

THE UNITY OF CALLIMACHUS' HYMN TO ARTEMIS

Richard Kannicht sexagenario

AT the start of the section entitled 'structure' in his commentary on Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*, Fritz Bornmann notes that the third Hymn has enjoyed less success among critics than any other. 'They lament', he says, 'the lack of unity'.¹ And indeed, beginning with Wilamowitz, this has been not only the dominant, but the only view of the hymn. The latter part of the poem, said Wilamowitz, 'macht trotz allen Künsten den Eindruck eines gelehrten Nachtrages'—und es ist das auch', he adds.² Some forty years later K.J. McKay put it this way: 'If there is a stronger unifying principle in this straggling composition than the idea of weaving together a number of disparate strands into a "historic day" in the life of Artemis (with vv. 183-268 as a possibly unfortunate addition), it still eludes us'.³ And recently, Michael Haslam has remarked on the poem's 'disjointed tail section'. The hymn, to his mind, 'progressively disintegrates, as the clear structural framework with which it started fades totally from view'.⁴ Even Herter, in his famous and influential essay on the hymn, 'Kallimachos und Homer', echoes this opinion of the final third of the poem.⁵ The commentator Bornmann concludes: 'this estimation is essentially correct'.⁶

In spite of such unusually strong scholarly consensus, we believe that the question of the hymn's unity has yet to be adequately addressed. Not that most critics have operated with a radically different concept of 'unity' from that which we use. Rather, for whatever reason, they have simply not followed through in their analyses, or bothered to describe—in depth, from beginning to end—how they understand the relationship between this hymn's external form and its apparent subject. Herter is typical in this regard when, in the aforementioned essay, he devotes only one paragraph out of an original fifty-five pages to verses 183-268. And Skiadas, in reprinting this essay for the *Wege der Forschung* volume on Callimachus,⁷ simply leaves the section on these verses out.⁸ In what follows, we intend to take a closer look at this relationship between form and content—in the hymn's entirety. And it is our hope that a clearer picture of the poem's unity and, with it, a fuller appreciation of the poem as a whole, will emerge.

¹ 'Si è lamentata la mancanza di unità,' *Callimachi hymnus in Dianam* (Florence 1968) xxvi.

² *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos* ii (Berlin 1924) 46.

³ 'Mischief in Callimachus' hymn to Artemis', *Mnemosyne* xvi (1963) 243.

⁴ 'Callimachus' Hymns', *Callimachus, Hellenistica Groningana* i, ed. M.A. Harder, R.F. Regtuit, G.C. Wakker (Groningen 1993) 115 and 114 respectively.

⁵ 'Kallimachos und Homer. Ein Beitrag zur Interpretation des Hymnos auf Artemis', *Xenia Bonnensia. Festschrift zum 75jährigen Bestehen des Philologischen Vereins und Bonner Kreises* (Bonn 1929) 50-105 = *Kleine Schriften* (Munich 1975) 371-416. Herter evidently approves Wilamowitz' judgement on vv. 170-182: "'Hier hätte er aufhören und nur einen kräftigen Schluss machen sollen", so empfindet der moderne Leser mit Wilamowitz, aber der Alexandriner konnte nicht darauf verzichten, seine Gelehrsamkeit noch etwas mehr zu zeigen, als er bisher Gelegenheit gehabt hatte' (p. 104=416). Cf. also below.

⁶ Bornmann (n. 1) xxvii: 'La valutazione è quindi essenzialmente giusta'. Bornmann qualifies this statement, however, by suggesting that we must judge the hymn by a different standard of unity, namely the far looser kind of unity in diversity pioneered by Callimachus in the *Aetia*. But while there is certainly a common aetiological interest between our hymn and the *Aetia*, we feel that Bornmann's recourse to the aesthetic of an entirely different poetic genre, the 'Sammelgedicht', is a counsel of desperation.

⁷ A.D. Skiadas, *Kallimachos* (Darmstadt 1975) 354-375.

⁸ He does so, moreover, without ever explicitly stating that he is only publishing an extract. The unsuspecting reader is the more deceived because of the decision to renumber the original footnotes, so that n. 1 in Skiadas corresponds to n. 25 in Herter.

Following three introductory verses which, at first sight, present a traditional hymnic opening—name of divinity, verb of praise, predication—the poem proceeds in two long steps. First, Callimachus takes over half of the poem to set out the development of the goddess Artemis from a little child to a fully fledged Olympian deity. Then, in the remainder of the poem, he details how the power of the divinity is realized in its mythic/cultic environment. Let us begin, as the poet himself says, ‘starting at that time when sitting on her father’s lap, still a girl-child (παῖς ἔτι κουρίζουσα 5), she bombarded him with her heart’s desires.

ARTEMIS παῖς (4-40a)

From the very start, Callimachus attaches great importance to the presentation of Artemis as a child. He does so not merely through descriptive detail, but by repeatedly and explicitly calling her ‘child’ (παῖς ἔτι κουρίζουσα 5; ὥς ἡ παῖς εἰποῦσα 26; τέκος 31). In so doing, Callimachus stresses that this is not yet the fully developed goddess, but only the starting point in a development, whose outlines we begin to see in the vivid speech that follows. The child asks for eternal virginity and for many names (so that Phoebus can’t vie with her). After these essentials, she turns to requests that have to do with hunting: she asks for arrows and bow—though on second thought, she says, the Cyclopes will make her those.⁹ Her father should rather grant her the carrying of torches and the wearing of the knee length chiton for the hunt. He should give her sixty Oceanids, moreover, and twenty Amnisiac nymphs as an escort. Following her requests for these hunting attributes, she asks for the scene of the hunt itself: οὐρεα πάντα, all the mountains.¹⁰ Up to this point, her requests seem simply to gush forth one after the other, as is evident in her five-fold repetition of the word δός—the traditional prayer-formula, which here does double duty by conveying the typical attitude of a child: ‘gimme, gimme, gimme, gimme, gimme’.¹¹

With her next wish, there is a noticeable shift in tone: πόλιν δέ μοι ἤντινα νεῖμον / ἤντινα λῆς, ‘allot me any old city, whichever you want’. What a difference there is between the wilful, emphatic δός of the previous requests, which always stood at the start of the verse, and the more neutral, disengaged νεῖμον, pushed all the way back to verse-end! Striking, too, is the unusual repetition of the relative indefinite, which marvellously conveys her utter indifference.¹² And as though this formulation would not suffice to show that she does not consider a city one of her heart’s desires, she appends a long and intricate explanation of almost seven verses (19b-25) in which she says that her association with the city is due to external necessity, for the Moirai ordained that she come as a helper to those giving birth. While she may bow to this necessity, she makes it clear that she considers it a duty, not a pleasure.

Zeus’ spontaneous reaction is, first of all, that of a happy father: he laughs at his precocious girl and caresses her (28-29). In his reply, he acknowledges the implicit distinction which Artemis drew between her heart’s desires and her function in the city: for he grants her all that she ‘willingly’ asked for (ἔθελήμους 31), and says he will add bigger things himself. In pointed

⁹ As we shall see in 72ff., Artemis is already well-acquainted with the Cyclopes through a visit when she was three years old.

¹⁰ For the first and last of her heart’s desires—perpetual virginity and mountains—Callimachus was evidently drawing on the brief but comparable scene in Sappho *fr.* 44a.4-8 (Voigt = Alcaeus *fr.* 304 LP; the connection with Callimachus already seems to have been made in the scholia, *cf.* Pfeiffer ii 125). In that fragmentary text Artemis (age apparently unmentioned) asks Zeus for just these things.

¹¹ Thus already Herter (n. 5) 64 = 383.

¹² The unusualness of the repetition is only somewhat mitigated by interpreting the first instance as a demonstrative, the second as the relative, *cf.* the *index vocabulorum* of Pfeiffer’s edition of Callimachus, s.v. ὄστις, and E. Fernández-Galiano, *Léxico de los Himnos de Calímaco* iii (Madrid 1978) under the same entry.

contrast to Artemis' wish for 'any old city', he tells her (33f.): τρις δέκα τοι πολίεθρα καὶ οὐχ ἓνα πύργον ὀπάσσω, 'I will bestow three times ten cities and ramparts more than one'; thirty cities which will belong to Artemis alone, and many besides (both on the mainland and on the islands) which she will share in. Zeus thereby gives Artemis her role in civilization.

Callimachus here uses the form of a dialogue to dramatize the fundamental ambivalence of this goddess.¹³ On the one hand, she is the goddess of the outdoors, of the hunt, of Nature. This is the goddess we know so well from the poetic tradition and from art. And this aspect, as we have seen, grew out of her innate desires. On the other hand, she is also a city goddess, that is she functions in an arena that seems to be contrary to her natural inclinations. Callimachus highlights this ambivalence all the more by stressing this early stage in Artemis' development, by setting it here—in detail—at the start of the poem: for the tension between what one wants and what one must do is, of course, especially characteristic of childhood. How, Callimachus seems to ask, are we to explain this apparent dichotomy? He resolves the problem—superficially, at least—by showing that Zeus simply bestowed on his daughter her role within the cities.

On the other hand, it is worth noting already now that he *also* portrays a willingness on Artemis' part to accept the necessity of her role in civilization—at least in the special case of child-birth. And he allows Zeus to build on this fact with the 'greater things' which he bestows. Thus, while it may seem for the time being that Zeus' gifts—though a necessary part of Artemis' divinity—are imposed on her from the outside, and while the dialogue form serves to highlight the goddess' antipathies, we may already glimpse the seeds of an internal resolution between her two divergent aspects.

The dialogue between Artemis and Zeus is significant in another way as well, for it is the generative nucleus which determines the course of the rest of the poem: from this point forward, step by step, the child's desires and her father's wishes for her are fulfilled, and consequently she gradually develops into the fully fledged goddess Artemis.¹⁴ And if the opening scene provided an outwardly plausible explanation for the apparent ambivalence of this goddess, we shall see that in the course of her development, as the desires and wishes of parent and child become reality, that ambivalence is resolved on an inner level as well.

¹³ Thus already Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* ii (Berlin 1931-2, repr. Darmstadt 1959) 146 n. 1.

¹⁴ In order to elucidate this process we present the following chart:

1)	ARTEMIS' REQUESTS	FULFILLMENT
	a. <i>The outdoors</i>	
	Weapons (8-10)	Scene with Cyclopes (46-86)
	Nymphs (13-17)	(40b-45)
	Hounds	Scene with Pan (87-97)
	φαεσφορή (11)	(116-118, 204)
	χιτών (11)	χιτώνη (225)
	b. <i>General characteristics</i>	
	παρθενίη (6)	* Ἄρτεμι Παρθενίη (110), τὴν παρθένον (264), cf. Britomartis (189-205) and Atalanta (221-224)
	πολυωνυμίη (7)	Οὐπίς (204) Βριτόμαρτις/Δίκτυοννα (204) χιτώνη (225) Κορίη (234) Ἡμέρη (236) Μουνηχίη and Φερασίη (259)
	Rivalry with Apollo (7)	(83, 119 ἀργυρότοξος, 142-146, 168-169, 250)
2)	ZEUS' PROMISE	FULFILLMENT
	Cities and cult (33-39)	Cities of the Just and Unjust (122-137)

FROM παῖς TO δαίμων (40b-86)

The girl (κούρη 40b) now sets out to fulfill her wish for arms and an escort. First of all (in 40b-45), reversing the order of her requests, she acquires her escort: the Amnisiian nymphs and Oceanids. Thereafter, in the company of these nymphs, she goes to see the Cyclopes about her arrows and bow. What is the point of this reversal? It is natural enough when one considers the form which Callimachus gives to the scene with the Cyclopes: for the terrified reaction of the nymphs in encountering these monstrous smiths serves as the foil to little Artemis' fearless behaviour. Incidentally, it is significant that the nymphs' parents rejoice to send their daughters to serve—not the little goddess, but a child of Leto (χαίρε δὲ Καίρατος ποταμὸς μέγα, χαίρε δὲ Τηθύς / οὐνεκα θυγατέρας Λητωίδι πέμπον ἀμορβούς 45); Artemis, in other words, is here still defined as her mother's child, not a force to reckon with in her own right.

The girls arrive just as the Cyclopes are working on a massive project, a trough of iron and bronze for Poseidon's horses; and upon seeing their colossal size—like crags of Ossa, says the poet (52)—and hearing the dreadful noise of their hammering (which makes even distant places echo, 56-61), they are seized by fear. Ostensibly excusing the nymphs' alarm (οὐ νέμεσις 64), Callimachus deepens the contrast with Artemis by pointing out that, though no longer little, the daughters of the gods are terrified even by *counterfeit* Cyclopes. For if one of these daughters does something naughty, her mother sends for the Cyclopes and, when Hermes then comes disguised as Arges or Steropes in order to scare her, she dives into her mother's lap, covering her eyes in terror.

Artemis by contrast, when she was only three (ἔτι τρίτηρος ἐοῦσα 72), and Leto carried her to Hephaestus' workshop, was fearless when faced with the real McCoy. For she sat on Brontes' knees, and tore his chest-hairs out. Callimachus underlines the difference by referring to the timorous daughter in the scene with the disguised Hermes as 'κούρη'—ἀλλ' ὅτε κουράων τις (66) and τὴν κούρην (70)—immediately thereafter, however, addressing Artemis as κοῦρα, σὺ δέ (72): Artemis is a maiden of an altogether different order. And this is made the more emphatic since Callimachus uses direct address—the hymnic 'Du-Stil'¹⁵—at this juncture for the first time in the poem; he continues to do so right till the end.

Thus, with the fearlessness that is her constant trait, the girl demands that the Cyclopes make her a bow and arrows and quiver—she is, after all, she reminds them, a child of Leto's, like Apollo!¹⁶ And to clinch the deal, she offers them the prospect of a tasty meal. In a single verse (86) her wish is fulfilled: ἐννεπες· οἱ δ' ἐτέλεσαν· ἄφαρ δ' ὠπλίσσαο, δαίμων, and therewith her status is changed as well. For while she came to the Cyclopes as a mere girl (βαῖνε δὲ κούρη 40b; κοῦρα 72), she leaves as a heavenly power: she is now invoked as δαίμων. Yet while she has acquired the instruments that allow her to project her power in the world, she is not yet the fully fledged goddess Artemis. That will require further steps. And it is that still-undifferentiated quality that the designation δαίμων suggests. In this one word, set pointedly at the end not just of the verse but of the entire episode, Callimachus suggests the significance of the preceding scene: with the acquisition of her arms, Artemis has developed from παῖς to δαίμων.¹⁷

¹⁵ Cf. the fundamental discussion of E. Norden in *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig 1913) 143-163, and also H. Meyer, *Hymnische Stilelemente in der frühgriechischen Dichtung* (Würzburg 1933).

¹⁶ καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Λητωιάς ὥσπερ Ἀπόλλων (83). In other words, Artemis at this point still derives her self-image from being 'her mother's daughter', just as Kairatos and Tethys had viewed her in 45.

¹⁷ The term δαίμων can, of course, also be used of the fully fledged goddess, as is the case in 173: any clearly identifiable god still includes in his or her nature the quality of being, among other things, a δαίμων. But the immediate context here in 86, and Artemis' subsequent development in the hymn, leave no doubt that the designation

FROM δαίμων TO θεή (87-112)

Artemis now seeks out the 'swift hounds' (θοοῶδες κύννας) which she had mentioned in 16-17. And to this end, she goes to mountainous Arcadia—a region suited to her natural inclinations, as we recall from her request for all mountains in 18. Here she encounters Pan (87-88), who is seen as a hunter cutting up the meat of a Mainalian lynx for his dogs. The detailed description of these dogs (90-97)—their agility in dragging down lions, pursuing deer, tracking gazelle, etc.—vividly evokes the hunt, and foreshadows Artemis' future role. While the visit with Pan in Arcadia signals Artemis' arrival in the world of mountains and of the hunt in a general sense, her acquisition of the hunting-pack provides her with a crucial attribute for her functioning in that world. It lays the groundwork for the following scene, in which she hunts for the first time.

Leaving Pan with her dogs (98), Artemis comes upon five wondrous deer—μέγα τι χρέος, says the poet—bigger than bulls, and with horns made of gold: a sign of their divinity.¹⁸ The divinity of the deer appears to prompt her to recognize this quality in herself. 'This would be a first catch worthy of Artemis!', she says. Her words show that she has become aware of her own worth. And she quickly proves that worth in action by hunting down four of the deer alive—the fifth gets away, so as to become a labour for Herakles—and making them the team that will draw her chariot. She has proven herself as a huntress. And hereupon we find a most impressive invocation (110-113):

* Ἄρτεμι Παρθενίη Τιτυοκτόνε, χρύσεια μὲν τοι
ἔντεα καὶ ζώνη, χρύσειον δ' ἐξέβροτο δίφρον,
ἐν δ' ἐβάλεν χρύσεια, θεή, κεμάδεσσι χαλινά.

Here, for the first time in the hymn, Artemis is addressed with epithets (*cf.* 1, 19, 35, 104). These stress the centrality of virginity for her nature—it was, we recall, the very first thing she asked of Zeus—and allude to the terrible retribution she inflicted on one who transgressed the bounds of sexual integrity (her request παρθενίην...φυλάσσειν 6, is thus actualized with a brutally concrete reference). And suddenly everything about her is golden: her weapons, her girdle, her chariot, her bridle. The sudden appearance of gold is of course a traditional sign of epiphany (*cf. Hy. Hom. Ap.* 135f.; *Call. Hy.* 2.32ff., 4.260ff.), of a god's unbounded power. In a word, she is now θεή (112), an unmistakable goddess with epithets of her own: Artemis, goddess of the hunt. That, as we recall, was her heart's desire. It has now come about.

FROM θεή TO ἄνασσα (113-137)

Following this invocation, the hymn moves on with three questions: 'where did your horned team first carry you?' (113), 'where did you cut the pine and from what flame did you kindle it?' (116) and lastly 'how often, goddess (θεή), did you try out your silver bow?' (119). All three questions ostensibly relate to Artemis' role in the outdoors. The first refers to her most recently acquired attribute, the chariot (*cf.* 111-112). This chariot will later play an important role (*cf.* p. 27 below). Here, it conveys to us an aspect of her nature inasmuch as the first place

δαίμων in 86 points to the sense of undifferentiated divinity, which the word can convey. On δαίμων *cf.* M.P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*³ i (Munich 1955) 216-222; W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford 1985) 179-181, esp. 180: 'Daimon is occult power, a force that drives man forward where no agent can be named ... Daimon is the veiled countenance of divine activity. There is no image of a daimon, and there is no cult'.

¹⁸ *Cf.* H.L. Lorimer, 'Gold and ivory in Greek mythology', in *Greek poetry and life* (Oxford 1936) 14-33.

she visits is the wild, inhospitable region of Mt. Haimos in Thrace.¹⁹ But with the brief answer to the question, the chariot is abandoned for the time being. The second question picks up Artemis' request for φαεσφορίη in 11 and shows that it has been realized. We note that the goddess lights her torch from Zeus' lightning bolts. We will see later on what this means (p. 25 below). The third question concerns the silver bow, and thus appears also to relate to the goddess' outdoors aspect. After all, this weapon was one of her heart's desires. We may, however, already suspect that it is also calculated to recall the goddess' punitive side. For this is not just any bow. Rather, it evokes the famous instrument of retribution of her brother Apollo, from which he derives his standing epithet in Homer: ἀργυρότοξος. A similar expectation of vengefulness may already have been aroused for Artemis when she was called 'slayer of Tityos' (Τιτυοκτόνε) in verse 110.

Her first two shots are at trees, the third at a beast. With the fourth we expect the climax, the actual point of the enumeration—according to the traditional formula of three plus one.²⁰ But at what will she shoot? Our question is left hanging for one additional, tantalizing half-verse, in which Callimachus keeps up the suspense by telling us only that the fourth time she shot 'no longer' at a tree (121). Nonetheless we suspect that with her fourth shot she will take aim at a mythical criminal such as Tityos.

She shoots, however, at a city: a City of the Unjust (122 f.), in the Hesiodic mould.²¹ This is a surprise!—not, perhaps, insofar as she takes vengeance for an injustice, but that she does so on a *city* of the unjust.²² The traditional function of Artemis' bow thereby acquires a new dimension. It forges the link between the goddess and that other realm which Zeus had originally imposed on her, the realm of civilization, of the city.

Nor is that link simply limited to punishment. For the goddess can also use her bow to *protect* a city. This is explicit in the case of Ephesus at the end of the poem, where we hear that Artemis' arrows are forever set as a defense before the city ('Εφέσου γὰρ ἀεὶ τέα τόξα πρόκειται 257). Yet we suspect that this thought already underlies the passage where Callimachus now describes the blessings enjoyed by the city that Artemis favours (129f.). In any case the bow, that attribute which traditionally was the surest mark of the huntress, the goddess of the outdoors (and, in the mythical realm, the instrument of vengeance on sinners such as Tityos, Niobe, and Orion), now links her—whether as scourge or salvation—with the world of the city. She is not just πότνια θηρῶν—her punishment of Tityos is sufficient proof of that—rather she can be addressed as πότνια and ἀνασσα by a human being, specifically by Callimachus in 136-137.

The divergent, and apparently contradictory aspects of this goddess were initially explained by the 'fiat' of Zeus, that is when he bestowed the city-realm upon an Artemis whose heart was strictly in the hunt and the outdoors. Now, however, we see how these disparate aspects are

¹⁹ It is important, too, that Callimachus describes this as the source of the North Wind which brings bitter frost to men. A few verses later (125) we will see that Artemis' connection with this region is picked up when she causes a destructive frost to settle on the crops in the City of the Unjust.

²⁰ On the 3 + 1 formula cf. F. Göbel, *Formen und Formeln der 3* (Tübingen 1935) and Bornmann (n. 1) 59 (introduction to 120-122).

²¹ The Hesiodic model for the City of the Unjust and the City of the Just is *Op.* 225ff. Cf. the detailed discussions of H. Reinsch-Werner, *Callimachus Hesiodicus* (Berlin 1976) 74-86, and M. Erler, 'Das Recht (ΔΙΚΗ) als Segenbringerin für die Polis', *SIFC* v (1987) 5-36, esp. 22-27.

²² Callimachus found the seed for this novelty in the unelaborated declaration of the *Hy. Hom. Ven.* that the city of just men, δικαίων τε πτόλις ἀνδρῶν, is pleasing to Artemis (20). From this brief statement, which is not taken up anywhere in the subsequent tradition, Callimachus builds the entire picture of Artemis' relations with the City of the Unjust and the City of the Just. Further rare cases of the goddess' interest in cities are Bacchylides 11.116 (Maehler) and Anacreon *PMG* 348.4-8: ἦ (scil. *Αρτεμις) κου νῦν ἐπὶ Ληθαίου / δίνησι θρασυκαρδίων / ἀνδρῶν ἔσκατορᾶς πόλιν, / χάρουσ' οὐ γὰρ ἀνημέρους / ποιμαίνεις πολιήτας.

actualized in the goddess—without contradiction. By having her use one and the same weapon to assert herself both in the hunt and in town, the poet shows that what was previously separate has now been joined as a natural whole. A reconciliation between Artemis' spheres of activity has occurred within the goddess herself. The emblem for this is the bow.

THE PATH TO OLYMPUS (138-141)

Looking back now, we see that the initial problem—to wit, how Artemis, the traditional goddess of the outdoors, relates to civilization—has been resolved through the presentation of her step by step development (παῖς – δαίμων – θεή – ἄνασσα) into a fully fledged goddess. What is more, it is clear in retrospect that this development was from the very start a development *towards* civilization, culminating now with the poet's personal prayer—as a city-dweller—to this goddess (136-137).

Yet we are still left looking for the inner logic. Did Callimachus see a motive cause inherent in the goddess herself to explain the reconciliation of those aspects which, in the hymn's initial scene, he had so memorably and potently portrayed as mismatched and at odds? Perhaps he did. First of all, we should note that the reconciliation in Artemis' spheres of activity may not be so surprising as the unexpected introduction of the City of the Unjust would initially have lead us to believe. For Callimachus has planted clues which, though at first sight connected with the goddess' outdoor realm, now appear to anticipate her intervention in the city. With the description of Artemis as Τίτυοκτόνε, for instance, we see that she has acquired a sense of personal justice which foreshadows her reaction to the injustice she meets in the city of 122ff. The mention of Zeus' thunderbolts, from which she lights her torch, is likewise suggestive, for these are the instruments with which Zeus punishes ἀδικία. Immediately hereafter, the reference to the silver bow evokes similar expectations.

Most importantly, however, by intervening in the City of the Unjust Artemis adopts a role which traditionally belonged to Zeus. It is Zeus, after all, who in the Hesiodic model (*Op.* 255ff.) to which Callimachus here clearly refers, was the one who meted out punishment to the Unjust City, while bringing prosperity to the Just.²³ In assuming this role, Artemis is on the one hand simply extending that sense of justice which these examples already prefigured. But more importantly, her intervention in the city realm can be seen as *the expression of her lineage*. For regardless of how she viewed the world as a little girl, she reveals herself now to be every inch her father's daughter and Apollo's sister. We said that the bow was the outward emblem for the reconciliation between the initially incongruous aspects of the goddess' divinity. Now we see that, inwardly, that reconciliation was in fact simply the realization of her inborn nature.²⁴

The climactic effect of the poet's prayer, which now follows, is accentuated through Callimachus' manipulation of his model for the City of the Just and the Unjust in Hesiod's *Works and Days*. There, after describing the City of the Just, Hesiod had gone on to the city which more closely resembled the iniquity of his own circumstances (238f.). This, in turn, led to an impassioned plea to the δωροφάγοι βασιλῆες for justice, culminating in the paradoxical wish (270-272):

²³ Thus also Reinsch-Werner (n. 21) 74-75, and Erler (n. 21) 24.

²⁴ This may throw light on the word-play of 4-5: πατὴρ ἐφεζομένη γονάτεσσι / ...τάδε προσέειπε γονῆα in that it stresses Zeus' role not just as father but as begetter. For γούνατα as 'lap' see E. Schwyzer, 'Der Götter Knie—Abrahams Schoss', in *Antidoron*, Festschr. J. Wackernagel (Göttingen 1923) 283-293.

νῦν δὴ ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι δίκαιος
εἶην μήτ' ἐμὸς υἱός, ἐπεὶ κακὸν ἄνδρα δίκαιον
ἔμμεναι, εἰ μείζω γε δίκην ἀδικώτερος ἔξει.

Now might neither I myself be righteous among men,
nor my son, since it is a hard thing to be righteous,
if indeed the unrighteous shall have the greater right.

As a court poet, Callimachus' circumstances are very different. No city for him could be closer to the Hesiodic ideal than that ruled by Ptolemy. Thus he inverts the order, dealing first with the unjust city (122-128), then with the just (129f.) and culminating, as in Hesiod, with a wish. But here, he prays for inclusion in the city of the just—the city that Artemis favours (136-137):²⁵

πότνια, τῶν εἶη μὲν ἐμοὶ φίλος ὅστις ἀληθής,
εἶην δ' αὐτός, ἀνασσα, μέλοι δέ μοι αἰὲν αἰοιδή

Mistress, of that number may he be whoever is a true friend of mine,
and may I be myself, Queen, and may song forever be my care.

This prayer, moreover, is set at a very prominent position, structurally at the center of the hymn. And it is here that the poet first introduces his lyric 'I' (the use of the first person at the beginning of the hymn [verse 2] is formulaic, as throughout the *Homeric Hymns*. But whereas the *Homeric Hymns* always employ the first person singular, Callimachus uses ὑμνέομεν. The emphatic use of the first person singular now in his prayer [ἐμοί, μοι, εἶην δ' αὐτός] is all the more striking by comparison). All these considerations, then, lend a climactic quality to the prayer.

Callimachus prays that his true friends, and he himself, may be counted among those who enjoy the blessing of Artemis' protection. When he asks in addition that song might forever be his care (μέλοι δέ μοι αἰὲν αἰοιδή 137), Callimachus simply sets out in concrete terms the consequence of the goddess' favour. For him, Artemis' protection means always being able to sing.

Beginning with 138, and issuing directly from the prayer in 136ff., he outlines the song he will sing, should he enjoy the goddess' protection:

τῇ ἐνὶ μὲν Λητοῦς γάμος ἔσσεται, ἐν δὲ σὺ πολλή,
ἐν δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων, ἐν δ' οἱ σεο πάντες ἄεθλοι,
ἐν δὲ κύνες καὶ τόξα καὶ ἄντυγες, αἱ τε σε ρεῖα
θητητὴν φορέουσιν ὄτ' ἐς Διὸς οἶκον ἐλάυνεις.
ἐνθα τοι ἀντιόωντες ἐνὶ προμολῆσι δέχονται
ὄπλα μὲν Ἑρμείης Ἀκακήσιος, αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων
θηρίον ὄττι φέρησθα....

and therein (i.e. in that song) shall be Leto's marriage, therein shall be your name often,
therein shall be Apollo, and therein all your labours,
and therein your hounds and your bow and your chariot, which easily
bears you in your splendour, when you drive to the house of Zeus.

²⁵ K. Bassi, 'The poetics of exclusion in Callimachus' *hymn to Apollo*', *TAPhA* cxix (1989) 219-231, contrasts 'the desired inclusion of those favoured by the god' (221) here in Hymn 3 with 'the motif of exclusion' (*ibid.* n. 11) in Hymn 2. And indeed, here it is a whole community that enjoys the goddess' protection, and that the speaker wants to be part of, whereas in the *Hymn to Apollo* only those members of the community who are not 'impious' (ἀλιτροί) may participate in the song-god's ritual, and of these only the élite (the ἐσθλοί) will see the god. On the different levels of participation in divine favour in Hymn 2, cf. P. Bing, 'Impersonation of voice in Callimachus' *hymn to Apollo*, *TAPhA* cxiii (1993) 181-198, esp. 184f. with n. 11. Later in the *Hymn to Artemis* the speaker's status *vis-à-vis* the goddess seems to approach that of the ἐσθλοί in Hymn 2, cf. p. 31-32 below, with n. 36.

There, meeting you at the entrance, Hermes
Akakesios takes your weapons, and Apollo
whatever beast you may bring ...

The last theme announced for the song, i.e. the chariot, thus provides the transition to the following scene on Olympus. And in this way, Callimachus' future song merges with the present one, that is with the *Hymn to Artemis*. For the chariot that is to carry her to Olympus in the future song is the same as that which she yoked in verses 111-112 and drove in verses 113-115; and her future trip to the house of Zeus turns into that which actually follows in this very hymn. We note, moreover, that all the themes proposed for the future song, from Leto's marriage (cf. 24-25, 29-30) to the chariot, are themes of the present one.²⁶ The hymn—and we should stress here that, to judge by its themes, it is clearly a *hymn* that Callimachus promises—is in fact the one to *Artemis* which we have before us. The chariot that will carry Artemis to heaven in the promised song simultaneously conveys her there in this one. And so, through a very refined poetic manoeuvre, Callimachus suggests that though on one level it is the chariot, on another it is *the song itself* that brings her to Olympus.

Now inasmuch as Callimachus was able to write this hymn (a poem such as he would sing if only Artemis would make it possible for him to do so), we see that he does indeed enjoy the goddess' backing. That prayed-for bond between the two is already a reality: Artemis enables the poet to practice his art, and in return he sings a hymn (*this* hymn) to Artemis.

We now see that the opening assertion of the hymn that Artemis is hard for poets to forget—Ἄρτεμιν (οὐ γὰρ ἔλαφρον ἀειδόντεσσι λαθέσθαι)—has a very personal application. Such justification of a theme is most unusual in a hymn; and it is particularly striking here since it is a parenthesis, interrupting the poem after the very first word. The only true parallel, so far as we can see, is *Homeric Hymn* 25.1-4 where the poet begins with the Muses, Apollo and Zeus: for, he says, it is through the former two that poets and musicians make their living, but kings are from Zeus. The significance of these divinities for the singer is clear, the justification immediately understandable. But that is not the case for Artemis. In spite of the γὰρ, the parenthesis at the start of our hymn does not seem to clarify. On the contrary, it provokes. Why, we ask, is Artemis hard to forget? For Callimachus, the answer is that it is *she* who makes possible his song.

In the transition to Olympus, then, the poem turns in upon itself and becomes self-conscious, that is it becomes its own theme. And this self-consciousness now illuminates the hymn from the centre out. From this perspective, it presents itself as a poem made (and makable only) under the aegis of Artemis. And not only does it describe the conditions it needs to exist, it suggests that those conditions already prevail: an environment friendly to song—more specifically an environment that fosters Callimachean song.

Those with ears to hear will, of course, understand the compliment. For without so much as mentioning the Ptolemies or Alexandria, Callimachus has nevertheless identified them with a civic ideal—a place where harmony, both in its political and in its musical sense, is not just a pleasing if unattainable vision but a present reality. Callimachus' public duty to praise his ruler and patron is thus accomplished with a tact which renders it almost invisible;²⁷ yet it is so

²⁶ ἔσσεται (138) is thus that future described in *KG* i 173 no. 5, in which an expectation is so definite that its realization is an absolute certainty. So here the promise of a song is immediately fulfilled. See verse 186 of our hymn, where the promise ἀείσω is also at once fulfilled. Significantly, our use of ἔσσεται at 138 is comparable to the structurally parallel οὐ λήξω at *Hy.Hom.Ap.* 177, where actualization is likewise immediate. See below.

²⁷ Herter (n. 5) 98 = 411 notes the total lack of any reference to kings here in contrast with the Hesiodic model for this section, as does Reinsch-Werner (n. 21) 76. The latter goes too far, however, in stating that in Callimachus 'die Bürger selbst sind für die Gerechtigkeit in der Stadt verantwortlich'; by contrast cf. Erler (n. 21) 25. For the restrained etiquette with which Callimachus addresses his rulers, cf. T. Gelzer, 'Kallimachos und das Zeremoniell

perfectly melded with the poet's personal desires that the resulting unity is the more impressive for its unforced and natural quality. 'Let others indulge in crass and fulsome praise,' Callimachus seems to be saying, 'my ruler knows how to value something finer.'

Callimachus' poetry depends, in this hymn, on Artemis. But this dependance is not one-sided. We would like to suggest that it is the poet's recognition of Artemis as *πότνια* and *ἄνασσα* that enables her to reach Olympus. We recall that to get this far, Artemis first of all had to grow into the traditional goddess of the hunt, *θεή*, building her power as she went. At each stage she acquired a new attribute which paved the way for her further development. Only by extending her reach to civilization, however, could that development run its full course. For in bestowing her favour on a city, she enabled Callimachus to create that hymn in which he invokes her as *πότνια* and *ἄνασσα*, and indeed celebrates her divinity comprehensively. Through this hymn, the goddess is effectively confronted with an image of herself. And this is the attribute which she receives from civilization: a poem that functions as a mirror, presenting her with a reflection of her own being. It is only in full self-consciousness of her divinity that Artemis can take her proper place in the house of her father Zeus next to her brother Apollo. And she acquires that self-consciousness through the mirror that Callimachus holds up to her: that is through his poem. It is through this, as we have seen, that she is able to reach Olympus. And this, in the truest sense, is the divine chariot that carries her aloft.

Lest we think that such a bold claim for the power of song is unprecedented, let us point out that a similar motif can be found in Pindar's famous *Hymn to Zeus* (fr. 29-35 Snell-Maehler). This poem stood at the very beginning of the Alexandrian edition of Pindar and, as we can see from allusions to it in the *Hymn to Delos*, it was certainly well-known to Callimachus (cf. Bing 1988 [n. 33] 99-103). In the Pindaric hymn, after Zeus has established order in the world, he asks the gods whether anything is still missing from his creation. The gods reply that only one thing is missing: there are as yet no divinities who might fittingly praise his work. Zeus evidently thereupon begot the Muses. As Snell puts it, 'Was Dichtung für die Welt bedeutet, konnte Pindar nicht eindrucksvoller sagen: am Tag, da sich die Welt vollendet, stellt er fest: alle Schönheit ist unvollkommen, wenn niemand da ist, sie zu preisen'.²⁸ Callimachus takes this idea a step further: the goddess herself needs poetry in order to be complete as a divinity (i.e. in order even to become an Olympian deity).

ON OLYMPUS (142-169)

Artemis now comes to her father's house. In so doing, she returns as a fully fledged goddess to where she started off as a little girl. She has been hunting, and Hermes now removes her weapons, while Apollo sees to the spoils. That, at any rate, is what Hermes and Apollo *used* to do (*πάρριθε γὰρ* 144), the poet adds by way of a learned update. Now, since joining the Olympian gods and marrying Hebe, Herakles performs this *ἔθειλον* (145)—one for which, as we shall see, his legendary appetite makes him the obvious choice—rather than Phoebus. For, as Herter points out,²⁹ the apotheosized hero does not simply receive the goddess once she arrives; he is already waiting in front of the gates long before she gets there, anxious to see if Artemis is bringing him some fat morsel. And it is not only the gods who roar with unending laughter (148-149)—we readers do too—when he drags the bull or boar, still thrashing, from her chariot, and slyly demands that the goddess stop hunting innocuous game like deer and hares, and instead stalk beasts that truly harm mankind: pigs and cows! In the face of the scene's

des ptolemäischen Königshauses', in *Aspekte der Kultursoziologie*, Festschr. M. Rassem (Berlin 1982) 13-30.

²⁸ 'Pindars Hymnos auf Zeus' in *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*⁴ (Göttingen 1975) 87.

²⁹ Herter (n. 5) 100 = 412.

raucous low humour, Artemis maintains a regal silence. She is not about to be drawn into a slapstick exchange with a buffoonish servant. And 'servant' is the appropriate word here, since—comedy aside—the significance of the scene lies in the fact that Artemis receives clear tokens of recognition and honour for her newly achieved status: she is served by other gods, most importantly by her brother Phoebus himself.

The Amnisian nymphs perform that function for which, as we recall from verses 15-16, they were intended: they feed the team of deer that pull the goddess' chariot, and give them water from golden troughs (Poseidon's horses, by contrast, had to make do with troughs of bronze and iron, 50, 60). Artemis herself joins the divine assembly. There, all the gods offer her a seat next to themselves, but the goddess knows her proper place: σὺ δ' Ἀπόλλωνι παρίζεις (169), 'but you sit next to Apollo'.

This scene is clearly intended to recall the opening scene of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*. Just as Leto takes off Apollo's weapons in that hymn, so Hermes takes those of Artemis here (and, as previously mentioned, Apollo serves her). In the *Homeric Hymn* the gods react with awe and respect when Apollo arrives on Olympus (3-4): 'and all spring up from their seats when he draws near' (καί ῥά τ' ἀναίσσουσιν ἐπὶ σχεδὸν ἐρχομένοιο / πάντες ἀφ' ἑδράων), so here with Artemis, though Callimachus heightens the praise by having all the gods bid her, *in unison* (ὁμῶς 169), to take a seat beside them (168-169): αὐτὴ δ' ἐς πατρὸς δόμον ἔρχεται· οἱ δέ σ' ἐφ' ἑδρῆν / πάντες ὁμῶς καλέουσι. And just as Apollo assumes his proper place (9), so too Artemis takes hers next to Apollo. The goddess no longer even needs to mention her rivalry with her brother (as she did in 7 and 83). She simply takes her seat beside him, and thereby shows that her status is now equal to his. And for Callimachus, she has acquired a similar meaning: she is no longer just a huntress, she is a patron of song. One must bear in mind how new and unusual such a conception of this goddess is!

These correspondences with the *Homeric Hymn* bring to a climax the theme of 'sibling rivalry', which began with the request for many names, πολωνυμία, in 7, so that Apollo might not vie with her, ἵνα μή μοι Φοῖβος ἐρίζῃ, and which was present at almost every stage of her development (7, 83, 119 ἀργυρότοξος, 142-146, 168-169, 250). But the allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* are far more widespread than just this one scene, and they throw considerable light on the question of the overall unity of our poem. For Callimachus not only makes extensive reference to *both* parts of the *Homeric Hymn*, Delian and Pythian, but he clearly sees them as a unity.³⁰ The allusions are both verbal and structural.³¹

As for verbal correspondences, of all the *Homeric Hymns* only that to Apollo has the verb λανθάνω in the first line: μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο; the first line of the *Hymn to Artemis* has οὐ γὰρ ἐλαφρόν...λαθέσθαι. In 82, Delos says that Apollo will be πολωνυμος. Artemis asks Zeus for πολωνυμίην, ἵνα μή μοι Φοῖβος ἐρίζῃ (7). Apollo leaves Olympus to find a site for his oracle and comes to Thebes: ἔδος καταειμένον ὕλη (225, 'a forest-covered place'); Artemis leaves Olympus to get her nymphs and comes to the Cretan mountain: ὄρος κεκομημένον ὕλη (41, 'a wood-bedecked mountain'). Leto rejoices in her son: χαῖρε δὲ Λητώ / οὐνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱὸν ἔτικτεν (125-126 = 12-13, 'and Leto was glad because she had borne a strong son and an archer'); Tethys rejoices that her daughters are Artemis' companions: χαῖρε δὲ Τηθύς / οὐνεκα θυγατέρας Λητωίδι πέμπων ἀμορβούς (44-45, 'Tethys was glad that they sent their daughters to attend the daughter of

³⁰ Thus already Wilamowitz (n. 2) 81 n. 1, cf. also F. Dornseiff, 'Kallimachos' Hymnos auf Artemis', *PhW* lvi (1936) 733-734 and Bornmann (n. 1) xvi-xvii.

³¹ Many were adduced by Dornseiff (n. 30) 733-736, cf. *idem*, *Die archaische Mythenerzählung* (Berlin 1933) 76-77; others by Bornmann (n. 1) xvi-xvii. But there are any number that they missed, and all are worth rehearsing here.

Leto'). At Apollo's first epiphany on Delos, the island blossoms with gold: χρυσῶ δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἄπασα /βεβρίθει (135-136); at Artemis' first appearance as a fully fledged huntress all her attributes are suddenly golden (110-112). And, as we have seen, just as the gods react respectfully at Apollo's arrival on Olympus, and he assumes his proper place, so too with Artemis. Finally, Apollo's temple at Pytho has 'broad foundations' (254-255 = 294-295, θεμείλια...εὐρέα); Artemis' temple at Ephesus has a εὐρὸν θέμιλον (248), indeed it even surpasses Apollo's: ῥέα κεν Πυθῶνα παρέλθοι.

As for structural correspondences, in both the *Homeric Hymn* and the *Hymn to Artemis* the title gods come to Olympus twice. Yet Callimachus transforms the terrifying opening image of Apollo, 'whom the gods tremble at when he comes to the house of Zeus' (2), into its opposite: tiny Artemis, παῖς ἔτι κουρίζουσα. It is only in the second scene on Olympus, as shown before, that Artemis receives recognition equal to Apollo's. And here the arrival of the deity on Olympus leads to a section depicting a divine dance (170-182), just as it does in the *Homeric Hymn* (194-203). Further, the dance is in each case followed by a priamel-like series of questions which determines the subsequent course of the hymn: 183-186 in the *Hymn to Artemis*, in the *Homeric Hymn* 207-215. Between the two scenes on Olympus, both hymns depict the divinities' career leading up to their initial entry into the assembly of the gods. The *Hymn to Apollo* is the only *Homeric Hymn* in which (besides the opening and closing formulae) the poet speaks about himself (165-178), and he does so shortly before the second scene on Olympus. Just so Callimachus addresses his personal prayer to Artemis just before she goes to Olympus (136-137). The *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* seems to end with verses 177-178 (αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα / ὑμνέων ἀργυρότοξον), but it simply continues in 179: that is, οὐ λήξω is immediately actualized; Callimachus' prayer at 136-137 also looks, at first sight, like a closing formula with the promise of future song (like the standard αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς), but, as it turns out, the promise is actually the hymn's continuation. Thus, what in the *Homeric Hymn* is a patching together of two originally separate poems,³² is in Callimachus an elegant, seamless transition. Finally, after the second scene on Olympus in both hymns, there are sections in which antiquarian and aetiological interests loom large. Both culminate in the foundation of an especially important cult-site: Pytho and Ephesus.

Callimachus thus not only used both parts of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* for his *Hymn to Artemis*, he even regarded it as a unified poem. It was his primary literary model, and, as the theme of 'sibling rivalry' suggests, he created a modern counterpart to it with his hymn. But in order to be Apollo's true equal, Artemis must share with him a decisive function: the patronage of song.

From the very beginning, up through the scene on Olympus, the poet has set his sights directly on Artemis: her actions have been the focal point of the poem. This is to change with the following scene.

THE CHORUS (170-182)

After Artemis had hunted and returned to Olympus, she took her place beside Apollo. Now the poem continues: 'but when your nymphs encircle you in the dance, etc.' (170, ἠνίκα δ' αἰ νύμφαι σε χορῶ ἐνι κυκλώσονται...). The sequence 'hunt—meeting with Apollo—dance' is modelled on that of the brief *Homeric Hymn to Artemis* (*Hymn* 27). The scene is thus not

³² On the question of the original separateness of the Delian and Pythian Hymns to Apollo, and how they were united, cf. M.L. West, 'Cynaethus' hymn to Apollo', *CQ* xxv (1975) 161-170; W. Burkert, 'Kynaithos, Polycrates, and the homeric hymn to Apollo', in *Arktouros*, Festschr. B.W.M. Knox (New York 1979) 53-62; R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the hymns* (Cambridge 1982).

'unconnected' with what preceded it, as Wilamowitz thought (*op. cit.* [n. 2] 157), but rather connected on the level of motif. In the *Homeric Hymn*, Artemis came to Apollo from the hunt, 'ordering the lovely dance of the Muses and Graces' (15, Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα) and leading the dances herself (17-18, ἡγεῖται.../ ἐξάρχουσα χοροῦς); in Callimachus, by contrast, she does not dance herself; rather her nymphs dance around her: σε χορῶ ἔνι κυκλώσονται. Herewith the focus shifts from Artemis herself, to her environment. That this is so is clear from the ingenious scene in verses 175-182.³³ There, the poet wishes that he might never lease his cows for ploughing when Artemis' nymphs are dancing, since they would surely return to the stalls lame. The reason for this initially incomprehensible wish is, as we learn, that Helios never passes that chorus without stopping his chariot to watch: and so the days stretch on and on, and the cattle must keep ploughing. The shift in focus is evident since the sun pauses from his daily journey *not* because of Artemis, but because he is fascinated by the καλὸς χορὸς of her nymphs.

The significance—indeed, the existence—of this shift was not appreciated by previous critics. According to Wilamowitz, the hymn should have ended right after this scene: 'Hier hätte er aufhören und nur einen kräftigen Schluss machen sollen'.³⁴ But the new perspective, as embodied in the image of the circle-dance, exerts an organizing force on the remainder of the poem.³⁵ As a consequence of her development into full godhood, Artemis has become a permanent fixture in the Olympian constellation. Our attention turns from the goddess herself to what goes on *around* her. Accordingly, the subsequent parts of the hymn (183-258) describe Artemis' mythical and cultic environment: her companions and her cult-sites.

The circling dance (κυκλώσονται) is here a *mythical* image, the participants goddesses. Yet because it is performed at places known for their shrines of Artemis (171-174), it calls to mind those dances which honour the goddess in cult. We shall find this theme explicitly developed later, in verses 240-242a, when the Amazons dance a circle-dance around the *statue* of Artemis at Ephesus. The mythic dance of the nymphs is thus the model, or aition, for the cultic dance at the goddess' most famous shrine.

MYTHIC ENVIRONMENT (183-224)

As at the start of the section 'From θεή to ἄνασσα' (113-122), the poem moves on by means of question and answer (183-186):

Which then of islands, what mountain gives most delight,
 which harbour, what city? Which of the nymphs do you especially
 love and what heroines did you take as companions?
 Speak, goddess, you to me, and I will sing it to others.
 (εἰπέ, θεή, σὺ μὲν ἄμμιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἑτέροισιν ἀείσω)

With the last verse cited here (186) Callimachus recalls similar requests in invocations of the Muse, e.g. *Iliad* ii 484, and especially Pindar *fr.* 150 (Snell-Maehler): μωντεύεο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγὼ which seems to have served as his model. Yet significantly our poet drops the Muse and puts his questions straight to the very subject of his hymn, the goddess Artemis.

³³ On this section cf. P. Bing, 'Callimachus' cows: a riddling recusatio', *ZPE* liv (1984) 1-8 and 'Boves errantes', *ZPE* lvi (1984) 16, both reproduced in abbreviated form in *The well-read muse: present and past in Callimachus and the hellenistic poets* (Göttingen 1988) 83-89.

³⁴ Wilamowitz (n. 2) 58.

³⁵ The circle-dance also functions as an organizing principle in the *Hymn to Delos*. For this and other striking resemblances between the two hymns, cf. Bing 1988 (n. 33) 125-128 and 126 n. 57.

This unusual device³⁶ has, we think, a two-fold function here. On the one hand, it confirms what we had already suggested in the section ‘The path to Olympus’ (p. 27 above), namely that Callimachus does indeed enjoy the goddess’ special favour, which had been the object of his prayer in verses 136-137: to be among those ‘on whom you look smiling and gracious’ (οἷς δέ κεν εὐμειδῆς τε καὶ ἴλαος ἀνυγάσσηαι 129). For, as Bormmann points out, the strong distinctions of status implicit in σὺ μὲν ἄμμιν, ἐγὼ δ’ ἑτέροισι (186) clearly puts our poet in a privileged position compared with most mere mortals—one remarkably close to the goddess.³⁷ On the other hand, the invocation develops the idea—likewise rooted in the prayer of 136-137—of Artemis’ novel role in this hymn: that for Callimachus she is a patron of song. She assumes here the function of the Muse, and indeed participates actively in the genesis of her own hymn.

The first four questions receive cursory replies, serving merely as foil for the central theme of the section: those nymphs whom the goddess especially loved and the heroines who were her companions.³⁸ The mythic nature of this section is evident not only in the catalogue of nymphs and heroines that forms its subject matter, but in its narrative orientation. For the goddess herself is the grammatical subject³⁹ in a series of mythical actions (in contrast to the subsequent section, 225-258, in which the grammatical orientation changes). Britomartis is the first to be named (189-205), then Cyrene, Prokris and Antikleia (206-214), and finally that denizen of Arcadia, Atalanta (211-224). All were huntresses; Britomartis and Atalanta, moreover, have myths pertaining to their virginity: for the former fled the lust of the Cretan king Minos (190-197); the latter shot the centaurs Hylaios and Rhoikos when they attempted to rape her (221-224). We see that the characteristics of these mythical friends reflect those that were innate to Artemis at the start of the poem, i.e. they are those that correspond to her role as goddess of the outdoors.⁴⁰ And by describing Artemis’ affinity to these nymphs with such words as φίλαο (189), ἐταρίσσαι (206), ὀμόθηρον ἐθήκαιο (210), φιλήσαι (211), ἦνησας (215), the poet clearly suggests that the goddess herself is being characterized—albeit indirectly. Callimachus thus recalls the themes of the ‘hunt’ and the ‘outdoors’ which have their roots in the dialogue between father and daughter at the start of the poem, and develops them now from the new perspective—that is by focusing on Artemis’ environment rather than on the goddess herself.

CULTIC ENVIRONMENT (225-258)

πότνια πουλυμέλαθρε, πολύπτολι, χαίρε (225, ‘hail, mistress of many shrines, of many cities’). The invocation with which this section begins clearly anticipates its subsequent theme: for the μέλαθρα and πόλεις which belong to the goddess, and comprise her cultic environment, now take centre stage. Artemis is no longer primarily the mythic and grammatical *subject*,

³⁶ In earlier epic the only comparable passage is *Iliad* xvi 692ff., where the poet likewise puts questions to his own theme (Patroklos). For a contrast of these two passages cf. Bing 1988 (n. 33) 36-37.

³⁷ ‘Si noti la forte contrapposizione ... che colloca il poeta in una posizione di privilegio di fronte agli altri. Questa posizione verso la divinità si avvicina molto a quella del poeta-spettatore degli inni mimici II, V, VI. Dalla sostituzione delle Muse con Artemide scaturisce un rapporto del tutto personale del poeta con la dea’, Bormmann (n. 1) 89, *ad* 186.

³⁸ Is the section intended to recall the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*? In other words, does the question ποίας ἠρωίδας ἔσχεζ ἑταίρας; (185) imply an answer such as ἦ οἴη? With Reinsch-Werner (n. 21) 202-204, we believe that it does.

³⁹ φίλαο (189), ἐταρίσσαι, ἔδωκας (206), ἐθήκαιο (210), φιλήσαι (211), ἦνησας (215), ἐδίδαξας (217).

⁴⁰ The same can be said of the prominence given here to the settings of Crete and Arcadia which, as we recall, were precisely the places that were important for Artemis’ development in the early part of the poem (41-45 and 87-109).

but—in contrast to the previous section—the *object* of cult. This is evident in the repeated references to her as σέ (226), σοί (228), τοι (233), σοί (237), τοι (239).

Following brief descriptions of her cults at Miletus (226-227), Samos (228-232), and Arcadia (233-236), Callimachus tells at length of the founding of the Artemision of Ephesus. There, the Amazons set up a βρέτας, a wooden image of the goddess, and encircle it in a dance (240-242a):

αὐταὶ δ' [scil. the Amazons], Οὐπι ἀνασσα, περὶ πρύλιν ὠρχήσαντο
 πρῶτα μὲν ἐν σακέεσι ἐνόπλιον, αὐθι δὲ κύκλω
 στησάμεναι χορὸν εὐρύν....

and they themselves, O Upis Queen, danced a war dance around the image,
 first armed with shields, and again in a circle
 arraying the broad chorus ...

Here, once again, is the circle-dance which we encountered in verses 170-182. There, the goddess herself was encircled in the dance by her nymphs. Now it is her βρέτας. As the similarity in wording between the two passages suggests (170, σε χορῶ ἐνι κυκλώσσονται ~ [scil. περὶ βρέτας] κύκλω στησάμεναι χορὸν εὐρύν 241-242), there has been a development from mythic dance to cultic dance. And indeed, the former—which occurred at sites well-known for their shrines to Artemis—may be viewed as the model for the latter. But more, the dance is the model even for the Artemision itself. For just as the Amazons arrayed their broad chorus around the βρέτας, so afterwards around that very same βρέτας was laid the broad foundation of the Artemision (241-242, [scil. περὶ βρέτας] κύκλω στησάμεναι χορὸν εὐρύν ~ κεῖνο δέ τοι μετέπειτα περὶ βρέτας εὐρὺν θέμιλον / δωμήθη 248-249). And just as Helios gazed upon the chorus of nymphs in verses 180-182, so now we are told that Eos will look upon nothing more divine, nothing richer than the Artemision (τοῦ δ' οὐτι θεώτερον ὄψεται ἠώς / οὐδ' ἀφνειότερον 249-250).

With the invocation of Artemis as πότνια πουλυμέλαθρε, πολύπτολι (225), and the enumeration of her various cult-sites at Miletus, Samos, Arcadia, and especially Ephesus, Zeus' original promise to bestow 'three times ten cities and ramparts more than one, etc.' (33f.) is shown to be fulfilled. The entire section thus goes back to the initial scene between father and daughter—and the theme of the goddess' role in civilization. Now given that the previous section about Artemis' mythic environment dealt with her aspect as the virginal huntress, the goddess of the outdoors, we can see that (as in the first two thirds of the poem, up through the scene on Olympus) the latter part too is dominated by the theme of Artemis' ambivalence. And this theme is developed in precisely the same order as it was in the first part of the poem, where the focus was directly on Artemis: there, Callimachus first described her function in the outdoors (40b-112); thereafter, her role among men (113-137). It was from the latter perspective, we recall, that the poet addressed his prayer to her (136-137). Now, with the focus changed to Artemis' environment, he likewise deals first with that outdoors world, with the goddess' companions in the hunt; then with the cities she holds sacred—and it is again from that perspective that the poet hails her (πολύπτολι, χαίρει 225). In the first part of the poem, the problem of the goddess' two initially divergent aspects was resolved through the device of the bow: what was separate before, now becomes a natural whole. Nor are these two aspects left merely to stand beside one another, unconnected, in the latter part of the poem. For they are framed and united by the image of the circle-dance.

The section about Ephesus ends with the cautionary tale (251-258) of how Lygdamis, the evil king of the Cimmerians, once led his hordes against the city (7th century BC). He was ὑβριστής (252, 'insolent'), his actions 'madness' (251, ἡλαίνων). 'Ah, wretched among kings', the poet exclaims, 'how greatly he sinned!' (ἄ δειλὸς βασιλέων, ὅσον ἠλίτεν 255). Yet

Artemis defends her shrine with a severity to match the transgression. Not a single Cimmerian was to return home alive: ‘for Artemis’ arrows are forever set as a defence before Ephesus’ (‘Εφέσου γὰρ ἀεὶ τέα τόξα πρόκειται 257). The second part of the hymn thus corresponds to the first not just in the sequence in which Artemis’ two aspects are described. Rather in both the goddess uses her bow to intervene in human affairs—whether to punish or to protect. In the case of the unjust city (122f.), her target was the *σχέτλιοι* who were forever committing many sins (ἀλιτήμονα πολλὰ τέλεσκον 123-124); at Ephesus it is the ὕβριστής who sinned greatly (ὄσον ἤλιτεν). And if, in the first part of the poem, her protection created surroundings friendly to song—specifically those in which Callimachus could compose this hymn—, so here she protects the shrine which, as we have seen, is itself modelled on the cultic dance.

THE FINALE (259-268)

The poet bids adieu to Artemis in verse 259 with the traditional χαῖρε. But before closing, he adds four dire warnings which vividly evoke the terrifying power of this goddess. Two of these, the first and last, caution against neglect of Artemis’ cult: μή τις ἀτιμήσει τὴν Ἄρτεμιν (‘let no one fail to do honour to Artemis’ 260), μηδὲ χορὸν φεύγειν ἐνιαύσιον (‘nor let any shun the yearly dance’ 266); the middle two against any slight to her hunting skills or virginity: μηδ’ ἐλαφηβολίην μηδ’ εὐστοχίην ἐριδαίνειν (‘do not vie with her in shooting stags or in archery’ 262), μηδέ τινα μνάσθαι τὴν παρθένον (‘nor let any one court the virgin’ 264). Here, for one last time, the goddess’ two aspects are woven together into a unity: for she punishes transgressions against both without distinction. There is no suggestion any more that her city-aspect is in any way ‘second string’. The final warnings demonstrate emphatically that it takes two sides to make this goddess.⁴¹

The powerful crescendo of warnings, with its ten-fold repetition of μή and οὐ within seven lines, presents a terrifying picture, especially when we recall the harmless child (παῖς ἔτι κουρίζουσα 5) with which the hymn began. The playful girl of the start has become an awe-inspiring avenger. After the many unifying features of the hymn which we have surveyed, this stark contrast provides a final unifying frame. Yet for all the menace of these lines, the poet closes on a somewhat less ominous note: ‘Farewell, O Queen, and graciously greet our song’. Given this Artemis’ unusual fondness for song, we fully expect that she *will*.

PETER BING
Emory University

VOLKER UHRMEISTER
Schule Birklehof

⁴¹ We are tempted to take μέγα in the closing verse (χαῖρε μέγα κρείουσα 268) as functioning ἀπὸ κοινοῦ. Artemis would thus ‘rejoice greatly’ in that she ‘rules greatly’ and one could take the latter phrase as a pointed reference to her *entire* sphere of influence, comprising both the outdoors realm and that of civilization.