the hymnist. West has argued that the author is Proclus, whose hymns have also been transmitted with the *Orphic Hymns* in the Ψ collection, and which are similarly divided into two halves, predications and prayers, but this theory has been disputed.⁹ As discussed in chapter four, the hymns of Proclus, and those embedded in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*, also approximate the diction and style of the *Orphic Hymns*, but again with significant differences. Proclus' hymns are similarly accumulative, but, like the hymn to Ares, the emphasis is on the prayer and the personal relationship that is foregrounded between poet and divinity which mark them out as individual expressions of devotion. The hymns of Nonnus are as highly wrought as the *Dionysiaca* itself: long, elaborate, theatrical even. Both poets' familiarity with Orphic poetry suggests direct engagement with Orphic hymns, if not necessarily the extant collection. In Proclus' case this is corroborated by the testimony of Marinus. They engage with Orphic models differently of course. Proclus uses traditional modes as a vehicle for a personal, and philosophical, expression of piety, like Cleanthes; Nonnus, as Otlewska-Jung argues, is competitive, upstaging Orpheus with hymns that claim a higher authority and author: Dionysos himself.¹⁰

As discussed in the previous chapter, among the hymns of the magical papyri, particular sequences of predications are entirely in the style of the *Orphic Hymns*. Recent scholarship has moved away from the idea that the *PGM* hymns are Frankenstein's monsters, older devotional hymns excerpted and bolted onto adurations, praxis-specific threats and prayers and references to coercion or names of power, and threaded through with *voces magicae*. But the poets who composed them do appear to have adapted, in many cases, earlier devotional material to their specific rites, and the formulae and diction that recur here and in the *Orphic Hymns*, together with the purely predatory elements that explore the nature and attributes of Hecate-Selene, Persephone and Apollo, suggest that hymns very similar to the *Orphic Hymns*, if not necessarily identical with the extant collection, provided models and material that the magicians who composed the magical hymns incorporated in their own devotional texts. This is, essentially, the argument Dieterich put forward, and does not contradict the theory of composition in temple libraries by Egyptian priests.¹¹ In fact, this type of compositional bricolage and the adaptation of earlier poetry are likely also in the case of many, if

⁹ West 1970. *Contra*: Geltzer 1987, van den Berg 2001: 6-7, who, while acknowledging the similarity in style and diction, argues that the idea of the return of the soul to its divine source, the focus of Proclus' hymns (*ibid.* 19-22, 43-6) is absent here.

¹⁰ Van den Berg 2001: 107-111 on the possible ritual contexts of Proclus' hymns. Otlewska-Jung 2014. Morand compares the diction of Nonnus' hymns and that of the *OH* (2001: 83-6); van den Berg that of Proclus' hymns and the *OH* in his commentary on the former.

¹¹ Dieterich 1888: 774-8, 1891: 25.

not all, of the *Orphic Hymns*. The poetry used by the authors of the *PGM* hymns was not necessarily Orphic: the hymns to Hekate and Asklepios preserved by Hippolytus are short hymns in this style, and in this respect closer still to the *Orphic Hymns*, but again were likely composed for magical praxis.¹² The focus of the predication in each hymn is on the dark, chthonic associations of each divinity:

Νερτερὶή χθονίη τε καὶ οὐρανὴ μολε Βομβώ,
 εἰνοδίη, τριοδίτι, φασφόρε, νυκτερόφοιτε,
 ἐχθρὴ μὲν φωτός, νυκτὸς δὲ φίλη καὶ ἑταίρη,
 χαίρουσα σκυλάκων ὕλακῇ τε καὶ αἵματι φοινῶ,
 ἐν νέκυσι<ν> στείχουσα κατ' ἡρία τεθνηώτων, 5
 αἵματος ἱμείρουσα, φόβον θνητοῖσι φέρουσα,
 Γοργὼ καὶ Μορμὼ καὶ Μήνη καὶ πολύμορφε,
 ἔλθοις εὐάντητος ἐφ' ἡμετέρησι θυηλαῖς.

Of the underworld, chthonic and celestial, come Bombo,
 Einodia, of the crossroads, light-bearer, night-roaming,
 enemy of light, night's friend and companion,
 rejoicing in the barking of dogs and murderous blood,
 treading among corpses in the tombs of the dead, 5
 longing for blood, bringing terror to mortals,
 Gorgo and Mormo and Mene of many forms,
 come gracious to our sacrifices.

Here too we find epithets that recur in the hymns (νυκτίφοιτος *OH* 36.6), juxtaposition (χθονίη τε καὶ οὐρανὴ v. 1, ἐχθρὴ μὲν φωτός, νυκτὸς δὲ φίλη v. 3) and assonance (v. 7). Like the hymnic elements of the theosophical oracles, these texts are firm evidence for the existence of epicletic hymns composed for ritual contexts, which share many of the prosodic features of the *Orphic Hymns*, in the first centuries of the Common Era. That this epicletic style of hymn has much earlier antecedents is almost certain however, as several earlier critics have argued.¹³ Lobeck collects a number of examples, including the hymn to Dionysos in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the hymn to Somnus in Seneca's *Hercules Furens*, the anonymous *Votum ad Oceanum* and the references to hymns containing the many epithets of Dionysos in Arrian and John Lydus.¹⁴ Hymns formed largely of epicleses were, Lobeck argues, sung 'in sacris' from an early period. They were not

¹² Heitsch 1961: 171-172. The authorial voice of the hymn to Asklepios presents itself as a μάγος, or a collective of 'mages', depending on the missing word after μάγων (v. 11): δεῦρο, μάκαρ, καλέει σε μάγων (πρόμος) (sic Schneiderwin, χόρος Meineke) ὧδε (παρεῖναι).

¹³ Snedorf 1786, Heeren 1821, Bode 1824, Petersen 1868, Maass 1895.

¹⁴ Lobeck 1829: 401-2. Ovid *Met.* 4.11-32 (tura dant Bacchumque vocant Bromiumque Lyaeumque... 'placatus mitisque' rogant Ismenides 'adsis', iussaue sacra colunt.), Sen. *Herc. Fur.* 1066-81, *Votum ad Oceanum*: *AL* I.ii 718 Riese, *PLM* 24 Baehrens, Arrian *Alex.* 5.2.6 τοὺς Μακεδόνας... ἐφυμνοῦντας τὸν Διόνυσόν τε καὶ τὰς ἐπωνυμίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνακαλοῦντας, Jo. Lyd. *De Mens.* 4.51.35 Πυριγενέα δὲ αὐτὸν (Διόνυσον) καὶ Παγκρατὴ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἐκάλουν.

necessarily Orphic however, ‘eos oppugno, qui, ubicunque ab ignoto alioqui poeta deorum epitheta spissius constipantur, continuo Orphicum quiddam olfaciunt. Verum hic odor fallit.’ We can add to his examples of this type of hymn. Several texts that recall the *Orphic Hymns* are collected in Riese’s *Anthologia Latina* and Baehrens’ *Poetae Latini Minores*. Like the *Votum ad Oceanum*, the *Precatio Terrae Matris* is an epicletic invocation that functions as a charm;¹⁵ the hymn titled *Claudii de Luna*, which contains short predicationes in series, anaphora and a kletic prayer, is another example.¹⁶ These poems again date to the Imperial period, but Adami showed that traces of the formulae and *accumulatio* of epithets found in the *Orphic Hymns* can be detected in the hymns of the tragic poets, suggesting the existence of short, cultic invocations of a similar type in the fifth century BCE.¹⁷ Aristophanes’ parody of a ‘mystic’ hymn in the *Clouds*, as Dieterich argued, suggests the continuity of formal elements such as the kletic prayer.¹⁸ Early evidence of hymns that are catalogues of attributes is lacking however. The single verse of the Derveni hymn with its series of theonyms is suggestive, but no more.¹⁹

The hymns of Cleanthes and Isidorus and the hymn to Apollo by Herodorus of Susa, dating to the third to first centuries BCE, are formed of longer predicationes, and, like the *Homeric Hymn to Ares* and the hymns of Proclus, are emphatically the creations of an individual author, but each shares significant characteristics with the *Orphic Hymns*.²⁰ In the case of Cleanthes, this is particularly true of the more discursive and ethically oriented hymns of the ‘justice sequence’ (*OH* 61-64) and those to Dream and Death (*OH* 86-7). There is a similar progression, moreover, from the shorter predicationes of the first section of Cleanthes’ hymn, which, as seen, share diction and formulae with the *Orphic Hymns*, to the longer philosophical excursuses of the second and third parts of the hymn, that echoes the structural pattern of many of the hymns in the Orphic collection. The epicletic invocation in these instances evolves into a discursive *eulogia*, blurring the line between these elements of the traditional hymn. As a philosophical exploration of the nature of a divinity, these texts have antecedents in Aristotle’s *Hymn to Arete*, or the tragedians’ hymnic odes to abstract

¹⁵ *Precatio Terrae Matris*: *AL* I.i 5 Riese, 4 Shackleton Bailey (*PLM* 8 Baehrens). The *Votum ad Oceanum* is a prayer for a safe journey by sea (v. 12-28) that follows an extended series of predicationes (v. 1-11). The *Precatio Terrae Matris* similarly consists of a prayer for gathering medicinal herbs (v. 20-32) that follows a predicationary hymn (v. 1-19). The superscription in the MS is ‘carmen sic dicis’. The short epicletic prayers to Bacchus, Mars and Juno that are attributed to Claudian by Birt (1892: 408-9, *PLM* 301-3 Baehrens) are also comparable. In the *Greek Anthology*, the hymns to wine jars discussed by Norden (1923²: 147-8) are notable (*AG* 5.135, 6.248, 9.229, 246), as are the extensively epicletic Christian hymns in book 1 (1.19-31). Hymns formed of catalogues of predicationes continued to form part of the Christian tradition, e.g. the *Akathistos Hymn* attributed to Romanus Melodus and (in Latin hexameters) the *Alma Chorus* (Daniel 1841 I: 273).

¹⁶ *Claudii de Luna*: *AL* I.ii 723 Riese (*PLM* 23 Baehrens). Prayer, v. 14-16: Huc ades et nostris precibus dea blandior esto | luciferisque iugis concordēs siste iuencas, | ut volvat Fortuna rotam, qua prospera currant. Baehrens dates this poem to the 3rd c. CE.

¹⁷ Adami 1901.

¹⁸ Dieterich 1893a.

¹⁹ On the *polyonymia* and syncretistic strategy that connects this fragment with the *OH* however, Herrero de Jáuregui 2010a: 90-1, 2015: 240-1.

²⁰ Herodorus of Susa (1st c. BCE/CE): *SEG* VII 14, Canali De Rossi 2014: 124-6. The name of the author of this inscriptional hymn is contained in an acrostic.

or non-cultic gods such as Eros, Hypnos or Ananke.²¹ Like the *Orphic Hymns*, these early survivals of devotional hymn are formally conservative, drawing on a common stock of kletic formulae (and ἀλλὰ and γάρ); like the *Orphic Hymns*, the philosophical hymns are innovative in their prayers, which are tailored to the ideas expressed in the *eulogia*.

5.2 Sound, patterning, harmony

Phonic repetition, assonance, alliteration, paronomasia and anaphora - the sound patterning that punctuates the epicleses of the *Orphic Hymns*, drawing out meaning and creating phonic harmonies that complement the idea of balance expressed by antithesis and symmetry - are part of the Homeric tradition, and particularly of poetic catalogues, but, as was shown in chapter three, are also an intrinsic feature of hymns, oracles, liturgical formulae and gnomic poetry at the earliest period. These prosodic effects are prominent in threnody also, and this, as well as traditional hymns, informs the many instances we find in Greek tragedy, particularly in odes that replicate choral hymns such as the great ‘hymn’ to Dionysos that forms the *parodos* of the *Bacchae*, or the ‘anti-hymn’ of Creusa in the *Ion*.²² Anaphora of the god’s name, of σὺ (with polyptoton) and εἴτε or ἤ remain part of the idiom of hymns at all periods, like the formulae of invocation and prayer, but phonic and cyclic patterning is less common in later poetry. It is, however, extensively employed by the Presocratic poets, such as Xenophanes, Parmenides and Empedocles, and, notably, by Heraclitus, whose use of phonic and syntactic symmetry to express the fundamental idea of a harmony of opposites appears to have informed, directly or indirectly, the similar treatment of predicated antithesis that we find in the *Orphic Hymns*. The Presocratics adopted and adapted the poetic strategies of hymn and theogony to describe a transcendental reality; early Orphic poetry, as I have argued, did the same, while maintaining the outward form of a theogonic narrative. The circle, as a symbol of perfection, underpins antithesis and symmetrical figures in particular in the *Orphic Hymns*, as an expression of divinity that recalls both Xenophanes’ divine sphere and Parmenides’ One. Brisson notes how antithetical predication in particular, as applied to Protogonos and Zeus, does so too in the *Rhapsodic Theogony*:

Tout comme celle du premier dieu, l’action de Zeus trouve son origine dans l’unité absolue qu’exprime parfaitement le cercle, ou plutôt le sphère, et dont la fusion des opposés, y compris et avant tout celle des sexes, est la conséquence nécessaire.²³

²¹ Arist. *Hy. Arete* (PMG 842). On the hymns of the dramatists, see Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 273-368, on abstract deities, *ibid.* 276-7. Eros: Soph. *Ant.* 781-800, Eur. *Hippol.* 525-563, 1268-1281; Hypnos: Soph. *Phil.* 827-32, Eur. *Orest.* 174-186; Ananke, Eur. *Alc.* 962-983.

²² Furley & Bremer 2001 I: 273-9. On the *parodos* of the *Bacchae*, Damen & Richards 2012. On Creusa’s hymn, LaRue 1963.

²³ Brisson 1997: 90.

Like that of the first god, the action of Zeus finds its origin in the absolute unity that is perfectly expressed by the circle, or rather the sphere, the necessary consequence of which is the fusion of opposites, including, and above all, that of the sexes.

The significance of the circle is in fact explicitly stated in the verses from a variant of the pantheistic Orphic *Hymn to Zeus* that have been preserved in a papyrus of the second century CE:

Ζεὺς δὲ [τὰ πάντα,]
[πά]ντα κύκλῳ φαίνων, [Ζεὺς ἀρχή, μέσση,] τ[ε]λεύτη·
καὶ δύνатаι [Ζεὺς πᾶν, Ζεὺς π]ᾶν ἔχ<ε>ι αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῷ.²⁴

Zeus is all things,
revealing all in a circle, Zeus is beginning, middle and end,
and Zeus can do all, Zeus himself holds all in himself.

Paronomasia that explores the etymological meaning of a name similarly connects the *Orphic Hymns* with Homer, Hesiod and Presocratic philosophy. The theory of ‘natural language’ is ascribed to Heraclitus, and despite his objections to the theory, accepted in the case of theonyms by Democritus. The Derveni commentator engages with this interpretative tradition, but the Orphic poetry he analyses also used etymological figures, like Hesiod, to link the names of divinities with the narrative theogony it presents, and, in the case of the Orphic hymn to Demeter that the Derveni author quotes, to support the allegorical identification of the goddess with the earth. The connection with the Presocratic philosophers that these prosodic embellishments of predication sequences in the *Orphic Hymns* suggest is reinforced by the formulaic parallels with authors such as Parmenides and Heraclitus considered in chapter four. This is not a simple matter of direct influence. Phonic effects, etymology and symmetrical patterning are ultimately derived in both cases from the Homeric oral tradition, and understanding these features of the hymns in terms of oral poetics is instructive. The *Orphic Hymns* are meant to be heard. Sound and verbal patterning creates rhythms within the accumulation of epithets and descriptive phrases that are themselves the corollary of the antithetical, juxtaposed predications. They express the idea of balance and harmony, of a unity that underlies the variety of attributes catalogued in each hymn. The extensive formularity of the hymns, as discussed in chapter four, speaks also to the oral reception that is intended. Phrasal echoes, like phonic and verbal echoes, are detectable above all by the ear. The Stoic influence that has been detected in the hymns by many scholars provides another line of contact with Presocratic philosophy, particularly as regards etymological exegesis, which aligns to some extent with the physical allegory that the *Orphic Hymns* engage with extensively. But the broader Orphic tradition’s connection with the Presocratics is also significant here. The mythology

²⁴ PSI XV 1476, v. 4-6 (OF 688a). The fragment, published in 2005, is included in the addenda to Bernabé’s *PEG* (II.3: 461). See further Edmonds 2013: 21, Meisner 2018: 107.

of the Orphic theogonies draws on the same hieratic and gnomic poetic traditions, and similarly employs sound effects, antithesis, patterning and etymology to describe a higher reality; a cosmology that is, however, like those of Hesiod, Acusilaus or Pherecydes, expressed in terms of a genealogy of divinities. The earliest Orphic theogonies are, in this sense, Presocratic philosophy presented as a mythological narrative.²⁵

The extent to which the hymns engage with the Orphic theogonies has been emphasised in the study of the sequence of divinities in chapter two and the use of poetic formulae in chapter four. But all subjects treated in this thesis have bearing on this relationship. The hymns are by no means superficially ‘Orphic’, they are essentially so.²⁶ The cosmological sequence and the allusions to the Orphic myth of Dionysos in the series of divinities from Persephone to the Titans (*OH* 29-37, the first and last of these divinities representing the god’s birth and death) place the mythical narrative firmly in the background. The extensive use of sound effects and symmetrical patterning, of etymology and antithesis, parallel the frequency with which these figures occur in the fragments of the *Rhapsodic Theogony*. The numerous formulae that recur in the hymns and these fragments, including those of the Sinai palimpsest, indicate a continuous engagement with this poem, and possibly with the earlier poems it incorporated and synthesised, that unites the collection. As I have argued, were the *Rhapsodies* extant, it is certain that many of the phrases that recur within the collection would prove to derive from this poem, as indeed the recent discovery of new verses from it by Rossetto has shown. It is also likely that a number of the phrases that the hymns share with Hesiod’s *Theogony* on the one hand, and with poets of the third, fourth and fifth centuries CE on the other, would prove to be mediated by the *Rhapsodic Theogony*.²⁷ The hymns engage with the Orphic theogony in this way because the claim to a shared author exerted a strong cohesive force. Orphic poems could, and did, share verses as well as phrases. Poetic bricolage was widespread within the Orphic tradition because it reinforced the Orphic claim - formularity that operates as a referential system within the oral tradition is, as discussed, an important analogy. In Orphic poetry it is intensified as marking out a tradition that is closed, ‘sealed’ by the name and authority of its mythological author, but also insofar as poetry in this tradition is essentially cryptic and allusive. Just as concepts about the unity of the cosmos or the nature of the human soul are cloaked in myth in the theogonic poetry and expressed in theonyms that themselves carry meaning and, shared between divinities, draw lines of contact across it, so too the hymns rely on allusion, not least to the Orphic theogony itself, to give profounder meanings to their surface expressions. This stylistic and

²⁵ Burkert 1968, Finkelberg 1986, Betegh 2004, esp. pp. 175-181, Bernabé 1997, 2002a, 2011, Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 78-9, Meisner 2018: 43-50.

²⁶ Saffrey’s claim (1994: 6) that the hymns are ‘Orphic in name only’ is disputed by Rudhardt (2008: 167).

²⁷ Ch. 4.2.3, 4.2.4. One such phrase may in fact be reconstructed. The hymn to Leukothea refers to the νηῶν πελαγοδρόμος ἄστατος ὁρμή, ‘sea-coursing, ceaseless onrush of ships’ (*OH* 74.5). The phrase ἄστατος ὁρμή recurs in Philo (*De post. Cain.* 22), Nonnus (*Dion.* 18.108, 37.696), Proclus (*In Plat. Rep.* 2.261) and Rufinus (*AG* 5.87.2), while Manetho (*Apotel.* 4.146) has, in the same metrical position, ἐλικοδρόμος ἄστατος ἀστήρ (cf. also *OH* 9.10 ἐλικοδρόμε, πάνσοφε κούρη). The common source may be the formula ἐλικοδρόμος ἄστατος ὁρμή, ‘spiral-coursing, ceaseless onrush’, which is unattested but could have described the circular motion of a celestial body.

formulaic consistency within the Orphic corpus does not of course presuppose doctrinal unity: as Herrero de Jáuregui argues, Orphic poetry and the poetic mechanisms it entailed could be adopted as a vehicle for the expression of a wide range of philosophical and theological concepts. Stoic, Pythagorean and Jewish writers all used the Orphic label, but while they developed it in different directions, they thereby committed themselves to the formulae, intertextuality and allusive style that marked this poetic tradition.²⁸

The hymns place themselves in very close relation to the theogonies, and perhaps to the *Rhapsodic Theogony* in particular. Indeed, it may even be possible that they were intended to be seen as a complementary text or *parergon* to the theogony. They are a summative treatment of the gods through the lens of the Orphic tradition, but, crucially, in the mode of cultic, performative song, as opposed to the theogony, whose mode is narrative. It is at least conceivable that the *Rhapsodic Theogony*, as a compendium of Orphic myth and a synthesis of earlier theogonic poetry, served as an analogue: that the author of the hymns set out to compose or synthesise, a collection of Orphic hymns that was similarly compendious and systematic. This question requires further consideration, but more needs to be said about the key element here. What do we know about Orphic hymns? Where do the *Orphic Hymns* stand in relation to the surviving evidence for these?

5.3 Orphic hymns

Orpheus sang hymns to the gods, this was a cornerstone of his legend. The power of his song to move trees and animals, to move even the gods of the underworld, was linked with the tradition of his privileged access to the world of the gods, whose rites, true myths and natures, were revealed to him.²⁹ He sang hymns with the power to move the gods, a power they derived not only from the sweetness of his song, but from his inspired knowledge of their names and natures. So, as an Argonaut, he calmed the storm by singing to the Samothracian gods, and, in Aeschylus' *Bassarai*,

²⁸ Herrero de Jáuregui 2010a.

²⁹ The power of Orpheus' song: *OF* 943 (Simonides fr. 62) - 959. His descent to Hades: *OF* 978-999; charming, or 'persuading' Pluto and Persephone: *OF* 680 = 980 (Eur. *Alc.* 357-62), 981 (Eur. *Med.* 543) μετ' Ὀρφῆως κάλλιον ὑμῆσαι μέλος, 984 (Diod. Sic. 4.25.4) ἔπεισε, 985 (Hermesian. *Leont.* fr. 7.7) παντοίους δ' ἐξανέπεισε θεούς, 987 (Apollod. *Bib.* 1.3.2) ἔπεισεν, 988 (Conon *Fr.Gr.Hist.* 26F 1.45) τὸν Πλούτωνα καὶ τὴν Κόρην ὠιδᾷς γοητεύσας, 990 (Myth. Vat. 1.75.3) lenire Ditem et Proserpinam; 992-4. See also Garezou 1994 (*LIMC* 7.1): 88-90, 102 'Orphée aux Enfers', 2009 (*LIMC* Suppl. 1): 401. Orpheus and revelation: *OF* 102.4-5 (the proem of the *Rhapsodic Theogony*) παραί σοο ἔκλυον ὁμφῆν, | σεῦ φαμένου, 378.37 (*Diatheke*) ἐκ θεόθεν γνώμησι λαβών, 383 (P. Berol. 44) ἔνθεος γενόμενος, 731.2 (*Dodekaterides*) κέκλυθι τάξιν ἅπασαν, ὅσῃν τεκμήρατο δαίμων, 1018 (*O. Arg.* 9-10) ὅταν Βάκχοιο καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄνακτος | κέντρῳ ἐλαυνόμενος φρικώδεα κήλ' ἐπίφασκον. Orpheus as teletarch: *OF* 546-62, 573. Cf. also the power of his charms: *OF* 573 (Plat. *Resp.* 364b), 830 (*PGM* 7.450 γράφε τὸν λόγον τὸν Ὀρφαϊκόν), 948 (Eur. *IA* 1211-2 εἰ μὲν τὸν Ὀρφῆως εἶχον, ὦ πάτερ, λόγον, | πείθειν ἐπάιδουσ').

he hymned Apollo as the rising sun from the peak of mount Pangaeus.³⁰ Euripides frames his appeal to Hades and Persephone as a ὕμνος:

εἰ δ' Ὀρφέως μοι γλῶσσα καὶ μέλος παρῆν,
ὥστ' ἢ κόρην Δήμητρος ἢ κείνης πόσιν
ὑμνοῖσι κηλήσαντά σ' ἐξ Ἄιδου λαβεῖν³¹

If I but had Orpheus' tongue and song,
to charm Demeter's maid or her husband
with hymns and take you from Hades

The reference here is probably proverbial rather than to actual 'Orphic' hymns, as is Plato's when he refuses to allow song in his ideal state, μηδ' ἂν ἡδίω ἢ τῶν Θαμύρου τε καὶ Ὀρφείων ὕμνων, 'not even if it is sweeter than the Orphic hymns and those of Thamyras'.³² When the first hymns were actually composed in Orpheus' name is not known, but they must have appeared at an early period. Pausanias groups Orpheus with Olen, who, according to Herodotus, composed 'ancient hymns' performed at Delos, and Pamphos, to whom the earliest Athenian hymns were attributed, including ones to Demeter and Kore, Poseidon, Linos, Artemis and Eros.³³ The last was, together with a hymn to Eros by Orpheus, performed by the Lykomidai at Phlya:

Ὡλήνος δὲ ὕστερον Πάμφως τε ἔπη καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἐποίησαν· καὶ σφισιν ἀμφοτέροις πεποιημένα
ἐστὶν ἐς Ἑρωτα, ἵνα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις Λυκομίδαι καὶ ταῦτα αἰδῶσιν· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπελεξάμην ἀνδρὶ ἐς
λόγους <ἐλθῶν> δαιδουχοῦντι. καὶ τῶν μὲν οὐ πρόσω ποιήσομαι μνήμην.³⁴

Later than Olen, Pamphos and Orpheus wrote hexameter verse, and both composed poems to Eros, so that the Lykomidai might sing them at their *dromena*. I read through them coming into conversation with the Torchbearer. But of these things I will make no further mention.

The Lykomidai also possessed a hymn to Demeter by Musaeus, and in the context of the mysteries of Demeter and Kore in Attica, Orpheus, Musaeus, Pamphos and Eumolpus were closely associated as sources of authoritative accounts of the mystical *aitia* that underpinned the rites at

³⁰ Diod. Sic. 4.43.1, 48.6 (OF 522-3, 1011). The tradition of Orpheus as an Argonaut goes back as far as Eumelus (fr. 8 PEG = OF 1005a) and Ibycus (fr. 306 PMG = OF 864). Aesch. *Bassarai*, pp. 138-9 Radt (OF 536 I, Eratosth. *Catast.* 24). Linforth 1941: 10, West 1983a: 63-71.

³¹ Eur. *Alc.* 357-9 (OF 680). Linforth 1941: 16-18, Morand 2001: 89.

³² Plat. *Leg.* 829d (OF 681). Linforth 1941: 29 'It is likely that only legendary poetic skill is meant... At the same time, we may imagine that Plato would not object if his readers perceived a tacit condemnation of extant Orphic poetry as unsuitable for public festivals. Whether Plato intends to give a hint of this by using the adjective Ὀρφείων, when the natural word after Θαμύρου is Ὀρφέως, I am unable to say'.

³³ Olen: Hdt. 4.35.1-3. Pamphos: Paus. 1.29.2 (Artemis), 1.38.3, 1.39.1, 9.31.9 (Demeter, Kore), 7.21.9 (Poseidon), 9.27.2 (Eros), 9.29.8 (Linos). On these poets, West 1983: 53, Furley 2011: 215-6.

³⁴ Paus. 9.27.2.

Eleusis and Phlya, and the Thesmophoria.³⁵ The narrative hymn to Demeter that is described and quoted in the Berlin papyrus, which the author claims was ‘corrected and written down’ by Musaeus, must belong to this context.³⁶ The Parian Marble (264-3 BCE) may refer to the same poem, and the *Orphic Argonautica* includes the myth of Demeter and Kore ‘and how she was Thesmophoros’ in its digest of Orphic poetry.³⁷ As discussed in chapter four, the relationship between this poem and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* was extremely close: the verses quoted from it occur, with minor variations, in the extant poem.

Pausanias also knew an Orphic Demeter narrative, which he did not think was genuine,³⁸ but he was convinced that the Orphic hymns, including presumably the one to Eros, that the Lykomidai possessed and performed at Phlya, were the work of Orpheus. This testimony has already been cited in chapter four.³⁹ These hymns were few in number, individually very short, and ‘chanted’ (ἐπαίδουσι) at the δρώμενα of the Lykomidai. Comparing them with the hymns of Homer, Pausanias tells us that they were inferior in κόσμος but surpassed them ‘in reverence for the divine’. Pausanias was shown them by the *daidouchos*, and treats them as subject to a sacred silence. The fact that they were short, chanted and more devotional but less ‘elegant’ than the *Homeric Hymns* suggests that they may have been non-narrative.⁴⁰ Whether they were formed exclusively of epicleses and short predications, or ‘attributive’ as many of the shorter Homeric Hymns are,⁴¹ they appear to have been liturgical rather than expository in style. These were a collection of short hexameter hymns then, incantatory and secret, recited behind closed doors at the κλίσιον or ‘clubhouse’ of the Lykomidai, where the family presided over the mysteries of Ge Megale.⁴² Apart from the hymn to Eros we do not know which gods they addressed, but there were altars at Phlya to Artemis Selasphoros, Apollo Dionysodotos, Dionysos Anthios, the Ismenian Nymphs, Ge Megale herself, and, in a second temple, to Demeter Anesidoros, Zeus Ktesios, Tithrone Athena, Kore Protogonos and the Semnai Theai.⁴³ The date of these hymns cannot be determined, but a parallel is drawn by Burkert between the Lykomidai and the Euneidai, another distinguished Athenian family, whose eponymous ancestor Euneus is said to have been taught the lyre by Orpheus in Euripides’ *Hypsipyle* (a play which may also have contained references to an Orphic

³⁵ Graf 1974, 2008. Musaeus’ hymn: Paus. 1.22.7.

³⁶ P. Berol. 44 (OF 383) ἐνθεος γενομένος [ἐποίησεν τοὺς ὕμνους], οὗς ὀλίγα Μουσαῖος ἐπα[νορθώσας κατέγ]ραψεν. The supplements here are Buecheler’s; Ziegler: λόγους for ὕμνους.

³⁷ Marmor Parium IG XII 5.444, *FGr.Hist.* 239 A14 (OF 379); *O. Arg.* 26-7 (OF 380).

³⁸ Paus. 1.14.3 (OF 382).

³⁹ Paus. 9.30.12 (OF 531 I). See ch. 4.2.1.

⁴⁰ Cf. Men. Rh. 338.28-31: ‘mythical’ or narrative hymns give poets the opportunity for elaboration τοῖς ποιητικοῖς κόσμοις.

⁴¹ Janko (1981) distinguishes between ‘mythic’ *Homeric Hymns* and ‘attributive’ ones, whose *pars epica* describes the attributes of the god.

⁴² Paus. 4.1.7, Plut. *Them.* 1.4. Linforth 1941: 197-202, Brisson 1990: 2871, Bremmer 2010: 27, 2014: 77-8, 2018: 4.

⁴³ Paus. 1.31.4.

theogony).⁴⁴ If the Euneids also performed ‘Orphic’ hymns at private *teletai* like those of the Lykomidai, these would belong to the fifth century or earlier. Cult hymns of this type may also have been performed at other centres that claimed Orpheus as their founder, such as the mysteries of Hekate at Aegina, and those of Demeter Chthonia and Kore Soteria at Sparta.⁴⁵ Pausanias’ testimony is important, providing evidence that Orphic hymns existed in the second century CE, but which may themselves have been as early as the fifth century BCE, which, while clearly not identifiable with the extant collection, resembled them in many respects. The Lykomidai hymns were similarly a collection aimed at a range of divinities, if more limited in scope than the surviving one. They were short, written in hexameters, chanted and secret, and the possibility that they resembled the *Orphic Hymns* we possess in terms of an ‘attributive’ style has been suggested by Herrero de Jáuregui.⁴⁶ They were, finally, designed or at least used for ritual performance in a mystery context.

That Orphic hymns existed as a collection in the fifth century BCE is confirmed by the Derveni papyrus. In col. VII 2 the author refers to the poem that he proceeds to discuss as a ὕμνον [ὕγ]ιῃ καὶ θεμ[ι]τά, raising the question of whether this text might have actually been a narrative, theogonic hymn, although it is perhaps more likely that he uses the term broadly to describe a theological *hieros logos*.⁴⁷ In col. XXII however ‘hymns’ seems to refer to a distinct collection:

Γῆ δὲ καὶ Μήτηρ καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Ἥρα ἡ αὐτῇ. ἐκλήθη δὲ
 Γῆ νόμῳ, Μήτηρ δ’ ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης πάντα γ[ί]νεται.
 Γῆ καὶ Γαῖα κατὰ [γ]λῶσσαν ἐκάστοις. Δημήτηρ [δὲ]
 ὠνομάσθη ὥστε[ρ] ἡ Γῆ Μήτηρ, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἔ[ν] ὄνομα· 10
 τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ ἦν. - ἔστι δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ὑμνοῖς εἰρημενον·
 “Δημήτηρ, [Ῥ]έα, Γῆ, Μη[τ]ερ Ἑστία Δηιώ.”⁴⁸

Ge and Meter and Rhea and Hera are the same. She was called
 Ge by convention, and Meter since all things come from her.
 And Ge or Gaia according to each person’s dialect. And she was called
 Demeter as though Ge Meter, one name from two:
 For it was the same. It is also said in the hymns:
 “Demeter, Rhea, Ge, Meter, Hestia, Deio.”

⁴⁴ Eur. fr. 759a.1619-22 (OF 972). The Orphic theogony, fr. 758a.1103-8 (OF 65). Euneidai: Burkert 1994, Obbink 1994: 110-35, Parker 1996: 297-8, Bremmer 2010: 27, 2014: 78 ‘Such references to Orphic ideas are very rare in tragedy and it therefore seems likely that Euripides knew of some special tie between the Euneids and Orphism. Like the Lykomids, the *genos* may well have had a clubhouse where Mysteries and Orphic hymns were performed’.

⁴⁵ Aegina: Paus. 2.30.2 (OF 535 I); Sparta: Paus. 3.14.5 (OF 533, Demeter), 3.13.2 (OF 534, Kore).

⁴⁶ Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 36, 2010a: 97. Cf. 2015: 242: like the extant *OH*, the Lykomidai hymns took part in the ‘poetics of the ensemble’, being performed as a collection.

⁴⁷ Bernabé 2004 II.ii: 244, Kouremenos *et al.* 2006: 171. On the Derveni theogony as a ‘hymn’, Furley 2011: 214-5.

⁴⁸ P. Derv. col. XXII 7-12, OF 398.

The single verse quoted from ‘the hymns’ is apparently referred to by Philochorus as well, although, as Obbink observes, he may have known the Derveni treatise rather than the source text.⁴⁹ This holospondaic verse has been discussed at several points in this thesis.⁵⁰ The polyonymy we find here is not a feature of the *Orphic Hymns*, but the individual identifications made are, most notably that of Hestia and Meter.⁵¹ The etymology of Demeter in ‘Ge Meter’ is supplemented by the Derveni commentator by the derivation of Deio from ἐδηιώθη, ‘she was torn’, but it is not clear whether this was in the hymn itself. The framing of the verse by the ‘de-’ syllables of Demeter and Deio is also notable (ch. 3.3, 3.3.2.1). The date of this hymn has its *terminus ante* in that of the Derveni author.⁵² Although the association with Ge is suggestive, and the dialect of the verse quoted is Attic, the ‘hymns’ referred to here cannot be identified with those of the Lykomidai,⁵³ but the existence of at least one collection of Orphic hymns in Attica in the fifth century BCE appears to be certain.

The hymns to Helios-Dionysos (*OF* 539-45) and the unnamed god (*OF* 691) that are attributed to Orpheus by Macrobius and Clement respectively have been discussed in chapter four.⁵⁴ The former is excerpted, and quoted together with a *hierostolikon* (*OF* 541), instructions for clothing a statue of the sun god.⁵⁵ The sections of the hymn quoted (in particular *OF* 539 and 540) may or may not have belonged originally to the same poem, but it appears likely that the fragments quoted by Macrobius, including the ritual prescription, derive from the same text. The first fragment (*OF* 539, in four verses) is an opening invocation to Zeus-Dionysos or Helios in the vocative case, beginning with κέκλυθι, with the names of the god following opening predication in the third and fourth verses. The second (*OF* 540, in nine verses) is in the nominative case, and may follow a relative pronoun. The focus here is Eros, Phanes, Eubouleus, Dionysos; on the names of the gods and their etymologies. The solar henotheism of the first fragment is repeated in *OF* 542 Ἥλιος, δὲ Διόνυσον ἐπικλῆσιν καλέουσιν, and *OF* 543:

Εἷς Ζεύς, εἷς Ἀΐδης, εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος,

⁴⁹ Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F185 (Philodemus, *de Piet.* 248.1 *κάν τοῖς Ὑμνοῖς δὲ Ὀρφεὺς παρὰ Φιλοχόρῳ Γῆν καὶ Δήμητρα τὴν αὐτὴν Ἑστία*). Obbink 1994: 124 n. 48, 1997: 49 n. 16. Betegh (2004: 99 n. 20) argues that Philochorus and the Derveni author draw on the same source.

⁵⁰ Holospondaic: Burkert 1994: 48. Obbink (1994: 123 n.43), followed by Janko (2002: 44), restores vocative forms and *τε καί*: Δημήτερ, [Ῥ]έα, Γῆ, Μη[τ]ερ <τε καί> Ἑστία Δηιοῖ. But as Burkert argues, this is unnecessary. Hestia may be scanned as three long syllables, Ῥέα may be monosyllabic (*Il.* 15.187) and Δημήτηρ, Μητήρ and Δηιώ may also be read as vocative (e.g. Δημήτηρ: *HHy.* 2.54).

⁵¹ Morand 2001: 89. *OH* 27.9 (Meter Theon) Ἑστία ἀδελφεῖσα. The association of Hestia and Ge is implied by her predication (*OH* 84.5-6 *θηγῶν στήριγμα, χλοόμορφε*) and the pairing of her hymn with that of Okeanos: see ch. 2.1.3.

⁵² A date around 400 BCE has been assigned to the author: Burkert 1970: 443, West 1983: 77, Janko 1997: 61, Tsantsanoglou in Kouremenos *et al.* 2006: 10.

⁵³ Burkert 1994: 48; Obbink 1994: 110-35. Furley identifies the Derveni collection with that of the Lykomidai (2011: 216); *contra*: Herrero de Jáuregui 2015: 242 n. 42.

⁵⁴ Ch. 3.1.3, 4.2.4. On these hymns, West 1983: 35-6, 253, Brisson 1990: 2616-9, Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 36-7, 190-5, 2010a: 93-5, 2015: 238-40.

⁵⁵ West (1983: 27 n. 77) notes the parallel with the *Hierostolika* attributed to Orpheus in the *Suda*.

Εἷς θεὸς ἐν πάντεσσι. Τί σοι δίχα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύω;⁵⁶

One Zeus, one Hades, one Helios, one Dionysos,
One god in all. Why should I tell you differently?

The ritual context of this hymn is given clear emphasis by the instructions that accompany it: 'celebrate all these *hiera* covering with paraphernalia the body of the god, an imitation of the glorious sun' (*OF* 541.1-2), although Herrero de Jáuregui argues that the cultic reference here is a poetic means of reinforcing the speculative aims of the poem and compares in this sense the titles of Orphic poems such as the *Thronismoi Metroioi*, the *Katazostikon*, or *Katharmoi*.⁵⁷ The possibility of ritual performance is not excluded: the quotation from this hymn on a third or fourth century alabaster bowl suggests cult usage, but the fact that this bowl also quotes a verse of Euripides illustrates the interpenetration of literary texts and cult praxis.⁵⁸ Brisson suggests that this hymn to Helios-Dionysos is the one referred to by Aelius Aristides in his hymnic oration to Dionysos.⁵⁹ There is no basis for this claim, but Aristides' testimony is nonetheless revealing, as it also suggests performance by a group of the 'initiated':

Ἦγείσθω μὲν αὐτὸς Ἀσκληπιὸς ὁ φήνας τὸ ὄναρ, ἡγείσθω δὲ Διόνυσος αὐτὸς, ὃι χορεῦσαι δεῖ,
Ἀπόλλων τε μουσηγέτης, τοῦ μὲν πατὴρ, τοῦ δὲ ἀδελφός, ὡς λόγος. τοὺς μὲν οὖν τελέους ὕμνους
τε καὶ λόγους περὶ Διονύσου Ὀρφεὶ καὶ Μουσαίῳι παρῶμεν καὶ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις τῶν νομοθετῶν.
αὐτοὶ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐκ συμβόλου χάριν ὡς οὐ τῶν ἀμυήτων ἄρ' ἤμεν, συμμέτρῳ τῇ φωνῇ προσείπωμεν
τὸν θεόν· πάντως δὲ καὶ μήκη καὶ βραχύτητες καὶ ὅτιοῦν τῶν ἐν τῇ φύσει φίλον αὐτῷ.⁶⁰

Let Asklepios himself, who revealed the dream, guide us, let Dionysos himself, for whom we must dance, guide us, and Apollo the leader of the Muses, the father of the one and brother of the other, according to the story. Let us leave perfect hymns and *logoi* about Dionysos to Orpheus and Musaeus then, and the ancient law-givers: let us address the god with harmonious voice, as if for a *symbolon* that we are not of the uninitiated. Indeed, both length and brevity and anything else in nature is dear to him.

⁵⁶ *OF* 543 (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.18.18, Ps-Justin. *Coh. ad gent.* 16a). Cf. Julian *Eis τὸν βασιλέα Ἥλιον* 10 (quoting an oracle of Apollo) *Εἷς Ζεὺς, εἷς Αἰδης, εἷς Ἥλιός ἐστι (εἷς τε West) Σάραπις*, *PGM* 4.1714 λέγε· 'εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις'.

⁵⁷ Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 36-7, *OF* 602-624.

⁵⁸ Delbrueck & Vollgraf 1934. Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 37 'The bowl indicates the capacity of poetry from both the past and the present to stimulate religious devotion, even if this was not the original motive for its composition'.

⁵⁹ Brisson 1990: 2916.

⁶⁰ Aristid. *Dionysos* (*Or.* 41 Keil) 1-2 (*OF* 684).

While Aristides' present performance is contrasted with the recitation of the 'ancient' hymns,⁶¹ his description of it does reflect on the latter: it is the Orphic hymn to Dionysos, he implies, that would normally serve as a *symbolon*, a 'password' that allows the initiated to recognise each other. His hymn, he claims, being divinely inspired or 'led' will do so too. The statement that 'length' and 'brevity' are both pleasing to the god is similarly suggestive. Aristides' *logos* will be extensive; the ancient hymns, conversely, are perhaps to be recognised by their brevity.

The hymn to the unnamed, supreme god (*OF* 691) is similarly formed of short predications, with relative clauses following the vocative invocatory verse (v. 2-7) and polyptoton of *σός* (v. 7-13). There is a kletic prayer in the fifteenth verse (ἐλθέ, μέγιστε θεῶν πάντων), bracketed between predicatory verses, but it is not clear that the text is complete, since verses 14-16 are quoted separately by Clement. The god is not named here, but the hymn strongly recalls the Orphic *Diatheke*, which it was assigned to by Lobeck and Kern.⁶² It is distinguished from the *Diatheke* by the *du-Stil* mode of direct address, but the degree of resemblance underscores the fact that, stylistically, Orphic hymns and third-person discourses on the nature of the gods, *hieroi logoi*, stand in close relation to each other.⁶³ Like the *Diatheke* this hymn may show Jewish influence: the god is attended by ἄγγελοι (v. 9-10) and all δαίμονες tremble at him (v. 3). Yet its monotheism is not complete, in addition to these *daimones*, the god is, as the prayer shows, not alone, only superior to all other gods. Herrero de Jáuregui argues that, unlike the *Diatheke* that Clement also quotes, it comes from a non-apologetic source.⁶⁴ These hymns may date to the first centuries BCE and CE and although they show different degrees of syncretism and monism and point to a variety of cultural and philosophical influences, the stylistic features they share suggest that, at that period, hymns associated with Orpheus were characterised by the sequences of predications that mark the *Orphic Hymns* and the hymns of the magical papyri.⁶⁵ The evidence is slight however, and the single

⁶¹ Pace Herrero de Jáuregui (2015: 236), whose translation elides the distinction: 'we have the complete hymns and tales about Dionysus by Orpheus and Musaeus and the oldest lawgivers: we sing them ourselves to the god with harmonious voice as a *symbolon* that we are not uninitiated'. Rather, Aristides frames his own performance as equally inspired, led by the gods (Downie 2013: 38-9). But the point Herrero de Jáuregui makes in reference to this testimony is valid: it is the knowledge of how to perform and understand such hymns that mark the initiate.

⁶² Lobeck 1829: 455-60, Kern 1922: 265-6. *Contra* West 1983: 35-6 'Kern was wrong to assign the fragment to the *Testament*, which is addressed to Musaeus, not to God. Nor do I think it can properly be called Jewish, though the influence of Judaism can be seen in it. I regard it as a syncretistic work, probably composed in Alexandria about the first century AD'.

⁶³ Herrero de Jáuregui 2015: 224-6 compares the proem of the *OH* and the *Diatheke* in this light.

⁶⁴ Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 192-3 'It is a hymn composed in Alexandria, an exponent of the pantheistic and syncretistic tendencies of Hellenism, and although the hymn is not a Jewish work, Jewish and perhaps also Gnostic influence is evident... The ease with which he links it to hymns derived from Jewish apologetic sources reveals the similarity of the literature circulating in Gnostic, Jewish, and Christian milieus. The proximity of these circles doubtless facilitated the expansion of the corpus of Orphic literature'.

⁶⁵ Herrero de Jáuregui (2015) similarly argues that the extant Orphic hymns, as well as the *Diatheke*, share formal features, praising and invoking deities 'using the same paratactic and condensed style in which the intertextual reference to previous traditions provides the key to interpretation. These are all formal features attached to the authorial role of Orpheus, and therefore shared by most Orphic hymns, however different their theological contents and ritual contexts may be' (p. 226).

verse of a hymn to Demeter quoted by Diodorus (*OF* 399), and the opening verse of the Orphic *Hymn to Number* (*OF* 698) do not shed much more light. They list epicleses, but this is, as stated, characteristic of the invocations of hexameter hymns of all periods.

A final testimony on Orphic hymns needs to be considered in greater detail here, that of Menander Rhetor, whose treatise *On the Division of Epideictic Speeches* dates to the second half of the third century.⁶⁶ Menander's work begins with a classification of the types of hymn, as one branch of the rhetoric of praise that may be adapted to performative oratory. Four pairs of sub-genre are proposed: kletic and apopemptic hymns, in which gods are invoked and invited to attend a rite or bid farewell; 'physical' (φυσικοί, translated as 'scientific' by Russell and Wilson) and mythical; genealogical and fictive; and precatory and deprecatory, in which a positive or apotroptic prayer comprises the whole hymn.⁶⁷ Physical hymns are 'such as Parmenides and Empedocles composed, expounding the nature of Apollo or Zeus. Many of the hymns of Orpheus are composed of this kind.'⁶⁸ Does Menander mean literal hymns here? Russell and Wilson do not think so:

The extant hymns are invocations meant to accompany offerings of incense. They enumerate the functions and titles of many gods, but are not φυσικοί. They are not intended here; the reference is a more general one to the mass of 'Orphic' literature, esp. ἱεροὶ λόγοι.⁶⁹

Leaving aside the question of whether the *Orphic Hymns* themselves are referred to here, it is true that when Menander includes the poetry of Parmenides and Empedocles in this group, he does not mean invocations to the gods so much as theological treatises on their natures:

εἰσὶ δὲ τοιοῦτοι, ὅταν Ἀπόλλωνος ὕμνον λέγοντες ἥλιον αὐτὸν εἶναι φάσκωμεν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἡλίου τῆς φύσεως διαλεγώμεθα, καὶ περὶ Ἥρας ὅτι ἀήρ, καὶ Ζεὺς τὸ θερμόν· οἱ γὰρ τοιοῦτοι ὕμνοι φυσιολογικοί. καὶ χρῶνται δὲ τῷ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ Παρμενίδης τε καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἀκριβῶς, κέχρηται δὲ καὶ ὁ Πλάτων· ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ γὰρ φυσιολογῶν ὅτι πάθος ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁ Ἔρως, ἀναπτεροποιεῖ αὐτόν.

Such hymns are found, for example when we, in delivering a hymn to Apollo we identify him with the sun, and discuss the nature of the sun, or when we identify Hera with air or Zeus with heat. Such hymns are 'scientific'. Parmenides and Empedocles make use of this form

⁶⁶ On the authorship and date of the treatise, Russell & Wilson 1981: xxxiv-xl, Heath 2004: 127-131.

⁶⁷ Men. Rh. 333.1-334.24. The terms used are κλητικοί, ἀποπεμπτικοί, φυσικοί, μυθικοί, γενεαλογικοί, πεπλασμένοι, εὐκτικοί and ἀπευκτικοί.

⁶⁸ Men. Rh. 333.12-15 (*OF* 683 I) φυσικοί δὲ οἷους οἱ περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα ἐποίησαν, τίς ἢ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος φύσις, τίς ἢ τοῦ Διός, παρατιθέμενοι. καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν Ὀρφέως τούτου τοῦ τρόπου. The phrase οἱ περὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλέα could suggest the followers of these poets, but Russell and Wilson (1981: 231) argue that Menander means 'Parmenides and Empedocles'.

⁶⁹ Russell & Wilson 1981: 231.

exactly, but Plato also uses it: thus in the *Phaedrus*, when he gives an account of Love ‘as a passion of the soul’, he equips him with wings.⁷⁰

Menander explicitly includes in his analysis hymnic discourses on the gods in prose: the speeches on Eros in the *Symposium* are categorised as genealogical (*Phaedrus*), mythological (*Aristophanes* and *Agathon*), and physical or fictive (*Socrates*), and he cites Plato’s description of the *Timaeus* as ‘a hymn to the cosmos’.⁷¹ With probable reference to *Parmenides* and *Empedocles* again, he tells us that ‘whole treatises have been composed in this way, in which there is no need for a prayer at all’.⁷² It is possible that *ἱεροὶ λόγοι* of the type imitated by the extant *Diatheke* are meant. Menander is clear, however, that a narrative Orphic theogony is not. In discussing the relationship between genealogical and mythical poetry, he mentions *Orpheus’* theogony (together with those of *Acusilaus* and *Hesiod*, 338.5-9), and later tells us that no hymns are exclusively genealogical ‘unless theogonies are to be regarded as hymns to the gods’ (340.4-7). That he means Orphic hymns specifically in 333.15 cannot be ruled out: hymns by ‘*Orpheus*’ were certainly current, and *Brisson* accepts that they are referred to here.⁷³ Whether they are specifically meant, or grouped with other theological discourses, Menander is unlikely to discount or exclude them when he talks of the hymns of *Orpheus*.

The remaining discussion of physical hymns (336.25-337.32) is significant in this light. Some are fully explanatory, ‘overt’ (ἐξηγητικοί... ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ προάγονται) and designed to give instruction to the ignorant - those of *Parmenides* and *Empedocles* are like this. Others are abbreviated, summary (ἐν βραχεὶ προαγόμενοι... κεφαλαιωδέστεροι) and enigmatic (κατ’ αἰνίγματα προϊόντες): these concisely remind a reader who is assumed to know:

αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν οἱ μὲν ἐξηγητικοί, οἱ δὲ ἐν βραχεὶ προαγόμενοι· πλεῖστον γὰρ διαφέρει, ὥς εἰδῶτα ἀναμιμνήσκειν συμμέτρως, ἢ ὅλως ἀγνοοῦντα διδάσκειν.⁷⁴

Some scientific hymns are fully explanatory, others are abbreviated; it makes a great difference whether one is concisely reminding a reader who is assumed to know, or giving instruction to one who is completely ignorant.

⁷⁰ Men. Rh. 337.1-9. The translations from Menander here are taken from Russell & Wilson.

⁷¹ Men. Rh. 333.7-16 (*Symposium*), 337.22-4 (*Timaeus*). The latter statement is apocryphal. Menander attributes it, wrongly, to the *Critias*.

⁷² Men. Rh. 334.25-6.

⁷³ *Brisson* 1990: 2916 ‘peut-être parce-qu’ils célébraient des divinités comme Ouranos, le Soleil, l’Océan etc’. *Morand* accepts the description, but not the categorisation (2001: 94) ‘Les *Hymnes orphiques* entrent dans la catégorie des hymnes “clétiques”, même si Ménandre affirme que la plupart des hymnes d’Orphée sont “physiques ou naturels”’.

⁷⁴ Men. Rh. 337.9-12.

The hymns that are held to be Pythagorean are of the abbreviated, cryptic type.⁷⁵ Both kinds should be kept from the common crowd:

ἐπιτηρεῖν δὲ χρὴ καὶ μὴ εἰς τὸν πολὺν ὄχλον καὶ δῆμον ἐκφέρειν τοὺς τοιούτους ὕμνους·
ἀπιθανώτεροι γὰρ καὶ καταγελαστικώτεροι τοῖς πολλοῖς φαίνονται.

Such hymns should be carefully preserved and not published to the multitude or the people, because they look too unconvincing and ridiculous to the masses.

Menander's hymnic categories are not exclusive: he emphasises that in both poetic hymns and epideictic speeches, elements may be combined; and, as discussed, the several forms of poetry and prose are used to illustrate these categories. Praise of the gods is the unifying rhetorical theme, and non-invocatory theological discourses are included. But it is notable how well his subcategory of short, enigmatic 'physical' hymns describe both the extant *Orphic Hymns* and the other Orphic hymns that survive. While Russell and Wilson maintain that the *Orphic Hymns* are not 'physical', although formally kletic they are explorations of the natures of the gods (333.13-14), and divinities are frequently, wherever possible in fact, identified with natural phenomena (337.1-4), whether as personifications (the Clouds or Winds), or by allegorical association (Apollo as the sun, Hera as air, Hephaistos as fire). Of the eighty-seven hymns in the collection, nearly half are wholly or partly physical in this very specific sense, and thirteen hymns represent the four elements in the sequence (*OH* 15-27).⁷⁶ Taken as a whole, the *Orphic Hymns* do in fact present the pantheon, in this respect, as the collective elements of the natural world, as the 'limbs of Pan' (*OH* 11.3). They are 'enigmatic', insofar as they use allusion and allegory to convey meaning, and 'abbreviated', employing, as stated, epicleses and short predications that present each divinity's nature in a condensed, 'summary' manner. The implication that the reader or hearer, identified with Musaeus, is already initiated, receptive to the significance of these condensed predications and the connections that are suggested by formulae and repetition, has been discussed in chapter four. As Menander briefly but perceptively states, such hymns are not didactic in an explanatory sense, they are designed to trigger the memory of those who already know. In his conclusion on physical

⁷⁵ On the Pythagorean *Hymn to Number*, Thesleff 1961: 107 n. 4, 1965: 173. Proclus quotes four verses on the tetractys from this, which Kern includes among the references to the Orphic *Hymn to Number* (*OF* 315 K). It is not clear whether the two poems (or more than two) should be distinguished. See further Brisson 1990: 2918-9. The collection of theonyms and divine epithets associated with the first ten numbers that Photius excerpts from Nicomachus of Gerasa's *Ἀριθμητικὰ θεολογούμενα* (*Bib. cod.* 187, 142b-145b) might derive from such hymns. A Pythagorean hymn to Physis, attributed to Mesomedes by Wilamowitz, is also extant (*CA* p. 197).

⁷⁶ *OH* 3 Nyx, 4 Ouranos, 5 Aither, 7 Asteres, 8 Helios, 9 Selene, 10 Physis, 11 Pan (cosmos), 12 Herakles (time, sun), 13 Kronos (time), 16 Hera (air), 17 Poseidon (sea), 19 Keraunos (lightning), 20 Astrapaïos (lightning), 21 Nephe, 22 Thalassa, 23 Nereus (sea-bed), 24 Nereids (dolphins), 26 Ge, 27 Meter Theon (earth), 29 Persephone (green shoots), 34 Apollo (sun), 36 Artemis (moon), 38 Kouretes (storms), 40 Demeter (earth), 43 Horai, 47 Perikionios (ivy), 50 Lysios Lenaïos (vine), 51 Nymphai (streams), 55 Aphrodite (cosmic force of attraction), 66 Hephaistos (fire), 75 Palaimon (St Elmo's fire), 78 Eos, 80 Boreas, 81 Zephyros, 82 Notos, 83 Okeanos, 84 Hestia (earth). On the sequence of elements (*OH* 15-27), see ch. 2.1.3.

hymns Menander says that they ‘rise to the heights of the dithyramb’ (337.30-32), unlike mythical hymns, which should be restrained, ‘far-removed from the dithyramb’ (339.14-15). Mythical hymns should avoid ‘archaism and grandeur of words’ and draw dignity from ‘arrangement and figures’ instead, telling us, by implication, what he means by dithyrambic. Ps-Demetrius agrees that a key marker of this style is the use of elaborate diction, including compound epithets. The example he gives is in fact ἐρημόπλανος, ‘waste-roaming’, a word that only occurs otherwise in *OH* 39.4 (Korybant).⁷⁷ In their abundance of *hapax legomena* and compound epithets the *Orphic Hymns* are certainly ‘dithyrambic’, and, again, this accords with Menander’s characterisation of abbreviated, enigmatic hymns: compound epithets are the primary method such hymns employ to condense ideas into short, allusive predication.

The testimonia and surviving fragments of Orphic hymns are, it may be argued, broadly consistent, if limited in number. They suggest a type of theological discourse, framed as direct invocations of the gods and either composed for cult practice, or employing cultic modes of address and performance, that are (with the important exception of the narrative hymn to Demeter) short, dactylic and ‘attributive’ rather than narrative. Their aim is a summative exploration of the nature of the divinity addressed that takes in the gods’ names, their points of contact with other divinities, their epicleses and attributes.⁷⁸ They are not ‘elegant’. As poetry they may be considered inferior, confusing or even ridiculous. But they do not aim at broad appeal: they speak to ‘those of understanding’ who can read the hints and allusions that point to meanings encoded in the surface accumulation of predication. They are, in this sense, a cultic, performative analogue to the more expository, although still allusive, mythological poetry that was composed under Orpheus’ name and seal. The Derveni commentator maintains that this poetry is essentially enigmatic, requiring interpretation:

ἔστι δὲ ξ[ένη τις ἢ] πόησις
[καὶ] ἀνθρώ[ποις] αἰνι[γμ]ατώδης, [κε]ῖ [Ὀρφεὺς] αὐτ[ο]ς
[ἐ]ρίστ’ αἰνι[γμ]ατα οὐκ ἤθελε λέγειν, [ἐν αἰν]ιγμ[α]σ[ι]ν δὲ
[με]γάλα. ἱερ[ολογ]εῖται μὲν οὖν καὶ ἀ[πὸ το]ῦ πρώτου
[αεὶ] μέχρι οὗ [τελε]νταίου ῥήματος.⁷⁹

The poetry is strange
and enigmatic to people, even if Orpheus himself
did not mean to speak troublesome riddles, but great things

⁷⁷ Demetr. *De Eloc.* 116 ἐν συνθέτῳ, ὅταν διθυραμβώδης συντεθῇ ἢ δίπλωσις τοῦ ὀνόματος, ὡς τὸ ἐρημόπλανος ἔφη τις, καὶ <εἶ> τι ἄλλο οὕτως ὑπέρογκον. On ἐρημόπλανος, van Liempt 1930: 22, Macedo *et al* 2021: 79.

⁷⁸ Herrero de Jáuregui 2010a: 90 ‘To judge from the extant evidence, the typical style of Orphic hymns was not a lengthy myth-telling as in the *Homeric Hymns*, but invocations consisting in strings of epithets which describe the attributes of the god in question and address him by all the names he might want to be called, in accordance with the principle of *polyonymia*’.

⁷⁹ P. Derv. col. VII 4-8 Kouremenos (*OF* 669).

in riddles. His discourse is sacred then, always, from the first word to the last.

To be sure, this definition speaks to the commentator's perception of the work and their purposes: their aim is to provide such an interpretation, and a distinction must be made between allegorical explanations of Orphic poetry and the poetry itself,⁸⁰ but there is some truth in the observation that is independent of the commentator's allegoresis: it is implicit in the Orphic *sphragis* that the commentator goes on to discuss, and the aura of secrecy this projects, but also insofar as the theogonic poetry is a philosophical account of the origins of the cosmos which invites interpretation through the use of names for primordial beings such as Eros or Metis and through etymological allusions.⁸¹

5.4 Generic contexts

Where do the *Orphic Hymns* stand in terms of genre? This study has suggested that several overlapping contexts can be identified. They are informed by the oral poetic strategies of the Homeric tradition, in particular that of catalogic poetry, theogonic poetry, and above all hieratic, gnomic or oracular poetry. They deploy the formal markers of hexameter hymns and draw upon ideas and poetic figures that are found in Presocratic philosophy, both poetry and prose. In their kletic form and the asyndetic accumulation of predications they show a form that is recognisable in hymns and oracles of the Imperial period, several examples of which survive from the third century or later, but which appears to have been well-established by the first century and had antecedents in the Hellenistic period and possibly the Classical period as well. This style of hymnic poetry was not exclusively Orphic, but Orphic hymns appear to have shown these characteristics from an early period, as an adaptation of traditional hymnal modes to the functions they aimed at: exploring the nature of their divine subject in a manner that was complete and definitive, which connected with and drew meaning from the broader Orphic tradition, and that spoke to performance within a ritual context. Orphic hymns were frequently, as may be argued from the surviving quotations and descriptions, short, liturgical in style, and allusive. Clearly there is a danger here in defining 'Orphic hymns' as a type through the lens of the extant collection: in arguing that the *Orphic Hymns* are like this, so their primary generic context must be too. I hope, however, that the detailed stylistic analyses undertaken in this study and this chapter's survey of the remains of Orphic hymnic poetry may be taken to support the conclusion that they did share these broad stylistic features.

⁸⁰ Cf. P. Derv. col. XIII 5-6 *ὅτι μὲν πᾶσαν τὴν πόησιν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰνίζεται κ[α]θ' ἕπος ἕκαστον ἀνάγκη λέγειν*, since the poetry is enigmatic, he will interpret it word by word. See further Obbink 2003, Betegh 2004: 132-3, 2004a, Bierl 2014, Meisner 2018: 53-4. Allegoresis of Orphic poetry extends from the Derveni author to the Neoplatonists but the question of whether allegory was ever intended by the authors of Orphic poetry is subject to debate. See Meisner (2018: 122-150), on the theogony of Hieronymus and Hellanicus.

⁸¹ On the Orphic *sphragis*, West 1983: 82-4, Bernabé 1996, Bremmer 2011, Calame 2011, Graf 2011, Meisner 2018: 65-7; on Orphic secrecy and *hieroi logoi* in particular, Henrichs 2003, Graf & Johnston 2007: 178-82.

Genre itself is a problematic term and the sense in which I use it has been discussed in the introduction to this thesis. Who or what defines ‘epicletic hymns’ or ‘Orphic’ ones? By epicletic hymns I do not mean to suggest a closed, normative category, but rather a purely descriptive one, a set of stylistic features that individual hymns share, to a greater or lesser degree. Catalogues of epithets and predication occur in hymns of all periods, particularly in invocatory sequences, as well as in liturgical formulae and oracular poetry. Hymns formed exclusively of catalogued attributes may be designed for ritual performance, as those of the magical papyri are, or the prayer-hymns of the Latin *Anthology*. They may be personal expressions of devotion, like the *Homeric Hymn to Ares*, the hymns of Proclus or Cleanthes’ *Hymn to Zeus*. They may be incorporated into literary works, as they are by Nonnus, the author of the *Orphic Argonautica*, Seneca and Ovid. They are, however, a recognisable type, and whether formed of simply listed epithets, or of longer, more discursive periods, they share the aim of encompassing all aspects and attributes of the divinity invoked, as opposed to hymns in which the *eulogia* forms a central, often continuous description or narrative.

Orphic hymns, as a generic category, are qualitatively different. They were recognised in antiquity as a discrete group, bound together by their shared claim to the same author and by the system of cross-references to poetry in the Orphic tradition that is evident at least in the extant collection and the hymn to Helios-Dionysos. There is a normative force here: a poet composing a hymn as Orpheus assumes that persona and may be expected to ‘participate’ in the generic tradition it defines. By composing poetry that looked and sounded like the Orphic hymns of earlier generations, that had recourse to the same poetic formulae and formal elements, the poet reinforced their authorial claim and the religious authority this implied.⁸² Innovation was of course possible, new hymns to gods that had not been the recipients of such addresses were created, as they certainly were by the author of the extant collection, and there was no strict doctrinal requirement - different positions on the polytheist-monotheist spectrum could be adopted. But formal and stylistic conservatism was a requirement, underpinning the claim to antiquity. This is evident in the collection that survives. For all the variety of forms they display they are united by the stylistic features studied here, as they are by formulaic cross-reference; and these, as seen, look in themselves to the use of sound and patterning that is found in sacred and theological poetry of the earliest period. The metrical style of the hymns has not been treated here and requires a detailed study,⁸³ but in terms of the ratio of masculine to feminine caesura, of spondees to dactyls, or the number of hexameter forms they display, the hymns are similarly conservative, coming close to the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, and widely separated from the hexameter style of late antiquity, and the

⁸² Herrero de Jáuregui 2015: 229-30.

⁸³ Novossadsky’s study of the hymns’ metre (1900: 114-171) considers the types of hexameter, ratio of spondees and Attic correptions, concluding that, metrically, the hymns are close to the Homeric and Hesiodic poems. Quandt (1955²: 39*-41*) collects examples of hephthemimeral caesura, word division at Hermann’s bridge, vowel lengthening and correption, and hiatus.

innovations most strikingly evident in Nonnus.⁸⁴ This element of formal and stylistic conservatism in the hymns, taken together with the surviving evidence for hymns attributed to Orpheus, strongly suggests that the extant collection looked to earlier hymns in the Orphic sub-genre and used these as models.⁸⁵

5.5 Function

The function of the hymns in terms of these generic contexts can be considered in greater detail now. How do Orphic hymns stand in relation to the more expository theological poetry of the theogonies on one hand and to cultic performance on the other? Sfameni Gasparro and Hopman-Govers identify a double discourse in the hymns.⁸⁶ On the one hand they are a theological text that describes and explores the natures of the gods and the pantheon as a whole; on the other they are clearly designed to be performed. The fumigations speak most obviously to the ritual context of their performance, but the references to the *mystai* and the *teletai* that so frequently occur, chiefly but not exclusively in the prayers that, as seen, foreground the relationship between the divine addressee and the human audience and bring the hymn from the atemporal mode of the predications to the present of the performance, strongly reinforce the idea of a ritual context, as does the hymnic and specifically the kletic mode that all display. As Sfameni Gasparro argues, the cultic discourse is predominant and we can distinguish between the hymns on this basis and the mythical poetry in which the discourse is theological, didactic and expository.⁸⁷ Although Menander distinguishes between hymns and theogonies, the distinction he draws between expository ‘physical’ hymns, which aim to instruct broadly and may dispense with the formal characteristics of hymn such as the prayer, and the abbreviated, enigmatic type which serve to stimulate the memory of ‘those who know’, is instructive.

The hymns are built around the experience of ritual performance, they depend on being heard to generate their latent meanings. As Sfameni Gasparro again observes, the idea of epiphany - specifically that of Dionysos - is a fundamental theme, expressed literally in the kletic mode and prayers, but implicitly also in the dynamic image of each god that is conjured in the imaginations of

⁸⁴ Caesura: 52% masculine, 45% feminine, 3% hephthemimeral. In Homer the ratio of masculine to feminine is 3:4, hephthemimeral: *Il.* 1.4%, *Od.* 0.9%, Hes. 2.2% (West 1982: 36). Masculine predominates in the later 5th and 4th centuries BCE, feminine in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods (*ibid.* 45, 98, 153, 177: Callimachus 74%, Apollonius 67%, Quintus 81%, Nonnus 82%). Masculine caesura is more common in ‘less skillful versifiers’ however, such as Ps-Phocylides. Hephthemimeral caesura is increasingly rare in later writers (*ibid.* 177). Average number of spondees per verse (Ludwich 1885 II: 327-9): *OH* 1.33, *Il.* 1.30, *Od.* 1.32, Hes. *Th.* 1.29, Call. *Hy.* 1.08, Ap. Rhod. 1.15, Ps-Phocyl. 1.45, Opp. *Hal.* 1.20, Quintus (1, 2, 3, 14) 0.83, Nonnus (*D.* 1, 2) 0.78, Proclus *Hy.* 0.80. Types of hexameter (of the 32 possible forms, Ludwich 1885 II: 321-2): *OH* 26, *Il.* 32, *Od.* 32, Hes. *Th.* 28, Ap. Rhod. 26, Opp. *Hal.* 20, Nonnus *Paraph.* 9. The calculations for the *OH* here are my own, the comparative figures are taken from Ludwich.

⁸⁵ Herrero de Jáuregui 2015: 228 ‘the poet(s) of the collection had some models, in the shape of the earlier Orphic hymns, as we can see through comparison with hymnic poems preserved outside the collection’.

⁸⁶ Hopman-Govers 2001: 49, Sfameni Gasparro 2013: 436.

⁸⁷ Sfameni Gasparro 2013: 446.

the hearers, and that of the polymorphic god who interweaves the pantheon.⁸⁸ The hymns do not just describe the divine realm, in the context of the experience of performance, they animate it. And yet the theological, didactic aspect of the collection cannot be minimised, it is undoubtedly present.⁸⁹ The hymns speak to the initiated, but the initiation is an ongoing one. Musaeus, in this context, is a disciple: he has been prepared for the revelation the hymns offer, but will learn also through the experience of exploring and unpacking that revelation. The ‘signs’ he is offered in the form of allusive predication and formulaic connections, the ‘threads’ he must follow, mark a process that is meant to be continuous. Meditation on the predication and the connections between them will yield further insights into the nature of each god’s identity with ‘use’. The enigmatic injunction of the title - ἐτυχῶς χρῶ - suggests that usage, in the sense perhaps of both performance and of contemplation, will be fruitful and beneficial. Performance and contemplation go hand in hand, and the cultic and theological discourses inform each other, in guiding the audience to a type of theophany.

Whether the ritual context of the hymns can be tied to a specific cult or community is less clear. Dionysos is unquestionably central and yet attempts to use the terminology of the mysteries found in the collection to identify a specific *telete* have not been conclusive. The hierarchy of official titles Dieterich argues for - a *boukolos* leading the *mystai* and *neomystai* - and which Morand studies in the light of the inscriptional evidence, is not certain.⁹⁰ The *boukolos* or official, who Maass argued should be identified with Orpheus himself,⁹¹ is not at the head of an elaborate hierarchy in communities such as that of the Torre Nova inscription.⁹² Contrary to Barbieri Antunes’ argument, if the hymns were the liturgy of a Bacchic community of this type, more exact designations might be expected.⁹³ The titles appear to be broadly meant, describing the audience as

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Herrero de Jáuregui (2015: 237) disagrees: ‘Unlike Callimachean or Homeric hymns, men do not learn anything anew from Orphic hymns, because they are supposed to know it as initiates. These poems presuppose a previous teaching and their only goal is to please their addressees, the gods’.

⁹⁰ Dieterich 1891: 3-13 ‘iam tunc in Orphicorum sacello λαῶν ὑπερ preces ac vota misit ad numina divina Bacchi βουκόλος’. Morand 2001: 231-287 on the titles of initiates in the *OH*. Morand notes however the diversity in the meanings of these titles in the inscriptional sources (p. 286): ‘la variété avec laquelle les différentes communautés se désignaient elles-mêmes et les variations de niveaux hiérarchiques indiquées par le mot boukolos révèlent les grandes différences qui existaient entre les groupes. Cette diversité caractérisait aussi les groupes orphiques. Ceci prouve l’absence totale d’un mouvement centralisé et implique que les conclusions dérivées de sources extérieures aux *Hymnes* ne peuvent être utilisées qu’à titre de parallèles’.

⁹¹ Maass 1895: 182-4. *Contra* Morand 2001: 283: ‘Dans les inscriptions, le βουκόλος n’est jamais à la tête du groupe. L’image complètement développée du troupeau de croyants qui suit un pasteur n’apparaît pas dans les sources, même si l’idée de “garder, protéger, guider” est présente dans le choix du mot *boukolos*. Pour cette raison, la suggestion de Maass, selon laquelle le *boukolos* était en fait Orphée, peut être écartée’. Cf. Graf & Johnston 2007: 152 ‘The self-designation of the Gurôb initiate as cowherd, *boukolos*, inserts him firmly into the Bacchic mysteries, where the *boukolos* designated a mid-range initiate’.

⁹² *IGUR* I no. 160, Cumont 1933, Nilsson 1974³ II: 358-60, Morand 2001: 244-8, 270, plates 8-10. Here the title ἀρχιβούκολος is followed by the names of seven ἱεροὶ βουκόλοι and eleven βουκόλοι, a small sub-group within the community of *mystai*.

⁹³ Barbieri Antunes 2018: 65, who suggests that the ‘relaxed’ use of cultic terminology might point to a non-technical, soteriological use, but concludes that the hymns were used by a real initiatory group. ‘Em contrapartida, a

a privileged in-group, the ‘initiates’, and in this light the ‘boukolos’ can be read as a synonym for *mystes*. The initiates of the projected audience may certainly have been literally initiated, although the theory that the collection is the liturgy of that initiation is less likely, but they may also be so in a metaphorical sense. Cleanthes and Chrysippus described theological instruction as an initiation,⁹⁴ and the possibility that the hymns are a type of *lesemysterium*, independent of a specific cult context and transferable; that their performance, whether by a community or an individual, creates its own ritual context, may be considered.⁹⁵ The fact that the *teletai* referred to in the collection appear to be varied, including those of Demeter and Kore, of the Samothracian gods, and the Bacchic *Trieterica*, may support this view. The *pantheic telete* that Leto, Trieterikos and Silenos are invited to attend is supervening however, and does appear to describe the ritual context of the hymns. It may not have required the sanctuary and series of altars that Dieterich and Graf envisage: the offerings that accompany the ‘prayers’ - the incense prescribed for each hymn - may have been burnt on a single altar, but there is also a sense, suggested by the identification of the *θυηπολὴ* with the *εὐχή* in the proem (P.1-2), that the hymns are themselves to be considered an offering, and that they themselves constitute the rite.⁹⁶ In this context Porphyry’s comments on contemplation as an offering in itself are relevant. The supreme god, he tell us, should be worshipped in contemplative silence,

τοῖς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐκγόνοις, νοητοῖς δὲ θεοῖς ἤδη καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ λόγου ὑμνωδίαν προσθετέον. ἀπαρχὴ
γὰρ ἐκάστωι ὧν δέδωκεν ἡ θυσία, καὶ δι’ ὧν ἡμῶν τρέφει καὶ εἰς τὸ εἶναι συνέχει τὴν οὐσίαν. ὥς οὖν

autossuficiência de uma obra unicamente literária teria uma maior exigência em sua nomenclatura cultural fictícia. Novamente, então, o uso relaxado de terminologias sacrificiais e ritualísticas apontaria antes para o interesse soteriológico não técnico que talvez fosse próprio de uma composição cujo sentido se efetuará *in loco*’.

⁹⁴ Algra 2003: 154. Cleanth. *SVF* I 538 (Epiphan. *Adv. haer.* 3.2.9) Κλεάνθης... τοὺς θεοὺς μυστικὰ σχήματα ἔλεγεν εἶναι καὶ κλήσεις ἱεράς, καὶ δαιδοῦχον ἔφασκεν εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον, καὶ τὸν κόσμον μυστήριον καὶ τοὺς κατόχους τῶν θείων τελεστὰς ἔλεγε. Chrysipp. *SVF* II 1008 (*Etym. Mag.* s.v. τελετή) Χρύσιππος δὲ φησι, τοὺς περὶ τῶν θείων λόγους εἰκότως καλεῖσθαι τελετὰς. χρῆναι γὰρ τούτους τελευταίους καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσι διδάσκεσθαι, τῆς ψυχῆς ἐχούσης ἔρμα καὶ κεκρατημένης καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀμυήτους σιωπᾶν δυναμένης. μέγα γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἄθλον ὑπὲρ θεῶν ἀκούσαι τε ὀρθὰ καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς γενέσθαι αὐτῶν. Cf. *SVF* II 42 (Plut. *De Stoic. Rep.* 1035a) τῶν δὲ φυσικῶν ἔσχατος εἶναι ὁ περὶ τῶν θεῶν λόγος, διὸ καὶ τελετὰς ἡγόρευσαν τὰς τούτου παραδόσεις.

⁹⁵ *Lesemysterien*: Reitzenstein 1920²: 40-1 (regarding the *Hermetica*), critiqued however by Fowden 1986: 149-50, who emphasises, in this context, the importance of the ‘balance between inner spiritual experience and the human milieu in which it is attained’, including the relationship between master and pupil. ‘Mysteries of the word’ might indeed be a better term that takes account of both such a relationship and the possibility of performance. On Orphic poetry as ‘literary mysteries’, Festugière 1932: 116-132, Boulanger 1937: 124-6, Burkert 1977, Brisson 1990: 2930. Eur. *Hipp.* 953-4 (*OF* 627, Ὀρφέα τ’ ἄνακτ’ ἔχων | βράκχευε πολλῶν γραμμάτων τιμῶν καπνούς) is indicative. On the hymns in this light, Boyancé 1937: 47: ‘Et, comme dans le recueil des hymnes, ils appellent τελεταὶ ces rites si efficaces et peut-être plus spécialement, de même que les hymnes sont dénommés Τελεταί, les formules chantées’. See further, Ricciardelli 2000: xv-xvi, van den Berg 2001: 107, 212-4.

⁹⁶ Ricciardelli 2000: xxxviii. Cf. Proclus *Hy.* 4.2-4 ψυχὰς... ὕμνων ἀρρήτοις καθηραμένας τελετήσι, and van den Berg *ad loc.* (2001: 231-3). Although the mystagogic and theurgic context here is clearly significant, as van den Berg notes ‘It is... precisely as a philosopher, as a student of βίβλοι (vs. 5), that a seeker of wisdom needs ritual purification rites to which he can contribute by composing and singing hymns’.

γεωργὸς δραγμάτων ἀπάρχεται καὶ τῶν ἀκροδρῶν, οὕτως ἡμεῖς ἀπαρξώμεθα αὐτοῖς ἐννοιῶν τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν καλῶν⁹⁷

but to his progeny, the intelligible Gods, spoken hymns should be offered. For the sacrifice for each should be the first-fruits of the things they give, and through which they nourish us and preserve our existence. As therefore, the farmer gives first-fruits of corn and fruits, so too we should offer them the first-fruits of our fair thoughts about them.

Significantly, Porphyry goes on to criticise the contemporary obsession with images (ἀφιδρύματα), stating that, in offering the first-fruits of contemplation, we follow the example of ‘holy and ancient men’ (τοὺς ὁσίους καὶ παλαιοὺς ἐκμιμησόμεθα, 2.35). These holy men may be identified in the next paragraph: the followers of Pythagoras, he tells us, did this by associating the gods with numbers, and with the heavenly bodies:

θεοῖς γε μὴν τοῖς ἐντὸς οὐρανοῦ πλανωμένοις τε καὶ ἀπλανέσιν, ὧν ἡγεῖσθαι θετέον ἥλιον πάντων σελήνην τε δευτέραν, πῦρ τε ἥδη ξυγγενὲς ἀνάπτοιμεν ἂν ἅ τε φησὶν ὁ θεολόγος ποιήσωμεν. φησὶ δὲ ἔμψυχον οὗτος θύειν μὴδὲ ἔν, ἀλλ’ ἄχρις ἀλφίτων καὶ μέλιτος καὶ τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀκροδρῶν τῶν τε ἄλλων ἀνθέων ἀπάρχεσθαι· μὴδὲ ἀφ’ ἡιμαγμένης ἐσχάρας ἔστω τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ὅσα φησὶν ἐκεῖνος· τί γὰρ δεῖ μεταγράφειν ταῦτα; οἶδεν δὲ ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας φροντίζων ὡς θεοῖς μὲν οὐ θύεται ἔμψυχον οὐδέν, δαίμοσι δὲ ἄλλοις ἤτοι ἀγαθοῖς ἢ καὶ φαύλοις, καὶ τίνων ἐστὶ τὸ θύειν τούτοις καὶ ἄχρι τίνος αὐτοῦ δεομένων. ἐμοὶ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα εὖστομα κείσθω⁹⁸

Indeed, they [made use of] the gods wandering within the sky and those fixed, of whom one should count the sun the leader of all, the moon as second, and we might also connect fire, as the theologist says. He also says not to sacrifice one living thing, but only to offer first-fruits of cereals and honey and fruits from the earth and other flowers. ‘Nor let the fire be from a bloodied hearth’, and all that he says - why should I need to write out all this? For he who studies piety knows, indeed, that to the gods no living thing is to be sacrificed, but only to other daimons, whether good or bad, and who should sacrifice to these and how far they should go in this. Other things, however, will be passed over by me in silence.

If, as Bernabé has argued,⁹⁹ the *theologos* here is Orpheus, then the description of contemplative hymns in the preceding paragraph might apply to hymns in the Orphico-Pythagorean tradition which are in themselves a meditative form of worship, or perceived to be by Porphyry. The correlation of his description with the Orphic and Pythagorean hymns to Number is noted by Brisson, the reference to ‘physical’ hymns to the sun, moon and fire recalls Menander’s category, as

⁹⁷ Porph. *De abstin.* 2.34 Nauck. The supreme god should be worshipped in pure silence and with ‘pure thoughts’ (διὰ δὲ σιγῆς καθαρᾶς καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ καθαρῶν ἐννοιῶν θρησκειούμεν αὐτόν), a phrase that recalls *καθαραῖς γνώμας* in *OH* 58 (Eros), who is asked to ‘unite in pure thoughts with the *mystai*’.

⁹⁸ *ibid.* 2.36, *OF* 635.

⁹⁹ Bernabé *ad loc.* *OF* 635 ‘θεόλογος frequenter de Orpheo dicitur’, 2013: 122. Haussleiter (1935: 323) argues that it refers to Pythagoras however.

does the insistence on secrecy, and the injunction against sacrificing living things is of course reflected in the offerings of the *Orphic Hymns*.¹⁰⁰

The idea that the *Orphic Hymns* might be understood as constituting a rite in themselves, also suggested by Herrero de Jáuregui and Barbieri Antunes,¹⁰¹ deserves further consideration in the light of the cultic references in the collection as well as the hymns' philosophical element. A number of scholars as discussed in the first chapter have favoured the idea of a primarily philosophical or didactic function, including Snedorf, Petersen, Baudnik and, regarding their final redaction specifically, Kern. The importance of the cultic discourse in the hymns cannot be dismissed or minimised however: performance is key, as recent scholars have maintained, and this study confirms. The hymns are incantatory and liturgic, they are meant to be heard, but they are simultaneously meant to be contemplated and explored, and in this sense they are also didactic. Their cultic and theological aspects cannot be divorced, they are, as stated, mutually informing, but the synthesis of these two discourses may perhaps be better understood in terms of a 'ritual of the book' (or word), performable in different contexts, than in terms of a liturgy composed for a specific, localised Bacchic cult community. In sum, the ritual context of the hymns is indeed essential, as I think all scholars following Dieterich and Schöll have agreed. But it is the performative, experiential aspect of the ritual that is definitive. The connection to a defined mystery cult that the hymns' terminology suggests is a possible, but not a necessary corollary. Terms such as *boukolos*, *mystai* and *teletai* may, in the present form that the collection takes, be paradigmatic and intended to project an ideal or virtual mystic community, a *λαός* that is descriptive of the hymns' human audience, and 'users' that, in any performative context, are initiates or initiands into the revelation they communicate.

5.6 Composition

The question of the hymns' intended function cannot of course be separated ultimately from that of their composition and the subsidiary questions of their provenance and date. As the literature review of the first chapter shows, the issues of composition and function are closely connected: scholars of the hymns have, at all periods, extrapolated one from the other, depending on the focus of their study. Lobeck's argument that the hymns had one very late author effectively ruled out a

¹⁰⁰ Brisson 1990: 2919. On the offerings (which exclude beans in the case of Ge, *OH* 26), see chapter 2.1.2. Secrecy: cf. also Paus. 9.27.2.

¹⁰¹ Herrero de Jáuregui 2010: 36 'The cultural and performative character of the hymns is even more evident than that of the theogonies, as the mere fact of reciting them is in itself a form of worship before the god they celebrate – no matter how intellectual and abstract this form of worship might be'. Barbieri Antunes 2018: 65.

ritual purpose, meaning that the hymns had to be understood as a purely literary fiction. Conversely, for Dieterich, the certainty of a cultic function involved a single author again, but a much earlier date, in the last centuries BCE.¹⁰² Scholars such as Petersen and Baudnik, who emphasised the philosophical character of the hymns and viewed them as expressions of an individual's personal theology, likewise favoured an early date, though one that might extend into the second century CE.¹⁰³ The consensus around a date of the beginning of the third century, established by Wilamowitz and maintained by the weight of his authority, was based, rather, on their style and metre, but supported by the abundant inscriptional evidence for Bacchic communities in this period, and the similarities these hymns show in diction and phraseology with poets of the third century and later.¹⁰⁴ Such a date was reconcilable with a primarily ritual function, if later than the philosophical eclecticism of the hymns and, in particular, their reflection of Stoic theology suggested. Several scholars have held, however, that the hymns were not entirely the work of one poet. Snedorf was the first to suggest that the collection evolved from a cultic core into a philosophical and didactic treatise on the gods. This theory, followed by Matthias and Creuzer, was developed by Maass in the late nineteenth century, who argued that the hymns were gathered from several distinct *teletai* as a codification of Orphic prayer poetry.¹⁰⁵ Kern supported a similar, though more conservative view, according to which the present collection is the work of a Stoic redactor who composed many of the hymns but added others, including the proem, from other sources.¹⁰⁶

The studies undertaken in this thesis do not answer the question of whether one author or several have composed the hymns, but stylistic variations within the collection have been discussed and tentative conclusions in the light of these may be drawn. The sequence of hymns from Prothyraia to Thanatos is clearly the design of a single author, who is likely at the very least to be responsible for the composition of the second of these hymns: it is hard to imagine an independently composed hymn to Death. It was argued in chapter two that the titles of the hymns are contemporary with the sequence and that anomalous titles are, as Wilamowitz argues, the result of losses rather than later additions. Variations on the standard formula for an incense offering, such as those in the hymns to Ge or Amphietes (*OH* 26, 53), may however have been taken from, or modeled on, those of earlier hymns. The hymns themselves do show notable variations in format that correlate, to some extent, with their position in the sequence. The first half, and particularly the first third, of the collection is broadly characterised by shorter predications, considered as separate or separable syntactic units, up to and including monocoloi of a single verse.¹⁰⁷ This 'cosmogonic' series, which

¹⁰² Lobeck 1829, Dieterich 1891.

¹⁰³ Petersen 1868, Baudnik 1905, see further Ricciardelli 2000: xxx-xxxi.

¹⁰⁴ Wilamowitz 1932 II: 514, van Liempt 1930 (diction). Morand 2001: 285 'Les dates des inscriptions se situent surtout aux II^e et III^e s. Ap. J.-C., période où les groupes religieux étaient nombreux'. The relative abundance of inscriptions of all types from this period is also noted however, 'nous pouvons donc avoir une image déformée de cette période à cause de l'abondance des sources'.

¹⁰⁵ Snedorf 1786, Matthias 1800, Creuzer 1821, Maass 1895.

¹⁰⁶ Kern 1940.

¹⁰⁷ Prediction structures: ch. 2.2.3.

includes divinities associated with the creation of the cosmos and the Orphic theogonies, up to the central figure of Zeus (*OH* 15), and those who represent the elements of fire, air, water and earth, up to Meter Theon (*OH* 27), is also marked by simple, stereotyped requests for peace, health, wealth and ‘a good end’.¹⁰⁸ The central third, which includes divinities associated with the Orphic myth of Dionysos and the gods of the mysteries, contains a number of hymns that have a central *pars epica* containing a mythical narrative, which sit alongside hymns that (like those to Hekate and Physis in the first series) are almost entirely formed of epicleses. The prayers in this series are emphatically kletic: specific requests are less frequently added to the appeal to ‘come kind’. The third series of divinities, which appears to be focused on gods who oversee the mortal sphere, is, with variations, more discursive. Longer predication predominate here, particularly descriptive or ecphrastic passages, or explanatory developments introduced by γάρ, and there are fewer instances of verse-level symmetry.¹⁰⁹ The prayers are, broadly, more innovative in their vocabulary and in the objects requested. Exceptions to these observations can of course be found. Innovative prayers occur also in the hymns to Helios, Selene and in particular, Herakles (*OH* 8, 9, 12); several hymns in the first half of the collection are unusually long, and there are examples among these of a ‘bipartite’ type which combine an epicletic first half with a discursive second half (Pan *OH* 11, Helios *OH* 34, Aphrodite *OH* 55). There is a broad rhythm in the collection, moreover, that, as is the case in many of the individual hymns, moves from accumulations of shorter predication to longer, more expository ones.¹¹⁰

As Rudhardt argues, these variations do not in themselves presuppose multiple authors.¹¹¹ It may be the case, as previously noted, that the different types of divinities we find in the three ‘movements’ of the sequence identified here demand different treatments; that, for instance, the personified abstractions in the justice series (*OH* 61-4) lack cult epicleses or mythical narratives. Since they have not been treated extensively in earlier poetry, they are less amenable to description by the epithets and short predication that, in other cases, speak to a broader tradition. Yet the same is true of Physis (*OH* 11), whose hymn is entirely formed of short, allusive predication. The adjacent hymns to Trieterikos and Amphietes (*OH* 52-3), moreover, address the same divinity in different modes, the first epicletic and the second descriptive. The formulaic connections between the justice hymns, the hymn to Eros (*OH* 58) and the three final hymns of the collection have also been noted. In addition to the ethical focus on right or wrong behaviour, which they share with the hymns to the Eumenides, Tyche and Daimon also (*OH* 70, 72, 73), the phrases ἐν σοὶ γάρ or ὥς ἄν

¹⁰⁸ Sequence: ch. 2.1.3, prayers 2.2.2.

¹⁰⁹ Symmetry: ch. 3.3.6.

¹¹⁰ Combination of forms: ch. 2.2.3.2, 2.3.

¹¹¹ Rudhardt 2008: 173.

ἄει,¹¹² the kletic verb *πελάζειν*¹¹³ and references to *γνώμαι*, ‘thoughts’ or ‘intentions’,¹¹⁴ point to a closer set of stylistic affinities than the natures of the divinities in question might demand. Again, phrasal parallels in prose authors such as Secundus and Philo appear to be concentrated in these hymns.¹¹⁵ If these hymns are the work of the same author however, the question arises of whether the remainder are also, or how many of the remainder are.

Other evidence for multiple authors is limited. Several instances of interpolation or of anomalous hymns have been discussed in chapter two, including the hymn to Hekate, the prologue of the hymn to Nyx, the long hymns to Zeus Keraunos and the Kouretes, which may be medleys of originally separate elements, and the hymn to the Moirai.¹¹⁶ The hymns to Apollo and Aphrodite, as stated, may be formed of two originally independent sections, or have been expanded from shorter, epicletic hymns, but could equally have been intentionally composed in two contrasting parts. What appears to be certain, particularly in the light of the extensive number of formulae that recur in the collection, is that the hymns incorporate earlier material. This includes, of course, poetic phrases that derive from the Homeric tradition, including Hesiod, and from the Classical dramatists, but as argued, Orphic poetry appears to be a critically important source. The hymns may in fact be viewed as an example of poetic bricolage: their author, or authors, have, in all probability, woven phrases, verses and perhaps longer sections of poetry into the fabric of each hymn, and in this light it does appear possible that entire hymns, whether adapted and revised or not, have been incorporated into the sequence. This is not to go so far as Maass who viewed the collection as an assemblage of earlier hymns attributed to Orpheus, but it is substantially Kern’s view: that the author of the collection composed many or most of the hymns but made extensive use of earlier material, and Edmonds has, most recently, suggested the same idea:¹¹⁷

¹¹² ἐν σοὶ γάρ: *OH* 61.9 (Nemesis, ἐν σοὶ δ’), 63.11 (Dikaio-syne), 72.6 (Tyche), 73.6 (Daimon), 74.5 (Leukothea), 87.8 (Thanatos) (but cf. also 14.10 Rhea ἐκ σοῦ γάρ, 27.7 Meter Theon ἐκ σέο δ’, 68.3 Hygieia, ἐκ σέο γάρ); ὥς ἄν ἄει: *OH* 62.11 (Dike), 63.13 (Dikaio-syne), 86.8, 13 (Oneiros), 87.12 (Thanatos, ὥς ἄν ἔοι). See ch. 4.1.2.

¹¹³ *πελάζειν*: *OH* 70.11 (Eumenides), 86.17 (Oneiros), 87.10 (Thanatos), cf. 37.8 (Titans). See ch. 2.2.2.2.

¹¹⁴ *γνώμαι*: *OH* 58.9 (Eros), 61.6, 12 (Nemesis), 62.10 (Dike), 63.4 (Dikaio-syne), 70.11 (Eumenides), 77.7 (Mnemosyne), 86.5, 8, 17 (Oneiros). See ch. 2.2.2.2, 2.2.2.4.

¹¹⁵ Secundus: *OH* 81.2 (Zephyros), 85.5, 7 (Hypnos), 87.3, 5 (Thanatos); Philo: 62.5 (Dike), 63.2 (Dikaio-syne), 74.5 (Palaimon), 87.3, 4 (Thanatos) (but also 32.3 Athena). See ch. 4.2.6.

¹¹⁶ *OH* 1 (Hekate), 3 (Nyx), 19 (Zeus Keraunos), 38 (Kouretes), 59 (Moirai). See ch. 2.2.3.3.

¹¹⁷ Edmonds 2013: 44. Maass 1895: 192-204, esp. pp. 201-2: ‘Die orphische Hymnensammlung ist nicht für eine einzelne der vielen orphischen Gemeinden berechnet gewesen; und doch besitzt sie schon äusserlich durch die jedem Gedichte vorangesetzten Opfervorschriften wesentlich religionsgeschichtliches Interesse. So bleibt denn nichts übrig als gewissermassen ein orphisches Gesamtliederbuch, eine Kodifikation der, wenn auch noch so unpoetischen, orphischen Gebetspoesie in der Sammlung zu erblicken, aus welcher der Einzelne das entnehmen wenigstens konnte, dessen er bedürftig war’. Kern 1940: 25: ‘So kann man wohl weder daran zweifeln, daß das Prooimion mit dem orphischen Hymnenbuche ganz lose zusammenhängt, so daß wir es von unserem Standpunkte aus auch nicht demselben Dichter zuschreiben können, dem die Mehrzahl der Kultlieder verdankt wird, noch daran, daß dem Buche ein Gemeindegebetbuch unverkennbar zugrunde liegt, das allerdings die Redaktion, wahrscheinlich eines Stoikers, ist und einige Zusatzhymnen enthält, die beim Gottesdienste nicht gesungen wurden’.

The *Hymns*... were probably composed around the second century as well, even if they undoubtedly draw some of their verses from older works. This collection of *Hymns* may well have been a synthesis of earlier and contemporary works, organized by an Orphicist of the time into a (more or less) coherent whole and provided with directions for sacrifices in ritual use’.

The question of authorship and date is not straightforward then. As regards the individual hymns elements may be earlier or later; and again oral composition provides an analogy. We can speak of the author and date of the collection as we possess it, but the substance of the poetry is in many respects traditional. As I have argued in chapter four, the force of the Orphic tradition has, in this case, intensified the relationship between a text and the tradition it engages with and forms a part of, with the result that a collection that is itself relatively late shows affinities in style and poetic strategies with poetry that stands in a much closer relationship, chronologically, to a purely oral tradition.¹¹⁸

The collection that we possess likely dates, as most recent scholars agree, to the first two centuries CE. Its affinities with Philo, Cornutus and perhaps Secundus as well, support this date. I do not think that a date in the first century CE or even the first century BCE can be excluded on the grounds of diction alone or the metrical irregularities that Wilamowitz points to.¹¹⁹ In fact, the first century CE is perhaps as likely as the second. The individual responsible for the collection we possess has, it may be concluded, composed much of it, almost certainly the majority of hymns in the final third, but they have made extensive use of the poetry of the Orphic theogonies, and, in all likelihood, of earlier hymns composed in Orpheus’ name. They have done so because the reuse of phrases and formulae was an intrinsic part of the Orphic tradition, reinforcing the claim to a common author and providing points of reference to earlier poetry that underlay its essentially allusive or ‘enigmatic’ character. Our author wrote hymns that would speak directly to the theogonic poems, to those with ‘ears to hear’, and that would match, in style and format, other hymns attributed to the teletarch. This was not the first collection of such hymns, that of the Lykomidae may have been one of many. Dieterich suggests that many Bacchic thiasoi would have possessed one.¹²⁰ But in its scope the present author clearly aimed to compose a sequence that was compendious and complete, that amounted to a *pantheic telete*, presenting the pantheon as a whole and exploring connections between divinities, as well as the attributes and natures of individual gods. The mode of the hymns is cultic and performative; this is not a book to be read but heard, and the idea of epiphany is literally and figuratively fundamental. But through this cultic mode, a complete ‘theology’ is presented, in the sense that, as in Cornutus’ *Epidrome*, a systematic

¹¹⁸ See ch. 4.3.

¹¹⁹ See ch. 1.7.

¹²⁰ Dieterich 1891: 12-13.

treatment of the gods' attributes and associations is undertaken.¹²¹ In this light the possibility that the hymns were intended to form an analogue to the *Rhapsodies*, as a similarly compendious work that synthesises earlier poetry in the same hymnic, ritual format, as opposed to the narrative format of myth, should be considered.¹²² The *Rhapsodies* themselves have been dated to the same period, from the first century BCE to the second century CE,¹²³ and we may have, in the hymns, a, perhaps imitative, attempt to bring together, codify and supplement earlier poetry: to provide a summative revelation about the gods in the form of hymns that are, as earlier Orphic hymns were also, condensed series of predication.¹²⁴

5.7 Conclusion

The *Orphic Hymns* are a mysterious text, quite literally in terms of the association they claim with the *mysteria* of Dionysos and Persephone, but also in their non-narrative, allusive method of describing the gods, in the erasure of the identity of their author through the assumption of the Orphic persona and in the complete absence of explicit references to the collection in ancient sources. Information regarding the circumstances of their composition and the functions they might originally have served must be sought from the text itself and from comparative works and testimonies. This study has aimed to shed further light on the origins of the collection by studying in detail a select number of the stylistic features they display, and considering, on this basis, the poetic and generic contexts of the hymns. Although, as scholars such as Rudhardt, Morand, and Gordon have shown, the hymns are innovative in the meanings they draw from their catalogues of epicleses and the impressionistic vision of the pantheon they appear to convey, the poetic strategies they employ to achieve these effects are, in many respects, traditional. A significant conclusion that can be drawn, in fact, from the studies undertaken here is the extent to which they engage with the oral poetics of the earliest extant Greek poetry. From their asyndetic accumulation of epicleses and their extensive use of phonic effects, repetition and patterning, to their abundant and systematic use of poetic formulae, they look to the poetry of the rhapsodic tradition and, in particular, to

¹²¹ Apollodorus of Athens' work *Περὶ θεῶν* (2nd c BCE), may have been Cornutus' model, although the question is subject to debate (Most 1989: 2015-6). This was a similarly systematic treatment of the gods, exploring their natures through an analysis of their epithets. See further Henrichs 2013: 562-5.

¹²² Cf. Dieterich's suggestion that a theogony, as well as the hymns, might have been treated as a 'sacred book' by the Orphico-Bacchic community he describes: 'pro certo igitur pronuntiamus: in eo sacro sodalicio Orphico, ubi illa cantabant, utebantur *θεογονίαι* quadam ut *ἱερᾶι βιβλίωι*, ad cuius normam ordinem quidem disponebant carminum, etsi versus ipsos plerosque aliunde iam eos accepisse sumas' (1891: 18).

¹²³ The *Suda* attributes the poem to Theognetus the Thessalian or Cercops the Pythagorean (*OF* 1018 IV). West (1983: 246-51) argues that the poem can be 'firmly dated to the first third of the first century B.C.' on the basis of Cicero's description of 'this Orphic poem' by Cercops (*Nat. D.* 1.107) and the connection with the Pergamene recension of Homer. West's date is accepted by Baumgarten (1998: 113) and Herrero de Jáuregui (2010: 33), but other scholars have argued for a later date. Brisson (1990: 2886-7): late 1st or early 2nd c. CE, due to the presence of Chronos as a mythological figure. Athanassiadi (2010: 138-41) suggests that the circle of Iamblichus may have produced the poem, in the 3rd c. CE. See further Meisner 2018: 161-2.

¹²⁴ Cf. Edmonds 2013: 44 'The *Orphic Rhapsodies* may be another [i.e. like the *OH*] product of the canonizing trend of the first few centuries'.

hymnic, oracular, liturgical and theological poetry of the Archaic and Classical periods. Similarly employed by Presocratic poets and early prose writers, these prosodic features of the hymns are not simply archaising however, and serve to locate the collection within two overlapping poetic contexts in particular, both of which remain prominent in the first centuries CE. The first is that of hymns composed for ritual use, or as personal expressions of devotion, which aim to encompass all aspects of a divinity's nature by cataloguing their attributes, combining epicicles and predication that provide references to cult worship and earlier poetic traditions with longer expositions or descriptions that unpack key ideas. The second is Orphic poetry, which used the authorial persona of the mythological poet to present revelatory insights into the nature of the divine realm, building on earlier poetry within the same tradition to create a system of allusion and cross-reference that gave deeper meanings to the alternative theology it presented, and that 'spoke' to those who possessed the interpretive tools to read it. The hymns engage deeply with both these traditions, in terms of the structure of their invocatory predication, their prosody and the formulae they employ, and it has been argued here that they were not likely to be unique texts in doing so. Hymns attributed to Orpheus existed from an early period, and although the extant remains of these are few, taken with the testimonies to their style and character that we possess, they appear to have similarly combined the poetic and generic characteristics of the epicletic cult hymn, and of Orphic theological or theogonic poetry. Regarding the unity of the extant collection, this study supports the consensus that the text we possess is the work of a single author, but it has also suggested that the powerful influence of the Orphic tradition of hymnody has bearing on this subject. The hymns are deeply interwoven with traditional language and poetic strategies, and given their extensive formulaicity and the amount of traditional material they contain, the perspective of a single author should be held against the contrasting view that they are traditional texts, many-authored, in much the same way that orally-derived poetry is. The *Orphic Hymns* appear to have stood in close relationship to their forebears, to the extent that earlier hymns, or at least sections of hymns, may be extant among them. Their conservatism with regard to the stylistic features treated here indeed speaks to their author's desire to compose, and perhaps to codify, Orphic hymns of this type: hymns that employ phonic and phrasal repetition, the juxtaposition of predication and formulaic connections to broader poetic traditions to generate meaning and to explore the connections between each divinity's attributes and between the gods themselves.

The surviving remains of Orphic hymns are diverse, but share these features, as well as a thematic commitment to monism of different types, as Herrero de Jáuregui has argued, from the depersonalised monotheism of the hymn to the one god (*OF* 691) to the solar henotheism of the hymn to Helios-Dionysos (*OF* 539-40) and the pantheism of the Rhapsodic *Hymn to Zeus*.¹²⁵ The Derveni hymn, in this light which links in a single verse Demeter with Ge, Meter and Hestia, stands at the head of a long tradition. Different schools of thought used the Orphic label, and the formal

¹²⁵ Herrero de Jáuregui 2010a.

poetic characteristics associated with it, as a vehicle for their own brand of monism, and the concept of divinity that we find in the *Orphic Hymns* is part of this tradition. The idea of the unity of the divine is expressed here as a collective of personalities however, rather than in a single hymn, as in *OF* 539-40 or 691. Their monism is fundamentally polytheistic, and speaks to the search for a unity behind and transcending the diversity of this complex pantheon. It is explored through the antitheses studied here, that present the gods as occupying opposing positions simultaneously or by turns - as, figuratively, a circle in which beginning and end, male and female, bad and good are continuous or joined. It is suggested by the epithets and poetic formulae that link divinities, and in the personalities and themes that bridge the collection. It is, perhaps above all, present in the binding figure of Dionysos and in the background narrative of the Orphic theogonies, but also in the vein of physical allegory that runs through the hymns, associating divinities with the parts or elements of a single, physical cosmos. The monism of the hymns is not straightforward, or susceptible to simple categorisation, whether syncretistic, henotheistic or pantheistic: it is multivalent rather, approached from different angles and as eclectic as the philosophical references they synthesise. The essential polytheism of the collection is by no means rejected or undermined, it is fully embraced, but just as the individual hymns aim to present a complete, compendious unity out of diverse but interwoven attributes, the collection itself aims to gather all gods, all aspects of divinity, into a single, essentially unified pantheon. The hymns share the broad commitment to monism that mark other texts in the Orphic tradition, but explore it through a systematic treatment of the individual gods. This idea of unity is not on the surface of the hymns, it is a theme that must be traced through diverse hints and allusions, and, as stated, from different directions. Unlike the theogonies and *logoi* such as the *Diatheke*, the hymns are not expository. They are a sub-genre within the Orphic corpus that is emphatically aimed at the experience of ritual performance and their reflections on the nature of divinity must, as recent scholarship has emphasised, be understood in this context. The hymns describe the gods and explore their natures, but simultaneously address, please and pray to them. They are, essentially, a mode of communication between the divine and human realms - as all hymns are, but mediated in this case by the figure of Orpheus. This is Orpheus' 'gift', as the title dedication implies: a text that bridges the gulf between mortal and immortal, that encapsulates each divinity's nature in a way that will please the divine recipients and elicit their blessings, and at the same time tell the human audience who they are. It is an analogue in this sense of the *teletai* that Orpheus was held to have founded, an interface between gods and humans that places the initiates who possess it in a privileged position regarding their knowledge of the divine sphere and the favour that flows from their proximity to it. The hymns present themselves as a gift to the initiate who can read them, or learn to read them, and a tool to be 'used', not only for understanding the gods, but also for approaching them; for achieving, through recitation and contemplation, a kind of internal theophany.

The hymns' conceptualisation of the gods and their synthesis of polytheist and monist positions cannot be divorced from the ritual mode of the hymnic genre, which centres on the relationship between the divine and mortal realms. For Ficino their purpose was to 'harmonise' the singer's soul with the gods, and this perspective should not be altogether dismissed. Harmony is a fundamental theme in the collection, as is evident in the phonic and structural figures they employ. Each god's attributes form a harmony of connected parts, as each hymn forms part of the whole collection, and it is arguable that a key aim of the hymns is to draw the harmony of the divine sphere into the human realm: to bring into mortal lives a share of the 'blessedness' of the gods. The 'salvation' they solicit for the *mystai* may be understood in these terms. It is quotidian, for a happy, harmonious life, for health, prosperity, peace and wisdom and the absence of fear and pain. This is, perhaps above all, the gift the hymns offer, to bring the two realms into contact and harmony,

ὥς ἂν ἰσορροπίασιν ἀεὶ βίος ἐσθλὸς ὁδεύοι
 θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἳ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσι¹²⁶

that life may ever fare well, even-balanced
 for mortal humans that eat the land's fruit.

As the gods of the cosmos and of human life are mediated by those of the mysteries in the hymns' sequence, the hymns offer their 'initiates' this meeting point through the privileged knowledge of the gods they reveal, and, whether associated with a particular cult or free-standing texts, this, it may be argued, was the primary aim of the hymns attributed to Orpheus.

¹²⁶ OH 63.13-14.

Appendix 1. Text and translation

ΟΡΦΕΥΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΝ

Εὐτυχῶς χρώ, ἑταῖρε.

Μάνθανε δὴ, Μουσαῖε, θυηπολὶν περισέμνην*,
εὐχὴν, ἣ δὴ τοι προφερεστέρη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων.
Ζεὺ βασιλεὺ καὶ Γαῖα καὶ οὐράνιοι φλόγες ἀγναὶ
Ἡελίου, Μήνης θ' ἱερὸν σέλας Ἄστρα τε πάντα
καὶ σύ, Ποσειδάων γαίηροχε, κυανοχαῖτα,
Φερσεφὸν θ' ἀγνὴ Δημήτηρ τ' ἀγλαόκαρπε
Ἄρτεμι τ' ἰοχέαιρα, κόρη, καὶ ἦι Φοῖβε,
ὅς Δελφῶν ναίεις ἱερὸν πέδον· ὅς τε μεγίστας
τιμὰς ἐν μακάρεσσιν ἔχεις, Διόνυσε χορευτά·
Ἄρες τ' ὀμβριμόθυμε καὶ Ἥφαιστου μένος ἀγνὸν
ἀφρογενὴς τε θεά, μεγαλύνυμα δῶρα λαχοῦσα·
καὶ σύ, καταχθονίων βασιλεὺ, μέγ' ὑπείροχε δαῖμον,
Ἥβη τ' Εἰλείθυια καὶ Ἡρακλῆος μένος ἥ·
καὶ τὸ Δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ Εὐσεβείης μέγ' ὄνειαρ
κυκλήσκω Νύμφας τε κλυτὰς καὶ Πᾶνα μέγιστον
Ἥρην τ', αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς θαλερὴν παράκοιτιν·
Μνημοσύνην τ' ἑρατὴν Μούσας τ' ἐπικέκλωμαι ἀγνάς
ἐννέα καὶ Χάριτάς τε καὶ Ὅρας ἥδ' Ἐνιαυτὸν
Λητώ τ' εὐπλόκαμον, Θείην σεμνήν τε Διώνην
Κουρήτάς τ' ἐνόπλους Κορύβαντάς τ' ἥδ' Καβείρους
καὶ μεγάλους Σωτήρας ὁμοῦ, Διὸς ἄφθιτα τέκνα,
Ἰδαίους τε θεοὺς ἥδ' ἄγγελον Οὐρανιῶνων,
Ἑρμείαν κήρυκα, Θέμιν θ', ἱεροσκόπον ἀνδρῶν,
Νύκτα τε πρεσβίστην καλέω καὶ φωσφόρον Ἥμαρ,
Πίστιν τ' ἥδ' Δίκην καὶ ἀμύμονα Θεσμοδότειραν,
Ρεῖαν τ' ἥδ' Κρόνον καὶ Τηθὺν κυανόπεπλον
Ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν, σὺν τ' Ὠκεανοῖο θύγατρας
Ἀτλαντός τε καὶ Αἰώνος μέγ' ὑπείροχον ἰσχὺν
καὶ Χρόνον ἀέναον καὶ τὸ Στυγὸς ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ
μειλιχίους τε θεοὺς, ἀγαθὴν τ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι Πρόνοιαν
Δαίμονά τ' ἡγάθεον καὶ Δαίμονα πῆμονα θνητῶν,
Δαίμονας οὐρανίους καὶ ἡερίους καὶ ἐνύδρους
καὶ χθονίους καὶ ὑποχθονίους ἥδ' ἐπιφύοιτους,
καὶ Σεμέλην Βάκχου τε συνευαστήρας ἅπαντας,
Ἰνὼ Λευκοθέην τε Παλαίμονά τ' ὀλβιοδότην
Νίκην θ' ἡδυέπειαν ἰδ' Ἀδρήστειαν ἀνασσαν
καὶ βασιλῆα μέγαν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἡπιодότην
Παλλάδα τ' ἐγρεμάχην κούρην, Ἀνέμους τε πρόπαντας
καὶ Βροντὰς κόσμου τε μέρη τετρακίονος αὐδῶν*·
Μητέρα τ' ἀθανάτων, Ἄττιν καὶ Μῆνα κυκλήσκω
Οὐρανίαν τε θεάν, σὺν τ' ἄμβροτον ἀγνὸν Ἀδωνιν

ORPHEUS TO MUSAIOS

Use well, my friend.

Learn then, Musaios, the all-holy sacrifice,
the prayer that surpasses all others:
Zeus king and Gaia, pure celestial flames
of the Sun, Moon's sacred gleam, all Stars;
and you Poseidon, earth-holder, blue-haired,
pure Phersephone and bright-fruit Demeter,
Artemis the archer, maiden, and Eios Phoibos,
who dwells on Delphi's holy plain; and he with
greatest honour among the blessed, Dionysos dancer.
Ares strong-heart, pure might of Hephaistos,
foam-born goddess, bestower of glorious gifts;
and you, underworld king, almighty daimon,
Hebe and Eileithyia, brave might of Herakles;
great good of Justice and Reverence;
I call the Nymphs renowned and Pan the great,
and Hera, blossoming wife of Zeus aegis-holder;
lovely Memory I call on and the pure Muses
nine, and the Graces, the Hours and the Year;
and Leto fair-tressed, Theia and holy Dione,
Kouretes in arms, Korybantes, Kabeiroi,
the great Saviours together, Zeus' undying sons,
the gods of Ida and the Olympians' envoy,
Hermes the herald; and Themis, augur of men.
Night the eldest I call, and light-bearing Day,
and Faith and Right and the blameless Law-giver,
Rheia and Kronos and Tethys blue-robed
and great Ocean, with all Ocean's daughters;
almighty strength of Atlas and Aion,
and Time ever-flowing, bright water of Styx;
and the gentle gods, and with them good Providence,
Daimon all-holy and Daimon man's bane;
Daimons of heaven, of airs and of waters,
of earth, of the underworld, fire-dwellers;
Semele and all fellow-maenads of Bakkhos,
Ino Leukothea and Palaimon bliss-giver;
Nike sweet-spoken and Adrastea, queen,
and great king Asklepios, the soother;
and Pallas, fight-rousing maiden; Winds all together,
and Thunders and parts of the four-pillared cosmos I call;
Mother of immortals, Attis and Mēn I invoke,
goddess Ourania, pure, undying Adonis,

Ἀρχὴν τ' ἡδὲ Πέρασ – τὸ γὰρ ἔπλετο πᾶσι μέγιστον –
εὐμενέας ἐλθεῖν κεχαρημένον ἤτορ ἔχοντας
τὴνδε θυηπολίην ἱερὴν σπονδὴν τ' ἐπὶ σεμνήν.

1. [Ἑκάτης]

Εἰνοδίαν Ἑκάτην κλήζω, τριοδίτιν, ἐραννὴν,
οὐρανίαν χθονίαν τε καὶ εἰναλίαν, κροκόπεπλον,
τυμβιδίαν, ψυχᾶς νεκύων μέτα βακχεύουσιν,
Περσείαν, φιλέρμημον, ἀγαλλομένην ἐλάφοισι,
νυκτερίαν, σκυλακίτιν, ἀμαιμάκετον βασιλείαν,
5 θηρόβρομον, ἄζωστον, ἀπρόσμαχον εἶδος ἔχουσιν,
ταυροπόλον, παντὸς κόσμου κληιδουχὸν ἄνασσαν,
ἡγεμόνην, νύμφην, κουροτρόφον, οὐρεσιφοῖτιν,
λισσόμενος κούρην τελεταῖς ὅσαισι παρῆναι
10 βουκόλῳ εὐμενέουσιν αἰεὶ κεχαρηότι θυμῷ.

2. Προθυραίας θυμίαμα στύρακα

Κλυθί μοι, ὦ πολύσεμνε θεά, πολυνώνυμε δαίμων,
ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ, λεχῶν ἡδεῖα πρόσοψι,
θηλειῶν σώτειρα μόνη, φιλόπαις, ἀγανόφρον,
ὠκυλόχεια, παρούσα νέαις θνητῶν, Προθυραία,
5 κλειδοῦχ', ἐνάντητε, φιλοτρόφε, πᾶσι προσηνής,
ἣ κατέχεις οἴκους πάντων θαλίαις τε γέγηθας,
λυσίζων', ἀφανής, ἔργοισι δὲ φαίνῃ ἅπασι,
σμπάσχεις ὠδίσι καὶ εὐτοκίησι γέγηθας,
Εἰλείθυια, λύουσα πόνους δειναῖς ἐν ἀνάγκαις·
10 μούνην γὰρ σὲ καλοῦσι λεχοὶ ψυχῆς ἀνάπαυμα-
ἐν γὰρ σοὶ τοκετῶν λυσιπήμενές εἰσιν ἀνῖαι,
Ἄρτεμις Εἰλείθυια, κόρη* σεμνὴ Προθυραία.
κλυθι, μάκαιρα, δίδου δὲ γονὰς ἐπαρωγὸς ἐοῦσα
καὶ σώζ', ὥσπερ ἔφυς αἰεὶ σώτειρα προπάντων.

3. Νυκτός θυμίαμα δαλούς

Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν αἰέσομαι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
[Νύξ γένεσις πάντων, ἦν καὶ Κύπριν καλέσωμεν]
κλυθι, μάκαιρα θεά, κυαναυγής, ἀστεροφεγγής,
ἡσυχίῃ χαίρουσα καὶ ἡρεμίῃ πολυύπνῳ,
Εὐφροσύνη, τερπνὴ, φιλοπάννουχε, μήτηρ ὀνείρων,
5 ληθομέριμν' ἀνιῶν τε* πόνων ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσα,
ὑπνοδότειρα, φίλῃ πάντων, ἐλάσιππε, νυχαυγής,
ἡμιτελής, χθονία ἡδ' οὐρανία πάλιν αὐτῇ,
ἐγκυκλία, παίκτηρα διώγμασιν ἡεροφίτοις,
ἣ φάος ἐκπέμπεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα καὶ πάλι φεύγεις
10 εἰς Αἴδη· δεινὴ γὰρ Ἀνάγκη πάντα κρατύνει.
νῦν δὲ μάκαιρ', ὦ Νύξ, πολυλόβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινὴ,
εὐάντητε, κλύουσα λόγων ἱκετηρίδα φωνῆν

Beginning and Limit, for that is the greatest of all.
Come kindly, with a heart made gracious,
to this sacred sacrifice and holy libation.

1. [Hekate]

Einodia Hekate I call, of the crossroad, lovely,
of sky, of earth and of sea, saffron-robed,
of the tomb, revelling with the souls of the dead.
Perseia, the hermit, rejoicing in deer,
5 of the night, of the dog, furious queen,
beast-roarer, ungirdled, with form irresistible,
of the bull-offering, key-holding queen of all cosmos,
leader, bride, youth-rearer, dweller on mountains,
I beg the maiden, be here at our hallowed rituals,
10 to the boukolos kind, with a heart ever gracious.

2. Prothyraia's offering, storax

Hear me, all-holy goddess, daimon many-named,
helper in pangs, sweet sight in childbirth,
Sole saviour of women, child-lover, mild one,
quick-birth, present at mortal births, Prothyraia,
5 keykeeper, well-met, nourisher, gentle to all,
who dwells in the houses of all, rejoices in cheer,
zone-looser, unseen yet seen in all deeds,
you feel for the pangs, rejoice in good births,
Eileithyia, looser of pains in terrible straights:
10 for you alone mothers call for spirit's respite;
for in you are the sorrows of labour undone,
Artemis Eileithyia, holy maiden, Prothyraia.
Hear me, blessed, grant your help at births
and save, as you ever were saviour of all.

3. Nyx's offering, firebrands

Night will I sing, parent of gods and of men,
Night, birth of all, whom we also call Kypris:
Hear, blessed goddess, dark-gleaming, star-bright,
happy in silence and sleep-bringing rest.
5 Euphrosyne, joyful, night-revel lover, mother of dreams,
cares-ease, with respite of troubles and sorrows,
sleep-giver, dear to all, horse-driver, night-gleaming,
half-done, of earth and of sky again in herself
revolving, sporting in the air-dwellers' chase,
10 who banishes light underneath, and again flees
to Hades: for fearful constraint masters all.
Now, blessed, O Night, prosperous, all's longing,
well-met; hear my words' suppliant voice,

ἔλθοις εὐμενέουσα, φόβους δ' ἀπόπεμπε νυχυαυγείς.

4. Οὐρανοῦ θυμίαμα λίβανον

Οὐρανὲ παγγενέτωρ, κόσμου μέρος αἰὲν ἀτειρές,
πρεσβυγένηθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή,
κόσμε πατήρ, σφαιρηδὸν ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν,
οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων, ῥόμβου δίναισιν ὁδεύων,
οὐράνιος χθόνιος τε φύλαξ πάντων περιβληθείς,
ἐν στέρνοισιν ἔχων Φύσεως ἄτλητον ἀνάγκην,
κυανόχρως, ἀδάμαστε, παναίολε, αἰολόμορφε,
πανδερκές, Κρονότεκνε, μάκαρ, πανυπέρτατε δαῖμον,
κλυθ' ἐπάγων ζωὴν ὅσιν μύσθι νεοφάντη.

5. Αἰθέρος θυμίαμα κρόκον

Ἦ Διὸς ὑψιμέλαθρον ἔχων κράτος αἰὲν ἀτειρές,
ἄστρον ἡελίου τε σεληναίης τε μέρισμα,
πανδαμάτωρ, πυρίπνου, πᾶσι ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα,
ὑψιφανὴς Αἰθήρ, κόσμου στοιχεῖον ἄριστον,
ἀγλαὸν ὦ βλάστημα, σελασφόρον, ἀστεροφεγγές,
κικλήσκων λίτομαί σε κεκραμένον εὐδίων εἶναι.

6. Πρωτογόνου θυμίαμα σμύρναν

Πρωτόγονον καλέω διφυῆ, μέγαν, αἰθερόπλαγκτον,
ῶιογενῆ, χρυσεάισιν ἀγαλλόμενον πτερύγεσσι,
ταυροβόαν, γένεσιν μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων,
σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον, Ἑρικεπαῖον,
ἄρρητον, κρύφιον ῥοιζήτορα, παμφαῆς ἔρνος,
δσων δς σκοτόεσσαν ἀπημαύρωσας ὁμίχλην
πάντη δινηθεῖς πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς κατὰ κόσμον
λαμπρὸν ἄγων φάος ἀγνόν, ἀφ' οὗ σε Φάνητα κικλήσκω
ἡδὲ Πρίηπον ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἐλίκωπον.
ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πολύμητι, πολύσπορε, βραῖνε γεγηθῶς
ἐς τελετὴν ἁγίαν πολυποίκilon ὀργιοφάντης*.

7. Ἄστρον θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Ἄστρον οὐρανίων ἱερὸν σέλας ἐκπροκαλοῦμαι
εὐιέροις φωναῖσι κικλήσκων δαίμονας ἀγνούς.
Ἀστέρες οὐράνιοι, Νυκτὸς φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης,
ἐγκυκλίοις δύναισι περὶ τὸν θρόνον* κυκλεύοντες.
ἀνταυγείς, πυρόντες, αἰὲν γενετῆρες ἀπάντων,
μοιρίδιοι πάσης μοίρης σημαντόρες ὄντες,
θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων θείαν διέποντες ἀταρπόν,
ἐπταφαεῖς ζῶνας ἐφορώμενοι, ἡερόπλαγκτοι,
οὐράνιοι χθόνιοι τε, πυρίδρομοι, αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς,
αὐγάζοντες αἰὲν νυκτὸς ζοφοειδέα πέπλον,
μαρμαρυγαῖς στίλβοντες, εὐφρονες ἐννύχιοι τε.

come kind and banish the night-gleaming fears.

4. Ouranos' offering, frankincense

Ouranos, all-father, portion of cosmos ever unworn,
elder-born god, beginning of all: of all things the end,
father cosmos, sphere-wise rolling around Earth,
home of the blessed gods, in the rhombos' whorls moving,
celestial, earthly, enveloping watcher of all,
with nature's unbearable bond in your breast,
blue-skinned, untamed, all-varied, variform,
all-seeing, Kronos' sire, blessed, highest daimon,
hear, grant the neophant a life that is holy.

5. Aither's offering, saffron

Keeper of Zeus' high-built might, ever unworn,
portion of stars, of the sun and the moon,
all-tamer, fire-breath, spark in all life,
high-shining Aither, the cosmos' best element,
shoot of splendour, flash-bearer, star-gleaming,
I call on and pray you, be temperate, fine.

6. Protogonos' offering, myrrh

Protogonos I call, twin-sexed, great, roaming the ether,
egg-born, rejoicing in golden wings,
bull-roarer, birth of the blessed and of mortal men,
seed much-minded, celebrated, Erikepaaios,
unspoken, hidden rusher, all-radiant shoot;
who undimmed the dark mist from the eyes,
whirling in sweeping of wings through the cosmos
bringing light, bright, pure: whence I call you Phanes
and Prieus the king, and Antauges quick-glancing.
But blessed, much-minded, much-seeded, come joyful
to the holy rite, all-varied hierophant.

7. Asteres' offering, spices

The celestial Stars' holy gleam I call forth,
with mystic tones I invoke the pure daimons:
Celestial Stars, black Night's dear children,
circling heaven's throne in spiral whorls.
Sparklers, fiery ones, ever parents of all,
fatal ones, signallers of every fate,
guiding the divine path of mortal men,
watchers of the seven-shining spheres, air-roamers,
of sky and of earth, fire-coursers ever unworn,
ever besparkling Night's dusky robe,
glittering, flashing, cheerful, nocturnal.

ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐιέρου τελετῆς πολυῖστορας ἄθλους
ἔσθλὸν ἐπ' εὐδόξοις ἔργοις δρόμον ἐκτελέοντες.

8. εἰς Ἥλιον θυμίαμα λιβανομάνναν

Κλυθὶ μάκαρ, πανδερκεῖς ἔχων αἰώνιον ὄμμα,
Τιτὰν χρυσαυγῆς, Ὑπερίων, οὐράνιον φῶς,
αὐτοφυῆς, ἀκάμας, ζώων ἡδεῖα πρόσοψι,
δεξιῇ μὲν γενέτωρ ἡοῦς, εὐώνυμε νυκτός,
κρᾶσιν ἔχων ὥρων, τετραβάμοσι ποσὶ χορεύων,
5 εὐδρομε, ῥοιζήτωρ, πυρόεις, φαιδρωπέ, διφρευτά,
ρόμβου ἀπειρεσίου διενέμασιν οἶμον ἐλαύνων,
εὐσεβέσιν καθοδηγέ καλῶν, ζαμενῆς ἀσεβοῦσι,
χρυσολύρη, κόσμου τὸν ἐναρμόνιον δρόμον ἔλκων,
10 ἔργων σημάντωρ ἀγαθῶν, ὠροτρόφε κούρε,
κοσμοκράτωρ, συρικτά, πυρίδρομε, κυκλοέλικτε,
φωσφόρε, αἰολόμορφε, φερέσβιε, κάρπιμε Παιάν,
αιθαλής, ἀμίαντε, χρόνου πάτερ, ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ,
εὐδιε, πασιφαής, κόσμου τὸ περιδρομον ὄμμα,
15 σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἀκτίσι φαειναῖς,
δεῖκτα δικαιοσύνης, φιλονάματε, δέσποτα κόσμου,
πιστοφύλαξ, αἰεὶ πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ,
ὄμμα δικαιοσύνης, ζωῆς φῶς ὧ ἐλάσιππε,
μάστιγι λιγυρῇ τετράρορον ἄρμα διώκων·
20 κλυθὶ λόγων, ἡδὺν δὲ βίον μύστησι πρόφαινε.

9. εἰς Σελήνην θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Κλυθὶ, θεὰ βασιλεία, φαισφόρε, δῖα Σελήνη,
ταυρόκερως Μήνη, νυκτιδρόμε, ἡεροφοῖτι,
ἐννυχία, δαιδοῦχε, κόρη, εὐάστερε Μήνη,
αὐξομένη καὶ λειπομένη, θήλυσ τε καὶ ἄρσην,
5 αὐγάζουσα, φίλιππε, χρόνου μήτερ, φερέκαρπε,
ἡλεκτρὶς, βαρύθυμε, καταυγάστειρα, νυχευγῆς,
πανδερκεῖς, φιλάγρυπνε, καλοῖς ἄστροισι βρύουσα,
ἡσυχίῃ χαίρουσα καὶ εὐφρόνῃ ὀλβιομοίρῳι,
Λαμπετῇ, χαριδῶτι, τελεσφόρε, νυκτὸς ἄγαλμα,
10 ἀστράρχῃ, τανύπεπλ', ἐλικοδρόμε, πάνσοφε κούρη,
ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ', εὐφρων, εὐάστερε, φέγγει τρισσῶι*
λαμπομένη, σώζουσα τέους ἱκέτας βασιλεία*.

10. Φύσεως θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

ὦ Φύσι, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυμήχανε μήτερ,
οὐρανία*, πρέσβειρα, πολύκτιτε δαίμων, ἄνασσα,
πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε, κυβερνήτειρα, παναυγῆς,
παντοκράτειρα, τιτιμέν' αἰεὶ, πανυπέρτατε δαίμων
5 ἄφθιτε, πρωτογένεια, παλαιφατε, κυδιάνειρα,
ἐννυχία, πολύτειρε, σελασφόρε, δεινοκαθέκτε,

Come to the learned contest of this holy rite,
fulfil the good course with deeds of fair fame.

8. For Helios, offering, gum of frankincense

Hear, blessed, with the all-seeing eternal eye,
gold-gleaming Titan, Hyperion, celestial light,
self-existing, untiring, sweet to living things' sight,
fair-omened dawn's father, ill-omened of night,
5 tempering the seasons, dancing on four-stepping feet,
fair-courser, rusher, fiery one, bright-face, charioteer,
driving a path in the whorls of the boundless bull-roarer,
guide calling the pious, to the impious furious,
gold-lyre, drawing the cosmos' harmonious course,
10 signaller of good deeds, season-rearing youth,
kosmokrator, piper, fire-coursing circler,
Lucifer, variform, life-bearing, fruitful Paian,
ever-blooming, undefiled, time's father, undying Zeus,
bright-sky, shine-for-all, round-running eye of the cosmos,
15 extinguished and shining with fair, brilliant rays,
shower of justice, water-lover, lord of the cosmos,
faith's guardian, ever all-highest, helper to all,
eye of justice, light of life: O horseman,
driving the four-teamed car with clear-sounding whip:
20 hear my words, light up a sweet life for the mystai.

9. For Selene, offering, spices

Hear, goddess queen, light-bringer, brilliant Selene,
bull-horned Mene, night-courser, air-walker,
nocturnal, torchbearer, maid, fair-starred Mēne,
waxing and waning, female and male,
5 gleamer, horse-lover, time's mother, bear-fruit,
amber one, heavy-hearted, radiant, nocturnal,
all-seeing, wakeful, brimming with fair stars,
happy in silence and the fortunate night-time,
bright one, joy-giver, fulfiller, night's glory,
10 star-queen, long-robed, spiral-coursing all-wise maid,
come blessed one, kindly, fair-star with threefold lustre
shining, save your suppliants, queen.

10. Physis' offering, spices

O Nature, all-mother goddess, resourceful mother,
celestial, elder one, creating daimon, queen,
all-tamer, untamed, helmsman, all-shining,
almighty, ever honoured, all-highest daimon.
5 undying, first-born, spoken of old, men's glory,
nocturnal, star-rich, flash-bearer, terrible to repress,

ἄψοφον ἀστραγάλοισι ποδῶν ἶχνος εἰλίσσουσα,
 ἀγνή, κοσμήτειρα θεῶν ἀτελής τε τελευτή,
 κοινὴ μὲν πάντεσσιν, ἀκοινῶνῃ τε δὲ μούνη,
 αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ, ἀρετὴ, πολύγηθε, μεγίστη,
 εὐάνθεια, πλοκή, φιλία, πολύμικτε, δαῖμον,
 ἡγεμόνη, κράντειρα, φερέσβιε, παντρώφε κούρη,
 αὐτάρκεια, Δίκη, Χαρίτων πολύννυμε Πειθώ,
 αἰθερία, χθονία καὶ εἰναλία μεδέουσα,
 πικρὰ μὲν φαύλοισι, γλυκεῖα δὲ πειθομένοις,
 πάνσοφε, πανδώτειρα, κομίστρια, παμβασίλεια,
 αὐξιτρόφος πείρα πεπαινομένων τε λύτειρα.
 πάντων μὲν σὺ πατήρ, μήτηρ, τροφὸς ἡδὲ τιθηνός,
 ὠκυλόχεια, μάκαιρα, πολύσπορος, ὠριάς ὄρμη,
 παντοτεχνές, πλάστειρα, πολύκτιτε, ποτνία* δαῖμον,
 αἰδία, κινησιφόρε, πολύπειρε, περίφρων,
 ἀενάωι στροφάλιγγι θοὸν ῥύμα διενεύουσα,
 πάνρυτε, κυκλοτερής, ἄλλοτριμορφοδίαιτε,
 εὐθρονε, τιμήεσσα, μόνη τὸ κριθὲν τελέουσα,
 σκηπτούχων ἐφύπερθε βαρυβρεμέτειρα κρατίστη,
 ἄτρομε, πανδαμάτειρα, πεπρωμένη, αἴσα, πυρίπνουσ,
 αἰδῖος ζωὴ ἢ δ' ἀθανάτη τε Πρόνοια.
 πάντα σὺ ἔσσι, ἄνασσα· σὺ γὰρ μούνη τάδε τεύχεις*.
 ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σε νυν* εὐόλβοισιν ἐν ὦραις
 Εἰρήνην Ὑγίαν ἄγειν, αὖξῃσιν ἀπάντων.

11. Πανὸς θυμίαμα ποικίλα

Πᾶνα καλῶ κρατερόν, νόμιον, κόσμοιο τὸ σύμπαν,
 οὐρανὸν ἡδὲ θάλασσαν ἰδὲ χθόνα παμβασίλειαν
 καὶ πῦρ ἀθάνατον· τάδε γὰρ μέλη ἐστὶ τὰ Πανός.
 ἔλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητά, περιδρομε, σύνθρονε ὦραις,
 αἰγομελές, βακχευτά, φιλένθεε, ἀστροδίαιτε,
 ἁρμονίαν κόσμοιο κρέκων φιλοπαίγμονι μολπῇ,
 φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ, φόβων ἔκπαγλε βροτείων,
 αἰγινόμοις χαίρων ἀνὰ πίδακας ἡδὲ τε βούταις,
 εὐσκοπε, θηρητῆρ, Ἥχους φίλε, σύγχορε νυμφῶν,
 παντοφυής, γενέτωρ πάντων, πολύννυμε δαῖμον,
 κοσμοκράτωρ, αὖξητά, φασφόρε, κάρπιμε Παιάν,
 ἀντροχαρές, βαρύμηνης, ἀληθὲς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης.
 σοὶ γὰρ ἀπειρέσιον γαίης πέδον ἐστήρικται,
 εἵκει δ' ἀκαμάτου πόντου τὸ βαθύρροον ὕδωρ
 Ὠκεανός τε περίξ ἐν δίναις* γαίαν ἐλίσσων,
 ἀερίον τε μέρισμα τροφῆς, ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα,
 καὶ κορυφῆς ἐφύπερθεν ἐλαφροτάτου πυρὸς ὄμμα.
 βαίνει γὰρ τάδε θεῖα πολύκριτα σαῖσιν ἐφετμαῖς·
 ἀλλάσσεις δὲ φύσεις πάντων ταῖς σαῖσι προνοίαις
 βόσκων ἀνθρώπων γενεὴν κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον.

rolling a noiseless path on the balls of her feet,
 pure one, gods' orderer, end without end,
 common to all but alone unshared;
 self-fathered, unfathered, lovely, full of cheer, greatest,
 fair-flower, web, friendly, mingled, knower,
 leader, ruler, life-bringer, all-nurturing maiden,
 self-ruling, Right, Graces' many-named persuasion;
 ethereal, marine, terrestrial ruler,
 bitter to the mean, sweet to the obedient,
 all-wise, all-giver, provider, all-queen,
 self-rearing fat one, deliverer of ripe things.
 Of all things you are father, mother and nourishing nurse,
 swift-birth, blessed one, many-seeded, seasonal onrush,
 all-arts, modeller, much-crafting, queen daimon,
 eternal, impeller, experienced, thoughtful,
 spinning the swift stream in ever-flowing eddies;
 all-flowing, circular, shape-shifting goddess,
 fair-throned, honoured, judgement's sole end,
 sceptred on high, heavy-thundering, mightiest,
 fearless, all-tamer, appointed one, fire-breathing, fate,
 eternal life and immortal providence.
 You are all: you alone bring all this to pass.
 But, goddess, I pray now, in prosperous seasons
 bring Peace, Health and increase of all.

11. Pan's offering, various

I call mighty Pan, pasture god, whole of the cosmos,
 the heaven, the sea and the earth queen of all,
 and fire immortal: for these are the limbs of Pan.
 Come blessed, leaper, round-runner, throned with the Horai,
 goat-limb, bacchant, possessor, star-dweller,
 with playful song strumming the tune of the cosmos,
 apparitions' helper, terrible to mortal fears,
 welcome to goatherds by springs and to cowherds,
 good-aim, hunter, Echo's friend, nymphs' fellow dancer,
 all-nature, parent of all, many-named daimon,
 kosmokrator, grower, lucifer, fruitful Paian,
 cave-haunting, heavy-wrath, true Zeus the horned.
 For upon you earth's boundless base is footed,
 and the deep-flowing waters of weariless sea,
 and Ocean, rolling round Earth in its eddies,
 and the aerial portion of nurture, life's spark,
 and eye of the zenith above, of subtlest fire:
 far-separate, these gods go at your command
 and your purposes alter the natures of all,
 nourishing men's breed through the boundless cosmos.

ἀλλά, μάκαρ, βακχευτά, φιλένθεε, βαῖν' ἐπὶ λοιβαῖς
εὐέροις, ἀγαθὴν δ' ὅπασον βίότοιο τελευτήν
πανικὸν ἐκπέμπων οἷστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης.

12. Ἡρακλέος θυμίαμα λίβανον

Ἡρακλῆς ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τῖτάν,
καρτερόχειρ, ἀδάμαστε, βρύων ἄθλοισι κραταιοῖς,
αιολόμορφε, χρόνου πάτερ, αἰδιέ περίφρων τε,
ἄρρητ', ἀγριόθυμε, πολύλλιτε, παντοδυνάστα,
παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, κάρτος μέγα, τοξότα, μάντι,
παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, παννύπερτατε, πᾶσιν ἀρωγέ,
ὃς θνητοῖς κατέπαυσας ἀνήμερα φύλα διώξας,
εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ἀγλαότιμον,
αὐτοφυής, ἀκάμας, γαίης βλάστημα φέριστον,
πρωτογόνοις στράφας φολίσιν, μεγαλύνουμε Παιῶν,
ὃς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἥω καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν,
δώδεκ' ἀπ' ἀντολιῶν ἄχρι δυσμῶν ἄθλα διέρπων,
ἀθάνατος, πολύπειρος, ἀπείριτος, ἀστυφέλικτος·
ἔλθέ, μάκαρ, νούσων θελκτῆρια πάντα κομίζων,
ἔξέλασον δὲ κακὰς ἄτας κλάδον ἐν χειρὶ πάλλων,
πτηνοῖς τ' ἰοβόλοις Κῆρας χαλεπὰς ἐκπεμπε.

13. Κρόνου θυμίαμα στύρακα

Αἰθαλής, μακάρων τε θεῶν πάτερ ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
ποικιλόβουλ', ἀμίαντε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τῖτάν,
ὃς δαπανᾷς μὲν ἅπαντα καὶ αὖξεις ἔμπαλιν αὐτός,
δεσμοὺς ἀρρήκτους ὃς ἔχεις κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον,
αἰῶνος Κρόνε παγγενέτωρ, Κρόνε ποικιλόμυθε,
Γαίης τε βλάστημα καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
γέννα, φυή, μείωσι, ῥέας πόσι, σεμνὲ Προμηθεῦ,
ὃς ναίεις κατὰ πάντα μέρη κόσμου, γενάρχα,
ἀγκυλομήτα, φέριστε· κλύων ἱκετηρίδα φωνὴν
πέμπεις εὖολβον βίотου τέλος αἰὲν ἄμεμπτον.

14. Ῥέας θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Πότνα Ῥέα, θύγατερ πολυμόρφου Πρωτογόνοιο,
ἢ τ' ἐπὶ ταυροφόνων ἱερότροχον ἄρμα τιταίνεις,
τυμπανόδουπε, φιλοιστρομανές, χαλκόκροτε κούρη,
μήτηρ Ζηγὸς ἄνακτος Ὀλυμπίου, αἰγιόχοιο,
πάντιμ', ἀγλαόμορφε, Κρόνου σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα,
οὔρεσιν ἢ χαίρεις θνητῶν τ' ὀλολύγμασι φρικτοῖς,
παμβασίλεια Ῥέα, πολεμόκλωνε, ὀμβριμόθυμε,
ψευδομένη, σώτειρα, λυτῆριάς, ἀρχιγένηθλε,
μήτηρ μὲν τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεν
καὶ πόντος πνοιαί τε· φιλόδρομε, ἀερόμορφε·

But, blessed, bacchant, possessor, come upon
our holy libations, grant life a good outcome,
send the Panic sting to the ends of the earth.

12. Herakles' offering, frankincense

Herakles, mighty-heart, great-strength, stout Titan,
strong-hand, untamed, bursting with mighty labours,
variform, time's father, eternal and thoughtful,
unspeken, wild-heart, much prayed-to, omnipotent,
almighty heart, great strength, archer, seer,
all-eating, all-parent, all-highest, all's help,
who gave mortals respite, banishing the savage tribes,
yearning for youth-rearing, bright-honoured peace.
self-grown, untiring, earth's bravest shoot,
flashing with first-born scales, great-named Paiōn,
who wears around his head dawn and black night,
snaking through the twelve tasks, from East to the West;
undying, many-trialed, boundless, unshaken.
Come, blessed, bringing all sicknesses' charms,
drive out bad mischiefs with club in hand,
send your fledged arrows at difficult dooms.

13. Kronos' offering, storax

Evergreen god, father of blessed gods and men,
of varied counsel, unsullied, great-strength, stout Titan,
who consumes all, yet also increases,
who holds the boundless cosmos' unbreakable bonds:
Kronos, all-father of time, Kronos of the varied word,
offshoot of Gaia and starry Ouranos,
birth, growth and waning, Rhea's spouse, holy Prometheus,
who dwells in all parts of the cosmos, ancestor,
crooked of counsel, best: hear a suppliant voice,
send life an end that is prosperous, blameless.

14. Rhea's offering, spices

Queen Rhea, daughter of the many-formed Protogonos,
who drives the bull-bearing, holy-wheeled chariot,
drum-sounding, frenzy-mad, bronze-rattling maiden,
mother of Zeus the Olympian king, Aegis-wielder,
all-honoured, bright-form, blessed bed-mate of Kronos,
rejoicing in mountains and shrill ululations of mortals,
all-queen Rhea, god of the war-din, strong-heart,
deceiver, saviour, releaser, primal-born,
mother of gods and mother of mortal men:
from you come the earth and the wide sky above
and the sea and the breezes; course-loving, air-formed.

ἐλθέ, μάκαιρα θεά, σωτήριος εὖφρονι βουλῇ
Εἰρήνην κατάγουσα σὺν εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσι,
λύματα καὶ Κῆρας πέμπουσ' ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης.

15. Διὸς θυμίαμα στύρακα

Ζεῦ πολυτίμητε*, μέγας, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε, τήνδε τοι ἡμεῖς
μαρτυρίαν τιθέμεσθα λυτήριον ἡδὲ πρόσευξιν.
ὦ βασιλεῦ, διὰ σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφάνη τάδε θεῖα,
γαῖα θεὰ μήτηρ ὀρέων θ' ὑψηχέες ὄχθοι
καὶ πόντος καὶ πάνθ' ὅπόσ' οὐρανὸς ἐντὸς ἔταξε.
Ζεῦ Κρόνιε, σκηπτούχε, Καταιβάτα, ὁμβριμόθυμε,
παντογένηθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή,
σεισίχτων, αὐξητὰ, καθάρσιε, παντοτινάκτα,
Ἀστραπαῖε, Βρονταῖε, Κεραύνιε, φυτάλιε Ζεῦ.
κλῦθί μου, αἰολόμορφε, δίδου δ' Ὑγίειαν ἀμεμφῇ
Εἰρήνην τε θεὰν καὶ πλοῦτου δόξαν ἀμεμπτον.

16. Ἡρῆς θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Κυανέοις κόλποισιν ἐνημένη, ἀερόμορφε,
Ἥρα παμβασιλεια, Διὸς σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα,
ψυχοτρόφους αὔρας θνητοῖς παρέχουσα προσηεῖς,
ὁμβρων μὲν μήτηρ, ἀνέμων τροφέ, παντογένηθλε.
χωρὶς γὰρ σέθεν οὐδὲν ὅλως ζωῆς φύσιν ἔγνω.
κοινωνεῖς γὰρ ἅπασι κεκραμένη ἡέρι σεμνώι.
πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη πάντεσσι τ' ἀνάσσεις
ἡερίοις ροίζοισι τινασσομένη κατὰ χεῦμα.
ἀλλά, μάκαιρα θεά, πολύνυμε, παμβασιλεια,
ἐλθοις εὐμενέουσα καλῶι γήθοντι προσώπωι.

17. Ποσειδῶνος θυμίαμα σμύρναν

Κλῦθι, Ποσειδάων γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα,
ἵππιε, χαλκοτόρευτον ἔχων χεῖρεσσι τρίαينαν,
ὃς ναίεις πόντοιο βαθυστέρνοιο θέμεθλα,
ποντομέδων, ἀλίδουπε, βαρύκτυπε, ἐννοσίγαιε,
κυμοθαλῆς, χαριδῶτα, τετράορον ἄρμα διώκων,
εἰναλίοις ροίζοισι τινάσσω ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ,
ὃς τριτάτης ἔλαχες μοίρης βαθὺ χεῦμα θαλάσσης,
κύμασι τερπόμενος θηρσὶν θ' ἅμα, πόντιε δαῖμον.
ἔδρανα γῆς σώζοις καὶ νηῶν εὐδρομον ὁρμήν,
Εἰρήνην, Ὑγίειαν ἄγων ἡδ' ὄλβον ἀμεμφῇ.

18. εἰς Πλούτωνα

ὦ τὸν ὑποχθόνιον ναίων δόμον, ὁμβριμόθυμε,
Ταρτάριον λειμῶνα βαθύσκιον ἡδὲ λιπαυγῇ,
Ζεῦ χθόνιε, σκηπτούχε, τὰδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμως,
Πλούτων, ὃς κατέχεις γαίης κληίδας ἀπάσης,

Come, blessed goddess, saviour with kind counsel,
bringing Peace with prosperous property,
send defilements and dooms to the ends of the earth.

15. Zeus' offering, storax

Zeus revered, great, Zeus immortal, we make you
this releasing testimony and prayer.
O king, through your head all these gods appeared:
Gaia mother goddess, the high-echoing mountain banks,
and the sea, and all that is ranged under the sky:
Zeus Kronios, sceptred one, strong-heart, descender,
birth of all, source of all, all things' end,
earth-shaker, grower, cleanser, all-quaker,
god of the lightning, bolt and thunder, nourishing Zeus.
Hear me, variformed, grant faultless Health,
Peace divine and, blameless, the glory of wealth.

16. Hera's offering, spices

Seated in folds of blue, air-formed goddess,
Hera all-queen, blessed bed-mate of Zeus,
furnishing mortals with soft, soul-feeding breezes,
mother of rains, nurse of the winds, birth of all:
for without you nothing knows wholly the nature of life;
for you share in all, mingled with the holy air;
for you rule all alone, you are queen of all things,
shaking over the stream in rushes of air.
But, blessed goddess, many-named, all-queen,
come kindly, with countenance joyful and fair.

17. Poseidon's offering, myrrh

Hear, Poseidon earth-holder, blue haired,
horse god, wielding the bronze-wrought trident,
who dwells at the roots of the deep-chested sea,
sea-lord, salt-sounding, loud-crashing, shake-earth,
wave-abounding, joy-giver, driving the four-team car,
shaking the salt water with roaring marine,
who got for third portion the sea's deep swell,
delighting in waves and in animals, daimon of sea.
Save the seats of the earth, and ships' fair-coursed speed,
bring Peace, Health, and blameless prosperity.

18. For Pluto

Dweller in the underground hall, mighty-heart,
and the deep-shadowed, sunless Tartarian field,
Zeus of the Earth, sceptred one, take these offerings readily,
Pluto, who keeps the keys of all the earth,

πλουτοδοτῶν γενεὴν βροτέην καρποῖς ἐνιαυτῶν·
 δς τριτάτης μοίρης ἔλαχες χθόνα παμβασίλειαν,
 ἔδρανον ἀθανάτων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταιόν·
 δς θρόνον ἐστήριξας ὑπὸ ζοφοειδέα χώρον
 τηλέπορον, ἀκάμαντα, λιπόπνοον, ἄκριτον Ἄϊδην
 κυάνεόν τ' Ἀχέρονθ', δς ἔχει ρίζώματα γαίης·
 δς κρατεῖς θνητῶν θανάτου χάριν, ὦ πολυδαῖμον
 Εὐβουλ', ἀγνοπόλου Δημήτερος δς ποτε παῖδα
 νυμφεύσας λειμῶνος ἀποσπάδα καὶ διὰ πόντου
 τετρώροις ἵπποισιν ὑπ' Ἀττίδος ἡγαγες ἄντρον
 δήμου Ἐλευσίνος, τόθι περ πύλαι εἴσ' Αἶδαο.
 μῦνος ἔφυς ἀφανῶν ἔργων φανερών τε βραβευτής,
 ἐνθεε, παντοκράτωρ, ἱερώτατε, ἀγλαότιμε,
 σεμνοῖς μυστιπόλοις χαίρων ὅσοις τε σεβασμοῖς·
 ἴλαον ἀγκαλέω σε μολεῖν κεχαρηότα μύσταις.

19. Κεραυνοῦ Διὸς θυμίαμα στύρακα

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὑψίδρομον πυραυγέα κόσμον ἐλαύνων,
 στράπτων αἰθερίου στεροπῆς πανυπέρτατον αἴγλην,
 παμμακάρων ἔδρανον θείαις βρονταῖσι τινάσσων,
 νάμασι παννεφέλοις στεροπὴν φλεγέθουσιν ἀναίθων,
 βάλλων † ἐς ῥοθίους φλογερούς, βελέεσσι καλύπτων
 λαίλαπας, ὄμβρους, πρηστήρας κρατερούς τε κεραυνούς,
 παμφλέκτους, κρατερούς, φρικώδεας, ὄμβριμοθύμους,
 πτηνὸν ὄπλον δεινόν, κλονοκάρδιον, ὀρθοέθειρον,
 αἰφνίδιον, βρονταῖον, ἀνίκητον βέλος ἀγνόν,
 ῥοῖζου ἀπειρεσίου δινεύμασι παμφάγον ὄρμην,
 ἄρρηκτον, βαρύθυμον, ἀμμαιμάκετον πρηστήρα,
 οὐράνιον βέλος ὄξυ Καταιβάτου αἰθαλόεντος,
 δν καὶ γαῖα πέφρικε θάλασσά τε παμφανόωντα,
 καὶ θῆρες πτήσσουσιν, ὅταν κτύπος οὔρας ἐσέλθῃ·
 μαρμαίρει δὲ πρόσωπ' αὐγαῖς, σμαραγεῖ δὲ κεραυνὸς
 αἰθέρος ἐν γυάλοισι· διερρήξας δὲ χιτῶνα
 οὐράνιον προκάλυμμα βαλὼν ἀργῆτα κεραυνόν.
 ἀλλὰ, μάκαρ, θυμὸν τέον* ἐμβαλε κύμασι πόντου
 ἢ δ' ὀρέων κορυφαῖσι· τὸ σὸν κράτος ἴσμεν ἅπαντες.
 ἀλλὰ χαρεῖς λοιβαῖσι δίδου φρεσὶν αἴσιμα πάντα
 ζώην τ' ὀλβιόθυμον, ὅμοῦ θ' Ὑγίειαν ἄνασσαν
 Εἰρήνην τε θεόν, κουροτρόφον, ἀγλαότιμον,
 καὶ βίον εὐθύμοισιν αἰεὶ θάλλοντα λογισμοῖς.

20. Διὸς Ἀστραπαιοῦ θυμίαμα λιβανομόνναν

Κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγνόν, ἐρισμάραγον, περίφαντον,
 ἀέριον, φλογόντα, πυρίδρομον, ἀεροφεγγή,
 ἀστράπτοντα σέλας νεφέων παταγοδρόμωι αὐδῇ,
 φρικώδη, βαρύμηνιν, ἀνίκητον θεὸν ἀγνόν,

5 enriching the mortal race with the fruits of the years;
 who got for third portion the earth, queen of all,
 seat of immortals, mortals' mighty foundation;
 who fixed his throne in the gloomy place beneath,
 far off, weariless, lifeless, untriable Hades,
 10 and dark-blue Acheron, that holds the earth's roots;
 who rules mortals by dint of death, O great-receiver;
 Euboulos, who once wed the child of the pure one,
 Demeter, snatched from the meadow you brought her
 through the sea on four-teamed horses, beneath the cave
 15 of Attic Eleusis, for there are the gates of Hades.
 Sole hierophant of deeds seen and invisible,
 possessor, pantokrator, holiest, bright-honoured,
 happy in the sacred mysteries and hallowed rites:
 I beseech you, come kind to the initiates, gladdened.

19. Zeus Keraunos' offering, storax

Father Zeus, driving the high-coursing fire-bright cosmos,
 flashing the uppermost gleam of ethereal lightning,
 shaking the blessed gods' seat with thunder divine,
 lighting up the searing bolt in beclouded streams,
 5 casting † into fiery roaring, covering with darts,
 hurricanes, rainstorms, gales and strong thunderbolts,
 all-blazing, powerful, horrible, stout-hearted,
 dreadful winged weapon, heart-quaking, hair-raising,
 sudden, thunderous, invincible pure bolt,
 10 all-devouring onrush in wheels of infinite roaring,
 unbreakable, sullen, unfaceable hurricane,
 sharp, celestial bolt of the blazing descender,
 at whom earth and the radiant sea tremble,
 and beasts cower, when the blow reaches their ears;
 15 your countenance glitters and the lightning crashes
 in the hollows of ether: and rending your chiton,
 celestial covering, † you cast the bright lightning.
 But blessed, cast your wrath on the waves of the sea
 and the peaks of the mountains: we all see your might.
 20 Approve our libations, grant our hearts all that is meet
 and a heart-happy life, with queenly Health
 and Peace divine, nurse of youths, bright-honoured,
 and a life ever thriving with cheerful thoughts.

20. Zeus Astrapaios' offering, gum of frankincense

I call on the great, pure, renowned loud-thunderer,
 aerial, flaming, fire-coursing, air-gleaming,
 flashing with the clatter-coursing voice of the clouds,
 awful, heavy-wrath, invincible god, pure:

Ἀστραπαῖον Δία, παγγενέτην, βασιλῆα μέγιστον,
εὐμενέοντα φέρειν γλυκερὴν βιότοιο τελευτήν.

21. Νεφῶν θυμίαμα σμύρναν

Ἀέριοι νεφέλαι, καρποτρόφοι, οὐρανόπλαγκτοι,
ὀμβροτόκοι, πνοιαῖσιν ἐλαυνόμεναι κατὰ κόσμον,
βρονταῖαι, πυρόεσσαι, ἐρίβρομοι, ὕγροκέλευθοι,
ἄερος ἐν κόλπῳ πάταγον φρικώδη ἔχουσai,
πνεύμασιν ἀντίσπαστοι ἐπιδρομάδην παταγεῦσαι,
ὕμᾱς νῦν λίτομαι, δροσοείμονες, εὐπνοοὶ αὔραις,
πέμπειν καρποτρόφους ὀμβροὺς ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν.

22. Θαλάσσης θυμίαμα λιβανομάνναν

Ὠκεανοῦ καλέω νύμφην, γλαυκώπιδα Τηθύν,
κυανόπεπλον ἄνασσαν, εὐτροχα κυμαίνουσαν,
αὔραις ἡδυνόοισι πατασσομένην περὶ γαῖαν.
θραύουσ' αἰγιαλοῖσι πέτρῃσι τε κύματα μακρά,
εὐδίνοις ἀπαλοῖσι γαληνιώσα δρόμοισι,
ναυσὶν ἀγαλλομένη, θηροτρόφε, ὕγροκέλευθε,
μήτηρ μὲν Κύπριδος, μήτηρ Νεφῶν ἐρεβεννῶν
καὶ πάσης πηγῆς Νυμφῶν νασμοῖσι βρυούσης·
κλυθὶ μου, ὦ πολύσεμνε, καὶ εὐμενέουσ' ἐπαρήγοις,
εὐθυδρόμοις οὖρον ναυσὶν πέμπουσα, μάκαιρα.

23. Νηρέως θυμίαμα σμύρναν

ὦ κατέχων πόντου ρίζας, κυναναγέτιν ἔδρην,
πεντήκοντα κόραισιν ἀγαλλόμενος κατὰ κύμα
καλλιτέκνοισι χοροῖς, Νηρεῦ, μεγαλάνυμε δαῖμον,
πυθμὴν μὲν πόντου, γαίης πέρας, ἀρχὴ ἀπάντων,
ὃς κλονεῖς Δηοῦς ἱερὸν βᾶθρον, ἡνίκα πνοιάς
ἐν νυχίοις κευθμῶσιν ἐλαυνομένης ἀποκλείεις·
ἀλλά, μάκαρ, σεισμοὺς μὲν ἀπώτρεπε, πέμπτε δὲ μύσταις
ὄλβον τ' Εἰρήνην τε καὶ ὀλβιόχειρον Ὑγίην.

24. Νηρηίδων θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Νηρέος εἰναλίου νύμφαι καλυκώπιδες, ἀγναί,
† σφράγλαι βύθιαι, χοροπαίγμονες, ὕγροκέλευθοι,
πεντήκοντα κόραι περὶ κύμασι βακχεύουσai,
Τριτώνων ἐπ' ὄχοισιν* ἀγαλλόμεναι περὶ νῶτα
θηροτύποις μορφαῖς, ὧν βόσκει σώματα πόντος,
ἄλλοις θ' οἱ ναῖουσι βυθόν, Τριτώνιον οἶδμα,
ὕδρόδομοι, σκιρτηταί, ἐλισσόμενοι περὶ κύμα,
ποντοπλάνοι δελφίνες, ἀλιρρόθιοι, κυναναγεῖς.
ὕμᾱς κικλήσκω πέμπειν μύσταις πολὺν ὄλβον·
ὕμεῖς γὰρ πρῶται τελετὴν ἀνεδείξατε σεμνὴν
εὐιέρου Βάκχοιο καὶ ἀγνῆς Φερσεφονείης,

5 Zeus of the lightning, all-father, greatest king,
be gracious, bring life a sweet outcome.

21. Nephe's offering, myrrh

Aerial Clouds, fruit-rearing, sky-wanderers,
rain-bearers, driven through the cosmos by breezes,
thunderous, fiery, loud-roaring, wet-trailing,
with shivering clatter in the gulf of the air,
riven by winds, clashing on the course,
I beseech you now, dew-clad, open to breezes,
send fruit-rearing rains upon mother earth.

22. Thalassa's offering, gum of frankincense

Ocean's bride I call, grey-eyed Tethys,
blue-robed queen, smoothly wave-rolling,
brushed round the earth by sweet-breathed breezes,
her long waves shivered on the rocks of the shore,
calmed in gentle, peaceful paths;
Exulting in ships, beast-nurse, wet-trailing,
mother of Kypris, mother of the gloomy Clouds
and every spring of the Nymphs, swelling with streams.
Hear me, all-hallowed, bring your aid kindly,
blessed, send a fair wind to the straight-coursing ships.

23. Nereus' offering: myrrh

Keeper of the sea's roots, blue-gleaming abode,
with fifty daughters exulting through the waves
in dances of fair children, Nereus, daimon great-named,
sea's bottom, earth's end, origin of all,
shaking Deo's holy base, when you shut up
the winds, driven to the innermost places.
But, blessed, turn aside earthquakes, send the initiates
prosperous Peace and bliss-handed Health.

24. Nereids' offering, spices

Blossom-faced daughters of sea-god Nereus, pure,
† seal-gods of the deep, dancers of the wet path,
fifty maidens bacchant about the waves,
in Tritons' cars exulting over the sea's back
with beast-forms, bodies pastured by the sea,
and the others that dwell in the deep, Tritonian swell;
water-homed, leapers, rolling in the wave,
sea-roaming dolphins, brine-roaring, blue-gleaming.
I call on you, send the initiates happiness:
for you were the first to reveal the holy rite
of sacred Bakkhos and pure Phersephone,

Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι.

25. Πρωτέως θυμίαμα στύρακα

Πρωτέα κικλήσκω, πόντου κληΐδας ἔχοντα,
πρωτογενή, πάσης φύσεως ἀρχὰς ὃς ἔφηνεν
ὑλὴν ἀλλάσσω· ἱερὴν ἰδέαις πολυμόρφους,
πάντιμος, πολύβουλος, ἐπιστάμενος τὰ τ' ἐόντα
ὅσσα τε πρόσθεν ἦν ὅσα τ' ἔσsetαι ὕστερον αὖτις·
πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔχων μεταβάλλεται οὐδέ τις ἄλλος
ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσιν ἔδος νιφόντος Ὀλύμπου
καὶ πόντον καὶ γαῖαν ἐνὲ νηέρι· οἳ τε ποτῶνται·
† πάντα γὰρ † Πρωτεῖ πρώτη Φύσις ἐγκατέθηκε.
ἀλλὰ, πάτερ, μὲν μυστιπόλοις ὁσίαισι προνοίαις
πέμπων εὐόλβου βίοντος τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις.

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26. Γῆς θυμίαμα πᾶν σπέρμα πλὴν κυάμων καὶ ἀρωμάτων

Γαῖα θεά, μήτηρ μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων,
παντρόφε, πανδῶτειρα, τελεσφόρε, παντολέτειρα,
αὐξίθαλῆς, φερέκαρπε, καλαῖς ὥραισι βρύουσα,
ἔδρανον ἀθανάτου κόσμου, πολυποικίλε κούρη,
ἢ λοχίαις ὥδισι κύεις καρπὸν πολυειδῆ,
αἰδία, πολύσεπτε, βαθύστερν', ὀλβιόμοιρε,
ἡδυπνόοις χαίρουσα χλόαις πολυανθέσι δαίμον,
ὀμβροχαρῆς, περὶ ἣν κόσμος πολυδαίδαλος ἄστρων
εἰλεῖται Φύσει ἀενάῳ καὶ ῥέυμασι δεινοῖς.
ἀλλὰ, μάκαιρα θεά, καρποὺς αὖξιοις πολυγηθεῖς
εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχουσά νυν* εὐόλβοισιν ἐν ὥραις.

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27. Μητρὸς θεῶν θυμίαμα ποικίλα

Ἀθανάτων θεότιμε θεῶν μήτηρ, τροφὴ πάντων,
τῇδε μόλοις, κράντειρα θεά, σέο, πότνι', ἐπ' εὐχαῖς,
ταυροφόνων ζεύξασα ταχυδρόμον ἄρμα λεόντων,
σκηπτοῦχε κλεινοῖο πόλου, πολυνύμμε, σεμνή,
ἢ κατέχεις κόσμιοι μέσον θρόνον, οὐνεκεν αὐτῇ
γαῖαν ἔχεις θνητοῖσι τροφὰς παρέχουσα προσηνείς.
ἐκ σέο δ' ἀθανάτων τε γένος θνητῶν τ' ἐλοχέυθη,
σοὶ ποταμοὶ κρατέονται αἰεὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα,
Ἑστία αὐδαχθεῖσα· σὲ δ' ὀλβοδότιν καλέουσι,
παντοίων ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς ὅτι δῶρα χαρίζῃ,
ἔρχο πρὸς τελετήν, ὦ πότνια, τυμπανοτερπῆς
πανδαμάτωρ, Φρυγίη, σῶτειρα, Κρόνου συνόμενε,
Οὐρανόπαι, πρέσβειρα, βιοθρέπτειρα, φίλοιστρε·
ἔρχο γηθόσυνος, κεχαρημένη εὐσεβίῃσιν.

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with mother Kalliope and Apollo the king.

25. Proteus's offering, storax

I call on Proteus, the sea's key-keeper,
first-born, who revealed the sources of all nature,
switching sacred matter in polymorph forms;
all-honoured, counsellor, knower of things that are
all that was before, and all that will be after:
for he holds and alters all – alone of the
immortals who hold the throne of snowy Olympus
and the sea and the earth, and hover in air:
for the Nature first stored up † all things † in Proteus.
But, father, come to the mystai with holy foresight,
send a prosperous life's end, good in works.

26. Ge's offering, every seed except beans and spices

Goddess Gaia, mother of the blessed and of mortals,
all-nursing, all-giving, fulfiller, destroyer of all,
growth-blooming, fruit-bearing, full of fair seasons,
seat of the undying cosmos, variegated maiden;
who, in childbirth's pangs, births the varied fruit,
eternal, revered, deep-breasted, blessed portion,
daimon glad in the sweet-breathed flowery green,
rain-happy, about whom the wrought cosmos of stars
rolls with ever-flowing Nature, in terrible streams.
But, blessed goddess, increase the joyful fruits,
keep a gracious heart now in prosperous seasons.

27. Mother of the Gods' offering, various

God-honoured mother of immortal gods, nurse of all,
come here, ruler goddess, to your prayers, lady,
yoking the swift-running car of bull-slaying lions,
the famous pole's sceptred one, many-named, holy,
who holds the middle throne of the cosmos, and so
holds the earth, providing kind nourishment for mortals.
The races of immortals and mortals are born of you,
the rivers and all the seas are ever ruled by you,
Hestia by name: they call you the giver of happiness,
since you grant mortals gifts of all that is good.
Come to the rite, lady, delighter in drums,
all-tamer, Phrygian, saviour, bed-mate of Kronos,
Sky's child, elder god, life-rearer, lover of frenzy:
come happy, be pleased by our reverence.

28. Ἑρμοῦ θυμίαμα λίβανον

Κλυθί μου, Ἑρμεΐα, Διὸς ἀγγελε, Μαιάδος υἱέ,
παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, ἐναγώνιε, κοίρανε θνητῶν,
εὖφρων, ποικιλόβουλε, διάκτορε Ἀργειφόντα,
πτηνοπέδιλε, φίλανδρε, λόγου θνητοῖσι προφήτα,
γυμνάσιν δς χαίρεις δολίαις τ' ἀπάταις, † τροφιοῦχε,
ἐρμηνεῦ πάντων, κερδέμπορε, λυσιμέριμνε,
δς χεῖρεσσιν ἔχεις εἰρήνης ὄπλον ἀμεμφές,
Κωρυκιῶτα, μάκαρ, ἐριούνιε, ποικιλόμυθε,
ἐργασίαις ἐπαρωγέ, φίλε θνητοῖς ἐν ἀνάγκαις,
γλώσσης δεινὸν ὄπλον τὸ σεβάσμιον ἀνθρώποισι·
κλυθί μου εὐχομένου, βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζων
ἐργασίαισι, λόγου χάρισιν καὶ μνημοσύνησιν.

29. Ὕμνος Περσεφόνης

Φερσεφόνη, θύγατερ μεγάλου Διός, ἐλθέ, μάκαιρα,
μουνογένεια θεά, κεχαρισμένα δ' ἱερὰ δέξαι,
Πλούτωνος πολύτιμε δάμαρ, κεδνή, βιοδῶτι,
ἣ κατέχεις Αἴδαο πύλας ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης,
Πραξιδίκη, ἐρατοπλόκαμε, Διοῦς θάλος ἀγνόν,
Εὐμενίδων γενέτειρα, ὑποχθονίων βασιλεία,
ἣν Ζεὺς ἀρρήτοισι γοναῖς τεκνώσατο κούρην,
μήτηρ ἐριβρεμέτου πολυμόρφου Εὐβουλῆος,
Ὡρῶν συμπαίκτηρα, φασφόρε, ἀγλαόμορφε,
σεμνή, παντοκράτειρα, κόρη καρποῖσι βρύουσα,
εὐφεγγής, κερόεσσα, μόνη θνητοῖσι ποθεινή,
εἰαρινή, λειμωνιάσιν χαίρουσα πνοήσιν,
ἱερὸν ἐκφαίνουσα δέμας βλαστοῖς χλοοκάρποις,
ἀρπαγίμαῖα λέχη μετοπωρινὰ νυμφευθεῖσα,
ζωὴ καὶ θάνατος μούνη θνητοῖς πολυμόχοις,
Φερσεφόνη· φέρβεις γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ πάντα φονεύεις.
κλυθι, μάκαιρα θεά, καρποὺς δ' ἀνάπεμπε' ἀπὸ γαίης
Εἰρήνην θάλλουσα καὶ ἡπιοχείρῳ Ὑγείῃ
καὶ βίῳ εὐόλβῳ λιπαρὸν γῆρας κατάγοντι
πρὸς σὸν χώρον, ἄνασσα, καὶ εὐδύνατον Πλούτωνα.

30. Διονύσου θυμίαμα στύρακα

Κικλήσκω Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον, εὐαστήρα,
Πρωτόγονον, διφυῆ, τρίγονον, Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα,
ἄγριον, ἄρρητον, κρύφιον, δικέρωτα, δίμορφον,
κισσόβρυον, ταυρωπόν, Ἀρήιον, Εὖιον, ἀγνόν,
ὠμάδιον, τριετὴ, βοτρυηφόρον, ἐρνεσίτεπλον.
Εὐβουλεῦ, πολύβουλε, Διὸς καὶ Περσεφονείης
ἀρρήτοισι λέκτροισι τεκνωθείς, ἀμβροτε δαῖμον·
κλυθι, μάκαρ, φωνῆς, ἡδὺς δ' ἐπίπνευσον ἀμεμφῆς
εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, σὺν ἐυζώνοισι τιθήναις.

28. Hermes' offering, frankincense

Hear me Hermeias, envoy of Zeus, Maia's son,
almighty heart, god of the contest, marshall of mortals,
kind one, of varied counsel, Diaktor, Argus-bane,
wing-sandalled, friend to men, prophet of speech to mortals,
delighting in tricks, bare-faced and crafty, † food-keeper,
exegete of all, profit-god, care-looser,
who brandishes the blameless weapon of peace,
Korykiot, blessed, Eriounios, of the varied word,
helper in business, friend to mortals in need,
terrible, reverend weapon of language to men.
Hear me pray, grant life an end good
in business, and the memory and grace of words.

29. Hymn of Persephone

Phersephone, great Zeus' daughter, come, blessed,
only-born goddess, accept our favourable offering;
much-honoured wife of Pluto, noble, life-giving,
who keeps Hades' gates in the vaults of the earth,
Praxidike, love-locked, pure shoot of Deo,
mother of Furies, queen of the underworld,
maiden Zeus sired in secret conception,
mother of loud-roaring, polymorph Eubouleus,
playmate of the Hours, light-bearer, bright-form,
holy one, all-ruler, virgin swelling with fruit,
brilliant, horned one, sole longing of mortals;
spring goddess, glad in the breath of the meadows,
revealing your sacred form in green-fruited shoots;
stolen one, wed at autumnal nuptials,
sole life and death to long-suffering mortals,
Phersephone: for you ever feed and slay all.
Hear, blessed goddess, send up fruits from the earth,
blooming with Peace and Health, gentle-handed,
and a prosperous life that leads sleek old age
to your country, queen, and almighty Pluto.

30. Dionysos' offering, storax

I call on Dionysos the loud-roarer, crier,
first-born, twin-sexed, thrice-born Bacchic lord,
wild, unspoken, hidden, two-horned, biform,
ivied, bull-faced, martial, evoian, pure,
god of the raw, biennial, grape-bearer, shoot-clad.
Eubouleus, counsellor, born of the unspoken bed
of Zeus and Persephone, immortal daimon.
Hear my voice, blessed, inspire us blameless and sweet,
have a kind heart, with your fair-girdled nurses.

31. Ὕμνος Κουρήτων

Σκιρτῆται Κουρήτες, ἐνόπλια βήματα θέντες,
ποσσίκροτοι, ῥομβηταί, ὀρέστεροι, εὐαστήρες,
κρουσιλύραι, παράρυθοι, ἐπεμβάται ἵχνεσι κοῦφοι,
ὄπλοφόροι, φύλακες, κοσμήτορες, ἀγλαόφημοι,
μητρὸς ὀρειομανοῦς συνοπάονες, ὀργιοφάνται·
ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέοντες ἐπ' εὐφήμοισι λόγοισι,
βουκόλῳ εὐάντητοι αἰεὶ κεχαρηότι θυμῷ.

32. Ἀθηνᾶς θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Παλλὰς μουνγενής, μεγάλου Διδὸς ἔκγονε σεμνή,
δία, μάκαιρα θεά, πολεμόκλονε, ὀμβριμόθυμε,
ἄρρητε, ῥήτῃ, μεγαλύνυμε, ἀντροδαίαιτε,
ἢ διέπεις ὄχθους ὑψαύχενας ἀκρωρείους
ἢ δ' ὄρεα σκιόεντα, νάπαισί τε σὴν φρένα τέρπεις,
ὄπλοχαρής, οἰστροῦσα βροτῶν ψυχὰς μανίαισι,
γυμνάζουσα κόρη, φρικώδη θυμὸν ἔχουσα,
Γοργοφόνη, φυγόλεκτρε, τεχνῶν μῆτερ πολύολβε,
ὀρμάστειρα, φίλοιστρε κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ φρόνησις·
ἄρσῃν μὲν καὶ θῆλυσ ἔφυς, πολεματόκε, μῆτι,
αἰολόμορφε, δράκαινα, φιλένθεε, ἀγλαότιμε,
Φλεγραίων δλέτειρα Γιγάντων, ἱππελάτειρα,
Τριτογένεια, λύτειρα κακῶν, νικηφόρε δαῖμον,
ἡματα καὶ νύκτας αἰεὶ νεάταισιν ἐν ὥραις,
κλυθὶ μου εὐχομένου, δὸς δ' Εἰρήνῃν πολύολβον
καὶ κόρον ἢ δ' Ὑγίαν νυν* εὐόλβοισιν ἐν ὥραις,
Γλαυκῶφ', εὐρεσίτεχνε, πολυλλίστῃ βασιλείᾳ.

33. Νίκης θυμίαμα μάνναν

Εὐδύνατον καλέω Νίκην, θνητοῖσι ποθεινὴν,
ἢ μούνη λύει θνητῶν ἐναγώνιον ὀρμὴν
καὶ στάσιν ἀλγινέουσιν ἐπ' ἀντιπάλαιοι μάχαισιν,
ἐν πολέμοις κρίνουσα τροπαιοῦχοισιν ἐπ' ἔργοις,
οἷς ἂν ἐφορμαίνουσα φέροις γλυκερώτατον εὖχος·
πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις, πάσης δ' ἔριδος κλέος ἐσθλὸν
Νίκηι ἐπ' εὐδόξῳ κείται θαλίασι βρυάζον.
ἀλλὰ, μάκαιρ', ἔλθοις πεποθῆμένη δμματα παιδρῶι
αἰεὶ ἐπ' εὐδόξοις ἔργοις κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄγουσα.

34. Ἀπόλλωνος θυμίαμα μάνναν

Ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, Παιάν, Τίτυοκτόνε, Φοῖβε, Λυκωρεῦ,
Μεμφίτ', ἀγλαότιμε, ἱήιε, ὀλβιοδῶτα,
χρυσολύρη, σπερμεῖε, ἀρότριά, Πύθιε, Τιτάν,
Γρύνειε, Σμινθεῦ, Πυθοκτόνε, Δελφικέ, μάντι,
ἄγριε, φωσφόρε δαῖμον, ἐράσμιε, κύδιμε κοῦρε,
† μουσαγέτα, χοροποιέ, ἐκηβόλε, τοξοβέλεμνε,

31. Hymn of the Kouretes

Leapers, Kouretes, treading in armoured steps,
foot-stampers, bull-roarers, mountain gods, criers,
strike-lyres, rhythmic, stepping light on your feet,
arms-bearing, guardians, marshalls, bright-famed,
the mountain-mad mother's companions, hierophants.
Come well-disposed to our words of good omen,
be kind to the mystai, with heart ever gladdened.

32. Athena's offering, spices

Only-born Pallas, holy child of great Zeus,
divine, blessed god of the war din, mighty-heart,
unspoken, spoken of, great-named, cave-dwelling,
who crosses the hills' high-necked ridges and shadowy
mountains, delighting your heart in the vales;
joy in arms, stinging the souls of mortals to madness,
gymnast, maiden, whose anger is terrible,
Gorgon's bane, bed-shunning, mother of arts,
rouser, frenzy to the wicked, wisdom to the good:
you are male and female, war-mother, wisdom,
variform, serpent, possessor, bright-honoured,
slayer of the Giants of Phlegra, horse-driver,
Tritogeneia, dissolver of evils, victory's daimon.
Day and night ever, in the uttermost hours,
hear me pray: grant Peace, full of blessings,
satiety and Health now in prosperous seasons,
green-eyed inventor, much-implored queen.

33. Nike's offering, manna

I call potent Nike, longed for by mortals,
who alone solves the impulse of contest
and grievous dispute in the combat of rivals,
judging deeds that bring trophy in war,
whichever you rush to with the prayer that is sweetest:
for you rule over all, and each strife's good glory
lies teeming with joy in Victory's fame.
But blessed, come yearned for, bright-eyed,
bring good glory ever, through deeds of renown.

34. Apollo's offering, manna

Come, blessed Paian, Tityos-bane, Phoibos, Lykoreus,
Memphite, bright-honoured, Iēios, bliss-giver,
golden-lyre, seed-god, plough-god, Pythian, Titan,
Gryneian, Smintheus, Python-bane, Delphic seer,
wild, light-bearing daimon, lovely, glorious youth,
Muse-leader, dance-maker, far-shooter, bow-shot,

Βράγχιε καὶ Διδυμεῦ, † ἐκάεργε, Λοξία, ἀγνέ,
 Δήλι' ἀναξ, πανδερκὲς ἔχων φαεσίμβροτον ὄμμα,
 χρυσοκόμα, καθαρὰς φήμας χρησμούς τ' ἀναφαίνων·
 κλυθὶ μου εὐχομένου λαῶν ὕπερ εὐφροني θυμῶι·
 τόνδε σὺ γὰρ λεύσσεις τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα πάντα
 γαῖαν δ' ὀλβιόμοιρον ὕπερθε τε καὶ δι' ἀμολγοῦ,
 νυκτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίασιν ὑπ' ἀστεροόμματος ὄρην
 ῥίζας νέρθε δέδορκας, ἔχεις δέ τε πείρατα κόσμου
 παντὸς· σοὶ δ' ἀρχή τε τελευτή τ' ἐστὶ μέλουσα,
 παντοθαλῆς, σὺ δὲ πάντα πόλον κιθάρη πολυκρέκτωι
 ἀρμόζεις, ὅτε μὲν νεάτης ἐπὶ τέρματα βαινῶν,
 ἄλλοτε δ' αὖθ' ὑπάτης, ποτὲ Δώριον εἰς διάκοσμον
 πάντα πόλον κιρνὰς κρίνεις βιοθρέμωνα φύλα,
 ἀρμονίηι κεράσας παγκόσμιον ἀνδράσι μοῖραν,
 μίξας χειμῶνος θέρεός τ' ἴσον ἀμφοτέροισιν,
 ταῖς ὑπάταις χειμῶνα, θέρος νεάταις διακρίνας,
 Δώριον εἰς ἔαρος πολυηράτου ὦριον ἄνθος.
 ἐνθεν ἐπωνυμίην σε βροτοὶ κλήζουσιν ἀνακτα,
 Πᾶνα, θεὸν δικέρωτ', ἀνέμων συρίγμαθ' ἰέντα·
 οὐνεκα παντὸς ἔχεις κόσμου σφραγίδα τυπῶτιν.
 κλυθι, μάκαρ, σῶζων μύστας ἱκετηρίδι φωνῇ.

35. Λητοῦς θυμίαμα σμύρναν

Λητῶ κυανόπεπλε, θεὰ διδυματόκε, σεμνή,
 Κοιαντίς, μεγάλθυμε, πολυλλίστη βασιλεια,
 εὐτεκνον Ζηνὸς γονίμην ὠδῖνα λαβοῦσα,
 γειναμένη Φοῖβόν τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,
 τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ,
 κλυθι, θεὰ δέσποινα, καὶ Ἴλαον ἥτορ ἔχουσα
 βαῖν' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετὴν τέλος ἡδὺ φέρουσα.

36. Ἀρτέμιδος θυμίαμα μάνναν

Κλυθὶ μου, ὦ βασιλεια, Διὸς πολυώνυμε κούρη,
 Τιτανίς, βρομία, μεγαλόνυμε, τοξότι, σεμνή,
 πασιφαής, δαιδοῦχε θεά, Δίκτυννα, λοχεία,
 ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγὴ καὶ ὠδίνων ἀμύητε,
 λυσίζωνε, φίλοιστρε, κυνηγέτι, λυσιμέριμε,
 εὐδρομε, ἰοχέαιρα, φιλαγρότι, νυκτερόφοιτε,
 κληισία, εὐάντητε, λυτηρία, ἀρσενόμορφε,
 Ὀρθία, ὠκυλόχεια, βροτῶν κουροτρόφε δαῖμον,
 ἀγροτέρα, χθονία, θηροκτόνε, ὀλβιόμοιρε,
 ἥ κατέχεις ὀρέων δρυμούς, ἐλαφηβόλε, σεμνή,
 πότνια, παμβασίλεια, καλὸν θάλος, αἰὲν ἐοῦσα,
 δρυμονία, σκυλακίτι, Κυδωνιάς, αἰολόμορφε·
 ἐλθέ, θεὰ σώτειρα, φίλη, μύστησιν ἅπασιν
 εὐάντητος, ἄγουσα καλοὺς καρπούς ἀπὸ γαίης

Branchios, Didymeus, † far-worker, Loxias, pure,
 Delian king, with the all-seeing eye, shining for mortals,
 golden-haired, uttering pure words and prophecies:
 hear me pray for the host with a heart that is kind.
 For you gaze upon all this boundless ether
 and the bliss-portioned earth from above, and, in the dead
 of night's stillness, under the starry-eyed darkness
 you look on the roots from below; you hold the bounds
 of all cosmos: beginning and end are your care,
 all-blooming, you tune every pole with the lyre's
 strumming, going now to the lowest strings's limits,
 now again to the highest, now to the Dorian harmony:
 by tempering each pole you judge the life-rearing tribes,
 in harmony mixing the fate all men share;
 mixing equal portions of Summer and Winter,
 marking Winter in the deep notes, Summer in the high,
 Dorian for beloved Spring's seasonal flower.
 Hence mortals call you by the title of king;
 Pan, twin-horned god, who sends the winds' whistling:
 keeper of the signet that marks the whole cosmos.
 Hear, blessed, save the mystai with suppliant voice.

35. Leto's offering, myrrh

Blue-robed Leto, twin-bearing goddess, august,
 Koiantis, great-heart, much-implored queen,
 who received fertile, fair-bred offspring from Zeus,
 giving birth to Apollo and Artemis archer,
 her in Ortygia, him in Delos the rugged.
 Hear, lady goddess, with a heart that is gracious,
 come to our pantheic rite, bring a sweet end.

36. Artemis' offering, manna

Hear me, O queen, great-named daughter of Zeus,
 Titaness, roaring one, great-named archer, august,
 shine-for-all, torch-bearer, Dictynna, goddess of birth,
 helper in childbirth, untried in childbirth,
 zone-looser, frenzy-lover, huntress, care-looser,
 fair-running, archer, chase-lover, night-walker,
 famed one, friendly, deliverer, male-form,
 Orthia, swift-birth, youth-rearing daimon to mortals,
 god of the wild, earthly, beast-slayer, bliss-portioned,
 who holds the hill thickets, deer-shooter, holy,
 mistress, all-queen, fair shoot, eternal,
 thicket-god, hound-god, Cydonian, variform.
 Come, saviour goddess, a friend to all mystai,
 kindly, bringing fair fruits from the earth,

Εἰρήνην τ' ἐρατὴν καλλιπλόκαμόν θ' Ὑγίειαν·
πέμποις δ' εἰς ὀρέων κεφαλὰς νούσους τε καὶ ἄλγη.

37. Τιτάνων θυμίαμα λίβανον

Τιτῆνες, Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,
ἡμετέρων πρόγονοι πατέρων, γαίης ὑπένερθεν
οἴκοις ταρταρίοισι μυχῶι χθονὸς ἐνναίοντες,
ἀρχαὶ καὶ πηγαὶ πάντων θνητῶν πολυμόχθων,
εἰναλίων πτηνῶν τε καὶ οἱ χθόνα ναιετάουσιν·
ἐξ ὑμέων γὰρ πᾶσα πέλει γενεὰ κατὰ κόσμον.
ὕμᾱς κικλήσκω μῆνιν χαλεπὴν ἀποπέμπειν,
εἴ τις ἀπὸ χθονίων προγόνων οἴκοις ἐπελάσθῃ.

38. Κουρήτων θυμίαμα λίβανον

Χαλκόκροτοι Κουρήτες, ἀρήϊα τεύχε' ἔχοντες,
οὐράνιοι χθονιοὶ τε καὶ εἰνάλιοι, πολύολβοι,
ζωιογόνοι πνοιαί, κόσμου σωτῆρες ἀγαυοί,
οἷτε Σαμοθράικην, ἱερὴν χθόνα, ναιετάοντες
κινδύνους θνητῶν ἀπερύκετε ποντοπλανήτων·
ὕμεῖς καὶ τελετὴν πρῶτοι μερόπεσσιν ἔθεσθε,
ἀθάνατοι Κουρήτες, ἀρήϊα τεύχε' ἔχοντες·
νωμᾶτ' Ὀκεανόν, νωμᾶθ' ἄλλα δένδρεά θ' αὐτως·
ἐρχόμενοι γαῖαν κοναβίζετε ποσσὶν ἑλαφροῖς,
μαρμαίροντες ὅπλοις· πτήσσουσι δὲ θῆρες ἅπαντες
ὀρμώντων, θόρυβος δὲ βοή τ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκει
εἰλιγμοῖς τε ποδῶν κονίη νεφέλας ἀφικάνει
ἐρχομένων· τότε δὴ καὶ ἄνθεα πάντα τέθηλε.
δαίμονες ἀθάνατοι, τροφές καὶ αὐτ' ὀλετῆρες,
ἥνικ' ἂν ὀρμαίνητε χολούμενοι ἀνθρώποισιν
ὀλλύντες βίοτον καὶ κτήματα ἥδ' καὶ αὐτοὺς
πιμπράντες, στοναχῇ δὲ μέγας πόντος βαθυδίνης,
δένδρη δ' ὑψικάρη' ἐκ ριζῶν ἐς χθόνα πίπτει,
ἡχῶ δ' οὐρανία κελαδεῖ ροιζήμασι φύλλων.
Κουρήτες Κορύβαντες, ἀνάκτορες εὐδύνατοί τε
ἐν Σαμοθράικῃ ἀνακτες, ὁμοῦ δὲ Διόσκοροι αὐτοί,
πνοιαί ἀέναοι, ψυχотρόφοι, ἀεροειδεῖς,
οἷτε καὶ οὐράνιοι δίδυμοι κλήιζεσθ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ,
εὐπνοοι, εὐδιοι, σωτήριοι ἡδὲ προσηνεῖς,
ώροτρόφοι, φερέκαρποι ἐπιπνεῖοιτε ἀνακτες.

39. Κορύβαντος θυμίαμα λίβανον

Κικλήσκω χθονὸς ἀεναίου βασιλῆα μέγιστον,
Κύρβαντ' ὀλβιόμοιρον, ἀρήιον, ἀπροσόρατον,
νυκτερινὸν Κουρήτα, φόβων ἀποπαύστορα δεινῶν,
φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγόν, ἐρημοπλάνον Κορύβαντα,
αἰολόμορφον ἀνακτα, θεὸν διφυή, πολύμορφον,

15 and lovely Peace and fair-tressed Health:
send to the mountain-tops sickness and pain.

37. Titans' offering, frankincense

Titans, glorious children of Ouranos and Gaia,
our fathers' forebears, under the earth
in the houses of Tartaros, in the vault of the earth;
sources and springs of long-suffering mortals,
of the sea, of the wing and those living on land:
from you arise every race in the cosmos.
I call on you, send away troublesome anger,
if a forebear of the earth should draw near our houses.

38. Kouretes' offering, frankincense

Bronze-clashing Kouretes, who wield Ares' armour,
celestial, earthly, marine, rich in blessings,
life-bearing breaths, noble saviours of the cosmos;
who dwell in Samothrace, sacred land,
fending off dangers from sea-roaming mortals;
and you were the first to give mortals the rite.
Immortal Kouretes, who wield Ares' armour,
drive the Ocean, drive the salt and the trees:
come, make earth ring with feet that are nimble,
flashing with arms: every beast cowers at your
onrush, the tumult and cry go up to heaven,
the dust raises clouds at the winding of feet
as they come: then and there all flowers bloom.
Daimons undying, rearers yet killers,
when in anger you rush upon humans,
wasting life, possessions, and people together
as you blow; and the great sea, deep-eddy, groans,
and the high-topped trees fall from their roots to the ground,
and the heavenly echo murmurs with the rustling of leaves.
Kouretes, Korybantes, mightiest masters,
rulers in Samothrace, with the Dioskouroi,
breaths ever-flowing, soul-rearers, airy,
who are also called the heavenly twins on Olympus;
fair-breaths, gods of the bright-sky, gentle saviours,
season-rearers: inspire us, fruit-bearing kings.

39. Korybant's offering, frankincense

I call on the great king of the ever-lasting earth,
bliss-portioned Kyrbant, martial, unfaceable,
nocturnal Koures, checker of terrible fears,
apparitions' aid, lone-roaming Korybant,
variform king, bi-natured god, polymorph,

φοίνιον, αίμαχθέντα κασιγνήτων ὑπὸ δισσῶν,
 Δηοῦς δς γνώμαισιν ἐνήλλαξας δέμας ἀγνόν,
 θηρότυπον θέμενος μορφὴν δνοφεροῖο δράκοντος·
 κλύθι, μάκαρ, φωνῶν, χαλεπὴν δ' ἀποπέμπεο μῆνιν,
 παύων φαντασίας, ψυχῆς ἐκπλήκτου ἀνάγκας.

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40. Δήμητρος Ἐλευσινίας θυμίαμα στύρακα

Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυώνυμε δαίμον,
 σεμνή Δήμητερ, κουροτρόφε, ὀλβιοδῶτι,
 πλουτοδότειρα θεά, σταχυοτρόφε, παντοδότειρα,
 εἰρήνηι χαίρουσα καὶ ἐργασίαις πολυμόχθοις,
 σπερμεία, σωρίτι, ἀλωαία, χλοοκαρπε,
 ἢ ναίεις ἀγνοῖσιν Ἐλευσίνος γυάλοισιν,
 ἱμερόεσσ', ἐρατή, θνητῶν θρέπτειρα προπάντων,
 ἢ πρώτη ζεύξασα βοῶν ἀροτῆρα τένοντα
 καὶ βίον ἱμερόεντα βροτοῖς πολύολβον ἀνείσα,
 αὐξίθαλῆς, Βρομίοιο συνέστιος, ἀγλαότιμος,
 λαμπαδόεσσ', ἀγνή, δρεπάνοις χαίρουσα θερείοις·
 σὺ χθονία, σὺ δὲ φαινομένη, σὺ δὲ πᾶσι προσσηνής·
 εὖτεκεν, παιδοφίλῃ, σεμνή, κουροτρόφε κούρα,
 ἄρμα δρακοντείοισιν ὑποζεύξασα χαλινοῖς
 ἐγκυκλίοις δίναις περὶ σὸν θρόνον εὐάζουσα,
 μουνόγονος*, πολύτεκεν θεά, πολυπότνια θνητοῖς,
 ἥς πολλαὶ μορφαὶ πολυάνθεμοι, ἱεροθαλεῖς.
 ἔλθέ, μάκαρ', ἀγνή, καρποῖς βρίθουσα θερείοις,
 Εἰρήνην κατάγουσα καὶ Εὐνομίην ἐρατεινὴν
 καὶ Πλοῦτον πολύολβον, ὁμοῦ δ' Ἑγείαν ἄνασσαν.

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murderous, stained with the twin brothers' blood,
 who at Deo's will assumed a pure form,
 laying the dark serpent's beast-form aside.
 Hear, blessed, our voices, dispel troublesome anger,
 stop apparitions, distress of the terror-struck soul.

40. Demeter Eleusinia's offering, storax

Deo, all-mother goddess, many-named daimon,
 holy Demeter, youth-rearer, bliss-giver,
 wealth-giving goddess, corn-rearer, all-giver,
 delighting in peace and laborious works,
 of the seed, of the corn heap, the threshing floor, green-fruit,
 who dwells in the holy hollows of Eleusis,
 charming one, lovely, all mortals' rearer,
 who first yoked the sinews of oxen for ploughing,
 unlocking for mortals a life lovely and blessed;
 growth-blooming, hearth-mate of Bromios, bright-honoured,
 torch-bearer, pure one, glad in the sickles of Summer.
 You are chthonic, revealed, you are gentle to all;
 fair-brood, child-loving, august, youth-rearing maid,
 yoking your car with serpentine reins,
 crying in circular whorls round your throne;
 one-child, multiparous, mistress to mortals,
 whose forms are many, blooming and sacred.
 Come, blessed, pure one, brimming with summer fruits,
 bringing down Peace and lovely Good-order
 and the blessings of Wealth, with Health that is queen.

41. Μητρὸς Ἀνταίας θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Ἀνταία βασιλεια, θεά, πολυώνυμε μήτερ
 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν ἢ δὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
 ἢ ποτε μαστεύουσα πολυπλάγκτωι ἐν ἀνίῃ
 νηστείαν κατέπαυσας Ἐλευσίνος γυάλοισιν
 ἦλθες τ' εἰς Αἴδην πρὸς ἀγανὴν Περσεφόνειαν
 ἀγνὸν παῖδα Δυσαύλου ὀδηγητῆρα λαβοῦσα,
 μηνυτῆρ' ἀγίων λέκτρων χθονίου Διὸς ἀγνοῦ,
 Εὐβούλου, τεύξασα θεὸν θνητῆς ἀπ' ἀνάγκης.
 ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σε, πολυλλίστη βασιλεια,
 ἔλθεῖν εὐάντητον ἐπ' εὐέρωι σέο μύστηι.

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41. Mother Antaia's offering, spices

Antaia, queen, goddess, many-named mother
 of immortal gods and humans that die,
 who once, searching in wide-roaming sorrow,
 put a stop to your fasting in the hollows of Eleusis
 and came into Hades, to noble Persephone,
 taking as guide the pure child of Dysaules,
 revealer of pure chthonic Zeus' holy bed,
 from the mortal bond making Euboulos a god.
 But, goddess, I pray you, much-implored queen,
 come to your sacred initiate, gracious.

42. Μίσης θυμίαμα στύρακα

Θεσμοφόρον καλέω ναρθηκοφόρον Διόνυσον,
 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυώνυμον Εὐβουλῆα,
 ἀγνήν εὐείρόν τε Μίσσην ἄρρητον ἄνασσαν,
 ἄρσενα καὶ θῆλυν, διφυῆ, Λύσειον Ἰακχον·
 εἴτ' ἐν Ἐλευσίνος τέρπηι νηῶι θυόεντι,

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42. Mise's offering, storax

I call the law-giver, Dionysos wand-bearer,
 seed much-minded, many-named Eubouleus,
 pure and holy Mise, ineffable queen,
 male and female, twin-sexed, Iakkhos the loosener,
 glad in the fragrant shrine of Eleusis,

εἴτε καὶ ἐν Φρυγίῃ σὺν Μητέρι μυστιπολεύεις,
ἢ Κύπρῳ τέρπῃ σὺν ἑσπεφάνῳ Κυthereίῃ,
ἢ καὶ πυροφόροις πεδίοις ἐπαγγάλλαι ἀγνοῖς
σὺν σῇ μητρὶ θεᾷ μελανηφόρῳ Ἴσιδι σεμνῇ,
Αἰγύπτου παρὰ χεῦμα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι τιθήναις·
εὐμενέουσ' ἔλθοις ἀγαθοῖς τελετῇς ἐπ' ἀέθλοισι.

43. Ὡρῶν θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Ὡραι θυγατέρες Θέμιδος καὶ Ζηνὸς ἀνακτος,
Εὐνομίῃ τε Δίκῃ τε καὶ Εἰρήνῃ πολυόλβε,
εἰαριναί, λειμωνιάδες, πολυάνθεμοι, ἀγναί,
παντόχροοι, πολύοδοι ἐν ἀνθεμοειδέσι πνοαῖς,
Ὡραι ἀειθαλέες, περικυκλάδες, ἡδυπρόσωποι,
πέπλους ἐννύμεναι δροσεροῦς ἀνθῶν πολυθρέπτων,
Περσεφόνης συμπαίκτορες, ἥνικα Μοῖραι ταύτην
καὶ Χάριτες κυκλίοισι χοροῖς πρὸς φῶς ἀνάγῃσι
Ζηνὶ χαριζόμεναι καὶ μητέρι καρποδοτεῖρη·
ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐφήμες τελετὰς ὅσαι* νεομύσταις
εὐκάρπους καιρῶν γενέσεις ἐπάγουσαι ἀμεμφῶς.

44. Σεμέλης θυμίαμα στύρακα

Κικλήσκω κούρην Καδμηίδα παμβασίλειαν,
εὐειδῇ Σεμέλῃν, ἔρατοπλόκαμον, βαθύκολπον,
μητέρα θυρσοφόροιο Διωνύσου πολυγηθοῦς,
ἢ μεγάλας ὠδῖνας ἐλάσαστο πυρφόρῳ αὐγῇ
ἀθανάτῃ φλεχθεῖσα Διὸς βουλαῖς Κρονίῳ
τιμᾶς τευξαμένη παρ' ἀγαυῆς Περσεφονείης
ἐν θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἀνὰ τριετηρίδας ὥρας,
ἥνικα σοῦ Βάκχου γονίμην ὠδῖνα τελῶσιν
εὐιέρων τε τράπεζαν ἰδὲ μυστήριά θ' ἀγνά.
νῦν σέ, θεά, λίτομαι, κούρη Καδμηίς, ἄνασσα,
πρηγύνοον καλέων αἰεὶ μύσταισιν ὑπάρχειν.

45. Ὕμνος Διονύσου Βασσαρέως Τριετηρικοῦ

Ἐλθέ, μάκαρ Διόνυσε, πυρίσπορε, ταυρομέτωπε,
Βάσσαρε καὶ Βακχεύ, πολυώνυμε, παντοδυνάστα,
ὃς ξίφεσιν χαίρεις ἢ δ' αἵματι Μαινάσι θ' ἀγναῖς,
εὐάζων κατ' Ὀλύμπῳ, ἐρίβρομε, μανικὲ* Βάκχε,
θυρσεγγής, βαρύμηνι, τετιμένε πᾶσι θεοῖσι
καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν, ὅσοι χθόνα ναιετάουσιν·
ἔλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητά, φέρων πολὺ γῆθος ἅπασι.

46. Λικνίτου θυμίαμα μάνναν

Λικνίτην Διόνυσον ἐπευχαῖς ταῖσδε κικλήσκω,
Νύσιον ἀμφιθαλῆ, πεποθιμένον, εὐφρονα Βάκχον,
νυμφῶν ἔρνος ἔραστον ἑσπεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης,

celebrating the rites with the Mother in Phrygia,
rejoicing in Cyprus with crowned Kythereia,
or exulting in the pure, fire-bearing plains,
with your mother the black-clad god, holy Isis,
by Egypt's stream, with your nurses attendant.
Come kind to this ritual's good contests.

43. Horai's offering, spices

Hours, daughters of Themis and Zeus the king,
Eunomie, Dike, Eirene the blessed,
of the spring, of the meadows, blossom-rich, pure,
all-coloured, all-scented in flowery breezes;
Hours ever-blooming, revolving, sweet-faced,
wearing dewy robes of flowers abundant,
pure Persephone's play-mates, when the Fates
and the Graces lead her in round dances up to the light,
cheering to Zeus and the fruit-giving mother.
Come to the fair-spoken rites, holy to the initiates,
bring blameless the fair-fruited births of the seasons.

44. Semele's offering, storax

I call on the daughter of Kadmos, all-queen,
comely Semele, lovely-locked, deep-bosomed,
mother of joyful Dionysos, the thyrsos-bearer;
driven to the labours of birth by the fiery ray;
made an immortal by the counsels of Zeus;
given honours beside noble Persephoneia
among mortals in biennial seasons,
when they perform your fruitful birth of Bakkhos
and the sacred feast and the mysteries pure.
Now, goddess, I pray you, Kadmos' maid, queen,
I call you, to the mystai be always kind-minded.

45. Hymn of Dionysos Bassareus Trieterikos

Come, blessed Dionysos, fire-sown, bull-faced,
Bassaros and Bakkheus, many-named, omnipotent,
delighting in swords and blood and pure Maenads,
crying down from Olympos, loud-roarer, manic Bakkhos,
thyrsos-spear, heavy-wrath, honoured by all gods
and mortals, all who inhabit the earth.
Come, blessed leaper, bringing much joy for all.

46. Liknites' offering, manna

With these prayers I call Dionysos Liknites,
flourishing Nysian, longed for, kind Bakkhos,
loved shoot of the Nymphs and crowned Aphrodite;

ὅς ποτ' ἀνὰ δρυμοὺς κεχορευμένα βήματα πάλλεις
 σὺν Νύμφαις Χαρίτεσσι τ' ἑλαινόμενος μανίησι,
 καὶ βουλαῖσι Διὸς πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Φερσεφόνειαν
 ἀχθεὶς ἐξετράφης φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.
 εὖφρων ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, κεχαρισμένα δ' ἱερὰ δέξαι.

47. Περικιονίου θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Κικλήσκω Βάκχον Περικιονίον, μεθυδότην,
 Καδμείοισι δόμοις ὅς ἐλίσσόμενος πέρι πάντη
 ἔστησε κρατερῶς βρασμοὺς γαίης ἀποπέμψας,
 ἥνικα πυρφόρος αὐγὴ ἐκίνησε χθόνα πᾶσαν
 πρηστήρος ροίζοις· ὃ δ' ἀνέδραμε δεσμός ἀπάντων.
 ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, βακχευτά, γεγηθυῖαις πραπίδεσσιν.

48. Σαβαζίου θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Κλυθι, πάτερ, Κρόνου υἱέ, Σαβάζιε, κύδιμε δαίμον,
 ὅς Βάκχον Διόνυσον, ἐρίβρομον, Εἰραφιώτην,
 μῆρῳ ἐγκατέραψας, ὅπως τετελεσμένος ἔλθῃ
 Τιμῶλον ἐς ἡγάθεον παρὰ Ἴπταν καλλιπάρηιον.
 ἀλλά, μάκαρ, Φρυγίης μεδέων, βασιλεύατε πάντων,
 εὐμενέων ἐπαρωγὸς ἐπέλθοις μυστιπόλοισιν.

49. Ἴπτας θυμίαμα στύρακα

Ἴπταν κικλήσκω, Βάκχου τροφόν, εὐάδα κούρην,
 μυστιπόλον, τελεταῖσιν ἀγαλλομένην Σάβου ἀγνοῦ
 νυκτερίοις τε χοροῖσι πυριβρεμέταο Ἰάκχου.
 κλυθί μου εὐχομένου, χθονία μήτηρ, βασίλεια,
 εἴτε σύ γ' ἐν Φρυγίῃ κατέχεις Ἰδῆς ὄρος ἀγνὸν
 ἢ Τιμῶλος τέρπει σε, καλὸν Λυδοῖσι θόασμα·
 ἔρχεο πρὸς τελετὰς ἱερῶν γήθουσα προσώπων.

50. Λυσίου Ληναίου

Κλυθι, μάκαρ, Διὸς υἱέ, ἐπιλήνιε Βάκχε, διμάτῳ,
 σπέρμα πολὺμνηστον, πολώνυμε, Λύσιε δαίμον,
 κρυψίγονον μακάρων ἱερὸν θάλος, Εὖιε Βάκχε,
 εὐτραφές, εὐκαρπε, πολυγηθέα καρπὸν ἀέζων,
 ῥηξίχθων, Ληναῖε, μεγασθενές, αἰολόμορφε,
 παυσίπονον θνητοῖσι φανείς ἄκος, ἱερὸν ἄνθος,
 χάρμα βροτοῖς φιλάλυπον, † Ἐπάφιε*, καλλιέθειρε,
 Λύσιε, θυρσομανές, Βρόμι', Εὖιε, πᾶσιν εὖφρων,
 οἷς ἐθέλεις θνητῶν ἢ δ' ἀθανάτων ἐπιφαύσκων
 νῦν σε καλῶ μύσταισι μολεῖν ἡδύν, φερέκαρπον.

who once leaped the steps of the dance in the thickets
 with the Nymphs and the Graces, driven by frenzies,
 and led by Zeus' counsels to noble Phersephone
 you were raised up, dear to the undying gods.
 Come kind, blessed, accept these fair offerings.

47. Perikionios' offering, spices

I call Bakkhos Perikionios, giver of wine,
 who, twining every way in the Kadmeian halls,
 stood strongly, dispelling the quakes of the earth,
 when the fiery beam moved all the land with the
 hurricane's roaring; but he, bond of all, shot up.
 Come, blessed bacchant, with a heart full of joy.

48. Sabazios' offering, spices

Hear, father, Kronos' son, Sabazios, famed daimon,
 who sewed in his thigh the loud-roarer, Eiraphiotes,
 Bakkhos Dionysos, so that, carried to term, he came
 to Tmolus the holy, with Hipta the fair-cheeked.
 But, blessed, Phrygia's lord, most royal of all,
 come gracious, a helper to the initiates.

49. Hipta's offering, storax

I call on Hipta, Bakkhos' nurse, evian maiden,
 exulting in the mystic rites of Sabos the pure
 and the nocturnal dances of loud-roaring Iakkhos.
 Hear me pray, earth mother, queen, whether
 you hold the pure mount of Phrygian Ida
 or Tmolus delights you, fair Lydian dance-ground.
 Come to our rites, your holy face joyful.

50. For Lysios Lenaios

Hear, blessed, Zeus' son, winepress Bakkhos, two-mothered,
 seed much-minded, many-named, delivering daimon,
 hidden-birth, shoot of the blessed, Bakkhos the crier,
 well-nursed, fruitful, increasing the joyful fruit,
 earth-burster, god of the winepress, great-might, variform,
 to mortals revealing the pain-ceasing cure, holy bloom,
 mortals' joy of relief, Epaphian, beautiful haired,
 deliverer, thyrsos-mad, Bromios, crier, kind to all,
 manifest to mortals and immortals you choose.
 I call you now, come to the mystai sweet, fruit-bearing.

51. Νυμφῶν θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Νύμφαι, θυγατέρες μεγάλητορος Ὠκεανοῖο,
ὕγροπόροις γαίης ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἰκί' ἔχουσαι,
κρυψίδρομοι, Βάκχοιο τροφοί, χθόνιαι, πολυγηθεῖς,
καρποτρόφοι, λειμωνιάδες, σκολιοδρόμοι, ἀγναί,
ἀντροχαρεῖς, σπήλυγξι κεχαρμέναι, ἡερόφοιτοι,
πηγαῖαι, δρομάδες, δροσοείμονες, ἔχνεσι κούφαι,
φαινόμεναι, ἀφανεῖς, αὐλωνιάδες, πολυανθεῖς,
σὺν Πανὶ σκιρτῶσαι ἀν' οὐρεα, εὐάστειραι,
πετρόρυτοι, λιγυραί, βομβήτριαι, οὐρεσίφοιτοι,
ἀγρότεραι κούραι, κρουνίτιδες ὕλονόμοι τε,
παρθένοι εὐώδεις, λευχεῖμονες, εὐπνοοὶ αὖραις,
αἰπολικάι, νόμια, θηρσὶν φίλαι, ἀγλαόκαρποι,
κρουνοχαρεῖς, ἀπαλαί, πολυθρέμμονες αὐξίτροφοί τε,
κούραι Ἀμαδρυάδες, φιλοπαίγμονες, ὕγροκέλευθοι,
Νύσαι, μανικάι, παιωνίδες, εἰαροτερπεῖς,
σὺν Βάκχῳ Διοί τε χάριν θνητοῖσι φέρουσιν.
ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐφήμεῖς ἱεροῖς κεχαρηότι θυμῷ
νάμα χέουσιν ὑγιὲν ἀξίτροφοῖσιν ἐν ὥραις.

52. Τριετηρικοῦ θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Κικλήσκω σε, μάκαρ, πολυώνυμε, μανικὲ* Βακχεῦ,
ταυρόκερως, Ληναῖε, πυρίσπορε, Νύσιε, Λυσεῦ,
μηροτροφής, Λικνίτης μυστιπόλων τελετάρχα,
νυκτέρη, Εὐβουλεῦ, μιτρηφόρε, θυρσοτινάκτα,
ὄργιον ἄρρητον, τριφυές, κρύφιον Διὸς ἔρνος,
Πρωτόγον', Ἑρικεπαῖε, θεῶν πάτερ ἡδὲ καὶ υἱέ,
ὠμάδιε, σκηπτοῦχε, χοροϊμανές, ἀγέτα κώμων,
βακχεύων ἀγίας τριετηρίδας ἀμφὶ γαληνάς,
ῥήξιχθων, πυριφεγγές, ἐπάφριε, κούρε διμάτωρ,
οὐρεσιφοῖτα, κερῶς, νεβριδοστόλε, ἀμφιέτηρε,
Παιᾶν χρυσεγχής, ὑποκόλπιε, βοτρυόκοσμε,
Βάσσαρε, κισσοχαρής, πολυπάρθενε, καλλιέθειρε,
ἔλθέ, μάκαρ, μύσταισι βρύων κεχαρημένος αἰεῖ.

53. Ἀμφιετοῦς θυμίαμα πάντα πλὴν λιβάνου καὶ σπένδε γάλα

Ἀμφιετὴ καλέω Βάκχον, χθόνιον Διόνυσον,
ἐγρόμενον κούραις ἅμα Νύμφαις εὐπλοκάμοισιν,
ὃς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἱεροῖσι δόμοισιν ἱαύων
κοιμίζει τριετὴρα χρόνον, Βακχίον ἀγρόν.
αὐτὸς δ' ἡνίκα τὸν τριετὴ πάλι κῶμον ἐγείρηι,
εἰς ὕμνον τρέπεται σὺν ἐυζώνοισι τιθήναις
εὐνάζων κινῶν τε χρόνους ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις.
ἀλλὰ, μάκαρ, χλοόκαρπε, κερασφόρε, κάρπιμε Βάκχε,

51. Nymphs' offering, spices

Nymphs, daughters of great-hearted Ocean,
whose homes are beneath the wet-pathed vaults of the earth,
hidden-coursers, Bakkhos' nurses, chthonic, joyful,
fruit-rearers, meadow-gods, slant-coursers, pure,
cave-haunting, delighting in caverns, air-roaming,
spring-gods, runners, dew-clad, light on your feet,
manifest, unseen, glen-dwellers, flower-decked,
leaping with Pan on the mountains, criers,
rock-flowing, shrill-voiced, humming, hill-dwelling,
maids of the wild, of the springs, of the woodlands,
sweet-smelling, white-clad, alive to the breezes;
of goatherds, of shepherds, friends to beasts, bright-fruits,
frost-happy, tender, growth-fostering nurturers,
Hamadryad maidens, playful, of the wet paths,
Nysian, manic, Paeonian, spring-happy,
bringing joy to mortals with Bakkhos and Deo.
Come to the fair-spoken rites, with a gracious heart,
pour the waters of health in nourishing hours.

52. Trieterikos' offering, spices

I call you, blessed, many-named, manic Bakkhos,
bull-horned, Lenaïos, fire-sown, Nysian, Lyseus,
thigh-reared, Liknites, fire-wasted, rite-founder,
nocturnal Eubouleus, turbaned, thyrsos-shaker,
unspoken rite, three-natured, Zeus' hidden shoot,
Erikepaios the firstborn, father and son of the gods,
god of raw-flesh, sceptred, dance-mad, leader of revels,
bacchant about the calm in the holy trieteris,
earth-burster, fire-blazing, foaming, two-mothered youth,
hill-dweller, horned one, fawn-robed, biennial,
gold-speared Paian, in-the-lap, grape-decked,
Bassaros, ivy-glad, many-maidened, fair-haired.
Come, blessed, abounding with joy for your mystai.

53. Amphetes' offering, everything except frankincense, and offer milk

I call Bakkhos Amphetes, chthonic Dionysos,
roused with the maiden, fair-tressed nymphs,
who sleeps in the sacred halls by Persephone,
and lulls the trieteris, Bacchic and pure;
but when again he rouses the third year revel,
he turns to a hymn with his well-girdled nurses
lulling and moving the years in circular seasons.
But, blessed, green-fruit, fruitful, horned Bakkhos,

βαῖν' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετὴν γανώνντι προσώπῳ
εὐέροις καρποῖσι τελεσιγόνοισι βρυάζων.

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come bright-faced to our pantheic rite,
revel in the ripened fruits of the offering.

54. Σιληνοῦ Σατύρου Βακχῶν θυμίαμα μάνναν

Κλυθί μου, ὦ πολύσεμνε τροφεῦ, Βάκχοιο τιθηνέ,
Σιληνῶν ὄχ' ἄριστε, τετιμένε πᾶσι θεοῖσι
καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐνὶ τριετηρίσιν ὥραις,
ἀγνοτελής, γεραρός, θιάσου νομίῳ τελετάρχα,
εὐαστής, φιλάγρυπνε νεάζαισι σὺν Λήναις*
Ναῖσι καὶ Βάκχαις ἡγούμνε κισσοφόροισι·
δεῦρ' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετὴν Σατύροις ἅμα πᾶσι
θηροτύποις, εὖασμα διδοὺς Βακχείῳ ἀνακτος,
σὺν Βάκχαις Λήναια τελεσφόρα σεμνὰ προπέμπων,
ὄργια νυκτιφαῆ τελεταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναφαίνων,
εὐάζων, φιλόθυρσε, γαληνιόων θιάσοισιν.

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54. Offering of Silenos, Satyros, Bakkhai, manna

Hear me, holy fosterer, rearer of Bakkhos,
far the best of the Sileni, honoured by all gods
and by mortals in biennial seasons;
holy-rite, reverend, the pastoral revel's founder,
crier, keeping vigil with the youthful Lenai,
leading the Naiads and the ivy-bearing Bakkhai.
Come to the pantheic rite with every beast-formed
Satyr, give the shout of the Bacchic lord,
lead forth with the Bakkhai the mystic Lenaia,
with pure rites reveal the nocturnal mysteries,
cry out, thyrsos-lover, find peace in the revels.

55. Εἰς Ἀφροδίτην

Οὐρανία, πολύμνε, φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη,
ποντογενής, γενέτειρα θεά, φιλοπάννυχε, σεμνή,
νυκτερία ζεύκτειρα, δολοπλόκε, μήτηρ Ἀνάγκης·
πάντα γὰρ ἐκ σέθεν ἐστίν, ὑπεξεύξω δέ τε κόσμον
καὶ κρατέεις τρισσῶν μοιρῶν, γεννᾷς δὲ τὰ πάντα,
ὅσσα τ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστί καὶ ἐν γαίῃ πολυκάρπῳ
ἐν πόντου τε βυθῷ, σεμνή Βάκχοιο πάρεδρε,
τερπομένη θαλίσαισι, γαμοστόλε μήτηρ Ἑρώτων,
Πειθοῖ λεκτροχαρής, κρυφία, χαριδῶτι,
φαινομένη, ἀφανής, ἐρατοπλόκαμ', εὐπατέρεια,
νυμφιδία, σύνδαιτι, θεῶν σκηπτοῦχε, λύκαινα,
γεννοδότειρα, φίλανδρε, ποθεινοτάτη, βιοδῶτι,
ἢ ζεύξασα βροτοὺς ἀχαλινώτοισιν ἀνάγκαις
καὶ θηρῶν πολὺ φύλον ἐρωτομανῶν ὑπὸ φίλτρων·
ἔρχεο, Κυπρογενὲς θεῖον γένος, εἴτ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ
ἐσσί, θεὰ βασίλεια, καλῶι γήθουσα προσώπῳ,
εἴτε καὶ εὐλιβάνου Συρίης ἔδος ἀμφιπολεύεις,
εἴτε σύ γ' ἐν πεδίοισι σὺν ἄρμασι χρυσεοτεύκτοις
Αἰγύπτου κατέχεις ἱερῆς γονιμῶδεα λουτρά,
ἢ καὶ κυκνειοῖσιν ὄχοις ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα
ἐρχομένη χαίρεις κητῶν κυκλίαισι χορεΐαις,
ἢ Νύμφαις τέρπηι κυανώπισιν ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ,
θινὸς* ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῖς ψαμμώδεσιν ἄλματι κούφῳ·
εἴτ' ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἀνασσα, τροφῶι σέο, ἔνθα καλαί τε
παρθένοι ἄδμηται νύμφαι τ' ἀνὰ πάντ' ἐνιαυτὸν
ὑμνοῦσιν, σέ, μάκαιρα, καὶ ἄμβροτον ἀγνὸν Ἄδωνιν.
ἐλθέ, μάκαιρα θεά, μάλ' ἐπήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσα·
ψυχῇ γάρ σε καλῶ σεμνῇ ἀγίοισι λόγοισιν.

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55. For Aphrodite

Celestial, hymned Aphrodite, love-laughter,
sea-born, mother goddess, night-revel lover, revered,
joiner of the night, Necessity's wile-weaving mother:
for all is from you, you yoke the whole cosmos
and rule the three fates, engendering all,
all that's in heaven, and the rich-fruited earth
and the depth of the sea, august consort of Bakkhos,
delighting in cheer, the Loves' nuptial mother,
bed-happy Peitho, hidden, joy-giver,
revealed, invisible, love-locked, fair-fathered,
gods' bridal companion, sceptred wolf-goddess,
heir-giver, man-lover, most longed for, life-giver,
who links mortals together in unbridled bondage
and the great tribe of beasts, with maddening charms.
Come, divine Cyprus-born, whether you be
on Olympos, queen goddess, joyful, fair-faced,
or keep your seat in Syria, land of frankincense,
or again on the plains with your chariots of gold
you keep holy Egypt's fertile baths;
or yet on the sea's swell with swan-led chariots
you delight in the circular dances of whales;
or rejoice on the bright earth with the blue-eyed nymphs
on the shore's sandy dunes with light leaps;
or on Cyprus your nurse, queen, where beautiful
maidens, unwed and brides, through all the year
hymn you, blessed one, and pure, undying Adonis.
Come, blessed goddess, with form ever lovely,
with a pure heart I call you, and holy words.

56. Ἀδώνιδος θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Κλυθί μου εὐχομένου, πολυνύμμε, δαίμον ἄριστε,
ἄβροκόμη, φιλήρημε, βρύων ὠδαῖσι ποθιναῖς,
Εὐβουλεῦ, πολύμορφε, τροφεῦ πάντων ἀρίδῃλε,
κούρη καὶ κόρε, πᾶσι σὺ θάλλων αἰέν, Ἄδωνι,
σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις,
αὖξιθαλῆς, δίκερως, πολυήρατε, δακρυότιμε,
ἀγλαόμορφε, κυναγεσίους χαίρων, βαθυχαῖτα,
ἱμερόνους, Κύπριδος γλυκερὸν θάλος, ἔρνος Ἑρωτος,
Φερσεφόνης ἐρασιπλοκάμου λέκτροισι λοχευθεῖς,
ὅς ποτὲ μὲν ναίεις ὑπὸ Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα,
ἤδὲ πάλιν πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἄγεις δέμας ὠριόκαρπον·
ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, μύσταισι φέρων καρπούς ἀπὸ γαίης.

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57. Ἑρμοῦ Χθονίου θυμίαμα στύρακα

Κωκυτοῦ ναίων ἀνυπόστροφον οἶμον ἀνάγκης,
ὅς ψυχὰς θνητῶν κατάγεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης,
Ἑρμῆ, βακχεχόριοι Διωνύσοιο γένεθλον
καὶ Παφίης κούρης, ἐλικοβλεφάρου Ἀφροδίτης,
ὅς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύεις,
αἰνομόροις ψυχαῖς πομπὸς κατὰ γαῖαν ὑπάρχων,
ὅς κατάγεις, ὅπότεν μοίρης χρόνος εἰσαφίκηται
εὐιέρωι ῥάβδωι θέλγων ὑπνοδῶτερ ἅπαντας,
καὶ πάλιν ὑπνώνοντας ἐγείρεις· σοὶ γὰρ ἔδωκε
τιμὴν Φερσεφόνεια θεὰ κατὰ Τάρταρον εὐρὺν
ψυχῆς ἀενάους θνητῶν ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν.
ἀλλὰ, μάκαρ, πέμπουσιν μύσταις τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις.

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58. Ἑρωτος θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγνόν, ἐράσμιον, ἡδὺν Ἑρωτα,
τοξαλκῆ, πτερόεντα, πυρίδρομον, εὐδρομον ὀρμητῇ,
συμπαίζοντα θεοῖς ἡδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις,
εὐπάλαμον, διφυῆ, πάντων κληῖδας ἔχοντα,
αἰθέρος οὐρανοῦ, πόντου, χθονός, ἡδ' ὅσα θνητοῖς
πνεύματα παντογένηθλα θεὰ βόσκει χλοόκαρπος,
ἡδ' ὅσα Τάρταρος εὐρὺς ἔχει πόντος θ' ἀλίδουπος·
μοῦνος γὰρ τούτων πάντων οἴηκα κρατύνεις.
ἀλλὰ, μάκαρ, καθαφαῖς γνώμας μύσταισι συνέρχου,
φαύλους δ' ἐκτοπίους θ' ὀρμὰς ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπεμπε.

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59. Μοιρῶν, θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Μοῖραι ἀπειρέσιοι, Νυκτὸς φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης,
κλυτὲ μου εὐχομένου, πολυνύμμοι, αἵτ' ἐπὶ λίμνης
οὐρανίας, ἵνα λευκὸν ὕδωρ νυχίας ὑπὸ θέρμης
ῥήγνυται ἐν σκιερῷ λιπαρῷ μυχωῖ ἐυλίθου ἄντρου,
ναίουσαι πεπότησθε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν·

56. Adonis' offering, spices

Hear me pray, many-named, best of all daimons,
soft-haired, solitary, brimming with songs of desire,
Eubouleus, polymorph, manifest nurse of all,
youth and maid, ever blooming in all, Adonis,
fading and shining in fair, cyclical seasons,
growth-blooming, two-horned, beloved, tear-honoured,
shining form, happy in hunting, deep-haired,
gentle-mind, sweet shoot of Kypri, fruit of Love,
brought forth from the bed of lovely-tressed Persephone,
sometimes you dwell in the mists of Tartaros,
then again take your ripe-fruited form to Olympos.
Come, blessed, bringing the mystai fruits from the earth.

57. Hermes Chthonios' offering, storax

Haunting the irreversible path of the river of wailing,
leading the souls of mortals down to the underworld,
Hermes, offspring of bacchant-dancing Dionysos
and the Paphian maiden, glance-eyed Aphrodite;
you who keep your holy home by Persephone,
being guide under earth to dire-fated souls,
whom you lead, as soon as fate's term has arrived,
charming all with the sacred wand, sleep-giver,
and again you rouse sleepers: for to you Persephone
has given the honour, throughout wide Tartaros
to lead a path for mortals' ever-lasting souls.
But, blessed, send the mystai a good end in works.

58. Eros' offering, spices

I invoke the great, pure, beloved, sweet Eros,
bow-mighty, winged, fire-coursing, fair-coursing
in onrush, play-mate of gods and mortal men,
skilful, twin-sexed, keeping the keys of all,
of celestial aither, sea, land, and all the all-engendering
winds that the goddess of green-fruit nurtures for men,
all that is held by wide Tartaros and the salt-sounding sea:
you alone hold the tiller of all of these things.
But blessed, unite in pure thoughts with the mystai,
dispel from them impulses vulgar and foreign.

59. Moirai's offering, spices

Limitless Moirai, black Night's own children,
hear my prayer, many-named, who by the heavenly
pool, where the white water is rent by murky
warmth, in the stony cave's slick, shady recess,
dwell, hovering over the boundless earth of mortals:

ἔνθεν ἐπὶ βρότεον δόκιμον γένος ἐλπίδι κοῦφον
 στείχετε πορφυρέησι καλυψάμεναι ὀθόνησι
 μορσίμῳ ἐν πεδίῳ, ὅθι πάγγεον ἄρμα διώκει
 δόξα δίκης παρὰ τέρμα καὶ ἐλπίδος ἥδ' ἐμεριμνῶν
 καὶ νόμου ὠγυγίου καὶ ἀπείρονος εὐνόμου ἀρχῆς·
 10 Μοῖρα γὰρ ἐν βίῳ τῳ καθορᾷ μόνη, οὐδέ τις ἄλλος
 ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,
 καὶ Διὸς ὄμμα τέλειον· ἐπεὶ γ' ὅσα γίγνεται ἡμῖν,
 Μοῖρά τε καὶ Διὸς οἶδε νόος διὰ παντὸς ἅπαντα.
 15 ἀλλὰ, νυ νυκτέρια*, μαλακόφρονες, ἡπιόθυμοι,
 Ἄτροπε καὶ Λάχεσι, Κλωθῶ, μόλετ', εὐπατέρειαι,
 αἰερίοι, ἀφανεῖς, ἀμετάτροποι, αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς,
 παντοδότειραι, ἀφαιρέτιδες, θνητοῖσιν ἀνάγκη·
 20 Μοῖραι, ἀκούσατ' ἐμῶν ὁσίων λοιβῶν τε καὶ εὐχῶν,
 ἐρχόμεναι μύσταις λυσιπήμονες εὖφρονι βουλῇ.
 [Μοιράων τέλος ἔλλαβ' αἰοδῇ, ἣν ὕφαν' Ὀρφεύς.]

60. Χαρίτων θυμίαμα στύρακα

Κλυτέ μοι, ὦ Χάριτες μεγαλῶνυμοι, ἀγλαότιμοι,
 θυγατέρες Ζηνός τε καὶ Εὐνομίης βαθυκόλπου,
 Ἀγλαΐη Θαλίη τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνη πολύολβε,
 χαρμοσύνης γενέτειραι, ἐράσμιαι, εὖφρονες, ἀγναί,
 5 αἰολόμορφοι, αἰεθαλέες, θνητοῖσι ποθιναί·
 εὐκταῖαι, κυκλάδες, καλυκώπιδες, ἱμερόεσσαι·
 ἔλθοιτ' ὀλβοδότειραι, αἰεὶ μύσταισι προσηγεῖς.

61. Νεμέσεως ὕμνος

ὦ Νέμεσι, κλῆζω σε, θεά, βασιλεία μεγίστη,
 πανδερκῆς, ἐσορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων·
 αἰδία, πολύσεμνε, μόνη χαίρουσα δικαίῳ,
 ἀλλάσσουσα λόγον πολυποίκιλον, ἄστατον αἰεὶ,
 5 ἣν πάντες δεδίασι βροτοὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες·
 σοὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ γνώμη πάντων μέλει, οὐδέ σε λήθει
 ψυχὴ ὑπερφρονέουσα λόγων ἀδιακρίτῳ ὀρμῇ.
 πάντ' ἐσορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, πάντα βραβεύεις·
 ἐν σοὶ δ' εἰσὶ δίκαι θνητῶν, πανυπέρτατε δαίμον.
 10 ἔλθέ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή, μύσταις ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεὶ·
 δὸς δ' ἀγαθὴν διάνοιαν ἔχειν, παύουσα πανεχθεῖς
 γνώμας οὐχ ὁσίας, πανυπέρφρονας, ἀλλοπροσάλλας.

62. Δίκης θυμίαμα λίβανον

Ὅμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος, ἀγλαομόρφου,
 ἣ καὶ Ζηνὸς ἀνακτος ἐπὶ θρόνον ἱερὸν ἵζει
 οὐρανόθεν καθορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων,
 τοῖς ἀδίκους τιμωρὸς ἐπιβρίθουσα δικαία,
 5 ἐξ ἰσότητος ἀληθείῃ συνάγουσ' ἀνόμοια·

thence, on the trustworthy mortal race, heady with
 hope, you tread, covered in linens of purple
 on the plain of doom, where the glory of justice
 drives the pangean car, by the limit of hope and cares,
 10 of primeval law and the limitless, well-ordered rule:
 for Moira alone looks down upon life, and no other
 immortal, holding the peaks of snowy Olympus.
 She is Zeus' perfect eye: whatever befalls us
 Moira and the mind of Zeus know all for all time.
 15 But, nocturnal ones, of gentle mind and tender heart,
 come Atropos, Lachesis and Klotho, well-fathered,
 airy, invisible, unbendable, ever unyielding,
 all-giving, depriving, mortals' necessity.
 20 Moirai, hear my prayers and hallowed libations,
 come to the mystai care-loosing, kind-willed.
 [Here ends the song of the Moirai, which Orpheus wove.]

60. Charites' offering, storax

Hear me, Charites, great-named, bright-honoured,
 daughters of Zeus and deep-breasted Eunomia,
 Aglaia, Thalia, Euphrosyne the blessed,
 mothers of joyfulness, lovely, kind, pure,
 5 variform, ever-blossoming, mortals' desires,
 implored ones, cyclical, blossom-faced, charming.
 Come, givers of bliss, ever kind to the mystai.

61. Hymn of Nemesis

Nemesis, I call you, goddess, greatest of queens,
 all-seeing, watching over the lives of many-tribed mortals;
 eternal, reverend, sole delighter in the just,
 hating variegated speech that is ever unstable,
 5 whom all mortals dread, whose necks bear the yoke:
 for your thought cares for all, and never escapes you
 a soul over-proud, with immoderate outpour of words.
 You watch all and hear all and preside over all,
 in you lie the judgements of mortals, all-highest daimon.
 10 Come, blessed, pure, ever aiding the mystai,
 grant good understanding, put an end to all-hateful,
 overbearing, unholy, deceitful intentions.

62. Dike's offering, frankincense

The eye of Dike I sing, all-seeing, bright-form,
 who sits on the holy throne of Zeus the king,
 watching from heaven the lives of many-tribed mortals,
 just avenger, bearing down upon the unjust,
 5 impartially uniting the different in truth:

πάντα γάρ, ὅσσα κακαῖς γνώμαις θνητοῖσιν ὀχεῖται
 δύσκριτα, βουλομένοις τὸ πλεόν βουλαῖς ἀδίκοις,
 μούνη ἐπεμβαίνουσα δίκην ἀδίκους ἐπεγείρεις·
 ἐχθρὰ τῶν ἀδίκων, εὖφρων δὲ σύνεσσι δικαίοις.
 ἀλλὰ, θεά, μόλ' ἐπὶ γνώμαις ἐσθλαῖσι δικαία,
 ὥς ἂν αἰὲν βιοτῆς τὸ πεπρωμένον ἡμᾶρ ἐπέλθοι.

63. Δικαιοσύνης θυμίαμα λίβανον

Ἵθ' θνητοῖσι δικαιοτάτῃ, πολύολβε, ποθεινῇ,
 ἐξ ισότητος αἰὲν θνητοῖς χαίρουσα δικαίοις,
 πάντιμ', ὀλβιόμοιρε, Δικαιοσύνη μεγαλαυχῆς,
 ἥ καθαραῖς γνώμαις αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα βραβεύεις,
 ἄθραυστος τὸ συνειδὸς αἰεὶ· θαυεῖς γὰρ ἅπαντας,
 ὅσσοι μὴ τὸ σὸν ἦλθον ὑπὸ ζυγόν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ*
 πλάστιγξί βριαραῖσι παρεγκλίναντες ἀπλήστως·
 ἀστασίαστε, φίλῃ πάντων, φιλόκωμ', ἐρατεινῇ,
 εἰρήνῃ χαίρουσα, βίον ζηλοῦσα βέβαιον·
 αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ πλεόν στυγέεις, ισότητι δὲ χαίρεις·
 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ σοφίης ἀρετὴ τέλος ὄλβου* ἰκάνει.
 κλυθι, θεά, κακίῃν θνητῶν θαρούσα δικαίως,
 ὥς ἂν ἰσορροπῶσιν αἰὲν βίος ἐσθλὸς ὁδεύει
 θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσι,
 καὶ ζώων πάντων, ὅπόσ' ἐν κόλποισι τιθηνεῖ
 Γαῖα θεὰ μήτηρ καὶ πόντιος εἰνάλιος Ζεὺς.

64. Ὕμνος Νόμου

Ἀθανάτων καλέω καὶ θνητῶν ἀγνὸν ἄνακτα,
 οὐράνιον Νόμον, ἀστροθέτην, σφραγίδα δικαίαν
 πόντου τ' εἰναλίου καὶ γῆς, φύσεως τὸ βέβαιον
 ἀκλινῇ ἀστασίαστον αἰὲν τηροῦντα νόμοισιν,
 οἷσιν ἄνωθε φέρων μέγαν οὐρανὸν αὐτὸς ὁδεύει,
 καὶ φθόνον οὐ δίκαιον ροίζου τρόπον ἐκτὸς ἐλαύνει·
 ὃς καὶ θνητοῖσιν βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐγείρει·
 αὐτὸς γὰρ μούνος ζώων οἶακα κρατύνει
 γνώμαις ὀρθοτάταισι συνῶν, ἀδιάστροφος αἰεὶ,
 ὠγύγιος, πολὺπειρος, ἀβλάπτως πᾶσι συνοικῶν
 τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀνόμοις δὲ φέρων κακότητα βαρεῖαν.
 ἀλλὰ, μάκαρ, πάντιμε, φερόλβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινέ,
 εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων μνήμην σέο πέμπε, φέριστε.

65. Ἄρεος θυμίαμα λίβανον

Ἄρρηκτ', ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε δαίμον,
 ὀπλοχαρῆς, ἀδάμαστε, βροτοκτόνε, τειχισπλήντα,
 Ἄρες ἄναξ, ὀπλόδουπε, φόνους πεπαλαγμένος αἰεὶ,
 αἵματι ἀνδροφόνῳ χαίρων, πολεμόκλονε, φρικτέ,
 ὃς ποθέεις ξίφεσίν τε καὶ ἔγχεσι δῆριν ἄμουσον·

for all, all that evil intentions bring mortals,
 is doubtful, to those willing excess with unjust designs;
 you alone, approaching, bring the unjust justice:
 hateful to the unjust, kind you abide with the just.
 But goddess, come righteous to noble intentions,
 always, until life's destined day should arrive.

63. Dikaosyne's offering, frankincense

O justest to mortals, blessing-rich, longed for,
 ever impartially glad in just mortals,
 all-honour, bliss-portioned, great-boasted Justice,
 with purposes pure you ever decide what is needful,
 your knowledge ever unbroken: you break apart all,
 any who do not submit to your yoke, but shirking it
 greedily tilt the strong scales of the balance;
 faction-free, dear to all, festive, lovely,
 happy in peace, keen for a life that is sure;
 you abhor excess ever, delighting in fairness,
 in you the virtue of wisdom reaches happiness' goal.
 Hear, goddess, shatter with justice the evil of mortals,
 that life may ever fare well, even-balanced,
 for mortal humans that eat the land's fruit,
 and all living things, whatever the Earth, mother
 goddess, rears in her womb, and Zeus of the salt sea.

64. Hymn of Nomos

I call the pure king of immortals and mortals,
 celestial Nomos, star-setting, righteous seal
 of the salt sea and the earth, nature's sure
 firmament, faction-less, guarding with laws,
 which he bears from above as he travels the great sky,
 driving unrighteous envy away with a hiss;
 who rouses for mortals a good end to living,
 for he alone governs the tiller of life;
 joined with right thinking, unswervable ever,
 primeval, much-tested, harmless home-mate
 to the lawful, bringing the lawless grave evil.
 But, blessed, all-honour, bliss-bearer, all's longing,
 with a gracious heart, bravest, send remembrance of you.

65. Ares' offering, frankincense

Unbroken one, stout-heart, great-strength, brave daimon,
 arms-happy, untamed, man-slayer, wall-stormer,
 Ares the king, arms-clanging, ever spattered with murder,
 happy in murderous blood, battle-din, horrid,
 longing for sword and spear's songless contest.

στῆσον ἔριν λυσσῶσαν, ἄνες πόνον ἀλγεσίθυμον,
εἰς δὲ πόθον νεῦσον Κύπριδος κώμους τε Λυαίου
ἀλλάξας ἀλκὴν ὅπλων εἰς ἔργα τὰ Διούς,
Εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ὀλβιοδῶτιν.

66. Ἡφαίστου θυμίαμα λιβανομάνναν

Ἡφαιστ' ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἀκάματον πῦρ,
λαμπόμενε φλογέαις αὐγαῖς, φαεσίμβροτε δαῖμον,
φωσφόρε, καρτερόχειρ, αἰώνιε, τεχνοδαίτε,
ἐργαστήρ, κόσμοιο μέρος, στοιχεῖον ἀμεμφές,
παμφάγε, πανδαμάτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, παντοδαίτε,
αἰθήρ, ἥλιος, ἄστρα, σελήνη, φῶς ἀμίαντον·
ταῦτα γὰρ Ἡφαίστοιο μέλη θνητοῖσι προφαίνει.
πάντα δὲ οἶκον ἔχεις, πᾶσαν πόλιν, ἔθνεα πάντα,
σώματά τε θνητῶν οἰκεῖς, πολυόλβε, κραταιέ.
κλυθι, μάκαρ, κληίζω σε πρὸς εὐιέρους ἐπιλοιβάς,
αἰεὶ ὅπως χαίρουσιν ἐπ' ἔργοις ἡμερος ἔλθοις.
παῦσον λυσσῶσαν μανίαν πυρὸς ἀκαμάτοιο
καῦσιν ἔχων φύσεως ἐν σώμασιν ἡμετέροισιν.

67. Ἀσκληπιοῦ θυμίαμα μάνναν

Ἰητὴρ πάντων, Ἀσκληπιέ, δέσποτα Παιάν,
θέλγων ἀνθρώπων πολυαλγέα πήματα νούσων,
ἡπιόδωρε, κραταιέ, μόλοις κατὰγων Ὑγίειαν
καὶ παύων νούσους, χαλεπὰς Κήρας θανάτοιο,
αὐξισθαλῆς, ἐπικούρ', ἀπαλεξικάκ', ὀλβιόμοιρε,
Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος κρατερὸν θάλος ἀγλαότιμον,
ἐχθρὸν νόσων, Ὑγίειαν ἔχων σύλλεκτρον ἀμεμφῆ,
ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, σωτήρ, βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζων.

68. Ὑγείας θυμίαμα μάνναν

Ἰμερόεσσ', ἐρατή, πολυθάλμει, παμβασίλεια,
κλυθι, μάκαιρ' Ὑγεία, φερὸλβιε, μήτερ ἀπάντων·
ἐκ σέο γὰρ νοῦσοι μὲν ἀποφθινύθουσι βροτοῖσι,
πᾶς δὲ δόμος θάλλει πολυγηθῆς εἵνεκα σεῖο,
καὶ τέχναι βρίθουσι· ποθεῖ δέ σε κόσμος, ἄνασσα,
μοῦνος δὲ στυγέει σ' Αἰδὴς ψυχοφθόρος αἰεὶ,
αἰθαλῆς, εὐκταιοτάτη, θνητῶν ἀνάπαυμα·
σοῦ γὰρ ἄτερ πάντ' ἐστὶν ἀνωφελὴ ἀνθρώποισιν·
οὔτε γὰρ ὀλβοδότης πλοῦτος γλυκερὸς θαλίησιν,
οὔτε γέρων πολύμοχθος ἄτερ σέο γίγνεται ἀνὴρ·
πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μούνη καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάσσεις.
ἀλλά, θεά, μόλε μυστιπόλοις ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεὶ
ῥυομένη νούσων χαλεπῶν κακόποτμον ἀνίην.

Stay ravening strife, leave heart-grieving pain,
lean toward Kypris' desire and Lyaïos' revels,
change the might of arms for the works of Deo,
crave youth-rearing Peace, the giver of bliss.

66. Hephaistos' offering, gum of frankincense

Stout-hearted Hephaistos, great-strength, tireless fire,
bright with flaming beams, shining for mortals,
Lucifer, mighty-hand, eternal, living in art,
craftsman, portion of cosmos, faultless element,
all-eating, all-taming, all-highest, living in all,
aither, sun, stars, moon, undefiled light:
for these are your limbs that shine forth to mortals.
You keep every home, every town, every race,
you dwell in men's bodies, strong, full of blessings.
Hear, blessed, I call you to our sacred libations,
to ever come gentle upon works that bring joy.
Check the ravening madness of weariless fire,
keep in our bodies the burning of nature.

67. Asklepios' offering, manna

Healer of all, Asklepios, master Paian,
charming the grievous disease-pangs of humans,
ease-giver, strong one, come bringing Health
and stopping diseases, wretched shadows of death;
growth-blooming helper, bliss-portioned warder of ill,
strong shoot of Phoibos Apollo, bright-honoured,
sickness' bane, bedmate of blameless Hygeia.
Come, blessed saviour, grant life a good end.

68. Hygeia's offering, manna

Charming, beloved, nourishing all-queen,
hear, blessed Hygeia, bliss-bringer, mother of all;
through you diseases perish for mortals,
through you every home joyfully thrives,
and arts prevail: the cosmos longs for you, queen,
Aides alone, life-withering always, abhors you;
ever-blooming, much implored, mortal's respite,
for without you all things are useless for humans,
nor is bliss-giving wealth sweet with festivities,
nor does the long-toiling man become old without you:
you alone govern all and reign over all.
But, goddess, come to the mystai, ever a helper,
ward off the ill-fated grief of wretched diseases.

69. Ἐρινύων θυμίαμα στύρακα καὶ μάνναν

Κλύτε, θεαὶ πάντιμοι, ἐρίβρομοι, εὐάστειραι,
 Τισιφώνη τε καὶ Ἀλληκτῶ καὶ δία Μέγαιρα·
 νυκτέραι, μυχίοις ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἰκί' ἔχουσαι
 ἄντρῳ ἐν ἡερόεντι παρὰ Στυγὸς ἱερὸν ὕδωρ,
 οὐχ ὅσαις βουλαῖσι βροτῶν κεκοτημέναι αἰεὶ,
 λυσσῆρεις, ἀγέρωχοι, ἐπευάζουσαι ἀνάγκαις,
 θηρόπεπλοι, τιμωροί, ἐρισθενέες, βαρυαλγεῖς,
 Ἀίδεω χθόνιαι, φοβεραὶ κόραι, αἰολόμορφοι,
 ἡέριαι, ἀφανεῖς, ὠκυδρόμοι ὥστε νόημα·
 οὔτε γὰρ ἡελίου ταχίνα φλόγες οὔτε σελήνης
 καὶ σοφίης ἀρετὴ τε καὶ ἐργασίμου θρασύτητος
 † εὐχαρί οὔτε βίου λιπαρᾶς περικαλλέος ἥβης
 ὑμῶν χωρὶς ἐγείρει εὐφροσύνας βιότοιο·
 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ θνητῶν πάντων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα φῦλα
 ὄμμα Δίκης ἐφορᾷτε, δικασπόλοι αἰὲν ἐοῦσαι.
 ἀλλά, θεαὶ Μοῖραι, ὀφιοπλόκαμοι, πολύμορφοι,
 πρᾶϋνοον μετὰθεσθε βίου μαλακόφρονα δόξαν.

70. Εὐμενίδων θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Κλύτέ μου, Εὐμενίδες μεγαλῶννυμοι, εὐφρονη βουλῇ,
 ἄγναι θυγατέρες μέγαλοιο Διὸς χθονίοιο
 Φερσεφόνης τ', ἐρατῆς κούρης καλλιπλοκάμοιο,
 αἱ πάντων καθορᾷτε βίον θνητῶν ἀσεβούντων,
 τῶν ἀδίκων τιμωροί, ἐφεστηκυῖαι ἀνάγκη,
 κυανόχρωτοι ἄνασσαι, ἀπαστράπτουσαι ἀπ' ὄσων
 δεινὴν ἀνταυγὴ φάεος σαρκοφθόρον αἴγλην·
 αἰδιοὶ, φοβερώπες, ἀπόστροφοι, αὐτοκράτειραι,
 λυσίμελεῖς οἴστρωι, βλοσυραί, νύχαι, πολύποτμοι,
 νυκτέραι κούραι, ὀφιοπλόκαμοι, φοβερώπες·
 ὑμᾶς κικλήσκω γνῶμαις ὅσαισι πελάζειν.

71. Μηλινόης θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Μηλινόην καλέω, νύμφην χθονίαν, κροκόπεπλον,
 ἣν παρὰ Κωκυτοῦ προχοαῖς ἐλοχεύσατο σεμνὴ
 Φερσεφόνη λέκτροις ἱεροῖς Ζηνὸς Κρονίοιο,
 ἣ ψευσθεὶς Πλούτων ἐμίγη δολίαις ἀπάταισι,
 θυμῷ Φερσεφόνης δὲ δισώματον ἔσπασε χροίην,
 ἣ θνητοὺς μαίνει φαντάσμασιν ἡερίοισιν,
 ἄλλοκότοις ἰδέαις μορφῇς τύπον ἐκφαίνουσα,
 ἄλλοτε μὲν προφανής, ποτὲ δὲ σκοτόεσσα, νυχαυγής,
 ἀνταῖαις ἐφόδοισι κατὰ ζοφοειδέα νύκτα.
 ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σε, καταχθονίων βασιλεια,
 ψυχῆς ἐκπέμπειν οἴστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης,
 εὐμενὲς εὐίερν μύσταις φαίνουσα πρόσωπον.

69. Erinyes' offering, storax and manna

Hear, all-honoured gods, loud-roarers, criers,
 Tisiphone, Allecto and divine Megaira;
 night-gods, your home in the innermost vaults,
 in the misty cavern by the Styx's sacred water,
 ever enraged by mortals' impious designs,
 ravening, lordly, crying over with anguish,
 fur-robed, avengers, mighty, grievous,
 gods of Hades, terrible maidens, variform,
 airy, invisible, swift-running as thought;
 for neither the sun's swift flames, nor the moon's,
 nor the virtue of wisdom or physical daring,
 nor charming life's lovely sleek youth
 awaken the happiness of living without you.
 But over the boundless tribes of all mortals,
 forever watch, Dike's eye, judges eternal.
 But, goddess Moirai, snake-locked, polymorph,
 make life's repute soft-hearted and gentle.

70. Eumenides' offering, spices

Hear me, great-named Eumenides, kind-willed,
 pure daughters of mighty Zeus of the underworld
 and Phersephone, lovely fair-locked maiden,
 who watch over the lives of all impious mortals,
 punishing the unjust, presiding over torment,
 dark-skinned queens, flashing from the eyes
 a terrible, sparkling, flesh-withering glare;
 eternal, of terrifying face, averters, rulers,
 limb-loosing with frenzy, shaggy, nocturnal, many-doomed,
 maidens of the night, snake-locked, terrible.
 I call you, approach with pious intentions.

71. Melinoe's offering, spices

I call Melinoe, saffron-robed, chthonic nymph,
 whom by the mouths of the Kokyto august
 Phersephone bore, by the sacred bed of Zeus Kronios;
 whom Pluto, deceived, lay with through devious tricks;
 from Phersephone's wrath came her double complexion;
 who maddens mortals with apparitions of air,
 in various guises revealing the mark of her form,
 manifest now, other times dark and night-gleaming,
 in hostile assaults through the mists of the night.
 But goddess, I pray you, underworld queen,
 send the soul's frenzy to the ends of the earth,
 show the mystai a countenance gracious and sacred.

72. Τύχης θυμίαμα λίβανον

Δεῦρο, Τύχη· καλέω σ', ἀγαθὴν κράντειραν, ἐπευχαῖς,
 μειλίχιν, ἐνοδίτην, ἐπ' εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσιν,
 Ἄρτεμιν ἡγεμόνην, μεγαλῶνυμον, Εὐβουλῆος
 αἵματος ἐκγεγαῶσαν, ἀπρόσμαχον εὖχος ἔχουσαν,
 τυμβιδίαν, πολὺπλαγκτον, αἰοδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν.
 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ βίος τῶν θνητῶν παμποίκιός ἐστιν·
 οἷς μὲν γὰρ τεύχεις κτεάνων πλῆθος πολὺολβον,
 οἷς δὲ κακὴν πενίην θυμῷ χόλον ὀρμαίνουσα.
 ἀλλὰ, θεά, λίτομαί σε μολεῖν βίῳ εὐμένεουσιν,
 ὀλβοῖσι πλήθουσιν ἐπ' εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσιν.

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73. Δαίμονος θυμίαμα λίβανον

Δαίμονα κικλήσκω μεγάλων* ἡγήτορα φρικτόν,
 μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα θνητῶν,
 Ζῆνα μέγαν, πολὺπλαγκτον, ἀλάστορα, παμβασιλῆα,
 πλουτοδότην, ὅπταν γε βρυάων οἶκον ἐσέλθῃ,
 ἔμπαλι δὲ ψύχοντα βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων·
 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ λύπης τε χαρᾶς † κληῖδες ὀχοῦνται.
 τοιγάρ τοι, μάκαρ, ἀγνέ, πολύστονα κῆδε' ἐλάσσας,
 ὅσσα βιοφθορίην πέμπει κατὰ γαῖαν ἅπασαν,
 ἐνδοξον βιοτῆς γλυκερὸν τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζεις.

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74. Λευκοθέας θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Λευκοθέαν καλέω Καδμηίδα, δαίμονα σεμνήν,
 εὐδύνατον, θρέπτειραν ἐussteφάνου Διονύσου.
 κλυθι, θεά, πόντοιο βαθυστέρνου μεδέουσα,
 κύμασι τερπομένη, θνητῶν σῶτειρα μεγίστη·
 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ νῆαν πελαγοδρόμος ἄστατος ὀρμή,
 μούνη δὲ θνητῶν οἰκτρὸν μόρον εἶν ἀλλι λύεις,
 οἷς ἂν ἐφορμαίνουσα φίλη σωτήριος ἔλθοις.
 ἀλλὰ, θεὰ δέσποινα, μόλοις ἐπαρωγὸς εὖσα
 νηυσὶν ἐπ' εὐσέλμοις σωτήριος εὐφροني βουλῇ,
 μύσταις ἐν πόντῳ ναυσίδρομον οὖρον ἄγουσα.

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75. Παλαίμονος θυμίαμα μάνναν

Σύντροφε βακχερόριο Διωνύσου πολυγηθοῦς,
 ὃς ναίεις πόντοιο βυθοῦς ἀλικύμονας, ἀγνούς,
 κικλήσκω σε, Παλαῖμον, ἐπ' εὐιέροις τελεταῖσιν
 ἐλθεῖν εὐμένεοντα, νέω γήθοντα προσώπων,
 καὶ σῶζειν μύστας κατὰ τε χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον·
 ποντοπλάνοις γὰρ αἰὲν ναυσὶν χειμῶνος ἐναργῆς
 φαινομένου σωτῆρ μῶνος θνητοῖς ἀναφαίνῃ,
 ῥυόμενος μῆνιν χαλεπὴν κατὰ πόντιον οἶδμα.

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72. Tyche's offering, frankincense

Come, Tyche, I call you, good ruler, in prayer,
 passer-by, gentle, for wealthy possessions;
 Artemis leader, great-named, born of the blood
 of Eubouleus, keeping a vow incontestable,
 tomb goddess, wandering, sung of by men.
 For in you lies the manifold livelihood of mortals,
 you provide them with wealthy abundance of goods,
 or penury, when there is wrath in your heart.
 But goddess, I beg you, come showing life favour,
 filled with blessings for wealthy possessions.

73. Daimon's offering, frankincense

Daimon I call, dread lord of the great,
 gentle Zeus, all-father, life-giver to mortals,
 Zeus the great, roamer, avenger all-kingly;
 wealth-giving, when teeming he enters a house,
 then again chilling the lives of toilsome mortals;
 for in you are the keys of grief and joy kept.
 So, blessed one, pure, dispel mournful cares,
 whatever sends life-ruin over the land,
 grant life an end that is noble, sweet, glorious.

74. Leukothea's offering, storax

Leukothea I call, Kadmean, venerable daimon,
 potent nurse of fair-crowned Dionysos.
 Hear, goddess, queen of the deep-breasted sea,
 delighting in waves, mortals' great saviour;
 in you lies the sea-coursing onrush of ships,
 alone you undo a cruel fate for mortals at sea,
 whoever you rush to, a saviour beloved.
 But, lady goddess, come as a helper
 to well-benched ships, a saviour kind-willed,
 send a ship-speeding wind to the mystai at sea.

75. Palaimon's offering, manna

Nurse-mate of Dionysos, joyful Bacchic dancer,
 who dwells in the sea's pure, salt-waved depths,
 I call you, Palaimon, to our reverent rites:
 come graciously, joyous with youthful appearance,
 deliver the mystai by land and by sea;
 for visible ever to sea-roaming ships when the storm
 comes, you alone, a saviour to mortals, show forth,
 warding off the gods' anger amid the sea's swell.

76. Μουσῶν θυμίαμα λίβανον

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζητὸς ἐριγδούποιο θύγατρεις,
 Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, μεγαλῶνυμοι, ἀγλαόφημοι,
 θνητοῖς, οἷς κε παρήτε, ποθινόταται, πολύμορφοι,
 πάσης παιδείης ἀρετὴν γεννώσαι ἀμεμπτον,
 θρέπτεται ψυχῆς, διανοίας ὀρθοδότειται,
 καὶ νόου εὐδυνάτοιο καθηγγήτειται ἄνασσαι,
 αἱ τελετὰς θνητοῖς ἀνεδείξατε μυστιπολεύτους,
 Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλεια τε Μελπομένη τε
 Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἑρατώ τε Πολύμνια τ' Οὐρανίη τε
 Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρὶ καὶ εὐδυνάτῃ θεᾷ ἀγνή.
 ἀλλὰ μόλοιτε, θεαί, μύσταις, πολυποίκιλοι, ἀγναί,
 εὐκλειαν ζῆλόν τ' ἑρατὸν πολὺνμον ἄγουσαι.

77. Μνημοσύνης θυμίαμα λίβανον

Μνημοσύνην καλέω, Ζητὸς σύλλεκτρον, ἄνασσαν,
 ἢ Μούσας τέκνωσ' ἱεράς, ὀσίας, λιγυφώνους,
 ἔχθος ἔχουσα κακῆς μνήμης* βλαψίφρονος αἰεί,
 πάντα νόον συνέχουσα βροτῶν ψυχᾷσι σύνοικον,
 εὐδύνατον κρατερόν θνητῶν αὖξουσα λογισμόν,
 ἡδυτάτη, φιλόγρυπτος ὑπομνήσκουσα τε πάντα,
 ὧν ἂν ἕκαστος αἰεὶ στέρνοις γνώμην κατὰθηται,
 οὔτι παρεκβαίνουσ', ἐπεγείρουσα φρένα πᾶσιν.
 ἀλλὰ, μάκαιρα θεά, μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε
 εὐτέρου τελετῆς, λήθην δ' ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπεμπε.

78. Ἡὸς θυμίαμα μάνναν

Κλυθι, θεά, θνητοῖς φαεσίμβροτον Ἥμαρ ἄγουσα,
 Ἡὼς λαμπροφαῆς, ἐρυθαινομένη κατὰ κόσμον,
 ἀγγέλτειρα θεοῦ μεγάλου Τιτάνος ἀγαυοῦ,
 ἢ νυκτὸς ζοφερὴν τε καὶ αἰολόχρωτα πορείην
 ἀντολίαις ταῖς σαῖς πέμπεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης·
 ἔργων ἡγήτειρα, βίου πρόπολε θνητοῖσιν·
 ἢ χαίρει θνητῶν μερόπων γένος· οὐδέ τίς ἐστιν,
 ὃς φεύγει τὴν σὴν ὄψιν καθυπέρτερον οὔσαν,
 ἡνίκα τὸν γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀποσεΐσης,
 πᾶς δὲ βροτὸς γήθει, πᾶν ἐρπετὸν ἄλλα τε φύλα
 τετραπόδων πτηνῶν τε καὶ εἰναλίων πολυεθνῶν·
 πάντα γὰρ ἐργάσιμον βίοτον θνητοῖσι πορίζεις.
 ἀλλὰ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή, μύσταις ἱερὸν φάος αὖξοις.

79. Θέμιδος θυμίαμα λίβανον

Οὐρανόπαιδ' ἀγνήν καλέω Θέμιν εὐπατέρειαν,
 Γαίης τὸ βλάστημα, νέην καλυκῶπιδα κούρην,
 ἢ πρώτη κατέδειξε βροτοῖς μαντήιον ἀγνὸν
 Δελφικῶι ἐν κευθμῶνι θεμιστεύουσα θεοῖσι

76. Mousai's offering, frankincense

Daughters of Memory and loud-sounding Zeus,
 Pierian Muses, great-named, of shining fame,
 to mortals you favour, many-formed, longed for,
 giving birth to the blameless good of all learning,
 soul's nourishers, givers of straight understanding,
 teachers of potent intelligence, queens;
 who revealed the mystery's rituals to mortals,
 Kleio, Euterpe, Melpomene, Thalia,
 Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Ourania,
 and Kalliope, mother and mighty goddess, pure.
 But come, goddesses, to the mystai, manifold, pure,
 bring fair-famed, lovely, many-hymned zeal.

77. Mnemosyne's offering, frankincense

I call Mnemosyne, queen, bed-mate of Zeus,
 mother of the holy, clear-voiced Muses,
 enemy of evil, mind-hurting memory,
 embracing every mind, wed to mens' souls,
 increasing the strong, potent reason of mortals;
 sweetest one, wakeful, reminder of all things
 that each person ever lays down in their heart,
 never stepping awry, but rousing the minds of all.
 But, blessed goddess, rouse for the mystai
 the sacred rite's memory, banish oblivion.

78. Eos' offering, manna

Hear, goddess, bringer of day that shines for mortals,
 bright-shining Eos, blushing through the cosmos,
 herald of the great god, the brilliant Titan,
 who, by her rising, sends under the earth
 the dusky and variegated path of the night;
 leader of works, to mortals life's minister;
 the race of mortal beings delights in you,
 there is no one who flees the sight of your rising,
 when you shake the sweet sleep from their eyes,
 every mortal feels joy, every creeping thing, all breeds
 of beasts, birds and creatures of the many-tribed sea;
 you furnish for mortals all work and livelihood.
 But, blessed, pure, for the mystai blaze the holy light.

79. Themis' offering, frankincense

I call pure Themis, fair-fathered, Sky's child,
 offshoot of Gaia, young blossom-faced girl,
 who first showed pure divination to mortals,
 giving the gods oracles in the hollow of Delphi,

Πυθίῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ, ὅθι Πύθων ἐμβασιλευεν·
 ἢ καὶ Φοῖβον ἄνακτα θεμιστοσύνας ἐδίδαξε·
 πάντιμ', ἀγλαόμορφε, σεβάσμιε, νυκτιπόλευτε·
 πρώτη γὰρ τελετὰς ἁγίας θνητοῖς ἀνέφηνας,
 βακχιακὰς ἀνὰ νύκτας ἐπευάζουσα ἄνακτα·
 ἐκ σέο γὰρ τιμαὶ μακάρων μυστήριά θ' ἄγνά.
 ἀλλὰ, μάκαρ', ἔλθοις κεχαρημένη εὐφρονι βουλῇ
 εὐιέρους ἐπὶ μυστιπόλους τελετὰς σέο, κόυρη.

80. Βορέου θυμίαμα λίβανον

Χειμερίοις αὔραισι δονῶν βαθὺν ἡέρα κόσμου,
 κρυμοπαγῆς Βορέα, χιονώδεος ἔλθ' ἀπὸ Θράκης
 λυέ τε παννέφελον στάσιν ἡέρος ὑγροκελεύθου
 ῥιπίζων ἱκμάσιν νοτεραῖς ὀμβρηγενὲς ὕδωρ,
 αἶθρια πάντα τιθεῖς, θαλερόμματος αἰθέρα τεύχων
 † ἀκτίνες ὥς λάμπουσιν † ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἡελίοιο.

81. Ζεφύρου θυμίαμα λίβανον

Αὔραι ποντογενεῖς Ζεφυρίτιδες, ἡεροφοῖται,
 ἡδυπνοοί, ψιθυραὶ, καμάτου ἀνάπαισιν ἔχουσαι,
 εἰαριναί, λειμωνιάδες, πεποθημέναι ὄρμοις,
 εὐρουσαι ναυσὶ τρυφερον πόρον, ἡέρα κοῦφον·
 ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέουσιν, ἐπιπνεύουσιν ἀμεμφεῖς,
 ἡέριαι, ἀφανεῖς, κουφόπτεροι, ἀερόμορφοι.

82. Νότου θυμίαμα λίβανον

Λαιψηρὸν πῆδημα δι' ἡέρος ὑγροπόρευτον,
 ὠκείαις πτερύγεσσι δονούμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
 ἔλθοις σὺν νεφέλαις νοτιάις, ὄμβροιο γενάρχα·
 τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶ σέθεν γέρας ἡερόφοιτον,
 ὀμβροτόκους νεφέλας ἐξ ἡέρος εἰς χθόνα πέμπειν.
 τοιγάρ τοι λιτόμεσθα, μάκαρ, ἱεροῖσι χαρέντα
 πέμπειν καρποτρόφους ὄμβρους ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν.

83. Ὠκεανοῦ θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Ὠκεανὸν καλέω, πατέρ' ἄφθιτον, αἰὲν ἐόντα,
 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων,
 ὃς περικυμαίνει γαίης περιτέρμονα κύκλον·
 ἐξ οὐπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
 καὶ χθόνιοι γαίης πηγόρρυτοι ἱκμάδες ἀγναί.
 κλύθι, μάκαρ, πολύολβε, θεῶν ἄγνισμα μέγιστον,
 τέρμα φίλον γαίης, ἀρχὴ πόλου, ὑγροκέλευθε,
 ἔλθοις εὐμενέων μύσταις κεχαρημένος αἰεῖ.

5 in the ground of Pytho, where Python was king,
 who taught divination to Phoibos the lord;
 all-honour, bright-form, reverend, night-haunter,
 first to reveal the holy rituals to mortals,
 crying out for the lord in the nights of revelry;
 10 from you the honours of the blessed and mysteries pure.
 But, blessed, come joyful, with kindly intent
 to your own sacred, mystic rites, maiden.

80. Boreas' offering, frankincense

With wintry blasts shaking the deep air of the cosmos,
 frost-icy Boreas, come from snowy Thrace,
 break up the overcast level of damp-trailing air,
 with moist vapours fanning the rain-born water,
 making everything bright, making aither clear-eyed,
 5 so the beams of the sun shine on the earth.

81. Zephyros' offering, frankincense

Sea-born breezes, Zephyrs, air-roaming,
 Sweet-breathed whispers, weariness' respite,
 of springtime, of meadows, desired for anchorage,
 finding for ships a delicate path and light air.
 5 Come gracious, inspiring and blameless,
 airy, invisible, air-formed, light-winged.

82. Notos' offering, frankincense

Light-footed, wet-pathed leap through air,
 on swift wings murmuring here and there,
 come with the southern clouds, father of rain:
 this, from Zeus, is your air-roaming honour,
 5 to send rain-bearing clouds from the air to the earth.
 So we pray to you, blessed, rejoice in the offerings,
 send fruit-feeding rains upon mother earth.

83. Okeanos's offering, spices

Okeanos I call, undying father, ever existing,
 birth of immortal gods and mortal men,
 who swells about earth, round-bounding circle;
 from whom come all rivers, all seas, and the
 pure, chthonic, spring-fed moisture of earth.
 5 Hear, blessed, prosperous, gods' greatest pureness,
 Earth's own bound, pole's source, wet-pathed,
 come kind to the mystai, ever rejoicing.

84. Ἑστίας θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Ἑστία εὐδυνάτοιο Κρόνου θύγατερ βασίλεια,
ἢ μέσον οἶκον ἔχεις πυρὸς ἀενάοιο, μεγίστου,
τούσδε σὺ ἐν τελεταῖς ὁσίους μύστας ἀναδείξαις,
θεῖσ' αἰειθαλέας, πολυόλβους, εὖφρονας, ἀγνοῦς·
οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταῖον,
αἰδῖη, πολύμορφε, ποθεινοτάτη, χλοόμορφε·
μειδιώσα, μάκαιρα, τάδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμως,
δλβον ἐπιπνέουσα καὶ ἡπιόχειρον Ὑγείαν.

85. Ὑπνου θυμίαμα μετὰ μήκωνος

Ὑπνε, ἀναξ μακάρων πάντων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων
καὶ πάντων ζώων, ὅποσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών·
πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μούνης καὶ πᾶσι προσέρχῃ
σώματα δεσμεύων ἐν ἀχαλκεύτοισι πέδησι,
λυσιμέριμνε, κόπων ἡδεῖαν ἔχων ἀνάπαυσιν
καὶ πάσης λύπης ἱερὸν παραμύθιον ἔρδων·
καὶ θανάτου μελέτην ἐπάγεις ψυχὰς διασώζων·
αὐτοκασίγνητος γὰρ ἔφυς Λήθης Θανάτου τε.
ἀλλά, μάκαρ, λίτομαί σε κεκραμένον ἡδὺν ἱκάνειν
σώζοντ' εὐμενέως μύστας θείοισιν ἐπ' ἔργοις.

86. Ὀνείρου θυμίαμα ἀρώματα

Κικλήσκω σε, μάκαρ, τανυσίπτερε, οὐλε Ὀνειρε,
ἄγγελε μελλόντων, θνητοῖς χρησμιδὲ μέγιστε·
ἡσυχίαι γὰρ ὕπνου γλυκεροῦ σιγηλὸς ἐπελθών,
προσφωνῶν ψυχαῖς θνητῶν νόον αὐτὸς ἐγείρεις,
καὶ γνώμας μακάρων αὐτὸς καθ' ὕπνους ὑποπέμπεις,
σιγῶν σιγώσας ψυχαῖς μέλλοντα προφωνῶν,
οἷσιν ἐπ' εὐσεβίῃσι θεῶν νόος ἐσθλὸς ὁδεύει,
ὥς ἂν αἰὲ τὸ καλὸν μέλλον, γνώμησι προληφθέν,
τερπωλαῖς ὑπάγῃ βίον ἀνθρώπων προχαρέντων,
τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἀνάπαυλαν, ὅπως θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐνίσπῃ
εὐχωλαῖς θυσίαις τε χόλον λύσασιν* ἀνάκτων.
εὐσεβέσιν γὰρ αἰὲ τὸ τέλος γλυκερώτερόν ἐστι,
τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς οὐδὲν φαίνει μέλλουσαν ἀνάγκην
ὄψις ὄνειρήεσσα, κακῶν ἐξάγγελος ἔργων,
ὄφρα μὴ εὖρωνται λύσιν ἄλγεος ἐρχομένοιο.
ἀλλά, μάκαρ, λίτομαί σε θεῶν μηνύματα φράζειν,
ὥς ἂν αἰὲ γνώμαις ὀρθαῖς κατὰ πάντα πελάζῃς
μηδὲν ἐπ' ἄλλοκότοισι κακῶν σημεῖα προφαίνων.

84. Hestia's offering, spices

Hestia, queen, daughter of powerful Kronos,
who keeps the home's centre of fire, eternal and great,
dedicate in these rites these holy initiates,
make them thriving, blessed, happy, pure;
home of blessed gods, mortals' strong foundation,
timeless, polymorph, longed for, green-formed.
Smiling, blessed, take your offerings readily,
Inspire wealth and soft-handed health.

85. Hypnos' offering, with poppy

Sleep, lord of all the blessed and of mortal men,
and all life, all that the broad earth feeds;
you alone rule all and come upon all,
binding their bodies with shackles unforged;
care-looser, offering sweet rest from toil,
bringing holy solace to every grief;
a study of death, but preserving the soul,
you are blood-sibling to Lethe and Death.
But, blessed, I pray you, come with sweet temper,
be kind, save the mystai for labours divine.

86. Oneiros' offering, spices

I call you, blessed, long-winged, baneful Oneiros,
herald of the future, mortals' great doom-singer,
in sweet sleep's stillness approaching in silence,
addressing mortals' souls, arousing their minds,
instilling through dreams the thoughts of the blessed,
to silent souls silently showing the future -
those the gods' good mind guides toward piety,
that ever a good future, vouchsafed in mind,
should draw life on in joy for humans with hope,
and give cares' release, as the god himself says,
when with offering and prayer they dissolve the lords' wrath.
For the pious, the end is always the sweeter,
but for the evil, no vision dreamed, a herald of ills,
will ever reveal the doom of the future:
they find no relief for their pain when it comes.
But, blessed, I pray you, tell the gods' messages,
ever draw near with thoughts right in all,
never by portents show signs of ill-tiding.

87. Θανάτου θυμίαμα μάνναν

Κλύθί μευ, δς πάντων θνητῶν οἴηκα κρατύνεις
πάσι διδοὺς χρόνον ἀγνόν, ὅσων πόρρωθ' ἂν ἀπήσθα*.
σὸς γὰρ ὕπνος ψυχῆς* θραύει καὶ σώματος ὀλκόν*,
ἥνικ' ἂν ἐκλύῃς φύσεως κεκρατημένα δεσμὰ
τὸν μακρὸν ζώοισι φέρων αἰώνιον ὕπνον,
κοινὸς μὲν πάντων, ἄδικος δ' ἐνίοισιν ὑπάρχων,
ἐν ταχὺτῃτι βίου παύων νεοήλικας ἀκμάς·
ἐν σοὶ γὰρ μούνωι πάντων τὸ κριθὲν τελεοῦται·
οὔτε γὰρ εὐχαῖσιν πείθῃ μόνος οὔτε λιταῖσιν.
ἀλλά, μάκαρ, μακροῖσι χρόνοις ζωῆς σε πελάζειν
αἰτοῦμαι, θυσίαισι καὶ εὐχολαῖς λιτανεύων,
ὥς ἂν ἔοι γέρας ἐσθλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι τὸ γῆρας.

87. Thanatos' offering, manna

Hear me, holder of all mortals' tiller,
giving holy time to all you stay far from;
your sleep snaps the bond between body and soul,
whenever you loosen the powerful shackles of nature,
5 bringing the long, unending sleep to the living;
common to all, unrighteous to some,
stopping youth's prime with the shortness of life;
for in you alone the judgment of all is fulfilled;
for you alone are unswayed by prayer or entreaty.
10 But, blessed, I beg you, come after long years
of life; with offerings and vows I entreat you,
grant people the prize of noble old age.

Notes: departures from Ricciardelli's text.

Q = Quandt 1955, R = Ricciardelli 2000, F = Fayant 2014,
Ψ = MSS archetype

P.1 *περὶ σεμνήν* Ψ, retained by R and F; *περισέμνην* Schneider, followed by Hermann and Q and adopted here.

P.39 *αὐλῶν* Ψ, retained by R; *αὐδῶ* Portus, followed by Q; *αὐδῶν* F, adopted here as closer to the MS reading.

2.12 The text is corrupt here: *Εἰλείθινα, καὶ ἡ σεμνή* Ψ; *Εἰλείθι* ἀγανή Wiel; *καλὴ σεμνή* Novossadsky; *καὶ εὐσέμνη* Hermann; *καὶ εὐστέφανος* R 'dubitanter' (otherwise of Aphrodite, Dionysos). I suggest reading *κόρη* here, which occurs frequently in the *OH*: P.7 (Artemis), 9.2 (Selene), 23.2, 24.3, 29.10, 32.7 (conj. Gesner), 69.8. *Κούρη* (in most cases at the end of a verse) P.38, 1.9 (Hekate), 9.10/12 (Selene), 10.12, 14.3, 26.4, 29.7, 36.1 (Artemis), 40.13, 44.1/10, 49.1, 51.10/14, 53.2, 56.4, 57.4, 70.3/10, 79.2/12. Cf. in particular *OH* 40.13 *σεμνή κουροτρόφε* *κούρα* and 74.1 *δαίμονα σεμνήν*.

3.6 *ἀγαθή* Ψ; *ἀγαθὴν* Pierson, followed by R, F; *ἀγανή* Theiler, Q. The 16th century Latin translation in Laur. Plut. 36. 35 has 'curarum' here, implying *ἀνιών τε, 'cares-oblivion, with respite of sorrows and troubles'*. This may be the translator's conjecture, but, as a Homeric phrase, it could be the original reading (*Od.* 7.192 *ἀνευθε πόνου καὶ ἀνίης*). Cf. *OH* 2.11 *ἐν γὰρ σοὶ τοκετῶν λυσιπτήμονές εἰσιν ἀνίαι* (and *ἀνίη* 41.3, 68.13).

6.11 *πολυποίκιλον ὀργιοφάνταις* Ψ, retained by all editors. West (1968: 290) emends to *πολυποίκιλος*, comparing *OH* 76.11 (Muses: *πολυποίκιλοι*). I suggest that, in addition to West's reading, we should read *ὀργιοφάντης* here: Protogonos himself is the 'all-varied hierophant'. Cf. *OH* 31.5 (Kouretes: *ὀργιοφάνται*). The phonic echo of the *φαν-* stem (cf. also 6.5 *παμφαῖς ἔρνος*), noted by Morand (2001: 64, 2010: 162), also supports a direct correlation between Phanes and the *orgiophant*.

7.4 *ἐγκυκλίοις δίναισι † περιθρόνια κυκλέοντες* Ψ; *περίδρομα κυκλεύοντες* Blumenthal (cf. *περίδρομε* *OH* 11.4, *περίδρομον ὄμμα* 8.14); *περιθρόνοι* Hermann; *πυριρρόθοι* Wiel; *περὶ χθόνα* Kroll. *OH* 40.15 (Demeter) is very similar, *ἐγκυκλίοις δίναις περὶ σὸν θρόνον εὐάζουσα*, and on that basis I suggest (following Blumenthal for *κυκλεύοντες*) *ἐγκυκλίοις δίναισι περὶ τὸν θρόνον κυκλεύοντες*.

9.11 R and F restore *τῶι σῶι* (Ψ); *τρισσωί* is Platt's conjecture, adopted by Q.

9.12 The last word of the hymn is corrupt: Ψ had *σῶζουσα τέους* *ικέτας ἐσλοκούρη*. Ruhnken proposed *σῶζουσ' ἀγίους* *ικέτας* *σέο* *κούρη*, Hermann *νέους* (on the analogy of *OH* 4.9 *μυστῇ νεοφάντη*) which, with *σέο, κούρη* is accepted by all editors. The h family of MSS have *φερέκαρπε* (which also ends v. 5 and may be Plethon's addition). The Laur. Plut. 36.35 translation has 'proba puella', implying a hypermetric *ἐσθλή κούρη*. But *κούρη* itself may have been repeated from the end of v. 10 and may not represent the original word. I suggest retaining *τέους* and reading *βασίλεια*, which might, in a damaged copy, account for the *ἐσλ-* and frequently occurs at the end of a verse (*OH* 1.5, 29.6, 32.17, 35.2, 41.9, 49.4, 71.10, 84.1). In the hymn to Nike (*OH* 32), it is the last word of the hymn.

10.2 *ἐγράνια* Iunta (*ed. princeps*), Gesner, R (translating as 'operosa'). With F I revert to the Ψ reading *οὐρανία* (cf. *OH* 27.13 *Ὀὐρανόπαι, πρέσβειρα*).

10.20 Q and R retain *πόντια* (Ψ), but both suggest that Vergetius' reading *πότνια*, adopted by F and here, may be correct.

10.28 R reads *πάντα σοὶ εἰσί· τὰ πάντα σὺ γὰρ τάδε μούνη τεύχεις*. I follow Maas' reading here (see ch. 3.2.1). Ψ, Q: *πάντα † σοὶ εἰσί τὰ πάντα· † σὺ γὰρ μούνη τάδε τεύχεις*.

10.29 † *σὺν εὐόλβοισιν † ἐν ὥραις* Q, R; *σὺν ὀλβιοδώτισιν Ὠραις* F. The prayer uses a similar phrase to *OH* 26.11† *σὺν ὀλβίοισιν † ἐν ὥραις* and 32.16 † *ἐπ' εὐόλβοισιν † ἐν ὥραις*, but in both cases the first preposition is superfluous. *Σύν* may have been introduced in this case as an echo of *OH* 14.13 *σὺν εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσι* (for *ἐπὶ* cf. *OH* 72.2 and 10 *ἐπ' εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσι*) or 30.9 *σὺν ἐυζώνοισι τιθήναις*. F proposes *σὺν ὀλβιοδώτισιν Ὠραις* in each instance, but the phrase *ἐν ὥραις* occurred in the *Rhapsodic Theogony* (*OF* 350.2, *ἐν ὥραις ἀμφιέτηισιν*). In these three instances the original reading may have been an enclitic *νῦν* (which is metrically short): *ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σέ νυν εὐόλβοισιν ἐν ὥραις*. Cf. *Il.* 10.105, 23.485, Theocr. 5.123.

11.15 *πέριξ ἐν ὕδασι* Ψ; *πέριξ ἐνὶ ὕδασι* Hermann; *πέριξ δινεύμασι* Theiler (cf. *OH* 8.7, 19.10), accepted by F; *πέριξ δίναισι* R 'dubitanter'. The *ἐν* is long in the MSS reading, as is the first syllable of *ὑδασι*. I suggest reading *πέριξ ἐν δίναις* (cf. *OH* 40.15 *ἐγκυκλίοις δίναις*). The verse recalls *OF* 287.2 [Okeanos] *ὃς γαῖαν δίνησι πέριξ ἔχει ἀμφιελίζας*.

15.1 *Ζεῦ πολύτιμε, μέγας* R; *πολύτιμε* Ψ; *πολυτίμητε* l, h MSS. I follow Q and F in reading *πολυτίμητε* (cf. the formulaic parallel in Mimnermus [fr. 26 *IEG*] and the comic poets).

- 19.18 There was a lacuna here in Ψ between θυμὸν and κύμασι. Two φ MSS have hypermetric ὀβριμον ἔμβαλε. Slothouwer proposes βαρὺν ἔμβαλε (accepted by all editors); θυμὸν πέμποις ἐπὶ R. I suggest τέον ἔμβαλε (cf. τέους, the MSS reading in *OH* 9.12): the ‘wrath’ here is the thunderbolt itself, which the god is asked to divert to the sea.
- 24.4 ἐπ’ ὄχοισιν ἀγαλλόμεναι Ψ, retained by Q and here; R and F adopt Theiler’s emendation, ἔποχοι συναγαλλόμεναι.
- 26.11 See note on 10.29.
- 32.16 See note on 10.29.
- 40.15 Ψ ἀλλά μοι νυκτέραιοι; Bentley νυ νυκτέραιοι (adopted here as closest to the MS reading) or μοι εὐκταίαι, accepted by Q and F; R μάκαιράι μοι. Alternatively ἀλλά, θεαὶ Μοῖραι (*OH* 69.16) is possible.
- 40.16 μουνογένης Ψ. The description of Demeter as ‘only-born’ (e.g. Hekate, Hes. *Th.* 426) is strange: she has one child (μουνογένεια, *OH* 29.2) but several siblings. Koops (1932: 51) takes μουνογένης as equivalent to μούνη, F (2014: 345) sees it as a result of the identification of Demeter with Rhea (*OF* 206). In terms of the antithesis with πολύτεκνε the meaning should be ‘with one child’: Demeter has one daughter but, as personification of the earth, all living creatures are her children. μουνόγονος is otherwise unattested (cf. πολύγονος ‘with many children’), but could on that basis have been corrected to the close and familiar form μουνογένης.
- 43.10 τελετάς ὁσίας νεομύστους Ψ; νεομύστοις Hermann; νεομύσταις West. The MSS reading may be correct, but if West’s suggestion is accepted, as it is by R and F, we might also read ὁσῖαι: ‘come holy to the initiates’. Ὅσιος describes the *teletai* in *OH* 1.9, rites generally in *OH* 18.11 and libations in *OH* 59.19. It is used to describe the Muses however in *OH* 77.2, and would be a variation here on the frequent prayer formula to ‘come kind [to the *mystai*]’.
- 45.4 μανικέ Ψ, retained by Q and F; μαινόλα Hermann, followed by R. Hermann also proposed, but rejected μαντικέ, which occurs in this position however in a hymn in P.Lit. Goodspeed 2 (*CA* p. 82, Perale 44.4.14). The long α of μανικέ is anomalous, but the same phrase recurs in *OH* 52.1 and should be retained, as F argues, following Vian.
- 46.5 χαρίεσσιν Ψ; χαλεπαῖσιν Maas. Q adds a *crux* in the *addenda* to the 2nd edition (p. 87): as R argues, the masculine form of χαρίεσσιν, taken with Nymphai, is problematic. I suggest reading Χαρίτεσσι τ’ here: ‘with the Nymphs and Charites’. Cf. the Eleian hymn to Dion. v. 3 (ἐλθεῖν) σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν, Ar. *Ran.* 333, Paus. 5.14.10.
- 50.7 † Ἐπάφιε Ψ, retained by Q and R, and here. The reference is likely to Epaphos, son of Zeus and Io and ancestor of the Thebans (but see also Edmonds 2013b, who argues for a connection with Egyptian Apis). The long second syllable is anomalous however and F amends to ἐπάφριε, ‘écumant’, the form that occurs in *OH* 52.9.
- 52.1 See note on 45.4.
- 54.5 νεάζων οἷσι σιληνοῖς Ψ, with the first syllable of Σιληνοῖς short; νεάζουσ’ οἷς Σιληνοῖς Casaubon; σὺν εὐζώνοισι τιθήναις Pierson, followed by Q; νεάζων σὺν Σιληνοῖς R, followed by F. I suggest νεάζαισι σὺν Λήναις. The Lenai here are the Bakkhai who appear in the following verse. Cf. Heracl. B 14 DK νυκτιπόλοισι, μάγοις, βάκχοις, λήναις, μύσταις, and Strabo 10.3.10 Διονύσου δὲ Σειληνοῖ τε καὶ Σάτυροι καὶ Τίτυροι καὶ Βάκχαι, Λήναι τε καὶ Θυῖαι καὶ Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Ναῖδες καὶ Νύμφαι προσαγορευόμεναι.
- 55.23 † θῖνας Ψ, retained by Q and R. θινός, adopted here, is proposed by R *ad loc.*
- 63.6 ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ Ψ, retained by Q with *crucis*; ἀλλοπρόσαλλοι Hermann; ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν R, followed by F. The MSS reading should be retained, as Novossadsky argues. ‘You break all those | who do not go under your yoke, but over it, | greedily tilting the strong scales of the balance’. Wrongdoers here spurn the yoke of justice.
- 63.11 σοφίης ἀρετῆς τέλος ἄλλον Ψ; σοφίης ἀρετῆς τέλος ἐσθλόν Hermann, followed by Q; σοφίης ἀρετῆς Gesner, West, R (cf. *OH* 69.11 καὶ σοφίης ἀρετῆς); τέλος ἐσθλόν Lennep, followed by all editors; τέλος ὄλβον Dieterich. I suggest a modification of Dieterich’s emendation of MSS ἄλλον, the genitive ὄλβου. This requires correption of the final syllable before a vowel, but there are several instances of this occurring in the 5th foot (after the fifth trochee: *OH* 23.4, 39.10, 43.11, 54.8, 70.5/6, 74.4/6, 81.5, see Quandt 40*). The result is a chiasmus, with Gesner’s reading σοφίης ἀρετῆς: ἐν σοὶ γὰρ σοφίης ἀρετῆς τέλος ὄλβου ἰκάνει ‘for in you the virtue of wisdom reaches the goal of happiness’. Cf. *OH* 13.10, 25.11 εὐὸλβον βιότου τέλος; *AG App. Sep.* 164.7 ἐπεὶ γήρωσ ὄλβιον ἦλθε τέλος.
- 73.1 † μεγάλην Ψ, retained by Q and R; μεγάλων Kern, adopted here; μερόπων Theiler, followed by F.
- 77.3 ἐκτὸς ἐοῦσα κακῆς μνήμης Ψ; ἐκτὸς ἔχουσα κακῆς μνήμην Hermann; ἐκτὸς ἐοῦσ’ ἀπάτης μνήμην Wiel. ἐκτὸς ἐοῦσα κακῆς λήθης Scaliger, followed by Q, R and F. I suggest reading ἔχθος ἔχουσα here (cf. Opp. *Hal.* 2.253 ἔχθος ἔχουσι), retaining the MSS reading κακῆς μνήμης βλαψίφρονος αἰεί, which may refer to Chrysippus’ description of grief as

one of the ‘harmful’ passions (cf. fr. 455, *SVF* II.110 αἱ βλάπτουσι μὲν ἡμᾶς, χείρονας δ’ οὐ ποιοῦσιν).

- 86.11 πόλον θύσαντες Ψ, retained by Q with *cruces*; χόλον λύσαντες Theiler; χόλον λύσωσιν is the reading of hyparchetype φ, accepted by R, who takes the subjunctive λύσωσιν with ὥς ἂν in v. 8, but this should govern ὑπάγηι alone. I suggest reading λύσασιν or λύσουσιν (the latter proposed by F), a dative participle. Confidence in a good future (v. 8) brings life with joy (v. 9) and respite from evils (v. 10) ‘to those who, as the god himself says, have dissolved (or dissolve) the lords’ wrath with offerings and prayers’. Cf. the dative οἷσιν in v. 7.
- 87.2 πᾶσι διδοὺς χρόνον ἀγνόν, ὅσων πόρρωθ’ ὑπάρχεις Ψ; ὅσων πόρρωθεν ὑπάρχεις hyparchetype φ, accepted by Hermann (who translates ‘tu vitam producis iis, a quibus te longe abstinēs’) and all editors; ὅσων πόρρωθ’ ἐπαρωγός Maas. R suggests ὅταν πόρρωθεν ὑπάρχηι. The elision of πόρρωθεν in Ψ is not accounted for however and I suspect that ὑπάρχεις has been introduced from v. 6 to fill a lacuna. πόρρωθ’ ἂν ἀπήσθαι provides the required sense here: ‘giving holy time to all those you stay far from’.
- 87.3 σὸς γὰρ ὕπνος ψυχὴν θραύει καὶ σώματος ὀλκόν Ψ, retained by Q; ψυχῆς Platt, adopted by F and here; ὄγκον or ἄλκην Herwerden; ὀλκὴν R ‘dubitanter’. Platt’s ψυχῆς, adopted by F, provides the required meaning: ‘for your sleep snaps the bond of body and soul. The MSS reading, ψυχὴν, may be a reflex to Ar. *Av.* 466 τὴν τούτων θραύσει ψυχὴν. Ὀλκός may mean ‘strap’; ὀλκή a force of attraction (Pl. *Tim.* 80c), such as magnetism (Epicur. fr. 293 Usener): both are possible but the MSS reading is retained here.

Appendix 2.1. Invocations

1.1. 'I call': Κικλήσκω

20.1 (Zeus Astr.)	<u>Κικλήσκω... άστραπαϊον Δία</u> (v. 5)
25.1 (Proteus)	Πρωτέα <u>κικλήσκω</u>
30.1 (Dionysos)	<u>Κικλήσκω</u> Διόνυσον
39.1 (Korybant)	<u>Κικλήσκω... Κύρβαντ'</u> (v. 2)
44.1 (Semele)	<u>Κικλήσκω... Σεμέλην</u> (v. 2)
46.1 (Liknites)	Λικνίτην Διόνυσον <u>ἐπ' εὐχαις ταΐσδε κικλήσκω</u>
47.1 (Perikionios)	<u>Κικλήσκω</u> Βάκχον
49.1 (Hipta)	Ἴπταν <u>κικλήσκω</u>
52.1 (Trieterikos)	<u>Κικλήσκω σε...</u> Βακχεῦ (v. 1)
58.1 (Eros)	<u>Κικλήσκω... Ἔρωτα</u> (v. 1)
73.1 (Daimon)	Δαίμονα <u>κικλήσκω</u>
75.3 (Palaimon)	<u>κικλήσκω σε</u> , Παλαίμον
86.1 (Oneiros)	<u>Κικλήσκω σε...</u> Ὀνειρε (v.1)

1.2. 'I call': Καλέω

6.1 (Protagonos)	Πρωτόγονον <u>καλέω</u>
11.1 (Pan)	Πᾶνα <u>καλῶ</u>
22.1 (Thalassa)	Ὠκεανὸς <u>καλέω</u> νύμφην, γλαυκῶπιδα Τηθύν
33.1 (Nike)	Εὐδύνατον <u>καλέω</u> Νίκην
42.1 (Mise)	Θεσμοφόρον <u>καλέω</u> νερθηκοφόρον Διόνυσον
53.1 (Amphietes)	Ἀμφιετὴ <u>καλέω</u> Βάκχον
64.1 (Nomos)	Ἀθανάτων <u>καλέω...</u> Νόμον (v. 2)
71.1 (Melinoe)	Μηλινόην <u>καλέω</u>
72.1 (Tyche)	<u>Δεῦρο</u> , Τύχη· <u>καλέω σ'</u> , ἀγαθῶν κράντειραν, <u>ἐπευχαίς</u>
74.1 (Leukothea)	Λευκοθέαν <u>καλέω</u>
79.1 (Themis)	Οὐρανόπαιδ' ἀγνήν <u>καλέω</u> Θέμιν
83.1 (Okeanos)	Ὠκεανὸν <u>καλέω</u>

1.3. 'I call': Κλήιζω

1.1 (Hekate)	Εἰνοδίαν Ἑκάτην <u>κλήιζω</u>
61.1 (Nemesis)	Ὡ Νέμεσι, <u>κλήιζω σε</u>

1.4. 'I call': Ἐκπροκαλοῦμαι

7.1-3 (Asteres)	Ἄστρον οὐρανίων ἱερὸν σέλας <u>ἐκπροκαλοῦμαι</u> εὐιέροις φωναῖσι <u>κικλήσκων</u> δαίμονας ἀγνοῦς. Ἀστέρες...
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2.1. 'Hear' (primary)

2.1 (Prothyraia)	<u>Κλυθί μοι</u> , ὦ πολύσεμνε θεά
8.1 (Helios)	<u>Κλυθι</u> μάκαρ
9.1 (Selene)	<u>Κλυθι</u> , θεά βασίλεια
17.1 (Poseidon)	<u>Κλυθι</u> , Ποσειδάων
28.1 (Hermes)	<u>Κλυθί μου</u> , Ἑρμεία
36.1 (Artemis)	<u>Κλυθί μου</u> , ὦ βασίλεια

48.1 (Sabazios)	<u>Κλυθι</u> , πάτερ
50.1 (Lysios Len.)	<u>Κλυθι</u> , μάκαρ
54.1 (Silenos)	<u>Κλυθί μου</u> , ὦ πολύσεμνε
56.1 (Adonis)	<u>Κλυθί μου εὐχομένου</u>
59.2 (Moirai)	Μοῖραι ἀπειρέσιοι, Νυκτὸς φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης, <u>κλυτέ μου εὐχομένου</u>
60.1 (Charites)	<u>Κλυτέ μοι</u> , ὦ Χάριτες
68.2 (Hygeia)	Ἱμερόεσσ', ἐρατή, πολυθάλμει, παμβασιλεια, <u>κλυθι</u> , μάκαιρ' Ὑγίεια
69.1 (Erinyes)	<u>Κλυτε</u> , θεαὶ πάντιμοι
70.1 (Eumenides)	<u>Κλυτέ μου</u> , Εὐμενίδες
78.1 (Eos)	<u>Κλυθι</u> , θεά
87.1 (Thanatos)	<u>Κλυθί μου</u>

2.2. 'Hear' (secondary)

3.3 (Nyx)	Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν <u>αἰέσομαι</u> ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν. Νύξ γένεσις πάντων, ἦν καὶ Κύπριν καλέσωμεν <u>κλυθι...</u>
34.10 (Apollo)	<u>κλυθί μου εὐχομένου</u> λαῶν ὑπερ εὐφρονη θυμῶι
49.4 (Hipta)	<u>κλυθί μου εὐχομένου</u>
74.3 (Leukothea)	Λευκοθέαν <u>καλέω</u> Καδμηίδα, δαίμονα σεμνήν, εὐδύνατον, θρέπτειραν ἐυστεφάνου Διονύσου. <u>Κλυθι...</u>
83.6 (Okeanos)	<u>κλυθι</u> , μάκαρ

3. 'Come'

11.4 (Pan)	Πᾶνα <u>καλῶ</u> κρατερόν... <u>ἐλθέ</u> , μάκαρ
27.2 (Meter)	Ἀθανάτων θεότιμὲ θεῶν μήτερ, τροφὲ πάντων, <u>τῇδε μόλοις</u> , κράντειρα θεά, σέο, πότνι', <u>ἐπ' εὐχαίς</u>
29.1 (Persephone)	Φερσεφόνη, θύγατερ μεγάλου Διός, <u>ἐλθέ</u> , μάκαιρα
34.1 (Apollo)	<u>Ἐλθέ</u> , μάκαρ, Παιάν
45.1 (Dion. B T)	<u>Ἐλθέ</u> , μάκαρ Διόνυσε
55.15 (Aphrodite)	<u>ἔρχεο</u> , Κυπρογενὲς θεῖον γένος
67.3 (Asklepios)	Ἰητῆρ πάντων, Ἀσκληπιέ, δέσποτα Παιάν, θέλγων ἀνθρώπων πολυαλγέα πήματα νοῦσων, ἡπιόδωρε, κραταίε, <u>μόλοις κατάγων ὑγίειαν</u>
72.1 (Tyche)	<u>Δεῦρο</u> , Τύχη· <u>καλέω σ'</u> , ἀγαθῶν κράντειραν, <u>ἐπευχαίς</u>
80.2 (Boreas)	Χειμερίους αὔραισι δονῶν βαθὺν ἡέρα κόσμου, κρυμοπαγῆς Βορέα, χιονώδεος <u>ἔλθ' ἀπὸ Θραίκης</u>
82.3 (Notos)	Λαιψηρὸν πῆδημα δι' ἡέρος ὑγροπόρευτον, ὠκείαις πτερύγεσσι δονούμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, <u>ἔλθοις σὺν νεφέλαις νοταίαις</u> , ὄμβροιο γενάρχα

4. 'I sing'

- 3.1 (Nyx) Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν αἰέσομαι ἥδ' ἐκ αἰὲρ ἀνδρῶν
62.1 (Dike) Ὅμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος, ἀγλαομόρφου

5. Vocative only (first word, name)

- 4.1 (Ouranos) || Οὐρανέ
5.1 (Aither) || ὦ... Αἰθήρ (v. 4)
10.1 (Physis) || ὦ Φύσι
12.1 (Herakles) || ὦ Ἡρακλῆς
13.5 (Kronos) || Αἰθαλῆς... Κρόνε (v. 5)
14.1 (Rhea) || Πότνα Ῥέα
15.1 (Zeus) || Ζεῦ (Ζεῦ Κρόνιε v. 6)
16.2 (Hera) || Κυανέοις... ὦ Ἡρα (v. 2)
18.1 (Pluto) || ὦ... Πλούτων (v. 4)
19.1 (Keraunos) || Ζεῦ
21.1 (Nephe) || Ἀέριοι νεφέλαι
23.1 (Nereus) || ὦ... Νηρεῦ (v. 3)
24.1 (Nereidai) || Νηρέος εἰναλίου νύμφαι
26.1 (Ge) || Γαῖα
31.1 (Kouretes) || Σκιρτῆται Κουρήτες
32.1 (Athena) || Παλλὰς
35.1 (Leto) || Λητώ
37.1 (Titans) || Τιτῆνες
38.1 (Kouretes) || Χαλκόκροτοι Κουρήτες
40.1 (Demeter) || Δηώ
41.1 (Meter Ant.) || Ἀνταία
43.1 (Horai) || ὦραι
51.1 (Nymphai) || Νύμφαι
55.1 (Aphrodite) || Οὐρανία... Ἀφροδίτη (v. 1)
57.3 (Hermes Ch.) || Κωκυτοῦ... Ἑρμῆ
63.1 (Dikaiosyne) || ὦ... Δικαιοσύνη (v. 3)
65.3 (Ares) || Ἄρρηκτ'... Ἄρες (v. 3)
66.1 (Hephaistos) || ὦ Ἥφαιστ'
67.1 (Asklepios) || Ἰητῆρ πάντων, Ἀσκληπιέ
76.2 (Mousai) || Μνημοσύνης... Μοῦσαι (v. 2)
80.2 (Boreas) || Χειμερίοις... Βορέα (v. 2)
81.1 (Zephyros) || Αὔραι ποντογενεῖς Ζεφυρίτιδες
82.1 (Notos) || Λαιψηρόν... (no name, cf. νοτίαις v. 3)
84.1 (Hestia) || Ἑστία
85.1 (Hypnos) || ὦ ὕπνε

6. Prologue to main invocation

- 3.1-2 (Nyx) Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν αἰέσομαι ἥδ' ἐκ αἰὲρ ἀνδρῶν.
Νῦξ γένεσις πάντων, ἦν καὶ Κύπριν καλέσωμεν.
Κλύθι, μάκαιρα θεά...
7.1-2 (Asteres) Ἄστρον οὐρανίων ἱερὸν σέλας ἐκπροκαλοῦμαι
εὐιέροις φωναῖσι κικλήσκων δαίμονας ἀγνούς.
Ἄστέρες οὐράνιοι...
11.1-3 (Pan) Πᾶνα καλῶ κρατερόν, νόμιον, κόσμοιο τὸ σύμπαν,
οὐρανὸν ἥδ' ἐθάλασσαν ἰδὲ χθόνα παμβασιλῆαν
καὶ πῦρ ἀθάνατον· τάδε γὰρ μέλη ἐστὶ τὰ Πανός.
ἔλθέ...
15.1-2 (Zeus) Ζεῦ πολύτιμε, μέγας, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε, τήνδε τοι ἡμεῖς
μαρτυρίαν τιθέμεσθα λυτήριον ἥδ' ἐπρόσευξιν.
ὦ βασιλεῦ...
18.1-3 (Pluto) ὦ τὸν ὑποχθόνιον ναίων δόμον, ὁμβριμόθυμε,
Ταρτάριον λειμῶνα βαθύσκιον ἥδ' ἐλιπαυγῆ,
Ζεῦ χθόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε, τὰδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμως,
Πλούτων...
27.1-3 (Meter) Ἀθανάτων θεότιμε θεῶν μήτερ, τροφὲ πάντων,
τῇδε μόλοις, κράντειρα θεά, σέο, πότνι, ἐπ' εὐχαῖς,
ταυροφόνων ζεύξασα ταχυδρόμον ἄρμα λεόντων,
σκηπτοῦχε...
57.1-2 (Hermes Chth.) Κωκυτοῦ ναίων ἀνυπόστροφον οἶμον ἀνάγκης,
ὅς ψυχὰς θνητῶν κατάγεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης,
Ἑρμῆ...

7. Opening prayer

- 18.3 (Zeus) Ζεῦ χθόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε, τὰδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμως
27.1-3 (Meter) Ἀθανάτων θεότιμε θεῶν μήτερ, τροφὲ πάντων,
τῇδε μόλοις, κράντειρα θεά, σέο, πότνι, ἐπ' εὐχαῖς
29.1-2 Φερσεφόνη, θύγατερ μεγάλου Διός, ἔλθέ, μάκαιρα,
(Persephone) μουνογένεια θεά, κεχαρισμένα δ' ἱερὰ δέξαι
67.3-4 (Hygeia) ἡπιόδωρε, κραταίε, μόλοις κατάγων Ὑγίειαν
καὶ παύων νούσους, χαλεπὰς Κῆρας θανάτοιο

Appendix 2.2. Prayer structures

Hymn	Prayer length	ἀλλά /-ων	1 (I pray/hear)	2a (come)	2b (<i>mystai</i> , <i>teletai</i>)	2c (kind)	3a specific request (verb)	3b specific request (object) [3c recipients]
Proem	2 (verses)		I call (v. 15, 24, 40)	come (ἐλθέιν)	to <i>thyepolie</i>, libation	kind (εὐμενέας), joyful (εὐχαρημένον ἦτορ ἔχοντας)		
1. Hekate	2		I beg (λίσσόμενος)	be present (παρεῖναι)	at <i>teletai</i> to <i>boukolos</i>	kind (εὐμενέουσιν), joyful		
2. Prothyraia	2		hear (ἰσθῆι)				grant (δίδου) save (σώζ')	help at birth
3. Nyx	3	νῦν	I call (καλώ)	come (ἐλθοίς)		kind (εὐάντητε, εὐμενέουσα)	send away (ἀπώπτεμμε)	night terrors (φόβους)
4. Ouranos	1		hear (ἰσθῆι)				grant (ἐπάγων)	a holy life to <i>neophant</i>
5. Aither	1		I call/pray (κίε κλήσκειων λίτομαι)			be fine (εὐδῖον εἶναι)		
6. Protogonos	2	ἀλλά		come (βαίνε)	to <i>telete</i>	joyful (γέγηθώς) to initiates		
7. Asteres	2			come (ἐλθετ')	to <i>telete</i>		fulfil (ἐκτελέουσιν)	course with deeds of fame
8. Helios	1		hear (ἰσθῆι)				reveal (πρόφαινε)	a sweet life to <i>mystai</i>
9. Selene	2			come (ἐλθέ)		kind (εὐφρων), shining (λαμπυμένη)	save (σώζουσα)	your suppliants
10. Physis	2	ἀλλά	I pray (λίτομαι)				bring (ῥῥαν)	peace, health, increase
11. Pan	3			come (βαίνε)			grant (ῥπασον) send away (ἐκπέμπων)	a good end (τελευτήν) to life panic
12. Herakles	3			come (ἐλθέ)			bring (κομίζων)	charms for sickness

26. Ge	2	ἀλλά					be kind (εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχουσα)		increase (αὐξοῖς)	fruits
27. Meter	1+1		come (ἔρχεο x2)	A. to <i>teletai</i>	B. joyful (γῆθουσινος)					
28. Hermes	2		hear (κλῦθι)						grant (δωρίζων)	a good end to life, in business
29. Persephone	4		hear (κλῦθι)						send up (ἀναπέμψ')	fruits , peace, health, happiness
30. Dionysos	2		hear (κλῦθι)				be kind (εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων)		inspire (ἐπὶτρυφουσιν)	
31. Kouretes	2			come (ἐλθοιτ')	to boukolos	kind (εὐάντητοι), joyful				
32. Athena	3		hear (κλῦθι)						grant (δός)	peace, abundance, health
33. Nike	2	ἀλλά		come (ἐλθοίς)		yearned for (πεποθήμενη)			bring (ἄγουσα)	glory
34. Apollo	1+1		A. hear (κλῦθι) B. hear (κλῦθι)			A. kind (εὐφροσι βουλή)			B. save (σώζων)	the <i>mystai</i>
35. Leto	2		hear (κλῦθι)	come (βαίνε)	to pantheic telete	kind (ἱλασι ἦτορ ἔχουσα)			bring (φέρουσα)	a sweet end (τέλος)
36. Artemis	4			come (ἐλθέ)	to <i>mystai</i>	a saviour , kind (εὐάντητος)			bring (ἄγουσα) send (πέμπε)	fruits , peace, health sickness, pain
37. Titans	2		I call (καλεῖσθε)						send away (ἀποπέμπειν)	anger (μῆνιν)
38. Kouretes	1								inspire (ἐπὶτρυφετε)	
39. Korymbant	2		hear (κλῦθι)						send away (ἀποπέμπειο) stop (παύων)	anger (μῆνιν) apparitions (φαντασίας)
40. Demeter	3			come (ἐλθέ)		fruitful (βρίθουσα)			bring (κατάγουσα)	peace, εὐνομίην , wealth, health
41. Antaia	2	ἀλλά	I pray (λίσσομαι)	come (ἐλθέιν)	to <i>mystes</i> (s.)	kind (εὐάντητον)				

42. Mise	1			come (ἐλθοις)	to <i>telete</i>	kind (εὐμενέουσ')			
43. Horai	2			come (ἐλθετ')	to <i>teletai</i> , <i>neomystai</i> [?]		bring (ἐπάρχουσαι)	fruitful seasons	
44. Semele	2	νῦν	I pray/call (λίσσεμαι, καλέων)		to <i>mystai</i>	be kind (πρηνέουσιν)			
45. Dion. B. T.	1			come (ἐλθέ)			bring (φέρειν)	joy	
46. Liknites	1			come (ἐλθέ)		kind (εὐφρων)	accept (δέξαι)	the offerings (ισπάζ)	
47. Perikionios	1			come (ἐλθέ)		joyful (γυγνηθίαις πραπίδεσσιν)			
48. Sabazios	2	ἀλλά		come (ἐπέλθοις)	to <i>mystipoloi</i>	a kind helper (εὐμενέων ἐπαρ.)			
49. Hipta	1		hear (κλῆθι)	come (ἔρχεο)	to <i>teletai</i>	joyful (γίθουσα προσώπω)			
50. Lysios Len.	1	νῦν	I call (καλώ)	come (μολεῖν)	for <i>mystai</i>	sweet (ἡδύ)			
51. Nymphai	2			come (ἐλθετε)	to <i>hiera</i>	joyful (κεχαρηότι θυμῶ)	pour (χέουσαι)	the waters of health	
52. Trieterikos	1			come (ἐλθέ)	for <i>mystai</i>	joyful, teeming (βρύων)			
53. Amphietes	3			come (βαῖνε)	to pantheic telete	joyful, revelling in fruits (cf. offering in title, πάντα)			
54. Silenos et al.	5			come (δεῦρ')	to pantheic telete	revelling (εὐάζων)	reveal (ἀναφαίνων)	the nocturnal teletai	
55. Aphrodite	2		I call (σε καλώ)	come (ἔρχεο, ἐλθέ)		lovely (ἐπὶ ἄριστον εἶδος ἔχουσα)			
56. Adonis	1			come (ἐλθέ)			bring (φέρειν)	fruits	for <i>mystai</i>

57. Hermes Ch.	1	ἀλλά							send (πέμπους)	a good end in works	to <i>mystai</i>
58. Eros	2			unite (συνέρχου)	with <i>mystai</i>	in pure thoughts			send away (ἀποπέμπε)	bad impulses	
59. Moirai	2+1	ἀλλά		A. come (μώλετε) B. come (ἐρχόμεναι)	to <i>mystai</i>	kind (εὖφρονι βουλῇ)					
60. Charites	1			come (ἐλθοιτ')	to <i>mystai</i>	kind (προσηνείς)					
61. Nemesis	3			come (ἐλθέ)	to <i>mystai</i>	a helper (ἐπιτράρροθος)			grant (δός) stop (παύσουσα)	understanding evil intentions	
62. Dike	2	ἀλλά		come (μώλε)	to good intentions	righteous (δικαία)					
63. Dikaosyne	5			hear (κλῦθι)					shatter (θραύσουσα)	evil (that life may end well)	
64. Nomos	1	ἀλλά				be kind (εὐμενές ἦτορ ἔχων)			send (πέμπε)	remembrance of you	
65. Ares	4								stop (σῆσον) leave (ἄνεξ) incline to (νεύσον) change (ἀλλάξας) crave (ποθέων)	strife pain Kypris, Lyaios arms for works of Deo peace	
66. Hephaistos	4			hear (κλῦθι), I call (κληΐζω σε)	to libations	gentle (ῥίμερος)			stop (παύσον) keep (ἔχων)	rage of fire nature's flame in our bodies	
67. Asklepios	1					a saviour (σωτήρ)			grant (δωάζων)	a good end (τέλος) to life	
68. Hygeia	2	ἀλλά		come (μώλε)	to <i>mystipoloi</i>	a helper (ἐπιτράρροθος)			ward off (ρύσμένη)	disease	

83. Okeanos	1		hear (ἰκλῆθι)	come (ἔλθοις)	to <i>mystai</i>	kind (εὐμενέων), joyful		
84. Hestia	2+2						dedicate (ἀναδείξας) accept (δέξο) inspire (ἐπιτινέουσας)	the <i>mystai</i> to the <i>teletai</i> the offerings (ἱερά) happiness, health
85. Hypnos	2	ἀλλά	I pray (ἰτρομαι)	come (ἵκάνειν)		temperate, sweet	save (σώζοντ')	the <i>mystai</i>
86. Oneiros	3	ἀλλά	I pray (ἰτρομαι)	approach (πελάζειν)		with right thoughts	tell (φράζειν) never show (μηδέν προφαίνων)	the gods' messages ill tidings
87. Thanatos	3	ἀλλά	I beg (αἰτοῦμαι) I entreat (λιτανεύων)	approach (πελάζειν)		after long years	let men have (ὥς ἔν ἔοι)	the prize of old age

Appendix 2.3. *Eulogia*: verse types and longer predications

1. Pentacolos

8.6	εὐδρομε, ροιζήτωρ, πυρόεις, φαιδρωπέ, διφρευτά
10.10	αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ, ἀρετή, πολύγηθε, μεγίστη
10.11	εὐάνθεια, πλοκή, φιλία, πολύμικτε, δαήμον
10.26	ἄτρομε, πανδαμάτειρα, πεπρωμένη, αἴσα, πυρίπνου
30.3	ἄγριον, ἄρρητον, κρύφιον, δικέρωτα, δίμορφον
30.4	κισσόβρυσον, ταυρωπόν, Ἀρήιον, Εὖιον, ἀγνόν
34.3	χρυσολύρη, σπερμεῖε, ἀρότριά, Πύθιε, Τίτάν
34.4	Γρύνειε, Σμινθεῦ, Πυθοκτόνε, Δελφικέ, μάντι
36.2	Τιτανίς, βρομία, μεγαλώνυμε, τοξότι, σεμνή
50.8	Λύσειε, θυρσομανές, Βρόμι', Εὖιε, πᾶσιν ἐύφρων
52.2	ταυρόκερως, Ληναῖε, πυρίσπορε, Νύσειε, Λυσεῦ

Total pentacoloi: 11 (1: 4, 2: 7, 3: 0)¹

2. Tetracolos

2.1 Tetracolos of four words

1.8	ἡγεμόνην, νύμφην, κουροτρόφον, οὐρεσιφοῖτιν
4.7	κυανόχρως, ἀδάμαστε, παναίολε, αἰολόμορφε
8.11	κοσμοκράτωρ, συρικτά, πυρίδρομε, κυκλοέλικτε
9.6	ἡλεκτρίς, βαρύθυμε, καταυγάστειρα, νυχαυγής
10.3	πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε, κυβερνήτειρα, παναυγής
10.5	ἄφθιτε, πρωτογένεια, παλαίφατε, κυδιάνειρα
10.6	ἐννυχία, πολύτερε, σελασφόρε, δεινοκαθέκτε
10.16	πάνσοφε, πανδώτειρα, κομίστρια, παμβασιλεία
10.21h ²	αἰδία, κινησιφόρε, πολύπειρε, περίφρων
11.5	αἰγομελές, βακχευτά, φιλένθεε, ἀστροδίαιτε
12.4	ἄρρητ', ἀγριόθυμε, πολύλλιτε, παντοδυναστα
12.13	ἄθάνατος, πολύπειρος, ἀπείριτος, ἀστυφέλικτος
14.8	ψευδομένη, σώτειρα, λυτηριάς, ἀρχιγένηθλε
15.8	σεισίχθων, αὐξητά, καθάρσιε, παντοτινάκτα
17.4	ποντομέδων, ἀλίδουπε, βαρύκτυπε, ἐννοσίγαιε
18.17	ἐνθεε, παντοκράτωρ, ἱερώτατε, ἀγλαότιμε
19.7	παμφλέκτους, κρατερούς, φρικώδεας, ὀμβριμοθύμους
20.2	ἄεριον, φλογέοντα, πυρίδρομον, ἀεροφεγγή
21.3	βρονταῖαι, πυρόεσσαι, ἐρίβρομοι, ὑγροκέλευθοι
24.2	† σφράγλαι βύθιαι, χοροπαίγμονες, ὑγροκέλευθοι
26.2	παντρόφε, πανδώτειρα, τελεσφόρε, παντολέτειρα
26.6	αἰδία, πολύσεπτε, βαθύστερν', ὀλβιόμοιρε
27.13	Οὐρανόπαι, πρέσβειρα, βιοθρέπτειρα, φίλοιστρε
28.3	εὐφρων, ποικιλόβουλε, διάκτορε Ἀργειφόντα
28.8	Κωρυκιώτα, μάκαρ, ἐριούνιε, ποικιλόμυθε
30.5	ὠμάδιον, τριετή, βοτρυηφόρον, ἐρνεσίπεπλον
31.2	ποσσίκροτοι, ῥομβηταί, ὀρέστεροι, εὐαστήρες

31.4	ὄπλοφόροι, φύλακες, κοσμήτορες, ἀγλαόφημοι
32.3	ἄρρητε, ῥητή, μεγαλώνυμε, ἀντροδίαιτε
32.11	αἰολόμορφε, δράκαινα, φιλένθεε, ἀγλαότιμε
34.2	Μεμφίτ', ἀγλαότιμε, ἱήε, ὀλβιοδῶτα
34.6	† μουσαγέτα, χοροποιέ, ἐκηβόλε, τοξοβέλεμνε
36.5	λυσίζωνε, φίλοιστρε, κυνηγέτι, λυσιμέριμνε
36.6	εὐδρομε, ἰοχέαιρα, φιλαγρότι, νυκτερόφοιτε
36.7	κλησία, εὐάντητε, λυτηρία, ἀρσενόμορφε
36.9	ἀγροτέρα, χθονία, θηροκτόνε, ὀλβιόμοιρε
36.12	δρυμονία, σκυλακίτι, Κυδωνιάς, αἰολόμορφε
40.5	σπερμεία, σωρίτι, ἄλωνα, χλοόκαρπε
43.3 h	εἰαριναί, λειμωνιάδες, πολυάνθεμοι, ἀγναί
50.5	ῥήξιχθων, Ληναῖε, μεγασθενές, αἰολόμορφε
51.4 h	καρποτρόφοι, λειμωνιάδες, σκολιοδρόμοι, ἀγναί
51.7	φαινόμεναι, ἀφανείς, αὐλωνιάδες, πολυανθεῖς
51.9	πετρόρυτοι, λιγυραί, βομβήτριαι, οὐρεσίφοιτοι
51.15	Νύσαιαι, μανικαί, παιωνίδες, εἰαροτερπεῖς
52.10	οὐρεσιφοῖτα, κερῶς, νεβριδοστόλε, ἀμφιέτρη
52.12	Βάσσαρε, κισσοχαρής, πολυάρθενε, καλλιέθειρε
55.10	φαινομένη, ἀφανής, ἐρατοπλόκαμ', εὐπατέρεια
55.12	γεννοδότειρα, φίλανδρε, ποθεινοτάτη, βιοδῶτι
56.6	αὐξιθαλής, δίκερως, πολυήρατε, δακρυότιμε
60.6	εὐκταῖαι, κυκλάδες, καλυκώπιδες, ἱμερόεσσαι
65.2	ὄπλοχαρής, ἀδάμαστε, βροτοκτόνε, τειχεσιπλήτα
66.3	φωσφόρε, καρτερόχειρ, αἰώνιε, τεχνοδίαιτε
66.5	παμφάγε, πανδαμάτωρ, παννύπερτατε, παντοδίαιτε
67.5	αὐξιθαλής, ἐπίκουρ', ἀπαλεξίκακ', ὀλβιόμοιρε
68.1	Ἰμερόεσσ', ἐρατή, πολυθάλμια, παμβασιλεία
69.7	θηρόπεπλοι, τιμωροί, ἐρισθενέες, βαρυαλγείς
70.8	αἰδιοί, φοβερῶπες, ἀπόστροφοι, αὐτοκράτειραι
79.7	πάντιμ', ἀγλαόμορφε, σεβάσμιε, νυκτιπόλευτε
81.6	ἡέριαι, ἀφανείς, κουφόπτεροι, ἀερόμορφοι
84.6	αἰδίη, πολύμορφε, ποθεινοτάτη, χλοόμορφε

Total 2.1: 60 (1: 25, 2: 24, 3: 11)

2.2 Tetracolos of five words

2.5	κλειδοῦχ', εὐάντητε, φιλοτρόφε, πᾶσι προσηγής
2.12	Ἄρτεμις Εἰλείθυια, † καὶ ἡ † σεμνή Προθυραία
3.5	Εὐφροσύνη, τερπνή, φιλοπάννυχε, μήτερ ὀνείρων
3.7	ὑπνοδότειρα, φίλη πάντων, ἐλάσιππε, νυχαυγής
4.8	πανδερκές, Κρονότεκε, μάκαρ, παννύπερτατε δαῖμον
8.12	φωσφόρε, αἰολόμορφε, φερέσβιε, κάρπιμε Παιάν
9.3	ἐννυχία, δαιδοῦχε, κόρη, εὐάστερε Μήνη
9.5	αὐγάζουσα, φίλιππε, χρόνου μήτερ, φερέκαρπε
9.9	Λαμπετίη, χαριδῶτι, τελεσφόρε, νυκτὸς ἀγαλμα
9.10	ἀστράρχη, τανύπεπλ', ἐλικοδρόμε, πάνσοφε κούρη

¹ Numbers in brackets show the incidence of each type of verse in the first (1), second (2) and third (3) parts of the collection.

² h marks a verse with a hephthemimeral caesura.

10.2 ἐγρανία, πρέσβειρα, πολύκτιτε δαῖμον, ἄνασσα
 10.12 ἡγεμόνη, κράντειρα, φερέσβιε, παντρόφε κούρη
 10.19 ὠκυλόχεια, μάκαιρα, πολύσπορος, ὠριάς ὄρμη
 10.20 παντοτεχνές, πλάστειρα, πολύκτιτε, ποντία δαῖμον
 11.4 ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητά, περιδρομε, σύνθρονε Ὠραις
 11.11 κοσμοκράτωρ, αὐξητά, φασφόρε, κάρπιμε Παιάν
 12.1 Ἡρακλες ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τίτάν
 12.6 παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ
 13.2 ποικιλόβουλ', αἰμάντε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τίτάν
 15.6 Ζεῦ Κρόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε, Καταιβάτα, ὀμβριμόθυμε
 15.9 Ἀστραπαῖε, Βρονταῖε, Κεραύνιε, φυτάλιν Ζεῦ
 20.1 Κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγνόν, ἐρισμάραγον, περίφαντον
 27.12 πανδαμάτωρ, Φρυγίη, σῶτειρα, Κρόνου συνόμενε
 30.2 Πρωτόγονον, διφυή, τρίγονον, Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα
 31.3 κρουσιλύραι, παράρυθμοι, ἐπεμβάται, ἔχνεσι κοῦφοι
 32.2 δία, μάκαιρα θεά, πολεμόκλονε, ὀμβριμόθυμε
 36.3 πασιφαῖς, δαιδοῦχε θεά, Δίκτυννα, λοχεία
 40.13 εὐτεκενε, παιδοφίλη, σεμνή, κουροτρόφε κούρα
 46.2 Νύσιον, ἀμφιθαλή, πεποθημένον, εὐφρονα Βάκχον
 51.3 κρυψίδρομοι, Βάκχοιο τροφοί, χθόνιαι, πολυγηθεῖς
 51.6 πηγαῖαι, δρομάδες, δροσοείμονες, ἔχνεσι κοῦφαι
 51.12 αἰπολικαί, νόμιοι, θηρσὶν φίλοι, ἀγλαόκαρποι
 52.7 ὠμάδιε, σκηπτοῦχε, χορομανές, ἀγέτα κώμων
 52.9 ῥήξιχθων, πυριφεγγές, † Ἐπάφριε, κοῦρε διμάτωρ
 55.2 ποντογενής, γενέτειρα θεά, φιλοπάννυχε, σεμνή
 55.11 νυμφιδία, σύνδαιτι, θεῶν σκηπτοῦχε, λύκαινα
 58.2 τοξαλκή, πτερόεντα, πυρίδρομον, εὐδρομον ὄρμη
 59.17 ἀέριοι, ἀφανεῖς, ἀμετάτροποι, αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς
 60.4 χαρμοσύνης γενέτειρα, ἐράσμιαι, εὐφρονες, ἀγναί
 63.8 ἀστασίαστε, φίλη πάντων, φιλόκωμ', ἐρατεινή
 65.1 Ἄρρηκτ', ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε δαῖμον
 70.9 λυσιμελεῖς οἰστρωί, βλοσυραί, νύχιοι, πολύποτμοι
 73.3 Ζήνα μέγαν, πολύπλαγκτον, ἀλάστορα, παμβασιλῆα
 Total 2.2: 43 (1: 23, 2: 14, 3: 6)

2.3 Tetracolos of 6-7 words

8.13 ἀιθαλής, αἰμάντε, χρόνου πάτερ, ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ
 11.9 εὐσκοπε, θηρητήρ, Ἡχοῦς φίλε, σύγχορε νυμφῶν,
 12.5 παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, κάρτος μέγα, τοξότα, μάντι
 34.1k³ Ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, Παιάν, Τίτυοκτόνε, Φοῖβε, Λυκαρεῦ
 34.5 ἄγριε, φασφόρε δαῖμον, ἐράσμιε, κύδιμε κοῦρε
 34.7 Βράγχιε καὶ Διδυμεῦ, † ἐκάεργε, Λοξία, ἀγνέ
 36.11 πότνια, παμβασιλεια, καλὸν θάλος, αἰὲν ἐοῦσα
 48.1k Κλυθι, πάτερ, Κρόνου υἱέ, Σαβάζιε, κύδιμε δαῖμον
 50.1k Κλυθι, μάκαρ, Διὸς υἱ', ἐπιλήνιε Βάκχε, διμάτωρ

³ k marks a verse that contains an invocatory verb (underlined).

58.1k Κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγνόν, ἐράσμιον, ἡδὺν Ἐρωτα
 64.12 ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πάντιμε, φερόλβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινέ
 Total 2.3: 11 (1: 3, 2: 7, 3: 1)

Total tetracoloi: 114 (1: 51, 2: 45, 3: 18)

3. Tricolos

3.1 Tricolos, first division in 1st or 2nd foot

2.4 ὠκυλόχεια, παρούσα νέας θνητῶν, Προθυραία
 6.5 ἄρρητον, κρύφιον ροιζήτορα, παμφαῖς ἔρνος
 8.17 πιστοφύλαξ, αἰεὶ πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ
 10.1 Ὡ Φύσι, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυμήχανε μήτερ
 10.4 παντοκράτειρα, τετιμέν' αἰεὶ, πανυπέρτατε δαῖμον
 10.8 ἀγνή, κοσμήτειρα θεῶν, ἀτελής τε τελευτή
 11.10 παντοφυής, γενέτωρ πάντων, πολυώνυμε δαῖμον
 12.3 αἰολόμορφε, χρόνου πάτερ, αἰδιέ περίφρων τε
 14.3 τυμπανόδουπε, φιλοιστρομανές, χαλκόκροτε κούρη
 20.5 Ἀστραπαῖον Δία, παγγενέτην, βασιλῆα μέγιστον
 29.1k Φερσεφόνη, θύγατερ μεγάλου Διός, ἐλθέ, μάκαιρα
 32.13 Τριτογένεια, λύτειρα κακῶν, νικηφόρε δαῖμον
 40.1 Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυώνυμε δαῖμον
 40.10 αὐξιθαλής, Βρομίιο συνέστιος, ἀγλαότιμος
 40.12 σὺ χθονία, σὺ δὲ φαινομένη, σὺ δὲ πᾶσι προσηγής
 40.16 μουντογενής, πολύτεκενε θεά, πολυπότνια θνητοῖς
 51.5 ἀντροχαρεῖς, σπήλυγξ κεχαρμέναι, ἡερόφοιτοι
 54.1k Κλυθί μου, ὦ πολύσεμνε τροφεύ, Βάκχοιο τιθηνέ
 56.7 ἀγλαόμορφε, κυναγεσίους χαίρων, βαθυχαῖτα
 56.8 ἱμερόνους, Κύπριδος γλυκερὸν θάλος, ἔρνος Ἐρωτος
 59.18h παντοδότειραι, ἀφαιρέτιδες, θνητοῖσιν ἀνάγκη
 66.4 ἐργαστήρ, κόσμοιο μέρος, στοιχεῖον ἀμεμφές
 67.1 Ἰητήρ πάντων, Ἀσκληπιέ, δέσποτα Παιάν
 69.8 Αἰδεω χθόνιοι, φοβεραὶ κόραι, αἰολόμορφοι
 70.1k Κλυτέ μου, Εὐμενίδες μεγαλάνυμοι, εὐφρονη βουλή
 73.2h μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα θνητῶν
 74.1k Λευκοθέαν καλέω, Καδμηίδα, δαίμονα σεμνήν
 84.1 Ἑστία, εὐδυνάτοιο Κρόνου θύγατερ, βασίλεια
 Total 3.1: 28 (1: 11, 2: 9, 3: 8)

3.2 Tricolos: first division at caesura

1.1h,k Εἰνοδίαν Ἑκάτην κλήϊω, τριοδίτιν, ἐραννήν
 2.3h θηλειῶν σῶτειρα μόνη, φιλόπαις, ἀγανόφρον
 3.3k κλυθι, μάκαιρα θεά, κυαναυγής, ἀστεροφεγγής
 5.5 ἀγλαὸν ὦ βλάστημα, σελασφόρον, ἀστεροφεγγές
 6.1h,k Πρωτόγονον καλέω διφυή, μέγαν, αἰθερόπλαγκτον
 6.4 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον, Ἡρικεπαῖον
 7.9 οὐράνιοι χθονιοί τε, πυρίδρομοι, αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς
 8.2 Τίτάν χρυσαυγής, Ὑπερίων, οὐράνιον φῶς

8.16 δείκτα δικαιοσύνης, φιλονάματε, δέσποτα κόσμου
 8.18 ὄμμα δικαιοσύνης, ζῶης φῶς· ὦ ἐλάσιππε
 9.1k Κλυθι, θεά βασιλεια, φασφόρε, δία Σελήνη
 9.2 ταυρόκερος Μήνη, νυκτιδρόμε, ἡεροφοῖτι
 11.1k Πᾶνα καλῶ κρατερόν, νόμιον, κόσμοιο τὸ σύμπαν
 13.7 γέννα, φυή, μείωσι, ῥέας πόσι, σεμνὲ Προμηθεῦ
 14.7 παμβασίλεια ῥέα, πολεμόκλονε, ὀμβριμόθυμε
 16.4 ὀμβρων μὲν μήτηρ, ἀνέμων τροφέ, παντογένηθλε
 19.8 πτηνὸν ὄπλον δεινόν, κλονοκάρδιον, ὀρροθέειρον
 21.1 Ἀέριοι νεφέλαι, καρποτρόφοι, οὐρανόπλαγκτοι
 22.6 ναυσὶν ἀγαλλομένη, θηροτρόφε, ὑγροκέλευθε
 23.4 πυθμὴν μὲν πόντου, γαίης πέρας, ἀρχὴ ἀπάντων
 24.8 ποντοπλάνοι δελφίνες, ἀλirρόθιοι, κυαναυγείς
 27.4h σκηπτοῦχε κλεινοῖο πόλου, πολυώνυμε, σεμνή
 28.1k Κλυθί μου, Ἑρμεία, Διὸς ἄγγελε, Μαιάδος υἱέ
 28.2 παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων, ἐναγώνιε, κοίρανε θνητῶν
 28.6 ἐρμηνεῦ πάντων, κερδέμπορε, λυσιμέριμνε
 29.3h Πλούτωνος πολύτιμε δάμαρ, κεδνή, βιοδῶτι
 29.9 Ὠρῶν συμπαίκτηρα, φασφόρε, ἀγλαόμορφε
 32.10h ἄρσην μὲν καὶ θῆλυσ ἔφυς, πολεματόκε, μῆτι
 35.1 Λητῶ κυανόπεπλε, θεὰ διδυματόκε, σεμνή
 36.10h ἢ κατέχεις ὀρέων δρυμούς, ἐλαφιβόλε, σεμνή
 38.22 πνοιαὶ ἀέναιοι, ψυχροτρόφοι, ἀεροειδεῖς
 39.2 Κύρβαντ' ὀλβιόμοιρον, ἀρήιον, ἀπροσόρατον
 39.5 αἰολόμορπον ἀνακτα, θεὸν διφυῆ, πολύμορπον
 40.2 σεμνὴ Δήμητερ, κουροτρόφε, ὀλβιοδῶτι
 40.3 πλουτοδότειρα θεά, σταχυοτρόφε, παντοδότειρα
 42.4 ἄρσενά καὶ θῆλυν, διφυῆ, Λύσειον Ἰακχον
 43.5 Ὠρῶν ἀειθαλές, περικυκλάδες, ἡδυπρόσωποι
 44.2 εὐειδὴ Σεμέλην, ἐρατοπλόκαμον, βαθύκολπον
 45.1k Ἐλθέ, μάκαρ Διόνυσε, πυρίσπορε, ταυρομέτωπε
 45.2 Βάσσαρε καὶ Βακχεῦ, πολυώνυμε, παντοδυνάστα
 45.4 εὐάζων κατ' Ὀλυμπον, ἐρίβρομε, μαινόλα Βάκχε
 49.1k Ἴπταν κικλήσκω, Βάκχου τροφόν, εὐάδα κούρην
 49.4k κλυθί μου εὐχομένου, χθονία μήτηρ, βασιλεια
 50.2 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυώνυμε, Λύσιε δαῖμον
 50.7 χάρμα βροτοῖς φιλάλυπον, † Ἐπάφιε, καλλιέθειρε h
 51.11 παρθένοι εὐώδεις, λευχείμονες, εὐπνοοὶ αὔραις
 51.14 κοῦραι Ἀμαδρυάδες, φιλοπαίγμονες, ὑγροκέλευθοι
 52.1k Κικλήσκω σε, μάκαρ, πολυώνυμε, μαινόλα, Βακχεῦ
 52.4 νυκτέρι', Εὐβουλεῦ, μιτρηφόρε, θυρσοτινάκτα
 52.5 ὄργιον ἄρρητον, τριφυές, κρύφιον Διὸς ἔρνος
 52.11 Παιὰν χρυσεγγής, ὑποκόλπιε, βοτρυόκοσμε
 55.3 νυκτερία ζεύκτηρα, δολοπλόκε, μήτηρ Ἀνάγκης
 55.9 Πειθοὶ λεκτροχαρής, κρυφία, χαριδῶτι
 56.1k Κλυθί μου εὐχομένου, πολυώνυμε, δαῖμον ἄριστε

56.4 κούρη καὶ κόρε, πᾶσι σὺ θάλλων αἰέν, Ἄδωνι
 59.15p⁴ ἀλλά, μάκαιραι, μοι, μαλακόφρονες, ἡπιόθυμοι
 59.16k Ἄτροπε καὶ Λάχεσι, Κλωθῶ, μόλετ', εὐπατέρειαι
 60.1k Κλυτέ μοι, ὦ Χάριτες μεγαλύννυμι, ἀγλαότιμοι
 61.1k Ἵ Νέμεσι, κλήϊω σε, θεά, βασιλεια μεγίστη
 63.1h Ἵ θνητοῖσι δικαιοτάτη, πολυόλβε, ποθεινή
 65.4 αἵματι ἀνδροφόνωι χαίρων, πολεμόκλονε, φρικτέ h
 66.1 Ἦφαιστ' ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἀκάματον πῦρ
 68.2k κλυθι, μάκαιρ' Ὑγία, φερόλβιε, μήτηρ ἀπάντων
 69.1k Κλυτε, θεαὶ πάντιμοι, ἐρίβρομοι, εὐάστειραι
 70.10 νυκτέρειαι κοῦραι, ὀφιοπλόκαμοι, φοβερῶπες
 71.1k Μηλινὸν καλέω, νύμφην χθονίαν, κροκόπεπλον
 76.2 Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες, μεγαλύννυμι, ἀγλαόφροιοι
 77.1k Μνημοσύνην καλέω, Ζητὸς σύλλεκτρον, ἄνασσα
 81.1 Αὔραι ποντογενεῖς Ζεφυρίτιδες, ἡεροφοῖται
 83.1 Ὀκεανὸν καλέω, πατέρ' ἄφθιτον, αἰέν ἔοντα
 83.7 τέρμα φίλον γαίης, ἀρχὴ πόλου, ὑγροκέλευθε
 86.1k Κικλήσκω σε, μάκαρ, τανυσίπτερε, οὔλε Ὀνειρε
 Total 3.2: 72 (1: 27, 2: 28, 3: 17)

3.3 Tricolos, single predication after caesura

1.4 Περσεῖαν, φιλέρημον, ἀγαλλομένην ἐλάφοισι,
 1.5 νυκτερίαν, σκυλακίτην, ἀμειμάκετον βασιλεια
 1.6 θηρόβρομον, ἄζωστον, ἀπρόσμαχον εἶδος ἔχουσαν
 4.1 Οὐρανὲ παγγενέτωρ, κόσμου μέρος αἰέν ἀτειρές
 5.3 πανδαμάτωρ, πυρίπνου, πᾶσι ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα
 7.5 ἀνταυγείς, πυρόεντες, αἰεὶ γενετῆρες ἀπάντων
 8.3 αὐτοφυής, ἀκάμας, ζῶων ἡδεῖα πρόσοψι
 8.14 εὐδιε, πασιφαῆς, κόσμου τὸ περιδρομον ὄμμα
 9.7 πανδερκής, φιλάγρυπνε, καλοῖς ἄστροισι βρύουσα
 10.13 αὐτάρκεια, Δίκη, Χαρίτων πολυώνυμε Πειθῶ
 10.17 αὐξιτρόφος, πείρα, πεπαινομένων τε λύτερα
 10.23 πάνρυτε, κυκλοτερής, ἀλλοτριομορφοδαίτε
 10.24 εὐθρονε, τιμήεσσα, μόνη τὸ κριθὲν τελέουσα
 11.12 ἀντροχαρές, βαρύμηνις, ἀληθὴς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης
 12.2 καρτερόχειρ, ἀδάμαστε, βρύων ἄθλοισι κραταιοῖς
 12.9 αὐτοφυής, ἀκάμας, γαίης βλάστημα φέριστον
 14.5 πάντιμ', ἀγλαόμορφε, Κρόνου σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα
 17.5 κυμοθαλής, χαριδῶτα, τετράρορον ἄρμα διώκων
 19.9 αἰφνίδιον, βρονταῖον, ἀνίκητον βέλος ἀγνόν
 19.11 ἄρρηκτον, βαρύθυμον, ἀμειμάκετον πρηστήρα
 20.4 φρικτῶδη, βαρύμηνιν, ἀνίκητον θεὸν ἀγνόν
 24.7 ὑδρόδομοι, σκιρτηταί, ἐλισσόμενοι περὶ κύμα
 26.3 αὐξιθαλής, φερέκαρπε, καλαῖς ὥραισι βρύουσα
 28.4 πτηνοπέδιλε, φίλανδρε, λόγου θνητοῖσι προφήτα

⁴ p marks a verse that contains a prayer formula (underlined).

29.5 Πραξιδίκη, έρατοπλόκαμε, Δηοῦς θάλος άγρόν
 29.10 σεμνή, παντοκράτειρα, κόρη καρποῖσι βρύουσα
 29.11 εύφεγγής, κερόεσσα, μόνη θνητοῖσι ποθεινή
 32.8 Γοργοφόνη, φυγόλεκτρε, τεχνών μητερ πολυόλβε
 32.17 Γλαυκῶφ', εύρεσίτεχνε, πολυλλίστη βασιλεία
 35.2 Κοιαντίς, μεγάθυμε, πολυλλίστη βασιλεία
 36.8 Όρθία, ώκυλόχεια, βροτῶν κουροτρόφε δαῖμον
 38.20 Κουρήτες Κορύβαντες, άνάκτορες εύδύνατοί τε
 38.24 εύπνοιοι, εύδιοι, σωτήριοι ήδὲ προσηνεῖς
 38.25p ώροτρόφοι, φερέκαρποι έπιπνεύοιτε άνακτες
 40.7 ίμερόεσσ', έρατή, θνητῶν θρέπτειρα προπάντων
 40.11 λαμπαδόεσσ', άγνή, δρεπάνοις χαίρουσα θερείοις
 50.4 εύτραφές, εύκαρπε, πολυγηθέα καρπὸν άέζων
 51.13 κρουνοχαρεῖς, άπαλαί, πολυθρέμμονες αύξίτροφοί τε
 52.3 μηροτρεφής, Λικνῖτης, μυστιπόλων τελετάρχα
 52.6 Πρωτόγον', Ήρικεπαῖε, θεῶν πάτερ ήδὲ καί υιέ
 54.4 άγνοτελής, γεραρός, θιάσου νομίῳ τελετάρχα
 54.5 εύαστής, φιλάγρυπνε νεάζων σὺν Σίληνοῖς
 54.11 εύάζων, φιλόθυρσε, γαληνῶν θιάσοισιν
 55.1 Οὐρανία, πολύνυμε, φιλομμιδής Άφροδίτη
 56.2 άβροκόμη, φιλέρμη, βρύων ώιδαῖσι ποθειναῖς
 56.3 Εὐβουλεύ, πολύμορφε, τροφεύ πάντων άριδηλε
 58.4 εύπάλαμον, διφυή, πάντων κληῖδας έχοντα
 60.5 αἰολόμορφοι, άειθαλέες, θνητοῖσι ποθειναί
 61.3 αἰδία, πολύσεμνε, μόνη χαίρουσα δικαίοις
 63.3 πάντιμ', δλβιόμοιρε, Δικαιοσύνη μεγαλαυχής
 65.3 Άρες άναξ, όπλόδουπε, φόνις πεπαλαγμένος αἰεί
 68.7 άιθαλής, εύκταιοτάτη, θνητῶν άνάπαυμα
 69.6 λυσσήρεις, άγέρωχοι, έπευάζουσαι άνάγκαις
 69.9 ήέριαι, άφανείς, ώκυδρόμοι ώστε νόημα
 72.5 τυμβιδίαν, πολύπλαγκτον, αἰόδιμον ανθρώποισιν
 81.2 ήδυπνοιοι, ψιθυραί, καμάτου άνάπαυσιν έχουσαι
 81.3h είαριναί, λειμωνιάδες, πεποθημένοι όρμοις
 83.6k κλυθι, μάκαρ, πολυόλβε, θεῶν άγνισμα μέγιστον
 Total 3.3: 58 (1: 27, 2: 20, 3: 11)

Total tricoloi: 156 (1: 64, 2: 57, 3: 30)

4. Dicolos

4.1 Dicolos, division at caesura

2.1h,k Κλυθί μοι, ὦ πολύσεμνε θεά, πολύνυμε δαῖμον
 2.2 ώδίνων έπαρωγέ, λεχῶν ήδεῖα πρόσοψι
 3.2 Νῦξ γένεσις πάντων, ήν και Κύπριν καλέσωμεν
 4.4 οἴκε θεῶν μακάρων, ρόμβου δίναισιν όδεύων
 4.5 οὐράνιος χθονίος τε, φύλαξ πάντων περιβληθείς
 5.4 ύψιφανής Αἰθήρ, κόσμου στοιχείον άριστον
 7.3 Άστέρες οὐράνιοι, Νυκτὸς φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης

7.11 μαρμαρυγαῖς στίλβοντες, εύφρονες έννύχιοί τε
 8.5 κρᾶσιν έχων ώρῶν, τετραβάμοσι ποσσί χορεύων
 8.8h εύσεβέσιν καθοδηγέ καλῶν, ζαμενής άσεβοῦσι
 8.10h έργων σημάντωρ άγαθῶν, ώροτρόφε κούρε
 9.4h αύξομένη και λειπομένη, θηλύς τε και άρσην
 11.7 φαντασιῶν έπαρωγέ, φόβων έκπαγλε βροτείων
 12.10h πρωτογόνοις στράψας φολίσιν, μεγαλώνυμε Παιῶν
 13.5 αἰῶνος Κρόνε παγγενέτωρ, Κρόνε ποικιλόμυθε
 16.2 "Ηρα παμβασίλεια, Διὸς σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα
 21.5 πνεύμασιν αντίσπαστοι έπιδρομάδην παταγεῦσαι
 22.1k Ώκεανοῦ καλέω νύμφην, γλαυκῶπιδα Τηθύν
 22.2 κυανόπεπλον άνασσαν, εύτροχα κυμαίνουσαν
 25.1k Πρωτέα κικλήσκω, πόντου κληῖδας έχοντα
 26.4h έδρανον άθανάτου κόσμου, πολυποίκιλε κούρη
 28.9 έργασίαις έπαρωγέ, φίλε θνητοῖς έν άνάγκαις
 29.6 Εὐμενίδων γενέτειρα, ύποχθονίαν βασιλεία
 31.1 Σκιρτηταί Κουρήτες, ένόπλια βήματα θέντες
 32.1 Παλλάς μουνογενής, μεγάλο Διὸς έκγονε σεμνή
 32.7 γυμνάζουσα κόρη, φρικῶδη θυμὸν έχουσα
 33.1k Εὐδύνατον καλέω Νίκην, θνητοῖσι ποθεινήν
 36.1k Κλυθί μοι, ὦ βασιλεία, Διὸς πολύνυμε κούρη
 38.1 Χαλκόκροτοι Κουρήτες, άρήια τεύχε' έχοντες
 38.3 ζωιογόνοι πνοιαί, κόσμου σωτήρες άγαυοί
 38.7 άθάνατοι Κουρήτες, άρήια τεύχε' έχοντες
 38.14 δαίμονες άθάνατοι, τροφές και αὐτ' όλετήρες
 39.3 νυκτερινὸν Κουρήτα, φόβων άποπαύστορα δεινῶν
 39.4 φαντασιῶν έπαρωγόν, έρημοπλάνον Κορύβαντα
 42.1k Θεσμοφόρον καλέω ναρθηκοφόρον Διόνυσον
 42.2 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυνύμνον Εὐβουλῆα
 42.3h άγνήν εύιέρὸν τε Μίσσην άρρητον άνασσαν
 51.10 άγρότεροι κούραι, κρουνίτιδες ύλονόμοι τε
 53.1h,k Άμφιετή καλέω Βάκχον, χθόνιον Διόνυσον
 55.8 τερπομένη θαλάισσι, γαμοστόλε μητερ Έρώτων
 59.1 Μοῖραι άπειρέσιοι, Νυκτὸς φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης
 63.9 εἰρήνη χαίρουσα, βίον ζηλοῦσα βέβαιον
 66.2 λαμπόμενε φλογέαις αύγαῖς, φαεσίμβροτε δαῖμον h
 73.1k Δαίμονα κικλήσκω † μεγάλην ήγήτορα φρικτόν
 74.4 κύμασι τερπομένη, θνητῶν σώτειρα μεγίστη
 77.4 πάντα νόον συνέχουσα βροτῶν ψυχαῖσι σύνοικον
 77.8 οὔτι παρεκβαίνουσ', έπεγείρουσα φρένα πᾶσιν
 78.2 Ήως λαμπροφαής, έρυθαινομένη κατά κόσμον
 78.6 έργων ήγήτειρα, βίου πρόπολε θνητοῖσιν
 79.2 Γαίης τὸ βλάστημα, νέην καλυκῶπιδα κούρη
 84.5 οἴκε θεῶν μακάρων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταιόν
 81.5k έλθοιτ' εύμενέουσαι, έπιπνεύουσαι άμμεφεῖς
 86.2 άγγελε μελλόντων, θνητοῖς χρησμιδιε μέγιστε

87.6 κοινὸς μὲν πάντων, ἄδικος δ' ἐνίοισιν ὑπάρχων
Total 4.1: 54 (1: 23, 2: 16, 3: 15)

4.2 Dicolos, single word + clause

1.3 τυμβιδίαν, ψυχᾷς νεκῶν μέτα βακχεύουσιν
1.7 ταυροπόλον, παντὸς κόσμου κληιδούχον ἄνασσαν
2.7 λυσίζων', ἀφανής, ἔργοισι δὲ φαίνῃ ἅπασι
2.9 Εἰλείθια, λύουσα πόνους δειναῖς ἐν ἀνάγκαις
3.6 ληθομέριμν' ἀγαθὴν τε πόνων ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσα
3.8 ἡμιτελής, χθονία ἢδ' οὐρανία πάλιν αὐτὴ
3.9 ἐγκυκλία, παίκτηρα διώγμασιν ἡεροφοίτοις
4.2 πρεσβυγένεθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτῇ
4.3 κόσμε πατήρ, σφαιρηδὸν ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν
6.2 ὠιογενῆ, χρυσέαισιν ἀγαλλόμενον πετερυγέσσι
6.3 ταυροβόαν, γένεσιν μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων
7.6 μοιρίδιοι πάσης μοίρης σημάντορες ὄντες
8.1k Κλυθι μάκαρ, πανδερκὲς ἔχων αἰώνιον ὄμμα
8.9 χρυσολύρη, κόσμου τὸν ἐναρμόνιον δρόμον ἔλκων
13.1 Ἀιθαλής, μακάρων τε θεῶν πάτερ ἢδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
14.1 Πότνα Ῥέα, θύγατερ πολυμόρφου Πρωτογόνοιο
15.7 παντογένεθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτῇ
17.2 ἵππιε, χαλκοτόρευτον ἔχων χεῖρεσσι τρίαιναν
19.1 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ὑψίδρομον πυραυγέα κόσμον ἐλαύνων
21.2 ὀμβροτόκοι, πνοιαῖσιν ἐλαυνόμεναι κατὰ κόσμον
25.2 πρωτογενῆ, πάσης φύσεως ἀρχὰς δς ἔφηνεν
26.1 Γαῖα θεά, μήτηρ μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων
29.12 εἰαρινή, λειμωνιασὶν χαίρουσα πνοῇσιν
32.6 ὀπλοχαρής, οἰστρουσα βροτῶν ψυχὰς μανίαισι
32.9 ὀρμάστειρα, φίλοιστρε κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ φρόνησις
34.8 Δήλι' ἀναξ, πανδερκὲς ἔχων φαεσίμβροτον ὄμμα
34.9 χρυσοκόμα, καθαρὰς φήμας χρησμούς τ' ἀναφαίνων
37.1 Τίτηνες, Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα
39.6 φοίνιον, αἵμαχθέντα κασιγνήτων ὑπὸ δισσῶν
43.1 Ὠραι θυγατέρες Θέμιδος καὶ Ζηνὸς ἀνακτος
43.4 παντόχροοι, πολύδομοι ἐν ἀνθεμοειδέσι πνοιαῖς
51.1 Νύμφαι, θυγατέρες μεγαλήτορος Ὠκεανοῖο
61.2 πανδερκὲς, ἐσορώσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων
67.7 ἐχθρὲ νόσων, Ὑγίαν ἔχων σύλλεκτρον ἀμεμφῇ
74.2 εὐδύνατον, θρέπτειραν ἐυστεφάνου Διονύσου
74.3k κλυθι, θεά, πόντοιο βαθυστερνου μεδέουσα
78.1k Κλυθι, θεά, θνητοῖς φαεσίμβροτον Ἥμαρ ἄγουσα
87.1k Κλυθί μεν, δς πάντων θνητῶν οἴηκα κρατύνεις
Total 4.2: 38 (1: 23, 2: 9, 3: 6)

4.3 Dicolos, clause + single word

1.2 οὐρανίαν χθονίαν τε καὶ εἰναλίαν, κροκόπεπλον

7.8 ἑπταφαεῖς ζώνας ἐφορώμενοι, ἡερόπλαγκτοι
13.8 δς ναίεις κατὰ πάντα μέρη κόσμοιο, γενάρχα
16.1 Κυανέοις κόλποισιν ἐνημένη, ἀερόμορφε
17.1k Κλυθι, Ποσειδάων γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα
17.8 κύμασι τερπόμενος θηρσὶν θ' ἄμα, πόντιε δαῖμον
24.1 Νηρέος εἰναλίου νύμφαι καλυκώπιδες, ἀγναί
27.1 Ἀθανάτων θεότιμε θεῶν μήτηρ, τροφὲ πάντων
28.5 γυμνάσιν δς χαίρεις δολίαις τ' ἀπάταις, † τροφιούχε
30.1k Κικλήσκω Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον, εὐαστήρα
31.5 μητρὸς ὀρειομανοῦς συνοπάνες, ὀργιοφάνται
32.12 Φλεγραίων ὀλέτειρα Γιγάντων, ἱππελάτειρα
38.2 οὐράνιοι χθονιοὶ τε καὶ εἰνάλιοι, πολυόλβοι
44.1k Κικλήσκω κούρην Καδμηίδα παμβασιλείαν
47.1k Κικλήσκω Βάκχον Περικιόνιον, μεθυδῶτην
50.3 κρυψίγονον μακάρων ἱερὸν θάλος, Εὖιε Βάκχε
50.6 παυσίπονον θνητοῖσι φανείς ἄκος, ἱερὸν ἄνθος
51.8 σὺν Πανὶ σκιρτώσαι ἀν' οὖρεα, εὐάστειραι
Total 4.3: 18 (1: 9, 2: 9, 3: 0)

Total dicoloi: 112 (1: 55, 2: 35, 3: 22)

5. Monocolos

5.1 Monocolos, participial clause

3.4 ἡσυχίῃ χαίρουσα καὶ ἡρεμίῃ πολυύπνῳ
4.6 ἐν στέρνοισιν ἔχων Φύσεως ἄτλητον ἀνάγκην
5.1 Ὡ Διὸς ὑψιμέλαθρον ἔχων κράτος αἰὲν ἀτειρές
7.4 ἐγκυκλίῳ δίναισι † περιθρόνια κυκλέοντες
7.7 μοιρίδιοι πάσης μοίρης σημάντορες ὄντες
7.10 αὐγάζοντες αἰὲν νυκτὸς ζοφοειδέα πέπλον
8.7 ῥόμβου ἀπειρεσίῳ δινεύμασιν οἶμον ἐλαύνων
8.15 σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἀκτίσι φαειναῖς
8.19 μᾶστιγι λιγυρῇ τετράρορον ἄρμα διώκων
9.8 ἡσυχίῃ χαίρουσα καὶ εὐφρόνῃ ὀλβιομοίρῳ
10.7 ἄσφορον ἀστραγάλοισι ποδῶν ἶχνος εἰλίσσουσα
10.22 ἀενάῳ στροφάλιγγι θοὸν ῥύμα δινεύουσα
11.6 ἁρμονίαν κόσμοιο κρέκων φιλοπαίγμονι μολπῇ
11.8 αἰγονόμοις χαίρων ἀνὰ πίδακας ἢδὲ τε βούταις
16.3 ψυχοτρόφους αὔρας θνητοῖς παρέχουσα προσηνεῖς
17.6 εἰναλίοις ῥοίζοισι τινάσσων ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ
19.2 στράπτων αἰθερίου στεροπῆς πανυπέρτατον αἴγλην
19.3 παμμάκρων ἔδρανον θείαις βρονταῖσι τινάσσων,
19.4 νάμασι παννεφέλοισι στεροπῇ φλεγέθουσιν ἀναίθων
20.3 ἀστράπτοντα σέλας νεφέων παταγοδρόμῳ αὐδῇ
21.4 ἄερος ἐν κόλπῳ πάταγον φρικώδη ἔχουσαι
22.3 αὔραις ἡδυπνόοισι πατασσομένην περὶ γαῖαν
22.4 θραύουσ' αἰγιαλοῖσι πέτρῃσι τε κύματα μακρά
22.5 εὐδίνοις ἀπαλοῖσι γαληνιώσῃ δρόμοισι

23.1 ὧ κατέχων πόντου ρίξας, κυαναυγέτιν ἔδρην
 25.3 ὕλην ἀλλάσσων ἱερὴν ιδέαις πολυμόρφοις
 26.7 ἡδυπνόους χαίρουσα χλόαις πολυανθέσι δαῖμον
 27.3 ταυροφόνων ζεύξασα ταχυδρόμον ἄρμα λεόντων
 29.13 ἱερὸν ἐκφαίνουσα δέμας βλαστοῖς χλοοκάρποις
 29.14 ἀρπαγιμαῖα λέχη μετοπωρινὰ νυμφευθεῖσα
 35.3 εὐτεκνον Ζηνὸς γονίμην ὥδινα λαβοῦσα
 40.4 εἰρήνην χαίρουσα καὶ ἐργασίαις πολυμόρχοις
 40.14 ἄρμα δρακοντείουσιν ὑποζεύξασα χαλινοῖς
 40.15 ἐγκυκλίους δίναις περὶ σὸν θρόνον εὐάζουσα
 43.6 πέπλους ἐννύμεναι δροσεροῦς ἀνθῶν πολυθρέπτων
 51.2 ὑδροπόροις γαίης ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἰκί' ἔχουσαι
 51.16 σὺν Βάκχῳ Διὸς τε χάριν θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι
 52.8 βακχεύων ἀγίας τριετηρίδας ἀμφὶ γαληνάς
 53.2 ἐγρόμενον κούραις ἅμα Νύμφαις εὐπλοκάμοισιν
 54.6 Ναῖσι καὶ Βάκχαις ἡγούμενε κισσοφόροις
 54.9 σὺν Βάκχαις Λήναια τελεσφόρα σεμνὰ προπέμπων
 54.10 ὄργια νυκτιφαῖ τελεταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναφαίνων
 56.5 σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις
 56.9 Φερσεφόνης ἐρασιπλοκάμου λέκτροισι λοχευθεῖς
 57.1 Κωκυτοῦ ναίων ἀνυπόστροφον οἶμον ἀνάγκης
 58.3 συμπαίζοντα θεοῖς ἡδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις
 61.4 ἀλλάσσουσα λόγον πολυποικίλον, ἄστατον αἰεὶ
 63.2 ἐξ ἰσότητος αἰεὶ θνητοῖς χαίρουσα δικαίους
 67.2 θέλγων ἀνθρώπων πολυαλγέα πήματα νούσων
 69.5 οὐχ ὁσάις βουλαῖσι βροτῶν κεκοτημέναι αἰεὶ
 77.3 ἐκτὸς ἐοῦσα κακῆς λήθης βλαψίφρονος αἰεὶ
 77.5 εὐδύνατον κρατερὸν θνητῶν αὖξουσα λογισμὸν
 80.1 Χειμερίους αὖραισι δονῶν βαθὺν ἥερα κόσμου
 81.4 ῥιπίζων ἱκμάσιν νοτεραίς ὀμβρηγενές ὕδωρ
 82.2 ὠκείαις πτερυγέσσι δονούμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα
 87.2 πᾶσι διδοὺς χρόνον ἀγνόν, ὅσων πόρρωθεν ὑπάρχεις
 87.7 ἐν ταχὺτῇτι βίου παύων νεοήλικας ἀκμάς
 Total 5.1: 57 (1: 30, 2: 16, 3: 11)

5.2 Monocolos, relative clause

2.6 ἡ κατέχεις οἴκους πάντων θαλάιαις τε γέγηθας
 13.3 ὃς δαπαναῖς μὲν ἅπαντα καὶ αὖξεις ἔμπαλιν αὐτός
 13.4 δεσμοὺς ἀρρήκτους ὃς ἔχεις κατ' ἀπίρωνα κόσμον
 14.2 ἢ τ' ἐπὶ ταυροφόνων ἱερότροχον ἄρμα τιταίνεις
 14.6 οὖρεσιν ἢ χαίρεις θνητῶν τ' ὀλολύγμασι φρικτοῖς
 17.3 ὃς ναίεις πόντοιο βαθυστέρνοιο θέμεθλα
 17.7 ὃς τριτάτης ἔλαχες μοίρης βαθὺν χεῦμα θαλάσσης
 18.11 ὃς κρατεῖς θνητῶν θανάτου χάριν, ὧ πολυδαῖμον
 26.5 ἢ λοχίαις ὥδισι κύεις καρπὸν πολυειδῆ
 28.7 ὃς χεῖρεσσιν ἔχεις εἰρήνης ὄπλον ἀμεμφές

29.4 ἡ κατέχεις Ἀίδαο πύλας ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης
 29.7 ἦν Ζεὺς ἀρρήτοις γοναῖς τεκνώσατο κούρην
 38.23 οἶτε καὶ οὐράνιοι δίδυμοι κλήϊζεσθ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ
 40.6 ἡ ναίεις ἀγνοῖσιν Ἑλευσῖνος γυάλοισιν
 40.17 ἢς πολλαὶ μορφαὶ πολυάνθεμοι, ἱεροθαλεῖς
 45.3 ὃς ξίφεσιν χαίρεις ἡδ' αἵματι Μαινάσι θ' ἀγναῖς
 50.9 οἷς ἐθέλεις θνητῶν ἡδ' ἀθανάτων ἐπιφάυσκων
 57.2 ὃς ψυχὰς θνητῶν κατάγεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης
 64.7 ὃς καὶ θνητοῖσιν βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐγείρει
 65.5 ὃς ποθέεις ξίφεσιν τε καὶ ἔγχεσι δῆριν ἄμουσον
 75.2 ὃς ναίεις πόντοιο βυθοῦς ἀλικύμονας, ἀγνοῦς
 77.2 ἢ Μούσας τέκνωσ' ἱεράς, ὁσίας, λιγυφώνους
 79.6 ἢ καὶ Φοῖβον ἀνακτα θεμιστοσύνας ἐδίδαξε
 83.3 ὃς περικυμαίνει γαίης περιτέρμονα κύκλον
 84.2 ἡ μέσον οἶκον ἔχεις πυρὸς ἀενάοιο, μεγίστου
 Total 5.2: 25 (1: 12, 2: 6, 3: 7)

5.3 Monocolos, nominal clause

5.2 ἄστρον ἡελίου τε σεληνιαῖς τε μέρισμα
 8.4 δεξιὲ μὲν γενέτωρ ἡοῦς, εὐώνυμε νυκτὸς
 10.9 κοινὴ μὲν πάντεσσιν, ἀκοινώνητε δὲ μούνη
 10.14 αἰθερία, χθονία καὶ εἰναλία μεδέουσα
 10.15 πικρὰ μὲν φαύλοισι, γλυκεῖα δὲ πειθομένοισι
 10.18 πάντων μὲν σὺ πατὴρ, μήτηρ, τροφὸς ἡδὲ τιτηνός
 10.25 σκηπτούχων ἐφύπερθε βαρυβρεμέτειρα κρατίστη
 10.27 αἰδῖος ζωὴ ἡδ' ἀθανάτη τε Πρόνοια
 13.6 Γαίης τε βλάστημα καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
 14.4 μήτηρ Ζηνὸς ἀνακτος Ὀλυμπίου, αἰγιόχοιο
 14.9 μήτηρ μὲν τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
 19.10 ῥοίζου ἀπειρεσίου δινεύμασι παμφάγον ὀρμὴν
 19.12 οὐράνιον βέλος ὀξὺ Καταιβάτου αἰθαλόεντος
 28.10 γλώσσης δεινὸν ὄπλον τὸ σεβάσμιον ἀνθρώποισι
 29.8 μήτηρ ἐριβρεμέτου πολυμόρφου Εὐβουλῆος
 36.4 ὥδινων ἐπαρωγὴ καὶ ὥδινων ἀμύητε
 38.21 ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ ἀνακτες, ὁμοῦ δὲ Διόσκοροι αὐτοὶ
 43.2 Εὐνομή τε Δίκη τε καὶ Εἰρήνη πολυὸλβε
 44.3 μητέρα θυρσοφόροιο Διωνύσου πολυγηθοῦς
 46.3 νυμφῶν ἔρνος ἐραστὸν εὐστεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης
 60.2 θυγατέρες Ζηνὸς τε καὶ Εὐνομῆς βαθυκόλπου
 60.3 Ἀγλαΐη Θαλίη τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνη πολυὸλβε
 67.6 Φοῖβου Ἀπόλλωνος κρατερὸν θάλος ἀγλαότιμον
 69.2 Τισιφόνη τε καὶ Ἀλληκτὼ καὶ διὰ Μέγαιρα
 75.1 Σύντροφε βακχεχόροιο Διωνύσου πολυγηθοῦς
 76.1 Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐριγδοῦποιο θύγατρως
 78.3 ἀγγέλτετρα θεοῦ μεγάλου Τίτανος ἀγαυοῦ
 82.1 Λαιψήρὸν πῆδημα δι' ἥερος ὑγροπόρευτον

83.2 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων
Total 5.3: 29 (1: 15, 2: 5, 3: 9)

5.4 Monocolos, indicative or finite clause

2.8 συμπάσχεις ὧδισι καὶ εὐτοκίησι γέγηθας
3.1k Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν ἁείσομαι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν
10.28 πάντα σοι εἰσί· τὰ πάντα σὺ γὰρ τάδε μούνη τεύχεις
18.16 μούνος ἔφυς ἀφανῶν ἔργων φανερῶν τε βραβευτής
37.6 ἐξ ὑμέων γὰρ πᾶσα πέλει γενεὰ κατὰ κόσμον
38.6 ὑμεῖς καὶ τελετὴν πρῶτοι μερόπεσιν ἔθεσθε
39.1k Κικλήσκω χθονὸς ἀενάου βασιλῆα μέγιστον
46.1k Λικνίτην Διόνυσον ἐπευχαῖς ταῖσδε κικλήσκω
62.1k Ὅμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος, ἀγλαομόρφου
64.1k Ἀθανάτων καλέω καὶ θνητῶν ἀγνὸν ἄνακτα
79.1k Οὐρανόπαϊδ' ἀγνὴν καλέω Θέμιν εὐπατέρειαν
Total 5.4: 11 (1: 4, 2: 4, 3: 3)

Total monocoloi: 121 (1: 60, 2: 31, 3: 30)

All epicletic verses (pentacoloi, tetracoloi, tricoloi, dicoloi, monocoloi): 511 (1: 234 [46%], 2: 173 [34%], 3: 99 [19%])

6. Couplets

6.1 Run-on verses

25.4-6 πάντιμος, πολύβουλος, ἐπιστάμενος τὰ τ' έόντα
ὅσσα τε πρόσθεν ἔην ὅσα τ' ἔσσεται ὕστερον αὐτῷ
26.8-9 ὁμβροχαρής, περὶ ἣν κόσμος πολυδαίδαλος ἄστρον
εἰλεῖται Φύσει ἀενάωι καὶ ρέύμασι δεινοῖς
30.6-7 Εὐβουλεῦ, πολύβουλε, Διὸς καὶ Περσεφονείης
ἄρρητοις λέκτροισι τεκνωθεῖς, ἄμβροτε δαίμων·
41.1-2 Ἀνταῖα βασιλῆα, θεά, πολυώνυμε μητὲρ
ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
45.5-6 θυρσεγχής, βαρύμηνη, τετιμένε πᾶσι θεοῖσι
καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν, ὅσοι χθόνα ναιετάουσιν
54.2-3 Σιληνῶν ὄχ' ἄριστε, τετιμένε πᾶσι θεοῖσι
καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ τριετηρίσιν ὥραις
70.6-7 κυανόχρωτοι ἄνασσαι, ἀπαστράπτουσαι ἀπ' ὅσων
δεινὴν ἀνταυγὴ φάεος σαρκοφθόρον αἴγλην
72.3-4 Ἄρτεμιν ἡγεμόνην, μεγαλόνυμον, Εὐβουλήος
αἵματος ἐκγεγαῶσαν, ἀπρόσμαχον εὗχος ἔχουσαν
77.6-7 ἡδυτάτη, φιλάγρυπνος ὑπομνήσκουσα τε πάντα,
ὧν ἂν ἕκαστος αἰεὶ στέρνοις γνώμην κατὰθῇται
Total 6.1: 9 = 18 verses (1: 4, 2: 8, 3: 6)

6.2 Full couplets

2.10-11 μούνην γὰρ σὲ καλοῦσι λεχοὶ ψυχῆς ἀνάπαυμα·
ἐν γὰρ σοὶ τοκετῶν λυσιπῆμονές εἰσιν ἀνῖαι

3.10-11 ἢ φάος ἐκπέμπεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα καὶ πάλι φεύγεις
εἰς Αἶδην· δεινὴ γὰρ Ἀνάγκη πάντα κρατύνει
7.1-2k Ἄστρον οὐρανίων ἱερὸν σέλας ἐκπροκαλούμαι
εὐιέροις φωναῖσι κικλήσκων δαίμονας ἀγνούς
11.2-3 οὐρανὸν ἡδὲ θάλασσαν ἰδὲ χθόνα παμβασιλῆαν
καὶ πῦρ ἀθάνατον· τάδε γὰρ μέλη ἐστὶ τὰ Πανός
12.7-8 δς θνητοῖς κατέπαυσας ἀνήμερα φύλα διώξας,
εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ἀγλαότιμον
12.11-12 δς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἡῶ καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν,
δώδεκ' ἀπ' ἀντολιῶν ἄχρι δυσμῶν ἄθλα διέρπων
14.10-11 ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεν
καὶ πόντος πνοιαί τε· φιλόδρομε, ἀερόμορφε
15.1-2k Ζεῦ πολύτιμε, μέγας, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε, τήνδε τοι ἡμεῖς
μαρτυρίαν τιθέμεσθα λυτήριον ἡδὲ πρόσευξιν
18.1-2 Ὡ τὸν ὑποχθόνιον ναίων δόμον, ὁμβριμόθυμε,
Ταρτάριον λειμῶνα βαθύσκιον ἡδὲ λιπαυγὴ
18.4-5p Ζεῦ χθόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε, τάδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμῳ,
Πλούτων, δς κατέχεις γαίης κληίδας ἀπάσης
18.6-7 δς τριτάτης μοίρης ἔλαχες χθόνα παμβασιλῆαν,
ἔδραν ἄθανάτων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταιόν
19.13-14 δν καὶ γαῖα πέφρικε θάλασσά τε παμφανόωντα,
καὶ θῆρες πτήσσοισιν, ὅταν κτύπος οὐᾶ ἐσέλθῃ
22.7-8 μήτηρ μὲν Κύπριδος, μήτηρ Νεφέων ἐρεβεννῶν
καὶ πάσης πηγῆς Νυμφῶν νασμοῖσι βρουούσης
23.2-3 πεντήκοντα κόραισιν ἀγαλλόμενος κατὰ κύμα
καλλιτέκνοισι χοροῖς, Νηρεῦ, μεγαλόνυμε δαίμων
23.5-6 δς κλονεῖς Δηοῦς ἱερὸν βάθρον, ἥνικα πνοιᾶς
ἐν νυχίοις κευθμῶσιν ἔλानομένης ἀποκλείης
27.5-6 ἢ κατέχεις κόσμοιο μέσον θρόνον, οὐνεκεν αὐτὴ
γαῖαν ἔχεις θνητοῖσι τροφὰς παρέχουσα προσηνεῖς
27.7-8 ἐκ σέο δ' ἀθανάτων τε γένος θνητῶν τ' ἐλοχεύθη,
σοὶ ποταμοὶ κρατέονται αἰεὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
27.9-10 Ἑστία αὐδαχθεῖσα· σὲ δ' ὀλβιοδότην καλέουσι,
παντοίων ἀγαθῶν θνητοῖς ὅτι δῶρα χαρίζῃ
29.15-16 ζῶῃ καὶ θάνατος μούνη θνητοῖς πολυμόχθοις,
Φερσεφόνη· φέρβεις γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ πάντα φονεύεις
32.4-5 ἢ διέπεις ὄχθους ὑψαύχενας ἀκρωρείους
ἡδ' ὄρεα σκιόεντα, νάπαισι τε σὴν φρένα τέρπεις
33.2-3 ἢ μούνη λύει θνητῶν ἐναγώνιον ὄρμην
καὶ στάσιν ἀλγινόεσσαν ἐπ' ἀντιπάλαισι μάχαισιν
33.4-5 ἐν πολέμοις κρίνουσα τροπαιοῦχοισιν ἐπ' ἔργοις,
οἷς ἂν ἐφορμαίνουσα φέροις γλυκερώτατον εὗχος
33.6-7 πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς, πάσης δ' ἐριδος κλέος ἐσθλὸν
Νίκη ἐπ' εὐδόξῳ κεῖται θαλαῖσι βρυάζον
35.4-5 γειναμένη Φοῖβόν τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,
τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δῇλωι

37.2-3 ἡμετέρων πρόγονοι πατέρων, γαίης ὑπένερθεν
οἴκοις ταρταρίοισι μυχῶι χθονὸς ἐνναίοντες
37.4-5 ἀρχαὶ καὶ πηγαὶ πάντων θνητῶν πολυμόχων,
εἰναλίων πτηνῶν τε καὶ οἱ χθόνα ναιετάουσιν
38.4-5 οἷτε Σαμοθράικην, ἱερὴν χθόνα, ναιετάοντες
κινδύνους θνητῶν ἀπερύκετε ποντοπλανήτων
39.7-8 Δηοῦς δὲ γνώμαισιν ἐνήλλαξας δέμας ἀγνόν,
θηρότυπον θέμενος μορφὴν δνοφεροῖο δράκοντος
40.8-9 ἢ πρώτη ζεύξασα βοῶν ἀροτῆρα τένοντα
καὶ βίον ἱμερόεντα βροτοῖς πολύολβον ἀνείσα
49.2-3 μυστιπόλον, τελεταῖσιν ἀγαλλομένην Σάβου ἀγνοῦ
νυκτερίοις τε χοροῖσι πυριβρεμέταο Ἰάκχου
49.5-6 εἴτε σύ γ' ἐν Φρυγίῃ κατέχεις Ἰδης ὄρος ἀγνόν
ἢ Τμῶλος τέρπει σε, καλὸν Λυδοῖσι θόασμα
55.13-14 ἢ ζεύξασα βροτοὺς ἀχαλινώτοισιν ἀνάγκαις
καὶ θηρῶν πολὺ φύλον ἐρωτομανῶν ὑπὸ φίλτρων
56.10-11 δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ναίεις ὑπὸ Τάρταρον ἡερόεντα,
ἡδὲ πάλιν πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἄγεις δέμας ὠριόκαρπον
57.3-4 Ἑρμῇ, βακχεχόροιο Διωνύσοιο γένεθλον
καὶ Παφίης κούρης, ἐλικοβλεφάρου Ἀφροδίτης
62.2-3 ἢ καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος ἐπὶ θρόνον ἱερὸν ἵζει
οὐρανόθεν καθορώσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων
62.4-5 τοῖς ἀδίκους τιμωρὸς ἐπιβρίθουσα δικαίαι,
ἐξ ἰσότητος ἀληθείῃ συνάγουσ' ἀνόμοια·
62.6-7 πάντα γάρ, ὅσσα κακαῖς γνώμαις θνητοῖσιν ὀχεῖται
δύσκριτα, βουλομένοις τὸ πλεόν βουλαῖς ἀδίκουσι,
62.8-9 μούνη ἐπεμβαίνουσα δίκην ἀδίκους ἐπεγείρει·
ἐχθρὰ τῶν ἀδίκων, εὖφρων δὲ σύνεσσι δικαίοις.
63.10-11 αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ πλεόν στυγέεις, ἰσότητι δὲ χαίρεις·
ἐν σοὶ γὰρ σοφίης ἀρετὴ τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἰκάνει
69.3-4 νυκτέραι, μυχίοις ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἰκί' ἔχουσιν
ἄντρω ἐν ἡερόεντι παρὰ Στυγὸς ἱερὸν ὕδωρ
70.2-3 ἀγναὶ θυγατέρες μέγαλοιο Διὸς χθονίοιο
Φερσεφόνης τ', ἐρατῆς κούρης καλλιπλοκάμοιο
70.4-5 αἱ πάντων καθορᾶτε βίον θνητῶν ἀσεβούντων,
τῶν ἀδίκων τιμωροί, ἐφειστήκυϊ ἀνάγκῃ
71.2-3 ἦν παρὰ Κωκυτοῦ προχοαῖς ἐλοχέυσατο σεμνὴ
Φερσεφόνῃ λέκτροις ἱεροῖς Ζηνὸς Κρονίοιο
71.4-5 ἦι ψευσθεῖς Πλούτων ἐμίγη δολίαις ἀπάταισι,
θυμῶι Φερσεφόνης δὲ δισώματον ἔσπασε χροίην
78.4-5 ἢ νυκτὸς ζοφερὴν τε καὶ αἰολόχρωτα πορείην
ἀντολίας ταῖς σαῖς πέμπεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης
82.4-5 τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστὶ σέθεν γέρας ἡερόφοιτον,
ὁμροτόκους νεφέλας ἐξ ἡέρος εἰς χθόνα πέμπειν
83.4-5 ἐξ οὐπὲρ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
καὶ χθόνιοι γαίης πηγόρρυτοι ἱκμάδες ἀγναὶ

85.1-2 "Υπνε, ἀναξ μακάρων πάντων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων
καὶ πάντων ζώων, ὅποσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών
85.3-4 πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μῦθος καὶ πᾶσι προσέρχῃ
σώματα δεσμεύων ἐν ἀχαλκεύτοισι πέδησι
85.5-6 λυσιμέριμνε, κόπων ἡδέϊαν ἔχων ἀνάπαισιν
καὶ πάσης λύπης ἱερὸν παραμύθιον ἔρδων
85.7-8 καὶ θανάτου μελέτην ἐπάγεις ψυχὰς διασώζων·
αὐτοκασίγνητος γὰρ ἔφυς Λήθης Θανάτου τε
87.8-9 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ μούνωι πάντων τὸ κριθὲν τελεοῦται·
οὔτε γὰρ εὐχαῖσιν πείθῃ μόνος οὔτε λιταῖσιν

Total 6.2: 52 = 104 verses (1: 38, 2: 30, 3: 36)

Total couplets: 122 verses (1: 42, 2: 38, 3: 42)

7. Longer passages

7.1 Epexegetic (γάρ)

11.13-20 σοὶ γὰρ ἀπειρέσιον γαίης πέδον ἐστήρικται,
εἵκει δ' ἀκαμάτου πόντου τὸ βαθύρροον ὕδωρ
Ὠκεανὸς τε πέριξ † ἐν ὕδασι † γαῖαν ἐλίσσων,
ἀερίον τε μέρισμα τροφῆς, ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα,
καὶ κορυφῆς ἐφύπερθεν ἐλαφροτάτου πυρὸς ὄμμα.
βαίνει γὰρ τάδε θεῖα πολὺκριτα σαῖσιν ἐφετμαῖς·
ἀλλάσσεις δὲ φύσεις πάντων ταῖς σαῖσι προνοίαις
βόσκων ἀνθρώπων γενεὴν κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον.
15.3-5 ὦ βασιλεῦ, διὰ σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφάνη τάδε θεῖα,
γαῖα θεὰ μήτηρ ὀρέων θ' ὕψηχέες ὄχθοι
καὶ πόντος καὶ πάνθ', ὅποσ' οὐρανὸς ἐντὸς ἔταξε
16.5-8 χωρὶς γὰρ σέθεν οὐδὲν ὅλως ζῶης φύσιν ἔγνω·
κοινωνεῖς γὰρ ἅπασι κεκραμένη ἡέρι σεμνῶι·
πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μούνη πάντεσσι τ' ἀνάσσεις
ἡερίοις ῥοῖοισι τινασσομένη κατὰ χεῦμα.
25.6-9 πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς ἔχων μεταβάλλεται οὐδὲ τις ἄλλος
ἀθανάτων, οἱ ἔχουσιν ἔδος νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου
καὶ πόντον καὶ γαῖαν ἐνηερίοι τε ποτῶνται·
† πάντα γὰρ † Πρωτῇ πρώτῃ Φύσιν ἐγκατέθηκε
34.11-26 τόνδε σὺ γὰρ λεύσεις τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα πάντα
γαῖαν δ' ὀλβιόμοιρον ὑπερθέ τε καὶ δι' ἀμολγοῦ,
νυκτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίαισιν ὑπ' ἀστεροόμματος ὄρφνην
ρίζας νέρθε δέδορκας, ἔχεις δὲ τε πείρατα κόσμου
παντός· σοὶ δ' ἀρχὴ τε τελευτὴ τ' ἐστὶ μέλουσα,
παντοθαλῆς, σὺ δὲ πάντα πόλον κιθάρῃ πολυκρέκται
ἀρμόζεις, ὅτε μὲν νεάτης ἐπὶ τέρματα βαίνων,
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖθ' ὑπάτης, ποτὲ Δώριον εἰς διάκοσμον
πάντα πόλον κιρνὰς κρίνεις βιοθρέμμονα φύλα,
ἀρμονίῃ κεράσας παγκόσμιον ἀνδράσι μοῖραν,
μίξας χειμῶνος θέρεός τ' ἴσον ἀμφοτέροισιν,
ταῖς ὑπάταις χειμῶνα, θέρος νεάταις διακρίνας,

Δώριον εἰς ἕαρος πολυηράτου ὦριον ἄνθος.
 ἔνθεν ἐπωνυμίην σε βροτοὶ κληΐζουσιν ἄνακτα,
 Πᾶνα, θεὸν δικέρωτ', ἀνέμων συρίγμαθ' ἰέντα·
 οὐνεκα παντὸς ἔχεις κόσμου σφραγίδα τυπῶτιν.
 55.4-7 πάντα γὰρ ἐκ σέθεν ἐστίν, ὑπεξεύξω δέ τε κόσμον
 καὶ κρατέεις τρισσῶν μοιρῶν, γενναῖς δὲ τὰ πάντα,
 ὅσσα τ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστί καὶ ἐν γαίῃ πολυκάρπῳ
 ἐν πόντου τε βυθῷ, σεμνὴ Βάκχοιο πάρεδρε,
 58.5-8 αἰθέρος οὐρανοῦ, πόντου, χθονός, ἥδ' ὅσα θνητοῖς
 πνεύματα παντογένεθλα θεὰ βόσκει χλοόκαρπος,
 ἥδ' ὅσα Τάρταρος εὐρύς ἔχει πόντος θ' ἀλίδουπος·
 μῶνος γὰρ τούτων πάντων οἴηκα κρατύνεις
 61.5-9 ἦν πάντες δεδίασι βροτοὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες·
 σοὶ γὰρ αἰὶ γνώμη πάντων μέλει, οὐδέ σε λήθει
 ψυχὴ ὑπερφρονέουσα λόγων ἀδιακρίτῳ ὁρμῇ.
 πάντ' ἐσοραῖς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, πάντα βραβεύεις·
 ἐν σοὶ δ' εἰσὶ δίκαι θνητῶν, πανυπέρτατε δαίμων.
 63.4-7 ἦ καθαραῖς γνώμαις αἰεὶ τὰ δέοντα βραβεύεις,
 ἄθραυστος τὸ συνειδὸς αἰεὶ· θραύεις γὰρ ἅπαντας,
 ὅσοι μὴ τὸ σὸν ἤλθον ὑπὸ ζυγόν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
 πλάστιγγι βριαραῖσι παρεγκλίναντες ἀπλήστως·
 64.8-11 αὐτὸς γὰρ μῶνος ζώων οἶακα κρατύνει
 γνώμαις ὀρθοτάταισι συνῶν, ἀδιάστροφος αἰεὶ,
 ὠγύγιος, πολύπειρος, ἀβλάπτως πᾶσι συνοικῶν
 τοῖς νομίμοις, ἀνόμοις δὲ φέρων κακότητα βαρεῖαν
 66.6-9 αἰθήρ, ἥλιος, ἄστρο, σελήνη, φῶς ἀμίαντον·
 ταῦτα γὰρ Ἑφαίστοιο μέλη θνητοῖσι προφαίνει.
 πάντα δὲ οἶκον ἔχεις, πᾶσαν πόλιν, ἔθνεα πάντα,
 σώματά τε θνητῶν οἰκεῖς, πολύολβε, κραταιέ.
 68.3-6 ἐκ σέο γὰρ νοῦσοι μὲν ἀποφθινύθουσι βροτοῖσι,
 πᾶς δὲ δόμος θάλλει πολυγηθῆς εἵνεκα σείο,
 καὶ τέχναι βρίθουσι· ποθεῖ δέ σε κόσμος, ἄνασσα,
 μῶνος δὲ στυγέει σ' Ἀΐδης ψυχοφθόρος αἰεὶ,
 68.8-11 σοῦ γὰρ ἄτερ πάντ' ἐστὶν ἀνωφελῆ ἀνθρώποισιν·
 οὔτε γὰρ ὀλβόδοτῆς πλοῦτος γλυκερὸς θαλίησιν,
 οὔτε γέρων πολύμοχθος ἄτερ σέο γίγνεται ἀνὴρ·
 πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάσσεις
 69.10-13 οὔτε γὰρ ἡελίου ταχιναὶ φλόγες οὔτε σελήνης
 καὶ σοφίης ἀρετὴ τε καὶ ἐργασίμου θρασύτητος
 † εὐχαρι οὔτε βίου λιπαρᾶς περικαλλέος ἡβῆς
 ὑμῶν χωρὶς ἐγείρει εὐφροσύνας βιότιο·
 72.6-8 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ βίος θνητῶν παμποικιλὸς ἐστίν·
 οἷς μὲν γὰρ τεύχεις κτεάνων πλῆθος πολύολβον,
 οἷς δὲ κακὴν πενήν θυμῷ χόλον ὀρμαίνουσα.
 74.5-7 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ νηῶν πελαγοδρόμος ἄστατος ὁρμῇ,
 μούνη δὲ θνητῶν οἰκτρὸν μόρον εἶν' ἀλλὶ λύεις,

οἷς ἂν ἐφορμαίνουσα φίλῃ σωτήριος ἔλθοις.
 75.6-8 ποντοπλάνοις γὰρ αἰὶ ναυσὶν χειμῶνος ἐναργῆς
 φαινομένου σωτὴρ μῶνος θνητοῖς ἀναφαίνει,
 ῥυόμενος μῆνιν χαλεπὴν κατὰ πόντιον οἶδμα.
 78.7-12 ἦι χαίρει θνητῶν μερόπων γένος· οὐδέ τίς ἐστιν,
 ὃς φεύγει τὴν σὴν ὄψιν καθυπέρτερον οὔσαν,
 ἥνικα τὸν γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀποσείσης,
 πᾶς δὲ βροτὸς γήθει, πᾶν ἐρπετὸν ἄλλα τε φύλα
 τετραπόδων πτηνῶν τε καὶ εἰναλίων πολυεθνῶν·
 πάντα γὰρ ἐργάσιμον βίοτον θνητοῖσι πορίζεις.
 79.3-5 ἦ πρώτη κατέδειξε βροτοῖς μαντήιον ἀγνὸν
 Δελφικῶι ἐν κευθμῶνι θεμιστεύουσα θεοῖσι
 Πυθίῳ ἐν δαπέδῳ, ὅθι Πύθων ἐμβασίλευεν·
 79.8-10 πρώτη γὰρ τελετὰς ἀγίας θνητοῖς ἀνέφηνας,
 βακχιακὰς ἀνὰ νύκτας ἐπευάζουσα ἄνακτα·
 ἐκ σέο γὰρ τιμαὶ μακάρων μυστηρία θ' ἀγνά.
 86.3-15 ἡσυχίαι γὰρ ὕπνου γλυκεροῦ σιγηλὸς ἐπελθὼν,
 προσφωνῶν ψυχαῖς θνητῶν νόον αὐτὸς ἐγείρεις,
 καὶ γνώμας μακάρων αὐτὸς καθ' ὕπνου ὑποπέμπεις,
 σιγῶν σιγῶσαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντα προφωνῶν,
 οἷσιν ἐπ' εὐσεβίησιν θεῶν νόος ἐσθλὸς ὁδεύει,
 ὡς ἂν αἰὶ τὸ καλὸν μέλλον, γνώμησι προληφθέν,
 τερπῶλαις ὑπάγῃ βίον ἀνθρώπων προχαρέντων,
 τῶν δὲ κακῶν ἀνάπαυλαν, ὅπως θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐνίσπηι
 εὐχῶλαῖς θυσίαις τε χόλον λύσαντες ἀνάκτων.
 εὐσεβέσιν γὰρ αἰὶ τὸ τέλος γλυκερώτερόν ἐστι,
 τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς οὐδὲν φαίνει μέλλουσαν ἀνάγκην
 ὄψις ὀνειρήσσεια, κακῶν ἐξάγγελος ἔργων,
 ὄφρα μὴ εὖρωνται λύσιν ἄλγεος ἐρχομένοιο.
 87.3-5 σὸς γὰρ ὕπνος ψυχὴν θραύει καὶ σώματος ὀλκὴν,
 ἥνικ' ἂν ἐκλύης φύσεως κεκρατημένα δεσμὰ
 τὸν μακρὸν ζώοισι φέρων αἰώνιον ὕπνον,
 Total 7.1: 109 verses (1: 19, 2: 24, 3: 66)

7.2 Ecphrasis

18.8-10 ὃς θρόνον ἐστήριξας ὑπὸ ζοφοειδέα χώρον
 τηλέπορον, ἀκάμαντα, λιπόπνοον, ἄκριτον Ἄϊδην
 κυάνεόν τ' Ἀχέρονθ', ὃς ἔχει ριζώματα γαίης
 19.15-17 μαρμαίρει δὲ πρόσωπ' αὐγαῖς, σμαραγεὶ δὲ κεραυνὸς
 αἰθέρος ἐν γυάλισι· διερρήξας δὲ χιτῶνα
 οὐράνιον προκάλυμμα βαλὼν ἀργῆτα κεραυνόν.
 19.5-7 βάλλων † ἐς ῥοθίους φλογερούς, βελέεσσι καλύπτων
 λαίλαπας, ὄμβρους, πρηστήρας κρατερούς τε
 [κεραυνούς,
 παμφλέκτους, κρατερούς, φρικώδεις, ὄμβριμοθύμους
 24.3-6 πεντήκοντα κόραι περὶ κύμασι βακχεύουσαι,

Τριτώνων ἔποχοι συναγαλλόμεναι περὶ νῶτα
 θηροτύποις μορφαῖς, ὧν βόσκει σώματα πόντος,
 ἄλλοις δ' οἱ ναίουσιν βυθόν, Τριτώνιον οἶδμα,
 38.8-13 νωμᾶτ' Ὠκεανόν, νωμᾶθ' ἄλλα δένδρεά θ' αὐτῶς·
 ἐρχόμενοι γαῖαν κοναβίζετε ποσσὶν ἐλαφροῖς,
 μαρμαίροντες ὅπλοις· πτήσσοι δὲ θήρες ἅπαντες
 ὀρμώντων, θόρυβος δὲ βοή τ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκει
 εἰλιγμοῖς τε ποδῶν κονίη νεφέλας ἀφικάνει
 ἐρχομένων· τότε δὴ ῥα καὶ ἄνθεα πάντα τέθηλε.
 38.15-19 ἥνικ' ἂν ὀρμαίνητε χολούμενοι ἀνθρώποισιν
 ὀλλύντες βίοτον καὶ κτήματα ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦς
 πιμπράντες, στοναχεῖ δὲ μέγας πόντος βαθυδίνης,
 δένδρη δ' ὑψικάρην' ἐκ ῥιζῶν ἐς χθόνα πίπτει,
 ἡχῶ δ' οὐρανία κελαδεῖ ῥοιζήμασι φύλλων
 43.7-9 Περσεφόνης συμπαῖκτορες, ἥνικα Μοῖραι ταύτην
 καὶ Χάριτες κυκλίοισι χοροῖς πρὸς φῶς ἀνάγωσι
 Ζηνὶ χαριζόμεναι καὶ μητέρι καρποδοτεῖρη
 53.3-7 ὃς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἱεροῖσι δόμοισιν ἱαύων
 κοιμίζει τριετῆρα χρόνον, Βακχίον ἀγνόν.
 αὐτὸς δ' ἥνικα τὸν τριετῆ πάλι κῶμον ἐγείρηι,
 εἰς ὕμνον τρέπεται σὺν ἐυζώνοισι τιθήναις
 εὐνάζων κινῶν τε χρόνους ἐνὶ κυκλάσιν ὥραις.
 57.5-11 ὃς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφιπολεύεις,
 αἰνομόροις ψυχαῖς πομπὸς κατὰ γαῖαν ὑπάρχων,
 ἅς κατάγεις, ὅπταν μοίρης χρόνος εἰσαφίκεται
 εὐτέρω ῥάβδωι θέλγων ὑπνοδῶτερ ἅπαντας
 καὶ πάλιν ὑπνώνοντας ἐγείρεις· σοὶ γὰρ ἔδωκε
 τιμὴν Φερσεφόνεια θεὰ κατὰ Τάρταρον εὐρὺν
 ψυχαῖς ἀεναίοις θνητῶν ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν.
 59.2-14 κλυτὲ μου εὐχομένου, πολώννυμοι, αἵτ' ἐπὶ λίμνης
 οὐρανίας, ἵνα λευκὸν ὕδωρ νυχίας ὑπὸ θερμῆς
 ῥήγνυνται ἐν σκιερῷ λιπαρῷ μυχῶι ἐυλίθου ἄντρου,
 ναίουσai πεπότησθε βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν·
 ἔνθεν ἐπὶ βρότεον δόκιμον γένος ἐλπίδι κοῦφον
 στείχετε πορφυρέησι καλυψάμεναι ὀθόνησι
 μορσίμωι ἐν πεδίωι, ὅθι πάγγεον ἄρμα διώκει
 δόξα δίκης παρὰ τέρμα καὶ ἐλπίδος ἡδὲ μεριμνῶν
 καὶ νόμου ὠγγίου καὶ ἀπείρονος εὐνόμου ἀρχῆς·
 Μοῖρα γὰρ ἐν βιότῳ καθορᾷ μόνη, οὐδέ τις ἄλλος
 ἀθανάτων, οἱ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόντος Ὀλύμπου,
 καὶ Διὸς ὄμμα τέλειον· ἐπεὶ γ' ὅσα γίγνεται ἡμῖν,
 Μοῖρά τε καὶ Διὸς οἶδε νόος διὰ παντὸς ἅπαντα.
 64.2-6 οὐράνιον Νόμον, ἀστροθέτην, σφραγίδα δικαίαν
 πόντου τ' εἰναλίου καὶ γῆς, φύσεως τὸ βέβαιον
 ἀκλινῇ ἀστασίαστον αἰεὶ τηροῦντα νόμοισιν,

οἷσιν ἄνωθε φέρων μέγαν οὐρανὸν αὐτὸς ὁδεύει,
 καὶ φθόνον οὐ δίκαιον ῥοίζου τρόπον ἐκτὸς ἐλαύνει·
 71.6-9 ἡ θνητοὺς μαίνει φαντάσμασιν ἡερίοισιν,
 ἄλλοκότοις ἰδέαις μορφῆς τύπον ἐκφαίνουσα,
 ἄλλοτε μὲν προφανῆς, ποτὲ δὲ σκοτόεσσα, νυχταυγῆς,
 ἀνταίαις ἐφόδοισι κατὰ ζοφοειδέα νύκτα.
 73.4-6 πλουτοδότην, ὅπταν γε βρυάζων οἶκον ἐσέλθῃ,
 ἔμπαλι δὲ ψύχοντα βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων·
 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ λύπης τε χαρᾶς † κληῖδες ὀχοῦνται.
 76.3-6 θνητοῖς, οἷς κε παρήτε, ποθεινότεταται, πολύμορφοι,
 πάσης παιδείης ἀρετὴν γεννώσαι ἄμειπτον,
 θρέπτειραι ψυχῆς, διανοίας ὀρθοδότειραι,
 καὶ νόου εὐδυνάτοιο καθηγήτειραι ἀνασσαι,
 76.7-10 αἱ τελετὰς θνητοῖς ἀνεδείξατε μυστιπολεύτους,
 Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλεια τε Μελπομένη τε
 Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἑρατώ τε Πολύμνια τ' Οὐρανίη τε
 Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρὶ καὶ εὐδυνάτῃ θεᾷ ἀγνήι.
 Total 7.2: 72 verses (1: 13, 2: 26, 3: 33)

7.3 Myth

6.6-9 ὄσσαν ὃς σκοτόεσσαν ἀπημαύρωσας ὀμίχλην
 πάντῃ δινηθεῖς πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς κατὰ κόσμον
 λαμπρὸν ἄγων φάος ἀγνόν, ἀφ' οὗ σε Φάνητα
 [κυκλήσκει
 ἡδὲ Πρίηπον ἀνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἐλίκωπον.
 18.12-15 Εὐβουλ', ἀγνοπόλου Δημήτερος ὃς ποτε παῖδα
 νυμφεύσας λειμώνος ἀποσπάδα καὶ διὰ πόντου
 τετράρωις ἵπποισιν ὑπ' Ἀτθίδος ἡγαγες ἄντρον
 δήμου Ἑλευσίνος, τόθι περ πύλαι εἰς Ἀἶδαο.
 41.3-8 ἡ ποτε μαστεύουσα πολυπλάγκται ἐν ἀνίῃ
 νηστεῖαν κατέπαυσας Ἑλευσίνος γυάλοισιν
 ἡλθές τ' εἰς Αἶδην πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν
 ἀγνόν παῖδα Δυσσάλου ὁδηγητῆρα λαβοῦσα,
 μηνυτῆρ' ἀγίων λέκτρων χθονίου Διὸς ἀγνοῦ,
 Ευβούλου, τεύξασα θεὸν θνητῆς ἀπ' ἀνάγκης.
 44.4-9 ἡ μεγάλας ὠδῖνας ἐλάσσατο πυρφόρῳ αὐγῇ
 ἀθανάτῃ φλεχθεῖσα Διὸς βουλαῖς Κρονίοιο
 τιμὰς τευξαμένη παρ' ἀγαυῆς Περσεφονείης
 ἐν θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἀνὰ τριετηρίδας ὥρας,
 ἥνικα σοῦ Βάκχου γονίμην ὠδῖνα τελῶσιν
 εὐιέρων τε τράπεζαν ἰδὲ μυστηρία θ' ἀγνά.
 46.4-7 ὃς ποτ' ἀνὰ δρυμοὺς κεχορευμένα βήματα πάλλεις
 σὺν Νύμφαις † χαρίεσσιν ἐλαυνόμενος μανίῃσι,
 καὶ βουλαῖσι Διὸς πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Φερσεφόνειαν
 ἀχθεῖς ἐξετράφης φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.
 47.2-5 Καδμείοισι δόμοις ὃς ἐλισσόμενος πέρι πάντῃ

ἔστησε κρατερῶς βρασμὸς γαίης ἀποπέμψας,
 ἡνίκα πυρφόρος αὐγὴ ἐκίνησε χθόνα πάσαν
 πρηστῆρος ροίζοις· ὃ δ' ἀνέδραμε δεσμὸς ἀπάντων.
 48.2-4 ὃς Βάκχον Διόνυσον, ἐρίβρομον, Εἰραφιώτην,
 μηρῶι ἐγκατέραψας, ὅπως τετελεσμένος ἔλθῃ
 Τμῶλον ἐς ἡγάθεον παρὰ Ἴπταν καλλιπάρηιον.
 Total 7.3: 31 verses (1: 8, 2: 23, 3: 0)

7.4 *Topoi*

42.5-10 εἴτ' ἐν Ἐλευσῖνος τέρπηι νηῶι θυόεντι,
 εἴτε καὶ ἐν Φρυγίῃ σὺν Μητέρι μυστιπολεύεις,
 ἢ Κύπρῳ τέρπηι σὺν ἑυστεφάνῳ Κυθερείῃ,
 ἢ καὶ πυροφόροις πεδίοις ἐπαγάλλεαι ἀγνοῖς
 σὺν σῇ μητρὶ θεᾷ μελανηφόρῳ Ἴσιδι σεμνῇ,
 Αἰγύπτου παρὰ χεῦμα σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι τιθήναις.
 55.15-26 ἔρχεο, Κυπρὸς γενὲς θεῖον γένος, εἴτ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ
 ἐσσί, θεὰ βασιλεια, καλῶι γήγουσα προσώπῳ,
 εἴτε καὶ εὐλιβάνου Συρίης ἔδος ἀμφιπολεύεις,
 εἴτε σύ γ' ἐν πεδίοισι σὺν ἄρμασι χρυσεοτεύκτοις
 Αἰγύπτου κατέχεις ἱερῆς γονιμῶδεα λουτρά,
 ἢ καὶ κυκνέοισιν ὄχοις ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα
 ἐρχομένη χαίρεις κητῶν κυκλίαςι χορείαις,
 ἢ Νύμφαις τέρπηι κυανώπισιν ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ,
 † θῖνας ἐπ' αἰγιαλοῖς ψαμμώδεσιν ἄλματι κούφῳ·
 εἴτ' ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἄνασσα, τροφῶι σέο, ἔνθα καλαί τε
 παρθένοι ἄδμῃται νύμφαι τ' ἀνὰ πάντ' ἐνιαυτὸν
 ὕμνοῦσιν, σέ, μάκαιρα, καὶ ἄμβροτον ἄγνὸν Ἄδωνιν
 Total 7.4: 18 verses (1: 0, 2: 18, 3: 0)

Total longer passages: 230 verses (1: 40, 2: 91, 3: 99)

Totals:

Type	OH 1-29	OH 30-58	OH 59-87	Total verses
1. Pentacolos	4	7	0	11
2. Tetracolos	51	45	18	114
2.1	25	24	11	60
2.2	23	14	6	43
2.3	3	7	1	11
3. Tricolos	65	57	36	158
3.1	11	9	5	25
3.2	27	28	20	75
3.3	27	20	11	58
4. Dicolos	55	34	20	110
4.1	23	16	15	54
4.2	23	9	6	38
4.3	9	9	0	18
[types 1-4	175	143	75	393]
5. Monocolos	61	31	30	122
5.1 participial	30	16	11	57
5.2 relative	12	6	7	25
5.3 nominal	15	5	9	29
5.4 finite	4	4	3	11
6. Couplets	42	38	42	122
6.1 run-on	4	8	6	18
6.2 full couplet	38	30	36	104
7. Extended	40	91	99	230
7.1 epexegetic	19	24	66	109
7.2 ecphrasis	13	26	33	72
7.3 myth	8	23	0	31
7.4 <i>topoi</i>	0	18	0	18

Total number of verses:

Predications (including				
invocations)	318	303	246	867
Prayers	69	52	77	198
Total verses	387	355	323	1065 ⁵

⁵ The total number of verses is in fact 1064 (1108 including the proem): OH 19.7 has been counted twice, as a tetracolos and as part of an ecphrasis.

Appendix 3.1. Phonic repetition

3.1.1. Repetition of sounds and letters

A. Repetition of sounds (parechesis)

- 1.3,7 | τυμβιδίαν, | ταυροπόλον
1.4-6 | ἀγαλλομένην, | ἄμαιμάκετον, | ἀπρόσμαχον
2.9 Εἰλείθυια, λύουσα πόνους δειναῖς ἐν ἀνάγκαις
3.12 νῦν δὲ μάκαιρ', ὦ Νύξ, πολυόλβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινὴ
4.5 οὐράνιος χθονίος τε φύλαξ πάντων περιβληθεὶς
5.3 πανδαμάτωρ, πυρίπνου, πᾶσι ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα
6.6 ὄσων δὲ σκοτέεσσιν ἀπημαύρωσας ὁμίχλην
8.16 δεῖκτα δικαιοσύνης, φιλονάματε, δέσποτα κόσμου
8.17 πιστοφύλαξ, αἰεὶ παννύεργατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ
10.3 πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε, κυβερνήτειρα, παναυγής
10.16 πᾶνσοφε, πανδώτειρα, κομίστρια, παμβασιλεια
10.17 αὐξίτροφος, πείρα πεπαινομένων τε λύτεια.
10.19 ὠκυλόχεια, μάκαιρα, πολύσπορος, ὠριάς ὁρμή
10.20 παντοτεχνές, πλάστειρα, πολύκτιτε, ποντία δαίμων
10.21 αἰδία, κινήσιφόρε, πολύπειρε, περίφρων
11.6 ἁρμονίαν κόσμοιο κρέων φιλοπαίγμονι μολπήι
11.7 φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ, φόβων ἔκπαγλε βροτείων
11.11-12 κροσκοράτωρ, αὐξητά, φαεσφόρε, κάρπιμε Παιάν
12 ἀντροχαρές, βαρύμηγος, ἀληθὴς Ζεὺς δὲ κεράστης
11.19 ἀλλᾶσσει δὲ φύσει πάντων ταῖς σαῖσι προνοίαις
11.23 πανικὸν ἐκπέμπων οἶστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης
12.4 ἄρρητ', ἀγρίοθυμε, πολύλιτε, παντοδυνάστα
12.9 αὐτοφύης, ἀκάμας, γαίης βλάστημα φέριστον
12.13 ἀθάνατος, πολύπειρος, ἀπειρίτος, ἄστυφέλικτος
13.4 δεσμοὺς ἀρρήκτους δὲ ἔχεις κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον
13.5 αἰώνος Κρόνε παγγενέτωρ, Κρόνε ποικιλόμυθε
14.1 Πότνα Ῥέα, θύγατερ πολυμόρφου Πρωτογόνοιο
14.3 τυμπανόδουπε, φιλοιστρομανές, χαλκόκροτε κούρη
16.1 Κυανέοις κόλποισιν ἐνημένη, ἀερόμορφε,
17.2 ἵππιε, χαλκοτόρευτον ἔχων χεῖρεςσι τρίαῖναν
17.4 ποντομέδων, ἀλίδουπε, βαρύκτυπε, ἐννοσίγαιε
22.2 κυανόπεπλον ἄνασσαν, ἐύτροχα κυμαίνουσαν
23.4 πυθμὴν μὲν πόντου, γαίης πέρας, ἀρχὴ ἀπάντων
24.12 Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἄνακτι.
25.8 καὶ πόντον καὶ γαίαν ἐνηέριοί τε ποτῶνται.
25.10 ἀλλὰ, πάτερ, μόλε μυστιπόλοις ὅσαισι προνοίαις
25.11 πέμπων εὐόλβου βίτου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις
26.2 παντρώφε, πανδώτειρα, τελεσφόρε, παντολέτειρα
27.1 Ἀθανάτων θεότιμε θεῶν μήτερ, τροφὴ πάντων
27.4 σκηπτοῦχε κλεινοῖο πόλου, πολυώνυμε, σεμνή,
28.12 λόγου χάρισιν καὶ μνημοσύνησιν
29.3 Πλούτωνος πολῦτιμε δάμαρ, κεδνή, βιοδῶτι
32.1 Παλλὰς μουνγενής, μεγάλου Διὸς ἔκγονε σεμνή,
32.9 ὁρμάστειρα, φιλοστρε κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ φρόνησις
34.16 παντοθαλής, σὺ δὲ πάντα πόλον κιθάρη πολυκρέκτωι
34.19 πάντα πόλον κερνάς κρίνεις βιοθρέμμονα φύλα
36.14 εὐάντητος, ἄγουσα καλοὺς καρποὺς ἀπὸ γαίης
38.20 Κουρήτες Κορύβαντες, ἀνάκτορες εὐδύνατοί τε
40.5 σπερμεία, σωρίτι, ἄλωαία, γλοόκαρπε
40.7 ἱμερόεσσ', ἐρατή, θνητῶν θρέπτειρα προπάντων
40.9 καὶ βίον ἱμερόεντα βροτοῖς πολυόλβον ἀνείσα
40.12 σὺ χθονία, σὺ δὲ φαινομένη, σὺ δε πᾶσι προσηγής
40.16 μουνγενής, πολῦτεκνε θεά, πολυπότνια θνητοῖς
40.19 Εἰρήνην κατάγουσα καὶ Εὐνομήν ἐρατεινήν
41.10 ἐλθεῖν εὐάντητον ἐπ' εὐιέρωι σέο μύστηι
42.3 ἀγνήν εὐερόν τε Μίσσην ἄρρητον ἄνασσαν
42.6 εἶτε καὶ ἐν Φρυγίῃ σὺν Μητέρει μυστιπολεύεις
43.4 παντόχροοι, πολυόδομοι ἐν ἀνθεμοειδέσι πνοιαῖς
44.1 Κικλήσκω κούρην Κραμνίδα παμβασιλεια
44.6 τιμὰς τευξαμένη παρ' ἀγαυῆς Περσεφονείης
45.2 Βάσσαρε καὶ Βακχεῦ, πολυώνυμε, παντοδυνάστα
48.2 δὲ Βάκχον Διόνυσον, ἐρίβρομον, Εἰραφιώτην
48.6 εὐμενέων ἐπαρωγὸς ἐπέλθοις μυστιπόλοισιν
51.6 ἀντροχαρεῖς, σπήλυγγι κεχαρμέναι, ἡερόφοιτοι
51.7 πηγαῖαι, ὁρομάδες, ὁροσοείμονες, ἔχρεσι κούφαι
51.10 ἀγρότεραι κούραι, κρουνίτιδες ὕλονόμοι τε
51.11 παρθένοι εὐώδεις, λευχεῖμονες, εὐπνοοὶ αὔραις
53.8 ἀλλὰ, μάκαρ, γλοόκαρπε, κερασφόρε, κάρπιμε Βάκχε
55.2 ποντογενής, γενέτειρα θεά, φιλοπάννυχε, σεμνή
55.3 νυκτερία ζεύκτειρα, δολοπλόκε, μήτερ Ἀνάγκης
55.21 ἐρχομένη χαίρεις κητῶν κυκλίσαισι χορείαις
56.5 σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις
56.8 ἱμερόνους, Κύπριδος γλυκερόν θάλας, ἔρνος Ἑρωτος
56.9 Φερσεφόνης ἐρασιπλοκάμου λέκτροισι λοχευθεῖς
59.14 Μοῖρα τε καὶ Διὸς οἶδε νόος διὰ πάντος ἅπαντα
59.17 ἄεριοι, ἀφανεῖς, ἀμετάτροποι, αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς
60.5 αἰολόμορφοι, ἀειθαλές, θνητοῖσι ποθειναί
60.6 εὐκταῖαι, κυκλάδες, καλυκῶνιδες, ἱμερόεσσαι
61.4 ἀλλᾶσσοῦσα λόγον πολυποίκιλον, ἄστατον αἰεὶ
63.1 Ὡ θνητοῖσι δικαιοτάτη, πολυόλβιε, ποθεινὴ
63.9 εἰρήνην χαίρουσα, βίον ζηλοῦσα βέβαιοι
63.12 κλυθί, θεά, κακίην θνητῶν θραύουσα δικαίως
64.1 Ἀθανάτων καλέω καὶ θνητῶν ἄγνρον ἄνακτα
64.3 ἀκλινὴ ἄστασίαστον αἰετὶ τηροῦντα νόμοισιν
64.12 ἀλλὰ, μάκαρ, πάντιμε, φερόλβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινέ
67.2 θέλων ἀνθρώπων πολυαλγέα πῆματα νούσων
69.5 οὐχ ὅσαις βουλαῖσι βροτῶν κεκορημέναι αἰεὶ
70.6 κυανόχρωτοι ἄνασσαι, ἀπαστράπτουσαι ἀπ' ὄσων
72.5 τυμβιδίαν, πολὺπλαγκτον, αἰοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν
72.7 οἷς μὲν γὰρ τεύχεις κτεάνων πλῆθος πολυόλβον
76.3-4 θνητοῖς, οἷς κε παρήτε, ποθεινόταται, πολυμορφοὶ
πᾶσης παιδείης ἀρετὴν γεννώσαι ἀμειπτον
77.9 ἀλλὰ, μάκαιρα θεά, μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε
79.2 Γαίης τὸ βλάστημα, νέην καλυκῶπιδα κούρην
79.4 Δελφικῶι ἐν κευθμῶνι θεμιστεύουσα θεοῖσι
79.10 ἐκ σέο γὰρ τιμαὶ μακάρων μυστήριά θ' ἀγνά
82.3 ἔλθοις σὺν νεφέλαις γοτῖαις, δμβροιο γενάρχα
83.4 ἐξ οὐπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα
86.5 καὶ γνώμας μακάρων αὐτὸς καθ' ὑπνους ὑποπέμπτεις

- 86.14 ἔψις ἀνειρήσσσα, κακῶν ἐξαγγελος ἔργων
87.10 ἀλλά, μάκαρ, μακροῖσι χρόνους ζωῆς σε πελάζειν

B. Parenchysis in formulae

- αἰὲν ἀτειρές 4.1, 5.1, 7.9, 59.17, ἀμειπτον 13.10
πᾶσι προσήνης 2.5, 40.12, ποθεινή 3.12, 64.12
ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις 25.11, 57.12
τέλος ἐσθλὸν 25.11, 28.11, 57.12, 63.11, 64.7, 67.8, 73.9

3.1.2. Repetition of words, stems and prefixes

A. Prefix repetition

- παν-**
4.5 οὐράνιος χθονίος τε φύλαξ πάντων περιβληθείς
5.3 πανδαμάτωρ, πυρίπνου, πᾶσι ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα
8.17 πιστοφύλαξ, αἰεὶ πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἀρωγέ
10.3-4 πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε, κυβερνήτειρα, παναυγής,
παντοκράτειρα, τετιμέν' αἰεὶ, πανυπέρτατε πᾶσιν
10.16 πάνσοφε, πανδῶτειρα, κομίστρια, παμβασίλεια,
11.10 παντοφύης, γενέτωρ πάντων, πολυώνυμε δαῖμον
12.6 παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἀρωγέ
26.2 παντρόφε, πανδῶτειρα, τελεσφόρε, παντολέτειρα
34.16 παντοθαλής, σὺ δὲ πάντα πόλον χιθάρηι πολυκρέκτωι
59.14 Μοῖρά τε καὶ Διὸς οἶδε νόος διὰ παντὸς ἅπαντα
64.12 ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πάντιμε, φερόλβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινέ
66.5 παμφάγε, πανδαμάτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, παντοδίατε
83.4 ἐξ οὐπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα

πολυ-, ἀ-, εὐ-

- 1.5-6 | ἄμαιμάκετον, | ἀπρόσμαχον
2.1 Κλυθί μοι, ὦ πολύσμενε θεά, πολύνυμε δαῖμον
6.4 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολύόργιον, Ἡρικεπαῖον
6.10 ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πολύμητι, πολύσπορε, βαῖνε γεγηθ
12.13 ἄθάνατος, πολύπειρος, ἀπείριτος, ἄστυφέλικτος
40.16-17 μουνγενής, πολύτεκεν θεά, πολυπότνια θνητοῖς
17 ἦς πολλὰ μορφαὶ πολυάνθημοι, ἱεροθαλεῖς
41.10 ἐλθεῖν ἐνάντητον ἐπ' ἐνιέρωι σέο μύστηι
42.2 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολύνυμον Εὐβουλῆα
48.6 εὐμενέων ἐπαρωγὸς ἐπέλθοις μυστιπόλοισιν
50.4 εὐτραφές, εὐκαρπε, πολυγηθέα καρπὸν ἀέξων
51.11 παρθένοι εὐδεις, λευχείμονες, εὐπνοοὶ αὔραις
52.2 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολύνυμε, Λύσιε δαῖμον
59.17 ἄεριοι, ἀφανεῖς, ἀμετάτροποι, αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς
64.3 ἀκλινῇ ἄστασίαστον αἰεὶ τηροῦντα νόμοισιν
71.12 εὐμενές εὐίερων μύσταις φαίνουσα πρόσωπον

Stem repetition, paronomasia

- 4.7 κυανόχρως, ἀδάμαστε, παναἰόλε, αἰολόμορφε
7.4 ἐγκυκλίοις δίναισι † περιθρόνια κυκλέοντες
8.16 δεῖκτα δικαιοσύνης, φιλονάματε, δέσποτα κόσμου

- 10.3 πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε, κυβερνήτειρα, παναυγής,
11 1 Πᾶνα, σύμπαν, 2 Πανός, 10 παντοφύης, πάντων,
(11 Παιάν), 19 πάντων, 23 Πανικόν
11 1 κόσμιοι, 6 κόσμοιοι, 11 κοσμοκράτωρ, 20 κόσμον
25 1 Πρωτέα, 2 πρωτογενή, 9 Πρωτεῖ πρώτη
30.6 Εὐβουλεῦ, πολὺβουλε
35.7 τελετήν τέλος
38 22 πνοιαί, 24 εὐπνοοὶ
40.13 εὐτεκεν, παιδοφίλη, σεμνή, κουροτρόφε κούρα
51.8 φαινόμεναι, ἀφανεῖς, αὐλωνιάδες, πολυανθεῖς
54 8 χλοκαρπε, κάρπιμε 10 καρποῖσι
62 4 ἀδίκους, δικαία, 7 ἀδίκοισι, 8 δίκην ἀδίκους, 9 ἀδίκων,
δικαίοις, 10 δικαία
63.5 ἄθραυστος τὸ συνειδὸς αἰεὶ θραύεις γὰρ ἅπαντας
63.8 ἀστασίαστε, φίλη πάντων, φιλόκωμ', ἐρατεινή
86.6 σιγῶν σιγῶσαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντα προφωνῶν
87.12 ὥς ἂν ἔοι γέρας ἐσθλὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισι τὸ γῆρας

3.1.3 Repetition of words or names and etymology

A. Anaphora

- P 31 | Δαίμονα, 32 | Δαίμονες
3 1 | Νύκτα, 2 | Νύξ
7 1 | Ἄστρον, 3 | Ἄστερες
12 4 | παντοδυνάστα, 5 | παγκρατὲς
6 παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἀρωγέ
13.5 αἰῶνος Κρόνε παγγενέτωρ, Κρόνε ποικιλόμυθε
15 1 Ζεῦ πολύτιμε, μέγας, Ζεῦ ἀφθιτε, τήνδε τοι ἡμεῖς,
6 Ζεῦ Κρόνιε, 9 Ζεῦ |
18 4 | Πλούτων, 5 | πλουτοδοτῶν
18 4 | δς, 6 | δς, 8 | δς, 10 δς, 11 | δς, 12 δς
25 1 | Πρωτέα, 2 | πρωτογενή
27 7 | ἐκ σέο, 8 | σοί, 9 σέ
29 1 | Φερσεφόνη, 16 | Φερσεφόνη
34 15 | παντός, 16 | παντοθαλής, 19 | πάντα
17 | ἀρμόζεις, 20 | ἀρμονίη
38.8 νωμᾶτ' Ὀκεανόν, νωμᾶθ' ἄλα δένδρεά θ' αὐτως
40.12 σὺ χθονία, σὺ δὲ φαινομένην, σὺ δὲ πᾶσι προσηγής
42 5 | εἴτ', 6 | εἴτε, 7 | ἦ, 8 | ἦ
43 1 | Ὡραι, 5 | Ὡραι
55 15 | εἴτε, 16 | εἴτε, 17 | εἴτε, 20 | ἦ, 22 | ἦ, 25 | εἴτ
59 1 | Μοῖραι, 11 | Μοῖρα, 14 | Μοῖρα, 19 | Μοῖραι
61.8 πάντ' ἐσορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, πάντα βραβεύεις
66.8 πάντα δὲ οἶκον ἔχεις, πᾶσαν πόλιν, ἔθνεα πάντα
68 3 | ἐκ σεο, 5 σε, 6, σ', 8 | σοῦ... ἄτερ, 10 ἄτερ σέο
71 8 | ἀλλοκότοις, 9 | ἄλλοτε, 11 | ἀλλά
72 7 | οἷς μὲν, 8 | οἷς δὲ

B. *Figura etymologica*

- P.11 ἀφρογενής τε θεά, μεγαλάνωμα δῶρα λαχοῦσα
P.37 καὶ βασιλῆα μέγαν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἡπιόδωτην
2.9 Εἰλείθυια, λύουσα πόνους δειναῖς ἐν ἀνάγκαις
4 1 | Οὐρανέ, 5 | οὐράνιος
6.7-9 πάντη δινηθεῖς πτερύγων ῥιπαῖς κατὰ κόσμον
λαμπρὸν ἄγων φάος ἄγνόν, ἄφ' οὐ σε Φάνητα
κικλήσκω
ἡδὲ Πρίηπον ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἐλίκωπον
8.16 δεῖχτα δικαιοσύνης, φιλονάματε, δέσποτα κόσμου
10 2 πολύκιτε δαῖμον |, 11 πολύμικτη δαῖμον |
11.1 Πᾶνα καλῶ κρατερόν, νόμιον, κόσμοιο τὸ σύμπαν
10 | παντοφυής, , γενέτωρ πάντων, 11 Παιάν |,
19 πάντων, 23 | πανικόν
15.3 ὦ βασιλεῦ, διὰ σὴν κεφαλὴν ἐφάνη τάδε θεῖα
16 1 ἑρόμορφε |, 2 | Ἥρα, 8 | ἡερίοις
17 1 Ποσειδάων, 8 πάντι δαῖμον |
18 4 | Πλούτων, 5 | πλουτοδοτῶν
19 tit. Κεραυνὸς Διός, 6 κεραυνούς |, 15 κεραυνός |,
17 κεραυνόν |
20 tit. Διὸς Ἀστραπαίου, 5 | Ἀστραπαῖον Δία,
3 | Ἀστράπτοντα
25 1 | Πρωτέα, 2 | πρωτογενή, 9 Πρωτεῖ πρώτη
28 1 Ἑρμεία, 6 | ἑρμηνεῦ πάντων
29.3 Πλούτωνος πολύτιμε δάμαρ, κεδνή, βιοδῶτι
29.16 Φερσεφόνη· φέρβεις γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ πάντα φονεύεις
30 1 Διόνυσον, 2 διφυή, 3 δικέρωτα, δίμορφον |
30.6 | Εὐβουλεῦ, πολύβουλε
41 1 | Ἀνταία, 11 | ἐλθεῖν εὐάντητον.
48 2 Εἰραφιώτην |, 3 | μηρῶι ἐγκατέραντας
58.1 Κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἄγνόν, ἐράσμιον, ἡδὺν Ἑρωτα
59.14 Μοῖρά τε καὶ Διὸς οἶδε νόος διὰ παντὸς ἅπαντα
16 | Ἀτροπε, 17 ἀμετάτροποι.
60 1 Χάριτες, 4 | χαρμοσύνης γενέτειραι
3 Ἀγλαΐη Θαλίη τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνη, 1 ἀγλαότιμοι |,
5 αἰθαλές, 4 εὐφρονες
62 1 | Ὀμμα Δίκης, 4 ἀδίκους, δικαία, 7 ἀδίκουσι,
8 δίκην ἀδίκους, 9 ἀδίκων, δικαίους, 10 δικαία |
64 2 Νόμον, 4 νόμοισιν |, 11 νομίμοις, ἀνόμοις
65 1 | Ἀρρηκτ', 3 | Ἄρες
67 1 Ἀσκληπιέ, 3 | ἡπιόδωρε
69 tit. Ἑρινύων, 1 ἐρίβρομοι, 7 ἐρισθενέες
70.1 Κλυτέ μου, Εὐμενίδες μεγαλάνυμοι, εὐφροني βουλήι
72 1 Τύχη, 7 τεύχεις
73 1 | Δαίμονα, 2 | μειλίχιον Δία.
76 8 | Κλειώ, 9 Ἑρατώ, Πολύμνιά,
12 εὐχλειαν ζῆλόν τ' ἐρατὸν πολύνυμον ἄγουσαι
77 1 | Μνημοσύνην, 6 ὑπομνήσκουσα, 9 μνήμην
79.4 1 Θέμιν, 4 θεμιστεύουσα θεοῖσι
82.3 tit. Νότου, 3 νεφέλαις γοτίαις

Appendix 3.2. Antithetical predication

3.2.1 Unity and multiplicity

- 10.9 κοινή μὲν πάντεσσιν, ἀκοινώνητε δὲ μῶνῃ
10.28 πάντα σοι εἰσί· τὰ πάντα σὺ γὰρ τάδε μῶνῃ τεύχεις
16.7 πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μῶνῃ πάντεσσιν τ' ἀνάσσεις
68.11 πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μῶνῃ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάσσεις
85.3 πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μῶνός καὶ πᾶσι προσέρχῃ
87.8 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ μῶνῃ πάντων τὸ κριθέν τελοῦται

3.2.2 Beginning and end

- 4.2 πρεσβυγένηθ' ἀρχῇ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτῇ
15.7 παντογένηθ' ἀρχῇ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτῇ
34.15 παντός· σοὶ δ' ἀρχῇ τε τελευτῇ τ' ἐστὶ μέλουσα
83.7 τέρμα φίλον γαίης, ἀρχῇ πόλου, ὑγροκέλευθε

3.2.3 Above and below

- 3.8 ἡμιτελής, χθονία ἢ δ' οὐρανία πάλιν αὐτή
4.5 οὐράνιος χθονίος τε φύλαξ πάντων περιβληθείς
8.4 δεξιῇ μὲν γενέτωρ ἦοῦς, εὐώνυμε νυκτός
17.4 ποντομέδων, ἀλίδουπε, βαρύκτυπε, ἐννοσίγαιε
23.4 πυθμὴν μὲν πόντου, γαίης πέρας, ἀρχὴ ἀπάντων
34.11-14 τόνδε σὺ γὰρ λεύσσεις τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα πάντα
14 γαῖαν δ' ὀλβιόμοιρον ὑπερθε τε καὶ δι' ἀμολγοῦ,
νυκτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίαισιν ὑπ' ἀστεροόμματος ὄρφνην
ρίζας νέρθε δέδορκα

3.2.4 Gender and generation

- 1.8 ἡγεμόνην, νύμφην, κουροτρόφον, οὐρεσιφοῖτιν
9.4 αὐξομένη καὶ λειπομένη, θῆλυσ τε καὶ ἄρσιν
10.10 αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ, ἀρετὴ, πολύγηθε, μεγίστη
10.12 ἡγεμόνη, κράντειρα, φερέσβιε, παντρώφε κούρη
10.17 αὐξίτροφος, πίερα πεπαινομένων τε λύτειρα
10.18 πάντων μὲν σὺ πατὴρ, μήτηρ, τροφὸς ἢ δὲ τιτηνός
29.7-8 ἦν Ζεὺς ἀρρήτοισι γοναῖς τεκνώσατο κούρην,
μήτηρ ἐριβρεμέτου πολυμόρφου Εὐβουλῆος
32.8 Γοργοφόνη, φυγόλεκτρε, τεχνῶν μήτηρ πολυόλβε
32.10 ἄρσιν μὲν καὶ θῆλυσ ἔφυς, πολεματόκε, μήτι
36.4 ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγὴ καὶ ὠδίνων ἀμύητε
40.13 εὐτεκεν, παιδοφιλή, σεμνή, κουροτρόφε κούρα
42.4 ἄρσενα καὶ θῆλυν, διφυῆ, Λύσειον Ἰαχον
52.6 Πρωτόγον', Ἡρικεπαῖε, θεῶν πάτερ ἢ δὲ καὶ νιέ
56.4 κούρη καὶ κόρε, πᾶσι σὺ θάλλων αἰέν, Ἄδωνι

3.2.5 Hidden and manifest

- 2.7 λυσίζων', ἀφανής, ἔργοισι δὲ φαίνῃ ἄπασι
6.5 ἄρρητον, κρύφιον ροϊζήτορα, παμφαές ἔρνος
8.15 σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἀκτίσι φαειναῖς
9.3 ἐννυχία, δαυδοῦχε, κόρη, εὐάστερε Μῆνη
9.4 αὐξομένη καὶ λειπομένη, θῆλυσ τε καὶ ἄρσιν
10.6 ἐννυχία, πολύτερε, σελασφόρε, δεινοκαθέκτε
18.16 μῶνος ἔφυς ἀφανῶν ἔργων φανερῶν τε βραβευτής
32.3 ἄρρητε, ρήτῃ, μεγαλύνυμε, ἀντροδίατε

- 40.12 σὺ χθονία, σὺ δὲ φαινομένη, σὺ δε πᾶσι προσήνης
46.7 ἀχθεῖς ἐξετράφης φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
51.7 φαινόμεναι, ἀφανεῖς, αὐλωνιάδες, πολυανθεῖς
53.7 εὐνάζων κινῶν τε χρόνους ἐνὶ κυκλάσιν ὥραις
55.10 φαινομένη, ἀφανής, ἐρατοπλόκαμ', εὐπατέρεια
56.5 σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις
71.8 ἄλλοτε μὲν προφανής, ποτὲ δὲ σκοτόεσσα, νυχαυγής
86.3-4 ἡσυχίαι γὰρ ὕπνου γλυκεροῦ σιγηλός ἐπελθών,
προσφωνῶν ψυχᾶς θνητῶν νόον αὐτὸς ἐγείρεις
86.6 σιγῶν σιγῶσαις ψυχᾶς μέλλοντα προφωνῶν

3.2.6 Creation and destruction

- 12.6 παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ
13.3 δς δαπανᾶς μὲν ἅπαντα καὶ αὔξει ἔμπαλιν αὐτός
26.2 παντρώφε, πανδώτειρα, τελεσφόρε, παντολέτειρα
29.15-16 ζωὴ καὶ θάνατος μῶνῃ θνητοῖς πολυμόχοις,
Φερσεφόνῃ· φέρβεις γὰρ αἰεὶ καὶ πάντα φονεύεις
38.14 δαίμονες ἀθάνατοι, τροφέας καὶ αὐτ' ὀλετήρες
59.19 παντοδότειραι, ἀφαιρέτιδες, θνητοῖσιν ἀνάγκη
68.6/ μῶνος δὲ στυγέει σ' Ἀΐδης ψυχοφθόρος αἰεὶ...
12 ...ἀλλά, θεά, μόλε μυστιπόλοισι ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεὶ
72.7-8 οἷς μὲν γὰρ τεύχεις κτεάνων πληθεὸς πολυόλβον,
οἷς δὲ κακὴν πενήνην θυμῷ χόλον ὀρμαίνουσα
73.4-5 πλουτοδότην, ὅποταν γε βρυάζων οἶκον ἐσέλθῃ
ἔμπαλι δὲ ψύχοντα βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων

3.2.7 Favour and disfavour

- 2.8 συμπάσχεις ὥδοισι καὶ εὐτοκίησι γέγηθας
8.8 εὐσεβέσιν καθοδηγέ καλῶν, ζαμενῆς ἀσεβοῦσι
10.15 πικρὰ μὲν φαύλοισι, γλυκεῖα δὲ πειθομένοις
32.9 ὀρμάστειρα, φίλοιστρε κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ φρόνησις
50.8-9 Λύσιε, θυρσομανές, Βρόμι', Εὐβιε, πᾶσιν εὐφρων,
οἷς ἐθέλεις θνητῶν ἢ δ' ἀθανάτων ἐπιφάσκειν
62.9 ἐχθρὰ τῶν ἀδίκων, εὐφρων δὲ σύνεσσι δικαίοις
63.10 αἰεὶ γὰρ τὸ πλέον στυγέεις, ισότητι δὲ χαίρεις
64.10-11 ὠγύγιος, πολυπείρος, ἀβλάπτως πᾶσι συνοικῶν
τοῖς νομίοις, ἀνόμοις δὲ φέρων κακότητα βαρεῖαν
67.3-4 ἠπιόδωρε, κραταίε, μόλοις κατάγων Ὑγίειαν
καὶ παύων νόσους, χαλεπὰς Κῆρας θανάτοιο
68.5-6 καὶ τέχνηι βρίθουσι· ποθεὶ δὲ σε κόσμος, ἄνασσα,
μῶνος δὲ στυγέει σ' Ἀΐδης ψυχοφθόρος αἰεὶ
77.9-10 ἀλλά, μάκαιρα θεά, μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε
εὐιέρου τελετῆς, λήθην δ' ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπαιμπε
86.12-13 εὐσεβέσιν γὰρ αἰεὶ τὸ τέλος γλυκερώτερόν ἐστι,
τοῖς δὲ κακοῖς οὐδὲν φαίνει μέλλουσαν ἀνάγκην
87.6 κοινὸς μὲν πάντων, ἀδικος δ' ἐνίοισιν ὑπάρχων

3.2.8 Pure antitheses

- 10.3 πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε, κυβερνήτειρα, παναυγής
10.8 ἀγνή, κοσμήτειρα θεῶν ἀτελής τε τελευτή
10.9 κοινή μὲν πάντεσσιν, ἀκοινώνητε δὲ μῶνῃ (3.2.1)

- 10.10 αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ, ἀρετή, πολύγηθε, μεγίστη (3.2.4)
- 11.7 φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ, φόβων ἐκπαγλε βροτείων
- 12.13 ἀθάνατος, πολύπειρος, ἀπείριτος, ἀστυφέλικτος
- 40.16 μουννογενής, πολύτεκνε θεά, πολυπότνια θνητοῖς
- 55.12 γεννοδότειρα, φίλανδρε, ποθεινοτάτη, βιοδῶτι
- 63.5 ἄθραυστος τὸ συνειδὸς αἰεί· θραύεις γὰρ ἅπαντας
- 67.3 ἠπιόδωρε, κραταίε, μόλοις κατάγων Ὑγίειαν
- 85.4-5 σώματα δεσμεύων ἐν ἀχαλκεύτοισι πέδησι,
λυσιμέριμνε, κόπων ἡδεῖαν ἔχων ἀνάπαυσιν

Appendix 3.3. Formal antithesis and structural symmetry

3.3 Chiastic antithesis

- 2.8 συμπάσχεις ὠδῖσι καὶ εὐτοκίησι γέγηθας
8.8 εὐσεβέσιν καθοδηγῆ καλῶν, ζαμενῆς ἀσεβοῦσι
10.28 πάντα σύ ἐσσι, ἄνασσα· σύ γὰρ μούνη τάδε τεύχεις
15.7 παντογένηθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευταίη
18.7 ἔδρανον ἀθανάτων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταῖον
23.4 πυθμὴν μὲν πόντου, γαίης πέρας, ἀρχὴ ἀπάντων
29.16 Φερσεφόνη· φέρβεις γὰρ αἰὶ καὶ πάντα φονεύεις
32.9 ὀρμάστειρα, φίλοιστρε κακοῖς, ἀγαθοῖς δὲ φρόνησις
40.13 εὐτεκνε, παιδοφίλη, σεμνή, κουροτρόφε κούρα

3.3.1 Full chiasmus

- P.24 Νύκτα τε πρεσβίστην καλέω καὶ φωσφόρον Ἥμαρ
27.7 ἐκ σέο δ' ἀθανάτων τε γένος θνητῶν τ' ἐλοχεύθη
36.15 εἰρήνην τ' ἐρατὴν καλλιπλόκαμόν θ' ὑγίαιαν
38.3 ζωιογόνοι πνοιαί, κόσμου σωτήρες ἀγαυοί
41.2 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
44.9 εὐιέρων τε τράπεζαν ἰδὲ μυστήριά θ' ἀγνά
55.28 ψυχῇ γὰρ σε καλῶ σεμνήν· ἀγίοισι λόγοισιν
66.8 πάντα δὲ οἶκον ἔχεις, πᾶσαν πόλιν, ἔθνεα πάντα
83.2 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων
87.11 αἰτοῦμαι, θυσίσαις <ι> καὶ εὐχολαῖς λιτανεύων

3.3.2 Framing

3.3.2.1 Names

- P.7 Ἄρτεμι' τ' ἰοχέαιρα, κόρη, καὶ ἦι Φοῖβε
P.25 Νύκτα τε πρεσβίστην καλέω καὶ φωσφόρον Ἥμαρ
P.41 Οὐρανίαν τε θεάν, σὺν τ' ἄμβροτον ἀγνὸν Ἀδωνιν
2.4 ὠκυλόχεια, παρούσα νέαις θνητῶν, Προθυραία
11.1 Πᾶνα καλῶ κρατερόν, νόμιον, κόσμιοιο τὸ σύμπαν
12.1 Ἡρακλῆς ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τιτάν
22.1 Ὀκεανοῦ καλέω νύμφην, γλαυκώπιδα Τηθύν
29.18 εἰρήνῃ θάλλουσα καὶ ἡπιοχείρῃ ὑγείᾳ
34.13 νυκτὸς ἐν ἡσυχίᾳσιν ὑπ' ἀστεροόμματον ὄρφην
63.16 γαῖα θεὰ μήτηρ καὶ πόντιος εἰνάλιος Ζεύς
66.1 Ἥφαιστ' ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἀκάματον πῦρ
84.8 ὄλβον ἐπιπνεύουσα καὶ ἡπιοχέρον ὑγείαν

3.3.2.2. Alliteration, assonance and stem repetition

- P.13 Ἥβη τ' Εἰλείθυια καὶ Ἡρακλῆος μένος ἡΰ
P.18 ἐννέα καὶ Χάριτάς τε καὶ Ὠρας ἡδ' Ἐνιαυτόν
7.4 ἐγκυκλίοις δίναισι † περιθρόνια κυκλέοντες
7.5 ἀνταυγείς, πυρόεντες, αἰὶ γενετήρες ἀπάντων
12.2 καρτερόχειρ, ἀδάμαστε, βρύων ἄθλοισι κραταιοῖς
13.4 δεσμῶν ἀρρήκτους δὲ ἔχεις κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον
15.8 σεισίχθων, αὐξήτά, καθάρσιε, παντοτινάκτα
18.18 σεμνοῖς μυστιπόλοις χαίρων ὅσοις τε σεβασμοῖς
22.2 κυανόπεπλον ἄνασσαν, εὐτροχα κυμαίνουσιν
36.5 λυσίζωνε, φίλοιστρε, κυνηγέτι, λυσιμέριμνε
36.6 εὐδρομε, ἰοχέαιρα, φιλαγρότι, νυκτερόφοιτε
40.3 πλουτοδότειρα θεά, σταχυοτρόφε, παντοδότειρα

- 40.19 Εἰρήνῃ κατάγουσα καὶ Εὐνομίῃν ἐρατεινὴν
55.12 γεννοδότειρα, φίλανδρε, ποθεινοτάτη, βιοδῶτι
62.4 τοῖς ἀδίκους τιμωρὸς ἐπιβρίθουσα δικαία
86.6 σιγῶν σιγώσαις ψυχαῖς μέλλοντα προφαίνων

3.3.3 Central element

3.3.3.1 Central word

- P.25 Νύκτα τε πρεσβίστην καλέω καὶ φωσφόρον Ἥμαρ
1.1 Εἰνοδίαν Ἑκάτην κλήζω, τριοδίτιν, ἐρανήν
1.10 βουκόλῳ εὐμενέουσιν αἰ κεχαρητόι θυμῷ
7.2 εὐιέρους φωναῖσι κυκλήσκων δαίμονας ἀγνούς.
16.7 πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μούνη πάντεσσι τ' ἀνάσσεις
17.10 Εἰρήνην, Ὑγίαιαν ἄγων ἡδ' ὄλβον ἀμεμφῇ
18.18 σεμνοῖς μυστιπόλοις χαίρων ὅσοις τε σεβασμοῖς
23.3 καλλιτέκνοισι χοροῖς, Νηρεῦ, μεγαλῶνυμε δαῖμον
29.5 ζωὴ καὶ θάνατος μούνη θνητοῖς πολυμόχθοις
31.8 βουκόλῳ εὐάντητοι αἰ κεχαρητόι θυμῷ.
33.1 Εὐδύνατον καλέω Νίκην, θνητοῖσι ποθεινήν
42.3 ἀγνήν εὐιέρων τε Μίσσην ἄρρητον ἄνασσαν
68.11 πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μούνη καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάσσεις
75.7 φαινομένου σωτὴρ μούνος θνητοῖς ἀναφαίνῃ
79.1 Οὐρανόπαιδ' ἀγνήν καλέω Θέμιν εὐπατέρειαν

3.3.3.2 Central triad

- 2.1 Κλυθί μοι, ὦ πολύσεμνε θεά, πολύνυμμε δαῖμον,
2.7 λυσίζων', ἀφανής, ἔργοισι δὲ φαίνῃ ἅπασι
17.2 ἵππῃ, χαλκοτόρευτον ἔχων χεῖρεσσι τρίαINAN
18.16 μούνος ἔφυς ἀφανῶν ἔργων φανερών τε βραβευτής,
27.1 Ἀθανάτων θεότιμε θεῶν μήτηρ, τροφὴ πάντων
30.3 ἄγριον, ἄρρητον, κρύφιον, δικέρωτα, δίμορφον
31.7 ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέοντες ἐπ' εὐφήμοισι λόγοισι
39.8 θηρότυπον θέμενος μορφήν ὄνοφεροῖο δράκοντος
40.13 εὐτεκνε, παιδοφίλη, σεμνή, κουροτρόφε κούρα
40.17 μουνογενής, πολύτεκνε θεά, πολυπότνια θνητοῖς
51.11 παρθένῳ εὐώδεϊ, λευχείμονες, εὐπνοοὶ αὔραις
74.9 νηυσὶν ἐπ' εὐσέλμοις σωτήριος εὐφρονι βουλή
83.3 δὲ περικυμαίνει γαίης περιτέρμονα κύκλον

3.3.3.3 NANAN

- 8.2 Τιτάν χρυσαυγής, Ὑπερίων, οὐράνιον φῶς,
10.1 Ὡ Φύσι, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυμήχανε μήτηρ,
20.5 Ἀστραπαῖον Δία, παγγενέτην, βασιλῆα μέγιστον
40.1 Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολύνυμμε δαῖμον,
41.1 Ἀνταία βασίλεια, θεά, πολύνυμμε μήτηρ
53.1 Ἀμφιετὴ καλέω Βάκχον, χθόνιον Διόνυσον
67.1 Ἰητὴρ πάντων, Ἀσκληπιέ, δέσποτα Παιάν

3.3.3.4 Central pair

- 3.8 ἡμιτελής, χθονία ἡδ' οὐρανία πάλιν αὐτή
5.2 ἄστρων ἡελίου τε σεληναῖος τε μέρισμα
6.4 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον, Ἡρικεπαῖον

- 6.10 αλλά, μάκαρ, πολύμητι, πολύσπορε, βαίνει γεγηθώς
 9.4 αύξομένη και λειπομένη, θήλυσ τε και ἄρσση
 14.9 μήτηρ μέν τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων
 34.19 πάντα πόλον κίρνας κρίνεις βιοθρέμμονα φύλα
 35.4 γειναμένη Φοῖβόν τε και Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν
 42.2 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυώνυμον Εὐβουλήα
 48.6 εὐμενέων ἐπαρωγὸς ἐπέλθοις μυστιπόλοισιν
 50.2 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυώνυμε, Λύσιε δαῖμον,
 50.9 οἷς ἐθέλεις θνητῶν ἡδ' ἀθανάτων ἐπιφάυσκων
 60.6 εὐκταῖαι, κυκλάδες, καλυκώπιδες, ἡμερόεσσαι

3.3.4 Tricoloi and Tetracoloi

- P.20 Κουρήτάς τ' ἐνόπλους Κορύβαντάς τ' ἡδὲ Καβεῖρους
 2.12 Ἄρτεμις Εἰλείθυια, † και ἡ † σεμνή Προθυραία
 10.20 παντοτεχνές, πλάστειρα, πολύκτιτε, ποντία δαῖμον
 12.4 ἄρρητ', ἀγριόθυμε, πολύλλιτε, παντοδυνάστα
 12.6 παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ
 38.2 οὐράνιοι χθόνιοί τε και εἰνάλιοι, πολύολβοι
 45.2 Βάσσαρε και Βακχεῦ, πολυώνυμε, παντοδυνάστα,
 59.17 ἄεριοι, ἀφανεῖς, ἀμετάτροποι, αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς
 66.5 παμφάγε, πανδαμάτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, παντοδίαίτε
 69.2 Τισιφώνη τε και Ἀλληκτῶ και δῖα Μέγαιρα

3.3.5 Parallelism

- P.31 Δαίμονά τ' ἡγάθεον και Δαίμονα πήμονα θνητῶν
 10.9 κοινή μέν πάντεσσιν, ἀκοινωνήτε δὲ μούνη
 10.15 πικρὰ μέν φαύλοισι, γλυκεῖα δὲ πειθομένοισι
 11.7 φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ, φόβων ἑκπαγλε βροτείων
 13.5 αἰῶνος Κρόνε παγγενέτωρ, Κρόνε ποικιλόμυθε
 14.13 Εἰρήνην κατάγουσα σὺν εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσι
 18.18 σεμνοῖς μυστιπόλοις χαίρων ὁσίοις τε σεβασμοῖς
 36.4 ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ και ὠδίνων ἀμύητε
 61.8 πάντ' ἐσοράις και πάντ' ἐπακούεις, πάντα βραβεύεις
 62.9 ἐχθρὰ τῶν ἀδίκων, εὐφρων δὲ σύνεσσι δικαίοις

Appendix 4.1. Formulae and parallel phrases

Parallels within the collection are given first, other authors or works in chronological order. Secondary formulae are given in square brackets after primary formulae (see ch. 4.1).

A phrase's position relative to the beginning or end of a verse is indicated by a vertical line, |; two lines, ||, indicate the beginning or end of a hymn.

Proem

2. **προφερεστέρα ἐστὶν ἀπασέων** |: Hes. *Th.* 79, 361, *OF* 271.1
προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων |
3. | **Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ**: *OF* 243.5 (*Hy. Zeus*) | Ζεὺς βασιλεύς; *AG*
10.108.1 (cit. Plat. *Alc.* II 143a) | Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ
4. | **Ἡελίου, Μήνης**: *AG App. Orac.* 151.4 (*Theosoph.* 1.18) |
ἡέλιον, μήνην; Dorotheus *Carm. Astrol.* p. 399.30 Pingree |
Ἡελίω Μήνι τε
 ἱερὸν σέλας: *OH* 7.1 || Ἄστρον οὐρανίων ἱερὸν σέλας
5. **Ποσειδάων γαίηοις, κυανοχαῖτα** |: *OH* 17.1, *Od.* 9.528, *HHy.*
22.6 Ποσειδάων γαίηοις, κυανοχαῖτα |
6. | **Φερσεφόνη θ' ἀγνή**: [*Od.* 11.386 | ἀγνή Περσεφόνηα]
7. | **Ἄρτεμι τ' ἰοχέαιρα**: *Il.* 20.71, *HHy.* 3.199 | Ἄρτεμις
ἰοχέαιρα.)
 ῥίε Φοῖβε |: [*Il.* 15.365, 21.152 = *HHy.* 3.120 | – ∪ ∪ ῥίε
Φοῖβε]
9. **Διόνυσε χορευτά** |: [*Hy. Epid.* v. 3 (*PMG* 937) Βρόμιόν τε
χορευτάν ||]
11. | **ἀφρογενής τε θεά**: Hes. *Th.* 196 | ἀφρογενέα τε θεάν
12. **καταχθονίων βασιλεῦ**: [*OH* 71.9 καταχθονίων βασιλεια |;
29.6 ὑποχθονίων βασιλεια |; *lamellae* 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 9.1
Graf–Johnston (*OF* 488–91) χθονίων βασιλεια ||]
13. **μένος ἥύ** |: *Il.* 17.456, 20.80, 23.524, 24.6, 442, *Od.* 2.271
μένος ἥύ |
14. **μέγ' ὄνειρα** |: *Od.* 4.444, Hes. *Th.* 871, *Op.* 41, 346, 822,
Macedonius *Paian* v. 23 (*CA* p. 139), *O.Arg.* 38, Manetho
Apotel. 1.10 μέγ' ὄνειρα |
16. **θαλερὴν παράκοιτιν** |: *Il.* 3.53 θαλερὴν παράκοιτιν |; [Hes.
Th. 921 Ἥρην θαλερὴν ποιήσας' ἄκοιτιν ||]
17. **Μούσας τ' ἐπικέκλωμαι ἀγνάς** |: Crates 1.10 (*SH* 359)
Μούσας ἰλάσομ' ἀγνάς |
19. | **Λητώ τ' εὐπλόκαμον**: *OF* 317.2 | Λητοῦς εὐπλοκάμοιο κόρη
20. | **Κουρήτάς τ' ἐνόπλους**: P. Guröb col. 1.7 (*OF* 578) |
Κούρητές τ' {ε} ἐνοπλοῖ
22. **ἡδ' ἄγγελον Οὐραניῶνων** |: Nonn. *D.* 26.361 καὶ ἄγγελος
Οὐραניῶνων |
26. **Τηθὺν κυανόπεπλον** |: [*OH* 22.1–2 Τηθὺν | κυανόπεπλον]
27. | **Ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν**: *OF* 241.7 | Ὠκεανός τε μέγας; [Hes. *Th.*
20 | Γαῖαν τ' Ὠκεανόν τε μέγαν]
29. **Στυγὸς ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ** |: *OH* 69.4 Στυγὸς ἱερὸν ὕδωρ |; *HHy.*
4.519 Στυγὸς ὀβριμον ὕδωρ |; *Il.* 2.307, *Od.* 3.429 ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ |;
Hes. *Th.* 805 Στυγὸς ἀφθιτον ὕδωρ |; [*O.Arg.* 335 Τηθύος ἔσχατον
ὕδωρ ||]
32. | **Δαίμονας οὐρανίους**: *O.Arg.* 343 | Δαίμονας εἰναλίους

38. | **Παλλάδα τ' ἐγρεμάχην**: *HHy.* 2.424 Παλλάς τ' ἐγρεμάχη
41. **ἄμβροτον ἀγνὸν Ἄδωνιν** |: *OH* 55.26 ἄμβροτον ἀγνὸν
Ἄδωνιν |
42. | **Ἀρχὴν τ' ἡδὲ Πέρας**: [*PGM hy.* 18.35 | ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος εἶ]
 πᾶσι μέγιστον |: *PGM hy.* 23.17 τὴν πᾶσι μέγιστην |
43. | **εὐμενέας ἐλθεῖν**: *OH* 42.11 | εὐμενέουσ' ἐλθοις; [*OH* 3.14,
16.10, 36.6, 75.4, 81.5, 83.8, *PGM* 12.226 | ἐλθ. εὐμεν.]
 κεχαρημένον ἦτορ ἔχοντας |: *Il.* 16.264 ἄλκιμον ἦ. ἔχοντες |,
Hes. *Th.* 139, 898 ὑπέρβιον ἦ. ἔχοντας, *OH* 35.6 ἴλαον ἦ. ἔχουσα |;
[*HHy.* 7.10 κεχαρημένοι ἦτορ ||]

OH 1 [Hekate]

2. **οὐρανίαν χθονίαν τε καὶ εἰναλίαν, κροκόπεπλον**: *OH* 38.2 |
οὐράνιοι χθόνιοι τε καὶ εἰνάλιοι, πολύλοβοι; *OH* 71.1 || Μηλινόην
καλέω, νύμφην χθόνιαν, κροκόπεπλον
4. | **Περσεῖαν**: *PGM hy.* 21.2 | Περσεΐα
5. **ἀμειμάκετον βασιλείαν** |: *O.Arg.* 518 ἀμειμάκετοι βασιλῆες |
6. **ἀπρόσμαχον εἶδος ἔχουσιν** |: *OH* 72.4 ἀπρόσμαχον εὐχος
ἔχουσιν |; [Hes. *Th.* 908, *HHy.* 2.315 πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσιν;
HHy. 12.2 ὑπείροχον εἶδος ἔχουσιν |; *OF* 179.5 ἀριπρεπές εἶδος
ἔχουσιν ||]
7. **κληιδούχον ἄνασσα** |: [*PGM hy.* 25.4 | κλειδοῦχε
Περσεΐφασσα]
10. **βουκόλῳ εὐμενέουσιν ἀεὶ κεχαρητόι θυμῷ** ||: *OH* 31.7
βουκόλῳ εὐάντητοι ἀεὶ κεχαρητόι θυμῷ ||; *OH* 51.17 κεχαρητόι
θυμῷ |; *O.Arg.* 782 κεχαρητόι θυμῷ

OH 2 Prothyraia

1. || **Κλυθὶ μοι, ὦ πολύσεμνε**: *OH* 22.9, 54.1 | κλυθὶ μοι, ὦ
πολύσεμνε; [*OH* 60.1 || Κλυτέ μοι, ὦ Χάριτες]
 πολύνουμε δαῖμον |: *OH* 11.10, 40.1 πολύνουμε δαῖμον |; [*OH*
56.1 πολύνουμε, δαῖμον ἄριστε ||]
2. | **ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ**: *OH* 36.4 | ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ καὶ ὠδίνων
ἀμύητε
 λεχῶν ἡδεῖα πρόσσι |: *OH* 8.3 ζώων ἡδεῖα πρόσσι |
5. **πᾶσι προσήνης** |: *OH* 40.12 πᾶσι προσήνης |; (Kaibel 610.2
(*AG App. Sep.* 465.2) πᾶσι προσήνης |
6. | **ἡ κατέχεις οἴκους πάντων**: *OH* 66.8 | πάντα δὲ οἶκον ἔχεις
10. **ψυχῆς ἀνάπαυμα** |: *OH* 68.7 θνητῶν ἀνάπαυμα |
11. | **ἐν γὰρ σοί**: *OH* 63.11, 72.6, 73.6, 74.5, 87.8 | ἐν σοὶ γάρ;
Soph. OT 314, *O.Sib.* 5.390 | ἐν σοὶ γάρ

OH 3 Nyx

1. || **Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτειραν αἰεῖσομαι ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν**: *PGM*
hy. 18.32, 22.1 θεῶν γενέτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν |; *Il.* 1.334 ἡδὲ καὶ
ἀνδρῶν |
2. | **Νύξ γένεσις πάντων**: [Eur. fr. 182a (*Antiope*) Γαῖαν
πάντων γενέτειραν αἰεῖδω ||]
3. | **κλυθι, μάκαιρα θεά**: *OH* 29.17 | κλυθι, μάκαιρα θεά
4. | **ἡσυχίῃ χαίρουσα καὶ ἡρεμίῃ πολυύπνῳ**: *OH* 9.8 | ἡσυχίῃ
χαίρουσα καὶ εὐφρόνῃ ὀλβιομοίρῳ

6. ληθομέριμν' ἀνίων τε πόνων ἀνάπασιν ἔχουσα: *OH* 81.2 καμάτου ἀνάπασιν ἔχουσαι | *OH* 85.5 λυσιμέριμνε, κόπων ἡδέϊαν ἔχων ἀνάπασιν
7. | ὑπνοδότειρα, φίλη πάντων: *OH* 63.8 ἀστασίαστε, φίλη πάντων; *Eur. Ores.* 175, *Kaibel* 312.1 (*Nyx*) ὑπνοδότειρα
10. | ἡ φάος ἐκπέμπεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα: [*OH* 78.5 ἀντολίας ταῖς σαῖς πέμπεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης]
11. δεινὴ γὰρ Ἀνάγκη πάντα κρατύνει | *PGM* hy. 1.6 πάντα κρατύνεις | [*Eur. Hel.* 514 | δεινὴς ἀνάγκης]
12. πολυόλβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινὴ | *OH* 64.12 φερόλβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινέ; 63.1 πολυόλβε, ποθεινὴ
13. κλύουσα λόγων ἱκετηρίδα φωνήν | *OH* 13.9 κλύων ἱκετηρίδα φωνήν | *OH* 34.27 κλύθι, μάκαρ, σώζων μύστας ἱκετηρίδι φωνῇ
14. | ἔλθοις εὐμενέουσα: *OH* 16.10 | ἔλθοις εὐμενέουσα; *OH* 31.6, 75.4, 81.5, 83.8 ἔλθ. εὐμεν.; *PGM* 12.226 ἔλθατε εὐμενεῖς

OH 4 Ouranos

1. κόσμου μέρος αἰὲν ἀτειρές | *Od.* 11.270 μένος αἰὲν ἀτειρής | *OH* 66.4 | ἐργαστήρ, κόσμοιο μέρος; *OH* 5.1 κράτος αἰὲν ἀτειρές | 7.9, 59, 17 αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς |
2. πρεσβυγένηθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή: *OH* 15.7 | παντογένηθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτή; [*OH* 34.15 ἀρχὴ τε τελευτή; *Plat. Leg.* 715e ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτήν (*OF* 31 III); *OF* 31.7 (*Hy. Zeus*, *Harley* 1752, *Plethon's* version) Ζεὺς ἀρχὴ πάντων ἦδε καὶ τελευτή; *PGM* hy. 18.35 | ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος εἰ]
3. κόσμῳ πατήρ, σφαιρηδὸν ἑλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν: *Il.* 13.204 σφαιρηδὸν ἑλιζόμενος δι' ὁμίλου; *Cleanth. Hy. Zeus* v. 7 πᾶς ὅδε κόσμος ἑλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν; *OH* 22.3 πατασσομένην περὶ γαῖαν; 24.7 ἑλισσόμενοι περὶ κύμα; 47.2 ἑλισσόμενος περὶ πάντη
4. | οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων: *OH* 84.5 | οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων
5. φύλαξ πάντων: *OF* 151 I καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ὀρφέως Οὐρανὸς 'οὔρος πάντων καὶ φύλαξ' εἶναι βούλεται
8. παννυπέρτατε δαίμων | *OH* 61.9 παννυπέρτατε δαίμων |

OH 5 Aither

1. κράτος αἰὲν ἀτειρές | *Od.* 11.270 μένος αἰὲν ἀτειρής | *OH* 4.1 μέρος αἰὲν ἀτειρές | *OH* 7.9, 59.17 αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς |
- 2-3. ἄστρον ἡελίου τε σεληναίης τε μέρισμα | ...ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα | *OH* 11.16 ἀερίον τε μέρισμα τροφῆς, ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα
4. κόσμου στοιχεῖον ἄριστον | *Procl. In Plat. Tim.* 2.29 εἰ μὲν δὴ ἐν τὸ τοῦ κόσμου στοιχεῖον; [*OH* 66.4 κόσμοιο μέρος, στοιχεῖον ἀμεμφές |]
6. λίτομαί σε κεκραμένον εὐδιον εἶναι ||: *OH* 85.9 λίτομαί σε κεκραμένον ἡδὺν ἱκάνειν ||

OH 6 Protogonos

1. Πρωτόγονον καλέω διφυῆ | *OH* 30.2 | πρωτόγονον, διφυῆ
2. χρυσέαισιν ἀγαλλόμενον πετερυέσσι: *Il.* 2.462 ἀγαλλόμενα πετερυέσσι | *OF* 102.3 Ἡέλιε, χρυσέαισιν ἀειρόμενε πτευέσσι; [*Ar. Av.* 697 (*OF* 64) | στίλβων νῶτον πετερυέσσι χρυσαῖν]

3. γένεσιν μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων | *OH* 26.1 μῆτερ μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων | [*Od.* 9.521 οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων; *OH* 83. | ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων]
4. πολυόργιον, Ἡρικεπαῖον | *OF* Sinai fr. f. 2v.18 πολυώνυμω Ἡρικεπαῖω |
5. | ἄρρητον, κρύφιον: *OH* 30.3 | ἄργιον, ἄρρητον, κρύφιον
6. σκοτόεσσαν ἀπημαύρωσας ὁμίχλην | *OF* 106, *O.Arg.* 521 κατὰ σκοτόεσσαν ὁμίχλην |
παμφαῆς ἔρνος | [*P. Argent.* 1313, col. 2.29 (*Carm. Mystarum*, *OF* 593) χρυσανθῆς ἔρνος |]
7. | δινηθείς πετερυέων ῥίπαῖς: *Eur. fr.* 594.4 Nauck (= *Critias* fr. 3.4 Radt) πετερυέων ῥίπαῖς | [*Ar. Av.* 697 (*OF* 64) πετερυέων... δίναις |]
κατὰ κόσμον | *OH* 21.2, 37.6, 78.2 κατὰ κόσμον | *Il.* 10.472, 24.622 εὐ κατὰ κόσμον | *Od.* 20.181, *HHy.* 4.254 οὐ κατὰ κόσμον | *PGM* hy. 20.16 δαίμονες οἱ κατὰ κόσμον |
9. ἡδὲ Πρίηπον ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἐλίκωπον: *OF* 540.4 Εὐβουλήα τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἀνταύγην ἀρίδην

OH 7 Asteres

1. || Ἄστρον οὐρανίων ἱερὸν σέλας: *P.4* | Ἡελίου, Μήνης θ' ἱερὸν σέλας
2. | εὐιέροις φωναῖσι κυκλήσκων: [*Orac. (I.Didyma)* 504.1, 3 CE] κλιζόμεν ἐπ' εὐιέροις βοαῖσι]
δαίμονας ἀγνοῦς | *Aesch. Pers.* 628 χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγνοί |
3. Ἀστέρες οὐράνιοι, Νυκτὸς φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης | *OH* 59.1 Μοῖραι ἀπειρέσιοι, Νυκτὸς φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης
4. | ἐγκυκλίοις δίναισι περὶ τὸν θρόνον κυκλέοντες: *OH* 40.15 ἐγκυκλίοις δίναις περὶ τὸν θρόνον εὐάξουσα
5. γενετῆρες ἀπάντων | [*OH* 11.10 | παντοφυῆς, γενέτωρ πάντων]
9. αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς | *OH* 59.17 αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς | *Od.* 11.270 αἰὲν ἀτειρής | *OH* 4.1, 5.1 αἰὲν ἀτειρές |
11. | μαρμαρυγαῖς στίλβοντες: *Nonn. D.* 33.24 | μαρμαρυγὴν στίλβουσαν
12. ἐπ' εὐιέρου τελετῆς: *OH* 75.3 ἐπ' εὐιέροις τελεταῖσιν | 77.10 | εὐιέρου τελετῆς
13. ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' εὐδόξοις ἔργοις δρόμον ἐκτελέοντες: *OH* 33.9 αἰεὶ ἐπ' εὐδόξοις ἔργοις κλέος ἐσθλὸν ἄγουσα; [*Diod.* 31.3.3 τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις εὐδοξίαν]

OH 8 Helios

1. || Κλύθι μάκαρ: *PGM* hy. 4.7 (*Helios*) | κλύθι, μάκαρ
πανδερκέες ἔχων αἰώνιον ὄμμα | *OH* 34.8 Δῆλι' ἀναξ, πανδερκέες ἔχων φασγίμβροτον ὄμμα; *AG App. Orac.* 152.2 (*Theosoph.* 1.19) Ζηνὸς πανδερκέος ἄφθιτον ὄμμα | [*ibid.* 153 (*Theosoph.* 1.20) ἀγλάαν ὄμμα | *ibid.* 155.2 (*Theosoph.* 1.39) ἄλκιμον ὄμμα |]
3. | αὐτοφυῆς, ἀκάμας: *OH* 12.9 | αὐτοφυῆς, ἀκάμας; [*O.Sib.* 3.12 | αὐτοφυῆς ἀόρατος; *AG App. Orac.* 140.14 (*Theosoph.* 1.2.14 = *Merkelbach-Stauber* 17/06/01 v. 1, *Oenanda*) | αὐτοφυῆς,

ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ; Nonn. *D.* 12.297 | αὐτοφυής, ἀκόμιστος]
ζώων ἡδεῖα πρόσσοι | : *OH* 2.2 λεχῶν ἡδεῖα πρόσσοι
 4. **δεξιὲ μὲν γενέτωρ ἦοῦς, εὐώνυμε νυκτός**: [*OH* 12.11 δς περὶ κρατὶ φορεῖς ἡώ καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν; *AG App. Orac.* 156.3 (Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* III.15) ἦοῦς καὶ νυκτός πολυαστέρου ἡνία νωμών]
 5. **τετραβάμοσι ποσσί χορεύων** | : *Eur. Hel.* 376 τετραβάμοσι γυίοις]
 7. | **ρόμβου ἀπειρεσίου δινεύμασιν**: *OH* 19.10 ροῖζου ἀπειρεσίου δινεύμασι παμφάγον ὁρμήν
 9. **ἐναρμόνιον δρόμον ἔλκων** | : Marcellinus Med. (2CE) *De Puls.* 63 ἐναρμόνιον δρόμον
 10. | **ἔργων σημάτων ἁγαθῶν**: *Opp. Cyn.* 2.539 σημάτων ἔργων |
 12. **κάρπιμε Παιάν** | : *OH* 11.11 κάρπιμε Παιάν |
 13. **χρόνου πάτερ**: *OH* 12.3 χρόνου πάτερ; [*OH* 9.5 χρόνου μήτερ; *Chrys. fr.* 512 *SVF* πατὴρ δὲ χρόνου κόσμος]
 15. **σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἀκτίσι φαιναῖς**: *OH* 56.5 σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις
 16. **δέσποτα κόσμου** | : *PGM hy.* 4.10, 26 δέσποτα κόσμου |
 17. **πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ** | : *OH* 12.6 παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ; [*OH* 10.4 πανυπέρτατε πᾶσιν |]; *OF* 233 πᾶσιν ἄρωγός |; *De Vir. Herb.* 41 πᾶσιν ἄρωγόν |
 18. | **ῥῆμα δικαιοσύνης**: [*OH* 62.1, 69.15, *AG* 7.357.2 (Damagetus), *Greg. Naz. Carm. ad alios* 6.1 (*PG* 37.1551.2) | ῥῆμα Δίκης]
 19. | **μάστιγι λιγυρῇ**: *Il.* 11.532 | μάστιγι λιγυρῇ;
τετράρορον ἄρμα διώκων | : *OH* 17.5 τετράρορον ἄρμα διώκων |;
OH 59.8 πάγγεον ἄρμα διώκει |; *HHy.* 9.4 παγχρύσειον ἄρμα διώκει; *Aesch. Pers.* 84 ἄρμα διώκων; *Orac. Delph. ap. Hdt.* 7.140 (Parke & Wormell 94.6) συριγεννὲς ἄρμα διώκων; [*Pind. Pyth.* 10.65 ἄρμα Πιερίδων | τετρ(ά)ρον]

OH 9 Selene

1. **δία Σελήνη** | : *HHy.* 32.8, 17 δία Σελήνη |
 4. | **αὐξομένη καὶ λειπομένη**: [*PGM hy.* 17.103 ἐξ ὧν ὁ κόσμος αὐξεται {τε} καὶ λείπεται ||]
θῆλὺς τε καὶ ἄρσην | : [*OH* 32.10 | ἄρσην μὲν καὶ θῆλὺς ἔφυς; 42.4 | ἄρσενα καὶ θῆλυν, διφυή; *PGM hy.* 19.26 (Selene) ἄρσενόθηλυν ἔρνος]
 5. **χρόνου μήτερ**: *OH* 8.13, 12.3 χρόνου πάτερ
 7. **καλοῖς ἄστροισι βρύουσα** | : *OH* 26.3 καλαῖς ὥραισι βρύουσα |
 8. **ἡσυχίη χαίρουσα καὶ εὐφρόνη ὀλβιομοίρῳ**: *OH* 3.4 ἡσυχίη χαίρουσα καὶ ἡρεμίη πολυπύκνῳ
 9. **νυκτὸς ἀγαλμα** | : *Bion fr.* 11.2 νυκτὸς ἀγαλμα |; *PGM hy.* 18.3 | νυκτὸς ἀγαλμα
 11. | **ἐλθέ, μάκαρ', εὐφρων**: *OH* 46.8 | εὐφρων ἐλθέ, μάκαρ
 12. **σώζουσα νέους ἱκέτας σέο, κούρη** ||: [*OH* 34.27 σώζων μύστας ἱκετηρίδι φωνῇ ||]

OH 10 Physis

1. || **Ἦ Φύσι, παμμήτειρα θεά** πολυμήχανε μήτερ; *OH* 40.1 ||
 Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυώνυμε δαῖμον; *Greg. Naz. Carm. mor.* 2.533 (*PG* 37.620.11): 10.1 | Ἦ Φύσι, παμμήτειρα; *Euseb. Const. Imp. orat. ad coetum sanct.* 1.2 σὺ δ', ὦ παμμήτειρα φύσις; *PGM hy.* 18.33 | καὶ Φύσι παμμήτωρ; [*PGM hy.* 22.2 Φύσι παμμήτηρ ἀδάμαστε (cf. 10.3)]
 2. | **οὐρανία, πρέσβειρα**: *OH* 27.13 | *Οὐρανόπαι, πρέσβειρα.
 3. | **πανδαμάτωρ, ἀδάμαστε**: *Nonn D.* 2.223 | πανδαμάτωρ ἀδάμαστος Ἔρω; 33.109 | π. ἀδάμαστε; *Nonn. Paraph. S. Io.* 10.63 | π. ἀδάμαστος; 11.166 | π. ἀδάμαστον
 7. **ἄψοφον ἀστραγάλοισι ποδῶν ἔχνος εἰλίσσουσα**: *Ap. Rh.* 1.219 ἐπ' ἀστραγάλοισι ποδῶν; *AG* 16.99.3 (Anon.) ἔχνος ἐλίσσει |; *Nonn. D.* 27.275 ἔχνος ἐλίσσων |; [*Eur. Troad.* 28 ἐνθα Νηρήϊδων χοροὶ κάλλιστον ἔχνος ἐξελίσσουσιν ποδός; *Callim. Hy.* 2.12; *Nonn. D.* 3.54, 13.10, 34.2 ἄψοφον ἔχνος |]
 9. | **κοινὴ μὲν πάντεσσιν**: *OH* 87.6 | κοινὸς μὲν πάντων, 16.6 | κοινωνεῖς γὰρ ἅπασιν
 10. | **αὐτοπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ**: *Synes. Hy.* 3.146-7 αὐτοπάτωρ | προπάτωρ ἀπάτωρ
 14. | **αιθερία, χθονία**: *PGM hy.* 22.2 (Aphrodite) | αιθερία χθονία
 16. | **πάνσοφε, πανδώτειρα**: *OH* 26.2 | παντρόφε, πανδώτειρα
 20. **πόντια δαῖμον** | : *OH* 17.8, *Ar. Ran.* 1341 πόντιε δαῖμον |
 22. **ἀνάνωι στροφάλιγγι** | : *Nonn. Paraph. S. Io.* 12.199 | ἀνάνωι στροφάλιγγι
 24. **τὸ κριθὲν τελέουσα** | : *OH* 87.8 πάντων τὸ κριθὲν τελεοῦται |; *Polyb.* 16.31.4 τὸ κριθὲν ἐπιτελεῖν; *Posidonius fr.* 136c Theiler πᾶν τὸ κριθὲν ἐπιτελεῖν (= *Diod. Sic.* 34/35.2.28)
 29. † **σὺν εὐόλβοισιν** † **ἐν ὥραις** | : *OH* 26.11 † σὺν ὀλβίοισιν † ἐν ὥραις; 32.16 † ἐπ' εὐόλβοισιν † ἐν ὥραις | (Υ)
 30. | **Εἰρήνην Ὑγίειαν ἄγειν**: *OH* 17.10 | εἰρήνην, ὑγίειαν ἄγων

OH 11 Pan

2. **χθόνα παμβασίλειαν** | : *OH* 18.6 χθόνα παμβασίλειαν |
 3. **τάδε γὰρ μέλη ἐστὶ τὰ Πανός** | : [*OH* 66.7 | ταῦτα γὰρ Ἡφαίστοιο μέλη]
 4. | **ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητά**: *OH* 45.7 | ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητά
 5. | – U U – **βακχευτά, φιλένθεε**: *OH* 11.21 | – U U – βακχευτά, φιλένθεε
 7. | **φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ**: *OH* 39.4 | φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγόν
 10. **γενέτωρ πάντων, πολυώνυμε δαῖμον** | : *OH* 2.1, 40.1, 56.1 πολυώνυμε δαῖμον |; [*OH* 7.5 αἰετὶ γενετῆρες ἀπάντων |]
 11. **κάρπιμε Παιάν** | : *OH* 8.12 κάρπιμε Παιάν |
 16. **ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα** | : *OH* 5.3 ζωοῖσιν ἔναυσμα |
 19. **ταῖς σαῖσι προνοίαις** | : *OH* 25.10 ὁσίαῖσι προνοίαις |
 20. **κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον** | : *OH* 13.4 κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον |; *O. Arg.* 758 ἐπ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον |; *O. Sib.* 2.194 τὸν ἀπείρονα κόσμον |; *Pap. Adesp.* (P. Oxy XXXVII 2816 v. 9, *SH* 938 = *Peralé* 3) ἀπεί[ρ]ονα κόσμον |; *Procl. Hy.* 2.8 ἀπείρονα κόσμον ἀέξειν |; [*Chrys. fr.* 609 *SVF* εἰς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ἀναλύεται ὁ κόσμος ἄπειρον ὄν]
 21. | **ἀλλά, μάκαρ, βακχευτά**: *OH* 47.6 | ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, βακχευτά

22. **βιότοιο τελευτήν** | : *OH* 20.6 βιότοιο τελευτήν ||; *Il.* 7.104, 16.187 βιότοιο τελευτή |
23. **ἐκπέμπων οἷστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης** | : *OH* 71.11 ἐκπέμπειν οἷστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης |; *OH* 14.4 πέμπουσ' ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης ||

OH 12 Herakles

1. **Ἡρακλῆς ὁμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τιτάν**: *OH* 65.1 || Ἄρρηκτ', ὁμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε δαίμων; 66.1 || Ἡφαιστε ὁμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἀκάματον πῦρ; 13.2 μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τιτάν |; [Kaibel 831.1 (2CE) μεγασθενές ὄβριμον αἶμα |]
2. **βρύων ἄθλοισι κραταιοῖς** | : [*OH* 56.2 βρύων ὠιδάισι ποθειναῖς ||]
3. **χρόνου πάτερ**: *OH* 8.13 χρόνου πάτερ; [9.5 χρόνου μήτηρ; Chrys. fr. 512 *SVF* πατὴρ δὲ χρόνου κόσμος]
4. **πολύλλιτε, παντοδυνάστα** | : *OH* 45.2 πολυώνυμε, παντοδυνάστα |
5. | **παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων**: *OH* 28.2 | παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων; [*OH* 26.11, 30.9, 64.13 | εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχ.]
6. **παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ**: *OH* 66.5 | παμφάγε, πανδαμάτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, παντοδίατε; 8.17 πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ |; [10.4 πανυπέρτατε πᾶσιν |; Alcmaeonis fr. 3 *PEG* πανυπέρτατε πάντων ||; *OF* 233 πᾶσιν ἄρωγός |; *De Vir. Herb.* 41 πᾶσιν ἄρωγόν |]
8. **εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ἀγλαότιμον**: *OH* 19.22 εἰρήνην τε θεόν κουροτρόφον, ἀγλαότιμον; 65.9 εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ὀλβιοδῶτιν; Hes. *Op.* 228 | εἰρήνην δ' ἀνὰ γῆν κουροτρόφος
9. | **αὐτοφυῆς, ἀκάμας**: *OH* 8.3 | αὐτοφυῆς, ἀκάμας; [*O.Sib.* 3.12 | αὐτοφυῆς ἄορατος; *App. Orac.* 140.14 (*Theosoph.* 1.2.14 = Merkelbach–Stauber 17/06/01 v. 1, Oenanda) | αὐτοφυῆς, ἀδίδακτος, ἀμήτωρ; Nonn. *D.* 12.297 | αὐτοφυῆς, ἀκόμιστος] **γαίης βλάστημα** | : [*OH* 13.6 | Γαίης τε βλάστημα; 79.2 | Γαίης τὸ βλάστημα]
11. **καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν** | : Hes. *Th.* 20 καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν |; *Il.* 10.297, 394, 468, 24.366 διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν |
12. | **δώδεκ' ἀπ' ἀντολιῶν ἄχρι δυσμῶν**: [*O.Sib.* 8.51 ἀπ' ἀντολῆς μέχρι δυσμῶν |; P. Oxy. 1380 (*Invocation of Isis*, 2CE) 157-8 ἥλιον ἀπ' ἀνατολῆς μέχρι δύσεως σὺ ἐπιφέρεις; Manetho *Aprotel.* 4.8 ἐξ ἡοῦς ἐπὶ νύκτα καὶ ἀντολῆς ἐπὶ δυσμᾶς]
13. **ἀπειρίτος, ἀστυφέλικτος** | : *OF* 243.22 (*Hy.Zeus*) σώμα δέ οἱ περιφεγγές, ἀπειρίτον, ἀστυφέλικτον |
14. **θελκτῆρια πάντα κομίζων** | : *Il.* 14.215 θελκτῆρια πάντα τέτυκτο |
15. **κακὰς ἄτας**: Posidonius fr.290a Theiler κακὰς ἄτας
16. **Κῆρας χαλεπάς**: [*OH* 67.4 χαλεπὰς κῆρας θανάτοιο |; Isyllus *Raïan* v. 74 (*CA* p. 134) χαλεπὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἐρύξα ||]

OH 13 Kronos

2. **μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τιτάν** | : *OH* 12.1 μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τιτάν |; 65.1 μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε δαίμων |
4. | **δεσμούς ἀρρήκτους**: *PGM* hy. 18.38 | δεσμούς ἀρρήκτους, ἀλύτους μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο; [*Od.* 8.4-5 κόπτε δὲ δεσμούς | ἀρρήκτους ἀλύτους; Opp. *Hal.* 1.415 ὑπὸ δεσμῶ | ἀρρήκτω συνέδησας; Diog. Laert. 8.31 (Pythagoras) δεῖσθαι δ' ἐν ἀρρήκτοις δεσμοῖς ὑπὸ Ἑρινύων]
- κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον** | : *OH* 11.20 κατ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον |; *O.Arg.* 758 ἐπ' ἀπείρονα κόσμον |; *O.Sib.* 2.194 τὸν ἀπείρονα κόσμον |; Pap. Adesp. (P. Oxy. XXXVII 2816 v. 9, *SH* 938 = Perale 3) ἀπεί[ρ]ονα κόσμον |; Procl. *Hy.* 2.8 ἀπείρονα κόσμον ἀέξειν |; [Chrys. fr. 609 *SVF* εἰς δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ἀναλύεται ὁ κόσμος ἀπειρον δν]
6. **Γαίης τε βλάστημα καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος**: *OH* 37.1 || Τιτῆνες, Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα; 79.2 | Γαίης τὸ βλάστημα; [12.9 γαίης βλάστημα φέριστον ||; *Il.* 5.769, 6.108, 8.46, 19.133, *Od.* 20.113, Hes. *Th.* 106 Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος; *OF* 243.4 (*Hy.Zeus*) Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος; Lamellae: e.g. 2.6 Graf–Johnston (*OF* 476) εἰπεῖν. Γῆς παῖς εἶμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος
9. **κλύων ἱκετηρίδα φωνήν** | : *OH* 3.13 κλύουσα ἱκετηρίδα φωνήν; 34.27 σώζων μύστας ἱκετηρίδι φωνῆι ||
10. | **πέμπους εὐόλβον βίотου τέλος**: *OH* 25.11 | πέμπων εὐόλβου βίотου τέλος; 64.7, 67.8 βιοτῆς τέλος

OH 14 Rheia

2. **ταυροφόνων ἱερότροχον ἄρμα τιταίνεις** | : *OH* 27.3 | ταυροφόνων ζεύξασα ταχυδρόμον ἄρμα; *Il.* 12.58 εὐτροχον ἄρμα τιταίνων |; [Parm. B 1.5 DK | ἄρμα τιταίνουσai]
4. | **μῆτερ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος**: *OH* 62.2, *OF* Sinai fr. f. 6v.10, Maximus Astrol. 402 | -- Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος; [*OH* 43.1, Pap. Adesp. (*SH* 970 col I 24) Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος ||]
5. | **πάντιμ', ἀγλαόμορφε**: *OH* 79.7 | πάντιμ', ἀγλαόμορφε; [63.3 | πάντιμ', ὀλβιόμοιρε]
- Κρόνου σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα** | : *OH* 16.2 Διὸς σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα |
7. **Ῥέα, πολεμόκλωνε, ὁμβριμόθυμε** | : *OH* 32.2 θέα, πολεμόκλωνε, ὁμβριμόθυμε |
9. **μήτηρ μέν τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων**: *OH* 26.1 Γαῖα θεά, μήτηρ μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων; 41.1-2 μήτηρ | ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων; *HHy.* 14.1 Μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
10. | **ἐκ σοῦ γάρ**: *OH* 68.3, 79.10 | ἐκ σέο γάρ; Cleanth. *Hy. Zeus* v. 4 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ γένος ἐσμέν; *PGM* hy. 18.36 | ἐκ σέο γάρ πάντ' ἐστί; *HHy.* 30.5, 31.18 | ἐκ σέο δ'
- γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθεν** | : *Il.* 15.36 Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὑπερθε |
11. | **καὶ πόντος**: *OH* 15.5 | καὶ πόντος
12. | **ἐλθέ, μάκαιρα θεά**: *OH* 55.27 | ἐλθέ, μάκαιρα θεά
- σωτήριος εὐφρονη βουλῆι** | : *OH* 74.9 σωτήριος εὐφρονη βουλῆι |; 59.20, 70.1, 79.11 εὐφρονη βουλῆι |; *O.Sib.* 3.584 εὐφρονα

βουλὴν | Quint. Sm. 5.199 εὐφροني βουλῇ | [OH 34.10 εὐφροني θυμῶ |]

13. | **Εἰρήνην κατάγουσα**: OH 40.19 | εἰρήνην κατάγουσα
σὺν εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσι | OH 72.2, 10 ἐπ' εὐόλβοις κτεάτεσσι |
14. **ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης** ||: OH 11.23, 71.11, Manetho *Apotel.*
4.578, Quint. Sm. 10.196, Greg. Naz. *Carm. de se ipso* 1.356 (PG 37.996) ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης |

OH 15 Zeus

1. || **Ζεῦ πολυτίμητε, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε**: Mimnerm. fr. 26 IEG ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμητ'; Ar. *Av.* 667, *Eq.* 1390, fr. 336.1 PCG, Pherecr. fr. 166 PCG, Menand. fr. 249 PCG (= *Mis.* 685, *Peric.* 313) | ὦ Ζεῦ πολυτίμηθ' | OF 243.3 (*Hy. Zeus*) Ζεὺς ἄρσιν γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος ἔπλετο νόμφη; Procl. *Hy.* 6.2 Ἰανὲ προπάτορ, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε; Pind. *Pyth.* 4.291 Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος
5. | **καὶ πόντος**: OH 14.11 | καὶ πόντος
ὀπός' οὐρανὸς ἐντὸς ἔταξε | OF 269.3, Greg. Naz. *Carm. mor.* 1.250 (PG 37.541) ὄσ' οὐρανὸς ἐντὸς ἔεργει
6. | **Ζεῦ Κρόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε**: OH 18.3 | Ζεῦ Χρόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε
7. **παντογένηθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτῇ**: OH 4.2 | πρεσβυγένηθλ', ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτῇ; OF 688a.1 [Ζεὺς] πάντων ἀρχή, Ζεὺς [μέσσα, Ζεὺς δὲ τε] τελευτῇ; [OH 34.15 ἀρχὴ τε τελευτῇ; OF 31.7 (*Hy. Zeus*, Harley 1752, Plethon's version) Ζεὺς ἀρχὴ πάντων ἦδε καὶ τελευτῇ; Plat. *Leg.* 715e (OF 31 III) ὁ μὲν δὴ θεός, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ παλαιὸς λόγος, ἀρχὴν τε καὶ τελευτὴν καὶ μέσα τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων ἔχων; Hippocr. *De Alim.* 9 Ἀρχὴ δὲ πάντων μία καὶ τελευτὴ πάντων μία καὶ αὐτὴ τελευτὴ καὶ ἀρχή; PGM hy. 18.35 | ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος εἴ|
9. | **Ἀστραπαῖε, Βρονταῖε, Κεραύνιε**; [Arist.] *De mundo* 7 (401a) ἀστραπαῖος τε καὶ βρονταῖος καὶ αἰθριος καὶ αἰθήριος κεραύνιος τε καὶ ὑέτιος... καλεῖται
11. | **Εἰρήνην τε θεᾶν**: OH 19.22 | εἰρήνην τε θεόν; [OH 65.9 | εἰρήνην ποθέων]

OH 16 Hera

2. || **Ἥρα παμβασίλεια**: AG App. Exh. 65.1 || Ἥρη παμβασίλεια; [OH 14.7 | παμβασίλεια Ῥέα]
Διὸς σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα | OH 14.5 Κρόνου σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα |
3. **ψυχοτρόφους αὔρας θνητοῖς παρέχουσα προσηγεῖς**: OH 27.6 γαῖαν ἔχεις θνητοῖσι τροφὰς παρέχουσα προσηγεῖς; Diod. Sic. 1.87.2 τρῶφας παρέχεσθαι προσηγεῖς
4. | **ὄμβρων μὲν μήτηρ, ἀνέμων τροφέ**: [AG App. Orac. 156.2 (Euseb. *Pr. Ev.* III.15) ταμίης ἀνέμων τε καὶ ὄμβρων |]
6. | **κοινωνεῖς γὰρ ἅπανσι**: OH 10.9 | κοινὴ μὲν πάντεσσιν; 87.6 | κοινὸς μὲν πάντων
7. **πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μούνη πάντεσσι τ' ἀνάσσεις**: OH 68.11 πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μούνη καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάσσεις; 85.3 πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς μόνος καὶ πᾶσι προσέρχει; 33.6 | πάντων γὰρ κρατεῖς; *Il.* 1.288 πάντων μὲν κρατεῖν ἐθέλει, πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσειν; PGM hy. 18.35 πάντων δὲ σὺ μούνη ἀνάσσεις; *O.Chald.*

214.5 πάντων μὲν κρατεῖ, πάντεσσι δὲ μόνος ἀνάσσει; Proc. *Hy.* 1.17 περὶ γὰρ κρατεῖς, περὶ δ' Ἰφι ἀνάσσεις |; OF 158 πᾶσιν ἀνάσσειν |

8. | **ἡερίοις ῥοίζοισι τινασσομένη**: OH 17.6 | εἰναλίοις ῥοίζοισι τινάσσων
9. **πολύνυμε, παμβασίλεια** |: OH 68.1 πολυθάλμει, παμβασίλεια |; [Kaibel 218.15 (AG App. Sep. 339) ἄλλα σύ, παμβασίλεια θεᾶ, πολύνυμε Κούρα]
10. **ἔλθοις εὐμενέουσα καλῶι γήθοντι προσώπωι**: OH 75.4 ἔλθεῖν εὐμενέοντα νέωι γήθοντα προσώπωι; OH 3.14 ἔλθοις εὐμενέουσα, 42.11 εὐμενέουσ' ἔλθοις; 31.6, 81.6, 83.8 | ἔλθ. εὐμεν; PGM 12.226 ἔλθατε εὐμενεῖς; OH 49.7 ἱερῶι γήθουσα προσώπωι |; 55.16 καλῶι γήθουσα προσώπωι |; [53.9 γανόωντι προσώπωι |]

OH 17 Poseidon

1. || **Κλυθί, Ποσειδάων γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα**: Od. 9.528 κλυθί, Ποσειδάων γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα; HHy. 22.6 Χαῖρε Ποσειδάων γαιήοχε κυανοχαῖτα; OH P.5 καὶ σύ, Ποσειδάων γαιήοχε, κυανοχαῖτα
2. **ἔχων χεῖρεσσι τρίαιναν** |: *Il.* 12.27 αὐτὸς δ' ἐννοσίγαιος ἔχων χεῖρεσσι τρίαιναν
3. **δς ναίεις πόντοιο βαθυστέρνοιο θέμεθλα**: OH 75.2 δς ναίεις πόντοιο βυθοῦς; 74.3 | – U – πόντοιο βαθυστέρνοιο; [Hes. *Th.* 816 δώματα ναιετάουσιν ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο θεμέθλοις]
4. **βαρύκτυπε, ἐννοσίγαιε** |: Hes. *Th.* 818 γαμβρόν ἐδὸν ποίησε βαρύκτυπος Ἐννοσίγαιος
5. **τετράορον ἄρμα διώκων** |: OH 8.19 τετράορον ἄρμα διώκων; 59.8 πάγγεον ἄρμα διώκει |; HHy. 9.4 παγχρύσειον ἄρμα διώκει |; Aesch. *Pers.* 84 ἄρμα διώκων; Delphic oracle, Hdt. 7.140 (Parke-Wormell 94.6) συριγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων |; [Pind. *Pyth.* 10.65 ἄρμα Πιερίδων | τετρ(άο)ρον]
6. | **εἰναλίοις ῥοίζοισι τινάσσων**: OH 16.8 | ἡερίοις ῥοίζοισι τινασσομένη
ἄλμυρὸν ὕδωρ |: Od. 4.511, 5.100, 9.227, 470, 12.236, 240, 431, 15.294, HHy. 3.435, Hes fr. 141 ἄλμυρὸν ὕδωρ |
7. | **δς τριτάτης ἔλαχες μοίρης**: OH 18.6 δς τριτάτης μοίρης ἔλαχες χθόνα παμβασίλειαν
8. | **κύμασι τερπόμενος**: OH 74.4 | κύμασι τερπομένη
πόντιε δαῖμον |: OH 10.20 πότνια δαῖμον |; Ar. *Ran.* 1341 Ἰὼ πόντιε δαῖμον
9. **εὐδρομον ὀρμήν** |: OH 58.2 εὐδρομον ὀρμήν |
10. | **Εἰρήνην, Ὑγίειαν ἄγων**: OH 10.30 | Εἰρήνην, Ὑγίειαν ἄγειν

OH 18 Pluto

3. | **Ζεῦ χθόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε**: OH 15.6 | Ζεῦ Κρόνιε, σκηπτοῦχε; Nonn. *D.* 27.93, 36.98 | Ζεὺς χθόνιος; [OH 41.7 χθονίου Διὸς ἀγνοῦ |, 70.2 Διὸς χθονίου |; *Il.* 9.457 | Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος; Hes. *Op.* 465 | Εὐχεσθαι δὲ Διὶ χθονίωι; Soph. *OC* 1606 | κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς Χθόνιος; PGM hy. 24.3 [ἔλθ' Ἐρ]μῇ, ἄρπαξ, δεῦρ' εὐπλόκαμε χθόνιε Ζεῦ]
τάδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμω |: OH 84.7 τάδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμω |

4. | **δς κατέχεις γαίης κληίδας άπάσης**: [OH 25.1 πόντου κληίδας έχοντα |, 58.4 πάντων κληίδας έχοντα |]
6. | **δς τριτάτης μοίρης έλαχες**: OH 17.7 | δς τριτάτης έλαχες μοίρης βαθύ χεύμα θαλάσσης; [IL. 10.253 τριτάτη δ' έτι μοίρα λείλειπται, HHy. 2.446 τήν τριτάτην μέν μοίραν ύπό ζόφον ήερόεντα]
- χθόνα παμβασίλειαν** |: OH 11.2 χθόνα παμβασίλειαν |; Dioscorus fr. 5.4, 13.6 GDRK χθονί παμβασίλης |
7. | **έδρανον άθανάτων**: OH 26.4 | έδρανον άθανάτου κόσμου; [OH 19.3 παμμακάρων έδρανον, Callim. Aet. fr. 119.1 Pfeiffer | Μηκώνην μακάρων έδρανον]
- θνητών στήριγμα κραταίον** |: OH 84.5 θνητών στήριγμα κραταίον |
15. **πύλαι είς' Αΐδαο** |: [IL. 5.646, 23.71 πύλας Αΐδαο |, IL. 9.312, Od. 14.156 Αΐδαο πύλησιν |; OH 29.4 | ή κατέχεις Αΐδαο πύλας]

OH 19 Zeus Keraunos

1. **πυραυγέα κόσμον έλαύνων** |: HHy. 8.6 (Ares) πυραυγέα κόσμον έλίσσων |; PGM hy. 5.25 (B 3.25) μέσον κόσμον έλ[αύνων] |
3. **παμμακάρων έδρανον θείαις βρονταΐσι τινάσσων**: OH 18.7 | έδρανον άθανάτων; 26.4 έδρανον άθανάτου κόσμου; Nonn. D. 2.214 τινάσσεται έδρανα κόσμου |
8. | **πηγνόν όπλον δεινόν**: OH 28.10 | γλώσσης δεινόν όπλον
9. **άνίκητον βέλος άγνόν** |: OH 20.4 άνίκητον θεόν άγνόν |; [Soph. OC 1515 στράψαντα χειρός τής άνιήτου βέλη]
10. | **ρόϊζου άπειρεσίου δινεύμασι**: OH 8.7 | ρόμβου άπειρεσίου δινεύμασι
14. | **και θήρες πτήσσουσιν**: [OH 38.10 πτήσσουσι δέ θήρες άπαντες |]
- όταν κτύπος ούας έσέλθην** |: IL. 10.535 ίππων μ' ώκυπόδων άμφι κτύπος ούατα βάλλει
15. **σμαραγεί δέ κεραυνός** |: [IL. 21.198-9 κεραυνόν | ...σμαραγήση |]
16. | **αιθέρος έν γυάλισι**: Procl. Hy. 7.12 | αιθέρος έν γυάλισι; [Opp. Hal. 1.281 αιετός αιθερίοισιν επιθύνων γυάλισιν]
- διερρήξας δέ χιτώνα** |: Nonn. D. 2.637, 9.254 διαρρήξασα χιτώνα |
17. **βαλών άργήτα κεραυνόν** |: Od. 5.128 βαλών άργήτι κεραυνώ |; IL.8.133 άργήτα κεραυνόν |
18. **κύμασι πόντου** |: Alcib. fr. 1.1 IEG κύμασι πόντου |; Kaibel 1029.6 επί κύμασι πόντου |
20. **αΐσιμα πάντα** |: Od. 7.296, 15.71 άμείνω δ' αΐσιμα πάντα |
22. **Είρήνην τε θεόν, κουροτρόφον, άγλαότιμον**: OH 12.8 ειρήνην ποθέων, κουροτρόφον, άγλαότιμον; 65.9 | ειρήνην ποθέων, κουροτρόφον

OH 20 Zeus Astrapaio

1. || **Κικλήσκω μέγαν, άγνόν, έρισμάραγον**: OH 58.1 || Κικλήσκω μέγαν, άγνόν, έράσμιον, ήδυν Έρωτα

3. | **άστράπτοντα σέλας**: [Aesch. PV 356 έξ όμμάτων δ' ήστραπτε γοργωπόν σέλας; Joseph. De bell. Jud. 7.181 σέλας άπαστράπτουσα]
4. **άνίκητον θεόν άγνόν** |: OH 19.9 άνίκητον βέλος άγνόν |
5. | **Άστραπαϊόν Δία, παγγενέτην**: OH 73.2 | μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην; Orac. (Theosoph. 1.35.6) | Ζήν τε παγγενέτην **βασίληα μέγιστον** |: OH 39.1 βασίληα μέγιστον |; Thgn. 285 βασίληα μέγιστον |
6. **βίοτοιο τελευτήν** |: OH 11.22 βίοτοιο τελευτήν |; IL. 7.104, 16.187 φάνη βίοτοιο τελευτή |

OH 21 Nephe

2. **κατά κόσμον** |: OH 6.7, 37.6, 78.2 κατά κόσμον |; IL. 10.472, 24.622 εϋ κατά κόσμον |; Od. 20.181, HHy. 4.254 οϋ κατά κόσμον |; PGM hy. 20.16 δαίμονες οί κατά κόσμον |
3. **έρίβρομοι**: [Pind. Pyth. 6.11 έριβρόμου νεφέλας]
5. **επιδρομάδην παταγεύσαι** |: [Nic. Ther. 481, O.Arg. 561 επιδρομάδην | U U — |]
6. **δροσοείμονες, εϋπνοοι αύραις** |: OH 51.11 λευχείμονες εϋπνοοι αύραις |; [OH 51.6 δροσοείμονες, ίχνεσι κοϋφαι |]
7. **πέμπειν καρποτρόφους δμβρους επί μητέρα γαΐαν**: OH 82.7 πέμπειν καρποτρόφους δμβρους επί μητέρα γαΐαν ||

OH 22 Thalassa

1. || **Ωκεανού καλέω**: OH 83.1 || Ωκεανόν καλέω
- 1-2. **Τηθύν, | κυανόπεπλον άνασσαν** |: [OH P.26 Τηθύν κυανόπεπλον |]
3. **αύραις ήδυνόοισι**: [OH 81.1-2 || Αύραι... | ήδυνοοι; Eur. Med. 840 | ήδυνόους αύρας]
- πατασσομένην περι γαΐαν** |: OH 4.3 έλισσόμενος περι γαΐαν |; Cleanth. Hy. Zeus v. 7 έλίσσόμενος περι γαΐαν |; [OH 24.7 έλίσσόμενοι περι κύμα; 47.2 έλίσσόμενος περι πάντη]
4. **κύματα μακρά** |: Od. 5.109, 24.110, Hes. Th. 848 κύματα μακρά |
7. **Νεφέων έρεβεννών** |: IL. 22.309 νεφέων έρεβεννών |
9. | **κλυθή μου, ώ πολύσεμνε**: OH 2.1 || κλυθή μοι, ώ πολύσεμνε θεά; 54.1 || κλυθή μου, ώ πολύσεμνε τροφεϋ
- εϋμενέουσ' έπαρήγοις** |: OH 48.6 εϋμενέων έπαρωγός έπέλθοις μυστιπόλοισιν ||; [Od. 13.391 ότε μοι πρόφρασσ' έπαρήγοις |; PGM hy. 20.18 δεϋρ' έπ' άρωγής |]
10. | **εϋθυδρόμοις ούρον ναυσίν πέμπουσα** |: [OH 74.10 μύσταις έν πόντωι ναυσίδρομον ούρον άγουσα]

OH 23 Nereus

2. **πεντήκοντα κόραισιν άγαλλόμενος κατά κύμα**: OH 24.3 πενήκοντα κόραι περι κύμασι βακχεύουσαι; Hes. Th. 254 | κοϋραι πενήκοντα; Eur. Ion 1081 | και πενήκοντα κόραι | †Νηρέος αί κατά πόντον; Eur. LA 1056 πενήκοντα κόραι Νηρέως; [Aesch. fr. 174 TrGF (Thetis) δέσποινα πενήκοντα Νηρήιδων κοράν; O.Arg. 336-7 Νηρέα μέν πρώτιστα καλώ...| άμμιγα πενήκοντα κόραις πάσαισιν έρανναΐς]

ἀγαλλόμενος κατὰ κύμα | : [OH 24.4 ἀγαλλόμενοι περὶ νῶτα | 24.7 ἐλισσόμενοι περὶ κύμα]

4. | **πυθμὴν μὲν πόντου**: [Hes. *Th.* 931-2 θαλάσσης | πυθμὲν' ἔχων; Sol. fr. 13.19-20 *IEG* δὲ πόντου πολυκύμονος ἀτρυγέτοιο | πυθμένα κινήσας; *O.Arg.* 423 πυθμένας τε θαλάσσης]

ἀρχὴ ἀπάντων | : *OF* 243.6 (*Hy.Zeus*) ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων; [*O.Arg.* 336 (Nereus) πρέσβυστον ἀπάντων | *OH* 25.2 πάσης φύσεως ἀρχὰς δὲ ἔφηνεν | *Diog. Laert.* 1.27 (Thales) Ἀρχὴν δὲ τῶν πάντων ὕδωρ ὑπεστήσατο]; *id.* 8.25 (Pythagoras) ἀρχὴν μὲν τῶν ἀπάντων μονάδα]

8. **ἄλβον τ' Εἰρήνην τε καὶ ὀλβιόχειρον Ὑγείην**: *OH* 84.8 ἄλβον ἐπιπνέουσα καὶ ἡπιόχειρον ὕγειν ||; 29.18 εἰρήνην θάλλουσα καὶ ἡπιόχειρον ὕγειν; [*Proc. Hy.* 1.42 καὶ ἀγλαόδωρον ὕγειν]

OH 24 Nereidai

1. | **Νηρέος εἰναλίου νόμφαι καλυκώπιδες**: *HHy.* 5.284 | φασὶν τοι νόμφης καλυκώπιδος ἔκγονον εἶναι; *Ar. Thesm.* 325 Νηρέος εἰναλίου τε κόραι | Νύμφαι τ' ὀρείπλαγκτοι

2. **χοροπαίγμονες, ὕγκοκέλευθοι** | : *OH* 51.14 φιλοπαίγμονες, ὕγκοκέλευθοι | [*OH* 21.3, 22.6, 51.14, 80.3, 83.7, *Ath. Deip.* 2.63 (poet anon.), *Maximus Astrol.* 62 ὕγκοκέλευθ.]

3. | **πεντήκοντα κόραι περὶ κύμασι**: *OH* 23.2 πενήκοντα κόραισιν ἀγαλλόμενος κατὰ κύμα; Hes. *Th.* 254 | κοῦραι πενήκοντα; *Eur. Ion* 1081 | καὶ πενήκοντα κόραι | †Νηρέος αἱ κατὰ πόντον; *Eur. IA* 1056 πενήκοντα κόραι Νηρέως; [*Aesch. fr.* 174 *TrGF* (Thetis) δέσποινα πενήκοντα Νηρήιδων κοράν; *O.Arg.* 337 | ἄμμιγα πενήκοντα κόραις]

4. **ἀγαλλόμενοι περὶ νῶτα** | : [*OH* 23.3 ἀγαλλόμενος κατὰ κύμα]

5. | **θηροτύποις μορφαῖς**: [*OH* 39.8 | θηρότυπον θέμενος μορφήν]

6. **οἱ ναῖοι βυθόν**: [*OH* 75.2 | δὲ ναίεις πόντοιο βυθοῦς]

7. **σκιρτηταί, ἐλισσόμενοι περὶ κύμα** | : *OH* 4.3 ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν | 47.2 ἐλισσόμενος περὶ πάντη | *Cleanth. Hy. Zeus.* v. 7 ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν | [*OH* 23.3 ἀγαλλόμενος κατὰ κύμα; 11.4, 31.1, 51.8, 45.7 σκιρτηταί]

9. **ὕμᾱς κικλήσκω πέμπειν μύσταις**: [*OH* 57.12 | ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πέμποις μύσταις; 23.9 πέμπε δὲ μύσταις]

10. | **ὕμεις γὰρ πρῶται τελετὴν ἀνεδείξατε**: *OH* 38.6 | ὕμεις καὶ τελετὴν πρῶτοι μερόπεσσιν ἔθεσθε; *AG* 9.340.2 (*Dioscorides*) ἱερὰ... πρῶτ' ἀνέδειξε

11. **ἀγνῆς Φερσεφονείης** | : *Od.* 11.386 | ἀγνή Περσεφόνεια; *Lamella* 7.6 Graf–Johnston (*OF* 489) νῦν δ' ἰκέτ(ις) ἤκω πα(ρα)ὶ ἀγνη(ν) Φε(ρ)σέφονειαν; *AG App. Orac.* 216.7, 9, 35 (*Phlegon De mirab.* 10.39) Δήμητρι καὶ ἀγνῇ Περσεφονείῃ | [*OH* P.6 | Φερσεφόνῃ θ' ἀγνή]

12. **Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρὶ**: *OH* 76.10 | Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνακτι | : *Il.* 1.36 | Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνακτι; Hes. *Th.* 347; *O.Arg.* 188 σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνακτι |

OH 25 Proteus

1. **πόντου κληῖδας ἔχοντα** | : *OH* 58.4 πάντων κληῖδας ἔχοντα; [*OH* 73.6 ἐν σοὶ γὰρ λύπης τε χαρὰς κληῖδες ὀχοῦνται; 18.4 δὲ

κατέχεις γαίης κληῖδας]

2. **Πάσης φύσεως ἀρχὰς δὲ ἔφηνεν** | : *Cleanth. Hy. Zeus* v. 2 Ζεὺς φύσεως ἀρχηγέ

6-7. **οὐδὲ τις ἄλλος | ἀθανάτων, οἱ ἔχουσιν ἔδος νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου**: *OH* 59.11-12 οὐδὲ τις ἄλλος | ἀθανάτων, οἱ ἔχουσιν κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου; *Il.* 9.520 οὐδὲ τις ἄλλος | ; Hes. *Th.* 118, 794 ἀθανάτων, οἱ ἔχουσιν κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου; *HHy.* 15.7 ἔδος νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου | ; *P. Derveni col. XII 2 (OF 6.5)* ἔδος νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου |

10. | **ἀλλά, πάτερ, μόλε μυστιπόλοις**: *OH* 68.12 | ἀλλά, θεά, μόλε μυστιπόλοις; [*OH* 76.11 | ἀλλὰ μόλοιτε, θεαί, μύσταις]

δοῖαισι προνοίαις | : *OH* 11.19 ταῖς σαῖσι προνοίαις | ; [*Proc. Hy.* 7.2 ἀλεξικάκοις τε προνοίαις]

11. **πέμπων εὐόλβου βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις**: *OH* 13.10 πέμπων εὐόλβου βιότου τέλος αἰὲν ἄπεμπτον ||; 57.12 πέμπων μύσταις τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις ||; 28.11 βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζων | ; 64.7 βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐγειρεῖ | ; 67.8 βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζων ||; 73.9 βιοτῆς γλυκερὸν τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζων ||; *Thgn.* 905, *Pind. Isth.* 3.23, *Manetho Apotel.* 4.557, *AG* 7.685.1 (*Palladas*), *CIG* 9595a.1 (*AG App. Sep.* 717) βιότου τέλος

OH 26 Ge

1. **μήτερ μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων** | : *OH* 6.3 γένεσιν μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων; 14.9 μήτηρ μὲν τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων; 41.1-2 μήτηρ | ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων; *HHy.* 14.1 Μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων

2. **παντρώφε, πανδῶτειρα, τελεσφόρε, παντολέτειρα**: *OH* 10.16 πάνσοφε, πανδῶτειρα, κομίστρια, παμβασίλεια; [*Eur. Phoen.* 686 πάντων δὲ Γᾶ τροφός]

3. **καλαῖς ὥραισι βρύουσα** | : *OH* 9.7 καλοῖς ἄστροισι βρύουσα | [*OH* 29.10 κόρη καρποῖσι βρύουσα]

4. | **ἔδρανον ἀθανάτου κόσμου**: *OH* 18.7 | ἔδρανον ἀθανάτων [*OH* 19.3 | παμμακάρων ἔδρανον; *Callim. Aet. fr.* 119.1 Pfeiffer | Μηκώνην μακάρων ἔδρανον]

6. | **αἰδία, πολύσεπτε**: *OH* 61.3 | αἰδία, πολύσεμνε; 84.6 | αἰδίη, πολύμορφε; [*OH* 10.21 | αἰδία, κινήσιφόρε, πολύπειρε]

9. | **εἰλεῖται Φύσει ἀενάωι**: [*Pyth.*] *Carm. aur.* 48 | παγὰν ἀενάου φύσεως

10. | **ἀλλά, μάκαιρα θεά**: *OH* 16.9, 77.9 ἀλλά, μάκαιρα θεά καρποὺς αὖξοις πολυγηθεῖς | : [*OH* 50.4 πολυγηθεῖα καρπὸν ἀέζων]

11. | **εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχουσα**: *OH* 30.9 | εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχουσα, σὺν εὐζώνοις τιθήναις; 64.13, *HHy.* 22.7 | εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων; 12.5, 28.2 | παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων

† **σὺν ὀλβίοισιν** † **ἐν ὥραις** | : *OH* 10.29 † σὺν εὐόλβοισιν † ἐν ὥραις | ; 32.16 † ἐπ' εὐόλβοισιν † ἐν ὥραις | (Ψ)

OH 27 Meter Theon

1. **τροφὲ πάντων** | : [*OH* 10.18 πάντων μὲν σὺ πατήρ, μήτηρ, τροφὸς ἡδὲ τιθηνός]

2. | **τῆιδε μόλοις, κρίντειρα, σέο, πότνι, ἐπ' εὐχαίς**: [OH 72.1 || Δεῦρο, Τύχη· καλέω σ', ἀγαθὼν κρίντειραν, ἐπευχαίς]
3. **ταυροφόνων ζεύξασα ταχυδρόμον ἄρμα λεόντων**: OH 14.2 ταυροφόνων ἱερότροχον ἄρμα τιταίνεις; Nonn. D. 40.261 ἄρμα λεόντων |
6. **θνητοῖσι τροφὰς παρέχουσα προσηγεῖς**: OH 16.3 ψυχοτρόφους αὔρας θνητοῖς παρέχουσα προσηγεῖς; Diodor. 1.87.2 τροφὰς παρέχεσθαι προσηγεῖς
7. | **ἐκ σέο δ'**: HHy. 30.5, 31.18 | ἐκ σέο δ'; [OH 68.3, 79.10, PGM hy. 18.36 | ἐκ σέο γάρ; OH 14.10, Cleanth. Hy. Zeus v. 4 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ]
8. **σοὶ ποταμοὶ κρατέονται ἀεὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα**: OH 83.4 ἐξ οὐπὲρ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα; Il. 21.196 ἐξ οὐπὲρ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα; PGM hy. 1.10 καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα |
11. | **ἔρχεο πρὸς τελετήν**: OH 49.7 | ἔρχεο πρὸς τελετάς
13. | **Οὐρανόπαι, πρέσβειρα**: OH 10.2 | οὐρανία, πρέσβειρα

OH 28 Hermes

1. **Μαιάδος υἱέ**: Od. 14.435, Hes. fr. 217.2, HHy. 4.1 (*et freq.*) Μαιάδος υἱ. |; P. Derveni col. 26.2 (OF 687) Ἑρμῆ, Μαιάδος υἱέ
2. | **παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων**: OH 12.5 | παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων; Ps-Phoc. 145 | Ἑγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων; [OH 26.11, 30.9, 64.11, HHy. 22.7 | εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχ.]
- κοίρανε θνητῶν**: [Il. 7.234, 8.281, 9.644, 11.465 κοίρανε λαῶν]
3. **ποικιλόβουλε, διάκτορε Ἀργεῖφόντα**: Il. 2.103, Od. 1.84, 5.43, 145, 8.338, 15.319, 24.99, HHy. 5.213 διάκτορ. Ἀργεῖφόντ. |; [HHy. 4.514 διάκτορε ποικιλομήτα |]
5. **δολῖαις τ' ἀπάταις**: OH 71.4 δολῖαις ἀπάταις |; [OF Sinai fr. f. 6v.7 οὐδ' ἀπάτης δολίησι; Nonn. D. 8.124 | καὶ δολίην Ἀπάτην]
6. | **ἐρμηνεὺ πάντων**: OF 413.1 (*Mikr. Krater*) | Ἑρμῆς δ' ἐρμηνεὺς τῶν πάντων
10. | **γλώσσης δεινὸν ὄπλον**: OH 19.8 | πτηνὸν δεινὸν ὄπλον
11. | **κλυθὶ μου εὐχομένον**: OH 32.15, 34.10, 49.4, 56.1 | κλυθὶ μου εὐχομένου; 59.2 | κλυτέ μου εὐχομένου; Hom. Epigr. 12.1 | κλυθὶ μευ εὐχομένου; Solon 13.2 = Crates 1.2 κλυτέ μοι εὐχομένω |; [Thgn. 13 εὐχομένω μοι κλυθι]

βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὁπάζων: OH 67.8 βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὁπάζων ||; 73.9 βιοτῆς γλυκερὸν τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὁπάζοις ||; OH 25.11 βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις |; 13.10 βιότου τέλος αἰὲν ἀπεμπτον ||; 64.7 βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐγειρεῖ |; 57.12 τέλος ἐσθλὸν U — |; O.Arg. 3 κλέος ἐσθλὸν ὁπάσσοις; Hes. Op. 474 εἰ τέλος αὐτὸς ὀπισθεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐσθλὸν ὁπάζοι |; Thgn. 905, Pind. Isth. 3.23, Manetho Apotel. 4.557, AG 7.685.1 (Palladas), CIG 9595a.1 (AG App. Sep. 717) βιότου τέλος

OH 29 Persephone

1. || **Φερσεφόνη, θύγατερ μεγάλου Διός**: OH 70.2 | ἀγναὶ θυγατέρες μεγάλιο Διὸς χθονίοιο; Hes. Th. 76 | ἐννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διός; Proc. Hy. 3.2 | ἐννέα θυγατέρας μεγάλου Διός; [Il.

7.24 Διὸς θύγατερ μεγάλιο ||]

2. **κεχαρισμένα δ' ἱερὰ δέξαι**: OH 46.8 κεχαρισμένα δ' ἱερὰ δέξαι |; [HHy. 3.274 | δέξαι' ἱερὰ καλὰ; Il. 2.420 | ἀλλ' ὃ γε δέκτο μὲν ἱρά; Od. 16.184 κεχαρισμένα δώομεν ἱρά ||]

4. | **ἡ κατέχεις Αἶδαο πύλας**: Il. 5.646, 23.71 Αἶδαο πύλας περήσειν |; Il. 9.312, Od. 14.156 Αἶδαο πύλησιν |; O. Arg. 1142 | ἄρρηκτοί τ' Αἶδαο πύλαι

ὑπὸ κεῦθεα γαίης: HHy. 2.340, 415, O. Arg. 174 ὑπὸ κεῦθεα γαίης |; [Il. 22.482 Αἶδαο δόμους ὑπὸ κεῦθεσι γαίης |; Od. 24.204, OF Sinai fr. f. 2v.17 εἰν Αἶδαο δόμοις ὑπὸ κεῦθεσι γαίης; Hes. Th. 300, 483, PGM 4.446 ὑπὸ κεῦθεσι γαίης; OH 51.2 | ὕγροπόροις γαίης ὑπὸ κεῦθεσιν; 57.2, 78.5 ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης ||]

6. **ὑποχθονίων βασιλεια**: OH 71.10 καταχθονίων βασιλεια |; Lamellae 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 9.1 Graf–Johnston (OF 488-91) χθονίων βασιλεια |; [OHP.12 | καὶ σύ, καταχθονίων βασιλεῦ]

7. **ἄρρητοῖσι γοναῖς τεκνώσατο**: OH 30.7 | ἄρρητοις λέκτροισι τεκνωθεῖς; [Synes. Hy. 1.246-7 γονὰς | τὰς ἄρρητους, 1.228 ἄρρητε γονά]

10. **κόρη καρποῖσι βρύουσα**: OH 9.7 καλοῖς ἄστροισι βρύουσα |; 26.3 καλαῖς ὥραισι βρύουσα |; [OH 53.10 καρποῖσι τέλεσιγόνουσι βρυάζων |; 40.18 καρποῖς βρίθουσα θερείοις |; [Arist.] De Mundo 3 (392b) φύτοις βρύουσα]

11. **θνητοῖσι ποθεινὴ**: OH 33.1 θνητοῖσι ποθεινὴν |; 60.5 θνητοῖσι ποθειναί |; [OH 63.1 | ὦ θνητοῖσι... ποθεινὴ |; 76.3 | θνητοῖς... ποθεινόταται; Simon. fr. 79.2 (PMG 584) θνατῶν βίος ποθεινός; Ps-Phoc. 45 (= O.Sib. 2.116) [χρυσέ] θνητοῖσι... πῆμα ποθεινόν; Kaibel 1029a.2 ἀνθρώποισι ποθεινά ||]

12. | **εἰαρινή, λειμωνιάσιν**: OH 43.3, 81.3 | εἰαριναί, λειμωνιάδες; [Hes. Th. 279 | ἐν μαλακῶι λειμῶνι καὶ ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι]

15. **θνητοῖς πολυμύχοις**: OH 37.4, 73.5 θνητῶν πολυμύχων |; Eur. El. 1330 οἶκτος θνητῶν πολυμύχων |

17. | **κλυθι, μάκαιρα θεά**: OH 3.3 | κλυθι, μάκαιρα θεά

18. **Εἰρήνηι θάλλουσα καὶ ἡπιοχείρωι Ὑγίαι**: OH 23.8 δλβον τ' εἰρήνην τε καὶ ἡπιοχείρον ὕγειν ||; 84.8 δλβον ἐπιπνεύουσα καὶ ἡπιοχείρον ὕγειαν |; OH 40.4, 63.9 | εἰρήνην χαίρουσα; Timoth. fr. 15.240 (PMG 791) τῶιδ' εἰρήναν θάλλουσαν εὐνομίαι

OH 30 Dionysos

1. || **Κικλήσκω Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον, εὐαστήρα**: OH 48.2 Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον, εἰραφιώτην |; HHy. 26.1 || Κισσοκόμην Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον ἄρχομ' αἰδεῖν; HHy. 7.56 | εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον; Panyasis fr. 17.2 PEG | μοῖραν καὶ Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος; OH 69.1 ἐρίβρομοι, εὐάσται |

2. | **Πρωτόγονον, διφυή**: OH 6.1 || Πρωτόγονον καλέω διφυή **Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα**: OH 54.8 Βακχεῖου ἄνακτος |; Ar. Ran. 1259 | τὸν Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα |

3. **ἄγριον, ἄρρητον, κρύφιον**: OH 6.5 | ἄρρητον, κρύφιον ροιζήτορα; OH 52.5 ὄργιον ἄρρητον, τριφυές, κρύφιον Διὸς ἔρνος

δικέρωτα, δίμορφον: Firm. Mat. De err. prof. rel. 21.2 (PL 12) invenimus enim ita dici: αἰαὶ δίκερως δίμορφε

6. | Εὐβουλεῦ, πολὺβουλε: *OH* 56.3 | Εὐβουλεῦ, πολὺβουλε; [*OH* 29.8 πολυμόρφου Εὐβουλήος; 42.2 πολυώνυμον Εὐβουλήα]

Διὸς καὶ Περσεφονείης |: *OF* Sinai fr. f. 6v.5 Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφονείης |

7. | ἄρρητοις λέκτροισι τεκνωθεῖς: [*OH* 29.7 | ἦν Ζεὺς ἄρρητοις γοναῖς τεκνώσατο κούρην]

ἄμβροτε δαῖμον |: [*Emped.* B 131.8 DK ἄμβροτε Μοῦσα |; *OF* Sinai fr. f. 2v.13 ἄμβροτε κοῦρε |; *AG App. Orac.* 157.7 (Porph. fr. 348) ἄμβροτε Παιάν |; Pap. Adesp.]

8. | κλυθι, μάκαρ, φωνῆς: *OH* 39.9 | κλυθι, μάκαρ, φωνῶν; [*OH* 34.7 | κλυθι, μάκαρ... φωνῆ; |; *PGM* 2.86-7 κλυθι, μάκαρ... ἡμετέρης φωνῆς]

9. | εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων: *OH* 26.11 | εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχουσα, † σὺν ὀλβίοισιν † ἐν ὥραις; *OH* 64.13, *HHy.* 22.7 | εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων; *OH* 12.5, 28.2 | παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων

σὺν ἐυζώνοισι τιθήναις |: *OH* 53.6 σὺν ἐυζώνοισι τιθήναις |; *Il.* 6.467 πρὸς κόλπον ἐυζώνοιο τιθήνης; [*OH* 42.10 σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι τιθήναις |]

OH 31 Kouretes

1. Κουρήτες, ἐνόπλια: [*OH* P.20 | Κουρήτας τ' ἐνόπλους; P. Guröb. col. I.7 (*OF* 578) | Κουρήτες τ' {ε} ἐνόπλιοι]

3. ἔχνεσι κούφοι |: *OH* 51.6 ἔχνεσι κούφαι |; Babrius 1.43.10 ἔχνεσιν κούφοις; [*Greg. Naz. Carm. ad alios* 1.210 (*PG* 37.1466.14) | ἔχνεσι κουφοτάτουςιν]

6. ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέοντες: *OH* 75.4 | ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέοντα; 3.14, 16.10, 81.5, 83.4 | ἔλθ. εὐμεν.; 42.11 | εὐμενεύουσ' ἔλθοις, *PGM* 12.226 ἔλθατε εὐμενεῖς

ἐπ' εὐφήμοισι λόγοισι |: *Greg. Naz. Carm. ad alios* 4.60 (*PG* 37.1510.5) ἐπ' εὐφήμοισι λόγοισι |; [*OH* 43.10 | ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐφήμους τελετὰς ὁσίας νεομύστοις; 51.17 | ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐφήμοις ἱεροῖς; 7.12 | ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐιέρου τελετῆς; Xenoph. B 1.13-14 DK χρῆ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν θεὸν ὑμνεῖν εὐφρονας ἄνδρας | εὐφήμοις μῦθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις]

7. βουκόλῳ εὐάντητοι αἰεὶ κεχαρηότι θυμῷ: *OH* 1.10 βουκόλῳ εὐμενεύουσαν αἰεὶ κεχαρηότι θυμῷ; *OH* 51.17 ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐφήμοις ἱεροῖς κεχαρηότι θυμῷ (31.6+7); *O.Arg.* 782 κεχαρηότι θυμῷ |

OH 32 Athena

2. θεά, πολεμόκλονε, ὀμβριμόθυμε |: *OH* 14.7 ῥέα, πολεμόκλονε, ὀμβριμόθυμε |

3. | ἄρρητε, ῥήτῃ: [*Hes. Op.* 4 | ῥήτοί τ' ἄρρητοί τε; Soph. *OC* 987 | ῥήτὸν ἄρρητόν τ' ἔπος |; Philo *De opif. mund.* 126.10 ἵνα γένηται τὰ ἄρρητα ῥητά]

5. | ἦδ' ὄρεα σκιδόντα, νάπαισί: *Il.* 1.157 | οὐρεά τε σκιδόντα; *Od.* 5.279, 7.268, *HHy.* 3.37, *HHy.* 4.70 ὄρεα σκιδόντα |; [*Hy. Meter* v. 6 (*PMG* 935) | κατ' ὄρεα καὶ νάπας |; *PGM* hy. 20.14 οὐρεά τ' ἀστερόντα, νάπαι καὶ δένδρεα πάντα]

φρένα τέρπει |: Nonn. *D.* 17.251 φρένα τέρπει |; *O.Chald.* 219.4 φρένα τέρπειν |; [*Il.* 1.474 φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων |; Melanipp. fr. 1.4 (*PMG* 757) φρένα τερπόμεναι |]

6. οἰστροῦσα βροτῶν ψυχὰς μανίαισι |: Eur. *Bacch.* 32-3. αὐτὰς ἐκ δόμων ὠιστρησ' ἐγὼ | μανίαις

10. | ἄρσῃν μὲν καὶ θήλυς ἔφυς: Ael. Arist. *Dion.* ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ ἄρσῃν τε καὶ θήλυς ὁ θεὸς; [*OH*.9.4 θήλὺς τε καὶ ἄρσῃν |; 42.4 | ἄρσενα καὶ θήλυν, διφυῆ; Diog. Bab. fr. 33 *SVF* Ζεὺς ἄρσῃν Ζεὺς θήλυς; Syn. *Hy.* 5.64 σὺ μὲν ἄρσῃν, σὺ δὲ θήλυς]

12. | Φλεγραίων ὀλέτειρα Γιγάντων: Nonn. *D.* 48.43 ὀλετήρα Γιγάντων |

14. νεάταισιν ἐν ὥραις |: *PGM* hy. 4.12 (B 2.12) μεσάταισιν ἐν ὥραις |; Maneth. *Apotel.* 3.87 νεότητος ἐν ὥραις |

15. | κλυθί μου εὐχομένου, δὸς: *OH* 28.11, 34.10, 49.4, 56.1 | κλυθί μου εὐχομένου; 59.2 | κλυτέ μου εὐχομένου; *Hom.*

Epigr. 12.1 | κλυθί μευ εὐχομένου, Κουροτρόφε· δὸς δὲ γυναῖκα |; Solon 13.2 = Crates 1.2 κλυτέ μοι εὐχομένῳ |; [Thgn. 13 εὐχομένῳ μοι κλυθί]

17. πολυλλίστη βασιλεία |: *OH* 35.2, 41.9 πολυλλίστη βασιλεία |

OH 33 Nike

1. θνητοῖσι ποθεινὴν |: *OH* 29.11 θνητοῖσι ποθεινὴ |; 60.5

θνητοῖσι ποθειναί |; [*OH* 63.1 | ὦ θνητοῖσι... ποθεινὴ |; 76.3 | θνητοῖς... ποθεινόταται; Simon. fr. 79.2 (*PMG* 584) θνατῶν βίος ποθεινός; Ps-Phoc. 45 (= *O.Sib.* 2.116) [χρυσέ] θνητοῖσι... πῆμα ποθεινόν; Kaibel 1029a.2 ἀνθρώποισι ποθεινά |]

5. | οἷς ἂν ἐφορμαίνουσα: *OH* 74.7 | οἷς ἂν ἐφορμαίνουσα

6. | πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις: *OH* 16.7, 68.11, 83.5 | πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις; *Il.* 1.238 | πάντων μὲν κρατέειν

8. | ἀλλά, μάκαιρ', ἔλθοις πεποθημένη: *OH* 79.11 ἀλλά, μάκαιρ', ἔλθοις κεχαρημένη

9. | αἰεὶ ἐπ' εὐδόξοις ἔργοις: *OH* 7.13 ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' εὐδόξοις ἔργοις; [*Diod.* 31.3.3 τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς καλοῖς ἔργοις εὐδοξίαν]

OH 34 Apollo

8. πανδερκὲς ἔχων φρεσίμβροτον ὄμμα |: *OH* 8.1 Κλυθι μάκαρ, πανδερκὲς ἔχων αἰώνιον ὄμμα |; [*Greg. Naz. Chr. Pat.* v. 1412 δίκης ὄμμα πανδερκέστατον |]

10. | κλυθί μου εὐχομένου: *OH* 28.11, 32.15, 49.4, 56.1 | κλυθί μου εὐχομένου; 59.2 | κλυτέ μου εὐχομένου; *Hom. Epigr.* 12.1 | κλυθί μευ εὐχομένου; Solon 13.2 = Crates 1.2 κλυτέ μοι εὐχομένῳ |; [Thgn. 13 εὐχομένῳ μοι κλυθί]

εὐφρονι θυμῷ |: *HHy.* 30.14, Thgn. 1325, Panyasis fr. 16.17 *PEG* εὐφρονι θυμῷ |; [*Procl. Hy.* 7.5 κέκλυθι· δέχνησο δ' ὕμνον εὐφρονι, πότνια, θυμῷ]

11-12 τόνδε σὺ γὰρ λεύσσεις τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα πάντα | γαῖαν δ' ὀλβιόμοιρον ὑπερθέ: Eur. fr. 941 ὀραῖς τὸν ὕψου τόνδ' ἀπειρον αἰθέρα | καὶ γῆν; *O.Arg.* 303 Ἥμος δ' ἥελιος τὸν ἀπείριτον αἰθέρα τέμνων

15. σοὶ δ' ἀρχὴ τε τελευτὴ τ' ἐστὶ μέλουσα |: [*OH* 4.2, 15.7 | ἀρχὴ πάντων πάντων τε τελευτὴ; *PGM* hy. 18.35 | ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος εἶ]

26. κόσμου σφραγίδα τυπώτιν |: *OF* 378.8 (*Diatheke*) κόσμοιο

τυπωτήν |

27. κλυθι, μάκαρ, σῶζων μύστας ίκετηρίδι φωνή: *PGM hy.*

4.7 κλυθι, μάκαρ; *OH* 3.13, 13.9 ίκετηρίδα φωνήν |; [*OH* 85.10 | σῶζοντ' εὐμενέως μύστας]

OH 35 Leto

1. || Λητώ κυανόπεπλε: *Hes. Th.* 406 | Λητώ κυανόπεπλον

2. πολυλλίστη βασιλεία |; *OH* 32.17, 41.9 πολυλλίστη βασιλεία |

3. γονίμην ὠδίνα λαβοῦσα |; *OH* 44.8 γονίμην ὠδίνα τελῶσιν |; [*Isyllus Paian* v. 53 (*CA* p. 134) γονίμαν δ' ἔλευσεν ὠδίνα]

4-5. γειναμένη Φοῖβόν τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ιοχέαιραν | τήν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ: *HHy.* 3.15-16 Ἀπόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ιοχέαιραν, | τήν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δήλῳ; *Hom., Hes., HHy.* (freq.) Ἄρτεμις ιοχέαιρα |; *Hes. Th.* 14 Φοῖβόν τ' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ιοχέαιραν

6. | κλυθι, θεὰ δέσποινα: *OH* 74.8 | ἀλλά, θεὰ δέσποινα; *Crates Hy. Eutelia* v. 1 (*SH* 361) | Χαῖρε, θεὰ δέσποινα, σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγάπημα

Ἰλαον ἦτορ ἔχουσα |; *Opp. Cyn.* 2.40 πανίλαον ἦτορ ἔχοιεν |

7. | βαῖν' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετήν: *OH* 53.9 | βαῖν' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετήν; 54.7 | δεῦρ' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετήν

OH 36 Artemis

1. πολύνυνμε κούρη |; [*PGM hy.* 21.22 Ἐκάτη, πολύνυνμε, παρθένη, κούρα |]

4. ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ |; *OH* 2.2 ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ; [*OH* 11.7, 39.4 | φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγ.]

11. καλὸν θάλος αἰὲν ἐοῦσα: *OH* 50.3, *Aratus fr.* 84, 85 *SH* (*Phaen.* prooemia), *AG* 5.194.3 (*Posidippus*) ἱερὸν θάλος – U U – |; *OH* 56.8, *HHy.* 2.66, *Opp. Cyn.* 1.3 γλυκερὸν θάλος – U U – |; *OH* 67.6 κρατερὸν θάλος – U U – |

αἰὲν ἐοῦσα *OH* 69.15 αἰὲν ἐοῦσαι |; 83.1 πατέρ' ἄφθιτον, αἰὲν ἔοντα |; *Hom.* (freq.) θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔοντες | 13-14. | ἐλθέ... | εὐάντητος: [*OH* 41.8 | ἐλθεῖν εὐάντητον; *Hy. Hecat.* v. 8 (*GDRK* p. 171) | ἐλθοῖς εὐάντητος]

OH 37 Titanes

1. Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα |; *Hes. Th.* 644 κέκλυτέ μεν Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα; [*OH* 13.6 Γαίης τε βλάστημα καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος; *Lamellae:* e.g. 2.6 *Graf–Johnston* (*OF* 476) εἰπεῖν· Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος]

3. ταρταρίοισι μυχαῖ χθονός: *Hes. Th.* 119 Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα μυχαῖ χθονός εὐρυοδείης

4. | ἀρχαὶ καὶ πηγαὶ πάντων: *Orac. (Theosoph.* 1.32.2) ἀρχή πηγῇ τε ζώης; *Procl. De Mal. Subsist.* 42.1 θεοί... πηγαὶ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν; *AG App. Orac.* 148.2 (*Theosoph.* 1.4) πάντων πηγῇ, πάντων δὲ καὶ ἀρχή |

θνητῶν πολυμόχθων |; *OH* 29.15, 73.5 θνητ. πολυμόχθ. | *Eur. El.* 1330 οἶκτος θνητῶν πολυμόχθων

5. | εἰναλίων πτηνῶν τε καί: [*OH* 78.11 τετραπόδων πτηνῶν τε καὶ εἰναλίων πολυεθνῶν]

οἱ χθόνα ναιετάουσιν |; *OH* 45.6, *O.Sib.* 3.518, ὅσοι χθόνα ναιετάουσιν |; *Dionys. Per.* 265 (*et freq.*) χθόνα ναιετάουσιν |[*OH* 38.4 χθόνα, ναιετάοντες |; *Od.* 6.153, *Hes. Th.* 564 οἱ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσι]

6. κατὰ κόσμον |; *OH* 6.7, 21.2, 78.2 κατὰ κόσμον |; *Il.* 10.472, 24.622 εὐ κατὰ κόσμον |; *Od.* 20.181, *HHy.* 4.254 οὐ κατὰ κόσμον |; *PGM hy.* 20.16 δαίμονες οἱ κατὰ κόσμον |

7. μῆνιν χαλεπὴν ἀποπέμπειν |; *OH* 75.8 | ρύομενος μῆνιν χαλεπῇ; *Il.* 5.178, 13.624 μῆνιν χαλεπῇ; [*OH* 39.9 χαλεπὴν δ' ἀποπέμπεο μῆνιν | *Callim. fr.* 637 Pfeiffer χαλεπῇ μῆνις ἐπιχθονίων]

OH 38 Kouretes

1. Χαλκόκροτοι Κουρήτες, ἀρήια τεύχε' ἔχοντες |; *OH* 38.7 ἀθάνατοι Κουρήτες, ἀρήια τεύχε' ἔχοντες; *Il.* 6.340, 14.381, *Od.* 16.284 ἀρήια τεύχεα – |

2. | οὐράνιοι χθόνιοι τε καὶ εἰνάλιοι: *OH* 1.2 οὐρανίαν χθονίαν τε καὶ εἰνάλιαν; 7.9 | οὐράνιοι χθόνιοι τε

4. ἱερὴν χθόνα ναιετάοντες |; *De Vir. Herb.* 92 χθόνα ναιετάοντες; *HHy.* 3.335, *Hes. Th.* 621 χθονὶ ναιετάοντες; *OH* 37.5, 45.6, *O.Sib.* 3.518, *Dionys. Per.* 265 (*et freq.*) χθόνα ναιετάουσιν |

6. | ὑμεῖς καὶ τελετήν πρῶτοι μερόπεσσιν ἔθεσθε: *OH* 24.10 | ὑμεῖς γὰρ πρῶται τελετὴν ἀνεδείξατε σεμνῇ

10. | μαρμαίροντες ὄπλοις: *Il.* 13.801 | χαλκῶι μαρμαίροντες; *Anna Comn. Alex.* 13.2.1 εἰστήκεσαν ἅπαντες τοῖς ὄπλοις μαρμαίροντες

πτῆσσοσι δὲ θῆρες ἅπαντες |; [*OH* 19.14 | καὶ θῆρες πτῆσσοσιν; *Ar. Av.* 777 πτῆξε δὲ φυλά τε ποικίλα θηρῶν]

11. βοή τ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκει |; *Il.* 14.60 αὐτὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἵκει. |

18. ἐς χθόνα πίπτει |; *Nonn. D.* 42.489 ὅτε δρόσος εἰς ἐς χθόνα πίπτει |

OH 39 Korybas

1. βασιλῆα μέγιστον |; *OH* 20.5, *Thgn.* 285 βασιλῆα μέγιστον |

3. φόβων ἀποπαύστορα δεινῶν |; [*OH* 11.7 φόβων ἔκπαγλε βροτείων |]

4. | φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγόν: *OH* 11.7 | φαντασιῶν ἐπαρωγέ; [*OH* 2.2, 36.4 | ὠδίνων ἐπαρωγέ, 28.4 | ἐργασίας ἐπαρωγέ]

ἐρημοπλάνον Κορύβαντα |; *Nonn. D.* 3.62 ἐρημονόμων Κορυβάντων |

7. | θηρότυπον θέμενος μορφῇ: [*OH* 24.5 | θηροτύποις μορφαῖς]

δνοφεροῖο δράκοντος |; [*Hes. Th.* 825-6 ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφις δεινοῖο δράκοντος, | γλώσσησι δνοφερῇσι λειχιμότες]

9. | κλυθι, μάκαρ, φωνῶν: *OH* 30.8 | κλυθι, μάκαρ, φωνῆς χαλεπὴν δ' ἀποπέμπεο μῆνιν |; [*OH* 37.7 ὑμᾶς κικλήσκω μῆνιν χαλεπὴν ἀποπέμπειν; 75.8 | ρύομενος μῆνιν χαλεπῇ; *Il.* 5.178, 13.624 μῆνιν χαλεπῇ]

OH 40 Demeter Eleusinia

1. **Δηώ, παμμήτειρα θεά πολυνύμμε δαίμων:** OH 10.1 Ώ Φύσι, παμμήτειρα θεά, πολυμήχανε μήτερ; [HHy. 30.1 | Γαῖαν παμμήτειραν; OF 243.27 (Hy. Zeus) | γαῖά τε παμμήτειρ']
πολυνύμμε δαίμων | OH 2.1, 11.10 πολυνύμμε δαίμων | 56.1 πολυνύμμε, δαίμων ἄριστε |
2. **κουροτρόφε, ὀλβιοδῶτι** | OH 65.9 κουροτρόφον, ὀλβιοδῶτιν ||; Eur. Bacch. 420 ὀλβιοδότεραν Εἰρήναν, κουροτρόφον θεάν
4. | **εἰρήνην χαίρουσα:** OH 63.9 | εἰρήνην χαίρουσα; 29.18 | εἰρήνην θάλλουσα; [Dem. De Fals. Leg. 96 χαίρει τῇ εἰρήνῃ]
6. **Ἐλευσίνος γυάλοισιν** | OH 41.4 Ἐλευσίνος γυάλοισιν; [Kaibel 1032.6 ε]ὑέρνων γυάλ[οισιν] |
7. | **ἱμερόεσσ', ἐρατή:** OH 68.1 || Ἱμερόεσσ' ἐρατή; HHy. 2.422-3 ἱμερόεσσα... ἐρατεινῇ
11. **ἀγνή, δρεπάνοις χαίρουσα θερείοις** | OH 40.18 ἀγνή, καρποῖς βρίθουσα θερείοις
12. **πᾶσι προσηγής** | OH 2.5 πᾶσι προσηγής |; Kaibel 610.2 (AG App. Sep. 465.2) πᾶσι προσηγής |
14. **δρακοντείοισιν ὑποζεύξασα χαλινούς** | Nonn. D. 16.143 ὑποζεύξασα χαλινῶ; [4.396 κομόωντα δρακοντείοισι καρήνοισιν] |
- 18-19. **ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή, καρποῖς βρίθουσα θερείοις** | **Εἰρήνην κατάγουσα:** Isidor. Hy. Isis 3.14 εἰρήνη(ν) τε ἄγων, καρποὶ βρίθουσιν ἐπ' αὐτῶι; OH 61.10 ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή; 40.11 ἀγνή, δρεπάνοις χαίρουσα θερείοις |
19. **Εἰρήνην κατάγουσα** | OH 14.13 εἰρήνην κατάγουσα

OH 41 Meter Antaia

- 1-2. **μήτερ | ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων:** OH 14.9 μήτηρ μὲν τε θεῶν ἡδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων; 83.2 ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων; Orac. (Theosoph. 1.51.8) ναῖουσ' ἀθάνατοι τε θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι; [OH 26.1 Γαῖα θεά, μήτερ μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων; HHy. 14.1 Μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων]
4. **Ἐλευσίνος γυάλοισιν** | OH 40.6 Ἐλευσίνος γυάλοισιν |; [Kaibel 1032.6 ε]ὑέρνων γυάλ[οισιν] |
5. **πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν** | OH 46.6 πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν |; OH 44.6 παρ' ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν |; Od. 11.213, 226, 635 ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνεια |; HHy. 2.348 ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν |; Hes. fr. 280.12 (Minyas fr. 7 PEG) ἀγαυὴν Φερσεφόνειαν |; [OH 24.11 ἀγνῆς Φερσεφονείης |; Lamella 7.6 Graf-Johnston (OF 489) νῦν δ' ἱκέτι(ς) ἥ)κω πα(ρα)ῖ ἀγνή(ν) Φε(ρ)σεφόνειαν]
7. **χθονίου Διὸς ἀγνοῦ** | [OH 18.3 | Ζεῦ χθόνιε; PGM hy. 24.3 χθόνιε Ζεῦ |]
8. **θνητῆς ἀπ' ἀνάγκης** | [Hes. Th. 517, OF 319.1 κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης |]
9. | **ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σε:** OH 10.29, 71.10, 72.9 | ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σε
- πολυλλίστη βασίλεια** | OH 32.17, 35.2 πολυλλίστη βασίλεια |
10. **ἐλθεῖν εὐάντητον ἐπ' εὐέρωι σέο μύστη:** Hy. Hecat. v. 8 (GDRK p. 171) | ἐλθοῖς εὐάντητος ἐφ' ἡμετέρησι θηλγαῖς

OH 42 Mise

2. **σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυνύμμον Εὐβουλήα:** OH 6.4 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον, Ἑρικεπαῖον; 50.2 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυνύμμε, λύσιτε δαίμων
4. | **ἄρσενά καὶ θῆλυν:** [OH 9.4 θῆλὺς τε καὶ ἄρσεν |; 32.10 | ἄρσεν μὲν καὶ θῆλὺς ἔφυς; Ael. Arist. Dion. ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ ἄρρην τε καὶ θῆλυν ὁ θεός; Diog. Bab. fr. 33 SVF Ζεὺς ἄρρην Ζεὺς θῆλυν; Syn. Hy. 5.64 σὺ μὲν ἄρρην, σὺ δὲ θῆλυν]
5. | **εἴτ' ἐν Ἐλευσίνος τέρπηι νηῶι θυόεντι:** HHy. 2.97 δς τότε Ἐλευσίνος θυοέσσης κοίρανος ἦεν; 2.490 Ἀλλ' ἄγ' Ἐλευσίνος θυοέσσης δῆμον ἐχουσα
7. | **ἡ Κύπρωι τέρπηι:** OH 49.6 | ἡ Τιμῶλος τέρπει σε; 55.22 | ἡ νύμφαις τέρπηι
ἐussteφάνωι Κυθερείηι | Od. 8.288, 18.193, HHy. 5.287 ἐussteφάν. Κυθερεί. |; [OH 46.3 ἐussteφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης |]
8. | **ἡ καὶ πυροφόροις πεδίοις:** Il. 21.680 εἶος δ' τὸν πεδίοιο διώκετο πυροφόροιο
9. **μελανηφόρῳ Ἰσιδι σεμνῇι** | Isidor. Hy. Isis 3.34 μελανηφόρε Ἰσι ἐλήμων |
10. **σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι τιθήναις** | OH 30.9, 53.6 σὺν εὐζώνοισι τιθήναις |; Soph. OC 680 θεαῖς ἀμφιπολῶν τιθήναις; [Od. 1.362 σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι γυναιξί]
11. | **εὐμενέουσ' ἔλθοις:** OH 3.14, 16.10, 31.6, 75.4, 81.5, 83.8 | ἐλθ. εὐμεν.

OH 43 Horai

1. **Ζηγὸς ἄνακτος** | OH 14.4, 62.2 | — Ζηγὸς ἄνακτος
2. **Εὐνομίη τε Δίκη τε καὶ Εἰρήνη πολυόλβε:** Hes. Th. 902 Εὐνομίη τε Δίκην τε καὶ Εἰρήνην τεθαλυῖαν; OH 32.13 δδς δὲ Ἐιρήνην πολυόλβον |; Paul. Sil. Descr. S. Soph. 139 | Εἰρήνη πολυόλβε; OH 60.3 Ἀγλαίη, Θαλίη τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνη πολυόλβε
3. **εἰαριναί, λειμωνιάδες, πολυάνθεμοι, ἀγναί:** OH 81.3 | εἰαριναί, λειμωνιάδες; 29.12 | εἰαρινή, λειμωνιάσιν χαίρουσα; 51.4 καρποτρόφοι, λειμωνιάδες, σκολιοδρόμοι, ἀγναί; [Hes. Th. 279 | ἐν μαλακῶι λειμῶνι καὶ ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι]
7. | **Περσεφόνης συμπαίκτορες:** [OH 29.9 | Ὡρῶν συμπαίκτειρα]
8. | **καὶ Χάριτες κυκλίοισι χοροῖς:** [OH 55.21 κητῶν κυκλίαισι χορείας |]
10. | **ἐλθετ' ἐπ' εὐφήμους τελετὰς:** OH 7.12 | ἐλθετ' ἐπ' εὐιέρου τελετῆς; 51.17 | ἐλθετ' ἐπ' εὐφήμοις ἱεροῖς; [31.6 ἐλθοιτ' εὐμενέοντες ἐπ' εὐφήμοισι λόγοισι]

OH 44 Semele

3. **μητέρα θυρσοφόροιο Διωνύσου πολυγηθοῦς:** OH 75.1 || Σύντροφε βακχεχόροιο Διωνύσου πολυγηθοῦς; Hes. Th. 941 Διωνύσον πολυγηθέα |; Or. 614 δῶρα Διωνύσου πολυγηθέος |; [Pind. fr. 153 Snell-Maehler Διόνυσος πολυγαθῆς αὐξάνοι]
4. **πυρφόρῳ αὐγῇι** | OH 47.4 | ἡνίκα πυρφόρος αὐγὴ ἐκίνησε χθόνα πᾶσαν

5. **Διὸς βουλαῖς Κρονίοιο** | *OH* 46.8 | καὶ βουλαῖσι Διὸς πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Φερσεφόνειαν; *HHy.* 5.23 βουλῇ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο | [*Il.* 13.524, *HHy.* 2.9, *Hes. Op.* 79] – *U* Διὸς βουλῇσιν |
6. **παρ' ἀγαυῆς Περσεφονείης** | *OH* 41.5, 46.6 πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν | *Lamella* 7.6 Graf–Johnston (*OF* 489) πα(ρα) ἰαγνή(ν) Φε(ρ)σεφόνειαν; *Od.* 11.213, 226, 635 ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνεια | *HHy.* 2.348 ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν | *Hes. fr.* 280.12 (*Minyas fr.* 7 *PEG*) ἀγαυὴν Φερσεφόνειαν |
7. **ἐν θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἀνὰ τριετηρίδας ὥρας**: *OH* 54.3 καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ τριετηρίσιν ὥραις; *OH* 45.6, *Od.* 3.3, 12.386, *HHy.* 3.69 | καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν
8. **γονίμην ὠδίνα τελῶσιν** | *OH* 35.3 Ζηνὸς γονίμην ὠδίνα λαχοῦσα | [*Isyllus Paian* v. 53 (*CA* p. 134) γονίμαν δ' ἔλυσε ὠδίνα Διὸς παῖς]
9. **μυστήριά θ' ἀγνά** | *OH* 79.10 μυστήριά θ' ἀγνά |

OH 45 Dionysos Bassareus Trieterikos

3. | **ὅς ξίφεσιν χαίρεις ἥδ' αἷματι**: *OH* 65.5 | ὅς ποθέεις ξίφεσιν; [*OH* 65.4 | αἷματι ἀνδροφόνωι χαίρων]
4. † **μανικὲ Βάκχε** | *OH* 52.1 † μανικὲ Βακχεῦ (emended by Hermann to μαινόλα)
- 5-6. **τετιμένε πᾶσι θεοῖσι | καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν**: *OH* 54.2-3 τετιμένε πᾶσι θεοῖσι | καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν; *Carm. pop.* 34.1 (*PMG* 880, *Linus song*) ὦ Λίνε πᾶσι θεοῖσι τετιμένε; [*Il.* 24.533 οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν | *Hes. Th.* 415 | ἀθανάτοισ τε θεοῖσι τετιμένη; *HHy.* 5.205 πάντεσσι τετιμένος ἀθανάτοισι | *Quint. Sm.* 12.25 τετιμένε πάγχυ θεοῖσιν |]
6. | **καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν**: *OH* 54.3, *Od.* 3.3, 12.386, *HHy.* 3.69 | καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν; *OH* 44.7 | ἐν θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ὅσοι χθόνα ναιετάουσιν | *O.Sib.* 3.518 ὅσοι χθόνα ναιετάουσιν | *Quint. Sm.* 3.649 ὅσοι χθόνι ναιετάουσιν | *Apollin. Met. Psalm.* 32.16 ὅπόσοι χθόνα ναιετάουσιν | *OH* 37.5 οἱ χθόνα ναιετάουσιν | *Dionys. Per.* 265 (*et freq.*) χθόνα ναιετάουσιν | *Od.* 6.153, *Hes. Th.* 564 οἱ ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάουσι
7. | **ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητά**: *OH* 11.4 | ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, σκιρτητά

OH 46 Liknites

1. **ἐπευχαῖς ταῖσδε κικλήσκω** | [*PGM hy.* 21.27 καλῶ σ' ἐπ' ἐμαῖς ἐπαιδαῖς; 22.11 μόλε ταῖσδ' ἐπαιδαῖς |]
3. **εὐστεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης** | *Od.* 8.267 εὐστεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης | [*OH* 42.7 εὐστεφάνωι Κυθερείη |]
6. | **καὶ βουλαῖσι Διὸς**: [*Il.* 13.524, *HHy.* 2.9, *Hes. Op.* 79] – *U* Διὸς βουλῇσιν; *OH* 44.5 Διὸς βουλαῖς Κρονίοιο | *HHy.* 5.23 βουλῇ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο |]
- πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν | *OH* 41.5 πρὸς ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν | 44.6 παρ' ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν | *Od.* 11.213, 226, 635 ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνεια | *HHy.* 2.348 ἀγαυὴν Περσεφόνειαν | *Hes. fr.* 280.12 (*Minyas fr.* 7 *PEG*) ἀγαυὴν Φερσεφόνειαν | [*OH* 24.11 ἀγνῆς Φερσεφονείης | *Lamella* 7.6 Graf–Johnston (*OF* 489) νῦν δ' ἰκέτι(ς) ἥ)κω πα(ρα)ῖ ἀγνή(ν) Φε(ρ)σεφόνειαν]

7. **φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν** | *Il.* 20.347 Αἰνείας φίλος ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν |

8. | **εὐφρων ἐλθέ, μάκαρ**: *OH* 9.11 | ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, εὐφρων κεχαρισμένα δ' ἱερὰ δέξαι | *OH* 29.2 κεχαρισμένα δ' ἱερὰ δέξαι | [*HHy.* 3.274 | δέξαι' ἱερὰ καλὰ; *Il.* 2.420 | ἀλλ' ὅ γε δέκτο μὲν ἱρά; *Od.* 16.184 κεχαρισμένα δώομεν ἱρά |]

OH 47 Perikionios

2. **ἐλισσόμενος πέρι πάντη** | *OH* 4.3, *Cleanth. Hy. Zeus.* v. 7 ἐλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν | *OH* 24.7 ἐλισσόμενοι πέρι κύμα |
4. | **ἡνίκα πυρφόρος αὐγῇ**: *OH* 44.4 ἡ μεγάλας ὠδῖνας ἐλάσσαντο πυρφόρῳ αὐγῇ
- χθόνα πᾶσαν | *Orac. (Theosoph.* 1.36.1) χθόνα πᾶσαν |
6. | **ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, βακχευτά**: *OH* 11.20 | ἀλλὰ μάκαρ, βακχευτά

OH 48 Sabazios

2. **ὁς Βάκχον Διόνυσον, ἐρίβρομον, Εἰραφιώτην** | *OF Sinai fr.* f. 2r.14 ἐκλήμisen Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιώτην; *OH* 30.1 Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον, εὐαστήρα | *HHy.* 7.56, 26.1, *Panyasis fr.* 17.2 *PEG* | – *U* – Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον; *Dionys. Per.* 576 ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιώτην | *Nonn. D.* 14.229 πυρίβρομος Εἰραφιώτης |
4. | **Τμῶλον ἐς ἡγάθεον**: *Il.* 2.722 | Λήμνωι ἐν ἡγαθέωι; *Od.* 2.308 | ἐς Πύλον ἡγαθέην;

OH 49 Hipta

1. **εὐάδα κούρην** | [*Nonn. D.* 43.98 εὐάδι Βάκχη |]
4. | **κλυθὶ μου εὐχομένον**: *OH* 28.11, 32.15, 34.10, 56.1 | κλυθὶ μου εὐχομένου; 59.2 | κλυτέ μου εὐχομένου; *Hom. Epigr.* 12.1 | κλυθὶ μευ εὐχομένου; *Solon* 13.2 = *Crates* 1.2 *IEG* κλυτέ μοι εὐχομένωι | [*Thgn.* 13 εὐχομένωι μοι κλυθί |]
6. | **ἡ Τμῶλος τέρπει σε**: *OH* 42.7 | ἡ Κύπρωι τέρπει; 55.22 | ἡ νύμφαις τέρπει
7. **ἔρχο πρὸς τελετάς**: *OH* 27.11 | ἔρχο πρὸς τελετήν
- ἱερωὶ γήθουσα προσώπωι** | *OH* 16.10, 55.16 καλῶι γήθουσα προσώπωι |; 75.4 νέωι γήθουσα προσώπωι |; [53.9 γανόωντι προσώπωι |]

OH 50 Lysios Lenaios

2. **σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολώννυμε** | *OH* 42.2 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολώννυμον Εὐβουλῆα; 6.4 σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολύργιον, Ἑρικεπαῖον
3. **ἱερὸν θάλος, Εὖιε Βάκχε** | *Aratus fr.* 84, 85 *SH (Phaen. prooemia)*, *AG* 5.194 (*Posidippus*), 8.32.1 (*Greg. Naz.*) ἱερὸν θάλος – *U* – | [*OH* 36.11 καλὸν θάλος, αἰὲν ἐοῦσα | 56.8 γλυκερὸν θάλος, ἔρνος Ἑρωτος | 67.6 κρατερὸν θάλος ἀγλαότιμον |]
4. **πολυγηθέα καρπὸν ἀέξων** | *Quint. Sm.* 14.199 πολυγηθέα καρπὸν ἀμώνται | [*OH* 26.10 καρποὺς αὖξοις πολυγηθεῖς |]
7. | **χάρμα βροτοῖς**: *Il.* 14.325 ἡ δὲ Διόνυσον Σεμέλη τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσιν

9. | οἷς ἐθέλεις θνητῶν: Antiphanes fr.194.4 *PCG* | οἷς ἐθέλει θνητῶν; Isidor. *Hy. Isis* 2.20 | οἷσι θέλεις; [Hes. *Th.* 432, 439 οἷς κ' ἐθέλῃσι]
10. | νῦν σε καλῶ μύσταισι μολεῖν ἡδύν: [P. Argent. 1313 v. 30. ('Carmen mystarum' *GDRK* 57, *OF* 593) μύσταις ὅμου καὶ μύστισι(ν) μόλοις; *OH* 44.11 πρηνύσον καλέων αἰεὶ μύσταισιν ὑπάρχειν]

OH 51 Nymphai

2. γαίης ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἰκί' ἔχουσαι |: *OH* 69.3 ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἰκί' ἔχουσαι |; *Il.* 22.482, *Od.* 24.204, Hes. *Th.* 300, 483, Thgn. 243 ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης |; Eur. *Alc.* 872 βᾶθι κεύθος οἴκων
4. λειμωνιάδες, σκολιοδρόμοι, ἀγναί |: *OH* 43.3 λειμωνιάδες, πολυάνθεμοι, ἀγναί |
6. δροσοείμονες, ἔχνεσι κοῦφαι |: *OH* 31.3 ἔχνεσι κοῦφοι |; Babrius 1.43.10 ἔχνεσιν κούφοις; [Greg. Naz. *Carm. ad alios* 1.210 (*PG* 37.1466.14) | ἔχνεσι κουφοτάτουςιν]
7. | φαινόμεναι, ἀφανείς: *OH* 55.10 | φαινομένη, ἀφανής
11. εὐπνοοὶ αὖραις |: *OH* 21.6 εὐπνοοὶ αὖραις |
14. | κοῦραι Ἀμαδρυάδες: Nonn. *D.* 17.311, 46.192 | Νύμφαι Ἀμαδρυάδες
φιλοπαίγμονες, ὑγροκέλευθοι |: *OH* 24.2 χοροπαίγμονες, ὑγροκέλευθοι |
17. | ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐφήμοις ἱεροῖς: *OH* 43.10 | ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐφήμοις τελετάς; [31.6 | ἔλθοιτ' εὐμένοντες ἐπ' εὐφήμοις λόγοις]
κεχαρηότι θυμῷ |: *OH* 1.10, 31.7, *O.Arg.* 782 κεχαρηότι θυμῷ |

OH 52 Trieterikos

1. || Κικλήσκω σε, μάκαρ: *OH* 86.1 | Κικλήσκω σε, μάκαρ | † μανικὲ Βακχεῦ: *OH* 45.4 † μανικὲ Βάκχε | (emended by Hermann to μαινόλα)
4. Θυρσοτινάκτα |: [Eur. *Bacch.* 80 | ἀνὰ θύρσον τε τινάσσων; Nonn. *D.* 23.14, 24.158, *AG* 2.1.35 (Christodorus) θύρσα τινάσσων]
5. | ὄργιον ἄρρητον, τριφυές, κρύφιον: *OH* 30.3 | ἄργιον, ἄρρητον, κρύφιον; [*OH* 6.5 | ἄρρητον, κρύφιον ροιζήτορα]
Διὸς ἔρνος |: Eur. *Phoen.* 191 ὦ Διὸς ἔρνος | Ἄρτεμι; Theoc. 7.44 ἐκ Διὸς ἔρνος |
6. | Πρωτόγον', Ἑρικεπαῖε: [*OH* 6.1-4 | Πρωτόγονον... Ἑρικεπαῖον |; *OF* 241.1 ὥς τότε πρωτογόνοιο χαδῶν μένος Ἑρικεπαίου]
7. ἀγέτα κώμων |: Synes. *Hy.* 1.310, 401 ἡγέτα κόσμων |; [*AG* 12.119.1-2 (Meleager) ἄγεο, κώμων | ἄρχε]
11. | ἔλθέ, μάκαρ, μύσταισι: *OH* 56.12 ἔλθέ, μάκαρ, μύσταισι; [61.10 | ἔλθέ, μάκαρ, ἄγνη, μύσταις ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεὶ]
13. κεχαρημένος αἰεὶ ||: *OH* 83.8 κεχαρημένος αἰεὶ |; [Maximus Astrol. 105 νόμι κεχαρημένη εἶη]

OH 53 Amphietes

2. Νύμφαις εὐπλοκάμοισιν |: *Od.* 1.86 | νύμφηι εὐπλοκάμωι

3. | δς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἱεροῖσι δόμοισιν: *OH* 57.5 | δς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἱερὸν δόμον
6. σὺν ἐυζώνοισι τιθήναις |: *OH* 30.9 σὺν ἐυζώνοισι τιθήναις |; 42.10 σὺν ἀμφιπόλοισι τιθήναις |; *Il.* 6.467 πρὸς κόλπον ἐυζώνοιο τιθήνης |
7. ἐνὶ κυκλάσιν ὥραις |: *OH* 56.5 ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις |; [Nonn. *D.* 2.328, 12.17, 38.290, *Paraph. S. Io.* 11.33 κυκλάδες ὥραι]
9. βαῖν' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετήν: *OH* 35.7 | βαῖν' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετήν; 54.7 | δεῦρ' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετήν
γανώνντι προσώπωι |: [*OH* 16.10, 49.7, 55.16, 75.4 γήθ. προσώπωι; Eur. *Bacch.* 1021 | προσώπωι γελῶντι]
10. καρποῖσι τελεσσιγόνοισι βρυάζων ||: [*OH* 29.10 κόρη καρποῖσι βρύουσα |; 40.13 καρποῖς βρίθουσα θερείς]

OH 54 Silenos Satyros Bacchai

1. || Κλυθί μου, ὦ πολύσεμνε: *OH* 2.1 || Κλυθί μου, ὦ πολύσεμνε θεά; 22.9 | κλυθί μοι, ὦ πολύσεμνε
2-3. τετιμένε πᾶσι θεοῖσι | καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν: *OH* 45.5 τετιμένε πᾶσι θεοῖσι | καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν; *Carm. pop.* 34.1 (*PMG* 880, *Linus song*) ὦ Λίνε πᾶσι θεοῖσι τετιμένε; [*Il.* 24.533 οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν |; Hes. *Th.* 415 | ἀθανάτοισ τε θεοῖσι τετιμένη; *HHy.* 5.205 πάντεσσι τετιμένους ἀθανάτοισι |; Quint. Sm. 12.25 τετιμένε πάγχυ θεοῖσιν]
3. καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐνὶ τριετηρίσιν ὥραις: *OH* 44.7 ἐν θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἀνὰ τριετηρίδας ὥρας; *Od.* 3.3, 12.386, *HHy.* 3.69 | καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζεῖδωρον ἄρουραν; *OF* 350.2 ἐν ὥραις ἀμφιέττειν |
7. | δεῦρ' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετήν: *OH* 35.7, 53.9 | βαῖν' ἐπὶ πάνθειον τελετήν
8. εὐάσμα διδοὺς Βακχείου ἄνακτος: *OH* 30.2 Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα |; Ar. *Ran.* 1259 τὸν Βακχεῖον ἄνακτα |; *O.Arg.* 28 Βάκχου ἄνακτος |; [Eur. *Bacch.* 129 εὐάσμασι Βακχεῶν]
10. ὄργια νυκτιφαῖ τελεταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναφαίνων: [Kaibel 97a v. 3 (tomb of hierophant of Demeter at Eleusis, 3CE)
ὃς τελετάς ἀνέφηγε καὶ ὄργια πάννυχτα μύσταις; Procl. *Hy.* 4.15 ὄργια καὶ τελετάς ἱερῶν ἀναφαίνετε μύθων]

OH 55 Aphrodite

2. ποντογενής, γενέτειρα θεά: *PGM* hy. 20.30 παγγενέτειρα (θεά) καὶ ἐρωτοτόκει' Ἀφροδίτη; [*PGM* hy. 22.1 Κυθήρεια, θεῶν γενέτειρα καὶ ἀνδρῶν]
5-7. γενναῖς δὲ τὰ πάντα | ...ἐν γαίῃ πολυκάρπωι | ἐν πόντου τε βυθῷ: *PGM* hy. 20.28 | γενναῖς γὰρ σὺ (ἄ)παντα ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἡδ' ὑπὸ πόντου
8. | τερπομένη θαλίαισι: *Od.* 11.603 | τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃς; Hes. *Op.* 115 | τέρποντ' ἐν θαλίῃσι; *Sardanapali Epitaphium* (*SH* 335.2 Choerilus Iasius = *AG* 16.27.2) | τερπόμενος θαλίῃσι
γαμοστόλε μῆτερ Ἑρώτων: Nonn. *D.* 16.59 γαμοστόλον ἄστρον Ἑρώτων |; *ib.* 16.319, 338, 33.178 γ. οἶνον Ἑ. |; 25, 153, 47.469 γ. ἐσμός Ἑ. |; 33, 42 μῆτερ Ἑρώτων |
10. φαινομένη, ἀφανής |: *OH* 51.7 | φαινόμεναι, ἀφανείς

16. **καλῶι γήθουσα προσώπωι** | : *OH* 16.10 *καλῶι γήθοντι προσώπωι* ||; 49.7 *ἱερῶι γήθουσα προσώπωι* ||; 75.4 *νέωι γήθουσα προσώπωι* ||
17. **εὐλιβάνου Συρίης ἔδος** : [Aristonous *Paian* v. 23 (*CA* p.163) *εὐλιβάνους ἔδρας* ||]
19. **Αἰγύπτου κατέχεις ἱερῆς γονιμῶδεα λουτρά** : [*AG App. Orac.* 124.8 (Porph. fr. 309) *παρὰ γονιμοῖς χεύμασι Νείλου* ||]
20. **ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα** | : *OH* 75.8 *κατὰ πόντιον οἶδμα* ||; *Ar. Av.* 250 *ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα*; Antiphanes fr. 194.3 *PCG*, Oppian *Cyn.* 5.639, Moschus *Europha* 154, *De Vir. Herb.* 202 *πόντιον οἶδμα* |; [*Eur. Hel.* 400 *ἐπ' οἶδμα πόντιον*]
21. **κητῶν κυκλίσαι χορείαις** | : [*OH* 43.8 | *κυκλίσαι χοροῖς*; 'Arion' *Hy. Poseidon* v. 5 (*PMG* 939) *θήρες χορεύουσι κύκλωι* ||]
22. | **ἢ Νύμφαις τέρπηι κυανώπισιν** : [Anacr. fr. 12.2 (*PMG* 357) *Νύμφαι κυανώπιδες* |; Opp. *Cyn.* 2.118 *Νύμφης κυανώπιδος Ὀκεανίνης* ||]
- ἐν χθονὶ δίηι** | : *OF* 338.9 *ἐν χθονὶ δίηι* |; *Hes. Th.* 866 | *τήκεται ἐν χθονὶ δίηι*
23. **ἄλματι κούφωι** | : Opp. *Hal.* 3.101, *O.Sib.* 5.104, Synes. *Hy.* 9.110 *ἄλματι κούφωι* |; [*Batrachom.* 66 *ἄμματι κούφωι* ||]
24. | **εἴτ' ἐν Κύπρωι, ἄνασσα** : [*OF* Sinai fr. 2v.14 | *ὡς φάτο Κύπρις ἄνασσα*; Musaeus *Hero et Leand.* 33, Dorotheus *Carm. Astrol.* p. 399.23 Pingree | -- *Κύπρις ἄνασσα*]
26. | **ἄμβροτον ἀγνὸν Ἄδωνιν** : *OH* P.41 *σύν τ' ἄμβροτον ἀγνὸν Ἄδωνιν* |
27. | **ἐλθέ, μάκαιρα θεά** : *OH* 14.12 | *ἐλθέ, μάκαιρα θεά*

OH 56 Adonis

1. || **Κλυθὶ μου εὐχομένου, πολυνώνυμε** : *OH* 59.2 | *κλυτέ μου εὐχομένου, πολυνώνυμοι*; *OH* 28.11, 32.15, 34.10, 49.4 | *κλυθὶ μου εὐχομένου*; *Hom. Epigr.* 12.1 | *κλυθὶ μευ εὐχομένου*; Solon 13.2 = Crates 1.2 *IEG* *κλυτέ μοι εὐχομένωι* |; [Thgn. 13 *εὐχομένωι μοι κλυθὶ*]
- πολυνώνυμε, δαῖμον ἄριστε** | : [*OH* 2.1, 11.10, 40.1 *πολυνώνυμε δαῖμον* ||]
2. **βρύων ὠιδαισί ποθειναῖς** | : *OH* 12.2 *βρύων ἀθλοῖσι κραταιαῖς* |; [*OH* 9.7 *καλοῖς ἄστροισι βρύουσα* |; 26.3 *καλαῖς ὥραισι βρύουσα* |; 29.10 *κόρη καρποῖσι βρύουσα* |; 22.8 *νασμοῖσι βρυούσης* |; 33.7 *θαλίαισι βρυάζον* |; 52.13 *μύσταισι βρύων*; 53.10 *καρποῖσι τελεσιγόνωισι βρυάζων* ||]; Simon. fr. 14.77.5 (*PMG* 519) [*τεβρυωνπο*] |οισι; Aesch. fr. 350.6 *ΤῆGF* *μαντικῇ βρύον τέχνη*; *Ar. Nub.* 45 *βρύων μελίτταις*; Timoth. fr. 15.209 (*PMG* 791) *βρύων ἀνθεσιν ἥβας*, fr. 4.2 (*PMG* 780) *ἄφρωι βρυάζον*]
3. | **Εὐβουλεῦ, πολύμορφε** : *OH* 30.6 | *Εὐβουλεῦ, πολύβουλε*
5. **σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἐν κυκλάσιν ὥραις** : *OH* 8.15 | *σβεννύμενε λάμπων τε καλαῖς ἀκτίσι φαιναῖς*; 53.7 *ἐνὶ κυκλάσιν ὥραις* |; [Nonn. *D.* 2.328, 12.17, 38.290, *Paraph. S. Io.* 11.33 *κυκλάδες Ὠραι* ||]
8. **γλυκερὸν θάλος, ἔρνος Ἔρωτος** : *HHy.* 2.66 *γλυκερὸν θάλος εἰδεῖ κυδρὴν* |; Opp. *Cyn.* 1.3 *γλυκερὸν θάλος, Ἀντωνίνε* |; *OH* 67.6

κρατερὸν θάλος – *U U --* |; [*OH* 36.11 *καλὸν θάλος* – *U U --* |; 50.3 *ἱερὸν θάλος* – *U U --* ||]

ἔρνος Ἔρωτος | : Nonn. *D.* 10.178 *ἔρνος Ἐρώτων* |

10. **Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα** | : *Il.* 8.13, *Hes. Th.* 721, fr. 30.22, *HHy.* 4.256 *ἔς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα* |
12. | **ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, μύσταισι** : *OH* 52.13 | *ἐλθέ, μάκαρ, μύσταισι*; [61.10 | *ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ', ἄγνη, μύσταις*]

OH 57 Hermes Chthonios

1. **ἀνυπόστροφον οἶμον ἀνάγκης** | : Manetho *Apotel.* 4.295 *παναπόστροφον οἶμον ἰόντων* |
2. **κατάγεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης** | : *OH* 78.5 *πέμπεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης* |; [*OH* 29.4, *HHy.* 2.340, 415, *O.Arg.* 174 *ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης* |; *Il.* 22.482, *Od.* 24.204, *Hes. Th.* 300, 483 *ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης* |; *OH* 51.2 *γαίης ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν* |; *Eur. Alc.* 47, fr. 450.1 *νερτέρας ὑπὸ χθονός* ||]
3. **βακχεχόριο Διωνύσοιο γένεθλον** | : *OH* 75.1 || *Σύντροφε βακχεχόριο Διωνύσοιο*
4. **ἐλικοβλεφάρου Ἀφροδίτης** | : *Hes. Th.* 16 *ἐλικοβλεφάρων τ' Ἀφροδίτην* |
5. | **ὅς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἱερὸν δόμον** : *OH* 53.3 | *ὅς παρὰ Περσεφόνης ἱεροῖσι δόμοισιν ἱαύων*
9. **ὑπνώνοντας ἐγείρεις** : *Il.* 24.344, *Od.* 5.48, 24.4 *ὑπνώνοντας ἐγείρει* |
10. **Τάρταρον εὐρύν** | : *Hes. Th.* 868, *HHy.* 4.374 *ἔς Τάρταρον εὐρύν* |
11. | **ψυχαῖς ἀεναίοις** : [*OF* 339.7 | *ψυχᾶς ἀθανάτας κατάγει Κυλλήγιος Ἑρμῆς*]
- ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν** | : Parmen. B 1.5 DK *κοῦραι δ' ὁδὸν ἡγεμόνευον* |; [*Od.* 6.261, 7.30, 10.501, 24.225, *HHy.* 4.303 | *ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύς*.]
12. | **ἀλλά, μάκαρ, πέμπεις μύσταις** : *OH* 24.9 | *ὕμας κικλήσκω πέμπειν μύσταις*; [23.9 *πέμπει δὲ μύστας* ||]
- τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις** || : *OH* 25.11 *τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις* ||; *OH* 28.11, 63.11, 64.7, 67.8, 73.9 *τέλος ἐσθλὸν* *U --* |

OH 58 Eros

1. || **Κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγνόν, ἐράσμιον** : *OH* 20.1 || *Κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγνόν ἐρισμάραγον*
- ἡδὺν Ἔρωτα* | : *AG* 12.2.5 (Strato) *ἡδὺν Ἔρωτα* |
2. **εὐδρομον ὀρμηῇ** | : *OH* 17.9 *νηῶν εὐδρομον ὀρμῇν* |
3. **συμπαίζοντα θεοῖς ἡδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις** : *HHy.* 2.11 *θεοῖς ἡδὲ θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις* |; *HHy.* 2.83 *ἡὲ θεῶν ἡ καὶ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων* | *Il.* 14.199 *ἀθανάτους ἡδὲ θνητοὺς ἀνθρώπους* |; *Il.* 18.404, *Od.* 7.247 *οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων* |
4. **πάντων κληίδας ἔχοντα** | : *OH* 25.1 *πόντου κληίδας ἔχοντα* |; 73.6 *ἐν σοὶ γὰρ λύπης τε χαρᾶς κληίδες ὀχοῦνται*
8. **μοῦνος γὰρ τούτων πάντων οἴηκα κρατύνεις** : *OH* 64.8 *αὐτὸς γὰρ μοῦνος ζῶων οἴακα κρατύνεις* |; 87.1 *πάντων θνητῶν οἴηκα κρατύνεις* |; [*PGM* 3.83 *οἴακα κρατῶν [θεοῦ]*; Procl. *Hy.* 4.1

σοφίης ἱερῆς οἷγκας ἔχοντες |; Heracl. B 64 DK τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει Κεραυνός]

9. **καθαραῖς γνώμαις**: *OH* 63.4 | ἥ καθαραῖς γνώμαις

10. **ὀρμάς ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπεμπε** |; *OH* 77.10 λήθην δ' ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπεμπε |

OH 59 Moirai

1. **Νυκτὸς φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης** |; *OH* 7.3 Νυκτὸς φίλα τέκνα μελαίνης |

2. | **Κλυτὲ μου εὐχομένου, πολυώνυμοι**: *OH* 56.1 || Κλυθὶ μου εὐχομένου, πολυώνυμοι; *OH* 28.11, 32.15, 34.10, 49.4 | κλυθὶ μου εὐχομένου; *Hom. Epigr.* 12.1 | κλυθὶ μευ εὐχομένου; Solon 13.2 = Crates 1.2 *IEG* κλυτὲ μοι εὐχομένωι |; [Thgn. 13 εὐχομένωι μοι κλυθὶ]

3. **λευκὸν ὕδωρ**: Thgn. 448, Aesch. *Supp.* 23, Eur. *IA* 1294, Callim. fr. 546.2 Pfeiffer | λευκὸν ὕδωρ; *PGM hy.* 3.2 | χαῖρε δὲ λεύκον ὕδωρ

5. **βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν** |; *Il.* 7.446, 17.386, 19.107 βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν |; Hes. *Op.* 487 βροτούς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν |; P. Derveni col. 24.3 (*OF* 17.2) μερόπεσι ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν |; [*OH* 69.14 πάντων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα φύλα |]

7. **πορφυρέμισι καλυψάμεναι ὀδόνησι** |; *Il.* 3.141 ἀργεννήσι καλυψάμεναι ὀδόνησιν |

8. **πάγγεον ἄρμα διώκει** |; *HHy.* 9.4 παγχρύσειον ἄρμα διώκει |; *OH* 8.19, 17.5 τετράρορον ἄρμα διώκων |; Delphic oracle, Hdt. 7.140 (Parke- Wormell 94.6) συριηγενὲς ἄρμα διώκων |; Aesch. *Pers.* 84 Σύριόν θ' ἄρμα διώκων |

11-12. **οὐδὲ τις ἄλλος | ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου**: *OH* 25.6-7 οὐδὲ τις ἄλλος | ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσιν ἔδος νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου; *Il.* 16.225 (and freq.), *HHy.* 2.77 οὐδὲ τις ἄλλος |; Hes. *Th.* 118, 794 ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου; *HHy.* 15.7 κατὰ ἔδος νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου; P. Derveni col. 12.2 (*OF* 6.5) [κα]τὰ ἔδος νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου |

13. | **καὶ Διὸς δῆμα τέλειον**: *PGM hy.* 5.18 (B 3.18) Δι[ὸς] δῆμα τέ[λειον] |; [*PGM hy.* 11.13 Διὸς γαιήρχον δῆμα |; *AG App. Orac.* 154.2 (*Theosoph.* 1.21) | ζωοδότου Διὸς δῆμα; Nonn. *D.* 5.609, 7.190, 24.73 | οὐδὲ Διὸς λάθεν δῆμα πανόψιον]

14. **διὰ παντὸς ἅπαντα** |; Parmen. B 1.32 DK διὰ πάντος πάντα περῶντα |

17. | **ἀέριοι, ἀφανεῖς**: *OH* 69.9, 81.6 | ἡέριοι, ἀφανεῖς
αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς |; *OH* 7.9 αἰὲν ἀτειρεῖς |; 4.1, 5.1 αἰὲν ἀτειρές |; *Od.* 11.270 αἰὲν ἀτειρής |

21. **εὐφροني βουλῇ** |; *OH* 14.12, 70.1, 74.9, 79.11, Quint. Sm. 5.199 εὐφρονη βουλῇ |; *O.Sib.* 3.584 εὐφρονα βουλῇ |; [*OH* 34.10 εὐφρονη θυμῷ |]

OH 60 Charites

1. **Κλυτὲ μοι, ὦ Χάριτες μεγαλώνυμοι, ἀγλαότιμοι**: *OH* 70.1 || Κλυτὲ μοι, Εὐμενίδες μεγαλώνυμοι; 76.2 μεγαλώνυμοι, ἀγλαόφημοι |; [Isidor. *Hy. Isis* 2.1 | Χαῖρε, Τύχη Ἀγαθῇ, μεγαλώνυμε Ἴσι μεγίστη]

3. **Ἀγλαῖη Θαλίη τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνη πολυόλβε**: Hes. *Th.* 907 Ἀγλαῖην τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνην Θαλίην τ' ἐρατεινήν; *OF* 254 Ἀγλαῖην τε καὶ Εὐφροσύνην Θαλίην τ' ∪ ∪ — ; *OH* 43.2 Εὐνομίη τε Δίκη τε καὶ Εἰρήνη πολυόλβε

4. **εὐφρονες, ἀγναί** |; *OH* 84.4 εὐφρονες, ἀγνούς |

5. **θνητοῖσι ποθειναί** |; *OH* 29.11 θνητοῖσι ποθεινῇ |; 33.1 θνητοῖσι ποθεινῇ |; [*OH* 63.1 | Ὡ θνητοῖσι... ποθεινῇ |; 76.3 | θνητοῖς... ποθεινόταται; Simon. fr. 79.2 (*PMG* 584) θνατῶν βίος ποθεινός; Ps-Phoc. 45 (= *O.Sib.* 2.116) [χρυσέ] θνητοῖσι... πῆμα ποθεινόν; Kaibel 1029a.2 ἀνθρώποισι ποθεινά |]

OH 61 Nemesis

2. **πανδερκής, ἐσορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων**: *OH* 62.3 οὐρανόθεν καθορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων |; 70.4 καθορᾶτε βίον θνητῶν ἀσεβούντων |; 73.5 τρύχοντα βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων |; [Simon. fr. 79.2 (*PMG* 584) θνατῶν βίος; Soph. fr. 354.2-3 (*Creousa*) βίον | θνητῶν; Eur. fr. 916.1 ὦ πολύμοχθος βιοτὴ θνητοῖς]

3. | **αἰδία, πολύσεμνε**: *OH* 26.6 | αἰδία, πολύσεπτε; 84.6 | αἰδίη, πολύμορφε; [10.21 | αἰδία, κινήσιφόρε, πολύπειρε]

χαίρουσα δικαίοις |; *OH* 63.2 χαίρουσα δικαίοις |

5. **ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες** |; *AG App. Sep.* 52.5 (Dem. *De Coron.* 289) ζυγὸν αὐχένι θέντες |; Hes. *Op.* 815 ἐπὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένι θεῖναι |; *AG* 16.5.3 (Alcaeus Messen.) ζυγὸν αὐχένι θήσων |; *O.Sib.* 3.448 ζυγὸν αὐχένι θήσῃ |; *HHy.* 2.217, Thgn. 1357 ζυγὸν αὐχένι κείται 6 | **σοὶ γάρ**: [*OH* 63.11, 73.6, 74.5, 87.8, Soph. *OT* 314, Aesop 36.1 Hausrath, *O.Sib.* 5.390 | ἐν σοὶ γάρ]

8. **πάντ' ἐσορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις**: *Il.* 3.277 δς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις |; *Od.* 11.109 δς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει |;

πάντα βραβεύεις |; *OH* 63.4 τὰ δέοντα βραβεύεις |

9. **πανυπέρτατε δαίμον** |; *OH* 4.8 πανυπέρτατε δαίμον |

10. | **ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή**: *OH* 40.18 | ἐλθέ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή; 78.13 | ἀλλὰ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή

μύσταις ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεὶ |; *OH* 68.12 μυστιπόλοις ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεὶ |

OH 62 Dike

1. || **Ὅμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος**: *OH* 69.15 | δῆμα Δίκης ἐφορᾶτε; Procl. *Hy.* 1.38 δῆμα Δίκης, ἡ πάντα δέδορκεν |; *AG* 7.357.2 (Damagetus) | δῆμα Δίκης καθορᾷ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα; Greg. Naz. *Carm. ad alios* 6.1 (*PG* 37.1551.2) | Ὅμμα Δίκης; *AG* 7.530.2 (Julian. Aeg.) πάνσκοπον δῆμα Δίκης |; [8.14 | δῆμα δικαιοσύνης; Soph. fr.12 (*Aias Locrus*) τὸ χρύσειον δὲ τὰς Δίκας δέδορκεν | δῆμα, τὸ δ' ἄδικον ἀμείβεται; Greg. Naz. *Chr. Pat.* 1412 Δίκης δῆμα πανδερκέστατον |; Himer. *Or.* 38.72 ὦ Δίκης δῆμα καὶ Θέμιδος; | Diphilus fr. 136.5 *PCG* (V 122 = Philemon fr. 246.5 Kock) | ἔστιν Δίκης ὀφθαλμός, δς τὰ πᾶνθ' ὁρᾷ; Dionysius fr. 5.1 *TrGF* (I 244) | ὁ τῆς Δίκης ὀφθαλμός; *AG App. Orac.* 152.2 (*Theosoph.* 1.19) Ζηνὸς πανδερκέος ἄφθιτον δῆμα |]

3. καθορώσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων | *OH* 61.2 πανδερχής, ἐσορώσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων; 70.4 καθοράτε βίον θνητῶν ἀσεβούντων |; 73.5 τρύχοντα βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων |; [Simon. fr. 79.2 (*PMG* 584) θνατῶν βίος; Soph. fr. 354.2-3 (*Creousa*) βίον | θνητῶν; Eur. fr. 916.1 ὦ πολύμοσχος βιοτὴ θνητοῖς]

4. | τοῖς ἀδίκους τιμωρός: *OH* 70.5 | τῶν ἀδίκων τιμωροί

5. | ἐξ ἰσότητος: *OH* 63.2 | ἐξ ἰσότητος; Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* 2 fr.14 Petit, *NT Corinth.* 2 8.13 ἐξ ἰσότητος

9. εὐφρων δὲ σύνεσσι δικαίους |; [Soph. *Aj.* 705 ἐμοὶ ξυνείη διὰ παντὸς εὐφρων]

11. | ὥς ἂν αἰεῖ: *OH* 86.8, 86.17 | ὥς ἂν αἰεῖ; 87.12 | ὥς ἂν ἔοι; [63.13 | ὥς ἂν ἰσοροπῶσιν αἰεῖ]

πεπρωμένον ἡμαρ ἐπέλθῃ |; *Od.* 10.175 πρὶν μόρσιμον ἡμαρ ἐπέλθῃ |; *AG App. Orac.* 73.5 (Paus. 9.14.3) ἔταν αἰσιμον ἡμαρ ἐπέλθῃ |

OH 63 Dikaosyne

1. πολύολβε, ποθεινή |; *OH* 3.12 πολυόλβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινή |

2. | ἐξ ἰσότητος: *OH* 62.52 | ἐξ ἰσότητος; Philo *Quaest. in Gen.* 2 fr.14 Petit, *NT Corinth.* 2 8.13 ἐξ ἰσότητος

χαίρουσα δικαίους |; *OH* 61.3 χαίρουσα δικαίους |

3. | πάντιμ', ὀλβιόμοιρε: *OH* 14.5, 79.7 | πάντιμ', ἀγλαόμορφε

4. | ἡ καθαραῖς γνώμαις: *OH* 58.9 καθαραῖς γνώμαις μύσταισι συνέρχου |

τὰ δέοντα βραβεύεις |; *OH* 61.8 πάντα βραβεύεις |

6. ὑπὸ ζυγόν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ |; [Pyth. C 6 DK (I 465.22, 25) ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν]

8. | ἀστασίαστε, φίλη πάντων: *OH* 3.7 | ὑπνοδότειρα, φίλη πάντων

9. | εἰρήνην χαίρουσα: *OH* 40.4 | εἰρήνην χαίρουσα; [29.18 | εἰρήνην θάλλουσα; Dem. *De Fals. Leg.* 96 χαίρει τῇ εἰρήνῃ]

11. | ἐν σοὶ γὰρ: *OH* 72.6, 73.6, 74.5, 87.8, Soph. *OT* 314, Aesop 36.8 Hausrath, *O.Sib.* 5.390 | ἐν σοὶ γάρ; [*OH* 2.11 | ἐν γὰρ σοὶ; 61.6 | σοὶ γάρ; 61.9 | ἐν σοὶ δ'; 14.10 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ; 68.3, 79.10 | ἐκ σέο γάρ; 27.7 | ἐκ σέο δ'; 68.8 | σοῦ γάρ, 87.3 | σὸς γάρ]

σοφίης ἀρετή: *OH* 69.11 καὶ σοφίης ἀρετή; [Eur. fr. 897 παιδεύμα δ' Ἔρως σοφίας, ἀρετῆς]

τέλος ὄλβου ἱκάνει |; [*OH* 13.10, 25.11 εὐόλβον βιότου τέλος]

13. βίος ἐσθλὸς ὀδεύει |; *OH* 86.7 νόος ἐσθλὸς ὀδεύει |; Cleanth. *Hy. Zeus* v. 25 βίον ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιεν |; Orac. (*Theosoph.* 1.53.3) βίος ὀρθὸς ὀδεύει |

14. οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσι |; *Il.* 6.142 βροτῶν, οἱ ἀρούρης καρπὸν ἔδουσιν |

15-16. ὅπως' ἐν κόλποισι τιθηνεῖ | Γαῖα: [*OH* 85.2 ὅποσα τρέφει εὐρεία χθών]

16. πόντιος εἰνάλιος Ζεὺς ||; Aesch. fr. 46a.10 *TrGF* | ἄναξ Πόσειδον Ζεῦ τ' ἐνά[λιε] |; [*OF* 688a.2 [Ζεὺς καὶ χθόνι]ος καὶ πόντιος ἐστιν.]

OH 64 Nomos

1. Ἀθανάτων καλέω καὶ θνητῶν ἀγνὸν ἄνακτα: [Pind. fr. 169.1-2 Snell-Maehler Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς | θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων]

5. μέγαν οὐρανὸν αὐτὸς ὀδεύει |; Kaibel 618.36 (1CE) μέγαν οὐρανὸν αὐτὸς [δ]δεύει |

6. καὶ φθόνον οὐ δίκαιον ῥοίζου τρόπον ἐκτὸς ἐλαύνει: Mesomed. *Hy.* 3.6 *GDRK* (Nemesis) | μέλανα φθόνον ἐκτὸς ἐλαύνει |

7. βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐγείρει |; *OH* 28.11, 67.8 βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζων ||; 73.9 βιοτῆς γλυκερὸν τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζεις ||; *OH* 25.11 βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις |; 13.10 βιότου τέλος – U U – ||; 57.12 τέλος ἐσθλὸν U – ||; Thgn. 905, Pind. *Isth.* 3.23, Manetho *Apotel.* 4.557, *AG* 7.685.1 (Palladas), *CIG* 9595a.1 (*AG App. Sep.* 717) βιότου τέλος

8. μῦθος ζῶων οἶακα κρατύνει |; *OH* 58.8 μῦθος γὰρ τούτων πάντων οἶακα κρατύνει; 87.1 πάντων θνητῶν οἶακα κρατύνει; |; [*PGM* 3.83 οἶακα κρατῶν [θεοῦ] |; Procl. *Hy.* 4.1 σοφίης ἱερῆς οἶακας ἔχοντες ||]

9. | γνώμαις ὀρθοτάταισι: [*OH* 86.17 γνώμαις ὀρθαῖς κατὰ πάντα πελάζεις ||]

11. κακότητα βαρεῖαν |; *Il.* 10.71 κακότητα βαρεῖαν |

12. φερόλβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινέ |; *OH* 3.12 πολυόλβιε, πᾶσι ποθεινή |

13. | εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων: *OH* 26.11, 30.9 | εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχουσα; *HHy.* 22.7 | καὶ μάκαρ εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων; [*OH* 12.5, 28.2 | παγκρατὲς ἦτορ ἔχων]

OH 65 Ares

1. Ἄρρηκτ', ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε δαῖμον: *OH* 12.1 || Ἡρακλῆς ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τίτάν; 13.2 μεγασθενές, ἄλκιμε Τίτάν |; 66.1 || Ἡφαιστ' ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές; [Luc. *Podag.* 192 πούλυσθενές, ὀμβριμόθυμε θεά]

3. φόνους πεπαλαγμένος αἰεῖ |; *O.Lith.* 558 φόνω πεπαλαγμένος ἥρωος |; Nonn. *D.* 18.197, 19.146 φόνω πεπαλαγμένον Ἰνδῶν |; [*O.Arg.* 1235 τοίω γε λύθρῳ πεπαλαγμένοι ἐστέ ||]

4. | αἵματι ἀνδροφόνῳ χαίρων: [*OH* 45.3 | δς ξίφεσιν χαίρεις ἢ δ' αἵματι]

5. | δς ποθέεις ξίφεσιν: [*OH* 45.3 | δς ξίφεσιν χαίρεις ἢ δ' αἵματι]

9. Εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ὀλβιοδῶτιν: *OH* 12.8 εἰρήνην ποθέων κουροτρόφον, ἀγλαότιμον; 9.22 εἰρήνην τε θεόν, κουροτρόφον; 40.2 κουροτρόφε, ὀλβιοδῶτι |; [Eur. *Bacch.* 420 ὀλβιοδότειραν Εἰρήνην, κουροτρόφον θεάν]

OH 66 Hephaistos

1. Ἡφαιστ' ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές: *OH* 12.1 || Ἡρακλῆς ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές; 65.1 || Ἄρρηκτ', ὀμβριμόθυμε, μεγασθενές; [Luc. *Podag.* 192 πούλυσθενές, ὀμβριμόθυμε θεά]

ἀκάματον πῦρ: *Il.* 5.4, *Od.* 20.123 (*et freq.*), *PGM* hy. 4.2 (Helios) ἀκάματον πῦρ |

4. κόσμιο μέρος: [*OH* 4.1 κόσμου μέρος αἰὲν ἀτειρές ||]

5. παμφάγε, πανδαμάτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, παντοδίατε: *OH* 12.6 παμφάγε, παγγενέτωρ, πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἀρωγέ; [*OH* 8.17

πανυπέρτατε, πᾶσιν ἄρωγέ |; 10.4 πανυπέρτατε πᾶσιν; *Alcmaeonis* fr. 3 *PEG* θεῶν πανυπέρτατε πάντων |]

6. **φῶς ἀμίαντον**: [Pind. fr. 108b.2 Snell-Maehler ἐκ νυκτός ἀμίαντον ὄρσαι φῶς |]

7. | **ταῦτα γὰρ Ἡφαίστοιο μέλη**: [*OH* 11.3 τάδε γὰρ μέλη ἐστὶ τὰ Πανός |]

θνητοῖσι προφαίνει |: [*OH* 28.4 λόγου θνητοῖσι προφήτα; 8.20 μύστησι πρόφαινε]

8. **πάντα δὲ οἶκον ἔχεις**: [*OH* 2.6 | ἥ κατέχεις οἶκους πάντων]

10. | **κλῦθι, μάκαρ, κλήϊζω σε**: *PGM* hy. 4.7 κλῦθι, μάκαρ, κλήϊζω σε

εὐίερους ἐπιλοιβάς |: *O.Arg.* 603 εὐοινίστοισι ἐπιλοιβαῖς |

12. **μανίαν πυρὸς ἀκαμάτοιο** |: *O.Sib.* 1.103, Kaibel 618.7 (*AG App. Sep.* 267) πυρὸς ἀκαμάτοιο |; Hes. *Th.* 563 πυρὸς μένος ἀκαμάτοιο |

OH 67 Asklepios

1. | **Ἰητῆρ πάντων, Ἀσκληπιέ**: *HHy.* 16.1 | Ἰητῆρα νόσων Ἀσκληπιὸν

2. **ἀνθρώπων πολυαλγέα πήματα νούσων** |: [Pind. *Pyth.* 3.46 πολυπήμονας ἀνθρώποισιν ἰᾶσθαι νόσους]

4. | **καὶ παύων νούσους**: [Soph. *Phil.* 1437-8 Ἀσκληπιὸν | παυστήρα πέμψω σῆς νόσου; Isyllus *Paian* v. 56-7 (*CA* p. 134) τὸν νόσων παύ[σ]τορα]

χαλεπὰς Κῆρας θανάτοιο |: [*OH* 12.6 κῆρας χαλεπὰς ἐπίπεμπε; Isyllus *Paian* v. 74 (*CA* p. 134) χαλεπὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἐρύξας |; *Il.* 2.834, 11.332, 12.326 κῆρες... θανάτοιο |]

6. **κρατερὸν θάλας ἀγλαότιμον** |: *OH* 58.8, *HHy.* 2.66, Opp. *Cyn.* 1.3 γλυκερὸν θάλας – U U – – |; [*OH* 36.11 καλὸν θάλας – U U – – |; 50.3 ἱερὸν θάλας – U U – – |]

8. **βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὁπάζων** ||: *OH* 28.11 βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὁπάζων |; 73.9 βιοτῆς γλυκερὸν τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὁπάζοις ||; *OH* 25.11 βιότου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐπ' ἔργοις |; 13.10 βιότου τέλος αἰὲν ἀπεμπτον ||; 64.7 βιοτῆς τέλος ἐσθλὸν ἐγείρει |; 57.12 τέλος ἐσθλὸν U – – |; *O.Arg.* 3 κλέος ἐσθλὸν ὁπάσσοις; Hes. *Op.* 474 εἰ τέλος αὐτὸς ὀπισθεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐσθλὸν ὁπάζοι |; Thgn. 905, Pind. *Isth.* 3.23, Manetho *Apotel.* 4.557, *AG* 7.685.1 (Palladas), *CIG* 9595a.1 (*AG App. Sep.* 717) βιότου τέλος

OH 68 Hygieia

1. || **Ἱμερόεσσ', ἐρατή**: *OH* 40.7 | ἱμερόεσσ', ἐρατή; *HHy.* 2.422-3 ἱμερόεσσα... ἐρατεινή

πολυθάλμει, παμβασιλεία: *OH* 16.9 πολυώνυμε, παμβασιλεία |

3. | **ἐκ σέο γάρ**: *OH* 79.10 | ἐκ σέο γάρ; 14.10 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ; Cleanth. *Hy. Zeus* v. 4 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ γένος ἐσμέν; *PGM* hy. 18.36 | ἐκ σέο γάρ πάντ' ἐστί; *HHy.* 30.5, 31.18 | ἐκ σέο δ'

4. | **πᾶς δὲ δόμος θάλλει πολυγηθής**: *OH* 78.10 | πᾶς δὲ βροτὸς γήθει

7. **θνητῶν ἀνάπαυμα** |: [*OH* 2.10 ψυχῆς ἀνάπαυμα |]

8. | **σοῦ γὰρ ἄτερ**: [Ariphron *Hy. Hygieia* v. 10 (*PMG* 813) | σέθεν δὲ χωρὶς οὐτις εὐδαίμων ἔφυ]

11. **πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάσσεις**: *OH* 16.7 πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη πάντεσσι τ' ἀνάσσεις; 85.3 πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνος καὶ πᾶσι προσέρχει; 33.6 | πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις; *Il.* 1.238 πάντων μὲν κρατέειν ἐθέλει, πάντεσσι δ' ἀνάσσεις; *PGM* hy. 18.35 πάντων δὲ σὺ μούνη ἀνάσσεις; *O.Chald.* 214.5 πάντων μὲν κρατέει, πάντεσσι δὲ μούνος ἀνάσσει; Proc. *Hy.* 1.17 περὶ γὰρ κρατέεις, περὶ δ' ἴφι ἀνάσσεις |; *OF* 158 πᾶσιν ἀνάσσειν | 12. **ἀλλὰ, θεά, μόλε μυστιπόλοις ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεὶ**: *OH* 25.10 | ἀλλὰ, πάτερ, μόλε μυστιπόλοις; 61.10 μύσταις ἐπιτάρροθος αἰεὶ |; [*O.Arg.* 346 μολεῖν ἐπιτάρροθον ὅρκων |] 13. **ῥυομένη νούσων χαλεπῶν κακόποτμον ἀνίην**: *OH* 75.8 | ῥυόμενος μῆνιν χαλεπὴν κατὰ πόντιον οἶδμα; [*OF* 350.5 πόνων χαλεπῶν]

OH 69 Erinyes

2. **Τισιφόνη τε καὶ Ἀλληκτῶ καὶ διὰ Μέγαιρα**: *O.Arg.* 968 Τισιφόνη τε καὶ Ἀλληκτῶ καὶ διὰ Μέγαιρα; [*PGM* hy.18.9 |

Περσεφόνη τε, Μέγαιρα καὶ Ἀλληκτῶ, πολύμορφε]

3. **μυχίοις ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἴκι' ἔχουσα** |: *OH* 51.2 ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν οἴκι' ἔχουσαι |; *Il.* 22.482, *Od.* 24.204, Hes. *Th.* 300, 483, Thgn. 243 ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης |; Eur. *Alc.* 872 βᾶθι κεύθος οἴκων |; *AG App. Orac.* 146.11 (Porph. fr. 338) πυμάτοις ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν, οὐδὲ μένουσιν |; [*OH* 23.6 | ἐν μυχίοις κευθμῶσιν]

4. | **ἄντρωι ἐν ἡερόεντι** : *HHy.* 4.172 | ἄντρωι ἐν ἡερόεντι

παρὰ Στυγὸς ἱερὸν ὕδωρ |: *OH* P.29 τὸ Στυγὸς ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ |; *HHy.* 4.519 Στυγὸς ὀβριμον ὕδωρ |; Hes. *Th.* 805 Στυγὸς ἄφθιτον ὕδωρ |; *PGM* hy. 20.11 Λήθης ἱερὸν ὕδωρ | *OH* 14.6, Theoc. 1.69, 7.136, Quint. Sm. 4.9, *AG* 9.352.1 (Leonidas) ἱερὸν ὕδωρ | 9. | **ἡέριαι, ἀφανεῖς**: *OH* 59.17 | ἀέριοι, ἀφανεῖς; 81.6 | ἡέριαι, ἀφανεῖς

ὠκυδρόμοι ὥστε νόημα |: [*Od.* 7.36 τῶν νέες ὠκείαι ὥς εἰ πτερὸν ἢ ἐ νόημα]

11. | **καὶ σοφίης ἀρετή**: *OH* 63.11 σοφίης ἀρετή; [Eur. fr. 897 *TrGF* παίδευμα δ' Ἔρωσ σοφίας, ἀρετῆς]

14. **πάντων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα φύλα** |: [*OH* 59.5, *Il.* 7.446, 17.386, 19.107 βροτῶν ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν |; P. Derveni col. 24.3 (*OF* 17.2) μερόπεσσι ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν |]

15. | **ἔμμη Δίκης ἐφορᾷτε**: *OH* 62.1, Greg. Naz. *Carm. ad alios* 6.1 (*PG* 37.1551.2) | Ὀμμη Δίκης; *AG* 7.357.2 (Damagetus) | ἔμμη Δίκης καθορᾷ πάντα τὰ γινόμενα; Procl. *Hy.* 1.38, *AG* 7.530.2 (Julian. Aeg.) ἔμμη Δίκης; [*OH* 8.14 | ἔμμη δικαιοσύνης; Soph. fr.12 (*Aias Locrus*) τὸ χρύσειον δὲ τὰς Δίκας δέδορκεν | ἔμμη, τὸ δ' ἄδικον ἀμείβεται; Himer. *Or.* 38.72 ὦ Δίκης ἔμμη καὶ Θέμιδος; Diphilus fr. 136.5 *PCG* (V 122 = Philemon fr. 246.5 Kock) | ἔστιν Δίκης ὀφθαλμός, δὲ τὰ πάνθ' ὁραῖ; Dionysius fr. 5.1 *TrGF* (I 244) | ὁ τῆς Δίκης ὀφθαλμός]

16. **Μοῖραι, ὀφιοπλόκαμοι**: *OH* 70.10 κοῦραι, ὀφιοπλόκαμοι

OH 70 Eumenides

1. **Κλυτέ μου, Εὐμενίδες μεγαλάνυμοι:** *OH* 60.1 || Κλυτέ μοι, ὦ Χάριτες μεγαλάνυμοι; [Isidor. *Hy. Isis* 2.1 | Χαίρε, Τύχη Ἀγαθή, μεγαλάνυμε Ἴσι μεγίστη]

εὐφροني βουλή: | *OH* 14.12, 59.21, 74.9, 79.11, Quint. Sm. 5.199 εὐφρονη βουλή; | *O.Sib.* 3.584 εὐφρονα βουλὴν; | [*OH* 34.10 εὐφρονη θυμῶι]

2. | **ἀγναὶ θυγατέρες μεγάλοιο Διός:** *OH* 29.1 || Φερσεφόνη, θυγάτερ μεγάλου Διός; Hes. *Th.* 76, Proc. *Hy.* 3.2 | ἐννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διός; [*Il.* 7.24 Διὸς θυγάτερ μεγάλοιο]

4. **αἱ πάντων καθορᾶτε βίον θνητῶν ἀσεβούντων:** *OH* 61.2 πανδερκής, ἐσορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων; 62.3 οὐρανόθεν καθορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων; 73.5 τρύχοντα βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων; | [Simon. fr. 79.2 (*PMG* 584) θνατῶν βίος; Soph. fr. 354.2-3 *TrGF* (*Creousa*) βίον | θνητῶν; Eur. fr. 916.1 *TrGF* ὦ πολύμοχθος βιοτὴ θνητοῖς; Isidor. *Hy. Isis* 3.27 ἔργ' ἀνδρῶν ἀσεβῶν τε καὶ εὐσεβῶν καθορῶσα]

5. **τῶν ἀδίκων τιμωροί:** *OH* 62.4 | τοῖς ἀδίκους τιμωρὸς

6. **ἀπαστράπτουσαι ἀπ' ὅσων:** | *AG* 12.161.3 (Asclepiades) | Ἴμερον ἀστράπτουσα κατ' ὀμματος; Opp. *Cyn.* 3.479 ἀπαστράπτουσιν ὀπωπαί; | [Aesch. *PV* 356 ἐξ ὀμμάτων δ' ἥστραπτε γοργωπὸν σέλας; Procl. *Hy.* 7.31 φάος ἀγνὸν ἀπαστράπτουσα προσώπου]

10. **κοῦραι, ὀφιοπλόκαμοι:** *OH* 69.16 Μοῖραι, ὀφιοπλόκαμοι

11. **γνώμαις ὁσίαισι πελάζειν** ||: *OH* 86.17 γνώμαις ὀρθαῖς κατὰ πάντα πελάζης |

OH 71 Melinoe

1. **χθονίαν, κροκόπεπλον** |: *OH* 1.2 οὐρανίαν χθονίαν τε καὶ εἰναλίαν, κροκόπεπλον

4. **δολίαις ἀπάταισι** |: *OH* 28.5. δολίαις τ' ἀπάταις; | [*OF* Sinai fr. f. 6v.7 οὐδ' ἀπάτης δολίησι; Nonn. *D.* 8.124 | καὶ δολίην Ἀπάτη]

7. **μορφῆς τύπον:** Eur. *Phoen.* 162 | μορφῆς τύπωμα

10. | **ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σε:** *OH* 10.29, 41.9, 72.9 | ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σε

καταχθονίων βασιλεία: | *OH* 29.6 ὑποχθονίων βασιλεία; | Lamellae 5.1, 6.1, 7.1, 9.1 Graf–Johnston (*OF* 488-91) χθονίων βασιλεία; | [*OH* P.12 | καὶ σύ, καταχθονίων βασιλεῦ]

11. **ἐκπέμπειν οἶστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης:** *OH* 11.23 Πανικὸν ἐκπέμπειν οἶστρον ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης; 14.4 λύματα καὶ κῆρας πέμπουσ' ἐπὶ τέρματα γαίης

12. **φαίνουσα πρόσωπον:** Eur. *Elec.* 1075 φαίνειν πρόσωπον |

OH 72 Tyche

1. **Δεῦρο, Τύχη· καλέω σ', ἀγαθὴν κράντειραν, ἐπευχαῖς:** *OH* 27.2 τῇδε μόλοις, κράντειρα θεά, σέο, πότνι', ἐπ' εὐχαῖς; *PGM* hy. 21.27 | δεῦρ' Ἐκάτη, πυρίβουλε, καλὼ σ' ἐπ' ἐμαῖς ἐπαιδοῖς; *Hy. Asclep.* v. 11 (*GDRK* p.171) | δεῦρο, μάκαρ, καλέει σε μάγαν πρόμος

2, 10. **ἐπ' εὐόλοις κτεάτεσσιν** |: *OH* 14.13 σὺν εὐόλοις κτεάτεσσι |

4. **ἀπρόσμαχον εὐχος ἔχουσιν** |: *OH* 1.6 ἀπρόσμαχον εἶδος ἔχουσιν; | [Hes. *Th.* 908, *HHy.* 2.315 πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσιν; *HHy.* 12.2 ὑπείροχον εἶδος ἔχουσιν; | *OF* 179.5 ἀριπρεπὲς εἶδος ἔχουσιν]

5. **ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν** |: Lamella 9.3 Graf–Johnston (*OF* 491) ἔχω δὲ | Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν; [*Il.* 6.358 ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ' ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι]

6. **ἐν σοὶ γάρ:** *OH* 63.11, 73.6, 74.5, 87.8, Soph. *OT* 314, Aesop 36.1 Hausrath, *O.Sib.* 5.390 | ἐν σοὶ γάρ; 2.11 | ἐν γὰρ σοὶ; 61.6 | σοὶ γάρ; 61.9 | ἐν σοὶ δ'; [14.10 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ; 68.3, 79.10 | ἐκ σέο γάρ; 27.7 | ἐκ σέο δ'; 68.8 | σοῦ γάρ, 87.3 | σὸς γάρ]

9. | **ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σε:** *OH* 10.29, 41.9, 71.10 | ἀλλά, θεά, λίτομαί σε

OH 73 Daimon

2. **μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα:** *OH* 20.5 | ἀστραπαῖον Δία, παγγενέτην; [*AG App. Orac.* 153 (*Theosoph.* 1.20) Ζῆνος βιοδώτορος]

5. **βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων:** *OH* 29.15 θνητοῖς πολυμόχθοις; | 37.4 θνητῶν πολυμόχθων; | 61.2, 62.3 βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων; | 70.4 βίον θνητῶν ἀσεβούντων; | [Simon. fr. 79.2 (*PMG* 584) θνατῶν βίος; Soph. fr. 354.2-3 (*Creousa*) βίον | θνητῶν; Eur. fr. 916.1 ὦ πολύμοχθος βιοτὴ θνητοῖς]

6. | **ἐν σοὶ γάρ:** *OH* 63.11, 72.6, 74.5, 87.8, Soph. *OT* 314, Aesop 36.8 Hausrath, *O.Sib.* 5.390 | ἐν σοὶ γάρ; 2.11 | ἐν γὰρ σοὶ; 61.6 | σοὶ γάρ; 61.9 | ἐν σοὶ δ'; [14.10 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ; 68.3, 79.10 | ἐκ σέο γάρ; 27.7 | ἐκ σέο δ'; 68.8 | σοῦ γάρ, 87.3 | σὸς γάρ]

χαρᾶς † κληῖδες ὀχοῦνται: *OH* 25.1 πόντου κληῖδας ἔχοντα; | 58.4 πάντων κληῖδας ἔχοντα |

OH 74 Leukothea

1. **δαίμονα σεμνήν** |: *OF* 140.1 δαίμονα σεμνόν; | *Paian Erythraeus* (Dium version v. 25, *CA* p. 137) δαίμονα σεμνότατε; | Macedonius *Paian* v. 15 (*CA* p. 139) δαίμονα σεμνότα[τον]; | [*OH* 40.1-2 πολυνυμμε δαῖμον, | σεμνὴ Διμήτερ]

3. **πόντοιο βαθυστέρνου μεδέουσα** |: *OH* 17.3 | πόντοιο βαθυστέρνοιο θέμεθλα

4. | **κύμασι τερπομένη:** *OH* 17.8 | κύμασι τερπόμενος

5. | **ἐν σοὶ γάρ:** *OH* 63.11, 72.6, 73.6, 87.8, Soph. *OT* 314, Aesop 36.1 Hausrath, *O.Sib.* 5.390 | ἐν σοὶ γάρ; 2.11 | ἐν γὰρ σοὶ; 61.6 | σοὶ γάρ; 61.9 | ἐν σοὶ δ'; [14.10 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ; 68.3, 79.10 | ἐκ σέο γάρ; 27.7 | ἐκ σέο δ'; 68.8 | σοῦ γάρ, 87.3 | σὸς γάρ]

5. **πελαγοδρόμος ἄστατος ὁρμή** |: Manetho *Apotel.* 4.146 ἐλικοδρόμος ἄστατος ἀστήρ; | Nonn. *D.* 18.108, 37.696 ἄστατον ὁρμήν; | Procl. *In Plat. Rep.* 2.261 ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀστάτοις ὁρμαῖς; [*AG* 5.87.2 (Rufinus) ἄστατος ἀσθματος ὁρμή; | Philo *De post. Cain.* 22 ἀστάτοις καὶ ἀνιδρύτοις ὁρμαῖς]

7. | **οἷς ἂν ἐφορμαίνουσα:** *OH* 33.5 | οἷς ἂν ἐφορμαίνουσα

8. | **ἀλλά, θεὰ δέσποινα:** *OH* 35.6 | κλυθὶ, θεὰ δέσποινα; Crates *Hy. Eutellie* v. 1 (*SH* 361) || Χαίρε, θεὰ δέσποινα

9. | **νηυσὶν ἐπ' εὐσέλμοις**: *O.Arg.* 99. | νηῖ σὺν εὐσέλμοις; *Il.* 2.613, 9.231, 681, 14.97, 106, 15.477 *Od.* 9.127 | νῆας εὐσέλμους; *Od.* 17.160, 19.243 εὐσέλμου ἐπὶ νηός | 8.500, 24.117 εὐσέλμων ἐπὶ νηῶν |; *Od.* 2.414, 14.345, *O.Lith.* 581 εὐσέλμωι ἐνὶ νηῖ |; [Stesich. fr. 15.2 (*PMG* 192) οὐδ' ἔβας ἐν νηυσὶν εὐσέλμοις]

σωτήριος εὐφροني βουλῆι |; *OH* 14.12 σωτήριος εὐφροني βουλῆι |; 59.20, 70.1, 79.11 εὐφροني βουλῆι |; Quint. Sm. 5.199 εὐφροني βουλῆι |; *O.Sib.* 3.584 εὐφρονα βουλῆν |; [*OH* 34.10 εὐφροني θυμῶι |]

10. **ναυσίδρομον οὖρον ἄγουσα** ||: [*OH* 22.10 | εὐθυδρόμοις οὖρον ναυσὶν πέμπουσα]

OH 75 Palaimon

1. **Σύντροφε βακχεχόροιο Διωνύσου πολυγηθοῦς**: *OH* 57.3 Ἑρμῆ, βακχεχόροιο Διωνύσοιο γένεθλον; 44.3 μητέρα θυρσοφόροιο Διωνύσου πολυγηθοῦς; Hes. *Th.* 941 Διωνύσον πολυγηθέα |; Hes. *Op.* 614: δῶρα Διωνύσου πολυγηθέος |

2. | **δς ναίεις πόντοιο βυθούς**: *OH* 17.3 δς ναίεις πόντοιο βαθυστέρνοιο θέμεθλα; *O.Arg.* 82: Ἀξείνου Πόντοιο μυχοῦς; [*OH* 24.6 | ἄλλοις θ' οἱ ναίουσι βυθόν]

3. **ἐπ' εὐιέροις τελεταῖσιν** |; *OH* 7.12 | ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐιέρου τελετῆς; [77.10 | εὐιέρου τελετῆς; 79.12 | εὐιέρους ἐπὶ μυστιπόλου τελετὰς σέο; 66.10 ἐπ' εὐιέρους ἐπιλοιβάς |; *AG* 6.231.2 (Philippus) δαίμον, ἐπ' εὐιέρους βῆθι θυηπολίας |; *I.Didyma* 504.1 ἐπ' εὐιέροισι βοαῖσι]

4. | **ἐλθεῖν εὐμενέοντα**: *OH* 3.14, 16.10, 31.6, 83.8 | ἔλθ. εὐμεν.; 42.11 | εὐμενέουσ' ἔλθοις; *PGM* 12.226: ἔλθατε εὐμενεῖς

νέωι γήθοντα προσώπωι |; *OH* 16.10 ἔλθοις εὐμενέουσα καλῶι γήθοντι προσώπωι ||; 49.7 ἱερῶι γήθουσα προσώπωι ||; 55.16 καλῶι γήθουσα προσώπωι |; [*OH* 53.9 γανόνωντι προσώπωι |]

5. **κατὰ τε χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον** |; *HHy.* 2.69 ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον |; *AG* 9.472.2 ἀνὰ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον |; *PGM* hy. 20.28 ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἡδ' ὑπὸ πόντου

8. | **ρύόμενος μῆνιν χαλεπὴν**: [*OH* 37.7 μῆνιν χαλεπὴν ἀποπέμπειν |; 39.9 χαλεπὴν δ' ἀποπέμπειο μῆνιν |]

κατὰ πόντιον οἶδμα ||: *OH* 55.20 ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα |; Ar. *An.* 250 ἐπὶ πόντιον οἶδμα; Antiphanes fr. 194.3 *PCG*, Oppian *Cyn.* 5.639, Moschus 154, *De Vir. Herb.* 202 πόντιον οἶδμα |; [Eur. *Hel.* 400 ἐπ' οἶδμα πόντιον]

OH 76 Mousai

1-2. **Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐριγδοῦποιο θύγατρεις** | **Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες**: Solon fr.13.1-2 = Crat.fr.1.1-2 *IEG* || Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, | Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες; Kaibel 1029a.1 || Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου; Quint. Sm. 10.301 Ζηνὸς ἐριγδοῦποιο θύγατρεις |; *Il.* 12.235 Ζηνὸς μὲν ἐριγδοῦποιο λαθέσθαι |; Hes. *Scut.* 206, Pap. Adesp. (P. Oxy XXXVII 2816 v. 1, *SH* 938 = Perale 3) | Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες

2. **μεγαλάννυμοι, ἀγλαόφημοι** |; *OH* 60.1 μεγαλάννυμοι, ἀγλαότιμοι |

3. **ποθεινόμεναι, πολύμορφοι** |; *OH* 84.7 ποθεινοτάτη, χλοόμορφε |

7. | **αἶ τελετὰς θνητοῖς ἀνεδείξατε**: [*OH* 24.10 | ὑμεῖς γὰρ πρῶται τελετὴν ἀνεδείξατε]

8-10. **Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλειά τε Μελπομένη τε | Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνιά τ' Οὐρανίη τε | Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρὶ**: Hes. *Th.* 77-9 Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε Θάλειά τε Μελπομένη τε | Τερψιχόρη τ' Ἐρατώ τε Πολύμνιά τ' Οὐρανίη τε | Καλλιόπη θ' ἡ δὲ προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων

10. | **Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρὶ**: *OH* 24.12 | Καλλιόπη σὺν μητρὶ

11. | **ἀλλὰ μόλοιτε, θεαί, μύσταις**: [*OH* 25.10 | ἀλλὰ, πάτερ, μόλε μύστιπόλοις; 68.12 | ἀλλὰ, θεά, μόλε μύστιπόλοις]

OH 77 Mnemosyne

1. **Ζηνὸς σύλλεκτρον, ἄνασσαν** |; Eur. *Herac.* 1 | Τίς τὸν Διὸς σύλλεκτρον οὐκ οἶδεν βροτῶν

9. | **ἀλλὰ, μάκαιρα θεά**: *OH* 16.9, 26.10 | ἀλλὰ, μάκαιρα θεά **μνήμην ἐπέγειρε** |; Plat. *Leg.* 657d μνήμη ἐπεγείρειν

10. | **εὐιέρου τελετῆς**: [*OH* 7.12 | ἔλθετ' ἐπ' εὐιέρου τελετῆς; 75.3 ἐπ' εὐιέροις τελεταῖσιν |; 79.12 | εὐιέρους ἐπὶ μυστιπόλου τελετὰς σέο]

λῆθην δ' ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπεμπε ||: *OH* 58.10 ὁρμᾶς ἀπὸ τῶνδ' ἀπόπεμπε |

OH 78 Eos

1. **φασίμβροτον ἥμαρ ἄγουσα** |; *O.Sib.* 14.88 ἡέλιος φασίμβροτος ἡματι λείψῃ |; [*Il.* 24.785 φασίμβροτος ἡώς |; *OH* 34.8 φασίμβροτον δμμα |]

2. **κατὰ κόσμον** |; *OH* 6.7, 21.2, 37.6 κατὰ κόσμον |; *Il.* 10.472, 24.622 εὐ κατὰ κόσμον |; *Od.* 20.181, *HHy.* 4.254 οὐ κατὰ κόσμον |; *PGM* hy. 20.16 δαίμονες οἱ κατὰ κόσμον |

5. **πέμπεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης** |; *OH* 57.2 κατάγεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα γαίης |; 3.10 | ἡ φάος ἐκπέμπεις ὑπὸ νέρτερα; [*OH* 29.4, *HHy.* 2.340, 415, *O.Arg.* 174 ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης |; *Il.* 22.482, *Od.* 24.204, Hes. *Th.* 300, 483 ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης |; *OH* 51.2 γαίης ὑπὸ κεύθεσιν |; Eur. *Alc.* 47, fr. 450.1 νερέρας ὑπὸ χθονός |]

7. **ἥι χαίρει θνητῶν μερόπων γένος**: Manetho *Aptol.* 4.2 | ἥσιν ἐφημερίων μερόπων γένος; Tryph. 310 | σχέτλιον ἀφραδέων μερόπων γένος; *HHy.* 31.18 μερόπων γένος ἀνδρῶν |; [*HHy.* 2.310, Hes. *Th.* 109, 143, 180 γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων |]

9. **γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀποσεΐσῃς** |; *Il.* 10.186 νήδυμος ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων δλώλει |; *Od.* 12.338 γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἐπὶ βλεφάρωσιν ἔχευαν |; Alcman fr. 3.1.7 (*PMG* 3) [ὕπνον ἀ]πὸ γλεφάρων σκεδ[α]σεῖ γλυκύν; Bacchyl. *Paian* fr. 1.76-7 Irigoin συλᾶται μελίφρων | ὕπνος ἀπὸ βλεφάρων

10. | **πᾶς δὲ βροτὸς γήθει**: *OH* 68.4 | πᾶς δὲ δόμος θάλλει πολυγηθῆς

11. **τετραπόδων πτηνῶν τε καὶ εἰναλίων**: [*OH* 37.5 εἰναλίων πτηνῶν τε καὶ οἱ χθόνα ναιετάουσιν]

13. | **ἀλλὰ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή**: *OH* 40.18, 61.10 | ἔλθέ, μάκαιρ', ἀγνή

μύσταις ἱερὸν φάος αὖξοις ||: [Hes. *Op.* 339 ὅτ' ἂν φάος ἱερὸν ἔλθῃ ||]

OH 79 Themis

2. | **Γαίης τὸ βλάστημα**: OH 13.6 | Γαίης τε βλάστημα; [12.9 γαίης βλάστημα φέριστον ||]

καλυκώπιδα κούρη |: HHy. 2.8 καλυκώπιδι κούρη |

3. **ἡ πρώτη κατέδειξε βροτοῖς μαντήιον ἀγνόν**: [OH 24.10 ὑμεῖς γὰρ πρῶται τελετὴν ἀνεδείξατε σεμνὴν; 76.7 | αἱ τελετὰς θνητοῖς ἀνεδείξατε]

μαντήιον ἀγνόν |: [Aesch. *Eum.* 716 μαντεῖα δ' οὐκέθ' ἀγνά]

4. | **Δελφικῶι ἐν κευθμῶνι** : Hes. *Th.* 158, fr. 204.130 M-W | Γαίης ἐν κευθμῶνι

5. | **Πυθίωι ἐν δαπέδωι**: *Il.* 4.2 | χρυσέω ἐν δαπέδω; [Pind. *Nem.* 7.34 ἐν Πυθίοισι δὲ δαπέδοις ||]

6. | **ἡ καὶ Φοῖβον ἀνακτα**: *AG App. Orac.* 216.45 (Phlegon *De mirab.* 10.39) | σεμνὸν Φοῖβον ἀνακτα

7. | **πάντιμ', ἀγλαόμορφε**: OH 14.5 | πάντιμ', ἀγλαόμορφε; [63.3 | πάντιμ', ὀλβιόμοιρε]

8. **πρῶτη γὰρ τελετὰς ἀγίας θνητοῖς ἀνέφηνας**: [OH 54.10 ὄργια νυκτιφαῖ τελεταῖς ἀγίαις ἀναφαίνων; Kaibel 97a v. 3 (tomb of hierophant of Demeter at Eleusis, 3CE) ὅς τελετὰς ἀνέφηνη καὶ ὄργια πάννυχτα μύσταις; Procl. *Hy.* 4.15 ὄργια καὶ τελετὰς ἱερῶν ἀναφαίνετε μύθων]

9. **ἐπευάζουσα ἀνακτα** |: OH 69.6 ἐπευάζουσαι ἀνάγκαις |

10. | **ἐκ σέο γάρ**: OH 68.3 | ἐκ σέο γάρ; 14.10 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ; Cleanth. *Hy. Zeus* v. 4 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ γένος ἐσμέν; *PGM hy.* 18.36 | ἐκ σέο γάρ πάντ' ἐστί; HHy. 30.5, 31.18 | ἐκ σέο δ'

μυστήριά θ' ἀγνά |: OH 44.9 μυστήριά θ' ἀγνά |

11. **ἀλλά, μάκαιρ', ἔλθοις κεχαρημένη**: OH 33.8 | ἀλλά, μάκαιρ', ἔλθοις πεποθημένη; [*PGM hy.* 23.6 κεχαρημένος Ἰλαος ἔλθοις]

εὐφροني βουλῇ: OH 14.12, 59.21, 70.1, 74.9, Quint. Sm. 5.199 εὐφρονη βουλῇ |; *O.Sib.* 3.584 εὐφρονα βουλῇ |; [OH 34.10 εὐφρονη θυμῶι ||]

12. | **εὐιέρους ἐπὶ μυστιπόλους τελετὰς σέο**: [OH 7.12 | ἔλθ' ἐπ' εὐιέρου τελετῆς; 75.3 ἐπ' εὐιέροις τελεταῖσιν |; 77.10 | εὐιέρου τελετῆς]

OH 80 Boreas

1. **βαθὺν ἡέρα κόσμου** |: HHy. 2.383 βαθὺν ἡέρα τέμνον ἰόντες |

2. **χιονώδεος ἔλθ' ἀπὸ Θράκης** |: [Eur. *Hec.* 81 | τὴν χιονώδη Θρήκην κατέχει; *O.Arg.* 1373 χιονώδεα Θρήκην ||]

3. **ἡέρος ὑγροκελεύθου** |: OH 82.1 ἡέρος ὑγροπόρευτον |; *AG App. Orac.* 81.4 (Porph. fr. 314) ἡέρος ὑγροπόροιο |

OH 81 Zephyros

1. || **Αὔραι ποντογενεῖς**: OH 58.6 | πνεύματα παντογένηλα

2. **καμάτου ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσαι** |: OH 3.6 πόνων ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσαι |; Heraclitus B 111 DK κάματος ἀνάπαυσιν; Secundus *Sent.* 19 (ὑπνος) καμάτων ἀνάπαυσις; [OH 85.5 κόπων ἡδεῖαν ἔχων ἀνάπαυσιν ||]

3. | **εἰαριναί, λειμωνιάδες**: OH 43.3 | εἰαριναί, λειμωνιάδες; 29.12 | εἰαρινή, λειμωνιάσιν χαίρουσα πνοήσιν; [Hes. *Th.* 279 | ἐν μαλακῶι λειμῶνι καὶ ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσι]

5. | **ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέουσai**: OH 31.6 | ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέοντες; 3.14, 16.10 | ἔλθοις εὐμενέουσα; 83.8 | ἔλθοις εὐμενέων; 42.11 | εὐμενέουσ' ἔλθοις; 75.4 | ἔλθεῖν εὐμενέοντα; *PGM* 12.226: ἔλθατε εὐμενεῖς

6. | **ἡέριαι, ἀφανεῖς**: OH 69.9 | ἡέριαι, ἀφανεῖς; 59.17 | ἀέριοι, ἀφανεῖς

OH 82 Notos

1. || **Λαιψηρὸν πῆδημα**: Eur. *Ion* 716-7 | ἴνα Βάκχιος ἀμφιπύρους ἀνέχων πεύκας | λαιψηρὰ πηδαῖ νυκτιπόλοις ἅμα σὺν Βάκχαις; *O.Arg.* 340 λαιψηρούς τ' ἀνέμους; [Lycoph. *Alex.* 531 | κίρκος θρασὺς πῆδημα λαιψηρὸν δικῶν]

δι' ἡέρος ὑγροπόρευτον |: OH 80.3 ἡέρος ὑγροκελεύθου |; *AG App. Orac.* 81.4 (Porph. fr. 314) ἡέρος ὑγροπόροιο |

2. **ὠκείαις πτερύγεσσι δονούμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα**: OF 136 | χρυσαίαις πτερύγεσσι φορεύμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα; Hes. *Th.* 269 | ὠκείης πτερύγεσσι; *Il.* 2.476 (*et freq.*) ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα |

6. **ἱεροῖσι χαρέντα** |: Ar. *Nub.* 275 τοῖς ἱεροῖσι χαρεῖσαι |

7. **πέμπειν καρποτρόφους ὄμβρους ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν**: OH 21.7 πέμπειν καρποτρόφους ὄμβρους ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν ||

OH 83 Okeanos

1. **Ὠκεανὸν καλέω**: OH 22.1 || Ὠκεανοῦ καλέω νύμφην

αἰὲν ἐόντα: OH 36.11 αἰὲν ἐοῦσα |; 69.15 αἰὲν ἐοῦσαι | *Il.* 1.290, 494, 21.518, 24.88, *Od.* 5.7, 8.306, 12.317, 377, Hes. fr. 296.2 M-W θεοὶ αἰὲν ἐόντες |

2. **ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων**: *Il.* 14.201, 302 | Ὠκεανὸν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν; [OH 6.3 γένεσιν μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων |; Hes. *Op.* 108 ὡς ὁμόθεν γεγάσι θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἀνθρωποὶ]

4. **ἐξ οὐπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα**: *Il.* 21.195-6 μέγα σθένος Ὠκεανοῖο | ἐξ οὐπερ πάντες ποταμοὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα |; OH 27.4 σοὶ ποταμοὶ κρατέονται αἰεὶ καὶ πᾶσα θάλασσα |;

8. | **ἔλθοις εὐμενέων**: OH 3.14, 16.10 | ἔλθοις εὐμενέουσα; 31.6 | ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέοντες; 81.5 | ἔλθοιτ' εὐμενέουσai; 2.11 | εὐμενέουσ' ἔλθοις; *PGM* 12.226: ἔλθατε εὐμενεῖς

μύσταις κεχαρημένος αἰεὶ ||: OH 52.13 μύσταισι βρύων κεχαρημένος αἰεὶ ||; OH P.43 εὐμενέας ἔλθεῖν κεχαρημένον ἦτορ ἔχοντα; [Maximus Astrol. 105 νόμοι κεχαρημένη εἴη ||]

OH 84 Hestia

2. | **ἡ μέσον οἶκον ἔχεις**: HHy. 5.30 (Hestia) | καὶ τε μέσῳ οἴκῳ κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο πῖρα ἐλοῦσα; [Cornut. 28 (Hestia) κατὰ μέσους ἰδρύεται τοὺς οἴκους διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν τοιαύτην εἶναι]

πυρὸς ἀεναίοιο: AG 1.19.1 (Claudianus) | Ὡ πυρὸς ἀεναίοιο σοφὴν ὠδῖνα φυλάσσω; [Heraclitus B 30 DK ἀλλ' ἦν αἰεὶ καὶ ἔστιν καὶ ἔσται πῦρ αἰεῖζων; Cornut. 28 (Hestia) ὁ δ' αἰεῖζων πῦρ ἀποδεδόται τῇ Ἑστίαι]

3. **όσιους μύστας ἀναδείξαις** |: Ar. *Ran.* 336 | όσιόις μύσταις
 4. **εὐφρονας, ἀγνούς** |: OH 60.4 εὐφρονες, ἀγναί |
 5. **οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων, θνητῶν στήριγμα κραταίον**: OH 4.4 |
 οἶκε θεῶν μακάρων; 18.7 ἔδρανον ἀθανάτων, θνητῶν στήριγμα
 κραταίον |
 6. | **αἰδῖη, πολύμορφε**: OH 26.6 | αἰδία, πολύσεπτε; 61.3 | αἰδία,
 πολύσεμνε; [10.21 | αἰδία, κινησιφόρε, πολύπειρε]
ποθεινοτάτη, χλοόμορφε |: OH 76.3 ποθεινόταται, πολύμορφοι |
 7. **τάδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμως** |: OH 18.3 τάδ' ἱερὰ δέξο προθύμως |
 8. **ἄλβον ἐπιπνέουσα καὶ ἡπιόχειρον ὕγειαν** ||: OH 23.8 ἄλβον
 τ' εἰρήνην τε καὶ ἡπιόχειρον ὕγειν ||; 29.18 εἰρήνην θάλλουσα καὶ
 ἡπιοχείρωι ὕγεται |

OH 85 Hypnos

1. **Ὑπνε, ἀναξ μακάρων πάντων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων**: *Il.*
 14.233 Ὑπνε ἀναξ πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων;
O.Arg. 1004 Κλήϊζα γὰρ ὕπνον ἀνακτα θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων;
 [OH 6.3 γένεσιν μακάρων θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων |]
 2. **καὶ πάντων ζώων, ὅποσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών**: OH 63.15-16
 καὶ ζώων πάντων, ὅπόσ' ἐν κόλποισι τιθηνεῖ | γαῖα; *Il.* 11.741 ὅσα
 τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών |; *OF Sinai fr.* f. 6v.6 δώροισι παντοίοις, ὅποσα
 τρέφει εὐ[ρ]εῖα χθών |
 3. **πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνος καὶ πᾶσι προσέρχῃ**: OH 68.11
 πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις μούνη καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάσσεις; 16.7 πάντων γὰρ
 κρατέεις μούνη πάντεσσι τ' ἀνάσσεις; 33.6 | πάντων γὰρ κρατέεις;
Il. 1.238 πάντων μὲν κρατέειν ἐθέλει
 4. **ἐν ἀχαλκεύτοισι πέδησι** |: [Aesch. *Cho.* 493 | πέδαις δ'
 ἀχαλκεύτοις; *Soph. fr.* 158 (*Daedalus*) ἀχαλκεύτῳ πέδη; *Eur. fr.*
 595 Nauck (= Critias fr. 6 Radt) αἰδοῦς ἀχαλκεύτοισιν ἔξευκται
 πέδαις |]
 5. **κόπων ἡδεῖαν ἔχων ἀνάπαυσιν** |: [OH 3.6 πόνων ἀνάπαυσιν
 ἔχουσα |; 81.2 καμάτου ἀνάπαυσιν ἔχουσαι |; *Secundus Sent.* 19
 (ὕπνος) καμάτων ἀνάπαυσις; *Basil. Hom. Psalm.* (PG 29.212)
 Ψαλμός... ἀνάπαυσις κόπων ἡμερινῶν |]
 6. **λύπης ἱερὸν παραμύθιον**: [Kaibel 298.7 τῆς ἐπ' ἐμοὶ λύπης
 παραμύθιον ἐμ φρεσὶ θέσθε; *Plut. Cons. ad Apol.* 106b παραμύθιον
 τῆς λύπης |]
 7. **θανάτου μελέτην**: [Plat. *Phaed.* 81a ἢ οὐ τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη μελέτη
 θανάτου; *Secundus Sent.* 19 (ὕπνος) θανάτου εἰκῶν... καθημερινὴ
 μελέτη |]
 8. **αὐτοκασίγνητος γὰρ ἔφυς Λήθης Θανάτου τε**: [*Il.* 14.231
 Ὑπνω... κασιγνήτῳ Θανάτῳ |; *Hes. Th.* 756 Ὑπνον...
 κασίγνητον Θανάτῳ |; *Il.* 16.672=682 | Ὑπνω καὶ Θανάτῳ
 διδυμάσιν |]
 9. | **ἀλλά, μάκαρ, λίτομαί σε**: OH 86.16 ἀλλά, μάκαρ, λίτομαί σε
 10. | **σώζοντ' εὐμενέως μύστας** : [OH 34.27 σώζων μύστας; 9.12
 σώζουσα νέους ἱκέτας; 75.5 | καὶ σώζεις μύστας |]

OH 86 Oneiros

1. || **Κικλήσκω σε, μάκαρ, ταυνσίπτερε**: OH 52.1 || Κικλήσκω
 σε, μάκαρ, πολυνύμμε

οὔλε Ὀνειρε |: *Il.* 2.6 οὔλον Ὀνειρον |; 2.8 | βάσκι' ἴθι, οὔλε
 Ὀνειρε

3. **ὕπνου γλυκεροῦ**: *Il.* 24.3 | ὕπνου τε γλυκεροῦ, *Il.* 24.636, *Od.*
 4.295, 23.255 | ὕπνω ὑπὸ γλυκερῷ
 7. **θεῶν νόος ἐσθλὸς ὀδεύει** |: OH 63.13 βίος ἐσθλὸς ὀδεύει |
 8, 17. | **ὥς ἂν ἀεὶ**: OH 62.11 | ὥς ἂν ἀεὶ; 87.12 | ὥς ἂν ἔοι; 63.13 |
 ὥς ἂν... ἀεὶ
 10. **κακῶν ἀνάπαυλαν**: [Ar. *Ran.* 186 | Τίς εἰς ἀναπαύλας ἐκ
 κακῶν καὶ πραγμάτων; *Soph. El.* 873-4 φέρω γὰρ ἡδονὰς τε
 κἀνάπαυλαν ὧν | πάροιθεν εἶχες καὶ κατέστενες κακῶν; *Eur. fr.*
 912.12-13 *TrGF* ἐκθυσσάμενους εὐρεῖν | μόχθων ἀνάπαυλαν |]
αὐτὸς ἐνίσπηι |: *Od.* 17.529 ἴν' ἀντίον αὐτὸς ἐνίσπηι |
 11. | **εὐχολαῖς θυσίαις τε**: OH 87.11 θυσίαισι καὶ εὐχολαῖς; [*Il.*
 9.499 θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχολῆις |]
 16. | **ἀλλά, μάκαρ, λίτομαί σε**: OH 85.9 ἀλλά, μάκαρ, λίτομαί σε
θεῶν μηνύματα φράζειν |: *Manetho Apotel.* 4.556 θεῶν
 μηνύμασι τ' αἰεὶ |
 17. **γνώμαις ὀρθαῖς**: OH 64.9 | γνώμαις ὀρθοτάταισι συνών; [OH
 70.11 γνώμαις ὀσίαις |]

OH 87 Thanatos

1. **δς πάντων θνητῶν οἴηκα κρατύνεις** |: OH 58.8 τούτων
 πάντων οἴηκα κρατύνεις |; 64.8 ζώων οἴακα κρατύνει |; [PGM 3.83
 οἴακα κρατῶν [θεοῦ]; *Procl. Hy.* 4.1 σοφῆς ἱερῆς οἴηκας ἔχοντες |]
 3. **ψυχῆς θραύει καὶ σώματος ὀλκὴν** |: [Ar. *Av.* 466 | ὅ τι τὴν
 τούτων θραύσει ψυχὴν; *Plat. Resp.* 7.521d ψυχῆς ὀλκόν; *Philo de*
Spec. Leg. 4.114, *Ps.-Galen. Def. Med.* 19.375.14 Kühn σώματος
 ὀλκῆ; *Secundus Sent.* 20 (θάνατος) ἀνάλυσις σώματος |]
 4. **φύσεως κεκρατημένα δεσμά** |: [Antiphon B 44 DK δεσμὰ τῆς
 φύσεως; *Philo de Spec. Leg.* 1.137 φύσεως δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις
 ἡρμοσμένοι; *Iambl. Myst.* 5.18.29 τῶν δὲ τῆς φύσεως δεσμῶν
 ἀπολυθέντες; *Porph. ad Marc.* 33.4 ἐδέθημεν γὰρ φύσεως δεσμοῖς;
AG App. Orac. 202.1 (*Porph. fr.* 342) | *Λυέσθω φύσεως δεσμὰ* |]
 5. **αἰώνιον ὕπνον** |: *Secundus Sent.* 20 (θάνατος) αἰώνιος ὕπνος;
 [Ps-Plut. *Placit. philos.* 881c αἰώνιος γὰρ ὕπνος ὁ θάνατός ἐστιν |]
 6. | **κοινὸς μὲν πάντων**: OH 10.9 | κοινὴ μὲν πάντεσσιν; 16.6 |
 κοινωνεῖς γὰρ ἅπασι
 8. | **ἐν σοὶ γάρ**: OH 63.11, 72.6, 73.6, 74.5, *Soph. OT* 314, *Aesop*
 36.1 Hausrath, *O.Sib.* 5.390 | ἐν σοὶ γάρ; 2.11 | ἐν γὰρ σοὶ; 61.6 |
 σοὶ γάρ; 61.9 | ἐν σοὶ δ'; [14.10 | ἐκ σοῦ γάρ; 68.3, 79.10 | ἐκ σέο
 γάρ; 27.7 | ἐκ σέο δ'; 68.8 | σοῦ γάρ, 87.3 | σὸς γάρ |]
μούνωι πάντων τὸ κριθὲν τελεοῦται |: OH 10.24 μόνη τὸ
 κριθὲν τελέουσα |; *Polyb.* 16.31.4 τὸ κριθὲν ἐπιτελεῖν; *Posidonius*
fr. 136c Theiler πᾶν τὸ κριθὲν ἐπιτελεῖν (= *Diod. Sic.* 34/35.2.28)
 9. **οὔτε γὰρ εὐχαῖσιν πειθῇ μόνος οὔτε λιταῖσιν**: [*Od.* 11.34
 εὐχολῆισι λιτήισι τε |]
 11. **θυσίαισι καὶ εὐχολαῖς**: OH 86.11 | εὐχολαῖς θυσίαις τε; [*Il.*
 9.499 θυέεσσι καὶ εὐχολῆις |]
 12. | **ὥς ἂν ἔοι**: OH 62.11, 86.8, 17 | ὥς ἂν ἀεὶ; [*HHy.* 5.214 | ὥς
 ἔοι |]
γέρας ἐσθλόν: *Od.* 11.534 | μοῖραν καὶ γέρας ἐσθλὸν ἔχων

Appendix 4.2. Formulae: index of authors

Numbers following a colon are references to the hymn and verse within the *OH* that these authors and works correspond with.

Square brackets indicate a 'secondary' formulaic parallel (see ch. 4.1).

Aelius Aristides, *Dionysos* (Dindorf) 29.11-12: 32.10, [42.4]

Aeschylus (Murray), *Cho.* 493: 85.4

– *Eum.* 716: [79.3]

– *Pers.* 84: 8.19, 17.5, 59.8

– 628: 7.2

– *PV* 356: [20.3], [70.6]

– *Supp.* 23: 59.3

– *Fragmenta (TrGF III Radt)* 46a.10: 63.16

– 174: [23.2], [24.3]

– 350.6: [56.2]

Aesop, *Fabulae* (Hausrath) 36.1: [61.6], [63.9], 72.6, 73.6, 74.5, 87.8

Alcibiades (*IEG* West) fr. 1.1: 19.18

Alcmaeonis (*PEG I* Bernabé) fr. 3: [12.6], [66.5]

Alcman (*PMG* Page) fr. 3.1.7 (3): 78.9

Anacreon (*PMG* Page) fr. 12.2 (357): [55.22]

Anna Comnena, *Alexias* (Leib) 13.2.1: 38.10

Anthologia Graeca (Beckby) 1.19.1 (Claudianus): 84.2

– 2.1.35 (Christodorus): [52.4]

– 5.87.2 (Rufinus): [74.5]

– 5.194.3 (Posidippus): 36.11, 50.3

– 6.231.2 (Philippus): [75.3]

– 7.357.2 (Damagetus): [8.18], 62.1, 69.15

– 7.530.2 (Julian. Aeg.): 62.1, 69.15

– 7.685.1 (Palladas): 25.11, 28.11,

64.7, 67.8

[– 8.32.1 see Greg. Naz.]

– 9.340.2 (Dioscorides): 24.10

– 9.352.1 (Leonidas): 69.4

– 9.472.2 (anon.): 75.5

– 10.108.1 (anon., cit. *Plat. Alc.* II 143a): P.3

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 -- Phlegon *De mirab.* 10.39 (*AG App. Orac.* 216.7, 9, 35): 24.11
 -- (*AG App. Orac.* 216.45): 79.6
 -- Porph. *De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* (Smith) fr. 309 (*AG App. Orac.* 124): [55.19]
 -- fr. 314 (*AG App. Orac.* 81): 80.3, 82.1
 -- fr. 338 (*AG App. Orac.* 146): 69.3
 -- fr. 348 (*AG App. Orac.* 157): [30.7]
 -- fr. 342 (*AG App. Orac.* 202): [87.4]
 -- *Theosophia* (Beatrice) 1.2.14 (*AG App. Orac.* 140 = Merkelbach–Stauber 17/06/01 v. 1, Oenanda): [8.3], [12.9]
 -- 1.4.2 (*AG App. Orac.* 148): 37.4
 -- 1.18.4 (*AG App. Orac.* 151): P.4
 -- 1.19.2 (*AG App. Orac.* 152): 8.1, [62.1]
 -- 1.20.1 (*AG App. Orac.* 153): [8.1], [73.2]
 -- 1.21.2 (*AG App. Orac.* 154): [59.13]
 -- 1.32.2: 37.4
 -- 1.35.6: 20.5
 -- 1.36.1: 47.4
 -- 1.39.2 (*AG App. Orac.* 155): [8.1]
 -- 1.51.8: 41.2
 -- 1.53.3: 63.13
Oracula Chaldaica (Majercik) 214.5: 16.7, 68.11
 -- 219.4: 32.5
Oracula Sibyllina (Geffcken) 1.103: 66.12
 -- 2.116: [29.11], [33.1], [60.5]
 -- 2.194: 11.20, 13.4
 -- 3.12: [8.3], 12.9
 -- 3.448: 61.5
 -- 3.518: 37.5, 38.4, 45.6
 -- 3.584: 14.12, 59.21, 70.1, 79.11
 -- 5.104: 55.23
 -- 5.390: 2.11, [61.6], 63.11, 72.6, 73.6, 74.5, 87.8
 -- 8.51: 12.12
 -- 14.88: 78.1
Orphic Fragments (OF = PEG II Bernabé) 31.7 (*Hy. Zeus*, Plethon’s version): [4.2], [15.7]
 [– 31 III = Plat. *Leg.* 715e]
 -- 64 (Ar. *Av.* 697): [6.2], [6.7]
 -- 378.8 (*Diatheke*): 34.26
 -- 413.1 (*Mikroteros Krater*): 28.6
 -- 540.4 (*Hy. Helios*): 6.9
 -- 578 (P. Guröb col. 1.7): P.20, 31.1
 -- 593 (P. Argent. 1313 col. 2.29): [6.6]
 -- col. 2.30: [50.10]
 -- 687 (P. Derv. col. 26.2, hy. Hermes?): 28.1
 -- 688a.1 (*PSI* XV 1476): 15.7
 -- 2: [63.16]
(P. Derveni theogony, OF 2-18)
 -- 6.5: 25.7, 59.12
 -- 17.2: 59.5, [69.14]
(Rhapsodic Theogony, OF 90-359)
 -- 102.3: 6.2
 -- 106: 6.6
 -- 136: 82.2
 -- 140.1: 74.1
 -- 151 I: 4.5
 -- 158: 16.7, 68.11
 -- 179.5: [1.6], 72.4
 -- 233: 8.17, 12.6
 -- 241.1: [52.6]
 -- 241.7: P.27
 -- 254: 60.3
 -- 269.3: 15.5

- 271: P.2
- 317.2: P.19
- 319.1: 41.8
- 338.9: 55.22
- 339.7: [57.11]
- 350.2: 54.3
- 350.5: [68.13]
- (Hymn to Zeus, OF 243)**
- 243.3: 15.1
- 4: 13.6
- 5: P.3
- 6: 23.4
- 22: 12.13
- 27: [40.1]
- (Lamellae, OF 474-496, Graf–Johnston)**
- 476.6 (Petelia, ≈ 474.10, 475.12, 477.8, 478-484a.3): 13.6, [37.1]
- 488.1 (Thurii): [P.12], 29.6, 71.10
- 489.1 (Thurii): [P.12], 29.6, 71.10
- 6: 24.11, [41.5], 44.6, [46.6]
- 490.1 (Thurii): [P.12], 29.6, 71.10
- 491.1 (Rome): [P.12], 29.6, 71.10
- 3: 72.5
- Orphic Rhapsodies, Sinai fragments** (Rossetto)
- fol. 2r.14: 48.2
- fol. 2v.13: [30.7]
- 14: [55.24]
- 17: [29.4]
- 18: 6.4
- fol. 6v.5: 30.6
- 6: 85.2
- 7: [28.5], [71.4]
- 10: 14.4
- Orphic Argonautica** (Dottin) 3:
- 28.11, 67.8
- 28: 54.3
- 38: P.14
- 82: 75.2
- 99: 74.9
- 174: 29.4, [57.2], [78.5]
- 188: 24.12
- 303: 34.11
- 336: [23.4]
- 336-7: [23.2]
- 337: [24.3]
- 340: 82.1
- 343: P.32
- 346: [68.12]
- 423: 23.4
- 518: 1.5
- 521: 6.6
- 561: 21.5
- 603: 66.10
- 758: 11.20, 13.4
- 782: 1.10, 31.7, 51.17
- 968: 69.2
- 1004: 85.1
- 1142: 29.4
- 1235: [65.3]
- 1373: [80.2]
- ‘Orphic’ Lithica** (Halleux–Schamp)
- 558: 65.3
- 581: 74.9
- Paean Erythraeus**, Dium version (CA Powell) 25: 74.1
- Panyasis** (PEG I Bernabé)
- fr. 16.17: 34.10
- fr. 17.2: 30.1, 48.2
- Papyracea Adespota** (SH Lloyd-Jones–Parsons) 938.1 (P. Oxy. XXXVII 2816 = Perale 3): 76.2
- 938.9: 11.20, 13.4
- 970 (P. Sorbonne 2254) col I 24: 14.4
- P. Oxy. XI 1380 v. 157-8 (Grenfell–Hunt): [12.12]
- Papyri Graecae Magicae** (Preisendanz) 2.86-7: [30.8]
- 3.83: [58.8], [64.8], [87.1]
- 4.446: [29.4]
- 12.226: [P.43], 3.14, 16.10, 31.6, 75.4, 81.5, 83.8
- PGM hymns** (Preisendanz, B = Bortolani) (Pantocrator) 1.6 (B 9.6): 3.11
- 1.10 (B 9.10): 27.8
- (Helios) 3.2 (B 5.2): 59.3
- (Helios) 4.2 (B 2.2): 66.1
- 4.7 (B 2.7): 8.1, 34.27, 66.10
- 4.10 (B 2.10): 8.16, 10.26
- 4.12 (B 2.12): 32.14
- (Helios-Pantocrator) 5.18 (B 3.18): 59.13
- 5.25 (B 3.25): 19.1
- (Apollo-Helios) 11.13 (B 7.14): 59.13
- (Hekate-Selene) 17.103 (B 11.103): [9.4]
- (Hekate-Selene) 18.3 (B 15.3): 9.9
- 18.9 (B 15.9): [69.2]
- 18.32 (B 15.32): 3.1
- 18.33 (B 15.33): 10.1
- 18.35 (B 15.35): [P.42], [14.2], [15.7], 16.7, [34.15], 68.11
- 18.36 (B 15.36): 14.10, [27.7], 68.3, 79.10
- 18.38 (B 15.38): 13.4
- (Hekate-Selene) 19.26 (B 13A.28): [9.4]
- (Hekate-Selene) 20.11 (B 12.11): 69.4
- 20.14 (B 12.14): [32.5]
- 20.16 (B 12.16): 6.7, 21.2, 37.6, 78.2
- 20.18 (B 12.18): [22.9]
- 20.28 (B 12.28): 55.5-7, 75.5
- 20.30 (B 12.30): 55.2
- (Hekate-Selene) 21.2 (B 14.2): 1.4
- 21.22 (B 14.23): [36.1]
- 21.27 (B 14.28): [46.1], 72.1
- (Aphrodite) 22.1: 3.1, [55.2]
- 22.2: [10.1], 10.14
- (All gods) 23.6 (B 1.8): [79.11]
- 23.17 (B 1.34): P.42
- (All gods) 24.3: [18.3], [41.7]
- (Chthonic gods) 25.4 (B 10.4): [1.7]
- Parmenides** (Diels–Kranz) B 1.5: 57.11
- B 1.28: [14.2]
- B 1.55: 59.14
- Paulus Silentarius**, *Descriptio sanctae Sophiae* (Veh) 139: 43.2
- Pherecrates** (PCG VII Kassel–Austin) fr. 166: 15.1
- Philo**, *De opificio mundi* (Cohn) 126.10: [32.3]
- *De posteritate Caini* (Wendland) 22: [74.5]
- *De specialibus legibus* (Cohn) 1.137: [87.4]
- 4.114: [87.3]
- *Quaestiones in Genesim* (Petit) 2 fr. 14: 62.5, 63.2
- Pindar** (Snell–Maehler), *Pyth.* 3.46: [67.2]
- 4.291: 15.1
- 6.11: [21.3]
- 10.65: [8.19], [17.5]
- *Isth.* 3.23: 25.11, 28.11, 64.7, 67.8
- *Nem.* 7.34: [79.5]
- Fragmenta 108b.2: [66.6]
- 153: [44.3]
- 169.1-2: [64.1]
- Plato** (Burnet), *Leg.* 657d: 77.9
- 715e (OF 31 III): [15.7]
- *Phaed.* 81a: [85.7]

– *Resp.* 7.521d: [87.3]

Plutarch (Mau), *Consol. ad Apoll.* 106b: [85.6]

– [Ps-Plut.] *Placit. philos.* 881c: [87.5]

Polybius (Büttner-Wobst), 16.31.4: 10.24, 87.8

Porphyry, *Ad Marcellam* (Pötscher) 33.4: [87.4]

– *De philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* (fr., Smith): see Oracles.

Posidonius (Theiler), fr. 136c (= Diod. Sic. 34/35.2.28): 10.24, 87.8

– fr. 290a: 12.15

Proclus, *Hymni* (van den Berg) 1.17: 16.7, 68.11

– 1.38: 62.1, 69.15

– 1.42: [23.8]

– 2.8: 11.20, 13.4

– 3.2: 29.1, 70.2

– 4.1: [58.8], [64.8], [87.1]

– 4.15: [54.10], [79.8]

– 6.2: 15.1

– 7.2: [25.10]

– 7.5: [34.10]

– 7.12: 19.16

– 7.31: [70.6]

– *De mal. sub.* (Broese) 421: 37.4

– *In Plat. Tim.* (Diehl) 2.29: 5.4

– *In Plat. Rep.* (Kroll) 2.261: 74.5

Ps-Galenus, *Definitiones Medicae* (Kühn) 19.375.14: [87.3]

Ps-Phocylides, *Sententiae*

(Diehl-Young) 45 (= *O.Sib.* 2.116): [29.11], [33.1], [60.5]

– 145: 28.2

[Pythagoras], *Carmen aureum* (Thom) 48: 26.9

Pythagorean Akousmata

(Diels-Kranz) C 6 (I 465.22): [63.6]

Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*

(Vian) 3.649: 45.6

– 4.9: 69.4

– 5.199: 14.12, 59.21, 70.1, 74.9, 79.11

– 10.196: 14.14

– 10.301: 76.1

– 12.25: [45.5], [54.2]

– 14.199: 50.4

Secundus, *Sententiae* (Perry) 19: 81.2, [85.5], [85.7]

– 20: [87.3], 87.5

Simonides (*PMG* Page) fr. 14.77.5 (519): [56.2]

– fr. 79.2 (584): [29.11], [33.1], [60.5], [61.2], [62.3], [70.4], [73.5]

Solon (*IEG* West) fr. 13.1-2 = Crates 1.1-2: 76.1-2

– fr. 13.2 = Crates fr. 1.2: 49.4, 56.1, 59.2

– fr. 13.19-20: [23.4]

Sophocles (Dain-Mazon), *Ai.* 705: [62.9]

– *El.* 873.4: [86.10]

– *OC* 680: 42.10

– 987: [32.3]

– 1515: [19.9]

– 1606: [18.3]

– *OT* 314: 2.11, [61.6], 63.11, 72.6, 73.6, 74.5, 87.8

– *Phil.* 1437-8: [67.4]

– *Fragmenta* (*TrGF* IV Radt) 12 (*Aias Locrus*): [62.1], [69.15]

– 158 (*Daedalus*): [85.4]

– 354.2-3 (*Creousa*): [61.2], [62.3], [70.4], [73.5]

Stesichorus (*PMG* Page), fr. 15.2 (192): [74.9]

Synesius, *Hymni* (Dell' Era) 1.246-7: [29.7]

– 1.310, 401: 52.7

– 3.146-7: 10.10

– 9.110: 55.23

Theocritus, *Idyllia* (Gow) 1.69, 7.136: 69.4

– 7.44: 52.5

Theognis, *Elegiae* (Diehl-Young)

13: [28.11], [32.15], [34.10], [49.4], [56.1], [59.2]

– 243: 51.2, 69.3

– 285: 20.5, 39.1

– 448: 59.3

– 905: 25.11, 28.11, 64.7, 67.8

– 1325: 34.10

– 1357: 61.5

Timotheus (*PMG* Page) fr. 4.2 (780): [56.2]

– fr. 15.209 (791): [56.2]

– fr. 15.240 (791): 29.18

Tryphiodorus *Excid. Tro.* (Mair) 310: 78.7

Xenophanes (Diels-Kranz)

B 1.13-14: [31.6]

Appendix 4.3. Formulae: quantitative analysis

A. Percentages of total formulae (810 *loci* in all authors) and closest formulae (490 *loci* in the *OH* that correspond with another author): groups and selected authors

	Primary formulae	Secondary formulae	Total (of 810)	%	Closest parallel	%	
Homer, Hesiod, <i>Homeric Hymns</i>	257	53	310	38.3	157	32.0	
Homer	157	31	188	23.3	90	18.4	
<i>Iliad</i>	91	21	112	13.9	57	11.6	
<i>Odyssey</i>	66	10	76	9.4	33	6.7	(excl. formulae in <i>Iliad</i>)
Hesiod	50	15	65	8.0	33	6.7	(excl. formulae in Homer)
<i>Theogony</i>	37	12	49	6.1	29	5.9	
<i>Opera, Scut., frr.</i>	13	3	16	2.0	4	0.8	
<i>Homeric Hymns</i>	50	7	57	7.1	34	6.9	(excl. formulae in Homer, Hesiod)
<i>HHy.Demeter</i>	15	3	18	2.2	14	2.9	
Early hexameter & elegy (7th-5th c. BCE)¹	16	6	22	2.7	18	3.7	(6 x <i>Hom. Ep.</i> 12 κλύθι μεν εὐχομένους)
Theognis	6	1	7	0.9	5	1.0	
Parmenides	2	1	3	0.4	2	0.4	
Lyric poets²	8	24	32	4.0	23	4.7	(4 x Simon. fr. 79.2 θνατῶν βίος)
Pindar	2	7	9	1.1	4	0.8	
Isyllus	0	3	3	0.4	4	0.8	
Dramatists³	34	36	70	8.7	51	10.4	(5 x Soph. <i>OT</i> 314 ἐν σοὶ γάρ)
Euripides	14	16	30	3.7	21	4.3	
Aristophanes	9	5	14	1.7	12	2.4	
Hellenistic hexameter (4th-1st c. BCE)⁴	30	10	40	5.0	30	6.1	
Cleanthes (<i>Hy.Zeus</i>)	4	0	4	0.5	7	1.4	
Isidorus (<i>Hymns to Isis</i>)	3	1	4	0.5	4	0.8	
Roman hexameter (1st-6th c. CE)⁵	95	40	132	16.3	64	13.1	(5 x Quintus 5.199 εὐφρονι βουλῇ)
Nonnus	27	14	41	5.1	19	3.8	
Inscriptions	6	7	13	1.6	10	2.0	
Proclus (<i>Hymns</i>)	6	6	12	1.5	4	0.8	
Manetho	8	1	9	1.1	5	1.0	
Oppian	6	3	9	1.1	3	0.6	
Orphica⁶	62	20	82	10.1	53	10.8	
<i>Rhapsodic Theogony</i> (incl. <i>Hy.Z</i>)	26	9	35	4.3	25	5.1	
<i>Hymn to Zeus</i>	5	2	7	0.9	3	0.6	
Sinai fragments	5	4	9	1.1	9	1.8	
<i>Lamellae</i>	7	0	7	0.9	5	1.0	
<i>Argonautica</i>	20	6	26	3.2	14	2.9	
Oracles⁷	26	11	37	4.6	25	5.1	
<i>Theosophia</i>	8	4	12	1.5	7	1.4	
<i>Sibylline Oracles</i>	10	1	11	1.4	6	1.2	
Magical papyri and hymns	25	13	38	4.7	41	8.4	(7 x <i>PGM</i> 12.226 ἔλθατε εὐμενεῖς)
Hymns	24	10	34	4.2	30	6.1	(4 x <i>hy.</i> 20.16 κατὰ κόσμον)
Prose authors (all periods)⁸	18	29	47	5.8	28	5.7	
Philo	1	4	5	0.6	4	0.8	
Plato	1	3	4	0.5	2	0.4	

¹ Alcibiades (*IEG*), *Alcmaeonis*, Choerilus, Empedocles, *Homeric Epigrams*, Mimnermus, Panyasis, Parmenides, Solon, Theognis, Xenophanes.

² Alcman, Anacreon, Antiphon, Ariphron, Aristonous, Bacchylides, *Carmina Popularia*, Isyllus, Macedonius, Melanippides, Mesomedes, *Paeon Erythraeus*, Pindar, Simonides, Stesichorus, Timotheus.

³ Aeschylus, Antiphanes, Aristophanes, Dionysius, Diphilus, Euripides, Lucian (*Podagra*), Menander, Pherecrates, Sophocles.

⁴ *AG* (Anon. [cit. Plato], Alcaeus of Messene, Asclepiades, Damagetus, Dioscorides, Leonidas, Meleager, Posidippus), Apollonius Rhodius, Aratus, Babrius, *Batrachomyomachia*, Bion, Callimachus, Cleanthes, Crates, Isidorus, Lycophron, Moschus, Nicander, *Papyracea Adespota*, Ps-Phocylides, Ps-Pythagoras, Theocritus.

⁵ *AG* (Anon., Christodorus, Claudianus, Julian Aeg., Palladas, Rufinus, Strato), Apollinaris, Athenaeus (poet. anon.), *De viribus herbarum*, Dionysius Periegetes, Dioscorus, Dorotheus, Gregory of Nazianza, *Hy. Asclepius*, *Hy. Hecate*, Manetho, Maximus, Musaeus, Nonnus, Oppian, *Orphic Lithica*, Paulus Silentarius, Proclus, Quintus Smyrnaeus, Synesius, Tryphiodorus, verse inscriptions.

⁶ *Derveni Theogony* (OF 2-18 Bernabé), *Hy. Zeus* (OF 31), *Rhapsodic Theogony* (OF 90-359), *Diatheke* (OF 368-378), *Mikroteros Krater* (OF 413-6), *Lamellae* (OF 474-96), P. Gurob (OF 578), P. Argent. 1313 (OF 593), *PSI XV* 1476 (OF 688a, *Hy. Zeus*), Sinai fragments (*Rhapsodic Theogony*), *Orphic Argonautica*.

⁷ Oracles in Eusebius, Herodotus, Pausanias, Phlegon, Porphyry, *Theosophia*; *Chaldean Oracles*, *I.Didyma*, *Sibylline Oracles*.

⁸ Aelius Aristides, Aesop, Anna Comnena, [Aristotle] *De Mundo*, Basil, Chrysippus, Cornutus, Demosthenes, Diodorus, Diogenes of Babylon, Diogenes Laertius, Eusebius, Firmicus Maternus, Heraclitus, Himerius, Hippocrates, Iamblichus, Josephus, Marcellinus, *New Testament*, Philo, Plato, Plutarch, Porphyry, Posidonius, Proclus, Ps-Galen, Pythagorean *Akousmata*, Secundus.

B. Authors or works in which formulae most frequently occur

Total <i>loci</i> (810)		Closest parallel (490)	
Homer	23.3%	Homer	18.4%
Hesiod	8.0%	<i>Homeric Hymns</i>	6.9%
<i>Homeric Hymns</i>	7.1%	Hesiod	6.7%
Nonnus	5.1%	<i>PGM hymns</i>	6.1%
<i>Rhapsodic Theogony</i>	4.3%	<i>Rhapsodic Theogony</i>	5.1%
<i>PGM hymns</i>	4.2%	Euripides	4.3%
Euripides	3.7%	Nonnus	3.8%
<i>Orphic Argonautica</i>	3.2%	<i>Orphic Argonautica</i>	2.9%
Aristophanes	1.7%	Aristophanes	2.4%
Verse inscriptions	1.6%	Verse inscriptions	2.0%

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