

Homeric and/or Hymns: Some Fifteenth-Century Approaches

In the half-century 1880-1930, heroic labour was expended on finding and collating the manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns*, in order to construct the stemma and evaluate variants.¹ Scholarship broadly succeeded in these goals, though Filippo Càssola and Nigel Wilson could still finesse the stemma in the 1970s.² Recent scholarship on the *Hymns* has moved to different areas in search of advances in knowledge.

However, the processes of copying, buying, sharing, and annotating the manuscripts also provide a valuable window onto the reception of the *Hymns* during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, against a backdrop of fertile fields such as the functioning of humanist networks, Catholic Italy's receptivity towards pagan Greek theology (especially Orphica), and recent advances in Renaissance palaeography. This viewpoint also revives the manuscripts which textual criticism excludes from its *apparatus*: the family closely related to P (Vaticanus Pal.gr.179) demonstrates the collaborative Florentine interest in the *Hymns*;³ even those copied from the *editio princeps* imply an enthusiasm for the text which merits investigation.⁴ Yet, this is a window whose shutters scholars of the *Homeric Hymns* have never tried to unlock.

The extant manuscripts taken on their own are only part of this chapter in the *Hymns*' story. They can also guide us to writers who offer promising hunting-ground for literary allusions to the *Hymns*, and the story also includes writers who are not known to have owned any manuscript, such as Giovanni Tortelli who included at least ten references to the *Hymn to Apollo* in his *De Orthographia*.⁵ The story includes lost witnesses, such as the translation Ficino made around 1462, the two manuscripts belonging to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola which probably perished in a fire in 1687, and Escorialensis *Γ III 7, probably a victim of fire in 1671. Roundabout sources include Demetrios Damilas finding a non-standard citation of *H.Ap.* 514-16 in the margin of his lost exemplar of Athenaeus 1 22c in winter 1502-03.⁶ The

Where referring to manuscripts I use the sigla of Càssola (1975, 593-6). Some details below rest on my visits to MN (Leiden), EJ (Modena: Càssola swaps the shelfmarks), ΠABC (Paris), H (London), Γ (Brussels), R₁R₂R₃L₄ (Florence), and V (Venice). I am grateful in each case to the librarians, and to Jeroen de Keyser, Paola Tomè and Franco Bacchelli who answered queries on Filelfo, Tortelli and Demetrios Kavakes respectively.

¹ The most significant contributions are Hollander (1886), Allen (1895), Breuning (1929).

² Wilson (1974), Càssola (1975), 596-616.

³ For the *Hymns* in Florence in the 15th cent. see E. Schwab in this vol.

⁴ See Càssola (1975), 603-6, for P, and p. 613 for later manuscripts, adding Ambrosianus H 55inf. (Nicasius Ellebodus, mid-16th c.).

⁵ Tortelli (1501), ff. 27v (Aesageus [sic]), 28r (Aegina), 33v (Amphirytes, misunderstood from *H.Ap.* 251), 43v (Athos), 44r (Autocanes), 55v (Cichesus, misunderstood from *H.Ap.* 240), 59v (Claros), 62v (Corycus, wrongly locating it by Delphi), 110r (Mimas), 156v (Styx). Tortelli completed his compilation in Bologna and Rome by 1455, and seems likely to have used *b*, *p* or P for his text of *H.Ap.* Simelidis (this vol., p.000) notes that Tortelli was taught by John Eugenikos, the scribe of M.

⁶ For Ficino see n. 19 below. Pico's copies: Kibre (1936), nos. 150 (further detail in Diller, Saffrey and Westerink (2003), no. 110; the contents resemble Harv) and 205. His avid study of *Orph.H.*: Pico (1557), 106-7. Escorialensis: Andrés (1968), no. 179; the number of Proclan hymns and presence of Moschus place it in the *p* family. Damilas' Athenaeus: Canart (1977-9), 287-91.

story could continue well into the sixteenth century where we find, for example, Jean Dorat asking to borrow Henri de Mesmes's manuscript (which I can identify as A, Parisinus gr. 2763) so that he could tackle the corruptions in the *Hymn to Apollo*.⁷

I shall try in the space available here to survey some ways in which these manuscripts repay continued study, particularly for understanding the reception of the *Hymns*, and also to marry this with some non-manuscript evidence, namely the works of Michael Marullus and Francesco Filelfo.

Rereading the Manuscripts

The labour-intensive production of manuscripts is not taken on lightly, and their physical characteristics often allow them to be located reasonably precisely in space and time. Each nexus of place, date, and purposefulness offers an orientation-point in the fifteenth-century history of the *Hymns*.

The clearest case of such a nexus is T (Matritensis 4562), signed by Konstantinos Laskaris in Milan in 1464 (f. 100v). On f. 10r he describes the volume's prime motivation—his excitement at finding in Milan a book ('a') including the *Orphic Argonautica*, which he promptly copied, shared, and gave public lectures on.⁸ One person with whom Laskaris shared both *a* and T was his teenage pupil Giorgio Valla (born 1447), who made the first copy of T's text of the *Orphic Argonautica* (Mutinensis Est. gr.114), and copied the 'hymn-corpus'—i.e. the Orphic, Proclan, Homeric and Callimachean hymns—direct from *a* to produce E (Mutinensis Est. gr.164). It is worth insisting on E's date as 1464-5 rather than c.1491.⁹ The principal watermark, a six-petal flower of diameter c.35mm whose centre contains a cross, has precise parallels in 1459-65, including in Laskaris' circle.¹⁰ Moreover, Laskaris seems to have corrected Valla's signature on f. 84v, and they went their separate ways in 1465.¹¹ I shall return to Valla's marginalia shortly.

I have also managed to narrow down the origin of Π (Parisinus suppl.gr. 1095). The watermark on ff. 222-4 matches that of Monacensis gr. 71 and Neapolitanus II F 1, the latter signed by Ioannes Rhosos in Rome in May 1479. The main hand in Π also matches scribe A of the Monacensis, who collaborated on it with Demetrios Raoul Kavakes (known to have resided at Rome), and copied the *Odyssey* separately in Parisinus gr. 2769.¹² Π also

⁷ For Dorat's request see Nolhac (1921), 76-7, or Parisinus lat. 8139 ff. 103v-4r (digitized at www.gallica.bnf.fr/). Identification of manuscript: Jackson (2009), 113 shows independently that A belonged to the De Mesmes family. Dorat's idiosyncratic reading of the *Hymns* is glimpsed in lecture-notes from c.1569: Ford (2000), 88-100, Tucker (2007), 234-5.

⁸ Text: Vian (1979), 43 n. 1. Cf. Laskaris (1510), a iiiii f. 2v for a later account of the same discovery. Vian (1979), 23-31 discusses the flurry of copies of *Orph. Arg.* deriving from the find (T = his siglum M).

⁹ Contrast e.g. Olson (2012), 42. Ianos Laskaris does not mention seeing E in Valla's collection in a letter of 1490-1, but Müller (1884, 354, 382-5) already indicated that Laskaris' list is incomplete and so does not constitute a *terminus post quem*.

¹⁰ Harlfinger & Harlfinger (1974), 'fleur 21' (Milan 1459), Monneret de Villard (1954), no. 247 (Milan 1462), Monacensis gr. 126 (Crete c.1465: WZIS, ref. DE5580-Codgraec126_68).

¹¹ Similar correction in Matritensis 4634: Martínez Manzano (1998), pl. 5.

¹² Watermark: Harlfinger and Harlfinger (1974), 'oiseau 6', Molin Pradel (2013). Kavakes: Bacchelli (2007). Hand: Severyns (1953, pl. 4) illustrates Π; cf. Molin Pradel (2013), pl. 10; Mondrain (1998),

introduces a further point—what a manuscript’s composition implies about its copyist’s mindset.¹³ The scribe bound together two *Lives of Homer*, written in a different ink, with the *Iliad* on separate gatherings, and finally the hymn-corpus with the *Batrachomyomachia*. The inherited order within the hymn-corpus was almost certainly (Orphic, Proclan, Homeric, Callimachean): in Π the *Homeric Hymns* have been fronted, presumably because the scribe conceived of the volume as fundamentally Homeric, perhaps specifically (despite the physical differences) as a complement to the copy he made of the *Odyssey*.¹⁴

A more radical ‘Homerization’ of the *Hymns* can be seen in Cardinal Bessarion’s finest copy of Homer, V (Marcianus gr. 456; c.1465-8?). He had Quintus of Smyrna—the author he had rediscovered—copied in ‘rightful’ position directly following the *Iliad*, without even a page-break; then Bessarion added a text of the *Odyssey* whose gatherings are numbered separately, and finally the *Hymns* and *Batrachomyomachia* on unnumbered gatherings. He thus compiled a volume where Quintus stands proudly amid the complete works of Homer.¹⁵ V thus implies a stance on the cultural capital of the *Hymns* (bound up with their authenticity), namely that it is significant though subsidiary to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; it also imposes an intertextual framework which could prompt a reader to privilege Homeric parallels over hymnographic ones.¹⁶

Let us return with this in mind to E, which Valla annotated in at least two stages. He copied his exemplar’s marginalia immediately. Besides textual variants, these notably include on *H.Ap.* 172 the comment ἐντεῦθεν ἐστὶν εἰδέναι τὸν ὄμηρον χῖτον εἶναι, ‘It is possible to infer from here that Homer was Chiot’ (TE, similarly LII). Perhaps this prompted Valla when he added an extra page to his volume (ff. 11/92), and copied out Suda entries on Homer’s background and output (o.248-50 and parts of 251) and part of the Proclan *Life*, beginning ‘After he had been given to the Chiots as a hostage...’. Again after the initial act of copying, Valla added three good hexameter parallels to his margins. On Hephaestus’ lameness at *H.Ap.* 317 he remarks ‘aliter dicit in iliade sic’ (‘He says this in other terms in the *Iliad* as follows...’) with a citation of *Iliad* 1.591-4. On *H.Aphr.* 197 he recalls Vergil *Aen.* 3.98 *et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis*—a translation of the Greek line, though probably drawn from its occurrence at *Il.* 20.308. And on the Mother-goddess’s castanets and drums at *Hy.* 14.3 he recalls *Priapea* 27.3-4 *cymbala cum crotalis prurientiaque arma Priapo | ponit et*

42 n. 1. Hoffmann (1983, 138-9) attributed annotations on Π f. 277 to Francesco Maturanzio, and conjectured that he acquired it on Crete in 1473. Perhaps he bought it instead when he stayed at Rome c.1485 (Zappacosta 1970, 21-2).

¹³ A further example: in Γ (Bruxellensis 11377-80) the *Hymns* are bound after Theognis (written in a separate hand); a reader’s practice of marking quotable ethical maxims in the margin carries through e.g. to *H.Herm.* 202-5 on the difficulty of judging passers-by.

¹⁴ The inherited order can be inferred stemmatically, and e.g. by deterioration of the archetype at the end of Call. *H.*; it was preserved in Π’s sibling L before the latter was mutilated.

¹⁵ See Mioni (1985), (1976), 300. The main scribe is Cosmas the hieromonach; the hand from *H.Hom.* to the early part of *Batr.* seems different. Moschus’ *Amor fugitivus* is tucked after the *Hymns*, but ignored by Bessarion on the contents page (f. 3v).

¹⁶ In L₃ (Laurentianus 32.4, c.1485), Demetrios Damilas and the miniaturist Francesco Rosselli (and a collaborator: Di Domenico 2005) produced a suitably magnificent copy of Homer for Lorenzo il Magnifico. Again the *Hymns* are separated from those of ‘Orpheus’, Proclus, and Callimachus, and placed after prolegomena to Homer (two *Lives* and Dio 53), the *Iliad*, *Odyssey* and *Batrachomyomachia*. L₃ is digitized at <http://teca.bmlonline.it/>.

adducta tympana pulsa manu (cited as being by ‘uirg[il]’). Valla combines this reading strategy with excerpting proper names, often imperfectly. Though Κυλλήνιος is not in fact one of them, the utility of such excerpting comes out in his ability to cite the *Hymn to Hermes* in his *De Orthographia*:

cyllene in arcadia mons unde cyllenius mercurius Homero teste ubi laudes scribit Mercurii.

Cyllene is a mountain in Arcadia, whence Mercury is ‘Cyllenian’ according to Homer where he writes the praises of Mercury.¹⁷

Both the inherited note on *H.Ap.* 172 and Valla’s own comment on *H.Ap.* 317 presuppose that the *Hymns* are by Homer. This assumption underlies a series of philological notes preserved in Π and its sibling L (Laurentianus 32.45):

On *H.Ap.* 147: ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ν’ ἰλιάδος. ἰάονες ἐλκεσιχίτωνες. ‘The same man (says) in *Iliad* 13 ἰάονες ἐλκεσιχίτωνες [sic: cf. 13.685]’.

On *H.Ap.* 320 κόμισσεν: ἐβαστασεν, εἰ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἡ ἐπιμελείας ἠξίωσεν. ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν τῇ σ’ ἰλιάδος. ἢ μ’ ἐσάωσ’ ὅτε μ’ ἄλγος ἀφίκατ’[?]. ‘κόμισσεν: “she picked up”; but if it is written with an eta, “she thought fit to look after”. The same man also (says) in *Iliad* 18 <citation from v.395>.’

On *H.Aphr.* 244: τὸ ὁμοίον ὄμηρος πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ κακοῦ τιθεῖναι εἴωθεν. ‘Homer’s constant practice is to use ὁμοίος of something unpleasant.’¹⁸

So much for ‘Homerizing’ the *Hymns*. An alternative approach positions them firmly as ‘god-poetry’. When Ficino recalls translating them, they keep company with the *Orphic Argonautica* and *Hymns*, Proclus’ *Hymns*, and Hesiod’s *Theogony*.¹⁹ Erasmus, somewhat later, repeatedly contrasts the *Homeric* and *Orphic Hymns* as a pair against Christian hymns.²⁰ More remarkably, he cites *H.Ares* 1-2 as typical of Greek hymns, precisely in the long concatenation of compound epithets which makes it stylistically the most Orphic and least Homeric of the *Homeric Hymns*.²¹ Erasmus was taught in Paris c.1501 by Georgios Hermonymos, who had kept his copy of Plethon’s selection of *Orphic Hymns* in Paris until

¹⁷ Cf. *H.Herm.* 304 etc. Valla’s work was composed c.1475 (Barbero 2008); for a paginated edition see Tortelli (1501) at f. 171r.

¹⁸ While the last note has close parallels in ancient commentaries on Homer (Eust. *Comm. Il.* i.754, Σ_D *Il.* 4.315), the second is eccentric, since the scholia relate κόμισσεν both to βαστάζω and to ἐπιμελείας ἀξιώω without distinction of spelling; κόμησ(σ)εν does not occur.

¹⁹ Ficino (1576), 933. His translation of *Orph. H.* 4, presented to Cosimo de’ Medici in September 1462, is all that survives: Laurentianus 54.10 f. 81; cf. Klutstein (1987). The reading in verse 5 shows that Ficino’s exemplar was *p* or a descendant.

²⁰ E.g. the start of *In Psalm. 1* (1515: *CWE* lxiii.8) and the epigram on Bernard André’s hymns (1517: *CWE* lxxxv no. 67).

²¹ Letter to Johann von Botzheim, 30 January 1523: Allen, Allen and Garrod (1906), 7, *CWE* ix.300-1. In the *z* family of manuscripts, *H.Ares* stands first (followed by *Hy.* 9-18 and part of *H.Ap.*), perhaps as a result of salvaging some pages from a disintegrating exemplar rather than design. I see no evidence that Erasmus had knowledge of this arrangement.

1497.²² Perhaps, then, it was Hermonymus who led Erasmus to promote the Orphic and hymnic in the *Homeric Hymns*.

In any case, this general approach exists in a nuanced form in two of the annotators of K (Laurentianus 31.32). Two Vergilian parallels show one reader (perhaps Gian Pietro d'Avenza)²³ keeping the whole hexameter tradition in mind. On *Hy.* 12.3 Ζηνός... κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε he compares *Aen.* 1.47 *et soror et coniunx* (following *Iouisque*); *H.Ap.* 39 Κορύκου [sic] ἄκρα κάρηνα elicits *G.* 4.127 *Corycium uidisse senem* (less successful: a different Corycus). The same hand, probably, compares *Theogony* 457 θεῶν πατέρ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν to *hominum pater atque deorum*, a misrecollection of *Aen.* 1.254 (f. 20r).

However, a different reader filled the margin next to *Hy.* 18.1-2 with Lactantius' sarcasm from *Inst.* 1.10.7:

fur ac nebulo Mercurius quid ad famam sui reliquit, nisi memoriam fraudum suarum? celo silicet dignus quia palestram docuit et liram primus invenit.

What did that thief and shyster Mercury leave for his reputation, but the record of his deceptions? Worthy of heaven, naturally, because he taught wrestling and invented the lyre!

This resistant reader also cited Lactantius' assertion that Hesiod was not inspired by the Muses, on *Theogony* 6-8, and in the bottom margin of that page added Hesiod's error in starting with Chaos (f. 11r: *Inst.* 1.5.10 *sed refugit... et paratus* and 1.5.8 *potuit Hesiodus... confusa congeries*). In the upper margin of the same page, the other hand has also cited Lactantius 1.5 (section 5 this time), but in order to quote Orphic fragments (fr. 125, 152 Bernabé) rather than to criticize the main text.²⁴ These two annotators thus apply contrasting intertextual frameworks. The one uses Lactantius *Inst.* 1 to criticize Greek theology, applied both to Hesiod's *Theogony* and to the *Hymns* which follow. The other cites hexameter parallels: the first, applied to Hesiod, is also from Lactantius but supplies an Orphic contrast (indeed, here the two annotators 'compete' over how to use Lactantius productively); in the *Homeric Hymns* the two parallels are Vergilian.

I have tried to advertise the prospects of revitalizing study of the manuscripts of the *Hymns* with their Renaissance reception as the goal. Many of them can now be located and dated using databases of watermarks and of scribal hands, and by piecing together the traditions of related texts. The way each manuscript was composed has implications for how its contents are approached; in the case of V and L₃, it also reflects on the *Hymns*' value and authenticity. The marginalia, though generally short, are numerous and have never been systematically

²² Erasmus' studies: Rummel (1985), 8-16. Hermonymos' copy, Vindob. supp. gr. 83: Hunger and Hannick (1994), 141-2. Plethon's 'recension' was identified by Keydell (1942, 77-80); the autograph survives in Marcianus gr. 406 ff. 128-33, with watermarks from 1390-1410 (Mioni 1985).

²³ I think these Latin citations match the script of 'uersus orphei' at the top of f. 11r; the Greek part of that comment is—like many proper names excerpted in K^{marg.}—by 'scribe G'. Scribe G wrote or annotated numerous books which passed to Florence from Lucca in 1478 (Speranzi 2010). Gentile (1994), 117, identified him with D'Avenza, who taught at Lucca.

²⁴ K's younger sibling H has a citation from Lact. *Inst.* 1.5.4 at the start of *Orph. Arg.* (*Orpheus... nauigasse*, f. 15r). Michael Reeve kindly advised me that the handwriting is likely to be later and German.

published.²⁵ They presuppose a variety of reading strategies: extracting notable vocabulary, seeking useful maxims,²⁶ indexing information about proper names (incorrectly, on several occasions), textual criticism, taking the texts as pieces of Homer to be elucidated from Homer, or as parts of hexameter tradition to which one might supply parallels from the Vergilian corpus, or as Greek theological texts to which one might compare other hymn-collections or apply the criticisms of Lactantius.

As I mentioned, the manuscripts are only one type of evidence. I now turn to a clear case of an engaged reader whose use of the *Homeric Hymns* extends the strategy of emphasizing ‘Hymns’ over ‘Homeric’, in order to synthesize various Greek hymn-traditions into new poetry.

Marullus: Hymns Ancient and Modern

Michael Marullus’ *Hymni naturales* are the most serious attempt in the Renaissance to recreate pagan hymnography, drawing on not only the *Homeric Hymns* but also Callimachus, Cleanthes, Orphica, Proclus, Julian, and many other sources.²⁷ They were published in Florence in November 1497, but their genesis can be traced back to 1491 and perhaps further.²⁸ This makes it certain that Marullus knew the *Orphic Hymns* from manuscripts and therefore plausible, though uncertain, that he knew the *Homeric Hymns* that way. In fact, *Hy. Nat.* 3.1.278-80 praises two Medici for collecting and salvaging Greek manuscripts containing inspired literature about the gods.²⁹

I shall start with one of Marullus’ *Epigrams*, apparently written during 1489-93 (Perosa (2000), 210-13). Poliziano had argued that at Persius *pr.14 Pegaseium nectar* should be preferred to the variant *Pegaseium melos*, because the metre requires a closed penultimate syllable, and a single ‘l’ does not close the first syllable of Greek μέλος.³⁰ Marullus took a clever pot-shot at this in *Epigram* 3.45, arguing:

²⁵ Even Allen’s capacious *apparatus* omits one of the most interesting, on *H.Ap.* 33: πῆλιον ὄρος θετταλικὸν τὸ νῦν καλούμενον κίσσαβος ἐν λαρίσση, πρὸς τὸ λυκοστόμιον. φασὶ δε αὐτό [sic] διατρίβειν τὸν χεῖρωνα καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀχιλλέως. ‘Pelion is a Thessalian mountain now called Kissavos, in Larissa, towards Lykostomion. They say that Chiron spent time there and took care of Achilles.’ The words ‘now called’ are tantalizing. The comment survives only in E, but probably derives from *x* like the other ‘now-called’ note, which Allen does cite on *H.Ap.* 40.

²⁶ Cf. n. 13; similarly Π comments on *H.Herm.* 36 (‘Better to be at home, since the outdoors is harmful’) ση. περὶ ἀποδημῆσεως, ‘NB re being abroad’.

²⁷ See e.g. Ciceri (1914), 316-18, Fantazzi (2012), xii-xix. The hymns in Plethon *Laws* 35, and those of Marullus’ Neapolitan friends Pontano and Bonincontri, are only a partial precedent.

²⁸ Perosa (2000), 213-18. Kidwell (1989), 156, argued that Sannazaro *Eleg.* 2.2.25-8, where Marullus’ Muse ‘loads the gods with praises’, dates to July 1489, but others dispute whether the poem constructs any coherent timeframe (Nash (1996), 127; Perosa (2000), 214 n. 29). Incidentally, Sannazaro *Eleg.* 3.2.89 describes Homer as *deum simul atque hominum celebrator*, ‘eulogist of both gods and men’.

²⁹ When Marullus first wrote *Hy. Nat.* 3.1, the Medici intended were Lorenzo il Magnifico and his son Piero (McGann (1980)). Lorenzo died before the 1497 publication, when various interpretations were available (see Coppini (1995) *ad loc.*), e.g. Marullus’ patron Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco and his young son. Marullus could (for example) have obtained L₄ from his patron’s tutor Giorgio Amerigo di Vespucci, or borrowed one of his friend’s Pico’s copies (above, n. 6). Already in 1545, Giraldi suggested that it was Pico who prompted Marullus to write hymns (Wotke (1897), 17).

³⁰ Poliziano (1489), sect. 44. For his knowledge and reception of the *Hymns* see the chapter of E. Schwab.

sed neque divinus male μέλος ᾄσειεν Homerus,...
 But neither did divine Homer ‘sing *melos*’ badly...

μέλος (trochaic) ᾄσειε(v) occurs only in *H.Herm.* 502, in the Ψ family and *editio princeps*. Unfortunately for Marullus, the reading was subsequently refuted by the long-lost manuscript M.³¹ However, his ability to cite a parallel neglected by Poliziano demonstrates his detailed knowledge of the *Hymns*, which is again displayed in the *Hymni naturales*.

The long opening sentence of *Hy. Nat.* 2.1 presents Calliope with a range of topics, ending with Pan. I present lines 22-34 alongside two passages of the *Homeric Hymn to Pan*:

... *seu potius [sc. dicere velis] iugis*
gaudentem intonsi Lycae
Pana, vagi pecoris magistrum,
qui per nivosi devia verticis, 25
qua nulla presso stat pede semita,
rupesque inaccessas capellis
virgineas agitat choreas,
novisque semper concitus ignibus
blandum novena cantat arundine, 30
auditus a primis Eoi
sedibus Hesperio colono,
quod nec virenti tecta sub arbore
aequet volucris garrula...

... or if [you would] rather [tell of] Pan, who delights in the ridges of uncut Lykaion, the master of the wandering flock, who chases the maiden choruses across the pathless tracts of the snowy peak where no foot-trodden track is found, and across the cliffs which goats cannot reach, and who, constantly stirred by new ardour, sings sweetly on the ninefold reed, audible to the Western farmer from the first settlements of the Orient—a song such as the chattering bird shaded by a verdant tree could not equal...

αἰγυπόδην, δικέρωτα, φιλόκροτον, ὅς τ' ἀνὰ πίσεια 2
 δενδρήεντ' ἄμυδις φοιτᾷ χοροήθεσι νύμφαις
 αἶ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης στείβουσι κάρηνα
 Πᾶν' ἀνακεκλόμεναι νόμιον θεόν, ἀγλαέθειρον, 5
 αὐχμήενθ' ὅς πάντα λόφον νιφόεντα λέλογχε
 καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων καὶ πετρήεντα κέλευθα.
 ...δονάκων ὑπο μοῦσαν ἀθύρων 15
 νήδυμον· οὐκ ἂν τόν γε παραδράμοι ἐν μελέεσσιν
 ὄρνις ἢ τ' ἔαρος πολυανθέος ἐν πετάλοισιν
 θρηῆνον ἐπιπροχέουσα χέει μελίγηρυν ἀοιδίην.
 goat-footed, two-horned, noise-loving, who ranges over the wooded meadows
 together with nymphs who haunt the dance, who tread along the crown of the goat-left

³¹ The *x* family flags the oddity by writing μέλλος; this suggests that Marullus was not using Π, despite having been in Rome during the 1480s. M seems to have stayed around Constantinople until the monk Dionysius took it to Moscow in 1690; see Gelzer (1994), 113-25. This incidentally refutes the suggestions in Coppini (1995) that Marullus *Hy. Nat.* 1.6 owes a debt to *H.Dem.* For M see the contribution of Simelidis (pp.) and A. Schwab (pp.) in this vol.

crag, invoking Pan, the pastoral god, resplendent in his mane and squalid, who has as his lot every snowy ridge, the peaks of mountains and tracks through crags.
 ...amusing himself with sweet music to the accompaniment of reed-pipes: *he* would not be surpassed in melodies by the bird who among the leaves during the blossoming spring pours forth her lament and pours out her honey-voiced song.

Marullus (33-4) translates closely the bird in the spring leaves who cannot surpass Pan's music (*H.Pan* 16-17); *garrula* quietly captures the assonance of ἐπιπροχέουσα χέει (*H.Pan* 18). In 30, *blandum* translates *H.Pan* 16 νήδυμον; *virgineas choreas* (28) reworks χοροίθεσι νύμφαις (*H.Pan* 3); *rupes inaccessas capellis* (27) glosses αἰγίλιπος πέτρης (*H.Pan* 4). Lines 25-6 combine *H.Pan*'s 'tread along the crown' and 'snowy ridge' (4, 6).³² The initial description of Pan in 22-4 expands more freely on 'the pastoral god' and 'has as his lot... the peaks of mountains' (*H.Pan* 5-7).³³

Marullus' specification that the pan-pipes have *nine* reeds (30) may nod to the number of Muses (who were summoned in lines 1-7), and hence gloss the semi-impersonal use of μοῦσα in *H.Pan* 15. But the nine reeds also suggest the cosmic music of the nine celestial spheres.³⁴ Marullus' *Hymn* in fact moves from the classical conception of Pan as hybrid and embodied towards the abstract cosmic interpretation of Πάν as πᾶν ('all'), for which Marullus employs *Orph. H.* 11. The nine reeds recall *Orph. H.* 11.6 where Pan performs cosmic harmony. Marullus' omission of Pan's half-goat body (*H.Pan* 2, 5-6) facilitates the transition between conceptions, as does his addition of the global reach of Pan's music in lines 31-2. Later, Marullus describes Pan as supporting, nourishing, and (dis)ordering the four elements as he spreads through the world's limbs (62 *fulcisque alisque*, 63-4 *per artus fusus habes agitasque molem*), and as father of all and rightfully called Jupiter (76 *pater omnium*, 78 *rite Diespiter*). Each of these features recalls the *Orphic Hymn*, where Pan gives the ground support (13 σοὶ... πέδον ἐστήρικται), nourishes (11 αὔξητά, 20 βόσκων), orders the elements (13-17) which are his limbs (2-3), is γενέτωρ πάντων (10), and is ἀληθῆς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης (12).

A broader synthesis underlies *Hy. Nat.* 1.2.39-49, where Homer and Orpheus follow Tiresias in the train of Athena:

has pater Homerus inter atque Orpheus pater,
uterque plectro adamantino, 40
partum Chariclus subsecuti nobilem,
laudes heriles concinunt,
ut sola patris vertice ex ipso edita,
hominumque origo et coelitum,
prima et nefandos aggeres disieceris 45
audax paternis ignibus,
ipsumque fratrum maxime Enceladum trucem,
non ante equestris cognita,
stagnis profundi Tartari demiseris...

³² Marullus perhaps read κάρηνα (D At Π, *ed. pr.*) rather than κέλευθα.

³³ In particular, Marullus seems to have drawn on Vergil *Ecl.* 5.63 when applying 'intonsus' (which is apt for Pan himself) to his wooded mountain.

³⁴ See Chomarat (1995) *ad loc.*

In their midst, father Homer and father Orpheus, both with adamantine plectrum, follow the noble child of Chariclo, and sing in unison the praises of their mistress—how you alone, the source of men and gods, were born from your father’s very head, and were first to boldly cast down the sinful fortifications with your father’s fire, and sent even the fiercest of the brothers, Enceladus, to the swamps of deepest Tartarus—though not previously known for riding.

Homer and Orpheus, both ‘fathers’, hymn Athena in unison (42 *concinunt*) with adamantine plectra, in a symbol of their combined and imperishable influence on Marullus as a hymnist. Moreover, by referring to Tiresias as ‘child of Chariclo’, Marullus alludes to Callimachus’ *Bath of Pallas*, where Tiresias and Chariclo have prominent roles within a hymn to Athena.³⁵

The passage carries through on this symbol of synthesis by alluding not only to Callimachus but to the *Homeric Hymn to Athena* (28) and *Orphic Hymn to Athena* (32). Marullus has Homer and Orpheus hymning Athena’s birth from Zeus’s head, and her role in the Gigantomachy.³⁶ The *Homeric Hymn* does mention Athena’s unique birth (28.4-5 *αὐτὸς ἐγένετο μητίετα Ζεὺς | σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς*, ‘Zeus the planner himself bore her from his reverend head’). Both Coppini and Chomarat compare the elements cowering at Athena’s chariot at *Hy. Nat.* 1.2.31-2 (*subsedit aether ipse, contremuit fretum, | emota respondent sola*) with *Hy.* 28.9-16, where Olympus and the sea shake at Athena’s birth while the ground resounds, before the sea and sun halt until she has removed her armour. But although the *Homeric Hymn* presents a military Athena, it neglects Enceladus and the Gigantomachy. Conversely, the *Orphic Hymn* omits Zeus’s head, but does focus on the Gigantomachy. What it says about Athena’s birth is that she was born both male and female (10), and Marullus duly describes her as *eadem virago, mas eadem* (1.2.65), immediately after priming us with the Orphic term ‘Phanes’. Marullus describes Athena at the Gigantomachy as ‘not previously known for riding’ (48), which combines the *Orphic Hymn*’s epithet *ἰππελάτεια* (12) and Callimachus’ lengthier description of how her bath followed her riding against the Giants (*Pall.* 2-12).³⁷

Marullus’ deep combination and reworking of the *Hymns* is unusual. Often the task will be to build a careful argument that an author shows knowledge of them at all. An interesting and disputed case is Francesco Filelfo (1398-1481), of whom Calderini has said ‘si potranno cancellare sulla lista dei libri noti al nostro umanista p.es. gli Inni Omerici’ (1913, 418). I disagree.

³⁵ Harrauer (1994), 132. Tiresias’ presence points also to the importance of inspiration for a religious poet (as in Poliziano *Ambra* 289-90). Marullus uses Callimachus’ *Hymns* for further programmatic symbolism at *Hy. Nat.* 3.1.1-11, which restores the language of Claud. *Rapt.* 1.4-11 (see Coppini 1995 *ad loc.*) to its roots in Call. *H.Ap.*, while describing Apollo as ‘finding his ancient seat worthy after so much time’ (3.1.6-7).

³⁶ Marullus’ affection for the good-versus-evil values of the Gigantomachy: Coppini (1995), 178.

³⁷ This is not to exclude the comparison made by e.g. Coppini (1995) of the local myth from Paus. 8.47.1, according to which Athena rode against Enceladus.

Filelfo: Songs of Praise

After studies in Padua, Filelfo landed teaching jobs in Venice and Vicenza, and met two pioneering Greek teachers, Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino of Verona.³⁸ Inspired, Filelfo joined the Venetian consulate in Constantinople in 1420, where besides his official duties he learnt Greek with Ioannes Chrysoloras and later Georgios Chrysokokkes. Bessarion was a classmate, with whom Filelfo later reminisced about Chrysokokkes (*Epist.* 6.35 f. 41r). Filelfo also bought up manuscripts, which he sent on to Venice in August 1427 shortly before returning himself. Among them he mentions texts of the ‘*Orphic Argonautica*, *Hymns* and *Callimachus*’; he also writes about having read Callimachus’ *Hymns* in Constantinople.³⁹ Although Filelfo makes it a running theme of his published letters that his patrons in Venice sequestered most of his books, he did have a copy of *Orphica* with him in 1430.⁴⁰ Filelfo’s interest in these texts, and his acquaintance with Chrysokokkes, who copied D (Ambrosianus B98sup.), gives us some reason to imagine an interest in the *Homeric Hymns* too, though there is no direct evidence that he owned a copy. Nevertheless I believe that Filelfo did read the *Hymns* and that they influenced passages of his writing, especially his poetry.

Between about 1457 and 1465, Filelfo produced his *Peri Psychagogias*, forty-four Greek poems in elegiacs and Sapphics.⁴¹ *Psych.* 1.2, whose cover-letter is dated June 1459 (Legrand 1892, no. 58), praises Cardinal Bessarion using Greek hymnic structures. After an initial invocation, he asks:

σοὺς λέγειν τοίνυν γλυκεροῖς ἐπαίνους
ἄσμασι σπεύδων, πόθεν αὐτὸς ὕλην
ἀξίους πρῶτον μέλεσιν τοσαύτην
ἄρξομ’ αἰεΐδεν; (5-8).

Well, as I am eager myself to tell your praises with sweet songs, from where shall I first begin to sing such a vast topic in the strains it deserves?⁴²

A descriptive section praises Bessarion, before Filelfo moves to an *envoi*:

χαῖρε γοῦν τῆς σῆς ἔνεκεν γλυκειάς

³⁸ His family: Robin (1991), 3. His studies: Rosmini (1808), i.5-12. Meetings with Vittorino and Guarino: Filelfo *Epist.* 17.9 f. 125r (the 1502 edition is digitized at www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/itali/autoren/philelphus_itali.html with helpful numeration).

³⁹ Partial list of books sent to Venice: Canneto and Mehus (1759), no. 24.32, a letter to Ambrogio Traversari of June 1428. Conceivably the book was Pfeiffer’s ζ (1953, lxx) which stands at the head of the extant manuscripts containing *Orph. Arg.*, *Orph. H.* and Callimachus’ *Hymns*. Reading Callimachus: *Epist.* 5.3 f. 31r.

⁴⁰ Running theme: Calderini (1913), 221-7; Filelfo arranged his *Epistolae* to start at his return to Italy, where the theme appears in the first few letters; its penultimate letter and a letter from 1476 quoted by Calderini continue the motif; *Sat.* 1.4 addresses the same topic (see Filelfo (1502a), Fiaschi (2005)). *Orphica* in 1430: Filelfo refused to have them copied for Georgios Scholarios, but not because he had lost them: Legrand (1892), no.5.

⁴¹ Cortassa and Maltese (1997), Robin (1984). Quotations follow Filelfo’s autograph, Laurentianus 58.15.

⁴² Despite the punctuation, take αὐτὸς with λέγειν σπεύδων: Filelfo likes convoluted word-order in both his Latin and Greek odes. Cortassa and Maltese (1997), 21, ungenerously relate this to his struggle with Greek metres.

ὦ πάτερ μοίρας, θεὸς ἦν σοι ἡῦδα
δεξιὸς λάμπων παρὰ τοῦ Ὀλύμπου·
χαῖρε, καὶ ὕμνει (41-4).

Be glad then, father, in return for your sweet lot in life, which God, shining forth from Olympus on the right-hand side, declared for you: be glad, and sing hymns...

Twenty-seven Homeric and all the Callimachean hymns use χαῖρε at a closural transition from description to prayer.⁴³ Filelfo's imitation of this and of hymn-structure in general (invocation, rhetorical question about topic, description, envoi) inclines me to see in ἄρξομ' αἰεῖδεν not a borrowing from Theocritus 22.25, but rather a conjugation of the hymnic formula ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν which appears eight times in the *Homeric Hymns*.⁴⁴

Bessarion had the wherewithal to recognize these formulas. As mentioned, he studied alongside Filelfo with the scribe of D, and he later had the *Hymns* included in V; he may well have commissioned H (Harleianus 1752) too.⁴⁵ Using pagan hymns to praise a cardinal—even one orchestrating the revival of ancient Greek texts—required caution. Filelfo neatly deflects any offence in the final word of line 44. This encomium does not end hymnically by asking Bessarion for quasi-divine favours, but instructs him to offer hymns of his own in order to receive God's continued blessings, which occupy the last few stanzas.

The same cover-letter to Bessarion mentions an ode celebrating Pius II's enthronement in September 1458, *Psych.* 2.14. Its final section considers the praise Pius will gain by defeating the Turkish threat:

πᾶσα σὴν γαίῃ ἀρετὴν αἰεῖσει·
σὸν κλέος λαὸς μέλεσιν καὶ ὕμνοις
πᾶς ἐν αἰῶσιν μυρίοις φιλάττων
ἐγκιθαρίζει. (49-52)

The whole earth will sing of your virtue; the whole population will perform your fame on the lyre with tuneful hymns, preserving it during countless generations.

A praise-poem discusses future praise-poems, and demonstrates this continuity of tradition by borrowing from past praise-poems. The verb which caps the stanza only occurs elsewhere in two *Homeric Hymns* (*H.Ap.* 201 ἐγκιθαρίζει, *H.Herm.* 17 ἐγκιθάριζεν), both of which themselves contain self-conscious inset hymns. Filelfo is unlikely to have reinvented the verb for himself, because the vocabulary of *Peri Psychagogias* occupies a cautious range from

⁴³ The feature does not occur in *Orph.H.* It is also imitated by Marullus: *salve* at *Hy. Nat.* 1.1.99, 1.2.63, 1.5.32, 1.6.58, 2.1.77, 2.5.51, 2.6.85, 2.8.69, 4.3.145, and 2.3.49 *gaudete* which shows his insight that both senses of the Greek verb are significant (cf. Wachter 1998). Marullus normally employs a longer *envoi* than the *Homeric Hymns* (or Callimachus), with a prayer for particular benefits; he does not imitate their closural formulas such as '... and I shall call to mind another song'.

⁴⁴ Elsewhere only Σ *P. P.* 3.14 citing *Hy.* 16, and on Douris' famous cup, Berlin F2285. Filelfo crosses this formula with a πόθεν question. The result resembles Mesomedes 6 πόθεν ἄρξομαι ὕμνεῖν σε, Greg. Naz. *Epist.* 44 πόθεν ἄρξομαι τῶν σῶν ἐγκωμίων. I know of no evidence that Filelfo read either of these works.

⁴⁵ For V see above at n. 15. H was written by Demetrios Trivoles after 1464 (it is a great-grandchild of T in *Orph. Arg.*). It includes a selection from the Planudean *Anthology*, Plethon's recension of Orphic and Proclan hymns, and Mesomedes 1-3, not noted in Heitsch (1959) but based on Marcianus gr. 318. Bessarion owned all three, and commissioned Trivoles in the late 1460s.

Attic prose supplemented with poetic borrowings.⁴⁶ As with ἄρξομ' ἀείδειν in 1.2.8, the adonian appears to be inspired by a line-end from the *Homeric Hymns*.

If one wants to choose one of the *Hymns* as 'the' source, it may be relevant that *H.Herm.* 17-18 is a memorable encapsulation of the poem's contents.⁴⁷ Moreover, one of Filelfo's favourite tropes when discussing his own celebratory verse in his *Peri Psychagogias* and *Odes* is Hermes' invention of the lyre and gift of it to Apollo. Twice Filelfo asks Ioannes Argyropoulos to write him a Greek poem (*Psych.* 1.14, 3.13). In 1.14 Argyropoulos is praised as follows (13-14, 17-20):

Ὀρφέως αὐδὴν λιγυρὴν μεγίστου
ὣ σὺ θηράσσας...
ἦν λύραν Ἑρμῆς πρότερος γλυκεῖαν
εὔρε καὶ Φοῖβῳ γέγονεν χαρίσσας,
τῆδε εἷς πᾶσιν φίλος ἐν βροτοῖσιν
οἶσθα σὺ χρῆσθαι.

O you who hunted out the clear voice of supreme Orpheus... you, friend, alone among all mortals know how to use the sweet lyre which Hermes first invented and with which he has favoured Phoebus.

Three passages from 3.13 are also pertinent:

λάμβανε δὴ κίθαριν, Ἑρμῆς ἦν πρῶτος ἀπάντων
ἠδυσπῆς εὔρεν· τήνδε σὺ Φοῖβε λάβες. (19-20)

Take up the lyre, which eloquent Hermes was first of all to invent. You, Phoebus, took it.

ἢ Δία οὐρανίων μεδέοντα βροτῶν τε θεῶν τε,
ἢ τὰ γένη ζώων ὕμνεε τοῖς μέλεσιν. (23-4)

Hymn in your songs either Zeus who rules over the heavens, mortals and gods, or the generations of animals.

αἴρεσις οὖν ἐπὶ σοὶ πέλεται κατὰ θυμὸν ἀείδειν·
ἀλλὰ μοι ἔστ' ἔφεσις πάντα σ' ἀκοῦσ' ἐτάρε·
οὐ γὰρ Ἄτλαντιάδῃ οὐδ' Ὀρφεῖ, οὐδὲ μεγίστῳ
εἵκοις Δημοδόκῳ ἄσμασιν ἐν λιγυροῖς. (47-50)

Therefore the choice is yours to sing as your heart desires, but mine is the desire(?) to hear everything from you(?), friend. For you would not yield to the Atlas-born⁴⁸ or Orpheus, or even to great Demodocus in your clear-toned songs.

Here, 3.13.47 paraphrases *H.Herm.* 474=489 σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν (αὐτ' ἄγρετον in manuscripts) ἐστὶ δαίμεναι ὅτι μενοιναῖς ('Yours is the choice to learn whatever you desire'), which in context refers to Apollo's ability to learn lyre-playing. μεδέω and ὑμνέω in lines 23-4 point in combination to constructions such as Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει... Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα

⁴⁶ See e.g. Robin (1984), 174; Cortassa and Maltese (1997), 19-21. *Psych.* 3.2.76 ὀμβριμοθύμου (of Ares) probably derives from the Θ-family of *H.Ares* 2, or from *Orph. H.* pr. 10 or 65.1.

⁴⁷ A reader of Γ (for example) marked them for attention, and Hobbes quoted them in translation in *Leviathan* (Malcolm 2012, ii.143).

⁴⁸ Hermes: Robin (1984), 200, takes it as Calypso.

(*H.Herm.* 1-2). Lines 49-50 juxtapose Hermes with Orpheus and Demodocus, and 1.14.13-20 with Orpheus. Filelfo's lists of legendary lyre-players may well be structured around knowledge that the *Homeric Hymns* (including *H.Herm.*) occur alongside the *Orphic Argonautica* and *Hymns* in the majority of the tradition.⁴⁹

Filelfo's earlier *Odes* (completed by summer 1456) contain three further references to the lyre's transfer.⁵⁰ *Ode* 1.1 promises deferred praise to Charles VII of France; the programmatic central section sketches a history of lyric performance.⁵¹ At the end of this (181-4), Filelfo asks the eponymous god of *Odes* 1:

*Phoebē, quam frater chelyn ille divum
nuncius dono tibi cessit olim,
tange, concentus referens Olympi
voce sororum.*

Phoebus, strike the tortoiseshell lyre which the great messenger of the gods, your brother, once yielded to you as a gift, and repeat with your voice the harmonies of the sisters of Olympus.⁵²

Similarly the praise of Carlo Gonzaga in *Odes* 2.1 includes his musical taste, and hence susceptibility to become a patron:

*hinc et aurata cithara canorus
redditur Phoebus, referens Atlantis
arte nepotem* (150-2).

Hence too he becomes Phoebus singing well to the golden lyre, and revives with his skill the grandson of Atlas.⁵³

This passage does not discuss the lyre's transfer (though the focus on Hermes' 'skill' matches *H.Herm.*). But like 1.1.183 it discusses how present-day lyric poetry 'brings back' (*referens*) the music of the Greek gods. By contrast, *Odes* 4.4.17-19 expresses Filelfo's position as a continuator of lyric tradition more straightforwardly: 'Nor would I despair that Phoebus Apollo will grant us as a gift the lyre which the winged one granted to him.'

The story of Hermes inventing and playing the lyre, and gifting it to Apollo, is not only told in the *Hymn to Hermes*. Other possible sources include Hyginus (*Ast.* 2.7) and, very briefly, Philostratus (*Im.* 1.10.1).⁵⁴ However, the *Hymn* is the most substantial source, and we have

⁴⁹ Filelfo wonders whether Argyropoulos is distracted by Florentine women, and assures him that the Muses can be desired too (43 ἔστιν ἐρᾶν τούτων): *H.Herm.* also repeatedly emphasizes the desirability of lyre music.

⁵⁰ Filelfo *Epist.* 13.29 f. 95r (17 June 1456) announces to Beccadelli the completion of the five extant books and the intention—apparently never fulfilled—to write five more.

⁵¹ Orpheus appears nearby, again: 1.1.123-40 reworks material from *Orph. Arg.* 406-39 (Orpheus' lyre-contest with his host Chiron); the part about Hades perhaps alludes to Seneca *Herc.* 1061-89.

⁵² Robin (2009) mistranslates and has to radically repunctuate.

⁵³ Robin (2009) takes *arte* as 'patronage'. For *Atlantis... nepotem* cf. Hor. *C.* 1.10.1 *nepos Atlantis*.

⁵⁴ Filelfo could not read pseudo-Apollodorus (Calderini (1913), 254-5). Despite Horace's pervasive influence in Filelfo's *Odes*, *C.* 1.10 cannot be the main source since it omits the exchange of the lyre.

seen three specific parallels to that text: ἐγκιθαρίζει, Δία οὐρανίων μεδέοντα... ὕμνεε, and the focus on the sexualization of the lyre in *Psych.* 3.13 (n. 49). I may add here the final reference from the *Odes*, 5.3.5-6, which declares:

dat fratri citharam Mercurius sacram.

Parnasus et Zeὺς τέρπεται’.

Mercury grants his brother the sacred lyre: Parnassus and Zeus rejoice.

Parnassus stands to benefit from Apollo’s acquisition, whereas Zeus would still have enjoyed music if Hermes had kept the lyre. The reason for singling out his pleasure is perhaps clarified by *H.Herm.* 506, where the brothers’ conciliatory gift-exchange pleases Zeus in particular. Given these considerations, when in 1460 Filelfo describes ‘Egyptian’ Mercury, whom ‘*Ioue Maiaque natum poetae cecinere*’ (‘poets have sung of as born from Zeus and Maia’), he may well have been recalling the opening epithet of *H.Herm.*, Διὸς καὶ Μαϊάδος υἰόν.⁵⁵

I have argued that in a series of writings from the period c.1448-60 Filelfo shows knowledge of the formulas of the *Homeric Hymns* (ἄρχομ’ αἰείδειν, χαῖρε) and of at least the *Hymn to Hermes* specifically.⁵⁶ He seems to take the latter as an apt source for self-reflexive comments about praise-poetry; the frequent copresence of Orpheus and Hermes may relate to the copresence of Orphica with the *Homeric Hymns* in manuscripts (particularly at *Psych.* 3.13.50 when reinforced with a second reference to Homer in the name ‘Demodocus’). I therefore reject Calderini’s comment cited above. Calderini scoured Filelfo for clear direct citations, a reasonable methodology for Filelfo’s prose where he freely name-drops classical authors whom he only knew second-hand. But the converse, that Filelfo did not know authors whom he does not name-drop, requires great caution. Many of Filelfo’s poems display dense allusivity, where citing each source by name would remove the fun of recognition. The *Homeric Hymns* seem to appear in such situations. The further question of how Filelfo read the *Hymns*—at Constantinople, or later in a manuscript he owned or purchased or borrowed?—remains unsolved.⁵⁷

Numerous other Greek sources emphasize, against Filelfo, that Hermes’ ‘gift’ was compensation for Apollo’s cows, given under duress.

⁵⁵ Speech commending Teodoro Plato: Filelfo (1492), f. 27. Other sources, probably including Hor. *C.* 1.10, influence the rest of the description. Once again a reference to *Orph. Arg.* (verse 130) follows.

⁵⁶ Four less certain references: (i) At *Sat.* 3.2.4-7, ‘Codrus’ farts and ‘Oinopotes’ calls it a *rara avis*; they are at ‘templo Cylleni’ (17-18: i.e. a notorious brothel: Fiaschi (2005), 404): perhaps cf. Cyllenian Hermes’ fart-οἰωνός at *H.Herm.* 295-6. (ii) *Sat.* 10.10.27-32 (dated 1448) mentions Hermes’ gift of the lyre to Apollo, again in discussing his potential praise-poetry alongside a reference to *Orph. Arg.* This time, however, he implies that Hermes did not play the lyre before giving it away, against *H.Herm.* (iii) *Odes* 5.9.77-80 *quid de te loquar excellere pulchrius, | qui totus vigeas nomine fulgido | quem non una sed omnis decoret viros | virtus quae celebres facit?* was perhaps inspired by *H.Ap.* 19 πῶς τάρ σ’ ὕμνήσω πάντως εὐθυμον ἐόντα. (iv) *Psych.* 2.1.35-6 ἐκ τίνοσ ἀρχόμενος ἀρχῆς σέο πρῶτον ἐπαίνων | μνήσομαι may use not only Theoc. 2.65 ἐκ τίνοσ ἀρξώμαι and A.R. 1.1-2 ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν | μνήσομαι, but also, in the context of praise, μνήσομαι + genitive as the first word in *H.Ap.*

⁵⁷ For example, he was in contact with Gianozzo Manetti, who owned P, and with Giovanni Aurispa, who treated his copy as a highlight of the collection he brought back from Constantinople in 1423 (Sabbadini (1931), 11).

Conclusions

In the composition and annotation of manuscripts of the *Homeric Hymns* I noted evidence of different ways of reading the poems. As a heuristic move I distinguished two polar approaches between which others can be positioned: to take the poems as part of the tradition of pagan Greek theological poems, or as ‘Homer to be elucidated from Homer’. Marullus is an extremist for the first approach, synthesizing the *Homeric Hymns* with other Greek hymnography to form his own *Hymni naturales*, and self-consciously including programmatic symbols such as Homer and Orpheus in concord with Tiresias in Athena’s train. Filelfo too, though more superficially, uses the *Hymn to Hermes* as a means for discussing his position within traditions of praise-poetry specifically, often with references to Orpheus in the offing, and generally separate from his numerous references to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

Ianos Laskaris strikes a subtler balance in his *Epigram to Homer* (Meschini 1976, no. 40), published in his 1517 *editio princeps* of the *Iliad*’s D-scholia. The epigram begins with Homer brought to Olympus by Hermes:

ὄπποτε δὴ μακάρων ἐς ὀμήγουριν ἤγαγεν Ἑρμῆς
Μαιονίδην...

When Hermes led the Maeonian to the assembly of the blessed...

Laskaris probably knew three passages in which ‘Homer’ used ὀμήγουρις—*Il.* 20.142, *H.Ap.* 187 and *H.Herm.* 332.⁵⁸ Only the last has obvious relevance to both Homer and Hermes: as Homer in his hymn had Hermes brought to the Olympian assembly, Laskaris has Hermes repay the favour. Momus, however, criticizes the fact that a τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ (‘blind man’, 4) has come to heaven. This collocation occurs only in *Hymn to Apollo* 172 (and its citations by Thucydides and Aristides), a famous passage where the primary narrator becomes Homer advertising the immortality of his songs.⁵⁹ Laskaris’ hypotext therefore unravels Momus’ criticism, and who but Apollo should then criticize Momus’ own short-sightedness: Homer in fact saw everything in the world, and descended from heaven to reveal them to ordinary mortals. Laskaris’ epigram heads a Homeric volume, and is about Homer, but it puts allusions to the *Hymns* to the service of hymning Homer’s own apotheosis. Moreover, as Nicholas Richardson pointed out to me, this interchange of Momus and Apollo surely alludes to the end of Callimachus’ *Hymn to Apollo* (105–13), where Apollo sends Phthonos packing for his misguided poetic criticism, and Callimachus hopes for the same treatment for Momus. Laskaris had edited Callimachus’ *Hymns* twenty years before, and is attuned to the continuity with the *Homeric Hymns*.

However, the ‘Homerizing’ approach won out historically. In V, Bessarion initiated the process of placing the *Hymns* at the end of Homer’s works, and the practice was adopted by Demetrios Chalcondyles for the *editio princeps* of Homer published in 1489. This early decision remained the common editorial practice through to Allen’s *OCT*, and thereby had a lasting influence on the *Hymns*’ perceived status as a sub-canonical appendix to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

⁵⁸ *H.Dem.* 484 was probably unknown: see n. 31 above.

⁵⁹ As noted above, the line attracted a marginal comment in *x* (extant in TELII); Laskaris used L for his 1496 edition of Callimachus (Pfeiffer (1953), lxvi).

As indicated in the introduction, I have tried here only to give a preliminary sense of the wealth of material available on this topic. The manuscript-tradition is the basic source not only for textual criticism, but also for a reception-history of the *Homeric Hymns* in the Renaissance. Where we know the location and ownership of a manuscript at a given date, we can consider both the owner and people known to be in contact with him (e.g. pupils), test whether their extant writings demonstrate knowledge of the *Hymns*, and thus begin to tease out networks of readers. My research suggests that there is a great deal here for future scholarship to explore.

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