VICTORY AND VIRILITY IN THE *HOMERIC HYMN TO APOLLO*: AT WHOSE EXPENSE?

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In the long and insightful chapter on the *Hymn to Apollo* with which she begins her 1989 work, *The Politics of Olympus*, Jenny Strauss Clay writes that the Homeric hymnist situates Apollo "as a critical component in the constitution and preservation of the Olympian order."[1] She sees the hymn as having a temporal priority within the divine history of Olympus that "emerges in the course of the narrative and forms an essential key to the interpretation of the poem."[2] Furthermore, Homeric epic presupposes that Olympian order, established in the Succession Myth of Hesiod's *Theogony*, even though all these texts, including the various Homeric hymns, may be responding to and refining a traditional "cosmic history" rather than, specifically, the cosmogony of Hesiod.[3]

This Olympian order, Clay argues, generates a framework that conceptually links the four major hymns, each one recounting a critical chapter in the mythological history of the Olympians. As a genre, she argues, these hymns refine and affirm the consolidation of Zeus in power. "Each can be said to take place in the time of origins that Eliade has called *illud tempus*. Those actions and events that occurred *then* among the gods have permanent and irreversible consequences *now* and explain why the world is the way it is."[4] In Clay's formulation, the major Homeric hymns function as "fillers" of a gap left open between the rise of Zeus to power and his full

1. Clay 1989, p. 74.
2. *Ibid*., p. 17-18.
3. According to Herodotus, Hesiod and Homer are "the ones who made a theogony for the Greeks and gave the gods their names and distinguished their honors and skills and indicated their forms" (*Hist*. II, 53, 1-2). For the view of the *Theogony* and Homeric epic as part of the traditional "cosmic history" available to poets and audiences alike for allusion and intertextuality, see Graziozi, Haubold 2005, p. 35-42 ("Epic and the history of the cosmos") and 56-60 ("Resonance and the history of the cosmos").
4. Clay 1989, p. 11.

entrenchment as king of gods and men. It is as if Hesiod had set out to close that gap and eliminate any further question as to who might come next, but the question nonetheless remains. Despite the poet's ardor in affirming the stability and finality of the new cosmic order, Zeus's position as king of gods and men remains somewhat precarious even at the end of the *Theogony*: the generational rivalry and the violent successions of the Olympians that brought him to power are not irreversibly resolved. So the question of "Who is next?" persists.[5]

In this paper, I shift my cognitive frame of reference so as to read the *Hymn to Apollo* from the perspective of Apollo's series of victims. Does the *Hymn* tolerate or *invite* their perspectives on the complex god? That is, do the voices of Apollo's victims, along with the insistent and public voice of Hera who proclaims herself Zeus's victim, cumulatively undermine or at least call into question the god's triumphant victory by the poem's end? And if they do so, what does this say about the constitution and preservation of the Olympian order? Is it always at risk?

No doubt (and I will concede this from the start) these potentially subversive voices are *overshadowed* by the hymnist's fulfillment of his task – to praise Apollo, recount his birth and exploits, and identify his domains[6] – and by his larger goal of affirming the new cosmic order. Perhaps these voices exist only to be overcome. Still, if they persist, some members of the hymnist's audiences might have detected them, as I do now. Not all the listeners were triumphant insiders who unequivocally identified with the victorious and virile young Apollo! There were foreigners, or those of a lower class, or women of any age-grade.[7] There were probably Hera worshippers, as mentioned at 347 ("her temples where many pray" and bring offerings) – worshippers from Samos or Argos, for example,[8] who (given Hera's centrality to their lives) might object to the hymnist's portrayal of her at 305-355 and find it offensive. They might even embrace her complaint before the assembled immortals (311-330), when she tells them how Zeus first dishonored her by bearing bright-eyed Athena *nosphin emeio*, "apart from me." Andrew Miller,[9] who sees this episode as cast in quasi-legal terms, interprets Hera's complaint as a screen for her alignment with principles of disorder. But what if that alignment itself has a measure of legitimacy, from her point of view and that of her partisans?

5. Clay 2006, p. 3-17.

6. These are generally acknowledged as standard parts of the hymn and conventional tasks of the hymnist; see Race 1982a, p. 5-14; Janko 1981, p. 9-24, and Miller 1986, p. 1-9.

7. On age-grade and diverse audience, see Felson 1994, p. 125-144, esp. p. 126, and for a thorough and illuminating study of age-classes, age-sets and age-grades, see Davidson 2007, esp. p. 74-78.

8. Argos and Samos both were cult sides for Hera in the archaic period, according to Stillwell 1976 (*Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*), *s.v.* "Argive Heraion" (6th c. BC) and "Samos" (9th-8th c. BC).

9. Miller 1986, p. 84.

Might not an interpreter, then, with a frame of reference that privileges the weak and subordinated take the rumored designation of Apollo as *atasthalos*, "reckless, violent, hubristic" (67), to *accurately* characterize the god, particularly in terms of how he treats those who offend or cross him? That interpreter might sustain a negative perspective on Apollo's triumph at Delphi and even reflect on the cost to subordinates, often female subordinates, of the Olympian order. Does the hymnist allow for such a "resisting reading"[10] of Apollo?

The *Hymn to Apollo* contains features that our resisting interpreter could see as qualifying the hymnist's praise of the virile and victorious god. I single out three. First, the hymnist sharply contrasts Leto's gentle persuasion of Delos and Apollo's domination of Telphusa, in their first encounters. Second, in Hera's complaint against Zeus he includes a stinging critique of male monogenesis, a central strategy in Hesiod's account of Zeus' rise to power. Third, the speaker himself moves cautiously as he fulfills his task of hymning the well-hymned god – as if he too (like Telphusa) could become a victim of this "*atasthalos*" young god if he does not approach him with the proper reverence. In a sense, as we shall see, he not only gives protesting female voices a hearing but even seems, by his, to enact the female voice. Even though the hymnist maligns Hera, as he does Python and Telphusa, he also gives her protesting voice a hearing, before all the gods except Leto.

Delos and Telphusa

In the *Hymn* a series of land-maidens, fearful of being dominated, refuse first to be Apollo's birthplace and later to be the site of Apollo's oracle. The two parallel sets of refusal resonate with countless stories about virgins refusing to mate with this virile god.[11] The lands' refusals of a birthplace contribute not only to Leto's interminable gestation but to the real possibility that (like Zeus's son with Mêtis in the *Theogony*) Apollo will never be born! This potential outcome is accentuated in Callimachus' *Hymn 4 to Delos* (esp. 106-254). Prolonged gestation is also the state in which Ouranos keeps Gaia in the *Theogony*, when he represses their children in her recesses; Gaia calls it an evil thing (*aeikea erga*, 166). Here, virgin female lands are fearful of Apollo and they do not dare to welcome him (47-48) – surely for the reasons that Delos states to Leto. Aligned with a jealous Hera, they nearly control

10. Fetterley 1978, p. xxii, calls the first act of the feminist critic "to become a resisting rather than an assenting reader and, by this refusal to assent, to begin the process of exorcizing the male mind that has been implanted in us." A "resisting reader," in other words, refuses to identify with a male point of view and to accept as normal and legitimate a male system of values.

11. Felson 2009, p. 149-168.

Apollo's very coming into being.[12] Of course, Apollo triumphs: he is born on Delos and he does establish his oracle at Delphi. Delos receives rich compensation; for the founding of Delphi two females, Telphusa and Pytho, pay the cost.

When Leto approaches Delos to see if she will be the birth place of the god and Delos responds, she speaks for all the god's actual and potential victims (67-69):

> « Λίην γάρ τινά φασιν ἀτάσθαλον Ἀπόλλωνα
> ἔσσεσθαι, μέγα δὲ πρυτανευσέμεν ἀθανάτοισι
> καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν. »
>
> "They say that Apollo will be one who is overly reckless
> and will greatly lord it over immortals
> and mortals all over the fruitful earth".

The *atasthalia* that Delos greatly fears from Apollo is regularly associated with reckless youths, as in *Od*. 8, 166, where Odysseus reproaches the rude Phaeacian youth Euryalos for not speaking nobly: "you seem like one who is reckless" (an *atasthalos anêr*), he tells him. This human trait justifies divine retaliation, as Zeus maintains when he places Aigisthos in the category of humans who "themselves, / through their own blind folly, have sorrows beyond that which is ordained" (*Od*. 1, 33-34: οἱ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ / σφῇσιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὑπὲρ μόρον ἄλγε' ἔχουσιν). This rubric accommodates not only Penelope's suitors, who are repeatedly associated with *hubris* and *atasthalia* –I count over twenty occurrences– but also Odysseus' companions (*Od*. 1, 7) and the wayward maidservants (*Od*. 19, 88): all, like Aigisthos, experience early death.[13] So it is indeed extraordinary to find this term in a hymn praising the god.

The outcome that Delos dreads is annihilation –submersion into the sea, a kind of reverse creation (70-73):

> « Τῷ ῥ' αἰνῶς δείδοικα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμὸν
> μὴ ὁπότ' ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ἴδῃ φάος ἠελίοιο,
> νῆσον ἀτιμήσας, ἐπεὶ ἦ κραναή πεδός εἰμι,
> ποσσὶ καταστρέψας ὤσῃ ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν. »
>
> "Therefore, I greatly fear in heart and spirit
> that as soon as he first sees the light of the sun,
> he will scorn this island, for truly I have but a hard, rocky soil,
> and overturn me and thrust me down with his feet in the depths of the sea".

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12. In Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos*, fear of Hera's power motivates every land but Delos to reject Leto's request. Addressing Delos at 56 the hymnist states: "You did not tremble before the angered Hera" and at 68-69 he describes Ares and Iris, stationed by Hera: "they sat and threatened all the cities which Leto approached and prevented them from receiving her".

13. Miller 1986, p. 48-49, considers the charge dismissed because of the presence of Themis at the birth: "it is Themis through whom he realizes his essential nature" and "Themis, 'what is laid down' by natural law, forms with *hubris* one pole of a conceptual antithesis central to archaic ethical thought;" "Apollo is a god in whom respect for natural limit and hostility toward *hubris* are innate."

In her fear of being dishonored, Delos anticipates Hera, later in the hymn, who claims at 312 to have been dishonored by Zeus. In her fear of reverting to an earlier state of non-being,[14] she resembles Gaia during the Titanomachy and Typhonomachy in Hesiod's *Theogony*, when, as *gaia* (693) or *chthôn* (695) she is scorched by the interminable battles.

The rocky island agrees to be Apollo's birthplace only after she exacts a great oath from Leto that Apollo (soon-to-be-born) will "build on her a glorious temple to be an oracle for men" and that afterwards he will "make temples and wooded groves amongst all men; for surely he will be greatly renowned" (80-82). This oath represents a compromise between what Delos wants and what Leto can promise on her son's behalf. Leto swears the oath and then adds that Apollo will honor Delos above all others (88). Her direct response to Delos's fears puts them to rest, and henceforth the island is not only protected from harm but assured a glorious future.

Delos' dread of obliteration leads her to articulate one prominent Apolline trait: his ephebic urge to dominate, colonize, possess, rape, and obliterate.[15] Her capacity to anticipate and avoid this disaster marks her as an especially suitable birth-site for the future god of prophecy. Once she decides to comply with Leto's request, Delos becomes, for a time, a sort of *omphalos*, where the divine attendants of Leto congregate at the sacred palm tree to which Leto clings as she gives birth. The birth itself is represented as a dramatic culmination after the sequence of intense debates –first between Leto and all the land-maidens who refuse her (we hear only a summary) and finally, in represented dialogue, between Delos and Leto.

The end of this self-contained account of anticipated danger, negotiation, conflict resolution, and eventual reward, resembles the outcome for the land-maiden Cyrene in *Pythian* 9, one of the few virgins whom Apollo actually conquers. Once the young Apollo has "plucked the sweet grass from her bed" (37) and the couple has been greeted by Aphrodite in Libya, the god and the victor cause Cyrene to "blossom forth" (cf. 8, *thalloisan*; 56, *euklea numphân*; and 72, *anephane Kurânân*). In the Hymn, the hymnist recounts how "with gold all Delos (…) bloomed as when the peak of a mountain blooms with woodland flowers" (135-139). Later, the golden, florescent island is the venue for the Delian Festival in honor of the god, where the Delian Maidens and the hymnist form a reciprocal bond based on the exchange of

14. As Eliade 1959, p. 130, writes: "immersion in water signifies regression to the preformal, reincorporation into the undifferentiated mode of pre-existence." On the notion of reverse creation, see Detienne, Vernant 1974, p. 248. They discuss Delos as "a windy island, a land without roots, a floating island, which, in constrast to the deeply anchored Earth whose roots assure to humans a solid and immobile seat, is a portion of land halfway immersed in water and (…) as much buffeted by the waves as emerging from the depth of the sea in order to be lost once again in the immensity of Pontus." Immersed islands "belong to an older order of the cosmos, from the period when land and sea were not yet fully differentiated."

15. This proclivity makes the god a colorful and dynamic if not always dignified character in stories; see Felson 2009, p. 147-168.

Hymnes.indd 273 19/07/12 14:46

praise. Delos's union with the god Apollo thus provides the occasion for festivities that enable others, including the hymnist, to "blossom forth."

Ultimately, Telphusa suffers the very fate that Delos deflects. Her foiled attempt to deceive the god leads to her obliteration, so radically different from Delos's golden efflorescence. This outcome also occurs because no mediator such as Leto intervened. Once Apollo steps foot on Telphusa, toward the end of his travels, he immediately proclaims his intentions, never asking, "Would you be willing…?," as Leto does to Delos. The hymnist, as if present at the event, recounts: "You stood very near her and said" (247-253):

> « Τελφοῦσ', ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω περικαλλέα νηὸν
> ἀνθρώπων τεῦξαι χρηστήριον, οἵτε μοι αἰεὶ
> ἐνθάδ' ἀγινήσουσι τελήεσσας ἑκατόμβας,
> (…)
> χρησόμενοι· τοῖσιν δέ κ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλὴν
> πᾶσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πίονι νηῷ. »
>
> "Telphusa, here indeed I intend to build a very beautiful temple,
> an oracle for men, who will always bring
> complete hecatombs to me here (…)
> to consult the oracle. And to all these I would prophesy
> unerring advice, issuing oracles in my rich temple."

Right away, neither waiting for an answer nor giving Telphusa an opportunity to express concern, Apollo "laid out the foundations, / broad and very long from one end to the other" (254-255). No wonder, then, that Telphusa grows angry. As the protectress of her spring, she has some legitimacy in trying to thwart the progress of the god.[16]

Nevertheless, the hymnist presents Telphusa's advice to Apollo, diverting him to Krisa, as "self-serving:"[17] "she persuaded the mind of the Far-shooter, in order that she herself, Telphusa, would have the glory (*kléos*) in her land and not the Far-shooter" (275-276). To identify Telphusa's motive in this way is to align her with all the hubristic mortals who vie with a god (Arachne, Marsyas, Niobe, etc.); this in turn strengthens Apollo's case for her brutal punishment, once he returns to exact it. The hymnist thus sides with his hero, making it seem that Telphusa resists Apollonian, and Olympian progress.

When Apollo arrives at Delphi to build his lovely temple (281-286) he reiterates his intentions (using the same language as at 254-255) and again lays out the foundations for his oracle. But again, nearby (300), he encounters a protester, a female serpent, Python, "a well-fed, great, fierce monster, which kept working many evils against the

16. Telphusa is indeed serpentine or draconic by nature. Fontenrose 1959, p. 366-374, sees her as a doublet for Python and also a local protective deity.

17. For a parallel to this gesture of offering a substitute partner, see Archilochus' Cologne fragment 3-4 (cf. Bremer, Van Erp Taalman Kip, Slings [éds] 1987), where the daughter of Amphimedo offers another within the house, "one who desires you greatly."

men of the land (…), since she was a blood-reeking bane" (302-304). Apollo kills Python, and because the hymnist explicitly labels her an evil and classifies her death as a liberation from evil, it is hard for the resisting reader to rehabilitate her. But she too, as a guardian of a spring, is protecting her turf. In any case, Apollo's triumph over Python makes him realize that "the fair-flowing spring has tricked him" (375-376). Since he can have the land only by overcoming resistance, a reality of which Telphusa did not apprise him, he returns to inflict upon Telphusa the very opposite of a glorious outcome (379-387):

> Τελφοῦσ', οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες ἐμὸν νόον ἐξαπαφοῦσα
> χῶρον ἔχουσ' ἐρατὸν προρέειν καλλίρροον ὕδωρ.
> Ἐνθάδε δὴ καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος ἔσσεται, οὐδὲ σὸν οἴης.
> Ἦ καὶ ἐπὶ ῥίον ὦσεν ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων
> πετραίῃς προχυτῇσιν, ἀπέκρυφεν δὲ ῥέεθρα,
> καὶ βωμὸν ποιήσατ' ἐν ἄλσεϊ δενδρήεντι
> ἄγχι μάλα κρήνης καλλιρρόου· ἔνθα δ' ἄνακτι
> πάντες ἐπίκλησιν Τελφουσίῳ εὐχετόωνται
> οὕνεκα Τελφούσης ἱερῆς ἤσχυνε ῥέεθρα.
>
> "Telphusa, you were not, after all, by deceiving my mind,
> to keep to yourself this lovely place and pour forth your clear flowing water:
> here my renown shall also be and not yours alone."
> Thus spoke the lord, far-working Apollo, and pushed over upon her a crag
> with a shower of rocks; he hid her streams
> and made himself an altar in a wooded grove
> very near a clear-flowing spring. In that place
> all men pray to the great one by the name Telphusian,
> because he disgraced the stream of holy Telphusa.

As with his Pythian victim, Apollo appropriates Telphusa's very name, another form of domination.

Apollo emphasizes in his punishment what the hymnist tells us earlier, at 275-276: that she is after *kleos* for herself alone. But Apollo never makes her a proposal to begin with: he simply starts building his oracle. While Leto negotiates in dialogue with Delos, Apollo speaks and acts unilaterally and simply imposes his will on Telphusa, as he does on Python. Later, at 381, he proclaims to the defeated Telphusa: "Here too indeed will my glory exist, not yours alone." Apollo's style of speaking and acting is *atasthalos*, while Leto's is "gentle" (*meilichon*, *êpion*, *Th*. 406-407). A gentle character entertains and takes into consideration the stance of the other; an *atasthalos* character considers only his own desires from his own vantage point. Otherwise, he would be incapable of inflicting his will on another, or of acting so violently and recklessly in his own interests. Here in the Hymn, despite her harsh prediction to Delos ("no one else will touch you, as you will see, / nor do I think you will be rich in cattle or sheep, / nor will you bear grain nor will you grow abundant crops," 53-55), Leto encourages Delos to express her fears openly and then she negotiates a solution to alleviate those fears. Moreover, the series of lands to whom Leto first appeals to be birthplaces for Apollo and who turn her down suffer no

bad consequences: in fact, they become Apollo's permanent cult centers. There is a tension between the hymnist's characterization of Telphusa, which justifies her brutal end, and the possibility, in the narrative, that Telphusa has a legitimate point.

Hera and Zeus: two forms of monogenesis

Though some scholars consider this section (305-374) of the Hymn an interpolation,[18] thematically it suits the gender politics of Apollo's interactions with Delos, Telphusa and Python. Miller 1986 (esp. p. 84-86) sees Hera's quasi-legal presentation of her case to the assembled gods as a subterfuge for her real motivation, namely, to disrupt the cosmos by producing another usurper, Typhaon; he will overthrow Zeus, who dishonored her by producing Athena androgenetically from his head. Yet Hera's actions can also be interpreted, especially by those partial to Hera in cult, as expressing her independence of the marriage to Zeus and her reliance on her own power base. As an autonomous deity Hera has her own legitimacy and justification. She inspires awe, and when she is dishonored, her rage can be exceedingly destructive. The hymnist, without editorial comment, tells how (305-309):

Καὶ ποτε δεξαμένη χρυσοθρόνου ἔτρεφεν Ἥρης
δεινόν τ' ἀργαλέον τε Τυφάονα, πῆμα βροτοῖσιν·
ὅν ποτ' ἄρ' Ἥρη ἔτικτε χολωσαμένη Διὶ πατρί,
ἡνίκ' ἄρα Κρονίδης ἐρικυδέα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην
ἐν κορυφῇ· ἣ δ' αἶψα χολώσατο πότνια Ἥρη

"And once from golden-throned Hera she (Python) received and nourished
Typhaon, terrible and dreadful, bane to mortals,
Whom Hera once bore in anger at father Zeus,
Because the son of Kronos had given birth to glorious Athena
From his head. And straightway lady Hera was enraged."

Hera's complaint to the assembled immortals (beginning at 310) is directly linked to *Th*. 927-929, where the queen of the gods gives birth to Hephaistos parthenogenetically after Zeus produces Athena from his head. In both texts, Hera competes with Zeus over the power to procreate. In Hesiod's *Theogony* parthenogenesis is the original means of reproduction, and heterosexuality along with Zeus' unilateral production of Athena and Dionysus come later. For Zeus to practice monogenesis is like taking away from the mother-goddess her tympanus and castanets (Epidaurian *Hymn to the Mother of the Gods*).[19] Hera's complaint is particular ("He dishonored

18. Allen, Halliday, Sikes (éds) 1936, p. 244: "This episode, usually condemned, is one of Apollo's greatest exploits and was a necessary measure for the foundation of the oracles. It was, therefore, rightly inserted here by Cynaethus."

19. Furley, Bremer 2001, I, p. 214-219. See in this volume Furley, p. XXX.

me!”), but it has wider implications: how dare a male use his head as a female womb! The austere, awesome goddess pronounces her threat (326-330):

> Καὶ νῦν μέντοι ἐγὼ τεχνήσομαι, ὥς κε γένηται
> παῖς ἐμός, ὅς κε θεοῖσι μεταπρέποι ἀθανάτοισιν,
> οὔτε σὸν αἰσχύνασ' ἱερὸν λέχος οὔτ' ἐμὸν αὐτῆς.
> Οὐδέ τοι εἰς εὐνὴν πωλήσομαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σεῖο
> τηλόθ' ἐοῦσα θεοῖσι μετέσσομαι ἀθανάτοισιν.
>
> “And now I will contrive a way for there to be born
> a child of mine, who will be distinguished among the immortal gods,
> without shaming your sacred marriage bed or my own,
> and I will not keep coming to your bed, but away from you,
> far away, I will pass my time with the immortal gods.”

Hera prays to earth and sky and the chthonic Titans to “listen and give [her] a child apart from Zeus, in no way weaker in strength than he; / but let him be as much stronger as far-seeing Zeus is stronger than Kronos” (αὐτοὶ νῦν μευ πάντες ἀκούσατε καὶ δότε παῖδα / νόσφι Διός, μηδέν τι βίην ἐπιδευέα κείνου· / ἀλλ' ὅ γε φέρτερος ἔστω, ὅσον Κρόνου εὐρύοπα Ζεύς” (337-339). This comparison invokes the “Who is next?” theme so familiar from the *Theogony*. Hera strikes the ground and, after the full cycle of a year, delivers “one resembling neither gods nor mortals, / Typhaon, terrible and dreadful, a bane to mortals” (350-352).[20]

Hera’s monogenetic birth of Typhaon in the Hymn has the potential to challenge the Olympian order and change the history of the cosmos. In fact, as a goddess with a chthonic power base, Hera cannot finally and irreversibly be incorporated into the Olympic order.[21] In this respect, she resembles the Erinyes/Eumenides in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*, as Helen Bacon interprets them in an essay whose ideas have been influential.[22] Moreover, Hera’s ferocity in this later episode – a kind of para-narrative or *mise en abyme* – makes interpreters rethink her initial obstruction of the birth of the monster-slaying Apollo.

In a resisting reader, this divine voice of protest strengthens the voices of the fearful Delos (before she is placated and won over), the proud Telphusa (who does not get the last word in her *agôn* with Apollo), and the deadly Python (who has no speech at all, only an inglorious death). This accumulation of protest voices calls into question the very legitimacy of the cosmic history which Apollo’s ascendancy at Delphi helps complete.

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20. Striking the ground is a way of summoning chthonic power, as in *Il*. 9, 565-572, where Meleager’s mother summons the Erinyes from Erebus in this manner.
21. On Typhaon’s challenge to the Olympian order, see Watkins 1995, p. 448-453, and Clay 2006, p. 63-74, with citations. On Hera’s association with chthonic monsters as an indication of her early, independent power base, see O’Brien 1993, p. 94-96, 103, 177-180.
22. Bacon 2001, p. 48-59; Porter 2005 reviews the scholarly debate on the state of the polis at the end of Aeschylus’ trilogy.

Beginning with the proem, the hymnist depicts himself approaching Apollo cautiously and through intermediaries – Leto first, and then the Delian maidens. He delays his direct address to the god until (unlike Telphusa) he has established a kind of rapport. His self-presentation suggests that he is wary of the god Apollo and indirectly supports the view that the god might be as "they say:" *atasthalos*. Twice he asks: "How am I to hymn you who are completely well-hymned?" (19 and 207). His practice of remembering and not forgetting Apollo and particularly his manner of remembering justify his request from the Delian Maidens for acclaim (*kleos*) far and wide as the one whose songs "ever afterwards excel" (*metopisthen aristeuousin*, 169-175). They also raise concerns: does the hymnist's cautious behavior tacitly acknowledge the god's potential for inflicting ruin? Does it show that, like his female characters, he regards the god as potentially reckless and violent? Two Hesiodic fragments, frg. 54a M.-W. (= P. Oxy. XXVIII 2495 frg. 1a) and frg. 30 M.-W. (= P. Oxy. XXVIII 2481 frg. 1, 15-23), publi Apollo as a potential disrupter of the succession of his father. The former, though poorly preserved, seems to suggest that Zeus, in anger at Apollo, was about to hurl him to Tartarus and would have killed him, presumably for attacking the Cyclopes.[23]

In the proem, after his conventional opening, "May I remember and not forgot Apollo," the hymnist transitions to Olympus through a relative clause.[24] He uses the pronominal cap ὅν, "whom," as he shifts the narrative backward in time and upward in space to Olympus, where the gods are gathered. The hymnist subtly situates himself with those gathered to greet the new god in a scene that defines Apollo's place in the cosmic family (1-4):[25]

Μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο,
ὅντε θεοὶ κατὰ δῶμα Διὸς τρομέουσιν ἰόντα·
καί ῥά τ' ἀναΐσσουσιν ἐπὶ σχεδὸν ἐρχομένοιο
πάντες ἀφ' ἑδράων, ὅτε φαίδιμα τόξα τιταίνει.

"I will remember and not overlook Apollo the far-shooter,
At whose *coming* the gods in Zeus's halls tremble;
They all leap up from their seats as he is *approaching* nearby,
When he extends his shining bow."

Remarkably, the hymnist has placed himself right there on Olympus during this proem, as if he, like Hesiod visited by the Muses on Mt. Helicon (*Th*. 22-34), is in direct contact with his subject from the start, except that he "travels" to the home of the gods, while the Muses meet Hesiod in a geographically real location, where he is shepherding his flock. The hymnist suggests his own presence on Olympus through

23. Cf. ps.-Apollodorus, *Library* 3, 10, 4, and Harrell 1991, p. 307-318.

24. Bakker 2005, p. 136-143, and Clay 2006, p. 19-27 for an overview of the scholarship on verb tense in the proem. See also Vergados in this volume, p. XXX. Contrast the arrivals on Olympus of Thetis at *Il*. 1, 496-502 and on Ida of Hera in *Il*. 14, 292, where mixed deixis is not in play.

25. On this scene, see in this volume Chappell, p. XXX.

the use of two deictic present participles, ionta and *erchomenos*, which he combines with third person "distal" deixis: the gods tremble at the god coming (*ionta*) toward them and they leap up from their seats as the god is coming near (*erchomenoio*). Taken together, these directional present participles give the illusion that the hymnist himself witnesses the god's first arrival on Olympus. *Pantes* ("all," 4), strengthened by enjambment, foregrounds and energizes the vividly present moment when the god extends his bow. Leto alone "remained beside Zeus who delights in thunder;" the "imperfect" *mimne* (5), followed by the spatial expression "beside Zeus who delights in thunder," focuses the reader's attention on the scene.[26] It also marks Leto as alone among the gods to continue unperturbed: she stayed as she was.

Both parents help integrate Apollo into the divine community; together, they defuse the potential for independent aggressive action suggested by the extended bow.[27] Leto seats Apollo after she disarms him, in a positive alliance between mother and son. Here Leto is the opposite of a subversive wife / mother who arms her son for combat with his father, as Gaia in the *Theogony* arms Cronus with the jagged-toothed sickle (*Th*. 174-175). She is gentle (cf. *Th*. 406-408). Zeus' welcoming toast (τῷ δ' ἄρα νέκταρ ἔδωκε πατὴρ δέπαϊ χρυσείῳ / δεικνύμενος φίλον υἱόν, 10-11) further reduces the anxiety that Apollo's approach, with bow extended, stirred in all the Olympian gods except Leto. The toast, father to son, resembles the opening of Pindar's *Ol*. 7, where a father-in-law toasts his new son-in-law, welcoming him into the family.[28]

This is a critical moment, when things could have gone otherwise, putting not only the father and the son but the entire cosmos in danger. Only after the description of how Apollo is mollified do lines 12-13 of the proem return to the present tense, providing a closing frame and sealing off the vignette off from what follows. The hymnist returns to his general topic and asks, "How then should I hymn you who are well-hymned?" At this point, he transitions from the proem into the hymn proper, again mixing second and third person *deixis* in a way that is highly unusual but is also found right after Apollo is born (127-129), in the prelude to the Delian festival (140-150) and especially in the second catalogue (214-282), when the hymnist

26. Bakker 2002, p. 76 and n. 21. See also Bakker 2005, p. 149 and n. 36 on *mimne* as "not so much 'past' as 'non-present'," and (following West) « as an archaic relic lacking the suffix -i rather than as an 'imperfect'." The phrase containing *mimne* separates the aorists from the present tenses. This use of the "imperfect," he argues, directs the reader's attention to the scene.

27. Thalmann 1998, p. 178; for a review of the scholarship on Apollo's extended bow in the proem, see esp. Clay 2006, p. 19-27, and Bakker 2005, p. 136-143.

28. On the goal of the *epinikion* as "the successful integration of the returning athlete into a harmonious community," see Kurke 1991, esp. p. 7. The model she describes works very well for this scene in the *Hymn*.

accompanies Apollo on his journey to found the oracle at Krisa/Delphi and they finally reach their destinatio.[29]

The hymnist enters the poem directly in another episode, a virtual *sphrâgis*, in which he addresses the Delian maidens at the pan-Ionian festival (146-178). He asks them, as servants (*therapnai*) of the Far-Shooter, to intercede with the god on his behalf. They bridge the gap between divine and human, especially in the realm of poetry, because they sing of Apollo, and of Leto and Artemis, and then turn to epic poetry and remember heroes and heroines of old, and sing songs that charm (*thelgousi*) the races of men (160-161).

Thus the blind poet from Chios enacts in the *Hymn* an intimate and reverential connection to Apollo, an emotional connection essential to the hymn's acceptability and success. Such intimacy is reenacted with every performance and re-performance of the *Hymn*.

In his discourse, then, the hymnist enacts a safe approach to the dangerous power of Apollo. By avoiding verbal *atasthalia*, he placates, charms, pleases, and tames the potentially violent and vindictive god. He skillfully avoids a dangerous encounter with the powerful god and carefully builds a rapport so that he will not suffer like Telphusa or Python but will instead earn a glorious outcome like the blossoming and golden Delos. His hymn, as a speech-act, answers his rhetorical question of line 19: "How am I to hymn you who are well-hymned?"

In other contexts, the *aoidos* is *Mousaôn therapôn* (*Th*. 100), and *aoidoi* and *kitharistai* are from the Muses and from far-darting Apollo (*Th*. 94-95). The hymnist's future is left open-ended, but the audiences who hear this hymn, and we who read it, can infer that *Hymn* 3 (like *Hymn* 21, the other hymn to Apollo), enacts reciprocity with Apollo: by welcoming and acclaiming the god of song, by remembering and not forgetting him, this aoidos will no doubt be rewarded with undying memory, performance after performance, and his audiences will keep witnessing his exemplary interaction with an awe-inspiring god. Nevertheless, for some members of the audiences, notably partisans of Hera, the precautions taken by the hymnist may serve primarily to strengthen the subversive voices interrogating the victory of the virile god and asking the question: "At whose cost?" These voices belong to Delos, Telphusa, and Hera, whose viewpoints the hymnist airs even while subordinating them to the poem's purpose, to celebrate the god Apollo.

29. This mixed *deixis*, including the use of apostrophe, may, as Clay 2006, p. 30-33, suggests, imitate the practice of intimacy found in paeans; but it also keeps the hymnist close but not too close to the unpredictable god. The pattern is sustained through the combination of narrative verbs (aorist) with second person singular pronouns: "Then you stepped on Telphusa…" See in this volume Hunzinger, p. XXX.