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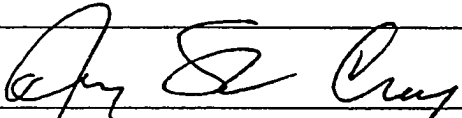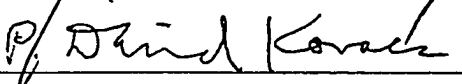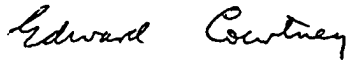
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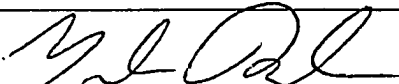
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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty
of the University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Classics

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May, 2007

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ABSTRACT

My dissertation, 'A Commentary on the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*,' falls into two parts. In the commentary proper I divide the text into smaller narrative units, each of which is introduced by a short passage laying out the main problems, the various answers proposed, and the solution I consider the most appropriate. Then I proceed to the traditional line-by-line analysis of the passage, treating the various philological problems. The commentary is preceded by an introduction in which I examine more theoretical issues related to the poem. These are: (i.) the date and place of composition; (ii.) the Hymn in relation to the rest of the archaic epic tradition; (iii.) other versions of the Hymn's story; (iv.) the poetics of the *Hymn to Hermes*; and (v.) some remarks on the text, where I note my divergences from Càssola's (1975) critical text.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am especially grateful to my dissertation adviser, Professor Jenny Strauss Clay, for her constructive criticism, encouragement, and mentoring that had already begun before I enrolled as a graduate student at the University of Virginia. I would also like to thank the members of my examining committee, Professors David Kovacs and Edward Courtney from the Classics Department and Gordon Braden from the English Department. Their advice was truly invaluable and saved me from several errors.

Special thanks go to my Professor at the University of Athens, John-Theophanes Papademetriou who first introduced me to philological enquiry and encouraged me to pursue my graduate studies at the University of Virginia.

My research on the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* was supported by a dissertation-year fellowship from the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. In addition, I greatly benefited from the resources of Alderman Library at the University of Virginia, and in particular from its extremely efficient Interlibrary Loan Services.

In writing this dissertation I had the privilege to receive help from many scholars, some of whom I have not had the pleasure to meet yet. I should thank Dr. Nicholas Richardson, Warden of Greyfriars Hall, Oxford, for so generously sharing with me the portion on Hermes from his forthcoming commentary on the *Homeric Hymns*. I am also grateful to Professor Menelaos Christopoulos (University of Patras) for making available to me part of his commentary and translation of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* in

modern Greek and for our discussion on the Hymn in Athens. I truly appreciate the

generosity of Professor Dominique Jaillard (Institut d'archéologie et des sciences de

l'antiquité, Université de Lausanne) who sent me the proofs of his forthcoming book

Configurations d'Hermès dans le polythéisme grec. Une théogonie hermaïque (Kernos

Suppléments); unfortunately I was unable to incorporate this thought-provoking work

in my dissertation as my defence was only days away from the time I received it.

Finally, I wish to thank two especially good friends and colleagues, Zoe

Stamatopoulou and Stephanie McCarter, fellow-travelers on the μακρὸς καὶ ὄρθιος

οἶμος...καὶ τρηχύς that is the writing of a dissertation.

ABBREVIATIONS

AS = T. W. Allen, E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns*. London, 1904.

AHS = T. W. Allen, R. Halliday, E. E. Sikes. *The Homeric Hymns*. Oxford, 1936.

Chantraine = P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*. Paris, 1968.

Chantraine *GH* = P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*. Paris, 1953.

Denniston = J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*. Second Edition Revised by K. J. Dover. Oxford, 1950.

DMic. = F. Aura Jorro, *Diccionario micénico*. Madrid, 1985.

Epigr.Gr. = G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*. Berlin, 1878.

Farnell = L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*. New Rochelle, 1977.

Gemoll = A. Gemoll, *Die homerischen Hymnen*. Leipzig 1886.

Goodwin, *GMT* = W. W. Goodwin, *Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb*. Boston, 1900.

GDI = F. Bechtel et al. *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*. Göttingen, 1884-1915.

Humbert = J. Humbert, *Homère, Hymnes*. Paris, 1936.

Leumann *HW* = M. Leumann, *Homerische Wörter*. Darmstadt, 1993.

LIMC = H. C. Ackerman, J.-R. Gisler (eds.) *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*. Zürich, 1981-.

LfgrE = B. Snell (ed.), *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*. Göttingen, 1955-.

Matthiae, *Animadversiones* = A. Matthiae, *Animadversiones in Hymnos homericos cum prolegomenis de cuiusque consilio, partibus, aetate*. Lipsiae, 1800

Monro = D. B. Monro, *Homeric Grammar*. Oxford, 1981.

NP = H. Cancik, H. Schneider (eds.), *Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*. Stuttgart, 1996-.

Radermacher = L. Radermacher, "Der homerische Hermeshymnus" *SAWW* 213 (1931).

Richardson = N. J. Richardson, 'A Commentary on the *Homeric Hymns*' (forthcoming).

Risch = E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*. Berlin / New York, 1974.

RLAC = T. Klauser (ed.) *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum; Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*. Stuttgart, 1950-.

Schulze QE = W. Schulze, *Quaestiones Epicae*. Gütersloh, 1892.

Schwyzer = E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik, auf der Grundlage von Karl Brugmanns griechischer Grammatik*. München, 1934-71.

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden / Amsterdam, 1923-.

SIG = W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Leipzig, 1915-24.

For the Greek authors I have used the abbreviations in LSJ with some minor differences which will be obvious; for the Roman authors I have used the abbreviations in OLD.

INTRODUCTION

I. DATE AND PLACE OF COMPOSITION

One of the thorniest problems in the scholarship on the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* is its date and place of composition. Scholars often treat the two problems together; in fact, some of the linguistic arguments advanced for establishing the date of the Hymn (i.e 'Atticisms' and words recurring in tragic poets) have been also employed to identify the poem's place of composition. Therefore, although I shall present the various suggestions proposed for the localization of the Hymn in a separate section, my discussion of the date will inevitably address the issue of the poem's place of composition as well.

The poem is generally considered to be the latest of the major *Homeric Hymns*. The *communis opinio* has most recently been re-stated by M. L. West in the introduction to his 2003 edition of the Hymns: after noting that Alcaeus' *Hymn to Hermes* must have exhibited similarities to *h.Herm.*, West goes on to suggest that 'to date our Hymn as early as 600 is implausible: it contains too many words and expressions that are not paralleled before the fifth century. The likelihood is that it is a later descendant of the hymn that Alcaeus knew.'[1]

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[1] West (2003a) 14. On the same page, n. 16 he cites Görgemanns (1976) for further arguments in favor of a fifth-century dating of *h.Herm.*; on Görgemanns' arguments, see below p. 17-22. Although West does not propose a precise date of composition in his edition, in a recent conference on 'Relative Chronology in Greek Epic Poetry,' held in Oslo, June 5-8 2006, he suggested 480 on his handout (which represents a stemma of the relations between various archaic poems). I thank Mr. Brandtly N. Jones for providing me this handout *per litteras electronicas*.

The Hymn does not contain any specific events, whose date would function as a *terminus post quem*. The arguments used to date the Hymn include linguistic innovations, the mention of the seven-stringed lyre, the assumed importance of Delphi, or a combination thereof. Furthermore, in their quest for an absolute date, scholars have tried to find parallels with actual cult-practice or (less successfully) even allusions to specific social and political issues that the conflict between Hermes and Apollo supposedly symbolizes (notably Brown and Graefe).

In dealing with the issue of the Hymn's date, I shall first sketch a brief history of the most representative earlier attempts to answer this question and focus on Görgemanns' argument for two reasons: first, it is taken for granted in modern discussions on the date of *h.Herm.*;[2] second, I believe that Görgemanns' line of argumentation is unpersuasive and his dating criteria are subject to several objections. Finally, I shall present my own suggestions concerning the Hymn's date. I should note from the outset that I do not believe that an absolute date for the poem's composition can be fixed in light of our evidence.

i.) *The beginnings of the discussion on the date of h.Herm.*

The use of the argument based on the Hymn's 'innovations' to establish its date has a long history. The first to advance forcefully an argument for a late date on such grounds was J. H. Voss in his *Mythologische Briefe* who went as far as to argue that the

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[2] Görgemanns' thesis is unquestioningly accepted by both Janko (1982) and West (2003a).

author of *h.Herm.* was Cynaethus (late sixth century). Voss supported his thesis with

arguments resting both on *realia* and language.[3] The first group of arguments, presented

in the 17th epistle, rests on the following cultural "innovations": a.) the 'winged Moirai'

of v. 552;[4] b.) Selene's genealogy (daughter of Pallas, the son of Megamedes);[5] c.)

Hermes' burning the cows' heads and feet οὐλόποδα οὐλοκάρηνα (137), which does not

occur anywhere in the descriptions of sacrifices in Homer or Hesiod; d.) the Centaurs

(224-5): they have shaggy necks, while their footprints (being different from those

created by humans) suggest to Voss that they must be half-equine creatures. This (in

Voss' opinion) runs contrary to Homeric usage, where the Centaurs are represented as

wild, hairy mountain-people;[6] and e.) the staff that Hermes receives from Apollo at 526.

Here Voss confounds the wand, with which Hermes causes people to fall asleep,[7] with

the staff mentioned in Eust. 4.915 (where it has more functions in addition to causing

people to sleep)[8] and Zeus' scepter given to Pelops in *Il.* 2.100-5. However, Hermes' staff

at 526 may perhaps be used to establish an approximate *terminus.* I shall return to this

point below.

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[3] Voss (1827) 104-18 (= *Mythologische Briefe* 16-8, written in 1794).
[4] Cf. my note on 552 against Μοῖραι, which is the reading in Ψ.
[5] This may be the poet's *ad hoc* invention; see my note.
[6] This is not entirely accurate. Although Homer nowhere explicitly states that the Centaurs were half-men, half-equine, at *Il.* 1.268 the Centaurs are designated as 'mountain dwelling beasts' (φηρσὶν ὀρεσκῴοισι). From *Od.* 21.295 (ἐξ οὗ Κενταύροισι καὶ ἀνδράσι νεῖκος ἐτύχθη) we may surmise that they are different from ordinary humans. See also my notes on 224-5.
[7] Cf. *Il.* 24.343 and *Od.* 24.2-4.
[8] Eustathius' text runs as follows: ἡ δὲ τεραστία καὶ τὰ ἐναντία δυναμένη ῥάβδος μυθικῶς μὲν δῶρόν ἐστι τῷ Ἑρμῇ πρὸς Ἀπόλλωνος, ᾗ τὰς βοῦς Ἀδμήτου ἐκεῖνος ἐβουκόλει, ἀντιδοθεῖσα τῆς χέλυος ἤτοι λύρας, ἣν ὑφ' Ἑρμοῦ ἔλαβεν, ἄλλως δὲ ὡς οἷά τι σκῆπτρον τὸ τοῦ λόγου δηλοῖ βασιλικόν τε ἅμα καὶ ὑπερειστικόν. ὕπνου δὲ καὶ ἐγρηγόρσεως δεσπόζει, ἐπεὶ λόγος κηλεῖ καὶ αὖθις ἀναπτεροῖ, ὃς καὶ λύραν εὗρε τὴν καὶ κηλοῦσαν καὶ πόλεμον κινοῦσαν...

Voss' linguistic arguments refer to the following words: i.) ἐνδέξιος (454) in the sense of 'clever';[9] ii.) πολύτροπος meaning 'cunning' (439);[10] iii.) ἐπειγόμενος ὁδόν instead of ὁδοῖο (86);[11] iv.) ὑποβρυχίας meaning 'lowing' instead of 'submerged' (116); v.) μετήορα in the sense of 'altars' (135); vi.) φωνή meaning 'slaughter' (136); vii.) βουλεύων ἐμέ 'advising myself' instead of ἐμοί (167); viii.) κνώδαλον in the sense of 'having a wild appearance' (188); ix.) διαπρύσιος meaning 'manifest,' or 'completely' (336); x.) διατρίβειν κέλευθα 'complete the journey,' whereas according to Homeric usage it should mean 'delay' (348); xi.) κραίνων meaning 'praising,' instead of 'completing.' Furthermore, σαυλὰ [sic] βαίνειν (28) and ὄρθρος (98) appear first in Anacreon and Ibycus respectively; ὀρσολοπεύεις (308) is also held to be late. εὐμυλίη 'rumor' (325) and ὅρκον ἐπιδαίομαι (383) are unique, while κῶμος (481) occurs first in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Scutum*.

But it is the use of σάνδαλα (79) that provides the most conclusive argument for a late date in Voss' opinion. He devotes to this word an entire epistle (18) and suggests that the Hymn must have been composed not very long before the date of the poets of Old Comedy, where the word originally designated both male and female footwear, but later came to be restricted to feminine shoes (according to Pollux).[12]

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[9] This is not the only possible explanation for the adjective; see the relevant note.

[10] Cf. my note on 12.

[11] Homer has ἐπειγόμενος with the genitive, 'eager for'; the accusative is found at *Od.* 2.97 (=19.142, 24.132) and is glossed as 'urge on, press for the carrying out of what one desires,' in *LfgrE, s.v.* ἐπείγω 2a. The sense here should be 'hasten to accomplish'; cf. also my note *ad loc.*

[12] Voss (1827) 118. He refers to Poll. 7.86-7, who although citing many examples from Comedy, does not suggest anything as to the origin of this word. We may surmise that it was popular with comic playwrights. But to claim that the Hymn must be dated to the years shortly before the earliest Comic playwrights since it denotes shoes worn by Hermes is both far-fetched and misses the point of the passage. Hermes is certainly

The reason I have dwelled at some length on Voss' arguments is that the basis

for determining the Hymn's date has not changed—despite all that separates us from his

time. The underlying assumption is that everything that does not occur in Homer or

anything that differs from Homeric usage *must* be an innovation. If, furthermore,

expressions found in the Hymn have parallels in the fifth century, then the Hymn *must*

have been composed around that time.[13] We must not forget, however, that we possess

only a fraction of the total epic output of the archaic times and arguments based on the

occurrence or not of individual words or phrases must therefore be inconclusive, if not

circular. Some of Voss' objections are pseudo-problems stemming from

misinterpretations;[14] others, however, are genuine and are dealt with in the notes on

individual verses.

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not wearing any sandals and the word (probably denoting luxurious footwear) is used by the poet certainly with a touch of irony.

[13] Cf. (characteristically) the quote from West at the beginning of this section, expressing precisely the same view. This view has a long pedigree and dominated discussion since it was endorsed by notable scholars. Hermann (1805) 689 considered *h.Herm.* as the youngest of the Hymns on the evidence of the meter (neglect of digamma even in cases of borrowings from earlier epic poetry and introduction of unparalleled cases of hiatus); he does not however give any concrete evidence (e.g. in the form of statistics). Greve (1867) produced word-lists documenting the divergences from Homeric diction and proposed a lower dating on account of the poem's unusual diction; cf. his statement on p. 90 'namque in singulis vocibus tanta cernitur cum poëtis scenicis similitudo, ut carmen non multo ante rei scenicae Graecorum originem compositum esse possit.' All this is based on the fallacious notion that certain words *must* first occur near the time of the dramatic poets whom (contrary to the hymnic poets) we can safely date. No account is taken of the poet's provenance, style, tradition, or idiosyncrasies. Finally, Burckhardt (1868) 737 agreed with Hermann and Greve's dating.

[14] It should be noted that Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 58-66, took issue with Voss' arguments. He discarded some of the latter's linguistic objections on the grounds that they appeared in verses which he himself considered spurious or corrupt (hence he emended these words away). He dated the poem within the first half of the 6th century, between Ol. 45 (596, Alcaeus' floruit) and Ol. 54 (560, the beginnings of Old Comedy). His argument is based both on content and linguistic usage. Our poet seems to know the story of Hermes stealing Apollo's quiver (cf. 515), presumably told by Alcaeus. Furthermore, he presents the god as an infant, which Matthiae considers an innovative move of Alcaeus' who thus departed from the story in the *Great Ehoiai* (all this, however, is of doubtful cogency since we cannot know whether one poet derived the story from the other or both are based on a common source; furthermore, both the dating of Hes. *fr.* 256—transmitted by Antoninus Liberalis—and its 'original' content are also problematic. If anything, we may

ii.) *The seven-stringed lyre*

The seven-stringed lyre has often been used as an argument for establishing a *terminus post quem* for the Hymn. We are told in 51 that after constructing the lyre, Hermes attached seven strings to the instrument. Baumeister noted: 'Tum nullo modo hic poeta Mercurio septem chordas attribuere potuit, antequam res in usum quotidianum esset recepta vetusque illa τετράχορδος memoria hominum plane cessisset. Quamobrem meo iure ex hoc versu [*scil.* 51] videor colligere, hunc hymnum compositum esse non posse ante olymp. 40 [= 616/5].'[15]

The seven-stringed lyre has been traditionally associated with Terpander.[16] The only value this reference may have is at best to function as a very broad *terminus post quem* for the composition of the Hymn (i.e. sometime during or after the 7th century). As far as we can judge from the testimonia, Terpander's role in the development of the lyre seems to be not so much the invention, as rather the promotion of the seven-stringed lyre, which must have been somewhat common in Asia Minor. In fact, representations of

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conclude that on the present state of the evidence Alcaeus cannot be used as a *terminus*. The linguistic point is based on Voss' argument about σάνδαλα, a word which, as Matthiae rightly thinks, must have existed already before the poets of Old Comedy who used it in the more specialized sense denoting feminine luxurious footwear. His argument may be corroborated by the occurrence of σάμβαλα in Sapph. *fr.* 110a.2 where it is used of the janitor's shoes.

[15] Baumeister (1860) 195; the same argument appears in Gemoll (1886) 193: '...der Dichter unmöglich den Hermes bei der Erfindung des Instruments sieben Saiten anbringen lassen konnte, wenn nicht die Vorstellung der siebensaitigen Lyra eine ganz geläufige, alt gewohnte war.' Gemoll does not, however, propose the same date as Baumeister. He disagrees with Müller's dating to the 30th Olympiad (656, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte* I 126, also based on the seven-stringed lyre) for metrical and linguistic considerations. Thus the same argument leads different scholars to proppse different dates. The argument about the seven-stringed lyre is cited also by AS, AHS, and Humbert.

[16] The testimonia on Terpander are collected in Gostoli (1990). Terpander's dates are far from certain; see Gostoli ix-xi who sides with the chronology given by Hellanicos. The latter placed Terpander's *floruit* during the reign of Midas (i.e. between 741 and 696 BC). For Terpander's association with the seven-stringed lyre, see Gostoli (1990) xxxix-xli and test. 47, 48, 50, 53a-b along with her commentary.

seven-stringed lyres have been found in Old Smyrna and Çandarlı (Pitane) dating from the second quarter of the 7th century.[17] Ancient thought, however, had the tendency to attribute different 'inventions' to a single prominent figure. Thus, in addition to the invention (or re-introduction) of the seven-stringed lyre, Terpander is credited with the invention of the barbitos, the modification of the tuning of the lyre's strings, the naming of the citharodic nomes (seven in number),[18] and the division of the citharodic nomes in (again) seven parts.[19] It appears that a good number of Terpander's supposed innovations involve the number seven; this should lead us to be at least cautious when using the seven-stringed lyre (and consequently Terpander) to establish a *terminus post quem*, especially since such lyres are attested in other places during this time-period (cf. n. 17). This is not to argue, of course, that *h.Herm.* may have been composed at a much earlier date, but Terpander does not provide us with a safe and precise *terminus post quem*. The seven-stringed lyre certainly points to a time around the seventh century, but unless it is combined with other criteria it is of little help for dating the Hymn.

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[17] See Gostoli (1990) xl with n. 155 for such pictorial representations, and Maas & Snyder (1989) 42-3 (fig. 2-3b) for other 7th c. seven-stringed lyres from Melos, Athens, and Syracuse (Corinthian vase); cf. also Huxley (1970).

[18] Gostoli (1990), test. 28.

[19] Poll. 4.66.

iii.) *Delphi*

The argument from the seven-stringed lyre was accepted by Humbert who, taking into account the Hymn's references to the wealth of Delphi at 178-81,[20] proposed to date the poem to the last third of the 6th century.[21] As he remarks: 'Il est probable que la somptueuse générosité des princes lydiens a beaucoup contribué à cette prospérité: la Grèce dut être éblouie, comme Hérodote lui-même, par la magnificence des offrandes de Crésus.'

The date Humbert proposes would conform with the Delphic preeminence in the area,[22] while it would allow enough time (more than a century and a half) from the (re)introduction of the seven-stringed lyre for it to become common. This argument, too, does not seem compelling: Hermes' words in 178-81 cannot be possibly taken as an allusion to Croesus' proverbial dedications. Apollo's temple is referred to as a δόμος containing things Hermes already possesses. No reference is to be found to the splendid treasure-houses located at Delphi or to any *specific* dedications that one could plausibly link with Croesus. In fact, everything that Hermes covets already exists in his dwelling: tripods and cauldrons are part of Hermes' hymn to himself (61), while gold, silver, and splendid clothes are in store in Maia's cave (249-51).[23] Hermes describes Apollo's

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[20] εἶμι γὰρ εἰς Πυθῶνα μέγα δόμον ἀντιτορήσων· ἔνθεν ἅλις τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἠδὲ λέβητας πορθήσω καὶ χρυσόν, ἅλις τ' αἴθωνα σίδηρον καὶ πολλὴν ἐσθῆτα·

[21] Humbert (1936) 114-5.

[22] As Humbert notes, the Hymn would have been composed more than 50 years after the First Sacred War. The idea of the link with the First Sacred War was first mentioned, as far as I am aware, by Schmid-Stählin I 238, who concluded that the Hymn must have been composed around 590 BC.

[23] Note that the temple at Delphi is proverbially wealthy already at *Il.* 9.404-5.

dwelling in terms reminiscent of his own and thus any argument linking the mention of Pytho with eastern dedications is not cogent.

v.) *Allusions to contemporary events*

Another line of argumentation attempts to date the Hymn based on what are perceived to be allusions to contemporary political, social, or religious affairs. Such arguments are rather weak and generally rely on over-interpretation of particular details; hence they have not found many adherents. To this category belongs N. O. Brown's contribution.[24] Brown assumes that the Hymn's author and audience belonged to the urban and commercial civilization that rose during the archaic age and saw Hermes as their patron deity. In his attempt to propose as accurate a date as possible, he focuses on Hermes' sacrifice at the ford of Alpheius, which he takes to allude to the cult of the Twelve Gods at Athens.[25] He claims that the Athenian agora was the only place at which both Hermes and the Twelve Gods were worshipped during the archaic age. The altar of the Twelve Gods was erected sometime between 520 and 511 BC, and Brown proposes that the Hymn must have been composed at the beginning of this period since Hermes conducts his sacrifice without an altar, suggesting 520 as the earliest and 519 as the latest possible

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[24] See Brown (1947), esp. 106-37 for the Hymn's date and place of origin. I shall not provide a thorough criticism of all points made by Brown, as many of them are not relevant to my purposes; the interested reader may wish to consult the reviews by Rose (1948) and Fontenrose (1949).

[25] In formulating his theory, Brown ignores other events in the Hymn; a telling example of such an omission is the episode of the cattle-theft, which he thinks does not contribute anything to the development of the plot; see Brown (1947) 108.

date. The latter is based on the reference to Onchestus, which Brown takes to reflect political considerations of the time, i.e. the end of Hipparchus' alliance with Boeotia.

The problems of Brown's argument are evident and have been already addressed by scholars (see above, n. 24). If the Hymn alludes to the cult of the Twelve Gods at Athens, why does the poet localize Hermes' sacrifice at the ford of Alpheius, i.e. near Olympia? And, more important, why is Athens so conspicuously absent from the entire poem? A more general objection: the Hymn is not a document of, or allegory on, contemporary history, but rather a witty, humorous poem, and an analysis such as the one undertaken by Brown does not do justice to the poem's character.[26]

v.) *The Argument from Rhetoric and Music*

Drawing on innovations in the ideas expressed in the poem rather than in its language, Görgemanns (1976) offers a different approach to dating the Hymn. Unfortunately, his attempt is skewed from the outset because of the author's treatment of *h.Herm.* as a work of lower literary worth.[27] His argument rests on Hermes' use of rhetoric (in particular, the argument from probability) and the ideas on song and music expressed in the poem. Despite some interesting observations on both rhetoric and music, Görgemanns' overall argument on the Hymn's date must remain unconvincing.

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[26] As a point of curiosity, I should mention Graefe's (1963) argument for a date around 475 BC, which runs in the same vein as Brown's. He considers Hermes' and Apollo's reconciliation as an allusion to the alliance between Themistocles and Kimon and sees a reflection of Themistocles' cunning in Hermes' clever acts and Kimon's lavishness in Apollo's gifts. Special emphasis is laid on Zeus as a reconciler, a role that he does not play in other accounts of this story.

[27] Notice the opening remarks in Görgemanns (1976) 113, where he implies that *h.Herm.* is a 'Werk geringeren Ranges.'

To begin with, Görgemanns puts special emphasis on the argument κατὰ τὸ εἰκός in Hermes' defense speeches to Apollo and Zeus (265 and 377). Especially associated with Corax and Teisias, its employment in Hermes' defense speech to Apollo indicates in Görgemanns' opinion the poet's reflection on the effect of such an argument.[28] From this Görgemanns deduces that Hermes' speech belongs to a phase in the history of rhetoric just before Corax and Teisias.[29] The other component of Görgemanns' rhetoric-based argument is Hermes' defense speech to Zeus (366-86) which can be viewed as a miniature oration.[30] That speech concludes with Hermes' attempt to elicit Zeus' pity and a threat to take revenge on Apollo in the future, motifs typically found in epilogues—another innovation of sophistic rhetoric.[31] This leads him to link Hermes' rhetoric to the Sophists and, more specifically, to the rhetoric practiced in the Athenian courts from the beginning of the fifth c. BC.[32]

Görgemanns' second argument (concerning the Hymn's ideas on poetry and music) also has two parts. First, while the overall effect of Hermes' lyre-playing on Apollo (ῥεῖα μάλ' ἐπρήυνεν Ἑκηβόλον) has a parallel in what Hesiod says about the bard's power in the *Theogony* (87ff.), Görgemanns considers the Hymn's particular

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[28] Cf. 269-72, where Hermes claims that the other gods would find Apollo's accusations hard to believe; see Görgemanns (1976) 116.

[29] Görgemanns (1976) 116 n. 7: 'Man hat den *Eindruck*, daß die Hermes-Rede in der Geschichte der Rhetorik in eine Phase gehört, die kurz vor Korax und Teisias liegt' (italics mine); I cannot understand on what basis Görgemanns decides that Hermes' speech must precede rather than follow Corax and Teisias.

[30] Cf. my introductory note to that section, p. 298f.

[31] Here Görgemanns cites van Groningen (1958) 246.

[32] Görgemanns takes this to be a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the Hymn. His assumption is that an established judicial process is the essential precondition for the development of such oratory (p. 119). He discards without any explanation the Areopagus process as a possible context for practicing such oratory and proposes instead the Athenian jury courts after the Cleisthenian reforms.

emphasis on ἔρως-related words to describe the effects of music on the listener as innovations. Second, in 482-8 Hermes describes music as something that can be learned through practice, and Görgemanns wants to see in these verses a comparison of two styles: the style of the person who knows (consequently, the lyre gives to him responses pleasing to the mind) and the style of the person who does not know (and consequently creates ill-sounding responses). Görgemanns suggests that the style of the 'Nichtkönner' is not merely a stage in learning that one ought to pass quickly, but a *specific* musical style to which Hermes opposes his own expert way of music-making (p. 126). This 'bad' style, Görgemanns claims, shows some affinity with Pindar's, without however being identical with it (p. 127). From this he concludes that both Pindar and the poet of *h.Herm.* participated in a discussion on the aesthetic principles of music datable to 470-460 BC.

Görgemanns thus dates the Hymn to the early fifth century. However, his arguments are unpersuasive. The fact that Hermes delivers what appears to be a rhetorical speech cannot be deemed an innovation. The importance of persuasive speaking is already evident in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems and one cannot claim that rhetoric begins only with Corax and Teisias. At *Il.* 9.443 we learn that Peleus had instructed his son Achilles μύθων τε ῥητῆρ' ἔμεναι πρηκτῆρά τε ἔργων. Although, to be sure, rhetoric was codified much later, the Homeric poems contain speeches that are rhetorically organized. Nestor's speeches are deliberately styled and exhibit elements of later 'professional' or 'codified' rhetoric.[33] Hesiod, too, makes ample use of rhetoric, both

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[33] On Nestor as a speaker in the *Iliad*, see Toohey (1994) 153-62, who shows that all of the old king's speeches have a clear structure containing the following parts: exordium, prothesis, pistis, prothesis (diegesis),

in the *Theogony* and in the *Works and Days*, so much so that he has been recently called

the father of rhetoric.[34]

Görgemanns' insistence on the argument from probability is also fallacious. An

argument from probability does not necessarily presume the existence of systematized

rhetorical training; any one with common sense could formulate such an argument, as

Görgemanns himself admits. Under the circumstances, the argument from probability is

the only kind of argument that Hermes could make, both because of his status as an

infant and the argument's potential for comic effect. Finally, Corax and Teisias were not

the inventors of the argument from probability; rather, their innovation lay in the

creation of what Gagarin calls 'reverse probability' argument, i.e. an argument aiming to

counter the regular probability argument.[35] Thus, the argument from probability must

have existed before Corax and Teisias, and these two great exponents of the rhetorical

art are of no help in determining an approximate date for the poem.

Görgemanns' claims concerning the role of poetry and song are similarly

problematic. First, the ἔρως-related vocabulary describing the effects of Hermes' music

on Apollo is by no means an innovation; it appears already in Hesiod (cf. my note on

418-35 for parallels). It is, furthermore, in keeping with the presentation of the chelys as

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epilogue. Notice that three out of four speeches end with an epilogue containing an apostrophe (*Il.* 1.275-84, 7.159-60, 11.793-803), just like Hermes' defense speech to Zeus (*h.Herm.* 386). Furthermore, Nestor leads into the epilogue of the first speech by an appeal to Agamemnon and Achilles to be persuaded by his rhetoric (*Il.* 1.274 ἀλλὰ πίθεσθε καὶ ὕμμες, ἐπεὶ πείθεσθαι ἄμεινον); similarly, the epilogue of Hermes' speech to Zeus is preceded by πείθεο (378).

[34] See most recently Clay (2006) who points out that Hesiod was the first to place the power of persuasion under divine patronage; she furthermore shows the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days* to be a specimen of epideictic and forensic/deliberative oratory respectively.

[35] Gagarin (1994) 50-1. For the argument from probability from the point of view of the history of rhetoric, see Schiappa (1999) 35-7, who does not treat the *Hymn to Hermes*. See also Schmitz (2000) 47-51.

the δαιτὸς ἑταίρη, which is to be understood in two senses, i.e. as 'lyre' and

'courtesan' (cf. my introductory note on 463-95 and the notes on the individual verses

throughout that section).[36] A link between music and erotic desire already exists in

Homer. The effects of music are sometimes described by words deriving from the root of

θέλγειν 'enchant,'[37] and words related to θέλγειν can signify enchantment produced by

the power of love.[38] Furthermore, at *Od.* 17.513-21 Eumaios compares Odysseus' stories

during the three previous nights to the songs of a bard, ὅς τε θεῶν ἐξ ἀείδῃ δεδαὼς

ἔπε' ἱμερόεντα βροτοῖσι (*Od.* 17.518-9). If Odysseus were to talk to Penelope, he would

enchant her mind (θέλγοιτό κέ τοι φίλον ἦτορ), just as he (like a bard) enchanted

Eumaius' mind (ὡς ἐμὲ κεῖνος ἔθελγε παρήμενος ἐν μεγάροισι). Thus, there is no

reason to assume with Görgemanns that the Hymn's poet depends on sophistic poetics

to describe the effect of music by using erotic vocabulary.

Second, nowhere in the poem is a *syncrisis* between two poetic styles brought up

or even hinted at. The only comparison that the audience is invited to make is that

between poetry/music and prophecy (which I discuss in detail in my section on the

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[36] The idea of the lyre as the 'companion of the feast' is already present in *Od.* 17.270-1: ἐν δέ τε φόρμιγξ ἠπύει, ἣν ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἑταίρην.

[37] Walsh (1984) 14 defines θέλξις as 'the listener's unconsciousness of himself and his present situation' and suggests that 'by giving pleasure, enchantment makes men neglect their advantage or their purpose.' This, of course, is exactly what happens when Apollo hears Hermes' performance. See Marsh (1979) for the semantics of θέλγειν.

[38] See for example *Od.* 18.212-3 (τῶν [sc. μνηστήρων] αὐτοῦ λύτο γούνατ', ἔρῳ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔθελχθεν, πάντες δ' ἠρήσαντο παραὶ λεχέεσσι κλιθῆναι), and further –although somewhat less explicitly erotic—*Od.* 1.57-8 (αἰεὶ δὲ μαλακοῖσι καὶ αἱμυλίοισι λόγοισι θέλγει, ὅπως Ἰθάκης ἐπιλήσεται, of Calypso's attempts to convince Odysseus to remain in Ogygia) and 3.263-4 (ὁ δ' εὔκηλος μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἱπποβότοιο πόλλ' Ἀγαμεμνονέην ἄλοχον θέλγεσκεν ἔπεσσιν, of Aegisthus seducing Clytemestra).

Hymn's poetics; see p. 102ff.). Görgemanns' attempts at dating the Hymn ought to be

rejected as erroneous.

vi.) *Janko (1982)*

Humbert's and Görgemanns' arguments influence Janko's way of dating the

Hymn.[39] He accepts the idea that Hermes' threats against Pytho at 178-81 reflect the

contacts with Croesus and finds additional support from the poet's defense of the oracle

against greed and falsity (at 543ff.). The case for an allusion to Croesus' dedications in

Hermes' words at 178-81 is, as we have seen, rather tenuous, nor do Apollo's words at

543-9 argue in favor of such an allusion. Furthermore, Croesus' mistake (as far as we can

judge from Herodotus' version) was not that he followed any 'vain-speaking birds of

omen' (546) but that he tested the oracle's accuracy in the first place; but not a single hint

alludes to this process in our text.[40] Janko accepts Görgemanns' arguments as 'much the

best case for a date around the beginning of the fifth century'[41] and concludes by stating

that 'a date for the poem towards the close of the sixth century fits the evidence best.'

It must be pointed out, however, that in formulating his conclusion about the

date of *h.Herm.*, Janko does not base his argument on his statistical method,[42] but on the

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[39] Janko (1982) esp. 140-3.

[40] Dobson (1979) 352-3 argues that Croesus' test oracle is not historical but 'inserted into Croesus' *logos* (or at least told to Herodotus) for Delphi's own purposes.'

[41] Janko (1982) 142; cf. also his remark that Görgemanns' dating 'is certainly compatible with the other evidence of all kinds, and *convincing in itself.*' [italics mine]

[42] It is not my purpose to address Janko's approach in general since this would be beyond the scope of this dissertation. See Heubeck (1984) and Hoekstra (1986) for criticism on methodological grounds. The poetry we are examining is characterized by a (more or less) high degree of repetition. If a poet 'observes' or 'neglects' digamma in a phrase used in Homer or Hesiod, are we to count it as a conscious neglect or

content of the poem. In fact, the statistics are not particularly helpful in the case of our

Hymn, which appears to belong to an 'inconsistent' group.[43] This means that while the

evidence of ϝ suggests *h.Herm.* to be late,[44] other criteria place it at an earlier stage of the

development of epic diction.[45] Two of his linguistic criteria ('long' gen. in –οιο and 'long'

dat. in -οισι etc.) would place our Hymn *before* the *Iliad!*[46] This situation is explained by

resorting to the notion of 'false archaism,' i.e. archaic features consciously used by the

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observance or a reuse of traditional formulae? The same question also applies to other linguistic features (datives in –οισι etc., gen. in –άων et al.). One should perhaps focus more on phenomena occurring in modified formulae or at formulae-boundaries. Finally, I should state my doubts as to whether statistics can really grasp all the factors that constitute a poetic style; it certainly changes over time, but the differences between poems depend on other issues as well, e.g. epichoric traditions, personal taste, competence, content, mood etc., which statistics cannot completely reveal. Cf. in this context the warning issued already by Forderer (1958) 100: 'Der jeweilige Stil einer Dichtung steckt ja in dem ganzen Komplex aus Wort- und Formenwahl, Wortstellung, Satzbau, Satzverknüpfung, Metrum, Rhythmus, Klang und Komposition, der in keine Statistik eingeht. Ihm kann am ehesten noch eine auf den geformten Inhalt gerichtete Einzelinterpretation gerecht werden, der sich von Fall zu Fall auch eine Statistik anschließen mag.'

[43] Janko (1982) 75.

[44] A few words must be said regarding the use of digamma as a dating criterion, since although Janko uses several linguistic features to determine the relative dating of the archaic epic poems, it is the data from digamma that decisively point to a low date for the *Hymn to Hermes*. I believe that no certain conclusions can be drawn from the observances and neglects of digamma as to the date or provenance of the Hymn. The digamma was not always observed even in areas where it was retained in the vernacular (see Janko [1982] 42 referring to Edwards [1971] 137-9), while statistics are possibly skewed due to the difference in length and content of the works compared. The situation is further complicated if one takes into consideration the number of cases where it is impossible to tell whether digamma was observed or not (I have counted 31 such cases in *h.Herm.*; obviously, it makes a difference in the resulting numbers whether one counts them as neglects, observances, or not at all). To make matters worse, hiatus is not *necessarily* healed before a word that (once) begun with a ϝ, since the digamma may not have been observed even in those positions; hiatus is sometimes admitted in heroic verse (see p. 43 for examples from *h.Herm.*). On the other hand, words ending with a –ν ἐφελκυστικόν before a word originally beginning with ϝ are not certain neglects either, as the –ν may have been inserted in the course of the manuscript tradition. Editorial choices, too, ought to be taken into consideration as they can sometimes influence our statistical data (especially in shorter texts). To give just one example, the MSS in *h.Herm.* 263 and 363 read 'οὐκ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, οὐκ ἄλλου μῦθον ἄκουσα.' This verse in all likelihood is influenced by *Od.* 23.40 which in Allen's text runs 'οὐ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, ἀλλὰ στόνον οἶον ἄκουσα,' assuming observance of ϝ in ἴδον. The MSS in that line have οὐκ, which Allen changed to οὐ. The same editor, however, retained οὐκ in *h.Herm.* presumably on account of the Hymn's later date. Such considerations indicate the degree of caution one should exercise in this matter.

[45] These are: the gen. in –άων, contracted gen. in –ου, dat. in -οις before consonant, acc. in -ους before vowel, acc. in -ᾱς before vowel, and the formulaic system of Ζηνός etc., most of which position *h.Herm.* at various points between the *Iliad* and the *Theogony*, the two major stages in Janko's timeline.

[46] Janko conveniently summarizes his finds in three charts, p. 72-4.

poets to give an 'archaic garnish' to their style.[47] In addition, Janko acknowledges that

'the strictly formular tests of density, extension and economy could not discriminate

between Homer and *h.Herm.*'[48] The inconsistency in the distribution of linguistic criteria

is explained through the influence of fixed texts of Homer and Hesiod. In other words,

'these poets are learning to compose not by listening to their elders' poetry so much as

by hearing readings or recitations from memory, or by themselves reading, texts fixed at

much earlier phases in the history of the bardic tradition.'[49] If that were the case,

however, we should expect a higher degree of consistency in the archaisms and not such

wild divergence as in the case of the *Hymn to Hermes*. In addition, it is difficult to see

how *h.Herm.* could exhibit so many ἅπαξ λέγομενα and words used differently than in

Homer if it were influenced by such fixed texts.

vii.) *Other considerations*

The above discussion has shown that none of the criteria used for dating the Hymn is

without objections. The seven-stringed lyre may provide only a vague *terminus post quem*

(seventh century). The references to Pytho do not necessarily allude to the wealth

bestowed to the oracle by Croesus nor can we see in 546ff. any apology for the oracle's

failure in the case of Croesus; thus, they cannot lower the *terminus post quem*. The lexical

affinities with later (tragic/ comic) Greek, evoked by Voss and subsequently repeated, do

not prove anything, as they do not involve direct, verifiable allusions to such poets.

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[47] Janko (1982) 76-9.
[48] Janko (1982) 40-1.
[49] Janko (1982) 191.

Is there any way of establishing the date of the *Hymn to Hermes*? The present state of the evidence does not allow a positive answer to this question. However, one may be able to formulate a hypothesis based on some (admittedly meager) linguistic and cultural evidence—but I must say at the outset that, just as with all the previous hypotheses, the ground is slippery.

The linguistic point rests on the form κατάκειαι (254). The 2nd singular form κεῖοι is attested for Arcadian (Tegea, Mantinea). The original second singular ending –αι (after the loss of intervocalic -σ-) changed into –οι, probably under the influence of the secondary endings.[50] Homer has the later form κεῖσαι, where the -σ- has been restored by analogy. It has been suggested that the change from *κεῖαι to κεῖοι must have taken place around 600 at the earliest;[51] thus, κατάκειαι (if genuine) must precede that date. Although this form cannot be used on its own as an absolute and definitive argument for the Hymn's provenance or date—since the poet was working with a *Kunstsprache* that consisted of different layers, and our text is at places manifestly corrupt—it may nevertheless point to a date around the end of the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century BC.

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[50] Hoffmann (1900).

[51] Hoffmann (1900) 204 argues on the basis of the coexistence of forms such as κεῖοι and ἀναγνώσῃ in the same inscription that the change from –αι to –οι occurred only when the contraction of the ending –εαι to –ηι had already taken place (second half of the seventh century). Cf. however Dubois (1988) 178 and 320-2 (for the two occurrences of κεῖοι in the epigraphic record), who considers the coexistence of κεῖοι with ἀναγνώσῃ in the same inscription problematic, and attributes the inscriptions to Arcadian with reservation.

The wand that Hermes receives from Apollo at 528ff. may also offer some help.[52] It is described as 'most beautiful, golden, and three-leafed,' but nothing is said about its decoration with snakes. This form of the caduceus is said to derive from the eight-shaped wand, which itself is a development from the forked-shaped caduceus or 'Zwieselstab.'[53] The wand that Hermes receives seems thus to belong to the older type. According to de Waele's study of the evolution of the magic rod, the change to the eight-shaped type must have occurred by the middle of the sixth century,[54] which would then function as a *terminus ante quem*.

These two points combined suggest a very approximate date of composition between the end of the seventh and (before) the middle of the sixth century BC. However, a few caveats: the argument for κατάκειαι presupposes that the passage is not corrupt, something that cannot be guaranteed given the general state of the text. The argument concerning the caduceus, requires the assumption that a.) the passage is not interpolated; and b.) we are not dealing with a 'cultural archaism' whereby the poet is resorting to the pristine form of the wand to make his account accord with the mythical time in which the events are taking place.

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[52] Càssola (1975) 173 dismisses the evidence from the caduceus on the grounds that it occurs in the last part of the Hymn, which is considered spurious; but see my introductory comments on 503-80 and Graefe (1963) 519-20.

[53] On the evolution of the caduceus, see de Waele (1927) with references to pictorial representations and Boetzkes (1921) esp. 334-5.

[54] de Waele (1927) 73.

Place of composition

Attica, Ionia, Euboea, and Boeotia have been proposed as possible places for the Hymn's composition. The evidence adduced for most of these is predominately linguistic. As a brief survey will show, the arguments for each case are simplistic and/ or circular, hence unconvincing.

The case for Attica has already been dealt with when examining Brown's ideas on dating the Hymn and need not be repeated here. Moreover, no real Atticisms are to be found in the poem, except for the form οὔσας (106) which, however, is paralleled elsewhere in the epic tradition.[55]

Euboea, too, has been proposed on linguistic grounds. Fick restored the form ἤχοῦ at 400; and due to the similarity with ἤχοι that occurs in an inscription from Oropos (*IG* 7 235.16) he suggested that this usage (combined with θᾶττον at 255) supported the view that the poet was an Ionian from Euboea.[56] However, the form ἤχοῦ itself is not particularly Euboean;[57] as for θᾶττον, our text also preserves θᾶσσον unanimously at 212; hence this isolated form cannot be used as a basis for judgment.

Ionian origin was suggested by W. Luther who sought support for his thesis in the similarity between Hermes and Odysseus as liars.[58] Furthermore, he took Apollo's words at 542 as a reflection of the Homeric belief that oracles can be deceptive. It is easy to discern the fallacy of this argument. Although it is certainly true that Hermes is

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[55] For the form of this participle, see my note *ad loc.* For an exhaustive (and 'deconstructing') survey of the Hymn's 'Atticisms,' see Janko (1982) 143-9.

[56] Fick (1896) 272, followed by AS/ AHS.

[57] Its formation can be paralleled by ἀλλαχοῦ, πανταχοῦ, etc.

[58] Luther (1935) 160-8, arguing against Radermacher's idea that the poet was Boeotian.

compared with Odysseus, this does not imply that the poet is an Ionian; it only shows

that he was familiar with the Odyssean tradition.[59] And the belief that gods may deceive

is not a specifically Homeric or Ionian one.

Boeotia was proposed both for linguistic reasons and aspects of content. The

form ἀθρόας is cited in support (as a Hesiodism), but it too is not distinctively

Hesiodic.[60] Borrowings from Hesiod have also been adduced in support of Boeotian

origin: δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης (76) ~ *Th*. 547; θερμὸς ἀυτμή (110) ~ *Th* 696;[61] γνῶ δ'

οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε (243) ~ *Th* 551; πῦρ ἀμαρύσσων (415) ~ *Th* 827; οἴκοι βέλτερον εἶναι,

ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ θύρηφι (36) ~ *Op*. 365; ἔργῳ δ' ἔργον (120) ~ *Op*. 382. However, these

phrases do not prove the Boeotian provenance of the Hymn. What they indicate is the

poet's familiarity with Hesiod's works. The similarities with the *Theogony*, furthermore,

derive from the Prometheus and the Typhoeus episodes and serve specific poetic

purposes: Hermes is implicitly likened to Prometheus (another trickster figure) while the

reference to Typhoeus (the last challenger to the order established by Zeus) is in line

with the presentation of Hermes' and Apollo's conflict in terms reminiscent of the

succession myth.[62]

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[59] For the comparison between Hermes and Odysseus, see below, p. 49ff.

[60] See my note on 106.

[61] But cf. *Od*. 12.369 ἡδὺς ἀυτμή.

[62] For the two divine brothers' conflict in relation to the succession myth, see my introductory note on 254-77. See also Janko (1982) 140 who points out that these two episodes may have become popular at an early stage. The proverbial phrase at *h.Herm*. 36 at need not necessarily be a quotation from *Op*. 365—after all, both poets may be drawing from a common source of proverbial wisdom. The same may be said (admittedly, with less certainty) about ἔργῳ δ' ἔργον ὄπαζε. A stronger case can be made for a relation to the *Theogony*; see below, p. 51ff. Finally, θερμὸς ἀυτμή may be simply a coincidence or an under-represented formula.

A conjecture of Radermacher's at 109, involving σίδειον (the name for pomegranate and water-lily in the area near Orchomenos) has been also cited in support of Boeotian attribution; the conjecture is not necessary, as I indicate in my note *ad loc.* Even if admitted, it is of limited value. The Boeotian origin of the Hymn cannot be proven on the basis of this one word, just as one cannot prove an Arcadian provenance on the strength of κατάκειαι (which, at least, is unanimously transmitted) or the reference to Mt. Cyllene. At any rate, the language of the Hymn is not distinctly Boeotian.

The extensive reference to Onchestus has also been invoked in this regard, but its presence can be explained otherwise: it may be a reference to *h.Apol.*[63] But one could equally see it as an allusion to Hermes' cult at Boeotia, where according to some sources he was born.[64] Such an argument would not be cogent, as it can be made for all places mentioned in the Hymn. Why should the poet be Boeotian and not from Elis (since he dwells so much on the events at the Alpheius) or from Arcadia?[65]

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[63] See Dornseiff (1938), and below p. 54ff.

[64] See Schachter (1981) II 40-54 for Hermes' cults at Boeotia; on p. 46 Schachter points out that the account of Hermes' birth at *Th.* 938-9 is embedded in what one might call a 'Boeotian section' of the poem (930-55, dealing with couples and/or offspring that have a special connection with Boeotia) and concludes that the tradition of Hermes' birth at Tanagra may go back at least to the archaic age. The Onchestus-episode could then be the poet's acknowledgment of such a Boeotian tradition, which of course does not necessarily imply that the poet was Boeotian himself.

[65] Johnston (2002) suggests that *h.Herm.* may have been performed during a *Hermaia* festival, and its cattle-theft story would thus mirror the initiation rites in which young men participated. On p. 128-30 she surveys a variety of places where the Hymn could have been performed (during the *Hermaia* festival), without suggesting any particular venue for its "original" performance. These places are Pheneus, Pellene, Delphi, Delos, and Olympia. One can object, as Johnston herself remarks, that Pellene, Delos, and Olympia are not overtly mentioned in the poem; we do not know of any *Hermaia* in Delphi, while the tradition that Hermes had found the tortoise on Mt. Chelydorea (in Pellene) is absent—if not suppressed—from our Hymn; finally, our information about the *Hermaia* at Pheneus is rather late (Pausanias). It may be doubted, however, whether our Hymn has such a strong association with cultic events; see Vamvouri-Ruffy (2004) for an

My own position in this issue is agnostic. I do not believe that there is any hint in the text that would allow us to make a conclusive argument for the Hymn's provenance. We can say with certainty that our poet is familiar with both the Odyssean (Ionian) and Hesiodic (Boeotian, mainland) epic traditions, elements of which he uses in a productive manner. However, in the present state of our evidence we cannot hope to go much further.

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exhaustive discussion on the differences between the rhapsodic (Homeric) and the cultic hymns. Finally, Hermes' role as ἐναγώνιος is not even hinted at in the poem, which makes its performance at a festival where youths would compete, problematic.

II. THE *HOMERIC HYMN TO HERMES* AND THE EPIC TRADITION

This section aims at summarizing points that are made in the commentary and is divided into three parts. Part A deals with the Hymn's language and consists of two subsections: section I examines the vocabulary under four headings (i. *hapax legomena*, ii. words which *h.Herm.* shares with Hesiod but not with Homer, iii. words/ phrases used differently in *h.Herm.* than in Homer and/or Hesiod, and iv. words/ phrases not found in Homer and/or Hesiod), while section II discusses certain formulaic phrases, that appear innovative. Part B deals with the Hymn's metre and prosody. Finally, Part C examines *h.Herm.* in relation to other archaic epic poems.

A.) *Language*

I. Vocabulary

The Hymn's vocabulary has been studied by Fietkau (1866), Greve (1867), Windisch (1867), and Shelmerdine (1981) 17-22 (some of whose lists are incomplete).

i.) *hapax legomena*

In this list I include words that occur only in the Hymn; I count as *hapax legomena* also those words which occur in *h.Herm.* and are cited by Lexicographers. These words are marked with an asterisk in the commentary and are discussed in the individual notes. Although the number of the *hapax legomena* is high in proportion to the Hymn's length,

some have Homeric parallels for their formation, as is shown in the commentary.

Thus, rather than interpreting their presence as a sign of the poem's late date, one may

view them as an indication of the poet's creativity: instead of being a passive reproducer

of traditional language, he expands the inherited poetic diction.

13. αἱμυλομήτην, 15. ὀπωπητῆρα, πυληδόκον, 41. ἀναπηλήσας (?), 42. ἐξετόρησεν, 56. παραιβόλα, 57. καλλιπέδιλον, 75. πλανοδίας, 86. αὐτοτροπήσας, 91. πολυοινήσεις, 109. ἐπέλεψε, 127. χαρμόφρων (also Hsch.), 129. κληροπαλεῖς, 137. οὐλόποδ(α), κατεδάμνατ(ο), 159. φιλητεύσειν, 190. βατοδρόπε, 301. σπαργανιῶτα, 335. φιλολήϊος, 339. λησίμβροτοι, 357. διαπυρπαλάμησεν, 361. ὠμόργαζε, 385. φώρην (als Hsch.), 389. κακομηδέα, 400. ἠχοῦ, 411. ἐμβολάδην (also Hsch.), 436. μηχανιῶτα, 443. νεήφατον, 478. εὐμόλπει, 486. δυήπαθον, 511. ἐκμάσσατο, 517. ἐπαμοίβιμα, 531. θεμούς (*Et.Gud.*, *EM*, Hsch.), 546. μαψιλόγοισι.

ii.) <u>Words *h.Herm.* shares with Hesiod but not with Homer</u>:

1. ὕμνει (both in *Th.* and *Op.*; but cf. *Od.* 8.429 ἀοιδῆς ὕμνον), 17. ἠῷος (*Op.*), 19. τετράδι (*Op.*), 30. ὀνοτάζω (*Op.*), 31. ἐρόεσσα (*Th.*), 44. μέριμναι (*Op.*), 46. κύδιμος (*Th.* also of Hermes), 47. μέτροισι (*Op.*), 67. φιληταί (*Op.*), 80. ἄφραστ(α) (fr.), θαυματά (fr.), 98. ὄρθρος (*Op.*), 105. ἐπεφόρβει, 112. κᾶλα (*Op.*), 146. δοχμωθείς (*Sc.*), 158. Λητοΐδης (*Sc.*, fr.), 338. κέρτομον (*Op.*), 342. εὐθύ (fr.), 372. μάρτυρας (*Op.*), 159. μέταζε (*Op.*), 495. περιζαμενῶς (fr.), 498. βουκολίας (*Th.*), 557. μελέτησα (*Op.*), 559. κηρία (*Th.*).

Many of the words which the Hymn shares with Hesiod (10 out of 23) are found in the *Works and Days*. To these, one may add *h.Herm.* 36 = *Op.* 365 and *h.Herm.* 120 ~ *Op.* 382, both of which are proverbial in nature and may not imply direct borrowing. The poet, furthermore, shares the formula κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς with Hesiod (*Th.* 938-9, Hermes' birth from Zeus and Maia); that could point to an established narrative from which both the Hermes-poet and Hesiod draw (but Hesiod condenses it significantly). Most of these words do not point to a direct allusion to Hesiod. For the possible allusions to episodes in the *Theogony* (Prometheus and Typhoeus), see below, notes on 76 and 243, and p. 50ff.

iii.) <u>Words and phrases used differently in *h.Herm.* than in Homer and/or Hesiod</u>:

2. μεδέοντα (of Hermes; cf. S. *fr.* 371, Ar. *Ra.* 665), 14. ληϊστῆρ(α) ('robber' instead of 'pirate' as it is normally found in Homer), ἐλατῆρα ('one who drives away'; cf. Call.*Jov.* 3, Opp.C. 1.119), ἡγήτορ(α), 20. θόρε (for ἐξέθορεν), 23. ὑψηρεφέος, 48. ῥινοῖο ('(tortoise-)shell'), 55. αὐτοσχεδίης (cf. Th. 1.138, X. *HG* 5.2.32), 72. ἀκηρασίους ('untouched,' then Rhian. *AP* 12.93.4), 85. ἀλεείνων ('hide'?), 92. κωφός ('deaf'; cf. Hdt. 1.34, Heraclit. 34, Aesch. *Th.* 202, *Ch.* 881 etc.), 95. κελαδεινούς (of mountain-glens instead of persons), 96. διήλασε ('pass through'), 98. δημιοεργός ('who sends/causes people to work'), 107. κύπειρος (instead of the neuter), 108. ἐπεμαίετο (with acc.), 114. φῦσαν ('smoke'?), 119. ἐγκλίνων (transitive), 124. ἐξετάνυσσε ('stretch out'), 127. πίονα ἔργα ('pieces of fat meat'), 149. κτύπεν (normally of Zeus' thunder or the battle-din'),

152. λαῖφος ('cover, blanket'?; normally 'rags'), 194. κυάνεος (of a living animal),

χαροποί (normally of lions), 225. ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισιν (normally 'swift'), 230. ἀμβροσίη

(normally of things), 250. ἄργυφα (normally of sheep), 279. ῥιπτάζεσκεν (normally 'to

hurl or toss'), 350. διώκειν (= ἐλαύνειν), 354. κρατερόν (of the ground), 361. αὐγάς

('eyes'), ἀλεγύνων (normally of preparing a meal), 400. χρήματ(α) ('cattle'), 411.

αὐτόθεν (sua sponte), 415. ὑποβλήδην (normally 'interrupting'), 426. ἀμβολάδην

(normally of water boiling in a cauldron), 442. ἀγαυόν (normally of persons), 452.

βρόμος (of musical sounds), 487. ἐπιζαφελῶς (normally of anger), 488. θρυλλίζει (of an

unmusical sound produced by the lyre), 544. τεληέντων (of omens), 557 μελέτησα

(with acc.), 565. δαείης ('meet'?), 572. τετελεσμένον ('formally appointed').

iv.) <u>Words or phrases not found in Homer and/ or Hesiod</u>:

I indicate in parentheses the earliest attestations of these words outside the Hymn.

6. παλίσκιος (Archil.), 12. ἀρίσημα (Tyrt., Hp.), 17. γεγονώς (not guaranteed),

ἐγκιθάριζεν (h.Apol.), 21. λίκνῳ (Soph.), 24. χέλυν (Sapph., Alc.), 28. σαῦλα (Semon.,

Anacr.), 30. σύμβολον (Archil.), ὀνήσιμον (Aesch.), 31. χοροιτύπε (Pi.), 33. ὄστρακον

(Soph., Theoc.), 35. ἀποτιμήσω (Call.), 37. ἐπηλυσίης (h.Dem.), πολυπήμονος (h.Dem.),

41. γλυφάνῳ (Theoc.), 42 χελώνης (Hdt.), 45. ἀμαρυγαί (Aristoph.), 47. καλάμοιο

(Hdt.), 48. διά...πειρήνας (Man.), 53. πλήκτρῳ (h.Apol.), μέρος (h.Dem.), 56. ἥβηταί

(Eur.), 75. ψαμαθώδεα (A.R.), 79. σάνδαλα (Sapph.), 80. ἀνόητ(α) (Soph., Pl.),

διαπλέκειν (Pi.), 81. μυρσινοειδής (Gal.), 82. ἄγκαλος (Rom.Mel.), 83. ἀβλαβέως (Th.),

90. σκάπτειν (Hdt.), 93. καταβλάπτεσθαι (Arist.), 94. συσσεύειν (Orph.), 95. αὐλών (Hdt.), 103. αὔλιον (Soph.), ὑψιμέλαθρος (Orph., Nonn.), 104. ληνός (Theoc.), 111. πυρήιον (Soph.), ἀναδιδόναι (Antim., Hdt.), 112. κατουδαῖος (Hes. as proper name; Call.), 122. γεράσμιος (Orph.), 125. πολυχρόνιος (Hdt.), 128. πλαταμών (A.R.), 141. καταλάμπειν (Eur.), 143. ὄρθριος (Thgn.), 146. κλῆιθρον (Aesch.), διαδύνειν (Hdt.), 151. σπάργανον (Pi.), 152. ἰγνύς (Arist.), 165. ταρβαλέος (Soph.), 168. ἀδώρητος (Eur.), ἄλιστος (Aesch.), 187. ἐρισφάραγος (Bacch.), 192. ἑλικτός (Soph.), 209. εὔκραιρος (Aesch.), 222. βῆμα (Pi., Aesch.), 224. λασιαύχην (h.Hom. 7, Soph.), 229. βαθύσκιος (Theoc.), 230. λοχεύειν (Eur.), 238. πρέμνον (Pi.), 241. νεόλλουτος (Hp.), 245. ἐντροπίη (Hp.), 248. ἔκπλειος (?Eur.), 254. μηνύειν (Hdt.), 255. διαφέρεσθαι (Heracl.; Hdt.), 264. μήνυτρον (Hippon.), 272. ἀπρεπέως (Pl.), 273. χθές (Hdt.), 276. κλοπός (Opp.: κλόπος), 280. ἀποσυρίζειν (Luc.), 282. δολοφραδής (Pi.), 285. σκευάζειν (Hdt.), 296. ἀγγελιώτης (Call.), 307. ζαμενής (Pi.), 308. ὀρσολοπεύειν (Aesch.), 313. διαρρήδην (Dem., Isocr., Pl.), 316. λάζυσθαι (Hp.; Eur.), 322. τέρθρον (Emp.), 325. συλλαλιή (? Corp.Gloss.Lat.; Eust.), 332. σπουδαῖος (Thgn.; Hdt.), 336. κεραϊστής (Hsch.), 351. διαπρέπειν (Pi.), 352. στίβος (Hdt.; Aesch.), 356. κατείργω (Hdt.), 360. λάειν, 372. κατόπτης (Hdt.), 375. φιλοκυδής (Xen., as proper name), 384. εὐκόσμητος (Eust.), προθύραιον (Orph.), 388. ὠλένη (Aesch.), 399. ὑψιμέλαθρος (Orph.; Nonn.), 406. νεογνός (Hp.; Eur.; Xen.), 410. ἄγνος (Hp.; Chionid.; Pl.), 413. κλεψίφρων (Man.; Greg.Naz.), 431. πρέσβις (Pl.), 433. ἐπωλένιος (A.R.), 436. βουφόνος (Simon.), 438. ἡσυχίως (Pl.), 448. τρίβος (Hdt.; Aesch.), 449. ἔρωτα (Sapph.), 450. ὀπηδός (Aesch.), 460. ἀκόντιον (Hdt.), 472. μαντεία

(Tyrt.), 478. ἑταίρην ? (Hdt.), 481. κῶμος (Thgn.; Pi.), 485. συνήθεια (Hp.; Pl.; Xen.),

486. ἐργασίη (Pi.), 512. ἀκουστός (Hp.; Soph.), 515. ἀνακλέπτειν (Epigr.?), 526-7.

ἐκποιεῖσθαι (Hdt.), 530. τριπέτηλος (Call.), 556. διδάσκαλος (Aesch.), 562.

ἀπονοσφίζομαι (h.Dem.), 573. ἄδοτος (Pap., 2 c. AD).

II. Formulaic phrases

The poet makes use of the formular diction found in the Homeric and Hesiodic poems.[66]

Boettcher (1905) produced lists documenting the affinity of *h.Herm.* and the Homeric

hexameter. Certain phrases, however, are of special interest:

i.) νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ (67, 155, 400), equivalent in every respect to νυκτὸς ἀμογλῷ (which,

in fact, occurs at 7; cf. *Il.* 11.173, 15.324, 22.28, 22.317), is unique to our poet.

ii.) ἀνθοῦσαν ἀλωήν (87) is metrically equivalent to *Od.* 6.293 τεθαλυῖά τ' ἀλωή, which

could have been used here with a slight modification (i.e. τεθαλυῖαν ἀλωήν);

considerations of sense, however, may have prevented the poet from using the

Odyssean phrase: ἀνθοῦσα in all likelihood points to the appearance of the first vine-

shoots, instead of the flowers (see *LfgrE, s.v.* ἀνθέω 1a for details). A similar

phenomenon occurs at 27 (ἐριθηλέα ποίην) where the Iliadic νεοθηλέα ποίην could

have been used; again, considerations of the formula's sense must have been operative

here; see my note *ad loc.*

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[66] For the formular diction of *h.Herm.*, see Cantilena (1984) 241-63.

iii.) τόσσον φάς (94), an emendation of D. Chalcocondyles, which should be considered as certain. The poet could have used the Homeric ὥς εἰπών; if we are correct in detecting a deliberate choice here, the poet may have wished to emphasize the conciseness of Hermes' preceding speech.

iv.) βοῦς ...εὐρυμετώπους (102), cf. *Il.* 20.495 βόας...εὐρυμετώπους, which could have been used here. The tradition at line 102 is unanimous (judging by Càssola's *apparatus*), but this does not preclude an original βόας; the same applies to 116 (ἕλικας βοῦς).[67] The contracted βοῦς predominates in the Hymn.

v.) (ἑτέρης σοφίης) ἐκμάσσατο τέχνην is a doublet within the poet's own formulaic system, in light of πυρὸς δ' ἐπεμαίετο τέχνην (108).

vi.) ἠελίοιο νέον καταδυομένοιο (197) ~ ἠελίοιο νέον ἐπιτελλομένοιο (371) are novel phrases for the sun's setting and rising; 371 depends on 197 (since νέον is irregularly lengthened at 371). They belong to the poet's (internal) formulaic system; cf. van Nortwick (1975) 41-3.

vii.) Ὀγχηστὸν ἀφίκανε κιὼν πολυήρατον ἄλσος/ ἁγνὸν ἐρισφαράγου Γαιηόχου (186-7) seems to be an expansion with variation of *Il.* 2.506 (Ὀγχηστόν θ' ἱερὸν Ποσιδήιον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος); cf. also *h.Apol.* 230 (Ὀγχηστὸν δ' ἷξες Ποσιδήιον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος); it retains the beginning and the ending of the Homeric verse (Ὀγχηστόν, ἄλσος).

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[67] Cf. γεγονώς at 17: the form is unanimously transmitted, but could still be a substitute for γεγαώς.

viii.) κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς is a favorite formula of our poet; it recurs only once at Hes. *Th.* 938 (in a passage that contains all the elements of a hymnic proem: name of the deity, parentage, and the god's main function). The formulaic pattern '(verb) x—⏑⏑ κύδιμος/ν Ἑρμῆς/ν' is common in the Hymn (46, 96, 130, 150; 253, 316, 404, 571).

ix.) κόνις ... μέλαινα (140, 345) is also unique to the Hermes poet, perhaps formed under the influence of χθών/ γαῖα μέλαινα.

x.) ἀληθείην ἀγορεύσω (368; cf. and 561 ἀγορεύειν) is also peculiar to our poet, instead of the Homeric ἀληθείην καταλέξω/ -ειν; note that Ψ transmits καταλέξω at 368.

xi.) 'ἀφίκανε θέων/κιών' (70, 187) is another formulaic pattern that occurs only in *h.Herm.*; in Homer ἀφικάνειν is found exclusively at line-end.

xii.) ἄντρον ἐς ἠερόεν / ἄντρῳ ἐν ἠερόεντι (172, 234, 359) must have been considered a formula by the Hermes poet; however, the phrase does not recur elsewhere (not even in the *Odyssey* where one might expect it). It reappears in [Orph.] *H.* 69.4, which in all likelihood does not depend on our passage. The phrase may have been created on the basis of the association between ἠερόεις and ζόφος / τάρταρος, and may point to Hermes' link to the Underworld.

xiii.) πίονα ἔργα (127), normally used in a metaphorical sense ('rich, fertile fields'), refers here to the fat pieces of meat that Hermes cuts. The poet, then, re-literalizes the metaphor; cf. Fernández-Delgado (1990) 210.

To summarize: the Hermes poet actively engages with the traditional formulaic diction by creating new phrases or re-interpreting old ones. The poet's creativity will

also be noted later in a different context.[68] In some cases, he goes out of his way to avoid the Homeric formulae (cf. my note on 68-9), while using diction that suggests knowledge of the Homeric antecedents. In a few cases we may note formulaic doublets within the poem, which suggest that the principle of formulaic economy is not strictly adhered to. Finally, certain variations from Homeric precedent seem to be dictated by the sense of the passage (e.g. ἐριθηλέα). Such conscious engagement with the inherited formulaic material is in keeping with the poet's overall self-consciousness.

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[68] See below, p. 95.

B.) *Metre and Prosody*[69]

Dactyls and Spondees

The following table indicates the percentage of dactyls and spondees in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* compared with the corresponding percentages in the rest of archaic Epic.[70]

	Iliad	*Odyssey*	Hesiod[71]	*Hymni Homerici*[72]	*h.Herm.*
4 dactyls + 1 sp.	42.6%	40.6%	40.6%	41%	43.8 %
3 dactyls + 2 sp.	29.7%	31.9%	32%	30.4%	22.7%
5 dactyls	19.2%	18.6%	17.3%	17.7%	26.9%
2 dactyls + 3 sp.	7.9%	8.3%	9.2%	8.7%	6%
1 dactyl + 4 sp.	0.6%	0.5%	0.9%	0.7%	0.5%

Table A

The distribution of spondees within the hexameter is as follows:

	1st foot	2nd foot	3rd foot	4th foot	5th foot
Spondees	192	191	78	133	37

Table B

h.Herm. shows a marked preponderance of dactyls (cf. Table A). In archaic Epic poetry — the *Homeric Hymns* included — verses containing one spondee are the most common, followed by verses containing two spondees. In *h.Herm.*, however, while

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[69] In compiling this section, I have used Càssola's (1975) edition. In the case of alternative verses, I have taken into consideration only those printed in the main body of his text.

[70] For the data regarding all the poems except for *h.Herm.*, I rely on LaRoche (1898). See also van Groningen (1953) 202.

[71] Under "Hesiod" I group the *Theogony*, the *Works and Days*, and the *Shield*.

[72] Except for *h.Herm.*, so as not to count it twice. Needless to say, the lumping of all the Hymns together yields results of only limited value.

verses with only one spondee are also the majority, the percentages are somewhat higher than the corresponding category in the rest of archaic hexameter (43.8% as opposed to 42.6% of the *Iliad*). In *h.Herm.*, moreover, the second highest represented category is that of verses containing 5 dactyls; the difference of the corresponding quotas is significant (26.9% as opposed to 19.2% of the *Iliad*). Furthermore, the percentage of lines with two and three spondees is (necessarily) significantly lower than the corresponding percentages in the rest of archaic Epic.

Spondees tend to concentrate in the first two feet of the line (see table B). In the 3rd foot spondees are rare, which should be related to the preference for the caesura κατὰ τρίτον τροχαῖον.

Out of the 580 lines, 37, i.e. 6.4%, are *spondaic*. This percentage is somewhat higher than that of Homeric verse (5%).[73] 27 have Homeric precedents (i.e. 9, 11, 144, 190, 220, 221, 344, 411, 441, 492, 505, 542, 555, 570, 578) and/ or consist of divine names necessary in the context of the *Hymn* (18, 22, 73, 84, 115, 236, 243, 294, 321, 322, 387, 414). Only 23, 33, 104,[74] 159, 369, 467,[75] 488, 503, 544,[76] and 546 lack exact parallels.

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[73] See West (1982) 37; also Maas (1962) 59, §83, who observes that the monosyllabic tenth biceps is 'almost always part of a word which is the last of the line.' There are but few exceptions to this rule in *h.Herm.*, *viz.* 243 (=321), 467, and 570.
[74] Although forms of ἀριπρεπής are found in spondaic endings; cf. *Il.* 6.477, 23.453.
[75] But cf. *h.Aphr.* 116 ὑμετέρην εὖ οἶδα.
[76] But cf. *Il.* 2.393, 11.453

Caesurae, Bridges, and Word-ends[77]

The *masculine* caesura occurs in 170 of the 580 verses (i.e. 29.3%). Of these, only one is *hephthemimeral, viz.* 381. The rest, (410, 70.7%) have a *feminine* caesura. The ratio between feminine and masculine caesurae exceeds by far the proportion of Homeric verse (4:3), being roughly 4:1.6. 317 verses, 54.6%, contain a bucolic diaeresis, a somewhat higher percentage than in Homeric verse (47%).[78]

Only verse 208 displays a (mild) break after the 9th element.[79] The line is part of the Old Man's reply and the break is caused by σαφὲς δ' οὐκ οἶδα, one of the many parentheses in the poem.

Hermann's Law regarding the avoidance of word-end at the fourth trochee is observed without exceptions.[80]

Wernicke's Law that the fourth metron may not end with a syllable long by position is also observed. The tendency, however, to avoid lengthening words (or word-ends) in —◡ by position is violated four times: at 266 (ἔργον τοῦτο), 336 (εὗρον τόνδε),

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[77] When referring to metrical *sedes* and the caesurae of the hexameter, I use Fränkel's diagram as modified by Porter (1951) 16. For the sake of convenience I reproduce it here:

	A²	A¹		B²	B¹		C¹		C²		
	1½ 2		3½ 4		5½ 6		7½ 8		9½ 10		12
1	◡ ◡	3	◡ ◡	5	◡ ◡	7	◡ ◡	9	◡ ◡	11	◡
	2		4		6		8		10		12
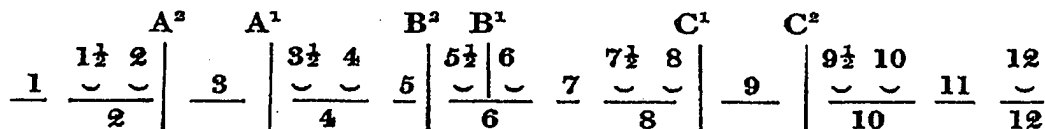
[78] For the percentages in Homeric verse, I rely on West's data; see West (1982) 36 for the ratio between caesurae, and 154 for the bucolic diaeresis (or 'caesura' as he terms it). For the distribution of all the A, B, and C caesurae in the Hymn, see Porter (1951).

[79] Cf. Maas (1962) 60-1, §88.

[80] Shelmerdine (1981) 23 mentions 15 violations of this Law without citing them, but I was unable to locate any.

366 (ἄλλον μῦθον~cf. *Il.* 7.358=12.232), and 443 (θαυμασίην γὰρ τήνδε). All these occur at the second *thesis*.

Meyer's Laws are violated on a few occasions:[81]

i.) First law: 13, 20[82], 52 (same as 20), 130[83], 138, 255[84], 348, 356 (same as 20), 379, 443, 475;

ii.) Second Law: 38, 117, 256, 274, 311, 360, 380, 406, 437;

iii.) Third Law: 23, 100[85], 107, 384.

Monosyllabic verse-ends[86] occur in the following verses: 97[87], 113[88], 216[89], 370 (same as 216), 407[90], 469, 494 (same as 407), 506 (same as 469), 540[91], 567[92], and 570[93], i.e. in 1.9% of the lines. Thus, the poet of *h.Herm.* follows Homeric practice in the handling of monosyllabic verse-endings, and in one case (113) he may be extending Homeric usage.

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[81] For a brief definition of these rules, see West (1997) 225-6.

[82] Considering δή an enclitic; cf. also 138.

[83] Cf. *Il.* 2.319, 4.480, *Od.* 8.504 etc.

[84] Cf. *Il.* 12.345, 358, 21.309. ἐπεί is considered a proclitic; see West (1982) 25.

[85] The verse may be corrupt; see note *ad loc.*

[86] On monosyllabics in the hexameter, see Korzeniewski (1968) 32.

[87] δαιμονίη νύξ; νύξ is found as a line-end in *Il.* 10.252 (πλέων νύξ), *Th.* 726 (ἀμφὶ δέ μιν νύξ) and 6 times in the *Odyssey* (4.429=4.574 ἀμβροσίη νύξ, metrically equivalent to our δαιμονίη νύξ; 5.294=9.69=12.315 οὐρανόθεν νύξ; 7.283 ἀμβροσίη νύξ).

[88] λάμπετο δὲ φλόξ; φλόξ is used at verse-end only in the *Iliad* (16.123 κέχυτο φλόξ; 23.228 παύσατο δὲ φλόξ, metrically and structurally equivalent to λάμπετο δὲ φλόξ).

[89] Cf. *Il.* 15.547 and *Od.* 8.60.

[90] οὐδέ τί σε χρή is fairly well documented as a line-end (9x in the *Iliad*, 8x in the *Odyssey*, once in *h.Dem.*).

[91] εὐρύοπα Ζεύς; cf. Wackernagel (1970) 160-3.

[92] ἕλικας βοῦς is also well-paralleled as a verse-end (4x in the *Iliad*, 5x in the *Odyssey*, once in the *Works and Days*; it is supplemented in Hes. *fr.* 198.11). Sometimes it is preceded by εἰλιποδας.

[93] εὐρεῖα χθών, also well-paralleled (4x in the *Iliad*, once in the *Theogony*, once in the *Shield*, and 2x in *h.Dem.*).

Other prosodic features

Hiatus[94] occurs in the following lines: 17[95], 21[96], 63 (same as 21), 110[97], 112, 124,

147[98], 148[99], 158, 230[100], 239[101], 398, 447, 558[102]. In most cases hiatus occurs at one of the

caesurae: A¹ caesura (158, 230); B² caesura (110, 147, 148); B¹ caesura (447); at the C¹

caesura or bucolic diaeresis (17); and C²caesura (21, 63, 112, 124).[103] Only in two

examples does hiatus appear in a part of the verse where no break occurs: 239 (a

dubious case) and 558 (a highly formulaic case).

Metrical lengthening occurs in the following verses:[104] 12, 23[105], 75, 196[106], 310, 345,

371[107].

Correptio epica occurs 152 times. As the following table shows, it is completely

avoided in position 7 ½ (its occurrence there would amount to a violation of Hermann's

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[94] I omit those cases where hiatus may be explained by the presence of initial ϝ-. I also do not consider 45 (ἤ ὅτε) a case of hiatus; as Bakker (1988) 8 observes, in view of the etymology of ἤ (< ἤϝε; cf. Latin -ve) initial vowel after ἤ should not be deemed to be *in hiatu*. ἤϝ' may be assumed.

[95] ἤματι⁸ ἐγκιθάριζεν; hiatus after ἤματι in the same *sedes* is found also in *Il.* 6.422 (ἤματι Ἄιδος εἴσω), where a formulaic phrase (Ἄιδος εἴσω) is attached to ἤματι. Note that μέσῳ ἤματι recurs in the same metrical *sedes* in *h.Apol.* 441 as it does in *h.Herm. loc. cit.*

[96] Cf. *Il.* 17.464 ἱερῷ ἐνὶ δίφρῳ and 18.504 ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ both in the same *sedes.*

[97] παλάμῃ⁵ ἄμπνυτο; the hiatus here may be due to the modification and dislocation of the formula ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃσι (e.g. *Od.* 5.234). On formulaic modification and dislocation, see Hainsworth.

[98] ὀπωρινῇ⁵ ἐναλίγκιος; cf. *Il.* 5.5 ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ ἐναλίγκιον. However, ὀπωρινός is scanned with short –ι- in *Op.* 674.

[99] ἄντρου⁵ ἐξίκετο; cf. *Od.* 9.312, a line that has the exact same metrical structure as v. 148. Notice also the similarities of sound: δειπνήσας δ' ἄντρου ἐξήλασε πίονα μῆλα. Of course, the spelling ἄντροι' is also possible.

[100] ἀμβροσίη³ ἐλόχευσε; cf. *Il.* 18.268.

[101] ἑ¹⁰ αὐτόν, unless it is spelled as one word (ἑαυτόν). But cf. Wyatt (1992) 21 and my n. *ad loc.*

[102] ἄλλοτε¹⁰ ἄλλη; cf. *Op.* 713 with West *ad loc.*

[103] For the admittance of hiatus at the caesurae, see van Leeuwen (1894)76-7.

[104] I exclude from my list common examples, such as ἀθανάτους (9) or ἀνέρος (44). In 234 (ἠερόεν ἑκατηβόλος) the *digamma* may be operative. For the phenomenon of metrical lengthening, see Thumb (1959) 217-8, Wyatt (1969), and West (1982) 38.

[105] ὑψηρεφέος² ἄντροιο, perhaps through the adaptation of *Il.* 9.582 (οὐδοῦ ἐπεμβεβαὼς ὑψηρεφέος θαλάμοιο).

[106] Metrical lengthening of κύνες in the same *sedes* occurs also in *Il.* 15.351.

[107] Cf. 197 ἠελίοιο νέον καταδυομένοιο.

Bridge), while it is rare in positions 3 ½, 4, and 9 ½. It appears most often before the

bucolic diaeresis, where the majority of shortened words consist of middle verb-forms or

infinitives (δαήμεναι, ἐπιβήμεναι). In the second most favorite position (6), most

examples involve καί.

Position	1 ½	2	3 ½	4	5 ½	6	7 ½	8	9 ½	10
Occurrences	20 13.0%	11 7.1%	6 3.9%	2 1.3 %	11 7.1%	40 26.0%	--	49 31.8%	4 2.6%	11 7.1%

Table C

Correptio attica occurs in 86 and 348; at word-boundaries in 6, 253, 265, 294, 332,

560, and 575.

Muta cum liquida lengthens a short final vowel in position 10 at 312; in position 4

at 400; in position 2 at 428; and in position 4 at 487.[108]

Short vowel lengthened before liquid or nasal: 48, 53 (also in 419, 501), and 425. There

are no examples of a short final vowel lengthened before initial σκ-.

Synecphonesis or *synizesis* occurs in 113, 175, 292, and 413.

Crasis is found in the following lines: 173 (κἀγώ; first here), 321 (δῆπειτα)[109], 394

(δαὖτ'), 558 and 563 (same as 321).

Elision occurs in every position in the verse except 11, but is rare in positions 3½

(4x) and 7½ (2x). This avoidance must be attributed to the operation of Meyer's First

Law and Hermann's Bridge, respectively. In fact, 154 (ὡς οὐκ οἴκαδ') violates Meyer's

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[108] On the treatment of *muta cum liquida* in Homeric verse, see Isler (1908) 22.
[109] Cf. West on *Th.* 100 and Richardson on *h.Dem.* 91.

First Law. As for the elisions occurring at 7½, they both involve prepositions forming

a single metrical unit with the following word; hence no violation of Hermann's bridge

should be assumed (332, 418). Elision is also rare at position 5 (4x) and is confined to

verb forms (50, 264 ≅ 364, 496). In all four cases the elision falls on the caesura, where δέ

or τε are usually elided.[110] Most examples of elision in the poem involve indeclinable

words (mainly particles and prepositions); the highest proportion of elided noun and

verb-forms occurs at positions 5 ½, 8, 9 ½, and 10; in the majority of declinable words a

final –α is elided. On 152 (περ' ἰγνύσι vs. περὶ γνυσί), see note ad loc.

Observance and neglect of *digamma*.[111] A list of the observances and neglects of

digamma in *h.Herm.* can be found in AS, lxvi-lxvii. I should note that their total

observances is 27 (instead of 26 as they indicate), while the total neglects is 49. To the

latter I should add 239[112], 306[113], 308, and 497[114]. In 472 (μαντείας θ' Ἑκάεργε) θ' has

been emended away as far back as Matthiae (see note *ad loc.*). Hence, the total cases of

neglects of digamma should be estimated at 53.

Miscellaneous

In 460 κρανάϊνον is scanned with long –ι–; see note *ad loc.* and Schulze, *QE* 253;

adjectives in –ινος indicating material have usually a short –ι–; cf. Schwyzer I 490 (§8).

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[110] Cf. Maas (1962) 88 §139.
[111] On the presence of the *digamma* in the Homeric dialect, see the discussion in Chantraine, *GH* I 106-57.
[112] ἀλέεινεν ἕ (=*σϝε) αὐτόν, a particularly harsh neglect; cf. Maas (1962) 82, §133, and Chantraine, *GH* I 146-7.
[113] ὤμοισιν ἐελμένος <ϝε-ϝελ-μένος.
[114] ἐγγυάλιξεν ἑκών; cf. Chantraine, *GH* I 128-9.

For the scansion of ἀθρόᾱς in 106, see note *ad loc.*; also Buck (1961) 68 §78 and 86 §104.8 for an overview of the development of the original accusative ending –ανς in the various dialects.

For an analysis of the use of enjambment in the Hymn, see van Nortwick (1975) 56-101.

C.) *The* Homeric Hymn to Hermes *and other archaic epic poems*

i.) The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* and the Odyssean tradition

The association between Hermes and Odysseus is deeply rooted in archaic

thought.[115] Both figures embody the qualities of *metis* which they use against the *bie* of

their stronger opponents. Furthermore, both Hermes and Odysseus are expert liars and

have a special relationship to the poet. Odysseus is compared to a bard at *Od.* 17.513-21

and usurps the role of the main narrator during his *apologoi;* similarly, Hermes *is* the

archetypal bard in the Hymn.

But we can trace the relation between Hermes and Odysseus even further back.

At *Od.* 19.395-7 we learn that Odysseus' maternal grandfather, Autolycus, surpassed

everyone in thievishness and the ability to swear equivocal oaths, and that these were

the gifts of Hermes.[116] At *Il.* 10.267 one of Autolycus' thievish exploits is described,

namely how he stole a helmet (κυνεή) out of Amyntor's house, by piercing a hole

through its walls (πυκινὸν δόμον ἀντιτορήσας; cf. Hermes' threat at 178: εἶμι γὰρ εἰς

Πυθῶνα μέγαν δόμον ἀντιτορήσων). Autolycus was also a cattle-thief (Apollod. 2.129)

and had the ability to make the stolen cows disappear (cf. Hes. *fr.* 67a.5) or to change

their footprints.[117] We may recall that Hermes' cattle-theft also involves the changing of

footprints (both his own, by wearing the makeshift sandals, and the cows' footprints, by

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[115] See in general Pratt (1993) esp. 63-73, and Shelmerdine (1984).

[116] ὃς ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο κλεπτοσύνῃ θ' ὅρκῳ τε· θεὸς δέ οἱ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν Ἑρμείας.

[117] Cf. Tzetzes on Lycophr. *Alex.* 344: ὁ Αὐτόλυκος κλεπτοσύνῃ πάντας ὑπερέβαλε, κλέπτων γε πάντων ἵππους τε καὶ βόας καὶ ποίμνια, τὰς σφραγίδας αὐτῶν μετεποίει καὶ ἐλάνθανε τοὺς δεσπότας αὐτῶν, ὥς φησι καὶ Ἡσίοδος (*fr.* 67a.5). It has also been suggested that Autolycus was a magician; see Marót (1961).

making the animals walk backwards). Autolycus, furthermore, appears in some sources as the son of Hermes.[118]

The connection between Hermes and Odysseus via Autolycus (whether Hermes' son or devoté) seems firm. The poet of *h.Herm.*, however, makes it more explicit. Hermes and Odysseus share some traditional epithets, *viz.* πολύτροπος, πολύμητις, and ποικιλομήτης.[119] Furthermore, our poet twice uses a formula for Hermes that is elsewhere used only of Odysseus (παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα *h.Herm.* 271, 331~ *Od.* 19.400).[120] The Hymn also contains certain thematic allusions to the *Odyssey* which lend more support to the affinity between the two characters, as pointed out by Shelmerdine: these are the description of Calypso's and Maia's caves, and the simile at 237-40 (cf. my notes *ad loc.*).[121]

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[118] Cf. Hes. *fr.* 64.15-8: ἥ [*sc.* Φιλωνίς] τέκεν Αὐτόλυκόν τε Φιλάμμωνά τε κλυτὸν αὐδήν, τὸν μὲν ὑποδμηθεῖσα ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι, τὸν δ'αὖθ' Ἑρμάωνι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι Αὐτόλυκον τίκτεν Κυλληνίῳ Ἀργειφόντῃ; this reflects another sort of 'competition' between Hermes and Apollo. For Hermes as the father of Autolycus, cf. also Apollod. 1.112 (a catalogue of the Argonauts), Ovid *Met.* 11.301-17 (Chionis instead of Philonis); further, Eust. 2.246, 3.65 (Son of Hermes and Telauge), Hyg. *F.* 200.

[119] πολύμητις is elsewhere used of Odysseus with only two exceptions: Hephaistus at *Il.* 21.335 and Athena at *h.Hom.* 28.2; πολύτροπος is used of Odysseus and Hermes without exception; see my n. on 12 (παῖδα πολύτροπον ~ *Od.* 1.1 ἄνδρα...πολύτροπον) and 319; ποικιλομήτης is used almost exclusively of Odysseus elsewhere (ex. *h.Apol.* 322, of Zeus). To these one may also add κερδαλέος which is often (though not exclusively) used of Odysseus. Note that Parry considered πολύτροπος a 'particularized' epithet; see Parry (1971) 153-65 on particularized epithets in Homer in general, and 156-7 specifically on πολύτροπος.

[120] The formula occurs modified in the formulaic verse Τηλέμαχός θ', ὃν (Τηλεμάχῳ, τὸν) ἔλειπε νέον γεγαῶτ' ἐνὶ οἴκῳ at *Od.* 4.112, 144.

[121] Shelmerdine (1984). However, I do not think that all of her proposed allusions are valid; see my note on 184-212 (the Old Man at Onchestus). The same applies to the supposed allusion to the Cattle of the Sun, for which Shelmerdine cites as evidence: a.) the Homeric epithets used to describe the cattle in both stories (which since traditional are of little value); b.) Hermes' appeal to Helios during his defense in Zeus' court (this need also not be an allusion; Hermes evokes the Sun precisely because it is *safe* to do so since he stole the cows at night); c.) the simile at *h.Herm.* 237-9 which seems to be based on *Od.* 5.486-91 (but this belongs to an entirely different context; see my note *ad loc.*). The problem with an allusion to the Cattle of the Sun in our story is that a.) the perpetrator is not the hero himself but his companions; and b.) that Helios' cows are alive even after they have been slaughtered, a remarkable detail whose presence one would expect in such an allusion; see also my note on 71. This is not to argue, of course, that her overall argument for Odyssean background is not valid.

ii.) The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* and Hesiod[122]

The words which the Hymn shares with Hesiod cannot by themselves prove

Hesiodic influence, since they may simply be traditional or reflect an accident in the

transmission of epic poetry. Similarly, the 'quotation' of *Op.* 365 in *h.Herm.* 36 (οἴκοι

βέλτερον εἶναι ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ θύρηφιν) does not necessarily indicate that our poet

knew Hesiod's *Works and Days*, although such parodic allusion would not be foreign to

the poem's style. The phrase in question is proverbial, and both poets may be drawing

on a common source (see also my note *ad loc.*). The same also applies to *Op.* 382 (ἔργον

ἐπ' ἔργῳ ἐργάζεσθαι) ~ *h.Herm.* 120 ἔργῳ δ' ἔργον ὅπαζε: an allusion to the *Work and*

Days is not absolutely certain here either, as this phrase too may be traditional.

However, the Hymn poet uses this phrase in a different and derivative sense: he

presents Hermes literally 'piling one deed on the other,' i.e. one piece of meat on the

other. In this context, one may point again to the formula πίονα ἔργα (127), discussed

above, p. 39. These 'quotations' need to be corroborated by stronger cases of Hesiodic

allusions.

Affinity with the *Theogony* may be detected in Hermes' second song (a theogonic

poem), as well as in the effect that his song has on Apollo, which suggests familirarity

with *Th.* 81-103.[123] This case for a connection with the *Theogony* looks more promising

because of the similarities in diction as well as content. Our poet shares the formula

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[122] The subject is treated in AS, p. 133, and Teske (1936) 64-6. Both limit themselves to verbal echoes, some of which are doubtful (e.g.φυὴν ἐρόεσσα at 31, ἀθρόας οὔσας at 106, θερμὸς ἀυτμή at 110, χωόμενον περὶ βουσίν at 236). On *h.Herm.* 36, Teske simply cites AS *ad loc.* who detect a 'palpable parody.' Although this is plausible, it cannot be proven.
[123] See below, p. 89 and 98f.

κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς with *Th.* 938 (also on Hermes' birth); cf. above p. 37. More important, however, are the reminiscences of the Prometheus and Typhoeus episodes. At 76 our poet uses the phrase δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης, also found at *Th.* 547, while at 243 he has γνῶ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε, which recurs at *Th.* 551 with a minor difference.[124] Thus, our poet uses these two instances of borrowing from the Prometheus episode to punctuate different stages of the cattle theft episode: the allusion to *Th.* 547 occurs when the divine babe steals Apollo's cows and decides to lead them backwards, while the reference to *Th.* 551 appears after Apollo has discovered that his cattle have been stolen. In both cases a more powerful god is able to see through the trickster's deceptive actions, and in both cases a visual deception is involved (bones wrapped in fat vs. Hermes wrapped in his swaddling clothes and pretending to be an ordinary infant; cf. also the backwards walking cows and Hermes' footprints, which constitute yet another case of visual deception). Both charaters, furthermore, are associated with fire: Prometheus steals the fire from Zeus; Hermes invents the fire-sticks.[125] The difference, which obviously contributes to the humor of the scene in *h.Herm.*, is that while in the *Theogony* Zeus pretends to be deceived by Prometheus' tricks, Apollo is truly at a loss and needs to interrogate his infant half-brother and the Old Man at Onchestus in order to find his cattle. Since Apollo only knows who the thief was, but not the cows' whereabouts, the reminiscence of *Th.* 551 becomes even more comical.

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[124] See also my note on 243.
[125] Notice that according to D.S. 5.67.2 it was Prometheus who invented the fire-sticks.

A further allusion to the *Theogony*, both in terms of diction and content, is to be found at 278-80 (cf. my note *ad loc.*, and *Th.* 826-7 and 835). In those verses, the poet has the Typhoeus episode in mind. In addition to the verbal similarities pointed out in my note, the overall context seems to support such an allusion. In both cases we are dealing with a divine figure born last (Typhoeus is the last offspring of Gaia; Hermes is the last born of the Olympians), who threatens the current establishment: Typhoeus aims at overthrowing Zeus, while Hermes challenges Apollo's position.

The Hermes poet, then, is certainly aware of Hesiod's *Theogony* and chooses to allude to two episodes that fit with the poem he is composing. The division of the meats at the Alpheios is an important event in the Hymn, preceded by a trickster-like adventure (the abduction of the cattle); hence, it alludes to Prometheus, the divine arch-trickster (and Hermes' uncle). The division of meat also has Promethean associations, though Prometheus prepares unequal portions (cf. *Th.* 535-41). On the other hand, with his allusion to the Typhoeus episode the poet gives a cosmic dimension to the conflict between Hermes and Apollo, which adds to its comic potential. Hermes poses a threat to Apollo, which is presented in terms reminiscent of the succession myth and implicitly compared to the last major danger Zeus had to face; the potential usurper, however, is an infant lacking Typhoeus' *bie*. Apollo, moreover, is not as successful a protector of the divine *status quo* as Zeus: he appears to be at a loss (cf. 219), and he needs his younger brother's help to discover his stolen cattle. Furthermore, the fact that Apollo himself had

almost suffered the punishment that he threatens to inflict on Hermes (i.e. to hurl him down to Tartarus), adds to the comedy of the conflict.[126]

Familiar with the Hesiodic (theogonic) tradition, the Hermes poet uses elements in a creative manner. While the only explicit reference to Hermes in the *Theogony* occupies a mere two lines, the poet of *h.Herm.* incorporates two important episodes of the *Theogony* into his Hymn and presents his hero as a Hesiodic bard.

iii.) The *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* and the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*

The two narratives contain common elements. Both are birth-hymns, and the god's exploits are manifestations of the 'precocious divine child'-motif.[127] Furthermore, in both hymns the praised deities accomplish a journey. The *Hymn to Hermes*, moreover, deals with topics addressed in the *Hymn to Apollo* (the establishment of Apollo as an oracular deity and his acquisition of the lyre), but from a different perspective. In addition to the common themes, Apollo's prominent role in the *Hymn to Hermes* invites a comparison between the two poems.

A link between the *Hymn to Hermes* and the *Hymn to Apollo* was first proposed, as far as I am aware, by L. Radermacher in his 1931 commentary. He noted two parallels, the first between lines 176-81 of the *Hymn to Hermes* and 536-7 of the *Hymn to Apollo*.[128] Both passages refer to the wealth of Delphi. I am reluctant, however, to accept any

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[126] See Vox (1981) and Harrell (1991); see also my note on 254-77.
[127] The possibility of a parallel between Hermes' and Apollo's birth in their respective Hymns is acknowledged by Penglase (1994) 184.
[128] Radermacher (1931) 110-1.

connection between these two passages since they refer to the wealth at Delphi in

entirely different terms: in *h.Apol.* we hear of the many victims that will be sacrificed;

h.Herm. refers to the cauldrons, tripods, and other goods that are stored in the temple.[129]

Equally unsatisfactory is Radermacher's suggestion of a link between *h.Herm.* 518 and

h.Apol. 79 (ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τλαίης γε θεῶν [θεὰ *h.Apol.*] μέγαν ὅρκον ὀμόσσαι).[130] In

h.Herm. 518 Apollo asks his younger half-brother to swear an oath that he will not

deprive him of his possessions at Delphi; at *h.Apol.* 79, it is Delos who requests an oath

from Leto that Apollo (soon to be born) will establish a temple there first. However, the

verse may simply be formulaic (cf. *Od.* 10.343), hence of little value as evidence for the

influence of *h.Apol.* on *h.Herm.*

That *h.Herm.* may acknowledge *h.Apol.* was repeated by S. Abramowicz in her

1937 dissertation.[131] F. Dornseiff, however, presented more examples of parallelisms.[132]

He explains the mention of Onchestus in *h.Herm.* as an allusion to *h.Apol.* 229-38.

Although Dornseiff's parallel is not entirely persuasive,[133] Onchestus is a locality on

which both Hymns dwell at some length (*h.Herm.* mentions it twice). In both poems

Onchestus is one of the places the gods visit during their journeys. In *h.Apol.* Apollo

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[129] On the issue of Delphi's wealth, see above, p. 14.
[130] Radermacher (1931) 229. Note, however, that Radermacher considered 513-78 an appendix created by an 'Anhänger der apollinischen Religion.'
[131] Abramowicz (1937) 72, part of a chapter examining the role and characterization of Apollo in the *Hymn to Hermes*; cf. her remarks there: 'On contracte l'impression involontaire d'un ton quasi parodiant et polémique envers l'hymne délien (et la figure d'Apollon homérique en general).'
[132] Dornseiff (1938) 81-4.
[133] The parallel appears to be that in both mentions of Onchestus, it is a place where something is lost. In *h.Apol.* the traveler loses his horse-team; in *h.Herm.* Apollo loses some of his cattle. However, it is unclear to me why Dornseiff (1938) 82 claims that Onchestus is 'der Ort, wo Apollon im Hermeshymnus V. 186 etwas von seinem Tierbesitz einbüsst.' Apollo has already lost fifty of his cows at Pieria.

travels from Pierie searching for a place to establish his oracle.[134] Several places are

mentioned in passing before the god arrives at Onchestus, which is already sacred to

Poseidon (229-38). In *h.Herm.* both gods pass through Onchestus: Hermes when driving

Apollo's cattle from Pieria to Pylos, and Apollo when searching for his stolen cattle.

Moreover, after his conversation with the Old Man at Onchestus, Apollo receives a bird-

omen (213). The precedent of *h.Apol.* may have influenced the poet of *h.Herm.* in his

choice of Onchestus as a setting for the meeting with the Old Man (although this cannot

be proven), but its mention may also be understood as an acknowledgment of Hermes'

cult at Boeotia where, according to one tradition, he was born.[135]

A more pronounced point of contact between the two Hymns can be found in the

way *h.Herm.* reacts to Apollo's *Lebensprogramm* announced in *h.Apol.* 131-2.[136] The very

fact that both gods declare their intentions soon after they are born may be merely a

generic parallel, since both poems are birth-hymns relating how the new deity assumed

his function. The poet of *h.Herm.*, however, treats all three points of Apollo's

Lebensprogramm: the lyre and divination are treated extensively, whereas the bow is

briefly mentioned at 515, in what is probably an allusion to another version of the story

where Hermes stole Apollo's bow and/or arrows.[137]

In *h.Herm.* Apollo does not claim the lyre immediately after his birth. Rather,

although a god associated with the Muses, he only knew the music of the *aulos* (452).

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[134] *h.Apol.* 214-95.
[135] Schachter (1981) II 46.
[136] The relevant lines, outlining Apollo's *Lebensprogramm*, are: εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα, χρήσω δ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν.
[137] On this point, see below p. 59-60, 83f.

Only when Hermes created the lyre and performed a theogonic song for Apollo did the latter obtain *through exchange* the instrument with which he is commonly associated. Instead of presenting the lyre as a permanent attribute of Apollo, the poet of *h.Herm.* presents a story that features prominently Hermes' ingenuity and enacts the 'deeds of exchange,' over which Hermes presides.

Apollo's mantic abilities are not denied anywhere in the Hymn. However, a different version of how the god of prophecy obtained the privilege of pronouncing Zeus' unerring will is offered in *h.Herm.* In *h.Apol.* there is no question that the newly-born Apollo will function as Zeus' mouthpiece; the only issue that needs to be settled is where his oracle will be established. In *h.Herm.* Apollo did not always reveal Zeus' will; instead, he practiced another form of divination in his youth, that of the Bee-maidens, which he is prepared to hand over to Hermes.

Both gods perform their miraculous deeds as soon as they are born, and are thus examples of the precocious divine child. *h.Herm.*, however, gives a comic twist to the motif. Whereas Apollo becomes full grown immediately after he partakes of nectar and ambrosia—we are told that he his golden swaddles could not contain him any longer (128-9)—Hermes remains a newly-born. Throughout most of the Hymn Hermes' status as an infant is emphasized by constant references to his swaddling clothes.[138] Unlike Apollo, Hermes does not partake of nectar and ambrosia, although these are stored in his mother's cave (cf. 248), but has a craving for meat. Finally, the two Hymns share

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[138] There is, however, no mention of the swaddling clothes after 388. This absence of references to the σπάργανα may underscore Hermes' admission into the community of the (adult) Olympians by downplaying his infantile status.

some vocabulary describing the gods' miraculous deeds. At *h.Herm.* 17 we are told that Hermes μέσῳ ἤματι ἐγκιθάριζεν: both parts of this half-verse occur (only) in *h.Apol.* μέσῳ ἤματι is used when Apollo appears to the Cretan sailors as a star at mid-day, while ἐγκιθαρίζειν recurs at *h.Apol.* 201. To these one may add the combination of κίθαρις and καμπύλα τόξα in *h.Herm.* 515 and *h.Apol.* 131 (mentioned above, p. 56), both of which are followed by a reference to Zeus.

We conclude that the poet of *h.Herm.* has a rather individual style (cf. both his vocabulary and formulaic innovations) and is well-versed in the earlier epic tradition (especially the *Odyssey*, Hesiod, and the *Hymn to Apollo*), to which he reacts creatively. The genre and the theme of the poem account for the choice of sources: a hymn on a trickster god is likely to exhibit points of contact with the *Odyssey* and its trickster hero, while the *Theogony* provides him with material relating to another trickster, Prometheus, and another last-born challenger of the established order, Typhoeus. A special relation seems to exist between *h.Herm.* and *h.Apol.*, one of parodic allusion, which is not surprising given the prominent role that Apollo has in *h.Herm.* and the antagonism that the two deities display at the beginning of the Hymn.

III. <u>OTHER VERSIONS OF THE HYMN'S STORY</u>

In this section I shall examine the ancient sources that mention the story of the

Homeric Hymn to Hermes (partly or in its entirety). I begin with texts that are either very

fragmentary or allude only to part of Hermes' story; then, I discuss more extensive

sources.[139]

Alcaeus composed a *Hymn to Hermes*. Only the first strophe survives (*fr.* 308b),

where we find elements expected in the beginning of a Hymn, i.e. the god's parentage

and birth-place:

> χαῖρε, Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις, σὲ γάρ μοι
> θῦμος ὕμνην, τὸν κορύφαισιν †αὐγαῖς†
> Μαῖα γέννατο Κρονίδαι μίγεισα
> παμβασίληϊ

This hymn influenced Horace, *Carm.* 1. 10, esp. in the third stanza (cf. Porphyrio's

comment: *hymnus in Mercurium ab Alcaeo lyrico poeta,* and Nisbet & Hubbard on that

poem). According to Paus. 7.20.4, Alcaeus described Hermes stealing Apollo's cattle,

and after Apollo threatened him, Hermes stole his quiver as well.[140] The events probably

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[139] For a general discussion of other versions of Hermes' story, see Koettgen (1914), Holland (1926), and Abramowicz (1937) 73-9.
[140] This episode is alluded to in *h.Herm.* 515.

took place on the first day of Hermes' life.[141] *P.Oxy.* 35.2734, *fr.* 1, which offers a

diegesis of Alcaeus' Hymn, confirms this.[142] A related testimonium is *Schol. D* on *Il.*

15.256:[143]

> Ἑρμῆς ὁ Διὸς καὶ Μαίας τῆς Ἄτλαντος εὗρε λύραν, καὶ
> τοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος βόας κλέψας εὑρέθη ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ
> τῆς μαντικῆς. ἀπειλουμένου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἔκλεψεν
> αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τόξα. μειδιάσας δὲ ὁ θεὸς
> ἔδωκε αὐτῷ τὴν μαντικὴν ῥάβδον, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ
> χρυσόρραπις ὁ Ἑρμῆς προσηγορεύθη, ἔλαβέν τε παρ'
> αὐτοῦ τὴν λύραν. ὅθεν καὶ χρυσάορ ὠνομάσθη, ἀπὸ τοῦ
> τῆς κιθάρας ἀορτῆρος.[144]

The *scholion's* version does not derive from *h.Herm.* since Hermes appears to steal

Apollo's bow (or arrows) and gives him the lyre in exchange for the mantic staff.

However, the staff that Hermes receives from Apollo is not 'mantic'; instead, as Apollo

says (529-33):

> ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον
> χρυσείην τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον ἥ σε φυλάξει
> πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα θεμοὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων
> τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσα φημι δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς.

Hermes, furthermore, is explicitly denied the gift of prophecy by Apollo, and only

receives the bee-oracle later in the Hymn. In *h.Herm.* the lyre is exchanged for the cattle,

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[141] This was not the case in all versions; cf. Anton.Lib. 23, and *LIMC* V (Hermes) 246-8, where Hermes is represented with the cattle as an adult god.

[142] See Cairns (1983). In the Alexandrian edition of Alcaeus' Hymns, the *Hymn to Hermes* was preceded by the *Hymn to Apollo* (just as in the collection of the *Homeric Hymns*).

[143] The D *scholion* is cited according to the proecdosis of van Thiel (2000).

[144] The italicized words (ἀπειλουμένου...ὁ θεός) are reminiscent of the third stanza of Horace, *Carm.* 1.10.

which is not mentioned in the *scholion*. Finally, the *scholion* mentions masculine cattle

(notice: τοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος βόας).

Hellanicus, *Atlantis* (4 F 19b Jacoby= *P.Oxy.* VIII.1084, ii. 4-6) presents an account

of Hermes' birth, which includes an attempt to etymologize the god's name:

> Μαίᾳ δὲ Ζεὺς μίσγεται λανθάνων ἐν σπῆι· τῶν δὲ
> γίγνεται Ἑρμῆς φιλήτης, ὅτι αὐτῇ φιλησίμως
> συνεκοιμᾶτο· καὶ γίγνεται θεῶν κῆρυξ ἀγήραος καὶ
> ἀθάνατος.

Hellanicus agrees with *h.Herm.* on the god's parentage and place of conception (a cave).

Just as in the Hymn, the meetings of Zeus and Maia occur in secrecy. Hermes is first

introduced as a thief (φιλήτης), and this trait of Hermes' character is linked to the

circumstances of his conception: Hellanicus etymologizes φιλήτης from φιλεῖν.[145]

Hellanicus' notice may be a condensed account sharing the same genealogical source as

the Hymn[146] and centering on the most important characteristics of Hermes: his

thievishness and his function as the divine messenger.

Two sources briefly deal with Hermes' fabrication of the lyre: Aratus, *Phaen.* 268-

9, mentions it when describing the constellation *Lyra*:[147]

> καὶ χέλυς ἐστ' ὀλίγη· τὴν δ' ἄρ' ἔτι καὶ παρὰ λίκνῳ
> Ἑρμείης ἐτόρησε, Λύρην δέ μιν εἶπε λέγεσθαι.

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[145] Cf. the entry in *Suda, s.v.* φιληταί. οὕτω λέγονται καὶ οἱ κλέπται καὶ οἱ φιλοῦντες, although *s.v.* φιλήτης a distinction is drawn: φιλήτης ὁ ἐραστής. Φιλήτης δὲ ὁ κλέπτης. See also my note on 67.
[146] Notice λανθάνων (cf. *h.Herm.* 9 λήθων), συνεκοιμᾶτο (cf. *h.Herm.* 7 μισγέσκετο), and the epic form σπῆι in Hellanicus.
[147] The text of Aratus is cited according to Kidd (1997). See also Martin (1998).

Despite the brevity of this reference, several allusions to the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* can be identified. λίκνῳ in 268 is certainly meant to recall the frequent mentions of Hermes' cradle in *h.Herm*. Thus for Aratus too the invention of the lyre is an accomplishment of Hermes' childhood. ἐτόρησε in 269 is reminiscent of *h.Herm*. 41-2 (…γλυφάνῳ πολιοῖο σιδήρου αἰῶν' ἐξετόρησεν ὀρεσκῴοιο χελώνης). Scholars disagree on the meaning of ἐτόρησε and what it refers to. Mair and Martin[148] understood it as referring to the holes that Hermes pierced (presumably on the μαγάδιον) to attach the strings; Kidd, on the other hand, considered it a reference to the holes which Hermes pierced in the carcass to attach the δόνακες (cf. *h.Herm*. 47). He disputes LSJ's glossing of ἐτόρησε as ἐτόρνευσεν in our passage because 'there is no suggestion that Hermes' work on the shell involves any carving.' 'Pierced,' however, is too elliptical to summarize Hermes' work on the tortoise shell. Given that the interior of the tortoise shell has four protuberances near the spine area, [149] which had to be removed before any other work on the shell, 'carving' yields satisfactory sense in this context. 'Carving' may then refer both to the removal of the protuberances and the scooping-out of the animal's flesh (both by means of a chisel). This reading of ἐτόρησε in Aratus may in turn help us with the interpretation of ἐξετόρησεν in line 42 of the Hymn: Aratus may have understood it as 'removed by carving' *vel sim*.

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[148] Kidd (1997) 283 mentions Martin as one of the scholars who took ἐτόρησε to refer to strings; that must be in Martin's earlier (1956) edition of the *Phaenomena*. In his most recent text (1998) he sides with those who see a reference to the holes pierced on the tortoises' carcass.
[149] See Faklaris (1977) 226-30.

There is, however, also an important difference between the Aratus passage and the *Hymn to Hermes*. Aratus states that Hermes assigned the name *Lyra* to the constellation. Not only does the Hymn give no hint of the lyre's placement among the stars, but Hermes does not even assign a name to the new instrument.[150] In fact, he does not name any of his inventions. When he describes the lyre to Apollo, Hermes uses ambiguous and metaphorical language (e.g. 478-9: μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων λιγύφωνον ἑταίρην καλὰ καὶ εὖ κατὰ κόσμον ἐπισταμένην ἀγορεύειν), although he uses κιθάριζε in 476. Only the poet uses the different names for the instrument.

Further evidence suggests that Aratus actually alludes to the Hymn and not to some other version of the story. In 263, while referring to the Pleiades, he uses the line-ending πότνια Μαῖα, which recurs only in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* (19 and 183). χέλυς appears in 268, five lines after πότνια Μαῖα, just as in *h.Herm.* 19 and 24. Given the Hellenistic poets' fondness for word-plays, acrostics and the like, Aratus may indeed allude to the Hymn, and his text may have had a similar layout to ours.

Nicander, *Alex.* 559-62, mentions Hermes' creation of the lyre when discussing antidotes to the poison of the salamander:[151]

> ἄλλοτε δ' οὐρείης κυτισηνόμου ἥν τ' ἀκάκητα
> αὐδήεσσαν ἔθηκεν ἀναύδητόν περ ἐοῦσαν
> Ἑρμείης· σαρκὸς γὰρ ἀπ' οὖν νόσφισσε χέλειον
> αἰόλον ἀγκῶνας δὲ δύω παρετείνετο πέζαις.

Just as in the Aratus passage, these verses are reminiscent of *h.Herm.* not only in content but also through certain verbal echoes. The tortoise is termed οὐρείη (cf. *h.Herm.* 33

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[150] In *h.Herm.* 33 χέλυς clearly designates the *living animal*, not the instrument.
[151] The text according to Gow & Scholfield (1953).

ὄρεσι ζώουσα, 42 ὀρεσκῴοιο) and is said to graze on tree-medick (κυτισηνόμου; cf.

h.Herm. 27 βοσκομένη...ἐριθηλέα ποίην). Turning an originally voiceless creature into a

vocal (560) parallels *h.Herm.* 27 and 38. Summarizing the construction of the lyre in 561-

2, Nicander mentions the removal of the flesh from the carcass (cf. *h.Herm.* 41-2) and

Hermes' fitting two arms into it (cf. *h.Herm.* 50).[152] The tortoise-shell, furthermore, is

'patterned' (χέλειον αἰόλον; cf. *h.Herm.* 33 αἰόλον ὄστρακον). Nicander sems to allude

to *h.Herm.* while varying his diction with more unusual terms in the vein of the

Hellenistic poets.

Sophocles' *Ichneutai* offers the most extensive treatment of the Hymn's story. [153]

Although fragmentary, this satyr-play follows the Hymn's plot closely enough to

suggest that Sophocles knew *h.Herm.*

The play begins *in medias res*, when Apollo has discovered that his cattle had

been stolen, and he makes a proclamation promising a great reward to anyone who will

help him retrieve his lost cattle. Details concerning Hermes' birth, the fabrication of the

lyre, and his stratagem in abducting the cows are given piecemeal as the plot unfolds.

However, nothing is known of how the dispute was resolved as we are missing the

play's end.

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[152] Nicander varies the more regular term πῆχυς with ἀγκών. Note too the clever combination of ἀγκῶνας and πέζαις; Gow & Scholfield *ad loc.* render πέζαις 'from its edges' but the proper sense of πέζα (=πούς) is probably also felt here. If so, Hermes' perversion of the animal's nature (i.e. the substitution of 'forearms' for 'legs') would be especially prominent. In *h.Herm.* the lyre is described in anthropomorphic terms (as a δαιτὸς ἑταίρη at 31, cf. also 478), which implies that she has legs and arms.
[153] The text is cited from Diggle (1998).

Apollo's words in 1-42 are reminiscent of his despair in *h.Herm.* (190-200, 219-26). He has been following the cows' tracks (14 ἰχνοσκοπῶ, 21 κυνηγετῶ),[154] and just as in *h.Herm.* (e.g. 219), he is baffled at their loss (18 ἐκπλαγεὶς ὄκνῳ). His words at *Ichn.* 30-6, although extremely fragmentary, suggest that he had journeyed through the same areas as in *h.Herm* and that his cattle were stabled in Pieria as in the Hymn. Line 31 (Βοιωτίας τε γ[ῆς), may be a reminiscence of the Onchestus episode of *h.Herm.*[155] In a way Apollo's request for help parallels his address to the Old Man in *h.Herm.*, when he seeks information that would lead him to his cattle. However, no reward is promised in the Hymn. In the *Ichneutai*, furthermore, Satyrs replace the Old Man and their presence is of course required by the play's genre. The cave in which Hermes had concealed Apollo's cattle is in (Triphyllian) Pylos, at the ford of Alpheios, in the Hymn, while in Sophocles it is Maia's cave in Mt. Cyllene. This difference may be due to the dramatic 'unity of space': if the cows were hidden elsewhere, part of the action would have to be reported. Notice also that on a fifth century vase painting (*LIMC* V [Hermes] 241, 480-70 BC), the infant Hermes appears to have gathered the cattle in Maia's cave; the other side depicts Apollo, who, having tracked down his stolen animals, has entered the cave. This may point to another tradition in which Hermes hid his cattle in Maia's cave.

Sophocles' treatment of the stratagem by which Hermes confuses his trackers shows that, despite some differences, he must have had first-hand knowledge of *h.Herm.*

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[154] It is possible, although not absolutely certain, that the stolen cows in the *Ichneutai* were also female (as in *h.Herm.*); cf. 11 β]ọῦς ἀμολγάδας and 12 πορτίδων.

[155] This does not *necessarily* mean that there was an Onchestus-episode in the *Ichneutai* as well. However, Sophocles, just like the poet of *h.Herm.*, singled out Boeotia.

In the Hymn, the divine babe drives the cattle backwards all the way from Pieria to Pylos (cf. 76-8; 210-11; 219-21). Sophocles, however, makes Hermes drive the cattle backwards only in *part* of his journey, when they reached the vicinity of Maia's cave,[156] and in order to confuse his trackers further, Hermes made only *some* of the cows walk backwards. In this way he perplexed the Satyrs since some tracks faced backwards, while others continued facing forward:

> ἔα μάλα·
> παλινστραφῆ τοι ναὶ μὰ Δία τὰ βήματα
> εἰς τοὔμπαλιν δέδορκεν· αὐτὰ δ' εἴσιδε.
> τί ἐστὶ τουτί; τίς ὁ τρόπος τοῦ τάγματ[ος;
> εἰς τοὐπίσω τὰ πρόσθεν ἤλλακται, τὰ δ' αὖ
> ἐναντί' ἀλλήλοισι συμπ[επλεγ]μένα·
> δεινὸς κυκησμὸς εἶχ[ε τὸν βοη]λάτην. (118-23)

Lines 119-20 refer to the tracks of cows that were made walk backwards (hence παλινστραφῆ); however, αὐτά of 120 points to different tracks, belonging to cows that kept moving forward so that some tracks are interlaced with each other (121-2).[157] Whatever the reasons for Sophocles' innovation may have been, line 121 (εἰς τοὐπίσω τὰ πρόσθεν ἤλλακται) reflects *h.Herm.* 77-8 (ἀντία ποιήσας ὁπλάς, τὰς πρόσθεν ὄπισθεν, τὰς δ' ὄπιθεν πρόσθεν), while ἐναντί' ἀλλήλοισι of 122 may reflect ἀντία of *h.Herm.* 77.

Soon after they discover the cows' tracks, the Satyrs hear the sound of Hermes' lyre. The sound is novel and terrible, and the cowardly Satyrs, who are ready to give up

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[156] At *Ichn.* 102-10 (ταῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖνα· τῶν βοῶν τ[ὰ] βήματα....σαφῶ[ς γ]ὰρ αὔθ' ἕκαστα σημαίνει τάδε. ἰδοὺ ἰδού· καὶ τοὐπίσημον αὐτὸ τῶν ὁπλῶν πάλι[ν. ἄθρει μάλα. αὔτ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο μέτρον [ἐ]κμε[μαγ]μ[έ]νον) the tracks are still facing forward. It is in lines 118ff. that the tracks change.
[157] Cf. also Lloyd-Jones (1996) rendering of 121-2: 'The front marks have shifted to the rear, while some are entangled in two opposite directions.'

their chase, are chastised by Silenus, himself soon to give up because of fear. We hear thrice in *h.Herm.* that the lyre σμερδαλέον κονάβησε as soon as its strings are plucked (54, 420, 502), and although the phrase suggests sounds inspiring awe and fear,[158] it becomes clear from 420 (γέλασσε δὲ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων) that nothing of the sort is implied. It is tempting, however, to think that Sophocles may have taken the formula in its literal and traditional sense to add to the scene's comedy: the new sound produced by the lyre is indeed frightening, and the cowardly Satyrs are dumbstruck.

The Satyrs' confrontation with the nymph Cyllene parallels the confrontation between Apollo and Hermes in *h.Herm.* (254-321).[159] This scene offers also some further points of comparison with *h.Herm.* First, *Ichn.* 265-70 give an account of Zeus' and Maia's amorous relationship that is in keeping with the beginning of *h.Herm.*:

καὶ γὰρ κέκρυπτ[αι] τοὔργον ἐν [θ]ε[ῶ]ν ἕδραις,
Ἥραν ὅπως μ[ὴ πύ]στ[ι]ς ἵξετα[ι] λόγου.
Ζ[εὺ]ς γ[ὰρ] κρυφ[αίως εἰς στ]έγην Ἀ[τ]λαντίδος
....
     λήθῃ τῆς βαθυζώνου θεᾶς.

Just as in the Hymn, here too the secrecy of the love-affair is particularly emphasized. Furthermore, as in the beginning of *h.Herm.* the divine babe rests in a winnowing-fan and is wrapped in his swaddling-clothes:

πρὸς σπ]αργάνοις μένουσα λικνῖτιν τροφὴν
ἐξευθ]ετίζω νύκτα καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν. (275-6)

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[158] See my note on *h.Herm.* 54.

[159] A different version of the story may lurk in *LIMC* V (Hermes) 241 (~530 BC), where a female figure (probably Maia) accompanied by a male figure (Zeus?) is arguing with Apollo (?) over the infant Hermes who is represented in his swaddling clothes. On the other side, the stolen cattle are depicted in a (different?) cave.

Contrary to *h.Herm.*, however, the divine babe grows rapidly, like Apollo in *h.Apol.*:

α]ὔξεται κατ' ἦμαρ οὐκ ἐπεικότα
]στος, ὥστε θαῦμα καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει.
οὔπω γ]ὰρ ἕκτον ἦμαρ ἐκπεφασμέν[ο]ς
]ς ἐρείδει παιδὸς ἥβης εἰς ἀκμήν (277-80).

Sophocles innovates here in two ways. Hermes is said to have already reached adolescence. In *h.Herm.*, however, Hermes accomplishes all his deeds on the first day of his life, while still wearing his swaddling-clothes.[160] His infancy also supplies his argument in his defense against Apollo. Furthermore, the action in the *Ichneutai* takes up more time than in *h.Herm.* Sophocles composed the *Ichneutai* for dramatic performance, as opposed to *h.Herm.* which was meant to be recited. Consequently, Sophocles could not represent Hermes on stage as an infant when the time for the reconciliation scene came. Thus Sophocles had to depart from *h.Herm.* in this respect and make use of a traditional folktale motif, *viz.* the prodigious growth of a god or hero.

Soon after Cyllene's description of Hermes' miraculous growth, the Satyrs hear the sound of the lyre again and marvel at it. An exchange ensues between them and Cyllene in which the nymph explains the creation of the instrument to the baffled Satyrs in riddling words (284-328), sometimes reminiscent of *h.Herm.* Especially, 299-300

καὶ πῶς πίθωμαι τοῦ θανόντος φθέγγμα τοιοῦτον βρέμειν;
πιθοῦ· θανὼν γὰρ ἔσχε φωνήν, ζῶν δ' ἄναυδος ἦν ὁ θήρ

and 328

οὕτως ὁ παῖς θανόντι θηρὶ φθέγγμ' ἐμηχανήσατ[ο

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[160] Notice, however, that the references to Hermes' swaddling-clothes disappear after 388.

may be compared with *h.Herm.* 38 (ἢν δὲ θάνῃς, τότε κεν μάλα καλὸν ἀείδοις). Lines

323-6 also recall some motifs that we meet in *h.Herm*:

> καὶ τοῦτο λύπη[ς] ἔστ' ἄκεστρον καὶ
> παραψυκ[τ]ήριον
> κείνῳ μόνον, χα[ί]ρει δ' ἀθύρων καί τι
> προσφων[ῶν μέλος

The lyre functions as a means to ward off sorrow (cf. *h.Herm.* 447 τίς μοῦσα ἀμηχανέων

μελεδώνων [but cf. my note *ad loc.*]; 484 φθεγγομένη παντοῖα νόῳ χαρίεντα διδάσκει),

while ἀθύρειν reminds of ἄθυρμα used of the lyre several times in *h.Herm*.

It is difficult to establish with absolute certainty in what order the cattle theft and

the fabrication of the lyre occurred in Sophocles. The Satyrs accuse Hermes of having

used the hides from Apollo's stolen cows to construct the instrument (371-7):[161]

> στρέφου λυγίζου τε μύθοις, ὁποίαν θέλεις
> βάξιν εὕρισκ' ἀπόψηκτον·[162] οὐ
> γάρ με ταῦτα πείσεις,
> <ὅ>πως τὸ χρῆμ' οὗτος εἰργασμένος
> ῥινοκόλλητον ἄλλων ἔκαρ-
> ψεν βοῶν που δορὰς [ἢ] ἀπὸ τῶν Λοξίου.
> μ]ή με τἆ[σδ' ἐ]ξ ὁδοῦ βίβαζε.

But their statement may simply be a mistaken inference of theirs.[163] If, however, the

construction of the lyre occurred before the cattle-theft, one would expect Cyllene to

argue that the hides came from a source different from Apollo's cattle.

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[161] Cf. also 345-7 σαφῶς ἐκεῖνος κέκλοφε τάσ]δε βοῦς πάνυ
       ὡς τοὔστρακόν που τῇ δορ]ᾷ καθήρμο[σε
     ± 19   ]λου τεμὼν (with Lloyd-Jones' supplements).

[162] The Satyrs' reply attributes to Cyllene the kind of false and deceptive rhetoric one would expect from Hermes. Sophocles may have intended to foreshadow Hermes' crafty arguments with these words. There is also an interesting 'error' in Cyllene's preceding argument. In defending Hermes, she claims that he cannot have been the thief since such behavior is not innate to his father and the relatives on his mother's side. The latter is wrong if one considers that Prometheus was his mother's uncle; cf. Hes.*Th.* 509-10.

Apollo reappears in lines 451ff. which are extremely fragmentary; thus nothing can be said about their content. The occurrence of μισθο. and ελευθερο may suggest that Apollo gave the Satyrs the promised reward and dismissed them from their service. We can assume, however, that a confrontation (built upon the exchange between the Satyrs and Cyllene) between the two brothers occurred. *fr.* 930 (Radt)

κλέπτων δ' ὅταν τις ἐμφανῶς ἐφευρεθῇ,
σιγᾶν ἀνάγκη, κἂν καλὸν φορῇ στόμα

and *fr.* 933 (Radt)

ὅρκος γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀνδρὶ φιλητῇ βαρύς

suggest that during their confrontation, Hermes attempted to persuade Apollo in the same way as he does in *h.Herm.*, viz. by skillful use of rhetoric and oath.[164] Hermes may also have performed a song on the lyre for Apollo.

In addition, some other possible verbal echoes may indicate that Sophocles was familiar with the text of *h.Herm.*[165] Perhaps 310 (τῶν ὀστράκων~cf. *h.Herm.* 33);[166] 340 (φιλητήν and perhaps *fr.* 933 Radt ~cf. *h.Herm.* 67, 159, 175, 214, 292, 446); 86 (μήνυ[τρον, -τρα ~cf. *h.Herm.* 264, 364); 115-6 and possibly 188 (στίβος....[βοῶν] ~cf. *h.Herm.* 353); 50 (τὸ χρῆμα...ἐκκυνηγέσω ~cf. *h.Herm.* 400 χρήματα = cattle); 98 (ἐρευνᾶν; cf. *h.Herm.* 176 ἐρευνήσει); 123 (βοηλάτην~ cf. *h.Herm.* 14 ἐλατῆρα βοῶν); 143-4 (...ἐξενίσμεθα ψόφῳ, τὸν οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἤκουσεν βροτῶν ~cf. *h.Herm.* 443

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[163] Cf. Pearson (1917) 226 who forcefully suggests that the cattle-theft preceded the fabrication of the lyre.
[164] See Holland (1926) 173.
[165] See Pearson (1917) 228.
[166] For the textual issue at 33, see my n. *ad loc.*

θαυμασίην γὰρ τήνδε νεήφατον ὄσσαν ἀκούω); 250 (ἐγήρυσε θέσπιν αὐδάν ~cf.

h.Herm. 426, 442); 282 (Θησαυρός ~cf. h.Herm. ἄδυτοι).

Sophocles, furthermore, shows some interest in naming: Hermes acquired his

name πατρὸς θέσει (283), while he himself named his new instrument a 'lyre.'[167] Such

an interest is not expressed directly in the Hymn, but there are word-plays in h.Herm.

that suggest the poet's keen interest in the establishment and etymology of names and

cult-epithets, e.g. διάκτορον ἡγεμονεύειν (392, interpreting διάκτορος from διάγειν),

ἐριούνιος in the vicinity of ὀνινάναι (28, interpreting it as 'beneficent'), εὔσκοπος (73,

after κατὰ σκοπιήν at 65).

Ps.-Eratosthenes' Catasterismi mentions Hermes' invention of the lyre but this

version differs substantially from the Hymn.[168] Hermes is said to have created the lyre

from the tortoise and Apollo's cattle,[169] which implies that the author presented the lyre-

making and the cattle-theft in the opposite order from the Hymn. The only point of

agreement is the number of the lyre's strings, i.e. seven. Ps.-Eratosthenes, however,

explains this number as due to the number of the Pleiades or the planets. The available

summary does not indicate whether any kind of bargain took place between the two

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[167] Hermes does not call his instrument with a particular (single) word; when speaking to Apollo, he uses riddling, allegorical terms that describe the instrument as if it were a woman (perhaps a hetaira).

[168] This work is transmitted under the title ἀστροθεσίαι ζῳδίων and is thought to be a summary deriving from Eratosthenes' astronomic-mythographic work entitled Ἀστρονομία (Suda, s.v. Ἐρατοσθένης), Κατάλογοι (so in Schol. B Il. 22.29) Καταστηριγμοί (Suda, s.v. Ερατοσθένης), or Καταμερισμός (Ach.Tat., Intr.Arat. 24). For a recent discussion, see Geus (2002) 211-4 who summarizes the earlier treatments of this question.

[169] κατεσκευάσθη δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ Ἑρμοῦ ἐκ τῆς χελώνης καὶ τῶν Ἀπόλλωνος βοῶν. The text is cited from Olivieri (1897).

divine brothers. Apollo is merely said to have received the instrument afterwards

(μετέλαβε), whereupon he composed a song and handed the lyre over to Orpheus who

increased the number of the strings to 9. There is also no mention of Hermes' singing.

Eratosthenes' *Hermes*, however, draws a different picture.[170] Although the

fragments of this work are scarce and difficult to contextualize (hence, much of what

follows is necessarily speculative), the Cyrenean polymath seems to have combined a

playfulness reminiscent of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* with astronomical and

philosophical ideas, and includes unfamiliar episodes of Hermes' childhood. The

evidence does not indicate with absolute certainty that Eratosthenes followed *h.Herm.* as

the basis of his *Hermes*. However, it is likely that some of the events took place in

Arcadia: *fr.* 3, a scholion on *Il.* 5.422, suggests that Eratosthenes derived Hermes' by-

name ἀκάκητα (not mentioned in *h.Herm.*) from Mt. Ἀκακήσιον in Arcadia.[171] Arcadia

is also mentioned in *fr.* 6 (Λάδωνος περὶ χεῦμα) and *fr.* 7 (αἱ δὲ πέρην Ἀρύαντος ἐπὶ

προχοαῖς ποταμοῖο). In *fr.* 1 we hear that Hermes stole Apollo's cows, but

unfortunately no further details. The fragment focuses on another of Hermes' pranks,

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[170] The text is cited from Powell (1924), to which add *fr.* 397 *SH*. See also Geus (2002) 110-8.

[171] A further mention of the Peloponnese occurs in *fr.* 5 where an unusual name (Ἀπίη) is used. It seems that Eratosthenes as a true Alexandrian poet may have included several *aitia* in this poem. Cf. *fr.* 4 φωριαμὸν δ' ὀνόμηναν, ὅ μιν κύθε φώριον ἀγρην· ἐκ τοῦ φωριαμὸς κικλήσκεται ἀνθρώποισι, with which Eratosthenes seems to counter other concurrent etymologies for φωριαμός. This fragment may allude to Hermes' theft of Maia's and her sisters' clothes as Powell suggests. μιν, however, is problematic: in Homer it regularly appears as singular although it has been taken as plural at *Od.* 10.212 and 17.268, but this is far from certain (at 10.212 it may replace Κίρκην, cf. Schol. *ad loc.*; at 17.268 it may stand for χώρῳ); in later epic it can be plural; cf. LSJ *s.v.* II and Chantraine *GH* I 264-5. For the construction of κεύθειν, cf. *Od.* 3.187.

his stealing the clothes of Maia and her sisters.[172] The divine babe steals Apollo's cattle and fashions a lyre in this poem as well, but we cannot tell which event took place first. The treatment of the myth in the *Catasterismi* is obviously of limited value as an indication. At least in one point Eratosthenes differs from the rest of the tradition: in *Hermes*, the divine babe attaches eight instead of seven strings to the newly-fashioned lyre (cf. *fr*. 13 and 15). Eratosthenes may have made Hermes lead the cattle on a journey similar to the one in *h.Herm.*, as *fr*. 11 mentions a spring in Boeotia (κρήνης Γαργαφίης) close to Mt. Cithairon. This may be a cryptic reference to Hermes' stop at Boeotia in the Hymn, although this must remain speculative. *Fr.* 9 (βαθὺς διαφύεται αὐλών) may have yet another allusion to Hermes driving away Apollo's cattle (cf. *h.Herm.* 95 αυλῶνας κελαδεινούς).[173] In addition, Hermes' invention of the fire and/or his roasting the meats from the stolen cows may be alluded to in *fr*. 24, which Powell, following Bergk's suggestion, considers part of the *Erigone*.[174] This is not certain, as the fragment is transmitted only with the author's name, but not the title of the work to which it belongs.

We cannot say whether there was a confrontation between Apollo and Hermes similar to the one in *h.Herm.* and, if there was one, how it was resolved. There seems to have been an ascension to Olympus (cf. *fr*. 16), which Eratosthenes used as a springboard to express his ideas about the Earth's division into five zones.

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[172] Καὶ δή ποτε τῆς μητρὸς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς λουομένης λαθὼν ὑφείλετο τὰς ἐσθῆτας· γυμναὶ δὲ ἐκεῖναι οὖσαι ἠπόρουν τί πράξωσιν. Γέλωτα δὲ διὰ τοῦτο Ἑρμῆς ποιήσας ἀπέδωκεν αὐταῖς τὰς ἐσθῆτας. Ἔκλεψε δὲ καὶ τὰς Ἀπόλλωνος βοῦς.
[173] Already suggested by Bernhardy (1822) 137.
[174] So, too, Rosokoki (1995).

While certain elements of the story must have appeared in *Hermes* (the making of the lyre and the cattle theft) although not much is preserved in what survives, there are also fragments that do not fit Hermes' story as we know it from elsewhere, as e.g. *fr.* 12 mentioning certain types of fish or *fr.* 10, which refers to a servant woman making cakes and singing the *ioulos*-song.[175] Finally, Eratosthenes may allude to part of Hermes' stratagem in abducting the cows in *fr.* 9 (πέλμα ποτιρράπτεσκεν ἐλαφροῦ φαικασίοιο) which is transmitted in Pollux, VII 90. Some MSS (Bethe's F, S) cite the verse as πέλμα ποδὶ κρούεσκεν ἐλαφροῦ φαικασίοις, which is both unmetrical and yields no sense; two (B, C) omit it, while A offers ῥάπτεσκε ἐλαφροῦ ποτὶ πέλμα φαικασίοις, whence Jungermann conjectured πέλμα ποτιρράπτεσκεν. Perhaps we should read ποτὶ ῥάπτεσκεν *divisim*, i.e. 'he stitched (or attached) [branches?] at the sole of his light shoe.' Scanzo associates this verse with a story transmitted in Hyginus II 16,[176] in which Hermes fell in love with Aphrodite. It is hard to imagine, however, how this story can fit in Hermes' early life. Are we to believe that Hermes reaches adulthood at a certain point in the poem? Or does the poet give the story a (certainly strange) humorous twist by placing it in Hermes' childhood? On the basis of the present evidence Hyginus' story should not be associated with *fr.* 9, but more plausibly with Hermes' stratagem (cf.

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[175] Hiller (1872) 26-7 suggested that this fragmented may be equivalent to Onchestus episode in *h.Herm.*

[176] See Scanzo (2002) 44-5, following Bernhardy (1822) 159-60. The relevant passage of Hyginus runs: '*Nonnulli etiam dixerunt Mercurium, alii autem Anapladem pulchritudine Veneris inductum in amorem incidisse, et cum ei copia non fieret, animum ut contumelia accepta defecisse; Iovem autem misertum eius, cum Venus in Acheloo flumine corpus ablueret, misisse aquilam, quae soccum eius in Amythaoniam Aegyptiorum delatum Mercurio traderet; quem persequens Venus ad cupientem sui pervenit, qui copia facta pro beneficio Aquilam in mundo collocavit.*'

h.Herm. 79-86).[177] If so, this association may hint at a resolution to the textual problem

at *h.Herm.* 79. Most editors prefer Postgate's emendation ῥιψίν for the transmitted ῥίψεν,

since no sandals of Hermes had been mentioned thus far.[178] *Fr.* 9—if indeed related to

h.Herm. 79-86—may suggest that Hermes actually had sandals and that each poet dealt

with them in a different way. The poet of *h.Herm.* made Hermes throw then away and

create new ones, while Eratosthenes had him attach branches to the sole (πέλμα) of his

sandals (φαικασίοιο).

Ps.-Apollodorus treats Hermes' story in the third book of his *Mythological Library*

(112-5). While his account coincides in some points with the Hymn, Apollodorus

diverges in some crucial points, the most important being the order of events: whereas

in the Hymn the construction of the lyre precedes the cattle-theft, in Apollodorus'

version the construction *follows* the cattle theft and Hermes uses material from the

slaughtered cows in making the lyre.

The two accounts agree on certain points. Both the Hymn and Apollodorus

mention the same parentage (Zeus and Maia, an element too traditional to allow

variation) and the same birth-place (ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Κυλλήνης).[179] Hermes lies in a

winnowing-fan (ἐπὶ τοῦ λίκνου κείμενος) and soon slips out of the cave and makes his

way to Pieria to steal the cows (ἐκδὺς εἰς Πιερίαν παραγίνεται). He attempts to hide his

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[177] Note, however, that Aphrodite's temple at Paphos was mentioned at the end of the poem; cf. *P.Oxy.* LII.3000 (=*fr.* 397 *SH*). Is the poet perhaps foreshadowing Hermes' future actions?
[178] See my note on 79; also Holland (1926) 170 who speaks of Eratosthenes' 'polemic' against the poet of *h.Herm.* in this matter.
[179] All quotations of the *Library* are from Wagner (1965).

tracks by wearing shoes (ὑποδήματα τοῖς ποσὶ περιέθηκεν) although nothing is said about the nature of these 'shoes' (contrast *h.Herm.* 81-3). Once he secured the cows in a cave at Pylos (κομίσας εἰς Πύλον τὰς μὲν λοιπὰς εἰς σπήλαιον ἀπέκρυψε), he sacrificed two animals and hung their hides on the rocks (δύο δὲ καταθύσας τὰς μὲν βύρσας πέτραις καθήλωσε). Later, Apollo discovers the identity of the thief through divination (μαθὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς μαντικῆς τὸν κεκλοφότα)—although Apollodorus does not specify how (cf. *h.Herm.* 213)—and makes his way to Maia's cave in Cyllene. Apollodorus also mentioned a litigation scene in front of Zeus, although the details of the scene differ from those in *h.Herm.* The two gods finally exchange the cattle and the lyre, and Hermes creates the pan-pipes.

The differences between *h.Herm.* and the version in the *Library* are of two kinds. At times Apollodorus varies a detail also found in *h.Herm.*; or he may include details that do not appear in—or even contradict—*h.Herm.* Thus, Hermes sets out for Pieria, intending to steal cattle; yet we are not told whether these animals belong to Apollo or not. It is merely said that Apollo was tending them (βόας ἃς ἔνεμεν Ἀπόλλων). Moreover, although both accounts agree on the number of cows killed, the outcome of this sacrifice differs. While in *h.Herm.* Hermes is *unable* to partake of the meat (cf. 132-3), Apollodorus mentions that the divine babe consumed some of the meats while he burned the rest (τῶν δὲ κρεῶν τὰ μὲν κατηνάλωσεν ἑψήσας τὰ δὲ κατέκαυσε; cf. *h.Herm.* 136-7). As in *h.Herm.*, Hermes finds a tortoise grazing in front of his cave; he picks the animal up, empties its shell from the soft parts, and constructs the lyre.

However, this event takes place *after* the cattle-theft and the divine babe uses material from the slaughtered animals (χορδὰς ἐντείνας ἐξ ὧν ἔθυσεν βοῶν). Hermes also invents the plectrum, whereas the *h.Herm.* only mentions that Hermes uses it when performing on the lyre. Contrary to *h.Herm.*, Apollo actually reaches Pylos in search of his stolen cattle, and finds out by interrogating the inhabitants that a boy was leading them (εἰς Πύλον ἀφικνεῖται, καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἀνέκρινεν. οἱ δὲ ἰδεῖν μὲν παῖδα ἐλαύνοντα ἔφασκον). This interrogation corresponds to the scene at Onchestus in *h.Herm.*, where Apollo obtains some information (albeit inconclusive) from the Old Man. Later, when Apollo arrives at Cyllene, he has a conversation with Maia during which he accuses Hermes of the theft (πρὸς Μαῖαν εἰς Κυλλήνην παραγίνεται, καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἠτιᾶτο. ἡ δὲ ἐπέδειξεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις).[180] Contrast with *h.Herm.* 243ff., where Apollo bursts into the cave, completely ignores the nymph, and interrogates Hermes.[181] The Olympian scene that follows Hermes' and Apollo's encounter in Maia's cave is handled differently in Apollodorus' sources. First, Apollo *takes* Hermes to Olympus (Ἀπόλλων δὲ κομίσας αὐτὸν πρὸς Δία τὰς βοῦς ἀπῄτει), whereas in *h.Herm.* it is Hermes who suggests that they consult Zeus; significantly, Hermes leads Apollo to Olympus (cf. *h.Herm.* 396). Moreover, in Apollodorus Hermes refuses to return the cattle when Zeus bids him to do so (Διὸς δὲ κελεύοντος ἀποδοῦναι ἠρνεῖτο); contrast with *h.Herm.* 396 where it is explicitly stated that 'the mind of Zeus easily persuaded.' In contrast to *h.Herm.* Apollo proposes to exchange the newly-fashioned pan-pipes for his

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[180] *LIMC* V (Hermes) 241 may reflect this scene. Sophocles has used this motif in his *Ichneutai* (221ff.) but with substitution of Cyllene for Maia. The motif also occurs in Philostratus.
[181] This may be a strategy of the Hermes poet to make Apollo's rudeness more prominent.

golden wand, while Hermes 'bargains' by also demanding the gift of prophecy

(Ἀπόλλων δὲ καὶ ταύτην βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, τὴν χρυσῆν ῥάβδον ἐδίδου ἣν ἐκέκτητο

βουκολῶν. ὁ δὲ καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς σύριγγος ἤθελε καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν

ἐπελθεῖν). In *h.Herm.*, however, Hermes' creation of the pan-pipes is followed by a

mutual exchange of oaths. After this exchange Hermes receives the golden wand, which

is not the shepherd's staff, as the Hymn poet makes clear. Moreover, Apollodorus

mentions that Hermes learns divination by means of pebbles (καὶ δοὺς διδάσκεται τὴν

διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικήν) while the poet of *h.Herm.* speaks of a bee-oracle.[182] In the end

of the *Library*'s account, Zeus appoints Hermes as his messenger (Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν κήρυκα

ἑαυτοῦ καὶ θεῶν ὑποχθονίων τίθησι), while *h.Herm.* 567-73, has Apollo list Hermes'

prerogatives.[183]

  h.Herm. then cannot have been the only source for Apollodorus' account.[184] The

details of the story presented in the *Library* suggest that the author may have combined

multiple versions. These details are: i.) the different order of the Hymn's main events

(cattle-theft and the fabrication of the lyre); ii.) Hermes' consumption of the meat; iii.)

the interrogation of the Pylians by Apollo; iv.) Apollo's and Maia's conversation; v.) the

exchange of the syrinx for Apollo's golden wand; vi.) the divination through pebbles;

and vii.) Hermes' refusal to return the cows in the Olympian scene when Zeus asks him

to do so. These important differences are not confined to a single part of the story, but

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[182] See my note on 552.

[183] For the arguments against a *lacuna* after 568 where Zeus would have conferred further *timai* on Hermes, see my note *ad loc.*

[184] For Apollodorus' sources, see Schwartz (1894) esp. 2878-9; also Wendel (1935) 1365-6. But cf. Holland (1926) 163-4 who considers *h.Herm.* to be the 'Grundlage' of ps.-Apollodorus' account.

involve the entire plot. Hence, one may be justified in asking whether the *Library*'s author used *h.Herm.* as his source at all, especially since some of the Hymn's peculiarities (the order of events, the presence of the Old Man at Onchestus, or the Bee-oracle) are absent.

A question arises then: what was Apollodorus' (main) source for his account if not *h.Herm.*? Alcaeus' *Hymn to Hermes* will not do. The *Library* preserves no trace of Hermes' stealing Apollo's quiver.[185] Sophocles' satyr-play is not a good candidate either since the tracking Satyrs (who correspond to Apollo in search of his cattle in the Hymn) confront Cyllene instead of Maia. A possibility is Pherecydes the Athenian, one of the most important of Apollodorus' sources.[186] The brevity of the two fragments on Hermes in Pherecydes, however, makes conclusions speculative. Two fragments preserved in Jacoby (3 *FGrH* 130 and 131) seem to be part of the Hermes-story. *Fr.* 131 reads: ταύτην [*sc.* τὴν ῥάβδον] Ἀπόλλων αὐτῷ δέδωκεν, ὡς τὰς βοῦς ἐβουκόλει Ἀδμήτου, ὥς φησιν Φερεκύδης. This piece of information agrees with some details of Apollodorus' account. First, Apollo had acquired the staff he subsequently gave to Hermes while he was tending cattle; cf. Apollod. III.115 τὴν χρυσῆν ῥάβδον ἐδίδου ἣν ἐκέκτητο βουκολῶν. Contrast with *h.Herm.* 529-32, where the wand is not associated with tending cattle in any way (the 'shiny' whip of 497 serves this function, instead). Second, Apollo was not tending his own cattle, as in *h.Herm.*, but Admetus'. The formulation in Apollod. III.112 (καὶ κλέπτει βόας ἃς ἔνεμεν Ἀπόλλων) suggests that the cows may not have actually

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[185] Hesiod *fr.* 256 cannot have been the source either since he mentioned Battus' metamorphosis as the prescript to Ant.Lib. 23 suggests.
[186] See van der Valk (1958) 117.

belonged to Apollo. *Fr.* 130 which informs us that Pherecydes mentioned Hermes as the messenger of the gods probably also belongs to this story. For the complete formulation of this fragment, see Acusil. *FGrH* 9: Ὅμηρος μὲν γὰρ οὐ μόνον τοὺς ὀνείρους ἀγγέλους τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆ Διὸς ἄγγελόν φησιν εἶναι καὶ τὴν Ἶριν· ἔνιοι δὲ ταύτην καὶ τῆς Ἥρας· Ἀκουσίλας δὲ καὶ θεῶν πάντων· Φερεκύδης δ' ὁ Ἀθηναῖος καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆ; cf. the end of Apollodorus' account (115): Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτὸν κήρυκα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ θεῶν ὑποχθονίων τίθησι. By positing Pherecydes as a possible source for Apollod. III 112-5, I do not imply that Pherecydes created this story; rather, he systematized pre-existing stories into a coherent account.[187]

Lucian treats themes encountered in *h.Herm.* in *DDeor.* 11[188] where he offers a rather comic version of Hermes' proneness to stealing and his fabrication of the lyre.[189] In this short dialogue Apollo recounts to Hephaestus the new-born Hermes' many thievish feats, which he exaggerates so as to suggest that Hermes, having stolen the implements of most other gods, would have stolen even Zeus' thunderbolt if it were not too heavy and fiery (εἰ δὲ μὴ βαρύτερος ὁ κεραυνὸς ἦν καὶ πολὺ τὸ πῦρ εἶχε, κἀκεῖνον ἂν ὑφείλετο). Bompaire calls it 'un excellent abrégé de l'*Hymne à Hermès*,' while Magini

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[187] See *NP, s.v.* for a brief account; the notion, however, that Pherecydes of Athens did occupy himself only with heroic stories is incorrect; cf. Jacoby (1947) 17 n. 12 and Schibli (1990) 79-80, n. 2.
[188] It seems likely that Lucian was influenced by *h.Herm.* in composing *DDeor.* 4 (Hermes and Maia), as well.
[189] I follow the text and numbering of Macleod (1987).

suggests that it may be read 'in senso molto lato, come una reinvenzione dell'inno omerico a Ermes.'[190]

The similarities between the two texts are striking. Lucian, too, presents Hermes as a new-born still wrapped in his swaddling clothes.[191] As in the Hymn, Hermes has fashioned the lyre, but the story differs in some important details. The relevant passage runs (11.4):

> Χελώνην που νεκρὰν εὑρὼν ὄργανον ἀπ' αὐτῆς συνεπήξατο·
> πήχεις γὰρ ἐναρμόσας καὶ ζυγώσας, ἔπειτα κολλάβους
> ἐμπήξας καὶ μαγάδιον ὑποθεὶς καὶ ἐντεινάμενος ἑπτὰ χορδὰς
> μελῳδεῖ πάνυ γλαφυρόν, ὦ Ἥφαιστε, καὶ ἐναρμόνιον, ὡς κἀμὲ
> αὐτῷ φθονεῖν πάλαι κιθαρίζειν ἀσκοῦντα.

The differences between this version and *h.Herm.* are three: i.) Hermes is said to have constructed the instrument out of a dead tortoise; ii.) Apollo appears to have been already practicing the art of κιθαρίζειν for a long time, contrary to the Hymn where he knows only *aulos*-music; iii.) the technicalities of the lyre's construction are described in far greater detail. These points, however, need not suggest that Lucian derives his story from a different source as he may have supplied the missing details of the lyre's construction from his own knowledge. The detail about the dead tortoise may be Lucian's own invention, perhaps to represent Hermes as (seemingly) harmless as possible, implying that he would not kill any creature. The point about Apollo's prior knowledge of κιθαρίζειν—perhaps also a Lucianic invention—adds to the humor of the

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[190] See Bompaire (2000) 573, Magini (1996) 189 n. 39; see also the important analysis in Branham (1989) 135-63, esp. 146-52.

[191] 11.1: τὸ τῆς Μαίας βρέφος ἄρτι τεχθέν, ἀρτίτοκον, τὸ νεογνόν...τὸ ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις.

scene. Whereas in the Hymn Apollo expresses genuine admiration for Hermes' novel

art, here he begrudges Hermes' ease in obtaining (in a sense, stealing) the art that he had

been practising for a long time (πάλαι κιθαρίζειν ἀσκοῦντα).

The cattle-theft, an event central to the Hymn, does not appear in Lucian. In

addition, the *caduceus* is not given to Hermes by Apollo as in *h.Herm.*, but is a gift of

Hephaestus instead.[192] This is a change that Lucian had to make in his story, since in

h.Herm. the divine babe receives the *caduceus* from Apollo as a token of reconciliation,

after the exchange of the lyre for the cattle.[193] Apollo, moreover, has also been robbed of

his bow and arrows, which does not occur in the Hymn.[194] In addition, Hermes does not

receive his honors and functions from another deity as in *h.Herm.* but assumes them on

his own; he is not, for example, appointed the τετελεσμένος ἄγγελος εἰς Ἅιδην as in

the Hymn, but simply escapes from Olympus at night and visits the Underworld,

presumably to steal as his mother suspects.[195]

This miniature dialogue is certainly a prime example of the Lucianic technique

that Bompaire has called *transposition*, i.e. the transferring of one genre into another

[192] (Ἀπ.) ὑπόπτερος δ' ἐστι καὶ ῥάβδον τινὰ πεποίηται θαυμασίαν τὴν δύναμιν, ᾗ ψυχαγωγεῖ καὶ κατάγει τοὺς νεκρούς. (Ἡφ.) Ἐγὼ ἐκείνην ἔδωκα αὐτῷ παίγνιον εἶναι (11.4).

[193] Notice also that the scene takes place on Olympus, which is yet another necessary deviation from the Hymn, since all of the *DDeor.* take place on Olympus.

[194] Magini, *loc.cit.*, suggests that this detail may derive from *h.Herm.* 514f. However, this is not absolutely necessary since in the Hymn the theft of the bow and arrows is presented as Apollo's fear. Lucian may have been inspired by the treatment of the story in Alcaeus, who mentioned this event. In *h.Herm.* Apollo expresses fear only for his bow, not the quiver or the arrows, a detail which, although by itself it cannot establish that Lucian may not have drawn from *h.Herm.* alone, seems to be closer to Alcaeus' version as preserved by Horace (cf. *Carm.* 1.10.11, *viduus pharetra*).

[195] ἔλεγε δὲ ἡ Μαῖα, ὡς μηδὲ μένοι τὰς νύκτας ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ περιεργίας ἄχρι τοῦ ᾅδου κατίοι, κλέψων τι κἀκεῖθεν δηλαδή (11.4). This remark occurs towards the end of Lucian's dialogue; a similar mention of Hermes' role as mediator between the Upper- and the Underworld also appears near the end of *h.Herm.*

(here the hymn into the dialogue) with an accompanying adaptation (shortening or elaboration) of the original model.[196] In *DDeor.* 11 Lucian uses both kinds of adaptation. He has obviously abridged his original by omitting the cattle-theft episode and focusing only on the lyre and the young god's thefts. He has also expanded (or developed, to use Bompaire's terminology) his original to its extreme by presenting baby Hermes as a kleptomaniac. However, the abridgement of *h.Herm.* is accomplished in a rather subtle manner that makes the reader who is familiar with the story as presented in *h.Herm.* wonder what else may be happening during Hephaestus' and Apollo's conversation. The divine babe has disappeared with Hephaestus' πυράγρα while the cattle theft has not yet occurred. Is Hermes perhaps stealing the cows and roasting them (hence also inventing the fire-sticks) while the two gods are speaking? Be that as it may, there are enough indications in the text to suggest that Lucian based his dialogue mainly on *h.Herm.*, although he may have also combined other sources.[197]

Philostratus, *Imag.* I 26 (Ἑρμοῦ γοναί) also treats Hermes' early achievements, but again differs in certain points. Hermes is newly-born and wrapped in his swaddling-clothes, but his birth-place is on Olympus rather than Arcadia. He takes off his swaddling-clothes and descends from Olympus, steals Apollo's cows, and hides them in a cave. Once Apollo realizes that his cattle have been stolen, he demands them back

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[196] See the analysis in Bompaire (2000) 562-85. For examples of Lucian's shortening or developing his models, see in particular p. 563-4.

[197] Hephaestus' representation in the dialogue seems to be informed by his character in other literary contexts. His complete unawareness of the true nature of baby Hermes (to the extent that he even gives him a present, the *caduceus*) recalls his similar ignorance of his wife's love-affair in *Od. 8.*

from Maia. While they are conversing, Hermes sneaks behind Apollo and steals his arrows, whereupon Apollo laughs. This account contrasts with *h.Herm.*, where Hermes is never said to remove his swaddling-clothes; furthermore, Hermes' long journeys throughout the Hymn are not present in Philostratus, who concentrates the events on and around Olympus. The confrontation between Apollo and Maia is also missing from *h.Herm.*, but parallels the argument between Cyllene and the Satyrs in Sophocles, and the vase painting quoted above, n. 159. However, Philostratus' version agrees with the Hymn (and Alcaeus; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.10.7-8 *iocoso…furto*) in that the god's actions are playful (cf. φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ὅτε τῇ Μαίᾳ ἐγένετο, ἐρᾶν τοῦ κλέπτειν καὶ εἰδέναι τοῦτο οὔτι πω ταῦτα πενίᾳ δρῶν ὁ θεός, ἀλλ' εὐφροσύνην διδοὺς καὶ παίζων) and that Hermes is newly-born (cf. Apollo's words to Maia ἀδικεῖ με ὁ σὸς υἱὸς ὃν χθὲς ἔτεκες).

Antoninus Liberalis 23 is our most important witness for the part of the tradition that focuses on the metamorphosis of Battus, the witness who saw the adult Hermes leading away Apollo's cattle.[198] The Scholion that precedes this chapter in Anton.Lib. informs us that the story was also told by Nicander, Hesiod (=*fr.* 256), Didymarchus, Antigonus, and Apollonius Rhodius, none of which survives; it reappears in Ovid, *Met.* 2. 683-707. According to Antoninus, Apollo neglected his cattle which were grazing in Thessaly because of his erotic interest in Hymenaios, son of Magnes. Hermes thus found

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[198] For the text, see Papathomopoulos (1968); see also Merkelbach & West (1999) 125.

the opportunity to steal many of Apollo's animals. He tied branches to the animals'

tails to erase their tracks as they were walking and led them to Mainalion (in Arcadia)

and the place called Βάττου Σκοπιαί ('Battus' watching-places'). Battus, who used to

live there, heard the cows' lowing and asked for a reward in return for his silence.

Hermes agreed, whereupon Battus swore an oath. Thereafter, Hermes decided to test

Battus: he hid the animals in a cave in Mt. Coryphasion (by Pylos) and went back to

Battus in disguise. The man revealed what he had seen, and Hermes, angered by Battus'

duplicity hit him with his staff and transformed him into a rock.

Hyginus, *Astron.* II. 7, 358-64, offers a version closer to *h.Herm.* In an excursus to

his discussion on the constellation of the Lyre, he mentions an alternative account

concerning its creation:

> *alii autem dicunt Mercurium, cum primum lyram fecisset in Cyllene*
> *monte Arcadiae, septem chordas instituisse ex Atlantidum numero, quod*
> *Maia una ex illarum numero esset, quae Mercurii est mater. Deinde*
> *postea cum Apollinis boves abegisset, deprehensus ab eo, quo sibi facilius*
> *ignosceret, petenti Apollini ut liceret se dicere invenisse lyram concessit*
> *et ab eo virgulam quandam muneri accepit.*[199]

Several correspondences with *h.Herm.* may be noted. Hyginus relates the two

events, the making of the lyre and the cattle-theft, in the same order as *h.Herm.*, which is

remarkable since all other sources (whenever we can tell with certainty) present these

events in the reverse order. Secondly, Hermes constructs his lyre in Cyllene; he attaches

seven strings to his lyre, which Hyginus explains by the Pleiades' number. Thus, he

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[199] I have used the text of Viré (1992).

follows *h.Herm.* in the detail of the lyre's strings but supplies the reason for this number from another source.[200] In addition, he exculpates himself by offering the lyre to Apollo who asked for it. Apollo's request appears, although only obliquely, in *h.Herm.* 437-8 (see note *ad loc.*). Finally, Hermes receives a staff from Apollo, as he does in *h.Herm.* 528-32. Although the account in *Astr.* is fairly compressed and epitomized, these correspondences suggest that Hyginus used a source familiar with the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes.*

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[200] Cf. [Eratosth.], *Cat.*, above p. 70 n. 168.

IV. THE POETICS OF THE *HYMN TO HERMES*

In this section I intend to examine the ideas on poetry that are presented in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. Music and song are central to the development of the poem's story. The high degree of self-reflexivity that characterizes our Hymn presupposes the poet's serious preoccupation with the nature of his art. The divine babe is presented in the Hymn as the inventor of a new musical instrument, the *chelys*, on which he performs twice. Hermes thus appears as the archetypal bard with whom the poet later identifies. However, Hermes' two musical performances differ from each other in content, style, genre, and function, and reveal a development in Hermes' character and use of poetry and music.

A comparison of Hermes' two performances on the lyre (52-62 and 423-33) shows how over the course of the poem he changes from a solitary being of ambiguous divine status to a full-fledged member of the Olympian community. Such an examination reveals what we can implicitly deduce about the poet's views on poetry and music. My last section will address the implied comparison between poetry and divination in the final part of the poem, whose importance is twofold. First, it shows the end of the Hymn, whose authenticity has been doubted, to be an integral part of the poem's argument.[201] Second, this implicit comparison reveals some affinity between *h.Herm.* and the allegorical approaches to poetry incipient in the sixth century BC.

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[201] On the authenticity of 503ff., see my introductory note on 503-80.

i.) *Hermes' two songs*

Hermes' first performance occurs at 53-62 after the young god has encountered the tortoise outside his cave, has taken the animal inside, and fashioned the *chelys*, whose construction the poet narrates in some detail (41-51). Thereafter the divine babe tests the instrument, first by plucking the strings one-by-one (κατὰ μέρος) and then by improvising a hymn to himself.

This 'hymn-within-the-Hymn' is clearly delineated by being introduced in a manner typical of the Homeric Hymns, the formula ἀμφί with the accusative.[202] The question that immediately arises is why does Hermes perform such a song at this point. As J. S. Clay has shown, at the beginning of the poem Hermes is uncertain of his own divine status.[203] This identity crisis, as it were, is only resolved when the young god fails to partake of the meat at the Alpheios river. Since gods do not eat meat, Hermes' inability to consume his portion is an indication of his divine nature, and it may be significant that the poet refers to Hermes as a δαίμων only *after* the events at the Alpheios (138).

Hermes' hymn to himself would fit very well with this identity crisis: gods are supposed to be praised by mortals, but no one yet recognizes the newborn god. Thus he

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[202] For the various Hymnic / proemic openings, see Lenz (1980) 21-6, Böhme (1937), and Race (1992) 19-22. For ἀμφί + accusative as an opening device, cf. *h.Hom.* 7, 19, 22, 33. Compton (2006) 43 n. 7 suggests on the basis of 54-6 that Hermes' singing to the lyre is satirical. I do not think that this is the implication of κερτομέουσιν here. The song is not satirical in the manner of Archilochus (I assume this to be Compton's understanding since he makes this reference to *h.Herm.* in the context of his discussion of the Mnesiepes inscription), but comic in a manner reminiscent of the Lay of Ares and Aphrodite at *Od.* 8.266-366. For the relation between the *Homeric Hymns* and (heroic) Epic, one may wish to consult Evans (2001) along with the general criticism expressed by Wilson (2002). One can, however, detect in *h.Herm.* a pattern similar to that of the Mnesiepes inscription; see below, p. 176.

[203] Clay (1989) 122.

must undertake the task of his own praise. At the same time, precisely because he has

not yet completed even a day, Hermes has not managed to acquire the honors that

would mark his position within the system of divine prerogatives and create the basis

for his praise. His only achievement so far has been the fabrication of the lyre;

consequently, he can praise himself only obliquely. By relating the love affair of his

parents, Hermes attempts to legitimize his own status: he presents the relationship of

Zeus and Maia as a lasting one, suggesting that it is different from Zeus' usual flings.[204]

Furthermore, Maia—elsewhere little known—appears in Hermes' hymn to be Zeus'

equal.[205] To be sure, a god's parentage is one of the most prominent elements in a birth-

hymn, and it is mentioned in the majority of the *Homeric Hymns*. But at the same time its

presence here can also be explained because, up till now, Hermes has not yet acquired

any divine honors for which to praise himself.

Hermes' second performance (423-33) belongs to a different genre, not hymnic

but theogonic. At this point, his divine status is no longer in doubt. This song too

constitutes a new beginning, as (τά) πρῶτα (428, 429) indicates.[206] He begins his

performance in a manner reminiscent of Hesiod's *Theogony*, from the Muses and their

mother Mnemosyne. Such an introduction is somewhat odd since as a god Hermes

should not need divine validation of his account like a mortal bard.[207] His song praises

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[204] Notice the use of the iterative ὡρίζεσκον at 58.

[205] Notice ἑταιρείῃ φιλότητι again at 58. The only other role of Maia in mythology is her rearing Arkas after the death of Kallisto; cf. Apollod. 3.8.2.

[206] For forms of πρῶτος as an introductory device in Greek poems, see Race (1992) 23.

[207] For a bard's inspiration from the Muses, see Murray (1981) esp. 89-90.

Gaia, a cosmic element, and the gods.[208] He narrates each god's birth and how they were allotted their respective μοῖραι, their spheres of influence, κατὰ πρέσβιν, i.e. 'in order of seniority.' This suggests that since Hermes is the last born of the Olympians, his theogony must end with his own birth and acquisition of divine honors.[209]

At first glance, both songs may appear to be similar in their intentions: Hermes' hymn to himself is a clear instance of self-praise, while his theogony seems to culminate in self-praise. We can, however, detect a development in Hermes' view of himself and his place within the Olympian world. By taking into account the hierarchy of seniority among the gods in his second song, Hermes inserts himself into the cosmic and divine order as a full member with equal status, which suggests that by now his position and honors are secured.[210] Furthermore, while his first song was delivered for the purpose of his own self-aggrandizement, his theogony functions as a γέρας, a gift of honor, to the gods whose stories he is singing. Whereas Hermes' first song was a γέρας to himself, the theogony is offered as a γέρας to all the gods praised.[211]

The two performances differ also in the young god's ability to focus on his theme. The first song reveals that Hermes has not yet completely mastered the art of

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[208] Cf. Hesiod's *Theogony* which is essentially both a cosmogony *and* a theogony.

[209] Shelmerdine (1984) 205 and Clay (1989) 139-40, who points out that 'As hymn poetry is coterminous with, and a continuation of, theogonic poetry, Hermes' performance inevitably ends with a Hymn to Hermes.'

[210] Notice how Hermes' characterization changes over the course of the poem: from a solitary deity (168-72; 314: οἰοπόλος) he becomes a member of the divine community (460-1: ἦ μὲν ἐγώ σε κυδρὸν ἐν ἀθανατοῖσι καὶ ὄλβιον ἡγεμονεύσω; 551: θεῶν ἐριούνιε δαῖμον).

[211] Hermes' offering a γέρας to all the gods praised may be paralleled by the way he divides the meats at the Alpheios. To each of the twelve portions he adds a τέλειον γέρας. This parallel becomes even stronger if one takes the events at the Alpheios as a δαίς, in which the equal portions point to the participants' equal status, instead of a (pseudo) sacrifice. For the idea of song as food, cf. Pi. *Pae.* 6.127-8 (παιηόνων ἄδορπον). For the notion of a hymn as an offering to establish χάρις, see Calame (1995) and Depew (2000).

singing. He intends to deliver his own birth-hymn, but soon he sings of Maia's cave,

her maids, and the various items located in it (60-1). Thus there is a shift in the subject-

matter of his hymn: beginning by praising divine figures (Zeus and Maia), he ends up

celebrating subordinate persons (maids) or even inanimate objects. Their inclusion in

Hermes' hymn might be justified as a reference to the god's dwelling place. However,

we are explicitly told that Hermes' thought wanders while he is singing.[212] One may

even take a step further and suggest that this may be part of the poet's strategy to

remind us that his 'hero' is an infant, and as a child, Hermes' attention is drawn to

whatever happens to impress him at the moment.[213]

The theogony, on the other hand, is delivered in a completely different manner.

The poet stresses more than once the idea of order and sequence in this song.[214] Hermes

sings a poem that is clearly organized, and his recitation receives the poet's compliment

κατὰ κόσμον at 433. This difference between the two songs (the first characterized by a

lack of focus, while the second is delivered 'in the proper order') implies that by this

point Hermes has become a skilled and knowledgeable performer of poetry.[215]

The question of Hermes' audience raises some interesting issues, as well. The

first song is directed to no one but Hermes himself. The solitariness of this performance

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[212] At 62: καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν ἤειδε, τὰ δὲ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μενοίνα.

[213] This same strategy may be at play when Hermes meets the tortoise. Although he had initially set out firmly in pursuit of Apollo's cattle, when he sees the tortoise and struck by amazement realizes the benefit he can derive from it, he postpones his quest for the cattle and focuses on his new ἄθυρμα, as the animal is aptly called; see Shelmerdine (1984) 207.

[214] Cf. 428 and 429 (τά) πρῶτα; 431 κατὰ πρέσβιν καὶ ὡς γεγάασιν.

[215] For κατὰ κόσμον as a form of praising a bardic performance, cf. Od. 8.489 (λίην γὰρ κατὰ κόσμον Ἀχαιῶν οἶτον ἀείδεις). See also the remarks on the progressive refinement of Hermes' song in Ford (1992) 28 n. 37.

is particularly emphasized by the simile that introduces it: the song is likened to the provocative jibes that youths address to each other at banquets.[216] Unlike this scene of playful repartée, Hermes' song does not have an addressee. The absence of an audience precludes the possibility of a reward or even simple praise of Hermes as a bardic performer. One may compare Hermes' first song to Achilles' lyre playing at *Il.* 9.186-91: both Hermes and Achilles sing without an audience (Patroclus is simply waiting for Achilles to finish his song)[217], while their respective songs are problematic. Achilles should be *performing*, not singing of κλέα ἀνδρῶν; likewise, it is not Hermes' job to praise himself. His theogony, however, has a targeted audience of one and a firm purpose: to sooth Apollo's anger and simultaneously advance Hermes' claims to divine honors. In fact, after Hermes' performance, he and Apollo exchange the lyre for the cattle since Hermes has acquired from Zeus the so-called ἐπαμοίβιμα ἔργα (516) as one of his divine honors.[218] In suggesting a specific course of action to the listener, Hermes' second song resembles Odysseus' false tale to Eumaeus at *Od.* 14, an *ainos* as Homer calls it, whereby the disguised hero obliquely asks the swineherd for a cloak by relating

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[216] Cf. 55-6: ἠΰτε κοῦροι ἡβηταὶ θαλίῃσι παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν. This simile can be taken to refer to the risqué topic of the Hymn; such a topic would not be unheard-of, judging by the Lay of Ares and Aphrodite. In addition, it indicates the song's improvised character as an on-the-spot creation resembling the impromptu exchanges of the youths at the banquets. Contrast the orderly character of Hermes' subsequent theogony which pleases both its audience (Apollo) and the poet. Although it is not explicitly introduced as a premeditated song, both the emphasis on order and κόσμος and the phrase ὡς ἔθελ' αὐτός (417) suggest that its composition is of a different nature. The importance of all this depends certainly on our poet's compositional technique (i.e. whether it is purely oral, written, a mixture of both, oral but premeditated etc.) of which of course we know nothing. Janko (1982) 136-7 acknowledges the possibility of literary interference in the composition of our Hymn; cf. also his concluding remarks on p. 149-50.

[217] *Pace* Nagy (1996) 72 who believes that Patroclus is waiting for Achilles to leave off his song so that he may start singing.

[218] One could perhaps go a step further and suggest that Hermes overstates in his song the divine honors he anticipates. From Apollo's words at 533-5 one may infer that Hermes included in his song prophecy as one of his honors, to which Apollo replies that no one beside himself is allowed to reveal Zeus' unerring will.

the story of a nightly ambush in which he had left his cloak behind. If this is the case,

Hermes' theogony runs contrary to a very important characteristic of Homeric bardic

performances. Bardic narratives are normally disinterested, in the sense that they do not

(at least overtly) aim at manipulating their audience, while other narratives within

Homeric epic serve a specific purpose.[219] They may answer a specific question (as for

instance Odysseus' *apologoi*); genealogies aim at intimidating an opponent in battle;

finally, Odysseus' *ainos* reveals the speaker's (not-so-veiled) request. Similarly, with his

song Hermes specifically aims at enhancing his own status by prompting Apollo to

enact the ἐπαμοίβιμα ἔργα with himself. Hermes' presentation, while incorporating

bardic conventions like an actual bard (beginning by invoking Mnemosyne, recounting a

cosmogony/ theogony in Hesiodic manner, causing pleasure to his audience through the

song) simultaneously emphasizes the sharp contrast between himself and our poet.

Hermes' performances, then, show the young god's maturation and his (self-)

insertion into the Olympian community.[220] Whereas in his hymn he is exclusively

preoccupied with his own identity, his second song shows a marked difference in the

way he views himself: instead of delivering a purely self-centered song, he performs one

that indicates a more general awareness of the cosmic and divine order. The issue at

stake is not to assert his divine status, but to show that he belongs to the Olympian

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[219] For this distinction, see Scodel (1998), who observes that 'narrative outside the frame of epic performance normally either answers a request for information or serves an explicit paradigmatic function. It is occasional and specifically motivated, serving a specific communicative need within the social relationship of speaker and hearer(s). Bardic narrative, by contrast, ordinarily does not seek to manipulate its audience; it is essentially disinterested' (172).

[220] Johnston (2002) 124 also notes Hermes' maturation over the course of the poem; she places great emphasis on the cattle-theft as a means of Hermes' initiation into the divine world.

establishment and that his position in it is firm. For Hermes, however, music and song are a means to an end, and appropriately by the end of *h.Herm.* he hands over to Apollo the lyre that has been instrumental in allowing him to obtain his rightful honors.

ii.) *Hermes' songs as* mises en abyme[221]

We have examined Hermes' two embedded performances as a means of characterization, revealing the development of his character. But these songs can also give us insights concerning the poet's views on his own art. Self-reflexive in nature, Hermes' songs are *mises en abyme*, as narratologists would call them. Viewing Hermes' performances as *mises en abyme* allows us to extrapolate the Hymn's poetics from them.

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[221] *Mise en abyme* is a literary term inspired from heraldry and coined by A. Gide in 1893; it is also referred to as 'récit speculaire' or 'mirror text.' Its precise definition has been an object of controversy among literary critics, and sometimes scholars disagree on whether a given text should be considered *mise en abyme* or not; cf. in this respect the treatment of the Lay of Ares and Aphrodite by Létoublon (1983) and Rinon (2006). See Dällenbach (1989) who offers a typology and its application on the French *Nouveau Roman*. He defines it as 'any internal mirror that reflects the whole of the narrative in simple, repeated, or "specious" (or paradoxical) duplication (43).' Simple duplication—by far the most frequent type—occurs when the internal narrative resembles the enclosing one; the repeated or infinite duplication can be best exemplified by a visual example, viz. the Old 'Quaker Oats' box; finally, paradoxical duplication occurs when the mirror-narrative encloses the work that encloses it. This mirroring, which disrupts the linear progression of the narrative, may be called 'prospective,' 'retrospective,' or 'retro-prospective,' depending on its temporal orientation. Scholars have also attempted to identify textual markers that signal the presence of a *mise en abyme*. These include words suggesting a simile or analogy between the embedded and the framing narrative, homonymy between the character of the main and the embedded narrative, homonymy between the titles of the embedded and the enclosing narrative, or repetition of the setting and combination of characters. Finally, *mise en abyme* is not confined to repeating parts of the main narrative, but may sometimes focus on the production of the literary work itself and its composer or addressee. Thus it may function as a strategy for the author or composer to suggest possible ways of interpreting his own work. An internal mirror need not reflect the entire narrative in order to function as *mise en abyme*, as my discussion of Hermes' hymn to himself will show.

For criticism and refinement of Dällenbach's views, see Bal (1978), Létoublon (1986)—with particular emphasis on archaic poetry—and Ron (1987). For an application of this narratological approach to the *Aeneid* with fruitful results, see Fowler (2000); most recently, this analytical tool has been applied by Rinon (2006) to Demodocus' songs in *Od.* 8 and on Biblical narrative by Bosworth (2003), who offers a review of the scholarship on *mise en abyme* on p. 36-90.

Hermes' first song is a 'hymn to Hermes' within the actual *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*. The creator of this embedded song, Hermes, is the hero of the main narrative. This song thus belongs to the same genre as the enveloping text, i.e. hymnic. As mentioned above, Hermes' hymn is introduced in a way that reminds us of other poems in the *corpus* of the *Homeric Hymns* (ἀμφί with the accusative), but it differs from the way the enclosing narrative begins.[222] Although this may seem as a trivial variation of epic formulae, it allows the poet to suggest that he knows alternative ways of opening a poem, both of which he employs at different points in his Hymn. This would indicate a poet who is aware of, and reflects on, the means of his traditional art.

However, besides this initial difference one can detect certain important similarities between the two proems. Hermes mentions his own parentage from Zeus and Maia, as the poet does in line 1. In addition, he stresses his parents' on-going love-affair. The use of the iterative ὡρίζεσκον (58) picks up the iterative forms of 7 and 8 (μισγέσκετο and κατά...ἔχοι, an optative denoting iteration). It emphasizes the duration of Zeus' and Maia's love-affair, which is an indirect way for Hermes (and the poet, of course) to say that the god is not the offspring of one of Zeus' usual amorous escapades.

This set of repetitions enables the poet to validate his own account of the god's story. By presenting Hermes as employing the same themes when praising himself as the poet did at the beginning of the actual Hymn, the poet suggests that the god approves of his strategy in praising him: Hermes himself would sing his own hymn in

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[222] Cf. Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει Μοῦσα ...(1), i.e. the poem's subject matter appears as the first word in the first line, in the accusative case, object of a verb meaning 'to sing.'

similar manner. In this way the poet creates a divine antecedent for (part of) the main narrative which he incorporates in the *Homeric Hymn*. The audience, then, may be led to believe that the poet provides them with the correct version of the god's story, a version sanctioned, as it were, by the god himself. This is all the more important, since the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* diverges from most other versions we possess and omits details that other accounts mention (e.g. Hermes theft of Apollo's bow and quiver recounted by Alcaeus). Usually the creation of the lyre follows the cattle-theft, and in fact materials from the cows (their hides and intestines) are used in fashioning the lyre. The poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes,* on the contrary, reverses the order of these events, something that may have struck the audience as odd, since the materials used in fashioning the lyre remain unaccounted for.[223]

The poet's pride in his version of Hermes' story that I posit here is not unparalleled. One only needs to look at the beginning of the first *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus* (vv. 1-7).[224] Having mentioned various versions of Dionysus' birth-story, which he considers incorrect and dismisses as outright lies, the rhapsode goes on to present his own version, which we are invited to consider as the only reliable one.

However, we can examine Hermes' first song as a mirror text from the point of view of the audience as well. As we have seen, Hermes' hymn to himself is likened to the provocative words that young men exchange at banquets (55-6). Not only does this

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[223] See my section on the different versions of the Hymn's story, p. 58ff.

[224] οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνῳ σ᾽, οἱ δ᾽ Ἰκάρῳ ἠνεμοέσσῃ φάσ᾽, οἱ δ᾽ ἐν Νάξῳ, δῖον γένος εἰραφιῶτα, οἱ δέ σ᾽ ἐπ᾽ Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδινήεντι κυσαμένην Σεμέλην τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ, ἄλλοι δ᾽ ἐν Θήβῃσιν ἄναξ σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι ψευδόμενοι· σὲ δ᾽ ἔτικτε.... See the pertinent discussion in Pratt (1993) 22-33.

simile link the activity of the youths (κεϱτομέουσι) with Hermes' personality—he is a

παῖς κέϱτομος, as Apollo acknowledges later in the poem (336-8)—but it also functions

as yet another 'mirror' in the text. If, as has been suggested,[225] the *symposion* was one of

the performative settings for a poem such as the *Hymn to Hermes*, then the simile

preceding Hermes' song acquires additional force: not only is the hero of the main

narrative present in the reflective part, but the audience of the actual *Hymn to Hermes*

(i.e. the external audience) can 'see' themselves, as it were, in the mirror narrative as

well.

To be sure, the simile of 55-6 is not the only reference to sympotic practice. Later

in the poem (424-5) when Hermes attempts to appease his brother, he moves towards

Apollo's left side and performs his second song. Commentators generally suggest that

Hermes gives Apollo the place of honor, certainly not an impossible interpretation.[226]

However, another explanation is also plausible. After Hermes finishes his performance,

he hands over the lyre to Apollo who is located on his right and takes over the lyre-

playing. This corresponds to the sympotic practice of passing around the instrument

from left to right and singing to its accompaniment. In other words, Hermes acts out the

ἐνδέξια ἔϱγα that Apollo professes to be his own domain at 454, and both performances

are preceded by sympotic references.[227]

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[225] See Depew (2000) 63-4 referring to Clay (1989). Performance at a banquet-setting (the dinner of the τετϱαδισταί) was already suggested by Eitrem (1906) 282.
[226] See also my note *ad loc.*
[227] Manuwald (2002) 161.

Hermes' theogony, too, is a mirror text producing what Dällenbach calls 'paradoxical duplication.'[228] Since he narrates the creation of the world, the birth of the gods, and the distribution of their honors, Hermes' theogony must also contain the story of Apollo (who happens to be its audience), and must end with the events of Hermes' own life, including his lyre-playing and the other actions of the Hymn. Furthermore, since it narrates how each god was allotted his μοῖραι, the theogony may also mirror the final section of the Hymn which concludes with an enumeration of Hermes' divine honors. In this way it functions as 'a retro-prospective *mise en abyme*,' since it recapitulates the earlier history of the world and the gods (including Hermes' own life), while looking forward to the poem's ending.

Just like our poet, Hermes begins his song from Mnemosyne and the Muses. The Hesiodic character of Hermes' second performance is not merely a reflex of traditional diction and practice. It is corroborated by the very function of Hermes' music as a means to calm Apollo's anger at his stolen cattle. At *Th.* 81-103 Hesiod describes the effect of the Muses' gifts to kings and poets. There we learn that the bard who is favored by the Muses has the power to divert his audience's cares through his song. Just as the king solves disputes with his sweet talk (παραιφάμενος), so the poet too causes anxieties to be forgotten and leads the listeners' mind astray (παρέτραπε).

Hermes' second song has precisely this power, as we learn at 417. We are told (at 434) that Apollo is seized by an irresistible longing as he listens to Hermes' performance.

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[228] For the term, see above, p. 93 n. 221.

By 438 he seems to have forgotten about their quarrel and suggests that the two of them can solve their dispute amicably later. His mind, then, has been (literally) led astray, and he forgets the reason for the argument, i.e. the stolen cattle that he is prepared to exchange for the new instrument. Now he wonders about the nature of Hermes' art and wants to have a share in it. Thus the situation is reversed: while earlier it was Hermes who wanted a share of Apollo's possessions, now it is Apollo who wants a share of Hermes' art. Apollo's reaction to Hermes' theogony shows that the poet of the *Hymn to Hermes* espouses similar views on the power of song and poetry to those found in the *Theogony*.

Hermes succeeds in soothing Apollo's anger and diverting his attention from the stolen cattle by instilling into his half-brother's heart another kind of care that makes him forget his previous one. As we hear at 447, Hermes' theogony is a μοῦσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων, which I take to mean 'a song that causes insurmountable cares.'[229] The nature of these μελεδῶνες can be gathered from 449 (εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἥδυμον ὕπνον) as well as from 434 (ἔρως... ἀμήχανος). Contrary to Hermes' first performance which, as we saw, lacked an audience (hence the poet cannot comment on the effects of Hermes' poetry and music), his second song has a targeted audience of one, Apollo, and the poet can describe his reaction to the performance. By describing the effects of Hermes' song on Apollo, the poet also implicitly suggests to his audience the way he wishes them to receive his own song. Hermes' first song establishes a parallelism

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[229] See my note *ad loc.*

between Hermes (as a performer of hymnic poetry) and our poet (as a performer of the *Hymn to Hermes*). If the god's song causes amazement in his audience, the poet's performance lays claim to a similar effect.[230]

Hermes' words at 475ff. support the poet's implicit claim. There the divine babe describes to his older brother how he should handle the lyre. Apollo is advised to take the 'clear-sounding companion' (λιγύφωνον ἑταίρην) to the banquet. He is told, furthermore, that whoever questions her (ἐξερεείνῃ, 483) having the proper knowledge and preparation, to him she will give pleasant replies. But whoever approaches her without the appropriate experience and questions her (ἐρεείνῃ, 487) violently, he will receive a vain and ill-sounding response. These words are spoken by (the character of) Hermes, but it is the poet singing to the lyre who actually pronounces them. Thus they have a double function: on the one hand they are Hermes' advice to his brother, but at the same time these words are the poet's statement about his own τέχνη and σοφία. In these lines, as L. Radermacher already realized, it is the poet who is speaking through Hermes.[231] To put it in a different way, in this section the poet identifies himself with his hero.

This identification of the poet's and the god's voice may be a generic characteristic of the major *Homeric Hymns*. It has been detected at *h.Dem.* 406-33, where the poet speaks at the same time both in the voice of the character Persephone (to Demeter) and in his own voice to his audience: there the character Persephone gives an

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[230] For Hermes' second performance, see Vamvouri-Ruffy (2004) 88-91 who emphasizes the homology between the effects of Hermes' embedded performance and the poet's own song.
[231] Radermacher (1931) 157.

account of the poem's story to two different audiences simultaneously.[232] E. Stehle

observes the same poetic technique at *h.Apol.* 363-74.[233] Likewise, Aphrodite's speech at

h.Aphr. (5) 191ff. contains a series of examples indicating the goddess' power (implied

through negative examples at the beginning of that Hymn); lines 200-38 in particular, a

mythological account in the third person, could be attributed to the bard instead of to

Aphrodite. In the same manner, then, Hermes' words (especially at 482-8) are directed at

two audiences, an internal (Apollo) and an external one (the audience of the *Hymn to*

Hermes), and are self-praise both for the god's performance of the theogony just

completed and for the poet's on-going performance of the *Hymn to Hermes* to which the

audience is in fact listening.[234]

iii.) *Poetry, prophecy, and beyond*

Hermes' remarks at lines 475ff. are important for an additional reason: together with

Apollo's speech that follows they establish a parallelism between the handling of the

lyre and the operation of an oracle.[235] We have already seen that Hermes used the term

ἐξερεείνειν 'to question' to designate the process of performing on the lyre. This

somewhat odd expression is certainly deliberate, occurring twice within five lines (483

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[232] Suter (2005) 34-5.

[233] Stehle (1997) 192-3 remarks (on p. 193) that 'in lines 363-69 the bard speaks as Apollo speaking to the snake, but he also directs his words *qua* pun straight to the audience (for the words are not a pun for the snake). Then in lines 372-74, speaking as the bard, he tells the audience directly that Apollo's words are in fact the source of the name Pytho.'

[234] This identification is hinted at by Shelmerdine (1984) 208 who remarks that 'here [*sc.* in Hermes' first song] we can see in the myth a mirroring of the hymn's actual performance, as the singer glorifies the very instrument on which he plays, and the poet simultaneously celebrates his own art.' The identification between poet and god becomes more explicit after Hermes' second song.

[235] The parallels were already pointed out by Eitrem (1906) 280-1.

and 487 [ἐρεείνῃ]). But why does the poet choose to have Hermes use this expression? One may think of the epic poet asking the Muse to recount the story he is about to sing (at *Il.* 1.8 the poet in fact asks a direct question—τίς τὰρ σφωὲ θεῶν ἔριδι ξυνέηκε μάχεσθαι;--whose answer is the epic poem that follows); or the epic poet's invocations of, and indirect questions to, the Muses within the poem, when he is about to perform a *tour de force* of memory, for instance, in recounting a catalogue (e.g. *Il.*11.218, 14.508, 16.112; *Th.* 114).[236] In these cases, the subsequent narrative is validated as authoritative, since it is the response of the Muses who are eyewitnesses to the events the poet is about to narrate. This may also be the implication of Hermes' beginning his theogony from Mnemosyne, the mother of the Muses.

Hermes' explanation of how to handle the lyre acquires additional meaning when connected to Apollo's ensuing speech and especially his description of the operation of the so-called 'Bee-oracle' (558-66). The two passages share similarities. To begin with, the process of consulting the 'Bee-oracle' is also referred to with a word familiar by now, namely ἐρεείνειν. Furthermore, as with the consultation of the lyre, there are two possible outcomes. If the bees happen to eat honey, then they reveal the truth to the enquirer. If, however, they are deprived of honey, their response will be lies and confused noise. Hermes also mentioned two possibilities while describing the lyre: if approached with the correct preparation, she 'teaches' things pleasing to the mind; otherwise, she emits shrill and ill-sounding tones. Apollo's outline of how the 'Bee-

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[236] See Minton (1960) and Lenz (1980) 27-37.

oracle' works also resembles his earlier description of his own oracle at Delphi (541-9): whoever approaches the oracle with a correct understanding of the preparatory omens will not be deceived by the god; but those who question the oracle (again ἐξερεείνειν, 547) trusting in vain omens will not receive a satisfactory answer; the god, however, will keep their presents. The μαψυλόγοι ('vainly', i.e. 'falsely'- speaking) omens of 546 parallel the lyre's response to the inexperienced player (μὰψ θρυλλίζειν, 488). Thus, the poet suggests a general resemblance between the production of song and music through the lyre and obtaining precise knowledge about the future by consulting an oracle: in both cases, the process is one of (ἐξ)ερεείνειν, while the inquirer's success depends on his correct preparation (i.e. training in how to perform on the instrument, understanding of preliminary omens, or offering the proper food to the 'Bee-maidens'). To these similarities one may also add the parallel constructions. Both the description of the use of the lyre and the consultation of the oracles are introduced by ὅς (τις) ἂν / ὃς δέ κεν clauses, some of which occur at the same metrical *sedes* (482-9 ~543-9).

The examination of particular terms corroborates this overall structural resemblance. First, the pronouncements of the 'Bee-maidens' are referred to as κραίνειν at 559, the same term as the poet used to designate Hermes' singing of the gods earlier (427). κραίνειν is certainly troublesome in this passage,[237] but its use in Hermes' song can be justified. The term κραίνειν has a wide range of meanings: 'accomplish,' 'ratify,' or even 'rule.' Benveniste traces its semantic development from the word for 'head'

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[237] See my note *ad loc.*

(κάρα), indicating divine sanction by an affirmative nod of the head (usually Zeus');

from divine authorization it subsequently came to signify also political authorization, i.e.

that of kings.[238] While Benveniste interprets κραίνειν at 427 as 'promoting into existence'

and 'predict' at line 559, Detienne connects the two occurrences in our poem more

closely.[239] In his view, Hermes with his song '"realizes" the immortal gods and the dark

earth (i.e. "makes them real"),' while the Bees' κραίνειν contributes to the events'

fulfillment, since as Detienne remarks 'oracular speech ... is part of [an event's]

realization.' The use of κραίνειν for the bees' prophetic activity is by no means an

isolated instance. It is found also in other contexts suggesting divination (e.g. Penelope's

prophetic dream in *Od.* 19.567 or Eur. *Ion* 464). Given that Hermes is the last born of the

Olympians, his song brings the story of the gods to completion. In addition, in both

cases we are dealing with an authoritative utterance; thus κραίνειν implies an

additional link between poetic and oracular speech. Finally, κραίνειν is also a

manifestation of the poetic device according to which the poet is presented as

performing what is being done in the poem (cf. my note on 427).

The 'Bee-maidens' ability to deliver truthful utterances depends on their

consumption of honey. Honey occasionally appears as the nourishment of the gods,[240]

and sometimes it was treated as equivalent to ambrosia and nectar, the divine food

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[238] Benveniste (1969) II 39-42.
[239] Detienne (1973) 70-4.
[240] E.g. Call. *Jov.* 49

proper.[241] It is also associated with poetic speech: a song's sweetness is often compared to honey (sometimes with a pun between μέλι and μέλος), while the comparison of the poet to a bee is a favorite image.[242] Honey, then, serves as yet another link between the oracular speech practiced by the 'Bee-maidens' and the poetic speech practised by Hermes—as well as the poet of the *Hymn to Hermes*.

By establishing a parallelism between poetic and oracular speech and by laying particular emphasis on the need for proper preparation both for performing on the lyre and consulting and understanding an oracle, the poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* implies that both oracular and poetic speech require similar practice and preparation. Such an understanding of poetry, although not explicitly stated elsewhere, is not foreign to archaic literature. Although we shall have to wait until Plato's *Ion* for an explicit comparison between the poet and the diviner,[243] traces of this connection appear in several places in archaic literature. Already Hesiod gives us a glimpse of such a view, when in the *Theogony* he recounts how the Muses handed him a scepter and breathed into him αὐδὴν θέσπιν, so that he might sing τά τ'ἐσσόμενα πρό τ' ἐόντα, which is the knowledge a seer possesses.[244] Pindar and Bacchylides also feature the correlation of

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[241] Roscher (1883) 25. For bees and honey and their significance in ancient thought and literature, see Robert-Tornov (1893), Cook (1895), Waszing (1974), and Scheinberg (1979).

[242] See the abundant passages from Greek, Roman, and Vedic literature collected in Scheinberg (1979) 22-5.

[243] Pl. *Ion* 533e-534e, where the poet and the seer are treated as a single category of people experiencing the same kind of μανία and ἐνθουσιασμός that enables them to compose poetry or to divine.

[244] Cf. *Il.* 1.70 (on Calchas' knowledge). See also Scheinberg (1979) 21-2 for bibliographic references on this issue.

poetry/song and divination.[245] Significantly, by the end of the *Hymn to Hermes* both

Hermes and Apollo are endowed with poetic as well as divinatory power.

Homer calls Odysseus' false tale to Eumaeus, when he asks the swineherd to

provide him with a cloak, an αἶνος. Hesiod too calls the story of the hawk and the

nightingale in his *Works and Days* (202-12) an αἶνος. This αἶνος is directed to the kings

who understand (φρονέουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς, 202). The implication seems to be that in addition

to the fable's meaning on the surface level that everyone would be able to grasp, the

kings, knowledgeable as they are, can decode also a different message. The notion of

speaking to those few who are able to perceive the hidden meanings of the words (the

συνετοί, φρονέοντες, or ἀγαθοί) has parallels in epinician poetry and in Theognis.[246]

So far we have established that the Hymn develops a parallelism between poetic

and oracular speech.[247] Moreover archaic literature points to forms of speech that, like

oracles, can have an additional sense not accessible to everyone. Now the history of

Greek literary criticism identifies a particular group of critics who imported the

analytical and conceptual framework used in approaching oracular utterances into

poetry and developed allegorical interpretation. P. Struck has recently emphasized that

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[245] Cf. Pi. N. 9.49-50 θαρσαλέα δὲ παρὰ κρατῆρα φωνὰ γίνεται. ἐγκιρνάτω τίς νιν, γλυκὺν κώμου προφάταν, fr. 52f. 5-6 ἐν ζαθέῳ με δέξαι χρόνῳ ἀοίδιμον Πιερίδων προφάταν (Paean), 75.13 ἐναργέα τ' ὧτε μάντιν οὐ λανθάνει (Dithyramb), 94a.5-6 μάντις ὡς τελέσσω ἱεραπόλος (Partheneion), 150.1 μαντεύεο, Μοῖσα, προφατεύσω δ' ἐγώ; Bacch. 9.2-6 ἐπεὶ Μουσᾶν γε...θεῖος προφάτας...ὑμνεῖν.
[246] Pi. O. 2.83-5 πολλά μοι ὑπ' ἀγκῶνος ὠκέα βέλη ἔνδον ἐντὶ φαρέτρας φωνάεντα συνετοῖσιν; Bacch. 3.85 φρονέοντι συνετὰ γαρύω; Thgn. 681-2 ταῦτά μοι ᾐνίχθω κεκρυμμένα τοῖσ' ἀγαθοῖσιν· γιγνώσκοι δ' ἄν τις καὶ κακόν, ἂν σοφὸς ᾖ; cf. Ford (2002) 79. For φρονέοντες, cf. the passage from the Op. cited above.
[247] Note that poet and seer are associated with each other (as *demioergoi*) already at Od. 17.382-5; cf. also Sol. 13.37-62 and Dillery (2005) 176-8 for the importance of these passages, and p. 185 for the poet assuming the persona of a seer.

not all allegorical interpretation was 'defensive' in nature.[248] Such 'defensive'

interpretation aimed at exonerating poets from accusations leveled against them by

critics such as Xenophanes or Heraclitus. Theagenes of Rhegium (mid-sixth century) is

commonly regarded as an exponent of 'defensive' allegoresis: he explained the real

meaning of the *theomachy* in the *Iliad* (20.67ff.) as a battle between physical elements,

presumably a reply to critics who considered the *theomachy* as unbecoming for the

gods.[249] But texts like the αἶνος in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (which is not a response to

criticism) point to the possibility of a different approach to allegory, a 'positive' one.[250]

This approach introduces into poetry the idea of a surface and deeper (or underlying)

meaning that only the few, knowledgeable ones can decode. Terms deriving from the

root of αἰνίττεσθαι were prominently used in this type of interpretation, and at a later

stage, the terms ὑπόνοια and σύμβολον.[251] The underlying notion is that poetic, like

oracular, language is (deliberately?) obscure and requires special skill and effort to be

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[248] Struck (2004); the argument is presented more concisely in Struck (2005). See also the discussion in Ford (2002) 66-80, Struck (2004) 26-9, and Richardson (1975) for allegoresis in the sixth and fifth centuries BC. The argument for the existence of 'positive' allegorical interpretation was already made by Tate (1929) 142 and further elaborated in Tate (1934).

[249] For Theagenes' interpretation, see *fr.* 2 DK [= Schol. B on *Il.* 20.67, going back to Porphyry]; the commentator who cites this interpretation considers it a λύσις ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως. After setting out the details of the allegoresis, the commentator concludes: οὗτος μὲν οὖν <ὁ> τρόπος ἀπολογίας ἀρχαῖος ὢν πάνυ καὶ ἀπὸ Θεαγένους τοῦ Ῥηγίνου, ὃς πρῶτος ἔγραψε περὶ Ὁμήρου, τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ἀπὸ τῆς λέξεως. See also Lamberton (1986) 31-2 for earlier views on Theagenes and his putative connection to Pythagoreanism; further, Buffière (1956) and Ford (1999). Tate (1927) suggested that even before Theagenes (whom he considered a grammarian), Pherecydes had understood Homer allegorically; cf., however, Schibli (1990) 99 n. 54 and 117 n. 30.

[250] The term 'positive' is obviously artificial, coined in opposition to the 'negative' or 'defensive' allegoresis.

[251] ὑπόνοια is attested in this context in Pl. *Rep.* 378d 6-7. It may be significant in this context that Hermes' first word (according to the Hymn, 30) is σύμβολον, a word that later acquires a specialized use in this kind of interpretation. In the Hymn the term seems to be moving away from the sense 'token of identification' and enters the realm of divination; see Struck (2004) 90-6. For terms deriving from αἰνίττεσθαι, see Struck (2004) 171-7.

decoded and understood. A prime example of allegoresis is the famous Derveni

papyrus (late fifth c.), which explicitly states: ἔστι δὲ [μαντικὴ ἡ] πόησις | [κ]αὶ

ἀνθρώ[ποις] αἰνι[γμ]ατώδης. [ὁ δ]ὲ [Ὀρφεὺ]ς αὐτ[ῇ] | [ἐ]ρίστ᾽ αἰν[ίγμα]τα οὐκ ἤθελε

λέγειν, [ἐν αἰν]ίγμασ [ι]ν δὲ | [μεγ]άλα (*P.Derv.* vii 4-7).[252]

The *Hymn to Hermes* contains several instances where words have such an

additional underlying meaning. Significantly, the first word that Hermes utters in the

Hymn (and presumably also in his life), σύμβολον, characterizes his encounter with the

tortoise. This encounter is not a chance event but, as Hermes immediately realizes, the

first step for his acquisition of honors. Furthermore, the proverb at 36 (whether a

quotation from Hesiod or not) is ambiguous. One may take it as a general injunction to

stay at home because it is safer there, but we know that if the tortoise enters the cave

(οἴκοι from the god's perspective) it will be βέλτερον for Hermes, but χαλεπόν for the

animal. Thus, line 36 emerges as a phrase that can have more than one meaning, and

Hermes' speech turns out to be ambiguous. Hermes' words directed to the Old Man at

Onchestus (90-4) are equally cryptic, so much so that scholars generally assume a *lacuna*

between 91 and 92. At first glance, Hermes seems to warn the Old Man not to reveal

what he just saw (an element derived from the Battos-story). But these lines can also be

understood differently: after an initial ironic comment about the Old Man's vain toil,[253]

the Old Man is told to continue his pitiful existence and mind his own business (= 92-3).

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[252] Admittedly, the supplement μαντικὴ ἡ at line 4 (proposed independently by West and Struck) is far from certain; Tsantsanoglou suggested ξένη τις ἡ; however, the αἴνιγμα terms are certain. For the restoration of line 4, see the discussion in Struck (2004) 31-3; also Kouremenos-Parássoglou-Tsantsanoglou (2006) 172-3.

[253] See my note on 90-1; I accept Clay's ὥστε for the MSS ὅστε. The sense is: 'you dig these logs as if they were (actual) plants; indeed you will acquire lots of wine when these produce (i.e. never)!'

Although he can (physically) see, he does not realize that he is digging mere logs;

likewise, although he can hear, he will be deaf (and perhaps even dull-witted). In other

words, we are dealing here with an instance of σκῶμμα.[254]

Likewise, Hermes' theogony purports to be a song about the origins of the

world, the gods' birth, and their acquisition of *timai*. After the song, however, Apollo

proposes to exchange the lyre for the cattle, since he understands that the 'deeds of

exchange' are one of Hermes' *timai* (516). Although generally at a loss throughout the

Hymn, Apollo appears knowledgeable in the context of interpreting song and able to

understand Hermes' innuendos.[255] Apollo again reveals himself to be an 'understanding'

audience in grasping Hermes' (implicit) request for the gift of prophecy, as 533 suggests

(see my note *ad loc.*).

To summarize: the concern with poetry and song is a theme that runs

throughout the *Hymn to Hermes*. It is expressed in two forms: as embedded bardic

performances by the poem's hero that frame the episode of the cattle-theft and as an

implicit comparison between how to perform on the lyre and how to approach an oracle.

It serves both as a way to characterize Hermes and indicates the change of his

personality over the course of the poem, as well as a vehicle for the poet to convey his

own thoughts on poetry. The poet seems familiar with the Hesiodic (theogonic)

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[254] For the σκῶμμα, see below p. 192-3 (on lines 90-3).

[255] The poet, however, does not specify exactly how Hermes requested the exchange. Did he explicitly mention the 'deeds of exchange' in his song as one of his own *timai*? Or did he simply hint at it indirectly? Thus the ambiguity suggested by the parallelism between poetic and oracular utterances is enhanced.

tradition,[256] while he shows a certain degree of intellectual affinity with those thinkers who developed what came to be known later as 'allegorical interpretation.' Thus the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* emerges as an important document for archaic Greek views on poetry and music.

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[256] The poet's familiarity with Hesiod is further confirmed by his use of Hesiodic formulaic material; on this, see above, p. 50-3.

V. <u>SOME REMARKS ON THE TEXT</u>

In producing my commentary I used for my lemmata F. Càssola's (1975) edition of the

Homeric Hymns. A detailed description of the manuscript tradition may be found on p.

593-616 of this edition. *P.Oxy.* LXVIII.4667 (=1231.01 M-P³) contains *h.Hom.* 18.4-11, part

of which overlaps almost verbatim with *h.Herm.* (4-10); no major differences are to be

noted apart from πολυσκίῳ (6). For the Hymns' textual tradition, see also Hollander

(1886), Allen (1895), (1897a), and (1898), and Breuning (1929). On Codex M (= Leidensis

B.P.G. 33H) which alone transmits the entire *Hymn to Demeter*, see Gelzer (1994). This

manuscript belongs to a different branch of the tradition, independent from the (lost)

hyparchetype Ψ, and must have been copied from an originally defect manuscript.

Contrary to most manuscripts which transmit the *Homeric Hymns* along with

Callimachus', Orpheus', and Proclus' *Hymns* and other late poetry, this manuscript

groups the *Homeric Hymns* with other Homeric poetry (*Il.* 8.435-13.134). It is

characterized by mis-divisions, omissions or permutations of letters and other mistakes.

It does, however, transmit readings not found in the rest of the textual tradition (though

its readings are not always reliable). The points where I think one should diverge from

M's readings are mentioned in the commentary.

In what follows I note my divergences from Càssola's text; I discuss each case in

the commentary. As the commentary reveals, my approach to the constitution of the text

is conservative: at many places I discard emendations which due to their repetition in

earlier editors have become received wisdom, while I believe that there is no need to

posit a single *lacuna* in the text. See the individual notes for explanations of the apparent

gaps.

31. χοροιτύπε δαιτὸς ἑταίρη, : χοροίτυπε, δαιτὸς ἑταίρη, (C.)

32-3. πόθεν τόδε; Καλὸν ἄθυρμα, αἰόλον ὄστρακον, ἐσί, χέλυς ὄρεσσι ζώουσα :

πόθεν τόδε, καλὸν ἄθυρμα; Αἰόλον ὄστρακον ἔσσο, χέλυς ὄρεσσι ζώουσα (C.)

41. ἔνθ' † ἀναπηλήσας : ἔνθ' ἀναπιλήσας (C.)

45. καὶ τότε: ἢ ὅτε (C.)

48. πειρήνας διὰ νῶτα διὰ ῥινοῖο : πειρήνας διὰ νῶτα, διὰ ῥινοῖο (C.)

51. θηλυτέρων : συμφώνους (C.)

59. ὀνομάκλυτον : ὀνομακλυτόν (C.)

60. τε γέραιρε : τ' ἐγέραιρε (C.)

76-7. ἴχνη ἀποστρέψας—δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης—ἀντία ποιήσας ὁπλάς : ἴχνι'

ἀποστρέψας· δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης ἀντία ποιήσας ὁπλάς (C.)

79. δ' αὐτίκ' ἔριψεν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἁλίῃσιν. : δ' αὐτίκα ῥιψὶν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἁλίῃσιν (C.)

90. ὥστε φυτὰ σκάπτεις ἐπικαμπύλα κᾶλα : ὅς τε φυτὰ σκάπτεις ἐπικαμπύλος

ὤμους (C.)

100. Μεγαμηδείδαο ἄνακτος. : μέγα μηδομένοιο ἄνακτος, (C.)

103. ἀδμῆτες : ἀκμῆτες (C.)

109. ἐπέλεψε σιδήρῳ : ἐν δ' ἴλλε σιδείῳ (C.)

152. περ' ἰγνύσι : περὶ γνυςί (C.)

174-5. ἤ τοι ἔγωγε /πειρήσω· δύναμαι κτλ. : ἤ τοι ἔγωγε / πειρήσω, δύναμαι, κτλ. (C.)

187-8. ἔνθα γέροντα / † κνώδαλον εὗρε νέμοντα παρὲξ ὁδοῦ ἕρκος ἀλωῆς † or

    κνώδαλον εὗρε νέμοντα παρὲξ ὁδὸν, ἕρκος ἀλωῆς : ἔνθα γέροντα /

    κνώδαλον εὗρε, δέμοντα παρὲξ ὁδοῦ ἕρκος ἀλῆς (C.)

208-9. παῖδα δ᾽ ἔδοξα, φέριστε—σαφὲς δ᾽ οὐκ οἶδα—νοῆσαι. / ὅς τις ὁ παῖς κτλ. :

    παῖδα δ᾽ ἔδοξα, φέριστε, σαφὲς δ᾽ οὐκ οἶδα, νοῆσαι, ὅς τις ὁ παῖς κτλ. (C.)

209. ἐυκραίρῃσιν : ἐυκραίροισιν (C.)

248. ἐκπλείους : ἐμπλείους (C.)

274. εἰ δὲ θέλεις : εἰ δ᾽ ἐθέλεις (C.)

306. ἐελμένος : ἐελμένον (C.)

346. ὁδοῦ ἐκτός : ἄικτος (C.)

385. φώρην : φωρήν (C.)

401. ποτί : παρά (C.)

423. θυμῷ : θυμόν (C.)

457. μῦθον : θυμῷ (C.)

460-1. ἤ μὲν ἔγωγε / κυδρῷ ἐν ἀθανάτοισι καὶ ὀλβίῳ ἡγεμονεύσω (?) : ἤ μὲν ἐγώ σε /

    κυδρὸν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι καὶ ὄλβιον ἡγεμόν᾽ ἔσσω, (C.)

508-9. ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν / σήματ᾽· : ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν· / σήματ᾽, ... (C.)

510. ἀνακλέψῃς : ἄμα κλέψῃς (C.)

COMMENTARY

[NB: The lemmata are printed as in Càssola's (1975) edition, even when I disagree with his choices. A list of my divergences can be found above, p. 112-3.]

1-19: *Proem*

The proem consists of two parts, 1-9 (the proem proper) and 10-19 (Hermes' birth and indirect presentation). The first announces the subject-matter of the Hymn and turns to the past by giving a brief account of Zeus' and Maia's love-affair. The second returns to the time of Hermes' birth, prepares the audience for what is to come, and leads into the main narrative.

Just like other epic proems, the proem to *h.Herm.* does not reveal the entire plot of the Hymn: we learn that Hermes played the lyre at mid-day and stole his brother's cattle at night on the very day of his birth. But the proem does not mention the fire-sticks or Hermes' feast at the Alpheios river, the trial-scene on Olympus, the two brothers' reconciliation, Hermes' acceptance into the Olympian order, his invention of the *syrinx*, or the various honors he acquires throughout the poem. Nor do we hear about Hermes' motives: the acquisition of his divine prerogatives. Like the proems to the Homeric epics, the proem to our Hymn announces only a small portion of the poem's action (up to 104); cf. Bassett (1926), Keyßner (1932) 9-13, van Groningen (1958) 63-5, and Lenz (1980) on the relation of archaic proems to the works they introduce.

Lines 1-9 have the typical structure of a hymnic proem: the subject-matter appears as the first word of the first line, followed by an invocation to the Muse,

mention the god's parentage, some of his attributes and cult-places; the relative clause expanding the initial invocation is also a highly traditional element (see note on 3), but it is used differently here: it functions as a means by which the poet goes back in time to relate Zeus' and Maia's union. This emphasis on the affair is by no means irrelevant to what follows, as Hermes' clandestine conception at night both mirrors his own nightly and thievish exploits later in the poem, and makes his admittance to Olympus problematic. Zeus, furthermore, plays an important role in the resolution of the two brothers' conflict (cf. the trial-scene on Olympus); his mention at the beginning of the poem along with 575 frame the entire *Hymn* and create a ring-composition effect. This emphasis on Zeus is all the more important because other versions do not seem to attribute such a central role to him; see Lenz (1975) 69-75. Lines 1-9 appear in *Hymn* 18.1-9; minor differences between the two texts will be pointed out in the notes on specific lines.

During the brief flash-back in 3-9, Maia's cave is mentioned for the first time, encircled by 4 and 7, which are very close to each other in both meaning and phrasing, creating a small ring. The cave reappears on several occasions in the poem and is described in different terms each time.

Taken in conjunction with 57-9 (the beginning of Hermes' first song), 1-9 indicate a poet who is aware of alternative hymnal openings which he employs in the same poem. His invocation to the Muse, furthermore, is mirrored in Hermes' beginning from Mnemosyne in his second song (a theogony *à la mode d' Hésiode*). Far from using

traditional material and tropes mechanically, our poet reflects creatively on his traditional poetic means; see above, p. 94ff. for the *Hymn*'s self-reflexivity.

1-9: *Proem proper*

1. Ἑρμῆν: As in other epic proems, the first word announces the poem's subject-matter; cf. *Il.* 1.1 (μῆνιν), *Od.* 1.1 (ἄνδρα), *Theb.* 1 (Ἄργος), and the majority of the *Homeric Hymns*. In several of the Hymns the divinity praised is mentioned in the accusative at the beginning of the verse, frequently as the object of a verb denoting singing (ἀείδειν, ὑμνεῖν, ἐννέπειν); but in four instances it depends on ἀμφί (*h.Hom.* 7, 19, 22, 33); the latter type of hymnal opening became popular with the dithyrambic poets, cf. the remarks in *Suda*, *s.v.* ἀμφιανακτίζειν.

Our poet uses the contracted form of Hermes' name, whereas Ἑρμείας occurs more frequently in Homer who has the contracted form only four times (*Il.* 20.72, *Od.* 8.334, 14.435, 24.1). Hesiod (*Op.* 68, *fr.* 66.4) has Ἑρμείης, a hyper-ionism, cf. West (1966a) 80. This form appears in the manuscripts of *h.Hom.* 19.28, 36 (not accepted by Càssola), and later in Alex.Aet. *fr.* 3.11, Call. *Del.* 69, 143, *Dian.* 272, A.R. 4.1137, Arat. 269, Nic. *Alex.* 561 etc. hEPMEHΣ is found on a vase-inscription (*GDI* 5783, Caere), but this could be a dittography, cf. Kretschmer (1894) 59-60. Hermes' name is attested already in Mycenaean, see *DMic. s.v.* E-ma-a₂ (= *Ἑρμάhας).

ὑμνει: ὑμνεῖν is found three more times at the opening of a Homeric Hymn (*h.Hom.* 9, 14, 31). ἀείδειν is far more frequent, either as a finite form or depending on

ἄρχεσθαι (*h.Hom.* 2, 6, 10-13, 15-18, 20-23, 26-28, 30; also *Il.* 1.1 and *Theb.*), while

ἐννέπειν is found four times (*h.Hom.* 5, 19, 32, 33; also *Od.* 1.1. and *Il.Par*). *Pace*

Cantilena (1982) 242, ὑμνεῖν is not equivalent to ἐννέπειν; cf. Risch (1985). In classical

Greek ὑμνεῖν means 'to sing a hymn in praise of a god,'as Plato, *Lg.* 700b 1-2 defines it

('...καί τι ἦν εἶδος ᾠδῆς εὐχαὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ὄνομα δὲ ὕμνοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο'); this is

a possible meaning here, but archaic usage is more complicated. In *h.Apol.* 207-8 (πῶς τ'

ἄρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὔυμνον ἐόντα; ἠέ σ' ἐνὶ μνηστῆσιν ἀείδω καὶ φιλότητι),

ὑμνεῖν is used as a synonym of ἀείδειν, the least marked of the three verbs, while *Od.*

8.429 offers ἀοιδῆς ὕμνον ἀκούων, which suggests that originally ὕμνος may have been

perceived as a characteristic of ἀοιδή; cf. Diehl (1940) 105. ὕμνος / ὑμνεῖν is applied to a

variety of song types. The term originally designated any kind of song with the meaning

of 'arrangement' or 'texture of song.' At a later stage it was restricted to songs in praise

of gods. The archaic tradition, however, preserves the original meaning, while it also

shows signs of the new, specialized one. Pindar uses it of his own poetry in praise of

humans, e.g. *fr.* 94b 10-2 (a *partheneion*), 'υἱοῦ τε Παγώνδα ὑμνήσω στεφάνοισι

θάλλοισα παρθένιον κάρα,' and 121.1-2 (an *encomion*), 'πρέπει ἐσλοῖσι

ὑμνεῖσθαι...καλλίσταις ἀοιδαῖς'; we find a similar usage in Bacch. 11.13-4, 'ὑμνεῦσι δὲ

Πυθιόνικον παῖδα θαητ[ὸ]ν Φαῖσκου.' Anacreon is said to have used ὕμνος in the

sense of θρῆνος, cf. Eust. *Il.* III, p. 463. Later, in Aesch. *Eum.* 336 ὕμνος refers to the

Furies' song. Of the etymologies proposed (cf. Frisk, *s.v.* ὕμνος), the one deriving ὕμνος

from ὑφαίνειν is suggested on the basis of Bacch. 5.9-10 (ὑφάνας ὕμνον, of a song

directed towards a human; cf. also 19.8) and may be corroborated by the term

ῥαψῳδός, on which see Patzer (1952); cf. also the remarks in Vamvouri-Ruffy (2004) 19-23.

The shorter *Hymn to Hermes*, which may derive from the longer one, has ἀείδω instead of ὕμνει, which excludes the possibility of an invocation to the Muse.

<u>Μοῦσα</u>: the invocation of the Muse is a traditional element of epic poetry by no means confined to proems. It also appears at parts, where the poet is about to recount a piece that constitutes a *tour de force* of memory, usually a catalogue, as e.g. in *Il.* 2.484-93, 11.218-20. As possessors of all knowledge and daughters of Mnemosyne (memory), their support is neccesary for the poet who is sometimes viewed as their mouthpiece; see Minton (1960) and Lenz (1980) 27-37.

<u>Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν</u>: the parentage of the praised god is often found at the beginning of a hymn, sometimes followed by a birth-narrative; cf. *h.Hom.* 15.1-3, 16.1-4, 18.1-9, 28.1-16, 31.1-7.

Homer has Μαιάς at *Od.* 14.435; cf. *h.Hom.* 29.7, Semon. *fr.* 20.1, Simon. *fr.* 50.2, Hippon. *fr.* 35, *AP* 6.346.1 (Anacreon), Eur. *Hel.* 243, 1670, *Or.* 997; μαῖα is used in Homer only as a form of address (mostly accompanied by φίλη). It appears to be an expansion of the word μᾶ, see Frisk, *s.v.*; cf. πᾶς, gen. πᾶ ('father') in Choerob. *in Theod.* 116 and *Et.Gud.* 450-1, *s.v.* πάντας. Μαῖα as a proper name appears in Hesiod, *fr.* 169.3, who also has Μαιάδος in *fr.* 217.2 and Μαίη—another hyperionism—at *Th.* 938; cf. also Hermes' matronymics Μαιαδεύς and Μαιάδης (Hippon. *fr.* 32.1 and Phot. *Bibl.* 144a). Maia

appears to be a mountain-dwelling nymph, localized in Mt. Cyllene in Arcadia. She

is one of the Pleiades, the daughters of Atlas and Pleione, and has almost no other role in

mythology besides being Hermes' mother. Apollod. 3.101 reports that Zeus entrusted

Maia with Arkas after Callisto was killed by Artemis. Gundel (1928) maintains that Maia

was Hermes' mother without being originally one of the Pleiades; from Schol. Pi. *N.* 2.16

(= Hes. *frr.* 169-70) he concludes that it was Hesiod who first proposed this association.

Given the uncertainty regarding the date of both Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women* and

h.Herm., however, it would be more prudent to abstain from statements about any

poem's priority.

In *h.Hom.* 18 Hermes' parentage is replaced by Κυλλήνιον Ἀργειφόντην, which

is somewhat redundant before Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα.

2. <u>Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα</u>: the mention of a god's birth-place or cult-places at the

beginning of a hymn is yet another traditional element; see Norden (1913) 168-9. The

association of Hermes with Cyllene already exists in Homer (*Od.* 24.1); also *h.Hom.* 18.1-

2, 19.31, Alc. *fr.* 308b.1, and Hippon. *fr.* 3, 32.35; perhaps also Hes. *fr.* 64.18, 66.4. But cf.

Carm.Con 4.1 (ὦ Πὰν Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων κλεεννᾶς). Pi. *O.* 6.77-80 mentions sacrifices

performed in honor of Hermes on Mt. Cyllene and associates him with Arcadia as well.

An ithyphalic statue of the god was worshipped in Elian Cyllene, according to Paus.

6.26.5. There were, however, also other traditions: Mt. Kerykeion in Tanagra was

considered by some as Hermes' birth-place (cf. Paus. 9.20.3); Paus. 8.16.1 also reports

that the Nymphs bathed Hermes at Pheneos as soon as he was born. Elsewhere, 8.36.10,

Paus. mentions that Hermes was raised in Akakesion in Arcadia. Philostr. *Im.* I 26

mentions the peaks of Olympus as the god's birth-place; see Clay (1989) 103 n. 28 on the

various traditions regarding Hermes' birth-place. Notice also that Cyllene appears as a

character on stage in Sophocles' *Ichneutai*.

Homer uses μεδέων in *Il.* 3.276= 320, 7.202, 16.234, 24.308 of Zeus (Ἴδηθεν

μεδέων) only in the vocative, at the beginning of prayers; elsewhere he has the stem

μεδοντ-, usually in the formula ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες. Zumbach (1955) 3 is not correct

in claiming that the application of μεδέων to Hermes constitutes a 'profanation'; cf. Hes.

Th. 54 (of Mnemosyne) and Pi., *fr.* 95.

Ἀρκαδίης πολυμήλου: πολύμηλος may modify either people (*Il.* 2.705, 14.490)

or places (*Il.* 2.605, of Orchomenos). Hesiod uses it coupled with ἀφνειός of humans in

general (*Op.* 308). On Arcadia as a region rich in herds, cf. *h.Hom.* 19.30, *Orac.Delph.* I 5

P.-W., and *Epigr.Gr.* 744.3; Pi. *O.* 6.100 and Theoc. 22.157 use the slightly different

εὔμηλος; cf. also Hes. *fr.* 23a.32-3. The epithet points to Hermes' function as the patron

of herds. At the end of the Hymn, Hermes is officially given tutelage over many kinds of

animals; cf. also his title κτηνίτης on an inscription from Priene, *GDI* 4. i 1-3, [n]42.8, and

his cult-name ἐπιμήλιος in Coroneia, (Paus. 9.34.3). Note also that Πολυμήλη bore

Eudoros to Hermes according to *Il.* 16.179-86.

3. ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον: a unique phrase that combines ἄγγελον

ἀθανάτων, which appears in an Attic inscription of 490 BC (*IG* I² 609 = Meiggs & Lewis

18), and ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος, which occurs in the *h.Dem.* 407. Cantilena (1982) 243

considers the recurrence of ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον in *h.Hom.* 18 as evidence

that it is formulaic. If, however, the shorter Hymn derives directly from the longer as

seems likely, its repetition in the later poem is not formulaic. Perhaps, as Cantilena

suggests, the phrase μετάγγελον ἀθανάτοισιν (*Il.* 15.144, used of Iris) is also operative

here. On the Homeric epithets used for Hermes, see Dee (1994) 56-9; for parallels in

meaning, cf. θεοῖς θοὸς ἄγγελος, (*h.Hom.* 19.29) and θεῶν ταχὺν ἄγγελον, Hes. *Op.* 85.

Note that Iris is the divine messenger in the *Iliad*, whereas Hermes has this role only in

the *Odyssey* (cf. Preller I, 390-1).

The meaning of ἐριούνιος was misunderstood already in Antiquity. Homer uses

it five times (*Il.* 20.72, coupled with σῶκος, 24.360, 440, 457, 679); he also has the form

ἐριούνης twice (*Il.* 20.34-5 ≅ *Od.* 8.322-3). For the various attempts to explain the

derivation and meaning of the epithet, see Latte (1954-55) 192-4 and Reece (1999) 87-93.

Bergk (1856) 384 was the first to link this word with three Arcado-cypriot glosses that

appear in Hsch. (οὔνει, οὔνον, οὔνιος); see also Bowra (1934) 68. Οὔνει is explained as

an imperative (δεῦρο, δράμε), and Bechtel (1921) I, 393 assumed the existence of a verb

οὔνημι ('to hurry'), denominative from οὔνος. Bowra thought that οὔνης and οὔνιος

had some unattested independent existence, but Latte, *loc. cit.*, and Leumann (1993) 123

are probably right to consider these forms as invented by the grammarians in order to

explain ἐριούνιος. There are several instances of such invented forms, e.g. πλοκαμίς<

εὐπλοκαμῖδες, ἄρκης<ποδάρκης, ἤνωρ<ἀγήνωρ, ἦρ<ἐπίηρα φέρειν. According to

Bergk and his followers, ἐριούνιος means 'swift'; cf. also West (2003a) who renders 'coursing.'

Others have linked ἐριούνιος with ὀνίνημι, e.g. Goebel (1967) II, 59, explaining it as 'beneficial,' the common interpretation given by ancients; cf. *EM* 374.20-6 and Corn. *ND* 21.4-6. The high concentration of the adjective's occurences in *Il.* 24, where Hermes aids Priam, may suggest that Homer too understood it to mean 'beneficial.' The poet of the *Phoronis*, on the other hand, explained it as 'cunning,' 'wily'; see *fr.* 5.1-3: Ἑρμείαν δὲ πατὴρ ἐριούνιον ὠνόμασ' αὐτόν· πάντας γὰρ μάκαράς τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ' ἀνθρώπους κέρδεσι κλεπτοσύνῃσι τ' ἐκαίνυτο τεχνηέσσαις; Ar. *Ra.* 1144 relates it to χθόνιος. The reading Ἑρμῆς ἦλ[θ]' ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὠκύς (so Càssola [1975]) in *h.Dem.* 407 may be an indication that the adjective was already misunderstood in the 7th century BC, unless one regards ὠκύς as a mere filler devoid of any actual meaning; for the dating of *h.Dem.* see Richardson (1974) 11; also his discussion on 407 and Merkelbach (1959) 156 regarding the textual problems there.

Hesiod refers to the birth of Hermes from Zeus and Maia briefly in *Th.* 938-9, where the young god is called κῆρυκ' ἀθανάτων, a metrically equivalent and synonymous phrase found in the same *sedes* as our ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων.

ὃν τέκε Μαῖα: the amplification of an epic poem's or hymn's subject-matter by means of a relative clause is again traditional; cf. *Il.* 1.1-2, *Od.* 1.1, Hes. *Th.* 1-2, *Op.* 1-2, *fr.* 1, *Il.Par fr.* 1, *Theb. fr.* 1, and the majority of the *Homeric Hymns*; see Norden (1913) 168.

4. νύμφη ἐϋπλόκαμος: the formula is found in the *Odyssey* referring to

Calypso; the poet of *h.Hom.* 19.34 uses it of Dryops' daughter (Pan's mother).

ἐϋπλόκαμος is employed in Homer of females in general, sometimes of maids; also of

Circe and Calypso, and less frequently of goddesses; but cf. Eur. *IA* 791 (with κόμας)

and *P.Mag.* 23.3 (of Zeus).

For the similarities of the surviving first strophe of Alcaeus' *Hymn to Hermes* (*fr.*

308) with lines 1-4 of our poem, see above, p. 59.

Διὸς ἐν φιλότητι μιγεῖσα: cf. *h.Hom.* 7.56-7; φιλότητι μιγῆναι is a common

phrase for love-making that appears with many variations (e.g. *Il.* 2.232, 3.445, 6.161, *Od.*

19.266, *Th.* 265, 333, 375, 920 etc.).

5. αἰδοίη: not a common attribute of a nymph, as Clay (1989) 104 n. 30 observes;

in Hesiod it refers both to the gods in general (*Th.* 44) and to specific female deities (*Th.*

16, 194, 950; *Op.* 194, 257). αἰδώς may be characteristic of someone's appearance, as in

h.Dem. 215-7. The meaning of αἰδοίη here is active ('shy'), as the rest of the verse

suggests (Maia avoids the rest of the gods), and its position as a runover adjective

followed by strong pause is especially emphatic; cf. *Op.* 300-1, where αἰδοίη used of

Demeter appears also as an emphatic runover; both in the *Op.* passage and here there

seems to be a link of causality between αἰδοίη and the following δέ-clause. Thus, von

Erffa (1937) 44 is not justified in claiming that the adjective is used in post-Homeric

poetry in a colorless manner and with passive sense. On runover words, see Bassett

(1926), Edwards (1966) esp. 138-46, Clark (1997) 21-106, and—specifically on *hMerc.*—

van Nortwick (1975) 68-72.

μακάρων δὲ θεῶν ἠλεύαθ᾽ ὅμιλον: in Homer ἀλέασθαι refers to men

avoiding a spear, an arrow, death, or divine wrath; the only instance where it is used of

avoiding a crowd (ὅμιλον) is *Od.* 17.67 (αὐτὰρ ὁ τῶν μὲν ἔπειτα ἀλεύατο πουλὺν

ὅμιλον), on which our verse may depend.

ὅμιλος regularly refers to a group, sometimes in a military context, but also of a

noisy crowd (e.g. Hdt. 9.59); groups of gods are normally referred to as θεῶν ἀγορά (*Il.*

8.2, *h.Dem.* 92), φῦλα θεῶν (*Il.* 15.54, 15.161=177, *h.Dem.* 36, 322, 433, 461), θεῶν

ὁμήγυρις (*Il.* 20.142, *h.Dem.* 484, *h.Apol.* 187, *h.Herm.* 322), or θεῶν γένος (*Th.* 44). For a

goddess avoiding the rest of the gods, cf. *Od.* 7.247, *h.Dem.* 355.

Divine love-affairs are often characterized by secrecy; cf. *h.Dion.* 6-7, *h.Hom.* 17.3-

4, Soph. *fr.* 314.265-71 (*Ichn.*).

6. ἄντρον ἔσω ναίουσα: there is no need to emend with Baumeister to ἄντρου,

as ναίειν with the accusative is a well-paralleled construction in all periods (cf. *Il.* 13.172,

14.121, *Od.* 4.517, 5.80, 9.113, 24.150, 304, *Th.* 445, 777, 933, *Op.* 8, *Hymn* 29.9, 34.2-3, Pi. *O.*

5.17, 10.68, *P.* 7.5, *fr.* 52d 21, Aesch. *Ch.* 807, Alex. *fr.* 22.1, Lyc. 800, [Orph.] *H.* 18.1 etc.),

and ἔσω may be used absolutely.

Nymphs often are said to dwell in caves; cf. *Od.* 5.57-74, Plu. *Arist.* 11.4.3

(Calypso), *Od.* 1.71-3 (Thoosa); accordingly, they were worshipped in caves; cf.

Amandry (1984) 403-11.

παλίσκιον: a rare word in archaic and classical literature (it is found also in

h.Hom. 18.6, Archil. *fr.* 36.1, Is. *Or. 7 fr.* 1, Xen. *Cyn.* 5.9.2, Arist. *HA* 556a24); and mainly

used by late and/or technical writers. Note that the only compounds with σκιά in

Homer are δολιχόσκιον (ἔγχος) and δάσκιος (ὕλη). The closest parallel to our phrase is

Antim. *fr.* 3.2 ἄντρον...σκιερόν, a fragment replete with textual difficulties, on which see

Matthews (1996) 84-6. Elsewhere in *h.Herm.* the dark, grim cave is ἠερόεν, cf. 172, 234,

359.

For πάλιν as an intensifying prefix (= "doubly"), see LSJ, *s.v.,* citing also

παλιμμήκης in Aesch. *Ag.* 196.

7. μισγέσκετο: the use of the iterative is important, as is the (iterative) optative

of the following line. Together they imply a long standing affair between Zeus and Maia

instead of an amorous fling, in which Zeus often indulged; see also below, note on 58.

The affair is also mentioned in Hesiod in just two lines (*Th.* 930-1), placed among several

other erotic encounters of Zeus. The Hermes poet, furthermore, presents an inverted

relationship: whereas Hesiod refers to Maia as ἱερὸν λέχος εἰσαναβᾶσα, here Zeus

frequents Maia's cave.

νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ: the interpretation of this phrase has caused difficulty to

commentators since antiquity. It appears six times in literature (4x in similes in the *Iliad*,

once in the *Odyssey* and here; cf. Aesch. *fr.* 69.7 and Eur. *fr.* 104). Our poet seems to use it

in the sense 'late at night,' 'in the dead of the night.' The ancient sources often link it

with ἀμέλγειν, 'to milk,' though a derivation from μολεῖν is also proposed; cf.

Apoll.Soph. 28.23. For a recent attempt to explain this phrase, see Tsagalis (2003) who

also gives Indoeuropean parallels.

8. ὄφρα κατὰ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἔχοι: ὄφρα is used here in the sense 'while,' 'so

long as'; Monro, 281 § 307, however, expressedly states that ὄφρα is final in character;

but cf. van Leeuwen (1894) 549 §323 ('quamdiu') and Schwyzer II 651 ('so lange'). The

optative denotes indefinitely repeated action (and is not an optative in indirect speech,

as Schwyzer, *loc. cit.* suggests), while ὄφρα indicates extent of time instead of a point in

time (which would be expressed by ὅτε or ἡνίκα); the duration of the relationship

between Zeus and Maia is again emphasized.

For ὕπνος with ἔχεν, cf. Soph. *Ph.* 821, Ar. *Vesp.* 9, Theoc. 8.65, 11.22.

λευκώλενον Ἥρην: λευκώλενος frequently refers to Hera, and the formula

λευκώλενος Ἥρη is always found at verse-end; cf. Dee (1994) 82-4. Less often it is used

of Andromache, Nausicaa, and maids.

9. λήθων ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ' ἀνθρώπους: for the secrecy of

Zeus and Maia's affair and the attempt to hide it from Hera, cf. Soph. *fr.* 314. 265-70

(*Ichn.*), above p. 67. Hermes' clandestine conception may point to his nature, as was

already suggested by the Scholiast on *Il.* 24.24: ὅστις (*sc.* Hermes) ἐπιθυμίαν ἔσχε τοῦ

κλέπτειν, ὅτι καὶ Ζεὺς κλέψας τὴν Ἥραν ἐμίγη Μαίᾳ.

10-19: *Hermes' birth*

From the affair of Zeus and Maia we pass to Hermes' birth. After all, divine

unions lead to offspring; cf. Poseidon's words at *Od.* 11.249-50 (οὐκ ἀποφώλιοι εὐναὶ

ἀθανάτων). The newborn god's characteristics are presented through a cascade of eight

epithets and nouns (13-5), a device also found in *h.Herm.* 19.36-7 and (to an even greater

degree) in the late Hymn 8, thought to be by Proclus (cf. West [1970]). Note, however,

that these nouns and epithets are not the ones normally used of Hermes, while some of

them are not found elsewhere; cf. van Nortwick (1975) 83, and Greene (2005) 344 for the

proleptic nature of these epithets. This device is also used when the appearance of an

'anti-hero' is described, as e.g. *Il.* 2.216-9, *Vita Aesopi* 1, on which see Papademetriou

(1997) 28-42. The young god will soon accomplish great deeds, which are enumerated in

17-8. Finally, we are told that Hermes was born on the fourth day of the month.

This section introduces two themes that will become prominent towards the end

of the poem, i.e. divination and the relation between song and mantic. The formula ἀλλ'

ὅτε δή...καὶ τότε (δή) is common in oracles, cf. Fontenrose (1978) 166-7. Hermes' birth is

presented with the gravity of an oracular response that reveals Zeus' will; cf. 10 and

213-4 where Apollo learns of Hermes' birth through an οἰωνός. The use of oracular

speech in both places is, of course, parodic since Zeus is presented as having decreed the

creation of a little thief. The two themes will appear in Hermes' speech where he

connects lyre-playing with divination and in Apollo's final speech on divination (533 ff.)

10. <u>ἀλλ' ὅτε δή</u>: ἀλλά marks a strong break; we leave Zeus' and Maia's affair and move quickly forward in time to Hermes' birth. ἀλλά normally indicates a transition *ad nova et inexspectata* (cf. Ebeling *s.v.*) although in the context of a birth-hymn the mention of the god's birth is certainly not an *inexspectatum*; see also *LfgrE, s.v.* IV 2. The clause introduced by ἀλλ' ὅτε δή often expresses a definite span of time (when x days/ years etc. passed, cf. *Il.* 1.493-4, 6.175-6, *Od.* 5.390-1, 7. 261-2 etc.) and is answered by καὶ τότε. Here the span of time is indicated by the appended clause of 11.

<u>μεγάλοιο Διὸς νόος ἐξετελεῖτο</u>: for μεγάλοιο Διός, see Dee (1984) 153; μέγας is used also of Apollo, Poseidon, and Cronos. Διὸς νόος has a structural significance in *h.Herm.* since it opens a ring that is completed at 396 with the resolution of Apollo's and Hermes' dispute and the latter's admission into Olympus. For the phrase, cf. *Th.* 1002. Gemoll *ad loc.* objected to the imperfect suggesting that the pluperfect would be more appropriate here. Note, however, that when Zeus' will or plan is mentioned, the imperfect is regularly used; cf. *Il.* 1.5, *Cypr. fr.* 1.7.

11. <u>δέκατος μείς</u>: μείς is Ionic; Attic μήν is a recent development by analogy to –ν stems in –ην, -ηνος; see Buck (1961) 93. The MSS vary between μείς and μής, just as in *Il.* 19.117; both would have been spelled ΜΕΣ in the old Attic script and the manuscripts' variation may point to an Attic phase of the tradition. Μείς/μήν 'month' is not used to place an event in time, but rather to indicate a period of time (*LfgrE s.v.*).

For pregnancy lasting ten (lunar) months, cf. Hdt. 6.63, 69, Virg. *Ecl.* 4.61 (with Clausen's note), Gel. 3.16 (citing various ancient authorities on the subject), and the

references to the δεκαμηνιαῖος τοκετός in Arist. *GA* 772b9, *HA* 583b25, 584a37 etc.

See also the discussion in Neugebauer (1963) and *RLAC* IX 37-8.

<u>οὐρανῷ ἐστήρικτο</u>: 'when the tenth moon had been fixed for her in the sky.' This implies that the month is identified with the moon; cf. LSJ *s.v.* μείς I 2 for relevant examples. στηρίζειν is used of fixing heavenly bodies in the sky; cf. Arat. 10, 230, 274, 351, 500, Nic. *Ther.* 20. ἕστηκε/εἰστήκη are also found with μείς/ μήν (both 'month,' and 'moon'), cf. Anacr. *fr.* 17.1-2 of the month Poseideon, and Thphr. *fr.* 6.27.3-4 of the moon.

12. <u>εἴς τε φόως ἄγαγεν</u>: for the turn of the phrase, cf. *Il.* 16.188, 19.118; cf. also Pl. *Prt.* 320d 4, 321c 7, *Phdr.* 261e 4, *R.* 461c 5, 521c 2, *Lg.* 724a 5, 869c 2. In all the parallels, when birth is suggested, the subject is not the mother but some other figure (Hera, Eilythyia, or the gods in *Prt.*). Here, however, it is best to take Maia as the subject.

<u>ἀρίσημα ἔργα τέτυκτο</u>: ἀρίσημος is not in Homer or Hesiod. It appears again in Tyrt. *fr.* 12.29, Hp. *Ep.* 10.29, 10.44, 17.198, Theocr. 25.158, and Maiist. 6. The adjective could be taken predicatively, i.e. 'and the deeds became manifest' — for this sense of ἐτέτυκτο, see LSJ, *s.v.* τεύχω III— ἔργα would then refer to Zeus' and Maia's love-affair; it can also be taken as attributive, in which case ἀρίσημα ἔργα would designate Hermes' deeds mentioned at 17-9; in view of the later references to Hermes' deeds as κλυτά or θαυματὰ ἔργα this seems preferable.

<u>καὶ τότ' ἐγείνατο</u>: usually the subject with ἐγείνατο is feminine as here, although a masculine subject is also found (e.g. *Il.* 5.800, *Th.* 233).

παῖδα πολύτροπον: recalls the ἄνδρα ... πολύτροπον from *Od.* 1.1; the relative clause in 15 ὃς τάχ' ἔμελλε... corresponds to ὃς μάλα πολλά..., and perhaps this similarity was the reason why Kaibel (*Epigr.Gr.* 1032 in *app.crit.*) considered the words from αἱμυλομήτην to πυληδόκον to be an interpolation. Hermes is called πολύτροπος also later in 439 (same *sedes*, in the vocative). The adjective recurs once more in *Od.* 10.330 to designate Odysseus, and appears again in Plato (*Hipp. min.* 365b4-5), where Odysseus, πολύτροπός τε καὶ ψευδής, is contrasted to Achilles, ἀληθής τε καὶ ἁπλοῦς. The meaning of the adjective was disputed in Antiquity, between 'clever' or 'cunning' (cf. *Schol. Vet. Od.* 1.1.37-73) and 'much-tossed' (i.e. πολύπλαγκτος); cf. Li.Andr. *versutus.* LSJ gloss *Od.* 1.1 'much-travelled,' while they render the same word in *h.Herm.* as 'shifty, versatile, wily'. Both meanings find support in our text: Hermes covers a lot of ground in the Hymn, while the connection between τρέπειν and ingenuity seems present in αὐτοτροπήσας in 86; but cf. Maehler (1963) 24 n.1 who explains πολύτροπος as "wer viele τρόποι (= *Wege, Möglichkeiten*) zur Verfügung hat," in light of πολύφημος in *Od.* 2.150, 22.376.

*αἱμυλομήτην: cf. αἱμυλοπλόκος and αἱμυλόφρων in Cratin. *fr.* 407; also the metrically equivalent ἀγκυλομήτης, found in *Il.* 2.205 etc.; see Zumbach (1955) 20. For the idea, cf. *Op.* 78, where Hermes endows Pandora with ψεύδεά θ' αἱμύλιούς τε λόγους καὶ ἐπίκλοπον ἦθος. Later in the Hymn (317ff.) Hermes is called πολύμητις, and his words are characterized as αἱμύλιοι.

14. <u>λῃστῆρ(α)</u>: frequently of pirates (cf. *Od.* 3.73 = 9.254, 17.425, *h.Dem.* 125, *h.Apol.* 454, Hdt. 6.17.6, Ephor. *fr.* 27.3); here it must mean simply 'robber.' Hermes appears as a thief already in *Il.* 5.385-91 (stealing Ares from the jar where Otos and Ephialtes kept him for thirteen months), 24.24 (the gods urging Hermes to steal Hector's corpse from the Greek camp); also *Od.* 19.394-7 (endowing Autolykos with κλεπτοσύνη). In the Hymn the motif of Hermes the thief is combined with the *Kindheitsmotiv*, i.e. the theme of a god's precocious childhood, on which see Bielohlawek (1930) 203-4.

<u>ἐλατῆρα βοῶν</u>: the phrase recurs modified in 265 and 377 and is found again in Coluth. 43 (of a gadfly). ἐλατήρ in early Epic refers to a driver of horses or charioteer (*Il.* 4.145, 11.702, 23.369, *h.Apol.* 232; also Aesch. *Pers.* 32); but cf. *Il.* 11.672 (βοηλασίη) and *AP* 11.176.2 where Hermes is referred to as βοηλάτας.

<u>ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων</u>: in Homer, ἡγήτωρ is a military leader (often in the formula ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες). The phrase was emended to ἡγήτορα φωρῶν by Gemoll on the grounds that Hermes does not appear as the leader of dreams in the Hymn. But he does not function as the leader of thieves either; he only *threatens* to assume this function at 175. Nor is he truly a πυληδόκος in the Hymn as he is called in the next verse (which Gemoll retains). The title ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων may be due to Hermes' association with night and sleep. The Phaeacians poured libations to Hermes before going to sleep (cf. *Od.* 7.136-8, Ath. 1.28). Elsewhere, he brings sleep (*Il.* 24.343-4= *Od.* 24.3-4) and some later sources present him as the sender of dreams; see A.R. 4.1732-3, Apollod. 244 *fr.* 129

(with Jacoby's commentary), Hld. 3.5; in an inscription from the Villa Albani, *ILS*

3200 (= Courtney [1995] no. 143 with notes), Hermes refers to himself as

dator...somniorum; see Eitrem (1912b) 789. Notice, however, that in *Il.* 2.6 it is Zeus who

sends *Oneiros* to Agamemnon. Dreams were thought to be messengers of the gods and

ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων may reflect this idea; cf. *Il.* 2.26 and Acusil. 9 *FGrH*. Notice, however,

that the souls of the dead are compared sometimes to dreams (*Od.* 11.207, 222); hence

ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων may point to Hermes' role as the psychopomp, mentioned more

explicitly at 572.

15. νυκτὸς ὀπωπητῆρα: *ὀπωπητήρ is a *nomen agentis* derived from ὀπωπέω,

formed from the pluperfect ὀπώπει, which was perceived as an imperfect of an -εω

contract verb; cf. γεγωνέω <ἐγεγώνει (already in Homer) or ἐγρηγορέω <ἐγρηγόρει

(Hellenistic). On the subject, see Sütterlin (1891) I 87; on the *nomina agentis* in general, see

Fraenkel (1910, 1912), Risch (1974) 28ff., and Benveniste (1948) esp. p. 45ff. The ending –

της replaced –τηρ in Ionic-Attic. The noun may be a synonym of ὀπτήρ, 'spy' (cf. *Od.*

14.261 and *h.Herm.* 65); elsewhere, Hermes is called εὔσκοπος; cf. Dee (1984) 56. νυκτὸς

ὀπωπητῆρα is supplemented in *Epigr.Gr.* 1032, a prayer to Hermes Trismegistos from

Augusta Treverorum.

The phrase could mean 'someone who watches *during* night' (taking νυκτός to

be a genitive of time) or 'someone who watches *for* night' (νυκτός being an objective

genitive in this case); both interpetations find support from the text: at 65 Hermes darts

out of his cave κατὰ σκοπιήν, while he commits his theft during the night and lies in

bed during day (as a true ἡμερόκοιτος).

*πυληδόκον: cf. ὁδοιδόκος in Plb. 13.8.2, D.Chr. 4.95.3, D.S. 34/35.2.43, glossed

as κακοῦργος ἔνοδος by Hsch.; also ὁδοιδοκεῖν explained as ὁδοσκοπεῖν by Hsch. and

Eust. Od. I, p. 97. πυληδόκος may refer to Hermes as the guardian of the entrances, as he

was also called Πυλαῖος, Προπύλαιος, Πύλιος, Θυραῖος, Στροφαῖος (cf. Paus.Gr., s.v.

Ἑρμῆς στροφαῖος), Στροφεύς; see Farnell V, 19 and 66 n. 20-5. This points to a divinity

associated with gates, doors, or door hinges. The comparison with ὁδοιδόκος suggests

that πυληδόκος could also mean 'thief.' Lines 146-7 suggest a way to combine the two

possible meanings: there, Hermes enters the cave through the key-hole. In a way he

protects the door, since the house's entrance is not violated, but at the same time he acts

as a thief, as he enters stealthily into the house. Subsequently (384), he swears by

Olympus' προθύραια to prove his innocence. πυληδόκος has also been linked to the

Gate to the Underworld, traditionally located at Pylos (e.g. Il. 5.397); see Usener (1965)

IV, 226-7.

16. ἀμφανέειν: this syncopated form does not occur in Homer, who uses

ἀναφαίνειν (e.g. Il. 1.87, 11.62, 174, 17.244) even in metrical contexts that would allow

either form, although he does have ἀμβαίνειν.

κλυτὰ ἔργα: picks up ἀρίσημα ἔργα from 12 and sets the tone for what the

audience should expect in the poem.

17-19. These two verses in asyndeton give us a preview of some of Hermes'

κλυτὰ ἔργα: the fabrication of the lyre and the cattle-theft, i.e. his two most important

actions in the poem. The cattle-theft precipitates the conflict with Apollo that will open

Hermes' way to Olympus, although not in the same triumphant manner in which other

gods enter Olympus (cf. the Muses in the *Theogony* or Apollo in the opening of *h.Apol.*),

while the lyre will be the means of reconciliation between the two brothers and Hermes'

way of acquiring divine honors through exchange. Most of the Hymn's action is, in a

way, the result of the two events presented in 17-9. The order of events, however, is

different from all other accounts of the story, and this is of crucial importance. While in

other versions (on which see above, p. 59ff.), the cattle-theft precedes the creation of the

lyre—and, in fact, the cows' intestines and hides are used as material for the

construction of the lyre—our poet makes the cattle-theft *follow* the lyre's fabrication, thus

dissociating the two events and emphasizing the antagonism between the two divine

brothers.

These lines were bracketed by Ilgen (as 'a grammatico primum in memoriae

subsidium in margine notati'), who was followed by most editors until Gemoll defended

them on the grounds that ὃς καί in 20 presupposes that something has already been said

about the wondrous deeds. This type of brief summary before the narration of the god's

actions is not without parallel: cf. *h.Apol* 131-2, which also give a summary of the *Hymn's*

main themes (lyre-playing, archery, prophecy). In both Hymns these lines illustrate the

motif of the precocious divine child. The poet of *h.Herm.* emphasizes the divine babe's

rapidity of action and inventiveness, while *h.Apol.* underscores the young god's strength and rapid growth; see also Herter (1975) 601 with n. 19. The motif of Hermes' precocity appears again in Soph. *fr.* 314.277-82 (*Ichn.*), where, however, the focus is on corporeal growth. For the relationship between *h.Herm.* and *h.Apol.*, see above, p. 54ff.

17. ἠῷος: not in Homer; first attested in *Op.* 548.

γεγονώς: the form occurs here for the first time, but is not guaranteed; the epic γεγαώς could have been used (cf. 214, 271, 331), and γεγονώς may be due to Attic influence on the tradition.

μέσῳ ἤματι ἐγκιθάριζεν: μέσῳ ἤματι appears also in *h.Apol* 441 in the same *sedes*, also of a god performing a miraculous feat (Apollo appears as a star in broad day light). Many editors felt that the verb ἐγκιθαρίζειν implies the presence of an audience—cf. the only other occurrence of this compound in *h.Apol.* 201—and consequently found fault with the fact that Hermes' first musical performance lacks an audience. Gemoll therefore adopted Bergk's εὖ κιθάριζεν. Radermacher, on the other hand, took μέσῳ ἤματι with ἐγκιθάριζεν to ease the construction, but this yields awkward syntax. A possible answer to the problem may be that ἐγκιθάριζεν in *h.Herm.* is the result of our poet's adaptation of *h.Apol.* 201; this would account both for the syntax and for the hiatus before ἐγκιθάριζεν.

19. τετράδι τῇ προτέρῃ, τῇ μιν τέκε πότνια Μαῖα: this verse punctuates the first narrative section of the Hymn as a kind of ring-composition: the proem begins and ends with a reference to Maia.

The day on which Hermes was born is the τετάρτη (μηνὸς) ἱσταμένου. The tripartite division of the month is implied here; see Bischoff (1919) 1571-2 and West on *Op*. 765-828. The fourth, along with the first and seventh, are sacred days; cf. *Op*. 770. The fourth day was associated with Hermes, Aphrodite, and Heracles; cf. Plu. *Symp.Quaest*. 3.2.404, Schol. *Arist.Pl*. 1126, Thphr. *Char*. 14. Herakles was born on the fourth day as well (cf. Philoch. 328 F 85 and Phot. *s.v.* τετράδι γέγονας, proverbially used for people who toiled for others). Alternatively, it was on this day that Herakles joined the company of the immortals. Procl. ad *Hes.Op*. 798 reports that the same day was associated with both Hermes and Aphrodite and therefore it was πρὸς συνουσίαν ἐπιτήδεια; see the references collected in Lobeck (1829) I, 430-3. Hermes was also linked with the number four in a different way (cf. Farnell V, 67 n. 31); on Ἑρμῆς Τετρακέφαλος, cf. Paus.Gr. *s.v.*; also *AP* 6.334.3 (Leon.Tarant.) τετραγλώχιν, i.e. with four angles, square; Corn. *ND* 23.12, τετράγωνος τῷ σχήματι, Apollod. 244 *fr*. 129, and Plu. *Symp.Quaest*. 738e 7- f 2.

πότνια in this *sedes* often qualifies Hera in Homer (e.g. *Il*. 8.471, 13.826, 14.159; *Od*. 4.513 etc.). This epithet elevates Maia's status, who was an otherwise unimportant nymph; consequently, Hermes' prestige is also increased.

20-68. *Hermes and the Tortoise*

At this point, the mythical part (*pars epica*) begins. Shortly after he is born, Hermes leaves his cradle in search of Apollo's cattle. Just as he exits his cave, he chances

upon a tortoise. He addresses it in riddling terms that foreshadow her future role as 'the companion of the feast.' He then kills it and constructs the lyre. Thereafter, the divine babe tries his new toy (ἄθυρμα), improvising a hymn to his parents. Finally, he hides the lyre in his cradle and leaves for Pieria.

The transition from the proem to the main narrative is handled in different ways in the major *Homeric Hymns*. *h.Apol.* begins with a scene on Olympus (all the gods except for Zeus and Leto are terrified at the arrival of Apollo), and the transition is achieved through a question, just as in *Iliad* 1.11, where the Muse's and poet's voice blend. *h.Dem.* launches straight into the narrative after a proem of just 3 lines. *h.Aphr.* begins with a typical proem, which is followed by a bridging section describing the limits of Aphrodite's power (she cannot overcome Athena, Hestia, and Artemis); this leads into the Hymn's main topic, i.e. how the goddess was conquered by her own power of love. In our Hymn, the presentation of some of the narrative's central themes results in a smoother transition than in *h.Dem.* and without the need of a lengthy section between the introduction and the main narrative, as in *h.Aphr.* Lines 20ff. pick up again the *Wunderkind*-motif (cf. *h.Apol* 127-9 where Apollo breaking lose from his swaddling clothes as soon as he partakes of ambrosia). Radermacher (1914-24) 232-9 compares this to other stories of divine children who while still young performed deeds beyond the abilities of their age, e.g. Buddha, Jesus conversing with the sages at the Temple etc. On the motif of the precocious divine child, see Gering (1927) I, 46.

20-2. See below, note on 63-5 for structural similarities between the two passages.

20. <u>ὃς καί</u>: καί is not here simply 'also,' cf. Schwyzer II, 567, which would not yield a strong sense; the force is: 'It is he who immediately after he leapt from his mother's womb...'; cf. Denniston 295 and 307.

<u>μητρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων θόρε γυίων</u>: cf. *h.Apol.* 119, Call. *Dian.* 255, and Hp. *Ep.* 17.255, all of whom have ἐκθορεῖν of a baby's birth (the first two children are divine); also *Th.* 281 of Chrysaor and Pegasos leaping forth from Medusa's decapitated neck. *Il.* 19.110 has simply πέσῃ μετὰ ποσσὶ γυναικός, of a mortal child. Maia may have given birth to in the same way as Leto did, i.e. leaning on her knees; cf. *h.Apol.* 117-8 and Paus. 8.48.7 for a similar procedure; see Kuntner (1985) and *RLAC* IX 89-90.

21. <u>ἱερῷ ἐνὶ λίκνῳ</u>: When Zeus was born he was placed in a golden λίκνον, cf. Call. *Jov.* 48.

On Hermes and the λίκνον, Soph. *fr.* 314.275 (*Ichn.*); also *LIMC* V (Hermes) 241 and 242 a/b for representations of the divine babe in the λίκνον, and van Hoorn (1909) 17-21.

The λίκνον (Suda and Hsch. have also λεῖκνον) was an agricultural implement used as a winnowing fan for separating the grain from the chaff; it was also employed in cult, with fruit and/or a phallus placed inside. The Scholiast on Call. *loc. cit.* informs us that babies were placed in a λίκνον because of the belief that they would thus acquire wealth in their adult life; see Kroll (1926) and Frazer (1921) II 5 n. 4 for attestations of this custom in other peoples. Dionysos was especially associated with the λίκνον and bore the by-name λικνίτης.

22. ἀλλ' ὅ γ': ὅ γ(ε) picks up a formerly mentioned subject as often in epic; see Denniston 121-2.

ζήτει βόας Ἀπόλλωνος: Homer has both βοῦς and βόας and in some instances the metrical context admits either form (βόας *Il.* 12.137, 20.495, 24.782; *Od.* 11.289, 12.375, 19.276; βοῦς *Il.* 1.154, *Od.* 198). Both forms are admissible here and at 102, 116, 262, and 340. The MSS have βόας here and βοῦς in 116.

The poet does not explain at this point why Hermes was after Apollo's cows, but later we are told that the young god was hungry for meat (64, 130), although he does not partake of the cows that he slaughters. Just like Apollo, Hermes seems to have a firm plan of his future actions as soon as he is born.

23. οὐδὸν ὑπερβαίνων ὑψηρεφέος ἄντροιο: cf. *h.Herm.* 380. ὑψηρεφής frequently refers to θάλαμος or δῶμα (e.g. *Il.* 5.213, 9.582; *Od.* 4.15, 7.225 etc. also also υψερεφης). Hermes' cave is described in terms normally applied to a house or palace. Throughout the poem, we are invited to envision the cave in different—and sometimes conflicting—terms. Radermacher remarks: "die Höhle besteht bei ihm [sc. the poet] als reine Phantasievorstellung, die sich nach dem Bedürfnis des Augenblicks märchenhaft verändert" (on 26). In addition, the cave, being the dwelling-place of a god, may be described at times as if it were a temple. Thus, it has a courtyard-door in 26 and is even compared to a temple, since in 247 it appears to have not one, but three ἄδυτοι. In 252 it is referred to as a μέγας δόμος (again a reference to a temple) that has several μυχοί; cf. also 27 and 146. οὐδόν may preserve here some association with temples as well (cf. note

on 233). Hermes, however, describes his cave in contemptuous terms in 172 by

calling it ἠερόεν, elsewhere reserved for ζόφος or Τάρταρος (*Il.* 8.13; *Od.* 11.57; *Th.* 119,

653; Hes. *fr.* 30.22, 280.23; *h.Dem.* 80, 446); the reason for Hermes' contemptuous

description of the cave is his desire to acquire a position on Olympus among the other

gods instead of being a marginal deity.

24. ἔνθα χέλυν εὑρών: χέλυς here for the first time in hexameter; it occurs also

in Sapph. *fr.* 118 (of the lyre) and Alc. *fr.* 359.2; cf. the aetiological story in Paus. 8.17.5,

ἔνθα (*sc.* on Mt. Chelydorea at Kyllene) εὑρὼν χελώνην Ἑρμῆς ἐκδεῖραι τὸ θηρίον καὶ

ἀπ' αὐτῆς λέγεται ποιήσασθαι λύραν. On Hermes' depictions with a tortoise-lyre, see

LIMC V (Hermes) 310-20; cf. also Paus. 2.19.7 who mentions a representation in the

temple of Lycian Apollo of Hermes seizing a tortoise in order to construct a lyre.

The tortoise is a true ἕρμαιον (cf. Pl. *Phd.* 107c 6, *Smp.* 217a 3), i.e. an

ἀπροσδόκητον κέρδος, as Paus.Gr. *s.v.* explains it; cf. also [Niceph.Greg.] *Fr. Lexici*

Graeci e cod. Par. Gr. 3027, 149. On the ἕρμαιον, see Preller I, 403 n. 3 and Eitrem (1921a).

The poet creates here a mythological antecedent from the god's life to explain the sense

of ἕρμαιον which must have been current during his time.

ἐκτήσατο μύριον ὄλβον: Baumeister thought that the cows and the staff

mentioned in 529 are implied here, but the word may refer to the entire set of divine

honors that Hermes will acquire by the end of the Hymn, for which one might have

expected τιμή; and Nordheider (*LfgrE s.v.*) is right to suggest that by ὄλβος are meant

the consequences of the lyre's invention. Normally ὄλβος is given to humans by Zeus or

the gods in general (*Od.* 6.188, 18.19, *Th.* 420, *Op.* 281 etc.), while they themselves are

not said to possess ὄλβος. Here, however, Hermes, whose divine status is as yet

ambiguous, acquires ὄλβος for himself; cf. also 379 where Hermes calls himself ὄλβιος

and 461, where Apollo promises to make Hermes ὄλβιος among the gods.

25. <u>Ἑρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα χέλυν τεκτήνατ'ἀοιδόν</u>: This is the first explicit

aetiological statement in the Hymn and shares much of the wording of 111 that refers to

Hermes' invention of the fire-sticks. Ruhnken considered the verse an interpolation and

was followed by most editors with the exception of Schneidewin, who thought 111 to be

an interpolation instead. Baumeister went on to suggest that it was modeled after Boeo

fr. 2.2 (it is unclear to me why he calls it an *oraculum*), which is cited by Paus. 10.5.8 and

mentions Olen as the inventor of the hexameter (on Boeo, see Knaack [1897]). Agar

(1921) 13 took the verse as a marginal summary of the story to follow. This similarity

prompted Càssola to propose that both verses may derive from another *Hymn to Hermes*

or from a different version of the present Hymn. If these are indeed marginal

summaries, they must have entered the tradition very early, since they are transmitted

in both branches. The placement of these two verses within the larger narrative,

however, suggests that the repetition may be functional: they seem to frame the two

principal events that were announced in 17-9, the construction of the lyre and the cattle-

theft. Line 25 precedes the killing of the tortoise and its transformation into a singer,

while 111 punctuates the cattle-theft proper. Both 25 and 111 can be taken

parenthetically, and the employment of τοι may be a rhetorical device by which the poet

attempts to engage his audience's attention ('Hermes, *as you know*, was the first to transform the tortoise into a singer').

τεκταίνεσθαι is properly used of carpentry but is also found as a metaphor of the poet's work; for its construction with two accusatives cf. Pl. *Ti.* 33a 6-b 1.

ἀοιδός is normally used of human beings, except in *Op.* 208 (nightingale), 582-3 (ἀοιδή of the cicada), and *h.Hom.* 19.17-8 (bird). He is one of the δημιοεργοί (*Od.* 17.383-5), grouped with the seer, the physician, and the carpenter, and his art derives from Apollo and the Muses (*Th.* 95). By making the tortoise into an ἀοιδός, Hermes appropriates one of Apollo's chief roles already in the beginning of the Hymn before even stealing his cattle. This is also the first reference to the tortoise in human terms, which will culminate in Hermes' speech to Apollo where he describes the lyre as a *hetaira* (see n. on 463-95).

On Hermes' transforming a voiceless creature into a singer, cf. Soph. *fr.* 314. 299-300 (*Ichn.*), and Nic. *Alex.* 560. For Orpheus as the πρῶτος εὑρετής, cf. Tim. *Pers. fr.* 15 *col.* 5, 221-4.

26. ἥ ῥά οἱ ἀντεβόλησεν ἐπ' αὐλείῃσι θύρῃσιν: notice that the tortoise meets Hermes rather than *vice versa*. Hermes' statues were located at the entrance to the house, thus everyone coming from outside would encounter Hermes as they entered; cf. Paus.Gr. 70. According to Christopoulos (forthcoming) the meeting at the courtyard-door has further significance: the courtyard doors are associated with music and song performed in front of them; cf. the so-called παρακλαυσίθυρα, and especially Pi. *N.*

1.19-20 and Plato *Smp.* 212c6ff. The tortoise, then, meets Hermes at the courtyard-door, on which occasion he transforms her into a singer. Usually, however, persons who appear singing at the αὔλειοι θύραι are *not* made to sing; they are doing this already.

27. ἐριθηλέα ποίην: for this line-ending, cf. *Il.* 14.347 (νεοθηλέα ποίην), which refers to the fresh grass that springs up when Zeus and Hera make love. No metrical constraints impede the use of the Iliadic phrase here, and the difference in the adjective may be meaningful: ἐριθηλέα ποίην is the thick grass on which the tortoise grazes; cf. Cantilena (1981) 244, who considers this phrase a 'functional variant.'

28. σαῦλα ποσὶν βαίνουσα: σαῦλον is glossed by Hsch. as ἁβρόν, κοῦφον, ἄκρον, τρυφερόν. It recurs in Semon. *fr.* 18 (relating to a horse's stride), Anacr. *fr.* 66b (of the Bacchants), and *fr.* 113; cf. also Schol. *Arist.Vesp.* 1169 (σαῦλον δὲ καλεῖται καὶ τὸ χαῦνον καὶ τὸ διερρυηκός) and the compound σαυλοπρωκτιᾶν in the same play, 1173. Eur. *Cyc.* 40 has σαυλοῦμαι of the satyrs. Chantraine, *s.v.*, compares it with other adjectives in –λος, such as μάχλος, which often have pejorative meanings, while Frisk suggests that it may have been formed through association (*Kreuzung*) with φαῦλος. The comparison of the tortoise's slow gait with that of a horse or of the drunken and dancing Satyrs certainly adds an element of comedy. Shelmerdine *ad loc.* sees σαῦλα ποσὶν βαίνουσα as a possible reference to the tortoise's future function as the companion of the feast, who will make the symposiasts dance. Given the associations of σαῦλος with bacchic revelry and sexually suggestive gait, the comparison of the lyre to a *hetaira*, as

she is described later in the poem, may also be implied here. On σαῦλα, see Solmsen

(1909) 132-3, Treu (1968) 253 and 295, and Zumbach (1955) 15.

ἐριούνιος: see above, note on 3. Reece suggests that a pun is intended between

ἐριούνιος and the following forms of ὀνινάναι in Hermes' speech. This is certainly

possible, esp. in view of other such word-plays in the poem; cf. also below, note on 392.

29. cf. *Od.* 22.207, τὴν δ᾿ [sc. Athena] Ὀδυσσεὺς γήθησεν ἰδὼν καὶ μῦθον

ἔειπεν.

ἀθρήσας: ἀθρεῖν denotes a special type of seeing that often involves the notion

of discovering, as some of its occurrences show (e.g. *Il.* 12.391, 14.334), or at least a

certain intensity, as the lexicographers and commentators point out; cf. *Phot. s.v.* ἀθρεῖν,

τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖν καὶ μετ᾿ ἐπιτάσεως ὁρᾶν, Eust. *Od.* II, p. 214 ἀθρεῖν τὸ ἄγαν βλέπειν;

sometimes accompanied by θαυμάζειν, as in *Il.* 10.10-1, *h.Herm.* 414; cf. Frisk *s.v.* and

Prévot (1935) 246-7.

καὶ αὐτίκα μῦθον ἔειπε: in the *Iliad*, μῦθος is thought to be a marked type of

public speech, confined mostly to men and characterized by authority, to which the

audience usually conforms; Martin (1984) 16-28; but cf. Murad (1999) for a refutation of

this distinction. The occurrences of μῦθος in the *Odyssey* indicate that it has a more

complex semantic field, as it incorporates the domestic as well as the heroic way of life;

cf. Clark (2001). Accordingly, in *h.Herm.* μῦθος designates a variety of speech-types,

some of which are public (329, 334, 366—all of which are delivered in the divine

assembly); in 154 and 162 it refers to Maia's angry reproach of Hermes and Hermes'

rude reply, respectively. In 201 and 212 it is used of the Old Man's riddling speech,

the effect of Hermes' 'instruction' in proverbial speech, on which see Tzifopoulos (2000).

Apollo's threatening speech is also a μῦθος, cf. 253, 261, 280. But in other instances, it

seems to mean no more than 'report,' as in 263 (repeated in 363), or 'words,' as in 467.

Here, μῦθος refers to an authoritative type of speech (as it is uttered by a god) that gives

glimpses of the tortoise's future (hence it is prophetic) and is characterized by riddling

statements that aim at manipulating its addressee, i.e. to make the tortoise enter Hermes'

cave.

καὶ αὐτίκα μῦθον ἔειπε is not used elsewhere as a speech introduction and may

be our poet's innovation, cf. van Nortwick (1975) 50.

30-38 *Hermes' first speech*

Hermes addresses the tortoise in terms that reveal his excitement at his new

discovery. The tortoise is personified and Hermes already foresees her future role as a

musical instrument used at banquets (cf. δαιτὸς ἑταίρη and 38). Radermacher noted the

abruptness of Hermes' speech to the tortoise; in fact, these lines consist of short, choppy

phrases, sometimes with no connective, which may be the poet's attempt to reproduce

child-like speech (cf. van Nortwick [1975] 93-5, who focuses on Hermes' speeches to

Apollo). As soon as he meets the animal, the divine babe conceives his plan to use it as a

means to obtain the desired honors (cf. ὄφελός τί μοι ἔσσῃ). Hermes strikes a deal with

the (speechless) animal: it will help him execute his plan to acquire divine honors and in

exchange Hermes will transform it into an instrument that will have a distinguished place at banquets. Although the tortoise seems to have a function while alive (a charm against sorcery), through its death, it will obtain a more prominent position in human activities and charm men through her music. See Holmberg (1990) 91-2 for a discussion of the entire episode.

30. σύμβολον: one of the earliest occurrences of this term, along with Archil. *fr.* 218 (related to sneezing *et sim.* by Schol. *Pind. O.* 12.10) and Thgn. 1150 (where it means 'pact' or 'agreement'). For the term's history, see Müri (1931) and Gauthier (1972). In the 5th and 4th centuries σύμβολον and συμβολή became technical terms for treaties between cities. Originally, σύμβολον was an item (a tablet, an astragalos etc.) that was broken into two halves and used to reconfirm the *xenia*-bonds: the two halves were put together (συμβάλλειν), and thus the *xenoi* were recognized (cf. Schol. *Eur.Med.* 613). συμβάλλειν can also mean 'meeting,' e.g. *Od.* 6.54, 10.105, and according to Greek superstition, the person or animal one met leaving his house was a type of portent (cf. Arist. *Ra.* 196 with Dover's note *ad loc.*, and Lucian *Pseudol.* 17). Such a σύμβολον was thought to be sent by Hermes himself. Gauthier (1972) 71 n. 26 suggests that the word could mean here either a 'presage' or 'signe': the tortoise is the first thing that Hermes sees as he leaves his abode. Gauthier's idea, however, that the tortoise is itself a *symbolon* (or a 'half-object' as he calls it), in the sense that it will be joined with something else (ox-hide and strings) to form one single object (lyre) seems far-fetched; a σύμβολον is part of an originally entire object which is not the case with the lyre's construction.

σύμβολον here may be taken as masculine (*sc.* οἰωνός), the object of ὀνοτάζω (thus the comma before οὐκ would be superfluous). For σύμβολος (*sc.* οἰωνός) cf. LSJ. *s.v.* II and Müri (1931) 37-8. The sense is: 'I do not scorn a chance encounter (i.e. an omen) that will forthwith prove to be very profitable for me.' Thus, both Hermes and Apollo (cf. 213) receive an omen, as soon as they set out to search for the cattle; Hermes knows how to interpret it, whereas Apollo – the god of prophecy—ironically fails.

For ἤδη, see LSJ *s.v.* I 2 and Thomas (1895) 90, who suggests that the particle refers to some critical instance.

ὀνήσιμον: here for the first time; then Aesch. *Eum.* 924 and frequently in Menander.

οὐκ ὀνοτάζω: the phrase is equivalent to δέχομαι τὸν ὄρνιν (AS), i.e. 'I do not make light of the omen, I accept it'; cf. *Op.* 258 σκολιῶς ὀνοτάζων; ὀνοταστόν is conjectured in *h.Aphr.* 254 with the meaning of '(not) to be made light of'. As Richardson *ad loc.* suggests ὀνήσιμον, ὀνοτάζω, and ὀνήσεις later in 35 may be a word-play; cf. also Nordheider (*LfgrE s.v.* ὀνήσιμος).

31. χαῖρε, φυὴν ἐρόεσσα: these words are not simply a personification; the tortoise is addressed in terms resembling a hymnal invocation (χαῖρε followed by string of addresses reflecting a deity's πολυωνυμία); for χαῖρε, cf. the endings of the *Homeric Hymns, Th.* 104, 963; further Pi. *P.* 2.67, *N.* 3.76, *I.* 1.32. For φυὴν ἐρόεσσα, cf. φυὴν ἐρατή *Th.* 259 and 355, of a Nereid and an Okeanid respectively, and the use of ἐρόεσσα referring to various Nymphs (*Th.* 245, 251, 357, *fr.* 169.1). It does not occur in either the

Iliad or the *Odyssey*, where we find the metrically equivalent ἐρατεινός, while

h.Herm. (as well as Hesiod) has both. Anacreon, *fr.* 28.2-3, uses ἐρόεσσα of the πῆκτις,

another stringed instrument.

χοροίτυπε: cf. *Il.* 24.261 χοροιτυπία 'dance;' Pi. *fr.* 156 uses χοροιτύπος as an

attribute of the Silenos. χοροίτυπε is Matthiae's suggestion for the MSS χοροιτύπε,

which I consider preferable. χοροίτυπε would mean 'beaten or played during the dance'

and would refer to the tortoise as an instrument alone. The active noun offers a richer

sense: 'marking the beat for the dance'; the tortoise is thus envisioned both as a lyre

(marking the rhythm by its music) and as a dancing girl or *hetaira* (marking the rhythm

by her movements or the clapping of her hands). Moreover, it is best not to punctuate

after χοροιτύπε (cf. Radermacher and West *ad loc.*), and take χοροιτύπε δαιτὸς ἑταίρη

as one sense unit. With these two slight modifications of Càssola's text we acquire a

richer image of the tortoise as being both the lyre and a *hetaira*, which is in keeping with

Hermes' description of the lyre in his speech to Apollo (475ff.). Furthermore, the passive

sense of χοροιτύπε is problematic, since τύπτειν is not used of playing an instrument in

archaic poetry (κρούειν or κρέκειν are used instead).

δαιτὸς ἑταίρη: already in Homer: *Od.* 8.99 φόρμιγγός θ', ἣ δαιτὶ συνήορός ἐστι

θαλείη and 17.270-1 φόρμιγξ...ἣν ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἑταίρην; cf. further *CEG*

1025.8: πη]κ[τί]δα δ' οὐρανίων ἑτάρην θαλίης τ[ε χορῶν τε. The phrase is ambiguous:

as a form of address it could refer to a participant in the banquet.

32. προφανεῖσα: used sometimes of a god's appearance; cf. Alc. *fr.* 34a.3-4,

Soph. *Ant.* 1149, *OT* 163 (the examples from Sophocles are part of prayers); also of

portents in the sense of 'foretell'; so frequently in Hdt.; cf. LSJ *s.v.* II.

<u>πόθεν τόδε, καλὸν ἄθυρμα</u>: This and the following line are variously

punctuated by the editors. Baumeister, following Hermann and reading ἐσσί, took ἐσσί

with πόθεν τόδε and considered the phrase equivalent to πόθεν τόδε ἱκάνεις. The

parallels, however, contain ἱκάνειν (*Il.* 14.298, 309; *Od.* 1.409; *h.Herm.* 156-7) and not

εἶναι. Others (Gemoll, Agar [1921] followed by Càssola) place a question-mark at the

end of 32, while West (2003a) punctuates with a comma. AS do not punctuate at all, and

their text yields the following sense: 'Whence did you wear this beautiful plaything, (i.e.)

a variegated shell, you tortoise living in the mountains?' I would punctuate: πόθεν τόδε;

καλὸν ἄθυρμα, αἰόλον ὄστρακόν, ἐσσι, χέλυς ὄρεσι ζώουσα ('whence [*sc.* ἱκάνεις] did

you come here? You are a beautiful plaything, [i.e.] a variegated shell, o mountain-

dwelling tortoise'). ἄθυρμα designates here the entire tortoise, but Hermes is

particularly interested in its shell, since his intention is to construct a lyre. At 40 the poet

uses ἄθυρμα designating the tortoise. Later, at 52 ἄθυρμα means what is made from the

tortoise's shell, i.e. the lyre (cf. the use of χέλυς in the sense 'tortoise' and 'lyre'). The

word is particularly apt because of its semantic associations: one expects a child's

plaything in a story about an infant; at the same time, it points forward to the tortoise's

future use as an instrument, since ἀθύρειν is used of playing music, cf. *h.Herm.* 485,

h.Hom. 19.15, Pind. *I*.3/4.57. καλὸν ἄθυρμα appears also in *h.Dem.* 16 (of the narcissus flower) and there, too, it expresses Persephone's delight.

33. <u>αἰόλον ὄστρακον</u>: ὄστρακον here for the first time; then Soph. *Ichn.* 303, Hp. *Steril.* 245, Theoc. 9.25. On the tortoise-shell, cf. Marc.Sid. 16 (πολύστικτοί τε χελῶναι).

<u>ἔσσο</u>: Matthiae's suggestion for MSS ἐσσι (which he did not incorporate in the text). It was proposed again later by Tyrrell (1894) and accepted by almost all subsequent editors and commentators; but note the express disagreement of Agar (1921) 13. The form is Homeric (cf. *Il.* 3.57 and Chantraine I 297 §137), but it is unnecessary here. The manuscript reading yields perfect sense (i.e. 'you are a variegated, patterned shell'—Hermes immediately directs his attention to the part of the tortoise that will be beneficial to himself) and if any change were to be made, it should have been to a perfect rather than the pluperfect.

35. The remainder of Hermes' address to the tortoise, in which he tries to entice the animal to enter the cave, as well as the lines that describe how Hermes killed the tortoise reveal some similarities with sacrificial practices both in general and in the specific vocabulary (cf. the killing of Apollo's cows later in the Hymn). At a sacrifice the attendants would sprinkle barley so that the animal would lower its head and thus "agree" to be killed. Just as in actual sacrifices an attempt is made to "convince" the animal willingly to participate in the sacrifice and accept its own death, here too Hermes tries to convince the tortoise to submit to its death by entering into an agreement with it.

Hermes has to argue convincingly in order to acquire something that was proverbially impossible to obtain; cf. παρὰ χελώνης ὄστρακον· ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐκ ἂν μεταδόντος, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ χελώνη μεταδοίη τοῦ ἰδίου ὀστράκου (Macar. 6.88 and Arsen. 13.99d).

οὐδ' ἀποτιμήσω: 'and I will not slight you,' preferable to Matthiae's ἀπατιμήσω ('to dishonor greatly') adopted in West (2003a). The verb occurs here for the first time, then Call. *fr.* 103; the middle occurs in Hdt. 5.77 in a different sense ('fix a price by valuation' LSJ *s.v.* II).

σὺ δέ με πρώτιστον ὀνήσεις: preferable to West's (emphatic) δ' ἐμέ, which would suggest that the tortoise had the option of helping someone else first. πρώτιστον is best understood adverbially (cf. *Od.* 10.462, 20.60). Hermes enters into an agreement with the tortoise: each will benefit the other, but the tortoise has to fulfill her part of the deal first.

36. οἴκοι βέλτερον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ θύρηφι: The line occurs in *Op.* 365; a marginal note found in some MSS (L, Π, *p*) accuses Hesiod of plagiarism, the underlying assumption being that the Hymn, being "Homeric," must pre-date Hesiod. Our poet may be parodying Hesiod, as Baumeister already thought. One cannot, however, exclude the possibility that both poets drew from a common source of proverbial wisdom. The proverb in Hesiod may function as advice to keep one's goods stored at home or perhaps as instruction to women to stay at home in order to avoid slander. Here it operates on several levels: Hermes uses it as an argument to coax the

tortoise into the cave and thus make it willingly accept its own sacrifice. At the same time it is ironic, since the tortoise is an animal that is always at home; cf. *EtGud s.v.* φερέοικος and Aesop, *Fab.* 106 (οἶκος φίλος οἶκος ἄριστος, a paroemiac verse); furthermore, by coming inside, the tortoise will not be safer, but dead: by taking the tortoise into his home, Hermes will deprive it of its own home; see Tzifopoulos (2000).

37. ἦ γάρ: for the combination, see Denniston 286. γάρ may strike as somewhat odd, since the following lines describe a benefit that humans will derive from the tortoise; but it will be part of the tortoise's future *timai* to ward off baneful incantations and sing at the banquets. In this sense, γάρ can be said to connect to οὐδ' ἀποτιμήσω of 35.

ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος: the phrase recurs in *h.Dem.* 230, and Zumbach (1955) 9 considers our verse as derived from *h.Dem.* 228. Neither word appears either in Homer or Hesiod; but cf. ἔπηλυς that occurs from Herodotus on, and *Od.* 24.305 where Πολυπήμων appears as a proper name. Elsewhere πολυπήμων is used of diseases (Pind. *Pyth.* 3.46), while in Alcman, *fr.* 5 *subfr.* 2 col. 1.11-3 it has passive sense and is contrasted to εὐδαίμων. ἐπηλυσίη, commonly derived from ἐπήλυθον (with the exception of Goebel I 428-9), is a 'coming against with spells' or an 'attack with magical incantations.'

ἔχμα: ἔχμα 'a defense,' is Ruhnken's emendation for the MSS αἰχμά or αἶχμα. The word occurs in Homer but with a different meaning ('impediment,' 'grip,' see *Il.* 12.260, 13.139, 14.410, 21.259).

Cassian.Bass *Geopon.* 1.14.8, reports that the marsh-dwelling tortoise was used to avert the attack of hail against one's vineyard. One would walk around the vineyard holding the tortoise upside down in his right hand and then place it supine in the midst of the vineyard, making sure that it could not turn right itself. Hermes refers to the use of the living tortoise against magic incantations involving diseases, although the sources claim that it is the *dead* animal that fulfilled such a function. Plin. *Nat.* 32.33 informs us that the meat of a tortoise was used against witchcraft. For uses of the tortoise related to the healing of diseases, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 32.37 (against toothache), and 32.40 (against fever), and Riess (1897) 77. Nic. *Alex.* 559 mentions the legs of a tortoise as ingredient for an antidote against the salamander; and apparently the tortoise meat was thought to have an effect on the bowels, cf. the proverb cited by Athen. 8.337b ἢ κρῆ χελώνης χρὴ φαγεῖν ἢ μὴ φαγεῖν, on which see Olson & Sens (2000) xxix, n. 31, and p. 4.

38. Compare the riddle in *AP* 14.30 κριὸν ἔχω γενετῆρα, τέκεν δέ με τῷδε χελώνη· τικτομένη δ' ἄμφω πέφνον ἐμοὺς γονέας, on which see Borthwick (1970).

τότε κεν μάλα καλὸν ἀείδοις: also ironic, since the tortoise is an essentially speechless animal. On the tortoise's sound (σιγμός), see Arist. *HA* 536a7-8; cf. also Sophocles, *fr.* 314.300 (*Ichn.*) and Nic. *Alex.* 569-71 for the speechless tortoise becoming endowed with sound through Hermes' intervention. Cf. also Pac. *Ant. fr.* 4-6 (Warmington).

40-51 *Hermes kills the tortoise and constructs the lyre*

On the construction of the lyre, see Faklaris (1977), with plates 77-81, who traces

the various steps of the procedure on the basis of archeological finds; Maas & Snyder

(1989) 34-6, with 48-51 for depictions and 79-99 for the chelys/ lyra in classical Athens;

Matthiesen (1999) 237-43 takes into consideration also the information provided in other

literary sources (i.e. Soph. *fr.* 314 (*Ichn.*), Philostr. *Imag.* 1.10.1-2, and Luc. *DDeor.* 11); see

also p. 247-8 on the way the lyre was played and the use of the plectrum. In constructing

a tortoise-lyre one would first kill the animal and remove most of its body by means of

the γλύφανον. The breast-plate would then be cut, and the remainder of the animal's

body scooped out. Thereafter, the four protuberances in the shell's interior would be

filed and holes would be drilled in which the instrument's arms and χορδότονον would

be fastened. Sometimes, additional holes would be pierced at the shell's rim to facilitate

the fastening of the ox-hide. The arms would be inserted first, then the cross-bar

(ζυγόν), on which the κόλλοπες were attached. Then, the open part of the carcass was

covered with ox-hide. The χορδότονον was then added at the lower end of the shell,

followed by the δόναξ on which the strings rested. The poet's description of the process

does not follow the proper order (as reconstructed by Faklaris [1977] 226-30); the ox-hide

is fastened around the carcass before the arms' insertion. Furthermore, not all the parts

of the lyre are mentioned, e.g. the δόναξ/ μαγάδιον, the χορδότονον or βατήρ

(although they may be implied), and the κόλλοπες, nor is anything said about the

breast-plate's removal. This inexactitude may arise because our poet describes the lyre

based on his knowledge as a *performer* rather than an artisan. Music performers, however good, may not be familiar with all the technicalities involved in their instrument's construction.

Hermes' encounter with the tortoise may also be viewed as *Vorabenteuer* (for the term, see Meuli [1974] 102-4 and Davies [1988] 282-3). When a hero has to travel on a quest (usually a *Jenseitsfahrt*), he often has to face a demon-like figure in order to obtain information or the means to accomplish his task. By killing the tortoise, Hermes is able to obtain its shell necessary for the fabrication of the lyre, which is to function as his weapon against Apollo. The killing of the tortoise is linked to the killing of the two cows through verbal echoes (see below, p. 207-8). Finally, Hermes' journey resembles a *Jenseitsfahrt* on the following grounds: i.) he abducts the cows, which in myth often symbolize the souls of the dead, cf. Davies (1988) 279-80 with n. 17 and Croon (1952) 67-8 with n. 3 specifically on *h.Herm.*; ii.) from a meadow of asphodel, cf. *Od.* 11.539, 573, 24.13, and below on 221, for the associations of the meadow of asphodel to the realm of the dead; iii.) and drives them to a cave at Pylos (lit. 'Gate'), traditionally considered the entrance to the Underworld, cf. Fontenrose (1959) 327-30 and Davies (2006) 193-6. The parallel, however, should not be pressed too hard, as Hermes eventually kills two of the animals.

40. φέρων ἐρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα: cf. καλὸν ἄθυρμα also at line-end in 32 (and my note *ad loc.*) The phrase is repeated at 52, and both verses frame the killing of the animal

and the construction of the lyre, thus setting off this section by means of ring-composition.

41. <u>ἀναπιλήσας</u>: This word is "one of the great mysteries of this hymn" as Agar remarked. The MSS read ἀναπηλήσας, while ἀναπιλήσας is Hermann's conjecture. ἀναπιλεῖν is unattested, but the *simplex* occurs in *AP* 6.282 (Theodorus) and means 'compress'; the verb is used of making wool into felt, and of compressing military formations. In Aristophanes, *fr.* 191, it refers to pounding octopus. In order to avoid the unattested ἀναπιλήσας, van Herwerden (1876 and 1888) suggested ἔνθ' ἄρα πιλήσας citing parallels for the collocation ἔνθ' ἄρα. Allen (1898) thought that ἀναπιλήσας may be correct and believed that this verse must refer to the actual killing of the tortoise, since the next one mentions the removal of the animal's αἰών. Evelyn-White proposed the gruesome ἀναπηρώσας, suggesting that Hermes cut the head and legs of the tortoise before scooping out the shapeless mass. Radermacher accepted ἀναπιλήσας and explained it as 'quetschen,' i.e. 'crushing' or 'squeezing.' Shelmerdine (1984) retains the MSS ἀναπηλήσας and finds parallels in the visual arts, *viz.* depictions where a child is seen to whirl a tortoise that is tied to a rope. She goes on to suggest that this is part of a game, where the divine babe plays with his toy and tries to make the victim willing to be sacrificed. Later the game becomes serious when Hermes intends to kill the tortoise. Nic. *Ther.* 705, referring to the killing of a sea-turtle, has ἀνακυπώσας; ἀναπηλέω or ἀναπάλλω, however, are not attested in this sense ('turn over'). Furthermore, turning over is not necessary for scooping out the soft parts of the animal. Finally, West (2003a)

adopts Ruhnken's ἀναμηλώσας that occurs only as a gloss in Hsch. (s.v. ἀναμιλῶσαι· ἀναγλύψαι) and renders 'he probed with a chisel.' However, on the basis of Hesychius' definition the participle should mean 'having carved'; besides, Hermes is using a γλύφανον to scoop out the tortoise's meat. This emendation then is problematic as well.

In absence of any further evidence, I propose to keep the manuscript reading and obelize. ἀναπηλήσας (if correct) could be explained as a formation analogical to θάλλω-θηλέω, χαίνω-χηνέω et sim. (so already Radermacher ad loc.) and it would serve two purposes: it would continue the image of the tortoise as a plaything that Hermes swings to and fro; in addition, it might remind the audience of Homeric ἀμπεπαλών used of wielding a weapon, thus giving a glimpse of the lyre's future use in the two brothers' dispute.

γλυφάνῳ: here for the first time. The word is masculine according to the grammarians, cf. Schol. Theoc. 1.28 comparing with στέφω-στέφανος, λείβω-λίβανος; tool-names with the suffix -ανο- tend to be neuter, however, cf. Zumbach (1955) 10. On the suffix, see Schwyzer I, 489-90. The dative should be construed with the following ἐξετόρησεν.

42. αἰῶν' ἐξετόρησεν: There has been disagreement as to whether αἰών here has a concrete meaning (i.e. 'marrow') or not (i.e. 'life' or 'vital force'). For a discussion of the etymology and meaning of αἰών, see Benveniste (1937) and Festugière (1949). The word certainly means 'marrow' in Pi. fr. 111.5 and in Hp. Morb. 7.1.122. Some

commentators ancient and modern understood 'marrow' also at *Il.* 19.27. Greve,

Ruhnken, and Franke interpreted αἰῶν(α) in this verse as 'marrow' and Baumeister

rendered it as 'meat'; Gemoll, following Ilgen and Lohsee, glossed it as 'life'.

Radermacher and Càssola see an analogy here, *viz.* 'body: shell :: marrow: bone.' The

latter renders αἰῶν(α) as 'pulp,' which implies that the tortoise's body is already

crushed. I believe that αἰῶν(α) should be understood as marrow; 'scooping out the

animal's life' would be too bold an expression. We are dealing here with a metaphor

built on the analogy of the construction of the *aulos*. *Auloi* were often made of bones and

one would certainly have to remove the marrow from them. On bone-made *auloi*, see

West (1992) 86 and Mathiesen (1999) 183. Our poet is using an image drawn from *aulos*-

construction to describe the creation of a different type of instrument.

*ἐξετόρησεν is a *hapax*; LSJ render 'transfix,' but we should probably understand

it as 'remove through piercing.' For the formation, cf. συντορεῖν (*Opp. H.* 4.546),

ἀντιτορεῖν (*Il.* 5.337, 10.267; *h.Herm.* 178). See also p. 62.

ὀρεσκῴοιο: generally of animals and once of the Nymphs (*h.Aphr.* 257).

χελώνης: first here; then Hdt. 1.47, 48.

43. ὡς δ' ὁπότε...περήσει: for ὡς δ' ὅτε (ὁπότε), see Chantraine II, 252-3 (§372),

with n. 2. All the MSS except B have περήσει, which was rightly adopted by

Radermacher and Càssola; it is a subjunctive with short vowel, as opposed to the present

and the 2nd aorist subjunctives, which have a long vowel in Ionic. These forms are

preserved in inscriptions and only in those places in the Homeric text where they are

required by the meter; cf. *SIG* 1167 (ἀποκρύψει, ἐπάρει), Schulze (1885), and Buck

(1961) 119-20.

ὠκὺ νόημα: for the idea of the thought being especially fast, cf. *Il.* 15.80, *Od.*

7.36, *h.Apol.* 186, 448, Hes. *Sc.* 222, Thgn. 985.

διὰ στέρνοιο: for the chest as the seat of the mind/ thought cf. *Il.* 3.63, 4.309, *Th.*

122, Theogn. 121, 396, 507, *Eleg.Adesp.* (*IEG*) 22.2, *Carm.Conv. fr.* 6.1-3.

44. ὅν τε: on this use of the epic τε (*digressif-permanent*), cf. Ruijgh (1971) 906.

θαμειναί: the codd. have θαμῖναί. Our sources list different forms of this

adjective. Choerob. (*ap. Anal. Oxon.* 2.180 Cramer) suggests θαμεινός, which is found

also in Call. *Aet. fr.* 75.36. On the other hand, Call. *Cer.* 64 also uses θαμῖναί. Homer has

θαμειαί (e.g. *Il.* 1.52, which Choerob. 180 cites with θαμῖαί). Forms like ὑδατίνους

(Matro *Conv.* 79) and ὑδάτεινος (Hp. *Aër.* 6, 22) suggest that some adjectives may have

had alternative forms in -ῖνος or -εινος (on the analogy with ἀλγεινός, ὀρεινός etc.) and

our MSS preserve them.

ἐπιστρωφῶσι: an indicative, the usual mood for a τε *digressif-permanent*;

frequentative of ἐπιστρέφω in the sense of 'haunt'; cf. *Op.* 102-3 νοῦσοι δὲ

ἀνθρώποισιν...αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι.

μέριμναι: not in Homer; *Op.* 178 has μερίμνας in the same *sedes*; the word is

found also in Mimn. *fr.* 1.7 (of the troubles of old age), Sappho 1.26 (of erotic cares),

Thgn. 343, 766, 1323, and often in Pindar.

45. ἢ ὅτε δινηθῶσιν: the reading of M and Γ; in the latter it is a correction

made by a different hand; Θ has αἲ ὅτε, while *p* has ἃς ὅτε. ἢ ὅτε (accepted by Càssola)

makes 43-6 a double simile, in the sense that two different comparative clauses are used

for the same apodosis. Multiple similes are found in Homer, but they consist of sets of

relative and correlative clauses, e.g. *Il.* 2.455-483 (5 similes) and—somewhat closer to our

simile— 14.394-401. Not all scholars accept the idea of a double simile in our passage:

Ludwich (1908) 85 and Clay (1989) 107 with n. 40 prefer to coordinate the two images

and offer καὶ τότε instead, considering the beams that whirl from the eyes to be the

result of the thought that crosses the man's breast. This can be paleographically

explained by assuming that the initial κ of καί dropped, leaving us with αἲ ὅτε

(preserved in Θ), which the scribes tried to emend as well as they could. καὶ τότε,

furthermore, would yield an image which accords with our poet's emphasis on Hermes'

sight, especially when he is about to carry out some new plan. καὶ τότε seems thus

preferable.

For δινεῖν of the eyes' motion, cf. *Il.* 17.679-80, where it is used within a simile

and correlated to πάντοσε παπταίνων (of an eagle), and Bacch. 17.17-8.

ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμαρυγαί: ἀμαρυγή does not occur in Homer or Hesiod (it

recurs in Ar. *Av.* 925, A.R. 2.42), but ἀμάρυγμα is found in Hesiod five times (in the

phrase Χαρίτων ἀμαρύγματ' ἔχουσα), in Bacch. 9.36, and Theocr. 23.7 (as an attribute

to χεῖλος). It means the scintillating shine of the eyes accompanied by quick motion, cf.

Debrunner (1907) 238. Treu (1968) 252-3 detects a progressive development in the

references to light emanating from one's eyes: in Homer it can be the sign of a divine being, of human excitement, or a beast's predatory character; in the *Il.Pers. fr.* 4. 8 the ὄμματα ἀστράπτοντα are considered as a sign of βαρυνόμενον νόημα, while here Hermes' ἀμαρυγαί suggest the twinkling of the creative spirit. For the idea of fire emanating from the eyes, cf. Arist. *De sens.* 437a 23-25, Emped. *fr.* 84; for the look as the result of a state of mind, cf. *Il.* 1. 103-4.

46. ἅμ' ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον: for the idea of word and deed happening simultaneously, cf. *Il.* 19.242, *Od.* 2.272, Hdt. 3.135.2. See Janko (1982) 133-4 for the modification of the formula and the neglect of the *digamma* (in *Od.* 2.272 both *digammas* are observed). The phrase become proverbial and is cited by the paroemiographers (Zen. 1.77, Greg.Cypr. 1.48, Macar. 1.94, Mich.Apost. 2.77).

ἐμήδετο: in the *Iliad* μήδεσθαι is used of Zeus contriving evil against humans (e.g. 2.38, 7.478), or of Achilles planning evil against Hector (e.g. 22.395, 23.24), and it may retain something of its sinister connotation, since the ἔργον Hermes plans is the death of the tortoise.

κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς: cf. *Th.* 938. Shelmerdine compares the epithet with Homeric κυδάλιμος, but the two are not entirely similar: κυδάλιμος (only of people and κῆρ in Homer) recurs in Pi. *O.* 14.24 with active meaning ('bestowing honor'). On κύδιμος, see Papadoyannaki (2001) 198.

47. ἐν μέτροισι: cf. *Op.* 720 κατὰ μέτρον; the phrase appears here for the first time. Shelmerdine glosses it 'in lengths,' while Richardson translates 'in measured lengths.' One may render 'in proper lengths,' i.e. corresponding to the size of the shell.

δόνακας καλάμοιο: κάλαμος here for the first time, but cf. *Il.* 19.222 and *Od.* 14.214 (καλάμην); then in Hdt. 5.101 etc. A part of the lyre called δόναξ or μαγάδιον (cf. Faklaris [1977] 230), corresponds to the bridge of modern string instruments. It was located just over the opening of the ox-hide that was used to cover the tortoise shell after its lower part was removed. The word here probably does not have this technical meaning. The plural may imply that Hermes used stalks of reed to construct both the δόναξ proper (i.e. the bridge) and the χορδότονον or βατήρ (located at the lower end of the instrument, where the strings were attached), which was normally made of metal.

48. πειρήνας διά: for διαπειρήνας, 'pierce through' or 'perforate,' with *tmesis* and *anastrophe*. This removes the problem of διά construed with two different cases within the same verse; see AS *ad loc.* The compound recurs with the same meaning in Man. 2.106 (in passive), and it is used instead of διαπείρω, which appears once in Homer (*Il.* 16.405). For the perforation of the tortoise-shell during the process of the lyre's construction, see Faklaris (1977) 228 with images.

ῥινοῖο: in Homer normally of the ox-hide (e.g. *Il.* 10.155, 12.263; *Od.* 1.108) and once of a wolf's hide (*Il.* 10.334); Pi. *I.* 6.37 uses it of a lion's skin. This is the only occurrence of the word for something other than a skin of some sort, but cf. Hdt. 1.47 κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης (an oracle).

49. ἀμφί...τάνυσσε: ἀμφί does not mean here 'on both sides,' since the lyre-maker would cover with ox-hide only the part corresponding to the breast-plate that was cut away in the beginning of the process. The hide was then tied or stitched around the shell's rim. ἀμφί should be understood in the sense of περί; cf. *LfgrE s.v.* A 5 c.

προπίδεσσι ἑῇσι: πραπίδες is normally used of Hephaistos (*Il.* 1.608, 18.380, 18.482, 20.12; *Od.* 7.92, Hes. *fr.* 141.5). The poet's employment of πραπίδες thus invites an implicit comparison with Hephaestus, another underdog figure among gods, especially since Hermes is presented here as a craftsman.

50. πήχεις: M has πήχυς; πήχεις may be a scribal Atticism; cf. Janko (1982) 143. The arms of the lyre often made of horn—hence also called κέρατα—or of wood, curved to give it the shape of horns. The arms were probably curved in the interior of the lyre as well in order to be fastened to the walls of the shell. They would normally be joined to each other by means of a horizontal piece of wood; see Faklaris (1977) 226-8 with images.

ζυγόν: i.e. a crossbar, linking the two πήχεις, on which the κόλλοπες were attached.

51. ἑπτά: on the significance of the number of the strings for dating the *Hymn* and its relation to Terpander see above, p. 14f. Other sources also mention that Hermes' lyre had 7 strings; cf. Ptol. *Mus.* 23, Luc. *Dial. Deor.* 11.4. An aetion for the seven strings of Apollo's lyre is given by Call. *Del.* 249-55 and [Eratosth.] *Cat.* 24.

συμφώνους: 'harmonious.' This is the reading transmitted by all the manuscripts. Antig. *Mir.* 7 (and *Parad.Pal.* 20 who draws from Antigonus) cite the verse

with θηλυτέρους instead of συμφώνους. I have argued elsewhere (forthcoming in

CQ 57.2) in favor of Antigonus' citation.

ἐτανύσσατο: cf. Od. 21.407 (ῥηιδίως ἐτάνυσσε νέῳ περὶ κόλλοπι χορδήν); also

called τείνειν, ἐντείνειν or ἐπιτείνειν (Gal. iv, 577; viii, 172; Aristid.Quint. 16.4, 53.11;

Ptol. Harm. 2.12.25). The process of tuning was termed ἐναρμόζεσθαι.

52-64 Hermes' First Song

Immediately after he constructs the lyre, Hermes tries the new instrument by

performing a hymn celebrating his parents' love-affair and praising his own lineage. The

song is reported in the third person (as is his second performance in 425-33 and

Demodocus' first and third songs at Od. 8.73-82 and 499-520). Hermes' hymn to himself

repeats an important theme encountered in the beginning of this poem, i.e. the duration

of Zeus' and Maia's affair (notice the use of the iterative ὡρίζεσκον at 58); furthermore,

the equal status of Hermes' parents is brought into prominence by ἑταιρείῃ φιλότητι

58, while καλλιπέδιλον in 57 through its reminiscence of Ἥρης χρυσοπεδίλου may

elevate Maia from a mere mountain-nymph to a divinity of higher rank. All these

elements ultimately serve Hermes' self-praise and the establishment of his identity,

which is as yet undefined.

Furthermore, Hermes' first musical performance is a *mise en abyme* (for the term,

see above p. 93 n. 221): the poem's hero performs a song of the same genre (another

Hymn to Hermes) and in the same manner as the poet (i.e. to the accompaniment of the

lyre), in which the god uses motifs similar to those the poet used at the beginning of the song, to which the (external) audience is in fact listening. Consequently, this *mise en abyme* is 'analeptic' in nature. By repeating what was said at the beginning of the poem, it has the effect of bringing the narrative back to the point at which it was interrupted. Right after the proem, Hermes left his cave to look for Apollo's cattle. This thread of the story broke off at the moment when the divine babe met the tortoise, and it is only resumed after Hermes' song. Moreover, by presenting the god performing such a song, the poet implicitly commends his own art, since he creates a divine precedent for his own performance. This implicit identification of the poet and his 'hero' will become clearer later in 475-88 (see notes *ad loc.*). For the song's topic, essentially an adulterous relation, the 'Lay of Ares and Aphrodite' in *Od.* 8.266-366 is a good parallel. It is significant, however, that the adulterous component is downplayed in favor of Zeus's and Maia's equality.

In addition, the poet instructs his audience what a proper bardic performance should be by way of a negative example. While the first part of Hermes' hymn (57-9) closely resembles the beginning of our Hymn, the second (60-2) seems to be out of focus, as Hermes is thinking of other issues while singing (62): the infant god praises Maia's maids and the cave's furnishings; as a child, his attention is drawn to his immediate surroundings.

The comparison of Hermes' song with the young men's insults at the symposia also adds a significant point. It presents Hermes' performance as improvisatory in

nature (cf. also ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίης in 55), and the may aim at suggesting that his performance is also extemporaneous. The simile, moreover, brings into the foreground the solitary character of Hermes' song. Finally, the simile may offer us some hint regarding the performative context of this Hymn (and perhaps of other *Homeric Hymns* as well): a poem like *h.Herm.* may have been performed at a banquet; cf. also the further mention of symposion in 454 and my note on 499. In that case the simile describing Hermes' song would constitute a *mise en abyme* of the poem's *actual* (i.e. external) audience as well; see above, p. 96ff. On the issue of the Hymn's performative context, see above, p. 30 n. 65 and 97.

The motif of a god praising himself through a hymn is not unique in the corpus of the *Homeric Hymns*. Cf. *h.Hom.* 19. 27-47, where Pan and the Nymphs sing of Pan's birth from Hermes, and 27. 18-20, where Artemis, along with the Muses and the Graces, sings of her own and Apollo's birth from Leto; perhaps also *Th.* 75 if one takes ταῦτα to refer also to the Muses' own birth.

52. <u>αὐτὰρ…τεῦξε</u>: elsewhere only of Hephaestus and thus may be continuing the comparison of Hermes with the divine craftsman; notice that this phrase is used after Hephaestus has created Achilles' shield in *Il.* 18.609, the bed with the invisible chains in *Od.* 8.276, and Pandora in *Th.* 585.

<u>φέρων…ἄθυρμα</u>: cf. 40; the construction of the lyre is framed by two verses with identical second hemistich. φέρων has met with editors' censure and has been variously emended. Schneidewin changed it to χεροῖν (construing it with τεῦξε) to

create an opposition between the hands that fashioned the instrument and the *plectrum* that played it. Baumeister, too, considered φέρων a mistake due to the influence of 40 and considered Schneidewin's χεροῖν or Hermann's εὑρών as possible solutions. For an overview of earlier emendations, see Gemoll 203, who separated this phrase from the rest of the sentence by commas. φέρων, however, should be taken with ἐπειρήτιζε as indicating unrestrained action, see LSJ, *s.v.* φέρω X 2b, i.e. 'he went and tested the instrument.' Radermacher *ad loc.* understood φέρων adverbially as 'hastening'; cf. 63 and 159.

53. πλήκτρῳ...μέρος: Apollod. 3.133.5 makes Hermes the inventor of the plectrum as well, which may be part of his tendency to give a more logical progression to the story. Our poet, however, does not say anything about the plectrum's construction and provenance. It was made of metal and was normally attached to the sound-box by means of a cord; see Faklaris (1977) 230 and West (1992) 49-50, 65-8. ὀρθοψάλακτος in Sophocles' version of the story (*Ichneutai* 248, 321) suggests that Hermes was playing the lyre *without* the use of the plectrum, as Kaimio (1977) 179 n. 531 observes.

The expression κατὰ μέρος poses some problems: μέρος, the manuscript reading, does not occur anywhere in Homer and is restored in *h.Dem.* 399, where it means 'part.' AHS changed the verse to κατὰ μέλος 'song', comparing with 419 and 501, where the manuscripts read μέλος (so also West [2003a] who renders 'in a tuned scale'). But this use of μέλος would be unhomeric too, since it is found only in the plural in the sense of 'limbs'; see Koller (1965), esp. 37-8, for μέλος 'song.' κατὰ μέλος 'according to

the song' is furthermore unlikely because no song exists yet to which Hermes' lyre-playing would accord; in fact, he is about to improvise one. In combination with πειρητίζειν, κατὰ μέρος must indicate that Hermes was testing each of the strings separately (successively), to determine if they were well-tuned, cf. *LfGrE*, *s.v.* μέρος, and Borthwick (1959) 27, n. 3. LSJ's rendering *s.v.* πειρητίζω 'touched the strings with it [sc. the plectrum]' yields a weak sense.

53-54. ἡ δ' ὑπὸ χειρὸς σμερδαλέον κονάβησε: ἡ δ(ὲ) picks up χελώνη (48) which was refer to as ἄθυρμα in the immediately preceding line.

σμερδαλέον κονάβησε is found in Homer of sounds inspiring awe or fear. This cannot be the meaning here, since the phrase's recurrence in 420 suggests a pleasant sound; it would, furthermore, not be in keeping with the sweetness of the god's song; cf. Kaimio (1977) 109. For a similar effect, cf. *h.Apol* 184-5 (τοῖο δὲ φόρμιγξ χρυσέου ὑπὸ πλήκτρου καναχὴν ἔχει ἱμερόεσσαν), where καναχή—normally of the ringing of metal or the gnashing of teeth—is employed to describe the lovely sound of Apollo's *phorminx*. Elsewhere, the sound of the lyre is termed ἰωή (*Od.* 17.261; cf. below, 421) or βοή; see Maas & Snyder (1989) 7 and Cantilena (1993). Sophocles must have perceived the tension between the formula's usual meaning and its employment in the Hymn: he represents the satyrs frightened by the sound of the lyre in *fr.* 314.142-4 (*Ichn.*).

θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδεν: in accompaniment to the lyre; cf. *Il.* 18.570; *Od.* 21.411; Call. *Dian.* 242, *Del.* 304.

55. ἐξ αὐτοσχεδίης πειρώμενος: αὐτοσχεδίη designates close combat in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 12.192, *Od.* 11.536, and the adverb αὐτοσχεδόν), but here it must mean 'improvising,' 'attempting a song *ex tempore*'; cf. αὐτοσχεδιάζειν in classical Greek. The sense 'improvise' arose by extension from the temporal meaning of αὐτοσχεδόν ('at once,' 'on the spot'). Càssola's 'cimentandosi nell' improvisare' suggests competition, which I do not see in this passage.

56. For the idea in general, cf. *Il.* 4.5-6 αὐτίκ᾽ ἐπειρᾶτο Κρονίδης ἐρεθιζέμεν Ἥρην κερτομίοις ἐπέεσσι παραβλήδην ἀγορεύων, to which our verse bears some verbal similarities.

ἥβηταί: not in Homer or Hesiod, but cf. κοῦροι πρωθῆβαι in *Od.* 8. 262-3; it occurs again in Eur. *Heracl.* 858, *fr.* 322.5.

*παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν: παρα(ι)βόλος does not occur in Homer or Hesiod, but we do find the adverb παραβλήδην once (see above). The meaning seems to be 'attacks from the side,' hence perhaps 'indirect'. For references to such teasing at banquets, see Reitzenstein (1893) 26 n. 2. On κερτομεῖν, cf. Clay (1999) esp. 620-1 with n. 11, Clarke (2001) 329-38 (with earlier bibliography), and Lloyd (2004) who applies Grice's theory of conversation analysis. κερτομεῖν is used of speech whose aim is to manipulate the listener and implicitly suggest a course of action that he should follow. The idea behind παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν is that the verbal attacks are meant to cause the addressees to respond with other similar jeers and thus continue the game. At this point, however, Hermes has no audience; only when he acquires an audience (i.e.

Apollo) will he be able to elicit the particular response that he desires (i.e. the exchange of the lyre for the cattle).

57. ἀμφὶ...καλλιπέδιλον: this line has the formal characteristics of a hymnal beginning; cf. *h.Hom.* 7.1, 19.1, 22.1, 33.1, *Od.* 8. 267, Terp. *fr.* 1, and the term ἀμφιανακτίζειν.

*καλλιπέδιλος does not occur in either Homer or Hesiod, but cf. χρυσοπέδιλος used of Hera. For the possible significance of this epithet, cf. the comments at the beginning of this section, p. 162.

58. ὡς...φιλότητι: this verse announces the subject matter of the Hermes' Hymn with greater precision: it will be an extra-conjugal love-affair, just as in Demodokos' song at *Od.* 8. 266-366.

The manuscripts offer ὅν; this can only be understood as an internal accusative, but it yields poor sense. Ernesti conjectured ὡς, which is also found in Γ as a correction by a second hand, but AS considered it inadmissible graphically—unjustifiably in my view. *h.Hom.* 7.2 and *Od.* 8.268 may be cited in its support.

For the implications of ὡρίζεσκον (= ὀαρίζεσκον) and ἑταιρείη, see the introductory note above, p. 164). ἑταιρεῖος does not occur in Homer or Hesiod, although ἑταῖρος does; for ἑταιρία, see Jeanmaire (1939) 97-111.

59. ὀνομακλυτόν: =M ('of famous name'), accepted by the editors; Θ has ὄνομα κλυτόν, whereas the *p* family offers ὀνομακλυτήν. On the accent of the compound (ὀνομάκλυτος, hence ὀνομάκλυτον should be adopted here), see Wheeler (1885) 42 and

Postgate (1924) 52 §188; for the adjective in general, see Schmitt (1967) 90-3. There is a certain irony here: Hermes has not been yet recognized by Zeus (i.e. he is still a νόθος) hence he cannot claim to have a famous pedigree.

60. <u>ἐγέραιρε</u>: Càssola adopts Ilgen's emendation *metri causa*, presumably to avoid the violation of Meyer's First Law, but this 'rule' is often breached in early hexameter; cf. West (1982) 19 n. 19 and above, p. 44 for other instances from *h.Herm.* Hence we should print the MSS τε γέραιρε with AS. γεραίρειν occurs in Homer and Hesiod at line-end, but our poet uses it consistently in the interior of the verse (cf. 429 and 432).

<u>ἀγλαὰ δώματα νύμφης</u>: the combination ἀγλαὰ δώματα does not recur anywhere else in archaic epic; but cf. ἀγλαὰ δῶρα (*Od.* 11.357, in the same *sedes*). Notice also that in this part of Hermes' song the cave is referred to in terms that remind us of a *megaron* or an actual house; cf. ἀγλαὰ δώματα (60), οἶκον (61), εὐώδεος ἐκ μεγάροιο (65). As already observed (see above, on 23), the description of the cave changes according to the rhetorical needs of the moment (in 169 for example Hermes refers to it with a contemptuous τῇδε); here, however, everything serves Hermes' self-aggrandizement. Notice too that Achilles' tent is said to contain an αἴθουσα at *Il.* 24.643, which normally forms part of a palace (cf. *Od.* 3.399, 7.336, 18.102 et al.).

61. For the tripods and cauldrons in Maia's cave, cf. the mixing-bowls in the Nymphs' cave on Ithaca at *Od.* 13.107.

ἐπηετανούς: here scanned as 5 syllables, but elsewhere treated as a 4-syllable word with synizesis (cf. 113 and *Op.* 607). For its etymology (from ἀεί or ἔτος) and meaning ('abundant'), cf. Verdenius (1985) 33 and Frisk, *s.v.*

62. τὰ δὲ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μενοίνα: cf. the metrically equivalent θυμὸς δέ οἱ ἄλλα μενοίνα (*Od.* 2.92, 13.381, and 18.283) of Penelope deceiving the suitors. The semantic field of μενοινᾶν combines the idea of 'eagerly desiring' and 'pondering' or 'planning'; cf. *LfgrE s.v.*

63-65. These verses pick up ideas that already appeared in 20-2 (ἀναΐξας 22~ἆλτο 65, ζήτει βόας 22~ κρειῶν ἐρατίζων 64, and ἱερῷ ἐνὶ λίκνῳ preceded by a participle 21 and 63). Thus, lines 20 to 65 have a ring structure, whereby the poet narrates the invention of the lyre (essentially a digression from the original plan of Hermes to steal his brother's cattle) in a way that allows him to return to the interrupted narrative and continue the development of his story. In addition, there is a structural correspondence (and *homoeoteleuton*) between 55-6 (ἤϋτε κοῦροι | ἡβηταί) and 66-67 (οἷά τε φῶτες | φιληταί), which marks the beginning and the end of Hermes' song.

63. φέρων: 'quickly,' as Radermacher suggests; see note on 52.

64. φόρμιγγα γλαφυρήν: the φόρμιγξ is particularly related to Apollo, cf. *h.Apol* 182-5. As Maas & Snyder (1989) 27 remark, the poet of *h.Herm.* calls the instrument κίθαρις or φόρμιγξ, whenever it is associated with Apollo. But the instrument does not seem to be associated with Apollo here.

κρειῶν ἐρατίζων: cf. *Il.* 11.551 and 19.660 (the only other occurrences),

where the formula refers to a lion; its employment here may be humorous.

65. εὐώδεος ἐκ μεγάροιο: on the motif of gods' association with pleasant

fragrance; cf. Lohmeyer (1919), esp. 4-14 for other examples from Graeco-Roman

antiquity; further, Liljia (1972) 25-30 on the fragrance of divine abodes, and Meloni

(1975) 12-4 on pleasant fragrance as a sign of epiphany (with earlier bibliography on the

subject).

66. ὁρμαίνων...ἐνὶ φρεσίν: For the image of the plotting sleepless Hermes, cf. *Il.*

24. 679-81. ὁρμαίνειν usually occurs in situations in which the subject does not have a

plan or a solution to his problem; cf. Voigt (1972) 13-7 and Bertolín Cebrián (1996) 169-

85, esp. 173-83. Hermes, however, *does* have a definite plan.

δόλον αἰπύν: cf. *Op.* 83, again of Hermes after the creation of Pandora.

On the meaning of αἰπύς here, cf. *LfgrE s.v.* αἰπά B I 2 a β ('schwer zu durchschauen').

Hermes' tricks involve the inability of his victims to see through or perceive them (the

Achaeans in *Il.* 24 are put to sleep, Pandora has a deceitful appearance, and the cows are

led away in such a way that the shape and direction of their traces confuse Apollo).

67. φιληταί: not in Homer, but cf. *Op.* 375. The manuscripts vary between φιλ-

and φηλ-. Its etymology is unclear: it has been associated with φηλόω and σφάλλω (cf.

Frisk, *s.v.* φηλός), but the literary papyri, Hesychius, the *Suda s.v.* φιληταί, the *EM*

(139.50), and the inscriptions from Delphi cited by Chantraine, *s.v.* φιλήτης, have the

spelling φιλ-. In antiquity it was also thought to derive from φιλέω, cf. the fragment

from Hellanicus' *Atlantis* (4 F 19b *FGrH* =*P.Oxy* VIII 1084 ii 4-6) who explains

Hermes' by-name: ὅτι αὐτῆι (*sc.* Maia) φιλησίμ[ως συνεκοιμ[ᾶτο (*sc.* Zeus). The same

spelling appears in Archil. fr. 49.7 although the meter does not allow any certain

conclusions about the quantity of the φιλ-. Maas (followed by Bechtel [1921] III, 335-6)

suggested that φιλ- should be retained on the grounds that it is guaranteed by the most

ancient witnesses; see Maas (1912) 1076. For an overview of the etymologies proposed

by ancient grammarians, see Egenolff (1902) 87-9.

νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρη: metrically equivalent to νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ (7); the phrase is

confined to our poet; see above, p. 37.

68-89. *Hermes steals Apollo's cattle*

In this section Hermes accomplishes what was announced in 18 (ἑσπέριος βοῦς

κλέψεν ἑκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος). The poet does not focus much on the actual cattle-theft,

which occupies a mere 2 lines (73-4), but rather on the stratagems that the young god

uses to confuse his future tracker, and his inventiveness: Hermes constructs his

wondrous sandals with material he finds in his immediate environment. Hermes has a

general plan (to steal Apollo's cattle and acquire divine honors through exchange), but

the difficulties it entails are dealt with on the spot, as they arise, by means of an

improvised inventiveness.

Hermes' stratagem in stealing the cows appears with differences in later authors

(for the different versions of the story, see p. 57ff.). In the Hymn, it has three .

components. First, Hermes makes the cows walk backwards, cf. 77-8. Furthermore, he walks them in a strange, zigzag course on sandy ground, so as to create many but confusing traces. Finally, he fashions a pair of sandals for himself by binding together branches of tamarisk and myrtle without removing their foliage, which leave tracks at which Apollo later marvels (cf. 222-6). Hermes' use of material readily available around him underscores his ability to improvise. It should be noted, however, that Welcker (1857) I, 340 understood the first part of Hermes' stratagem as involving the exchange of the cows' hooves ('nachdem er ihnen die Vorderklauen hinten und die hinteren vorhin gesetzt hat', which implies that the cows continued walking forward but their tracks appeared backwards); cf. also AHS *ad loc.* who cite modern parallels to a similar procedure in stealing horses, i.e. reversing their shoes so that they face the opposite direction; however, reversing the horses' shoes differs from reversing hooves.

Scholars have compared Hermes' cattle theft in the Hymn to initiatory rites which young men on the verge of adulthood had to undergo: in order to prove their manliness and be accepted into the community of men, they had to steal animals belonging to neighboring people; see Walcot (1979), esp. 343-6, and Haft (1996), both with modern Greek parallels. The analogy with such 'rites of passage' should not be pressed too hard, since Hermes is accepted into a divine group that consists of both male and female characters and to which there is no formal initiatory process during which the 'future god' will prove his worth. And, needless to say, Hermes remains an infant throughout the poem and his exploit does is not heroic in character.

Hermes' story as presented in the Hymn centers around the creation of the lyre and the cattle-theft, and one may compare it with a somewhat similar story, the Mnesiepes inscription that derives from oral (folktale) tradition and deals with Archilochus' initiation in poetry. A number of points are in common: in both stories the hero is young; Archilochus has to take a cow to the market for sale, while Hermes steals fifty of his brothers cows; the events occur at night (cf. πρωιαίτερον τῆς νυκτός, σελήνης λαμπούσης in the Mnesiepes inscription, E₁ II.16); both heroes meet a (some) character(s) whom they mock (the Muses in the Mnesiepes inscription where this abuse is termed σκώπτειν; the Old Man at Onchestus in *h.Herm.*); both stories involve the exchange of cattle/ a cow with a lyre. The same oral tradition is reflected in Hesiod's *Theogony* 22-34 (see West *ad loc.*, esp. p. 159-61). For the address to the Old Man as σκώπτειν, see below note on 90-3. On the Mnesiepes inscription, see Clay (2004) esp. 14-6 and 106 for the relevant passage from the inscription (lines 22-57).

68-9. Ἥλιος μέν...καὶ ἅρμασιν: The expression for the setting of the sun is unhomeric. Partial elements of this phrase are found in *Il.* 1.75 and 8.485, and the formula ἵπποισι καὶ ἅρμασιν occurs as well (although not referring to the personified sun). The image of the Sun's chariot is also not Homeric, but it features in poetry already in the archaic times: cf. *h.Hom.* 28.13-5, 31. 14-8, Mimn. *fr.* 12, Bacch. 11.101, Pi. *O.* 7.70-1, Aesch. *fr.* 192, S. *Aj.* 845-7, Eur. *Ph.* 2-3, *Ion* 82, 1148-9, *IT* 1138-9, *El.* 464-6, A.R. 3.309. For mythological and artistic references to the Sun's chariot and horses and his journey to Oceanus, cf. Allen (1993) 97-9 (on Mimn. *fr.* 12), Richardson on *h.Dem.* 63, and *LIMC* V

(Helios, addenda) 1-123; Helios' horses sometimes appear winged (e.g. 14, 96, 97). On Homeric formulae for the setting of the sun in general, see Jones (1978) 155. The Homeric phrases use the aorist, whereas the Hymn has the imperfect, perhaps indicating that the night has not yet fully arrived; after all, Hermes stole Apollo's cattle ἑσπέριος.

αὐτὰρ ἄρ': there is no need for Barnes' emendation of ἄρ(α) into ὅγ(ε). αὐτὰρ in Homer can answer a preceding μέν (cf. Denniston 43); for αὐτὰρ ἄρ(α) following μέν, cf. *Il.* 2.103.

70. Πιερίης: Why is Hermes going to Pieria? The most obvious answer is that Pieria is at the foot of Mt. Olympus, which is Hermes' ultimate goal. But note that Pieria is also the first stop during Apollo's quest for an oracle (cf. *h.Apol.* 216): but while Apollo descends from Olympus and arrives at Pieria, Hermes' arrival at Pieria (and the subsequent cattle-theft) is instrumental to his ascent to Olympus; for this and other possible correspondences with *h.Apol.*, see above p. 53ff. Shelmerdine *ad loc.* also detects a connection with music since Pieria was the birthplace of the Muses (cf. *Th.* 53), often called Πιερίδες. This is quite possible in view of the importance of music in settling the dispute between the two gods.

ἀφίκανε: for the imperfects in this section (until 82), denoting 'detailed description,' see Goodwin, *GMT* 16 (§56).

θέων: logically follows φέρων, ἆλτο, and ὁρμαίνων. The variant θεῶν (M, *p, x*) is probably due to the influence of the following line.

71. This is the only place in the poem where we hear that all the gods kept their cattle in Pieria. The poet later focuses on Apollo's cattle without giving any reason why Hermes chose to steal Apollo's cows instead of any other god's.

ἄμβροτοι: Most commentators take the adjective to mean 'divine' instead of 'immortal.' In fact, ἄμβροτος is used of things belonging to or deriving from the gods (exc. *Od.* 7.260, 11.330). Gemoll 204 saw an inconsistency in the use of this adjective ('ἄμβροτοι heißen die Rinder, obwohl zwei von ihnen hernach getötet wurden'), while AS thought that such an inconsistency was unproblematic. The cattle should not be thought of as immortal. The notion of their immortality derives from the story of the 'Cattle of the Sun' in the *Odyssey*. There (12.130-1) we are told that the Sun's cows neither multiply nor die; cf. also *Od.* 12.395-6 where both the raw and the cooked meat from the 'sacrificed' cows moo. Kahn (1978) 47, reading the story of Helios' cattle into *h.Herm.*, maintains that the cattle are immortal at Pieria, but their status changes once they leave the divine sphere and enter the human field at the Alpheios; whereas earlier their number was fixed, at the end they will be able to reproduce, which—according to Kahn—implies also their mortality. Nowhere, however, are we told that the number of Apollo's cows was fixed (Hermes simply stole fifty of the cows at Pieria) nor can be argued that the animals did not reproduce since (contrary to the odyssean story) there was a bull in the herd (193, 196). Apollo's cattle should not be confused with those of Helios and the poem does not provide any grounds to identify Apollo with Helios, *pace* Buffière (1956) 187-95, esp. 189-90, who detects references to Apollo-Sun in *h.Apol.* 202-3

and 441, as well as in Aesch. *Sept.* 859 and *Suppl.* 213-4; the earliest certain reference to Apollo as Sun is Eur. *Phaeth.* 225, on which see Diggle (1970) 147 and Shelmerdine (1986) 58 n. 33.

72. βοσκόμεναι...ἐρατεινούς. the adjectives are not the ones typically used to describe a meadow. ἀκηράσιος is a Homeric *hapax* (*Od.* 9.205 of pure, undiluted wine). The closest parallel to this phrase is λειμὼν ἀκήρατος in Eur. *Hipp.* 73 and 76-7. ἐρατεινός, on the other hand, describes places (though never a λειμών) and female deities.

73. τῶν: Agar (1921) 94 claims that since τῶν refers to the cows, we should expect τάων, but τῶν as feminine genitive plural is attested at *Th.* 39 and 910. Note the repetition of τῶν τότε a few lines later.

Ἀργειφόντης: on the meaning, see West (1978) 368-9 who agrees with Chittenden (1948) and Carpenter (1950) that the meaning is 'dog-slayer'; but cf. the discussion in Watkins (1995) 383-90. The basic objection to the common interpretation 'Slayer of Argos' is that a standing epithet for a god should refer to a regular activity and not a unique exploit. In addition, there are difficulties in explaining how *Ἀργο- yields *Ἀργει-. As the god of thieves, Hermes is associated with eliminating the danger that guard dogs represent for the thieves; cf. Hippon. *fr.* 3a (κυνάγχα), 79.9-11, Ant. Lib. 23.2. For other explanations, cf. Østergaard (1902), Kretschmer (1919-20) esp. 45-9, and Heubeck (1954). But whatever the actual etymology and original meaning, at some point in the archaic poetic tradition the epithet was understood as 'the Slayer of Argos' (cf.

Hes. *fr.* 294), and our poet may have understood it in this way. Shelmerdine *ad loc.*

may be right in suggesting that the epithet is used here ironically, since the only creature

that Hermes kills in this poem is a tortoise. One could perhaps also regard the epithet as

'proleptic' in the sense that it refers to an action that Hermes will accomplish in the

future, outside of the hymn's temporal frame; see the discussion in Greene (2005) 348.

For the formulaic system of Hermes' name in the Hymn, see van Nortwick (1975) 22-38.

   74. πεντήκοντα...βοῦς: Helios' herds and flocks also consisted of 50 animals

each (cf. *Od.* 12.130). On the allegorical interpretations of the cows, cf. Welcker (1857) I

340-1.

   ἀπετάμνετο: cf. LSJ, *s.v.* ἀποτέμνω II 2; this is one of the earliest attestations of

the sense 'cut off with a view to appropriating' (cf. Hdt. 1.82).

   75. *πλανοδίας: on the lengthening of πλα-, cf. Schulze *QE* 166. Allen (1893) 209

suggested that πληνοδίας should be read here and interpreted it as a compound from

πλήν and ὁδός, 'out of the road' (cf. πλημμελής, 'out of the tune or rhythm'). This

change, which does not have any manuscript support, is unnecessary. Even if Allen's

derivation is correct, the α would still be admissible. In addition, the point here does not

seem to be that Hermes simply led the cows out of the road—which is indicated by the

phrase διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον in any case and perhaps by ὁδοιπορίην ἀλεείνων later

(see below on 85)—but that he made them walk in such a way that it would be

impossible for their tracker to discover where they went. Thus, a derivation from

πλανᾶσθαι 'to wander' is very likely, although the (unhomeric) πλανᾶν 'to deceive,

lead astray' also deserves consideration. Càssola's 'con una strana andatura' is imprecise. It is unclear whether πλανοδίας is intended as a noun (construed as the object of ἤλαυνε) or an adjective (modifying the understood βοῦς); cf. also *LfgrE s.v.* and Koettgen (1914) 49 n. 87. The meaning should be 'on a wandering (zigzag) course' or 'on secret'—and perhaps even—'deceiving paths'.

Editors often cite Hesychius' gloss πληνοδίᾳ· παρανόμῳ· τετιμημένη· τῇ πεπλανημένη τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ, which Schulze *QE* 174 rightly dismisses as irrelevant.

<u>διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον</u>: ψαμαθώδης not in Homer or Hesiod, but cf. ψάμαθος (*Il.* 1.486); then in A.R. 4.1376.

76. <u>ἴχνι' ἀποστρέψας</u>: ἴχνι' is Hermann's emendation, adopted by Càssola for the MSS ἴχνη. Elsewhere in the Hymn we find the form ἴχνια, which occurs also in Homer, while ἴχνη is considered an Atticism. However, emendation may not be necessary since Attic and non-Attic forms coexist in the Hymn; cf. 70 ὄρεα vs. ὄρη in 95, both forms guaranteed by the meter.

<u>δολίης...τέχνης</u>: the same line-ending is used in *Od.* 4.455 of the Old Man of the Sea and in *Th.* 547 (cf. also 560) of Prometheus. All the instances of this phrase occur in contexts that involve deception and change of appearance. It is best to follow Agar's (1916) punctuation, which makes the whole phrase δολίης...τέχνης the poet's parenthetical comment and the following participial phrase (ποιήσας etc.) explanatory for ἀποστρέψας.

77-8. <u>ἀντία ποιήσας...πρόσθεν</u>: Baumeister considered these verses unworthy of even a prose author because of the combination 'πρόσθεν ὄπισθεν...ὄπιθεν πρόσθεν,' and Richardson prefers πρώτας (M) for πρόσθεν in 78—a reading not mentioned by Càssola either in his *apparatus* or in the notes—on the grounds that it adds variation and could easily have been replaced by πρόσθεν. But such parallelism is not unique in the Hymn; cf. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ <u>πολύμητις</u> ἐὼν <u>πολυμήχανον</u> εὗρεν (319, not involving chiasmus). πρόσθεν also brings out the chiasmus in these lines more clearly.

77. <u>ἀντία</u>: i.e. facing opposite than before; in other words, the cattle walk backwards. Sophocles, *fr.* 314.121-2 Radt (εἰς τοὐπίσω τὰ πρόσθεν ἤλλακται, τὰ δ' αὖ ἐναντί' ἀλλήλοισι συμβ[εβλη]μένα), implies that some cows' tracks are interlaced, facing in opposite directions to each other; apparently, in Sophocles' version some of the cows walked forward and some backwards; cf. Pearson (1917) I 243 (who prints συμπ[επλεγ]μένα in 116) and above, p. 66-7. This cannot be the case in the Hymn, however, since in 221 all the footprints seem to lead back to the meadow of asphodel.

<u>κατὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν</u>: LSJ (RevSuppl.) *s.v.* κατέμπαλιν gloss it as 'backwards' (cf. also *LfgrE s.v.* ἔμπαλιν). Hermes cannot, however, be walking backwards himself, since later (211) the Old Man at Onchestus describes the cows as facing Hermes. Càssola's 'egli invece procedeva di fronte' renders the exact meaning (cf. also his comment *ad loc.*). For references to ἔμπαλιν = 'straight at, facing', cf. Myres (1941) 23 n. 29.

79. σάνδαλα: one of the earliest occurrences of the word (but cf. σάμβαλα in Sappho, *fr.* 110.2). The poet avoids here and 83 the Homeric πέδιλα or ὑποδήματα. AHS call these sandals 'skis.'

ῥιψίν: Postgate's emendation for the MSS αὐτίκ' ἔριψεν. The line has caused trouble to editors: the poet had not mentioned earlier any sandals which Hermes is now supposed to throw onto the sand; furthermore, line 80 follows in *asyndeton*. Gemoll printed Matthiae's ἔραψεν and bracketed the next line, while the majority of the editors adopt Postgate's emendation, with the exception of Ludwich, Radermacher, and Humbert, who retain ἔριψεν. Càssola *ad loc.* (who also adopts ῥιψίν) refers to 273, where Hermes says in his defense that his feet are soft and he would not be able to walk. This implies, in his opinion, that the young god normally walked barefoot.

In my view, there is no need for emendation and ἔριψεν should be retained. The poet elsewhere mentions things of which he has not spoken before (cf. γλύφανον 41, πλῆκτρον 53); the *asyndeton* is likewise not unparalleled (cf. the examples cited at 151) and is explanatory: Hermes threw away his sandals, as he intended to create new ones (presumably to confuse Apollo). Càssola's additional argument against ἔριψεν and the assumption that Hermes was already wearing sandals is not compelling: in his speech to Apollo, Hermes attempts to present himself as an ordinary new-born baby, which he is not. Needless to say, Hermes' argument must not be taken at face value: in the same speech (277) he also claims that he has only heard of cows, but not seen them, which is obviously a lie. As for ῥιψίν itself, it does not mean 'twigs,' which is what we would

expect here, but 'plaited work of osiers or rushes, wicker-work, mat' (LSJ *s.v.* ῥίψ; cf. also Hesychius' gloss ῥίπεσσι· ψιάθοις. πλέγμασιν ἐκ καλάμων), i.e. the final product rather than the material itself. The word is often (though not always, cf. Hdt. 4.71, Thphr. *fr.* 168) modified by a term specifying the type of wood the wicker-work is made of (*Od.* 5.256 φράξε δέ μιν ῥίπεσσι διαμπερὲς οἰσυΐνῃσι, Hdt. 2.96 ἔστι ἐκ μυρίκης πεποιημένη θύρη, κατερραμένη ῥιπὶ καλάμων, on which see How & Wells *ad loc.*, Nonn. 40.461 ῥίπεσι οἰσυΐναις).

80. ἄφραστ᾽ ἠδ᾽ ἀνόητα: ἄφραστος ('unheard-of' or perhaps 'unutterable') not in Homer, but cf. Hes. *fr.* 239.4 and Hdt. 5.92. ἀνόητος occurs only here in early Epic, and its meaning ('unthought-of') approaches the sense found in philosophical authors (cf. the examples listed in LSJ *s.v.* A 2). For the combination of two adjectives compounded with the privative ἀ-, see Fehling (1969) 235-41; cf. also *h.Herm.* 168, Richardson on *h.Dem.* 200, and Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 412.

διέπλεκε: the verb only here and in Pindar (*P.* 2.82 and 12.8) in archaic poetry.

θαυματὰ ἔργα: cf. 440. θαυματὸς is not found in Homer; but cf. Hes. *fr.* 204.45 and Pind. *Ol.* 1.28 (ἦ θαυματὰ πολλά, where however some editors prefer ἦ θαῦμα τὰ πολλά instead).

81. Editors usually compare *Il.* 10.467 (συμμάρψας δόνακας μυρίκης τ᾽ ἐριθηλέας ὄζους). μυρσινοειδέας was suspected by Baumeister as prosaic. Neither this adjective nor μύρσινος appear in Homer or Hesiod (the latter occurs in Stesich, *fr.* 10.2), and μυρσινοειδής here it is equivalent to μύρσινος. On its formation by analogy to

ἰοειδής, cf. Zumbach (1955) 19 and Bader (1965) 148-9 (§122); for the suffix –ειδής, see Schwyzer I 426. The word reappears in later medical writers.

The myrtle was sacred to Aphrodite, but the plant was associated also with Hermes; cf. Pausanias (1.27) who refers to Hermes' statue in the temple of Athena Polias as being ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον.

82. <u>νεοθηλέος ἀγκαλὸν ὕλης</u>: cf. ἀγκαλίδες ξύλων, Ar. *Ra.* 418. The phrase has been emended in various ways: AS proposed νεοθηλέος ἄγκαλον ὕλης (i.e. the reading of Ψ with a change in the accent of ἀγκαλόν), while AHS (based on M's νεοθηλέαν ἀγκαλωρήν) offer νεοθηλέαν ἀγκάλῳ ὥρην (scanning νεοθηλέαν presumably with synizesis). Their parallels, however, for both ὥρην and νεοθηλέαν are problematic: in Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.1 (ἀπό...τῆς ὥρας ἐτρέφοντο) the word means 'the fruits/produce of the season,' clearly inappropriate here; in Eur. *Phoen.* 786 (οὐκ ἐπὶ καλλιχόροις στεφάνοισι νεάνιδος ὥρας) it simply means 'youth' (see Mastronarde *ad loc.*); AHS themselves, finally, are not sure of the value of Aesch. *Eum.* 109 as a parallel. Aesch. *fr.* 44.6 also does not provide a good parallel, since ὥρα (if indeed the correct reading, cf. the *apparatus* in Radt's edition, who in fact prints ὀπώραν) must mean 'fruits.' As for the metaplasm from 3rd to 1st declension of νεοθηλής, the parallels in AHS are either late (Galen i 624 μελάνεον for μέλαν) or not helpful: of those, in Aesch. *Eum.* 453 (450 in West's Teubner edition) νεοθηλοῦ is itself an emendation (by Turnebus) for M's καθαιμάξουσιν οθηλοῦ [*sic*] βοτοῦ—and a bad one, since it introduced a novelty into the text—which was changed into ν<ε>οθηλοῦ<ς> already by Abresch (1832) II 309.

Radermacher, on the other hand, suggested νεοθηλέ' ἀν' ἄγκαλον ὤρης ('er band von deren Schönheit je einen frischgesproßten Armvoll zusammen'), but such a transferred epithet is unparalleled in the Hymn. Shelmerdine 112 prints νεοθηλέαν ἄγκυλος ὕλην (but on 113 she has ἀγκύλος), i.e. 'Hermes craftily binds together the fresh wood of the tamarisk and myrtle so that the leaves form part of the sandals.' The position of αὐτοῖσιν πετάλοισι is strange indeed, but one need not assume with Shelmerdine that 'it refers to the sandals themselves rather than the attached "bundle".' The σάνδαλα κοῦφα should, of course, not be understood as real, already woven, sandals, to which the divine babe attaches wood, but as Hermes' *bricolage*. αὐτοῖσιν πετάλοισι is in emphatic, enjambed position and it serves two purposes: the resulting sandals obviously leave strange traces behind, and at the same time their construction manifests Hermes' hurry. The reading offered by AS produces the best sense in the context ('having then fastened together an armful of fresh-blooming wood...foliage and all'). The term ἄγκαλος 'armful' occurs only here in archaic literature, but ἀγκάλη/ἀγκαλίς as a measure of quantity is found later in the papyri (cf. Preisigke, *s.v.*).

83. <u>ἀβλαβέως</u>: 'abilmente' (Càssola), but this is not the meaning of ἀβλαβής ('without harm,' 'secure'). Shelmerdine takes it to mean 'with no harm to his feet (from walking).' This word too did not escape editors' emendations: Hermann proposed ἀσφαλέως ('safely'), while Schneidewin suggested εὐλαβέως ('carefully'), which misses the point, since the idea is not that Hermes is doing a careful job, but that he puts these

sandals together so quickly that he does not even remove the branches' foliage. The situation is complicated by the fact that this is the first occurrence of ἀβλαβής before the classical era (it is then found in Pi. O. 13.27 and P. 8.54, while ἀβλαβίη appears later in 393, cf. note *ad loc.*). Emendation here seems unnecessary, as the adverb makes sense in the context if it is understood as 'securely.' The image of baby Hermes fastening his sandals calls to mind *Il.* 24.341 and *Od.* 5.44-5 (αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια), where Hermes does the same thing before embarking on a mission, and—assuming that this reminiscence is purposeful—one may be justified in detecting irony and humor in this verse. The adverb again in Th. 5.47 etc.

84. αὐτοῖσιν πετάλοισι: for the sense, see above, note on 82. This runover phrase reproduces the effect of ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια in the Homeric passages; in both cases the runover is followed by a relative.

84-85. τὰ κύδιμος...ἀλεείνων: there is no reason to consider this phrase as an interpolation by someone who wanted to explain whence Hermes got the branches that he used to construct his sandals (so Matthiae, Baumeister). Càssola's punctuation, separating ἔσπασε from Πιερίηθεν, solves this 'problem.'

85. ἔσπασε: the verb is often used of drawing a sword *et sim.* The closest parallel for its sense here is *Od.* 10.166 (αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σπασάμην ῥῶπάς τε λύγους τε). κύδιμος Ἀργειφόντης is unique.

ὁδοιπορίην ἀλεείνων: Herwerden (1876) and (1888) first proposed that the meaning of this phrase is 'ut iter suum celaret.' ἀλεείνειν occurs with the same meaning

in 237; cf. also Hesychius' gloss ἀλεάζειν. κρύπτειν. Thus, we should not understand it with Allen as 'avoiding the toil of wayfaring' (cf. AS and AHS *ad loc.*), on the assumption that the sandals would help Hermes walk more easily (how did he come to Pieria in the first place?), but 'attempting to hide his walking/journey.' A different—but no less attractive—interpretation is to render ἀλεείνων as 'avoiding' and ὁδοιπορίην as '(regular) road;' for this sense of ὁδοιπορίη, cf. Hdt. 8.118; see also McDaniel (1900) 79, and Clay (1989) 113. There is no need for Windisch's emendation ἀλεγύνων (cf. 361).

86. <u>οἷά τ' ἐπειγόμενος</u>: for the use of οἷά τ(ε), cf. Ruijgh (1971) 532-3 (§433) and 910 (§743): with the participle it has its causal meaning, a construction not found in Homer, but attested from Herodotus on. The participial phrase explains the following αὐτοτροπήσας.

<u>δολιχὴν ὁδόν</u>: the phrase is Odyssean (cf. 4.393, 483; 17.426). In the *Iliad* δολιχός exclusively describes spears.

<u>*αὐτοτροπήσας</u>: this participle presupposes a verb *αὐτοτροπέω, which however is unattested. On the analogy with ἀλλοιοτροπέω (Hp. *Int.* 37 'change color,' lit. 'turn/become ἀλλοῖος') and κακοτροπέω (Hp. *Mul.* 1.38 'become malignant', lit. 'turn/become κακός') the verb should mean 'become αὐτος, i.e. oneself', perhaps 'resort to one's own powers,' hence even 'improvise.' LSJ *s.v.* αὐτοτροπήσας 'be like oneself, i.e. unique' is not to the point, because -τροπέω implies change, not simply a state of existence. Cf. also Kahn (1978) 45, who renders 'avec de moyens tout personels' and her

n. 12 on the same page: "*autotropésas* peut aussi s'entendre dans le sens d'un movement, d'un geste d'Hermès, 'se retournant sur lui-même' ." The sense is: 'Hermes securely put on the sandals that he had made of myrtle and tamarisk-wood, foliage and all, improvising, as he was hastening to hide his journey.'

87-93. *Hermes at Onchestus*

Hermes arrives at Onchestus in Boeotia and addresses in a rather cryptic way an old man who is working in his vineyard; the relation between 90-1 and 92-3 is not easily discernible because of the abruptness of the construction. Most editors since Groddeck assumed a *lacuna* between 91 and 92, and supplements have been suggested (e.g. Agar [1916]: φράζεο νῦν καὶ μνῆσαι ἐφετμῆς ἣν ἐπιτέλλω| μὴ λίαν ἀγάσασθαι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ ταῦτα νοήσας; or Evelyn-White [commended by AHS]: εἴ κε πίθῃ, μάλα περ μεμνημένος ἐν φρεσὶ σῇσι). The problem of this passage arises from the assumption that Hermes must be warning the Old Man in some way or other, as is the case in some of the other versions, where Battus is mentioned (see above, p. 84-5); but there is no need to assume the existence of such a warning in our Hymn. The poet is obviously working with a different tradition or changing the story (cf. the reversal of the order between cattle-theft and the construction of the lyre), and thus we are not justified to import other versions of the story into the Hymn. The Hymn does not contain (or allude to) a testing scene, in which Hermes attempts to discover whether the Old Man is trustworthy or not. It is perhaps better to treat Battus and the Old Man at Onchestus as separate mythical

figures, as Holland (1926) 179 suggests. In our story Hermes *wants* to be discovered: he makes sure that he leaves traces (albeit confusing ones), and he has formed his plan of reconciliation even before he steals the cows. Thus a warning to the Old Man is unnecessary.

By omitting the informant's punishment, the poet transforms a local *aition* (how a place in the Peloponnese received its name—Βάττου σκοπιαί), centering on the Old Man's punishment and subsequent metamorphosis, into a story of Pan-Hellenic interest. Hermes' passing through Onchestus has a further effect: the Old Man, who is speechless and appears simply to mind his own business in his vineyard, eventually becomes garrulous and endowed with a particular kind of speech that resembles Hermes' riddling way of communicating through proverbial wisdom (already observed in his address to the tortoise, 30-8); see Tzifopoulos (2000) esp. 154-8; on Hermes' second speech in general, see van Nortwick (1975) 121-3.

87. <u>δέμων ἀνθοῦσαν ἀλωήν</u>: =M, δόμων αἴθουσαν ἀλωήν Ψ; M's reading was adopted by most editors with the exception of Gemoll who changed it to καμὼν ἀνὰ γουνὸν ἀλωῆς; his arguments, however, are refuted in Allen (1895) 285. δέμω in Homer does not simply mean 'working on something *vel sim.*,' as it is used of building edifices; Herodotus (2.124, 7.200) uses it of building roads; thus, the phrase probably does not mean 'un vecchio che lavorava alla sua vigna fiorita' (Càssola), but 'an old man who was building/fencing his blooming vineyard.' For the phrase ἀνθοῦσαν ἀλωήν, cf. the metrically equivalent βρίθουσαν ἀλωήν (*Il.* 18.561); the substitution of βρίθουσαν

by ἀνθοῦσαν may be purposeful, since the vineyard has not yielded any produce yet (cf. 91).

88. <u>δι᾽ Ὀγχηστὸν λεχεποίην</u>: Onchestus is mentioned in Homer (*Il.* 2.506), *h.Apol.* 230, Pind. *I.* 1.33-3, 3/4.37 with reference to Poseidon; cf. 186-7 of our Hymn. For the cult of Poseidon at Onchestus, see Schachter (1986) 207-21. Our poet does not explicitly state why Hermes decided to pass through Onchestus, but he may have included this detail under the influence of *h.Apol.*; in no other version of the story do we hear about Onchestus; see above, p. 54ff. For an interpretation of the Onchestus episode, see Clay (1989) 114-6.

89. <u>τὸν πρότερος...υἱός</u>: The formula 'τόν/τήν...προσέφη Χ' resembles a frequent speech introduction in Homer (τόν/τὴν πρότερος προσέειπε....). This phrase is repeated (with the substitution of Λητοῦς for Μαίης) in 189, when Apollo addresses the Old Man of Onchestus.

90-4. *Hermes' address to the Old Man*

90. <u>ὦ γέρον...ὤμους</u>: The description of the Old Man of Onchestus has been likened to that of Laertes in *Od.* 24.226-31; see Shelmerdine (1986) 59-60, who considers the odyssean reminiscences in the Hymn as a way for the poet to underscore Hermes' resemblance to Odysseus.

σκάπτειν does not occur in Homer or Hesiod, but σκάφος...οἰνέων ('hoeing of vines') is found in *Op.* 572. For the end of the line most editors follow Ψ (ἐπικαμπύλος

ὤμους); M transmits the unmetrical ἐπικαμπύλα ξύλα, where ξύλα might be a gloss

for κᾶλα (this was already suggested by AS). ἐπικαμπύλα κᾶλα (possibly a variant

ending), adopted by Radermacher and Clay (1989) 115 n. 69, is found once more in

Hesiod (*Op.* 427, the only other occurrence of ἐπικαμπύλος), while κάγκανα κᾶλα

occurs later in 112. Accepting ἐπικαμπύλα κᾶλα, however, is problematic because

κᾶλα primarily means 'logs for burning' (cf. also 112 and Frisk, *s.v.* κᾶλον for the

etymology from *καϝ-αλον; later it can also mean 'timber'). We should either have to

assume that κᾶλα is used in two different ways in the Hymn (i.e. 'the woody part of the

vines'—so AHS on this verse—and 'logs for burning' in 112) or change ὅς τε into ὥστε,

as Clay *loc.cit.* does (followed by Tzifopoulos) and interpret Hermes' first address to the

Old Man as ironic ('Old man, you dig curved logs as if they were plants; you'll have lots

of wine when all these bear (i.e. never)'). The latter interpretation is preferable since it

relieves us from taking the same word in a completely different sense within 20 lines;

but, just as Ψ's reading, it does not create an easy connection between the first and the

second part of the speech. The poet must have intended this abruptness and ambiguity

in Hermes' address to the Old Man; cf. Hermes' first speech to the tortoise, which is also

cryptic in some points. Alternatively, if Ψ's reading is adopted, it would seem that

Hermes is promising the Old Man a great vintage if he does not reveal what he just saw.

The problem with this interpretation is that, although he does reveal to Apollo what he

saw, the Old Man is essentially forgotten later in the Hymn (contrary to the other

versions where Battus is tested and punished).

Lines 90-3 should be rendered: 'Old Man, you are digging (those) logs as if they were plants; indeed you will acquire lots of wine when they produce (i.e. never)! Although seeing be someone who does not see, and deaf despite having heard, and mute whenever you are not harmed as to your own affairs.' The Old Man is toiling in vain and is unable to see that the vines he is digging are worthless logs; he is urged to continue being blind (although physically able to see), deaf or dull-witted (although he is able to hear), mute, and mind his own business. Lines 90-1 establish that the Old Man's work is pointless while lines 92-3 urge him to continue living in the same way. Thus there is a connection between the two parts of Hermes' address, and despite its abruptness no *lacuna* should be posited here. Finally, the address is a σκῶμμα directed at the Old Man, and has parallels in the story about Archilochos in the Mnesiepes inscription and Hesiod's encounter with the Muses; see above, p. 176.

91. *πολυοινήσεις: Ilgen's emendation for M's πολὺ οἰνήσεις. The verb is not attested elsewhere (for its formation, cf. πολυγαλακτεῖν), but we do find πολύοινος (Xen. *Vect.* 5.3), πολυοινία (both 'abundance in wine' *Gp.* 4.1.14, and 'excess in wine', Arist. *fr.* 597.3, Str. 16.2, Plut. 295e and later); cf. also the Homeric πολυστάφυλος (*Il.* 2.507, 537).

92. καί τε...ἀκούσας: see Fraenkel on *Ag.* 1623 for parallels to this proverb. On these verses as representing the human state before Prometheus or Hermes' arrival, cf. Aesch. *Pr.* 447-8 and Clay (1989) 116-7.

καί τε: concessive; see Ruijgh (1971) 914 (§746).

<u>τε ἰδών</u>: we do not have to assume hiatus between τε ἰδών (as AHS do) on the grounds that the digamma is not observed in μὴ ἰδών; such metrical variation in the Homeric *Kunstsprache* is not unique; cf. the distantly parallel Ἄρες Ἄρες (*Il.* 5.31=455).

<u>εἶναι</u>: the infinitive is imperatival.

<u>κωφός</u>: 'deaf'; κωφός occurs thrice in the *Iliad* with the meaning 'dumb, blunt, noiseless' (cf. *Il.* 11.390, 14.16, 24.51 with κῦμα, βέλος et al.) while the meaning 'deaf' is found again in Hdt. 1.34 .

93. <u>ὅτε μή</u>: for ὅτε (μή) with the subjunctive, see Monro 263 (§ 289.2a), who remarks that this construction is common in maxims, and Chantraine, *GH* II 256 (§ 377); such clauses express indefinite time. The phrase approaches a conditional in sense and may be translated 'whenever' or 'unless.' Radermacher took ὅτε μή τι as an equivalent of εἰ δὲ μή γε and rendered 'sonst leidest du Schaden an deinem Eigentum'; this interpretation, however, suggests that Hermes is threatening the Old Man. Hermes is speaking quite generally, just as the Old Man does in part of his reply to Apollo.

<u>καταβλάπτῃ</u>: 2ⁿᵈ sing. passive; the verb occurs again in Aristotle and later writers. For the genitive in apposition to the possessive pronoun, see Schwyzer II 177, to whose examples add Pindar, *fr.* 97.1.

94-104. *Hermes' journey to the Alpheios*

94. <u>τόσσον φάς</u>: a unique way of indicating the end of a speech, not found in Homer or Hesiod. The Homeric equivalent ὣς εἰπών could have been used here; the

poet could also have employed ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη (with slight modification of the verse).

τόσσον clearly emphasizes the fact that Hermes' speech is quite short, and the poet's choice of this unusual expression indicates a particular understanding of the formulaic system.

συνέσευε: the verb is found only here and in [Orph]. *A.* 982; but cf. συνήλασσεν twice in the Hymn (106, 240). συνέσευε is a conjecture of Chalcocondyles', which is closer to the codd. φασὶν ἐσ(σ)ευε than Cobet's φὰς ἔσσευε that West (2003a) adopts.

βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα: once more at *Il.* 23.260. For the meaning of ἴφθιμος, see Pagliaro (1971) 22 n. 13 and the thorough analysis in Athanassakis (1971), with references to earlier attempts to explain the adjective. He suggests 'highly valuable, precious' as its basic sense.

95. ὅρη: for this contracted form, cf. κἀγώ (173), θᾶττον (255), φιλῶ (382), φῶς (402), ἤρετο (404), ἐδύνω (405).

αὐλῶνας κελαδεινούς: the first occurrence of αὐλών (also found in Hdt. 7.128). In Homer κελαδεινός is used of Artemis and Zephyrus, and the Scholiast on *Il.* 16.183 explains it as διὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς θήραις ἐκβοήσεις, which accounts for the adjective's linkage with Artemis. The meaning here should be 'echoing/ resounding'; cf. A.R. 3.532 ποταμοὶ κελαδεινὰ ῥέοντες.

96. διήλασ(ε): found in Homer, but it usually means 'to drive/thrust something through somebody/ something'; (cf. *Il.* 10.564, 13.161 etc. and LSJ *s.v.*); here it is used in the sense of 'to go through a place'.

97-8. These two lines were omitted by Gemoll 210 in order to make the temporal progression smoother. If the cattle-theft takes place early at night and Hermes needs almost the entire night to walk from Pieria to the Alpheios, not much time is left for stabling the cows, killing two of them, sacrificing them etc. in view of the temporal indications provided by the text. Furthermore, in 97 it is stated that soon dawn would approach; in 143 we learn that Hermes arrived at Cyllene ὄρθριος, but in 155-6 Maia asks τίπτε σύ, ποικιλομῆτα, πόθεν τόδε <u>νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ</u>, ἔρχη.... But this is an overly rationalistic analysis of the temporal progression in the Hymn; scholars who look for inconsistencies in the Hymn on the basis of the temporal indications provided by the poet seem to disregard the fairy-tale nature of the story and Hermes' rapidity in accomplishing whatever he devises. We have already seen how Hermes passes quickly from thought into action (cf. 43-6; also 65 and 86). It is then not against the Hymn's internal logic that Hermes could accomplish the remaining deeds before dawn. Strictly rational analysis of time in the Hymn is unjustified, as it is equally impossible for anybody to walk accompanied by fifty backwards marching cows from Pieria to the Peloponnese in one night—something that does not seem to bother editors. Hence, there is no need for expunging any lines on these grounds: Hermes miraculously journeys from Pieria to the ford of the Alpheios in less than a night; he then shuts the animals in the stall, kills two of them, prepares his *dais*, and erases all traces until just before dawn, at which point he returns to his cave.

Radermacher 87-8 proposed that νέον in 99 should be understood as 'neuerdings,' 'again,' a meaning attested at *Il.* 2.87 (where Cunliffe renders 'freshly,' 'anew') and 8.427 (add *Op.* 569), instead of 'recently.' In this case we are faced with a miracle, on which the poet does not dwell, since it is not that uncommon; cf. *Od.* 23.243 for the prolongation of the night on which Hercules was conceived, and Frazer on Apollodorus I 174 n. 1. Further references to the motif of the night's magical prolongation may be found in Thompson, D 2146.2.2; for another instance of divine manipulation of time (Hera ending the day earlier by sending Helios to Oceanus), cf. *Il.* 18.239-42. Thus, while ὄρθρος was *in the process* of coming (98), it was delayed by the lingering of Selene. Radermacher's suggestion is attractive, although not strictly necessary as the moon may sometimes rise later at night.

97. <u>ὀρφναίη...νύξ</u>: this unique phrase may be a modification of the Homeric νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην (found in 578); see Jones (1978) 165. The fact that night is qualified by three words was considered a sign of emphatic speech ('betonte Rede') by Radermacher *ad loc.*, comparing with *Il.* 2.235 and 9.63 (an insult and a curse respectively). Two out of the three attributes of night are unusual: the adjective δαιμόνιος is normally used as a form of address, on which see Brunius-Nilsson (1955), and it may have been employed instead of the (here unmetrical) ἀμβροσίη νύξ. Night is also ἐπίκουρος, Hermes' ally (cf. *Op.* 605, on the ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ, and *h.Herm.* 66-7).

98. <u>ἡ πλείων</u>: usually compared to *Il.* 10.251-3, but there more than two-thirds of the night have passed, whereas here the expression is not as precise.

<u>ὄρθρος...δημιοεργός</u>: δημιοεργός is normally used of people whose skill is placed at the service of the community (cf. *Od.* 17.383-5, 19.35). For the semantic field of δημιοεργός, see Oudenrijn (1951) and Bader (1965) 137-41, who does not, however, examine our passage. The basic meaning according to Bader is 'he who performs the δημόσια' — the first member being δήμιος instead of δῆμος as is sometimes assumed. But here the poet must have understood it as 'he who sends the people (δῆμος) to work.' For the idea compare *Op.* 580-1. For the association of temporal designations with human activities, cf. also *Od.* 9.58 (ἦμος δ' ἠέλιος μετενίσετο <u>βουλυτόνδε</u>).

99. <u>σκοπιήν</u>: cf. *Od.* 8.302, where the sun is said to have σκοπιήν.

<u>προσεβήσατο</u>: also in Hesiod (*Sc.* 33=*fr.* 195.33) in the same metrical position and in a context that could be considered formulaic: a divinity, occupying the final part of the line after προσεβήσατο, approaches a look-out place that is mentioned at the beginning of the verse. Verb-forms ending in –εβήσετο were preferred by Aristarchus, while the ancient grammarians treated them as imperfects; see Monro 43 (§41) and Schwyzer I.2, 788, who consider these forms as old augmented futures corresponding to the Latin forms in –*urus eram*, and Leumann (1952-53) esp. 206-10 for a thorough examination of these forms' origin (sometimes also called 'mixt aorists'). ἐβήσετο is found in *h.Apol.* 49 with ἐβήσατο as *v.l.* The same variation occurs in other Homeric passages, where this aorist form is transmitted (e.g. *Il.* 1.428, 2.35 etc.). The –ατο forms seem to represent a later attempt at normalizing the –ετο forms (so Leumann, *loc. cit.* 206), and the original form in our verse (as in the Hesiod passage quoted at the

beginning of the note) may have been προσεβήσετο, which was regularized very early in the transmission of the Hymn without leaving any trace of its existence.

δῖα Σελήνη: only here and in *h.Hom.* 32, possibly with its full force, i.e. 'heavenly' instead of simply 'noble' or 'excellent'; cf. *LfgrE, s.v.* δῖος for detailed discussion and bibliography.

100. Πάλλαντος....ἄνακτος: The line is traditional from a formulaic point of view (X son/daughter of Y, [who was] the lord son of Z) but Selene's genealogy, as presented here, is unique. According to Càssola's text, she is 'the daughter of Pallas, the lord of lofty thoughts'. The MSS, however transmit forms of Μεγαμείδης / Μεγαμηδείδης, a character otherwise unknown in mythology. In Hesiod, *Th.* 371, Selene is the daughter of Hyperion, while Pallas is the son of Kreios (hence cousin of Selene) and father of Hecate. Gemoll 211 suggested that—based on the identification of Selene with Hecate—there could have been a tradition in which Selene was the daughter of Pallas. The two figures are clearly kept distinct in Hesiod (although mentioned in adjacent sections of the *Theogony*), and there is no indication that Pallas was the father of Selene elsewhere in Greek literature. Μεγαμειδήδαο seems preferable as the *lectio difficilior* and may have been coined by the poet to hint at Hermes' cunning, as Shelmerdine *ad loc.* remarks. See also Führer (1978) 707 for a criticism of Càssola's μέγα μηδομένοιο.

One should punctuate with a full-stop at the end of this line; otherwise one would expect ἦμος (which is what Càssola in fact translates, although he retains the MSS τῆμος).

101. <u>Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός</u>: elsewhere of Heracles (Hes. *fr.* 35.5, 43a.61, *Sc.* 320, Pind. *Ol.* 10.44-5), and along with the next verse it may suggest an implicit comparison of Hermes with Hercules as cattle-thieves. If so, it adds to the poem's comedy since Hermes is far from ἄλκιμος; in fact, he relies on μῆτις while his argument later in the defense-speeches is based on his lack of ἀλκή.

102. <u>βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους</u>: cf. *Th.* 291, where it is employed of Heracles stealing Geryon's cattle.

103. <u>ἀκμῆτες</u>: Ilgen's emendation for the MSS ἀδμῆτες (based on *h.Apol.* 520 ἄκμητοι δὲ λόφον προσέβαν ποσίν). The MSS reading should cause no offense. ἀδμής/ ἀδμήτη is used of (feminine animals) in the sense of 'unbroken,' 'not used for work,' often in the same *sedes* as here; cf. *Il.* 10.293=*Od.* 3.383, where a promise to sacrifice an 'unbroken' cow is expressed. The epithet means 'virgin' when applied to women; cf. the formula παρθένος ἀδμής (*Od.* 6.109, 6.228, Hes. *fr.* 59.4, *h.Dem.* 145, *h.Aphr.* 82; further, Bacch. 5.167). Judging by *Il.* 23.265-6 (ἵππον...ἐξέτε' ἀδμήτην βρέφος ἡμίονον κυέουσαν), the epithet's sexual connotation probably does not apply to animals. The epithet may have been used here since unyoked animals were designated for sacrifice (cf. the *Iliad* verse cited above, and Ant.Lib. 23 where we learn that Hermes abducted βοῦς ἄζυγας).

ἐς αὔλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον: αὔλιον does not occur in Homer or Hesiod, but cf. αὖλιν (*Il.* 9.232, *Od.* 22.470 and 71 of our Hymn). Its meaning is not 'country-house,' cottage' as LSJ gloss it, but 'cave.' For a cave as stable for cattle, cf. Paus. 4.36.3. Müller (1833) identified this cave with "Nestor's cave" near Coryphasion, but the poet suggests that Hermes' cave is located at the Alpheios, near Olympia.

The adjective ὑψιμέλαθρον ('high-built') occurs twice more in late authors (Orph. *Hymn* 5.1 and Nonn., *Paraphr.* 14.110), and its conjunction with αὔλιον is comically incongruous.

104. Ληνούς: 'watering troughs,' only here in archaic hexameter; it reappears in Theocritus, 25.28 and much later authors.

ἀριπρεπέος λειμῶνος: ἀριπρεπής is another non-traditional epithet for λειμών (cf. 72 ἀκηρασίους, ἐρατεινούς), and incongruous, just as αὔλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον.

105-29. *Hermes and the fire-sticks; the killing of two cows*

In this section Hermes leads the cattle into the cave and creates fire by means of fire-sticks (108-15); then, he drags two of the animals out of the cave, kills and cooks them, and divides their meat into twelve equal portions to each of which he adds a τέλεον γέρας; these portions are distributed by lot (κληροπαλεῖς).

105. βοτάνης ἐπεφόρβει: βοτάνη can be either 'pasture' (as in *Il.* 13.493) or 'fodder' (as here and in *Od.* 10.411). For the genitive with φέρβειν, see *h.Hom.* 30.4, but cf. *Op.* 377 (with West *ad loc.*) for a different construction and meaning ('increase').

106. καὶ τὰς μὲν συνέλασσε: καὶ coordinates 105 with 106 (so AHS,

disagreeing with AS). Hence, δ(έ) in 108 is apodotic. For the coordination of the

pluperfect (ἐπεφόρβει) with the aorist (συνέλλασσεν), cf. *Od.* 22.274-7; for συνελαύνειν

in the sense 'drive (animals) together,' cf. Hes. *fr.* 204.51.

ἀθρόας οὔσας: The phrase has met with the editors' disapproval, because of

both the scansion of ἀθρόας and the "Attic" form of the participle. Thus, Herwerden

(1888) accepted Stadtmüller's ἀδρευθείσας, Shackle (1920) proposed ἀθροισθείσας,

while Agar (1921) suggested ἀφριαούσας ('flecked with foam'!). There is no need for

emendation here. For such forms of the participle in early hexameter, compare *Od.* 7.94,

Hes. *fr.* 204.91, *h.Apol.* 330, *h.Hom.* 19.32, Thgn. 98 (=1164b), Xenoph., *fr.* 22.4. For the

quantity of ἀθρόας, see Rzach (1876) 400-1, Edwards (1971) 141-65, Pavese (1974) 93-4,

(who considers this as evidence for the existence of a mainland rhapsodic tradition), and

Janko (1982) 58-62 and 144-5. Such forms should not be considered 'Hesiodic,' as they

occur in Alcman, Tyrtaios, and Stesichorus; hence 'Boeotian' influence on our poet is not

the only possible explanation. For such accusatives in Doric, see Morsbach (1878) 4-6.

107. For other occurrences of λωτός and κύπειρον in the same context, cf. *Il.*

14.348, 21.351, *Od.* 4.603. κύπειρον is neuter elsewhere in Homer, but our poet uses it

here as masculine. For these plants, see Lembach (1970) 43-4, 181-3.

108. πυρὸς δ᾽ ἐπεμαίετο τέχνην: cf. 511. The line was bracketed by Matthiae,

Animadversiones 236 as a marginal comment. μαίεσθαι is generally construed with the

genitive when it means 'strive,' but with the accusative when it means 'grasp, touch etc.'

Here it is used metaphorically, in the sense of 'inventing'. See Belardi (1949) 279-81

who, following Bechtel, distinguishes two roots, one yielding the meaning 'touch' and

another meaning 'desire'; over time the two roots were confused and this also led to a

confusion in their respective constructions. The arrangement of the words, however,

suggests that the poet may be exploiting *both* meanings and constructions of μαίεσθαι;

that is, Hermes desired or thought of fire and immediately 'grasped,' i.e. created it. For

the idea of mental grasping, cf. A.R. 3.816 νόῳ ἐπεμαίεθ' ἕκαστα.

109-114. *The creation of fire through the fire-sticks*

According to D.S. 5.67.2, Prometheus was the inventor of the fire-sticks. For the

πυρήϊα, cf. Plato, *Resp.* 435a, Theoc. 22.33, Thphr. *HP* 5.9, *Ign.* 64, Schol. *A.R.* 1.1184,

Seneca, *Quaest. Nat.* 2.22, Pliny, *NH* 16.40. Two pieces of wood are needed, the

τρύπανον and the στορεύς or ἐσχάρα. The former is also termed ποιητικόν, the latter

παθητικόν. Fire is produced by rubbing or turning the τρύπανον into the στορεύς.

Theophrastus explicitly states that the τρύπανον should be made of laurel wood, which

is the wood that Hermes is using in our Hymn. The transmitted text in the second

hemistich of 109 (ἐνίαλλε [M]/ ἐπέλεψε [Ψ] σιδήρῳ) does not say anything about the

second piece of wood necessary for this operation, and editors either assume a *lacuna*

after 109—so already Kuhn (1886) 36—in which the στορεύς was mentioned, or emend

the latter part of the line so as to restore the missing information (Càssola's version is a

combination of Radermacher's ἐν δ' ἴλλε and Ludwich's σιδείῳ). The problem with

introducing σίδειον (pomegranate) into our text is that none of the sources mentions

it as material for the στορεύς; Radermacher 92 considers it possible on account of the

poet's supposed association with Boeotia, where the plant σίδη grew in abundance (cf.

Nic. *Ther.* 887 with *Schol. ad loc.*). This does not justify the insertion of σιδείῳ in our text,

and once removed, Radermacher's ἐν δ' ἴλλε becomes unnecessary. Of the two

transmitted verbs, M's ἐνίαλλε does not yield good sense since it means 'to put or send

forth.' Ψ's ἐπέλεψε, on the other hand, gives satisfactory sense. Hermes picks a branch

that fits into his (little) hand (cf. 110) and strips it of its foliage and twigs. We need not

assume a *lacuna*, either. Hermes operates with great speed and his actions are presented

in a compressed fashion without reference to each stage; cf. the creation of the pan-pipes

at 511-2, where neither Hermes' finding the material nor his construction of the

instrument are mentioned. In fact, every invention of Hermes is described with less

detail as the poem progresses and, just as with the creation of the lyre, not every part of

the process is mentioned. Render: 'Having taken a splendid branch of laurel fitting into

his palm, he peeled it with an iron(-knife?), and the warm stream (of fire) breathed

forth.'

109. <u>δάφνης ἀγλαὸν ὄζον ἑλών</u>: reminiscent of Hes. *Th.* 30 (δάφνης ἐριθηλέος

ὄζον). The laurel-tree was sacred to Apollo and thus, in order to create the fire that is

necessary for cooking the meat, Hermes makes use of another object that belongs to

Apollo.

ἐν δ' ἴλλε σιδείῳ: if we adopt Ψ's reading with AHS (ἐπέλειψε σιδήρῳ), this would be the first occurrence of ἐπιλέπω in literature; for the meaning, cf. περιλέπω (Il. 1.236, Hdt., 8.115). Nordheider (in LfgrE, s.v. λέπω) also mentions the conjecture ἀπέλειψε, which is unnecessary. Although elsewhere unattested, *ἐπιλέπειν yields perfect sense ('to peel the surface'), while ἀπολέπειν, used in Homer in threats (e.g. Il. 21.455 ἀπολεψέμεν οὔατα χαλκῷ), can mean 'peel' in later texts (cf. LSJ, s.v.).

110. ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃ: a modified formula elsewhere used of tools (Il. 18.600, Od. 5.234). Richardson (1977) 174 suggests that Hermes peels the branch to make it fit his hand; I think, however, that Hermes has picked a branch that already fits his hand and this line is a reminder to the audience of Hermes' extremely young age. Once the τρύπανον has been prepared and sharpened, one would need both palms to turn it unless a ἱμάς is used (cf. Od. 9.382-6).

θερμὸς ἀυτμή: cf. Th. 696 and Od. 12.369.

111. Ἑρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα πυρήια πῦρ τ' ἀνέδωκε: cf. 25 for the first hemistich. Hermes is presented not as the absolute inventor of fire, but as the inventor of fire-sticks and culinary fire. The second hamistich is in effect a hendiadys.

πυρήιον first here, then Soph. Ph. 36, Thphr. HP 5.3.4 etc.; ἀναδιδόναι does not occur in Homer or Hesiod, but it is used elsewhere in hexameter poetry (Antim. fr. 32.4-5, Asius fr. 8.1.2; further Hdt. 3.18.7) of Gaia giving birth.

112. κατουδαίῳ ἐνὶ βόθρῳ: κατουδαῖος appears only here in early poetry and Hesiod (as a proper name). For βόθρος (also called βόθυνος or ἐσχάρα and used in

sacrifices to chthonic deities and hero-cult), cf. Robert (1939) 185-9, Stengel (1920) 16-7, Yavis (1949) esp. 91-5, and Burkert (1984) 837.

113. οὖλα: this adjective has often been misunderstood, and Gemoll proposed αὖα ('dry') instead; the sense of αὖα, however, is already expressed by κάγκανα. In Homer it is used of wool or hair ('curly') and is never employed of wood. Buttmann (1860) 175 explains it here as 'entire,' while AS suggest that it may mean 'bushy', i.e. logs with leaves and twigs. The adjective, which is often found in Theophrastus as an attribute of wood ('compact, tough, close-grained,' cf. LSJ s.v. οὖλος (B) 3), should be construed predicatively and in a metaphorical sense, as equivalent to πυκνός; for this meaning, see McKenzie (1925) 208-10. Hermes, then, takes many dry logs in a bundle, which he deposits in the pit ἐπηετανά, i.e. in abundance. For the scansion of ἐπηετανά, cf. *Op.* 607.

114. φῦσαν: D'Orville's φῦσαν for E's φύσαν (conjectured also by Clarke and Hemsterhuys) is certain. The word is used in Homer of Hephaestus' bellows, but it can also refer to a blast or a stream, here a stream of fire (or perhaps smoke); φύσας πυρός occurs again in A.R. 4.763 but the word there has its Homeric meaning ('bellows'). AHS suggested that the MSS' φύζαν may be a dialect (perhaps Cretan) form—without adopting it into their text—but there is no reason why a Cretan word should exist in the Hymn; cf. also Zumbach (1955) 44-5. Notice the alliteration of σ.

115. βίη κλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο: The verse-end is traditional in its components (βίη with the genitive; κλυτοῦ Ἡφαίστοιο is found in the same metrical position in *Sc.* 244),

but it is not found elsewhere. The line may contain a certain degree of humor, since it

is Hermes who just kindled the fire, and not the might of glorious Hephaestus.

116-41. *Hermes kills two cows, divides their meat into twelve equal portions, and attempts to partake of the meat*

Scholars have approached Hermes' actions in this passage in terms of a sacrifice

constituting the foundation of the cult of the Twelve Gods at Olympia (traditionally

ascribed to Heracles, cf. Pindar, *Ol.* 10.43-50), where Hermes and Apollo shared an altar.

This, however, is a problematic sacrifice (for a brief overview of Homeric sacrifice, see

Vermeule [1974] 95-7); thus Kahn (1978) 41-73 treats the event at the Alpheios as a

pseudo-sacrifice. On the linguistic level, none of the formulaic expressions commonly

used in Homeric sacrifices is to be found here, although the poet seems to be aware of

them (see notes on individual verses). Moreover, this 'ritual' is significantly aberrant

from anything we know about Greek sacrificial customs. To begin with, Hermes

sacrifices at night and in a place that is not consecrated. He slaughters two animals that

he stole, rather than animals designated for sacrificial purposes. In addition, instead of

an altar, he sacrifices in a pit (κατουδαίῳ ἐνὶ βόθρῳ), normally reserved for chthonic

offerings (cf. the *Nekyia*). Nor does the way in which Hermes kills the two animals

correspond to the usual Homeric manner; it actually recalls the killing of the tortoise: in

both cases the animals may be turned over and their αἰών is pierced (ἐξετόρησεν 42 ~

δι(ά)...τετορήσας 119). Furthermore, neither action seem to require much effort on

Hermes' part: the tortoise is carried into the cave as a mere plaything (ἄθυρμα 40), while the baby-god easily drags the two cows, since—as we are told—he has great force (δύναμις δέ οἱ ἔπλετο πολλή 117)! Moreover, nothing is said of flaying the animals or cutting their meat into pieces. In addition, whereas normally efforts are made to ensure that the victim assents to its own killing (e.g. by throwing barley so that it lowers its head), here we have a complete reversal: the cows are panting, presumably protesting against their treatment. Not even a single mention of bones wrapped in fat, the usual share of the gods—although by no means the only one—is made here. Instead, the gods receive the same share of the victim as humans do, and the portions offered to the gods are not burned (initially, at least) but served as if they were destined for human consumption. Burkert (1984), esp. 837-8, however, points out some parallels from actual cult for most of Hermes' actions in this scene, even for those that seem most unusual. These parallels are not attested in any *single* ritual, but are found independently in a variety of contexts, which led Burkert to assume the existence of an unknown festival for Hermes, during which the Hymn—and perhaps the ritual?—would have been performed. Be that as it may, the unparalleled *coexistence* of these disparate ritual elements is indeed striking.

Clay (1989) 119-22 explains the events at the Alpheios as a feast, a *dais*. Special emphasis is laid on the distribution of the meat, which is the essence of the *dais*: each of the twelve gods receives one portion by lot, which suggest their equal status; and to each portion a τέλεον γέρας (normally reserved for the most distinguished among the

banqueteers) is added. Feasting and sacrificing were, of course, connected in ancient practice, and there is no reason to separate them here, even though Hermes' 'sacrifice' is indeed unparalleled. Hermes seems to create a particular type of commensality, the so-called theoxeny or *trapezoma*, i.e. a feast in which a god assumes the role of the *xenos*; see Gill (1991) 11-5, 19-23 and Bruit (1999) 170-2. In such a cultic event, the god is the recipient of both the smoke from the burned bones and fat (κνίση) *and* the meat normally reserved for humans. Thus humans share their table with the gods, and the gods come closer to them. Hermes, of course, does not make any burned offerings but simply cooks the meat and lays the portions on a flat stone that functions as a τράπεζα or cult table (for a parallel, cf. Eumaios' sacrifice in *Od.* 14.418-38, where one portion is set aside for Hermes and the Nymphs); cf. Leduc (2005), esp. 158-9.

Hermes' feast at the Alpheios, then, operates on several levels simultaneously: By dividing the meat so as to emphasize the equality of the participants, he inserts himself into the Olympian ranks as an equal among equals. Through the *trapezoma* he consecrates the cows that he stole and invites the rest of the gods (including Apollo, whose cattle Hermes had stolen) to have a share; see also Weinreich (1937) 828-9, who emphasizes the humor of the scene; for the consecration of the meat through the *trapezoma*, cf. Plut. *fr.* 95= Schol. *Hes. Op.* 748-9. In his capacity as the administrator of the sacrifice (usurping the role of the ἱερεύς), Hermes would receive the divine portions as his own prerogative, as several Sacred Laws explicitly state; see Gill (1991) 15-9 for references. In other words, Hermes offers to the rest of the Olympians the meat that

according to ritual prescriptions he would end up keeping for himself. At the same time, this feast is also a test for Hermes since it results in revealing his divine identity. He attempts to consume the meat (as the host of a *theoxeny* would normally do) but he fails: gods do not eat meat. Thereafter, he burns it, since this is the only way the gods receive offerings. Hermes thus plays two roles at the same time: the host of the *theoxeny* / *trapezoma* (normally a mortal) and its recipient (a god). Georgoudi (1996) 68-70, while relating Hermes' action to a *trapezoma*, suggests that the young god's status is not at stake at any moment since both his parents are divine and he is called so in the poem. Thus, his abstinence from eating the meat is not to be attributed to the difference between human and divine diet, but to the fact that he already is one of the Twelve Gods, who function as a group in an organized fashion. Accordingly, Hermes could not start eating alone, before the others. It should be noted, however, that Hermes is referred to by the poet as a divine entity only *after* his inability to partake of the meat.

Finally, in this section Hermes performs one of his (future) traditional functions: while dividing the meat he acts as a κῆρυξ, the attendant to a sacrifice; cf. Simon (1953) 7, 94 n. 2 and *passim*, Mondi (1978), and Zeus' comment in 331.

116. τόφρα δ(έ): another instance of apodotic δέ; cf. 108.

ὑποβρύχους ἕλικας βοῦς: ὑποβρύχους is Ludwich's emendation for the MSS' ὑποβρυχίας, which if scanned with a short υ should mean 'underwater,' clearly inappropriate in our context. An alternative explanation (proposed by AHS) treats the

–υ– long and scans the adjective with synizesis of –ια–; on this kind of synizesis,

which in Homer appears to be confined to proper names, see Kühner I 1, 227 and

Radermacher (1928-29) 257-9. No emendation is necessary here. The prefix ὑπο- does

not contradict the previous ἐριμύκους (105), as Shackle (1915) assumed, and we do not

for that reason need to change the epithet to ἐριβρύχους (Barnes, Gemoll) or

ὑπερβρυχίους (D'Orville). As for the sense 'under the surface, deep' of ὑποβρυχίας, see

LSJ s.v. II 1 for further examples; West's (2003b) ὑπωροφίας is thus unnecessary.

θύραζε: for θύρα as a cave's entrance, cf. ἐπ' αυλείῃσι θύρῃσι (26) and θύρηφιν

(in the particular context of 36).

118. φυσιόωσας: in Homer it is used (in the same *sedes*) of tired horses in battle

(*Il.* 4.227, 16.506); here it implies that the cows do not willingly submit to their sacrifice.

But cf. van Straten (1995) 100-2 who discusses depictions in which sacrificial animals are

dragged to the altar by means of ropes.

119. ἐγκλίνων: 'leaning upon them,' intransitive (cf. *LfgrE, s.v.* κλίνω col. 1449).

Herwerden (1888) changed the participle into ἀγκλίνων to reflect the normal sacrificial

practice of lifting and slitting the victim's throat. The animal (or the animal's head) was

lifted to cut its throat (see van Straten [1995] 107-14, who cites evidence from literature

and the visual arts for the lifting of the animal from the 6th c. BC –but this practice may

be older), and in Athens it was the ephebes' duty to lift the bull while its throat was cut.

However, there is no allusion to this procedure here, and Herwerden's emendation is

unnecessary. Hermes is not cutting the animal's throats; rather, he pierces their

backbones. Thus normal sacrificial procedure cannot provide any strong parallel for emendation.

120. ἔργῳ δ' ἔργον ὄπαζε: cf. *Op.* 382. There, Hesiod is admonishing his brother to work hard (lit. to accomplish one task after the other) so that he may increase his wealth. Here the expression is employed in a different context with ὀπάζειν (normally accompanied by κῦδος or ὄλβος, i.e. the two things that Hermes is after); see also Fernández Delgado (1990) 213.

121. ὀβελοῖσι...δουρατέοισι: the only other occurrences of this epithet in archaic poetry refer to the Trojan Horse (*Od.* 8.492-3, 512, both at line beginning). The poet in this and the following lines seems to vary the Homeric formula for cooking the sacrificed meat as for instance in *Il.* 1.465-6. Normally spits (ὀβελοί) were made of metal; cf. Bruns (1970) 31-4, 47, and this line is the only instance where wooden spits are mentioned. This verse is another example of Hermes' skills at improvisation: since there are no metal spits available, he uses wooden ones. Roasting the pieces of meat on the ὀβελός took place after the ὠμοθετεῖν and the eating of the entrails. Here, however, Hermes roasts both the flesh and the entrails on the spits.

122. νῶτα γεράσμια: the adjective here for the first time (then in [Orph.] *A.* 626); Zumbach (1955) 15 calls it a 'Reimbildung' on ἐράσμιος. The νῶτα were regarded as an honorific portion (γέρας), see Meuli (1946) 223 with n. 3 for references. Cf. 129.

μέλαν αἷμα: In a (Homeric) sacrifice, the victim's blood is allowed to flow from the altar and clearly belongs to the gods; cf. *Od.* 3.455 and Meuli (1946) 221. Notice that

no mention of the entrails (σπλάγχνα, ἔγκατα) is made. During a sacrifice the

entrails were cooked before the rest of the animal and consumed on the spot; see Lupu

(2000) 141-2.

123. αὐτοῦ...ἐπὶ χώρης: 'there... on the ground.'

124-6. 'and he stretched out the cow-hides on a rugged rock, as they exist

thereafter, even now, for many years, a long and incalculable time after these events.'

124. ῥινοὺς δ' ἐξετάνυσσε: in Homer εκτανύειν occurs of laying low an

opponent in battle. On stretching the victim's hide, cf. Hdt. 7.26, Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.8 (both

on Marsyas' skin flayed by Apollo); further, Burkert (1972) 14 (with n. 29) and 18, *idem*

(1984) 837, Meuli (1946) 220. Müller (1833) 1915 implausibly identifies these stretched

hides with stalactite formations: Hermes performs his actions *outside* not inside the cave.

The hide was often given to priests or sold; see Lupu (2000) 71 and van Straten (1995)

154-5. Hunters would hang the victims' hides in a sacred grove, if the sacrifice took place

nearby. A local *aition* (i.e. a strange rock formation) has been assumed by scholars here

(see AHS *ad loc.*), but what kind of rock formation would resemble stretched ox-hides?

The verse is more likely to reflect the practice of hanging (or stretching) the victims'

hides, which would be periodically replaced with new ones. While Hermes' action here

may be the *aition* for a later practice, the young god seems once again to anticipate his

upcoming confrontation with Apollo. These hides are the only indication for Hermes'

actions in this scene that are left for Apollo to see (cf. 403-04, where Apollo admires

Hermes' strength in killing the cows).

The poet's comment regarding the ox-hides momentarily transposes us from the narrative's (mythic) time to his own and may also have a metapoetic significance: it implies that the poet has seen these ancient ox-hides hanging outside the cave, which in turn would give the impression that his account of the god's story is true and authoritative.

125. τὰ μέτασσα: Müller's (1833) 314 suggestion for M's τὰ μέτασα or Ψ's τὰ μετ' (τάμετ') ἄσσα (ἄσσα), cf. μέτασσαι (*Od.* 9.221) 'those born later.' The word is explained as an analogical formation to ἐπί- ἔπισσα, see Cramer (1835-7) I 280. Notice the accumulation of temporal markers in this and the following line.

πολυχρόνιοι: also in Hdt. 1.55, lit. 'having many years,' hence 'lasting for long.'

126. ἄκριτον: 'unceasing, continual' (LSJ, *s.v.* A. I 2), but 'impossible to judge or calculate' (*sc.* how much time has elapsed since then).

127. Ἑρμῆς χαρμόφρων: *χαρμόφρων, 'of joyous mind,' occurs only here and in Hesychius, whence Stephanus imported it into our text for the MSS' χαρμοφέρων or χάρμα φέρων. Lexicographers seem to have ignored the *Homeric Hymns* in their works, but χαρμόφρων (if rightly imported into our text) is one of the rare exceptions.

εἰρύσσατο πίονα ἔργα: for ἐρύεσθαι in the context of sacrifice, cf. *Il.* 1.466 et al. (ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα, of taking the meat off the spits); πίονα ἔργα is elsewhere employed of rich, fertile land, the adjective being used metaphorically (e.g. *Il.* 12.283). Here, however, πίων retains its proper meaning 'fat,' as it refers to the meat. The use of ἔργα for the cows' meat can be distantly paralleled by the employment of χρήματα in

400 to signify the cattle. It is also possible that the formula is meant to recall the

κλυτὰ ἔργα of 16; see Fernández Delgado (1990) 210.

128. λείῳ ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι: πλαταμών here for the first time, and the phrase

recurs in A.R. 1.365, in the same *sedes*. Hermes uses this smooth, flat stone as a primitive

cult table, on which see Gill (1991).

δώδεκα μοίρας: the twelve portions have been rightly associated with the

Twelve Gods, and the fact that the 'sacrifice' takes place near Olympia contributs to this

identification. The sacrifice to the Twelve Gods at Olympia, however, did not contain

any meat offerings according to Paus. 5.15.10. Incense, wheat, honey, wine, and olive-

branches were used instead.

Radermacher thought that the poet worked with a tradition that did not include

Hermes among the Twelve Gods. Càssola, on the other hand, suggests that Hermes had

not been accepted into the Olympian ranks yet. While the number of the gods was fixed

in twelve, some cities included different gods in this group; see Georgoudi (1996). There

is also evidence that some gods were celebrated in the same festival both individually

and as members of the Twelve-God pantheon; see Jameson (1994) 42. Since Hermes is

both the conductor and the receiver of a sacrifice (cf. p. 206-10), he must belong to the

Twelve.

129. *κληροπαλεῖς: cf. *Il.* 3.316, 7.171, 23.353 for κλῆρος with πάλλειν, and

ἰσοπαλής. The distribution of the portions by lot points to the equal status of the

participants in the feast. In Athens the meat from a sacrifice would be distributed by lot to the *common* people, as Kahn (1978) 62 points out.

τέλεον δὲ γέρας προσέθηκεν ἑκάστη: the addition of a τέλεον γέρας to every portion indicates again that none of the participants at this *dais* has a more privileged status than the others. Homer uses τέλειος (cf. *h.Herm.* 526), but τέλεος is found in Herodotus (6.57 ἱρήιον τέλεον). The epithet occurs in sacrificial contexts (cf. *Il.* 1.66, 24.34 and is also found in Sacred Laws; cf. Lupu (2000) 29-30.

130. ὁσίης κρεάων: The use of ὁσίη here has puzzled scholars: Herwerden (1876) proposed to change it to αἴσης, comparing it to the Homeric Ληΐδος αἶσαν (*Il.* 18.327) and understanding it as 'portions of meat,' while Wilamowitz (1984) I, 15-6, n. 2 remarked: 'Aber seltsam ist alles, und das Schweigen der Erklärer ist es auch.' He interpreted it as referring to a 'gesteigerte τιμή,' a meaning more appropriate in 173 than here. ὁσίη does not occur in the *Iliad* but is found twice in the *Odyssey* (16.423, 22.412); see Richardson on *h.Dem.* 211 for earlier attempts to define the term; also Pagliaro (1953) esp. 93 and 95-6 n. 6 (drawing a distinction with ἱερός); Benveniste (1969) II, 199-202, Ries (1986) 165-9; Chadwick (1996) 221-6. Georgoudi (1996) 69 relates ὁσίη to the equitable distribution of the meats and the word can indicate the lawful share (cf. LSJ *s.v.* ὁσία I); thus one may render: 'then glorious Hermes desired his (lawful) share of the meats.'

For the form of κρεάων (unique in Epic), see Zumbach (1955) 3 and Janko (1982) 137.

131. ὀδμὴ γάρ μιν ἔτειρε: for the idea of a smell reaching a god's nostrils, cf. Hdt. 1.47 (an oracle). τείρειν is used of the hunger tormenting Odysseus' crew in *Od.* 12.331 and of a (bad) smell in 4.441-2. This usage along with ὁσίη, both of which refer to elements belonging to the human sphere, point to the fact that Hermes is still unaware of his divine status (cf. ἀθάνατόν περ ἐόντα, and ἱερῆς κατὰ δειρῆς).

132. ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οἱ ἐπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ: all manuscripts transmit this, except for M which has ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς ἐπεπείθετο θ.ἀ. It is possible, as AHS suggest, that M's reading was a scribe's conjecture under the influence of the formula ἐπεπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ (occurring ten times, only in the *Odyssey*) to make up for the loss of οἱ. Although from the paleographical point of view it is easy to lose ἐπ- through haplography, the dative always accompanies the formula, and οἱ ἐπείθετο as more unusual is more likely to be changed.

133. περᾶν: Barne's emendation for the transmitted περῆν (M), πέρην' (Θ, Γ) *vel sim.* περῆν' (=περῆν', from περαίνειν) was rejected by editors on the grounds that elision of infinitives in –ναι is not admissible according to Homeric grammars (see for instance Monro §376). Hence, Gemoll and AS considered the passage corrupt beyond remedy, Allen (1897) thought that περαίνειν was 'out of the question,' but AHS offered περῆν' (Clarke's emendation, also accepted by Radermacher, who suggested the possibility of a colloquial effect) despite the strictures of the grammars. Barnes' περᾶν (adopted by Càssola) is the best solution here; for the sense 'drive right through', see LSJ, *s.v.* περάω I 1. The present infinitive, having durative aspect, emphasizes Hermes'

struggle to devour his portion of the meat. The corruption must be old, as it is represented in all MSS in one way or the other, and may have arisen from a misunderstanding of περᾶν for πέραν (whence the variant πέρην).

The fact that Hermes cannot make himself eat the meat manifests his divine identity. At the same time, the entire affair at the Alpheios presupposes the division of sacrifice as instituted by Prometheus at Mekone (*Th.* 535-7); cf. Clay (1989) 124.

ἱερῆς κατὰ δειρῆς: δειρή only here in the context of eating.

135. μετήορα δ' αἶψ' ἀνάειρε: This is usually taken to mean that Hermes lifts up the portions of meat, in order for them to be a manifestation of his theft in the future that people presumably recognized in some strange rock-formation inside the cave (although, again, it is hard to envision what kind of rock-formation would resemble portions of meat). I think that Hermes does something much simpler: after realizing his divine status he decides to remove every trace of this sacrifice; cf. Clay (1989) 123. Thus, he first carries the meat into the cave, but then changes his mind, picks it up again and takes it outside, where he burns it along with the cows' heads and feet. ἀναείρειν does not mean 'appendere,' as Càssola renders it, but simply 'lift up' or 'carry off;' *Il.* 23.614 suggests that both meanings may be present simultaneously.

136. σῆμα νέης φωρῆς: the entire line is omitted by M, while Ψ has φωνῆς (φωρῆς was conjectured by Hermann based on 385). Following the interpretation of the previous verse, I would take this phrase as appositive to δημὸν καὶ κρέα πολλά, instead of predicative ('to be the token of his recent theft') and would render: 'But those things

he brought into the high-roofed stable and placed them on the ground, i.e. the fat

and the many pieces of meat, but then suddenly he lifted them—the token of his recent

theft—up high (and carried them off).'

ἀείρας: for the simplex resuming the preceding compound verb (an IE idiom),

see Watkins (1967); ἐπὶ δέ should be taken absolutely ('in addition'); Ilgen's ἀγείρας

(adopted by West [2003a]) is unnecessary.

137. *ουλόποδ' ουλοκάρηνα: ουλοκάρηνος occurs once in at *Od.* 19.246 in the

sense 'curly-haired,' and then later in Nonnus. As observed already by Baumeister *ad*

loc., these words cannot be taken as substantives; see also Risch §68b, who treats

ουλοκάρηνος as a *bahuvṛhi*, i.e. possessive, compound. The meaning here would be:

'having lifted many dry logs, he subdued [*sc.* the cows], whose feet and head were entire

(οὖλος=ὅλος), by means of the breath of the fire'. Although it is not certain that these

two adjectives are technical terms, as Gemoll *ad loc.* suggests, they are reminiscent of the

ὁλόκαυτος θυσία. Hermes, then, burns the two animals whose heads and feet were

entire, as opposed to the meat that had been previously cut into portions. For the

treatment of the victim's head, see Stengel (1910) 85-8 and Meuli (1946) 261-2.

*κατεδάμνατ(ο): Normally it is the fire that 'overcomes' or 'destroys'

something; cf. *Il.* 21. 401 (ἥν [*sc.* αἰγίδα] οὐδὲ Διὸς δάμνησι κεραυνός) and *Od.* 11.221

(τὰ μέν [*sc.* σάρκας καὶ ὀστέα] πυρὸς κρατερὸν μένος αἰθομένοιο δαμνᾷ). Hesiod, *Th.*

864-5 (σίδηρος...δαμαζόμενος πυρὶ κηλέῳ) is closer in construction to our verse.

138. κατὰ χρέος: compared by LSJ (*s.v.* χρέος III.2) with A.R. 3.189 and Arat. 343, but these are not exactly parallel. At *Od.* 11.479 the phrase is used as an equivalent to χρησόμενος (of consulting Teiresias). AHS interpret it as ironic, taking the affair at the Alpheios as a sacrifice in which Hermes does not follow the usual procedures of the ritual. But the phrase can mean 'according to what is needed' (*sc.* by Hermes): Hermes initially stages a *theoxeny* for the entire group of the Olympians, so he cooks dinner in the proper way; when he realizes that he as a god cannot eat meat but only enjoy its savor, he burns everything, since that is what Hermes (and the other gods) need.

δαίμων: this is the first time in which Hermes is called divine. Cf. 154, where he is referred to as θεός, and 551.

140. ἀνθρακιὴν δ' ἐμάρανε: for ἐμάρᾱνε, cf. *Il.* 21.347 (ἀγξηρᾱ́νῃ). This line is somewhat reminiscent of *Il.* 9.212, which occurs, however, *before* the cooking.

141. παννύχιος: 'in the depth of night'; we would expect it to mean 'all night long' (cf. παννυχίς etc.), but the context suggests here an instantaneous action. Gemoll's 'den Rest der Nacht' (comparing with *Il.* 1.472) will not work considering 142 (αἶψ' αὖτις).

ἐπέλαμπε: Ψ's reading adopted by AS; M has κατέλαμπε, which AHS preferred. ἐπιλάμπειν is found in *Il.* 17.650 used of the sun, whereas καταλάμπειν is not found in poetry until Euripides. M's unusual κατέλαμπε may be the original.

<center>142-54: *Hermes returns to his cave*</center>

Having completed his *dais* by the Alpheios and removed all traces, Hermes

returns to Cyllene and enters his cave in a miraculous way.

142. <u>Κυλλήνης... διὰ κάρηνα</u>: the peaks of Cyllene, now proven to be the

dwelling-place of a god, are qualified as divine. διὰ κάρηνα is a novel combination, but

for the idea, cf. Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον and κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων.

<u>αἶψ' αὖτις</u>: twice in Hesiod in speech introductions (*Th.* 169, 654). Radermacher

considers this expression important, as it points to a tendency in fairy-tales for things to

occur fast. It is certainly characteristic of Hermes' swiftness.

143. <u>ὄρθριος</u>: not in Homer/ Hesiod; cf. Thgn. 863, Hdt. 2.173. Zumbach (1955)

13 translates 'am Morgen,' which is incorrect. For the meaning, see Wallace (1989), who

emphasizes that 'the term refers to a period of darkness (or the start of a period of

darkness) preceding daybreak, where torches were needed in order to see, and when

most people were asleep.' Thus there is no inconsistency with the fact that the moon was

shining at that time, as earlier scholars contended.

<u>δολιχῆς ὁδοῦ</u>: 'during his long journey,' a genitive of time.

144-45. <u>οὔτε θεῶν.../ οὐδὲ κύνες λελάκοντο</u>: cf. *h.Dem.* 44-6, where neither

gods nor humans, nor even a bird was able to inform Demeter of Persephone's

kidnapping. For Hermes' power over watch-dogs, cf. his by-name κυνάγχης (Hippon.

fr. 3a).

Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς: although the phrase does not occur anywhere else, its construction is formulaic, and editors often point to the verse-end at *Il.* 2.527 Ὀιλῆος ταχὺς Αἴας for the combination 'gen. of father's name + epithet + name in the nominative.'

146-49. Hermann (1806) lix-lxi thought that these lines present some inconsistencies which he attributed to interpolation: it seems that Hermes is looking for a house when entering the cave; furthermore, although he transforms himself into mist, we are not told that he assumes his original form afterwards; and if he enters the cave as a cloud, there is no need for the poet to mention that Hermes did not make any noise. Baumeister accepted these criticisms and went so far as to delete 148-9. Such over-logical interpretation of a fairy tale-like passage like this is unnecessary. We have already had the opportunity to observe that Hermes' cave is described in different ways throughout the Hymn, depending on the rhetorical needs of the moment. Hermes has just discovered his divine identity; hence it is logical for the poet to refer to his dwelling place as a μέγαρον and even a πίων νηός. Furthermore, nothing in the text forces us to think that Hermes actually transforms himself into mist (cf. AHS *ad loc.*). ἐναλίγκιος and ἠύτε point to similarity rather than identification. The point of the simile seems to be Hermes' stealth (i.e. unseen and unnoticed, just as a breeze or mist) and not his form. For the motif of entering through the key-hole, cf. Bolte-Polívka (1963) II 416 (the devil entering through the key-hole).

146. <u>δοχμωθείς</u>: occurs once more in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Scutum* (389),

where Russo (1965) renders 'oblique inflexus.' There, it is used of a wild boar turning his

neck aside to whet his teeth presumably on the rocks. The verb occurs once more in *Od.*

9.372 as a compound (ἀποδοχμώσας), of the Cyclops lying asleep on his back and with

his neck turned sideways. It is difficult to envision exactly what Hermes is doing here.

LSJ offer 'turning himself to dart through the key-hole'; Beck in *LfgrE, s.v.* δοχμ(όω),

suggests that 'Hermes (who naturally stood directly in front of the door) turned toward

the side (of the door), where he passed through' and considers the possibility that

κλήιθρον may mean a 'chink' between the door and the jamb; Càssola *ad loc.* translates

'rannicchiandosi' (='gathering himself so as to occupy the least possible space'), which is

what Hermes actually does in 240, while West translates 'twisted sideways.' 'Turn' or

'twist sideways' will not do here because Hermes is entering through the keyhole (n.b.

μεγάροιο ... κλήιθρον). Hermes turns himself *towards the side* of the door (where the

keyhole is located) and enters. Cf. the distantly parallel *Od.* 4.838-9, where an εἴδωλον,

which had entered Penelope's bed-chamber παρὰ κληῖδος ἱμάντα, leaves in the

following manner: σταθμοῖο παρὰ κληῖδα λιάσθη ἐς πνοιὰς ἀνέμων.

<u>διὰ...ἔδυνε</u>: 'slipped through.' One would expect διὰ κληῖθρου; when construed

with the accusative, διαδύνειν means 'evade, shirk'; cf. LSJ *s.v.* 2.

<u>κλήιθρον</u>: the word occurs only here in early Epic in the sense of 'key-hole'

(=κλειθρία sc. ὀπή). From Aeschylus on (e.g. *Sept.* 396), it is used of the door bar. For an

overview of locking mechanisms and key-holes in antiquity, see Diels (1914) 34-49, Hug

(1921), and *NP* 11, 186-8 with fig. 1; for a full bibliography on the subject, see *LfgrE*, *s.v.* κληίς. It seems more likely that the mechanism implied here is the one in which the door bar would be drawn from the outside by means of a strap and thus the door would be locked; to unlock the door, one had to insert a crank-like 'key' through an opening of the door that would reach the bar's indentations and push the bar back.

147. <u>αὔρη ὀπωρινῇ...ὀμίχλη</u>: cf. *Od.* 6.20 (Athena entering Nausica's bed-chamber as a gust of wind). A.R. 4.877 (αὔτη δέ, πνοιῇ ἱκέλη δέμας, ἠΰτ' ὄνειρος) may be imitating our Hymn.

148. <u>ἰθύσας...πίονα νηόν</u>: ἄντρου may depend either on ἰθύσας (cf. *Il.* 6.2, 15.693) or on πίονα νηόν. The phrase πίονα νηόν ought not to surprise us: the cave is now the dwelling of a god, hence νηός is appropriate; later (247) the cave is revealed to have three *adytoi*.

149. <u>ἦκα ποσὶ προβιβῶν</u>: προβιβᾶν is used in the *Iliad* of warriors (13.158, 807, 16.609) and once of Poseidon (13.18) and there may be an implicit (and humorous) comparison of Hermes to the epic warriors; cf. n. on 150 and 237.

<u>οὐ γὰρ κτύπεν ὥς περ ἐπ' οὔδει</u>: 'for he did not make any noise, as (someone who walks) on the ground (does).'

Homer uses κτυπεῖν (*Il.* 8.75, 170, 15.377, 17.595, *Od.* 21.413, cf. also Διὸς κτύπον αἰγιόχοιο *Il.* 15.379) of Zeus thundering. The incongruous comparison between Zeus' thunder (or the noise produced on the battle field, which κτυπεῖν can also mean) and the patter of the baby god's feet certainly adds to the comical character of the verse.

150. λίκνον ἐπῴχετο: ἐποίχεσθαι is often employed in a military context (e.g. a warlord marshalling troops), and its use here reinforces the comic incongruity of the scene. The same may be said of the concluding formula κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς.

151. σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὤμοις εἰλυμένος. The *asyndeton* is not an isolated phenomenon in the Hymn; cf. 17, 25, 111, 237, 438, 478, 482, and 512.

Elsewhere, gods' shoulders are wrapped with mist (cf. *Il.* 5.185-86 ἀλλά τις ἄγχι ἕστηκ' ἀθανάτων νεφέλη εἰλυμένος ὤμους); here, 'glorious Hermes' wraps himself with his swaddling clothes. σπάργανον does not appear elsewhere in archaic poetry apart from this Hymn, but cf. Hes. *Th.* 485 (σπαργανίσασα). While Apollo permanently rids himself of his swaddling clothes as soon as he partakes of ambrosia and nectar (cf. *h.Apol.* 127-9), Hermes puts them on and off according to the need of the moment. On σπάργανα, see van Hoorn (1909) 6-16.

152. νήπιον: this term normally appears as here in line-beginning but is used in a metaphorical sense ('infantile', 'foolish'); here, of course, it must mean 'infant'. On νήπιος, see Edmunds (1990).

περὶ γνυσί: Forssmann's (1964) emendation for Θ's περ' ἰγνύσι (M has περιγνύσι, while *p* offers παρ' ἰγνύσι, probably an early emendation), since forms of ἰγνύς appear only in late authors (in some MSS of Aristotle, in Agatharchides, Nicander, and Galen), and elision of περί is not attested in the *Homeric Hymns*. It is found, however, in compounds in Hesiod (*Th.* 678 περίαχε — an Aeolism according to West, *Th.* p. 83 — while some MSS (*k*) have περοίχεται in 733), Aeschylus (*Agam.* 1147 περέβαλον

with Fraenkel *ad loc.*, *Eum.* 634 περεσκήνωσε), and in the Attic form περιών (for

περιιών). περί (as a separate word) is found elided in Pindar (*Ol.* 6.38, *Pyth.* 4.265) and

Theocritus (*Id.* 25.242); see also Korzeniewski (1968) 26. τι is twice elided in Empedocles

fr. 17.30; cf. Maas (1962) 73 §120. The fact that ἰγνύς ('hollow of the knee', 'ham', formed

on the analogy of other body-parts in –υς, -υος) occurs again much later is not a

sufficient argument to eliminate the word from our text. No form of the *Ablaut* *γνυ-

(except for the adverb γνύξ) occurs in early Epic and admitting γνυσί without any

manuscript support would amount to introducing a novel form into the text through

conjecture. I would keep the manuscript reading and consider this another (rare)

instance of περί's elision.

λαῖφος: here, a bed-cover or blanket of some sort; elsewhere it means 'rags' (*Od.*

13.399, 20.206), 'sail' (*Apol.* 406, Alcaeus *fr.* 326.7, Antim. *fr.* 68.1), or Pan's 'lynx-skin'

(*h.Hom* 19.23).

ἀθύρων: Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 245, thought that this and the last word of

153 had switched places and proposed to read λαῖφος ἐέργων and χέλυν...ἀθύρων,

respectively. Usually what one plays with appears in the dative. But cf. Pi. *N.* 3.44, *I.*

3/4.57.

154. θεὰν θεός: cf. *Od.* 5.97 and West on *Th.* 380 for similar collocations.

155-84. *Hermes' first confrontation*

This is the first of three confrontations that Hermes has to face in the course of

the Hymn. As Clay (1989) 127 has rightly observed, these confrontations are clearly

arranged in an ascending order (Maia, Apollo, and Zeus—with an accompanying

change of scene from Maia's cave to Olympus). It has been suggested, e.g. Radermacher

p. 105, that the exchange between Hermes and his mother has no bearing whatsoever on

the development of the poem's plot; it merely serves to characterize the young god

through his speech. Although a section serving just this purpose in a hymn devoted to

Hermes would not be unexpected or out of place, these lines do more, as becomes clear

if we consider them in relation to the other two confrontation scenes. In those scenes

Hermes' argument relies on the idea that as a newly-born child he is unlikely to have

stolen the cows—an argument κατὰ τὸ εἰκός, for which see Görgemanns (1976) 113-28;

here, on the other hand, Hermes explicitly *denies* his status as an infant and reveals his

plan to acquire the divine honors to which he feels himself entitled. Hermes changes his

argument depending on his audience and goals, a tactic certainly appropriate for the

god of rhetoric and deception. It seems, moreover, that Hermes needs to ascertain his

position in the narrower circle of his dwelling (*vis-à-vis* his mother, cf. θεὰν θεός) first,

before he can claim his rightful position in the world of the Olympians. Furthermore,

Hermes' reply to Maia is a clear statement of his *Lebensprogram*, as Kuiper (1910) 45 put

it, which has already been put in action from the beginning of the Hymn. Finally, there

is a certain amount of comedy in this scene that arises from the gods' presentation in an

everyday human scene, where a mother chastises her son who is envious of his older

Half-brother's privileges. It is also tempting to draw a comparison between Maia, who

receives Hermes in her home with words of reproach, and Leto who proudly welcomes

Apollo on Olympus in the first scene of *h.Apol.*

155. <u>τίπτε...πόθεν τόδε</u>: a variation of the common Homeric motif τίς πόθεν εἰς

ἀνδρῶν (e.g. *Il.* 21.150, *Od.* 1.170, 7.238 et al.); τόδε is Wolf's emendation for the MSS

τάδε and has locative sense ('hither'; cf. LSJ *s.v.* ὅδε IV 2). τίπτε is often found with

verbs of arriving (e.g. *Il.* 6.254, 7.24 et al.) and πόθεν τόδε seems to be a favorite

collocation of our poet; it appears thrice in the Hymn (32, 269 in addition to this verse,

but not in locative sense) but nowhere else in early Epic. Contrast Hermes' welcome at

Calypso's cave in *Od.* 5.87ff.

<u>ποικιλομῆτα</u>: elsewhere almost always of Odysseus (e.g. *Il.* 11.482, *Od.* 3.163,

13.293; of Zeus only in *h.Apol.* 322). The epithet contributes to the implicit comparison of

Hermes and Odysseus, on which see above, p. 49-50.

156. <u>ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε</u>: the expression is Homeric (*Il.* 1.149, 9.372), and

Radermacher *ad loc.* considered it to derive from popular usage; for the idea, cf. Hp.

Decent. 4.11-2 (διὸ ἀπογυμνούμενοι τὴν πᾶσαν ἀμφιέννυνται κακίην καὶ ἀτιμίην), Pl.

Rep. 457a (ἀρετὴν ἀντὶ ἱματίων ἀμφιέννυνται), and further the expressions

ἀμφιέννυσθαι λάϊνον χιτῶνα/ γῆν. For ἀναιδείη, which the Hymn celebrates, see

Cairns (1993) 159-60. The expression here acquires a humorous tone if compared with

151 (σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὤμοις εἰλυμένος).

156-9. 'I now believe that you will soon pass through this doorway under the hands of Leto's son with unmanageable bonds around your flanks, instead of living in the future as a thief (by) plundering in valleys.'

157. ἤ τάχ(α): most editors print the disjunctive conjunction following Barnes, but 159 would be strange as a threat (cf. AS *ad loc.;* AHS, however, print two disjunctive ἤ's). Ψ has ἤ, preferred by Càssola ('surely....rather than'), whereas M offers the unmetrical δύσαχ(α). Considering Ψ's reading a scribal correction, Radermacher slightly changed M's version and printed δύσμαχ' ἀμήχανα δεσμά. The accumulation of the epithets modifying δεσμά would not be unusual for the Hymn's style (cf. 171), but δύσμαχος does not occur elsewhere in extant archaic poetry (δυσμάχητος is found in Bacch. *fr.* 55.2; δύσμαχος is later and mainly used of people, e.g. D.S. 2.48.2, Ael.Arist., *Pros Plat.* 243.32, D.L. 4.63, or of walls, rivers etc.; cf. Isoc. 11.13, Str. 11.3.5). It seems best to follow Càssola's text (ἤ τάχα) and take the ἤ of 159 as 'rather than.' ἤ τάχα occurs in the *Odyssey* preceding a threat or a prediction of some evil (18.73, 338, 389), while ἤ can mean 'rather than' even if not preceded by a comparative (cf. LSJ, *s.v.* ἤ B1).

ἀμήχανα δεσμά: Homer also has δεσμοί (*Il.* 18.379) or δέσματα (*Il.* 22.468). Bonds were frequently thought of as a punishment for gods, cf. *Il.* 1.401, 5.386, *Th.* 521-2, 618, 718. Note, however, that at this point Hermes already has δεσμά around his flanks, i.e. his swaddling-clothes (for δεσμά in the sense of σπάργανα, cf. *h.Apol.* 129, just before the newly-born Apollo announces his *Lebensprogram*). Apollo will attempt to

accomplish Maia's threat later in the poem (see 409-14 with the relevant notes, and Yalouris [1953-4]), but to no avail.

158. Λητοΐδου: the metronymic does not occur in Homer, but it appears in Hes. *fr.* 51.3 (of Asclepius), *Sc.* 479, Simon. (*AP* 6.212.2), Theogn. 1120, Pi. (*P.* 1.12, 3.67, 4.3, 4.259, 9.5, *N.* 9.53 et al.), Bacch. 3.39, and some verse inscriptions (e.g.*IG* II (2) 4514.3, 4533.3, *IDidym.*558.5). Λητοΐδαο (an archaism?) is found in A.R. 1.439, 484, 4.612, Orph. *Lith.* 762, Q.S. 10.165, and *AP* 9.357.3. Both Maia and (later) Hermes do not refer to Apollo by name, but by his metronymic or the phrase 'son of (Zeus and) Leto.'

159. φέροντα: φέροντα ('plundering') is M's reading; Ψ's λαβόντα may be a gloss. φέρειν need not be preceded by ἄγειν in order to mean 'plunder,' as the examples in LSJ, *s.v.* φέρω VI 2 show (add Ar. *Eq.* 205), and the participle denotes 'subsidiary' rather than 'unrestrained action,' as LSJ *s.v.* X 2b suggest.

μέταζε: Càssola for the MSS φέροντα/λαβόντα μεταξύ (μέταζε was already proposed by Schmitt (1871) who also changed the preceding participle into κακὸν τά). μεταξύ would mean 'in the meantime' (although Radermacher *ad loc.* understood it locally with κατ' ἄγκεα), and it only acquires the sense 'afterwards,' 'in the future,' in later authors; cf. LSJ *s.v.* I. 2 b and Renehan (1982) 137. μέταζε is a variant for μεταξύ in Σₒ in Hes. *Op.* 394, where it is used with the article, meaning 'the subsequent events.' See also Wackernagel (1950) II, 226.

*φιλητεύσειν: for its spelling, see note on 67. West (2003a) renders 'or else you'll give him the slip when he's in the middle of carrying you through the glens.' It is

unlikely, however, that φιλητεύειν can have this sense, since φιλήτης means 'thief'

and not 'deceiver' as the ancient dictionaries maintain (Hdn. *Epim.* 143.10, Zonar. 1084.4,

Et.Gud. s.v.), associating it with φηλόω (probably falsely).

160. ἔρρε πάλιν: Agar (1924) and Radermacher *ad loc.* take it to mean 'go back

where you came from, i.e. into the womb,' and Radermacher compares it with Soph. *OC*

1224-7 (μὴ φῦναι τὸν ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον. τὸ δ', ἐπεὶ φανῇ, βῆναι κεῖθεν ὅθεν περ

ἥκει, πολὺ δεύτερον, ὡς τάχιστα), but the sentiment there is different. Maia is just

telling Hermes to leave the cave and never to return again, since he is a cause of trouble

for both gods and humans; perhaps she can foresee Apollo's imminent invasion and

investigation of the cave.

μεγάλην σέ...μέριμναν: on μέριμνα, see note on 44; for φυτεύειν used of evils

(with κακόν, φόνον, κῆρα), cf. *Il.* 15.134, *Od.* 2.165, 5.340, 14.110, 17.27 et al. The verb

functions here both on a literal and a metaphorical level simultaneously: Hermes is

begotten by Zeus as well as sown as an evil (cf. esp. *Od.* 14.110 and 218).

161. καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι: for Hermes as a pest even to the immortals, cf.

Luc. *DDeor.* 11, where he is said to have stolen Poseidon's trident, Ares' sword, Apollo's

bow and arrows, Hephaestus' fire-tongs, Aphrodite's girdle, and Zeus' scepter. For the

polar expression, see Kemmer (1903) 77-9.

162. τὴν δ' Ἑρμῆς...κερδαλέοισι: This introductory phrase, repeated twice

more in the poem (260, 463), is unique to the Hymn, although its components are found

in Homer (cf. *Il.* 13.823; *Il.* 3.71; *Od.* 8.548).

κερδαλέος is elsewhere used of Odysseus (*Od.* 6.148 with μῦθος, 13.291) and is usually rendered as 'crafty' or 'cunning.' Hermes, however, is not using any wiles in speaking to his mother—in fact he is quite frank—hence the sense 'crafty' is not appropriate here. In the speeches introduced by this phrase, Hermes seeks to achieve a profit of some sort: here, he aims at establishing his status in his own house and states his plans; later (260) he wants Apollo to bring him before Zeus and the company of the immortals; in the speech introduced at 463, he asks for the tutelage over the animals of pasture and the gift of prophecy. Thus, the sense of κέρδος must have been felt, and κερδαλέος should be understood here as 'intending to obtain a profit' of some kind; cf. *LfgrE, s.v.*

163-64. These lines resemble *Il.* 20.200-2 and 431-3 (Πηλεΐδη, μὴ δὴ ἐπέεσσί με νηπύτιον ὣς ἔλπεο δειδίξεσθαι, ἐπεὶ σάφα οἶδα καὶ αὐτός ἠμὲν κερτομίας ἠδ' αἴσυλα μυθήσασθαι), which our poet has varied and introduced into a different context where the speaker, far from being a warrior as in the *Iliad*, is truly a νηπύτιος.

<u>δεδίσκεαι</u>: Pierson's emendation for the MSS τιτύσκεαι, a reduplicated form of τεύχειν ('to prepare' or more often 'to aim'). While words can be aimed at somebody, the double accusative construction does not allow this sense. Radermacher's parallel for τιτύσκεαι (Soph. *Phil.* 1188-9: ὦ πούς, πούς, τί σ' ἔτι ἐν βίῳ τεύξω...) is not adequate, since τεύχειν is used there as a synonym of δρᾶν. Humbert in his edition keeps the MSS reading and renders 'pourquoi vouloir m'atteindre en ces paroles' for which, however, we would expect a genitive and dative construction (cf. LSJ *s.v.* II 1). δε(ι)δίσκεσθαι is

used instead of δειδίσσεσθαι ('to scare') in Homer, while ταρβαλέον and

ὑπαιδείδοικεν in 165 lend support to this emendation; notice, however, that

δεδίσκεσθαι can also be used for δειδίσκεσθαι 'to greet' (cf. Forssman [1978]), hence the

verse could be rendered—with a touch of irony—as: 'mother, why are you greeting me

with these words...'

164. The verse is transmitted in two versions: Ψ has ὃς μάλα παῦρα μετὰ

φρεσὶν αἴσυλα οἶδε ('who knows very few unseemly things in his mind'—adopted by

Càssola), while M offers ὃς μάλα πολλὰ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄρμενα οἶδε ('who knows many

fitting things in his mind', ἄρμενα sc. νηπίῳ). AHS suggest that both versions mean the

same thing and opt for Ψ's reading on the grounds that the negative formulation is more

effective. Only Radermacher introduced M's version into his text and rendered πολλὰ

ἄρμενα οἶδε as 'wohlerzogen,' which is out of place here. The parallel from *Il.* 20.200ff.

suggests that αἴσυλα may have been the 'original' reading; ἄρμενα could have arisen as

an attempt to restore the sense after μάλα παῦρα was changed into μάλα πολλά.

165. ταρβαλέον: formed on the analogy to θαρσαλέος ('Konträrbildung'); cf.

Zumbach (1955) 16. Adjectives in –αλέος become all the more frequent in hexameter

poetry after Homer because of metrical convenience, the suffix usually preceded by a

long syllable and forming a choriamb (cf. Debrunner [1909]). ταρβαλέον, which looks

back to τέκνον νήπιον, interrupts the two relative clauses; render: 'just like an infant

child, who knows very few unseemly things in his mind—a fearful one—and cowers

before his mothers rebukes.' For this type of collocation, cf. 208-10 below and *Od.* 9.25-7.

ὑπαιδείδοικεν: the verb only here for the Homeric ὑποδδ-.

166. τέχνης ἐπιβήσομαι: cf. *Th.* 396, where ἐπιβαίνειν is used transitively of Zeus allotting divine honors (cf. West *ad loc.* for parallels); Hermes, however, is determined to allot to himself the honors that he sees fit. Cf. also *Il.* 8.285, *Od.* 23.13.

167. βουκολέων ἐμὲ καὶ σέ: βουκολέων was proposed by Ludwich (1908) 103 for the MSS βουλεύων. It means 'to tend cattle' and from Aeschylus on it also acquires the sense of 'to beguile'; cf. LSJ *s.v.* II. For its meaning here, cf. ποιμαίνειν in Pi. *I.* 5.12, Aesch. *Eum.* 91, Anacr. *fr.* 3.8 and Hesychius' gloss βουκολήσομεν· μεριμνήσομεν. This conjecture accounts for the MSS reading better than other suggestions (ὀλβίζειν, πλουτίζειν, ἀγλαΐῶν, κυδεύειν, κυδαίνων), while a papyrus at *Il.* 14.445 (Allen's P[10]) has βου`κο΄λέοντι, i.e. the same omission as our verse corrected supralinearly by the scribe. It is also a clever metaphor that points to the means (or τέχνη) by which Hermes is going to look after himself and his mother, i.e. by tending stolen cattle. ἐμέ (emphatic) is in keeping with Hermes' effort to assert his position although the first person regularly precedes the second.

διαμπερές: 'continually' and perhaps also 'completely'; lit. 'piercing through,' often of wounded warriors (*Il.* 5.112, 284, 658, 12.429, 13.547, 16.640); see Schmitt (1967) 231-2, §476-7.

168. ἀδώρητοι καὶ ἄλιστοι: Most MSS have ἄπαστοι for ἄλιστοι, some offer ἄπαστοι with λι superscript, and 2 (A, Q) have ἄπλιστοι, a *vox nihili*. ἄλιστοι (the reading of E and T) was rightly adopted by Schneidewin, since ἄπαστος ('not having

eaten/ tasted') is out of place in this context; LSJ *s.v.* gloss it 'inexorable,' but here it should be rendered 'unprayed to.' Both adjectives occur here for the first time. ἀδώρητος, for whose formation see Risch §10b, 19-20, appears next in Eur. *Hec.* 42 and Theoc. 16.7. ἄλιστος recurs in Aesch. *Ag.* 413; but cf. τριλλιστός, πολύλλιστος in Homer and ἄλλιστος in Euph. *fr.* 98.4.

169. αὐτοῦ τῇδε: contemptuous in view of 172.

171. πλούσιον, ἀφνειόν, πολυλήιον: a *tricolon crescens*. The accumulation of these three epithets particularly stresses Hermes' intention to acquire material goods.

172. ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆς: 'as for honor,' cf. *h.Dem.* 85 with Richardson *ad loc.* The dative is also used with ἀμφί in this sense (cf. *LfgrE, s.v.* ἀμφί C III 4). This phrase should be taken as a colon by itself, separated from the following τῆς ὁσίης. τιμή is used of a god's sphere of influence (cf. *Th.* 74, 112 [with West on both verses], 203, 393, 399 et al.). As the combination of τιμή with δῶρα, ἄφενος, and γέρα reveals, it may also be understood in a material sense (i.e. honor which consists of or is measured in goods), and this is probably the way it should be understood here (cf. also Hermes' complaint about his being ἀδώρητος in 168, his desire to be πλούσιος, ἀφνειός, and πολυλήιος in 171, and his intention to steal Apollo's goods in Pytho in 178-81).

173. κἀγὼ τῆς ὁσίης ἐπιβήσομαι: Homer has always καὶ ἐγώ (although some MSS have κἀγώ at *Il.* 21.108) and a few instances of crasis of καί exist (cf. *Il.* 2.238, 6.260, 13.734, *Od.* 3.255, 6.282 [καὐτός, καὐτή, χἠμεῖς]; cf. further *Th.* 284, *h.Dem.* 227 [κοὐ], *Theogn.* 1349 [κἀγώ]). For the definition of ὁσίη, see note on 130. It is clear that in this

passage ὁσίης and τιμῆς are to be understood as related to each other; if τιμή has a predominantly material sense (goods one possesses), ὁσίη should refer to the various offerings and honors due a god to which Hermes lays claims in this passage. Whereas gods normally receive their τιμαί from Zeus—as Hermes himself suggests in the next line—or distribute them among themselves (cf. *Il.* 15.187-93 and the references to τιμή quoted earlier), Hermes intends to acquire them on his own; the parallelism with αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τέχνης ἐπιβήσομαι a few lines earlier suggests how: through τέχνη and wile. For this passage, see the analysis in Clay (1989) 128-31, who interprets ὁσίη as worship in form of sacrifice and prayer and detects Hermes' ignorance of the Olympian system, viz. that a god's ὁσίη depends on his having τιμαί (spheres of influence).

174-5. Two ways of punctuating are possible here: either ἦ τοι ἔγωγε πειρήσω— δύναμαι—φιλητέων ὄρχαμος εἶναι, taking δύναμαι as parenthetical (so AS, remarking on the Hymn's 'staccato' style, and AHS); or: ἦ τοι ἔγωγε πειρήσω· δύναμαι φιλητέων ὄρχαμος εἶναι. The asyndeton is admissible due to the explicative function of the clause beginning with δύναμαι; see West on *Th.* 533. Although parentheses are not unusual in this Hymn (cf. Radermacher [1931] 236-9), it is preferable to punctuate after πειρήσω; the sense would be: 'If my father does not give me (τιμαί), I shall try [to acquire them]; [for] I can be the Leader of the Thieves.' Hermes will not *attempt* to become the leader of thieves; his actions up to this point have already shown that he is capable of assuming this function. For Hermes as the leader of thieves, cf. Eur. *Rh.* 216-7 (ἀλλ' εὖ σ' ὁ Μαίας παῖς...πέμψειεν Ἑρμῆς, ὅς γε φηλητῶν ἄναξ) and *Epigr.Gr.* 1108 (Ἑρμῆν τὸν κλέπτην

τις ὑφείλετο· θερμὸς ὁ κλέπτης ὃς τῶν φιλητέων ᾤχετ' ἄνακτα φέρων, Chios,
date unknown).

176. Radermacher suggested that the line echoes *h.Apol.* 182f. (cf. the identical
verse-end and the mention of Pytho in the following lines), but this is not the only
possible explanation of the similarity. Hermes is φιλολήιος, and an attack against
Apollo's temple at Delphi would be an obvious source of material goods. On possible
links between *h.Herm.* and *h.Apol.*, see above, p. 54ff.

ἐρευνήσει: 'if Apollo searches for me,' or even 'tracks me down'; cf. *Il.* 18.321
(πολλὰ δέ τ' ἄγκε' ἐπῆλθε [*sc.* λίς] μετ' ἀνέρος ἴχνι' ἐρευνῶν) and *Od.* 19.436 (ἴχνι'
ἐρευνῶντες κύνες ᾔσαν).

178. ἀντιτορήσων: denominative from *ἀντίτορος (so *LfgrE*, *s.v.*). The process
referred to here was known in classical times as τοιχωρυχεῖν, and τοιχωρύχος is used in
Comedy as a term of abuse (cf. Arist. *Pl.* 909, 1141, Amips. *fr.* 24.1, Antiph., *fr.* 206.5,
Men., *Dysc.* 44, 588, *fr.* 853.1). cf. below, 283.

179-81. The oracle at Delphi was famous for the wealth of its dedications; see
Parke & Wormell (1956) 126-31, 150. For the collocation of τρίποδες and λέβητες cf. 61,
and *Il.* 23.259, 24.233, *Od.* 13.217-8.

182. A unique variant for the Homeric formula ὣς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον.

184-212. *Apollo at Onchestus*

The second day begins. Apollo realizes that his cattle have been stolen and starts searching for the animals. His investigation leads him to Onchestus where he meets the same Old Man whom Hermes had encountered on the previous day. The poet does not actually narrate how Apollo discovered that his cows were missing or where he went to look for them prior to his arrival at Onchestus. This led Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 252, to suggest that some lines must have dropped before this section, in which Apollo noticed the theft and went on to search for his cattle. However, it is not necessary to posit any *lacuna* here. The poet is speeding up the pace at this point because he is interested in representing the conflict between the two brothers that will occupy the greatest part of the poem. Furthermore, this text is not a historical account and one should not expect the poet to provide every piece of information, especially if it can be gathered from the context. Besides, a brief account of the theft is given by Apollo later in the Olympus scene (340ff.).

Shelmerdine (1986) 59-60, who suggests that the episode of the Old Man is not necessary for the plot, notes some similarities between the Old Man at Onchestus and Laertes in *Od.* 24.226ff., to whom she contends our poet is alluding. Some of these similarities, however, may be merely conventional. The fact that the Old Men are addressed by Hermes, Apollo, and Odysseus as ὦ γέρον is not strong enough to support an allusion, as Shelmerdine herself acknowledges (p. 60 n. 38), nor does the fact that both old men are bent with age. The only possible parallel is the building of the

fence (if indeed the Old Man is building a fence, on which see below). There are verbal similarities between this passage and *Od.* 24, since both men are working in a vineyard (*Od.* 24.224 ἀλωῆς...ἕρκος~ 188) but these need not mean that our poet is constructing the Old Man's character on the basis of Laertes. It is, furthermore, unclear why such a comparison should be inserted here. Shelmerdine, *loc. cit.*, notes that it 'does at the least add a further implicit comparison of Hermes with Odysseus,' but the poet has made this comparison clear already; and if we are really to understand an implicit comparison between the Old Man and Laertes, why should the Old Man be characterized as a κνώδαλον, as Shelmerdine and others accept?

184-85. <u>Ἠώς...βαθυρρόου</u>: Another example of a phrase that resembles a Homeric formula closely enough to suggest that the poet knew it but preferred to coin his own. Both Ἠώς and ὤρνυτ(ο) are in their traditional position (cf. *Od.* 5.1-2; Tithonos' bed, however, is replaced by Oceanos' streams), but the formula seems suppressed: ἠριγένεια is always accompanied by ῥοδοδάκτυλος, and the bringing of the light is introduced as a dependent clause (here a participial phrase). Closer is *Il.* 19.1-2, where Eos is said to rise from the streams of Oceanos. Earlier (68) we were told that it is the Sun who goes to Oceanos. For this introduction of Dawn, see van Nortwick (1975) 42-3. The similarity to the Homeric formula suggests that conscious variation is more likely here rather than a different tradition. However, no firm conclusion may be reached due to the scantiness of our evidence.

186. <u>ἀφίκανε κιών</u>: cf. 70 where ἀφίκανε Θέων is said of Hermes. The repetiton of a phrase consisting of place-name + ἀφίκανε + participle of the ᵕ— shape in the same metrical position may be deliberate. Hermes appears to have a firm purpose, for whose fulfillment he is rushing and running, whereas Apollo wanders about, not knowing where his cows are; for (ἀφ)ίκανε κιών, see Kurz (1966) 120.

186-87. <u>Ὀγχηστόνδ(ε)...πολυήρατον...Γαιηόχου</u>: for Onchestos and its association with Poseidon, cf. *h.Apol.* 229ff. and my note on 88. The accumulation of epithets accompanying ἄλσος is particularly striking. In *h.Apol.*, Onchestus is one of the places that Apollo visits in search of an oracle; here he visits the same place in search of his lost cattle and receives an omen from a bird. If the Hermes poet has *h.Apol.* in mind, it would be ironical: Apollo is represented as following the same route (from Pieria to Onchestus), but perplexed and in a state of ἀμηχανία for having lost his cattle, instead of having a clear purpose (i.e. the foundation of an oracle) as in *h.Apol.* For the possibility that our poet may have known *h.Apol.*, see above, p. 54ff.

<u>ἐρισφαράγου</u>: the epithet occurs here for the first time and then in Bacch. 5.20; Hesiod (*Th.* 815) has ἐρισμάραγος of Zeus, while Pi. *I.* 8.22 uses βαθυσφάραγος of Poseidon. Homer too does not use the epithet, but cf. σφαραγεῖν (*Od.* 9.390, 440), and σφαραγίζειν in Hes. *Th.* 706. See also Zumbach (1955) 24.

187-78. <u>ἔνθα γέροντα...ἕρκος ἀλωῆς</u>: a highly troublesome passage, for which no adequate solution has been yet proposed. κνώδαλον (a wild animal of the earth or the sea, or a beast of burden, cf. Aesch. *P.* 462, Pi. *P.* 10.36) has caused difficulties to

critics. Some took it to modify γέροντα (= 'an ugly old man'); see also Radermacher *ad loc.* who compares ἀλώπηξ θηρίον in Apollod. 2.57.9 for the construction. The attribution of κνώδαλον to the Old Man is not only harsh on him, as Richardson (1977) 74 observes, but also seems out of place here: this is not the first time the Old Man appears in the Hymn, and it would be strange if our poet noticed his ugliness only now and did not allude to it elsewhere in the text.

The various emendations proposed for κνώδαλον (νωχαλόν 'sluggish' Hermann, καμπύλον Schmitt, σκώλους 'pointed stakes' or 'thorns' McDaniel) which only reveal what critics would like to see here without really healing the problem. Furthermore, as Gemoll *ad loc.* rightly observes, it is unlikely that some other word was altered to the unusual κνώδαλον, which appears only once in *Od.* 17.317 and *Th.* 582, and later as a term of abuse in Comedy. As Càssola points out, κνώδαλον in Comedy does not refer to someone's physical appearance but to his character (cf. Arist. *Ve.* 4, *Lys.* 476, Cratin *fr.* 251, Soph. *fr.* 905 Radt). He therefore takes κνώδαλον as modifying γέροντα and translates 'il vecchio briccone' ('the old rascal'), assuming that the poet thought the old man was going to betray Hermes. But why would the poet charazterize the Old Man in this way, all the more since he disappears from the narrative, and Hermes is neither testing nor punishing him?

If κνώδαλον is understood in its proper meaning ('animal') and rendered 'he found an old man foddering his animal,' then ἕρκος ἀλωῆς is impossible to interpret; besides, one would expect something more precise than simply 'animal.' AS (also AHS

with more parallels for the phrase) suggested taking ἕρκος ἀλωῆς metaphorically in apposition to κνώδαλον and translated 'he let his "beast," the stay of his vineyard graze (=νέμοντα) by the roadside,' considering it a parody on ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν (Ajax) and ἕρκος Ὀλύμπου (Ares). Although there are parallels for νέμειν = 'let one's cattle graze,' (cf. *Od.* 9.233 and Laroche [1949] 23-4), it is difficult, however, to see how a parody of a phrase used of Ares would work here (AHS resort to πίονα ἔργα of 127 as a parallel, but that is a case of a metaphor's re-literalization), and I wonder whether the idea of parody on ἕρκος Ἀχαιῶν derives from our idea of 'asinine' obstinacy. The closest to this idea is the simile in *Il.* 17.742-6 (οἵ δ' ὥς θ' ἡμίονοι κρατερὸν μένος ἀμφιβαλόντες ἕλκωσ' ἐξ ὄρεος κατὰ παιπαλόεσσαν ἀταρπὸν ἢ δοκὸν ἠὲ δόρυ μέγα νήιον· ἐν δέ τε θυμὸς τείρεθ' ὁμοῦ καμάτῳ τε καὶ ἱδρῷ σπευδόντεσσιν· ὡς οἵ γ' ἐμμεμαῶτε νέκυν φέρον), but even there the point is not so much obstinacy as physical and psychological exertion.

Another approach was to change the MSS νέμοντα into δέμοντα (so Barnes—comparing to 87—followed by Càssola). The sense would then be 'an old man who was building along the road a fence for his vineyard' (rather than Càssola's 'che lavorava alla siepe'; cf. above, note on 87). Although this makes sense by itself, it does not accord with what follows, viz. βατοδρόπε in 190. However one understands the noun (see below for possible explanations), it does not denote anything related to fence-building: in *Od.* 24.224, the ἕρκος ἀλωῆς is constructed from αἱμασιαί ('dry stones').

The only attempt to defend the transmitted text was made by Gemoll, who understood the line to mean 'he found an old man who was grazing his animal at the

vineyard's fence', assuming that the vineyard's enclosure was made of thorny bushes. This is both odd syntax and an odd concept because it would represent the Old Man in effect destroying his vineyard's hedge.

I tentatively suggest to change ὁδοῦ to ὁδόν and understand παρέξ with both ὁδόν and ἕρκος ἀλωῆς. The sense would be 'there he found an old man, grazing his animal alongside the road, (along) the vineyard's fence,' although as noted above one would expect something more than 'beast.' For παρέξ ('along the side of') with the acc., see LSJ, *s.v.* παρέκ A II 1 and Schwyzer II 429; for the omission of the same preposition with the second noun in asyndeton, see Kühner I 549 (§ 451), citing Theoc. 1.38 and 117. The above suggestion is far from certain and perhaps it would be more prudent to obelize.

It should be mentioned as a point of curiosity that already Voss had proposed to take κνώδαλον with γέροντα, which met Hermann's ironic scathing and ironic rebuke; cf. Hermann (1806) cxxi = epistle to Ilgen ('conquestus est enim nuper Io. Henr. Vossius, quod quidam, quae in epistolis mythologicis scripsisset, nescire se simularent, et paene pro non scriptis habere. Id ne mihi nunc quoque vitio vertatur, profiteor, me legisse...quum in eo hymno [*sc.* in Mercurium] ἐντροπίας fascias, μετήορα aras, φωνήν mactationem, βουλεύειν τινά aliquem consilio adiuvare, κνώδαλον trucem adspectu interpretatur; legisse etiam alia huiusmodi, ad quae medicum eius attendere oportet.').

189. <u>τὸν πρότερος...ἐρικυδέος υἱός</u>: in this introductory line instead of προσέφη προσέειπε is normally used, which the poet could have used coupled with

Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱός, a phrase confined to *h.Herm.* and *h.Apol.*; cf. van Nortwick (1975) p. 31-2.

190-200. *Apollo's speech to the Old Man*

Apollo's speech consists of a mock-dignified address to the Old Man, followed by a narrative section in ring-composition (191-3 [ἐξ ἀγέλης] cows; 193-5 [ὁμόφρονες] dogs and bull; 195-6 [τέτυκται] dogs and bull; 197-8 [νόμοιο] cows), and concludes with a request for information. There are instances of anaphora (192, 196) and alliteration (198, 199). In Apollodorus' version (III 113), Apollo interrogates the inhabitants of Pylos, who reveal to him that a boy was driving his cattle but do not know where he led them because of the absence of traces. Our poet, however, presents Apollo asking the Old Man's help instead of interrogating him, while later the god is unable to find his cows despite the fact that there *are* traces. Thus, the relation between Apollo as a god and the Old Man as a human is inverted (cf. also the manner in which they address each other), and the god again appears unnoticed by a human.

190. *βατοδρόπε: some critics assume that the Old Man is cutting bramble-bushes to use them in building his fence (so already Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 254), but it is hard to imagine how one could build a fence with such material; see also note on 188 above. The problem with a derivation from (ἡ) βάτος and δρέπειν is that the verb is used for plucking leaves, flowers or fruits (cf. West on *Th.* 31 and Sappho's μαλοδρόπηες), and not of mowing bushes, as Càssola understands it. Thus, the

alternative derivation from βάτον ('berry-picker') seems more likely; cf. Clay (1989) 115-6, who sees in the Old Man a sign of the brutish state of humankind before the advent of Hermes.

192. πάσας ...πάσας: for the repetition, cf. Call. *Dian.* 14, *CA* 186.9.2, Theoc. 15.6, and Fehling (1969) 200-2.

κεράεσσιν ἑλικτάς: the epithet occurs here for the first time and this phrase may be an interpretation of the Homeric ἕλικας βοῦς, which in antiquity was also understood as 'black'; cf. Schol. *Od.* 1.92, 4.320, Hesych. ἑλίκωψ· μελανόφθαλμος, Leumann *HW* 125 n. 126, and Leaf on *Il.* 9.466. The same cattle that are said to have twisted horns are called ὀρθόκραιραι in 220; such discrepancy is not unparalleled; cf. the Cattle of the Sun in *Od.* 12.348 (βοῶν ὀρθοκραιράων), as opposed to 12.136 and 355 (ἕλικες). See also Richter (1968) 44-5, 48.

194. κυάνεος: only here of a living animal in archaic Epic. Otherwise, it refers to serpents (δράκοντες) depicted on a cuirass (*Il.* 11.26, 39) or a shield (*Sc.* 167).

χαροποί: normally used of lions, 'fierce' (cf. also 569 of our Hymn, *Od.* 11.611, *Th.* 321, *Sc.* 177, *h.Aphr.* 70, *Hymn* 14.4). The adjective was perhaps chosen to convey irony, as the dogs did not attack the thief; cf. further Philostr. *Her.* 35.2 de Lannoy (βλέποντός τε χαροποῖς τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὑπὸ τὴν κόρην, οἷον οἱ λέοντες ἐν ἀναβολῇ τοῦ ὁρμῆσαι). Later it was used to denote the color of the eyes (bluish-grey). For the various attempts to explain the adjective, see Latacz (1966) 38-42, who renders it as 'gieräugig, gierig blickend'.

195. κύνες...ὁμόφρονες: the application of ὁμόφρων 'of the same spirit,' 'agreeing' to the dogs suggests that not even one of them tried to oppose the thief. The only other time this epithet is used of animals is *Il.* 22.263 (on the impossibility of a pact between wolves and lambs). For Hermes' influence on dogs , cf. Hippon. *fr.* 3a.

ἔλειφθεν: this form appears only here and in A.R. 1.1325, but see Chantraine *GH* I 401-2 (§193) for other such aorists.

196. ὃ δή...τέτυκται: cf. *Il.* 18.549 where a similar phrase is used of Hephaestus' accomplishment (the Shield of Achilles), and note on 49 above.

197. ἠελίοιο νέον καταδυομένοιο: a novel phrase for the sun's setting (cf. ἅμα ἠελίῳ καταδύντι and ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα); see van Nortwick (1975) 41-2. Schulze *QE* 136 notes that the quantity of δύειν in the present and imperfect forms is always short and considers our καταδυομένοιο either a case of lengthening *metri gratia* or an indication of the Hymn's late date; cf. A.R. 1.924-5 (νέον γε μὲν ἠελίοιο δυομένου) which may depend on our Hymn.

200. ἀνέρα ταῖσδ' ἐπὶ βουσί: Apollo has not yet discovered who the thief was, hence the use of ἀνέρα. For ταῖσδ' ἐπὶ βουσί ('in charge of these cows'), cf. *Od.* 20.209, 221 and Schwyzer II 467.

201-11. *The Old Man's reply*

The formerly speechless Old Man has by now become quite talkative. His reply to Apollo consists of a short address (ὦ φίλος), followed by a gnomic and generalizing

section (202-5), and a shorter section that describes his work at the vineyard during the previous day (206-7); the actual answer to Apollo's question comes in 208-11. The generalizing section of this speech, moreover, begins and ends in a similar fashion (χαλεπόν...ἀργαλέον). Although old people are proverbially proverbial, the Old Man's use of proverbial expressions in our ontext can be attributed to Hermes' passage, since in his address to the Old Man Hermes used such proverbial phraseology himself. The Old Man's language reveals thus the effects of Hermes' "instruction." The use of gnomic statements by elderly characters is a common theme later in tragedy. The first part of the Old Man's reply complies with what Arist. *Rh.* 1415b 22-4 remarks on slaves' answers in drama (πανταχοῦ γὰρ βέλτιον διατρίβειν ἢ ἐν τῷ πράγματι, διὸ οἱ δοῦλοι οὐ τὰ ἐρωτώμενα λέγουσιν ἀλλὰ τὰ κύκλῳ, καὶ προοιμιάζονται). In the final part of his reply, the Old Man mentions the backwards walking of the cows but does not say anything about Hermes' address to him or his strange sandals. Apollo realizes the identity of the thief only later when he receives the omen (213-4).

202. ὦ φίλος: a form of address appropriate when an older person is speaking to someone younger (Nestor, when addressing Telemachus in *Od.* 3.344; Odysseus addressing Telemachus in 17.19; and by Herakles, when addressing Iolaos in *Sc.* 95). Its use here, while in keeping with the age relation of the two parties, is anomalous since the addressee is not anyone of lower or equal status, but a god (but the Old Man does not know it, of course; the issue is further complicated by the lack of epiphany). Cf. West

(1967) 139-44 for this form of address; this verse should be added to the examples of

φίλος accompanied by ὦ that he cites on p. 143.

202-203: <u>ἀργαλέον...πάντα λέγειν</u>: ἴδοιτο is Ψ's reading, which should be

preferred to M's ἴδοιμι and the various emendations. For the omission of τις in a

generalizing statement, cf. *Il.* 13.287(with Janko *ad loc.*), *Th.* 741, *Op.* 12 (*v.l.*), 291, Theoc.

17.41, X. *Smp.* 1.8, *Ath.* 1.10; Schwyzer II, 216 (λ) and 621-2 (Zusatz 2), and Chantraine,

GH II 8 (§ 10). For the idea of meeting travelers with different intentions, cf. *Il.* 24.375,

Od. 13.229.

205. <u>φοιτῶσιν</u>: Ψ's reading; M has πρήσσουσιν which may have arisen through

the influence of 203.

207. <u>περὶ γουνόν...οἰνοπέδοιο</u>: this phrase is used (with a slight change, viz.

ἀνά/κατά for περί) only of Laertes in *Od.* 1.193 and 11.193. On the assumed similarities

between the Old Man at Onchestos and Laertes, see above p. 237.

208. This verse presents a curious construction. σαφὲς δ' οὐκ οἶδα is best taken

as parenthetical, and we should punctuate with a full-stop after νοῆσαι with Herwerden

(1876). The sense is: 'It seemed to me—I don't know for sure—that I saw a boy. Whoever

the boy was, who followed with the well-horned cows, [he was] an infant, was holding a

staff etc...' This jagged syntax may be due to the Old Man's confusion caused by

Hermes' strange way of walking the cattle, as well as his remembering Hermes'

instructions to mind his business.

<u>ἔδοξα</u>: not in Homer or Hesiod; cf. δόκησε twice in the *Odyssey* (10.415, 20.93).

σαφές: again, not in Homer or Hesiod; σάφα appears in Homer instead. For the idea, cf. Pi O. 13.45-6 (ὡς μὰν σαφὲς οὐκ ἂν εἰδείην λέγειν).

νοῆσαι: Ψ; Radermacher, however, unnecessarily preferred M's νοήσας and saw an anacolouthon in ἔδοξα, which would thus have no infinitive.

209. ὅς τις ὁ παῖς: for ὅς τις = whoever, cf. later 277 and *h.Dem.* 119 with Richardson *ad loc.*; also Chantraine, *GH* II, 242 (§355). Further, *Il.* 5.175, *Od.* 5.445, *h.Aphr.* 92.

εὐκραίροισιν: Radermacher and AHS print M and Θ's εὐκραίρῃσιν, which is preferable to Càssola's εὐκραίροισιν, as the parallel with ὀρθόκραιρος suggests. εὔκραιρος does not appear anywhere else in archaic poetry, but is then found in Aesch. *Suppl.* 300 and much later authors (Nonnus, Oppianus), all of whom have it as a two-termination adjective. ὀρθόκραιρος, however, is found as a three-termination adjective in early Epic (cf. the formula βοῶν ὀρθοκραιράων *Il.* 8.231, 18.573, *Od.* 12.348, *h.Herm.* 220, and νεῶν ὀρθοκραιράων *Il.* 18.3, 19.344) and may have influenced εὐκραίρῃσιν. For the formation of compounds in –κραιρα (originally meaning 'headgear'), see Nussbaum (1986) II, 220-35.

210. νήπιος: the epithet is found in its traditional *sedes* but is used in its proper meaning instead of the usual metaphorical sense ('foolish'); on νήπιος, see Edmunds (1990), who thinks that the epithet's originally meant 'disconnected,' mentally or socially. The strong association of this word with children, however (cf. the formula

νήπια τέκνα), and its application to Hermes point to the meaning 'infant' for this passage.

ἐπιστροφάδην δ' ἐβάδιζεν: ἐπιστροφάδην 'turning in different directions' (although Hsch. also glosses ἰσχυρῶς and ἐνεργῶς) is found in Homer (and later authors imitating Homer) in battle-scenes (e.g. κτεῖνε δ' ἐπιστροφάδην [*Il.* 10.483, *Od.* 24.184], τύπτε δ' ἐπιστροφάδην [*Il.* 21.20, *Od.* 22.308]). Hermes is walking from one side of the road to the other (cf. Apollo's words in 226 and 357), partly to remove some of the cows' traces and partly to confuse Apollo by his sandals' imprints, which would thus point in different directions. ἐβάδιζεν only here and in 320 in archaic Epic (cf. βάδην ἀπιόντος *Il.* 13.516).

211. Deleted by Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 256, on the grounds that it resembled 'allucinantis et balbutientis oratio.' But we have already seen that the Old Man's language is peculiar (cf. 208-9). Matthiae also posited a *lacuna* at this point, in which Apollo presumably found out that his cows were led off to Pylos. This is not necessary, however, as the omen that Apollo receives a few lines later could supply him with this information. Baumeister, too, posited a *lacuna* after this line, believing that Apollo learned that Hermes had led the cows off to Pylos from the Old Man; he uses 342 and 355 as evidence, but these lines do not necessarily support this thesis.

ἐξοπίσω δ' ἀνέεργε: cf. *Il.* 17.752 ἀνέεργον ὀπίσσω, of the Ajaces repelling the Trojans' attack. Hermes action does not simply have the purpose of driving the cattle backwards (ἐξοπίσσω); he also trying to keep them together and prevent the animals

from becoming scattered, an additional reason for his movement to and fro; cf. Luc.

DJud. 5 (ἀνείργοντα μὴ πρόσω διασκίδνασθαι τὴν ἀγέλην).

κάρη δ' ἔχεν ἀντίον αὐτῷ: cf. 77 and 345.

Radermacher takes κάρη as singular and paraphrases: 'rücklings schreitend hatte

er das Gesicht (=κάρη) ihm (*sc.* Hermes himself) entgegengesetzt'; in other words:

Hermes walks backwards and his head is turned backwards as well! This seems rather

improbable. Hermes made the cows walk backwards, but he himself walked normally;

Apollo's confusion arises in part from the fact that whereas the cows' tracks (or

whatever remains of them) face backwards, Hermes' lead *forward*. It would be,

furthermore, rather strange if the Old Man mentioned this grotesque way of Hermes'

walking so cursorily. κάρη could be taken as a plural (cf. *h.Dem.* 12 [κάρᾱ or κάρα', see

Schwyzer I 2, 583]) unless we choose to consider it a collective noun. κάρη would then

be the result of a contraction (from *κάρα[σ]α) and subsequent hyperionism; see

Chantraine, *GH* I, 231 (§102) and Hoekstra (1969) 57. Hermann emended ἔχεν to ἔχον,

thus changing the subject, but this is not necessary as αὐτῷ may function as a reflexive.

The tradition in this line seems to be uniform (judging by Càssola's *apparatus*), and there

is no need for any change. The dative with ἀντίον is not Homeric (the genitive is used

instead), but Hesiod has both constructions (*Th.* 631, *Op.* 594). Render: 'and he had their

heads facing him(self).'

212. μῦθον ἀκούσας: this appears in M and in the margin of *x*, instead of the far

commoner line-ending Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων (Ψ).

213-26. *Apollo at Pylos*

213. Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 257, considered this and the next verse an interpolation on the grounds that the omen is passed over rather quickly. However, this is not necessary. As mentioned earlier (introductory note on 184-212), the poet seems here more interested in Hermes' and Apollo's confrontation; therefore, he speeds up the action by omitting information that can be easily supplied.

<u>οἰωνὸν δ' ἐνόει τανυσίπτερον</u>: it has been debated whether by οἰωνόν an actual bird of omen is meant or the Old Man's cryptic words, which Apollo (or the poet) interprets as an omen. Baumeister and Gemoll argue against a real bird of omen and treat τανυσίπτερος as a mere 'epitheton ornans.' Gemoll, furthermore, asks why Apollo would consult a bird after questioning the Old Man. But Apollo is not *consulting* the bird; instead, the bird appears to him. This bird may be a raven, traditionally associated with Apollo; cf. Hesiod, *fr.* 60 (τῆμος ἀρ' ἄγγελος ἦλθε κόραξ ἱερῆς ἀπὸ δαιτὸς Πυθὼ ἐς ἠγαθέην καί ῥ' ἔφρασεν ἔργ' ἀίδηλα Φοίβῳ ἀκερσεκόμῃ...), Aesop. 323 (also 125, 236), Ovid, *Met.* 2.531-632, and Thompson B.147.2.1.1, J 821.1 for the raven's prophetic abilities; also, Bouché-Leclercq [1879] I 133 on the raven's use in ornithomancy and its relation to Apollo).

τανυσίπτερος only here with οἰωνός, which should be understood as a bird. Receiving information from a bird is a common folk-tale motif; cf. Radermacher *ad loc.* for references to the tales of the brothers Grimm; Apul. *Met.* 5.28; also Thompson B.291.1 (Bird as helper) and H.1233.6.3 (Bird as helper [adviser] on quest); also Hopf (1888) 110-

27. Despite the information provided to him by the bird of omen, Apollo does not entirely realize what has happened; he only understands that 'a thief had been born who was the son of Zeus Cronides,' and he somehow surmises that his cows had been led off to the area of Pylos. When he arrives there, however, he is still at a loss because he cannot interpret the footprints. His fraternal relation to the thief is, furthermore, emphasized by the similar ending of 214-5. Note also that in Apollodorus' account (III 114) Apollo discovers the thief's identity ἐκ τῆς μαντικῆς without further specification.

214. φιλητήν: for the spelling, see above, note on 67.

217. πορφυρέη...ὤμους: on gods 'dressed' in mist, cf. *Il.* 5.186, 14.350-1, 15.308, 16.390, 790, 20.150. Gods are said to be wrapped in mist which prevents mortals from seeing them; see Roeger (1924) 28-38. On πορφυρέη νεφέλη, cf. *Il.* 17.551, where the image is associated with the rainbow (with Edwards *ad loc.*).

218. ἴχνια τ' εἰσενόησεν: on the form of ἴχνια (used alongside with ἴχνη), see above, note on 76. Homer employs εἰσνοεῖν (again in the aorist) with a personal object (*Il.* 24.700, *Od.* 11.572, 601).

Footprints function sometimes as a means of recognition. For the motif, cf. *Il.* 13.71-2 with Janko's note (Ajax, son of Oileus, recognizes Poseidon from his footsteps); recognition by one's feet occurs in *Od.* 4.149, 19.381, Aesch. *Ch.* 209; see also Sowa (1984) 247-50 for the motif in general. Here, Apollo notices the footprints but does not understand them; hence he is unable to locate his cattle. We may detect a pointed irony

in εἰσενόησεν: whereas mortals are able to recognize the gods through their

footprints, Apollo—the god of mantic—is at a loss at the sight of another god's

footprints.

219. ἦ μέγα θαῦμα...ὁρῶμαι: Apollo is continually in a state of θαυμάζειν; cf.

also 196 (ὃ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκται). The phrase is used by mortals and may be applied to

situations that are the result of divine action (cf. *Il.* 15.286, 20.344, *Od.* 19.36). For θαῦμα,

see Prier (1989). Whereas other speeches beginning with this verse are introduced as

addresses to one's *thymos* (*Il.* 20.344, 21.544; cf. also *Od.* 5. 286), this one is not; cf.

Pelliccia (1995) 273.

220. βοῶν ὀρθοκραιράων: on ὀρθοκραιράων, see notes on 192 and 209 above.

221. ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα: the phrase occurs three times in the *Odyssey*

(11.539, 573, 24.13) referring to the meadow in the Underworld. For the asphodel in

general, see Wagler (1896) with references to its use as food for humans; the plant was

used as medicine (cf. Dioscor. II. 169); for the meadow of asphodel, see Amigues (2001-

2002) who also treats the plant's etymology and its association with chthonic deities and

the Underworld; cf. also Baumann (1993) 63 and 65-8, who observes that sheep and

goats tend to avoid the plant on account of the needle-like crystals it contains. In 72 the

divine cattle are said to graze λειμῶνας ἀκηρασίους ἐρατεινούς, but the designation of

the meadow as ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα need not cause offense here. The plant was also

associated with the golden age and the divine realm, and our poet may have intended to

evoke these links, since he refers to divine cattle. For the relation of the asphodel to the golden age, see Brout (2003).

222-4. For the anaphora of οὔτε...οὔτε...etc., cf. *Il.* 6.383-4, 451-2, 17.20-1, 21.317-8 (three times), 24.156-7 (four times). Apollo shows his surprise by comparing the footprints to those of a series of progressively wilder creatures: he begins with human beings, then proceeds to wild animals, and ends with Centaurs.

222. βήματα: only here and in 345 does βῆμα appear in archaic hexameter; Sappho *fr.* 16.17 is the only other occurrence in archaic poetry.

223. For the collocation of bears and wolves, cf. *Od.* 11.611; for wolves and lions, *Od.* 10.212, 218, 433, Hymn 14.4; for wolves, bears, and lions, *h.Aphr.* 70.

224. κενταύρου λασιαύχενος: λασιαύχην occurs here for the first time; it appears in *h.Hom.* 7.46 (of a bear) and Soph. *Ant.* 350 (of a horse); Theocritus uses it of a cave (λασιαύχενος ἄντρου in *AP* 9.433.5). For the Centaurs in general (with the modern bibliography), see *NP* 6, coll. 413-5; for their representation in art, see *LIMC* 8 (Suppl.) with further bibliography. The earliest depictions represent the Centaurs as having two human and two equine legs, whereas later only their upper body appears to be human. They almost always appear long-haired and bearded. Apollo's words do not reveal which of the two types of Centaurs is meant. The attribute λασιαύχενος, at any rate, points to the Centaurs' wild nature.

ἔλπομαι εἶναι: the reading of M, *a*, and in the margin of L and Π, which is certainly preferable, as L and Π preserve variants that appear in the text of M and seem to have been present in the archetype (see Càssola [1975] 601); the remainder of the manuscripts have ἔστιν ὁμοῖα –or in the case of L and Π ἤστιν ὁμοῖα. The sense of the passage is 'nor do I suppose [the traces] to be of a shaggy-necked Centaur...'

225. ὅς τις: for the relative, see above, note on 209.

πέλωρα βιβᾷ: Homer uses this verb in the participial form; it occurs as a finite verb in *h.Apol.* 133 (ἐβίβασκεν). πέλωρα βιβᾷ seems to be a variant of the formulaic pattern μακρά/ ὕψι βιβάς etc. Hermes' traces are πέλωρα also at 342 and 349.

ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισιν: the formula regularly expresses swiftness (cf. *Il.* 16.342, 809, 20.190, 22.160 etc.). Here, however, it refers not so much to Hermes' speed as to the size and bulkiness of his footprints.

226. αἰνά...ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο: For the repetition, see Fehling (1969) 322. αἰνός, normally 'terrible, horrible,' means here 'strange', as in *Od.* 19.568 (αἰνὸν ὄνειρον), which some *scholia* (B) gloss as τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἢ φοβερόν; cf. also Eustathius' comment *ad loc.* (vol. 2. 219): αἰνὸν δὲ ὄνειρον ἢ τὸν σκοτεινόν....ἢ τὸν αἰνιγματώδη παρὰ τὸ αἶνος, ὃς δηλοῖ ποτε καὶ τὸ αἴνιγμα...

227-321: *Hermes' confrontation with Apollo*

Apollo finally arrives at Cyllene and finds Hermes, who pretends to be sleeping.

After investigating thoroughly Maia's cave, he demands that Hermes reveal the place

where the cattle were hidden. An exchange of speeches ensues in which Hermes denies

any knowledge of the animals' whereabouts. Finally, the two brothers end up on

Olympus where the dispute is to be settled by Zeus.

227-54: *Apollo at Maia's cave*

This section is introduced with a line resembling 215 (ἤιξεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς

Ἀπόλλων). Together, these two verses frame the preceding section (215-26), where

Apollo's helplessness is prominent. Line 215 follows the omen that Apollo receives

while 226 is preceded by his observation of the divine footprints.

The description of the cave changes once more; cf. the remarks earlier on 23. It

has been pointed out that the description of Maia's cave resembles that of Calypso's in

Od. 5.55-77; see Shelmerdine (1986) 55-7. In both cases, a pleasant fragrance is said to

emanate (cf. 231-2~*Od.* 5.59-61; note that Maia's cave is called εὐῶδες already in 65);

both caves contain nectar and ambrosia (248); both nymphs are ἐυπλόκαμοι and have

maids, while their caves are surrounded by animals (birds in the *Od.*, sheep in the

Hymn—perhaps a hint to Hermes' association with small animals). In addition, Maia's

cave is described here in terms which further suggest that it has acquired the status of a

temple or at least the dwelling of a deity (cf. 233 λάινον οὐδόν, 247 ἀδύτους, 251 θεῶν

μακάρων ἱεροὶ δόμοι; see also the notes on the individual verses). Thus, by presenting Apollo breaking into Hermes' dwelling, the poet reverses Hermes' threat at 178-81 where the young god stated his intention to invade Apollo's temple in Pytho. Finally, throughout this section, the poet makes use of vocabulary traditionally associated with trickery, and seduction in particular (ἀμβροσίη, φαεινή, θυήεις, as well as the presence of gold and silver), on which see van Nortwick (1975) 112-3 and (1980), who compares this passage with the *Dios apate* in *Il.* 14 and *h.Aphr.* (5) 60-5.

Homer concludes his description of Calypso's cave by remarking that even a god would marvel at the cave and its surroundings, but such a comment would be out of place here. Apollo does wonder, but for a different reason: his cattle have literally disappeared. Hermes' ability to make the animals vanish is paralleled by Autolycus' (Hermes' son in some accounts); cf. Hes. *fr.* 67a.5 ὅττί κε χερσὶ λάβεσκε ἀείδελα πάντα τίθεσκε an above, p. 49-50.

228. Κυλλήνης δ'...ὕλη: for the general structural pattern, cf. above 70 where Πιερίης ἀφίκανε θέων ὄρεα σκιόεντα is said of Hermes. Both gods' arrivals are described in similar terms; they are after all both looking for the same cattle.

229. πέτρης εἰς κευθμῶνα βαθύσκιον: βαθύσκιος here for the first time, then in Theoc. 4.19, Nonn. *D.* 13.332, 40.298, 41.5, 42.131 etc. In the beginning of the Hymn the cave was called παλίσκιον. For a similar turn of phrase, cf. Luc. *Trag.* 3 κευθμῶσιν ἐν βαθυσκίοις; for πέτρης εἰς κευθμῶνα, cf. *Od.* 13.367 κευθμῶνας ἀνὰ σπέος, and Stesich. *fr.* 7.3 ἐν κευθμῶνι πέτρας.

229-30. <u>νύμφη ἀμβροσίη</u>: Homer uses ἀμβρόσιος only of things; for gods, ἄμβροτος is used (e.g. *Il.* 20.358, 22.9, 24.460, *Od.* 24.445). For the epithet, see Leumann *HW* 125 n. 95 and the introductory note to 227-54 above.

<u>ἐλόχευσε</u>: λοχεύειν nowhere else in archaic poetry. It recurs in tragedy referring to the midwife's duties; the verb is a denominative from λόχος ('childbirth') which in Homer always has the sense of 'ambush'; see Fraenkel's note on Aesch. *Ag.* 137, and O'Bryhim (1997) for the pun between the two meanings of λόχος in *Th.* 174 and 178.

230. <u>ὀδμὴ δ' ἱμερόεσσα</u>: for the motif of divine fragrance, see note on 65. The phrasing of this passage strongly reminds of *h.Dem.* 277-8, on which see Richardson's comment. To his references add Pi. *O.* 7.59, Ar. *Av.* 1715, Plu. *Alex.* 4=*Quaest.Convi* 623e; see also Schmid, (1922-23) 179. The idea that the gods emit a pleasant fragrance may be related to the habit of anointing their statues, on which see Petrovic (2003) 183 with n. 22; most statues underwent a process of κόσμησις upon completion, which included also annointing with perfume. In *Od.* 5.59-61 the pleasant fragrance derives from burning wood, whereas the Hymn poet does not give a specific reason for the smell, which suggests that it may be related to the divine presence of Hermes and Maia, and not to the cave's surrounding.

<u>δι' οὔρεος ἠγαθέοιο</u>: ἠγάθεος only here of a mountain (normally with a place-name, e.g. *Il.* 1.252, *Od.* 4.599, *Th.* 499); the epithet's application to the mountain may be another way of acknowledging it as the dwelling of a god. The adjective (and its synonym ζάθεος) often describes holy or religious places; cf. Defradas (1955) esp. 211-2.

Cf. also *Od.* 8.80 (Πυθοῖ ἐν ἠγαθέῃ, ὅθ' ὑπέρβη λάϊνον οὐδόν, of Agamemnon receiving an oracle at Delphi); the epithet is used of Pytho also in Hesiod (*Th.* 499, *fr.* 60.2) and *h.Hom.* 24.2.

232. κίδνατο: Homer uses both σκίδνασθαι and κίδνασθαι (Hesiod only the former), but only the σκ- form at verse-beginning.

233. κατεβήσατο λάϊνον οὐδόν: compare *Od.* 4.680 (κατ' οὐδοῦ βάντα). Usually ὑπερβαίνειν is found with οὐδός. The choice of the verb may depend here on Apollo's entering a cave, although there is no such implication in the Odyssean passage quoted above. On possible religious associations of λάϊνον οὐδόν, cf. *Il.* 9.404, *h.Apol.* 296; see further, Defradas (1954) 30, who believes that it alludes to the rich temples that the Greeks started to build around the 7th c. BC and cf. Berve (1956) 174.

234. ἄντρον ἐς ἠερόεν: the cave has suddenly become 'gloomy' again; for the expression, cf. ἄντρῳ ἐν ἠερόεντι in 172 and 359 (but nowhere else in archaic hexameter).

ἑκατηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων: a combination of ἑκατηβόλος Ἀπόλλων and αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων (*Il.* 17.322), cf. *h.Aphr.* 151. For this emphasis on Apollo, cf. van Nortwick (1975) 31.

237. σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυνε θυήεντα: θυήεντα may be intended to pick up the divine fragrance motif of 231 and thus to function as yet another sign of Hermes' divine status.

Homer sometimes uses καταδύνειν of a warrior putting on his armor (*Il.* 6.504, 7.103) or entering the battle (*Il.* 3.241, 10.231, 517). Are we perhaps to understand the σπάργανα as Hermes' armor? For other mock-heroic expressions in the Hymn, cf. 301 (pun on ἀσπιδιῶτα).

238. π̲ρ̲έ̲μ̲ν̲ω̲ν̲…ἀ̲μ̲φ̲ι̲κ̲α̲λ̲ύ̲π̲τ̲ε̲ι̲: πρέμνων 'logs' appears once more in archaic poetry in Pi. *fr.* 33d. 6 ('the foundations of a pillar'); cf. LSJ and Frisk, *s.v.* πρέμνον, for the various etymologies, and Strömberg (1937) 98-9 for the meaning. The sources have it both as masculine and neuter, but it is impossible to tell how our poet understood it. AHS compare the simile to *Od.* 5.488ff. and Cuypers *LfgrE, s.v.* πρέμν(ον), considers our passage to be an 'inexpert reworking of [the] simile,' but his rendering of the verse ('just as ashes cover a heap of embers from logs') is not accurate since it does not translate ὕλης. In our simile σπάργανα seem to correspond to σποδός and ἀνθρακίη ('hot embers') to Hermes. AHS cite many examples from classical literature involving the preservation of fire, but this is not the point of the simile. Hermes tried to *hide* and not save or preserve anything. Although AHS believe that ὕλης σποδός gives good sense (not all of their parallels are relevant, however), perhaps Hermann's οὔλη deserves some consideration (however, not in the sense of 'mollis,' as Hermann proposed, but 'thick,' cf. LSJ *s.v.* B). If we accept οὔλη, then we may render 'just as thick ash covers hot embers (that consist) of (burning) logs.' Alternatively, if ὕλης is retained, it could be taken with πρέμνων, i.e. 'logs from the forest.' The simile performs two functions: by recalling the *Od.* passage, it once more links Hermes with Odysseus; at the same time it

calls attention to the fact that throughout the Hymn Hermes is related to fire (he

creates it in 108 and 111; cf. διαπυρπαλάμησεν in 357 and his fiery look in 415).

239. <u>ἀλέεινεν ἓ αὐτόν</u>: Allen (1898) adopted a simple transposition (ἀνέειλεν) ,

proposed by Lohsee, to cope with the problem of the meaning of ἀλεείνειν in this verse

(followed by both AS and AHS). The verb normally means 'to avoid,' a sense not

appropriate in this context. Based on a gloss in Hesychius, Herwerden (1882) proposed

understanding the verb as 'to hide,' and his suggestion is corroborated by the consistent

use of ἀλεείνειν in this sense by our poet; see also the note on 85. Cf. Gigliotti (1991) 59-

63, who without accepting Herwerden's rendering takes ἀλεείνειν in its usual meaning

and remarks that the pronoun ἓ αὐτόν (spelt *divisim*) is not reflexive but emphatic; she

understands that Hermes tried to avoid *him*, i.e. Apollo. But see Chantraine *GH* I, 264

(§124). For reflexive ἓ αὐτόν, cf. *Od.* 17.387; further, (already) Hermann (1827) 319-22

and Schwyzer II, 195 γ 1. ἀλεείνειν in the sense of 'to hide' corresponds to the simile's

ἀμφικαλύπτει better than ἀνέειλεν.

240. <u>ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ</u>: the phrase in Pi. *P.* 8.72 has temporal sense ('quickly,'

'rapidly'), which is plausible here instead of the usual rendering 'in a small space' *vel*

sim. (already conveyed by συνέλασσε).

<u>συνέλασσε</u>: Gemoll's συνέελσε is unnecessary. Hermes drew himself together

to occupy as little space as possible. This meaning occurs here for the first time.

Elsewhere it is used of driving cattle away (see also note on 106 above). Render: '...thus

Hermes, having seen the Far-Shooter, was trying to conceal himself; and quickly he drew his head, hands, and feet together.'

241-2. <u>φή ῥα νεόλλουτος...ἐτεόν γε</u>: 'just as (an infant) who newly-washed invites sweet sleep.' φή ῥα is Hermann's emendation for the MSS δή ῥα. This change had already been proposed by Barnes who accented φῆ. For φή (='just as'), cf. *Il.* 2.144, 14.499, Hes. *fr.* 138, 204, Antim. *fr.* 156, Callim. *Hec.* 74.17 Hollis (with his note *ad loc.*), *fr.* 737.1. The Homeric usage of this word was contested in antiquity; cf. *Schol. Il.* 2.144 and esp. on 14.499 and Janko's note *ad loc.* In all cases, when φή occurs in verse-initial position in Homer, it is the verb-form and not the particle. The corruption may have arisen here from the reminiscence of the more common δή ῥα, which subsequently also caused the change to θῆρα, attested in x^m and adopted by Radermacher. Both AS and AHS took νεόλλουτος to mean 'newly-born,' citing ample evidence for the habit of washing newly-born babies, but this need not be the implication here. Babies are normally washed before being put to sleep and not every newly-washed baby need also be newly-born.

ἐγρήσσων ἐτεόν γε is again Hermann's emendation for the incomprehensible readings that the MSS offer (see Càssola's *apparatus*).

For ἥδυμον ὕπνον, see *LfgrE, s.v.* νήδυμος for the etymologies and relevant bibliography. The form ἥδυμος appears also later in 449, and in both cases it is guaranteed by the metre. Homer has νήδυμος though not all examples thereof are certain: *Il.* 2.2 ἔχε νήδυμος ὕπνος, for instance, may well have arisen from ἔχεν ἥδυμος

ὕπνος; but this need not be attributed to scribal error: the reinterpretation may have occurred at any phase of the oral transmission of the poems; see Dihle (1970) 1-2 against Leumann *HW* 44-5, who interpreted this phenomenon as a mis-division in writing. Be that as it may, it is interesting that a poem which is generally held to be of a late period preserves what appears to be the original form of the epithet.

χέλυν...εἶχε: μασχάλη only here in archaic hexameter; it occurs later in Arist. *Ach.* 852, *Eccl.* 60, Lysias *fr.* 369.6 and in medical writers. For hiding items underneath the armpit (sometimes a weapon), cf. X. *HG* 3.23, Plu. *Brut.* 1.5, *Mor.* 967c, Paus. 5.27, Hld. 2.6.2, Ath. 11.100.31 et al.

243. γνῶ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε: this phrase is used in *Th.* 551 of Zeus seeing through Prometheus' trick; see also van Nortwick (1975) 28.; see above, p. 51-4.

244. νύμφην τ' οὐρείην περικαλλέα: cf. Simon. *fr.* 50.1.2 (Μαιάδος οὐρείας ἑλικοβλεφάρου). For οὐρείην, see Zumbach (1955) 13.

245. παῖδ' ὀλίγον: on the use of ὀλίγος here, cf. Moorhouse (1947) 31-45, esp. 35-6. ὀλίγος does not have the emotional sense that μικρός has. It is applied to people also in *Il.* 5.800 and *Od.* 9.515.

δολίης εἰλυμένον ἐντροπίῃσι: ἐντροπίη occurs only here in archaic poetry (also in Hp. *Decent.* 2). ἐντρέπεσθαι from Homer onwards is found in the sense of 'respect,' 'reverence' (cf. LSJ, *s.v.* ἐντρέπω II 2), and it also acquires the meaning of 'to feel shame' (*ibid.* II 3b). 'Respect' would be completely out of place here, while one should certainly not attach any idea of 'shame' to this word, as the poet does not

anywhere seem to disapprove of Hermes' actions. Porzig (1942) 174 derives

ἐντροπίη from a hypothetical *εντροπος (cf. ἔννυχος, ἔννομος) 'devious,' which is not

to be associated with ἐντρέπεσθαι and the later ἐντροπίη ('respect', 'shame'). van

Bennekom (*LfgrE s.v.*), rejecting Porzig's interpretation as well as Gemoll's emendation

(εὐτροπίῃσι), suggests that we should understand in '–τροπιῃσι' some lost word for

'swaddling clothes'; he, furthermore, unpersuasively proposes ἐν στροφιῇσι comparing

with *h.Apol.* 122 and 128 (στρόφος). But why would Hermes' diapers be δόλιαι?

The poet is playing with both the literal and figurative meaning of εἰλυμένος.

Earlier in 151, Hermes was represented as σπάργανον...εἰλυμένος, and this is how he

appears in front of Apollo; the participle, while hinting at Hermes' appearance, is

simultaneously used in a metaphorical sense (cf. ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένος, and ἐλυσθείς in

Archil. *fr.* 191.1). Hermes is indeed wrapped up in his swaddling clothes (cf. 237) and

curled up like a baby, but he is also a god of many twists and turns (cf. 13 πολύτροπον

and 86 αὐτοτροπήσας). ἐντροπίη thus may refer to Hermes' mind and personality, as

δολίης suggests, and the -τροπ- words just mentioned reveal its metaphorical sense.

Porzig's interpretation ('Verschlagenhiet,' 'trickiness') seems attractive. Notice that

already Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 262, who considered the expression too contrived for

an early poet, rendered it 'fraudulenda, dolosa consilia.'

246. παπτήνας δ' ἀνὰ πάντα μυχόν: for παπταίνειν with ἀνά, cf. *Il.* 12.333

and A.R. 3.1248.

247. <u>τρεῖς ἀδύτους</u>: the gender of ἄδυτος/ον is unclear in Homer, *h.Apol.*, and Pindar; in Hdt. 5.72 and later literature it is neuter. ἄδυτος may be a cultic term, and there are references to cave-adyta (e.g. of Pan); cf. Hollinshead (1999) esp. 191-4.

<u>κληῖδα φαεινήν</u>: for keys and door-mechanisms in antiquity, see Diels (1914) 34-49, and above, note on 146. The 'shining key' is another fairy tale motif; cf. Thompson D 1552.12 ('magic key opens treasure mountain') and F 886.1 ('Golden key').

248. <u>ἐμπλείους</u>: M's reading (Càssola lists it as an emendation of Barnes). The rest of the MSS offer ἐκπλείους, which does not occur elsewhere in archaic poetry (it is found in Eur. *Cyc.* 247, 416 [both times referring to food], and Xenophon [e.g. *HG* 3.2.11, *Cyr.* 1.6.7 et al.] as ἔκπλεως). Our Hymn, however, contains a fair number of words that appear here for the first time and do not occur elsewhere in archaic hexameter poetry; ἐκπλείους may be yet another example of the Hymn's peculiar vocabulary. Note also that Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 261, kept the word but changed it to the genitive (ἐκπλείου). On ambrosia and nectar as divine nourishment, see Roscher (1883) 22-33, 51-5, 67-9. Apollo was offered divine food immediately after he was born (cf. *h.Apol.* 124), but Hermes craved meat. Hermes' earlier desire for human food should be related to the ambiguity regarding his own divine nature and suggests that he left Maia's cave before he could be offered nectar and ambrosia (cf. 20-2).

Normally, when a god visits another god's dwelling there is a formal welcoming scene in which the visitor is invited for *xenia*; cf. *Il.* 18.384-90, *Od.* 5.85-96. Nothing of this occurs here, and Apollo's rudeness to Maia, whom he does not even address, is

noteworthy; in other versions of the story Apollo converses with Hermes' mother; see above, p. 77, 83-4.

249-50. <u>πολλὸς δὲ χρυσός...εἵματα νύμφης</u>: for gold, silver, and clothes deposited in a sanctuary, cf. Hdt. 9.116 (in the *temenos* of Protesilaos). For the anaphora of πολλός...πολλά, see Fehling (1969) 199-200.

250. <u>φοινικόεντα</u>: φοινικόεις of clothing (a χλαῖνα) in both the *Il.* (10.133) and the *Od.* (14.500, 21.118).

<u>ἄργυφα εἵματα</u>: ἄργυφος is used in Homer of animals (ὄις, μῆλα), but ἀργύφεος with clothing (φᾶρος). Hesiod also maintains the same distinction (cf. *Th.* 574, *fr.* 43a.73, 198.11). The usage in this line is, then, against formulaic convention, as far as we can tell based on the available evidence.

251. <u>οἷα</u>: best taken with all the items mentioned in 248-50 rather than only with εἵματα, as Radermacher proposed; cf. the Herodotus passage just mentioned (in 249-50).

<u>θεῶν ἱεροὶ δόμοι</u>: probably 'temples'; cf. Hsch. ἱεροῖο δόμοιο· ναοῦ· μεγάλου οἴκου. Notice that Circe's palace is referred to as ἱερὰ δώματα (*Od.* 10.426, 554, ἱεροῖσ' ἐν δώμασι, a unique phrase in archaic Epic). In the Hymn ἱερός is used of Hermes' cradle and throat, and now his dwelling is described as a temple (note also ἀδύτους earlier in 247 and the divine fragrance-motif, which suggests divine presence). For θεῶν δόμοι, cf. also *h.Hom.* 22.2, Eur. *El.* 1000.

252. ἐξερέεινε: for the sense of ἐξερεείνειν in this verse, cf. *Od.* 12.259 ('search,' 'investigate'). The verb seems to be a favorite of this poet who uses it also in 483 and 547 in a different sense; see notes *ad loc.*

253. Λητοΐδης. see note on 158.

μύθοισι προσηύδα: a somewhat rare speech-introduction (*Il.* 6.343 and *Th.* 169), instead of the somewhat commoner ἐπέεσσι προσηύδα (once in the *Il.* and 4x in the *Od.*).

254-77. *Hermes and Apollo's first exchange of speeches*

In this subsection, Apollo threatens Hermes, but does not seem to inspire fear in the young god, as his reply reveals. Apollo's words depict him as a representative of βίη, which Hermes counters with his μῆτις; Detienne & Vernant (1974) 18 n. 3. On Apollo's threats, see Vox (1981) and Harrell (1991). Although the god of prophecy, Apollo demands that baby Hermes (whom he underestimates, at least in the beginning of their encounter) reveal to him the location where the cows were hidden. In addition, Apollo appears to confuse Tartarus (traditionally a place of punishment for those gods who challenge Zeus' supremacy) and Hades, where Hermes is said to function as the leader of 'feeble men,' as Vox (1981) 109 points out. Moreover, by pronouncing his threats, Apollo attempts to assume Zeus' position, since only the father of gods and men can hurl another god down from Olympus. Our passage, then, acquires a theogonic dimension, as a new god, Hermes, attempts to challenge Apollo's authority; cf. also

Holmberg (1990) 94 who compares Hermes to Prometheus. The comedy of the scene is further enhanced by the consideration (underscored by both Vox and Harrell) that Apollo himself almost suffered the very punishment he threatens to inflict on Hermes at the hands of Zeus when he killed the Cyclopes. He was saved only through the intervention of his mother; this detail gives 257-8 an additional point; for the story, see Hes. *fr.* 54a+57 M.-W, Apollod. 3.10.4, and Phld., *Piet.* 34 Gomperz. For a survey of the occurrences of the 'hurling somebody into Hades'- motif, see Harrell (1991) 309-17. For Apollo's speech in general, see van Nortwick (1975) 92-3.

254. ὦ παῖ: the address only here in early hexameter poetry. It is found again in Pindar, Bacchylides, Anacreon (to a slave-boy), and the second book of the Theognidea. If παῖ is genuine at 473, Hermes may return the 'compliment' to Apollo); see note *ad loc.* Apollo's addresses to Hermes in this and the next speech (282-3) are rather impersonal, consist of appellatives, and do not use any term that would acknowledge the young god's divine status or even simply his parentage. It is only after Hermes' "omens" that Apollo acknowledges Hermes as the son of Zeus and Maia (301). Notice also that nowhere in the Hymn does either god call the other by his proper name.

κατάκειαι: for the form, see Schulze *QE* 443, Janko (1982) 138, and above, p. 26-7.

μήνυε: the verb only here in archaic poetry. It is next found in Herodotus (also κατα-) 1.23, 2.121, 6.29, 7.31.

255. θᾶσσον: the MSS have the Attic θᾶττον here, which Allen retained and used as an indication of the Hymn's Athenian/Boeotian provenance (see above, p. 29-30). But θᾶττον may not have been the original reading; the epic form is attested in the MSS at 212. On the accentuation (θάσσον), see West, *Ilias* I xx, *s.v.* ἆσσον. The comparative stands here for the positive; cf. LSJ *s.v.* ταχύς C I 2.

ἐπεί: 'for otherwise'; cf. LSJ, *s.v.* B 1.

διοισόμεθ': 'dispute,' 'quarrel'; the verb here for the first time, then in Heraclit. *fr.* 72, Herodotus etc.

256. λαβών: Ilgen's emendation for the MSS' βαλών which duplicates the sense of ῥίψω. The confusion between λαβών/βαλών is common in the manuscripts; see West (1973) 21; cf. also *Il.* 8.12-3 (ἑλών).

257. ζόφον αἰνόμορον καὶ ἀμήχανον: the entire phrase is a novel combination. αἰνόμορος ('having a terrible doom') normally of people; ζόφος is properly qualified as ἠερόεις, and αἰνόμορος should be understood as having active sense here ('causing a terrible doom').

ἀμήχανος is a favorite word with the poet (cf. 157, 346, 434, 447). Of course, the only one who experiences ἀμηχανία is Apollo himself.

257-58: οὐδέ...ἀλλά: for this construction in the context of a threat, cf. *Il.* 21.123-5 and *h.Apol.* 365-9.

258. ἀναλύσεται: ἀναλύεσθαι in the sense of 'release,' 'set free' does not occur in the *Iliad*; but cf. *Od.* 12.200. For the sense, see Vox (1981) 109-10. The verb also appears

in curse tablets in the formula: καταδῶ καὶ οὐκ ἀναλύσω τόν...; see Jordan (1985)

158 (no. 18) and López Jimeno (1999) 208-9.

259. ἐρρήσεις: cf. Maia's ἔρρε πάλιν in 160. The verb could be understood both

as 'wandering' (cf. *Od.* 4.367) and as 'go or come to one's own harm' (so LSJ *s.v.* II.1).

ὀλίγοισι μετ' ἀνδράσιν: what are these ὀλίγοι ἄνδρες exactly? AS suggest that

they are infants like Hermes and compare 245 and 456, where the epithet is indeed used

of a child. This is not likely as their own parallels (*AP* 7.632.1 ὀλίγον βρέφος and Theoc.

1.47 ὀλίγος τις κῶρος) show: there ὀλίγος modifies words that refer to the young (so

also 245 of *h.Herm.*), whereas here we are dealing with ἄνδρες; AHS prefer 'little men,'

instead. It is more plausible to understand them as weak men, i.e. ἀμενηνοί, such as the

souls of the dead (e.g. *Od.* 11.29); see also Moorhouse (1947) 36. The Homeric

ὀλιγοδρανέων ('feeble,' used of heroes about to die in *Il.* 16.843 and 22.337) and

Horace's 'levem turbam' (*Carm.* 1.10.18) may also be relevant here. Note finally that the

souls of the dead are sometimes represented as little (winged) men; cf. *LIMC* V (Hermes)

622 (500-480 BC), in which Hermes, holding a scale on which two souls are "weighed,"

stands between two hoplites who are about to engage in a duel.

ἡγεμονεύων: usually without a preposition, but cf. *Il.* 21.258 (ἀνά) and 461 of

the Hymn (ἐν, also transmitted by Ψ in this verse). Perhaps, Hermes is seen here in his

future capacity as Psychopomp; cf. also 392 where a pun with διάκτορος may be

intended. As Vox (1981) 111 remarks, Hermes will be the leader of Apollo in the Hymn.

260. cf. on 162.

261-77. *Hermes' reply*

Hermes' response to Apollo's threats seems to be rhetorically organized, as

Radermacher 127-8, already observed, but does not correspond to any particular

apology-structure; cf. Görgemanns (1976) 115. The tricky child expresses his surprise at

the accusation and then denies any knowledge of the deed. He attempts to reinforce his

claim to innocence through an argument from probability (κατὰ τὸ εἰκός), on which see

Görgemanns (1976) 116-7. Kennedy (1994) 14 considers this 'the earliest specific example

of argument from probability...in Greek.' No one is likely to believe that a newly-born

baby could have stolen the cows, and Apollo would run the risk of appearing ridiculous.

This type of argument was associated with Corax and Teisias, but any attempt to date

the Hymn on these grounds must be inconclusive. Görgemanns' idea that the Hymn

was composed under the influence of sophistic rhetoric is not persuasive, as rhetoric—

albeit not codified—exists already in Homer (see above, p. 20-1).

As a final step in his defense, Hermes declares himself willing to swear an oath.

For the use of the oath as a means for the accused party to prove his innocence, see Jones

(1956) 136-9. Hermes' oath displays some of the typical features found in Homeric oath-

scenes. It has an Introduction, i.e. the offering of the oath (274), and a Tenor (275-6), i.e.

the content of the oath. For the typology and terminology of Homeric oath scenes, see

Arend (1975) 122-3; Callaway (1990), Introduction—with a survey of modern

scholarship on oath—and ch. 1-2; and *eadem* (1993), esp. 22-4. Callaway incorrectly

claims that Hermes does not swear the oath. Although the oath is offered in the future

(274 ὀμοῦμαι) and an Execution and/or Confirmation section are absent (contrast 518-23), and despite the parallels to Hera's truly unsworn oath in *Il.* 15 (both culprits relying on their craftiness, the addressee of the oath reacts with a smile or laughter), Hermes *does* swear his oath. His words in 275-6 are simultaneously the oath's Tenor and Execution. The divine babe, however, does not perjure himself because his words are very carefully chosen. This ability of Hermes to swear false oaths without perjuring himself is reminiscent of Autolycus, Odysseus' grandfather, who was given by Hermes κλεπτοσύνη and ὅρκος (*Od.* 19.395-7).

261. ἔειπας: the form only here; Homer uses either εἶπας or ἔειπες.

262. καί: for καί in questions denoting strong surprise or indignation (= 'actually'), see Denniston 311 ii. Some editors, following Matthiae (who later changed his view), emended to ἤ; Gemoll accepted the transmitted text but did not punctuate before καί, thus rendering 'Warum sprichst du so unfreundlich und suchst Rinder....,' but there is no particle 'why' in the text nor can it be implied from τίνα.

263. a *tricolon crescens*. For other instances of one line occupied by three members, see Fehling (1969) 312, to whose examples this verse should be added.

For the first hemistich, cf. *Od.* 23.40; for the entire line, cf. Thphr. *Char.* 1.5 and Andrisano (1988-89) 45. By replying that he did not see or hear anything, Hermes behaves exactly as he had instructed the Old Man in 92-3.

264. μήνυτρον ἀροίμην: μήνυτρον only here in archaic hexameter poetry; later it appears regularly in the plural (Hippon. *fr.* 102, Thuc. 6.27, Phrynich. *fr.* 58.5, Andok. *De myst.* 40.2). Perhaps formed by analogy to κλέος ἀρέσθαι?

265. For the anaphora of the negations concluding with οὔτε, cf. Denniston 509; we need not change to οὐδέ with Baumeister. For κραταιῷ φωτί, cf. Bacch. 18.18-9.

266. Editors again wished to change οὐκ into οὔτ' (Gemoll) or οὐδ' (Allen), without strong punctuation preceding, but this does not seem necessary, as the asyndeton is not unusual in this Hymn; cf. on 17.

πάρος...μέμηλεν: for πάρος with the perfect, see Schwyzer II 273-4, 287; it normally refers to a situation that has been true in the past and continues to be so in the speaker's (present) time. If taken as strictly temporal, πάρος would add to the humor of the scene as it may imply that Hermes may become interested in cattle-theft in the future. However, πάρος could mean 'rather,' (cf. LSJ *s.v.* A 6, *contra* van der Mije in *LfgrE s.v.*, esp. col. 990, who concedes, however, that this verse may be the only example of πάρος 'rather').

267. for the collocation of food, clothes, warm bath, and sleep, cf. *Od.* 8.248-9, αἰεὶ δ' ἡμῖν δαίς τε φίλη κίθαρίς τε χοροί τε εἵματά τ' ἐξημοιβὰ λοετρά τε θερμὰ καὶ εὐναί, all of which are dear to the Phaeacians.

ἡμετέρης: perhaps an indication of Hermes' (mock) dignity; cf. also Gemoll *ad loc.* and later 370 (ἦλθεν ἐς ἡμετέρου); also 276 and 310.

268. an instance of syllepsis, on which see Trask (1993), *s.v.* zeugma 2; he

suggests that this trope has a 'result [that ranges] from the comical to the ill-formed.'

θερμὰ λοετρά: the phrase may generally refer to just one bath, as in *Il.* 22.444;

the context here suggests plurality, since Hermes is enumerating things in which he is

interested habitually.

271. παῖδα....περῆσαι: Hermes chooses his words so cleverly that strictly

speaking he is not lying; he can deny that he traversed the cave's entrance with the cows

because he actually hid them elsewhere. And after all, he did not go through the

entrance, but entered through the keyhole.

272. βουσὶ μετ' ἀγραύλοισι: μετά with the dative implies a group or

community; hence it is normally used mostly of humans (or the gods); cf. Chantraine,

GH II, 117 (§165), and 270 μετ' ἀθανάτοισι.

ἀπρεπέως: neither ἀπρεπῶς nor ἀπρεπής appear elsewhere in archaic poetry.

Radermacher 127, associates it with the theory of τὸ πρέπον in rhetoric (words chosen

so as to correspond to the speaker's character), on which see Ernesti (1962) 284-5. It is

also possible that ἀπρεπέως refers to the manner in which Apollo asks for his cattle, viz.

his rude behavior.

273-7. These lines were omitted by Hermann on the grounds that (a) 276-7 equal

310-11; and (b) Hermes' oath is not mentioned by Apollo later in the Olympian scene.

However, the repetition (a) should not cause any problem (cf. 364ff.). As for the oath (b),

the reason it is not mentioned later is not because Hermes does not actually swear it, but

because, although sworn, it has no practical significance. Hermes simply does not profess to be guilty; he is not explicitly denying his guilt (see also below, note on 275). In his reply to Apollo in the Olympian scene, Hermes uses a line of defense similar to his first speech to Apollo: an argument from probability and a crafty oath. On the subject, cf. also Gemoll *ad loc.*

273. χθές: only here in archaic literature. It is next found in Hdt. 2.53; the verse is yet another *tricolon crescens*.

274. εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις: Ilgen's correction of the MSS εἰ δὲ θέλεις. For θέλω, cf. *Od.* 15.317 (although it could be ὅττι 'θέλοιεν, as in *Il.* 1.277); also *h.Dem.* 160 with Richardson's comment *ad loc.* θέλω is guaranteed in *h.Apol.* 46, which suggests that the MSS may preserve the correct reading here, and Ilgen's emendation is unnecessary.

πατρὸς κεφαλήν: i.e. Zeus, who is represented in epic poetry as assenting by nodding his head. κεφαλή can also be used as a form of address (e.g. *Il.* 8.281 Τεῦκρε φίλη κεφαλή, and *Od.* 1.343, 11.557). The appeal to Zeus here has an ulterior purpose: it is part of Hermes' strategy to take the whole issue to Zeus's court and prepare his arrival on Olympus. Hera too swears (among other things) on Zeus' 'sacred head' in *Il.* 15.39 in the aftermath of her seduction of Zeus. For the identification of the head with the person in early Greek thought, see Onians (1988) 95-100. For a similar oath, cf. *h.Aphr.* 27, Eur. *Hel.* 835; also Juv. 13.84 (oath on the son's head), with Courtney *ad loc.*

μέγαν ὅρκον: when applied to the gods the phrase is normally used of Styx' waters; cf. *Od.* 5.178, *Th.* 784, *h.Apol.* 79, *h.Herm.* 518, Hirzel (1979) 171-5, and Callaway

(1990) 36-8; in addition, gods also swear by cosmic powers (e.g. *Il.* 14.273-4). For

μέγας ὅρκος of humans, cf. *Il.* 1.233, 9.132 et al. At *h.Herm.* 383 the μέγας ὅρκος is

sworn on the προθύραια.

275. μὴ μέν...αἴτιος εἶναι: an 'evidentiary oath,' on which see Bonner & Smith

(1938) 146. Render: 'I do not profess either that I myself am guilty...'; obviously, Hermes'

words here (as elsewhere) allow plenty of room for ambiguity, as they could also be

rendered 'I profess not to be guilty...' For ὑπισχνεῖσθαι with the present infinitive 'to

profess,' cf. LSJ, *s.v.* 2; for the oath formula μή + indic., cf. *Il.* 10.330, 15.41, and Hdt.

2.118, 179, 5.106. μή + indicative expresses solemn or impassionate denial; cf. Goodwin

GMT 271 (§686, who offers no explanation for this construction) and Chantraine *GH* II

321 (§483) who speaks of a 'dénegation emphatique.' ὑπίσχομαι should not be taken as

parenthetical as Schneidewin and Agar (1926) suggested.

276. κλοπόν: only here and Opp. *C.* 1.517 (κλόπος). Homer has κλέπτης (*Il.*

3.11).

ὑμετεράων: the plural does not simply stand for σάων; although he has not

been accused of stealing all the gods' cows, in his attempt to avoid perjury, Hermes does

not simply deny to have stolen Apollo's cattle, but all the gods' (cf. 71 θεῶν...βόες).

277. αἵ τινες...ἀκούω: Hermes denies here any knowledge of cows ('whatever

these cows are...'), and the first hemistich may suggest that he does not even know what

the word 'cows' means. He claims to know them only by rumor or hearsay (κλέος). If

this interpretation is correct, it would be another indication of our poet's attempt to

make Hermes speak as a child, which is the line of defense the young god will also follow in the Olympian scene. For the verse-end, cf. *Il.* 2.486 (introducing the 'Catalogue of Ships'), where it emphasizes the contrast between human knowledge (which derives from hearsay) and the Muses' (who are eye-witnesses to the events they relate). Hermes, too, claims to know of the cows only from hearing, instead of being an eye-witness to their theft. The re-application of a phrase used earlier to designate lack of accurate knowledge of the κλέα ἀνδρῶν to such lowly matters as stolen cattle may be understood as a parodic allusion.

278-312. *Second exchange of speeches*

278-9. πυκνὸν... ῥιπτάζεσκεν: the passage is variously rendered: 'he wagged his eyebrows up and down' (Richardson ≈ LSJ *s.v.*), 'muoveva su e giù le sopracciglia' (Càssola), 'wackelt mit den Augen' (Radermacher), 'he tossed about with his eyebrows, i.e. wagged his head from side to side' (AHS), and 'kept lifting his eyebrows' (AS), while Gemoll adopted Hermann's ὀφρῦς ῥιπτάζεσκεν. It is generally assumed that Hermes is making signals with his eyebrows. But what kind of signals are these supposed to be? *Od.* 12.194 (ὀφρύσι νευστάζων), to which editors often refer, is different. ῥιπτάζειν, furthermore, is not associated with looking; it is found in *Il.* 14.257 (of Zeus hurling the gods about on Olympus) and in medical writers in the sense of 'tossing in bed'; cf. e.g. Hp. *Morb.* 2.17, *Epid.* 4.1.31, *Acut.* 18, Gal. 15.816 Kühn, and metaphorically ('worrying' and possibly with double entendre) in Ar. *Lys.* 27. Our passage bears close resemblance

to Hes. *Th.* 826-7 (ἐκ δέ οἱ ὄσσων [*pace* West] θεσπεσίης κεφαλῇσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι πῦρ

ἀμάρυσσεν), to which it may in fact allude. Hesiod's ἐκ...ὄσσων is equivalent to ἀπὸ

βλεφάρων in our passage, and a simple dative is used instead of ὑπ' ὀφρύσι. Tears are

said to be shed ὑπ' ὀφρύσι (*Il.* 13.88, *Od.* 4.153, 8.86, 531) and Typhoeus' eyes flash fire

ὑπ' ὀφρύσι as well. A parodic allusion to Typhoeus may be intended here: both he and

Hermes are presented as having flashing eyes and pose a threat to the balance of divine

honors as it exists up to that point; Typhoeus is thrown into Tartarus (cf. Hes. *Th.* 869),

and Apollo threatens Hermes with the same punishment in 256-7; furthermore, both

Hermes and Typhoeus produce sibilant sounds (ἀποσυρίζων *h.Herm.* 280~ ῥοιζέσχ'

Hes. *Th.* 835). ὀφρύσι, furthermore, should be separated from what follows by a comma;

cf. West (2003a). Render: 'thus he said, and darting quick glances from his eyes (lit. eye-

lids) [underneath] his eyebrows, he was turning, looking now here, now there.'

Notice, finally, that both Hermes' deceptive speeches (to Apollo and to Zeus) are

accompanied by non verbal action related to Hermes' eyes that causes the addressee to

laugh (cf. 387).

ὀρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα: cf. Hes. *fr.* 294.2 (of Argus). The fact that Hermes

avoids to meet Apollo's gaze can be interpreted as manifestation of his guilt.

280. μάκρ' ἀποσυρίζων: the compound only here, then in Lucian, *VH* 2.5 (with

different meaning); the simplex in Aesch. *Sept.* 463. For whistling as a sign of contempt

or lack of interest, cf. Dem. 18.265 (ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον). Hermes' whistling

may be a means of bolstering his own confidence.

<u>ἄλιον ὡς μῦθον ἀκούων</u>: M has ὡς, the rest of the MSS oscillate between

τόν or combinations of τόν and ὡς; Radermacher and Humbert proposed τως, which in

Homer is used as a demonstrative and normally functions as a correlative. AHS prefer

τόν and consider ὡς a gloss that was added to explicate the construction. Their parallel

for the construction (χαίρω σὲ ἐληλυθότα cited by *EM* and *Suida s.v.* χαίρω as Oropian;

Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1339) is not satisfactory. Hermes, furthermore, is not listening to a

pointless speech (Apollo actually seizes Hermes later at 293; cf. also on 308) but *pretends*

he is listening to one. Hence, ὡς (to be taken with the participle) seems preferable here.

τόν may be influenced by *Il.* 5.715. The modification of the aforementioned Iliadic

phrase may explain the scansion of ἄλιον whose ultima is irregularly lengthened; cf. 371

where νέον is scanned ⌣—, probably formula modified from 197.

Pelliccia (1995) 74 suggests that ἀποσυρίζων implies that Hermes is too young to

speak, while the phrase ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ἀκούων 'designates not contempt for Apollo,

but feigned incomprehension.' However, ἀποσυρίζων does not have the connotation

that Pelliccia proposes; normally τραυλίζειν or ψελλίζειν are used for infantile speech;

cf. Kotzia (2007). Moreover, despite Hermes' self-presentation himself as an ignorant

infant (cf. on 277), nowhere in the Hymn does he claim not to understand, not even in

his defense speech in front of Zeus. The young god pretends here to be indifferent to

Apollo's accusations (cf. also his actions later in 305-6), and his feigned indifference can

be supported by his whistling and avoiding to look directly at Apollo.

282. ὦ πέπον...δολοφραδές: πέπον is normally a term of endearment (see Kirk on *Il.* 6.55), but cf. *Th.* 544 (with West's comment) and 560 where Zeus addresses Prometheus, perhaps ironically.

ἠπεροπευτά elsewhere only of Paris. δολοφραδής (only here in archaic hexameter, then in Pi. *N.* 8.33, and Nonn. *D.* 2.27) is formed by analogy to κακοφραδής (*Il.* 23.483). cf. *Od.* 11.364 (ἠπεροπῆά τ' ἔμεν καὶ ἐπίκλοπον of Odysseus).

283. ἀντιτοροῦντα: cf. note on 178 (ἀντιτορήσων).

284. ἔννυχον: only once in Homer; normally ἐννύχιος is used instead.

οὔ χ' ἕνα ....καθίσσαι: For sitting on the ground as a sign of despair, see Richardson on *h.Dem.* 200. For the scansion of οὐδεΐ (elsewhere disyllabic) as a 'recent' development in the Homeric dialect, cf. Meister (1966) 133. The phrase may be proverbial. Cf. also *Od.* 4.718-9 ἐπ' οὐδοῦ ἷζε...οἴκτρ' ὀλοφυρομένη (of Penelope).

285. σκευάζοντα: perhaps also in Arch. *fr.* 140.2; normally it means 'to prepare' or 'make ready,' but cf. Men. *Sam.* 599 where it means 'to deceive' or 'mock.' Here probably a euphemism for 'stealing'; LSJ I 3 render 'collect σκεύη.' This sense is probable in Lys. *fr.* 352, and possible (though not certain) in Din. *fr.* 35 = Poll. 10.16 (both in the middle).

κατ' οἶκον: for the neglect of the digamma, cf. Archil. *fr.* 297.1, Semon. *fr.* 7.104 (both iambic), and Pi. *P.* 1.72. Homer has only κατὰ οἶκον/οἴκους, as does our poet in 61.

286. μηλοβοτῆρας: only here and *Il.* 18.529. For the combination, cf. ποιμένες ἄγραυλοι (*Il.* 18.162, *Th.* 26).

287. κρειῶν ἐρατίζων: this is the same motive that the poet attributed to Hermes' cattle theft earlier in the poem (64). Apollo appears thus to share with the poet the knowledge of Hermes' initial motif for stealing the cows.

288. This verse is transmitted in all manuscripts. The sub-family *x* offers also ἀντῆς βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις ὀίεσσιν in the margin (288a in Càssola's edition). West (1962) 178 argued that βουκολίοισι was substituted by its gloss (ἀγέλησι βοῶν) and then the line was adapted to accommodate this substitution; but cf. his (2003) edition. If genuine, this verse would be the only occurrence of βουκόλιον before Xen. *HG* 4.6.6. But it does not seem likely that a text as understudied in antiquity as *h.Herm.* was glossed so early in the tradition that the gloss supplanted the genuine reading in all MSS. Perhaps ἀντήσεις, a short vowel subjunctive (just like ἰαύσεις in the following line; cf. nt. on 43), was not properly understood and was subsequently changed into ἀντήσῃς (perhaps already in majuscule ANTHCHC?) which then underwent haplography.

291. τοῦτο γὰρ οὖν: for γὰρ οὖν, see Denniston 445-6, who notes that in Homeric Greek οὖν always has a backward reference, which in this case would be ἠπεροπευτά and δολοφραδές.

292. ἀρχός...πάντα: Matthiae wished to expunge this verse and take τοῦτο to refer to νυκτὸς ἑταῖρε; but Apollo's pronouncement is in keeping with his attempt to

assumw Zeus's role. He confers on Hermes part of his divine honors, which are the prerogative of Zeus alone to confer. Note also that Hermes has claimed this honor already in 175.

294-306. Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 41-3, contended that the entire passage had been composed 'ab inepto homine' in order to make up for lost verses and proposed to supply τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισιν between 293 and 307, omitting everything in between. His first objection is that Hermes' wind is called τλήμονα γαστρὸς ἔριθον. He also wonders why Hermes emits this "omen" in the first place and for whom is it intended. And what is the purpose of Hermes' sneezing immediately after he produces his first "omen"? In addition to these particulars, the whole sequence of events in Matthiae's view lacks logic: Apollo first lifts Hermes, who emits his "omen" presumably to force Apollo to drop him. Apollo then sits in front of Hermes while the young god gets up and starts walking; then, however, Hermes asks Apollo where he is *carrying* him. The final objection is against 305-6, since the reasons for Hermes' action in those lines are not clear and the construction awkward. These objections are not justified. Hermes' first "omen" directly follows Apollo's statement whereby he bestows upon the divine babe one of his most important *timai*; thus, it functions as a confirmatory omen. Furthermore, the humor of 296 lies partly in the fact that something that babies normally do is presented as an omen and, what is more, in a mock-heroic style; see nt. *ad loc*. The second omen (sneezing) is confirmatory as well. As for the question why Hermes protests at being carried off by Apollo, the answer may lie in

Apollo's words at 303, σὺ δ' αὖ ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύσεις. The future can be understood as a minatory one, and we can imagine Apollo attempting to seize the divine babe who tries to escape his older brother. Lines 320-1, furthermore, describe what is referred to in 303. On particular issues, see notes on individual verses. See also Pelliccia (1990) 72-4, who connects this passage with the ἐγγαστριμάντεις and the Callimachean attribution of speech to speechless entities (e.g. the unborn Apollo, statues etc.). As a point of curiosity, it should be noted that 296 was dismissed by Agar (1926) as 'certainly spurious, even if Hermes did what is supposed, as is quite likely,' adding that it 'should be removed, full-stop and all'.

294. σὺν δ' ἄρα...Ἀργειφόντης: the participle indicates that Hermes' "omens" are intentional. AS suggest that this may be a parody of the omen of Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης; cf. also Ar. *Nu.* 394. It may be significant that this is the first time that Hermes is called κρατύς in the Hymn.

296. τλήμονα γαστρὸς ἔριθον: For the breaking of wind as a parody of an omen, cf. Ar. *Eq.* 639, 1019, 1177. On the verse, see Katz (1999) who suggests that τλήμων would prompt an association with θυμός (cf. his parallels on p. 318 with n. 19), i.e. the lofty spirit, while γαστρὸς ἔριθον would deflate the image and cause the audience's amusement. For a similar circumlocution that parodies epic and tragic style, cf. the riddle in Eup. *fr.* 107.1-9, with Hunter (1983) 200-3.

ἀγγελιώτην: cf. ἀσπιδιώτης (*Il.* 2.554, 16.167), ἀγροϊώτης, εἰραφιώτης and Risch § 14e. The noun is found again in Call. *Jov.* 68 and Nonn. *D.* 13.36, who may be alluding to lines 295-6 (προέηκεν...ἀγγελιώτην).

297. ἐσσυμένως...ἐπέπταρε: For a survey of ancient references to sneezing as an omen, see Pease (1911) and Wimmel (1971) esp. 157-61 with n. 3; further, Bouché-Leclercq, I, 162-6 and Pritchett (1979) 126-7. At *Od.* 17.545, Telemachos' sneeze when hearing of his father's imminent return is a confirmatory omen. Hermes then appears to confirm Apollo's description "leader of thieves."

τοῖο δ' Ἀπόλλων ἔκλυεν: cf. *Il.* 1.43-4 etc., a phrase often used of a god listening to somebody's prayer. Normally, when hearing someone sneeze, by-standers would exclaim Ζεῦ σῶσον, i.e. 'Gesundheit' (cf. *AP* 11.268.3).

298. κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν: Notice the humorous contrast between 'glorious Hermes' in 298 (where Μαιάδος υἱόν could have been used instead) and the divine babe's 'omen' in 296.

299. ἕζετο: Apollo suffers what he predicted a few lines earlier (284). Gemoll, *ad loc.*, suggests that Apollo sits in his capacity as an interpreter of signs ('Zeichendeuter'), but this is not necessary. Apollo has already perceived the omens and does not need to explain them.

ἐσσύμενός περ ὁδοῖο: for the genitive, cf. *Od.* 4.733 and *Il.* 13.315 (καὶ ἐσσύμενον πολέμοιο).

300. κερτομέων: see above, note on 51.

301. *σπαργανιῶτα: certainly a humorous noun (cf. Zumbach [1955] 7 and ἀσπιδιώτης); also the analogy between Hermes' swaddling clothes and a warrior's armor suggested above, note on 237.

Διός...υἱέ: Apollo acknowledges Hermes' status as the son of Zeus (already stated by the poet in 214 after receiving the bird-omen).

302. καὶ ἔπειτα: 'in the end' or 'after all'; cf. Il. 8.357, 15.140, Od. 8.520.

303. τούτοις οἰωνοῖσι: this comment adds to the comedy; Apollo was unable to find the stolen cows with the help of the bird omen he received, but he claims that he will find them with Hermes' frivolous ones.

304. Κυλλήνιος Ἑρμῆς: cf. Od. 24.1, where Aristarchus considered it post-Homeric.

306. σπάργανον...ἐελμένον: the manuscripts offer nominative forms: ἐελμένος (M) and ἐλιγμένος (Θ), ἐλιγμένος (p); the last two appear only in rather late sources ([Zonar.] s.v. πόκος, Gr.Pal. Hom. 53.56, and EM s.v. ἐλέβας). ἐελμένον, adopted by Càssola, is Schneidewin's emendation. For an overview of earlier attempts to emend and explain this passage, see Andrisano (1988-89) 34-6; her suggestion that Il. 21.489-91 is the precedent for h.Herm. 305 seems improbable. AS proposed (among other things) to take ἐελμένος absolutely and rendered 'pushed with his hands the clothes up to his ears, round his shoulders, huddled up.' Although the sense 'huddled up' is attested for ἐελμένος (cf. LSJ s.v. εἴλω B 1), it is not appropriate here: Hermes is said to have risen from his cradle and he is moving (ἀνόρουσε θοῶς, σπουδῇ ἰών). AHS, on the other

hand, construed παρεώθει χερσὶ τὰ οὔατα 'pushed his ears back' and understood it

as 'a more vigorous equivalent of ἀπομόρξατο αὐγάς or παρειάς,' which also seems

awkward. The sense of the participle causes the main problem here: ἔελμαι (from

εἴλειν) means 'constrain' or 'shut in' (cf. LSJ s.v. εἴλω A), and only forms of εἰλεῖν or

ἰλλειν yield the sense 'wind, turn round, roll up tight.' Taken in its proper sense,

ἐελμένος cannot accommodate the accusative (σπάργανον). I believe that the poet has

conflated here the meanings of εἴλειν and εἰλεῖν; both verbs derive from the same root,

and 'confine' may in some cases be the logical consequence of 'winding up.' One could

imagine that Hermes was wound up so tightly in his swaddling-clothes that he was

confined in them. The purpose of Hermes' actions is not to avoid listening to Apollo's

threats (the threats have already been uttered). Rather, the tightly wound swaddling-

clothes prevent the divine babe from running away from Apollo (cf. σπουδῇ ἰών);

therefore, he pushes them with his hands (which presumably were also enwrapped)

towards his ears (i.e. upwards) so that he can free himself from them. I would not

separate 305 from 306 (as Radermacher and AHS do), would adopt M's nominative

form, and render: 'tightly wrapped around his shoulders with his swaddling-clothes he

was pushing them with his hands towards his ears.' The regular construction would

require an accusative indicating the body part and a dative indicating the thing

wrapped; see the examples cited in Andrisano (1988-89) 41; but the poet already

deviates from this construction in 151 (σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὤμοις εἰλυμένος), and there

may be a good reason for his choice: ἀμφ' ὤμοις is regularly employed in Homer in the

context of putting on one's weapon (e.g. *Il.* 3.328, 10.34, 11.527, 15.479, *Od.* 8.416, 23.366; notice too that in *Od.* 4.245, 17.197[=18.108] it is Odysseus putting on his disguise); if so, ἀμφ' ὤμοις would pick up the metaphor already suggested by καταδύνειν in 237. For παρ' οὔατα, cf. *Il.* 21.491.

307. ζαμενέστατε: 'strongest;' the adjective also in Pindar (*P.* 4.10, 9.38 et al). Hesiod, *Th.* 928 has ζαμένησε, which presumes the existence of the epithet. It has been wrongly assumed that the epithet may connote prophetic skills; see Braswell (1979).

308. ὀρσολοπεύεις: from ὄρσος ('rump,' Attic ὄρρος) and λέπειν; explained by Phot. as λοιδορεῖν and πολεμεῖν. Cognates are found in Anacr. *fr.* 48 (ὀρσολόπος μὲν Ἄρης φιλεῖ μεναίχμην), Aesch. *Pers.* 10 (ὀρσολοπεῖται θυμός) for which the *Scholia* offer διαπολεμεῖται, ταράσσεται, θορυβεῖται, and in Max. 5. 107 (ἀλλ' ἄν κε πανήμερον ὀρσολοπεύοι μύθῳ ὀνειδείῳ καί τε πληγῇσιν ἰάπτοι); see Frisk, *s.v.* ὀρσοθύρη and *LfgrE, s.v.* ὀρσολοπεύω. The literal meaning seems to be 'ὁ λέπων τὸν ὄρρον (e.g. τοῦ φυγόντος πολεμίου)', as Schwyzer (1923) 22 notes, but nothing in the text, not even 295, forces us to understand it in this way; but cf. Pernée (1985) 169 who remarks that the verb 'semble décrire avec une précision admirable l'action du chien au moment où, après avoir pourchassé sa proie sans relâche, il l'atteint enfin: il l'attaque par derrière (ὄρσο-), lui déchirant (-λοπεῖν) de ses crocs les reins et les flancs.' Accordingly, we could render it as 'pursue' or even 'chase,' which would also be in keeping with Apollo's examining and following the tracks earlier in the poem. But is

Apollo perhaps spanking Hermes? This could find support from 373 (unless Hermes

is exaggerating his treatment at the hands of Apollo).

309-11. see note on 275-7.

312. <u>δὸς δὲ δίκην καὶ δέξο</u>: δίκην διδόναι also in Hdt. 1.155 et al.; the

combination of δίκην διδόναι καὶ δέξασθαι occurs again in Th. 1. 140.2, 5.59.5.

313-96 *Hermes and Apollo on Olympus*

313-65 *The two gods arrive at Olympus; Apollo's speech to Zeus*

Lines 313-21, a summary of the recent events, link the previous scene (Hermes'

and Apollo's confrontation) with what follows, viz. their appearance in front of Zeus'

court. They also introduce the motif of a new god's arrival at Olympus from a comic

perspective, since Hermes enters Olympus not in a triumphant manner (cf. Apollo's

appearance in the beginning of *h.Apol.* or Aphrodite's arrival at Olympus in *Hymn* 6),

but as a defendant in a trial that causes a great uproar in the company of the gods (if

Càssola's συλλαλιή in 325 is correct; see the relevant note). The comic effect is enhanced

since the dispute between the two gods is presented as a quarrel between an older and a

younger brother that their father has to settle. The construction in this small section

breaks off in 315; 315 (ὁ μὲν νημερτέα φωνῶν—so Càssola; see below) - 318 are in effect

a large parenthesis explaining ἀμφὶς θυμὸν ἔχοντες. Line 319 resumes the narrative by

picking up αὐτὰρ ἐπεί from 313. Note also the neat chiastic structure in the order the

two gods are referred to: 314 = Hermes-Apollo; 315 = Apollo, 316 = Hermes; 318 = Hermes-Apollo.

313. τὰ ἕκαστα: cf. *LfgrE*, *s.v.* ἕκαστος 2bβ for other examples of τά(δε) / ταῦτα ἕκαστα, 'each of these issues'; in the *Iliad* it is usually accompanied by a compound verb with δια-, to which our διαρρήδην corresponds.

διαρρήδην: 'expressly,' 'explicitly' (LSJ), first here, the only instance of this adverb in early hexameter. It recurs in Attic prose, esp. in oratory and legal prohibitions (e.g. Isoc. 18.20; Demosth. 9.27 Is. 3. 68, 10.10, Aeschin. 2. 60, 105, 137); see van Nortwick (1975) 45. Since διαλέγεσθαι can also mean 'argue' (cf. LSJ, *s.v.* B.1 [Aristotle]), διαρρήδην here may imply this notion of 'arguing,' and the entire phrase could mean 'questioning each issue argumentatively.'

ἐρρέεινον: *p*'s reading, adopted by Càssola (already in Hermann), instead of ἐρέεινεν, which however could be kept; cf. *Il.* 18.398. As AS note, the verb should not be questioned: both parties address questions to each other in the preceding section. ἐρεείνειν seems to be a favorite with the poet, who uses it in different meanings (cf. 252, 483 [both ἐξ-], 487, 533, 547 ἐξ-, 564).

314. οἰοπόλος: the adjective could mean either 'solitary' (since Hermes dwelled apart from the rest of the gods) or 'shepherd,' perhaps looking ahead to his future role as the protector of animals of pasture; cf. 570 ἀμφιπόλευε...μήλοισιν. Schol. *Od.* 11.574, Schol. *A.R.* 4.1322, and the entry in Hsch. suggest that a connection with ὄις was felt by the ancients, and Q.S. 8.371 uses it in this sense (ἄρνας ὅπως σταθμοῖσιν ἐν οἰοπόλοισι

νομῆες); but in Pi. *P.* 4.28 and *fr.* 70b.19 (dithyramb) it refers to solitary deities.

Which meaning the poet intended here cannot be determined with certainty; perhaps both senses are present.

316. ἐπὶ βουσίν: 'on account of the (stolen) cows', indicating the charge; cf. LSJ, *s.v.* B III 1.

ἐλάζυτο: Homer has λάζομαι (only in the forms [ἐ]λάζετο, λαζοίατο, see Risch §109a); λάζυμαι reappears in the Hippocratic corpus, Euripides, and Theocritus. The verb was taken as a synonym of καθάπτεσθαι (ἐπέεσσι) by Ludwich (1908) 118 who also changed 315 to νημερτέι φωνῇ to match the dative construction of καθάπτεσθαι. Furthermore, by adopting the sense of 'reproaching, upbraiding,' Richardson proposed to keep the MSS φωνήν of 315 as an internal accusative (comparing with Soph. *Aj.* 1107-8, καὶ τὰ σέμν' ἔπη κόλαζ' ἐκείνους). However, the meaning 'upbraid' and the construction with the dative or an internal accusative is unparalleled for λάζυσθαι. Wolf's φωνῶν (adopted by Càssola) is the best solution, as it involves only a slight change of the MSS reading; the transmitted φωνήν may have arisen from the parallel νημερτέα βουλήν (*Od.* 1.86, *h.Apol.* 132, 252, 292) and the *homoeoteleuton* of the next verse. No *lacuna* should be posited after 315 with AS (who kept the MSS reading), and the verb should be understood literally (cf. 293), perhaps even with a conative force. Apollo is pursuing Hermes with the intention to seize him, while the young god is moving swiftly towards Olympus (cf. 321).

317. <u>αἱμυλίοισι λόγοισιν</u>: a traditional property of Hermes; cf. *Op.* 78, where

he endows Pandora with 'lies and wily words.'

319. <u>πολύμητις ἐὼν πολυμήχανον εὗρεν</u>: perhaps proverbial 'of a trickster

meeting his match' as Richardson observes. πολυμήχανος is used only here of Apollo;

normally it is a characteristic of Odysseus (except *Od.* 23.321). Apollo, however, has not

so far shown any signs of πολυμηχανίη, and in fact he has already confessed his

ἀμηχανίη more than once. Note also the effective repetition πολυ-...πολυ- in this line,

which Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 270, compares with *Il.* 22.480 (ὁ δ' ἔτρεφε τυτθὸν

ἐόντα Δύσμορος αἰνόμορον). For parallels on the repetition of πολυ-, see Fehling (1969)

to whose examples our verse should be added.

322. <u>τέρθρον ἵκοντο</u>: a rare word, found here for the first time. Some

manuscripts offer ἵκοντο κάρηνα, which should be rejected as a gloss. It generally

means 'extremity,' τέρμα, cf. Emp. *fr.* 100.4 (ῥινῶν ἔσχατα τέρθρα), Apollod.Lyr. *fr.* 701

(τίς ἦλθεν....ἐπὶ τέρθρον θυράων;), a crisis of a disease (in medical texts) or even death;

it is also used as a nautical term ('the end of the sail-yard'); cf. Gal. 19.145.

323. <u>Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα</u>: the phrase only in this Hymn (here and in 504,

before their second ascension to Olympus); it frames the trial scene, and its use here

looks forward to the two gods' reconciliation.

324. <u>δίκης...τάλαντα</u>: in the 'Shield of Achilles' (*Il.* 18.507-8) we hear of two

talents which are the money deposited with the judges as a trial fee to be given to the

one who pronounces the most just verdict. This meaning may be supported here by

κατέκειτο which can function as the passive of κατατίθημι 'to deposit money,' although no trial fee is mentioned anywhere in the text, and there is only one judge (van Nortwick [1975] 45, takes it that each god deposits a talent) whose correct judgment is beyond doubt. On the other hand, in the *Iliad* we also meet Zeus' τάλαντα, i.e. the scales with which he weighs the fates of men (8.69, 16.658, 22.209; also in Archil. *fr.* 91.30).

Understanding τάλαντα as money would contribute to the comic effect, as it would implicitly equate Zeus' court to a human one. However, δίκης τάλαντα here may be a conflation of the two images. On the scales of Justice, cf. Bacch. 4.12 (with Maehler *ad loc.*), 17.25-6; also Aesch. *Ag.* 250-51 with Fraenkel's comment, and *AP* 6.267.4 (Diotimus).

325. συλλαλιή: Càssola's conjecture for εὐμυλίη Ψ, εὐμιλίη M. The former was defended by Radermacher who derived it from μύλη ('mill') and compared with εὐημερίη/ἡμέρα, εὐτυχίη/ τύχη. He understood it as indicating an abundance of food (although gods are supposed to eat only ambrosia) and his interpretation elicited Allen's irony. Humbert related it to μῦ μῦ (Aristoph. *Eq.* 10), μυλιόωντες (*Op.* 530) *et sim.* suggesting the pleasant noise of the gods chatting in the morning. West (2003b) 150 suggests εὐωχίη and adopts it in his edition (unmertrical, unless scanned with synizesis; but see n. on 116), while Führer (2004) proposes εὐφροσύνη; the context, however, suggests a gathering of the gods in early morning, not a banquet scene. Neither εὐμυλίη nor εὐμιλίη occurs anywhere, and Càssola's συλλαλιή fits best the context while explaining the corruption from the paleographical point of view. The word occurs in a

late dictionary (*Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* II, p. 41, cited by Càssola); cf. also the remarks of Eust. 4.717: σημείωσαι δὲ τὸ ὅμαδος οὐκ ἐπὶ ἀπαιδεύτου ἤχου ἐνταῦθα ληφθέν, ὡς ἐν Ὀδυσσείᾳ ἐπὶ μνηστήρων, ἀλλ᾽ ἁπλῶς ἐπὶ σώφρονος ὁμοῦ αὐδῆς ἤτοι συλλαλιᾶς, ἢ πάντως γίνεται, ὅτε τινὲς ἀολέες ἠγερεθόνται... εὐμυλίη points to a corruption already in majuscule (ΛΛ > Μ).

326. ἄφθιτοι: the adjective should not be emended to ἀθρόοι as Groddeck proposed. ἀθάνατοι in the preceding line can be understood as a substantive, and the usage may be paralleled by θνητὸς βροτός (*Od.* 3.3, 7.210, 12.386, 16.212, *Th.* 223 etc.), as Gemoll already suggested.

μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἠῶ: The situation is similar to that in *Od.* 5.1-2 where the gods gather after Dawn. μετά here does not indicate rank but simply temporal sequence, and χρυσόθρονον suggests that perhaps Ἠῶ should be written.

The manuscripts are divided between this line-end and ποτὶ πτυχὰς Οὐλύμποιο. The latter would unnecessarily repeat Olympus from the previous line and would not give satisfactory sense, as the gods are already on Olympus. I suspect that ποτὶ πτυχὰς Οὐλύμποιο must have been an alternative ending for 322 (where it fits the metre and gives good sense) that for some reason ended up in 326.

331. φυὴν κήρυκος ἔχοντα: not 'having the stature of a herald,' as it is unlikely to refer to Hermes' appearance, *pace* Agar (1927) who thought φυὴν κήρυκος to imply that Hermes arrived at Olympus as an exaggerated ὑψίζωνος, having his swaddling clothes girded up to his ears (cf. my note on 305-6). φυή can refer to someone's nature

(cf. LSJ, *s.v.* II). The phrase may perhaps anticipate Hermes' future role as the messenger of the gods, as AS suggest comparing it with οἰοπόλος (314); cf. also Càssola *ad loc.*, who suggests adds that Hermes has now only the appearance of the *keryx* but later he will receive the *caduceus* as well. But notice that Hermes has already performed the duty of a κῆρυξ when he divided the meat by the Alpheios.

332. σπουδαῖον τόδε χρῆμα: σπουδαῖος 'weighty, of serious interest' first here, then in Theognis, Herodotus etc. For the turn of the phrase, cf. Thgn. 70, 116 σπουδαῖον πρῆγμα. χρῆμα does not occur in the *Iliad*, while in the *Odyssey* it appears only in the plural; the singular, first in Hes. *Op.* 344; its application here is certainly ironical.

334-64. *Apollo's speech*

334. μῦθον οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν: ἀλαπαδνός does not occur elsewhere as an attribute of μῦθος, but its opposite κρατερός does, hence the phrase is not as bold as Radermacher thought. It may have been formed by analogy to σθένος οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν.

335. *φιλολήϊος: Unlike πολυλήϊος which derives from λήϊον 'crops,' (cf. *Il.* 5.613, Hes. *fr.* 134, and earlier 171—later it can also mean 'cornfield'), φιλολήϊος here should be related to ληΐς 'booty,' 'spoils' often in the form of cattle. If so, the epithet suggests that Hermes may not be the only one interested in (foreign) cattle. Furthermore, it certainly looks back to Zeus' comment at 330.

336. παῖδα...κεραϊστήν: παῖδά τιν(α) is likely to be deprecatory ('some child'). διαπρύσιος is used most often of sounds ('piercing'); whether one chooses the

derivation from διαπρό with aeolic vocalism or from διαπείρειν (see Frisk *s.v.* for an overview of the different opinions), the adjective is apt, given Hermes' association with the blurring of boundaries and penetrating (cf. also ἀντιτοροῦντα).

κεραϊστής only here, but κεραΐζειν ('plunder') is found in Homer, in Pindar (*P.* 9.21 in the sense of 'slay'), and Hdt. 1.159 ('carry off as booty'). For its derivation, see Nussbaum (1986) 66-71. Hsch. glosses it as 'baneful comet.'

338. κέρτομον: Homer has κερτόμιος (*Il.*1.539, 4.6, 5.419; *Od.* 9.474, 20.177, 24.240), but cf. *Op.* 788. For hyperbaton of this kind, cf. 208.

339. *Λησίμβροτοι: The compound is similar to φθισίμβροτος, φαεσίμβροτος, θελξίμβροτος; cf. also the proper names Αἰνησιμβρότα, Κλησιμβρότα, Τιμασιμβρότα in Alcman, and Knecht (1946) 38. There is no reason to change to ληισίμβροτοι, as Herwerden (1876) suggested, to obtain the sense 'thief'. It means 'escaping notice of, or deceiving men', hence thief; cf. Hesiod's ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ and φηλήτης from φηλός (σφάλλειν). Ruhnken already compared with βροτόφηλος (in Hesychius).

342. εὐθύ: not in Homer (who has ἰθύς instead), but it is found in Hes. *fr.* 43a 63.

πέλωρα: Hermes' footprints are πέλωρα also in 225 and 349.

344. τῆσιν μὲν γὰρ βουσίν: 'in the case of the cows; as far as the cows are concerned'; the dative (ethical) is only loosely connected to the rest of the sentence and should not be taken with ἀντία ('facing', to be connected with ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα on which see above note on 221). Cf. 77.

345. ἔχουσα...ἀνέφαινε: 'kept revealing'; on this sense of ἔχειν, cf. LSJ B IV 2.

346. ἄικτος: Hermann's emendation, adopted by Càssola, for the codd.

ὀδεκτος. Various solutions have been proposed for this troublesome passage (cf.

Càssola's *app. crit.*), but none of them satisfactory. AHS proposed ἄδεκτος relying on

two glosses in Hesychius (ἄδεκτον· ἄπιστον and ἄζετον· ἄπιστον Σικελοί). Edmonds

(1937) 50 suggested ὁδοῦ 'κτος with prodelision, a phenomenon with meager support in

Homer (cf. *Il.* 1.277); perhaps the true reading was ὁδοῦ ἐκτός scanned with

synecphonesis (on which see West [1982] 13). At some stage it might have been

mistakenly thought of as suffering epic correption, hence containing an extra short

syllable which was then dropped to restore the metre. This resulted in the

incomprehensible phrase that we have in the codd. διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον would then

clarify ὁδοῦ ἐκτός.

348. διέτριβε κέλευθα: in Homer -τρ- normally make position in διατρίβειν.

The verb should be understood in its literal sense ('rub hard'), as Gemoll suggested; the

phrase at hand is not a synonym for (δια)πρήσσειν κέλευθον/-α ('to *accomplish* a

journey') but refers to Hermes' 'furrowing' deep and strange tracks or paths on the sand

by means of his sandals.

349. ἀραιῆσι δρυσί: AS's (and AHS) 'young trees' is curious and Càssola's

'come uno che camminasse su arbusti (= 'shrubs, bushes')' is not quite to the point. It

should mean 'slender pieces of wood' (not necessarily oak, cf. Schol. *Il.* 11.86) since, as

we know (but Apollo curiously does not) Hermes had used branches of myrtle and

tamarisk (cf. 81) to construct his sandals.

350. ἐδίωκεν: used as a synonym of ἐλαύνειν; on the semantic development of διώκειν, see Moorhouse (1952).

351. διέπρεπεν: first here; then in Pindar (*Ol.* 1.2).

352. στίβον: the only occurrence in archaic epic. The repetition in the following line should not cause any offense, and it would not be unusual for the Hymn's style; hence, there is no need for Matthiae's μέγαν τρίβον. Here στίβον means 'path', whereas in the next line it should be understood as 'tracks, traces.'

353. ἄφραστος: it occurred earlier (80) in a different sense ('unthought-of'); here it should mean 'imperceptible.'

354. χῶρον ἀνὰ κρατερόν: κρατερός ('hard') only here of the ground.

βροτὸς ἀνήρ: Nowhere in the Old Man's speech do we hear that Hermes led the cows towards Pylos. This is something that Apollo may have learned from the bird-omen. His description of the events becomes shorter, and his sources of information (Old Man and the omen, the latter not mentioned at all) are collapsed into one. The compression of Apollo's summary of the earlier events allows a more rapid transition to Hermes' reply to his brother's accusations, which is the main focus of this scene. Because of the rapid pace, along with the *hapax legomena* in this section Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 272, suggested that Apollo's speech had been both truncated and interpolated.

356. ἐν ἡσυχίῃ: 'at leisure'; cf. καθ' ἡσυχίην Hdt. 1.9, 7.208, Aristoph. *Lys.* 1244, Thuc. 3.48.

<u>κατέερξεν</u>: 'shut them in,' first here, then in Hdt. 5.63. M and Θ have

κατέρεξε(ν) i.e. sacrificed, but this reading is not in keeping with Apollo's amazement

later in 405-8, where he seems to have *just* realized that Hermes had slaughtered two of

the animals. Hence *p*'s reading seems preferable.

357. *<u>διαπυρπαλάμησεν</u>: 'accomplished his tricks quickly.' Ilgen for M's

διαπῦρ παλάμησεν (M) or διὰ πῦρ μάλ' ἄμησεν (Ψ). The compound occurs only here

but πυρπάλαμος appears in Pindar (πυρπάλαμον βέλος in *O.* 10.80 of the thunderbolt)

and the lexicographers: it is glossed by Photius and Suetonius as ὁ ταχέως τι ἐπινοῶν

καὶ παλαμώμενος ἴσα πυρί. For the formation and meaning, see Stolz (1903) esp. 251-3,

who on the basis of *Il.* 20.371-2 (εἰ πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικεν) explains πυρπαλάμης as

'Flammenhand.' In his view, the primary meaning of the compound must have been

'swift' (cf. the lexicographers' interpretations). At a later stage, through the influence of

παλαμᾶσθαι, it acquired that sense found in Hesychius: τοὺς διὰ τάχους τι

μηχανᾶσθαι δυναμένους, which gave rise to the third meaning, i.e. τοὺς ποικίλους τὸ

ἦθος. The force of δια- must be 'from end to end, throughout, completely'. A folk-tale

motif may lie behind this word; cf. Thompson F.683.1 (sparks come from man's hands).

<u>ὁδοῦ...ἔνθα</u>: cf. 226.

358. <u>μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἐοικώς</u>: suggesting concealment and stealth. This line-

ending may be a parodic echo of *Il.* 1.47 where νυκτὶ ἐοικώς is used of Apollo

approaching the Greek camp, as Gemoll *ad loc.* already suggested.

360. <u>αἰετὸς ὀξὺ λάων</u>: λάων only here (and as *l.* in *Il.* 13.344); for the

formation see Leumann *HW* 233-6. Two manuscripts gloss it as βλέπων supralinearly.

Cf. also Hesychius' λάετε· σκοπεῖτε, βλέπετε. For the eagle as endowed with extremely

sharp eyesight, cf. *Il.* 17.674-5.

361. <u>αὐγὰς ὠμόργαζε</u>: αὐγαί first here in the sense of 'eyes,' but frequent in

tragedy. *ὠμόργαζε is Ilgen's emendation following Ernesti's *abstergebat lumina* (cf. *Od.*

18.200) instead of the codd. ὠμάρταζε (ὠμ-), a *vox nihili*.

<u>δολοφροσύνην ἀλεγύνων</u>: δολοφροσύνη elsewhere only at *Il.* 19.97 and 112 in

archaic Epic (Hera deceiving Zeus at the birth of Heracles; in 19.97 δολοφροσύνη seems

to be particularly linked with Hera's female nature; cf. Holmberg [1990] 53-72); notice

also that Apollo addressed Hermes as δολοφραδές in 282.

ἀλεγύνειν, 'preparing, being busy with,' is used in *Od.* only of preparing a meal.

It is preferable to both M's ἀλεγίζων (used only with a negative) and *p*'s ἀλεείνων

which may be due to an error of pronunciation.

363-64: cf. above 263-4.

365. <u>ἤτοι ἄρ(α)....κατ' ἄρ' ἕζετο</u>: for the frequent repetition of ἄρα, cf.

Denniston 33 and *Od.* 16.213, from which our passage may have been influenced.

366-86 *Hermes' speech in Zeus' court*

Hermes' speech is carefully structured and repeats themes that we have already

met in his first defense speech to Apollo. He begins with an attempt to establish his

trustworthiness by stating that he does not know how to lie (368-9); then, he gives an account of Apollo's invasion of his cave and his threats against him (370-6); he repeats the argument from probability that he had presented to Apollo earlier and offers an oath again (though different from the one he swore for Apollo); he concludes his speech with a threat of revenge and a plea to Zeus to aid the young and weak (385-6). The speech thus begins and ends with an address to Zeus. There are, furthermore, verbal correspondences with the defense speech to Apollo (see below on individual notes). In addition, in both speeches Hermes' oath is intended to further the action: the first oath (on Zeus' head) aims to suggest that he and Apollo ought to turn to Zeus for settling their dispute; with the second (invoking the front-door of the gods' palace, which he actually touches), Hermes wants to enter into the palace.

Görgemanns (1976) 117-9—*contra* Kennedy (1963) 41—sees in this speech the parts of an oratorical speech in rudimentary form: 368-9 constitute a proem; 370-6 could be characterized as a *diegesis*; 376-7 repeat the argument from probability (*pistis*); while 378-86 contain an emotional appeal characteristic of epilogues. Hermes' insistence on the absence of witnesses in the *diegesis* may corroborate Görgemanns' view that this speech is a miniature specimen of forensic oratory; however, his conclusions on the Hymn's date based on this speech's organization is far from certain, see above, p. 18-23.

366. Ἑρμῆς δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπεν: Some codd. offer the variant verse Ἑρμῆς δ' αὖθ' ἑτέρωθεν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπος ηὔδα (listed as 366a in Càssola), which was adopted by Gemoll. Both verses contain formulaic components:

ἄλλον μῦθον ('another speech,' in this case Hermes' version of the story, 366) occurs

twice in the same *sedes*, but as a part of a formulaic reply (*Il.* 7.358=12.232, both time a

rebuke); ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν followed by a verb also has parallels in the same position (e.g.

Il. 24.107). On the other hand, ἔπος ηὖδα (366a) although found elsewhere at line-end is

never combined with ἀμειβόμενος. ἑτέρωθεν would indicate that Hermes addresses

Zeus from another quarter, i.e. he does not stand next to Apollo (cf. 365). There can be

no absolute certainty as to which of the two was the original verse, but the variant must

have been present already in the archetype, since it is found in both M and some codd.

of the Ψ recension. 366a is slightly more in keeping with the Hymn's unconventional

style and should perhaps be preferred. For other examples of such variants see Allen

(1895) 302.

367. <u>δείξατο δ' εἰς Κρονίωνα</u>: Hermes pointing to Zeus was interpreted by

Gemoll *ad loc.* as expressing Hermes' boldness and naiveté at the same time. This

gesture, however, could be seen as an oratorical one: Hermes is making an appearance

as a defendant in front of Zeus, who is acting as the judge and replies to Apollo's

accusations. As the god of rhetoric, Hermes appropriately delivers a speech that is

rhetorically well organized (cf. the introductory remarks) and uses non-verbal language

as well: he points to his addressee with a gesture while apostrophizing him.

368-69. Hermes begins his speech with a statement about his veracity. Although

this statement is manifestly false, as 379-80 show (cf. also the poet's comment in 390),

strictly speaking Hermes does not lie anywhere in his speech, not even when he denies

Apollo's accusations. False tales are often introduced by a statement that the speaker is going to tell the truth, as Hübner (1986) 171 points out (cf. *Od.* 14.192, 16.61, *Dem.* 120-1), and Hermes' only lie in this speech is his contention that he does not know how to lie.

368. Ζεῦ πάτερ: this appears to be a somewhat bold form of address, since Zeus has not yet acknowledged Hermes' paternity; cf. also 378. Hermes' arrival to Olympus, however, has an additional function besides settling the dispute between him and Apollo: the young god is introduced into the divine community and his paternity is implicitly acknowledged; for this variation of the motif of a new god's ascension to Olympus, cf. *h.Apol.* 1ff., *h.Aphr.* (6).15.

369. νημερτής: 'unerring,' 'infallible,' 'truthful'. Of persons it is used only of Nereus and Proteus.

370. Radermacher compares the part of Hermes' speech that summarizes the previous events with Dem. 21.78-9, where the speaker refers to the opponent's invasion into his house when he was very young.

ἦλθεν: Hermes does not mention Apollo's name at all in this speech; cf. *Il.* 9.115-61 where Agamemnon avoids mentioning Achilles' name. This has been interpreted as a sign of his naiveté (Gemoll) or discourtesy (AS). Is he perhaps pointing to Apollo through a gesture? On the subject of (implied) gestures in general, see Boegehold (1999).

ἐς ἡμετέρου: by analogy to ἐς Ἀιδου etc.; Hdt. 1.35 and 7.8 has ἐν ἡμετέρου; cf. Chantraine *GH* II 105 (§149) and Schwyzer II 120.

371. <u>ἠελίοιο νέον ἐπιτελλομένοιο</u>: an unhomeric phrase for the sun's rising, formed on the analogy of ἠελίοιο νέον καταδυομένοιο (197, where νέον is long by position). ἐπιτέλλειν is used of a star's rising, cf. Hes. *Op.* 383 and LSJ, *s.v.* B.

372. <u>οὐδέ...μάρτυρας οὐδὲ κατόπτας</u>: On witnesses in Homer, see Nenci (1958) esp. 227-8, with bibliography on the subject. Nenci distinguishes between the μάρτυρος, who has a moral responsibility to preserve the account of what happened, and the αὐτόπτης who has witnessed the facts but is by no means morally obliged to report them. Homer has only the form μάρτυρος; μάρτυς appears first in Hes. *Op.* 371 and Arch. *fr.* 248. κατόπτης ('spy', 'scout') first here. For the turn of the phrase, cf. *Il.* 22.255 μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπισκόπους; cf. also Feyel (1946) 18 who associates κατόπτας with Boeotian magistrates.

373. <u>μηνύειν</u>: cf. 254, where the υ is short; see Schulze *QE* 340 and Zumbach (1955) 52.

<u>ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ πολλῆς</u>: ἀναγκαίη has a wider semantic field than ἀνάγκη, see *LfgrE*, *s.v.* Schreckenberg (1964) 45. From Herodotus on (e.g. 1.116) ἀνάγκη can mean 'torture' (used for revealing the truth); Hermes may be exaggerating Apollo's treatment of him in 293.

374. <u>πολλά...βαλεῖν</u>: for the anaphora of πολλῆς...πολλά (with change from attributive to adverbial, cf. *Il.* 9.464-66), see Fehling (1969) 199. Hermes refers to Apollo's threats in 256-9.

375. τέρεν ἄνθος...ἥβης: the phrase may be based on Hes. *Th.* 988, where

τέρεν ἄνθος is used in a metaphorical sense (normally of ποίη or ὀπώρα); cf. also

κουρήιον ἄνθος, *h.Dem.* 108 (with Richardson *ad loc.* and on 279). For the original

meaning of ἄνθος ('growth'), see Aitchinson (1963). φιλοκυδής appears only in this

Hymn (also in 481) and here it helps avoid the hiatus that ἐρικυδέος (of the Hesiodic

formula) would cause; later as a proper name, Φιλοκύδης, in Athens (5th -2nd c. BC),

Euboea, and Keos (both 4th-3rd c. BC); cf. *LGPN*, vol. I and II, *s.v.*; see also Papadoyannaki

(2001).

376. τὰ δέ...αὐτός: parenthetic, as already suggested by Matthiae.

377. οὔ τι...ἐοικώς: the participle was emended into ἔοικα by Barnes, comparing

with 265, but this is not necessary: the clause is interrupted by the parenthetic τὰ δέ τ'

οἶδε καὶ αὐτός, and Hermes is combining two elements that he used earlier in his first

speech to Apollo by subordinating one to the other; the logical relation between the

participle and the finite verb is reversed, however. One would expect "Having been

born yesterday, I do not resemble a driver of oxen, a mighty man;" for such reversal, cf.

Kühner II §490.

378. καὶ γάρ...εἶναι: another parenthetic phrase; καί refers to ἐμεῖο, as was

noted by Radermacher (i.e. 'you are also my father, not just Apollo's). Hermes' words

are rather bold: normally, it is the son who prides himself in his father. πατὴρ ἐμὸς

εὔχεται/εὔχεαι εἶναι occurs in *Od.* 9. 519 and 529 (spoken by Polyphemus), but in both

instances the second half of the verse repeats the sense of the first. Humbert in his note

ad loc. (followed by Corlu [1966] 42 nt. 1) speaks of Hermes' impudence; cf. my note on 368.

379. ὡς οὐκ...βόας: this statement, just as the one in the following line (οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔβην) are strictly speaking true: Hermes can claim that he did not drive the cattle to his home because he led them into a different cave; he also did not cross the threshold, since he entered his cave through the key-hole. Thus, once again Hermes does not commit perjury when he offers to swear an oath.

ὡς ὄλβιος εἴην: can be taken parenthetically, 'so may I prosper'. Hermes' exclamation serves the purpose of affirming his claim that he did not steal the cattle; however, ὄλβος is what Hermes has been desiring throughout the poem.

380. τὸ δέ...ἀγορεύω: looks back to 272 (τὸ δ' ἀπρεπέως ἀγορεύεις).

381. Ἥλιον...αἰδέομαι: Helios was invoked in oaths in his capacity as the overseer of everything that occurred in the world, and often he functioned as the informer, cf. *Od.* 8.302 and Richardson on *h.Dem.* 24-6. This phrase too has a double meaning, as Gemoll points out. It can mean 'I respect Helios,' but also 'I shun light,' cf. 5-6 (on αἰδοίη Maia avoiding the company of the gods); in the latter interpretation Hermes would function as a ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ. He can freely invoke Helios, since his thievery takes place at night.

382. καὶ τοῦτον ὀπίζομαι: note the differentiation between αἰδεῖσθαι, φιλεῖν and ὀπίζεσθαι. The latter is normally used of a mortal dreading divine vengeance; cf. Cairns (1993) 136-7, 159.

383. μέγαν δ' ἐπιμαίομαι ὅρκον: the phrase is parenthetic and the ου at 384

picks up the οὐκ of 382. For the phrase, cf. 274 where the 'reat oath' is Zeus' head. In

Hes. *Th.* 400 the μέγας ὅρκος is by Styx's waters (although it may not have been the

great oath originally; cf. Leumann *HW* 81-2), and the phrase here might have prompted

this association to the audience. The actual oath that appears in the next line, then,

comically deflates the listeners' expectations. ἐπιμαίομαι ('grasp') is Herweden's

emendation (in *RhM* 43 [1888] 81-2; however, later he renounced it) for ἐπιδαίομαι

'distribute' (Ψ) or ἐπιδεύομαι 'be in need of' (M), both of which do not give satisfactory

sense. ἐπιμαίομαι has the advantage of being very close to the MSS readings and is

attractive because it suggests that Hermes is actually touching the προθύραια, perhaps

with the intention to penetrate them as is suggested by Clay (1989) 136 with n. 129. The

whole scene, then, takes place in front of Zeus' palace. For the idea of ὅρκος as a

concrete object that the swearing party touches, see Benveniste (1969) II 168 and Hirzel

(1979) 12-22. The choice of Hermes' oath may also reflect the fact that he belongs to the

category of gods called προθύραιοι *vel sim.*; see Farnell (1977) II 431, IV 45 for Ἄρτεμις

Προπυλαία, II 517 for Ἄρτεμις Προθυραία, V 19 and Paus. 1.22.8 for Ἑρμῆς

Προπύλαιος/ Πυλαῖος). Thuc. 6.27 mentions Herms placed in front of houses (ἑρμαὶ

λίθινοι ἐν ἰδίοις προθύροις). Cf. also πυληδόκον in 15.

384. εὐκόσμητα: the epithet here for the first time, then only in Eustathius, but

εὐκόσμως occurs in *Od.* 21.123 and *Op.* 628; cf. also the phrase εὖ κατὰ κόσμον found

four times in the *Iliad*.

προθύραια: only here; Homer has πρόθυρον. For the oath cf. also

Menander, fr. 801.1-2 μαρτύρομαι, / <ναὶ μὰ> τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτον<ὶ> καὶ τὰς θύρας.

385. τίσω ποτὶ νηλέα φωρήν: ποτί may be taken either as in tmesis and

anastrophe with τίσω in the sense of 'I shall pay him back with interest' (so AHS who

compare with προστιμᾶν for the sense of πρός) or with νηλέα φωρήν, in which case

ποτί would mean 'in accordance with,' cf. LSJ, *s.v.* πρός C III 2; the latter seems

preferable, since προστίειν is unattested. Hermes's revenge will be proportionate to

Apollo's actions as opposed to Apollo, who overreacted.

The manuscripts offer φώρην (M, mistakenly reported by AS in their *apparatus* as

having φωρήν) and φωνήν (Ψ). φώρην was accepted by Hermann; for the word, cf.

Hesychius' statement *s.v.* φωρᾶν that φώρη is a synonym for ἔρευνα. The noun is found

with this accentuation in the codd. of Nic. *Al.* 273 (not mentioned in the *apparatus* of

Gow and Schofield's edition), and in view of Hesychius' gloss M's accentuation should

be adopted here.

387-96. *Zeus' verdict*

387. ἐπιλλίζων: the verb appears once more in *Od.* 18.11 ('make signs by

winking') and is used later by A.R. 1.483, 3.791, 4.389 in the sense of 'winking' or

'looking mockingly' (in the first two examples it is accompanied by κερτομίαι), cf. G.

Pompella, *Apollonii Rhodii Lexicon* (Hildesheim 2001), *sv.*. Is it perhaps meant as an

impudent invitation to Zeus to become Hermes' accomplice in the theft?

388. <u>ἐπ' ὠλένῃ</u>: ὠλένη only here in archaic epic, but cf. ἐπωλένιον in 433.

389. <u>ἐξεγέλασσεν</u>: the verb only here and *Od.* 16.354, 18.35, both times in the phrase ἡδὺ δ' ἄρ' ἐκγελάσας, followed by a direct address.

*<u>κακομηδέα</u>: in Homer compounds in -μηδης appear as proper names (Διομήδης, Θρασυμήδης, Λυκομήδης et al.); Pi. *N.* 9.13, *fr.* 52f.76, and Bacch. 16.15 have adjectival θρασυμήδης; but cf. πυκιμηδέος at *Od.* 1.438 and δολομηδέος at Simon. 70.1.1.

390. <u>ἀρνεύμενον ἀμφὶ βόεσσιν</u>: for the construction, see Schwyzer II 438 and Chantraine II 88 (§123).

392. <u>διάκτορον ἡγεμονεύειν</u>: the precise meaning of διάκτορος was unknown already in antiquity, as Schol. D on B 103 and *EM* 268.18 indicate. Nevertheless, most ancient interpretations saw a connection with διάγειν and if our poet understood it in this way, then a pun between διάκτορον and ἡγεμονεύειν, 'leading', may be intended here; cf. n. on 30.

393. <u>ἐπ' ἀβλαβίῃσι νόοιο</u>: ἀβλαβίη does not occur anywhere else, but cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1024 ἐπ' ἀβλαβείᾳ with Fraenkel's note *ad loc.* The phrase is reminiscent of 'anti-deceit clauses' found in treaties, cf. Th. 5.18, 47, *IG* I (3) 29 fr. a 7 (ἀβλαβῶς καὶ ἀδόλως), 37 fr. bc 18 (ἀδόλως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς), 53.14 (ξύμμαχοι ἐσόμεθα πιστοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ἰσχυροὶ καὶ ἀβλαβεῖς...), 54 fr. a-d 23.27, 83.3, 86 fr. a-d, g 3, 89 fr. a-h 29 (ἀδόλως καὶ ἀβλαβῶς), *IC* IV (Gortyna) 75 A 9-10, 81.12 (ἀβλοπίᾳ δικαίως). On the subject of such clauses, see Wheeler (1984).

394. αὖτε: normally found in direct questions expressing indignation; cf.

LfgrE, s.v. I 2 b who list this as the only instance of αὖτε in indirect question.

396. Διὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο: with this phrase Zeus' *noos*, introduced at the

beginning of the poem (10), is completed; Hermes is admitted on Olympus and the

reconciliation between him and Apollo follows in the next lines.

397-502. *Exchange of gifts and final reconciliation*

Hermes and Apollo leave Olympus for Pylos, where the cows had been hidden.

The divine babe reveals the cattle to Apollo who makes an attempt to tie him up; this

results in the miraculous binding of the cattle. Hermes produces the lyre and performs

an enchanting song for Apollo who admires Hermes' skill in music and song. A lengthy

speech of Hermes ensues, in which he explains the use of the lyre, followed by the

exchange of the instrument for the cattle, after which the two gods return to Olympus.

397-408. *Hermes reveals the cows to Apollo*

397. Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα: cf. note on 323. The phrase occurs only in this

Hymn, when Hermes and Apollo travel to or from Olympus. In 504, the last occurrence

of the phrase, the two gods return to Olympus.

399. ὑψιμέλαθρον: cf. note on 103. In early literature, the epithet appears only in

our hymn; then in Orph. *H.* 5.1 (ὑψιμέλαθρον...κράτος) and Nonn. *Par.* 14.110 (πόλον

ὑψιμέλαθρον).

400. ἠχοῦ: Fick's restoration for ηχ' ου (Ψ) separated and accented in different ways in the manuscripts. This would be the only occurrence of ἠχοῦ in extant literature (cf. Hsch. ἤχου [*sic*] ἐνθάδε, bracketed by Latte). Homer has ἧχι (e.g. *Il.* 1.607, 3.326, 5.774), while ἧχοι is attested in a sacred law from Oropos (*IG* VII 235.16; see Schwyzer I 621; Bechtel [1921] III 236 §279, and Buck [1961] 103 §132.3); however, no conclusion can be drawn from this form regarding the Hymn's provenance despite AS' and Radermacher's claim; see above, p. 29-30. For the form of ἠχοῦ, cf. πανταχοῦ, ἀλλαχοῦ etc. M's unmetrical ὄχου δέ seems to be a conflation of ἠχοῦ and ὅπου, i.e. its gloss.

τὰ χρήματ' ἀτάλλετο: χρῆμα can be used of material goods in general (cf. *Od.* 2.78, 203, 13.203). Here it must refer to the animals (as probably in Xen. *An.* 5.2.4 and 7.8.12), a unique usage in early poetry; cf. also Hsch. κτήνεα· χρήματα, and χρήματα· οἷς τις δύναται χρῆσθαι. κτήματα. βοσκήματα.

χρήματ' ἀτάλλετο is Chalcocondyles' emendation for the unmetrical χρήματ' ἀτιτάλλετο (Ψ) and χρήματα τιτάλλετο (M). ἀτιτάλλειν is used in Homer of tending animals, nourishing, or fostering (e.g. *Il.* 5.271, *Od.* 15.174); ἀτάλλειν is found in this sense in S. *Aj.* 559 and Pi. *fr.* 214 (cf. LSJ, *s.v.* II); cf. Leumann (1927) and Debrunner (1907) 90 who remarks that the two verbs were confused in post-homeric literature. In this verse, a more general meaning 'being taken care of' or 'being sheltered' seems likely, rather than LSJ's 'grow up, wax.' Notice, finally, that while West on *Op.* 131 proposed to

keep ἀτιτάλλετο and replace τὰ χρήματ' with κτήνεα, in his 2003 edition he prints

the verse as Càssola has it.

401. παρὰ λάϊνον ἄντρον: παρά is Ψ's reading and should mean 'alongside of,'

clearly inappropriate in our context: Hermes must go into the cave in order to bring the

cows back 'out into the light.' ποτί, proposed by Herwerden (1876) 75, 'towards,' should

probably be adopted; M's ἐς may be an early attempt to heal the corrupt παρά.

The combination λάϊνον ἄντρον is novel.

402. εἰς φῶς ἐξήλαυνε: cf. 12 (εἴς τε φόως ἄγαγε): φῶς should not cause any

offense, since epic and 'Attic' forms coexist in the Hymn; cf. note on 76. φόως occurs in

12, 141, and 258 (cf. Hes. *fr.* 204); but 258 has φάος. The phrase is reminiscent of

childbirth; cf. *Il.* 19.118 and the note on 12.

βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα: see note o 94.

403. ἀπάτερθεν: M has ἀπάνευθεν; for such substitution, see *LfgrE, s.v.*

ἀπάτερθε(ν). The meaning should be 'from afar' (cf. Thgn. 1059, ἀπάτερθεν ὁρῶντι)

instead of 'looking askance' as AS/AHS maintain, comparing with νόσφιν ἰδών (AS).

Apollo has already seen the two ox-hides stretched out on the rocks before he arrives at

the cave.

405. ἐδύνω: the form only here in early literature. It is then found in X. *An.* 1.6.7

and 7.5.5; ἠδύνω is cited as Attic by Moer.Att. (see Hansen [1998] 106).

δειροτομῆσαι: in Homer δειροτομεῖν—simple or compound with ἀπό— is

used of killing humans (*Il.* 18.336) or animals (*Od.* 11.35), lit. 'slit the throat,' sometimes

in a ritual context (sacrifice); see Fernández-Galiano on *Od.* 22.328-9 for the different

meanings, and Schulze *QE* 57 for δειροτομεῖν in the sacrificial process. Apollo does not

know how Hermes had treated the two cows, and thus the verb may have a ritual

overtone here, especially when we consider that priests conducting sacrifices would

sometimes receive the hides; cf. note on 124. Edwards on *Il.* 18.336-7 claims that

δειροτομεῖν was later associated with δέρος 'skin' and was understood as 'flay,'

although his reference to LSJ does not yield any examples of this usage; the only

example I was able to find is Schol.*Il.* 18.336 b(BC)Til. I am, hence, reluctant to attribute

this sense to our verse although it would yield plausible sense. See also West on *Th.* 280.

406. <u>ὧδε νεογνὸς ἐὼν καὶ νήπιος</u>: a *hendiadys*. νεογνός appears only here and

in *h.Dem.* 141 in archaic poetry, then in Aesch. *Ag.* 1163. For the formation, see Zumbach

(1955) 23. Apollo here cites the same characteristics that Hermes used in his defense. The

young god had predicted (270-2) that no one would believe that he as an infant was

capable of accomplishing what he was accused of, and it is ironic that even Apollo, his

accuser, is led to a similar reaction.

407. <u>θαυμαίνω</u>: see Schulze *QE* 236 for the form; on the concept of θαυμάζειν in

general, see Mette (1961) esp. 49-54 for its use in Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns. The

poet has θαυμάζω in 455 (in the same metrical position). Stephanus, followed by most

editors until Gemoll, emended to δειμαίνω on the grounds that the transmitted

θαυμαίνω does not accord well with κατόπισθε. However, the unanimous tradition,

which favors θαυμαίνω, and the fact that Apollo is constantly presented in the Hymn as

marveling at Hermes, render this unnecessary. As the god of prophecy, he is certainly able to 'see' into the future and admire Hermes' κράτος in anticipation.

409-14. Apollo tries to bind Hermes by means of withies, but his attempt fails. This highly problematic passage has elicited various interpretations. Scholars are not in agreement as to exactly what or whom Apollo is trying to bind, and the opinions are, as usual, contradictory. Thus, Matthiae *Animadversiones* 285 suggested that Apollo was trying to undo the withies with which Hermes had tied the legs of the cows. He took περίστρεφε to mean 'flectere,' 'bend,' for which I cannot find parallels. AS thought it 'most improbable' in our context that Apollo may have been trying to tie the cattle and proposed the supplement ἐνδῆσαι μεμαὼς Ἑρμῆν κρατεραῖσι λύγοισι (before 410). AHS, on the other hand, suggested that Apollo intended to tie the cattle so that they might not disappear again and gave abundant references to ancient authorities for tying cattle's tails; see also Allen (1933) for cattle tying. In addition to the problem of the antecedent of ταὶ δ(έ) in 410 (see below), the fact that the text does not explicitly mention who is being tied led scholars to posit a *lacuna* between 409 and 410. AS' filler has been already mentioned; AHS, on the other hand, supplied βοῦς ἕλικας δῆσαι μεμαὼς κρατεραῖσι λύγοισι, a variation of their previous suggestion.

A further problem is posed by χερσί: it could be instrumental (i.e. with his—*sc.* Apollo's—hands), but also locative (i.e. around Hermes' hands). Baudy (1989) maintains that Apollo is trying to bind Hermes, but then goes on to suggest that Hermes responds by creating a hedge ('ein Zaun aus Keuschlamm-Zweigen,' p. 9) around the cows; this

(in her opinion) signals Hermes as a shepherd-god since he can protect the animals

both inside the stable and outdoors. Baudy seeks support from references in ancient

sources that mention the separation of the cows from the bulls at certain intervals (p. 10-

11). I cannot, however, see any reference to a hedge in the text (note that the withies

grow *on*, not *around* the cows, πάσῃσιν ἐπ' ἀγραύλοισι βόεσσιν), hence Baudy's

reading is not entirely sound. In my view, Apollo intends to bind Hermes, not the cattle;

χερσί should be taken as instrumental (certainly not as object as Baudy, 1 nt. 1 claims;

nor is Apollo only trying to tie Hermes' hands, as Kahn [1978] 81 suggests); the

understood indirect object of περίστρεφε is Hermes. Attempting to bind a god (no

matter whether the perpetrator knows that the victim is divine or not) is a familiar motif,

e.g. *h.Hom.* 7 (already pointed out by Kuiper [1910] 43-4), Zeus in *Il.* 1.399f., Ares in *Il.*

5.385f.; for the binding of Bacchus and the Apostles, see Rudberg (1929). The parallel to

the *Hymn to Dionysus* is suggestive, since in that story too the god's bonds are

metamorphosed into vegetation. Apollo's action in this scene may also be an implicit

acknowledgment of Hermes' divine nature: due to their immortality, gods can only be

controlled by being bound and restrained. A somewhat remote parallel from ritual

(which should not be pressed too far) is the binding of Ares' statuettes, attested in

Boeotia, Thrace, and Syedna; see Faraone (1991a). The idea of Hermes being bound by

Apollo has been building up throughout the Hymn: Maia, in her angry reproach to

Hermes, has threatened him with the possibility of Apollo putting him in fetters (157-9);

when Apollo arrives at the cave, he attempts to seize Hermes, who escapes only through

his belly-message (293-6). This is the final and most concrete attempt to restrain the divine babe and the last attempt at domination. This scene is made even more interesting after all the references to Hermes' 'self-binding' with his swaddling clothes.

Hermes does have an association with vegetation; one of his cult-epithets was πολύγιος (attested in Paus. 2.31.100), on which see Eitrem (1909) who derives it from πολυ-λύγιος. Finally, the whole scene acquires special interest in light of Hermes' role as κάτοχος in the curse tablets (*tabulae defixionis* or καταδέσεις); see Brown (1969) 13 n. 19 and Faraone (1991b) 6, 14. Hermes κάτοχος replies to Apollo's attempt to bind him with a double counter-binding: he first binds Apollo's cows, then Apollo himself by means of the song.

410. ἄγνου: the plant is mentioned for the first time here in literature with this name; see Baumann (1993) 64 (and 60, no. 95 for a picture); elsewhere it is called λύγος (*Il.* 11.105, *Od.* 9.427, 10.166). On the plant's name and association with ἀγνός and chastity due to folk-etymologizing, see Frisk, *s.v.*, and Borengässer (1998). It was considered ideal for creating fetters, as Baudy (1998) 2 nt. 5 points out (with references).

ταὶ δ(έ): the antecedent being ἄγνου (κατὰ σύνεσιν) instead of δεσμά, as we would expect. The sense of the entire passage: 'and they (*sc.* the withies) were growing underneath his feet, planting [themselves] into the ground of their own accord, twisted into each other, quickly and easily, and even upon all the field-dwelling cows, by the will of Hermes who steals (men's) mind'. For the rendering of individual words and phrases, see the subsequent notes.

411. <u>αὐτόθεν</u>: for αὐτόθεν in the sense of 'of one's own accord,' 'sua sponte,' see LSJ, *s.v.* I 2, and for more parallels Adrados, *s.v.* I. The earliest attestation of this meaning after our Hymn is Pl. *Soph.* 220b.

<u>ἐμβολάδην</u>: i.e. in the manner of an ἐμβολάς shoot. ἐμβάλλειν and cognates may be used of grafting (see LSJ, *s.v.* ἐμβάλλω A.8), but it means 'to plant' in *IG* 12 (7) 62.20ff. (καρποφορίας), Thphr. *CP* 3.11.5 (shoots), 3.23.1 (seed), and probably ἐμβολάδην here has a similar meaning. The adverb occurs only here in literature and is formed by analogy to the more frequent ἀμβολάδην, which in fact is a *l.* (M) here. But M's reading may have been influenced by 426 (note the same metrical position of the adverbs). ἐμβολάδην then suggests that the withies turned downwards towards the ground, where they took root.

412. <u>ῥεῖά τε καὶ πάσῃσιν</u>: Hermann emended the passage to ῥεῖ' ἄγνοι because the connection of ῥεῖα (an adverb) and πάσῃσιν (an adjective) seemed problematic to him; note, however, that πάσῃσιν is part of an adverbial phrase (with ἐπ' ἀγραύλοισι βόεσσιν). Gemoll defended the transmitted text by comparing it with Hes. *Th.* 87, which however was emended by Schoemann to αἶψά τι καὶ μέγα νεῖκος...κατέπαυσε (this emendation was confirmed by a MS.; see West *ad loc.*); καί is adverbial ('even n all the field-dwelling cows'). Unless corrupt, ῥεῖά τε may be connected with αἶψα in 410 (i.e. the withies took root quickly and easily), and καί refers to πάσῃσιν ἐπ' ἀγραύλοισι βόεσσιν.

413. κλεψίφρονος: i.e. 'stealing someone's φρένες;' the epithet occurs here for the first time and does not reappear until Manetho and Gregory of Nazianzus. Zumbach (1955) 21 posits a formation by false analogy to κλεψίνοος.

415. ὑποβλήδην: the adverb's derivation from ὑποβάλλειν suggests 'looking downwards,' cf. ὑπόδρα, κατηφής. The same word means 'interrupting' at *Il.* 1.292, and 'in reply' at A.R. 1.699, 3.400. LSJ, *s.v.*, A III offer 'askance' here.

πῦρ ἀμαρύσσον: all the manuscripts have ἀμαρύσσων which cannot be correct since the verb is normally intransitive. Hence, the participle was emended by Lohsee (1872) 48 to agree with πῦρ. Lohsee's suggestion also has the advantage of providing an object for ἐγκρύψαι. Alternatively, one would have three options: a.) supply λύραν from what follows, which would be against the sense of the passage (why would Hermes want to hide the lyre when he is about to perform on it?); b.) take χῶρον with μεμαώς (Richardson, unpublished commentary) and assume that Hermes intended to hide the entire place under the withies, which although syntactically possible, is not justified by the text; or c.) posit a *lacuna* after 415 with Baumeister, Radermacher, AHS. The latter also suggested βόθρῳ ἔνι κρέα πολλὰ βοῶν καὶ πίονα δημόν as a possible filler, thinking that Hermes wanted to hide the cow meat (which, however, they argue he had placed up high *inside* the cave in their note on 135!). West (2003a) posits a lacuna of several lines after 416, in which Apollo angrily exclaims: 'Oh! You have captured my cows after all. Now you will have to pay me heavy compensation if you want to placate me.' Thereafter Hermes produces the lyre that he had been concealing in his swaddling

clothes all along. It is preferable to dispense with the *lacuna* and assume that Hermes

strives to hide the 'sparkling fire.' But which fire is meant? Clay (1989) 137 nt. 133 takes

the phrase to refer to the fire that Hermes had kindled earlier when he was roasting the

meat: Hermes is trying to hide the fire out of embarrassment that Apollo may find out

about his previous doubt concerning his own divine nature. Hermes, however, does not

seem to be doing anything that would extinguish any remains of the fire; he merely

χῶρον ὑποβλήδην ἐσκέψατο; besides, earlier he extinguished and covered the fire with

earth (cf. 140). The idea that Hermes was trying to conceal his glance makes more seems

preferable here; cf. Ludwich (1908) 128. Càssola (note *ad loc.*) attributes this suggestion to

Ilgen; but Ilgen (1796) 451 where he adopts πύκν' ἀμαρύσσων. The reason Hermes

might want to hide his glance may be related to the fact that a fiery look is associated

with taking immediate action (cf. the simile in 41ff.; Hermes' eyes are said to flash in

278). Hermes is, then, trying to prevent Apollo from suspecting that he is up to

something new. For a survey of all the proposed solutions to this passage's problems,

see Gemoll and Càssola *ad loc.*

417. ῥεῖα μάλ' ἐπρήυνεν ἑκηβόλον: i.e. with the song that follows.

ὡς ἔθελ' αὐτός: this implies that Hermes' actions follow a premeditated plan.

418-35: Hermes performs his second song, which is divided into two sections, a

cosmogonic and a theogonic, while its organization resembles Hesiod's *Theogony*. He

begins from the Muses and Mnemosyne, then sings of the earth (cosmic element), and

finally of the gods' birth and their acquisition of honors (divine element). Everything is

presented in order of seniority, which suggests that Hermes' performance must culminate with his own birth, as Shelmerdine (1984) 205 and Clay (1989) 139-40 observe. Apollo is already enchanted before Hermes begins to sing (cf. 422-3; Hermes does not sing before 426, γηρύετ'), but the lyre's sound is described in terms reminiscent of song rather than instrumental music; the poet, furthermore, dwells more on the themes of the song than on instrumental music; see Kaimio (1974). The vocabulary used to describe Hermes' music and song, as well as its effect on Apollo, is highly erotic, which is not unusual considering the Muses' names— probably Hesiod's invention; cf. West on *Th.* 32—and ἵμερος -related words in *Th.* 8, 104; Ἵμερος is said to dwell beside the Muses in *Th.* 64. Note in particular in our Hymn 421 ἐρατή (cf. *Il.* 3.64, where the epithet is associated with Aphrodite's gifts), 422 γλυκὺς ἵμερος (cf. *Il.* 18.570, *Od.* 23.144), 423 ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων, 426 ἐρατή...φωνή, 434 ἔρος...ἀμήχανος; see also Görgemanns (1976) 122 and Kaimio (1977) 106-8. There is a clear progression from the γλυκὺς ἵμερος that the lyre's novel sound exerts on Apollo's mind to the ἔρος ἀμήχανος that seizes him once he hears the actual song.

418. λύρην δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρός: the manuscripts offer λαβών instead of λύρην (the latter suggested by Stephanus), but the object of λαβών is necessary as it cannot be supplied from the context. The alternative would be to posit with Hermann yet another *lacuna* after this verse containing the object of λαβών or assume West's *lacuna* after 416. This, however, does not seem necessary, and λαβών may be due to the influence of 499 (κίθαριν δὲ λαβὼν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρός). λύρη, which does not occur in

Homer, Hesiod, or any of the other Hymns, is used only here to designate the
instrument. From this point on, κίθαρις will be employed. Earlier, the poet used χέλυς
(242), exploiting the ambiguity between the animal and the musical instrument made of
its shell (cf. also on ἄθυρμα 32 and 52). Some ancient sources (Luc. *DDeor.* 7, Bion, *Id.*
5.8, Paus. 5.14.8) draw a distinction between λύρα and κίθαρις on the grounds that the
former was invented by Hermes, the latter by Apollo; Maas & Snyder (1989) 36 point out
that the instrument Hermes creates is called χέλυς (and once in 423 λύρα), but φόρμιγξ
or κίθαρις when it is associated with Apollo, a distinction already observed by Matthiae,
Animadversiones 288; however no association with Apollo seems to be present at 64
(φόρμιγγα γλαφυρήν).

419-20. cf. on 53-4. At 419 (as in 501) the manuscripts have μέλος. Càssola
(following Barnes) prints μέρος and understands 'one string after the other.' All three
instances imply the testing of the instrument's tuning before the performance; hence
μέρος should be read in all three verses; see also Kaimio (1974) 31-2. 420 is strongly
reminiscent of *Od.* 17.542.

421-2. ἰωή...ἐνοπῆς: cf. ἰωή φόρμιγγος (*Od.* 17.261); and βόαμα λύρας in
Lyr.Adesp. 30.1. On ἰωή used of the lyre's clear and loud sound, see Kaimio (1977) 44 n.
91. ἐνοπή is used later of the sound of the pan-pipe (512; cf. *Il.* 10.13 where the ἐνοπή of
the *auloi* and pan-pipes is contrasted with the ὅμαδος of humans), but it can also be used
of a stringed instrument (e.g. Eur. *Ion* 882), as here. Elsewhere, it may signify battle din

(*Il.* 12.35, 16.246), the battle itself, the cries of an attacking host (*Il.* 3.2), the cries of

lament (*Il.* 24.160), or voice in general (*Od.* 10.147).

422 is transmitted only by M, but this does not mean that the verse should be

considered spurious; in fact, it is necessary for construing ἀκουάζοντα. The omission

may have occurred because of the repetition of ἐρατή/ ἐρατόν (421 and 423), as AHS

suggest.

422-3. καί μιν γλυκύς ἵμερος ᾖρει θυμόν: the manuscripts have θυμῷ; θυμόν

is West's emendation, see West (1966b) 149. The emendation restores the usual epic

construction, for which see Chantraine *GH* II 42 b (§52 B). However, the construction

with the double accusative is not absolute: the accusative of the body-part affected may

be replaced by a prepositional phrase (*Il.* 15.250, 19.125), while a dative may substitute

for the accusative of the person (*Il.* 5.493, 8.452, *Od.* 18.88). Despite the parallels and the

usage of 434 (τὸν δ' ἔρος...αἴνυτο θυμόν), the emendation is not strictly necessary, given

the Hymn's unusual and 'inconsistent' style.

424. ἐπ' ἀριστερά: i.e. Apollo is on the right hand-side, a place of honor. The

repetition of ἐπ' ἀριστερά from 418 should not be deemed a sign of the author's

carelessness, as AS suggested. In the first instance we are dealing with a technical detail

(i.e. the lyre is held in the left hand); in the second we learn about Hermes' position in

relation to Apollo.

425. λιγέως κιθαρίζων: λιγύς and cognates very often designate song or voice

in general (cf. *Il.* 1.248, Alc. *fr.* 347b.2, Alcm. *fr.* 28.1.1), but cf. *Il.* 9.186 (φόρμιγγι λιγείῃ),

Sapph. *fr.* 58.12 (φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνναν), and Bacch. 5.73 (νευράν...
λιγυκλαγγῆ).

κιθαρίζειν is a generic term for 'performing on a stringed instrument'; it is
elsewhere coupled with φόρμιγξ (*Il.* 18.569, *h.Apol.* 525, *Sc.* 202-3) and may also be used
absolutely (*h.Apol.* 202 [ἐγκ-], *h.Herm.* 17).

426. ἀμβολάδην: In *Il.* 21.364 and Hdt. 4.181 ἀμβολάδην is used of water
boiling in a cauldron. Here it means 'in the manner of an ἀναβολή'; cf. ἀμβλήδην in *Il.*
22.476 glossed ἀναβολάδην, ἀπὸ προοιμίου by Apollon. ἀναβολή is not found
elsewhere before Pindar (*P.* 1; *N.* 10.33 has ἀμβολάδαν, which troubled the scholiast *ad
loc.*), but Homer has ἀναβάλλεσθαι in *Od.* 1.155 ≈ 8.266 and 17.262. In the first two
Odyssean examples ἀνεβάλλετο is qualified by φορμίζων, suggesting that striking up
the phorminx is an essential component of ἀναβολή. In later dithyramb ἀναβολή
appears to be a type of instrumental prelude preceding the soloist's or chorus' song or
even musical interludes lacking responsion; see the discussion in Comotti (1989), West
(1992) 205, and Dunbar on Ar. *A* 1383-5. Arist. *Rhet.* 1409ᵃ 24-6 associates dithyrambic
ἀναβολή with the λέξις εἰρομένη, and long ἀναβολαί were attributed to Melanippides
(cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1409ᵇ29). The bulk of our information on ἀναβολή derives from later
dithyramb and may not necessarily apply to (earlier) rhapsodic poetry. Here
ἀμβολάδην qualifies γηρύετ(ο), which implies that Hermes' ἀναβολή consisted also of
song and not just the sound of the lyre. A hint of its meaning may be found in Apollon.
(cited above): if ἀμβολάδην is to be associated with a proem, then it may look forward

to Hermes' beginning of his song (i.e. his proem) from Mnemosyne and the Muses, *à la mode d'Hésiode.*

ἐρατή...φωνή: parenthetical. West (1966b) 150 emended to ἔπλετο, comparing with *Od.* 17.57, *h.Aphr.* 130, and *Il.* 14.400 for the verse end; however, this is unnecessary in view of *Od.* 20. 237; he prints ἕσπετο in his 2003 edition.

427. κραίνων: the usage of the verb here is unusual, as also in 559. Hsch. glosses κραίνειν as τιμᾶν, and the meaning κλείειν or ἀείδειν was already suggested by Maurophrydes (1858) 346 and subsequently adopted by AS; although here the verb could mean 'honor through song' or 'sing with divine authority,' as *LfgrE, s.v.* κραι(αί)νω suggests, there are no parallels for such usage. Since Hermes' song ends with his own birth and divine prerogatives, it essentially completes the divine world, and κραίνων 'bringing to completion, fulfilling' points to this. Hermes relates each god's birth and the distribution of the various honors, and thus by singing he is creating, as it were, the divine universe. κραίνων is here also an example of an idiom in which the poet is said to be doing what he describes as being done; see Juv. 1.62 with Courtney's note, Cairns (1972) 252 n. 6 for more examples, and Henderson on Ar. *Lys.* 188. This poetic technique is treated in Lieberg (1982) who points out (p. 2) that it is not merely a rhetorical topos but the 'Ausdruck eines vielleicht teilweise unbewußten Wissens um eine wichtige ontologische Funktion des poetischen Tuns, ...eine Funktion, die sich auch aus dem ursprünglich magischen Charakter der Dichtung erklärt.' For κραίνειν as reflecting the Indo-European background of Greek poetry, when poet, seer, and herald

were one and the same person, see Nagy (1990) 59-61; for the use of the Bee-oracle

(559) and its implications for the author's concept of poetry, see above, p. 103-10.

429-30. <u>Μνημοσύνην.../ μητέρα Μουσάων</u>: Mnemosyne, Memory, is the

mother of the Muses already in Hesiod (*Th.* 53-4, 915-7).

430. <u>ᾗ γὰρ ...υἱόν</u>: the clause is parenthetical and ἐγέραιρεν is resumed again in

432. On parentheses in the Hymn, see Radermacher (1931) 236-7. For λαγχάνειν, cf. *Il.*

23.79 and Theoc. 4.40. λάχε suggests that Hermes rightfully belonged to Mnemosyne,

who appears to be his patron deity as a singer; see Perpillou (1996) 167-93 (who,

unfortunately, does not mention this passage). For the idea, see Hes. *Th.* 94-5, where it is

said that singers derive their abilities from Apollo and the Muses; also Call. *Ap.* 43

(κεῖνος ὀιστευτὴν ἔλαχ᾽ ἀνέρα, κεῖνος ἀοιδόν); here, however, Apollo is presented as

essentially a 'disciple' of Hermes in the art of the lyre.

Brown (1969) 96 with n. 43 interprets the verse as 'she drew the son of Maia as

her lot' and arguing against a tradition (attested in Eumel. *fr.* 17) that Apollo was the

father of three Muses suggests that the poet implied Hermes to be Mnemosyne's

consort. The tradition that Apollo had fathered three of the Muses was not widespread

and Μούσῃσιν Ὀλυμπιάδεσσιν in 450 points rather to the Hesiodic Zeus-born Muses;

cf. also Eumelus, *fr.* 16 where he mentions the Hesiodic genealogy of the Muses.

Interestingly, on Sophilus' *dinos* (British Museum, 6th c. BC), depicting gods and

nymphs arriving at Peleus' and Thetis' wedding, Hermes and Apollo (holding the lyre)

share the same chariot, while the Muses appear near them. See also Brown (1969) 129

n. 31 for further references to Hermes' association with the Muses.

431. κατὰ πρέσβιν: 'in order of seniority.' Matthiae's correction for the MSS

πρέσβην. The noun first here, and the phrase is found again in prose (Pl. *Lg.* 885d and

924c). For the idea, cf. *Th.* 45 and 115 ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

433. ἐνέπων: not simply 'singing', but 'narrating in a celebratory fashion'; see

Risch (1985).

κατὰ κόσμον: 'according to the proper order'; cf. Kerschensteiner (1962) 4-10,

Diller (1971) esp. 83 who renders 'der Wahrheit gemäß', and Finkelberg (1998) 124-5

with references to earlier literature. At *Od.* 8.491, Demodocus' singing κατὰ κόσμον is

compared to the knowledge of an eyewitness. Here such knowledge is, of course,

excluded, and its lack is made up by the aid of Mnemosyne (cf. *Od.* 8.488).

ἐπωλένιον: first here (and 510 in a similar line-ending); then, in A.R. 1.557. For

the formation, cf. 383 ἐπ' ὠλένῃ and Zumbach (1955) 25.

434. ἔρος...ἀμήχανος: for ἀμήχανος in the sense of 'irresistible,' see Martin

(1983) 11 and 21-3.

436-63. *Apollo's response to Hermes' song*

Apollo expresses his admiration for Hermes' abilities as a bard and obliquely

asks to obtain the lyre. At 437 he seems to propose the exchange of his fifty cows (now

48) for the instrument and thus points forward to 495ff. The passage, furthermore,

functions as a meta-textual *mise en abîme*, in that it suggests to the audience how to receive Hermes' (embedded) song as well as the poem as a whole; for the term, see Dällenbach (1989) esp. 96-7, and above, p. 94 n. 221. In fact, one could say that Apollo's questions in 440-1, 447-8 and perhaps also his marveling in 455 could be equally addressed to our poet by his own (external) audience. In addition, if the symposium was indeed the performative context of the *Hymn to Hermes*, then 454 would render such a *mise en abîme* even more pointed (note that the other reference to a sympotic setting in our poem also appears when Hermes performs on the lyre, 55-6).

436. 'Killer of cows, trickster, busy fellow, companion of the feast.' Apollo addresses Hermes with a string of unconnected vocatives in a style that is reminiscent of the so-called Orphic Hymns, as Radermacher *ad loc.* points out. Note especially the collocation of a participle among epithets (cf. Orph. *H.* 14.8, 51.7; Nonn. *D.* 2.570). Compare also with (the late) *h.Hom.* 8 (to Ares).

βουφόνε: the noun only here in Epic, but Homer has βουφόνεον in *Il.* 7.466. It occurs later as title of a priest (Paus. 1.24.4, 1.28.10) and as an attribute of Dionysus in an epigram attributed to Simonides in Athen. 10.84. No allusion to the βουφόνια ritual is intended here.

*μηχανιῶτα: For the formation compare ἀσπιδιώτης or ἀγγελιώτης (296). The meaning should be 'busy with μηχαναί,' i.e. 'trickster'; cf. Zumbach (1955) 7.

πονεύμενε: the participle can be understood with adjectival force, i.e. 'busy.' Its function, however, i.e. whether it should be taken with what precedes (μηχανιῶτα

πονεύμενε), with what follows (πονεύμενε δαιτὸς ἑταῖρε), or absolutely, is not clear. Gemoll considered the end of this verse corrupt beyond remedy; AS took the participle absolutely, whereas AHS did not use any punctuation in the line, and thus their interpretation remains obscure. West (2003a) emends to πονεόμενε δαιτὸς ἑταίρην 'busy with the lyre' (cf. already Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 291); although 31 (δαιτὸς ἑταίρη of the tortoise) and 478 (λιγύφωνον ἑταίρην) afford parallels for the verse-end, no emendation is necessary. δαιτὸς ἑταῖρε may be understood as another way that Apollo acknowledges Hermes' divine status, viz. by accepting him as a participant of equal status at divine banquets; it would be especially pointed if we take the events at the Alpheios to be a *dais*; cf. my note on 116-41. Previously (290) Apollo addressed Hermes as νυκτὸς ἑταῖρε. The divine δαῖτες are implied in *h.Apol.* 188ff. but specifically mentioned in *Th.* 802.

437. πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀντάξια: the cows are mentioned here as a way of evaluating objects or a form of currency; cf. *Il.* 2.449 (ἑκατόμβοιος), 6. 235 (ἑκατόμβοι' ἐννεαβοίων), 21.79 (ἑκατόμβοιος), 23.703 (δυωδεκάβοιος), 23.705 (τεσσαράβοιος). The music has enchanted Apollo who hints at the exchange of the cattle for the lyre. Cf. (in a different context) *Schol. Nic.Alex.* 560a:...ὅθεν καὶ λύρα ἐκλήθη, οἱονεὶ λύτρα τις οὖσα ὑπὲρ τῶν βοῶν (*sc.* Admetus' cows that were stolen by Hermes while Apollo was guarding them).

μέμηλας: μέλειν with the accusative is unparalleled. Our poet has μέλειν in its usual construction thrice in the Hymn (268, 451, 453). LSJ, *s.v.* I B 2 gloss it as 'invented'

and suggest μέμηδας instead, which West (2003a) adopts and lists as an emendation of Page's. The form, however, is unattested (cf. also LSJ, *s.v.* μήδομαι). Anacr. 52.2-3 (μέλομαι ῥόδον τέρεινον συνέταιρον ὀξὺ μέλπειν), which is sometimes cited for the construction of μέλω with the accusative, is not a sufficient parallel both because of textual uncertainties of the verses in question (see Campbell [1988] 232, *app. crit.*] and because ῥόδον is most likely the object of μέλπειν rather than μέλομαι. In view of the hymn's stylistic peculiarities (cf. also λαῖφος ἀθύρων, 153), I suggest leaving the manuscript reading unchanged. Apollo's words amount to 'these cares with which you have been busy are worth fifty cows,' perhaps with a pun on μέλος.

438. ἡσυχίως: occurs first here, then Pl.*Th.* 179e; the adjective, however, is found in *Il.* 21.598.

διακρινέεσθαι: 'to part,' often used of combatants; cf. LSJ, *s.v.* διακρίνω A I, also 255 διοισόμεθα.

440-1. This is not a mere polar expression; cf. Kemmer (1903) 79-80 who remarks 'wir kommen...der ursprünglichen Auffassung des Dichters näher, wenn wir die einzelnen Glieder in wörtlichem Sinn nehmen, und uns daraus die Vorstellung der Gesamtheit der *thatsächlich* in Betracht kommenden Wesen bilden, als wenn wir die Verbindung des Ganzes mit der abstrakten Vorstellung einer grösseren oder grössten *Allgemeinheit überhaupt* begleiten.' Apollo's question, then, is problematic. The last part implies that a mortal could have taught Hermes how to play the lyre and sing, which would be unparalleled: it is normally the gods who give or teach mortals an art; see

Finkelberg (1998) 41-8. The second possibility, i.e. that a god had taught Hermes, is prima facie reasonable, but it is rendered impossible when one considers that the god(s) implied would have to be the Muses and Apollo himself. Hence only the first option (ἐκ γενετῆς) is possible here. If so, Hermes would be a true αὐτοδίδακτος. Our poet appears to dissociate αὐτοδίδακτος from the influence of the gods, whereas in *Od.* 22.347 αὐτοδίδακτος does not preclude divine aid; this difference may be related to the fact that the word is used of a mortal bard in the *Odyssey*; see Finkelberg (1998) 54-6.

442. δῶρον ἀγαυόν: ἀγαυός only of people in Epic, just as earlier in 434. Pind. *Pae.* 2.52 uses it of sound (θρόον) and Arat. 469 of the stars.

443. *νεήφατον: formed by analogy to παλαίφατος (*Od.* 9.507= 13.172 and 19.163); see Zumbach (1955) 26 and Solmsen (1901) 31-3. For the lengthening, cf. also Wackernagel (1889) 10.

ὄσσαν: not only the lyre's sound, but Hermes' song as well. ὄσσα is used of the Muses' and Graces' song in the *Theogony*, while in Homer (*Il.* 2.93-4, *Od.* 1.282-3 ≈ 2.216) it means 'rumour,' sent by Zeus. See also Collins (1999) esp. 247-8, who stresses the divine nature of ὄσσα.

447. μοῦσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων: not 'song against insurmountable cares' but a song that *arouses* them, as Càssola *ad loc.* argues. Apollo is not relieved from any cares; instead he experiences new ones (cf. 449). For μοῦσα in the sense of 'song,' cf. *h.Hom.* 19.15 and perhaps *Od.* 24.62 (with Heubeck *ad loc.*); further examples from both prose and poetry in LSJ, *s.v.* II. 1.

ἀμηχανέων may be a genitive of ἀμηχανής, elsewhere unattested; adjectives

in –ής are sometimes formed from presents in –έω, see Schwyzer I 513. Alternatively, it

could be taken as a feminine three-termination form of ἀμήχανος (cf. ἄμβροτος,

ἀεικέλιος, ἀθάνατος and other examples cited by AHS). The hiatus at the trochaic

caesura is admissible. For ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων, cf. Mimn. *fr.* 6.1W (ἀργαλέων

μελεδώνων). μελεδών or μελεδώνη (so *h.Apol* 532 and in the *Hippocratic Corpus*) is the

curae amoris (cf. *Op.* 66 and below 449).

448. **τρίβος**: most likely used instead of τριβή, i.e. 'practice,' 'exercise'. τρίβος

otherwise means 'path', and one may think of the 'path of song'. But this would not

yield satisfactory sense here; there seems to be a progression from the general to the

particular in Apollo's questions: what is the art (in general)? What is this song that

arouses cares in me? What sort of practice is needed to learn it? This last question is

another manifestation of Apollo's oblique request for the instrument.

τρία πάντα: for πᾶς with numerals, implying completeness, cf. *Il.* 19.247; see

LfgrE, s.v. 1 c β 2. It is frequent in Herodotus, cf. LSJ *s.v.* πᾶς 1 III C.

449. **εὐφροσύνην**: points to a sympotic context; cf. *Od.* 9.6ff.

ἔρωτα: this form of accusative first here; see Janko (1982) 135 (cf. ἔρωτος in

Sappho *fr.* 23.1). Homer has ἔρον while ἔρος is twice *varia lectio* (*Il.* 3.442, 14.294).

ἥδυμον ὕπνον: see note on 241-2.

450. **ὀπηδός**: not in Homer, who has ὀπάων and ὀπηδεῖν. For the idea, cf.

θεράποντες Ἄρηος (*Il.* 2.110), Archil. *fr.* 1.1, and Pind. *fr.* 95.3 (ματρὸς μεγάλας ὀπαδέ,

of Pan). Hesiod has συνοπηδός in *fr.* 26.10. Apollo claims here to be the follower of the Muses, whereas in *Th.* 94 he appears to be of equal (if not superior) status to them; elsewhere he is said to be their leader, the Μουσηγέτας; his statement is more appropriate to a human bard, who is the Μουσάων θεράπων (*Th.* 100 et al.).

451. <u>οἶμος ἀοιδῆς</u>: 'path of song' (Ψ's reading); M and *x* (*in margine*) have ὕμνος ἀοιδῆς, which occurs in *Od.* 8.429. οἶμος ἀοιδῆς does not have exact parallels, but Pind. O. 9.47 (ἐπέων...οἶμον), Phil.*fr.* 10.4 (μύθων...οἶμον), and Call. *Jo* 78 (λύρης... οἶμους) are close; for more parallels see Spanoudakis (2002) 326-7. οἶμος is Homeric (*Il.* 11.24), but in the sense of 'path of song' οἴμη is normally used; see Thalmann (1984) 124, and Becker (1937) 68-85, esp. 69 on this passage. Although absolute certainty is impossible, Ψ's οἶμος ἀοιδῆς—as more unusual—is more likely to be the original reading. M may have been influenced by the *Odyssey* passage. See also Lanata (1963) 11-2 and Finkelberg (1998) 52.

452. <u>μολπή</u>: the word sometimes means song, dance, or song-and-dance; see Fitton (1973) 259, *LfgrE, s.v.*, and Janko on *Il.* 13.636. Here it should be taken as the combination of song and dance: the Muses are said to be fond of dances (χοροί), song (οἶμος ἀοιδῆς), aulos-music (βρόμος αὐλῶν), and the combination of all those three (μολπή).

<u>ἱμερόεις βρόμος αὐλῶν</u>: from this phrase it appears that up to now Apollo knew only of aulos-music. This contrasts with *h.Apol* 131, where the new-born Apollo claims the lyre as his prerogative. Our poet may be working within a different tradition

in which Apollo was not originally the lyre god. Paus. 9.30.1 mentions a bronze statue of Apollo and Hermes fighting over the lyre, which suggests that in some accounts Apollo did not acquire the lyre as easily as is implied in *h.Apol*, or that Hermes stole Apollo's lyre as well (as is implied later in 515). Our poet, then, may be reconciling the various claims on the instrument by presenting Hermes as its inventor and Apollo as having acquired it through exchange.

βρόμος is used in Homer of the sound created by the burning fire (*Il.* 14.396), but βρομεῖν is used of a swarm of flies (*Il.* 16.642). The association of βρόμος with music appears first in the Hymns (*h.Hom.* 14.3, 26.10).

454. νέων...ἔργα: Gemoll and Herwerden (1888) wished to change νέων to θεῶν on the grounds that Apollo had so far been referring to divine celebrations; hence, in their view, a mention of humans would not be appropriate here. I think, however, that a reference to human banquets is certainly admissible and throws the *mise en abîme* into greater prominence (see introductory note, and note on 56). For Apollo's association with young men, cf. *Th.* 347 with West *ad loc.*; young men are said to sing a *paian* in his honor at *Il.* 1.472-4.

ἐνδέξια: two meanings are possible: 'from left to right', or 'able, clever' ('prove di bravura,' Càssola). In Homer ἐνδέξια has a spatial sense ('from left to right' or 'on the right side,' *Il.* 1.597, 7.184, 9.236; *Od.* 17.365). If the meaning 'clever' is admitted here, it would be the only instance in archaic poetry; this sense is more common with ἐπιδέξιος from the 4th c. B.C. on (cf. LSJ *s.v.* ἐπιδέξιος II 2). It seems more reasonable and closer to

symposiastic practice to adopt the sense 'from right to left' here; cf. Pl. *Smp.* 177d 3

and Reitzenstein (1893) 31 with nt.1 and 40 (referring to the synonym ἐπιδέξια); further,

Manuwald (2002) 161.

456. <u>κλυτὰ μήδεα</u>: the phrase occurs only here in archaic poetry, but cf.

κλυτόμητις, used of Hephaestus in *h.Hom.* 20.1. κλυτὰ μήδεα refer not only to Hermes'

abilities as a bard but also to his technical skill and intelligence as well.

<u>οἶδας</u>: an Ionic form; cf. Chantraine *GH* I 469 (§223) and Janko (1982) 148.

457-8. These two lines are transmitted only by M, which, however, should not

cast any doubt on their authenticity.

457. This verse has met with editors' dissatisfaction: Matthiae, *Animadversiones*

293, considered it a *non sequitur*. The construction of ἐπαινεῖν with a dative and an

accusative is problematic: ἐπαινεῖν may be construed with a dative in the sense of 'agree

with someone' (e.g. *Il.* 18.312) or with an accusative, 'approve' (*Il.* 2.335), but a

combination of the two constructions is not attested. Thus, Gemoll changed θυμόν to

θυμῷ. AS suggested ἐπιαίνειν (cf. *Il.* 24.119), which --in addition to being otherwise

unattested— is further away from the MS reading and involves the synizesis of –ιαι-,

attested in Homer only in proper names. Ruhnken's μῦθον for θυμόν (as an accusative

of respect) may offer a possible solution to the problem, i.e. 'agree with your elders in

respect to their speech (or perhaps even 'request').' The conflation of the two

constructions of ἐπαινεῖν is not unique in the Hymn; cf. the conflation of the meanings

of εἴλειν and εἰλεῖν at 306 and similarly the image of δίκης τάλαντα as scales of justice

and money deposited with the judges at 324. Apollo again implicitly asks for the lyre (cf. 437 and especially Hermes' words in 464 εἰρωτᾷς... περιφραδές), and Hermes is supposed to acknowledge Apollo's veiled request.

460. ναὶ μὰ τόδε κρανάϊνον ἀκόντιον: Càssola's κρανάϊνον for the codd. κρανάϊον is the most reasonable solution; cf. his note *ad loc.*, against Allen's attribution of κρανάϊνον to A At and Γ. κρανάϊνον appears also in Gal. 18b.576, 581, 582 and in some manuscripts of Str. 12.7.3; cf. Radt's edition, vol. 3 p. 502. Paus. 3.13.5 mentions a grove of cornelian cherry sacred to Apollo on Mt. Ida; see Baumann (1993) 37 (with p. 33, image 53) for the ancient references to this tree. Hermes also had the epithet Κρανοῖος in Crete; cf. Farnell (1977) V 11.

ἀκόντιον, (not in Homer, but cf. *Il.* 11.364, *Od.* 13.225 et al. for ἄκων) is a spear in Hdt. (e.g. 1.34) and Th. (e.g. 4.32). There is no sense of a diminutive here (*contra* Zumbach [1955] 9), and it should be understood as the cowherd's staff, to be distinguished from both the μάστιγα φαεινήν of 497 and the ῥάβδον of 529ff. Athanassakis (1989) 38 suggests that originally Hermes' by-name Κυλλήνιος may not have been associated with Mt. Cyllene, but rather that a word κυλλήνη = 'crooked staff' (i.e. the shepherds' crook) existed (subsequently lost) from which κυλλήνιος derives.

For the habit of swearing an oath by touching an object, see above n. on 383.

461. ἡγεμονεύσω: most editors consider the end of this verse corrupt on the grounds that ἡγεμονεύειν is not transitive. Emendations have been proposed, most notably Agar's ἡγεμόν' ἔσσω, adopted by Càssola (see also his comment *ad loc.*), and

Tyrell's ἡγεμόν' εἴσω. Hermes had the by-name ἡγεμόνιος (i.e. leader of the souls or guide of wayfarers) but this of course is not related to his role among his fellow Olympians. Although it is conceivable that the *homoeoteleuton* with 459 may have caused a corruption, I wonder whether it would not be best to choose ἔγωγε (the reading in E, L, T) at 460 and change κυδρόν and ὄλβιον to the dative. The sense would be: 'Indeed, I shall lead the way (for you, *sc.* to Olympus), honored and blessed among the immortals, and I shall give gifts to you....' For ἡγεμονεύειν with the dat., cf. *Od.* 3.386, 8.4, Hes. *Th.* 387.

462. ἐς τέλος: 'altogether,' 'completely,' cf. LSJ, *s.v.* II 2 b.

463-95. *Hermes' reply: instructions to Apollo on how to handle the lyre*

Hermes' reply to Apollo falls into three sections. The central part (475-88) is concerned with the way one should 'question' the lyre. Hermes' language when referring to the *chelys* is ambiguous: it is described both as a musical instrument and in anthropomorphic terms as if it were a *hetaira* who is to be brought to a banquet; this language is in keeping with the erotic vocabulary that Apollo used in the previous section. The lyre's personification is not unique; cf. the poet's address in Sapph. *fr.* 118, Pi. *P.* 1.1, *N.* 4.44, and Bacch. *fr.* 20 b/d. This central section is framed by 474 and 489 (σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅττι μενοινᾷς); this framing of Hermes' instructions has the effect of setting them apart from the rest of the narrative and consequently of bringing them into greater prominence. Furthermore, although prima facie 474 and 489

may seem to praise Apollo for the ease with which he is able to learn whatever his heart desires, it is legitimate to read Hermes' statement with a hint of irony towards his elder brother, whom he instructs concerning the instrument that, according to another tradition, Apollo claims as soon as he is born (*h.Apol.* 131).

475-88 are introduced by a section that takes into account Apollo's implicit proposition in 436-8, commends him for his omniscience (467), and focuses on his mantic abilities. Coming from Hermes' mouth and directed towards a god who was unable to locate his cattle without the aid of the divine babe, it is yet another ironic statement. Hermes' insistence on prophecy, however, also points to a theme that will return later in the poem (533ff.) and may already have been hinted at in Hermes' theogony, where he sang of the apportionment of divine *timai*. At the end of his reply the divine babe reconfirms the conditions of the exchange (i.e. the lyre for the cows), set out by Apollo earlier, and adds to them the tutelage over the animals' reproduction; being the god in charge of ἐπαμοίβιμα ἔργα, as Apollo will acknowledge in 516, and by uttering these words, Hermes 'seals' the agreement.

464. π̲ε̲ρ̲ι̲φ̲ρ̲α̲δ̲έ̲ς̲: Homer has περιφραδέως, which is used only in the context of roasting meat, (cf. *Il.* 1.466 et al. ὤπτησάν τε περιφραδέως, ἐρύσαντό τε πάντα); in Hes. *fr.* 316.1, περιφραδέως qualifies ἐρύσαντο (i.e. drawing the meat from the fire) in the same context. περιφραδές can be construed here in two different ways: either adverbially, referring to εἰρωτᾷς ('you ask me in a skilful manner, Apollo'; so AS and Càssola, who translates 'con molta eloquenza'); or as a vocative modifying Ἑκάεργε

(you ask me, skillful/cunning Apollo; so AHS, Zumbach (1955) 40, and Richardson,

unpublished commentary). Both constructions yield acceptable sense, and in both cases

Apollo's hidden request to obtain the lyre is hinted at and implicitly understood. The

phrase could be read as a question, (cf. *Od.* 9.364-5).

465. τέχνης ἡμετέρης ἐπιβήμεναι: music is presented once more as the domain

of Hermes, of which Apollo is about to receive a share. On ἐπιβήμεναι, see above on

166.

466. ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἤπιος εἶναι: the phrase occurs twice in *Il.* 8.40=22.184, where

Zeus addresses Athena; Dornseiff (1938) 80 considered this phrase to be a parodic

citation by which Hermes imitates his father. Such a playful reference would accord well

with the general spirit of the speech, as it implies the speaker's superiority.

467. εὖ οἶδας: on οἶδας, see above on 456.

470. ἐκ πάσης ὁσίης: for ὁσίη, see above on 130; the sense here is: 'according to

all divine law'; for this meaning of ἐκ, see LSJ, *s.v.* III 7. The phrase should be taken with

φιλεῖ.

The punctuation of this and the next line has been the subject of debate. AS

placed a colon after δῶρα and took the rest of the phrase as a unit, treating θέσφατα

πάντα as an apposition. AHS followed the same punctuation but printed δέ (M) in 471

instead of γε (Ψ), and considered it as the earliest example of separated καὶ δέ, for

which see Denniston 199-203. Their reason for not taking Διὸς... πάντα as a gnomic

statement was that it would be inappropriately pompous to be uttered by Hermes. This

argument, however, is not compelling given the speech's overall tone: Hermes

presents himself as the benefactor of his older brother. This punctuation, furthermore,

would make τιμάς an object of δαήμεναι, which is troublesome, since τιμαί are

normally given or obtained, but not learned. Cf. West (2003a) who punctuates after

δῶρα and takes μαντείας as a genitive depending on τιμάς; but as far as one can judge

by the meager parallels, this construction occurs only with the singular of τιμή (*h.Dem.*

311-2: γεράων...τιμήν καὶ θυσιῶν), whereas plurals appear coordinated with τιμή (cf.

Th. 396 τιμῆς καὶ γεράων ἐπιβησέμεν; 426-7 ἔμμορε τιμῆς καὶ γεράων). Gemoll and

Càssola follow Matthiae's punctuation (i.e. colon after τιμάς in 471 and after Ἑκάεργε in

472, with θ' deleted after μαντείας; see Matthiae *Animadversiones* 295), which gives more

satisfactory sense and dispenses with the problem of δέ being in the fourth position in

its clause.

471. τιμάς: the plural is found also in Hesiod; for the coordination of 'gifts' and

'honors', see *h.Dem.* 328 with Richardson *ad loc.*

φασι: general statements like this one are found in Epic when mortals refer to

the divine world or to a distant past that they know by way of tradition (e.g. *Il.* 2.783,

5.638, *Th.* 306, *Op.* 803, Ibyc. *fr.* 17.1-3). Hermes' use of φασι is consistent with the

presentation of the gods in human terms throughout the Hymn and with his function as

a bard who would reasonably have access to such remote knowledge. This and the next

verse form the culmination the first section of Hermes' speech and indicate what the

young god is hinting at: the gift of divination.

ὀμφῆς: divine, oracular voice; cf. 566 (Hermes' voice as communicated through the bee-oracle), Thgn. 807f. (the Pythia's voice coming from the temple's *adyton*), and A.R. 3.393 (a bird omen). Although its etymology is not absolutely certain, it may go back to *sonk^{uh}- 'sing, praise'; see Meier-Brügger (1989).

472. μαντείας: the noun first here instead of the Homeric μαντοσύνη, which would fit the meter; it occurs four times in the Hymn and also in Tyrt. *fr.* 4.2; cf. Janko (1982) 136.

θ' (or τ') which appears in the MSS. after μαντείας is impossible if Matthiae's punctuation is adopted.

Διὸς πάρα θέσφατα πάντα: an epexegetic asyndeton referring to ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς. Θέσφατα are 'divine ordinances'; see Benveniste (1969) 140-2.

473. τῶν νῦν αὐτὸς ἐγώ σε, παῖ, ἀφνειὸν δεδάηκα: a highly problematic verse, for which various emendations have been proposed. The verse is transmitted as: τῶν/καὶ νῦν αὐτὸς ἔγωγε παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν δεδάηκα. AS and AHS suggest that the beginning and the end of the line are sound. The collocation ἐγώ σε παῖδ' is unmetrical and Allen (1896) proposed the simple emendation παῖ; one could reasonably assume that δ had been inserted to cure the apparent hiatus. AHS suggested πεδαίφνειον (παῖδ' would thus be a corruption for Aeolic πέδ'=μετά) and translated 'recently'; the meaning of μεταίφνιος, however, is 'suddenly,' as a gloss in Hesychius (the only attestation of this word) indicates. This suggestion was repeated in Pavese (1974) 93 subsequently accepted by Janko (1982) 148. West (1966) 150 proposed παρὰ δαφνέων or παραὶ

δάφνης (cf. also Janko [1982] 267, n. 87), but in his 2003 edition he prints Evelyn-White's μάλ' ἀφνειόν. The most plausible solution is Allen's παῖ; addressing Apollo as παῖ fits with the general ironic tone of the speech (cf. 490, κοῦρε, and 466, ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἤπιος εἶναι). The sense: 'I have now learned (hence: I know) that you, child, are rich in these things (sc. μαντείας, δῶρα, τιμάς).'

474. σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅττι μενοινᾷς: recurs in 489 and frames the instructions on lyre-playing. αὐτάγρετος appears only here and Od. 16.148 in archaic Epic; then in A.R. 2.326, 4.231, Opp. H. 5.588, and Nonn. Par. 7.125, 10.65, 19.50. It is Aeolic for αὐθαίρετος (ἀγρέω=αἱρέω), although it may have been formed on the basis of παλιν-άγρετος. The sense: 'it is in your hands to learn whatever you desire.'

475. θυμὸς ἐπιθύει: note the word-play. In ἐπιθύει –υ- is long *metri gratia*, which Schulze, QE 340 considered an indication of the Hymn's lateness (unjustly in light of Il. 18.175). θυμός may be picking up 457.

476. μέλπεο: on μέλπειν/ μολπή, see above on 452.

ἀγλαΐας ἀλέγυνε: note the alliteration. ἀγλαΐα, generally 'splendor,' refers here to 'festivities'; so LSJ s.v. 2; LfgrE s.v. I e gloss ἀγλαΐα in our passage alone as 'glanzvolle Werke,' 'deeds of splendor'; however, given the overall sympotic tone of the context, the phrase would fit very well under their category I d 'festlicher Glanz,' where they cite the same passages as LSJ (Hes. Sc. 272, 276, 285) and Panyas. fr. 16.14

ἀλεγύνειν occurs elsewhere in archaic Epic only in the Od. of preparing the meal (1.374, 2.139, 8.38, 11.186, 13.23, with δαῖτας); but cf. h.Aphr. 11 (with ἀγλαὰ ἔργα).

477. δέγμενος: present athematic participle; see Chantraine *GH* I 296 (§ 137).

478. *εὑμόλπει: Aesch. *fr.* 355.19 has εὑμολπος, which occurs as a proper name in *h.Dem.* 154 (see Richardson *ad loc*); a poem entitled Εὑμολπία was attributed to Musaeus (cf. Paus. 10.5.6).

ἑταίρην: cf. above 31, δαιτὸς ἑταίρη. From this point on the lyre is presented simultaneously as an instrument and as a woman, in fact a *hetaira* attending an aristocratic banquet. Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 298, regards this as an indication of the Hymn's late literary composition (on such criteria for establishing the poem's date and composition see above, p. 9-13). The first attestation of the sense 'prostitute' for *hetaira* is commonly held to be Hdt. 2.134, but this may not be true if the Hymn antedates Hdt. Such a *double entendre* would suit our poet's playful wit; cf. the way the tortoise is greeted. On *hetairai*, see Reinsberg (1989) and Kurke (1997).

479. ἐπισταμένην: Barnes, ἐπισταμένως codd., which Allen (1898) and AS/AHS, following Gemoll, changed to ἐπιστάμενος. The short –ος could have been changed to –ως for metrical reasons (although –ος is admissible here), but the feminine gives better sense. It is not a question of how well Apollo knows how to sing, as Allen maintains (note that ἀγορεύειν is used and not 'sing'), but of the 'companion's' abilities. The corruption may have arisen due to εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως (390). Note the accumulation of positive characterizations in this verse.

480. εὕκηλος...φέρειν: Baumeister already compared the construction with Hes. *Op.* 671. Herwerden's change of μέν to μιν is not necessary as the object of φέρειν can be

easily inferred. For the idea, cf. the sympotic song 900 *PMG* (*Carm. Con* 17): εἴθε

λύρα καλὴ γενοίμην ἐλεφαντίνη καί με καλοὶ παῖδες φέροιεν Διονύσιον ἐς χορόν.

481. φιλοκυδέα κῶμον: on φιλοκυδής, see above on 375. κῶμος first here in

Epic, although *Sc.* 281 has κώμαζον (see Russo *ad loc.*). It recurs in Thgn. 829, 940, and

quite often in Pindar. On the etymology and meaning (related to sanskr. śamsa- 'praise'),

see Durante (1974) with references to earlier attempts.

482. εὐφροσύνην: appositional to δαῖτα, χορόν, and κῶμον, rather than the lyre

(or Herwerden's μιν, as suggested by Richardson); εὐφροσύνη is not a specific object,

but rather a pleasant atmosphere of good cheer produced by the combination of feast

and song (cf. *Od.* 9.6ff.). The following asyndeton; it is a characteristic of our poet's style;

cf. above on 151. Radermacher remarks that from this point on, the poet, not Hermes, is

the actual speaker; one could go a step further and suggest that the poet identifies his

voice with Hermes'; on this device, found also in the other longer *Homeric Hymns*, see

above, p. 100-1. The two following sentences describing the bard's treatment of the

instrument are especially well-balanced.

483. ἐξερεείνη: (ἐξ)ερεείνειν is relatively frequent in our Hymn (cf. on 252) and

is used in a variety of meanings. LSJ, *s.v.* II, offer 'try its tones, tune it' for our verse,

which is manifestly wrong in this context, as is AHS's 'invites.' The primary meaning is

'to question' or 'to inquire,' and it is used of consulting an oracle (cf. *LfgrE, s.v.* 4 and

below, 547). The song is described as a process of question-and-answer between the

bard and the lyre, and we are invited to understand an implied comparison between

questioning the lyre and questioning an oracle. Both may give good or pleasant

answers (484-85~ 543-45, 560-61), but also unpleasant or deceitful ones (486-88~ 546-48,

562-63). Cf. also Hesiod's Muses (*Th*. 27-8) whose utterances may also be ambiguous;

note, however, the important difference: the Muses' veracity depends on their will (εὖτ'

ἐθέλωμεν), while the lyre's responses are the result of the bard's ability and skill. The

Muses speak from a divine perspective, Hermes from a human one.

τέχνη καὶ σοφία: σοφία only once in Homer (*Il*. 15.412) and in Hes. *fr*. 306; cf.

Op. 649 σεσοφισμένος with West *ad loc*. It is especially frequent in Pindar in the sense of

'poetic skill'; see Slater, *Lexicon Pindaricum, ss*. σοφός/ σοφία b for relevant references.

These terms need not be limited to song or poetry; cf. Arch. *fr*. 211.1 (κυβερνήτης

σοφός), Soph. *Aj*. 783 (εἰ Κάλχας σοφός, *sc*. μάντις).

484. νόῳ χαρίεντα: for the construction with χαρίεις, cf. Thgn. 477.

485. συνηθείῃσιν...μαλακῇσιν: συνήθεια does not occur in Homer or Hesiod,

but the latter has συνήθης, *Th*. 230 ('neighbor'); it is frequent in classical and later prose.

The word has a wide range of meanings, from 'custom' or 'habit', perhaps 'practice' in

the context of playing an instrument, to 'sexual intercourse', which would fit with the

presentation of the lyre as *hetaira*.

ἀθυρομένη: it can be understood either as passive or middle, as suggested by

Passow *s.v.*, and Agar (1929) 22, who renders 'airily playful with gentle familiar ways.'

The passive sense 'played' would be appropriate to an instrument (cf. above on 52,

ἄθυρμα); if taken with middle force, it would refer to a *hetaira*.

486. ἐργασίην φεύγουσα δυήπαθον: ἐργασίη appears first here, then

Pindar, *Ol.* 8.42; *δυήπαθον is a *hapax*; later Epic has δυηπαθής (A.R. 4.1165, Opp. *H.*

2.436, Nonn. *D.* 41.411), which would be possible here, as Zumbach (1955) 3 points out

(δυηπαθέ'). φεύγουσα is M's reading, certainly preferable to Ψ's φθέγγουσα, which

may be due to 484, φθεγγομένη. Again a double meaning is possible: the lyre may

yield no (good) response to bad practice (for ἐργασίη of practicing arts and crafts, see

the examples cited by AHS and LSJ, *s.v.* II 4); or, as a *hetaira*, she may avoid toilsome,

banausic work (or even intercourse, cf. Hdt. 2.135, Dem. 18.129 with Wankel, *ad loc.*).

maculate muse?

487. ἐπιζαφελῶς: 'violently, vehemently'. The etymology is unclear, see Frisk,

s.v. In Homer it is used of anger (*Il.* 9.156, 525; *Od.* 6.330).

488. μετήορά τε θρυλλίζοι: μετήορα should be taken adverbially, as it is

coordinated with μάψ; it appears first here. Radermacher suggested 'aufgeblasen,'

'pompous', but most editors rightly take it to refer to a shrill, high-pitched tone (AHS),

more appropriate to the *aulos* than the lyre.

The MSS have θρυαλίζοι which has been interpreted as a possible corruption for

–λλ– in majuscule. The stem θρυλ- appears sometimes as θρυλλ- (which Frisk, *s.v.*

θρύλος, considers a possible expressive germination); the suffix –λι-/-λο- often appears

in verbal derivatives indicating defective pronunciation (see Tichy [1983] 162). The lyre

thus, if played violently by a novice, 'utters false sounds'; θρυλιγμός is used of an

unmusical sound (ἐκμέλεια) produced by the *aulos*; see D.H. *Comp.* 11 (cf. also Porph. *in*

Harm. 1.20.2). Hermes is perhaps explaining to Apollo the handling of the lyre in terms that he will understand (note that Apollo admits knowing only the *aulos* so far, cf. 452). Kaimio (1977) 107 is against a literal reading of this phrase, given the overall metaphorical description and proposes 'wavering, inconstant' for μετήορα; the entire phrase would thus mean 'babble idly.' But, throughout this section, literal and metaphorical descriptions are combined.

491-92. ἡμεῖς...νομεύσομεν: i.e. Hermes.

492. νομεύσομεν: the verb elsewhere appears always with μῆλα as its object (*Od.* 9.217, 336, 10.85, *h.Homer.* 19.32); for the construction and meaning, 'to graze one's cattle on...,' cf. *depasco*, *OLD*, *s.v.* 2.

493. βόες ταύροισι μιγεῖσαι: earlier (192) we were told that Hermes stole only cows and that the bull was left behind. The divine cattle will henceforth mingle with a mortal one. On the status change of the divine cattle, see above on 131.

494. μίγδην: first here for μίγδα.

495. κερδαλέον περ ἐόντα: usually interpreted as 'clever' (cf. Führer in *LfgrE*, *s.v.* κερδαλέος, who considers the adjective as Hermes' compliment towards Apollo before their reconciliation). It may at the same time be intended also as an ironic hint at Apollo's avariciousness; cf. 335. But notice also that all of Hermes' speeches are κερδαλέοι.

περιζαμενῶς: only here and in Hes. *fr.* 204.126 (-ές) in archaic Epic, but cf. ζαμένησε in *Th.* 928 and ζαμενής in Pindar, and nt. on 307 (ζαμενέστατε); ζα- is aeolic

for δια-, and normally has intensifying force, cf. Schwyzer II 449, Chantraine *GH* I 169 (§ 65); further bibliography in Risch (1946) 255 with nt. 3.

497. ἑκών: Martin's emendation adopted by Càssola; the codd. have ἔχων, while Matthiae proposed ἔχειν comparing with *Il.* 7.351. For ἐγγυάλιξεν...ἑκών editors compare A.R. 2.55-6. ἔχων, however, is not impossible (i.e. 'he gave him the whip, which he had...'), and AS/AHS point to 345 ἔχουσα for a parallel; hence, no emendation is necessary.

μάστιγα φαεινήν: μάστιξ is used in Epic for driving horses but not in the context of cattle. Its employment here is related to the fact that Hermes is about to receive the tutelage over a variety of animals, among which horses and donkeys, in addition to βουκολίαι. φαεινός should be taken to mean 'far-sounding', rather than 'shining' (cf. Pind. *P.* 4.283 [φαεννᾶς ὀπός] and *Il.* 11.532 [μάστιγι λιγυρῇ]).

498. βουκολίας: 'care of cattle'; not in Homer, who however has βουκόλος and βουκολέω, but see Hes. *Th.* 445 ('herds of cattle'); cf. West (1962) 178; it then appears in Hdt. 1.114 ('pastures' or 'herdsmen's quarters') and A.R. 1.627 (same meaning as here).

499-502. These lines resemble 53-4 and 418-20. In 502 σμερδαλέον is M's reading, while Ψ has ἱμερόεν, accepted by Cantilena (1993) 123-4, who argues that whereas earlier the lyre's sound was novel, hence σμερδαλέον, by this point it is familiar to Apollo's ears; hence it has a pleasant effect, ἱμερόεν. This interpretation would require us to assume that the novelty of the lyre's sound in 54 frightened Hermes, for which there is no indication in the text; the same is true also for 420, in which according to

Cantilena the lyre's sound is termed σμερδαλέον as perceived by Apollo, but this is contradicted by the second hemistich: γέλασσε δὲ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων. There is, then, no compelling reason to adopt ἱμερόεν. Notice, finally, that Apollo's performance on the lyre receives only a quick comment by the poet, while the effect of Hermes' second song was described in very elaborate terms. The repetition of 501-02 suggests that Apollo is following the exact same steps that Hermes did when playing the lyre; thus he appears as Hermes' disciple in the art of the lyre.

503-80. *Return to Olympus; discussion on divination; end of the Hymn*

In this final section the two divine half-brothers return to Olympus. Zeus is pleased with their reconciliation, which continues to the present as the poet tells us. Hermes creates on the spot another musical instrument, the pan-pipes, after which Apollo asks for a solemn oath to guarantee the safety of his possessions. Mutual promises of eternal friendship ensue. Apollo then declares that he is unable to give a share of prophecy to anyone, since it was entrusted to him by Zeus, and he had promised by oath not to reveal it. He is willing, however, to give Hermes a lesser form of divination, the oracle of the three sisters on Parnassus, which he himself had practiced when younger. After recapitulating of Hermes's role as the patron of animals, the poet mentions his function as messenger to Hades, and finally stresses once more the strong bonds of friendship between the two gods.

The arrival on Olympus is a typical hymnic motif; cf. *h.Dem.* 484 (with Richardson *ad loc.*), *h.Apol.* 186ff., *h.Hom.* 6.15ff., 15.7, 19.42ff. In our Hymn it is more fitting to speak of a return to Olympus, since Hermes had been there earlier when he appeared at Zeus's court (322ff.). This motif generally indicates closure (note the exception of *h.Apol.* 14) and is usually accompanied by a switch of tenses marking the return from the mythical past to the present time. The *Hymn to Hermes*, however, continues for some seventy lines after the return to Olympus, which runs contrary to audience expectations.

This problem is related to the authenticity of 503-78, a major issue in the scholarship on this poem. Editors from Groddeck on assumed this part to be an interpolation. Radermacher 218, went so far as to call it an appendix (*Anhang*). For a brief summary of the arguments against the authenticity of 503-78, see Càssola (1975) 172-3, who reluctantly sides with those denying authenticity; cf. also Matthiae 302, Gemoll 190-1, Radermacher (1933) 156-7, Brown (1969) 148-55. The problems are: (1) the mention of divination as a request of Hermes (533, ἣν ἐρεείνεις), although no such request has been made in the preceding lines; (2) an (implied) attempt to stress Apollo's superiority. Radermacher attributed the last part of the poem to an Apolline revisionist; (3) 507-12 seem to point to the end of the Hymn, since the conflict has been resolved, which renders the following lines superfluous. Brown (1969) 149 adds (4) that 574-5 duplicate 506-8; (5) 506-08 are 'rudely ignored' in 514-5, and (6) Apollo's fear that he

may lose the lyre is incoherent; Brown takes the magic wand of 529 to be the same as the staff that Hermes had in 210; and 567 repeats 498.

AHS argued against interpolation on the grounds that we do not know much about the unity of poems of the 7th c., but their answer does not really address the problem (even if one assumes that the Hymn dates from the 7th c.). We may address the first three issues briefly. (1) Although an explicit request for a share in prophecy has not been made by Hermes, an *implicit* one was made in 471-2 and perhaps also in his theogonic song where he describes each god's allotment of *timai*. Notice that Apollo's request for the lyre is also implicit. I discuss this in detail below on 533. (2) one should observe that Apollo's superiority is not denied anywhere in the Hymn; it is actually acknowledged by Hermes himself (see 172ff.). Hermes does not wish to diminish Apollo's status, but to acquire a position equal to his. Furthermore, no one wishing to promote Apollo's superiority would show him frightened of his younger brother (513). (3) It is true that at 507ff. the Hymn seems to head towards an end. However, although the matter of the cattle-theft has been settled, nothing ensures that conflict will not occur again. With 521ff. Hermes assures Apollo that he will not use his craftiness against him in the future, while Apollo promises more gifts. Hermes's character remains ambiguous, but his deceitfulness is now directed towards human beings rather than his fellow Olympians (cf. 577-8). Notice, finally, that 507-8 (Hermes' friendship for Apollo) and 574-5 (Apollo's friendship for Hermes) do not repeat but *answer* each other.

Scholars who question the authenticity of 503-78 also attempted to find abnormal linguistic usages to justify their belief, but given the Hymn's peculiar style overall, these cannot provide cogent arguments; see notes on individual lines.

503. The verse is transmitted in two forms: M has καί ῥα βόας μὲν ἔπειτα κατὰ ζάθεον λειμῶνα, while Ψ offers ἔνθα βόες μὲν ἔπειτα ποτὶ ζάθεον λειμῶνα. Càssola prints a combination of the two, viz. καί ῥα βόας μὲν ἔπειτα ποτὶ... His choice may imply that the two gods together drive the cattle towards the field, as was suggested by Brown (1969) 151. This interpretation, however, ignores the fact that the two gods' spheres of influence are now separated. For the Hymn's poet, Apollo is no longer the protector of cattle, just as Hermes is no longer the god of the lyre. Ψ's reading should be adopted. It offers a more unusual (though not unparalleled, cf. *h.Apol.* 456 and Chantraine *GH* II 28-9, §36) construction, a plural subject with dual verb, and ἔνθα may function as a quasi -connective, see *LfgrE, s.v.* 1aabb.

504. Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα: see above, on 397.

507. καὶ τὰ μέν...: The construction of the sentence changes and the μέν is left unanswered. The δ(έ) of 510 is best taken with the μέν of 509. For such μέν *solitarium,* see Denniston 380.

508. ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν: = '*et nunc*' (cf. Courtney [2003] 293, on Aemilius Macer), an aetiological reference, possibly referring to the joined cult of Hermes and Apollo at Olympia; in Megalopolis, furthermore, there was a temple of Hermes, Apollo, and the

Muses (Farnell, V 28), while in Olympia he and Apollo shared a common altar. Cf. 125 (ὡς ἔτι νῦν), another aetiological reference.

509. <u>σήματ'</u>: Ψ has σῆμά τ'. AHS interpret it as σήματ(ι) (a dative of cause or attendant circumstances; see Monro § 144) and render '*with* a token'; Radermacher printed σῆμα δ' and took it as the equivalent of the prose σημεῖον δέ· κίθαριν γάρ...; Càssola punctuates before it and renders 'ne è prova il fatto che donò...'; West (2003a) conjectures a verse Λητοΐδης δὲ κασιγνήτου φιλότητος ἀνέγνω between 508 and 509. But an easier solution that involves no change in the text or *lacuna* and yields a smoother sense and construction would take σήματ' as a nominative, part of the preceding ὡς-clause; the sense would thus be: 'Hermes loved Apollo continually, just as there are (supply ἐστι) tokens (*sc.* of their friendship) even today; for, he gave the lyre...' (which Apollo still possesses).

510. <u>δεδαώς</u>: to be taken with ὁ δ' ἐπωλένιον κιθάριζε (so AS/AHS and Càssola) instead of with what precedes, as Gemoll ('nachdem er sie als lieblich erkannt'), Richardson ('expert that he was'), and Führer in *LfgrE, s.v.* δαῆναι, δέδαα ('als Erfinder'). There are no parallels for δεδαώς 'inventor,' while Gemoll's translation would require an aorist participle. Apollo quickly learns the new instrument in 501-2, and we have been told twice already that he can easily learn whatever he desires (cf. 474 and 489).

<u>ἐπωλένιον</u>: Ilgen's emendation for the manuscripts' ὑπωλένιον; cf. 433.

511-12. Hermes's new invention is presented quickly and without any particulars, almost as a parenthesis to the rest of the story; contrast the abundant details in the invention of the lyre. The creation of the pan-pipes here may be justified as the shepherd's instrument *par excellence,* given that at this point Hermes has become essentially a shepherd-god. It also functions as a reminder to Apollo (and the audience) that Hermes's nature has not changed; he is still able to invent new things whenever he wishes. In our sources Hermes almost always appears as the inventor of the pan-pipes, but they are usually played by his son, Pan. On the instrument, see West (1992) 109-12. In Apollodorus 3.10.2 Apollo offers the *caduceus* in exchange for the pan-pipes.

511. *ἐκμάσσατο: cf. 108 πυρὸς δ' ἐπεμαίετο τέχνην; ἐπεμαίετο/ ἐπιμάσσατο would fit the metre here.

σοφίης...τέχνην: cf. above, on 483 where the two are coordinated; the sense: 'he invented the art of another (musical) skill.'

512. The asyndeton is explicative, just as earlier, 472.

ἀκουστήν: first here; then Hp. *Insomn.* 86, Soph. *OT* 1312, Pl., *Tim.* 33c etc.

515. ἄμα κλέψῃς: M's reading, adopted by Càssola; Ψ has ἀνακλέψῃς, which should be preferred. The compound is attested in Theoc. 5.9, and possibly on inscriptions; *SEG* 34 (1984) 267 no. 1019 (Salerno, 520-10 BC, ἀνακλετέτō, text uncertain) and *GDI* II, 124-5, no. 1586 (Dodona, supplement). Adrados and LSJ gloss 'robar' and 'steal' respectively, thus drawing no distinction between the compound and the simplex. *LfgrE, s.v.* ἀνά (col. 757, l. 71) renders 'wieder stehlen' and understands it as 'to steal

back what had been given as a present.' The meaning 'again' for ἀνα- does not suit

our context (Hermes had not stolen the lyre or the bow before), and the sense of the

prefix may be gathered by comparing with ἀναρπάζειν, 'snatch away,' an action that

gods perform sometimes in Epic (cf. *Il.* 9. 564, 16. 437, 22.276; *Od.* 4.515 *et al.*).

The poet hints at another version of the story in which Hermes did steal Apollo's

quiver (or bow and quiver) but does not relate it in detail (see *Schol. D Il.* 15.256, Hor.

Carm. I 10, Luc. *DDeor.* 11.1, Philostr. *Imag.* I.26). While τόξα may refer also to the

arrows, καμπύλα makes it plain here that Apollo fears for his bow. Alcaeus is said to

have told the story in his *Hymn to Hermes*, but it is unclear whether he was influenced by

our Hymn, whether the *Homeric Hymn* was influenced by Alcaeus, or whether perhaps

both were drawing on a common source; see Page (1955) 252-8 and Cairns (1983). The

combination κίθαριν καὶ καμπύλα τόξα may be a reference to *h.Apol.* 131, as suggested

by Dornseiff (1938) 82.

516-7. 'For you have (obtained) from Zeus the privilege to establish (in the

future) the deeds of exchange for humans in the much-nourishing earth.' Hermes is

going to establish in the human world the deeds of exchange, which he and Apollo have

already enacted. These involve both commercial exchange as well as thievery.

516. πὰρ Ζηνός: Radermacher, who argues against the authenticity of 503ff.,

points out that *Od.* 11.302 –which he considers the model of our verse— has πρός

instead of πάρ, the latter being the only instance of *apocope* in the entire poem; he further

objects that nowhere in the Hymn has it been said that Hermes was given the 'deeds of

exchange as an honor from Zeus.' His argument is not compelling, however: Apollo

as the god of prophecy could foresee that Hermes would obtain this honor since he

performed deeds of exchange in the poem already, and he may also know this from

Hermes's theogonic song in which he described the allotment of divine *timai*; cf. also

213-4.

*ἐπαμοίβιμα: cf. Zumbach (1955) 14-5; cf. also *Il.* 6.339 (ἐπαμείβεσθαι) and *Od.*

5.481 (ἐπαμοιβαδίς). These 'deeds of exchange' are not limited to commercial exchange

but also include stealing (cf. below, 522).

518. θεῶν μέγαν ὅρκον: at *Od.* 2.377 it is an oath in the name of the gods that

humans swear, but at *Th.* 784 (an oath sworn by the gods) it is the water of the river Styx

that Iris is sent to fetch. Radermacher *ad loc.* and Dornseiff (1938) argue for a

reminiscence of *h.Apol.* 79, but the line may well derive from *Od.* 5.178 (=10.434). Notice

that the content of the oath is not stated *expressis verbis*.

519. κεφαλῇ νεύσας: elsewhere not a form of oath. In Epic it is only Zeus who

confirms a promise with the nod of his head; see *Il.* 1.528 and Schwabl (1976) for other

occurrences of this motif. In Call. *LaPall.* 131-3, only Athena shares this prerogative with

Zeus. Our poet seems to be using the motif without any special reference to Zeus: both

Hermes and Apollo reconfirm their promises to each other by nodding their heads (521,

524).

ἐπὶ Στυγὸς ὄβριμον ὕδωρ: ὀμνύναι with ἐπί does not occur elsewhere in archaic Epic; cf. *Il*. 23.585. But it is often construed with a preposition in prose; see LSJ, s.v. III; but cf. ἐπιορκεῖν πρός τινος at *Il*. 19.188.

521-26. The mutual promises which the two gods exchange are presented in balanced clauses; cf. 482-8 for another example of such parallelism. This oath scene appears as yet another enactment of the 'deeds of exchange.'

523. μηδέ ποτ' ἐμπελάσειν πυκινῷ δόμῳ: ἐμπελάζειν also in *Od*. 10. 404, 424, *Sc*. 109. For this promise of Hermes, cf. his earlier threat to break into the Apollo's temple at Pytho (178ff.).

524. ἐπ' ἀρθμῷ καὶ φιλότητι: the combination also in [Aesch.] *PV* 191 εἰς ἀρθμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότητα; cf. also *Il*. 7.302, Thgn. 326 and 1312, Call. *fr*. 497a.

526. Allen (1897) 266, AS and AHS posited a lacuna after this verse. There are two major problems between 526-7: the switch from indirect to direct speech and the meaning of σύμβολον. The change from indirect to direct speech is documented for Homer (*Il*. 4.301-4, 15.346-51, 23.854-8) and was already noticed by Longin. 27. AS are not justified in rejecting the Iliadic passages as parallels on the grounds that the direct speech is preceded by a verb of command; the idea of speaking is implied in κατένευσε as well. Allen (1897) proposed <ἐκ δὲ τέλειον/ αἰετὸν ἧκε πατήρ, ὁ δ' ἐπώμοσεν ἦ σε μάλ' οἷον>/ σύμβολον..., while later AHS proposed <ὅρκον πέπληκεν· φάτο δ' αὖ τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα>/ σύμβολον.... Both supplements bear witness to the editors' imagination but are completely unnecessary.

ἐκ δέ: best taken with ποιήσομαι *in tmesi*, in the sense 'complete, finish off,' attested elsewhere in Herodotus 2.125 etc., although the absolute use of prepositions is paralleled in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 18.480); cf. Chantraine *GH* II 83-4 (§116).

ἄνδρα Διὸς γόνον: i.e. a mortal, son of Zeus, as for example Heracles.

527. σύμβολον: The exact meaning of this term has been the subject of controversy: AS and AHS thought it to be the lyre, which earlier in their opinion was described as a σῆμα (509); others (Allen [1897], Evelyn-White, Humbert) took it to refer to an understood σε, i.e. Hermes. For the problems with Humbert's and AHS's interpretations, see Feyel (1946) 19-22, who rightly takes σύμβολον to mean 'convention, accord entre deux parties,' attested in the inscriptional record and Thgn. 1150; cf. earlier on the language of treaties, 393; for this sense, see also LSJ, *s.v.* II. 4 and Gauthier (1972) 69-70.

ἀθανάτων: commonly rendered as '(a pact) between immortals', but perhaps we should read ἀθάνατον, i.e. 'I shall complete the pact so as to be perfect and immortal (i.e. long-lasting).'

ἠδ' ἅμα πάντων: *sc.* συμβόλων, adopting Hermann's punctuation; 'and trusted and esteemed more than any other (pact) in my heart.' The sense is otherwise problematic, since πάντων would include also human beings, who have nothing to do with Hermes's and Apollo's agreement, as e.g. AHS's rendering, 'a token for immortals and everyone together,' which in addition should require a dative.

528. πιστόν: for the turn of phrase, cf. Isocr. 4.49 (σύμβολον πιστότατον),

where however σύμβολον means 'guarantee.'

529-30. The rod is the gift that renders the two gods' agreement τέλειον. Its

function differs from the whip that Hermes received earlier (497) and from the staff that

he was said to have in 210; it seems to be identified with the κηρύκειον, and its role will

be to protect Hermes as a herald and messenger of the gods. Pherecydes of Athens,

FGrH 3 F 131, took it to be the shepherd's staff: ταύτην (*sc.* ῥάβδον) αὐτῷ (*sc.* Ἑρμῇ)

δέδωκεν, ὡς τὰς βοῦς ἐβουκόλει Ἀδμήτου. Elsewhere Hermes uses his golden wand to

put people to sleep and wake them up and to lead the souls into the Underworld (cf. *Il.*

24. 343-4; *Od.* 5.47-8, 24.1-10). It is usually represented in visual arts as a staff of varying

length whose lower end is often pointed and whose tip has an open 8-shaped figure;

sometimes (e.g. *LIMC* 2 192; 510-500 BC) its top consists of two twigs twice intertwined

with each other. On the κηρύκειον, see Boetzkes (1921), de Waele (1927) esp. 33-79 with

abundant references, and Díez de Valasco (1988). Hermes appears once with both the

κηρύκειον and a regular staff (lekythos from Jena, in de Waele, fig. 3; see also p. 57-61).

The κηρύκειον is sometimes depicted on Herms (cf. *LIMC* V 2 (Hermes) nos. 78, 79, 114,

123 etc.); on the different positions in which the κηρύκειον is held, see *LIMC* V 1, p. 380-

2.

530. χρυσείην: cf. Hermes's by-name χρυσόρραπις in the *Odyssey* and the

Hymns (see below, 539).

τριπέτηλον: by analogy to ὑψιπέτηλος, see Zumbach (1955) 18. It is found again in later sources, (Call. *Del.* 165, Nic. *Th.* 522, where it means 'clover'). On a Corinthian πίναξ Hermes holds a κηρύκειον which has a three-leaf point, see Roscher, *s.v. Hermes*, col. 2401, and the discussion in de Waele (1927) 48-50. Note that Apollo does not mention any snakes intertwined on the wand that he gives to Hermes. The decoration with snakes seems to have developed from the figure 8-shape type and, as de Waele (1927) 78 maintains, must have occurred in the middle of the 6th c. BC. This fact may be a *terminus ante quem* for the Hymn's date, although it is possible that the poet may be archaizing or that this development has not yet taken place in his area; see also above, p. 27.

ἀκήριον ἤ σε φυλάξει: for the collocation, cf. *Od.* 20.47 διαμπερὲς ἤ σε φυλάσσω. The heralds' immunity is implied here; cf. Mondi (1978) esp. 67-71, who sees the κηρύκειον as a development from the king's σκῆπτρον.

531. θεμούς: a necessary correction for the MSS' θεούς; attested only here and glossed in Hesychius as διαθέσεις, παραινέσεις. Hermes's role will be to fulfill Zeus's ordinances that Apollo learns directly from Zeus. For θεμούς, cf. θεμοῦν *Od.* 9.486, 542. The role of Hermes as fulfilling Zeus's orders can be paralleled by *Il.* 24.333-45 and *Od.* 5.43-9 (notice that he seizes his wand in both cases).

533-80 The discussion on *manteiê*

For the importance of this section that establishes a parallelism between poetry

and divination, see my discussion above, p. 101-10.

533. μαντείην: see on 472.

διοτρεφές: Θ; M has διαμπερές, adopted by Radermacher who thought that

διοτρεφές was conjectured by someone who had noticed the contradiction caused by

ἐρεείνειν and the lack of a direct request. διοτρεφής is normally used of human beings

(mostly kings), and is found once of Skamander (*Il.* 21.223); if adopted here, it would be

the first and only instance of διοτρεφής referring to a god in archaic Epic. Besides,

φέριστε is not coupled anywhere with another epithet, except for Orph. *H.* 13.9, 64.13

(but the Orphic Hymns are characterized by an extreme accumulation of epithets).

διαμπερές, 'continually,' on the other hand, gives satisfactory sense here in view of

Hermes's emphasis on Apollo's divination, especially in 471-3, which—as already

mentioned—amounts to an implicit request and should be preferred here; cf. also

Hermes's use of the language of divination in his description of the lyre's treatment. The

adverb is found in the same metrical position earlier (167 and 508); for its placement

outside the relative clause, cf. *Od.* 20.47 (διαμπερὲς ἥ σε φυλάσσω) and earlier (530

ἀκήριον ἥ σε φυλάξει).

ἥν ἐρεείνεις: 'which you ask about'. The meaning of this phrase is controversial.

Some editors (Gemoll, AHS, Richardson- forthcoming) take ἐρεείνειν to mean 'ask

about, mention,' while others (AS, Radermacher) render it as 'ask for, demand'.

Càssola's position is not clear: on p. 541 he renders 'chiedere per avere,' but in his translation he has 'di cui tu mi chiedi' and claims that this phrase contradicts the rest of the account in which Hermes does not express any request. AS suggested that Hermes's request for divination occurred in the lacuna after 526. Hermann tried to solve the problem by emending to ἣν ἐρεείνῃς, but this is not necessary. The meaning of ἐρεείνειν ranges from 'say, speak' (e.g. Theop. Com. *fr.* 30, a hexameter) to 'ask about' (e.g. *Il.* 6.145) or 'search after' (*Batr.* 52); cf. also the use of ἐξερέεινε earlier in 252. Asking repeatedly about something suggests, of course, *coveting* that thing, and Apollo understands Hermes's innuendos.

538. πυκινόφρονα βουλήν: on πυκινόφρων, which recurs in Hes. *fr.* 253.1, see Zumbach (1955) 21. Equivalent to πυκινά/ πύκα φρονέων (*Il.* 9.554, 14.217, *Od.* 9.445), it describes individuals (Hes. *fr.* 253.1), even in its post-classical occurrences (Greg.Naz. *Carm.* 1512.13, Q.S. 5.98, with the exception of *AP* 11.350.3). Elsewhere βουλή may be πυκινή (e.g. *Il.* 2.55). For Apollo as the mouthpiece of Zeus's will, cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 616-8.

540. πιφαύσκειν: the reduplicated syllable may be long or short in epic (cf. *Il.* 10.202, 12.208, 15.97 etc., as opposed to *Il.* 10.478, 502); in tragedy it is short (Aesch. *Pers.* 662, *Agam.* 23, *Choe.* 279, *Eum.* 620); Schulze (1966) 332 attributes the lengthening to the following aspirated; cf. also McLennan (1975) 68 on Call. *Jo*36. For πιφαύσκειν in Homer, see Knebel (1949) 65-72. For the relation between 'light' and 'speech', see Bremer (1974) 192-4.

541-9. Matthiae, *Animadversiones* 309, assigned these verses to Hermes because of their resemblance to the young god's attitude described in 577-8, also noting that the futures δηλήσομαι and ὀνήσω suggest someone who had just received the gift of prophecy (comparing with *h.Apol.* 131 and Call. *Dian.*). Alternatively, he suggested removing 538-9 and assume a switch from indirect (πιφαύσκειν) to direct (δηλήσομαι, ονήσω) speech; 541-2 would thas be part of Apollo's promise to Zeus when he was given the gift of prophecy. However, there is no indication of speaker change. Apollo here declares that the responsibility for the oracle's 'errors' lies with humans since their interpretation of the preliminary omens is mistaken. The futures express the speaker's intention—(cf. Magnien [1912] II 154-6).

542. πολλὰ περιτροπέων: cf. *Od.* 9.465, where the phrase is used (in the same metrical position) of driving Polyphemus's flock. The poet perhaps implies that Apollo confuses humans, driving them like sheep to one action or another. This would, of course, hardly suit a devoté of Apollo and contrasts with the god's statement in *h.Apol.* 252-3.

543ff. On the preliminaries to the consultation of the oracles, see Bouché-Leclercq (1880) vol. 3, 82-3 with n. 5 and 99-100. Line 544 seems to suggest that ornithomancy was among them. Pausan. 10.6.1 transmits the tradition that Parnassus, the son of Poseidon, founded the first city in the area of Delphi and invented divination by means of birds' flight; cf. Amandry (1950) 57-9. Ornithomancy was attributed to Apollo as well (cf. above note on 213), but does not seem to have been one of the preliminary practices as

Delphi. Plut. *De def. orac.* 435b-c mentions the sprinkling of the sacrificial victim; if the animal trembled, the day would be considered αἰσία (cf. Eur. *Ion* 421). In any other case, the Pythia would not pronounce an oracle. The preliminary omens are not confined to the Delphic oracle; cf. Hes. *fr.* 240.10-1 ὃς δὴ κεῖθι μολὼν θεὸν ἄμβροτον ἐξερεείνη δῶρα φέρων <τ'> ἔλθῃσι σὺν οἰωνοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν (of Dodona).

544. φωνῇ τ' ἠδὲ ποτῇσι: Ruhnken's emendation of M's φωνή τ' ἠδεπότῃσι. Ψ's (καί) πτερύγεσσι may be a gloss. ποτή occurs once in *Od.* 5.337 (the verse was suspect, but apparently Aristarchus admitted it; see Heubeck-West-Hainsworth [1988] *ad loc.*); then Alexander Trag. *fr.* 5.5 *CA* and Arat. 278. For omens based on the flight of birds, cf. Call. *Lav.Pall.* 123-4 γνωσεῖται δ' ὄρνιχας, ὃς αἴσιος οἵ τε πέτονται ἤλιθα καὶ ποίων οὐκ ἀγαθαὶ πτέρυγες, which suggests that Callimachus had Ψ's reading here; also *Od.* 2.181-2. Apollo mentions here only the cries and the flight of the birds, but the Greeks also observed their ἕδρα and ἐνέργειαι; see Bouché-Leclercq (1879) I 135-6 and Stengel (1920) 57-9; cf. Soph. *Antig.* 1001-4.

τελῃέντων οἰωνῶν: the epithet is often used of sacrificial victims (cf. note on 129), but here it suggests that the omens speak the truth and bring about their own accomplishment; for this usage one may compare κραίνουσιν in 559 and Tyrt. *fr.* 4.2 μαντείας τε θεοῦ καὶ τελέεντ' ἔπεα.

545. Note the rhyming effect with 541.

546. *μαψιλόγοισι: 'speaking falsely'; formed perhaps by analogy to ὀψι-, ὑψι-, τερψι-; see Wackernagel (1969) 771.

547. παρὲκ νόον: 'senselessly', 'uneinsichtig' (*LfgrE, s.v.* νόος 3a); however, since the preliminary omens indicate the god's unwillingness to give an oracle, it may be preferable to render 'contrary to (my) intention.' In that case, πλέον would suggest *hybris* on the part of the humans. For the idea, cf. Soph. *OT* 281-2, Eur. *Ion* 374-7.

549. φήμ': parenthetic. Its meaning is not simply 'I say', as suggested by Radermacher, who considered it a colloquialism, citing Herod. 3.34, 4.32, 4.50, but 'I proclaim.'

ἐγὼ δέ κε δῶρα δεχοίμην: a reference to Apollo's greed hinted at earlier (335) and inappropriate to an Apolline revisionist. Apollo will accept the visitors' gifts whether he answers their questions or not. These gifts consisted of a sacrificial cake (πέλανος) that visitors offered before entering the temple and of sacrifices performed when they entered the temple; on the expenses that one incurred when consulting the oracle, see Parke & Wormell (1956) I 32 and 43 n. 66, citing two treaties regulating the prices charged to citizens of Phaselis and Skiathos. The Delphic Oracle's greed was notorious; cf. the proverb ἄνευ χαλκοῦ Φοῖβος οὐ μαντεύεται cited by Treu (1889) 199. Apollo was not the only god who could ignore his worshippers' requests while accepting their gifts; cf. Athena's indifference on the Trojan women's prayers in *Il.* 6.311.

550-65. *The Bee-oracle*

Hermes receives the Bee-oracle from Apollo, for which the former gives nothing in exchange. In Apollo's lengthy discussion on divination, it is striking that Delphi is not

mentioned (but perhaps hinted at in 556). Crucial in this passage is the identification

of the three maiden sisters. Since Hermann's emendation of 552 in 1806 –Θριαί (*sic;*

better Θρῖαι) for σεμναί (M) or μοῖραι (Ψ)— many scholars have considered them to be

the Thriae who were deities involved in some type of cleromancy. They are mentioned

by Pherecydes of Athens, *FGrH* 3 F 49, who does not include them in his Hermes story

(frr. 130-1), Philochorus, *FGrH* 328 F 195 (cited by Zenob. *Pro* 5.5: πολλοὶ θριοβόλοι,

παῦροι δέ τε μάντιες ἄνδρες. Φιλόχορός φησιν ὅτι νύμφαι κατεῖχον τὸν Παρνασσόν,

τροφοὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, τρεῖς, καλούμεναι Θρῖαι, ἀφ᾽ ὧν αἵ τε μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι θριαὶ

καλοῦνται καὶ τὸ μαντεύεσθαι θριᾶσθαι. ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν εὑρεῖν τὴν

διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικήν. ἧς εὐδοκιμούσης μᾶλλον τῶν Δελφικῶν χρησμῶν, τὸν Δία

χαριζόμενον τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ψευδῆ καταστῆσαι τὴν διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικήν), and

Call. *Hec.* fr. 74.9 (Hollis). Cf. the lexicographers' entries, collected by Jacoby in his

commentary and notes on the aforementioned fragments, to which add Hsch.

ἐνθριάζειν· παραπαίειν, ἀπὸ τῶν μαντικῶν θριῶν; the ancient testimonia are also

presented in Wilamowitz (1984) I 372-4, who links them with the 'white maidens'

mentioned in Cic. *De div.* 1.81 ('ego providebo rem istam et albae virgines,' on the

occasion of the Gauls' attack on Delphi).

Hermann introduced the Thriae into the text based on Philochorus's fragment in

combination with the account of the story preserved in Apollod. 3.115 (Ἑρμῆς δὲ

ταύτας [*sc.* τὰς βοῦς] νέμων σύριγγα πάλιν πηξάμενος ἐσύριζεν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ καὶ

ταύτην βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, τὴν χρυσῆν ῥάβδον ἐδίδου ἣν ἐκέκτητο βουκολῶν. Ὁ δὲ

καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τῆς σύριγγος καὶ τὴν μαντικὴν ἐπελθεῖν. καὶ δοὺς διδάσκεται τὴν διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικήν). The first to express doubts about Hermann's emendation was Radermacher *ad loc.* followed by Feyel (1946) 8-9, who discarded it altogether. Our text mentions an oracle whose prophecies depend on bees, while the Thriae practiced divination by pebbles (ψῆφοι). Apollod., furthermore, may have been using other sources beside the Hymn: in the Hymn, Apollo's golden wand is not the same as the shepherd's staff, while Hermes invents the pan-pipes for his own delight, not in order to exchange them for anything else. Cleromancy was of course associated with Hermes (cf. κλῆρος Ἑρμοῦ), but it is not mentioned in our text. It was also practised at Delphi, as an alternative to the consultation of the Pythia, whose appearances would presumably be limited; see Amandry (1939) esp. 195-200, Parke & Wormell (1956) I 18-9; *contra* Fontenrose (1978) 219-23. It must have been an extremely old way of divination whose technical language survived in phrases such as ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεός or ἐξέπεσεν χρησμός.

Larson (1995) identifies the three sisters with the Corycian Nymphs on the grounds that they have links to both Apollo and Hermes, are located under a ridge of Parnassus, and a humble form of divination was practiced in their cave. This explanation also presents problems: the Bee-sisters appear as teachers of Apollo, which is nowhere said of the Corycian Nymphs; the form of divination practiced used knucklebones and dice, of which a large number was found in the Corycian Cave; cf. Larson (1995) 347 and 356 nt. 50 (on this type of divination, see Frazer on Paus. 7.25.10).

The link with Hermes is tenuous: it is based on the affinity between these Nymphs with Pan and on the assumption that at later times Pan supplanted Hermes in his role as the companion of nymphs; cf. however Amandry (1984) 398 who observes that the cult of Pan in the Corycian Cave must have been introduced after the Persian Wars and that it is very likely that the Nymphs were originally worshipped there alone. Finally, the connection with bees and honey rests on the association of bees with caves (cf. the presence of bee-hives in the cave of the Nymphs in Ithaca), from which Larson hypothesizes that the visitors to the cave would offer a honey libation to Hermes and the Nymphs prior to consulting the oracle; nothing of this sort is mentioned in the Hymn, and her theory does not account for other details, such as their 'barley-covered heads.' Roscalla (1998) 32-3 sees in the Bee-oracle testimony for an earlier cult of a *Magna Dea* whom Apollo succeeded at Pytho.

What is the connection between bees and divination? Certain priestesses or attendants were called μέλισσαι of Demeter (Call. *Apol.*110 with Williams *ad loc.*, Porph. *Antr.* 18, Hsch. *s.v.* μέλισσα, Schol. *Theoc.* 15.95), of Artemis (Ar. *Ra.* 1273); further, *EM* 577.40 and Pi. *fr.* 123. Pi. *P.* 4.59-60 calls the Pythia μέλισσα Δελφίς (cf. the πελειάδες in Dodona). Paus. 10.5.9 records the tradition that the second temple at Delphi was constructed by beeswax and wings and that it was sent by Apollo to the Hyperboreans (see Sourvinou-Inwood [1991] 192-216 and esp. 197 with nt. 26 for the association of priestesses with bees; on this last subject also Cook [1895] 5). Although a bee-oracle is not mentioned elsewhere, special powers have been ascribed to bees: the oracle of

Trophonios was discovered with the aid of a swarm of bees (Paus. 9.40.1-2), while the Muses in the form of bees guided the Athenian settlers in Ionia; see Philostr. *Im.* 2.8.5., Him. *Or.* 10.1, 28.7. On the basis of these stories it is possible that the bees do not function as prophets themselves; rather, people's chance encounter with them proves to be beneficial. In other words, their role is that of an ἕρμαιον or σύμβολον, like the tortoise at the beginning of the hymn; cf. later 565 and Bouché-Leclercq (1963) I 148.

The description of the bee-oracle's operation on Parnassus with its emphasis on the bees' sound and movement is reminiscent of the principles of ornithomancy (see note on 544). On bees in general, see Robert-Tornow (1893), Olck (1897), and Körner (1930) 81-6. For the bee-oracle, see also Latte (1939) 832; for the prophetic beliefs associated with bees in various cultures, see Radermacher (1931) 171, n. 1 and Scheinberg (1979); also Hopf (1888) 204-8.

550-51. Μαίης...δαῖμον: an honorific address, the longest in the poem, somewhat resembling the beginning of our Hymn (parentage expanded; θεῶν ἐριούνιε δαῖμον ~ ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον, 3). The combination θεῶν...δαῖμον is striking. In Homer δαίμων may refer to a specific god or gods (even Olympians), to an unnamed divine power, or one's lot or destiny. Earlier in the Hymn (138, 343) it was used of Hermes in the second sense, and here δαίμων seems to be distinct from the rest of the (Olympian) gods. Càssola tries to avoid the problem by rendering 'demone veloce tra gli dei,' while West renders 'courser deity among the gods.' δαίμων is commonly derived from δαίομαι 'distribute' (see Frisk, *s.v.*), and its original meaning must have been

'distributor' or 'dispenser.' This sense may be present here; Hermes is characterized as 'the gods' swift dispenser' in his capacity as their messenger, and δαίμων may indicate an intermediary figure between gods and humans. To this one may compare Hesiod's men of the Golden Age who became δαίμονες after their death (cf. also Pl. *Cra.* 398c). Cf. δαίμονα δῖον in Hes. *Th.* 991 (with West *ad loc.*), which suggests that δαίμων may not be equivalent to a (higher) god. In Pl. *Smp.* 202e-203a, τὸ δαιμόνιον appears as the intermediate between gods and humans. See Nilsson (1955) I 201-6, who points out that unexpected and irrational events were attributed to the δαίμων, and Burkert (1977) 278-82 with further bibliography; for a survey of the meanings of δαίμων, Rexine (1986) and Suárez de la Torre (2000). With θεῶν δαῖμον, cf. θεοδαίμων, an inferior deity, a term that appears on an inscription from Amphipolis, *BCH* 22 (1898) 350 (τοτόητι θεοδαίμονι ὕπνῳ) and on *P.Oxy.* XLVIII.3396.

552. <u>σεμναί</u>: M's reading; Ψ has μοῖραι, which is probably to be attributed to the maidens' number and points to an early corruption. On the problems with Hermann's emendation, see note on 550-65. σεμναί was changed to Σμῆναι by Feyel (1946) 11-5, based on two glosses in Hesychius: ἰσμῆναι· θῆκαι. ἀκόλουθοι and σμῆναι· τῶν μελισσῶν οἱ κηροδόχοι ἤτοι αἱ θῆκαι. He further hypothesized that σμῆναι / ἰσμῆναι could have been used also as the name of the attendants of a Bee-goddess. The glosses, however, do not support such an idea; it is also hard to explain why the priestesses would be called 'beehives' or 'honeycombs' when the term 'μέλισσαι' was readily available and actually used to designate female attendants (see note on 550-65). The text

can stand as transmitted by M; Apollo simply does not tell us the name of these sisters, just as he is not precise regarding their dwelling-place (they simply live ὑπὸ πτυχὶ Παρνησοῖο). See also Amandry (1950) 62-4; further Latte (1939) 832 against the introduction of the Thriae.

554. τρεῖς: note the emphatic position. Nymphs and other divine figures often appear in triads; see Usener (1903) for examples.

κατὰ κρατός...λευκά: he heads of the three maiden-sisters are sprinkled with white barley-flour. Based on this detail, Wilamowitz (see note on 550-65) associated these figures with the 'white maidens' mentioned in Cic. *De Di* 1.81; it has been also interpreted as a metaphor for white hair; others compare with the κανηφόροι, who are λευκοῖσιν ἀλφίτοισιν ἐντετριμμέναι (Hermipp. *fr.* 25 *PCG*), but such a comparison is irrelevant in this context. Amandry (1950) 60-1 links this passage with alphitomancy, for which see Ganschinietz (1918a) who gathers all the reference to this type of divination. Hsch. transmits Apollo's by-name ἀλευρόμαντις (*s.v.*). Our text, however, makes clear that honey is used as a means of divination. The 'white barley' should be taken as a metaphor for pollen. The three maiden-sisters are then described as bees both in the literal sense (hence the wings and the pollen-covered heads from visiting flowers) and in the technical sense as priestesses (their number three and their status as παρθένοι).

556. μαντείης: see above, note on 472.

ἀπάνευθε: i.e. away from Delphi. By using the bee-oracle Hermes will stay away from the temple at Delphi, which was a concern for Apollo (cf. 523).

<u>διδάσκαλοι</u>: first here. διδάσκαλος is used of Apollo later in Aesch. *Eum.*
279 and Soph. *fr.* 771, as he instructs humans on the appropriate course of action; here,
however, the three sisters appear as the teachers of their own art.

556-7: <u>ἦν ἐπὶ βουσί...μελέτησα</u>: for ἐπὶ βουσί, see note on 200. μελετᾶν first in
Hes. *Op.* 316. Apollo claims to have practiced this form of augury when he was young
while tending his cattle. This statement is important for a number of reasons: first, the
poet here (as well as earlier, 535-8) offers an account of Apollo's history as a prophet
different from the one presented in *h.Apol.* There, Apollo claimed the right to reveal
Zeus's unerring will as soon as he was born; according to the poet of *h.Herm.*, however,
Apollo acquires this privilege at a later stage after spending some years practising an
inferior form of divination. Second, Apollo's initiation in divination by the three sisters
parallels the poet's initiation into his art as in Hes. *Th.* 29-34: both occur in the
mountains, while the initiates are tending flocks; they are initiated by female figures,
who may lie or speak the truth. Finally, Apollo's development as an oracular divinity
who, starting from a humbler form of divination, obtains the most prestigious oracle
may suggest the possibility of a similar development for Hermes who is beginning his
career as a diviner in the same way as Apollo did. One would hardly expect an Apolline
follower to suggest such a possibility.

<u>πατήρ...οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν</u>: ἀλέγιζεν is Hermann's emendation for the MSS
ἀλέγυνεν (ἀλέγεινεν *p*). In early Epic ἀλεγύνω is never negated; for negative contexts
ἀλεγίζω is used. Zeus did not care that Apollo was practicing divination through the

bee-oracle. As a lesser form of augury which may say both true and false things, the

bee-oracle does not reveal Zeus's will; it is also possible that the Bee-oracle is viewed as

a form of divination appropriate for younger gods.

558. ἄλλοτε ἄλλη: cf. *Op.* 713 with West *ad loc.* on the hiatus.

559. κηρία: not in Homer but found in Hes. *Th.* 597 and Hdt. κηρία was Zeus's

nourishment in Crete (by an attendant named Μέλισσα) according to Call. *Jo* 49.

κραίνουσιν: the verb can mean 'complete,' 'fulfill,' 'bring to conclusion'; see the

discussion of its meanings in Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* II 193 and Benveniste (1969) II 35-

42. It may seem bold that the bees' pronouncements are presented as equivalent to their

own accomplishment, but cf. above 544 τελη έντων οἰωνῶν; since they speak with

divine authority, their words constitute part of their fulfillment; cf. also Eur. *Ion* 461-4:

Φοίβηιος ἔνθα...ἑστία...μαντεύματα κραίνει. The expression adds another parallel to

the comparison between poetry and divination; cf. the use of κραίνω earlier in 427

(Hermes' theogony) and the discussion on p. 103-4.

560. ὅτε μὲν θυίωσιν: for ὅτε with the subjunctive (without ἄν/ κεν), see

Chantraine, *GH* II 256 (§379).

θυ(ί)ω is properly used of raging natural forces (rivers, winds, cf. θύελλα, Hes.

Th. 874) or of an intense emotional state (*Il.* 1.342); on the spelling, see Schulze, *QE* 312-6

and Chantraine *GH* I, 372 (§177). Here it refers to the mantic excitement caused by the

consumption of honey. Cf. also θυιάς, i.e. 'possessed woman, Bacchant'.

<u>ἐδηδυῖαι μέλι χλωρόν</u>: for the association of honey with (Bacchic) frenzy

and Dionysus, see Cook (1895) 6 and Roscalla (1998) 65-6. The frenzy induced in the

prophetic bees by honey is similar to that experienced by poets according to Plato's *Ion*

533e-534d (with a pun on μέλη and μέλιτται; see Murray [1996] *ad loc.*), who explicitly

compares the poets' psychological state with that of the seer and the diviner; cf.

Scheinberg (1979). For honey as a means for inspiring truthful pronouncements, see

Waszing (1974) 9-12.

χλωρός is usually explained as 'yellowish', 'pale'; but cf. Irwin (1974) 56-60 who

regards it as a conventional epithet that originally referred to the liquid state of honey

on the grounds that χλωρός is applied also to dew, tears, wine, and blood despite their

different colors.

562. <u>ἀπονοσφισθῶσι</u>: the cpd. not in Homer (who has ἀπόνοσφι), but cf.

h.Dem. 158.

<u>θεῶν ἡδεῖαν ἐδωδήν</u>: for honey as the food of gods, cf. Call. *Jo* 49 and Porph.

Antr. 15-9; also Cook (1895) 7-8 and Olck (1897) 448-9 for further references.

563. The line is transmitted by the *x* family in the margin; all the MSS offer

πειρῶνται δήπειτα παρὲξ ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν (563a in Càssola's edition), which was

discarded by Baumeister in favor of 563. Some scholars (Schneidewin, Hollander,

Ludwich) proposed retaining both. For other such variants, cf. 288, 326, 366 where it is

difficult to decide which should be retained. Although one cannot exclude the

possibility of their being real performative variants, both of which somehow found their

way into the text, 563a may be derivative, as already suggested by Gemoll: its

beginning resembles that of 563 (ψεύδ<u>ονται δῆπειτα</u>~ πειρ<u>ῶνται δῆπειτα</u>), while the

rest of its constituents occur elsewhere in the Hymn in the same metrical position

(παρὲξ ὁδόν cf. 188 παρὲξ ὁδοῦ; ἡγεμονεύειν, cf. 392). A corruption may have occurred

early enough to be reflected in both branches of the tradition, and accordingly 563a may

be an attempt to heal such a corruption.

<u>δι' ἀλλήλων δονέουσαι</u>: for the δονεῖν in the context of bees, cf. Choeril., *fr.*

318 περὶ δὲ κρήνας ἀρεθούσας μυρία φῦλ' ἐδονεῖτο πολυσμήνοισι μελίσσαις

<εἴκελα...>. The phrase implies a disorderly flight and suggests that this form of

divination is based on both the bees' movement and their buzzing; cf. Sourvinou-

Inwood (1991) 198; for δονεῖν of sound, cf. Pi. *N.* 7.81, *P.* 10.39, Theoc. 20.29.

565. <u>εἰ βροτὸν ἄνδρα δαείης</u>: for εἰ with subj., see Chantraine *GH* II 279 (§ 410).

δαείης poses difficulties. Its sense normally is 'learn through practice or experience' (cf.

also earlier 471); Càssola renders 'incontri,' 'meet,' which is unparalleled, while West

(2003a) 159 suggests with some reservation 'teach.' The sense 'teach' in the rest of

archaic Epic appears only in the reduplicated aorist (see *LfgrE, s.v.* δαῆναι, δέδαε B 1a).

δάε, ἔδαε is found as a causative in A.R. 1.724, 3.529, 4.989, however, and here we may

have its first attestation (cf. LSJ, *RevSuppl., s.v.* δάω).

568-71. Editors since Wolf posit a *lacuna* after 568 because of the change in the

construction and (presumably also) the speaker (Apollo in 567-8, Zeus in 569-73).

Gemoll, in fact, suggested that the lost lines must have mentioned Zeus, and Allen

(1898) proposed the supplement ὣς ἔφατ'· οὐρανόθεν (sic, despite the fact that they

are on Olympus) δὲ πατὴρ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἔπεσσιν θῆκε τέλος: πᾶσιν δ' ὁ μὲν οἰωνοῖσι

κέλευσε…. West (2003a) 159 suggests that Zeus also appointed Hermes as the herald of

the gods in the missing lines. The change of speaker is considered necessary by many

scholars because Apollo cannot be bestowing *timai* on Hermes. However, Apollo had

promised honors to Hermes already at 460-2, and he attempted to usurp the role of Zeus

as a punisher in 254-9; in 291-2, furthermore, he acknowledges a *geras* that Hermes will

possess as leader of thieves. Furthermore, it is not clear why it is permissible for Apollo

to appoint Hermes in charge of cows, horses, and donkeys, while it would be

inappropriate in the case of the lions, boars, dogs, and sheep. There is thus no

compelling reason for Zeus to be the speaker of 569ff. ἀνάσσειν can be construed as an

infinitive with the force of an imperative, and the change from imperative to infinitive is

documented in archaic inscriptions, as Brioso (1990) shows; cf. Wackernagel (1950) I 266

who points out that the infinitive may function as the equivalent of a second person

imperative. The use of the infinitive, furthermore, gives a special solemnity to Apollo's

final words. Thus, no lacuna should be assumed here. For the accusative subject of the

infinitive, cf. Goodwin *GMT*, 313 (§ 784.2 and 785).

Hermes was considered the protector of small (domesticated) animals, especially

sheep. In this passage of *h.Herm.*, however, he appears to have the tutelage over animals

in general. For Hermes' association with animals, see Chittenden (1947).

572. In this and the following line, Hermes assumes the office of the psychopomp. This role is familiar already from *Od.* 24.1ff., but our poet mentions it only cursorily after all the various honors that Hermes is to receive. If one accepts the mythologem of the cows as the souls of the dead in the background of our story (see above on 40-51), then Hermes has already enacted this function as well.

τετελεσμένον: 'formally appointed,' cf. LSJ, *s.v.* τελέω III 2 and Waanders (1983) 47-8.

573. ἄδοτος: Zumbach (1955) 26 takes it in a passive sense (unbeschenkt, ohne Gaben) comparing it with θεόσδοτος in Hes. *Op.* 320, but it is preferable to understand it in an active sense; cf. also Hades's by-name πολυδέκτης and πολυδέγμων (*h.Dem.* 9, 17), referring to his receiving the dead. The adjective recurs in a passive sense much later, in *P.Oxy* 898.11 and *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.20. 7 (2nd c. AD) in the sense of 'unpaid.' Although Hades does not normally give back anything, nevertheless even he will bestow an eternal gift on Hermes. This last sentence confirms Hermes's status as a god who is free to move between the boundaries of the Upper- and Netherworld.

574-8. With these lines we move from the mythical time of the Hymn's events to the present time of the poetic performance. This is a clausular device also found in other divine narratives; cf. *h.Dem.* 483-9 (with Richardson's comments), *h.Hom* 15.6-8, 20.5, Hes. *fr.* 25.26, 229.6. Lines 574-5 repeat the sense of 506-8 (on this pseudo-ending see note *ad loc.*); and lines 576-8 recapitulate Hermes's essential features: he is the intermediary between gods and men, and his actions may be beneficent or (more often) deceptive for

the latter (cf. *Il.* 24.334-5). The validity of this characterization has been established by Hermes's actions throughout the Hymn.

577. ἄκριτον: 'incalculably often,' cf. 126; it may also suggest that it is difficult for mortals to discern when Hermes's actions are beneficent and when deceitful.

578. νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην: most of Hermes's thievish actions took place at night; cf. above 67, 97ff., and 290. It may also refer to his function as the ἡγήτωρ ὀνείρων; on this point, see also Greene (2005) 347.

579-80. The typical closure formula of the *Homeric Hymns*. Its standard form consists of two lines, the first of which contains some form of χαίρειν and the vocative of the god's name (or a periphrasis thereof or ἄναξ), and the second either a promise to remember the god(s) in a future song or the announcement of a new song (what Richardson at *h.Dem.* 495 calls a 'passage formula'). There are variations of this formula. In *h.Dem.* and *h.Hom.* 20 χαῖρε is substituted by πρόφρονες and ἵληθι, respectively; see Race (1982) esp. 8-10 who rightly emphasizes that the concluding χαῖρε means more than a simple 'farewell' (note οὕτω): it marks the establishment of a reciprocal relation of goodwill between the poet and the god who is asked to bestow blessing, happiness, or success in song. Viewed under this perspective, the so-called 'passage formula' may not actually introduce another (epic) song; rather, it may be part of the poet's request for pleasant song, with which he can praise the god in the future. This sentiment is found in dedicatory epigrams; cf. *IG* II² 650: Φαρθένε, ἐν ἀκροπόλει Τελεσῖνος ἄγαλμ' ἀνέθεκεν Κέτιος, ηοῖ χαίροισα διδοίες ἄλο ἀναθεναι, discussed in Bremmer (1998).

For χαῖρε, see Bundy (1972) 49-54; further Day (2000) and Depew (2000) for the establishment of *charis* -relations in dedications and verbal *agalmata*, respectively. The notion of rejoicing has been building up throughout the Hymn; cf. 127, 506, 575, Hermes's address to the *chelys* (χαῖρε, 30), and the *chelys's* uttering sounds full of χάρις.

Notice also that the χαῖρε- formula is a clausular device in the context of the *rhapsodic* Hymns; Alcaeus's *Hymn to Hermes* began with χαῖρε Κυλλάνας ὁ μέδεις.... On the two types of χαῖρε (i.e. at the beginning and at the end of a Hymn), see the remarks in Fraenkel (1957) 169. The switch to the second person (χαῖρε) after a narrative in the third person referring to the past and the passage into the present time (574-8) may point to an epiphanic evocation of the god.

580. **καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς**: The comparison with *h.Apol.* 1 (μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο) suggests that μνήσομ(αι) is a subjunctive, and its coupling with ἀοιδῆς renders it almost a synonym for 'sing'; the Muses are daughters of Mnemosyne and are evoked whenever the poet is about to perform a feat of memory; furthermore, examples such as *Il.* 6.112 μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς suggest that remembering has a re-enacting force in Homer; see Bakker (2002) 67-71.

The 'passage formula' has been taken as evidence for the proemic nature of the *Homeric Hymns*, a theory that goes back to Wolf; see Böhme (1937) who gathers all the testimonia on προοίμιον, and Thalmann (1984) 120-1. The *Homeric Hymns* may have originated as introductions to epic poetry, but the longer pieces of the collection seem too extensive and independent to function in this way. Bakker (2002) 72-3 suggests that

the phrase means 'But I will remember you as well as the rest of the song' instead of 'another song' as it is commonly interpreted, and that it refers to 'the epic story at hand.' This rendering assumes that the longer *Homeric Hymns* are indeed prefaces to epic recitation, which may or may not be true; and it also implies that together with the subsequent (epic) song they form a single unit, which would be true only if the following song is another hymn to the same deity. Furthermore, on the basis of the Lay of Ares and Aphrodite in *Od.* 8, which resembles a Homeric Hymn in the way it is introduced (cf. the opening of Hermes's Hymn to himself at 52), poems such as *h.Herm.* may not have been used as introductions to epic recitations, although this may have been the case with the shorter hymns. Only (the late) *h.Hom.* 31 (to Helios) and 32 (to Selene) clearly announce the content of the song that is to come, i.e. the deeds of the demigods. In this respect they seem to confirm the proemic function of the *Homeric Hymns*, but it is hazardous to generalize from these two short poems which may reflect later practices. Of the long Hymns, only *h.Aphr.* announces another ὕμνος (=hymn? or epic poem?), and *h.Hom.* 6 refers explicitly to an agonistic context. On this subject certainty may not be attainable; like the Poet, ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν.

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