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THE HYPERBOREAN MAIDENS ON DELOS *

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WITHIN the sanctuary of Artemis, on a small plain just east of the Sacred Harbor of Delos, lies a tomb dating from Minoan times which remained holy throughout most of antiquity.¹ Modern investigators call it the *sema* of the Hyperborean Maidens, identifying it with a tomb which Herodotus says is "on your left as you enter the Artemisium" (4.34). Here, he was told, lay the remains of two maidens, Hyperoche and Laodice, who had once brought a tribute to the goddess Eileithyia from the Hyperboreans and had died on the island; here, in their honor, the boys and girls of Delos placed locks of their own hair. Callimachus, writing around 270, seems to know of this tomb; he does not mention it, but he says that the Delian girls offer their hair to the daughters of Boreas, Upis, Hecaerge, and Loxo, who once brought a tribute from the Arimaspians. The boys now give "the first-fruits of their beards" to honor some men who escorted the "Arimaspian" maidens to Delos (Hymn 4.278 ff.). And Pausanias says that the Delian maidens used to cut their hair in honor of Hecaerge and Opis (1.43.4).

Behind the Artemisium, says Herodotus, there was another tomb, a *theke* which is apparently identical with a Minoan tomb in the sanctuary of Apollo not far from the temple of Artemis. In it lay Opis and Arge, maidens who had come from the Hyperboreans even earlier than Hyperoche and Laodice, "together with

* This article has been greatly helped by the criticisms of my colleague, Professor Saul Levin, and Professor Arthur D. Nock.

¹ The archaeological evidence concerning the tombs of the Hyperborean maidens has been most recently discussed by Charlotte Long, "Greeks, Carians,

the gods themselves." For them, the women of Delos made collections and sang a hymn composed by Olen the Lycian (4.35). No other ancient author refers to such collections or to the *theke*, and we nowhere learn what it was the women collected; but Callimachus says that the women of the Delian chorus beat with their feet an accompaniment to the men who sing the *nomos* which "Olen the Lycian brought from Xanthos" (Hymn 4.304 ff.). This *nomos* was identified with the hymn to Opis and Arge by Wilamowitz, who also showed that it was familiar to the composer of the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo.²

Even this cursory glance at the evidence reveals that though the rituals — the hymn-singing and the hair-offering — tend to remain constant, the identity of the persons honored differs from source to source, and Opis is now in the *theke*, now in the *sema*. Most students of the problem have therefore said that there was in reality one cult of the Hyperborean Maidens, honored in several ways and given various names, and that in Herodotus, where two pairs of maidens are distinguished, Hyperoche and Laodice are merely doublets of Arge and Opis. My own view is quite different: when Herodotus wrote, there were two distinct cults (whose myths may well have influenced each other); Hyperoche and Laodice were associated with Eileithyia, Arge and Opis with Artemis; later, Eileithyia declined in importance and was largely absorbed by Artemis; Artemis probably took over the ritual of Opis and Arge, who in turn became the occupants of the *sema* and recipients of the hair-offerings, while Hyperoche and Laodice disappeared with the decline of Eileithyia. In discussing the evidence in detail I shall therefore argue that we possess testimony for a complicated process of religious change which occurred side by side with and almost in spite of a conservatism in ritual.

Herodotus wrote his account of the Delian cults in order to set forth the evidence for the reality of the Hyperboreans, about which he shows considerable skepticism. The Scythians, who would have been the Hyperboreans' near neighbors, could tell him nothing about them (4.32); the Delians, whose account

² *Die Ilias und Homer* (Berlin, 1916) 451. He was partly anticipated by O.

makes up most of 4.33–5, had the most to say. Their story, given in indirect discourse, assumes that there really were Hyperboreans; into this narrative Herodotus interjects statements in direct discourse, apparently drawn from his own observation and reading, which confirm portions of it, though by no means all.³ They force the reader to consider seriously whether the Hyperboreans exist, and permit him to conclude that the evidence is insufficient; Herodotus can offer at the end what W. K. C. Guthrie calls a “somewhat contemptuous dismissal of the whole business”;⁴ if there are Hyperboreans, there are also Hypernotians beyond the south wind (4.36). But however contemptuous the dismissal, nothing suggests that Herodotus’ presentation of the evidence — of Delian cult and tradition and of his own observations — was hasty and inaccurate.

Sacred objects bound in wheaten straw, said the Delians, are passed along from community to community from the Hyperboreans to the Adriatic, south to Dodona and east to Delos. At first they were carried all the way by the Hyperborean maidens Hyperoche and Laodice, escorted by five men “now called Perpherees”; but the Hyperboreans, since their messengers never returned, now carry the objects only to their own borders. The girls died on the island, and (here Herodotus employs direct discourse) the youths and maids of Delos cut their hair for them:

The girls before marriage cut off a lock, wind it about a spindle, and place it on the *sema*. (This *sema* is inside the Artemisium, on the left as you enter, and on it an olive grows). And the young men wind some of their hair about a green shoot and they too place it on the *sema*.⁵

³ In accordance with the principle set forth, among other places, in 2.99: Αἰγυπτίους ἔρχομαι λόγους ἐρέων κατὰ τὰ ἥκουον. προσέσται δέ τι αὐτοῖσι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς δψιος.

In 4.11–2, for instance, Herodotus gives in indirect discourse what he considers the most reliable account of the coming of the Scythians, that they replaced the Cimmerians. In direct discourse he adds confirmation from observation — the tomb of the Cimmerian nobles, the Cimmerian walls, etc. — and further speculations on the Cimmerians’ departure. These last we reject, but as much of the rest as Herodotus really confirms — that the land was once held by a pre-Scythian race known as “Cimmerians” — we have no reason to doubt (see A. D. Godley, Herodotus, Loeb Classical Library rev. ed. (London, 1938), II, p. xv. Ellis H. Minns, Scythians and Greeks (Cambridge, England, 1913), 41 ff.).

⁴ The Greeks and Their Gods (Boston, 1950) 78. n. 2.

Herodotus probably saw the *sema* himself, for Charles Picard, following the directions given here, discovered what is almost certainly this tomb.⁶

The maidens receive this honor from the inhabitants of Delos. But the same men say that also Arge and Opis, Hyperborean maidens, journeyed through the same peoples and arrived at Delos even earlier than Hyperoche and Laodice. Now the latter, they say, arrived bearing the tribute to Eileithyia which they had promised for an easy delivery [sc. of Apollo], but Arge and Opis came together with the gods themselves, and are given different honors by the Delians. For them, the Delians say, the women make gatherings, naming their names in the hymn which Olen the Lycian composed for them (4.35).

Herodotus adds that Olen came from Lycia and composed the other ancient hymns sung on Delos. He returns to indirect discourse to say that ashes from the altar (of Artemis, presumably) are placed on the *theke*, which he then describes in direct discourse, presumably *de visu*. Thus he confirms from observation that there are two tombs on Delos, and from independent knowledge concerning Olen that one of his hymns is likely to have been sung to Opis and Arge. The Delians' good faith is upheld, their reliability questioned only when they touch on mythical history. His use of indirect discourse — due probably to his careful desire to indicate that he was not speaking from observation — has not caused anyone, so far as I know, to doubt the authenticity of the information concerning the collection-ritual or the placing of ashes on the *theke*, though Herodotus is our only source for both. But if we do not doubt that these rituals took place, we have no justification for doubting anything the Delians say about their cults except what they cannot have known, their earliest history.

Yet most modern scholars wish to see the pairs of maidens as doublets of each other. "Herodot," says Nilsson, "hat die Dubletten Arge und Opis, Hyperoche und Laodike."⁷ If so, the Delians, in speaking of their own cults, did not know what they were talk-

1927), and have made use of J. E. Powell's *A Lexicon to Herodotus* (Cambridge, England, 1938), and his translation (Oxford, 1949).

⁶ Ch. Picard and J. Replat, "Recherches sur la Topographie du Hiéron Délien," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 48 (1924), 251 ff.

ing about: καί σφι [Opis and Arge] τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων. These honors differ not only in nature but in purpose. Opis and Arge are probably agrarian, to judge from the fact that in other cults (including those connected, like that of Opis and Arge, with Artemis) similar collections of gifts perform such a function (Nilsson, Gr. Feste 208). The locks of hair offered Hyperoche and Laodice, on the other hand, are given upon entry into a new phase of sexual life — marriage for the girls, manhood (probably) for the boys — and have no connection with farming.⁸ Furthermore, they do not seem to have been offered during a general festival — at least we do not hear of any — while the collections and hymn-singing to Opis and Arge seem, as we shall see, to have come at a fixed time of year.

The cults differ in extent: Hyperoche and Laodice were worshipped only by the Delians: αὐται μὲν δὴ ταύτην τιμὴν ἔχουσι πρὸς τῶν Δήλου οἰκητόρων says Herodotus at the beginning of 4.35, contrasting it to what he will say about the fairly widespread cult of Opis and Arge: παρὰ δὲ σφέων [the Delians] μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἴωνας ὑμνέειν Ὀπίν τε καὶ Ἀργὴν ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας.

They differ in the identity of the goddess to whom each pair is subordinate. Opis and Arge are connected with the agrarian Artemis, Hyperoche and Laodice with the childbirth-goddess Eileithyia. The origins of these relationships are enough to distinguish the pairs, for while Hyperoche and Laodice had no known existence apart from Eileithyia, Opis was a foreign divinity whom Artemis took over. We infer this from the other form of the name, *Oupis*, which is not a Greek word and which never would have arisen if *Opis* had been original.⁹ Opis eventually became a mythical companion of Artemis and one of her epithets,¹⁰ but in the fifth century she and Arge (whose origin is

⁸ That the boys' offering was a *rite de passage* in Callimachus' time is indicated by his description, παῖδες δὲ θέρος τὸ πρῶτον ἰούλων . . . ἀπαρχόμενοι φορέουσιν (4.298). And nothing hinders, at least, our applying his testimony to the fifth century as well.

⁹ Wilamowitz says that the Delian rite well suits "vergötterten *paredroi* der Artemis, die selbst den Namen Opis oder Upris oder übernahm, wie der einzige sicher ungrische Name lautete" (Der Glaube der Hellenen I [Berlin, 1931],—abbreviated GdH—p. 103).

¹⁰ For the companion see, e.g., Virgil, Aeneid XI, 532–533; for the epithet

obscure) were still to some degree independent, since the gifts are gathered and the hymn sung not to her but to them.

The connection between the maidens Arge and Opis and the goddess Artemis is disputed by no one; that between Hyperoche and Laodice and Eileithyia, which is paradoxical in that they are virgins, she the goddess of childbirth, requires examination. Its precise nature I cannot settle: they may have been intercessors with Eileithyia or even Eileithyiae.¹¹ But that such a connection existed is evident from the myth that they first brought her the Hyperborean tribute, and further penetration of this myth can partly clarify the connection. For it probably presupposes that in the fifth century the Hyperborean tribute was actually presented, after its long journey, to Eileithyia. It is normally assumed that Apollo always received the tribute, as indeed he did later, and this assumption has helped to strengthen the theory that Hyperoche and Laodice are doublets of Opis and Arge: it makes Hyperoche and Laodice appear subordinate to Apollo and therefore related to Artemis. But why then does the fifth-century myth not agree with this? It might be argued that a myth stating that the tribute was given to Eileithyia is compatible with its being given Apollo on his birthday. It seems indeed safest to say that a *Hyperborean* tribute to Eileithyia must have something to do with Apollo's birth, since efforts to disconnect the Hyperboreans from Apollo appear dangerous.¹² But birthday presents are usually

¹¹ Cf. R. Vallois, "Topographie Délienne I," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 48 (1924), 435 ff. He goes on to speculate that the γενέθλιος olive of Callimachus (Hymn 4.262), near which Apollo was born, is the one growing on the *sema*, which would obviously further connect Eileithyia with Hyperoche and Laodice. Unfortunately he hypothesizes in addition a post-natal rite honoring the maidens, identifying it with a *rite de morsure* which Callimachus said was performed by sailors (Hymn 4.316 ff.). "Les jeunes mères déposaient-elles une offrande sur le *sema*, mordaient-elles l'olivier sacré, le faisaient-elles toucher à leur bébés, c'est ce que nous ne pouvons deviner maintenant, mais le rite dont nous sommes invités à admettre l'existence devait suivre l'accouchement, et non le précéder." It seems unlikely that the maidens possessed this unattested post-natal rite in addition to the well-attested premarital one.

¹² Charles Picard, in "La Crète et les Légendes Hyperboréennes," *Revue Archéologique*, series 5, vol. 25 (January-June, 1927), 349-360, tried to prove that the original Hyperborean home was Crete, and he is followed by Gallet de Santerre, *Delos* (note 1). Since Eileithyia is probably originally Cretan, it would suit my theory very neatly were the Hyperborean tribute once hers alone, and were it transferred to Apollo and Central Greece later, with Delphi's coöperation;

given to the persons born, not their mothers' midwives; if the myth is eccentric, it most probably had to yield to the living ritual, that Eileithyia and not Apollo received the tribute.

Another difficulty with the view that Apollo always received the tribute is that it fails to account for the presence of Hyperoche and Laodice in the myth. Apollo's tribute could surely have been brought by the Perpherees (whose name suggests bringing something); the maidens are a useless encumbrance to the story, unless they are there for some other reason. It might be argued that they were Hyperboreans, and their presence on the island needed explaining. But why were the occupants of this ancient grave called Hyperboreans? Again, it might be urged that the hair-offerings, wrapped about a spindle or green shoot, resemble the straw wrappings of the Hyperborean tribute; the myth will have reflected this cult fact by joining together the recipients of each. But why this cult fact? Why the resemblance?

These questions can be answered by the following theory. Eileithyia, closely connected with the occupants of the *sema*, was given the Hyperborean tribute, quite possibly to strengthen Delos' claim to being Apollo's birthplace. Surely, the Delians may have argued, if the Hyperboreans, Apollo's own people, send a tribute to Eileithyia on Delos, they are recognizing her rôle *in his birth on the island*. And the importance attached to Eileithyia's presence at Apollo's birth is reflected not only in the behavior of the Hyperboreans but also in the words of the composer of the Homeric Hymn to the Delian Apollo: the goddesses who congregated on Delos before the birth felt it essential to secure Eileithyia's presence, and promised her an elaborate necklace (vv. 92 ff.). The occupants of the *sema* were accordingly called Hyperboreans and said to have first brought the tribute, and the hair-offerings were made to resemble the tribute they carried.¹³

The differences between the pairs of maidens have been obscured by their obvious mythical similarity: both pairs came from

¹³ When and why the names "Hyperoche" and "Laodice" were given these maidens seems unanswerable. Should it be felt that they belonged to "Hyperborean tradition" (cf. the names of the Hyperborean Heroes Hyperochus and Laodicus, Pausanias 10.23.2), then I would argue that the occupants of the *sema*

the Hyperboreans a long time ago. But if we seek out the probable sources for the myths, we can see how artificial even these similarities are. The crucial passage consists of these words, already quoted in translation, from Herodotus 4.35:

Φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ τὴν Ἀργὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ὀπιν, εἰούσας παρθένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δῆλον ἔτι πρότερον Ὑπερόχης τε καὶ Λαοδίκης. ταύτας μὲν νῦν τῇ Εἰλειθυίᾳ ἀπὸ φερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπικέσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἀργὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ὀπιν ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι . . .

This passage consists of an inference — that Opis and Arge came first — from two propositions: Hyperoche and Laodice brought the tribute to Eileithyia, and Arge and Opis came together with the gods. But the inference is justifiable only if Eileithyia got the tribute for her help at *Apollo's* birth, and if ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι can mean “at the birth of Apollo” (and, presumably, Artemis).¹⁴ Now the Greek ought to mean that Opis and Arge *arrived when the gods arrived*, but this meaning the Delians were not anxious to convey, because it suggests that Apollo was born elsewhere and came to Delos. They must, therefore, have been quoting, and misinterpreting, someone else, straining the phrase to make it mean “when the gods were born.”

This difficulty has been previously recognized. Macan, for instance, took the phrase “together with the gods” to refer to two other gods, predecessors of Apollo and Artemis.¹⁵ But who? And how do we know that they preceded? The Delians’ argument depends entirely upon this point; would they not have identified

¹⁴ Powell, in his *Lexicon* (note 5) understands the phrase to mean “in company with the gods” — rightly, in my opinion. But if it is taken temporally, it has to mean “at the same time as the gods’ arrival,” not “birth.” The rule seems to be this: when ἅμα, used temporally, is followed by a word not denoting a period of time (where the participle is so easily understood as to be superfluous), we are (a) to supply in thought the participle of the verb on which the ἅμα-phrase depends (or, occasionally, the participle of a nearby verb to which the ἅμα-phrase is clearly related?) unless (b) the noun itself is verbal. For example:

a. ἀλλ’ οὔτε Αἰγυπτίους δοκέω ἅμα τῷ Δέλτα τῷ ὑπὸ Ἰώνων καλεομένῳ γενέσθαι 2.15.3; similarly 5.58.1, 5.85.2, 7.51.3, 7.73.

b. τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὼν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε 1.57.3. Similarly 2.36.1, ἅμα κήδει, “when in mourning.” Clearly neither of these uses permits ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι to mean “together with the birth of the gods.”

any predecessors and demonstrated their priority? Much more reasonable is Legrand's emendation, *ἅμα αὐτῇσι τῇσι θεοῖσι* which is to refer to Eileithyia and Leto and is supported by a reference to Pausanias 1.18.5.¹⁶ But neither in this passage of Pausanias nor anywhere else are Eileithyia and Leto said to have come simultaneously; in the Homeric Hymn they obviously do not. Nor were Pausanias' sources for this passage Delian. If Herodotus wrote what Legrand says he wrote I should far rather refer it to the congregation of goddesses on Delos described in the Homeric Hymn.

Another solution is available in the supposition that the Delians are here yoking together two essentially incompatible sources, one of which assumed Apollo's birth on the island while the other said that he came to Delos. The latter, manifestly unalterable since it required of the Delians a forced interpretation, may well have Olen's hymn to Opis and Arge, which, as we shall see, is referred to by and is therefore older than the Homeric Hymn, our oldest source for Apollo's Delian birth. Olen's hymn, which Callimachus says was brought from Xanthos, is quite likely to have said that Apollo was born in Lycia or at least came to Delos from Asia Minor.

The myth of Hyperoche and Laodice cannot have been told in this hymn. Not only are the two stories linked together by a forced interpretation of the phrase *ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι*; not only does the tale of Hyperoche and Laodice imply Apollo's birth on Delos; but Hyperoche and Laodice are closely connected with the Hyperboreans, while Opis and Arge are not. They brought no tribute, and what is worse, they took the tribute road *κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους*, before there was any tribute to bring. Their similarity to Hyperoche and Laodice is imposed upon them and fits badly. Delos thus possessed two strains of myth, Olen's ancient liturgical hymns and stories which developed later as the occasion demanded.¹⁷

Why the Delians imposed this similarity on the maidens — why they made Opis and Arge into Hyperboreans — is difficult to say,

¹⁶ Ph.-E. Legrand, "Herodotea," *Revue des Etudes Anciennes* 40 (1938), 230-231, and adopted in his edition (Paris, 1950). His remarks constitute an excellent presentation of the difficulty.

except that it helps to undercut any suggestion that they, or Apollo, came from Lycia. But certainly the Delians had no wish to go further. Modern scholars have grown accustomed to the phrase "Hyperborean Maidens," forgetting that the Delians had no cult of the Hyperborean Maidens comparable to the Cabiri, say, or the Great Goddesses, but always worshipped the girls by individual names; "naming the names," for instance, of Arge and Opis. How can we go farther, and argue from artificial mythical resemblances to cult identity? When a man says that he or his fellows worship two sets of deities in entirely different ways, can he be mistaken?

Modern opinion seems perversely inclined to believe that he can.¹⁸ Charles Picard, for example, speaks of "Vierges porteuses d'offrandes, arrivées en *deux* groupes à Délos."¹⁹ His italics seem intended to emphasize his awareness of the differences between the groups, but to no avail, for Herodotus says that only the second pair brought offerings. "Les deux premières, on le sait avant la naissance d'Apollon," he continues, "les deux autres au moment de l'illustre Genèse. Après la première *théorie* (celle d'Hyperoché et Laodicé venues les secondes 'avec les dieux') etc." Neither pair came before the birth, and it was Opis and Arge, not Hyperoché and Laodice, who came "avec les dieux"; but the pairs have apparently blended together in his mind. Nilsson says of the maidens collectively: "ihr Grab, auf dem ein Ölbaum wuchs, lag hinter dem Artemision; darauf wurde ihnen ein eigenartiges Opfer gebracht, die Asche von den auf dem Altar, selbstverständlich der Artemis verbrannten Schenkelstücken" (Gr. Feste 207). But according to Herodotus, our sole witness, the grave on which the olive was growing was the *sema* in front of the Artemisium; the ashes were thrown on the *theke* behind it. The two

¹⁸ Exceptions, apart from the editors of Herodotus, include O. Crusius (note 2) and R. Vallois (note 11). The confusion is at least as old as K. O. Müller: ". . . the Hyperborean priestesses, who brought the rites to Delos, Arge and Opis according to others Hecaege and Loxo" (The Dorians, 2 Eng. ed. [London, 1839] I, 373).

¹⁹ In RA (see note 12). See too his "La route des processions hyperboréennes en Grèce," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 132 (July-December, 1946) 99 ff.: "Pour Hérodote les premières Hyperboréennes avaient été Argé et Opis, venues s'acquitter d'un vœu fait ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠκυρόκου (101n.). Gallet de Santerre is con-

pairs of maidens having coalesced, the two graves do the same. Herodotus is again our only source for the gift-gathering in honor of Opis and Arge. "Dass der Zug agrarisch," says Nilsson, "dem Umhertragen der Eiresione auf Samos ähnlich war, erhellt sich aus der Anknüpfung an die hyperboreischen Garben."²⁰ But no ancient source connects the Hyperborean sheaves with this procession. And again, "noch früher [than Hyperoche and Laodice] sollen zwei andere hyperboreische Jungfrauen, Opis und Arge, nach Delos bekommen sein, welche der Eileithyia Gaben brachten" (Geschichte 548). This error may be borrowed from Wilamowitz, who said that the gifts which the women gathered were actually given not to Opis and Arge but to Eileithyia (GdH 1.103); Wilamowitz was confusing, or else inferring the identity, of these gifts with the Hyperborean tribute, but Opis and Arge have nothing to do with Eileithyia. Finally, "die schwankenden Namen und Zahlen der Hyperboreerinnen erklären sich aus einer willkürlichen Auswahl unter den auf verschiedenen Orten vorhandenen gleichartigen, aber verschieden benannten Gestalten" (Gr. Feste 208). I do not see how the Delians' stress on the prior coming of Opis and Arge, or on the different honors paid, can suggest an arbitrary choice; and from all we have seen the pairs can hardly be called "gleichartig."

But Nilsson has in mind a passage in Callimachus, who says that it was not Hyperoche and Laodice, but Upis, Hecarge and Loxo who first brought first-fruits from the Arimaspi; no recipient of the tribute is specified.²¹ These maidens are almost certainly the new inhabitants of the *sema*, since they receive hair-offerings when "the marriage song with its beautiful echoes frightens the abodes of the maidens" (vv. 296–297). The Delian boys offer the first crop of their beard, not to the maidens but their escorts, whom Herodotus called the Perpherees. Pausanias says, furthermore, that the maidens of Delos used to offer their hair to

²⁰ Geschichte der Griechische Religion I, 2 ed. (Munich, 1955) pp. 548–549.

²¹ Hymn 4. 278–299. Callimachus does not believe in the Hyperboreans any more than Herodotus did. But he can hardly argue the question in a poem, so he simply replaces them with the Arimaspi. He shows, however, that he is talking about the people ordinarily thought of as Hyperboreans: the present senders of the annual tribute (who must surely be the same as the first-senders whom Callimachus calls "Arimaspians") dwell "beyond Boreas" (281–282); and Upis, Loxo

Opis and Hecaerge (1.43.4). His testimony seems independent of Herodotus and Callimachus, since the former does not attach this ceremony to Opis, while the latter includes Loxo and uses the *Oupis* form of the name, and from neither could Pausanias have inferred that the ceremony no longer takes place.

Our sources clearly diverge, but there is no need to regard any of them as mistaken. It is in fact dangerous; Pausanias confirms Callimachus, while to impugn the accuracy of Herodotus or his informants is to throw out of court more evidence — especially that for the collection-ritual — than anyone is willing to part with. The nature of the divergence has been generally overlooked: the rituals tend to persist, the mythology changes. More specifically, Hyperoche and Laodice disappear entirely, while Arge is replaced by the like-sounding Hecaerge, and she and Opis and Loxo are now said to have brought the Hyperborean tribute. Now Opis, as we have seen, is closely associated with Artemis; the word *ἐκαέργη* can have no other origin than as an epithet of Artemis, paralleling *ἐκαέργος* used of her brother.²² What has happened at the *sema*, therefore, is that maidens associated with Eileithyia are gone, and maidens associated with Artemis have taken their place; the natural inference is that after the time of Herodotus, Artemis absorbed Eileithyia. Now Eileithyia shared her sole function, midwifery, with Artemis, so that it is surprising that she maintained an independent existence on Delos as long as she did; her rôle at the birth of Apollo was no doubt responsible. But that she was independent until Callimachus' time, and that she was eventually absorbed, are confirmed by the fact that after the Hymn to Delos was written the contents of her sanctuary were transferred to the temple of Artemis.²³

The history of the "different honors" paid Opis and Arge is not dissimilar, though somewhat harder to trace. Callimachus does not mention the collection-ritual, which may have been abandoned or taken over by Artemis (since it so well suited her in her rôle

²² Cf. Branchus, quoted by Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.8: *μέλπετε ὦ παῖδες ἐκαέργον καὶ ἐκαέργαν*; other references in Lewis R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* II (Oxford, 1896) p. 578. Loxo is of obscure origin; derivations from *λοξίας* and from *λοξῶπις* have been proposed (see Höfer in Roscher's *Lexikon* s.v. Opis).

²³ Gallet de Santerre, *Delos* (see note 1) p. 153. By 250 the Eileithyiaecum is no longer listed in the temple archives; see Th. Homolle, *Les Archives de l'In-*

of agrarian goddess). But the hymn to Opis and Arge was probably still sung: "The men sing a *nomos* of the old man of Lycia, which Olen brought you (sc. Delos) from Xanthos; the maidens of the chorus beat the ground ceaselessly with their feet" (Hymn 4.304-306). Callimachus does not tell us to whom the *nomos* was sung, and certainly does not connect it with Opis and Hecaerge, but Wilamowitz' argument that this is the hymn to Opis and Arge is still convincing. The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo, which Callimachus knew, says that the Delian maidens sing a hymn calling to mind the men and women of old, and imitate the tongues and clatter (or chatter) of all men, and anyone present would say that he himself were singing (vv. 157 ff.). This suggests a song accompanied by a dance, using not merely different dialects but also foreign words, words "brought from Xanthos"; in other words, a hymn of Olen the Lycian, who as Herodotus says composed the ancient Delian hymns.²⁴ Since the hymn to Opis and Arge was not sung to or connected by Callimachus with Opis and Hecaerge (the pages describing each are separated by a fresh invocation, vv. 300 f.), it too may have been taken over by Artemis. We hear of *Oupiggoi*, hymns sung in Troezen in honor of Artemis,²⁵ apparently descended from the hymn to Opis and Arge; the more important of the maidens will have lent her name to the song, which honors not her but Artemis, and this can easily have happened by Callimachus' time. Thus as Opis became an occupant of the *sema* she lost her original honors, while Arge became absorbed by, or vanished in favor of, Hecaerge.

Eileithyia's decline was accompanied by another change: the Hyperborean tribute was presented to Apollo instead. Aelian, discussing the Pythian procession from Thessaly to Delphi, compares its reception with that accorded "those who bring the sacred objects from the Hyperboreans to *this same god*" (V.H. 3.1). In Pseudo-Plutarch *de Musica*, Soterichus, attempting to show that Apollo invented flute-playing as well as lyre-playing, brings up a number of instances where the god and the instru-

²⁴ The objections of E. Maass in Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyclopädie s.v. Olen are superficial, failing to allow for changes which can easily have occurred if Artemis eventually absorbed the ritual.

ments are connected: "And they say that the sacred objects from the Hyperboreans were anciently sent over to Delos in the midst of flutes and syrinxes and lyres" (de Mus. 14).²⁶ This passage in context implies that the gifts arrived during a festival of Apollo, and I shall now argue that between the middle of the fifth and the third centuries the coming of the Hyperborean tribute was made to coincide with the great festival called the Apollonia by the Delians and the Delia by the other Greeks.

In the middle of the fifth century the gifts probably arrived in Thargelion (roughly May), shortly after Apollo's birthday on the seventh;²⁷ otherwise it would seem absurd for the Delians to say that they were once given to Eileithyia for her help at that birth. Furthermore, the Delians are anxious to show that Opis and Arge came to the island before Hyperoche and Laodice, and the most plausible reason for their maintaining this is that the arrival of the Hyperborean offerings fell later in the calendar year than the festival of Arge and Opis.²⁸ This festival is likely to have been celebrated on or about the seventh of Thargelion, for otherwise the Delians' interpretation of the phrase ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι would have been implausible and pointless.²⁹ The tribute, like its original bearers, will have come a few weeks later.

²⁶ It is not possible to date this information; the subject of "they say" is indefinite.

²⁷ The birth date is given by Diogenes Laertius 3.2 (Nilsson, Gr. Feste 146). Other arguments favoring the arrival of the Hyperborean gifts after 7 Thargelion are given by Farnell, Cults IV (Oxford, 1907) 287 ff. (his dating of the Delia-Apollonia is probably not correct, see Nilsson Gr. Feste 144 ff.).

²⁸ The Delians must have had some reason for wanting to say that Opis and Arge came first, and a likely reason is that they were expressing a cult fact. Vallois (note 11) raises the same question somewhat differently: "Les Déliens ont affirmé devant Hérodote que Laodiké et Hyperoché étaient arrivées après la naissance d'Apollon. Comment l'auraient-ils su, si cette chronologie n'avait pas été justifiée par un rite vivant?" (p. 442). Vallois is surely right in basing the myth on a ritual. But his "living rite" is the post-natal *rite de morsure* (see note 11) whose existence is questionable; a much more likely rite is the arrival of the tribute soon after the birthday.

²⁹ The Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo suggests that the hymn to Opis and Arge was sung immediately after those to Apollo and his family during the panegyris (vv. 144-164), and therefore — if the panegyris always came in Hieros — not during the birthday festival. This would certainly mean that Opis and Arge came before Hyperoche and Laodice — i.e., that their festival came earlier in the year, which began around January — but would make it harder for the Delians to have interpreted ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι as meaning "at the birth of the gods." Still, it is clearly a good deal less necessary that this myth — which is after all

By the early third century changes have occurred. "Every year first-fruits are sent you," says Callimachus of Delos, "and all the cities lead in choruses" (Hymn 4.278-279); among them are those who send what we call the Hyperborean tribute. These lines probably refer to the annual form of the Apollonia, which in this century and probably from time immemorial, fell in the month of Hieros (roughly February), long before Apollo's birthday (Nilsson Gr. Feste 144 ff.). This means that by the third century the time of arrival of the Hyperborean gifts must have changed from late in Thargelion to Hieros and its sending made to coincide with a *theoria* to the Delia. Furthermore, Attica, which did not handle the tribute 200 years before (Herodotus 4.33), is now probably on its route. Callimachus does not say so, though he leaves room for it, but Pausanias was told that the gifts left for Delos from the Attic town of Prasiae (Pausanias 1.31.2); they left, in fact, from a temple of Apollo and were carried by Athenians, which clearly suggests that the gifts accompanied the Attic *theoria* to the Apollonia. Now it was the Athenians who, in 426/5, followed their purification of Delos by reinvigorating the Apollonia, adding to it quinquennial games of the same elaborateness as it had possessed at the time of the Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo (Thuc. 3.103). Hence it is plausible that the Delians took over the sending of the Hyperborean tribute after 425, combining it with their *theoria* to the Apollonia and thereby changing the time of the tribute's arrival from Thargelion to Hieros. And since Eileithyia no longer got it, the maidens associated with her, Hyperoche and Laodice, were no longer said to have brought it.

that the myth of Hyperoche and Laodice, who came with the tribute after the birthday, should express the fact that in the fifth century the gifts came after the 7th of Thargelion.