

# Aspects of Rhetoric and Form in Greek Hymns

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**T**HIS ARTICLE will explore certain formal and rhetorical features in the corpus of Greek hymns—in both poetry and prose. The word ‘rhetorical’ is used in the broad sense to include both generic and stylistic commonplaces, and the word ‘hymn’ is also used in the larger sense of any sustained address to divinity, whether a separate entity (as in the Homeric Hymns, or those of Callimachus, Theocritus, Aristides, etc.) or embedded in longer works. I focus on three aspects of Greek hymns which make rhetorical demands on the hymnist and which demonstrate the continuity of the entire tradition. These include (1) finding the ἀρχή, (2) establishing χάρις, and (3) elements of the request. Although some of the *topoi* in these categories enter the tradition only in the Hellenistic period or later, most make their appearance in our earliest authors, and the later hymns often help to clarify procedures only adumbrated in the earlier ones. Of particular value for illuminating certain features of earlier hymns is the treatise of Menander the Rhetor Περὶ Σμυθιακοῦ.<sup>1</sup>

## I. The ἀρχή

As a general rule, hymns open in one of two ways. Either the god is addressed in the vocative (often with an imperative—‘du-Stil’) or his name (or title) is given in an oblique case (‘er-Stil’). For ex-

<sup>1</sup> For basic and comprehensive surveys of Greek hymns see K. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung im griechischen Hymnus* (Stuttgart 1932); H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Diss. Köln 1933); E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig 1923) 143–76; E. von Severus, *ReallexAntChr* 8 (1972) 1134–52 s.v. “Gebet”; and R. Wünsch, *RE* 9 (1916) 140–83 s.v. “Hymnos.” Of particular importance for the interpretation of Callimachus’ hymns is E. L. Bundy, “The ‘Quarrel between Kallimachos and Apollonios’, Part I, The Epilogue of Kallimachos’s *Hymn to Apollo*,” *CSCA* 5 (1972) 39–94. For Menander the Rhetor there is the new text and commentary of D. A. Russell and N. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981), which conveniently maintains the pagination of L. Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* III (Leipzig 1856) 437–46.

ample, Theognis opens his collection with a version of the former (1–2):

ὦ ἄνα Λητοῦς υἱέ, Διὸς τέκος, οὔποτε σεῖω  
λήσομαι ἀρχόμενος οὐδ' ἀποπαυόμενος . . . .

Hesiod begins the *Theogony* with an example of the latter (1):

Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' αἰεῖδεν,  
αἶθ' . . . .

Regardless of the type of opening, both poets address the issue of the ἀρχή of the hymn (ἀρχόμενος Theog., ἀρχώμεθ' αἰεῖδεν Hes.)<sup>2</sup> by positing the god himself as the starting point or subject of the hymn.

But there is a second type of ἀρχή in Greek hymns, which occurs when the hymnist begins telling about the god after having introduced him as the subject of his song.<sup>3</sup> The hymnist can, of course, begin his narrative directly (usually with a simple relative clause), but frequently he pauses at this point in hesitation (ἀπορία, *dubitatio*) and pretends not to know how or where to begin. Such hesitation, often in the form of priamels, can occur in many places in hymns to amplify the coming theme and engage the sympathy of the audience, but its occurrence here is so frequent that it constitutes a separate *topos*.

The first clear use of the topic occurs in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (19–25).<sup>4</sup>

πῶς γάρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔμνον ἔοντα;  
πάντη γάρ τοι, Φοῖβε, νομὸς βεβλήαται ᾧδῆς,

<sup>2</sup> For similar expressions cf. *Hymn.Hom.* 2.1, 11.1, 13.1, 16.1, 22.1, 25.1, 26.1, 28.1, 31.1, and Aratus *Phaen.* 1. As a variation, Pindar begins *Ol.* 2 and *Hymn.Zeus* with (feigned) questions as to his ἀρχή.

<sup>3</sup> These two senses of ἀρχή are neatly distinguished in the opening of Callim. *Dian.*:

Ἄρτεμιν (οὐ γὰρ ἔλαφρον αἰδόντεσσι λαθέσθαι)  
ὑμνέομεν, τῇ τόξα λαγωβολίαι τε μέλονται  
καὶ χορὸς ἀμφιλαφῆς καὶ ἐν οὔρεσιν ἐψιάσθαι,  
ἄρχμενοι ὡς ὅτε . . . .

In the first three verses the poet establishes the subject of his hymn, but he must then make a new beginning in order to start his narrative. This scheme is apparent in the proems to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, where the Muse is invoked to provide the starting-point: ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα (*Il.* 1.6) and τῶν ἀμόθεν γε (*Od.* 1.10). An interesting feature is presented in *Theogony* 1–36. Hesiod opens the hymn with the Muses as his ἀρχή, but because of the long digression of verses 22–35, he must make a fresh beginning: τύνη, Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα (36). For a brief discussion of this digression and return to the main theme, see “Some Digressions and Returns in Greek Authors,” *CJ* 76 (1980) 1–8.

<sup>4</sup> The exact relationship of the hesitatory priamel at *Hymn.Hom.* 1.1–7 to the beginning of the hymn is not clear, but it probably did not involve the topic under discussion.

ἤμην ἀν' ἥπειρον πορτιτρόφον ἠδ' ἀνὰ νήσους.  
 πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τοι ἄδον καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι  
 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ποταμοί θ' ἄλλα δὲ προρέοντες,  
 ἀκταί τ' εἰς ἄλλα κεκλιμέναί λιμένες τε θαλάσσης.  
 ἢ ὡς σε πρῶτον Λητῶ τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσι . . . .

As in all the other examples, the hesitation begins with a question. Here the problem is how to sing of a god who is so famous (*πάντως εὖνμνον*, 19), and after sketching in verses 20–24 the extent of Apollo's worship (*πάντη*, 20) and sway (*πᾶσαι*, 22), the poet proposes (tentatively with *ἢ*, 25)<sup>5</sup> the subject with which he will begin—appropriately enough, the birth of the god.<sup>6</sup> The word *πρῶτον* (25) serves to mark the *ἀρχή* itself.<sup>7</sup>

The same form is adapted by Hellenistic authors. At the beginning of his Hymn to Delos (an imitation of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo), Callimachus duly introduces and amplifies Delos as the subject of his song (1–27), and then pauses before beginning his narrative (28–30):

εἰ δὲ λίην πολέες σε περιτροχώωσιν αἰοδαί,  
 ποίη ἐνιπλέξω σε; τί τοι θυμῆρες ἀκούσαι;  
 ἢ ὡς τὰ πρῶτιστα μέγας θεὸς οὔρεα θείνων . . . .<sup>8</sup>

At the same point in his hymn to the Dioscuri, Theocritus raises the question, with which god should he begin? (22.23–26):

ὦ ἄμφω θνητοῖσι βοηθόοι, ὦ φίλοι ἄμφω,  
 ἱππηῆες κιθαρισταὶ ἀεθλητῆρες αἰοδοί,  
 Κάστορος ἢ πρῶτου Πολυδεύκεος ἄρξομ' αἰεΐειν;  
 ἀμφοτέρους ὑμνέων Πολυδεύκεα πρῶτον αἰείσω.

<sup>5</sup> As will become clear, disjunctive *ἢ* is correct. It is a mannerism of this *topos* to present the final choice as a disjunctive question whether or not other options precede (as at *Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 208–15). The practice continues in prose even as late as Aristides, *τίς οὖν δὴ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀρχή; ἢ ὥσπερ . . .* (39.4 Keil), and Julian, *τίς οὖν ὁ τρόπος ἔσται τῶν ἐπαίνων; ἢ δῆλον ὅτι . . .* (*Helios* 132b).

<sup>6</sup> For a sensitive analysis of the rhetoric of this passage see A. M. Miller, “The ‘Address to the Delian Maidens’ in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*: Epilogue or Transition?” *TAPA* 109 (1979) 184–86.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *τὸ πρῶτον* in the parallel passage at line 214. The use of *πρῶτον* to indicate the *ἀρχή* begins with *Il.* 1.6 (*supra* n.3) and still finds its traditional place in the proem to Herodotus' *Histories* (*πρῶτον*, 1.5.3). There is a perfect adaptation of this topic to prose encomia in Pericles' Funeral Oration, *ἄρξομαι δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον* (Thuc. 2.36.1); cf. also Hyperides *Epitaph.* 6 and esp. 9, *ἄρξομαι δὲ πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ*.

<sup>8</sup> This adaptation is very masterful. *πάντως εὖνμνον* becomes *λίην πολέες . . . αἰοδαί*. Gone is the grand scope of the geographical amplification, but Callimachus has instead chosen the verb *περιτροχώωσιν* to indicate the abundance (to the point of vulgarity?) of song. *ποίη* is the equivalent of *πῶς*, while the following question *τί τοι θυμῆρες* reflects the concern with the god's pleasure hinted at with *ἄδον* (*Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 22).

Since there is such equality between both gods (*ἄμφω*), the poet does not wish to give any real precedence in his *ἀρχή*, so he will sing of both (*ἀμφοτέρους*) but will *begin* with Polydeuces.<sup>9</sup>

The topic also occurs in prose hymns. At 43.6 (a hymn to Zeus), Aristides calls upon the Muses to help him find an *ἀρχή* for his vast subject: *ἄγ' ὦ πάντ' εἰδύϊαι, πόθεν ἀρχώμεθα; τί τολμήσομεν εἰπεῖν περὶ Διός;* And in his model hymn to Sminthian Apollo, Menander the Rhetor elaborates on the topic: *εἰ μὲν οὖν ἠρώων τινὸς ἔμελλον λέγειν ἐγκώμιον, οὐκ ἂν διηπόρησα περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐδ' ὄθεν δεῖ πρῶτον τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ λόγου ποιήσασθαι* (437.27–30). After his (supposed) consultations with the Pythia failed to provide an answer, the orator decides to follow Pindar's lead<sup>10</sup> in posing his question: *ἀναξιφόρμυγες ὕμνοι, πόθεν με χρὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιήσασθαι; δοκεῖ δ' οὖν μοι πρῶτον ἀφεμένῳ τέως τοῦ γένους ὕμνον εἰς αὐτὸν ἀναφθέγξασθαι* (438.6–9). Thus the orator decides to make his beginning with the god himself (*εἰς αὐτόν*).<sup>11</sup>

## II. χάρις

If there is one dominant concern common to all Greek hymns, it is surely the notion of *χάρις*. No other word epitomizes so well the relationship which the hymnist tries to establish with the god—one of reciprocal pleasure and goodwill. For that reason, many hymns begin and end with *χαῖρε*, which, as Bundy reminds us, is much stronger than just 'hail' or 'farewell', and is part of the general concern of the hymnist to *please* the god.<sup>12</sup> As Plato says, since we do not know the real names of the gods, we customarily use names that please them (*οἷτινές τε καὶ ὁπόθεν χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι*, *Cra.* 400E; *cf.* Aesch.

<sup>9</sup> The phrase *ἄρξομ' αἰεῖδεν*·(25), which usually occurs at the opening of the hymn, here indicates the beginning of the narrative, adding further justification to the distinction between two *ἀρχαί* argued above. There is an adaptation of this topic at Aristides 38.1–5, where the orator does not know which of the two Asclepiadae to praise first; he finally decides to make Apollo the *ἀρχή* (5). It is apparent from Aristides 38.5, 39.4, 43.6, and Julian *Helios* 132b that the procedure established by the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* became a standard topic to exercise the ingenuity of the orator. There is, I think, already a hint of mannerism in the Theocritean version.

<sup>10</sup> This allusion indicates that Pindar's aporetic opening of *Ol.* 2 had come to be a model for the *ἀρχαί* of hymns.

<sup>11</sup> The question with which Callimachus begins his *Hymn to Zeus* provides a variation of the topic of beginning with the god himself (*θεὸν αὐτόν*, 2). Both in Callimachus and in Menander the topic of naming the god immediately follows.

<sup>12</sup> *Cf.* Bundy (*supra* n.1) 49–52. For *χάρις*, *χαίρειν*, and *χάρμα* in Greek hymns see Keyssner (*supra* n.1) 170 *s.v.* and esp. 132.

Ag. 160ff). Even the *χαῖρε* in the formulaic endings of the Homeric hymns is sometimes ambiguous. The frequent *καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε* (1.20, 3.545, 4.579, etc.) “And so, farewell” (H. G. Evelyn-White, LCL), can become, with a slight addition (9.7, 14.6, etc.), *καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε θεαί θ’ ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀοιδῆ*. Although the traditional translation of this verse is “farewell . . . in this song,” surely *ἀοιδῆ* could just as well be taken as the usual dative with *χαίρω*, meaning “take pleasure in the song.” This interpretation would be consonant with the other formulaic endings: *ἴλαμαι δέ σ’ ἀοιδῆ*, “I seek your favor with my song” (19.48, 21.5); *δοῦς δ’ ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδῆν*, “Grant a pleasing song” (10.5, Hes. *Theog.* 104); and *χάριν δ’ ἅμ’ ὄπασσον ἀοιδῆ*, “And also make the song pleasing” (24.5). The dual nature of *χαίρω* is also evident at 26.11–12:

*καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε πολυστάφυλ’ ὦ Διόνυσε·  
δοῦς δ’ ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ἐς ὄρας αὐτίς ἰκέσθαι . . .*<sup>13</sup>

and at Theocritus 15.149: *χαῖρε, Ἄδων ἀγαπατέ, καὶ ἐς χαίροντας ἀφικνεῦ*. In these cases the hymnist’s hope is that the god’s pleasure (*χαῖρε*) will be matched in the human realm (*χαίροντας*).

Various words related to *χάρις* abound in Greek hymns. At the beginning of fr. 2 (L–P) Sappho assures Aphrodite that her grove is “pleasant” (*χάριεν . . . ἄλσος*).<sup>14</sup> In the Paean to Asclepius (*PMG* 934) there is the progression *χάρ[μα]* (4), *χαῖρε* (19), and *χαίροντας* (22). The first and last words of Isidorus’ Hymn to Isis 2 are forms of *χάρις*: *χαῖρε* (1), *χάριτας* (22), *χαίροντες* (24), and *χάριτα* (34).<sup>15</sup> Menander begins his hymn to Sminthian Apollo with the *χάρις* which men owe the gods (437.8, 11, *cf.* 444.19) and ends it with concern for the god’s pleasure in his titles (446.8, *cf.* 440.13) and requests that the

<sup>13</sup> The same juxtaposition occurs in the anonymous Paean to Asclepius (*PMG* 934; *I.Erythrai* 205) 19–22: *χαῖρέ μοι . . . δοῦς δ’ ἡμᾶς χαίροντας*. Particularly interesting is the progression at *Hymn.Hom.Ap.* 12–14:

*χαίρει δέ τε πότνια Λητώ,  
οὐνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱὸν ἔτικτεν.  
χαῖρε μάκαιρ’ ὦ Λητοῖ, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα . . .*

Leto “is glad” that she bore Apollo, and the poet then tells her to “be glad” because she bore her splendid children. Surely the *χαῖρε* at the end (and sometimes at the beginning) of hymns also retains a strong sense of ‘pleasure’.

<sup>14</sup> *Cf.* *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 499.2 (Raubitschek, *Dedications* 290), *τεῖ δὲ θεῶι χαρίεν* (of his dedication), and *χαρίεντ’* at *Il.* 1.39.

<sup>15</sup> V. F. Vanderlip, *The Four Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (*AmStudPap* 12 [1972]) 34–35; É. Bernard, *Inscr. métr. de l’Égypte* 175.II. The last occurrence of *χάρις* is in fact a statement by the hymnist that the god indeed heard his prayer and granted him his “favor.” *Cf.* the progression at *Ar. Thesm.* 972–83: *χαῖρε* (972), *χαρέντα* (981), and *χάριν* (983).

god bestow “grace” on his words (νεῦσον δὲ καὶ χάριν τοῖς λόγοις, 446.12). In the Orphic hymns we find κεχαρηότι θυμῶ (1.10), χαίρων . . . κεχαρηότα (18.18–19), χαρείς (19.20), κεχαρισμένη (27.14), χάρισιν (28.12), κεχαρισμένα (29.2, 46.8), κεχαρημένος (52.13), χαίρουσιν ἐπ’ ἔργοις (66.11), and χαρέντα (82.6).

χάρις is, of course, one of a multitude of words used to seek the benevolence of the deity,<sup>16</sup> but its many forms make it the most versatile, and probably the most important, term of its kind in Greek hymnology.<sup>17</sup> The rhetorical τέλος of a hymn is, then, to secure the god’s pleasure by a ‘pleasing’ choice of names and titles (especially prominent in the Orphic hymns) and by the ‘proper’ narration of his powers and exploits (especially prominent in the longer Homeric hymns, Callimachus’ hymns, and the prose hymns of Aristides and Menander). And after finding a fitting ἀρχή, and giving a ‘pleasing’ account of the god’s powers, the hymnist is prepared to make his petition.

### III. The Request

When there is a petition at the end of a hymn, it must of course be consonant with the god’s powers as established in the body of the hymn,<sup>18</sup> and follow naturally from the goodwill established between the god and man. It is at this point that the hymnist tries to establish the closest relationship between himself and the god, between the god’s wellbeing and human needs, between the god’s present pleasure and continued benefits. A dedicatory inscription presents this relationship in brief scope:<sup>19</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Bundy (*supra* n.1) 50–51. Most common are forms of ἴλημι, εὐμενέω, γηθέω, and εὐ/πρόφρων. The frequent κλῦθι and ἔρχεο (έλθέ), often qualified by one of these words, always carries the connotation of ‘listen’ or ‘come’ favorably. In her hymn to Aphrodite Sappho is careful to point out that in the past the goddess heard her (ἔκλυες, 7) and came (ἦλθες, 8) smiling (μειδιαίσαισ’, 14), thus requesting a similar reception this time (ἔλθε μοι καὶ νῦν, 25). Cf. Anacreon 380 (PMG), χαίρε, φίλον φῶς, χαρίεντι μειδῶν προσώπῳ, and 348.7, χαίρουσ’.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Kittel/Friedrich, *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament* IX 359–415, for the eventual incorporation of χάρις into Christian usage and thought.

<sup>18</sup> For example, in his prayer at *Il.* 1.37–42 Chryses invokes Apollo as ἀργυρότοξ’ (37) and requests that he pay back the Achaeans with his shafts (βέλεσσιν, 42). Likewise, the hymnist frequently tries to ‘please’ the god with ‘local’ (πατρώιον) cult and place names in order to make special claims on the god’s goodwill. Cf. Callim. *Ap.* 69–71; Aristocles *Hymn.Dem.* 1–8 (Ael. *NA* 11.4); Isidorus *Hymn.Is.* 1.14–24, where the list of titles culminates in the local (cf. *πάτριμ*, 17) cult name Thiouis; and Menander 440.13–15 and 443.32–444.2. A thorough study of hymnal petitions is needed, only a few aspects of which have been treated here.

<sup>19</sup> *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 650; Raubitschek, *Dedications* 40.

Φαρθένε, ἐν ἀκροπόλει Τελεσίνοσ ἀγαλμ' ἀνέθεκεν  
Κέτιος, ἧδι χαίροσα διδοίεσ ἄλο ἀναθῆναι.

χαίρουσα διδοίης, “in your pleasure may you keep on granting,” neatly summarizes the relationship between the god and the worshipper whose future success depends upon the god’s favor. The request at the end of *Hymn.Orph.* 19.20 presents a variation: ἀλλὰ χαρεῖσ λουβαῖσι δίδου φρεσὶν αἴσιμα πάντα . . . . Of a similar nature, I believe, is the very frequent formula in which χαῖρε is followed by an imperative (usually of δίδωμι), as in *Hymn.Hom.* 15.9: χαῖρε ἄναξ Διὸσ νιέ· δίδου δ' ἀρετήν τε καὶ ὄλβον.<sup>20</sup>

Although the substance of the request can vary greatly from hymn to hymn, there are two general concerns which are continually expressed, especially in the ‘public’ hymns: that the hymn (including the dance) succeed in pleasing the god and that the people or city fare well (*cf.* *Il.* 1.472–74). Prayers for the success of the song are found in the Homeric Hymns (1.18–19; 6.20, ἐμὴν δ' ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν; 7.58–59; 10.5, δὸσ δ' ἱμερόεσσαν ἀοιδήν; 25.6, ἐμὴν τιμήσατ' ἀοιδήν), Callimachus (*Dian.* 268, ἐνάντησον ἀοιδῆ), Theocritus (22.214–15, ἡμετέροις κλέοσ ὕμνοισ ἐσθλὸν ἀεὶ πέμποιτε), and Aratus (*Phaen.* 18, τεκμήρατε πάσαν ἀοιδήν).<sup>21</sup>

Often prayers for the success of the song are coupled with requests for the wellbeing of the community. In the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (490–94) the poet hopes that his song will succeed in eliciting the bounty of Demeter and Persephone: ἀλλ' ἄγ' . . . πρόφρονεσ ἀντ' ὦδῆσ βίοτον θυμῆρε' ὀπάξειν.<sup>22</sup> At 24.4–5 the poet requests that Hestia come into his house (that is, bless it with her presence) and grace his song (χάριν δ' αἶμ' ὄπασσον ἀοιδῆ). Hymn 13.3 links both

<sup>20</sup> If one compares *Hymn.Hom.* 20.8, ἀλλ' ἴληθ' Ἡφαιστε· δίδου δ' ἀρετήν τε καὶ ὄλβον, it is evident that as the equivalent of ἴληθι, χαῖρε means more than just ‘good-bye’. For other examples of χαῖρε with imperative, *cf.* *Hymn.Hom.* 6.19, 10.4–5, 11.5, 13.3, 25.6, 26.11–12, 30.17–18, 31.17, Hes. *Theog.* 104, Callim. *Ion.* 94, Ion of Chios 26.15 W., Theoc. 22.214–15, and Aratus *Phaen.* 16–18. Of particular interest as a variation is *Hymn.Hom.* 18.12: χαῖρ' Ἐρμῆ χαριδῶτα διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἑάων, which neatly combines both aspects of χάρις (the god’s pleasure and the ‘grace’ which he bestows) with giving.

<sup>21</sup> Compare the refrain of the Hymn of the Curetes (*I.Cret.* III ii 2), χαῖρέ μοι, Κρόνειε . . . ἔρπε καὶ γέγαθι μολπαῶ.

<sup>22</sup> On this passage see the remarks of N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 321–24. It is apparent that ὀπάξειν is a synonym for δίδου, and the variation at *Hymn.Hom.* 30.17–18 shows that χαῖρε can be substituted for the ἀλλ' ἄγε of 490 here. The ‘pleasure’ word πρόφρονεσ (494) must of course be taken with ὀπάξειν (“give cheerfully”), but it can also be taken closely with ἀντ' ὦδῆσ, “cheerfully in return for song.” At any rate, goodwill, song, and bounty are closely combined in this verse.

elements succinctly: *χαῖρε θεὰ καὶ τήνδε σάου πόλιν, ἄρχε δ' αἰοι-  
δῆς.*<sup>23</sup> Here Demeter is asked to be the *ἀρχή* of his hymn (the source, ruling principle, theme), to take pleasure in it (*χαῖρε*), and to safeguard “this city.”<sup>24</sup> Menander the Rhetor concludes his prose hymn with the following words, which well sum up the tradition: *νεῦσον δὲ καὶ χάριν τοῖς λόγοις· παρὰ σοῦ γὰρ καὶ οἱ λόγοι καὶ ἡ πόλις.*<sup>25</sup>

A number of formal elements which frequently occur in requests deserve more notice than they have received. A good model is the ending of Aristonous' Paeon to Apollo (Powell 164) 41–48:

*ἀλλ' ὦ Παρνασσοῦ γνάλων  
εὐδρόσοισι Κασταλίας  
να[σ]μοῖς σὸν δέμας ἔξαβρύ-  
νων, ἰὴ ἰὲ Παιάν,  
χαρεῖς ὕμνοις ἡμετέροις,  
ἄλβον ἐξ ὀσίων διδοῦς·  
ἀεὶ καὶ σῶζων ἐφέποις  
ἡμᾶς, ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν.*

With the exception of the frequent demonstrative *ὄδε*, this hymnal conclusion contains virtually all the formal elements normally found in requests. *ἀλλ' (ὦ)* is a formulaic return to the god and signals the petition.<sup>26</sup> *χαρεῖς ὕμνοις ἡμετέροις*, as we have seen, does the double duty of securing the god's goodwill in song and bidding him a favorable farewell. This *χάρις* is then followed by a form of *δίδωμι*, the common *σῶζω*,<sup>27</sup> and the imperative (here the more polite optative,

<sup>23</sup> At the end of Callim. *Jov.* there are two separate ‘farewells’. The first, *χαῖρε μέγα* . . . (91–93), is concerned with the god's reception of the song and apologizes for (what the god might perceive as) a scant treatment of his deeds (*τεὰ δ' ἔργματα τίς κεν αἰίδου;*). The second, *χαῖρε, πάτερ, χαῖρ' αὐθι* . . . (94–96: note the intensification), requests (*δίδου*) the full measure of wealth and excellence—obviously for the community represented by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who is praised in the preceding verses (85–90).

<sup>24</sup> This demonstrative occurs very frequently in petitions (e.g. Theogn. 782, Callim. *Cer.* 134, Philodam. Scarph. *Paeon Dion.* 154–56 [Powell 169], and Menander Rhet. 446.10). It vividly marks the recipient of the god's bounty.

<sup>25</sup> 446.11–13. Compare the petition at the end of Bacchyl. *Dithyr.* 17.130–32, that from the god's pleasure in song may flow bounty for the Ceans: *Δάλιε, χοροῖσι Κηϊῶν φρένα ἰανθείς, ὄπαζε θεόπομπον ἐσθλῶν τύχαν.*

<sup>26</sup> *ἀλλά* both breaks off from the preceding material and anticipates the imperative of the request. The vocative serves to reinvokethe god for this critical point in the hymn. For examples see Theogn. 781, *Hymn.Hom.Dem.* 490, *Hymn.Hom.* 8.15 and 20.8, Pind. *Oi.* 2.12–15 and 7.87–90, Eur. *Hipp.* 82–83, Timoth. *Pers.* 237, Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus 32, and frequently, especially in the Orphic hymns.

<sup>27</sup> For *σῶζω* cf. *IG IV*<sup>2</sup> 129.11–15 (*PMG* 937), *χαίρετε* . . . *σῶζετε τόνδ' . . . ναόν*, and Macedonius' Paeon to Apollo and Asclepius (Powell 139) 23–30, *χαῖρε . . . δίδου*



ἐφέποις). Also noteworthy is the frequent αἰί, which extends the god's goodwill into the indefinite future. And finally (here held for climactic effect) is the recipient, the poet and his community, embodied in ἡμᾶς.<sup>28</sup>

The anonymous Paean to Asclepius (*PMG* 934) 19–24 provides a variation:

χαῖρέ μοι, Ἴλαος δ' ἐπινίσσεο  
τὰν ἀμὰν πόλιν εὐρύχορον,  
ἱὲ Παιάν.  
δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ὄραν φάος  
ἀελίου δοκίμους σὺν ἀγακλυτῶ  
εὐαγεί Ὑγιεία.

The god's pleasure is foremost in the hymnist's consideration (χαῖρέ μοι, Ἴλαος), and the epithet εὐρύχορον suggests that the poet also intends his song to be in the god's thoughts.<sup>29</sup> And as the god is enjoined to visit the city's celebration, he is asked to bring its citizens joy (ἡμᾶς χαίροντας), fame, and health.<sup>30</sup>

Two prayers from Pindar will demonstrate the consistency of this formal tradition. The first concludes Pindar's praise of Corinth (*Ol.* 13.24–27):

ὔπατ' εὐρὸν ἀνάσσω  
Ὀλυμπίας, ἀφθόνητος ἔπεσσι  
γένοιο χρόνον ἅπαντα, Ζεῦ πάτερ,  
καὶ τόνδε λαὸν ἀβλαβῆ νέμων . . . .

Here is the direct address to the god with honorific titles. ἀφθόνητος ἔπεσσι is litotes for χαρεῖς ὕμνοισι; χρόνον ἅπαντα is a periphrasis for αἰί; and τόνδε λαὸν ἀβλαβῆ νέμων is equivalent to σώζων ἐφέποις ἡμᾶς. The second prayer occurs at *Ol.* 2.12–15, after Pindar has praised Theron's clan:

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. . . ὑμνοῦντας ἐς αἰ[εῖ θ]άλλειν . . . σώζοις, which together contain most of the formal elements under discussion. σώζω also appears frequently in the Orphic hymns.

<sup>28</sup> This climactic juxtaposition of the god (second person) and man (first person) dramatizes the desire of the hymnist to bring together god and man in common delight. *Cf.* the similar expressions χαῖρέ μοι, κλυθί μεν (μοι κλυθι), δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς, λίτομαί σε, and ἴλαθί μοι.

<sup>29</sup> *Cf.* Aristonous *Hymn. Vest.* (Powell 165) 11–17, where the request includes perpetual dance: δίδου . . . ἡμᾶς . . . αἰὶ . . . χορεύειν.

<sup>30</sup> It is interesting that medicine plays no rôle among the δυνάμεις of Apollo in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo, but it appears climactically at Callim. *Ap.* 46. With the fourth century and later there is an increasing emphasis on medicine and health as the most important power of the god. *Cf.* Ariphron (*PMG* 813) 1, Philodamus Paean to Dionysus (Powell 169) 153, and frequently in the Orphic hymns.

ἀλλ' ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ Ῥέας, ἔδος Ὀλύμπου νέμων  
 ἀέθλων τε κορυφὰν πόρον τ' Ἀλφειῦ, ἱανθεὶς ἀοιδαῖς  
 εὐφρων ἄρουραν ἔτι πατρίαν σφίσιν κόμισσον  
 λοιπῶ γένοι.

Here is the formulaic address to the god with ἀλλ' ὦ and appropriate titles; ἱανθεὶς ἀοιδαῖς εὐφρων matches χαρεὶς ὕμνοις ἡμετέροις; κόμισσον is a variation of δός; and ἔτι . . . λοιπῶ γένοι provides the temporal element of ἀεί.

In conclusion, I have tried to show the close connection between the rhetorical intention of the hymnist to create a hymn which will please the god and the formal expression of that intention. Sometimes, as in the case of finding an appropriate ἀρχή, the topic can eventually become a mere mannerism to exercise the rhetorical ingenuity of the hymnist. But at its best, the hymnal song (and dance) can unite god and man in a reciprocal relationship of χάρις such as that described in the Homeric Hymn to Apollo (146–64) or more personally in the announcement at the end of one of Isidorus' hymns to Isis (2.33–34):

εὐχῶν ἠδ' ὕμνων τε θεοὶ κλύοντες ἐμείω,  
 ἀνταπέδωκαν ἐμοὶ εὐθυμίαν χάριτα.

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