

THE PROEM-HYMN OF HESIOD'S THEOGONY

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The proem to the *Theogony* (lines 1-115) is generally referred to as a hymn. The designation goes back, in its specific sense, to Paul Friedländer's classic demonstration that at least the larger portion of the proem (from line 36) conforms to a standard, hence traditional, formal pattern found also in the Homeric Hymns.¹

Subsequent studies of structure, while dutifully noting Friedländer's accomplishment, have bypassed his findings in favor of analyses stressing a balanced, geometrically oriented form.² These studies have had the merit of focusing attention on the fundamental tripartite structure of the proem, showing that the first section, dealing with Hesiod's consecration by the Muses (1-35) has a significant balance in the third, which depicts the Muses' gifts to kings and poets generally (80-103), both illustrating the Muses' benefits to human beings, while the centerpiece (36-79) emerges as a picture of their place among the gods, particularly their relationship to Zeus. In the meantime, however, appreciation of the proem as a formal hymn has been obscured, and the dynamic rationale this lends to an understanding of the whole needs to be reaffirmed. But the tripartite structure cannot be ignored, and in fact it points up two substantial weaknesses in Friedländer's analysis, his failure to allow the first thirty-five lines formal status as a

¹ P. Friedländer, "Das Prooimium der Theogonie," *Hermes* 49 (1914) 1-16, hereafter referred to as Friedländer.

² I. Sellschopp, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Hesiod* (Darmstadt 1934) 107-11; P. Walcot, "The Problem of the Prooemium of Hesiod's *Theogony*," *SO* 33 (1957) 37-47; H. Schwabl, "Aufbau und Struktur des Prooimions der Hesiodischen Theogonie," *Hermes* 91 (1963) 385-415, and in *Hesiod's Theogonie. Eine unitarische Analyse* (Vienna-Bolau 1966) 9-28. The tripartite structure referred to in the text is particularly well brought out by Walcot's article.

hymn, in spite of the technical hymnic characteristics it displays from the start, and his failure to see that the final section (80-103) is too lengthy and distinct in tone, movement, and subject to be simply the final major segment of the hymn beginning in line 36. It is the purpose of this paper to show that the whole of the proem is an integrated hymn or hymn-complex, with the opening hymn to Hesiod's native Muses of Helicon (beginning *Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' αἰίδειν*) interrupted upon his consecration as poet by a "dramatic" hymn to the Olympian Muses (36-37): *τύνη, Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα, καὶ Διὶ πατρὶ / ὕμνεῦσαι τέρπουσι μέγαν νόον ἐντὸς Ὀλύμπου*), and with the final section (80-103) standing as a formal conclusion to the body of both hymns, its character determined by the requirements of the first as well as of the second. The remaining twelve lines (104-15) comprise, of course, simply the formal terminal elements.

First, however, we must survey the structure of the formal hymn. Friedländer identified seven parts in all, including opening and close, as they appear in the "Olympian" hymn of the proem to the *Theogony* (36-115). The formal opening, with its declaration of the poet's intention or, as here, exhortation to the Muse to celebrate the god, and the formal close, with its triple elements of Farewell, Prayer, and statement of transition to "another song," are fairly stable among all the Hymns and need little comment; it is worth noting, however, that in the opening the deity is usually named specifically, but in the closing is usually referred to by a periphrastic designation. The other elements are less easy to generalize about and will be discussed after the summary of Friedländer's schema, which follows:³

- (a) Opening exhortation (line 36).
- (b) Relative clause leading into a description of the essential nature and/or typical activity of the deity, often including an account of his haunts and companions (lines 36-52: singing of Muses for Zeus on Olympus ending with summary of the content of their song).
- (c) Account of (begetting and) birth of the god (lines 53-60).
- (d) A second general description comparable to the second section above and growing naturally out of the birth story (lines 60-67: here the

³ Cf. the summary and comment in Friedländer, 12. For the opening and closing formulas see Friedländer, 3-4, and with special attention to their relation to invocations, pp. 198-99 of my article, "Invocation and Catalogue in Hesiod and Homer," *TAPA* 93 (1962) 188-212 (hereafter referred to as *TAPA* 93).

haunts and companions of the Muses are prominent, but like the earlier descriptive element, it ends with an account of the subject of their song).

(e) Progress to Olympus (lines 68-74; here, characteristically of the Muses, this is accompanied by song, praise of Zeus).

(f) Names and Powers, or *Timai* (lines 74-103: Names, 74-79, with declaration of the power of the Muses to bring order and solace to the human sphere through the judicial conciliation of kings and the song of poets).

(g) Formal closing (104-15: Farewell and Prayer, 104; transition to "another song," 105-15).⁴

Friedländer leaves it open whether this full range represents a single traditional pattern or whether it reflects Hesiod's combination of several existing hymn patterns. Certainly no hymn shows more. Only one (*Hymn 19, To Pan*) can be said to approximate the full range in just this order.⁵ But all, except for the possibly Orphic *Hymn to Ares* (8) and with allowance for omission and (chiefly in the longer hymns) combination and substitution of elements, do conform in one way or another to this general pattern. They conform, but at the same time they present an alignment which suggests that the pattern in the *Theogony* does indeed represent two originally distinct types of hymn which have become conflated, and it appears that many of the longer hymns show similar conflations. Most of the hymns, particularly the shorter ones, fall fairly clearly into one of two classes, those beginning, after the exhortation, with the second element of the pattern above (initial description of typical activity or essential nature) and those beginning with the third element (birth story). Many of the shorter hymns contain, to be sure, only one or two elements apart from exhortation and closing in any case, but it is notable that those beginning with the birth story tend to have a fuller complement.⁶

⁴ See below, note 33, and text *ad loc.*

⁵ Opening exhortation, 1-2; general description, 2-29; birth story, 29-36; second general description and effect, 37-39; acceptance by father and journey to Olympus, 40-46; Name, 47; formal closing 48-49. On the propriety of including the naming of the god in line 47 as representative of a *Timai* section and the general admissibility of a "Names" element in that section, see below, note 25 and text *ad loc.*

⁶ Cf. Friedländer, 5-6 and 12. He would include in the second group, along with the birth story, hymns beginning with any narrative from the god's life, under the general characterization "epischer Bericht"; but the birth story dominates, and we shall have reason to see that other types of narrative probably derive from it (see below, note 12 and text *ad loc.*).

In both cases the transition from the formal opening is made with a relative clause, and phrases like *ἦν τέκε* 'Pείη (*Hymn* 12) or *ὄν . . . / γείνατ'* . . . / 'Αλκμήνη (*Hymn* 15) form as marked a class as those leading into a descriptive or characterizing account (*Hymn* 19, *To Pan*: *ὅς τ' ἀνὰ πίσση / . . . φοιτᾷ*, or *Hymn* 11, *To Athena*: *ἥ . . . μέλει πολεμήϊα ἔργα*). Hymns beginning with the birth story, or "theogonic" hymns, as they will henceforth be referred to, accord with a natural pattern proceeding from the birth of the god, through an account of his consequent nature or activities, his joining of the other gods on Olympus and a concluding account of his *timai* or powers.⁷ Those beginning with the descriptive element (and omitting the birth) seldom, except in the longer and more complex hymns, have more than that; if they do, it is apt to be a final account of the god's *timai* or powers, chiefly on earth. Such hymns will be referred to hereafter as "descriptive" hymns.⁸

The few remaining hymns (and that in the proem to the *Theogony*

⁷ In this pattern "consequent nature or activities" is used as more comprehensive than Friedländer's "second general description"; see further below note 12 and text *ad loc.* Hymns beginning with the birth story are 4, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 28, 31, 33. Of these *Hymn* 4 continues with a brief descriptive characterization (lines 13-16) leading into the narratives of Hermes' invention of the lyre and stealing of Apollo's cattle before passing to the Progress to Olympus (505 ff.) and account of the Powers Hermes receives from Apollo (527 ff.): cf. Friedländer, 7-9 and 11; *Hymn* 15 continues with a summary of Heracles' career on earth (lines 4-6), and his subsequent dwelling on Olympus (lines 7-8), where he has, as a prize (his *Timē*), Hebe for wife (line 9); *Hymn* 12 continues with a simple identification of Hera (2-3) and a statement of her *Timē* among the other gods on Olympus (4-5); *Hymns* 16, 31, and 33 round off the account of birth with a descriptive characterization.

⁸ Hymns that open with an account of typical activity or essential nature, but without the birth story are 3 (Pythian), 9, 10, 11, 14, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26. Of these the Pythian hymn ends on a strong note of *Timai* (on the complex question of this hymn see further below, pages 376-77), and *Hymn* 22 continues with the specifically allotted *τιμή* of Poseidon, as "tamer of horses and savior of ships." The other hymns have only the initial descriptive account. Traces of an opening founded in this element of essential character and activity appear in *Hymn* 2, where Persephone is gathering flowers with her companions when she is carried off, and in *Hymn* 7, where a static portrait of Dionysus standing by the shore precedes the account of his abduction. Both these hymns conclude with a strong emphasis on the power of the god among mortals. The pattern Friedländer, 5, suggests as typical in connection with the first, descriptive element of the hymn in the poem to the *Theogony* (36-52), i.e., account of the effect of an activity (song) before the activity itself is precisely identified, is not confined to this hymn element, but appears to be characteristic of archaic poetry generally: see M. L. West, *Hesiod: Theogony* (Oxford 1966), on line 43.

as above outlined) appear to be either a conflation of the two types (*Hymns* 3 [Delian], 5, 6, 19, 27, 32, and possibly *Hymn* 1) or have a single section describing the powers of the god (*Hymns* 25, 29, 30) which are often hardly distinguishable from aspects of his typical activity or essential nature and may belong formally, as they do in spirit, with the "descriptive" type of hymn.⁹

In *Hymns* 19 and 27 personages in a basically descriptive hymn are actually themselves shown singing a theogonic hymn. References to theogonic song elsewhere in the hymns supply further evidence of its existence as a distinct type, with a pattern conforming in general to

⁹ The similarity of these two elements, initial description and final "powers," was pointed out by Friedländer, 12, note 1. One further hymn (13) has only a formal opening and close. Of the hymns I have identified as a conflation of the two types those to Pan (19) and Artemis (27) introduce the birth story by an—apparently—artistic device of a song sung by the nymphs, or Muses and Graces, who appear in the opening descriptive account as companions of those deities (see Friedländer, 5–6). In the hymn in the *Theogony* there is a clear jointure: the final lines of the opening description (51–52), immediately preceding the birth story, recall the initial lines of the hymn with its address to the Muses (36–37) and serve to lead back into a "new relative or quasi-relative" account of the birth (53: τὰς . . . τέκε . . . / Μνημοσύνη): Friedländer, *ibid.* This ring-composition also tends to set off the first, descriptive element of that hymn and to point up its distinctive character. The Delian *Hymn to Apollo* (3) displays a similar, but still clearer evidence of jointure: after the introductory description of Apollo on Olympus, a direct address to Leto (line 14), recalling an opening address to the deity (cf. below note 35 and text *ad loc.*), leads into the account of Apollo's birth; the composer's tendency is to return to the beginning of his traditional pattern. *Hymn* 6, *To Aphrodite*, is essentially a theogonic hymn, following the same pattern of birth from the sea, arrival at Cyprus, adornment and escort by the Hours (or Eros and Desire) to Olympus, that appears in the hymnlike account in *Theogony* 188–206; in the Hymn this is introduced by a "description" or statement of her place of worship, Cyprus, which seems to be derived from the descriptive type of hymn (cf. *Hymn* 22). The hymnic pattern of the account in the *Theogony* (noted by Friedländer, 11–12), interestingly, fills out explicitly the final element of *Timai* (203–6) that is only hinted at in *Hymn* 6. *Hymn* 32, *To Selene*, also contains a birth story following a general description, but this time it is the birth of Pandia, Selene's daughter by Zeus. This substitution of a birth story for the birth story of the deity hymned may be paralleled by the begetting and birth of Aeneas in the generally exceptional *Hymn to Aphrodite* (5) which I have tentatively listed here (see further below, notes 13 and 34). Finally the acephalous *Hymn* 1 looks as though it began with something other than the matter of the birth of Dionysus which we first see. In all these "conflated" hymns the sequence and extent of the theogonic pattern tend to support the observations about that pattern made in the text above; after the birth story proper they show: descriptive or narrative account consequent on birth (*Hymns* 3 [Delian], 6, 19, 27; on the Delian hymn see below, pages 376–77), Progress to Olympus (*Hymns* 6 and 19), *Timai* (*Hymn* 1, after a lacuna [the *Timai* of Dionysus' mother Semele] and, provisionally, *Hymn* 19, on which see above, note 5).

that suggested. In *Hymn* 4 Hermes sings of his own begetting and birth (54–59) and then of the surroundings he was born into, i.e., the circumstances “consequent” on birth (60–61), the first two elements in the theogonic pattern. Later he sings a more general theogonic song (425 ff.), of all the gods, *ὥς τὰ πρῶτα γέγοντο καὶ ὥς λάχε μοῖραν ἕκαστος*, beginning with their creation and ending with their assumption of power or *timai*, where the pattern is reflected in its first and last elements. In the *Hymn to Pan* (19) the account of the begetting and birth of Pan is apparently set in the framework of a general theogony (line 27).¹⁰

The descriptive hymn is not independently attested as such, but quite apart from formal pattern, its orientation and emphasis as they appear in the hymns we have identified is strikingly different from what we see in theogonic hymns. Here it is the essential nature or typical activity of the god on earth or as it relates to man that is prominent, rather than his origin and place among the other gods. The longer hymns, where the initial descriptive account has become more closely absorbed in the design of the hymn, show this best, e.g., the hymns to Demeter (2) and Dionysus (7), and the Pythian *Hymn to Apollo* (3), with its pointed reference (lines 190–93) to the human sufferings which Apollo later alleviates (e.g., lines 364–65). But it is also true of the shorter hymns (e.g., *Hymn* 9: Artemis at various locales in Asia Minor; *Hymn* 11: Athena, guardian of the city, who protects the people in war).

In form the descriptive hymn appears to be composed, in its purest form, of only two elements, initial description and Powers or *Timai*, elements (b) and (f) of the pattern appearing in the proem to the *Theogony*. The substantial narrative element that appears in *Hymns* 2, 3 (Pythian), and 7 will be considered later. The concluding section, Powers or *Timai*, since it may appear in either type of hymn, and embraces a broad, but integrally related range of elements, from divine honors, prerogatives in heaven and earth, to powers or benefits to mankind, will henceforth be referred to generally by the word that covers them all, namely *Timai*. The *Timai* of the theogonic hymn

¹⁰ The general theogonic songs that appear throughout the proem of the *Theogony* also seem to conform to the pattern, but I do not press the evidence, since it is the traditional character of the pattern as it appears in Hesiod that is in question.

(including "conflated" hymns in which the theogonic element is strong or distinct) tend, however, to stress the honors accorded a god by his peers (*Hymns* 1, 4, 12, 15, 19; cf. 6 and 27), while those of the descriptive hymn emphasize rather his benefits to man and the honors accorded him by man (*Hymns* 2, 3, 22); the latter are frequently otherwise implied—an indication of the importance of this element—in the body of the hymn itself, particularly its latter part, as, e.g., in *Hymns* 7 and 20.¹¹

On the other hand, the progression suggested above as natural for a theogonic hymn differs from Friedländer's characterization of the theogonic portion of the hymn in the proem to the *Theogony* (elements c through f) in one significant element. Instead of a "second general description" following the birth story, I have preferred to speak of "an account of his consequent nature and activities." The account of birth is likely to be the most persistent narrative element in the hymns, but it is certainly not the only one. We are likely to find, beside the birth story, an epiphany or an account of the god's deeds after birth. This is perfectly natural and might in fact be anticipated in a theogonic hymn, even though there appears to be only one clear case where the birth story is actually followed by such a narrative, that in the *Hymn to Hermes* (4). Here Hermes crawls out of his swaddling clothes to invent the lyre and steal Apollo's cattle before going gaily off, with his former rival, to Olympus and his reward. These are the events consequent on his birth which are most characteristic of him and which lead most naturally toward the conclusion when he receives his *timai*. The same is true of the section of the hymn in the *Theogony* that follows on the story of the birth of the Muses (60-67); their dwelling place is just under the peak of snowy Olympus, and there they join with the Graces and Desire in choral song praising the gods. Then (line 68) they proceed up to the halls of Zeus on the peak of Olympus and their place in his distribution of *timai*. The progress to Olympus and what follows can only be fully understood from the account of the activities of the Muses consequent on their birth. In most other

¹¹ And see above note 9, *init.*, and text *ad loc.* In the peculiar case of the *Hymn to Demeter* (2) the *timai* relating to earth precede the Progress to Olympus (484); the *timē* manifested in Olympus, where they dwell *σεμναί τ' αἰδοῖαί τε* (486) follows that element; there is, however, in lines 486-89 a reaffirmation of their benefits to man, now from the perspective of their lofty position. See further below, notes 14 and 30.

hymns in which the birth account is followed by another section that section is either a very brief summarizing characterization or identification (*Hymns* 12, 16, 27) or a summary account of the god's activities among or effect on men (*Hymns* 15, 31, 33), either of which may fairly be characterized as an element "consequent on the birth" of the god. Such an identification has the merit of accounting for both the narrative and apparent descriptive elements that occur in this position.¹² The remaining cases where a substantial narrative occurs can be shown with some reason to accord with a theogonic frame. In the *Hymn to Apollo* (3) Apollo is described immediately after birth as frequenting Cynthus and "the islands and people" (141 ff.) in a transitional passage that serves to prepare for the ensuing account of the Ionian festival on Delos as, in effect, a triumphant declaration of the god's manifestation on earth at the place of his birth, a happening indeed "consequent on his birth" there. In *Hymn* 6 Aphrodite's adornment by the Hours (5-13) after her emergence from the sea is a traditional and obviously consequent element of that myth, preparatory to the final Progress to Olympus. The narratives in the hymns to Demeter (2) and Dionysus (7) probably represent insertions into basically descriptive hymns of "events consequent on the birth of the god" taken over from the theogonic hymn, in which, as noted just above, this element may reflect "the god's activities among or effects on men." The same is probably to be understood of the Pythian *Hymn to Apollo* (3), if taken as a hymn in itself.¹³

¹² Friedländer appears to consider any narrative element interchangeable with the birth story in the hymn pattern (p. 5). Not only does this fail to account for such additional narrative as that in the *Hymn to Hermes* (4), but it ignores the dominance of the birth story as the initial narrative element (see above, notes 6 and 7; cf. 9, 8.) His supporting evidence for classifying the element following the birth story as a second general description is slight and misleading. It is founded largely on the appearance at this point in the *Hymn to Hermes* (4), lines 13-15, and the *Hymn to Pan* (19), lines 36-37, of characterizing epithets that echo others in the *pre-relative* openings of those hymns, in what is really a kind of ring-composition, used, with clausula effect, to round off the birth account; the device is similar to that used to set off the initial descriptive element of the hymn in the *Theogony* (above, note 9), but without the disjunctive effect of its use there. The other parallels cited by Friedländer (p. 8), for the content (dwelling place and companions) of this "second general description" are, with one exception (*Hymn* 3, lines 141 ff.), from other, noncomparable sections of the hymns in which they occur.

¹³ On the character of the last three hymns see further below pages, 367-68. If *Hymn* 3 be taken as a single hymn, it is possible to see the Pythian hymn as being in a real sense complementary to the Delian hymn which inaugurates the theogonic pattern;

Enough has been said about the next ensuing element in the theogonic pattern, the Progress to Olympus motif, its integral relationship to and development out of what precedes, to make further comment at this point unnecessary. It is normally, as in the hymn in the *Theogony*, the culminating *event* of the hymn.¹⁴

Up to this point, then, the hymn to the Olympian Muses in the *Theogony* follows pretty much the pattern Friedländer described, a conflation of elements from two kinds of hymn, the first section (36-52) being derived from a distinct descriptive hymn, the second, the birth story (52-60), initiating the sequence of a theogonic hymn which continues with the activities of the goddesses consequent on their birth (60-67) and their Progress to Olympus singing the praise of Zeus in a song that closes with a hint of the distribution of *timai* (68-74). The validity of these divisions is further pointed up by the fact that they and they alone are introduced by relatives or quasi-relatives similar to those found at the beginning of hymns.¹⁵ At this point the poet passes to the magnificent naming of the Muses which, as we shall see, do not really belong here at all in the normal hymn pattern. Further consideration of this matter involves the whole

on *Hymn 3* as a whole see further below, pages 376-77. The *Hymn to Aphrodite* (5) is strikingly different from all the other hymns. Its progression can, I believe, be shown to accord with traditional hymn schemata, though by way of more complex substitutions, combinations, and meldings of elements than it is in the scope of this paper to explore fully. It is enough to say at this point that after the substitution of the begetting and birth of Aeneas for that of his mother (see above, note 9, *ad fin.*), the account of Aeneas' upbringing by the nymphs (256-79) is the narrative "consequent" on the birth, and though it has no exact parallels, it does recall accounts elsewhere in the hymns of gods nurtured or accompanied by nymphs (e.g., *Hymns* 26, 19). When in the sequel (279-80) Anchises is ordered to conduct his *theoeikelos* son to Ilium, the parallel with the Progress to Olympus motif is clear and the narrative of upbringing emerges as a kind of preparation for this final recognition of the hero. See further below, note 34.

¹⁴ For the exceptional and interesting case of the *Hymn to Apollo* (3) see below, pages 376-77. In the *Hymn to Demeter* (2) the presence of this element (line 484) may have been triggered by the thematic emergence of a "re-birth" of Persephone; the hymn is otherwise basically an "earth-oriented" descriptive hymn, whatever the origin of its narrative element.

¹⁵ The whole is introduced by *ταί* (36), the theogonic sequence by *τάς* (53), prepared for in a way that makes its character as the beginning of a whole new hymn unit clear (see above, note 9). The ensuing sections of the theogonic hymn are then introduced by the similar, but less marked *ῥου* (60: consequent activity) and *αἶ* (68: Progress to Olympus). The final *Timai* section, which serves the proem-hymn as a whole, is introduced by (Calliope) *ῆ* (80).

interpretation of the integration of the rest of the hymn into the traditional pattern. This cannot be done fully without taking up, first, the question of the place of the initial thirty-five lines of the poem in the dynamic hymn structure of the whole.

The initial portion of the proem was characterized by Friedländer as an individual presentation of Hesiod's consecration as poet, that is, not as a real hymn, but from the poet's traditional practice begun as one, containing a narrative and having some similarities to the last part of the later hymn (dwelling on the mountain and singing and dancing on its summit).¹⁶ The chief reasons that, in spite of its unmistakable hymnic opening (*Μουσάων Ἑλικωνιάδων ἀρχώμεθ' αἰδεῖν*), it was denied full status as a hymn seem to be, first, that it contains, in the consecration scene, something so personal as to be presumptuous in a hymn, and secondly, that the apparent shift in the activities of the Muses from the various springs of Helicon (5-6) to its summit and above (7 ff.), though comparable to the Progress to Olympus in the second hymn, comes too early to represent that element here. But the mountain scenes are only superficially comparable to a Progress to Olympus, and bestowal of divine grace is certainly an appropriate subject for a hymn, as the *Hymn to Demeter* (2) will testify.

This portion of the proem is, in fact, the first three parts of a formal hymn to the Heliconian Muses, as distinguished from the Olympian Muses of the second hymn. After the formal opening (a), quoted above, we have

(b) Relative (a7) leading into an account of typical activity (dance and song) about the springs and elsewhere on Mt. Helicon, culminating in a specific account of their song (2-21).

(c) Epiphany of the Muses to Hesiod and his consecration as poet (22-35).

The first section of the body (b) is clearly parallel to that in the Olympian Hymn (36-52) even to description of the sound of song and dance before the subject of song is specified. The chief difference is that here we have the Muses described as they first seemed to Hesiod, their fellow dweller on Helicon, nymphs haunting the mountains, their activity centering around a lonely altar of Zeus; the strangeness

¹⁶ Friedländer, 13-16.

of their song of the generations of the gods and Zeus to Hesiod's ears is represented by being set in reverse chronological order.¹⁷ Their movement, as they do this, upward apparently to the summit of Helicon and then vaguely "departing thence" (*ἐνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι*) into the night air, along with mention of Helicon as their home earlier (*ἔχουσιν ὄρος*, 2) does present a similarity to their activity in the section of the second hymn that follows the birth story (60-67) combined with their Progress to Olympus (68-74), but here it is only a fitting reflection of their Zeus-centered song and a transition to their meeting with Hesiod.¹⁸

The epiphany begins, as do all distinct sections of the second hymn, with a relative (*αἶ*, line 22) that marks it, if it needs marking, as the beginning of a formal hymn element. Its formal relation to the descriptive section that precedes it is much like that of the birth story in the second hymn to its predecessor; it plunges rather abruptly into the narrative after a summarizing line (21, *ἄλλων τ' ἀθανάτων ἱερὸν γένος αἰὲν ἔόντων*) that has a clausula effect similar to that at the end of its fellow in the second hymn.¹⁹ Friedländer sees the sudden plunge into narrative at this point as indicative of Hesiod's break with whatever was traditional in his "hymn" so far: what follows is the account of his own experience, which had no proper place in a hymn.²⁰ The abruptness following the clausula of line 21 is, as I suggest, more likely to reflect simply the jointure of a narrative segment with the common opening of a descriptive hymn. As noted earlier, narrative

¹⁷ That 11-21 represents essentially a theogony, if not precisely Hesiod's own, and is a summary parallel to 105-115 and perhaps 44-49, has been frequently noted, most recently by Schwabl in his *Hermes* article (above, note 2) 401-2. Cf. also West (above, note 8) on lines 11-21. The reversal of order, though used here with probable intention to blur the outlines, may also reflect the order in which Hesiod *remembered* the song after, say, a first hearing; for the working of this principle of reverse recall among oral poets cf. A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge [Mass.] 1960) 119.

¹⁸ See West (above, note 8) on line 9 on this latter point. *ἐνθεν ἀπορνύμεναι* need not, as West takes it, indicate specifically a movement *down* the mountain, but neither need it indicate an ascent *above* it; the word simply means "depart," and its vagueness only underscores the vagueness of the song and of the whereabouts of the Muses just before they (suddenly) "taught Hesiod beautiful song" (line 22). Whether or not he actually saw them is not important (cf. K. von Fritz, "Das Prooemium der hesiodischen Theogonie," *Festschrift Bruno Snell* [Munich 1956] 32, and West [above, note 8] on line 31). This is how he imagined them before their "appearance" to him.

¹⁹ See above, note 9; and cf. 12.

²⁰ Friedländer, 15-16.

in hymns is best accounted for as part of a theogonic progression. The narratives in the *Hymn to Demeter* (2), the *Hymn to Dionysus* (7), and the Pythian *Hymn to Apollo* (3), which, as we have seen, may be understood as according with this progression, in portraying the "consequent activities" of the god on earth, provide the best parallels for the present hymn. Formally they are introduced by an element from the descriptive type of hymn as here.²¹ Furthermore, their theme of the god's epiphany on earth, demonstration of his powers, and bestowal of his grace (or the opposite) on mortals is very like that behind the appearance of the Muses in this hymn. And if one is looking for a parallel to the personal element, the emergence of the poet in the Delian hymn (lines 165-78) as a distinct figure provides that—in a portion of the hymn, too, which likewise seems to reflect "consequent activities" of a sort.

In all these hymns the orientation toward a continued manifestation of the deity on earth, his relation to human beings, is marked, in contrast to the prevailing emphasis in the pure theogonic hymn on a more detached and remote picture of the deity's activities. The difference is particularly striking when one compares the impersonal portrayal of the old man in the *Hymn to Hermes* (4) lines 87 ff. and 187 ff. with those in the present hymns. Whatever the origin of the narrative element in these hymns, the earth-oriented frame of the descriptive type of hymn in which they are set seems to have colored the whole. Under this interpretation the reason for the distinction made between Heliconian and Olympian Muses becomes clearer and more compelling. The Heliconian Muses are the deities of song as Hesiod felt their immediate presence and power. The Olympian Muses of the next hymn are the *Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο* of the larger epic tradition and Homer, with whom he seeks to identify his native deities.²² At the same time the inconsistency—very

²¹ See above, note 8.

²² The interpretation of Hesiod's Muses as identical with the nymphs of Helicon, by whom man could become *nympholēptos*, is fully worked out by K. Latte, "Hesiods Dichterweihe," *Antike und Abendland* 2 (1946) 152-63. The contrast with the Olympian deities was anticipated by Wilamowitz, "Das Proömium der Theogonie des Hesiodos," in *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin 1916) 472-73. In the *Hymn to Hermes* (4) the point Apollo makes (450 ff.) that he is a follower of the Olympian Muses and unacquainted with Hermes' lyre and (theogonic) song is also suggestive, but it is hard to know what weight to attach to the remark.

real, however we may try to minimize it—between the Muses who are a real and present force on earth and the Muses whom we later find leaving their birthplace for a presumably permanent home in the halls of Zeus on Olympus is resolved, both in terms of form and of Hesiod's intentions. For at this point in the hymn the meaning and urgency of the Muses' gift of song (ἐνέπνευσαν δέ μοι αὐδὴν, 31) and behest to sing μακάρων γένος αἰὲν ἔοντων and themselves always first and last (33–34) becomes fully apparent. Hesiod is to sing of the origin and race of the gods as he had, though in somewhat veiled form, heard them sing it (cf. especially 33 with line 21 cited above), but this must be preceded by a formal hymn to his newfound benefactors in their true guise. The Olympian affinities of these deities can only be brought out through a theogonic hymn; they have no place in the "earthbound" type of hymn he is using. Hence the abrupt ἀλλὰ τίη μοι ταῦτα περὶ δρῦν ἢ περὶ πέτρην; (35), "But how can I do this in a setting of tree and rock?", followed by the immediate and emphatic plunge into the "dramatic" hymn: τύννη, Μουσάων ἀρχώμεθα . . . (36).²³

The dramatic purpose of this inserted hymn may be taken broadly as that of demonstrating the fullness and reality of the Muses' gift portrayed in the preceding consecration scene: its structural purpose in the total hymn-complex is to set forth their functions on the divine plane in a vivid centerpiece that will complement and fill out the picture of their earthly functions presented in the two sections which flank it. The two threads that run through the whole, fitting their course to the purpose of the parts, are Zeus and theogonic song. From the mere mention, in the first part, of the altar of Zeus in line 4, through his preeminent place in Hesiod's first hearing of their song (11), and his first identification as father of the Muses (25 and 29), Zeus

²³ This interpretation of line 35 is, I think, a new one. For the most recent summary of the numerous attempts to solve the crux see West (above, note 8) *ad loc.* It is enough here to note that δρῦς and πέτρη have an extensive traditional and proverbial association, the full sense of which can probably never be recovered, but in three cases (*Iliad* 22.126, Plato, *Phaedrus* 275 BC, and Macarius 3.40 [*Paroem. gr.* 2.158]) there is an association with speech which may have a bearing here. Could the tree and rock in 35 be the dwelling-places of those nymphs who were metamorphosed for Hesiod into the Muses of Olympus? (Cf. Wilamowitz as cited above, note 22). In any case, as West notes, "περὶ with the accusative in early epic always has a local sense."

emerges in the central hymn as the final focus of all their song; he is then in the third part, through Calliope in particular, very nearly identified with kings who bring peace on earth through persuasion. Theogonic song, from being the constant subject of the Muses' song, in the second hymn as well as in the first, becomes by the dramatic device of the inserted hymn, most emphatically Hesiod's subject too; its range is there enlarged to include men (50), and this combined subject of gods and men is reiterated in the third part (100-1) as the double theme of the poet's songs, which complement the earthly kings' activities in assuaging the cares of men.²⁴ Thus are the human manifestations of Zeus and of song transmuted between the time of Hesiod's abrupt termination of his initial song and the introduction of Calliope *who* (ἥ γὰρ καί . . . , 80) is the special representative of the Muses in their dispensation to "Zeus-born" kings (82), a point which unmistakably marks a new focus and a new development.

We have seen that the normal hymn pattern was quite clear in the inserted hymn from line 36 through line 74. It requires considerable straining to see what follows, the list of the names of the Muses in 75-79, as part of the continuing hymn, and it also requires an almost deliberate blindness to ignore the significance of the break after 79 for the triadic form and meaning of the whole.²⁵ The names do, as

²⁴ For the persistence of these two themes in the proem see Sellschopp (above, note 2) 108-11.

²⁵ Friedländer (p. 10) can find only one, admittedly dubious, parallel for including the Names with the Powers or *Timai* section of his hymn structure, the etymologizing naming of Pan ("Pan," because he delighted *παῖσιν*) in *Hymn* 19 (see above, note 5), and is forced to admit that the naming of the Muses at this point in the proem is characteristically Hesiodic, "ein individueller Zug" of the poet. He continues, however, to include "Names" with *Timai* or Powers in characterizing this final section of hymns generally. I am prepared, nevertheless, to accept provisionally the naming in the *Hymn to Pan* (19) as a *timê*, not because of its character of "naming," but because here the name is distinctly an "honor" the gods confer on Pan because he delighted them. This is not the case in the proem to the *Theogony* nor is it really so in the "birth of Aphrodite" episode in the *Theogony* (195-200), contrary to Friedländer, pp. 11-12, who sees its separation from the *Timai* section as merely an unimportant alteration in the traditional order; in both these cases the etymologizing naming of the goddess (by "gods and men" in the second), like etymologizing namings of the deity elsewhere in the hymns, occurs either in juxtaposition to a progress to Olympus motif (in addition to the *Hymn to Pan* and the proem to the *Theogony*, cf. *Hymn* 5.198) or somewhere in the latter part of the hymn (*Hymn* 3.373, 495), where the god's accomplishments are sufficiently clear to justify a naming that functions in some sense as "an act of creation" (H. Frankfort

has often been shown, grow out of the vocabulary used just before (chiefly in lines 63-71) in portraying the Muses' activity with their companions, the Graces and Desire, and their ensuing progress to Olympus.²⁶ And they do indeed crystallize their characteristics, hence suggest their "powers." But there is only the thinnest connection between the diffuse characteristics suggested here and the clearly defined Powers of the deity in the following section; and cumulative naming of the deity is, furthermore, rather a part and function of a hymn closing.²⁷

The lines with which the names are introduced, indeed, suggest in themselves a section designed to act as a conclusion:

ταῦτ' ἄρα Μοῦσαι ἄειδον Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι,
ἐννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖαι,
Κλειώ τ' Εὐτέρπη τε . . . κτλ.

ταῦτ' ἄρα, first of all, does not, like the beginnings of all other true hymn units in the proem, contain a relative pronoun. It is, rather, strongly suggestive of the concluding elements of invocations, such as ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι . . . (*Theog.* 114) or τῶν ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι (*Frag.* 1.14), which are themselves closely related to hymns in form.²⁸

as quoted by Walcot) [above, note 2] 45), that is, as a legitimization of the deity. Such recognition is usually quite separate from the god's formal *timē*, as the strong and really distinct *Timai* sections of both the "birth of Aphrodite" episode (203-6) and the proem-hymn (80-103) of the *Theogony* indicate. In the proem this distinctness is so strong and unusual that even Friedländer recognizes (p. 13) as "individuell" the character of its orientation and content, without, however, perceiving that this results from the distinctive structure of the proem-hymn-complex in which it occurs.

²⁶ The fullest account is in Walcot (above, note 2) 44; cf. also West (above, note 8) *ad loc.* Further literature in West's note on line 76, and Schwabl in *Hermes* (above, note 2) 399, note 1.

²⁷ In addition to the examples cited in the text below see P. Walcot, *Hesiod and the Near East* (Cardiff 1966) 44 (cf. 32), where the Babylonian *Enuma Elish* is likened to a hymn, with a lengthy concluding list of the names of Marduk as a prominent feature. Analyses of the structure of the geometrical type tend to find some embarrassment at this point, stemming chiefly from the fact that while catalogue-like accounts of the Muses' song appear at other points where they are looked for (11-21, 44-50, 105-15), the account of song in this area of the poem (71-75) is hardly a catalogue and the catalogue-list of the Muses' names has no direct connection with the song they are singing. See Walcot (above note 2) 44-46, Schwabl in *Hermes* (above, note 2) 405 together with 398-401; cf. also Sellschopp (above note 2) 111.

²⁸ See further *TAPA* 93, 193-99, particularly 197-99 on the interchange of formal opening and closing hymn elements with the comparable elements in invocations. ταῦτα in this context suggests a catalogue preceding, and so the phrase ταῦτ' ἄρα Μοῦσαι

I believe that lines 75–79 are intended to *suggest* the closing of a hymn. Indeed, in several hymns generally comparable expressions are found just before the farewell, *Οὔτω*... (4.574), *ὡς εἰπών*... (1.16), *Ὡς εἰποῦσ'*... (5.291). Of these the first introduces a summarizing section of five lines clearly meant to tie together and round off the relationship of Hermes to Apollo and Zeus as it has unfolded throughout the poem; there is a comparable five-line “clausula” section, introduced by *ἔνθα δέ* just before the formal close of the *Hymn to Demeter* (2), at line 485. Finally, and most significantly, the names themselves suggest a hymn closing. First we have here what appears to be an echo of the periphrastic characterization of the god celebrated that usually appears in a hymn along with the closing *χαῖρε* formula: ... *Μοῦσαι* ... *Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι*. / *ἐννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖαι* (75–76). Although there is in fact no *χαίρετε* here, the periphrastic designation of the goddesses corresponds closely enough to the expressions found elsewhere with the formula to make the identification hardly avoidable for one steeped in the tradition. Phrases indicating home or place of worship and parentage, both of which are found here, are frequent:

Χαῖρε θεὰ Κύπριοι ἐϋκτιμένης μεδέουσα (5.292)

Χαῖρε τέκος Σεμέλης εὐώπιδος (7.58)

Χαίρετε τέκνα Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς ἡϋκόμοιο (27.21)

*Χαῖρε ἄνασσα θεὰ λευκώλενε διὰ Σελήνην
πρόφρον ἐϋπλόκαμος* (32.17–18)

And not only are all these filled with *names*, but in the *Theogony* the melodious series of individual Muse names that follows, revealing the “single-minded” (line 60) Muses in their various aspects, has something of the air of that succession of characterizing epithets which are also frequently found, with or in place of the periphrastic denomination, at this point in a hymn—ringing the changes, in ritualistic fashion, on the manifold facets of the god celebrated, e.g.,

ᾄειδον is in itself enough to guarantee the preceding as in fact not only a song of the Muses, but also as a kind of catalogue, precisely as Walcot (above, note 2) 44 maintains. The citation in the text from the fragments, the invocation to the *Catalogue of Women*, is made in accord with the numbering in the edition of R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, *Fragmenta Hesiodica* (Oxford 1967).

Χαῖρε Ποσειδάον γαίηοχε κυανοχαῖτα (22.6)

"Ἰληθ' εὐρύοπα Κρονίδη κύδιστε μέγιστε (23.4)

The Hymn to Demeter (2) actually has near the end (490-94) a five-line address to Demeter and Persephone containing most of these features, which like the passage in the proem to the *Theogony* is without a "Farewell," but which has a formal prayer and, in the concluding line (495, not quoted), one of the stock transitions to "another song" which make the terminal character of the whole explicit enough:

*Ἄλλ' ἄγ' Ἑλευσίνος θυοέσσης δῆμον ἔχουσai
καὶ Πάρον ἀμφιρύτην Ἄντρωνά τε πετρήεντα,
πότνια ἀγλαόδωρ ὠρηφόρε Διοῖ ἄνασσα
αὐτὴ καὶ κούρη περικαλλὴς Περσεφόνηια
πρόφρονες ἀντ' ὥδῃς βίοντον θυμήρε' ὀπάζειν.*

We must, then, look on the inserted "dramatic" hymn as extending to line 79, where the list of names ends. Elements associated with hymn closings are suggested, but are not overtly used in such a way as to make a termination unmistakable.²⁹ The inserted hymn on which Hesiod has embarked in response to the injunction of the Muses and as a display of the powers they had given him has by this time become absorbed in the general hymn of the proem itself, with an integral place in its general architecture and thematic development. The appearance of any final *χαίρετε* or other clear terminal element must be reserved for the effective conclusion of the whole hymn-complex, which does not in fact begin before line 104.

The character of the following and final section is determined as much by the need for a proper conclusion to the double hymn preceding as by considerations of symmetry. Indeed, I suspect that the balance and correspondences of this "earthbound" portion of the whole with the initial hymn of lines 1-35 are less the direct result of conscious "artistic" intention than of a master's control of traditional hymn form. Tradition dictates that the hymn, certainly a long hymn such as this, should close, after the Progress to Olympus, with an account of the *Timai* of the deity. These have indeed been hinted at

²⁹ The suggestion of a closing was not lost on Wilamowitz, who twice in his illuminating article on the proem (above, note 22) suggests that it might well have ended here, "wenn er ein gewöhnlicher Hymnus wäre" (474; see also 468). What precisely Wilamowitz had in mind is not clear, except that it had something to do with the names.

in the mere listing of their names and, in fact, Calliope (79–80), of the *ὀπι̃ καλῇ* (cf. 68), “the chiefest of all” and the special attendant of kings, makes a neat and natural transition to the goddesses’ gifts of persuasion and sweet song to kings and poets in the final section. But as this suggests, the true focus of the powers and benefits of the Muses is on earth. And in any case the interrupted initial hymn still needs to be rounded off. This last section (80–103) brings to an end, with its final major hymn element of *Timai*, as indeed Friedländer identified it, not one hymn alone, but the interrupted sequence of both the first (earthbound) hymn and of the second (“Olympian”) hymn, which alike need only this one element for their completion. The Muses’ earthly *timai* or benefits appropriate to the initial, descriptive hymn are clear: the calming effects of the poet’s song and the king’s power of persuasion.³⁰ Their heavenly *timê*, appropriate to the second hymn, is their continued glorification of Zeus, here in the earthbound context to which the poet is now committed, to be manifested directly through their aid to his earthly regents, kings, and indirectly through the poets’ song. The primary “ordering” function of the Muses, which is in the “Olympian” hymn quite appropriately restricted to song of praise, manifests itself here on earth in helping to lend order to the disturbed condition of human affairs, and the thread between that hymn and this *Timai* section is more forcefully and clearly maintained through the device of kings who are Zeus’ representatives on earth. Hence the persistence with which Hesiod insists that “kings are from Zeus” (96), to the confusion of his line of development, is of especial significance.³¹ At the same time we have, caught up into one summary,

³⁰ The occurrence of a locution like *μεγ’ ὄλβιος ὃν τιν’ ἐκείναι [Μοῦσαι] / . . . φιλῶνται* in both *Hymn* 2 (486–87) and *Theogony* 96–97 (cf. 81; a similar locution appears also in lines 7–8 of *Hymn* 30, the body of which is composed entirely of *Timai*) is especially indicative of the character of this section of this type of hymn. It seems particularly useful in a hymn which, like *Hymn* 2 and the proem to the *Theogony*, contains elements of both the descriptive and theogonic varieties, where it may express the *timai* from both points of view. Cf. above, note 11. In some such function, in fact, may lie its genesis.

³¹ Cf. von Fritz (above, note 18) 43. For the “ordering” function of the Muses in song see *TAPA* 93 *passim*; historically the practice, recorded by Plutarch (*Lycurgus* 21), of the Spartan king sacrificing to the Muses before battle is at least suggestive: according to Plutarch it was probably meant to recall to the Spartan troops their “musical” education and to remind them of the “judgment that would be passed on their actions” as an incentive to noble exploits in the field.

a picture of the benefits of the Muses to god and man, with emphasis on the latter to better accord with the world the poet knows and to testify to Hesiod's recognition of and gratitude for their gift of poetry as recorded in the first section of the hymn.³²

We have, then, a hymnic proem extending from lines 1 to 115, the body of which, as we have just seen, presents a picture of a partly separate "dramatic" hymn on a divine level occupying its central portion, flanked and sustained by two meaningfully parallel scenes that relate the function of the Muses specifically to earth and mankind. The dynamics of this are guided by the logic of hymn development itself, as are those too of the highly unusual closing segment (104-15), in which a traditional farewell (in this case possibly also meant to double for a greeting) and prayer in the initial line (*χαίρετε τέκνα Διὸς δότε δ' ἑμρόεσσαν ἀοιδήν*) is followed by a unique substitution for the usual one-line transition to "another song" of a formal eleven-line invocation, comparable to those of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, that leads directly into the *Theogony* proper. Here as in the semi-close of lines 74-79 and in the invocation to the *Works and Days* Hesiod turns his traditional formal building blocks into something new and his own.³³

He has done the same with the over-all structuring of his proem. Its triptych nature is not to be explained merely by the instincts of a geometric age or by Hesiod's fondness for triadic form. The fact that the longer hymns all fall into a threefold pattern suggests here too a traditional guideline. In the *Hymn to Demeter* (2) we have (a) lines 1-89 (Persephone lost and sought), (b) 90-302 (narrative of Demeter at Eleusis), (c) 303-495 (search renewed and *timai* regained); this sequence reflects roughly the pattern, already noted, of a descriptive type of hymn amplified by a central narrative. The *Hymn to Hermes* (4) has (a) 1-19 (birth story), (b) 20-502 (narratives of Hermes' exploits after birth), (c) 503-80 (progress to Olympus and garnering of *timai*).³⁴

³² See Wilamowitz (above, note 22) 474, 476.

³³ For details on the hymn closing and invocation in the *Theogony* see *TAPA* 93, 193, together with 201 and 198-99. Cf. Friedländer, 13. For the invocation in the *Works and Days* see *TAPA* 93, 197-200.

³⁴ The *Hymn to Aphrodite* (5) is, as already noted (above, notes 9 *ad fin.* and 13) highly unusual, but like the other long hymns it also follows a threefold structure. Here we have (a) 1-52 (Aphrodite's character), (b) 53-246 (Aphrodite and Anchises: begetting

Finally the *Hymn to Apollo* (3) presents, I believe, enough of an analogy to the phenomenon of the hymn-complex of the proem to the *Theogony* to give the latter some final support. As in the *Theogony* there are two hymns, a Delian and a Pythian. Their relationship is less logical, but it stems perhaps from the composer's repeated questions, "How shall I hymn you?" (lines 19 and 207), which indicate a purpose of lengthy and elaborate song. That can only be accomplished, given the traditional framework, by the poet starting again from the beginning. This he does without apology or subtlety, declaring plainly at the end of the Delian hymn (177-78), οὐ λήξω ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα / ὑμνέων. . . . The use of λήξω, the technical word for closing a hymn (see *Theog.* 48, *Hymn* 1.18; cf. *Iliad* 9.97 and 3.394), at this point is clear evidence, especially in the absence of a formal hymn close or any trace of it, that the composer meant to keep going. As he did not really conclude the Delian hymn, so he does not really (i.e., using the technical forms) inaugurate the new Pythian hymn, but he does let a pointed direct address to the god (ὦ ἄνα) do duty for it (179).³⁵ The Delian hymn is theogonic, the "consequences" of the god's birth being enlarged, with a freedom characteristic of this bold singer, into a description of the Delian festival he knew, as was pointed out earlier; it remains unfinished, broken off like the proem to the *Theogony* just after a declaration of the poet's powers. The Pythian hymn is of the descriptive type; it is introduced by a picture not unlike that in the Delian hymn, of Apollo on Olympus among the other deities, which the poet, apparently conscious of leaving the earlier hymn unfinished, here combines with the motif of Progress to Olympus that is still needed to complete the first hymn (186-87: from Delos, via Pytho [by anticipation], Apollo . . . πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς . . . / εἰσι Διὸς πρὸς δῶμα θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγυριν ἄλλων).

of Aeneas with forecast of birth), (c) 247-93 (consequent upbringing of Aeneas, by nymphs with "progress to Ilium" suggested); there is no separate *Timē* section, probably because that element, the power of Aphrodite, is in a sense the main theme of the whole poem. The formal elements of both theogonic and descriptive hymns are used throughout, with great skill, to create a narrative that ultimately transcends the limits and scope of hymn form as no other Homeric Hymn does.

³⁵ Cf. the ὦ Ἀητοῖ which opens the birth story (line 14) in the Delian Hymn (see above, note 9); neither is enough, as it stands, to initiate an entirely separate hymn, but they are indications that the composer is making some kind of fresh start.

This is then followed by the narrative of Apollo's adventures in founding Delphi and capped (the *Timai* section) by his abduction of the Cretans to serve his precinct there. Such a technique of combination and melding of formal hymn elements not only supports but adds to our appreciation of Hesiod's far greater skill in constructing a similar composition; the validity of the comparison is not substantially affected even if the hymn is taken as combining two originally separate compositions.

Looked at as a whole, the double hymn falls into a triadic structure not unlike that of the proem to the *Theogony*, with the first hymn (1-178) and the *timê* section of the second hymn (388-546) framing a central account of Apollo's chief activity (179-387). Not only is the division of hymns among the triadic units the same, but here, too, distinctly human elements in the first and last sections surround and set off essentially divine activity in the central portion.

The implications of this closer look at hymn form in Hesiod are many, but fairly obvious, and need not be detailed here. Fuller consideration of them must be reserved for another time. Chief is, of course, the question of how deeply hymn form was imbedded in Hesiod's whole tradition. I have shown earlier that there is a marked contrast with Homer in this respect and suggested the existence of two traditions.³⁶ A subsequent study has carried this further and proposed that the division is deep and of long standing, the Hesiodic and hymnic tradition having poetic and religious elements alien to Homer and affinities with the East, the split with epic tradition being as old as Mycenaean times.³⁷ However this may be, there is considerable evidence that the impact of a traditional hymn form on Hesiod, whatever its background, was profound and plays a more important role in the structure of his poems than has been fully recognized.

³⁶ See *TAPA* 93, especially 189-201.

³⁷ J. de Hoz, "Poesía oral independiente de Homero en Hesíodo y los himnos homéricos," *Emerita* 32 (1964) 283-98. It is not necessary to assume that Hesiod was an oral poet, a matter which still needs further study, to admit the possibility of a general development of this kind. It is clear that he is composing in a tradition, and it is the effect of this tradition on his poetry that is at point here.