

CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

# THREE HOMERIC HYMNS

TO APOLLO,  
HERMES, AND APHRODITE

EDITED BY NICHOLAS RICHARDSON



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HYMNS 3, 4, AND 5

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# INTRODUCTION

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## 1 THE HOMERIC HYMNS

### (a) *Nature and purpose*

The three poems studied in this book belong to a collection of thirty-three hymns in hexameter verse, composed in honour of ancient Greek gods and goddesses. Their title in the manuscripts is Ὀμήρου ὕμνοι. They vary considerably in length. In the collection as we have it, the four longest hymns, to Demeter (495 lines), Apollo (546 lines), Hermes (580 lines), and Aphrodite (293 lines), are preceded by the last section of a hymn to Dionysus, which originally must also have been a longer one. (For a possible reconstruction of this hymn see West (2001b); cf. also Dihle (2002) for a contrary view.) Of the others, the longest (*H.* 7, also to Dionysus) is fifty-nine lines, the shortest (*H.* 13, to Demeter) only three. Several deities are the subject of more than one hymn, and a few are short pieces composed of extracts from longer poems (13, 17, and 18 from the longer hymns to Demeter, the Dioscuri, and Hermes, and 25 from Hesiod's *Theogony*).

Most of these poems probably belong to the 'Archaic' period, i.e. between c. 700 and 500 BC, but some appear to be later in date. An Attic vase painting of c. 470 BC shows a boy holding a papyrus-roll, on which are written what appear to be the opening two words of *Hymn* 18. It has been inferred that some at least of the hymns could have already been used as school texts at this time (cf. *H. Herm.* in.). Our earliest explicit reference to one of the hymns is by Thucydides (3.104), who quotes two passages from the *Hymn to Apollo* (146–50 and 165–72), ascribes it to Homer, and calls it a προοίμιον (prelude). Later writers, however, from the second century AD onwards, express doubts about Homer's authorship of the *Hymns*. Athenaeus (22B) attributes the *Hymn to Apollo* to 'Homer or one of the Homeridae', and a scholiast to Pindar, *Nemean* 2.1 ascribes it to a rhapsode named Cynaethus (cf. 2(b) below). *Hymn* 2 is quoted by a scholiast to Nicander (*Alex.* 130) as 'among the hymns ascribed to Homer', and some of the *Lives of Homer* assert that only the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are definitely Homer's own work (cf. *Vita* v, p. 248.19–24, *Plutarchi Vita* p. 243–4.98–100, *Suda* p. 258.37–8 Allen). Alexandrian scholarship does not often refer to the *Hymns*, and this suggests that by the Hellenistic period, if not before, their authenticity as Homeric was questioned (cf. AHS pp. lxxix–lxxx).

The passages quoted by Thucydides from the *Hymn to Apollo* describe a Pan-Ionian festival of this god on Delos, and the poet's own request to the Delian girls who are Apollo's attendants, to commemorate him as a blind man who lives in Chios and to praise him as the best of singers (cf. 140–78, 146–72, 165–76nn.). The poem therefore is set dramatically at the festival which is being described, and the poet's claim suggests, as Thucydides infers (3.104.5), performance of

this hymn at a poetic contest. In a similar way, *Hymn* 6 closes with a prayer to Aphrodite to grant the singer 'victory in this contest' (19–20), and several others end by asking the deity to grant favour or honour to the poet's song (10.4, 24.5, 25.6). The reference in the *Hymn to Apollo* to the singer's blindness also places him in the tradition of the Homeric bard (such as the blind Demodocus) who composed and performed without a written text.

Thucydides' use of the form προοίμιον has led scholars to conclude that hymns of this kind were (originally at least) composed as preludes to further song. The traditional closing formula αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἄοιδῆς (*H.* 2.495, 3.546, 4.580, etc.), whatever its precise translation should be, suggests this (cf. *H. Ap.* 546n.), and the close of *Hymn* 5 (293 = *H.* 9.9, 18.11) σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἄρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον is still more explicit. The hymns to Sun and Moon (31 and 32) end by declaring that the singer will go on to tell of the deeds of heroes. These two poems may be composed later than most of the others, but they reflect a tradition that such preludes could be followed by heroic epic narrative. An alternative opening line to the *Iliad* invokes Apollo as well as the Muses (Μούσας ἀείδω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτότοξον). In the *Odyssey* Demodocus is said to begin a song 'from the god' (*Od.* 8.499): this has also been taken to indicate an opening invocation or prelude to a deity. Both Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* open with hymns, to the Muses and to Zeus respectively, and the one to the Muses is of considerable length (cf. West on *Theogony* 1–115). Pindar (*N.* 2.1–3) speaks of the Homeridae beginning Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου. This statement occasions a lengthy commentary by a scholiast about the Homeridae, in the course of which Cynaethus is named as author of the *Hymn to Apollo*. Tradition then seems to have associated the *Hymns* with the Homeridae (cf. also Athenaeus above), a group or guild of singers based in Chios, claiming links with Homer either as his descendants or as his followers (cf. Graziosi (2002) 201–34).

Something similar to the practice of singing hexameter hymns as preludes to epic song is described in the *Hymn to Apollo*, when the poet praises the Delian girls' choir. He says that they first sing hymns to Apollo, Leto, and Artemis, and then 'a song in praise of men and women of old' (cf. 158–61n.).

In the case of most of the shorter hymns, their original purpose as preludes has been generally accepted. Scholars have sometimes questioned whether the longer ones were really composed for this purpose, or rather were independent compositions, the term 'prelude' having lost its original meaning (cf. AHS xciii–xcv). But their length is not in itself an argument against their being designed as genuine preludes, if we consider for example the much larger scale of some early epic poems, which could have followed them. The longer hymns may, of course, represent a development from an earlier tradition of short ones. But some of the briefer ones, as mentioned above, are simply abbreviated versions of the longer hymns: so this process could go the other way (cf. also West on Hesiod *Th.* 94–7).

It is reasonable to assume that many at least of these hymns were originally composed for performance at a festival. It is often thought that an individual

hymn was designed to honour the god of the festival concerned. This may have been so, but it cannot be proved. In any case, it is clear that these poems continued to be reused over a period of time, since the manuscript tradition contains many variant readings, as with the Homeric epics (see Janko (1982) 2–4). In particular, Thucydides' text of the passages he quotes from the *Hymn to Apollo* differs considerably from that of our medieval manuscripts (see 146–72n.), and there are also cases where lines are quoted which appear to be alternatives (cf. especially on *H. Ap.* 135–9, where some of our texts have marginal signs, probably indicating this). Such re-performances could have been in different types of context from the original ones, as in the case of epic poetry (see Parker (1991) 1–2). Performance at banquets or *symposia* has also been suggested as a possible type of occasion (Clay (2006) 7). The longer *Hymn to Aphrodite* (*H.* 5) could have been composed for performance at the court of a ruler, as in the case of Demodocus' 'Song of Ares and Aphrodite' in *Odyssey* 8.

(b) *Origins of the collection*

We do not know how this collection of hymns came to have its present form. Whereas Thucydides identifies the *Hymn to Apollo* with the name προοίμιον, from at least the first century BC we find quotations from the longer hymns which refer to them as ὕμνοι of Homer (e.g. Diodorus Siculus 1.15.7, 3.66.3, 4.2.4, Philodemus, *On Piety* p. 42, tab. 91, vv. 12ff. Gomperz). This suggests that an edition of these at least was made by some time in the Hellenistic period. At *H. Ap.* 136–9 the marginal signs mentioned above probably derive from Alexandrian scholarship (see *H. Ap.* 135–9n.). Most of the ancient quotations or allusions to the *Hymns* are from the five longer ones. Schol. Pind. *P.* 3.14, however, quotes *H.* 16.1–3 as ἐν τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς ὕμνοις. This shows that by the time of this commentator the collection already included this shorter hymn. A second-century AD papyrus commentary on a comedy (*P.Oxy.* 2737, fr. 1.i.19–27) assigns the phrase κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερύγων (*H.* 21.1) to the 'hymns ascribed to Homer', after discussing attributions of it to various lyric poets by Aristarchus and other scholars. Moreover, a papyrus of the third century AD (*P.Oxy.* 4667) contains lines 4–11 of *Hymn* 18 (to Hermes), followed by two lines in prose, the second of which may possibly read εἰς Διόνυσ]σον ὕμν[ος, and then lines 1–11 of *Hymn* 7 (to Dionysus). It is not clear why these two hymns are quoted, but the papyrus again shows that some of the shorter hymns were being discussed or quoted by this period. (It is interesting that this papyrus omits line 12 of *Hymn* 18, which had been regarded by some modern editors as a doublet of lines 10–11.)

We can see some principles at work in the ordering of the poems as we have them (cf. Van der Valk (1976), Fröhder (1994) 14–15 n. 1, Torres-Guerra (2003), West (2003) 21). After the first five long hymns comes the second one to Aphrodite (twenty-one lines), evidently as a pendant to the first, and then the second to Dionysus (fifty-nine lines), which contains an extended narrative of

Dionysus' capture by pirates, and so is probably grouped with the other major hymns. *Hymn 8 to Ares* has always been considered as an 'odd one out', since its language and style are completely different. It has been attributed to the fifth-century AD Neoplatonist Proclus (West (1970)), but differs from his hymns in several respects (cf. Devlin (1995) 338–42). But it was clearly composed in the Roman period. At some point the *Homeric Hymns* were combined with the *Orphic Argonautica*, and the *Hymns* of Proclus and Callimachus, in a single edition (cf. 5 below). It is still a matter for debate as to whether the inclusion of the *Hymn to Ares* with the Homeric ones was due to deliberate choice at this stage of editing, or a later accident of transmission (cf. West (1970), Gelzer (1987) and (1994) 125–9).

The shorter hymns (9–33) are ordered to some extent in groups: 9–14 are to goddesses, 15–17 to deified heroes, 18–23 to gods, and 27–30 are for goddesses. *H. 30* (to Earth) also goes with 31–2 (to Sun and Moon) as hymns to cosmic deities. *H. 33* (to the Dioscuri) may possibly fit in with this group, as it praises especially their elemental character as the calmers of storms at sea. *H. 19* (to Pan) is a more elaborate composition of forty-nine lines, which follows directly after 18, the second hymn to Hermes, as Pan is Hermes' son.

For the later transmission of the *Hymns* see 6 below.

### (c) *Structure and themes*

The shortest hymn (13) consists of two lines announcing its subject (Demeter and her daughter Persephone), and a closing verse saluting Demeter, and asking her to keep the city safe and begin the poet's song. The two deities are briefly characterised with epithets of praise.

The other short hymns add more information about the deity, often by means of a relative clause. Many of these describe typical activities and attributes in the present tense, but some have a narrative development in past tenses, and in some cases we also find variation between past and present. The enduring character of the god can be linked with certain past actions or events, or alternatively a narrative section can culminate in a description of how he now is, after these developments. Nearly all the hymns end with a closing verse or verses saluting the god, usually coupled with a prayer, and often also a transitional formula to another story.

This simple and basic structure forms the framework in which a longer narrative can be developed, as in *Hymns 1–7*. These poems (with their traditional epic style and language) resemble miniature epics, telling stories about the gods. Foremost among the themes of these is the god's birth, and then often how they acquired their distinctive powers or spheres of action (cf. *H. Hermes* 428 ὡς τὰ πρῶτα γέγοντο καὶ ὡς λάχε μοῖραν ἕκαστος). The birth-narrative can be complicated, involving concealment or hostility (as with Apollo, Hermes, or the Dioscuri). It may also have wider or cosmic repercussions, as with Athene's birth fully armed from the head of Zeus (*H. 28*), or when the island of Delos greets Apollo's birth by covering herself in golden flowers (*H. Ap.* 135–9).



Birth can be followed directly by the god's assuming his powers (e.g. *H. Ap.* 127–32), or performing exploits (*H. Herm.* 17–23). It can also lead directly to another major theme, the introduction of the new deity to the company of the gods on Olympus, as for example in the miniature hymn of the nymphs, within the *Hymn to Pan* (19.28–47), where they describe how Hermes immediately takes his newborn son and introduces him to the other gods. This theme can be used in a wider variety of ways. In the short *Hymn to Heracles* (15), since Heracles is a mortal, life on Olympus and marriage come as a reward at the end, after his Labours. In the longer *Hymn to Demeter*, Persephone is picking flowers on earth when she is carried off by Hades, and Demeter deserts Olympus and creates a famine on earth, forcing Zeus to order Persephone's rescue. At the end of the hymn both goddesses go up to Olympus and live there (483–6), but Persephone must still spend part of the year in the Underworld (cf. 393–403). In the *Hymn to Hermes*, by a typically comic twist, Hermes' first entry to Olympus occurs when his brother Apollo takes him there in order to accuse him before Zeus of stealing his cattle (322–96). After the return of the stolen goods and their reconciliation the two brothers go back to Olympus and are welcomed there by Zeus (504–7).

The *Hymn to Apollo* makes a double use of this theme, in an original and powerful way. The poem opens dramatically with the scene of Apollo's entry to Zeus's palace, as an archer with his bow drawn, causing consternation among the gods until Leto unstrings the bow and leads him to a seat (1–13). The theme recurs as a prelude to the account of the founding of the Pythian oracle: here Apollo is portrayed as a god of music, going up to Olympus from Pytho (i.e. Delphi), and leading the gods there in music and dancing (182–206).

Another natural development after birth is the god's nursing or upbringing, usually by other divine beings. Apollo is bathed and wrapped in swaddling-clothes by the goddesses present at his birth, and then fed on nectar and ambrosia by Themis (123–5). Dionysus in *Hymn* 26 (3–6) is nursed by the nymphs in the glens of Nysa, and then roams with them through the wilds. In *Hymn* 6 Aphrodite's birth is suggested, as the sea foam (in which she was traditionally born) carries her to Cyprus, where the Seasons clothe her and adorn her with jewellery, after which she is introduced to the other immortals. By contrast, Hermes does not stay in his cradle after his birth, but immediately sets off in search of Apollo's cattle (*H. Herm.* 20–3). Divine nursing is also a motif transferred to specially favoured mortals, such as Demophon, the nursling of Demeter, whom she tries to immortalise (*H. Dem.* 219–91), and Aeneas, who as Aphrodite's son will be brought up by the nymphs (*H. Aph.* 256–75). Sometimes such divine attendants become the god's habitual companions, as in the case of Dionysus and the nymphs of Nysa, or Pan with his nymphs, who also praise his birth (*H.* 19.19–47), or Persephone picking flowers with the Oceanids when she is carried off (*H. Dem.* 5–18).

The *Hymns* are primarily concerned with the divine world, like Hesiod's *Theogony*. Consequently their portrayal of the world of mortals and of the interaction between gods and men is understandably different in some ways from

what we find in the Homeric epics, although broadly speaking the divine society of these epics is the same as that of the *Hymns*. But the gods' interaction with mortals is an important aspect of these poems, especially the longer ones. The *Hymn to Hermes* is unusual in that only one mortal character actually appears in the narrative, an anonymous old farmer, who does however play an important role as the witness of Hermes' cattle-theft (87–94, 185–212, 354–5). The Greek gods were traditionally ambivalent towards mortals, conscious of their own vast superiority but at the same time unable to detach themselves from the human world, and also reliant on their worship and sacrifices, if not physically then at least for prestige and honour. When Demeter's famine robs the gods of sacrifices on earth this creates a crisis in heaven and Zeus is compelled to intervene (*H. Dem.* 305–41).

Naturally also the poets and their audiences who are seeking the favour of the gods will tend to speak of the honours men pay them and of their favourite sanctuaries, as was the case in prayers to the gods from Homer onwards. In several of the *Hymns* the deities are described as visiting their special places of cult. Some take this theme an important stage further, as they tell of how a major cult was first instituted. Much of the *Hymn to Demeter* is concerned with Demeter's favourable reception at Eleusis and its consequences, leading to her command to the Eleusinians to build her a temple and altar there. In this temple she remains until Persephone's return to the upper world, and then at the close of the poem she teaches her secret rites (the Eleusinian Mysteries) to the leaders of the people. The poem thus asserts the special status of Eleusis as a (or the) leading centre for the cult of Demeter and Persephone. In a similar way Leto promises Delos that Apollo will build his first temple on the island, and Delos is said to be his favourite place of worship (49–88, 143–8). This is counterbalanced by the narrative of how he came to choose Pytho as an oracular site, and appoint his first priests there.

This theme of the institution of cult is closely linked to that of the god's epiphany, or his appearance in true form to men, which is often the signal for cult or worship. When Aphrodite comes in disguise to Anchises his first response is to assume (correctly) that she is a goddess, and to promise to set up an altar and make regular sacrifices to her, in return for which he prays for her favour (*H. Aph.* 91–106). Later, after their union, Aphrodite reveals her true identity, but in this case, instead of this leading to cult, she foretells the birth of Aeneas and his future kingship (168–99). Aphrodite wants her liaison to remain a secret (281–8). When Demeter in disguise as an old woman sets foot on the threshold of the palace at Eleusis, her divinity is momentarily revealed in language very similar to that of Aphrodite's epiphany. Queen Metaneira is overcome by awe, reverence, and fear, and the following scene actually foreshadows some of the preliminary rituals of the Mysteries (*H. Dem.* 187–211; cf. Richardson ad loc.). Later Demeter reveals her true identity more explicitly both in words and in action, and this is accompanied by her command to set up her sanctuary and the promise to institute her rites (251–80).

In the *Hymn to Apollo*, the god's birth on Delos is followed by the elaborate description of the Delian festival (146–76), and although this is not portrayed as the direct consequence of his appearance, the association between the two events is evident, since it is because of Delos' reception of Leto and Apollo's birth there that this island has such a special status. The theme of the search for an oracular site later in this hymn is explicitly linked to a series of *aitia* for cults of the god, as Pythios, Telpousios, and Delphinios (cf. 371–4, 375–87, 486–510). The building of Apollo's temple at Delphi (281–99) is directly followed by the narrative of the killing of the Pythian serpent, and this in turn may be connected with the festivals commemorating this event, the Septerion and the Pythian Games (cf. *H. Ap.* 300–74, 357–62nn.). At the end of the poem the god reveals his identity to his future priests, sets up his cult on the shore of Crisa, and leads them in procession to the site of Delphi, where he commands them to take care of his worship (474–544).

Aetiology is a powerful factor in the shaping of these poems, not only on a religious level but also on a wider cultural plane. The *Hymn to Hermes* is rich in this respect, because of the god's ingenuity and inventiveness (see 3(f) below). Equally, it seems probable that a major impetus for the creation of the longer *Hymn to Aphrodite* is the wish to account for the origin of the family of Aeneas as rulers of the Trojans in later times (cf. 4(a) and (b) below, and *H. Aph.* 196–7n.). On a broader level, the *Hymns*, especially the narrative ones, focus on the phase when the current divine order was being established, and help to account for this. They can be fitted in mythologically between the earlier cosmogonic eras which the *Theogony* includes, and the heroic age reflected in the Homeric epics (cf. Clay (2006)).

The *Hymns* also explore the relationship between the divine and human worlds, and they emphasise both the gulf between gods and men, and also their closeness in some ways. Demeter's wish to immortalise the child Demophon is thwarted as a result of human folly, because Metaneira spies on her, although he is promised an annual commemorative festival (*H. Dem.* 242–67). But the gift of the Mysteries offers men the hope of divine favour, both in this life and in life after death (473–82, 486–9). The *Hymn to Aphrodite* describes her power in mixing gods with mortals (34–41), and how she herself fell victim to this. But it also reflects on the limits of mortality. In her long final speech to Anchises the goddess says that his family was always close to the gods, and mentions the examples of Ganymede, who escaped old age and death, and Tithonus, less happy because he became immortal but not ageless. She would not wish such a fate for Anchises. Even the nymphs who will nurse Aeneas will eventually die, as the trees which share their life come to their natural ends (200–72).

The superiority of the gods is shown not only by their power and freedom from age and death, but also because of their greater knowledge of destiny. When Demeter is detected by Metaneira she laments the ignorance of mortals, who cannot foresee the future (*H. Dem.* 256–8), and in the *Hymn to Apollo* the Muses

sing of 'the gods' immortal gifts, and the sufferings of men, all that they have at the hands of deathless gods as they live in ignorance and helplessness, and cannot find a remedy for death or defence against old age' (189–93). In these various ways the *Hymns* explore the limitations of mortality, as well as portraying so vividly the nature of the gods.

By contrast, the closeness of men to the gods is beautifully illustrated in those scenes where their worship is described. In the picture of the Delian festival we are told that a spectator would believe the Ionians gathered there to be immortal and ageless (*H. Ap.* 151–2). In this hymn the scenes of music and singing both at Delos and also on the way up to Pytho are linked thematically with the singing and dancing of Apollo and the gods on Olympus (see 2(a) below). Within several of the *Hymns* the praise of the deities concerned is echoed internally by the songs sung either by gods or mortals (cf. *H. Ap.* 158–9, 516–19, *H. Herm.* 54–61, 424–33, *H.* 19.27–47, 27.18–20; cf. also *H.* 21.1–4, 30.13–16). The self-reflexive character of these poems suggests that the *Hymns* themselves, divinely inspired as they are, can bring their audiences closer to the heavenly realm.

In telling stories about the gods the *Hymns* follow many of the traditional conventions used by other early Greek hexameter poetry. But at the same time they show greater freedom when it comes to narrative realism (cf. Parker (1991) 4). For the first time in early poetry we meet a talking island (Delos) and fountain (Telphousa). The *Hymn to Hermes* is full of marvels and oddities, and in *Hymn 7* to Dionysus, one of the most delightful and picturesque of all, a series of miracles takes place on the pirates' ship which is carrying Dionysus as a prisoner. Wine flows everywhere on board, a vine grows along the sail, ivy twines around the mast, and garlands decorate the rowlocks. The god becomes a roaring lion and creates a bear in the midst of the ship, and the pirates leap overboard and are turned into dolphins (34–53). As Parker says, the *Hymns* 'present divine myths . . . with all the freedom of fantasy that such serious subjects demand' (Parker (1991) 4).

In their richness of ornamental detail and also their language, the *Hymns* may be viewed as similar to some early lyric poetry, and in fact they could be located stylistically between Homeric and Hesiodic poetry on the one hand and lyric on the other. They also can evoke comparison with the Archaic art of the seventh and sixth centuries BC. The famous Exekias vase in Munich (*LIMC* s.v. Dionysus, no. 788, late sixth century), showing Dionysus on a ship beneath two spreading vines, with dolphins sporting in the sea, is a good example of how close the *Hymns* can come to visual art. The vivid description in *H.* 28 of Athena's birth, fully armed and brandishing her spear, from the head of Zeus is well illustrated by another famous early seventh-century amphora from Tenos (*LIMC* s.v. Athena, no. 360; cf. also some black-figure representations, such as nos. 345, 346, and 353). In their mixture of charm and seriousness the *Hymns* brilliantly portray the double character of the Greek gods, as both benevolent and awe-inspiring. Throughout them runs a strong sense of delight and joy in the natural world, of whose powers the gods are the manifestation. For this reason these

poems from a remote past still speak to us today so vividly and with so clear a voice.

On structure and themes see also Danielewicz (1973) and (1976), Lenz (1975), Janko (1981), Sowa (1984), Parker (1991), Fröhder (1994), Calame (1995), Devlin (1995) 31–81, Clay (2006). On the theme of epiphany see also Garcia (2002). Narrative technique is discussed by Nünlist (2004). On ancient Greek hymns in general see Devlin (1995), Haubold (2001), and Furley and Bremer (2001).



On the whole there is not a great deal of linguistic evidence to support the kind of separatist view of the hymn advocated by Janko and others, and equally no very clear pointers in the language towards a date in (say) the sixth rather than the seventh century BC. West (1975) actually thought that the greater neglect of digamma in 1–181 supported his view that this part was a later composition than the rest. This theory has not won support, although it is still advocated by West (2003) 10–12. But it illustrates the kind of difficulties one faces in using such criteria.

Judgements about style and poetic quality are likely to be still more subjective. The poem opens with a scene of powerful dramatic intensity, and the narrative of Apollo's birth is lively and colourful, culminating in the brilliant portrayal of the Delian festival. The proem to the second movement (179–206) is a good match for this last scene, whereas the ensuing description of Apollo's journey to Crisa is more leisurely, taking in various subsidiary episodes, such as those of Onchestus and Telphousa, along the way. All of this seems to be intended as an intensifying build-up to the foundation of the temple at Pytho and killing of the serpent (itself expanded greatly by the inserted Typhaon episode).

The last movement (388–544) is again lively and entertaining like the first, with Apollo's various epiphanies and the reactions of the Cretans effectively portrayed, and it culminates in a brilliant scene of music and dancing as they process up to Pytho, which echoes the earlier scenes of this kind. The final warning to Apollo's ministers forms a powerful closure, whose abruptness mirrors that of the opening scene of his entry to Olympus as a warrior-god.

In terms of its narrative technique this hymn stands out from the others in the corpus in one very significant respect (see Nünlist (2004), especially 40–2). References to the narrator's person ('I'), and to the addressee's ('you'), occur several times in the course of the actual narrative (up to line 282), and in the case of Apollo himself we sometimes find a mixed style, alternating between second- and third-person reference to him (e.g. at 129–30). This gives the poem a more personal character, which is further emphasised by the passage in which the poet addresses the Delian choir and speaks of himself, which is unique in these hymns.

The hymn thus gives us a vivid impression of Apollo as an awe-inspiring and potentially dangerous, but also life-enhancing, deity, the god of archery, music, and prophecy (cf. 131–2).

### 3 HYMN TO HERMES

#### (a) *Structure*

The prologue (1–19) tells of Hermes' birth to Zeus and Maia, and alludes to the two main exploits which will be the subject of the narrative, his invention of the lyre and theft of the cattle of his elder brother Apollo. After his secret birth he

leaves his cradle, meets a tortoise, and makes its shell into the first lyre, with which he sings of his own birth (20–61). He then goes at sunset to Pieria, home of Apollo's cattle, and steals fifty of them, which he takes to the river Alpheios in north-western Peloponnese, disguising his tracks by using specially invented shoes and driving them backwards. On his way he is seen by an old farmer at Onchestos, whom he orders not to give him away (62–104). He slaughters and roasts two of the cattle, and returns to his cradle on Mt Cyllene, where his mother scolds him, and he threatens even worse exploits of burglary (105–83).

At dawn Apollo goes to Onchestos in search of the cattle, and meets the old man, who tells him that he saw a boy driving cattle backwards. With the aid of a bird-omen he realises that the thief is Hermes, and goes to Cyllene and accuses him. Hermes denies all knowledge of the cattle, and demands that Apollo should put his case for trial before Zeus (184–312).

They come to Olympus and Apollo again accuses Hermes, who skilfully defends himself. Zeus orders them to be reconciled and Hermes to reveal the cattle to Apollo (313–96). They go to the Alpheios and find the cattle, and Hermes then amazes Apollo by playing his lyre, and singing a theogony. Apollo is enchanted by this new form of music, Hermes offers him the lyre, and in exchange Apollo gives him a share in his own role as god of flocks and herds. Thus reconciled the two brothers return to Olympus (397–512).

The main narrative is now concluded, but in a final episode Hermes swears never to steal from Apollo again, and Apollo gives him a special golden wand, and offers him also ownership of three prophetic sisters who live on Mt Parnassus. After a further list of some of Hermes' attributes the hymn closes with the usual formulae of farewell (513–80).

The general structure of the narrative is clear enough, and a series of parallel motifs helps to bind it together. The central exploit, Hermes' cattle-theft, is framed by the two episodes of the invention of the lyre and the gift of it to Apollo. Both include songs by Hermes, about his own birth and the origin of the gods in general (54–61, 424–33), both of which are compared to the songs of young men at feasts (55–6, 453–4). Hermes' journey with the cattle is counterbalanced by Apollo's search, both including the meetings at Onchestos. The scenes with the cattle at the Alpheios are also balanced. Above all, the two scenes in which Hermes defends himself against Apollo's accusations are complementary, the 'trial scene' being a more formalised version of the one at Cyllene.

In view of this analysis, the final episode concerning the gift of a mantic art to Hermes looks at first sight like an appendix, and it has often been considered to be a later addition. This is certainly possible, but there are close links in the later part of the hymn between the themes of music and prophecy (see 464–89, 482–8, 541–9nn.) which help to bind this episode more closely with what precedes it. It is also theoretically possible that the corruption in line 473 conceals a request by Hermes for a share in Apollo's prophetic skills, answered by him at 533–66 (see 473, 533nn.). Moreover, the final episode restores to Apollo his dignity as the



oracular god who interprets the will of Zeus, after his previous deflation by his infant brother, and thereby gives Hermes added status by association.

(b) *The hymn as comedy*

Although the hymn uses many of the narrative techniques of early hexameter poetry, and the language is based in the epic artificial diction (*Kunstsprache*), it stands out from the other major Homeric hymns in many respects. It has been characterised as ‘the most untraditional in its language, with many late words and expressions, and many used in slapdash and inaccurate ways’ (West (2003) 12). West adds that ‘it is the most incompetent in construction, with many narrative inconsistencies and redundancies, and no command of the even tempo appropriate to epic storytelling’. But as some scholars have realised (Radermacher 216–17, Janko (1982) 148–9), a clue to the distinctive quality of the poem lies in its essentially comic character. If we view it as a forerunner of later comic genres, we can understand why it uses a different style and language, has a looser sequence of narrative, and portrays its leading characters, Hermes and Apollo, as more like ordinary human beings than is normally the case with the description of gods in early epic.

Hermes’ exploits are in one sense supernatural, but many of the details, such as the construction of the lyre, the way he disguises his tracks, and so on, are told in a more naturalistic way. There is no indication when Hermes or Apollo meet the old farmer (the only mortal character) that they attempt to disguise their divinity, and yet the old man seems quite unaware of this. Apollo himself, for all his supposed omniscience (cf. 467, 474, 489), is bewildered by Hermes’ tricks, asks information of the old man, and needs the help of a bird-omen to track him down. He is constantly made to look ridiculous by his baby brother. There are several allusions to his own greed for wealth, a subject on which he is clearly sensitive (176–81, 330 and 335, 494–5, 546–9). Particularly significant for the hymn’s comic register is the episode where Apollo picks up Hermes and his brother ‘emitted an omen, an insolent servant of the belly, an unruly messenger’ (295–6). This riddling, mock-epic periphrasis for a fart anticipates later occasions in Attic comedy where this is treated as an omen, or a parody of Zeus’s thunder (see 293–303, 295–6nn.).

Above all, Apollo appears to know nothing of the use of stringed instruments, before he is introduced to the lyre by Hermes (especially 450–5 and 452n.). This is in marked contrast with the *Hymn to Apollo*, where immediately after his birth he claims the *kitharis* as his attribute (131), and is portrayed as leader of both gods and men in music (182–206, 513–19). The tortoise-shell lyre was a smaller and lighter instrument than the *kitharis* or *phorminx* (used traditionally to accompany epic song), but in the *Hymn to Hermes* it is equated with these instruments (see 47–51n.). The songs of Hermes himself could be classed as hymns, but their style is that of the mocking songs of young men at symposia (55–6, 453–4), which suggests

something less elevated. And yet this new music strikes Apollo as wonderfully original and superior to anything he has experienced (434–55). Hermes presents the lyre to Apollo as a sympotic *ἐταίρη* (475), whose effect is constantly described in the language of erotic love and desire (cf. 31, 421–3, 426, 434, 448–9, and especially 478–88; and see 31, 478–88, 485, 486nn.).

The contrast between the two gods is effectively portrayed in the way they are characterised through speech and action. Hermes operates by night, and is a god of deception and theft, Apollo acts by daylight and is concerned with justice and truth. Apollo's speeches are straightforward and earnest (especially in the trial scene: 334–64n.), Hermes is the master of persuasive rhetoric and special pleading (see 162, 260–77, 366–88, 463nn.). Hermes exploits to the full his status as newborn infant, in contrast to his brother who is presumably already envisaged as adult and mature.

(c) *Relationship with the Hymn to Apollo*

In view of the way in which Hermes gets the better of Apollo and makes fun of him, it is natural to ask whether the poet has the *Hymn to Apollo* in mind. In the prologue to the *Hymn to Hermes* the rapidity of his prowess is vividly described (17–19):

Born in the early morning, at midday he was playing the lyre,  
In the evening he stole the cattle of far-shooting Apollo,  
On the fourth day of the month, the day the lady Maia bore him.

Apollo's miraculous growth is also emphasised in the *Hymn to Apollo*, but in a more general way (123–34). It is only after being fed on divine food that he begins his career. Apollo then claims that he will be god of the *kitharis*, the bow, and prophecy of Zeus's will (131–2). As we have seen, the first of these claims is called into question by Hermes' invention of the lyre, and Apollo also says that he is afraid lest Hermes steal his bow, in addition to taking back his lyre (514–15, where 515 may echo *H. Ap.* 131). Hermes is eager for a share in his prophetic art as well, but here Apollo asserts his supremacy, whilst allowing him a minor role in divination.

The surprising choice of Onchestos in Boeotia as the place where Hermes meets the farmer may be due to its being singled out for special attention in the *Hymn to Apollo* (230–8): see 88n. It is not obviously on Hermes' route towards the river Alpheios, whereas in Apollo's case it is part of a detailed itinerary through Boeotia to Delphi. A clue in support of this may be that it is called *λεχεποίη* (88), a rare word in Homer but one used of Teumessos at *H. Ap.* 224, just before the passage about Onchestos.

If the poet of *Hermes* had the *Apollo* hymn in mind, one might have expected more direct linguistic echoes of this kind (cf. for example *H. Herm.* 17n.). But it remains an attractive possibility that the hymn was intended to form a

light-hearted counterpart to the grander and more serious *Hymn to Apollo*. On the relationship between the two hymns see also Radermacher 110–11, 229, Abramowicz (1937) 71–85, Dornseiff (1938) 81–4, Penglase (1994) 184, Vergados (2007a) 54–6, Richardson (2007) 83–91.

(d) *Legal aspects*

Hermes' cattle-theft leads to a kind of lawsuit between him and his brother, culminating in a mock-trial on Olympus. As comedy this resembles to some extent the situation in Demodocus' Song of Ares and Aphrodite (*Od.* 8.266–366), where Ares' adultery raises questions of compensation, which become a matter for debate among the gods (352, 344–58). In *Hermes* there are many echoes of what seems to be legal terminology, to judge by parallels in later literature: see 246–51, 254, 264, 312, 313, 315–16, 372, 373, 524, 526–8, 528–32nn. On his arrival at Hermes' cave on Cyllene Apollo conducts a search of the premises, and demands information from him (246–59). Hermes' initial defence speech expresses indignation at Apollo's conduct, and uses an argument from probability typical of Greek rhetoric from the fifth century BC onwards. He offers to swear an oath, without actually doing so formally (see 260–77n.). The trial scene itself has a simple formal structure (322–96n.). Apollo's accusation is largely composed of *narratio*, a straightforward account of what happened, in the manner of a plaintiff full of righteous indignation, and with considerable repetition. He adduces the physical evidence of the footprints and the testimony of the old farmer as an eyewitness, and describes his adversary in typically derogatory terms (see 334–64, 338–9, 342–55, 346, 358–60nn.). Hermes' response uses similar techniques to those in his first speech, and in addition stresses the violence of Apollo's conduct and his lack of witnesses at the trial, and appeals to Zeus as his father for support (366–88n.).

The parallels with Greek rhetorical theory and practice are one reason why some scholars have wished to date the hymn to the fifth century BC (see especially Görgemanns (1976)). But we have no way of knowing how early such techniques as the argument from probability might have been used, before being formally analysed by fifth-century rhetoricians. On the other hand, the developed nature of the legal language and structure by comparison with the Homeric epics does seem to support a post-Homeric date.

(e) *Music and prophecy*

As we have seen, the theme of music frames Hermes' theft, and it is the means by which the reconciliation is achieved. In this way the tortoise he meets at the outset is indeed a *σύμβολον μέγ' ὀνήσιμον* (30), a 'very useful token', since it will be used to seal the compact between the brothers (see 30, 526–8nn.). Hermes gives back the cattle to Apollo and adds the lyre in compensation. In return,

however, Apollo gives him a share in his own pastoral role. Lyre and cattle (the latter being themselves a standard of value in early epic) are the elements in this process of exchange, as in the story of Archilochus' meeting with the Muses, where they give him a lyre in exchange for his cow. Hermes thus becomes the god of commerce, as well as of theft (see 397–512, 437, 576–7nn.).

Apollo claims to be already himself 'a companion of the Olympian Muses, who are concerned with dances and the glorious path of song, and lively music and the desirable sound of pipes', but Hermes' music is something new to him (443–55). This is the music of the λύρη, played at symposia as an accompaniment to the mocking songs of young men (55–6), and associated especially with erotic themes. It is the music of personal lyric song, as it came to prominence in the Archaic period in the poetry of Archilochus (who is probably the first extant writer to mention the λύρη), Sappho and Alcaeus, Ibycus and Anacreon. It involves not only inspiration or innate ability, but also skill and practice (τρίβος, used first here: see 447–8n.). Played with proper expertise the lyre will respond easily and with charm, but an ignorant player will only produce discordant nonsense (482–8). Here again, as in the case of law and rhetoric, we seem to have a reflection of a period when new techniques and musical forms are developing, with an emphasis on learning and practice, and the poet appears to be suggesting that these new forms are in some ways superior to the more traditional genres of music and poetry.

The contrast between the right and wrong uses of the lyre is a motif which recurs in the case of prophecy, in the final section (or epilogue). Apollo declares that he will help some of his consultants who come auspiciously, whereas others will be deceived (541–9), and likewise the three prophetic sisters of Parnassus will sometimes tell the truth and sometimes mislead men (558–63). They are similar to Hesiod's Muses, who know how to utter both truth and falsehood (see also 556–7n.). Hermes himself, in the closing lines of the hymn, is said to have the same gift of helping some but deceiving many mortals (577–8). In this way the poem links together the arts of Apollo and Hermes.

#### (f) *Aetiology*

The hymn describes the origin of Hermes himself, and how he acquired his various attributes and powers, as a god of animals, music and prophecy, rhetoric and persuasion, theft and commerce, and as a messenger between heaven, earth, and the underworld. As with many of the other Homeric hymns, it includes his entry to Olympus and reception as a full member of Olympian society. In Hermes' case this occurs in an unusual way, but one which typifies his character, since after the secrecy of his birth his first appearance in heaven is as an infant accused by Apollo of theft. Later, however, the two brothers return to heaven to the sound of the lyre, in an atmosphere of harmony and joy (504–12).

Unlike the hymns to Apollo and Demeter, neither this one nor the longer hymn to Aphrodite includes the institution of a cult of the god with temple and sanctuary, although Anchises does promise a cult on first meeting Aphrodite (*H. Aph.* 100–2). In the case of Hermes, the god kills and roasts two of Apollo's cattle, and divides the meat into twelve portions. It seems probable that this should be associated with the important cult of the 'Twelve Gods' at Olympia, attested already by Pindar, for which this could be the *aition*. The first evidence of such a cult elsewhere is at Athens in the late sixth century BC: see 128–9n. Moreover, he leaves the two hides on a rock, where they are said to be still visible, a clearly aetiological reference (124–6n.), and he also deposits the meat and fat inside a cave, 'as a sign of his recent theft', which again seems to indicate that something may have been on display in later times (see 134–7n.).

Hermes is also an inventor: he creates the lyre, devises special shoes to hide his tracks, invents the art of kindling with fire-sticks (108–11), and also makes the panpipes (511–12). Thus Hermes is distinguished for his technical ingenuity. In this respect the hymn resembles satyric drama, in which such inventions are a common feature (see Seaford (1984) 36–7).

(g) *Language and style*

As already mentioned above (2(c)), this hymn has a much higher incidence of words not found elsewhere in early hexameter poetry than the other three major hymns, i.e. about 1 in every 4 verses (see Vergados (2007a) 32–7 for detailed lists). The poet uses *c.* 36 words found only here in surviving literature (not counting mentions by lexicographers). About 16 words recur elsewhere before 500 BC in other verse forms, and *c.* 51 are first repeated in fifth-century literature. The remainder of those not in early hexameter verse elsewhere (*c.* 36) occur first after 400 BC. Of these, *c.* 12 are in later hexameter poetry. (Figures are approximate because of textual uncertainties.) The frequency of unique words is high (1 in 16 verses) compared to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, where it is 1 in 52 and 1 in 63 respectively. (The Homeric data are taken from Kumpf (1984) 206, who includes proper names, excluded in the count for *H. Herm.*) In *H. Dem.* we only find 12, i.e. 1 in 41 (Richardson, *H. Dem.* pp. 43–5). On the other hand, it is difficult to use such linguistic criteria for absolute dating purposes, except in broad terms. Unique vocabulary may be partly due to subject matter. It may also indicate a poet who is adopting a more liberal attitude towards his tradition in coining new forms on the analogy of existing ones. When surveying the list of words not found elsewhere before 500 BC, we can exclude from significance several compounds (such as καταβλάπτω, ἀνακλέπτω, etc.) of simple words which occurred earlier. Others are natural developments or variants of earlier forms: cf. for example ὄδοιπορίη, Homeric ὄδοιπόρος; ἀμαρυγή, Hesiodic ἀμάρυγμα; σπάργανον, Hesiodic σπαργανίζω, etc. Some recur in later hexameter poetry and could be drawn from the early epic tradition, e.g. ὑψιμέλαθρος, βαθύσκιος,

ἀγγελιώτης, ὑπωλένιος. Another class is of words later used in everyday speech or prose literature: e.g. ἀνόητος, μασχάλη, ἀπρεπέως, διαρρήδην, ἄγνος. Such words may reflect the comic or down-to-earth tone and the subject matter (e.g. διαρρήδην in a legal context). At the same time even when the subject matter is coarse the poet still preserves a certain level of 'epic decorum' in the way he describes it, as befits the style of a hymn: cf. especially the riddling language of 294–6 (discussed by Bain (2007) 51–2).

One should also remember that in terms of the total number of words in the poem the untraditional vocabulary only represents about 4 per cent at most. (If we assume *c.* 6 words per verse on average, 1 in 4 verses = 1 in 24 words.) Consequently, the overall linguistic effect is not so different from that of the other hymns, or indeed of early hexameter poetry in general. Even when what is being portrayed is ludicrous the style is still elevated, and it is the combination of the comic and the dignified which gives this hymn its particular piquancy and charm.

(h) *Dating, and occasion of first performance*

Various considerations mentioned above suggest, although they do not prove, a sixth-century date: the possible influence of the *Hymn to Apollo*, the allusion to the cult of the Twelve Gods at Olympia, the high estimation of a form of music which suggests comparison with personal lyric poetry, and the developed forms of legal procedure and rhetorical technique. The untraditional language would also fit a date in this period. There does not seem to be any compelling reason to date the hymn later than *c.* 500 BC, as some scholars have done (see 3(d) above, and for other examples see Janko (1982) 142). The *Hymn to Pan* (19) is almost certainly influenced by it (see Janko (1982) 185, Fröhder (1994) 329). This hymn, the style of which is very unusual, has been dated to the fifth century, chiefly on the grounds that Pan's cult was not widespread in Greece before *c.* 500 BC (cf. AHS 402–3, Janko (1982) 185, West (2003) 18), but arguments for a later date (Andrisano (1978–9)) are less convincing. It is significant that the syrinx, invented by Hermes in the *Hymn to Hermes* (511–12), appears as an attribute of Hermes from *c.* 580/570 BC onwards in art, but from *c.* 500 onwards it is associated with Pan, and no longer with Hermes (see 511–12n.). It seems reasonable to link its portrayal as Hermes' instrument with the date of the *Hymn to Hermes*.

A further point is that in vase-painting the themes of the baby Hermes as cattle-thief, or simply Hermes together with cattle, are noticeably popular between the mid sixth century and early fifth. Two vases, of *c.* 530 and 480 BC, show him in his cradle, with the cattle, and also Apollo and Maia (see 21, 227–92nn.). Others (*LIMC* s.v. Hermes nos. 245–8), all between *c.* 565 and 490 BC, show him as an adult god, with cattle. The popularity of these themes would again fit well with a sixth-century date for the hymn.

Several scholars have recently suggested that the hymn may have been composed for first performance at Olympia. This is an attractive possibility, in view

of the location of Hermes' sacrifice by the Alpheios and its probable connection with the cult of the Twelve Gods at Olympia. See Burkert (1984), Johnston (2002) especially 128–30, West (2003) 14, Thomas (forthcoming).

(i) *Relationship with other versions*

Another version of the story of Hermes' cattle-theft describes how the god meets a man called Battos in Arcadia, whom he later punishes for betraying the identity of the thief by turning him into a rock (see 87–93n.). This first appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but the version in Antoninus Liberalis is accompanied by a *scholion* giving a list of sources which includes Hesiod's *Great Ehoiai* (fr. 256 M–W). It is unclear, however, whether the whole story of Battos as told in Antoninus goes back to the Hesiodic poem. The main source is probably Nicander's *Heteroeoumena*. In the hymn the role of the old man at Onchestos, who acts as a witness of Hermes' theft, has seemed to some scholars rather perfunctory, and this has been seen as evidence that the Battos story is earlier and is being adapted by the poet of the hymn. It could, however, equally well be a later elaboration.

Alcaeus' hymn to Hermes, of which we have the first stanza (fr. 308(b) L–P = 308 V), told of Hermes' birth to Zeus and Maia, his theft of Apollo's cattle, and how, when threatened by Apollo, he stole his quiver also (cf. fr. 308(c) and (d), *SLG* 264.11–19, and *Schol. AB Il.* 15.256). The theft of the quiver is mentioned by Apollo as something he fears may occur, at *H. Herm.* 514–15 (see note). If the Homeric hymn is later than Alcaeus' poem, then both may be influenced by an earlier version of the story (cf. West (2002) 217, Liberman (1999) 133). But the relationship of the two versions remains uncertain.

The most important reworking of the whole story is Sophocles' satyr-play *Ichneutai* ('Searchers'), of which we have extensive papyrus fragments (*TrGF* 4.274–308). Doubts have been raised as to whether Sophocles is influenced by the hymn (Steffen (1960) 9), but this seems very probable, and the differences between the two versions are surely due to Sophocles' adaptation of the story for a satyric drama: see Koettgen (1914), Radermacher 183–4, 216, and Lloyd-Jones (2003) 143.

In the play, Hermes has already stolen Apollo's cattle and hidden them in a cave underground in Mt Cyllene, and he has also invented the lyre. Apollo proclaims a reward for anyone who has seen the cattle. He has come to Cyllene (via Thessaly and Boeotia) in search of them. Silenus offers to help with his sons the Satyrs, in return for gold and release from slavery, which Apollo promises. The Chorus of Satyrs discover strange backward-turned prints outside the cave, and from inside there comes a mysterious sound which frightens them. Silenus reproaches them for cowardice, but when he hears the noise he too is terrified. Eventually they disturb the nymph Cyllene by jumping up and down. She appears and tells them that she is secretly nursing a baby son of Zeus and Maia called Hermes, and that the sound they heard is that of the lyre, made from a tortoise

shell with an oxhide stretched over it. The Satyrs conclude that Hermes must have stolen the cattle, but Cyllene denies this, arguing that an infant child, and the son of such divine parents, cannot be the thief. The rest of the papyrus is very fragmentary, but Apollo reappears, and there is further mention of a reward and freedom.

There are a good many points of contact between the play and the hymn, both thematically and also verbally. Apollo's journey via Thessaly and Boeotia to Peloponnese parallels in outline that in the hymn. The Satyrs take the place of the old man of Onchestos as his informants. The description of the tracks of the cattle echoes *H. Herm.* 75–8 (see comments). Cyllene's account of Hermes' secret birth (265–71) parallels the hymn's, and the baby is nursed in a λίκνον (275–6; cf. *H. Herm.* 21). His miraculous growth is emphasised (277–82), and he has created the lyre in a single day (284–5). As in the hymn, the paradox is expressed of the dead tortoise acquiring a living voice (299–300 and 328; cf. *H. Herm.* 38, and see 25n.). The lyre's wonderful power to arouse pleasure and cure unhappiness is described (325–300; cf. *H. Herm.* 419–55).

The argument between Cyllene and the Satyrs, in which they accuse Hermes and she contends that he cannot be the thief, resembles Hermes' successive defence speeches in answer to the accusations of Apollo and Zeus (252–80, 333–88). However, Hermes' use of an oxhide to make the lyre leads the Satyrs to infer that he is the cattle-thief (345–6, 371–6), and this suggests that Sophocles made the theft precede the lyre's invention, as in some later accounts (see *H. Herm.* 20–61n.).

Other possible verbal echoes of the hymn have been detected: see Pearson (1917) 228, Vergados (2007a) 70–1. Cf. especially *Ichn.* 340 φιλήτην (perhaps also S. fr. 933 Radt) with *H. Herm.* 67 etc.; *Ichn.* 87 μηνύ[τρον] (?) with *H. Herm.* 264, 364; *Ichn.* 188 στίβος, *H. Herm.* 353; *Ichn.* 98 ἔρευναν, *H. Herm.* 176; *Ichn.* 123 βοηλατήν, *H. Herm.* 14; *Ichn.* 143–4 ἔξενίσμεθα ψόφωι τὸν οὐδεὶς π[ώπο]τ' ἤκουσεν βροτῶν, *H. Herm.* 443; *Ichn.* 250 ἐγήρυσσε θέσπιν αὐδάν, *H. Herm.* 426, 442.

The *Library* of Pseudo-Apollodorus (3.10.2) summarises the story told in the hymn, but with significant variations. Hermes eats some of the flesh of the two oxen which he kills (contrast *H. Herm.* 130–6). He invents the lyre *after* stealing the cattle rather than before, and uses their entrails to make its strings, whereas he uses sheep-gut in the hymn (51). He also invents the plectrum. Apollo comes to Pylos and questions its inhabitants, rather than interrogating the old man of Onchestos. In the trial on Olympus, Hermes is ordered by Zeus to restore the cattle, but denies possession of them. He is disbelieved, and then he gives them back (contrast *H. Herm.* 327–96, where Hermes' denial is followed by Zeus's order, and this is obeyed by Hermes). After Hermes has invented the syrinx (cf. *H. Herm.* 511–12), he plays it and Apollo, wishing to have it (as well as the lyre), offers him 'the golden wand (ῥάβδον) which he had acquired when tending cattle' (contrast *H. Herm.* 497–8, 528–32). Hermes then gives him the pipes, and, wishing to acquire the art of divination, is given the skill of divining by pebbles (cf. *H. Herm.* 550–66, with comments).



It is not known which source or sources the *Library* is using, where it diverges from the hymn. Vergados (2007a) 79–80 suggests as a possible source the fifth-century mythographer Pherecydes of Athens, who mentioned that Apollo gave Hermes the staff which he used when tending Apollo's cattle (*FGrH* 3 F 131), and who may have systematised earlier versions.

Other authors who give briefer versions of Hermes' birth and exploits, or allude to these, are the fifth-century BC mythographer and chronicler Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 19b; cf. 67n.), the Hellenistic poets Aratus (*Phaen.* 268–9; cf. 41–2n.), Nicander (*Alex.* 559–62; cf. 25, 41–2nn.), and Eratosthenes (*Hermes*, Powell, *CA* 58–63, *SH* fr. 397–8; cf. also Pseudo-Eratosthenes' *Catasterismi*, Olivieri (1897) III (1)), and in the Roman period Lucian (*Dialogues of the Gods* 79.11 Macleod), Philostratus (*Imagines* 1.26), and Hyginus (*Astron.* 2.7.358–64).

For a useful discussion of all of these sources see Vergados (2007a) 59–86.



βούλεσθ' ἀργαλέους τε πόνους καὶ στείνεα θυμῶι·  
 ῥηϊδίον ἔπος ὑμῖ ἐρέω καὶ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θήσω.

δεξιτερῆι μάλ' ἕκαστος ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ μάχαιραν  
 σφάζειν αἰεὶ μῆλα· τὰ δ' ἄφθονα πάντα παρέσται,  
 ὅσσα ἐμοί κ' ἀγάγωσι περικλυτὰ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων·  
 νηὸν δὲ προφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθύν τε μάλιστα

...  
 ἤέ τι τηῦσιον ἔπος ἔσσεται ἤέ τι ἔργον,  
 ὕβρις θ', ἢ θέμις ἐστὶ καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 ἄλλοι ἔπειθ' ὑμῖν σημάντορες ἄνδρες ἔσονται,  
 τῶν ὑπ' ἀναγκαίῃ δεδμήσεσθ' ἤματα πάντα.  
 εἴρηταί τοι πάντα, σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ σῆισι φύλαξαι.

Καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱέ·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

## ΕΙΣ ΕΡΜΗΝ

Ἐρμῆν ὕμνει Μοῦσα Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἰόν,  
 Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδίας πολυμήλου,  
 ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον, ὃν τέκε Μαῖα  
 νύμφη εὐπλόκαμος Διὸς ἐν φιλότητι μιγεῖσα  
 αἰδοίη· μακάρων δὲ θεῶν ἠλεύασθ' ὄμιλον  
 ἄντρον ἔσω ναίουσα παλίσκιον, ἔνθα Κρονίων  
 νύμφη εὐπλοκάμωι μισγέσκετο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶι,  
 ὄφρα κατὰ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἔχοι λευκώλενον Ἥρην,  
 λήθων ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητούς τ' ἀνθρώπους.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μέγαλοιο Διὸς νόος ἐξετελεῖτο,  
 τῆι δ' ἤδη δέκατος μείς οὐρανῶι ἐστήρικτο,  
 εἷς τε φόως ἄγαγεν, ἀρίσημά τε ἔργα τέτυκτο·  
 καὶ τότε ἐγένεατο παῖδα πολύτροπον, αἰμυλομήτην,  
 ληϊστῆρ', ἐλατῆρα βοῶν, ἠγήτορ' ὀνείρων,  
 νυκτὸς ὀπωπητῆρα, πυληδόκον, ὃς τάχ' ἐμελλεν

534 ῥηϊδίον Ψ: ῥηϊδίως M 537 ὅσσα Ψ: αἰὲν M ἐμοί κ' codd.: τ' ἐμοί κ' Hermann:  
 κ' ἐμοί West 538 νηὸν δὲ Ernesti: νηὸν τε codd. 539 καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθύν τε μάλιστα  
 codd.: κατ' ἐμὴν ἰθύν γε μάλιστα Matthiae: καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθύν τε θέμιστα Baumeister lacu-  
 nam post 539 statuit Wolf 540 ἤέ τι τηῦσιον Ψ: ἤέ τ' ἐτήσιον M: εἰ δὲ τι τηῦσιον Reiz  
 II μείς M<sup>c</sup> p x (Parisiensis): μῆς M<sup>ac</sup> μείς At D 13 τοτ' ἐγένεατο At D: τότε γείνατο  
 M p x

ἀμφανέειν κλυτὰ ἔργα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.  
 ἦῶιος γεγυνώς μέσῳ ἤματι ἐγκιθάριζεν,  
 ἔσπεριος βοῦς κλέψεν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 τετράδι τῆι προτέρῃ τῆι μιν τέκε πότνια Μαῖα.  
 ὃς καὶ ἐπεὶ δὴ μητρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων θόρε γυίων 20  
 οὐκέτι δηρὸν ἔκειτο μένων ἱερῶι ἐνὶ λίκνῳι,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἀναΐξας ζήτηι βόας Ἀπόλλωνος  
 οὐδὸν ὑπερβαίνων ὑψηρεφέος ἄντροιο.  
 ἔνθα χέλυν εὐρών ἐκτήσατο μυρίον ὄλβον·  
 Ἐρμῆς τοι πρῶτιστα χέλυν τεκτήνατ' αἰιδόν, 25  
 ἦ ῥά οἱ ἀντεβόλησεν ἐπ' αὐλείησι θύρησι  
 βοσκομένη προπάροιθε δόμων ἐριθηλέα ποίην,  
 σαῦλα ποσὶν βαίνουσα· Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος υἱὸς  
 ἀθρήσας ἐγέλασσε καὶ αὐτίκα μῦθον ἔειπε·  
 Σύμβολον ἤδη μοι μέγ' ὀνήσιμον, οὐκ ὀνοτάζω. 30  
 χαῖρε φυὴν ἐρόεσσα χοροϊτύπε δαιτὸς ἐταίρη,  
 ἀσπασίη προφανεῖσα· πόθεν τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα;  
 αἰόλον ὄστρακόν ἐσσι, χέλυσ ὄρεσι ζώουσα.  
 ἀλλ' οἴσω σ' εἰς δῶμα λαβῶν· ὄφελός τί μοι ἔσσηι,  
 οὐδ' ἀποτιμήσω· σὺ δέ με πρῶτιστον ὀνήσεις. 35  
 οἴκοι βέλτερον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ βλαβερὸν τὸ θύρηφιν·  
 ἦ γὰρ ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἔσσειαι ἔχμα  
 ζώουσ' ἦν δὲ θάνηις τότε κεν μάλα καλὸν αἰείδοις.  
 Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη· καὶ χερσὶν ἅμ' ἀμφοτέρησιν αἰείρας  
 ἄψ εἴσω κίε δῶμα φέρων ἐρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα. 40  
 ἔνθ' ἀναπηλήσας γλυφάνῳι πολιοῖο σιδήρου  
 αἰῶν' ἐξετόρησεν ὀρεσκῶιοιο χελώνης.  
 ὡς δ' ὀπότη' ὠκὺ νόημα διὰ στέρνοιο περήσει  
 ἀνέρος ὄν τε θαμινὰ ἐπιστρωφῶσι μέριμναι,  
 ἦ ὅτε δινηθῶσιν ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμαρυγαί, 45  
 ὡς ἅμ' ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐμήδετο κύδιμος Ἐρμῆς.  
 πῆξε δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέτροισι ταμῶν δόνακας καλάμοιο  
 πειρήνας διὰ νῶτα διὰ ῥινοῖο χελώνης.  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα τάνυσσε βοὸς πραπίδεσσιν ἐῆσι,  
 καὶ πῆχεις ἐνέθηκ', ἐπὶ δὲ ζυγὸν ἦραρεν ἀμφοῖν, 50

37 ἔχμα Ruhnken: αἶχμα, αἶχμά, αἶχμά, αἶγχμά codd. 38 θάνηις M At D: θάνοις  
 p x τότε κεν Hermann: τότε ἄν codd. 42 ἀναπηλήσας codd.: ἀναπηδήσας  
 Barnes: alii alia 43 περήσει codd: περήσηι B 45 ἦ ὅτε M Γ<sup>2m</sup>: αἶ ὅτε Θ: ἄς ὅτε p

ἑπτὰ δὲ συμφώνους ὄϊων ἔτανύσσατο χορδὰς.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεύξε φέρων ἔρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα  
 πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέλος, ἢ δ' ὑπὸ χειρὸς  
 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε· θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδεν

ἔξ αὐτοσχεδῆς πειρώμενος, ἠὔτε κοῦροι

ἠβηταὶ θαλίησι παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν,  
 ἀμφὶ Δία Κρονίδην καὶ Μαιάδα καλλιπέδιλον  
 ὡς πάρος ὠρίζεσκον ἑταιρείῃ φιλότητι,

ἦν τ' αὐτοῦ γενεὴν ὀνομακλυτὸν ἐξονομάζων·

ἀμφιπόλους τε γέραιρε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δώματα νύμφης,  
 καὶ τρίποδας κατὰ οἶκον ἐπηετανούς τε λέβητας.

καὶ τὰ μὲν οὔν ἦειδε, τὰ δὲ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μενοίνα.

καὶ τὴν μὲν κατέθηκε φέρων ἱερῶι ἐνὶ λίκνῳ  
 φόρμιγγα γλαφυρὴν· ὁ δ' ἄρα κρειῶν ἔρατίζων

ἄλτο κατὰ σκοπιὴν εὐώδεος ἐκ μεγάροιο,

ὀρμαίνων δόλον αἰπὺν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν οἷά τε φῶτες  
 φιλήται διέπουσι μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ.

Ἥλιος μὲν ἔδυνε κατὰ χθονὸς ὠκεανὸν δὲ

αὐτοῖσιν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασιν, αὐτὰρ ἄρ' Ἑρμῆς

Πιερίης ἀφίκανε θεῶν ὄρεα σκίοεντα,

ἔνθα θεῶν μακάρων βόες ἀμβροτοὶ αὔλιον ἔχεσκον

βοσκομέναι λειμῶνας ἀκηρασίους ἔρατεινούς.

τῶν τότε Μαιάδος υἱὸς εὐσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης

πεντήκοντ' ἀγέλης ἀπετάμνετο βοῦς ἐριμύκους.

πλανοδίας δ' ἤλαυνε διὰ ψαμαθῶδεα χῶρον

ἴχνη ἀποστρέψας· δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης

ἀντία ποιήσας ὀπλᾶς, τὰς πρόσθεν ὀπισθεν,

τὰς δ' ὀπιθεν πρώτας, κατὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν αὐτὸς ἔβαινε.

σάνδαλα δ' αὐτίκα ῥιψὶν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἀλίησιν

ἄφραστ' ἠδ' ἀνόητα διέπλεκε, θαυματὰ ἔργα,

συμμίσγων μυρίκας καὶ μυρσινοεδέας ὄζους.

τῶν τότε συνδήσας νεοθηλέος ἀγκαλὸν ὕλης

51 συμφώνους: 9ηλυτέρων Antigonus Clarystius *de mirab.* 7 53 κατὰ μέλος Allen: κατὰ  
 μέρος codd. 54 κονάβησε M: κονάβι(σ)σε cet. 58 ὡς Γ<sup>2c</sup> Ernesti: ὄν codd.: ante  
 58 lacunam statuit Radermacher 65 ἄλτο At D M: ὠρτο p: ὠτο x 67 φιλήται  
 M V: φηληται Θ p (praeter V): φιλήται Radermacher 70 θεῶν At D: θεῶν M p x  
 76 ἴχνη codd.: ἴχνη Hermann 78 πρώτας M: προσθεν cet. 79 αὐτίκα ῥιψὶν  
 Postgate: αὐτίκ' ἔριψεν M At D Π p: αὐτίκα om. E T: κ' ἔριψεν L 82 νεοθηλέος  
 ἀγκαλὸν ὕλης Ψ: νεοθηλέαν ἀγκαλωρὴν M: ἀγκαλον Stephanus: νεοθηλέ' ἀν' ἀγκαλον  
 ὠρην Radermacher (CQ 27 (1933) 156-7): νεοθηλέαν ἀγκάλῳ ὠρην Allen (CQ 27 (1933)  
 200)

ἀβλαβέως ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο σάνδαλα κοῦφα  
 αὐτοῖσιν πετάλοισι, τὰ κύδιμος Ἀργειφόντης  
 ἔσπασε Πιερίθην ὁδοιπορίην ἀλεείνων, 85  
 οἷά τ' ἐπειγόμενος δολιχὴν ὁδόν, αὐτοτροπήσας·  
 τὸν δὲ γέρων ἐνόησε δέμων ἀνθοῦσαν ἀλωήν  
 ἴμενον πεδίον δὲ δι' Ὀγχηστὸν λεχεποίην·  
 τὸν πρότερος προσέφη Μαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱός·  
 ὦ γέρον ὅς τε φυτὰ σκάπτεις ἐπικαμπύλος ὦμους, 90  
 ἧ πολυοινήσεις εὖτ' ἂν τάδε πάντα φέρησι·  
 καὶ τε ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν εἶναι καὶ κωφὸς ἀκούσας,  
 καὶ σιγᾶν, ὅτε μὴ τι καταβλάπτῃ τὸ σὸν αὐτοῦ.  
 Τόσπον φὰς συνέσευε βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα.  
 πολλὰ δ' ὄρη σκιόεντα καὶ αὐλῶνας κελαδεινοὺς 95  
 καὶ πεδί' ἀνθεμόεντα διήλασε κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς.  
 ὄρφναίη δ' ἐπίκουρος ἐπαύετο δαιμονίη νύξ  
 ἢ πλείων, τάχα δ' ὄρθρος ἐγίγνετο δημοεργός·  
 ἢ δὲ νέον σκοπιὴν προσεβήσατο διὰ Σελήνην  
 Πάλλαντος θυγάτηρ Μεγαμηδείδαο ἄνακτος· 100  
 τῆμος ἐπ' Ἀλφειὸν ποταμὸν Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱὸς  
 Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους.  
 ἀδμηῆτες δ' ἴκανον ἐς αὐλίον ὑψιμέλαθρον  
 καὶ ληνοὺς προπάροιθην ἀριπρεπέος λειμῶνος.  
 ἔνθ' ἐπεὶ εὖ βοτάνης ἐπεφόρβει βοῦς ἐριμύκους 105  
 καὶ τὰς μὲν συνέλασεν ἐς αὐλίον ἀθρόας οὔσας  
 λωτὸν ἐρεπτομένας ἠδ' ἐρσήεντα κύπειρον,  
 σὺν δ' ἐφόρει ξύλα πολλὰ, πυρὸς δ' ἐπεμαίετο τέχνην.  
 δάφνης ἀγλαὸν ὄζον ἔλων ἐπέλεψε σιδήρωι  
 ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμηι, ἄμπνυτο δὲ θερμὸς αὐτμή· 110  
 Ἑρμῆς τοι πρῶτιστα πυρήϊα πῦρ τ' ἀνέδωκε.  
 πολλὰ δὲ κάγκανα κᾶλα κατουδαίωι ἐνὶ βόθρῳι

83 ἀβλαβέως codd.: ἀσφαλέως Hermann: εὐλαβέως Schneidewin 85 ἀλεείνων  
 codd.: ἀλεγύνων Windisch 86 αὐτοτροπήσας M p L<sup>m</sup> Π<sup>m</sup>: αὐτοπρεπήσας ὡς At D  
 L Π: αὐτοτροπήσας ὡς E T 87 δέμων ἀνθοῦσαν M: δόμων αἴθουσαν Ψ 90  
 ἐπικαμπύλος ὦμους Ψ: ἐπικαμπύλα ξύλα M 91 πολυοινήσεις Ilgen: πολὺ οἰνή-  
 σεως M: πολὺ οἰμήσεις Ψ post hunc versum lacunam statuit Groddeck 94 φὰς  
 συνέσευε Chalcondyles: φασὶν ἔσ(σ)ευε codd. 99 σκοπιὴν M p x: σκοπιῆι At D 100  
 μεγαμηδείδαο p: μέγα μηδείδαο M: μεγαμηδείαο At D: μέγα μηδείδιο Π: μεγαμηδείδιο  
 L: μεγαμηδείοιο E T: μέγα μηδομένοιο Càssola 103 ἀδμηῆτες codd.: ἀκμηῆτες Ilgen  
 109 ἐπέλεψε Ψ: ἐνίαλλε M: ἐν δ' ἴλλε σιδήρωι Radermacher lacunam post hunc versum  
 statuit Schneidewin, sed fortasse post ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμηι statuenda est 110 ἄμπνυτο  
 δὲ M: ἀνὰ δ' ἄμπνυτο Ψ 112 κᾶλα p: κάλα Θ: καλὰ M κατουδαίωι Barnes: κατ'  
 οὐδαίωι codd.

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οὔλα λαβῶν ἐπέθηκεν ἐπηετανά· λάμπετο δὲ φλόξ  
τηλόσε φῦσαν ἰεῖσα πυρὸς μέγα δαιομένοιο.

35

ᾠφρα δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαιε βίη κλυτοῦ Ἥφαιστοιο,  
τόφρα δ' ὑποβρυχίας ἔλικας βοῦς ἔλκε θύραζε

115

δοιάς ἄγχι πυρός, δύναμις δέ οἱ ἐπλετο πολλή·  
ἀμφοτέρας δ' ἐπὶ νῶτα χαμαὶ βάλε φυσιοώσας·

30

ἐγκλίνων δ' ἐκύλινδε δι' αἰῶνας τετορήσας,

ἔργωι δ' ἔργον ὄπαζε ταμῶν κρέα πίονα δημῶι·

120

ῶπτα δ' ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσι πεπαρμένα δουρατέοισι,

σάρκας ὁμοῦ καὶ νῶτα γεράσμια καὶ μέλαν αἷμα

ἐργμένον ἐν χολάδεσσι, τὰ δ' αὐτοῦ κεῖτ' ἐπὶ χώρης.

ρίνουσ δ' ἐξετάνυσσε καταστυφέλωι ἐνὶ πέτρῃ,

35

ὥς ἔτι νῦν τὰ μέτασσα πολυχρόνιοι πεφύασι

125

δηρὸν δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκριτον. αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

Ἑρμῆς χαρμόφρων εἰρύσσατο πίονα ἔργα

λείωι ἐπὶ πλάταμῶνι καὶ ἔσχισε δώδεκα μοίρας

κληροπαλεῖς· τέλεον δὲ γέρας προσέθηκεν ἐκάστηι.

30

ἐνθ' ὁσίης κρεάων ἠράσσατο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς·

130

ὀδμή γάρ μιν ἔτειρε καὶ ἀθάνατόν περ ἐόντα

ἠδεῖ· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οἱ ἐπετείθετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ

καί τε μάλ' ἱμείροντι περᾶν ἱερῆς κατὰ δειρῆς.

ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐς αὔλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον,

05

δημὸν καὶ κρέα πολλά, μετήορα δ' αἰψ' ἀνάειρε,

135

σῆμα νέης φωρῆς· ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα κάγκαν' αἰείρας

οὐλόποδ' οὐλοκάρηνα πυρὸς κατεδάμνατ' αὐτμῆι.

αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ πάντα κατὰ χρέος ἤνυσσε δαίμων

σάνδαλα μὲν προέηκεν ἐς Ἀλφειὸν βαθυδίνην,

10

ἀνθρακιὴν δ' ἐμάρανε, κόνιν δ' ἀμάθυνε μέλαιναν

140

παννύχιος· καλὸν δὲ φόως κατέλαμπε Σελήνης.

Κυλλήνης δ' αἰψ' αὐτίς ἀφίκετο δῖα κάρηνα

114 φύσαν E: φύζαν cet. (σ Γ<sup>288</sup>) 116 ὑποβρυχίας codd.: ὑποβρύχους Ludwich: ἐριβρύχους Barnes: ὑποβροχίους Thomas 119 ἐγκλίνων Ψ: ἐκκρίνας M: ἐγκλίνας Ilgen αἰῶνας MΘ: αἰῶνος ρ 120 πίονα M: πίοι MΨ 124 κασαστυφέλωι At x: κατὰ στυφέλω D ρ: κατὰ στυφελῆ M ἐνὶ codd.: ἐπὶ Burkert (cf. 404) 125 τὰ μέτασσα M: τὰ μετ' ἄσσα (ἄσσα) Ψ 126 ἄκριτον codd.: ἄκριτοι West 127 χαρμόφρων Stephanus: χαρμοφέρων MΘ: χάρμα φέρων ρ εἰρύσσατο M ρ: εἰρύσατο Θ 132 ἐπετείθετο M: οἱ ἐπέθετο Ψ 133 περᾶν Barnes: περῆν M: πέρην Θ Γ: πέρην ρ: περῆν Radermacher: παρεῖν Tucker 136 om. M: σῆμα νεῆς φωνῆς Ψ: σῆμα νεῆς φωρῆς Hermann: σήματα ἧς φωρῆς Gemoll: σήμασ ἧς φωρῆς Burkert: σῆμα νεῆς Φοίνης Cusset (1997) ἐπὶ δὲ codd.: τὰ δ' ἐπὶ Thomas 138 ἐπειδὴ M: ἐπεὶ Ψ: ἐπέει τοι Chalcondyles 141 παννύχιος Ψ: παννύχιον M κατέλαμπε M: ἐπέλαμπε Ψ

ὄρθριος, οὐδέ τις οἶ δολιχῆς ὁδοῦ ἀντεβόλησεν  
οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
οὐδέ κύνες λελάκοντο· Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς  
δοχμωθεὶς μεγάροιο διὰ κλήϊθρον ἔδυνεν  
αὔρηι ὀπωρινῇ ἐναλίγκιος ἡὔτ' ὀμίχλη.

145

ἰθύσας δ' ἄντρου ἐξίκετο πίονα νηὸν  
ἦκα ποσὶ προβιβῶν· οὐ γὰρ κτύπεν ὥς περ ἐπ' οὔδει.  
ἔσσυμένως δ' ἄρα λίκνον ἐπώιχετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς·

150

σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὤμοις εἰλυμένος ἡὔτε τέκνον  
νήπιον ἐν παλάμησι περ' ἰγνύσι λαΐφος ἀθύρων  
κεῖτο, χέλυν ἐρατὴν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἔέργων.  
μητέρα δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἔληθε θεὰν θεός, εἶπέ τε μῦθον·

Τίπτε σὺ ποικιλομῆτα πόθεν τόδε νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ

155

ἔρχῃ ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε; νῦν σε μάλ' οἶω  
ἢ τάχ' ἀμήχανα δεσμὰ περὶ πλευρῆσιν ἔχοντα  
Λητοῖδου ὑπὸ χερσὶ διέκ προθύροιο περήσειν,  
ἢ σὲ φέροντα μεταξύ κατ' ἄγκεα φιλητεύσειν.

ἔρρε πάλιν· μεγάλην σε πατὴρ ἐφύτευσε μέριμναν  
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

160

Τὴν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισι·  
μῆτερ ἐμὴ τί με ταῦτα δεδίσκεαι ἡὔτε τέκνον  
νήπιον, ὃς μάλ' αἰσῶρα μετὰ φρεσὶν αἴσυλα οἶδε,  
ταρβαλέον καὶ μητρὸς ὑπαιδείδοικεν ἐνιπάς;  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τέχνης ἐπιβήσομαι ἢ τις ἀρίστη  
βουκολέων ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ διαμπερές· οὐδὲ θεοῖσι  
νῶϊ μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀδώρητοι καὶ ἄλιστοι  
αὐτοῦ τῆϊδε μένοντες ἀνεξόμεθ', ὥς σὺ κελεύεις.

165

βέλτερον ἦματα πάντα μετ' ἀθανάτοις ὀαρίζειν  
πλούσιον ἀφνειὸν πολυλήϊον ἢ κατὰ δῶμα  
ἄντρωι ἐν ἡρόεντι θασασέμεν· ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆς  
κάγῳ τῆς ὀσίης ἐπιβήσομαι ἧς περ' Ἀπόλλων.  
εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώησι πατὴρ ἐμός, ἢ τοι ἔγωγε

170

148 ἰθύσας M: ἰθύνας Ψ 152 περ' ἰγνύσι Θ: περιγνύσι M: παρ' ἰγνύσι p: περὶ γνυσὶ  
Forssmann 155 τόδε Wolf: τάδε codd. 157 ἢ τάχ' Ψ: δύσαχ' M: ἢ τάχ' Barnes:  
δύσμαχ' (i.e. δύσμαχε) Radermacher 159 φέροντα M: λαβόντα Ψ μεταξύ codd.:  
μέταζε Schmitt φιλητεύσειν M Θ: φηλητεύσειν p 163 δεδίσκεαι Pierson: τιτυσκέαι  
codd.: πινύσκεις Ruhnken 164 παῦρα μετὰ φρεσὶν αἴσυλα Ψ: πολλὰ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν  
ἄρμενα M 167 βουλεύων codd.: βουκολέων Ludwich: βουκολέειν Gemoll 168  
ἄλιστοι E T: ἄπαστοι M At D L Π Γ P V (ss. λι L Π P): ἄπλιστοι A Q: ἄπστοι B 172  
τιμῆς codd.: τιμῆς Gemoll

Π  
Εἰ  
ἄ  
εἰ  
ἔ  
Π  
Κ  
  
Υ  
Ἡ  
ῶ  
Ὀ  
ἄ  
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τ  
τ  
  
β  
π  
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κ  
τέ  
οἶ  
τ  
ἐ  
τ  
ἀ  
  
ῶ  
π  
τ  
φο  
α  
ἔ  
π  
ὄ  
  
175  
M  
ma  
202  
M



πειρήσω, δύναμαι, φιλητέων ὄρχαμος εἶναι.

175

εἰ δέ μ' ἐρευνήσει Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱός,

ἄλλο τί οἱ καὶ μείζον ὄϊομαι ἀντιβολήσειν.

εἶμι γὰρ εἰς Πυθῶνα μέγαν δόμον ἀντιτορήσων·

ἔνθεν ἄλις τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἠδὲ λέβητας

πορθήσω καὶ χρυσόν, ἄλις τ' αἴθωνα σίδηρον

180

καὶ πολλὴν ἐσθῆτα· σὺ δ' ὄψεαι αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα.

“Ὡς οἱ μὲν ῥ' ἐπέεσσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον

υἱός τ' αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς καὶ πότνια Μαῖα.

Ἦώς δ' ἠριγένεια φόως θνητοῖσι φέρουσα

ᾠρνυτ' ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῖο βαθυρρόου· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων

185

Ὀγχηστόν δ' ἀφίκανε κιῶν πολυήρατον ἄλσος

ἀγνὸν ἐρισφαράγου Γαιηόχου· ἔνθα γέροντα

ἰκνώδαλον† εὔρε δέμοντα παρέξ ὁδοῦ ἔρκος ἄλωῆς.

τὸν πρότερος προσέφη Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱός·

“ὦ γέρον Ὀγχηστοῖο βατοδρόπε ποιήεντος

190

βοῦς ἀπὸ Πιερίης διζήμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνω

πάσας θηλείας, πάσας κεράεσσιν ἐλικτάς,

ἐξ ἀγέλης· ὁ δὲ ταῦρος ἐβόσκετο μοῦνος ἀπ' ἄλλων

κυάνεος, χαροποὶ δὲ κύνες κατόπισθεν ἔποντο

τέσσαρες ἠὔτε φῶτες ὁμόφρονες· οἱ μὲν ἔλειφθεν

195

οἱ τε κύνες ὁ τε ταῦρος, ὁ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκται·

ταὶ δ' ἔβαν ἠελίοιο νέον καταδυομένοιο

ἐκ μαλακοῦ λειμῶνος ἀπὸ γλυκεροῖο νομοῖο.

ταῦτά μοι εἶπε γεραιὲ παλαιγενὲς εἴ που ὄπωπας

ἀνέρα ταῖσδ' ἐπὶ βουσί διαπρήσσοντα κέλευθον.

200

Τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν·

ᾧ φίλος ἀργαλέον μὲν ὅσ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοιτο

πάντα λέγειν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ὁδὸν πρήσσουσιν ὀδίται,

τῶν οἱ μὲν κακὰ πολλὰ μεμαότες, οἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐσθλὰ

φοιτῶσιν· χαλεπὸν δὲ δαήμεναί ἐστιν ἕκαστον.

205

αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πρόπαν ἦμαρ ἐς ἠέλιον καταδύντα

ἔσκαπτον περὶ γουνὸν ἄλωῆς οἰνοπέδοιο·

παῖδα δ' ἔδοξα φέριστε, σαφὲς δ' οὐκ οἶδα, νοῆσαι,

ὅς τις ὁ παῖς ἅμα βουσὶν εὐκράιρησιν ὀπήδει

175 δύναμαι Chalcondyles: δύναμαι δὲ codd. φιλητέων Wolf: φιλητεύων Ψ: φιλητέον  
M 183 Μαῖα Ψ: μήτηρ M 188 κνώδαλον codd.: κώκαλον Stahl: νωχαλόν Her-  
mann, West: alii alia δέμοντα Barnes: νέμοντα codd.: λέγοντα Schneidewin: alii alia  
202 ἴδοιτο Ψ: ἴδοιμι M: ἴδοι τις Barnes: ἴδοιο Ernesti 205 φοιτῶσιν Ψ: πρήσσουσιν  
M 208 νοῆσαι Ψ: νοήσας M 209 εὐκράιρησιν M Θ: εὐκράιροισιν p

νήπιος, εἶχε δὲ ῥάβδον, ἐπιστροφάδην δ' ἐβάδιζεν, 210  
 ἐξοπίσω δ' ἀνέεργε, κάρη δ' ἔχεν ἀντίον αὐτῶι.

Φῆ ῥ' ὁ γέρων· ὁ δὲ θᾶσσον ὁδὸν κίε μῦθον ἀκούσας·  
 οἰωνὸν δ' ἐνόει τανυσίπτερον, αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω  
 φιλήτην γεγαῶτα Διὸς παῖδα Κρονίωνος.  
 ἔσσυμένως δ' ἤϊξεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων 215  
 ἐς Πύλον ἠγαθέην διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βοῦς,  
 πορφυρέηι νεφέλῃι κεκαλυμμένος εὐρέας ὤμους·  
 ἴχνια τ' εἰσενόησεν Ἐκηβόλος εἶπέ τε μῦθον·

ᾠ πόποι ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὄρῳμαι·  
 ἴχνια μὲν τάδε γ' ἐστὶ βοῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων, 220  
 ἀλλὰ πάλιν τέτραπται ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα·  
 βήματα δ' οὔτ' ἀνδρὸς τάδε γίγνεται οὔτε γυναικὸς  
 οὔτε λύκων πολιῶν οὔτ' ἄρκτων οὔτε λεόντων·  
 οὔτε τι κενταύρου λασιάρχενος ἔλπομαι εἶναι  
 ὅς τις τοῖα πέλωρα βιβᾶι ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισιν· 225  
 αἰνὰ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο, τὰ δ' αἰνότερ' ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο.

ᾠς εἰπὼν ἤϊξεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων,  
 Κυλλήνης δ' ἀφίκανεν ὄρος καταείμενον ὕληι  
 πέτρης εἰς κευθμῶνα βαθύσκιον, ἔνθα τε νύμφη  
 ἀμβροσίῃ ἐλόχευσε Διὸς παῖδα Κρονίωνος. 230  
 ὀδμή δ' ἱμερόεσσα δι' οὔρεος ἠγαθέοιο  
 κίδνατο, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα ταναύποδα βόσκετο ποίην.  
 ἔνθα τότε σπεύδων κατεβήσατο λάϊνον οὐδὸν  
 ἄντρον ἐς ἠερόεν ἑκατηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων.

Τὸν δ' ὡς οὖν ἐνόησε Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱὸς 235  
 χωόμενον περὶ βουσὶν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα,  
 σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυνε θυήεντ'· ἠὔτε πολλήν  
 πρέμνων ἀνθρακίην ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει,  
 ὡς Ἑρμῆς Ἐκάεργον ἰδὼν ἀνεείλε' ἔ' αὐτόν.  
 ἐν δ' ὀλίγωι συνέλασσε κάρη χειρᾶς τε πόδας τε 240  
 φῆ ῥα νεόλλουτος προκαλούμενος ἠδυμον ὕπνον,  
 ἐγρήσσων ἑτέον γε· χέλυν δ' ὑπὸ μασχάληι εἶχε·

211 ἔχεν codd.: ἔχον Hermann

212 μῦθον ἀκούσας M x<sup>m</sup>: φοῖβος ἀπόλλων Ψ

214

φιλήτην M Θ: φηλωτήν ρ

218-19 om. M

224 ἔλπομαι εἶναι M E Γ L<sup>m</sup> Π<sup>m</sup>: ἔστιν

ὁμοῖα At D ρ: ἦστιν ὁμοῖα L Π

238 ὕλης σποδὸς Ψ: ὀλοσποδὸς M

ἀμφικαλύπτει

At D: ἀμφικαλύπτοι M ρ x

239 ἀνεείλε Postgate: ἀλέεινεν codd.

241 φῆ ῥα Her-

mann: δῆ ῥα codd.: θῆρα x<sup>m</sup>

νεόλλουτος codd.: νέον λοχάων x<sup>m</sup>

ἠδυμον M

Θ: νήδυμον ρ

242 ἐγρήσσων ἑτέον γε Hermann: ἄγρης εἰνετεόν τε (vel sim.) codd.:

ἐγρήσσων ἑρατὴν τε Martin

<δ> addidit Hermann

- 210 γνῶ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱὸς  
 νύμφην τ' οὐρείην περικαλλέα καὶ φίλον υἰόν,  
 παῖδ' ὀλίγον δολίῃς εἰλυμένον ἐντροπίησι. 245  
 παπτήνας δ' ἀνὰ πάντα μυχὸν μέγαλοιο δόμοιο  
 τρεῖς ἀδύτους ἀνέωιγε λαβῶν κληῖδα φαεινὴν  
 215 νέκταρος ἐμπλείους ἢ δ' ἀμβροσίης ἔρατεινῆς·  
 πολλὸς δὲ χρυσὸς τε καὶ ἄργυρος ἔνδον ἔκειτο,  
 πολλὰ δὲ φοινικέοντα καὶ ἄργυφα εἴματα νύμφης, 250  
 οἷα θεῶν μακάρων ἱεροὶ δόμοι ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν.  
 ἔνθ' ἐπεὶ ἐξερέεινε μυχοὺς μέγαλοιο δόμοιο  
 220 Λητοῖδης μύθοισι προσηύδα κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν·  
 ὦ παῖ ὅς ἐν λίκνῳι κατάκειαι, μήνυέ μοι βοῦς  
 θᾶσσον· ἐπεὶ τάχα νῶϊ διοισόμεθ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον. 255  
 ρίψω γάρ σε βαλὼν ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα,  
 εἰς ζόφον αἰνόμορον καὶ ἀμήχανον· οὐδέ σε μήτηρ  
 225 ἐς φάος οὐδέ πατήρ ἀναλύσεται, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γαίῃ  
 ἐρρήσεις ὀλίγοισι μετ' ἀνδράσιν ἡγεμονεύων.  
 Τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισι· 260  
 Λητοῖδη τίνα τοῦτον ἀπηνέα μῦθον ἔειπας  
 καὶ βοῦς ἀγραύλους διζήμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνεις;  
 230 οὐκ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, οὐκ ἄλλου μῦθον ἄκουσα·  
 οὐκ ἂν μηνύσαιμ', οὐκ ἂν μήνυτρον ἀροίμην·  
 οὔτε βοῶν ἐλατῆρι κραταιῶι φωτὶ ἔοικα. 265  
 οὐκ ἐμὸν ἔργον τοῦτο, πάρος δὲ μοι ἄλλα μέμηλεν·  
 ὕπνος ἐμοί γε μέμηλε καὶ ἡμετέρης γάλα μητρός,  
 235 σπάργανά τ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισιν ἔχειν καὶ θερμὰ λοετρά·  
 μή τις τοῦτο πύθοιτο πόθεν τόδε νεῖκος ἐτύχθη·  
 καὶ κεν δὴ μέγα θαῦμα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι γένοιτο 270  
 παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα διὰ προθύροιο περῆσαι  
 βουσί μετ' ἀγραύλοισι· τὸ δ' ἀπρεπέως ἀγορεύεις.  
 240 χθῆς γενόμην, ἀπαλοὶ δὲ πόδες, τρηχεῖα δ' ὑπὸ χθῶν.  
 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις πατρὸς κεφαλὴν μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι·  
 μὴ μὲν ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ὑπίσχομαι αἴτιος εἶναι, 275  
 μήτε τιν' ἄλλον ὄπωπα βοῶν κλοπὸν ὑμετεράων,  
 αἶ τινες αἶ βόες εἰσί· τὸ δὲ κλέος οἷον ἀκούω.

214  
 ΣΤΙΝ  
 ΠΤΕΙ  
 Her-  
 v M  
 dd.:

246 ἀνὰ M: ἄρα Ψ 248 ἐμπλείους Barnes: ἐκπλείους codd. 254 λίκνῳι M E T  
 L<sup>m</sup> Π<sup>m</sup> p: κλίνῃ At D L Π κατάκειαι M Θ: κατακῆαι p 255 θᾶσσον Ilgen: θᾶττον  
 codd. 259 ὀλίγοισι μετ' M: ὀλίγοισιν ἐν Ψ 261 ἔειπας M p L Π T: ἔειπες At D  
 272 ἀγραύλοισι Ψ: ἀγραύλησι M 274 δ' ἐθέλεις Ilgen: δὲ θέλεις codd.

“Ὡς ἄρ’ ἔφη καὶ πυκνὸν ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀμαρύσσω  
ὄφρῦσι ρίπτ’ ἀζέσκειν ὀρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,  
μάκρ’ ἀποσυρίζων, ἄλιον ὡς μῦθον ἀκούων.

280

τὸν δ’ ἀπαλὸν γελάσας προσέφη ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων·

ᾧ πέπον ἠπεροπευτὰ δολοφραδὲς ἦ σε μάλ’ οἴω  
πολλάκις ἀντιτοροῦντα δόμους εὔ ναιετάοντας  
ἐννουχον οὐ χ’ ἓνα μοῦνον ἐπ’ οὔδει φῶτα καθίσσαι  
σκευάζοντα κατ’ οἶκον ἄτερ ψόφου, οἷ’ ἀγορεύεις.

285

πολλοὺς δ’ ἀγραύλους ἀκαχήσεις μηλοβοτῆρας  
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης, ὁπότεν κρειῶν ἐρατίζων  
ἀντήσης ἀγέλησι βοῶν καὶ πώεσι μῆλων.

ἀλλ’ ἄγε, μὴ πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ὕπνον ἰαύσης,  
ἐκ λίκνον κατάβαινε μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἑταῖρε.

290

τοῦτο γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἔπειτα μετ’ ἀθανάτοις γέρας ἔξεις·  
ἀρχὸς φιλητέων κεκλήσεαι ἦματα πάντα.

“Ὡς ἄρ’ ἔφη καὶ παῖδα λαβὼν φέρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.

σὺν δ’ ἄρα φρασσάμενος τότε δὴ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης  
οἰωνὸν προέηκεν ἀειρόμενος μετὰ χερσί,

295

τλήμονα γαστρὸς ἔριθον ἀτάσθαλον ἀγγελιώτην.

ἔσσυμένως δὲ μετ’ αὐτὸν ἐπέπταρε, τοῖο δ’ Ἀπόλλων  
ἔκλυεν, ἐκ χειρῶν δὲ χαμαὶ βάλε κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν.

ἔζετο δὲ προπάροιθε καὶ ἔσσύμενός περ ὁδοῖο

Ἑρμῆν κερτομέων, καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·

300

Θάρσει σπαργανιῶτα Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ·

εὐρήσω καὶ ἔπειτα βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα

τούτοις οἰωνοῖσι· σὺ δ’ αὖθ’ ὁδὸν ἠγεμονεύσεις.

“Ὡς φάθ’· ὁ δ’ αὖτ’ ἀνόρουσε θεῶς Κυλλήνιος Ἑρμῆς

σπουδῆι ἰών· ἄμφω δὲ παρ’ οὔατα χερσὶν ἐώθει,

305

σπάργανον ἀμφ’ ὤμοισιν ἐελμένος, εἶπε δὲ μῦθον·

Πῆι με φέρεις Ἑκάεργε θεῶν ζαμενέστατε πάντων;

ἦ με βοῶν ἔνεχ’ ὦδε χολούμενος ὀρσολοπεύεις;

ὦ πόποι εἶθ’ ἀπόλοιτο βοῶν γένος· οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε

ὑμετέρας ἔκλεψα βόας, οὐδ’ ἄλλον ὄπωπα,

310

279 ὄφρῦσι codd.: ὄφρῦς Hermann 280 ὡς M: τὸν At D E T: ὡς τὸν p: τὸν ὡς Π: ὡς  
(ss. τὸν) L 284 οὐ χ’ ἓνα A Q L: οὐδ’ ἓνα M: οὐχ ἓνα cet. καθίσσαι p x: καθίσσαι  
M At D 287 κρειῶν Ψ: μῆλων M 288 ἀντήσεις At D E T: ἀντήσης M L Π p:  
ἀντην x<sup>m</sup> ἀγελῆσι βοῶν καὶ πώεσι μῆλων codd.: βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις οἴεσσι  
x<sup>m</sup> 289 ἰαύσης Ψ: ἰαύσεις M 292 φιλητέων M Θ B Γ: φηλίτεων A Q P V 306  
ἐελμένος M: ἐλιγμένος Θ: ἐλιγμένος p: ἐελμένον Schneidewin

αἷ τινές εἰσι βόες· τὸ δὲ δὴ κλέος οἶον ἀκούω.  
δὸς δὲ δίκην καὶ δέξο παρὰ Ζηνὶ Κρονίωνι.

280 Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὰ ἕκαστα διαρρήδην ἐρέεινον

Ἑρμῆς τ' οἰοπόλος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς  
ἀμφὶς θυμὸν ἔχοντες· ὁ μὲν νημερτέα φωνῶν 315

285 ἤθελεν ἔξαπατᾶν Κυλλήνιος Ἄργυρότοξον·

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πολύμητις ἔων πολυμήχανον εὔρεν  
ἔσσυμένως δῆπειτα διὰ ψαμάθοιο βάδιζε 320

290 ἐς πατέρα Κρονίωνα Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα·

κεῖθι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι δίκης κατέκειτο τάλαντα.  
†εὐμιλίη† δ' ἔχ' Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον, ἀθάνατοι δὲ 325

295 πρόσθε Διὸς γούνων· ὁ δ' ἀνείρετο φαίδιμον υἱὸν

Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·  
Φοῖβε πόθεν ταύτην μενοεικέα ληΐδ' ἐλαύνεις 330

300 Τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων·

ᾧ πάτερ ἦ τάχα μῦθον ἀκούσσαι οὐκ ἀλαπαδνὸν  
κερτομέων ὡς οἶος ἐγὼ φιλολήϊός εἰμι. 335

305 παῖδά τι' εὔρον τόνδε διαπρύσιον κεραῖστήν

Κυλλήνης ἐν ὄρεσσι πολὺν διὰ χῶρον ἀνύσσας  
κέρτομον, οἶον ἐγὼ γε θεῶν οὐκ ἄλλον ὄπωπα  
οὐδ' ἀνδρῶν, ὅπόσοι λησίμβροτοί εἰς' ἐπὶ γαῖαν.  
κλέψας δ' ἐκ λειμῶνος ἐμὰς βοῦς ὦιχετ' ἐλαύνων 340

310 ἐσπέριος παρὰ θῖνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης

εὐθὺ Πύλονδ' ἐλάων· τὰ δ' ἄρ' ἵχνια δοιὰ πέλωρα

οἷά τ' ἀγάσασθαι καὶ ἀγανοῦ δαίμονος ἔργα.

Ι: ὡς  
ίσαι  
Π ρ:  
σσιν  
306

313 ἐρέεινον ρ: ἐρέεινεν M Θ 315 φωνῶν Wolf: φωνῆν codd. lacunam statuit Allen  
post hunc versum 322 δὲ τέρθρον ἴκοντο M At D L Π: δ' ἴκοντο κάρηνα E T L<sup>m</sup>  
Π<sup>m</sup> ρ 325 εὐμιλίη M: εὐμιλίη Ψ: εὐωχίη West: alii alia 326 μετὰ χρυσόθρονον  
ἠῶ E T L<sup>m</sup> Π<sup>m</sup>: ποτὶ πτύχας Οὐλύμποιο M At D L Π ρ 339 γαῖαν M: γαίη Ψ  
342 εὐθὺ Πύλονδ' Clarke: εὐθύπυλονδ' M: εὐθύπόρονδ' Ψ 343  
ἀγάσασθαι Ilgen: ἀγάσασθαι M: ἀγάσσεσθαι Ψ

τῆισιν μὲν γὰρ βουσὶν ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα  
 ἀντία βήματ' ἔχουσα κόνις ἀνέφαινε μέλαινα· 345  
 αὐτὸς δ' οὔτος ἄδεκτος ἀμήχανος, οὔτ' ἄρα ποσσὶν  
 οὔτ' ἄρα χερσὶν ἔβαινε διὰ ψαμαθῶδεα χῶρον·  
 ἀλλ' ἄλλην τινὰ μῆτιν ἔχων διέτριβε κέλευθα  
 τοῖα πέλωρ' ὡς εἴ τις ἀραιῆσι δρυσὶ βαίνοι.  
 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν ἐδίωκε διὰ ψαμαθῶδεα χῶρον, 350  
 ῥεῖα μάλ' ἵχνια πάντα διέπρεπεν ἐν κονίησιν·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ψαμάθοιο μέγαν στίβον ἐξεπέρησεν,  
 ἄφραστος γένετ' ὦκα βοῶν στίβος ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 χῶρον ἀνὰ κρατερόν· τὸν δ' ἐφράσατο βροτὸς ἀνήρ  
 εἰς Πύλον εὐθύς ἐλῶντα βοῶν γένος εὐρυμετώπων. 355  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τὰς μὲν ἐν ἠσυχίῃ κατέερξε  
 καὶ διαπυρπαλάμησεν ὁδοῦ τὸ μὲν ἔνθα τὸ δ' ἔνθα,  
 ἐν λίκνῳ κατέκειτο μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἔοικῶς  
 ἄντρῳ ἐν ἠερόεντι κατὰ ζόφον, οὐδέ κεν αὐτὸν  
 αἰετὸς ὄξυ λάων ἐσκέψατο· πολλὰ δὲ χερσὶν 360  
 αὐγὰς ὠμόργαζε δολοφροσύνην ἀλεγύνων.  
 αὐτὸς δ' αὐτίκα μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀγόρευεν·  
 οὐκ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, οὐκ ἄλλου μῦθον ἄκουσα,  
 οὐδέ κε μηνύσαιμ', οὐδ' ἂν μῆνυτρον ἀροίμην.  
 Ἥ τοι ἄρ' ὡς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων· 365  
 Ἑρμῆς δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπε,  
 δεῖξατο δ' εἰς Κρονίωνα θεῶν σημάτων ἅπαντων·  
 Ζεῦ πάτερ ἦ τοι ἐγὼ σοὶ ἀληθείην ἀγορεύσω·  
 νημερτῆς τε γὰρ εἶμι καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ψεύδεσθαι.  
 ἦλθεν ἐς ἡμετέρου διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βοῦς 370  
 σήμερον ἠελίοιο νέον ἐπιτελλομένοιο,  
 οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων ἄγε μάρτυρας οὐδὲ κατόπτας.  
 μηνύειν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ πολλῆς,  
 πολλὰ δέ μ' ἠπειλήσεν βαλεῖν ἐς Τάρταρον εὐρύν,  
 οὔνεχ' ὁ μὲν τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχει φιλοκυδέος ἦβης, 375  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ χθιζὸς γενόμεν – τὰ δέ τ' οἶδε καὶ αὐτός –

346 οὔτος ἄδεκτος AHS: οὔτος ὄδ' ἐκτὸς codd.: οὔτ' ὄδοῦ ἐκτὸς West 352 μέγαν Ψ:  
 πολὺν M 356 κατέερξε ρ: κατέερξε Θ: κατέερξεν M 357 διαπυρπαλάμησεν Ilgen:  
 διαπῦρ παλάμησεν M: διὰ πῦρ μάλ' ἄμησεν Ψ 360 λάων, ss. βλέπων E L 361  
 ὠμόργαζε Ilgen: ὠμάρταζε codd. plerique (ὠμ- L ρ): ὠμόρταζε T ἀλεγύνων Θ:  
 ἀλεγίζων M: ἀλεείνων ρ 366 Ἑρμῆς δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπεν E T L<sup>m</sup>  
 Π<sup>m</sup>: Ἑρμῆς δ' αὐτ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπος ηὔδα M At D L Π ρ 368 ἀγορεύσω M:  
 καταλέξω Ψ 371 νεόν γ' ρ (praeter A Q) D<sup>m</sup>: νεὸν cet.

οὐ τι βοῶν ἐλατῆρι κραταιῶι φωτὶ ἔοικώς.  
 145 πείθεο, καὶ γὰρ ἐμεῖο πατήρ φίλος εὐχεαί εἶναι,  
 ὡς οὐκ οἴκαδ' ἔλασσα βόας, ὡς ὄλβιος εἶην,  
 οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔβην· τὸ δέ τ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύω. 380  
 Ἥλιον δὲ μάλ' αἰδέομαι καὶ δαίμονας ἄλλους,  
 καὶ σὲ φιλῶ καὶ τοῦτον ὀπίζομαι· οἴσθα καὶ αὐτὸς  
 150 ὡς οὐκ αἴτιός εἰμι· μέγαν δ' ἐπιδώσομαι ὄρκον·  
 οὐ μὰ τὰδ' ἀθανάτων εὐκόσμητα προθύραια.  
 καὶ ποτ' ἐγὼ τούτῳ τείσω ποτὶ νηλέα φωρὴν 385  
 καὶ κρατερῶι περ ἔοντι· σὺ δ' ὀπλοτέροισιν ἄρηγε.  
 Ὡς φάτ' ἐπιλλίζων Κυλλήνιος Ἀργειφόντης,  
 155 καὶ τὸ σπάργανον εἶχεν ἐπ' ὠλένηι οὐδ' ἀπέβαλλε.  
 Ζεὺς δὲ μέγ' ἐξεγέλασεν ἰδὼν κακομηδέα παῖδα  
 εὔ καὶ ἐπισταμένως ἀρνεύμενον ἀμφὶ βόεσσιν. 390  
 ἀμφοτέρους δ' ἐκέλευσεν ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντας  
 ζητεύειν, Ἑρμῆν δὲ διάκτορον ἡγεμονεύειν,  
 60 καὶ δεῖξαι τὸν χῶρον ἐπ' ἀβλαβήισι νόοιο  
 ὄππῃ δὴ αὐτ' ἀπέκρυψε βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα.  
 νεῦσεν δὲ Κρονίδης, ἐπεπείθετο δ' ἀγλαὸς Ἑρμῆς· 395  
 ῥηϊδίως γὰρ ἔπειθε Διὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο.  
 τὼ δ' ἄμφω σπεύδοντε Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα  
 65 ἐς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ πόρον ἴξον·  
 ἀγρούς δ' ἐξίκοντο καὶ αὐλιὸν ὑψιμέλαθρον  
 ἠχοῦ δὴ τὰ χρήματ' ἀτάλλετο νυκτὸς ἐν ὦρῃ. 400  
 ἔνθ' Ἑρμῆς μὲν ἔπειτα κιῶν παρὰ λάϊνον ἄντρον  
 εἰς φῶς ἐξήλαυε βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα·  
 70 Λητοΐδης δ' ἀπάτερθεν ἰδὼν ἐνόησε βοείας  
 πέτρηι ἐπ' ἠλιβάτῳ, τάχα δ' ἦρετο κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν·  
 Πῶς ἐδύνω δολομῆτα δύω βόε δειροτομῆσαι, 405  
 ὧδε νεογνὸς ἐὼν καὶ νήπιος; αὐτὸς ἐγὼ γε  
 θαυμαίνω κατόπισθε τὸ σὸν κράτος· οὐδὲ τί σε χρῆ  
 75 μακρὸν ἀέξεσθαι Κυλλήνιε Μαιάδος υἱέ.

380 τὸ δέ τ' Hermann: τότε δ' codd. 381 δὲ μάλ' αἰδέομαι M: μάλ' αἰδέομαι Ψ  
 383 ἐπιδώσομαι Barnes: ἐπιδεύομαι M: ἐπιδαίομαι Ψ 385 καὶ ποτ' codd.: οὐ ποτ'  
 Ψ: Πgen: μή ποτ' West: καὶ ποῦ Hermann τείσω West: τίσω codd. ποτὶ M: ποτέ  
 Ψ φωρὴν Hermann: φώρην M: φωνήν Ψ 397 σπεύδοντε M p: σπεύδοντο Θ  
 398 ἡμαθόεντα ἐπ' M p: ἡμαθόεντα δ' ἐπ' Θ 400 ἠχοῦ δὴ Fick: ἠχ' (ἠχ) οὐ (οὔ) δὴ Ψ:  
 ὄχου δὲ M χρήματ' ἀτάλλετο Chalcondyles: χρήματ' ἀτιτάλλετο Ψ (ἀντιτάλλετο T:  
 ἀντιβάλλετο E): χρήματα τιτάλλετο M: κτήν' ἀτάλλετο Allen and Sikes 401 παρὰ  
 Ψ: ἐς M 402 φῶς codd.: φάος Hermann 403 ἀπάτερθεν Ψ: ἀπάνευθεν M 408  
 ἀέξεσθαι Ψ: ἀέξασθαι M

Ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ χερσὶ περίστρεφε καρτερὰ δεσμὰ  
 ἄγνου· ταὶ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κατὰ χθονὸς αἶψα φύοντο 410  
 αὐτόθεν ἐμβολάδην ἐστραμμέναι ἀλλήλησι  
 ῥεῖά τε καὶ πάσηισιν ἐπ' ἀγραύλοισι βόεσσιν  
 Ἑρμέω βουλῆισι κλεψίφρονος· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων  
 θαύμασεν ἀθρήσας. τότε δὴ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης  
 χῶρον ὑποβλήδην ἐσκέψατο πῦρ ἀμαρύσσων 415  
 ἐγκρύψαι μεμαῶς· Λητοῦς δ' ἐρικυδέος υἷον  
 ῥεῖα μάλ' ἐπρήυνεν ἐκηβόλον, ὡς ἔθελ' αὐτός,  
 καὶ κρατερόν περ ἔοντα· λύρην δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χεῖρὸς  
 πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέλος· ἢ δ' ὑπὸ χεῖρὸς  
 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε, γέλασσε δὲ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων 420  
 γηθήσας, ἔρατὴ δὲ διὰ φρένας ἤλυθ' ἰωὴ  
 θεσπεσίης ἐνοπῆς, καὶ μιν γλυκὺς ἴμερος ἦρει  
 θυμῷ ἀκούζοντα· λύρῃ δ' ἔρατὸν κιθαρίζων  
 στῆ ῥ' ὃ γε θαρσήσας ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ Μαιάδος υἱὸς  
 Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος, τάχα δὲ λιγέως κιθαρίζων 425  
 γηρύετ' ἀμβολάδην, ἔρατὴ δὲ οἱ ἔσπετο φωνή,  
 κραινῶν ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς καὶ γαῖαν ἐρεμνὴν  
 ὡς τὰ πρῶτα γέγοντο καὶ ὡς λάχε μοῖραν ἕκαστος.  
 Μνημοσύνην μὲν πρῶτα θεῶν ἐγέραιρεν ἀοιδῆι  
 μητέρα Μουσῶν, ἢ γὰρ λάχε Μαιάδος υἱόν· 430  
 τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πρέσβιν τε καὶ ὡς γεγάασιν ἕκαστος  
 ἀθανάτους ἐγέραιρε θεοὺς Διὸς ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς  
 πάντ' ἐνέπων κατὰ κόσμον, ὑπωλένιον κιθαρίζων.  
 τὸν δ' ἔρος ἐν στήθεσσι ἀμήχανος αἶνυτο θυμόν,  
 καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· 435  
 Βουφόνε μηχανιώτα πονεύμενε δαιτὸς ἐταῖρε  
 πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀντάξια ταῦτα μέμηλας.  
 ἦσυχίως καὶ ἔπειτα διακρινέεσθαι οἴω.  
 νῦν δ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἶπε πολύτροπε Μαιάδος υἱέ  
 ἦ σοί γ' ἐκ γενετῆς τάδ' ἄμ' ἔσπετο θαυματὰ ἔργα 440  
 ἦέ τις ἀθανάτων ἢ ἐθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 δῶρον ἀγαυὸν ἔδωκε καὶ ἔφρασε θέσπιν ἀοιδῆν;

411 ἐμβολάδην Ψ: ἀμβολάδην M 412 ἀγραύλοισι p: ἀγραύλησι M Θ 415 post  
 hunc versum lacunam statuit Baumeister 416 post hunc versum lacunam sta-  
 tuit Radermacher 418 post hunc versum lacunam statuit Hermann 418 λύρην  
 Stephanus: λαβῶν codd. χεῖρὸς Ψ: λύρην M 422 om. Ψ: habet M 423 θυμῷ  
 codd.: θυμόν West 431 πρέσβιν Matthiae: πρέσβην codd. ἕκαστος Ψ: ἅπαντες M  
 433 ὑπωλένιον Barnes: ἐπωλένιον codd. 437 μέμηλας codd.: μέμηλας Page 440  
 γενετῆς M: γενεῆς Ψ



10 θαυμασίην γὰρ τήνδε νεήφατον ὄσσαν ἀκούω,  
 ἦν οὐ πῶ ποτέ φημι δαήμεναι οὔτε τιν' ἀνδρῶν,  
 οὔτε τιν' ἀθανάτων οἱ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι, 445  
 νόσφι σέθεν φιλήτα Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ.  
 τίς τέχνη, τίς μοῦσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων,  
 τίς τρίβος; ἀτρεκέως γὰρ ἅμα τρία πάντα πάρεστιν  
 15 εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἠδυμον ὕπνον ἐλέσθαι.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μούσησιν Ὀλυμπιάδεσσι ὀπηδός,  
 450 τῆσι χοροὶ τε μέλουσι καὶ ἀγλαὸς οἶμος ἀοιδῆς  
 καὶ μολπή τεθαλυῖα καὶ ἱμερόεις βρόμος αὐλῶν·  
 ἀλλ' οὐ πῶ τί μοι ὦδε μετὰ φρεσὶν ἄλλο μέλησεν  
 20 οἷα νέων θαλίης ἐνδέξια ἔργα πέλονται·  
 θαυμάζω Διὸς υἱέ τάδ' ὡς ἔρατὸν κιθαρίζεις.  
 455 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ὀλίγος περ ἐὼν κλυτὰ μέδεα οἶδας,  
 ἴζε πέπον καὶ μῦθον ἐπαίνει πρεσβυτέροισι.  
 νῦν γὰρ τοι κλέος ἔσται ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι  
 25 σοὶ τ' αὐτῶι καὶ μητρὶ· τὸ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω·  
 ναὶ μὰ τόδε κρανάϊνον ἀκόντιον ἧ μὲν ἐγὼ σε  
 460 κυδρὸν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι καὶ ὄλβιον ἠγεμονεύσω,  
 δώσω τ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω.  
 Τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισιν·  
 30 εἰρωτᾷς μ' Ἐκάεργε περιφραδές· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σοὶ  
 τέχνης ἡμετέρης ἐπιβήμεναι οὐ τι μεγαίρω.  
 465 σήμερον εἰδήσεις· ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἠπίος εἶναι  
 βουλῆι καὶ μύθοισι, σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ πάντ' εὔ οἶδας.  
 πρῶτος γὰρ Διὸς υἱέ μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θαάσσεις  
 35 ἠϋς τε κρατερός τε· φιλεῖ δέ σε μητίετα Ζεὺς  
 ἐκ πάσης ὀσίης, ἔπορεν δέ τοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα  
 470 καὶ τιμὰς· σὲ δέ φασι δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς  
 μαντείας, Ἐκάεργε, Διὸς πάρα θέσφατα πάντα·  
 τῶν νῦν αὐτὸς ἔγωγε ἴπαϊδ' ἀφνειὸν δεδάηκα. †  
 40 σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅττι μενοινᾷς.  
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τοι θυμὸς ἐπιθύει κιθαρίζειν, 475

446 φιλήτα Aldina: φιλητὰ M Θ: φηλητὰ ρ 449 ἠδυμον MΘ: νήδυμον ρ 451  
 οἶμος Ψ: ὕμνος M x<sup>m</sup> 453 ἄλλο μέλησεν M: ὦδε μέλησεν Ψ 456 οἶδας Ψ: οἶσα M  
 457-8 om. Ψ 457 μῦθον Ruhnken: θυμὸν M 459 τὸ δ' Hermann: τόδ' codd.  
 460 κρανάϊνον A At Γ: κρανάϊον cet. ἐγὼ σε M At D Π ρ: ἔγωγε E T L 468  
 θαάσσεις Ψ: θαόσσεις M 471 σὲ δέ M: σέ γέ Ψ 472 μαντείας, Ἐκάεργε Matthiae:  
 μαντείας ϑ' (vel τ') Ἐκάεργε codd. πάρα Stephanus: παρὰ, παρα codd. 473 τῶν  
 E T L<sup>m</sup> Π<sup>m</sup>: καὶ cet. ἔγωγε παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν δεδάηκα codd.: ἐγὼ σε Hermann: μάλ'  
 ἀφνειὸν Evelyn-White: alii alia 474 αὐτάγρετόν Chalcondyles: αὐτ' ἀγρετόν codd.

μέλπεο καὶ κιθάριζε καὶ ἀγλαΐας ἀλέγυνε  
 δέγμενος ἐξ ἐμέθεν· σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ φίλε κῦδος ὄπαζε.  
 εὐμόλπει μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων λιγύφωνον ἑταίρην  
 καλὰ καὶ εὖ κατὰ κόσμον ἐπισταμένην ἀγορεύειν.  
 εὐκηλὸς μιν ἔπειτα φέρειν εἰς δαΐτα θάλειαν 480  
 καὶ χορὸν ἱμερόεντα καὶ ἐς φιλοκυδέα κῶμον,  
 εὐφροσύνην νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡματος. ὅς τις ἂν αὐτὴν  
 τέχνηι καὶ σοφίηι δεδαημένος ἐξερεείνηι  
 φθεγγομένη παντοῖα νόωι χαρίεντα διδάσκει  
 ῥεῖα συνηθείησιν ἀθυρομένη μαλακῆησιν, 485  
 ἐργασίην φεύγουσα δυήπαθον· ὅς δέ κεν αὐτὴν  
 νῆϊς ἐὼν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιζαφελῶς ἐρεείνηι,  
 μὰψ αὐτῶς κεν ἔπειτα μετήορά τε θρυλίζοι.  
 σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅττι μενοινᾶις.  
 καί τοι ἐγὼ δώσω ταύτην Διὸς ἀγλαὲ κοῦρε· 490  
 ἡμεῖς δ' αὐτ' ὄρεός τε καὶ ἵπποβότου πεδίοιο  
 βουσι νομοὺς Ἐκάεργε νομεύσομεν ἀγραύλοισιν.  
 ἔνθεν ἄλις τέξουσι βόες ταύροισι μιγεῖσαι  
 μίγδην θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρσενας· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ  
 κερδαλέον περ ἔοντα περιζαμενῶς κεχολῶσθαι. 495  
 Ὡς εἰπὼν ὤρεξ', ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
 Ἑρμῆι δ' ἐγγυάλιξεν ἔχων μάστιγα φαεινὴν,  
 βουκολίας τ' ἐπέτελλεν· ἔδεκτο δὲ Μαιάδος υἱὸς  
 γηθήσας· κίθαριν δὲ λαβὼν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χεῖρὸς  
 Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς ἄναξ ἑκάεργος Ἀπόλλων 500  
 πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέλος, ἢ δ' ὑπὸ νέρθεν  
 ἱμερόεν κονάβησε, θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄεισεν.  
 Ἔνθα βόας μὲν ἔπειτα ποτὶ ζάθεον λειμῶνα  
 ἐτραπέτην· αὐτοὶ δὲ Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα  
 ἄψορροι πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον ἐρρώσαντο 505  
 τερπόμενοι φόρμιγγι, χάρη δ' ἄρα μητίετα Ζεὺς,  
 ἄμφω δ' ἐς φιλότητα συνήγαγε. καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἑρμῆς

477 δ' ἐμοὶ Radermacher: δέ μοι codd. 478 γλυκύφωνον E T: λιγύφωνον  
 cet. ἑταῖρον *p*: ἑταίρην cet. 479 ἐπισταμένην Barnes: ἐπισταμένως codd. 480  
 εὐκηλὸς μιν Ilgen: εὐκηλὸς μὲν codd. 481 χορὸν M Θ: χῶρον *p* φιλοκυδέα M Θ:  
 φιλομειδέα *p* 486 φεύγουσα M: φθέγγουσα Ψ 487 ἐρεείνηι M: ἐρέεινε Ψ 488  
 θρυλίζοι Schneidewin: θρυαλίζοι codd. 489 αὐτάγρετόν Aldina: αὐτ' ἄγρετόν codd.  
 497 ἔχων codd.: ἔχειν D'Orville: ἐκὼν Martin 501 ὑπὸ νέρθεν M: ὑπὸ καλὸν Ψ  
 502 ἱμερόεν Ψ: σμερδαλέον M καλὸν M: μέλος (μέλλος) Ψ 503 ἔνθα Ψ: καὶ ῥα  
 M βόας M: βόες Ψ ποτὶ Ψ: κατὰ M 507 καὶ τὸ Ψ: καὶ τὰ M

Λητοΐδην ἐφίλησε διαμπερές ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν,  
 ...

σῆματ', ἐπεὶ κίθαριν μὲν Ἐκηβόλωι ἐγγυάλιξεν  
 ἱμερτὴν δεδαῶς, ὁ δ' ὑπωλένιον κιθάριζεν· 510

480 αὐτὸς δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρης σοφίης ἐκμάσσατο τέχνην·  
 συρίγγων ἐνοπὴν ποιήσατο τηλόθ' ἀκουστήν.  
 καὶ τότε Λητοΐδης Ἑρμῆν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·

Δεΐδια Μαιάδος υἱὲ διάκτορε ποικιλομῆτα  
 μή μοι ἀνακλέψῃς κίθαριν καὶ καμπύλα τόξα· 515

485 τιμὴν γὰρ πὰρ Ζηνὸς ἔχεις ἐπαμοίβιμα ἔργα  
 θήσειν ἀνθρώποισι κατὰ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν.  
 ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τλαίης γε θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι,  
 ἢ κεφαλῆι νεύσας ἢ ἐπὶ Στυγὸς ὄβριμον ὕδωρ,  
 πάντ' ἂν ἐμῶι θυμῶι κεχαρισμένα καὶ φίλα ἔρδοις. 520

490 Καὶ τότε Μαιάδος υἱὸς ὑποσχόμενος κατένευσε  
 μή ποτ' ἀποκλέψῃς ὅσ' Ἐκηβόλος ἐκτεάτισται,  
 μηδέ ποτ' ἐμπελάσειν πυκινῶι δόμωι· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων

Λητοΐδης κατένευσεν ἐπ' ἄρθμῶι καὶ φιλότητι  
 μή τινα φίλτερον ἄλλον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔσεσθαι, 525

495 μήτε θεὸν μήτ' ἄνδρα Διὸς γόνον· ἐκ δὲ τέλειον  
 σύμβολον ἀθανάτων ποιήσομαι, ἧδ' ἅμα πάντως  
 πιστὸν ἐμῶι θυμῶι καὶ τίμιον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 ὄλβου καὶ πλοῦτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον  
 χρυσεῖην τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον ἢ σε φυλάξει 530

500 πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα θεμοὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὁμφῆς.  
 μαντεῖην δὲ φέριστε διοτρεφὲς ἦν ἐρεεῖνεις

οὔτε σε θέσφατόν ἐστι δαήμεναι οὔτε τιν' ἄλλον  
 ἀθανάτων· τὸ γὰρ οἶδε Διὸς νόος· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γε 535

505 πιστωθεὶς κατένευσα καὶ ὤμοσα καρτερόν ὄρκον  
 μή τινα νόσφιν ἐμεῖο θεῶν αἰειγενετῶν

ἄλλον γ' εἴσεσθαι Ζηνὸς πυκινόφρονα βουλήν.  
 καὶ σὺ κασίγνητε χρυσόρραπι μή με κέλευε

ονον  
 480  
 41 Θ:  
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 υν Ψ  
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post 508 lacunam statuit West, e.g. <Λητοΐδης δὲ κασιγνήτου φιλότητος ἀνέγνω>  
 σῆματ', 510 ὑπωλένιον codd.: ἐπωλένιον Pgen (cf. 433) 515 ἀνακλέψῃς Ψ: ἅμα  
 κλέψῃς M 516 ἐπαμοίβιμα Wolf: ἐπ' ἀμοίβια Ψ: ἐπ' ἀμοίβημα M 526 post hunc  
 versum lacunam statuit Allen 527 πάντως Richardson: πάντων codd. post hunc  
 versum lacunam statuit Radermacher 531 θεμοὺς Ludwich: θεοὺς codd.: alii alia  
 533 διοτρεφὲς Θ: διαμπερές M ἦν ἐρεεῖνεις codd.: ἦν ἐρεεῖνης Hermann 534  
 ἄλλον Ψ: ἄλλων M

θέσφατα πιφαύσκειν ὅσα μῆδεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς. ἀνθρώπων δ' ἄλλον δηλήσομαι, ἄλλον ὀνήσω, πολλὰ περιτροπέων ἀμεγάρτων φῦλ' ἀνθρώπων. καὶ μὲν ἐμῆς ὀμφῆς ἀπονήσεται ὅς τις ἂν ἔλθῃ φωνῆι τ' ἠδὲ ποτῆισι τεληέντων οἰωνῶν· οὔτος ἐμῆς ὀμφῆς ἀπονήσεται οὐδ' ἀπατήσω. ὅς δέ κε μασιλόγοισι πιθήσας οἰωνοῖσι μαντεῖην ἐθέλησι παρὲκ νόον ἐξερεεῖν ἡμετέρην, νοέειν δὲ θεῶν πλέον αἰὲν ἐόντων, φήμ' ἀλίην ὁδὸν εἴσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κε δῶρα δεχοίμην. ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω Μαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱέ καὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, θεῶν ἐριούνιε δαῖμον· σεμναὶ γάρ τινες εἰσὶ κασίγνηται γεγαυῖαι παρθένοι ὠκείησιν ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερύγεσσι τρειῖς· κατὰ δὲ κρατὸς πεπαλαγμένα ἄλφιστα λευκὰ οἰκία ναιετάουσιν ὑπὸ πτυχί Παρνησοῖο μαντεῖης ἀπάνευθε διδάσκαλοι ἦν ἐπὶ βουσί παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν μελέτησα· πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν. ἐντεῦθεν δὴ ἔπειτα ποτώμεναι ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ κηρία βόσκονται καὶ τε κραίνουσιν ἕκαστα. αἶ δ' ὅτε μὲν θυίωσιν ἐδηδυῖαι μέλι χλωρὸν προφρονέως ἐθέλουσιν ἀληθείην ἀγορεύειν· ἦν δ' ἀπονοσφισθῶσι θεῶν ἠδεῖαν ἐδωδὴν ψεύδονται δῆπειτα δι' ἀλλήλων δονέουσαι. τάς τοι ἔπειτα δίδωμι, σὺ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἐρεείνων σὴν αὐτοῦ φρένα τέρπε, καί εἰ βροτὸν ἄνδρα δαείης πολλάκι σῆς ὀμφῆς ἐπακούσεται αἶ κε τύχησι. ταῦτ' ἔχε Μαιάδος υἱέ καὶ ἀγραύλους ἔλικας βοῦς, ἵππους τ' ἀμφιπόλευε καὶ ἡμιόνους ταλαεργούς· καὶ χαροποῖσι λέουσι καὶ ἀργιόδοισι σύεσσι καὶ κυσὶ καὶ μήλοισιν, ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών, πᾶσι δ' ἐπὶ προβάτοισιν ἀνάσσειν κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν, οἶον δ' εἰς Ἄϊδην τετελεσμένον ἄγγελον εἶναι,	540     545     550     555     560     565     570	ὅς  πρ πρ πρ νύ  αὐ    Κύ κα οἰ ἡμ πᾶ τρι κοι οὐ ἀλί ύσι πρ πο ἠ δ ἀγι οὐε δάμ καὶ φόρ ἄλ οὐε ἴστ αὐτ πότ ἠ δ
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540 μῆδεται M p x: βούλεται At D 543 ὅς τις ἂν ἔλθῃ Θ: ὅστις ἂν ἔλθῃ p: οὐδ'  
ἀπατήσω M A<sup>ac</sup> 544 φωνῆι τ' ἠδὲ ποτῆισι Ruhnken: φωνῆι τ' ἠδεπότησι M:  
φωνῆι καὶ πτερύγεσσι Ψ 547 ἐθέλησι p: ἐθελήσει M Θ 552 σεμναὶ M: μοῖραι Ψ  
557 ἀλέγιζεν Hermann: ἀλέγυεν M Θ: ἀλέγεινεν p 558 ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ Schneidewin:  
ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλῃ codd. 560 θυίωσιν M: θυίσωσιν p: θυίσωσιν Θ 561 ἐθέλουσιν  
M At D p: ἐθέλωσιν x 563 ita x<sup>m</sup> (δένεουσαι, corr. Baumeister): πειρῶνται δ' ἠπειτα  
παρὲξ ὁδὸν ἠγεμονεύειν MΨ 565 εἰ M p x: ἦν At D ἄνδρα δαείης Ψ: ἄνδρ' ἀδαῆ  
M 568 post hunc versum lacunam statuit Wolf

340 ὅς τ' ἄδοτός περ ἑὼν δώσει γέρας οὐκ ἐλάχιστον.

· Οὕτω Μαιάδος υἷον ἄναξ ἐφίλησεν Ἀπόλλων  
παντοίηι φιλότητι, χάριν δ' ἐπέθηκε Κρονίων.  
πᾶσι δ' ὅ γε θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμιλεῖ·  
παῦρα μὲν οὖν ὀνίνησι, τὸ δ' ἄκριτον ἠπεροπεύει  
345 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην φῦλα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

Καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ·  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σεῖο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

## ΕΙΣ ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΝ

350 Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης  
Κύπριδος, ἣ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκύν ἴμερον ὤρσε  
καὶ τ' ἔδαμάσσατο φῦλα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
οἰωνούς τε διιπετέας καὶ θηρία πάντα,  
ἡμὲν ὅσ' ἠπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἠδ' ὅσα πόντος·  
355 πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμηλεν εὐστεφάνου Κυθερείης.

τρισσὰς δ' οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατῆσαι·  
κούρην τ' αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην·  
οὐ γάρ οἱ εὔαδεν ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης,  
ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοί τε ἄδον καὶ ἔργον Ἄρηος,  
360 ὑσμῖναί τε μάχαι τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειν.

πρώτη τέκτονας ἀνδρας ἐπιχθονίους ἐδίδαξε  
ποιῆσαι σατίνας καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῶι·  
ἣ δέ τε παρθενικὰς ἀπαλόχροας ἐν μεγάροισιν  
ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θεῖσα ἐκάστη.

365 οὐδέ ποτ' Ἀρτέμιδα χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινὴν  
δάμναται ἐν φιλότητι φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη·  
καὶ γὰρ τῆι ἄδε τόξα καὶ οὔρεσι θῆρας ἐναίρειν,  
φόρμιγγές τε χοροὶ τε διαπρύσιοί τ' ὀλολυγαὶ  
ἄλσεά τε σκίοεντα δικαίων τε πτόλις ἀνδρῶν.

370 οὐδὲ μὲν αἰδοίηι κούρηι ἄδεν ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης  
Ἰστίηι, ἣν πρώτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,  
αὗτις δ' ὀπλοτάτην, βουλῆι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,  
πότνιαν, ἣν ἐμνῶντο Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων·  
ἣ δὲ μάλ' οὐκ ἔθελεν ἀλλὰ στερεῶς ἀπέειπεν,

576 ἀθανάτοισιν ὁμιλεῖ Ψ (ὁμιλεῖ Stephanus): ἀθανάτοισι νομιζων M 8 γλαυκῶπιν  
M: γλαυκῶπιδ' Ψ 13 σατίνας τε Barnes: σατίνα M p x: σκυτίνα At D 18 καὶ  
γὰρ τῆι (τοι A Q, τοῖ B) ἄδε Ψ: πουλύχρυσσα δὲ M 20 πτόλις Γ marg., ed. pr.: πόλις  
Θ: πόλεις M: πόνος p 22 Ἰστίηι p x Chalcondyles: ἐστίη At D M



### To Hermes

**1-19** *Prologue: the birth of Hermes.* The poet asks the Muse to sing of Hermes, son of Zeus and Maia, ruler of Cyllene and Arcadia, and messenger of the gods. The nymph Maia used to sleep with Zeus secretly in a shadowy cave. She bore him a son who was a sly brigand, a cattle-rustler and master of dreams, who would soon perform famous deeds: born at dawn, at midday he was playing the lyre, in the evening he stole Apollo's cattle, on the fourth day of the month, the day that Maia bore him.

After the invocation of the Muse, this hymn immediately signals the opening theme of Hermes' parentage and birth, which is then described. The brief reference to parentage is quite common at the start (*H.* 7, 12, etc.), but the birth-narrative occurs at this point less often than one might have expected: cf. *H.* 15.1-3, 16.1-4, 17.1-4, 18.1-9, 28.1-16, 31.1-7. Most of these are brief, but here the special character of Hermes is already anticipated by the extended emphasis on the absolute secrecy of his parents' affair and its context (a shadowy cave at dead of night). Hermes is already at his birth given his attributes as a trickster-god (13-15), and the speed with which he manifests these powers is vividly portrayed: his first exploits are achieved that very day. Thus this prologue has already announced the main themes which are to follow.

**1-9** *H.* 18.1-9 repeats these lines, with variations, and then closes with three farewell lines, of which 579 = *H.* 18.10.

**1** Ἑρμῆν ὑμνεῖ Μοῦσα: *H.* 18.1 has Ἑρμῆν ἀείδω, i.e. without the more traditional request to the Muse. An Attic *lekythos* of c. 470 BC shows a boy holding a papyrus-roll on which is written Ἑρμῆ(ν) ἀείδω. This suggests that the *Hymns*, or some of them, may have been used as school texts at this period: cf. Beazley (1948) 336-40, (1950) 318-19, and Immerwahr (1964) 17-48.

Ἑρμῆν: this contracted form of the name is used throughout this hymn, and occasionally in Homer (*Il.* 20.72, 4× *Od.*), Hesiod and other hymns. By contrast *H.* 19 only uses the uncontracted forms Ἑρμείας or Ἑρμείης. See Janko (1982) 133-4.

Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν: cf. *Od.* 14.435 Ἑρμῆι, Μαιάδος υἱεῖ. Hermes' mother's name has the variant forms Μαιάς and Μαΐα. She is a daughter of Atlas (*H.* 18.4, Hes. *Th.* 938), and later one of the Pleiades (Hes.(?) fr. 169, Simon, *PMG* fr. 555, etc.).

**2** Mt Cyllene in Arcadia is Hermes' birthplace in the hymn (142) and was generally accepted as such later. In *H.* 19.28-31 he has a τέμενος there, and Pausanias describes a temple to Hermes on its summit (8.17.1-2). There was an annual procession to this sanctuary (Geminus 17.3, first century BC). On this and other local cults of Hermes see Jaillard (2007) 57-62.

**3** ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον: after parentage and home comes Hermes' chief attribute as divine messenger, a function performed by him in the *Odyssey*,

whereas Iris has this role in the *Iliad*. Cf. *H. Dem.* 407 ἄγγελος . . . ἐριούνιος etc. The prevalent modern view is that ἐριούνιος originally meant 'good runner', on the basis of a series of Arcadian and Cypriote words οὔνιος, οὔνης, etc., meaning 'runner': see Latte (1968) 690-3. The word could well be an ancient title, like several other divine epithets, surviving from late Bronze Age Greek. But its association with Arcadia might also suggest that it was especially used of Hermes there. In *H.* 19.28-31 we again find him called ἐριούνιον ἔξοχον ἄλλων, which is glossed by ὡς ὁ γ' ἅπασι θεοῖς θεὸς ἄγγελός ἐστι, and immediately afterwards his association with Arcadia and his τέμενος on Cyllene is mentioned.

**ὄν τέκε Μαῖα:** the relative switches the song to narrative mode, as is usual at the beginning of epic songs: cf. Richardson on *H. Dem.* 1-3.

**4 νύμφη ἑϋπλόκαμος:** in the *Hymns* this phrase only recurs in association with Hermes (in dative, at line 7 = *H.* 18.7 and 19.34), and in the Homeric poems it is only used in the singular of Calypso (*Od.* 1.86, 5.30, 57-8), and always in connection with Hermes' mission to her. Otherwise cf. *Od.* 12.132, Hes. fr. 304.5, for the nominative plural. For other possible links with the episode in *Odyssey* 5 cf. 154, 227-34nn. Like Maia, Calypso is a daughter of Atlas, and her cave resembles Maia's in various respects: see Shelmerdine (1986) 55-7, Jaillard (2007) 29-40. *H.* 18.4 replaces this formula with Ἄτλαντος θυγατήρ.

**Διὸς ἐν φιλότητι μιγεῖσα:** cf. *H.* 7.57, and Hes. *Th.* 920 Διὸς φιλότητι μιγεῖσα.

**5 αἰδοίη:** the emphatic runover word is probably explained by the following sentence, and would then mean 'shy' as at *Od.* 17.578, rather than 'revered'.

**5-9** Secrecy is often a motif of divine unions, but it is especially emphasised here. Zeus hides the birth of Dionysus from Hera (*H.* 1.6-7), and Apollo's birth is kept secret from her (*H. Ap.* 92-114). Cf. *H.* 17.3-4 (Dioscouroi), and Hes. *Th.* 56-7, where Zeus's affair with Mnemosyne is νόσφιν ἀπ' ἀθανάτων. Hera herself withdraws from the gods before the birth of Typhaon (*H. Ap.* 326-52). Cf. S. *Ichneutai* fr. 314.265-6 Radt: καὶ γὰρ κέκρυπται τοῦργον ἐν θεῶν ἔδραις, | Ἥραν ὅπως μὴ πύστις ἴξεται λόγου, and 270 λήθητι τῆς βαθυζώνου θεᾶς.

**5 μακάρων δὲ θεῶν ἠλεύαθ' ὄμιλον:** cf. *Od.* 17.67 ἀλεύατο πουλὸν ὄμιλον, and *H.* 18.5 (with ἀλέεινεν).

**6 ἄντρον ἔσω ναίουσα παλίσκιον:** ναίουσα governs the accusative ἄντρον (as at *H.* 29.9), and ἔσω is adverbial ('within'). In *H.* 18.6 the dative is used. For παλί(ν)σκίος ('thickly shaded') cf. Archil. fr. 36 West etc. Caves are places for seduction of nymphs in *Od.* 1.71-3 and *H. Aph.* 262-3. Zeus is concealed in a cave after his birth and brought up by Gaia (Hes. *Th.* 477-84) and Dionysus is nursed in a cave by nymphs (*H.* 26.3-6). Cf. also Antim. fr. 3 West, where Zeus creates a shadowy cave in which to hide Europa from the view of the gods (perhaps echoing our hymn).

**7 μισγέσκετο:** 'used to have intercourse'. For the frequentative form cf. ὠρίζεσκον, *Od.* 18.325, of Melanthe sleeping with Eurymachus, and *Il.* 9.450-2.

**νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶι:** 'at dead of night' is perhaps the best equivalent of this obscure phrase, whose original sense may have been forgotten by Homer's time.



It occurs four times in the *Iliad* and once in the *Odyssey*: cf. Richardson on *Il.* 22.27-8.

**8** ὄφρα . . . ἔχοι: *H.* 18.8 has εὔτε . . . ἔχοι. ὄφρα must mean 'while, so long as' here. For the optative with the frequentative μισγέσκετο cf. *Od.* 7.138 ὦι πυμάτωι σπένδεσκον, ὅτε μνησαίατο κοίτου. The emphasis on the duration of Zeus's affair distinguishes it from his more cursory amours.

**9** Cf. *Il.* 14.296 εἰς εὐνῆν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας. ἀθανάτους . . . ἀνθρώπους is a Hesiodic formula (*Th.* 588 etc.).

**10-12** 11 is probably part of the subordinate clause, and the main clause is at 12, with τε . . . τε meaning 'both . . . and'. Cf. *Il.* 19.117-18 ἡ δ' ἐκείφι φίλον υἷόν, ὃ δ' ἔβδομος ἐστήκει μείς | ἐκ δ' ἄγαγε πρὸ φώωσδε . . . The subject of 118 is Hera, causing the premature birth of Eurystheus, and here too the subject of ἄγαγεν is probably Zeus, rather than Maia or δέκατος μείς, although the latter is possible.

**10** Cf. *Il.* 1.5 Διὸς δ' ἔτελείετο βουλή and similar expressions, and especially Hes. *Th.* 1002 μεγάλου δὲ Διὸς νόος ἐξετελεῖτο, of the birth of Medeios.

**11** μείς is used both of the moon and of the month, and hence 'was set in the sky'. The 'tenth month' refers to sidereal months (of *c.* 27½ days), i.e. the average interval between returns of the moon to the same fixed star. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 4.61 *matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses*, of the normal length of pregnancy, and Neugebauer (1963) 64-5.

**12** ἀρίσημά τε ἔργα τέτυκτο: ἀρίσημος is only here in early epic; cf. Tyrtaeus 12.29 etc. The phrase introduces what follows (14-19): 'then indeed she bore a son . . . who was soon destined to manifest glorious deeds . . .'

**13-15** The catalogue of epithets resembles the style of later hymns, such as the Orphic ones, or *H.* 8 to Ares. In this case it elevates the status of this newborn deity in a semi-comic way (e.g. the juxtaposition of 'driver of cattle, leader of dreams') and anticipates his exploits. The language is unusual. αἰμυλομήτης occurs only here, a variation of epic ἀγκυλομήτης, ποικιλομήτης (cf. 155, 514, and of Odysseus in Homer). ὀπωπητήρ recurs only (as restored) in a late hymn to Hermes Trismegistos, probably echoing our hymn (Kaibel, *Epiigr. Gr.* 1032); cf. ὀπτήρ *Od.* 14.261. πυληδόκος is only found here; cf. later ὀδοιδόκος of a robber, Homeric πυλαωρός, etc. The balanced contrast of ἐλατήρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων is combined with chiasmus in ἡγήτορ' . . . ὀπωπητήρα.

**13** παῖδα πολύτροπον: cf. 439, and *Od.* 1.1 ἄνδρα . . . πολύτροπον. The sense of the Odyssean epithet was disputed in antiquity: 'turning many ways, ingenious' or 'much wandering', and both senses could fit Hermes' activities in this poem. The first, however, can include the second, and the more general sense seems better here. Cf. S. West on *Od.* 1.1.

αἰμυλομήτην: cf. ποικιλομήτης of Hermes at 155, 514, and epic ἀγκυλομήτης, αἰολομήτης. This compound form perhaps stresses especially Hermes' verbal dexterity.

**14** ἐλατήρα βοῶν: ἐλατήρ is elsewhere in early epic used of a driver of horses or charioteer.

ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων: Hermes brings sleep with his wand (*Il.* 24.343–4 etc.), receives a last libation before sleep (*Od.* 7.136–8), and sends dreams (*A.R.* 4.1732–3, Apollodorus 244 F 129, Heliodorus 3.5.1). His dual roles as ψυχοπομπός and ὀνειροπομπός are closely related, since both concern εἶδωλα (cf. *Od.* 24.1–5). See also 146–7n., and Jaillard (2007) 207–12.

**15** νυκτὸς ὀπωπητήρα, πυληδόκον: 'watcher by night, waiting in gateways'. The first phrase can refer both to his quality as a thief and also to Hermes as guardian against nocturnal hazards. The thief works in darkness, and lurks in doorways waiting for his prey. Cf. *Ar. Birds* 496–7, where Euelpides has just put his head outside the city wall when he is mugged, and ὁδοιδόκος ('highwayman'). Hermes is also Προπύλαιος or Πυλαῖος (Farnell, *Cults* v 19), a god whose effigy (or herm) stood outside the door, and πυληδόκος may allude to this too.

**17–19** Hermes' early career is elegantly described in three clauses of ascending length, leading up to his major exploit, the theft of Apollo's cattle, each clause being prefaced by the time-marker. 19 emphasises that this all occurred on a single day, the fourth of the month, and τῆι . . . Μαῖα closes the narrative which began at 3, signalling the end of the prologue. Hermes' precocity is paralleled by Apollo's (*H. Ap.* 127–39), and in fact he goes further than Apollo in the rapidity of his achievements. For this motif applied to other gods and heroes see Richardson on *H. Dem.* 235. Callimachus may have *H. Herm.* 17–18 in mind in his praise of Ptolemy's decisiveness (*H.* 1.87): ἔσπεριος κείνός γε τελεῖ τὰ κεν ἦρι νοήση. In Apollo's case it is his strength which is emphasised, whereas in Hermes' it is primarily his rapid mobility and ingenuity: cf. also *H. Herm.* 43–6 etc. Later he also reveals superhuman strength: 116–19, 405–8. In Sophocles' *Ichneutai* Cyllene says that the baby Hermes is growing wonderfully within the first few days since his birth (fr. 314.277–82 Radt).

**17** ἡῶιος: cf. *Hes. Op.* 548, *Sc.* 396, etc. The Homeric form is ἠοῖος (*Od.* 4.447, 8.29). However, we cannot be sure which pronunciation was actually used by Hesiod and others: cf. West on *Op.* 548.

γεγονώς: for this form of the participle, instead of γεγαώς (usual in early hexameter verse) cf. *Alc.* fr. 72.11 L–P = V ἐκγεγόνων.

ἐγκιθάριζεν: strictly speaking ἐγ- implies an audience, as at *H. Ap.* 201, but although attendants are mentioned at 60, the compound may be used without special reference. The compound occurs only in these two instances, and μέσῳ ἦματι also recurs at *H. Ap.* 441. It is possible that influence from the *Hymn to Apollo* has played a part here (cf. Vergados (2007a) 58).

**19** τετράδι τῆι προτέρῃ: this is the same as Hesiod's τετράς ἰσταμένου, the fourth day of the waxing moon, but προτέρῃ implies a simple division of the month into two parts (waxing and waning), whereas some early Greek calendars used a tripartite division: cf. West on *Hes. Op.* 765–828 (pp. 349–50). Hesiod mentions the fourth as a sacred day (*Op.* 770), and also one on which to avoid being unhappy (797–9), but not that it was Hermes' birthday. Cf. Philochorus 328 F 85, *Plut. Mor.* 738F, etc.

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**20-61** Hermes set off in search of Apollo's cattle, and came upon a tortoise. He scooped out its marrow and invented a lyre, using its shell as the sounding board. He then sang in praise of his parents Zeus and Maia, their love affair, and his own birth and home.

The reason for Hermes' quest for Apollo's cattle is not explained at this point, but later it is said to be due to his hunger for meat (64). However, he is immediately diverted by meeting the tortoise, and this leads to his first invention. In later versions (S. fr. 314.372-6 Radt, Apollod. 3.10.2) the theft of the cattle comes first, and he uses their entrails for its strings, or an oxhide to cover the shell (cf. *H. Herm.* 49, 51). This order seems more natural and could be older, modified by the poet of the hymn for his own narrative purposes. For Hermes and the tortoise in art cf. Settis (1966) especially 82-7, Dumoulin (1994), and Chamoux (2000).

**20-3** These lines continue the theme of the rapidity of Hermes' early exploits. Like Apollo (*H. Ap.* 119) he 'sprang' from his mother's body at birth, but whereas Apollo is first washed, swaddled, and fed by the goddesses present at his birth, before embarking on his career as a god, Hermes is off almost at once on his travels (cf. Introduction 1(c)).

**21** **λίκνωι:** *λίκνον* occurs first here; it is a winnowing basket, here used as a cradle. Cf. S. fr. 314.275 Radt, where Maia provides *λικνίτιν τροφήν* to the baby god, and Aratus *Phaen.* 268-9 *καὶ χέλυς ἔστ' ὀλίγη· τὴν δ' ἄρ' ἔτι καὶ παρὰ λίκνωι | Ἑρμείης ἐτόρησε, Λύρην δέ μιν εἶπε λέγεσθαι*. Zeus is also cradled thus in Call. *H.* 1.47-8, and Dionysus was especially worshipped as Liknotes: cf. Harrison (1903) 292-324. Hermes is shown in his *λίκνον*, with his stolen cows, on a black-figure Caeretan hydria c. 530 BC (Louvre E 702 = *LIMC* s.v. Hermes no. 241), and a red-figure kylix by the Brygos Painter, c. 490/480 BC (*ARV<sup>2</sup>* 246.6 = *LIMC* s.v. Hermes no. 242a). The scholia to the above passages of Callimachus and Aratus say that it was an ancient custom to place babies after birth in a *λίκνον*, as an omen of wealth and fruitfulness.

**23** Cf. *Il.* 9.582 *οὐδοῦ ἐπεμβεβῶς ὑψηρεφῆος θαλάμοιο*. Maia's cave is described throughout this hymn as if it were a grandiose building, with threshold, courtyard doors (26), etc. By 148 and 246-51 it has become almost a temple or sanctuary, with three treasure-chambers.

**24** Hermes comes upon the tortoise by chance as he crosses the threshold (26-8): she is a *ἔρμαιον* or lucky find by the god of luck, and brings good fortune. The first thing or person one meets on leaving or entering the house can be significant or ominous, and so here she is called a *σύμβολον* (30), or omen met on one's way. Cf. Ar. *Frogs* 196 with Dover's comments. Later the lyre which Hermes makes will help in reconciling him to Apollo and assure him all the favours bestowed as a result (416-578).

**χέλυς:** the tortoise must be *testudo marginata*, which is native to Greece. The first occurrences of *χέλυς* are here and at Sappho fr. 118 L-P = V ἄγι δὴ χέλυ δῖα ἴμοι λέγετ' φωνάεσσα †δὲ γίνεο†.

**25** This is the first of a series of aetiological statements about Hermes' inventions. For the phrasing cf. 111, of the art of kindling fire. The asyndeton, with *τοι*, draws attention in both cases to these remarkable events. Cf. also the hymn of the Delphic poet Boeo quoted by Pausanias (10.5.7): *πρῶτος δ' [i.e. Olen] ἀρχαίων ὕμνων τεκτάναι ἄοιδάν*. There is a paradox in the idea of the voiceless tortoise becoming a singer. Cf. *H. Herm.* 38, Sappho fr. 58.12 L-P = V *φιλάοιδον λιγύραν χελύνην* (and fr. 118), S. fr. 314.299-300 Radt *καὶ πῶς πίθωμαι τοῦ θανόντος φθέγμα τοιοῦτον βρέμειν; | πιθοῦ· θανῶν γὰρ ἔσχε φωνήν, ζῶν δ' ἀναυδος ἦν ὁ θήρ*, 328 *οὕτως ὁ παῖς θανόντι θηρὶ φθέγμ' ἐμηχανήσατο*, Nicander *Alex.* 560-2 *ἄλλοτε δ' οὐρείης κυτσηνόμου, ἦν τ' ἀκάκητα | αὐδήεσσαν ἔθηκεν ἀναύδητόν περ ἑοῦσαν | Ἑρμείης* ('or else with those of the mountain tortoise that feeds on tree-medick, the creature that Hermes the Gracious endowed with a voice though voiceless'), and Horace, *Odes* 3.11.5 (*testudo*) *nec loquax olim neque grata* (with Nisbet and Rudd's comments).

**26** *ἐπ' αὐλείησι θύρησι* refers to the outer gateway of the courtyard of a house, as at *Od.* 18.239, 23.49. Cf. the courtyard outside Polyphemus' cave (*Od.* 9.462).

**28** *σαῦλα ποσὶν βαίνουσα*: *σαῦλος* occurs only here in early epic, and *σαῦλα βαίνειν* is used elsewhere of a lightly stepping, prancing, or effeminate way of walking. Cf. Semonides 18 West (like a horse), Anacreon 411 (of Bacchantes), 458 (like a courtesan), etc. Here it describes the awkward, waddling gait of the tortoise, but it also anticipates Hermes' vision of her as the 'hetaera' she will become (31).

**29** *ἐγέλασσε*: Hermes' delight is paralleled by Apollo's on hearing the lyre (420-1).

**30** *σύμβολον*: not elsewhere in early epic; cf. 527. *ὀνήσιμος* also first occurs here, then in Aeschylus and later. *σύμβολον* probably refers to a sign or omen, as at Archilochus 218 (etc.), perhaps especially something one meets or encounters (*συμβάλλειν*). Cf. Müri (1931), and Gauthier (1972) 62-73 (especially 71 n. 26). But at the same time the word could allude to Hermes' commercial role, since it was later used particularly of physical tokens of contracts between two parties. He will indeed use the lyre later as a bargaining counter in his suit with Apollo.

*οὐκ ὀνοτάζω* means that Hermes does not reject this piece of luck. *ὀνοτάζειν* ('scorn') is a rare variant of the usual epic *ὄνεσθαι*, which also occurs at Hes. *Op.* 258. There seems to be word-play in the echo of *ὀνήσιμον . . . ὀνοτάζω*.

**31** This ironic address, anticipating the transformation of tortoise to lyre, dignifies her in hymnic style with a series of epithets which suggest that she is a hetaera or dancing-girl (see also 478-88n.). *ἐρόεσσα* (not Homeric) is used of nymphs by Hesiod (*Th.* 245, 251, 357, fr. 169.1), and of a girl at *H. Dem.* 109. It is used of an instrument also by Anacreon (fr. 373). *χοροϊτύπε* (cf. Pindar etc.) means 'beating (time in) the dance', and *δαιτὸς ἑταίρη* is probably a traditional description of the lyre (cf. *Od.* 8.99, 17.271). Later *δαιτὸς ἑταῖρε* will be applied to Hermes himself as player of the lyre, by Apollo (436). Cf. Horace, *Odes* 3.11.6 of the lyre, *diuitum mensis et amica templis*.

**32-3** 'From where (is) this beautiful plaything? A patterned shell you are, mountain-dwelling tortoise.' With this punctuation, 33 stands in contrast to what

follows: i.e. 'but I shall take you home and make you into something useful' (cf. Gemoll).

**33** ὄστρακον occurs first here; cf. Sophocles etc.

**34-5** These lines echo 30 (μέγ' ὀνήσιμον, οὐκ ὀνοτάζω ~ οὐδ' ἀποτιμήσω· σὺ δέ... ὀνήσεις).

**35** ἀποτιμήσω: ἀποτιμᾶν occurs first here; cf. Hdt. 5.77 (in middle), etc. πρώτιστον is adverbial.

**36** 'It's better to stay at home, for the outside world is harmful!' This verse occurs at Hes. *Op.* 365, and was probably proverbial, like 'East, west, home's best.' In Hesiod the context refers to the advantages of keeping one's property at home, and this could be the point here too. Later, however, the tortoise was proverbially considered to be a stay-at-home creature, as she carries her house with her, and the saying οἶκος φίλος, οἶκος ἄριστος was applied to her: cf. *Aesopica* pp. 362-3, no. 106 Perry, Cercidas fr. 2 Powell. Plutarch (*Mor.* 142D, 381E) explains Pheidias' statue of Aphrodite Ourania standing on a tortoise as symbolising the need for married women to stay at home and keep silence. This would make Hermes' address to the tortoise as a ἐταίρη more ironic, since Pheidias' statue was later contrasted with one of Aphrodite Pandemos by Scopas (Paus. 6.25.1). The children's refrain χελιχελώνη, τί ποῖεις ἐν τῶι μέσῳ; (*PMG* 876(c)) implies the same idea of the tortoise's place being at home, not out of doors. There is thus a *double entendre* here: home is usually safest for the tortoise, but in this case taking her home will be good for Hermes, but will mean death for her. Crudden (1994) compares a fable quoted by Radin (1956, 72) where the Trickster Hare invites some crabs to help him cross a river, and then skins one and uses its shell as a boat.

**37-8** 'For surely you will be a protection against hurtful magic in life, and if you die then you would sing most beautifully.' As Van Nortwick says (1975, 70), there is a certain grim humour in ζώουσ', which is underlined by its prominent position as a runover word.

For ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος cf. *H. Dem.* 230. ἐπηλυσίη refers to the attack of some demonic or magical source, causing pain or illness. Pliny (*NH* 32.33-40) lists all the cures for poison, magic spells, or diseases involving use of parts of the land tortoise, and it was also thought to protect vines from hail (*Geoponica* 1.14.8). Cf. *RE* 1 77.28-42.

**38** See on 25, and cf. Burkert (1984) 39, on the common motif that music is created through the death of a living creature.

**41-2** 'Then tossing it up (?) he scooped out the marrow of the mountain-haunting tortoise with a knife of grey iron.' ἀναπηλεῖν occurs only here and has been explained as a variant form of ἀναπάλλειν ('to toss up, throw up'). Shelmerdine (1981, 74) compares vase paintings which show a child playing with a tortoise which is suspended by a string (cf. Dumoulin (1994) 137, Abb. 48). However, Nicander uses ἀνακύπωσας ('turning over') of the tortoise (*Ther.* 703), which is the sense one would have liked here. γλύφανος is first used here (cf. Theocr. 1.28 etc.). αἶων means 'marrow' here: cf. Hesychius s.v., quoting Hippocrates, and

perhaps *Il.* 19.27, Pind. fr. 111.5. ἐκτορεῖν ('bore out, scoop out') occurs only here, and χελώνη first here; cf. Herodotus etc. The language is echoed by 118–19, where Hermes throws the oxen on their backs and bores through their marrow. Cf. also Aratus *Phaen.* 268–9 καὶ χέλυς ἐστ' ὀλίγη· τὴν δ' ἄρ' ἔτι καὶ παρὰ λίκνῳ | Ἑρμείης ἐτόρησε, Λύρην δέ μιν εἶπε λέγεσθαι.

**43–6** Similes expressing rapidity, especially of divine movement, by comparison with thought are common in early epic: cf. *Il.* 15.80–3, and briefer expressions such as ὡς εἰ πτέρον ἢ ἐ νόημα (*Od.* 7.36). This appears to be the first example of an extended double comparison with ὡς ὅτε... ἢ ὅτε... For this cf. A.R. 4.1298–1304, 1452–6. There is a threefold negative simile at *Il.* 14.394–401.

44 resembles *Od.* 19.516–17 πυκινὰ δέ μοι ἄμφ' ἀδινὸν κῆρ | ὄξεϊαι μελεδῶναι ὄδυρομένην ἐρέθουσιν. Θαμινός is first used here, for Homeric θαμειός, and later in Pindar etc. μέριμνα is first used by Hesiod (*Op.* 178).

**45** 'Or as when glances whirl from the eyes.' The Greeks sometimes thought of sight as caused by rays of light emanating from the eyes (cf. the discussion by Aristotle, *De Sensu* 437a19ff.). For the simile cf. A.R. 4.847–50 (of Thetis) αὐτὴ δ' ὠκυτέρη ἀμαρύγματος ἢ ἐ βολάων ἡελίου... σεύατ' ἴμεν λαιψηρὰ... , and 1 Cor. 15.52 ἐν ῥίπτῃ ὀφθαλμοῦ. ἀμαρυγή (Aristophanes etc.) occurs first here: cf. ἀμάρυγμα in Hes. fr. 43a4 (etc.), ἀμαρύσσειν in Hes. *Th.* 827, *H. Herm.* 278, 415, and ἀμάρυγμα λάμπρον of the eyes, Sappho fr. 16.18. δινηθῶσιν must refer to the rapid and frequent rays or glances here.

**46** Cf. *Il.* 19.242 αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ἅμα μῦθος ἔην τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον, Hdt. 3.134.6, A.R. 4.103. ἅμ' ἔπος ἅμ' ἔργον was proverbial ('no sooner said than done'): cf. Zenobius 1.77 (*Paroemiographi Graeci* 1 p. 27).

κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς: this is a Hesiodic formula (*Th.* 938, 958), used frequently in this hymn. κῦδος is what Hermes is aiming to acquire by his exploits: cf. Jaillard (2007) 76–80.

**47–51** 'Then he fixed stalks of reed, cutting them in measured lengths, piercing the back of the tortoise, through its shell. And with the aid of his wits he stretched the hide of an ox around, inserted arms, fitted a crossbar to both of them, and stretched seven harmonious strings of sheep-gut.'

The tortoise-shell lyre whose construction is described here first appears in Greek art around the end of the eighth century BC. The word λύρη is mentioned in literature from the seventh century BC (cf. Archilochus fr. 93a5 West, *Margites* fr. 1.3 West, etc.). κάλαμος occurs first here (cf. Hdt. etc., and καλάμη Hom.). Stalks of reed are mentioned as being 'under a lyre' (ὑπολύριον) in Ar. *Frogs* 233, and also in a fragment of Sophocles as a support for the instrument (36 Radt). These may have formed a frame to prevent the shell from buckling under the strain, and perhaps were also used to fix the arms firmly within the sound-box. In two surviving examples of tortoise-shell lyres holes are cut in the shell, which could be for these reeds. See Roberts (1981) 308–9, Maas and Snyder (1989) 36, 39, 95. The oxhide was stretched over the shell to make the sounding-board, and two arms (πήχεις) fitted into the shell and then joined by a crossbar (ζύγον). The

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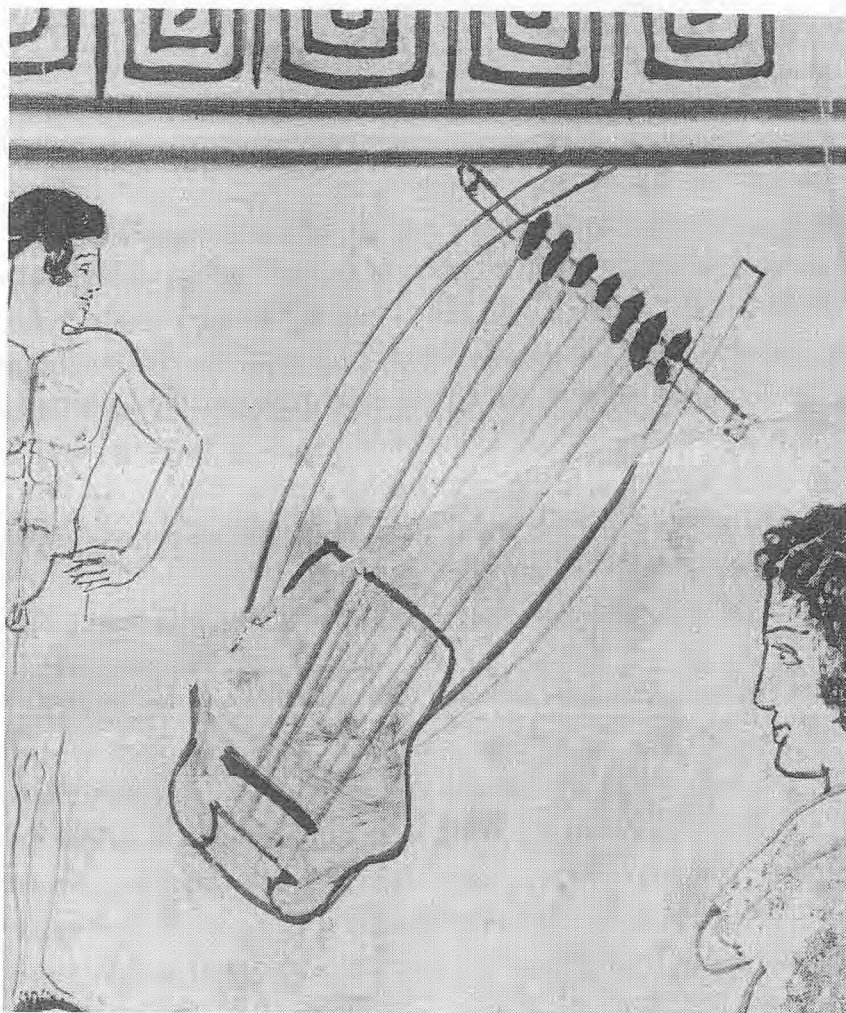


Figure 1 *White ground lekythos (detail showing a lyre)* by the Thanatos Painter. © 2010 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

arms were probably originally made of horns, but later could also be wooden. The strings were attached to the crossbar, and at the bottom stretched over the bridge and fastened to the sound-box. For detailed discussion and illustrations see Shelmerdine (1981) 78–86, Roberts (1981) 303–12, Maas and Snyder (1989) 34–9, 42–52, 79–112; cf. also West (1992) 56–7, Landels (1999) 61–6, Evans (2001) 124–7. See also Figure 1.

In this hymn the instrument is called *λύρη* at 418(?) and 423, but also *φόρμιγξ* (64, 506) and *κίθαρις* (509, 515), and the verb (*ἐγ*)*κιθαρίζειν* is used (17, 423, etc.), so that it is not clearly distinguished from the instrument (or instruments) traditionally used for epic song. Later, the tortoise-shell *λύρα*, which was smaller and lighter than the *φόρμιγξ* or *κίθαρις*, was the normal instrument which amateurs learnt to play, as opposed to professional singers and musicians. In implying identity with the *κίθαρις* our poet seems to be competing with the *Hymn to Apollo*, where this god claims the *κίθαρις* as his own after *his* birth (131): see Introduction 3(b)–(c).

**48** *πειρήνας διὰ νῶτα διὰ ῥινοῖο χελώνης*: *πειρήνας διὰ* is probably to be taken as a tmesis, for *διαπειρήνας*, as in such cases as *ἵνα τάμηι διὰ πᾶσαν* (*Il.* 17.522).

The sense ‘piercing through’ is unique, as πε(ι)ραίνειν usually means ‘bring to an end’; but later it is sometimes used intransitively, meaning ‘penetrate’ (A. *Ch.* 57 etc.).

**49** παραπίδεσσιν ἔηισιν: cf. Homeric ἰδυίηισι παραπίδεσσι, regularly applied to Hephaestus’ craftsmanship (*Il.* 1.608 etc.).

**51** The ascription of the seven-stringed lyre to Hermes suggests that at the time of our hymn this was thought to be an ancient design. Seven strings seem to have been the normal number for stringed instruments in late Bronze Age Greece, and again the norm from the seventh century onwards. In the Geometric period, however, artistic evidence suggests that some instruments may have had only four. In later tradition one of the innovations credited to Terpander in the seventh century was to increase the *kithara*’s number to seven. This could be connected with the development of a more varied and complex style of music, in comparison with that of earlier epic song (West (1992) 52, 329–30).

**συμφώνους**: ‘sounding in harmony with one another’. The word occurs first here, then in *Pi. P.* 1.70. Cf. S. *Ichneutai* fr. 314.327 (of Hermes’ lyre) ξύμφωνον ἔξαιρει γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰόλισμα τῆς λύρας (‘for the harmonious variety of the lyre arouses him’). The variant θηλυτέρων is given in a quotation of this line by Antigonus of Carystus, which he cites to show that the guts of female sheep are tuneful, whereas those of rams are soundless. This suggests that he may have been using an alternative text here, rather than simply misquoting from memory. It seems unlikely that συμφώνους was originally a gloss, i.e. that it came into the text as an explanation of θηλυτέρων . . . χορδᾶς, as argued by Vergados (2007b).

**52** αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεύξε: cf. *Il.* 18.601, *Od.* 8.276. The participle φέρων adds little to the sense, as at 63, and in some later examples (cf. LSJ A s.v. X.2). φέρων ἐρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα is repeated from 40, framing this passage.

**53–4** Cf. 419–20, 501–2. The plectrum (cf. *H. Ap.* 185) was attached by a cord to the base of the lyre, and ‘had a comfortable handle and a short, pointed blade of ivory, horn, bone or wood’ (West (1992) 65). Later evidence suggests that whereas the left hand plucked the strings, picking out a melody, the plectrum in the right hand was used for ‘strumming’ (West, *ibid.* 65–9). Here the plectrum seems to be testing the tuning of the strings. Cf. *Od.* 21.410, where Odysseus tests the bowstring and it sings out, Ovid *Met.* 5.339 *praetentat pollice chordas*, Statius *Ach.* 1.187 *leuiterque expertas pollice chordas*, and Borthwick (1959) 27 n. 3.

**κατὰ μέλος** ‘in a tuned scale’ (West). Allen’s reading makes the text match 419 and 501. μέλος is only used of limbs in Homer; the musical sense occurs at *H.* 19.16 ἐν μελέεσσιν, Theognis 761, etc. This musical use may have developed from the sense ‘limb’: cf. LSJ s.v. β ‘musical member, phrase’.

**ἦ δ’ ὑπὸ χειρὸς | σμερδαλέον κονάβησε**: ‘and beneath his hand it resounded tremendously’. σμερδαλέον is often used (with κονάβησε etc.) in epic of awe-inspiring sounds.

**ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδεν**: ὑπο- means ‘in accompaniment’. Cf. *Il.* 18.570 ἰμέροεν κιθάριζε, λίνον δ’ ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδε.

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**55–61** In Homer *αὐτοσχέδιος* and *αὐτοσχεδόν* are only used of close or hand-to-hand fighting. The sense ‘improvised’ occurs first here; cf. later *αὐτοσχεδιάζω* (etc.). However, *σχεδίη* is used of a make-shift or improvised boat (*Od.* 5.33 etc.). Hermes’ first song is an improvisation, something put together on the spur of the moment. The subject (57–61) is the love affair of his own parents, his birth, and his mother’s home: it is a hymn of self-praise, like a miniature hymn within the *Hymn to Hermes* itself, and it also aggrandises the situation of his birth. Cf. *H. Herm.* 424–33, where Hermes sings a theogony; the songs in the *Hymn to Apollo*; *H.* 19.27–47, where the nymphs sing of Hermes and the birth of Pan; *H.* 27.11–20, where Artemis leads the chorus of Muses and Charites at Delphi as they sing in praise of Leto and her children Apollo and Artemis; and Hesiod’s opening hymn to the Muses, which portrays them singing in praise of the gods and of their own father Zeus (*Th.* 9–21, 43–79).

Hermes’ song is compared to the mocking songs of young men at feasts (55–6): cf. 454 οἶα νέων θαλίηις ἐνδέξια ἔργα πέλονται. The chief point of comparison is probably its improvisatory character, but the description could also suggest its humorous or *risqué* tone (cf. Radermacher ad loc.). Cf. already in the *Odyssey* 14.462–6, where wine is said to prompt a man to sing, laugh, dance, and utter things which are better not said. The practice alluded to in the hymn is that of capping songs in an impromptu and witty way in a sympotic context, with a mockery which could, if uncontrolled, easily slide into abuse. Cf. A.R. 1.457–9 (where the heroes are feasting) μετέπειτα δ’ ἀμοιβαδὶς ἀλλήλοισιν | μύθευνθ’, οἶά τε πολλὰ νέοι παρὰ δαιτὶ καὶ οἴνωι | τερπνῶς ἐπιόωνται, ὅτ’ ἄατος ὕβρις ἀπειή (‘and afterwards they told one another stories, such as young men often tell when they merrily take pleasure in feasting and wine, and insatiable insolence is far away’). Such sympotic jesting is described by Demetrius, *On style* 170, and how to do this in a civilised way is discussed by Plutarch in his *Table-Talk* (2.1, *Moralia* 629E–634F). Cf. also Isocrates, *Against Nicocles* 47, Alexis, *PCG* fr. 160, and Reitzenstein (1893) 26 n. 2, West (1974) 16–17, Ford (2002) 35–9.

**56** ἤβηται: first here. Cf. κοῦροι | πρωθῆβαι at *Od.* 8.262–3 of young men dancing in accompaniment to Demodocus’ song. ἤβατάς, ἤβητής recur in the fifth century (E. *Heracl.* 858 etc.). ἤβᾶν is used in sympotic contexts, e.g. Theognis 877 ἤβᾶ μοι, φίλε θυμέ, etc.; cf. Hesychius s.v. ἤβᾶν· εὐωχεῖσθαι.

παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν: cf. *Il.* 4.5–6 αὐτίκ’ ἐπειρᾶτο Κρονίδης ἐρεθιζέμεν Ἥρην | κερτομίοις ἐπέεσσι, παραβλήδην ἀγορεύων. The meaning of παραβλήδην there is uncertain, but Leaf’s ‘provokingly’ would suit both the Homeric context and this passage well. Later (Hdt. etc.) παράβολος means ‘hazardous’ or ‘reckless’, and παραβάλλεσθαι in Homer means ‘to risk’.

κερτομέουσιν: this verb is usually taken to mean ‘mock, provoke, taunt, jest’, and ‘jest’ would fit here. The etymology is most probably from κέαρ + τομεῖν, ‘to cut the heart’, but there is uncertainty about the application of this metaphor and its range of usage in early epic: see Clarke (2001) 329–38, Lloyd (2004) 75–89.

κέρτομεῖν and κέρτομος recur at *H. Herm.* 300, 335, and 338, and the popularity of these words in this hymn suits the comic tone of the narrative and the god's tricky nature.

**57** ἀμφί is a traditional introductory word for a hymnic narrative: cf. *Od.* 8.267, *H.* 7.1, 19.1, 22.1, 23.3, and ἀμφιανακτίζειν used of the traditional opening of a dithyramb and supposedly derived from Terpander's preludes (Schol. *Ar. Nub.* 595).

καλλιπέδιλον occurs nowhere else; cf. however Homeric χρυσοπέδιλος, καλλιπάριος, etc.

**58** ὡς πάρος ὠρίζεσκον: for ὀαρίζειν in the context of love cf. *Il.* 6.156, 22.127, and 14.216 ὀαριστύς. The frequentative form implies habitual activity, as at 7. The contracted imperfect form ὠρ- is only used here. The manuscripts read ὄν rather than ὡς. This could only be explained as an internal accusative with ὠρίζεσκον (i.e. ὄαρον; cf. *H.* 23.3 ὄαρους ὀαρίζει), but this seems unlikely.

ἑταιρείηφι φιλότητι: the epithet ἑταιρείος occurs first here; cf. *Hdt.* 1.44 (of Zeus) etc., and the classical use of ἑταίρα meaning courtesan. The Ionic form ἑταρήϊος would not fit in hexameter verse. Cf. ἑρατῆφι φιλότητι in Hesiod (*Th.* 970 etc.).

**59** Hermes' praise of his own 'renowned origin' is ironic, given the circumstances of his birth. This god has a high opinion of his own value. For the repetition in ὀνομακλυτὸν ἐξονομάζων cf. *Od.* 4.278 ὀνομακλήδην . . . ὀνόμαζες.

**60–1** Maia's cave is described by her son as fully furnished with maids (like Calypso's in *Od.* 5.199), and with other equipment (see 23n.). Despite this, Hermes declares his intention of stealing some of Apollo's tripods and cauldrons from Delphi (178–81).

**62–86** While singing, Hermes is already planning his theft. He goes to Pieria and steals fifty of Apollo's cattle, which he drives backwards, disguising his own tracks with special sandals.

On the general motif of cattle-raiding as an exploit of adolescent or young men in Indo-European cultures see Johnston (2002).

**62–6** The light-hearted rapidity of Hermes is again suggested by the fact that he has his next exploit already in mind. Cf. *Od.* 2.92 (etc.) νόος δέ οἱ ἄλλα μενοινᾶι (of Penelope's deceptions of the suitors). In 63–6 echoes of 20–4 mark the transition to this next episode, with cradle, lyre, the quest for cattle, and Hermes' rapid movement as he leaves the cave all again emphasised.

**63–4** καὶ τὴν μὲν . . . ὁ δ' 'and the lyre he laid down . . . , but he . . . ' The subject of ὁ δ' is still Hermes.

**64** κρειῶν ἐρατίζων is used of a lion at *Il.* 11.551, 19.660. In the event, despite his great desire, Hermes does not allow himself to share in the meat (130–3).

**65** ἄλτο κατὰ σκοπιήν: 'he rushed off to a place of vantage' (or 'to put himself on the lookout'). Cf. *Od.* 14.261 ὀπτῆρας δὲ κατὰ σκοπιάς ὄτρυνναι νέεσθαι, and 17.430.

εὐώδεος: not in Homer. Cf. *H. Aph.* 66, and possibly Hes. fr. 26.21.

**66** ὄρμαίνων δόλον αἰπὺν ἐνὶ φρεσίν: cf. *Od.* 4.843 φόνον αἰπὺν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ὄρμαίνοντες, and Hes. *Th.* 589, *Op.* 83 δόλον αἰπὺν. In these contexts αἰπύς means ‘sheer, downright’.

**67** φιλήται: ‘thieves’. The word first occurs in Hesiod (*Op.* 375), replacing Homeric ληιστήρ. The spelling φιλήτης (with iota rather than eta) is supported by the ancient etymology which explained it as derived from Zeus’s making love to Maia: cf. Hellanicus 4 F 19 (b) τ[ῆι] (or τ[ῶν]) δὲ γίγνεται Ἑρμ[ῆς] φιλήτης, ὅτι αὐτῆι φιλησίμ[ως] συνεκοιμ[ᾶτο], and West on Hes. *Op.* 375. Hellanicus is probably using the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* here: see Thomas (2007).

Hermes will become the ‘leader of thieves’ (175, 292): cf. E. *Rh.* 217 φιλητῶν ἄναξ, *Epigr. Gr.* 1108 τῶν φιλητέων ἄνακτα. For φῶτες φιλήται cf. A. *Ch.* 987 φιλήτης ἀνήρ, S. fr. 933 Radt.

μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἐν ὄρῃ: the whole of the following episode (68–141), including the theft of cattle, Hermes’ journey, and his activities by the Alpheios, will take place during the night.

**68–9** This description of sunset is un-Homeric. Cf. *H.* 31.15–16 ἔνθ’ ἄρ’ ὁ γε στήσας χρυσόζυγον ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους | θεσπεσίους πέμπησι δι’ οὐρανοῦ ὠκεανόνδε. The Sun’s chariot first appears in seventh-century literature and art: cf. Richardson on *H. Dem.* 63. The avoidance of normal epic formulae for sunsets may be partly due to the fact that the poet wants to indicate that the sun is just beginning to set at this point. When he reaches Onchestos (86–7) the old farmer is still at work outside. Cf. Shelmerdine (1982) 102–3.

**70** Pieria in Thessaly is the first stopping-place on the way down from Olympus (cf. *H. Ap.* 216 etc.). In *Il.* 2.766 it is where Apollo breeds the mares of Admetus (unless the right reading there is Πηρείη). It is also the birthplace of Apollo’s companions the Muses (Hes. *Th.* 53–5). In Antoninus Liberalis’ version of Hermes’ theft (23), Apollo’s cattle graze with those of Admetus (see 87–93n.).

θέων: ‘in haste’. The variant θεῶν (‘of the gods’, with ὄρεα) may be due to Θεῶν in 71.

**71–2** The cattle are called immortal, although they are later killed, because they belong to a god. Cf. e.g. κρήδεμνον ἄμβροτον, *Od.* 5.346–7. The meadows in which they pasture are also ἀκηράσιοι, like the meadow of purity described by Hippolytus, from which he offers a garland to Artemis (E. *Hipp.* 73–8). Land consecrated to the gods could not normally be cultivated or pastured by ordinary flocks. In Homer ἀκηράσιος means ‘unmixed’ (*Od.* 9.205). See also 221n.

**73** ἔϋσκοπος Ἄργειφόντης ‘the keen-sighted Argos-slayer’. Cf. *H. Ap.* 200n.

**74** πεντήκοντ’ ἀγέλης: cf. *Od.* 12.128–30, where each of Helios’ herds numbers fifty, and similar phrasing at *Il.* 11.678 πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀγέλας.

**75–8** ‘And he drove them by a wandering route through the sandy territory, turning their footprints round; he did not forget his crafty skill, reversing their hooves, the front ones behind, and the back ones in front, and he himself walked the opposite way [i.e. facing them].’

The backward-facing tracks are vividly described by the chorus of satyrs in Soph. *Ichneutai*, fr. 314.117–23: ἕα μάλα· | παλινστραφῆ τοι ναὶ μὰ Δία τὰ

βήματα | εἰς τοῦμπαλιν δέδορκεν· αὐτὰ δ' εἴσιδε. | τί ἐστὶ τουτί; τίς ὁ τρόπος τοῦ  
τάγματ[ος]; | εἰς τοῦπίσω τὰ πρόσθεν ἥλλακται, τὰ δ' αὖ | ἐναντί' ἀλλήλοισι  
συμβ[εβλη]μένα· | δεινὸς κυκησμός εἶχ[ε τὸν βοη]λάτην, 'Good gracious! the  
footprints are reversed! They point backwards! . . . The front marks have shifted  
to the rear, while some are entangled in two opposite directions! A strange  
confusion must have possessed their driver!' (tr. Lloyd-Jones).

Later versions drop this rather naïve device: in Apollodorus Hermes actu-  
ally puts shoes on the cattle's hooves to disguise their footprints (3.10.2), and  
in Antoninus Liberalis (23) he ties brushwood to their tails to wipe away the  
traces. Herodotus (4.183.2) and Aelian (*NA* 16.33) both know of the cattle of the  
Lotophagoi, which graze backwards (ὀπισθονόμοι) because their horns curve  
downwards. Hermes' trick of driving the cattle backwards is imitated in the story  
of Cacus' cattle-theft: Livy 1.7.5, Virgil *A.* 8.209–12, etc.

**75** *πλανοδίας*: this occurs only here, but cf. Hesychius *πληνοδία*:  
*παρὰ νόμῳ* . . . *τῆι πεπλανημένῃ τῆς ὀρθῆς ὁδοῦ, τουτέστιν ἀδίκῳ*. It pro-  
bably means 'by a wandering route', as in 210 *ἐπιστροφάδην*.

*ψαμαθώδεα*: only here and at 347, 350 in early epic; cf. A.R. 4.1376 etc.

**76** *ἵχνη*: elsewhere the hymn has *ἵχνια* (218 etc.), but *ἵχνος* also occurs in early  
epic, and the contracted neuter plural is found at line 95 (*ῥρη*), and elsewhere in  
the *Hymns* (19.2, 27.4, 28.15); see Janko (1982) 144. *ἀποστρέψας* probably means  
that he turned the tracks round, with *δολίης* . . . *ἔβαινε* explaining this in more  
detail.

*δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης* is used of Prometheus at Hes. *Th.* 547; cf. similar  
phrases at *Od.* 4.455, *Il.* 23.725, etc.

**77–8** The language is deliberately complex and chiasmic here, mirroring the  
ingenuity of the stratagem. M's reading *πρώτας* in 78 seems preferable, as it  
adds variation, and *πρόσθεν* could easily have replaced it. For the chiasmus  
between lines cf. 14–15, 193–4.

**78** *κατὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν αὐτὸς ἔβαινε* 'and he himself walked the opposite way'. Cf.  
211, where Hermes is said to keep the cattle's heads facing him. He could only  
drive them properly if he did so, and he disguises his own tracks with his special  
shoes. Some scholars take it as meaning that he himself also walked backwards:  
cf. *εἰς τοῦμπαλιν* in Soph. *Ichneutai*, fr. 314.119 (quoted in 75–8n.).

**79–86** 'And at once he wove sandals with plaited branches, on the sands of  
the seashore, not seen and not known before, wondrous works, mixing together  
tamarisks and myrtle shoots, from which then he bound together a bundle of  
fresh-sprouting brushwood, and securely (?) he tied beneath his feet light sandals,  
with their leaves still on them, which famous Argeiphontes snatched from Pieria,  
avoiding making a track, as though hastening on a long road, improvising in a  
unique manner.'

The poet is using extraordinary language here in order to describe Hermes'  
invention, and the length and complexity of this sentence is also clearly intended  
to emphasise the uniqueness of what is portrayed. It is hardly surprising that

the manuscripts are in some confusion, and the right reading and interpretation are difficult to recover. The description which Apollo gives of Hermes' tracks at 222–6 indicates that they are extraordinary, very large, and suggest someone moving quickly. In 342–9 he again says that they were huge, and looked as if one were walking on two thin planks (349). This sounds like our earliest depiction in European literature of skis. In 79–86 they seem more like large snowshoes (or sandshoes). 86 also suggests that they enable Hermes to move fast. At the same time, their odd nature is designed to prevent Apollo from discovering who the thief is.

**79** σάνδαλα: first here, and σάμβαλα in Eumelus *ap.* Paus. 4.33.2, and Sappho fr. 110 (a) L–P = 110 V. In Homer the normal words for footwear are πέδιλα or ὑποδήματα. Hermes' own πέδιλα enable him to move with divine speed (*Il.* 24.340–2, *Od.* 5.44–6), but what he invents here is something different, designed for this particular occasion. In later magical texts σάνδαλον (bronze or golden) and κηρύκειον are both symbols of underworld deities such as Hecate or Persephone: see Wortmann (1968) 155–60.

ρίψιν 'with wicker branches'. Cf. *Od.* 5.256 ρίπεσσι, Hdt. 4.71 ρίψι. This emendation seems the best way of making sense of the text, since the manuscript's ἔριψεν would give us two verbs without a connective.

ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἀλίησιν: cf. *Od.* 3.38 (at Pylos).

**80** Apart from ἔργα the language of this verse is un-Homeric. ἄφραστος recurs at 353, where it means 'impossible to see'. Cf. Hes. fr. 239.4, Hom. *Epigr.* 3.2 ('strange, inexpressible'). ἀνόητος occurs only here in early epic, and in this sense ('unthought of') in Parmenides and Philolaus. It usually means 'unthinking' in later literature. The use of repeated epithets with negative prefix is a common device for emphasis: cf. 168, 346, and Richardson on *H. Dem.* 200 (p. 221). διαπλέκειν is first used at Alcman fr. 1.38. For θαυματὰ ἔργα cf. 440, *H.* 7.34, Hes. *Sc.* 165, fr. 204.45. Θαῦμα and cognate words are frequently used in this hymn, in relation to Hermes' exploits: cf. Jaillard (2007) 82–3.

**81** Cf. *Il.* 10.467 συμάρψας δόνακας μυρίκης τ' ἐριθηλέας ὄζους. μυρσινοειδής occurs first here (cf. Galen etc.), and μυρσίνη first in Archilochus. See also 134–7n.

**82** νεοθηλέος ἀγκαλὸν ὕλης: ἀγκαλός (or ἀγκαλόν) is found nowhere else except at *POxy.* 3354.9 (AD 257). It should mean 'armful', as ἀγκαλῖς and ἀγκάλη sometimes do later.

**83** ἀβλαβέως: 'harmlessly', i.e. perhaps without hurting his tender feet? ἀβλαβής is first in Sappho, and cf. the noun ἀβλαβήησι at 393. The nearest parallel is in Arrian (156 F 153), where after fitting snowshoes on their feet people walked ἀβλαβέως on the snow. But εὐλαβέως ('carefully') may be right.

ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο σάνδαλα κοῦφα: cf. *Il.* 24.340 = *Od.* 5.44 (Hermes) αὐτίκ' ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα.

**84** αὐτοῖσιν πετάλοισι: 'with leaves still on them'.

**85** ὄδοιπορίην ἀλεείνων: if ἀλεείνων is correct this means 'avoiding making a track', or 'concealing his track'. Cf. Hesychius s.v. ἀλεάζειν· κρύπτειν, and

*Lfgre* s.v. ἀλεΐνω. ὄδοιπορίη occurs first here; cf. *Il.* 24.375 ὄδοιπόρος, and ὄδοιπορίη in Herodotus etc.

**86** οἷα τ' ἐπειγόμενος δολιχὴν ὁδόν: for the construction cf. 549, *H. Ap.* 233, and Xen. *Anab.* 1.5.91 σπεύδων πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδόν, *AP* 9.83.1 νηὸς ἐπειγομένης ὠκὺν δρόμον.

**αὐτοτροπήσας**: this occurs nowhere else, and the variant αὐτοπρεπῆς ὥς is also unique. αὐτοτροπεῖν is usually taken as 'to act in a unique way (like no one else)', but a better interpretation might be 'acting in an improvisatory way', like αὐτοσχεδιάζειν; cf. 55 ἔξ αὐτοσχεδίας. Hermes' invention is a brilliant piece of ad hoc ingenuity.

**87-93** As Hermes goes through Onchestos he is observed by an old farmer who is working on his vineyard, and Hermes curtly orders him to pretend that he has seen and heard nothing, promising him a good vintage if he keeps quiet.

This brief episode introduces the only human character to appear in the hymn, and he is anonymous. Later (185-212) Apollo meets and interrogates him, and after a lengthy preamble the farmer rather evasively says that he thinks he did notice a small boy of some kind driving cattle backwards. This piece of information is immediately followed by a bird-omen which tells Apollo who the thief is (213-14). When Apollo brings him before Zeus, he again mentions the old man, who (he says) saw Hermes driving the cattle towards Pylos, after the point where their tracks were no longer visible on the harder ground (352-5). Thus the old man plays a part in the progression of the story, especially by being mentioned at the trial as a witness, to contradict Hermes' outright denial of guilt.

In another version of the myth, the witness is a man called Battos ('Stammerer' or 'Blabberer'). In Antoninus Liberalis' account (23) Hermes, who is not a child, meets him in Arcadia at a place called βᾶπτου σκοπίαι. The story is an *aition* for a rock of this name, as Battos is punished for betraying the secret, in this case to Hermes himself in disguise, by being turned to stone. Ovid tells a similar tale (*Met.* 2.685-707). The version of Antoninus is prefaced by a scholion listing earlier authors who are said to have told the story, Nicander in his *Heteroiumena*, Hesiod in the *Great Ehoiai* (fr. 256 M-W), and other later ones. It seems that Nicander was Antoninus Liberalis' main source, and how much can be ascribed to the Hesiodic poem is unclear. The origin could be as the *aition* for a wayside stone herm of a particular shape. Holland (1926, 156-83) argued that the story of Battos was probably a development from the simpler version in our hymn (see especially pp. 173-5). Others, however, have thought it more likely that the Battos story is older and has been simplified by our poet for his own narrative purposes. The hymnic poet's plot would not allow Hermes to return and punish the old man for more or less giving him away, but the story is still effective, especially in the portrayal of the old man, who is caught between these two powerful gods, struggling not to betray Hermes altogether but also wishing to oblige Apollo.

The description of the farmer working on his vineyard resembles that of Laertes in *Od.* 24.220ff. Laertes' servants have gone to gather stones for a wall to the vineyard (*Od.* 24.224), and this may be echoed here at *H. Herm.* 87 and 188 (see below 87n.). Laertes also digs his vineyard, with bowed head (*Od.* 24.242 ~ *H. Herm.* 90), and the later description of the old man of Onchestos at *H. Herm.* 207 may echo *Od.* 1.193 and 11.193 of Laertes. Both are addressed as ὄ γέρον (*Od.* 24.244, *H. Herm.* 90, 190), and Apollo later addresses the old man as βρατοδρόπε ('bramble-picker', 190), just as Laertes is wearing gloves to protect his hands from thorns (*Od.* 24.230). It seems likely that our poet has this Odyssean episode specifically in mind: see Shelmerdine (1986) 59–60.

The motif of the old man as a witness is parallel to that of the witnesses of the rape of Persephone in various versions of this myth (cf. Richardson on *H. Dem.* 24–6 and 75ff.). A similar motif recurs in other tales, such as that of Apollo and Coronis.

**87** δέμων ἀνθοῦσαν ἀλωήν 'constructing [or working on] a flourishing vineyard'. Cf. 188, where δέμοντα . . . ἔρκος ἀλωῆς is again a possible conjecture. In *Odyssey* 24 Odysseus does not find Laertes' household at home because they have gone off αἰμασίας λέξοντες ἀλωῆς ἔμμεναι ἔρκος (224), and at *Od.* 18.359 the basic work of a farm labourer includes collecting stones and planting trees (αἰμασίας τε λέγων καὶ δένδρεα μακρὰ φυτεύων). Preparation of a vineyard would include terracing and building dry-stone walls, and ἔκτιμῆνη is regularly applied to ἀλωή (*Il.* 20.496 etc.). In 90 and 227, however, he is said to be digging (round) his plants, like Laertes (*Od.* 24.227). Cf. Hesiod's σκάφος οἰνέων (*Op.* 572). Columella (4.28.1–2) says that this can be done when the plants are already in bloom.

**88** δι' Ὀγχηστὸν λεχεποίην: why Onchestos should be selected as the place of this encounter is unclear. One possibility is because of influence from the *Hymn to Apollo* (230–8), where it is singled out for special attention on Apollo's journey from Pieria (see *H. Herm.* 69–72) to Pytho: see Dornseiff (1938) 82, Janko (1982) 148–9, Schwabl (1986) 155–6. In that hymn it fits into a detailed itinerary through Boeotia, whereas in the case of Hermes its selection seems quite arbitrary. λεχεποίη is applied to Teumessos at *H. Ap.* 224, just a few lines before the passage about Onchestos. This strengthens the case for association between the two hymns. The epithet otherwise only recurs twice in Homer, at *Il.* 2.697, 4.383. See also Introduction 3(c) and Map 3.

**89** Cf. 189 τὸν πρότερος προσέφη Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱός, in the parallel scene of Apollo and the old man. The first hemistich is not formulaic and recurs nowhere else in early Greek hexameter poetry. The structural parallelism may have suggested this repetition: see Van Nortwick (1975) 31–2, 123. For Μάϊης ἐρικυδέος υἱός cf. 550, and *Od.* 11.576 Γαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν.

**90** Cf. *Od.* 24.244 (to Laertes) ὄ γέρον, 227 λιστρεύοντα φυτόν (Laertes).

σκάπτεις: σκάπτειν is first used here; cf. Herodotus etc., and Hesiodic σκάφος.

ἐπικαμπύλος ὤμους: the epithet recurs only at Hes. *Op.* 427 ἐπικαμπύλα κᾶλα ('curved timbers'), which may explain M's reading, if a reminiscence of this

phrase or a marginal gloss is responsible. In the scene with Laertes cf. *Od.* 24.242 ἦτοι ὁ μὲν κατέχων κεφαλὴν φυτὸν ἀμφελάχαινε, and cf. also Lucian *Tim.* 7 σκάπτει δὲ οἴμαι ἐπικεκύφως.

**91-3** Hermes is promising the farmer a good vintage, but adds as an implied condition the warning not to betray him. The sequence of thought is abrupt, and some editors have assumed a lacuna after 91. But what he is saying is 'and just make sure you mind your own business'. The infinitives in 92-3 are used as imperatives.

**91** πολυοινήσεις: this compound (conjectured by Ilgen) occurs only here, but cf. πολυοίνος, πολυοινία, and εὐοινεῖν etc., in classical and later Greek.

**92** For this proverbial form of expression cf. Dem. 25.89 οἱ μὲν οὕτως ὀρῶντες . . . ὥστε, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, ὀρῶντες μὴ ὀρᾶν καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ ἀκούειν, A. *PV* 447-8, *Sept.* 246, etc., and in Hebrew literature Isaiah 6.9-10 'Listen and listen, but never understand! Look and look, but never perceive!' The chiasmic order of ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν and κωφὸς ἀκούσας is elegant. The metrical variation of καὶ τε ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν, with digamma observed and then neglected, shows the flexibility of the epic *Kunstsprache*. See Hopkinson (1982) 162-77 on such metrical variants, and *H. Ap.* 496n. κωφός means 'deaf' first here and in Heraclitus, as opposed to 'dumb'.

If the story of Battos was already known, there could possibly be an ironic echo of this here, since Battos was indeed silenced permanently because of his chattering.

**93** καὶ σιγαῖν makes explicit the message of 92.

ὅτε μὴ τι καταβλάπτῃ τὸ σὸν αὐτοῦ: 'in a case where nothing harms your own interest', i.e. where there is no personal incentive for you to do otherwise. Cf. E. *Ph.* 990 μὴ τὸ σὸν κωλυέτω, Aristides 49.360 εἰ μὴ τὸ σὸν κωλύει. καταβλάπτω is first used here, and recurs in Plato etc.

**94-141** Hermes arrived at the river Alpheios with the cattle as the moon was rising before dawn, and after penning them in a stable and feeding them he prepared a fire. To do this he invented the art of kindling fire with a drill, and lit a great heap of logs. He then killed two of the cattle, roasted them, and spread their hides out on a rock, where they still remain today. He divided the meat into twelve portions, but despite his hunger did not taste any himself. He put all the meat away high up in the cave, burned the remainder (heads and feet), threw his sandals into the Alpheios, and put out and levelled the fire.

If Hermes is aiming for Mt Cyllene (cf. 142) this visit to the Alpheios marks a significant detour, since it is well to the west of this mountain. This surely confirms that the whole episode is intended to be aetiological, explaining the origin of a particular ritual or rituals practised there in later times. This is also made explicit by the preservation of the hides (124-6). Most scholars have linked the episode to the cult of the group of deities known as the Twelve Gods at Olympia (see 128-9n.). What Hermes seems to be doing is to institute a sacrificial feast for them, including himself, and the reason why he does not actually eat any of the

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meat is probably because the gods normally only receive the savour (cf. 130–4). Many of the details of his actions can be paralleled in later rituals, but the whole description is quite different from the usual Homeric scene of sacrifice. There however it is mortals who are performing these rites, whereas here it is a god. It remains paradoxical that Hermes' original motive for this theft of the cattle was said to be hunger. In later legends the Twelve Gods were arbiters in divine disputes, and Long (1987, 156–7) suggests that Hermes' action here is designed to gain the favour of the gods in his coming dispute with Apollo. This, however, is not made explicit. For further discussion see Burkert (1984), Clay (1989) 116–26, Leduc (2005) 141–66, Jaillard (2007) 101–64, Thomas (forthcoming).

**94** τόσσον φάξ: Homer uses ὡς εἰπών, and this phrase occurs only here in early epic.

**συνέσευε**: this compound verb (a virtually certain conjecture) is used first here, and recurs at Orph. *A.* 982. Cf. 106 συνέλασσεν.

**βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα**: once in Homer at *Il.* 23.260; cf. *H. Herm.* 302, 394, 402.

**95** ὄρη σκίοεντα: cf. *Il.* 1.157 οὔρεά τε σκίοεντα.

**αὐλῶνας κελαδεινούς** 'echoing valleys'. αὐλῶν occurs first here (cf. Aeschylus etc.), and κελαδεινός elsewhere in early hexameter poetry is always used of Artemis, except *Il.* 23.208 (Zephyros).

**97–8** Night is an accomplice of thieves like Hermes: cf. 15, Hes. *Op.* 605 ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνήρ, etc.; and for the contrast with daylight as the time for normal work cf. Hes. *Op.* 578–81, Call. *Hecale* fr. 74.22–8 Hollis, etc.

**ὄρφναίη δ' . . . ἡ πλείων**: cf. Homeric *νύκτα δι' ὄρφναίην* (*Il.* 10.83 etc., *H. Herm.* 578). For *ἐπαύετο . . . νύξ | ἡ πλείων* ('the greater part') cf. *Il.* 10.252–3 *παροίχκεν [or παρώιχηκεν] δὲ πλέων νύξ | τῶν δύο μοιράων. δαιμόνιος* is only used in the vocative in Homer and Hesiod, but more generally of wonderful or divine things from Pindar onwards. Cf. Homeric *ἀμβροσίη νύξ*, which would not fit the verse here.

**98** ὄρθρος . . . δημοεργός: ὄρθρος is not Homeric, but occurs at Hes. *Op.* 577. The poet may have this passage (*Op.* 576–81) in mind here, as it describes how dawn advances men's work and progress. δημοεργός is very effective as an epithet for dawn as the 'creator of public business'. Later δημιουργός will often be used metaphorically ('maker, creator'). Hesychius s.v. says that it can be used of the sun, which ripens and warms all things: ὁ ἥλιος, ὅτι πάντα πέσσει καὶ θέρει.

**99–102** Hermes steals the cattle at sunset, is already at the Alpheios before dawn, and will be back at Cyllene as the day is actually dawning (142–3). Selene rises conveniently in time to illuminate his killing of the cattle and all that follows this. The elaborate description of the moon rising marks the beginning of the episode at the Alpheios, and is echoed at the end (141). Cf. also 98 and 143 ὄρθρος, ὄρθριος. The emphasis on the moon could be connected with the date of the ritual instituted here. At Olympia the main festival of Zeus took place at the full moon: the date of the monthly sacrifices to all the gods is unknown, but was possibly the first of the month (cf. Weniger (1920) 13–14).

**99–100** In Hesiod (*Th.* 371–4) Selene is daughter of Theia and Hyperion, and Pallas is son of Kreios and Eurybie (375–8). Another genealogy of Sun, Moon, and Dawn is given by *H.* 31.2–7, where they are children of Euryphaessa and Hyperion. Megamedes ('Mighty Counsellor') does not occur elsewhere in such a mythical context. Ovid also calls Aurora a daughter of Pallas (*Met.* 9.421 etc.). The structure of the line is traditional for such genealogies: cf. *Il.* 2.566 etc.

**102–3** The poet is here applying formulae to Hermes which are reserved in the Hesiodic poems solely for Heracles: (Διὸς) ἄλκιμος υἱός Hes. *Th.* 526, 950, fr. 35.5, 43 (a) 61, *Sc.* 320, and βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους Hes. *Th.* 291, of the theft of Geryon's cattle. This may be significant in view of Heracles' association also with Olympia and the cult of the Twelve Gods there (see 128–9n.). Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός is a doublet of Διὸς ἀγλαὸς υἱός (432), and ἄλκιμος is specially appropriate here to Hermes' achievement.

**103** ἀδμήτες 'still innocent of the yoke' (West). This perhaps implies 'of their own accord', a feature which is often mentioned in later literature, e.g. Theocr. 11.12 ταῖ ὄϊες ποτὶ τῶλιον αὐταὶ ἀπῆνθον, *AP* 7.173 αὐτόματα δείληι ποτὶ ταῦλιον αἰ βόες ἤλαθον, etc. Kahn (1978, 48) compares the Homeric practice of sacrificing calves which are untamed and unyoked (*Il.* 10.292–3, *Od.* 3.382–3, Schol. *Od.* 12.353), and the poet may be influenced by the formula in these passages βοῦν εὐρυμέτωπον . . . | ἀδμήτην.

**103–4** The description of this rustic setting is grandiose, signalling that it will be the place of a major event. αὔλιον and ληνός both occur first here. The former is described as a stone cavern (λάϊνον ἄντρον) at 401 (cf. Soph. *Ph.* 19 etc. where αὔλιον means a cave). ληνός ('water trough') recurs in Hippocrates, Theocritus, etc. ὑψιμέλαθρος is rare, recurring only in late hexameter poetry (Orphic hymns, Nonnus).

**105** ἐπεφόρβει: pluperfect of φέρβω. The present tense occurs at Hes. *Op.* 377, *H.* 30.2, 4, etc.

**106–8** καὶ τὰς μὲν . . . σὺν δ' ἐφόρει: καί here may be emphatic ('then') as in Homeric καὶ τότε introducing the main clause. Alternatively the δέ in 108 marks the start of the main clause. Where μὲν is used like μήν with καί for emphasis, one usually has καὶ μὲν, rather than καὶ . . . μὲν as here (Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup> 390–1), and so the second alternative would be abnormal. But the run of the sentence seems to support it, since the main point ought to come at 108, the rest being preparatory to this.

**106** ἄθρός: the short-vowel first-declension accusative plural (ἄθροῶς) occurs quite often in Hesiod, and sometimes in later poetry (mostly Doric): cf. West, *Theogony* p. 85, *Works and Days* pp. 31–2. ἄθρός would not fit into hexameter verse, unless scanned thus (˘˘), or ἄθροῶς, which is abnormal, since a vowel before θρ is usually long in early hexameter verse. For further discussion see Edwards (1971) 141–65, Janko (1982) 58–62, 144–5.

οὔσας: this form, for normal epic εἰούσας, is paralleled by *Od.* 7.94 (ὄντας), *H.* *Ap.* 330 (οὔσα), and *H.* 19.32, 29.10, Hes. fr. 204.91. See Janko (1982) 117, 144–5, who notes the modification of ἄθροοι ἦσαν (*Od.* 1.27)/εἶεν (*H.* *Ap.* 152).

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**107** Cf. *Il.* 2.776, *Od.* 9.97 λωτόν ἐρεπτόμενοι, 14.348 λωτόν ὄ ἐρσήεντα, and for λωτός and κύπειρον together *Il.* 21.351, *Od.* 4.603.

**108** πυρός δ' ἐπεμαίετο τέχνην 'and he was eager for the art of fire'. In Homer ἐπιμαίεσθαι is used with the genitive, when it means 'strive after, seek to obtain', and with the accusative in the sense 'grasp, touch'. But cf. 511 σοφίης ἐκμάσσοτο τέχνην (from ἐκμαίωμα), *Bion* 1.2 σοφὸν δ' ἐπεμαίετο τέχνην, and *Aratus* 89.

**109–11** Hermes invents firesticks (πυρήϊα), the art of kindling fire by rotating a wooden drill in a second piece of wood. This is discussed in detail by Theophrastus (*HP* 5.9.6–7), who recommends bay (δάφνη) as the best wood to use for the drill, and various others for the wooden base. (Neither he nor any other author mentions pomegranate, which should rule out σιδεῖωι in 109, conjectured by Radermacher and Ludwich.) See also Morgan (1890) 13–64, and AHS on 108. If we keep the reading ἐπέλεψε σιδήρωι this ought to refer to trimming the leaves and bark of the drill, and ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμηι is best taken as referring to the drill, rather than to the wooden base (as AHS assume): cf. *Od.* 5.234, where the phrase is used of an axe, and *Il.* 18.600, of a potter's wheel rotated by the hands. This makes it less likely that there is a lacuna after 109. The description, however, is elliptical, since there is no mention of the second piece of wood or the action of kindling by friction. Possibly a line or lines have been lost after the first half of 110.

In connection with the following scene of sacrifice, the emphasis on Hermes' invention of this art of kindling fire suggests comparison with the story of another divine trickster and thief, Prometheus. In the *Theogony* the theft of fire follows after the institution of sacrificial ritual (535–69): see Burkert (1984). Burkert also suggests (836–7) that Hermes' action here can be compared to rituals where new fire is kindled, either from the light of the sun or by friction (cf. also Burkert (1985) 61–2). This was especially the case in the Roman cult of Vesta, where if the fire ever went out it had to be rekindled in such a way. Myths about the origin of fire are collected from across the world by Frazer (1930).

**109–10** δάφνης . . . παλάμηι: for the language cf. Hes. *Th.* 30 δάφνης . . . ὄζον, and Achilles' oath by the σκῆπτρον at *Il.* 1.236–8 . . . περὶ γὰρ ῥά ἐ χαλκός ἔλεψε | φύλλα τε καὶ φλοῖον· νῦν αὐτέ μιν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν | ἐν παλάμηις φορέουσι . . . ἐπιλέπειν occurs only here. For θερμός αὐτμή cf. Hes. *Th.* 696. Similar examples of masculine epithet with feminine noun are *Od.* 12.369 ἡδὺς αὐτμή, 6.122 Θῆλυς αὐτή; cf. Chantraine, *GH* I 252.

**111** Cf. 25 Ἑρμῆς τοι πρῶτιστα . . . πυρήϊα πῦρ τ' should perhaps be taken together, to mean 'the art of making fire by firesticks'. πυρήϊα occurs first here, later (πυρεῖα) in Sophocles etc. ἀναδιδόναι is also a new compound in epic, but cf. *Asius* fr. 8 etc. It suggests that Hermes' invention will be a gift for others, i.e. for mankind, like Prometheus' gift of fire to men. The invention of firesticks was also ascribed to Prometheus later as a rationalisation of the older myth of his theft of fire (*Diod.* 5.67.2).

**112–13** Cf. *Il.* 21.364, *Od.* 18.308 ξύλα κάγκανα, and Hes. *Op.* 427 πολλ' ἐπικαμπύλα κᾶλα. On the origin and use of the word κᾶλα see West on Hes. *Op.*

427, Janko (1982) 145-6. The word has its original sense of 'wood for burning' here. There is strong alliteration of kappa in 112.

**112** κατουδαίωι: cf. Hes. fr. 150.9 and 18 Κατουδαῖοι, as a proper name. The word is not Homeric.

**113** οὔλα... ἐπηετανά: in Homer οὔλος means 'thick, close', or 'woolly', but it is used by Theophrastus of wood to mean 'close-grained, tough'. ἐπηετανά is scanned with synizesis (˘-˘-˘), as at Hes. *Op.* 607, and sometimes later. As often in this hymn, an accumulation of epithets is used where Homeric epic would normally be more sparing.

**114** φῦσαν: this is the early epic and classical form of the word, with φύζαν as a much later and perhaps also dialect form. In Homer φῦσαι refers to Hephaestus' bellows (*Il.* 18.372 etc.).

**115** βίη κλυτοῦ Ἥφαιστοιο: cf. Hes. *Sc.* 244 κλυτοῦ Ἥφαιστοιο.

**116-18** The resistance of the cattle and the superhuman strength of the infant god are vividly emphasised. Cf. also 405-8. Burkert (1984, 837) compares the exploits of epebes at Eleusis and elsewhere in 'lifting the cattle' for sacrifice.

**116** τόφρα δ': the δέ is apodotic here ('then indeed...').

ὑποβρυχίας 'bellowing': cf. βρυχάομαι ('bellow') etc. The second upsilon ought to be long, and the scansion may be ὑποβρῦχίας with synizesis of -ιας. In Homer this occurs mainly with proper names, but cf. *Il.* 3.414 σχετλίη, 2.811 πόλιος, *Od.* 8.560, 574 πόλιας. ὑποβρῦχιος with short vowel normally means 'underwater' (*H.* 33.12 etc.); cf. *Od.* 5.319 ὑπόβρυχα.

**118-19** Cf. 41-2, where Hermes treats the tortoise in a similar way. Here he bores through the spines of the oxen, rather than cutting their throats (as would be usual in a sacrifice).

**119** ἐγκλίνων δ' ἐκύλινδε 'and leaning on them he rolled them over'. ἐγκλίνων is probably intransitive, rather than 'turning them'. It occurs first here, then in fifth-century and later literature.

δί' αἰῶνας τετορήσας: cf. 42 αἰῶν' ἐξετόρησεν. δι'... τετορήσας should be taken together as a *tnesis*. τετορήσας appears to be a reduplicated aorist form of τορέω: cf. *Il.* 5.337 ἀντετόρησεν. At 178 and 283, however, we have ἀντιτορήσων and ἀντιτοροῦντα, as at *Il.* 10.267 ἀντιτορήσας. It looks as if a compound ἀντιτορέω has been created through misunderstanding of the reduplicated form.

**120** ἔργωι δ' ἔργον ὄπαζε 'and he followed one job with another'. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 382 ἔργον ἐπ' ἔργωι ἐργάζεσθαι.

πίονα δημῶι: *Il.* 23.750, *Od.* 9.464 support M's reading πίονα rather than the variant πίοι.

**121-3** After cutting up the meat Hermes roasts it on spits in the normal Homeric manner, and then leaves it in its place while he attends to the hides.

**121** δουρατέοισι: in Homer this is only used of the Wooden Horse, at *Od.* 8.493, 512.

**122** νῶτα γεράσμια: the saddles or back-portions are special honorific cuts (cf. 129 τέλεον δὲ γέρας). γεράσμιος occurs first here.

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**122–3** μέλαν αἷμα | ἐργμένον ἐν χολάδεσσι ‘the black blood enclosed within the guts’.

**123** τὰ δ’ αὐτοῦ κεῖτ’ ἐπὶ χώρης ‘and the remaining parts lay there on the ground’.

**124–6** It was common in sacrificial ritual for the hides to be set aside for special treatment. Sometimes they were dedicated: cf. Dio Chrys. 1.53 (a rustic shrine to Heracles near the Alpheios), Schol. T *Il.* 22.159 (to Heracles), Longus 2.30.5, 31.3 (rural offerings). Sometimes they were given to the priests, or sold for expenses. Hermes spreads them on a rock, and there they remain as relics of this event. The poet is giving an *aition* for what was still on display, whether some actual hides or a rock-formation. Similarly, the skin of Marsyas was on display, turned to stone, at Kelainai (Hdt. 7.26, Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.8). See also Burkert (1972) 7, 14–16, 127, and for such relics in general Boardman (2002).

**124** καταστυφέλωι: the feminine form read by M may be correct. Cf. epic ἄθανάτη etc.

ἐνὶ πέτρῃ: Burkert (1972, 15 n. 13) suggested ἐπί as at 404, but ἐνὶ is also possible.

**125–6** τὰ μέτασσα . . . πολυχρόνιοι . . . | δηρὸν δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκριτον: the repeated emphasis on the lapse of time is not impossible in this poet’s rather full style (cf. 113n.), and here it is surely designed to give special weight to this aetiological point. τὰ μέτασσα is adverbial; cf. μέτασσα as an adjective at *Od.* 9.221. ἄκριτον is also adverbial, meaning ‘endlessly’; cf. 577, and *H.* 19.26 (ἄκριτα). πολυχρόνιος occurs only here in early epic poetry; cf. Hdt. etc.

**127** χαρμόφρων ‘with joyful spirit’. This occurs only here in literature. Cf. Hesychius χαρμόφρων· ὁ Ἑρμῆς, perhaps quoting the hymn. Other deities are described as ‘a joy to mortals’: cf. *H. Dem.* 269 with Richardson’s note.

πίονα ἔργα ‘the rich works (of cooking)’. This is used of farmland in Homer (*Il.* 12.283, *Od.* 4.318). For its use to refer to sacrificial meat cf. ἔρδειν meaning ‘to sacrifice’.

**128** λείωι ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι ‘on a smooth slab’. The phrase recurs in A.R. 1.365. πλαταμῶνι is first used here, then in Aristotle and later literature. Hermes spreads out the meat in order to cut it up.

**128–9** καὶ ἔσχισε δώδεκα μοίρας | κληροπαλεῖς . . . ἐκάστη: cf. *Od.* 14.434–8, where Eumaeus divides the meat of a pig into seven portions, offering one to Hermes and the Nymphs, and giving Odysseus the back-portions as a special honour (γέραιρεν). For γέρας προσέθηκε cf. A. *PV* 82–3 θεῶν γέρα | συλῶν ἐφημέροισι προστίθει (of Prometheus). Here προσέθηκεν indicates that Hermes *adds* to each portion (ἐκάστη) a special honorific cut. No explanation of this twelve-fold division is offered, but the language seems to imply that the portions are intended as offerings to important persons. Most scholars have assumed that this should be connected to the cult of the Twelve Gods, widely attested later in Greece as a group of deities, whose names varied from place to place. A cult of this kind is otherwise first attested at Athens in the late sixth century,

when the younger Pisistratus, son of Hippias, as archon in 522–1 BC instituted the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora (Th. 6.54.6). Pindar (*O.* 5.5, 10.48–9) ascribes to Heracles the foundation of six double altars to twelve gods at Olympia. Herodorus (*FGrH* 31 F 34, c. 400 BC) says that one of these double altars is dedicated to Apollo and Hermes, and Pausanias (5.14.8) that they share a single altar because Hermes invented the lyre and Apollo the *kithara*. Moreover, another of these altars was assigned to Alpheios and Artemis. Since Hermes is at the river Alpheios, it is reasonable to assume that the narrative is related to the institution of sacrifice to the Twelve Gods at Olympia, and may be intended as an *aition* for this cult. At 398–400 the cattle are in Pylos, at the ford of the Alpheios (cf. *H. Ap.* 398, 423nn.). The exact geography is uncertain, but a reference to the cult at Olympia looks probable. In this case the reason why the poet is not more explicit could be that (mythologically speaking) the Olympic Games have not yet been founded when Hermes makes his sacrifice, since they were ascribed in the first instance to Heracles. On cults of the Twelve Gods see Long (1987) especially 154–7, Georgoudi (1996), and Johnston (2002) 125–6. See also Jaillard (2007) 114–18, on the analogy between Hermes' actions and the later rituals of *τραπεζώματα* and *θειοξένια*, i.e. special feasts offered to the gods.

**129 κληροπαλεῖς:** 'distributed by lot'. This occurs nowhere else. Hermes is himself the god of allotment (cf. *Ar. Pax* 365 etc.), and so appropriately uses this method, but in this case each portion is a *τέλεον γέρας*, which suggests some equalisation (cf. Burkert (1984) 838–9).

*τέλεον . . . γέρας:* in Homer only *τέλειος* is used (cf. *H. Herm.* 526); *τέλεος* is used in fifth-century and later literature. The word is applied technically to sacrificial animals (e.g. *Il.* 1.66 etc. and in inscriptions), meaning 'perfect, without blemish', or more generally to sacrifices (e.g. Th. 5.47 *ἱερὰ τέλεα*). *γέρας* also continued to be used of a privileged portion of a sacrifice later: cf. LSJ s.v., Stengel (1920) 32, 40, 106. Hermes is also the patron god of heralds, and it was one of the roles of the *κῆρυξ* to perform a sacrifice: cf. *Il.* 18.558–9, *Od.* 15.319–24, *Ath.* 160A, and Farnell, *Cults* v 36–7, Stengel (1920) 50.

**130–2** Hermes is very hungry, but still refrains from eating. The best explanation of this is that he does so as a god, since the gods enjoy only the savour of the sacrificial meat. It cannot be an allusion to a ritual of bloodless sacrifice to Hermes (which sometimes occurred: Farnell, *Cults* v 30), since the cattle have been killed. Burkert also compares other rituals where those who are making the sacrifice do not themselves share in the meat (1984, 837).

**130 δόσης κρεάων:** 'the holy rite of the meat', or possibly 'his own due of the meat' (West). It may be unwise to try to draw too many implications from the use of *δόση* here. Clearly it indicates that what is done has a 'ritual' significance, and that it is *ὄσιον*, i.e. justified from a religious viewpoint, to eat the meat. The word recurs at 173 and 470: see nn., and Richardson on *H. Dem.* 211, and cf. also Jaillard (2007) 107–8. *κρεάων* is a unique instance in early poetry instead of the usual metrically equivalent *κρειῶν*: see Janko (1982) 137.

**131–2** ὀδμή γάρ μιν ἔτειρε . . . | ἡδεῖ: cf. *Od.* 4.441–2 τεῖρε γὰρ αἰνῶς | . . . ὀδμή, and (in the episode of the Cattle of the Sun) 12.332 ἔτειρε δὲ γαστέρα λιμός, 369 κνίσης . . . ἡδὺς ἀϋτμή.

**132** ἐπετείθετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ: this formula is used twelve times in the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 2.103 etc.), which supports M's reading.

**133** περᾶν ἱερῆς κατὰ δειρῆς 'to pass it down his sacred throat'. The transitive use of περάω seems to be unique, but cf. perhaps forms of πέρνημι, meaning originally 'transport for sale'. The reading περῆν' for περῆναι (from περαίνω) is not acceptable because this infinitive form is not elided.

**134–7** This is usually taken to mean that Hermes puts the meat and fat away in the cave, leaving them in a high place, as 'evidence of his recent theft', and then piles more wood on the fire and burns all the heads and feet. This would again suggest (as at 123) that some relics may have been preserved later, which were said to represent Hermes' sacrifice. However, the text and interpretation of 135–7 remain uncertain. In 136 φωρῆς is supported by 385, where M alone has φωρήν, the other MSS φωνήν. φωρή occurs first here and at 385, then in Hellenistic and later literature.

Hermes' action may be compared to that of hunters who display trophies of their kills, as he does with the hides. Crudden (1994, 150) compares *Il.* 10.458–68, where Odysseus takes the spoils of Dolon, holds them up high (ὑψόσ' ἀνέσχεθε) as an offering to Athena, and then again lifting them up (ὑψόσ' ἀείρας) sets them on a tamarisk bush, and makes a sign (σῆμα) of reeds and tamarisk to mark the spot. On his return from his mission he sets them on the prow of his ship. It may be relevant that *Il.* 10.467 συμμάρψας δόνακας μυρίκης τ' ἐριθηλέας ὄζους resembles *H. Herm.* 81, suggesting possible reminiscence. Cf. also Leduc (2005) 159, on Hermes' use of the meat as ἀναθήματα, testifying to his exploits.

**137** οὐλόποδ' οὐλοκάρηνα: οὐλόπους occurs only here, and οὐλοκάρηνος at *Od.* 19.246 is an epithet, meaning 'with curly hair'. They can hardly go with τὰ μὲν, as Hermes would then wipe out the σῆμα he has just created, and they do not fit well with ξύλα. Either we must take them substantivally, as a ritual formula meaning 'heads and hooves, whole and entire' (cf. ὀλοκαύτωμα, οὐλοθυσιά), or else the text needs correction. Cf. Thomas (forthcoming), who reads τὰ δ' ἐπὶ in 136 ('and the rest . . .').

Heads and feet of sacrificial animals were often given separate treatment, being reserved for the deity or for the priests, or alternatively burnt: cf. Stengel (1910) 85–91, Meuli (1946) 261–2, Burkert (1984) 837–8.

κατεδάμνατ': this compound form of the verb occurs only here.

**138** ἐπειδή: M's reading is preferable to the conjecture ἐπεὶ τοι, since ἐπεὶ τοι is causal, whereas a temporal sense is needed here (cf. Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup> 545–6).

κατὰ χρέος 'in due manner' (cf. Latin *rite*), or 'as was required'.

δαίμων: it may be significant that Hermes is first referred to as a god here, after his sacrificial ritual. Cf. also 154 θεός.

**139-41** Hermes seems to be carefully obliterating traces of his crime, and yet he has apparently left the hides and meat behind. Burkert (1984, 838) compares rituals where traces of the sacrifice must afterwards be concealed, but this does not seem to fit here so well.

**140** ἀνθρακιήν δ' ἐμάρανε: cf. *Il.* 9.213 ἀνθρακιήν στορέσας. ἐμαράνε is aorist of μαραίνω, as in *Il.* 21.347 ἀγξηράνηι.

ἀμάθυνε: 'levelled'. Cf. *Il.* 9.593 πόλιν δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει.

**141** παννύχιος: presumably 'in the dead of night', rather than 'all night long'. This might be the sense also at *Il.* 23.105.

κατέλαμπε: this is better here than the variant ἐπέλαμπε, which is used of the sun 'shining forth' or 'coming out' from a cloud or darkness (*Il.* 17.650). The compound occurs first here, then in fifth-century and later literature.

**142-83** Hermes returns to Mt Cyllene near dawn and stealthily goes back to his cradle, but his mother sees him and scolds him. Hermes however proclaims to her that he intends to obtain the same privilege and honour as Apollo, and that if Zeus will not grant this he will become the leader of all thieves. If Apollo tracks him down he also intends to go and raid his temple at Pytho and carry off his wealth.

**143-5** The sequence 'neither gods nor men met him, nor did even the dogs bark' resembles *H. Dem.* 44-6 ('neither gods nor men, nor birds'). Dogs were thought to be especially sensitive to the supernatural: cf. *Od.* 16.162-3 where they see Athene before Telemachus is able to do so, with Hoekstra's comment.

**143** ὄρθριος: this strictly speaking means 'at cock-crow', hence while it is still dark (155). Dawn comes only at 184. The adjective occurs first here and at *Theognis* 863.

οὐδέ τις οἶ: cf. *Il.* 6.101 for this phrase with neglect of the digamma of οἶ, and Chantraine, *GH* I 147-8.

δολιχῆς ὁδοῦ 'in the course of his long journey'.

**144** = *Od.* 9.521, *H. Aph.* 35.

**145** Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς: for this genitive cf. *Il.* 2.527 Ὀϊλῆος τάχυσ Αἴας, and later examples of Μαιάδος Ἑρμῆς, e.g. Hipponax fr. 35 West, *AP* 6.334.3, *APL* 1.11.3.

**146-7** Hermes slips sideways through the keyhole of his mother's μέγαρον, like an autumn breeze or mist. For δοχμωθεῖς cf. Hes. *Sc.* 389. κλήϊθρον occurs first here, for Homeric κληῖς, meaning 'keyhole', whereas later κληῖθρον is usually used in Attic Greek for the bar of a door. Hermes' clandestine entry resembles the dream image in *Od.* 4.795-841, which enters Penelope's chamber παρὰ κληῖδος ἱμάντα (802) and leaves the same way (836). In *Od.* 6.20 Athene comes to Nausicaa in a dream: ἡ δ' ἀνέμου ὡς πνοιῆ ἐπέσσυτο. Cf. also *Il.* 1.359, where Thetis is ἡὔτ' ὀμίχλη, and for the double simile cf. *A.R.* 4.877 (Thetis) αὐτῆ δὲ πνοιῆι ἱκέλη δέμας ἡὔτ' ὄνειρος. Hermes is himself god of dreams (14), but also a closed door cannot keep a thief out. Thieves are credited with magic powers, such as



the ability to pass through keyholes, in other popular traditions. See Bloomfield (1923) 97–133 (especially 118–19), and Radermacher 102.

**148** Either ‘going straight on he reached the rich sanctuary of the cavern’, or ‘making straight for the cave he reached its rich inner sanctum’ (cf. *Il.* 15.693 etc. for the genitive).

**νηόν:** νηός originally meant the ‘dwelling place’ (cf. ναίω) of a deity, and so can be used of Maia’s home. It can also later refer to the inner part of a temple (cf. perhaps *Hdt.* 1.183.1, 6.19.3, etc.). But the use of πίωνα νηόν here may be a further sign of Hermes’ recent assertion of his divinity, like δαίμων (138) and θεός (154).

**149** προβιβῶν: cf. Homeric προβιβῶντι/-ος (*Il.* 13.807, 16.609) as if from προβιβάω, but κοῦφα ποσὶ προβιβάς *Il.* 13.18 etc.

ὥς περ ἐπὶ οὔδει ‘as (one would) on the ground’.

**150–4** There must be an asyndeton at some point after 150. There are several other examples in this hymn (17, 25, 111, 237, 438, 447, 478, 482, 512), but in most cases the reason is more obvious. The nearest parallel to this is at 235–9, where a simile with ἦϋτε is involved, describing Hermes curled up in his baby clothes. ἦϋτε is used with asyndeton in Homer when it begins a sentence (*Il.* 2.455, 469, etc.), and at 237 it introduces the new sentence. Given the similarity of these two passages, punctuation after εἰλυμένος would be possible. But strictly speaking εἰλυμένος should go with κεῖτο, and describe Hermes as he is in his cradle. It is best, therefore, to begin the new sentence with σπάργανον.

**151** σπάργανον: first here, but cf. *Hes. Th.* 485 σπαργανίσασα.

**152** περὶ ἰγνύσι: ‘around his haunches’. ἰγνύς is a variant form of the more usual ἰγνύη (cf. *Il.* 13.212, Hippocrates, and later). It probably does not recur before Nicander (*Theoc.* 278). This is the earliest example of elision of περί, which is found also in Pindar (*O.* 6.38 etc.). In compound forms, however, it occurs at *Hes. Th.* 678 (περίαχε), and in Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1147, *Eum.* 634). Forssmann (1964, 28–31) conjectured περὶ γνύσι, by analogy with forms such as γνύξ, γνύπετος etc. But his objection to ἰγνύς on the grounds that it does not occur elsewhere in early Greek is not cogent. περὶ ἰγνύησι in *Theoc.* 25.242 could, if correct, be due to early epic influence (cf. Gow ad loc.). The variant παρὶ ἰγνύσιν is also possible, but may be due to an early conjecture.

**λαῖφος ἀθύρων:** λαῖφος refers to the clothing or blanket in which Hermes is wrapped, and ἀθύρων, meaning ‘toying with’, is used with an internal accusative, as at *H.* 19.15. Cf. also *Pi. N.* 3.44 (ἔργα) etc., and ἀθυρομένη passive at *H. Herm.* 485.

**153** ἐπὶ ἀριστερὰ χειρός ‘on his left-hand side’, as at *Od.* 5.277; cf. *Pi. P.* 6.19 ἐπὶ δεξιὰ χειρός etc. This description of Hermes again behaving like a baby culminates with him still secretly holding onto the lyre, his prize toy.

**154–83** This comic exchange between Hermes and Maia is the first of three confrontations which articulate the central part of the hymn, the others being those of Hermes with Apollo and Zeus (Clay (2006) 127). Both speakers are well characterised, Maia as the angry mother scolding her precocious and undisciplined

child, Hermes boisterous and unrepentant, asserting his claim to divine honour equal to that of his grown-up half-brother Apollo, and threatening even worse crimes to come.

**154** θεῶν θεός: cf. *Od.* 5.97 θεὰ θεόν, of Calypso and Hermes. For other parallels with the meeting of Hermes and Calypso cf. 4, 227-34nn.

**155-61** Maia's style and language are colloquial and comic in tone.

**155** τίπτε . . . πόθεν: cf. Homeric τίς πόθεν.

ποικιλομήτα: cf. 514, and 13 αἰμυλομήτην, etc.

τόδε: 'hither', as at *Il.* 14.298, *Od.* 1.409, etc.

**156** ἀναιδίην ἐπιειμένε: cf. *Il.* 1.149, 9.372, in both cases used by Achilles of Agamemnon. The poet may have Achilles' speech in book 9 in mind: cf. also 160-1n.

**157-9** ἦ . . . ἦ: this probably means 'surely . . . rather than . . .', i.e. Maia predicts Hermes' punishment as certain (cf. Càssola). This makes better sense than ἦ . . . ἦ as two equal alternatives, and the repetition of σε in 159 also supports the first view. For ἦ meaning 'rather than' without an explicit comparative cf. *H. Ap.* 264-6, LSJ s.v. Β 1. The threat is typical of punishments meted out to insubordinate deities.

**157** ἀμήχανα: this poet is fond of ἀμήχανος and ἀμηχανίη: cf. 257, 295, 346, 434, 447.

δεσμά: the Homeric form is δέσματα: cf. 409, and *H. Ap.* 129, *H.* 7.13.

**158** Λητοῖδου: this matronymic form is used seven times in this hymn, and nowhere in Homer or the other *Hymns*. It recurs at Hes. *Sc.* 479, fr. 51.3, Alc. fr. 67.3, *CEG* 302.1 (sixth century BC), and in Pindar. In this hymn, the use of the matronymic could be favoured as a way of distinguishing the two sons of Zeus, Apollo and Hermes, as with Μαιάδος υἱός (73 etc.), Μαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱός (89 etc.).

διὲκ προθύροιο περήσειν: cf. 271 διὰ προθύροιο περῆσαι, *Od.* 18.101 ἔλκε διὲκ προθύροιο λαβὼν ποδός (of Odysseus and the defeated beggar Iros).

**159** φέροντα 'plundering'. Cf. ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν, and φέρειν on its own at E. *Hec.* 804, Ar. *Eq.* 205, etc.

μεταξύ: if this has a temporal sense it should be 'in the mean time'. However, Radermacher takes it with κατ' ἄγκυα, i.e. 'in the glens amid (the mountains)'. Neither seems entirely natural, and Càssola adopts the conjecture μέταζε, meaning 'in future, afterwards', as in Hes. *Op.* 394 τὰ μέταζε, where again τὰ μεταξύ is a variant.

φιλητεύσειν: the verb occurs only here. For the spelling see 67n.

**160-1** ἔρρε πάλιν: a very strong expression, like 'to Hell with you!' Cf. ἔρρέτω in *Il.* 9.377 etc. Maia's final sentence however is somewhat less extreme, expressing exasperation at her impossible child.

**160** μέριμναν: see on 44 (43-6n.).

**162** μύθοισιν . . . κερδαλέοισι 'with crafty speech'. Hermes' reply is not so much deceitful, but rather concerned to assert his potential role as a master of trickery

and theft. The verse (with τὸν δ') is repeated at 260 and 463 and is unique to this hymn. Cf. τὸν δ' . . . μύθοισι προσηύδα μελιχίοισι (*Il.* 6.343). It is clearly specific to the context of Hermes' verbal skill. See Van Nortwick (1975) 46–7, 124.

**163–5** Cf. *Il.* 20.200–2 = 20.431–3: Πηλεΐδη, μὴ δὴ μ' ἐπέεσσὶ γε νηπύτιον ὧς | ἔλπεο δειδίξεσθαι, ἐπεὶ σάφα οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς | ἡμὲν κερτομίας ἦδ' αἴσυλα μυσήσασθαι. The similarities with 163–5 make Pierson's conjecture δεδίσκειαι in 163 (meaning 'you frighten') very probable (cf. also 165), and support αἴσυλα in 164 as against the variant ἄρμενα. The form δεδίσκομαι for the commoner δε(ι)δίσσομαι is supported by the imperfect ἐδεδίσκετο at *Ar. Lys.* 564, and could have arisen by analogy with the Homeric forms δειδίξεσθαι, δειδίξασθαι. The poet has adapted the sense of the Homeric passage (formulaic perhaps in such contexts) to this situation. There is unusual interlacing of the main and relative clauses, with ταρβαλέον (165) sandwiched in the middle of the latter. It is parallel to νήπιον and has the same emphatic position in the verse.

**165** ταρβαλέον: This rare word occurs first here and later in Sophocles etc.

ὑπαιδειδοικεν is a variant form of the usual Homeric ὑποδδειδ-, where the reduplicated delta replaces original digamma (-δϜ-).

**166–7** Cf. 464–5 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σοι | τέχνης ἡμετέρης ἐπιβήμεναι οὐ τι μεγάρω. There Hermes speaks of sharing his musical skill with Apollo. Here the reference is vague, and he does not specify what kind of skill he has in mind.

**167** βουκολέων 'tending, looking after'. This is a conjecture, but makes reasonable sense. From the basic meaning 'herd (cattle)' βουκολεῖν comes to be used more generally to mean 'tend' in classical and later Greek: cf. Gutzwiller (2006) 381–90 for examples and discussion. The MSS reading βουλεύων can hardly be right, since it would need to be followed by dative rather than accusative, and ἐπιβήσομαι cannot take a direct object.

**168** ἀδώρητοι καὶ ἄλιστοι: both epithets occur first here, ἀδώρητος next in Euripides, ἄλλιστος in Euphorion. The variant ἄπαστοι ('without tasting food'), which occurs at *H. Dem.* 200, is read by Radermacher, who argues that its comic exaggeration suits Hermes better. But his chief concern is for the honours due to him as a god, and gifts and prayers go better in this case. For this reduplication of negative epithets cf. 80, with comment.

**169** αὐτοῦ τῆιδε: again emphatic ('on this very spot') as in *Hdt.* 7.141.2 αὐτοῦ τῆιδε μενέομεν, ἔστ' ἂν καὶ τελευτήσωμεν, and αὐτοῦ τῆιδε μένουσα in the Homeric epigram at *Vita Herodotea Homeri* 139 Allen etc.

**170–2** Hermes forcefully expresses the alternatives, a life of perpetual leisure and prosperity in heaven or one of inactivity in this gloomy cavern. ὀαρίζειν has implications of easy and pleasurable familiarity and social (or sometimes sexual) intercourse, whereas θαασσέμεν is probably here like ἦσθαι, which can be used in a pejorative sense of useless inactivity. At 468 however θαάσσεις is applied to Apollo's seat of honour in heaven. The triple epithets with asyndeton in 171 are a further rhetorical flourish, especially as they are all more or less equivalent in sense.

**172** ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆς: cf. *H. Dem.* 85 ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆν, where again this introduces a new sentence, closing the verse with enjambment, 'but as for honour...' (cf. Richardson ad loc.). The dative plural τιμῆις is an attractive suggestion ('privileges'), but the genitive is used at *Il.* 16.285, *Od.* 8.267.

**173** κἀγώ: this crasis is un-Homeric. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 284 χῶ, *H. Dem.* 227 κοῦ, and West, *Theogony* p. 100.

τῆς ὁσίης ἐπιβήσομαι ἧς περ Ἀπόλλων: 'I shall acquire [*lit.* set foot upon] the same divine worship as Apollo has'. ὁσίη (cf. 130, 470) must here refer to all the rites or honours due to him as a god. The form of expression echoes 166. For the first time Hermes openly declares his real aim, to put himself on the same level as Apollo.

**174-5** Cf. *Il.* 1.324 εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώησιιν ἐγὼ δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἔλωμαι. Hermes answers Maia's assertion that he will not be allowed to practise as a thief (see 157-9n.). This is ironic, since Hermes will indeed become the prince of thieves anyway (292).

**175** δύναμαι: best taken as parenthetical ('as I can'): cf. (εἰ) δύνασαι addressed to a god in prayer (e.g. *Il.* 1.393, 16.515), or parenthetical δύνασαι γάρ at *Od.* 5.25, addressed to Athene. The alternative is to punctuate after πειρήσω, understanding 'to gain the same honour', and then take δύναμαι . . . εἶναι as an explanatory sentence in asyndeton; but this seems much less natural.

**176-81** Hermes' speech ends in a resounding climax, with the boldest threat of all, to rob the sacred temple of Apollo itself. The catalogue of its treasures alludes to the proverbial wealth of Delphi: cf. 335, where Apollo refers to the traditional taunt that he is φιλολήϊος (and 494-5, 549). For this theme, and the reputation for greed of the Delphic priests, see *H. Ap.* 535-7, 540-3nn., and *Il.* 9.404-5.

**177** Literally this means 'I think that something else even greater (i.e. worse) will befall him.'

**178** ἀντιτορήσων: cf. *Il.* 10.267 ἐξέλετ' Αὐτόλυκος πυκινὸν δόμον ἀντιτορήσας. Autolycus was Hermes' pupil in the art of deception, or Hermes' son: *Od.* 19.395-6, Hes. fr. 65.15. Cf. also 283 ἀντιτοροῦντα δόμους. Hermes has already twice demonstrated his skill in drilling through things (42, 119). For the form of ἀντιτορήσων (etc.) see 119n. The verbal echo of the final words of 177-8 is striking.

**179-81** For this list of goods cf. *Od.* 13.217 τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἠδὲ λέβητας, 5.38 etc. χαλκὸν τε χρυσόν τε ἄλις, ἐσθῆτά τε (δόντες/ύφαντήν).

**181** σὺ δ' ὄψεαι αἶ κ' ἐθέλησιθ: cf. Homeric ὄψεαι ἦν (αἶκ') ἐθέλησιθ (*Il.* 4.353 etc.). At the end of Hermes' speech this has a defiant ring, like 'Just you see!' and similar phrases.

**182-3** These formal-sounding lines round off this heated exchange. 182 is a unique variant of the usual Homeric ὡς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον.

**184-226** As dawn rose Apollo came to Onchestos and asked the farmer about his lost cattle. The old man was evasive, but admitted that he had seen a small boy driving some cattle backwards. Apollo saw a bird of omen and realised that the thief was a son of Zeus. He headed for Pylos, and found the tracks of his cattle and those made by Hermes, which utterly bewildered him.

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The poet concentrates on the meeting at Onchestos and the comic reactions of Apollo on seeing the tracks. Apollo's discovery of the theft and the beginning of his journey from Pieria are indicated in his speech to the old man (191–8). We are not told how he knows that Onchestos is on Hermes' route, and the first mention of his seeing the tracks is at 218–26.

**184–5** Dawn, heralded already at 98 and 143, comes at last. This is an adaptation of Homeric formulae for dawn. Cf. ἠριγένεια . . . Ἥως (*Il.* 1.477 etc.), and especially *Il.* 19.1–2 Ἥως μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων | ὄρνυθ', ἴν' ἀθανάτοισι φόως φέροι ἠδὲ βροτοῖσιν, and βαθυρροῦ Ὠκεανοῖο (*Il.* 7.422 etc.). Van Nortwick (1975, 42–3) suggests that the poet may have been influenced by the wish to keep Ἀπόλλων in his usual position at the end of the verse, and hence created this extended sentence for dawn. Apollo operates by day as a god of light, Hermes by night.

**185–7** Cf. *H. Ap.* 230 Ὀγχηστὸν δ' ἴξες Ποσιδήϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος. ἐρισφάραγος is un-Homeric. It is used by Pindar and Bacchylides; cf. also Hes. *Th.* 815 ἐρισμαράγοιο Διός. The sanctuary of Poseidon, Apollo's uncle, is dignified with an elaborate phrase, including three descriptive epithets.

**187–8** ἐνθα . . . ἄλωῆς 'there he found an old man working on the enclosure of his vineyard, just off the road'. δέμοντα, for νέμοντα in the MSS, is supported by 87 δέμων ἀνθοῦσαν ἀλωήν. κνώδαλον ('beast') can be applied to both wild and domestic animals, and is later used as a term of abuse in Attic drama (*A. Eu.* 644 etc.), but would make no sense here if applied to the old man. If we read δέμοντα an epithet with γέροντα is needed. Stahl's κώκαλον ('ancient', according to Hesychius s.v.) is possible: for the reduplication of sense cf. for example γεραῖε παλαιγενές in 199. But the correct reading remains uncertain. AHS keep the text of the MSS, and take it as 'there he found an old man grazing a beast alongside the road, the stay of his vineyard'. They argue that κνώδαλον refers to the farmer's donkey, comically called 'stay of his vineyard', a parody of Homeric ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν. But this is far-fetched, and nothing is heard of the donkey elsewhere. Radermacher takes the transmitted reading as 'there he found a brutish old man, dwelling in the enclosure of his vineyard beside the road'. But νέμοντα meaning 'dwelling in' is a weak descriptive term in this context, and ἔρκος ἄλωῆς is not a natural way of referring to his farmstead. It normally refers to the hedge or enclosure round a vineyard or orchard: cf. *Il.* 5.90, 18.561–5, and see 87n.

**189–212** In this hymn, unlike those to Demeter, Apollo, Aphrodite, and Dionysus, no reference is made to any attempt by Apollo (or for that matter Hermes) to disguise themselves when they meet a human being. Both seem to appear in human form and converse in a natural way with the old man, who addresses Apollo as ὦ φίλος (202), and speaks simply of having seen a small boy (208–10). This is quite unlike the normal epic convention for such encounters. It may be due to the comic and more everyday character of this poem, where Apollo is cut down to size and made to look ridiculous by Hermes. The fact that Apollo also has to go to a mortal for information is a further aspect of this comic treatment

of him. Cf. Pindar, *Pythian* 9, where Chiron teases him for asking questions about Cyrene, when he is supposed to be omniscient (29-49). Apollo's speech is, however, dignified and carefully composed, with elegant repetition in 192, chiasmus in 193-5, and euphony in 197-8. By contrast the old man's reply is much more gnomic and matter-of-fact, suiting his rustic character.

**190** Apollo politely honours the old man with a whole-line address, although the charming βατοδρόπε ('bramble-picker', only here) has a comic tone. It may be inspired by *Od.* 24.230 (see 87-93n.).

**192** This type of repetition is favoured by Hellenistic and Roman poets, especially the Roman elegists. Cf. Call. *H.* 3.14 πάσας εἰνετέας, πάσας ἔτι παῖδας ἀμίτρους, *Coll. Alex.* p. 186.9.2 Powell παῖσαι παρθενικαί, παῖσαι καλὰ ἔμματα ἔχοισαι, Theocr. 15.6, Verg. *A.* 6.787, and for other examples of parallel half-lines cf. Wills (1996) 414-18.

κέραεσσιν ἑλικτάς: ἑλικτός occurs first here, then in Attic tragedy and later. Cf. 116, 567 ἑλικας βοῦς. In 220 βοῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων does not contradict this, since it may mean that the horns curve upwards, rather than forwards or downwards.

**193-6** The details about the single bull and four guard-dogs add conviction to Apollo's report, and also emphasise the puzzling nature of the theft: why were they left behind (and why did the dogs not give the alarm? Cf. 145.) At the same time, the vivid epithets in 194 add colour to the description.

**194** χαροποί 'fierce-eyed' (?). In early epic this is otherwise exclusively applied to lions (569, *Od.* 11.611, *H. Aph.* 70, *H.* 14.4, Hes. *Th.* 321, *Sc.* 177), but sometimes later to dogs (*Lyr. Adesp.* 101, *X. Cyn.* 3.3, etc.). The original sense is uncertain, but it may have meant 'with ravenous eyes': cf. Latacz (1966) 38-43. However, it later came to be used as a colour word of eyes, and it is possible that the poet had this in mind here, in juxtaposing κυάνεος χαροποί δέ. Cf. (for example) on the Shield of Achilles *Il.* 18.562 χρυσεῖην μέλανες δ', and especially 548-9 ἢ δὲ μελαίνετ'... | χρυσεῖη περ ἑοῦσα, τὸ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο (cf. *H. Herm.* 196). Examples of χαροπός are collected by Maxwell-Stuart (1981); but see Davies (1982) 214-16 for criticism of his views.

**195** ἡὔτε φῶτες ὁμόφρονες: as guardians of the herd the dogs are trained to work together. Contrast *Il.* 22.263 οὐδὲ λύκοι τε καὶ ἄνδρες ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσιν.

**196** ὃ δὴ... τέτυκται: cf. *Il.* 18.549 τὸ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο (the only early epic parallel).

**197-8** The description is again elaborate and perhaps deliberately euphonic, with strong assonance of the genitive endings and frequent juxtaposition of vowels and soft consonants, mirroring the sense of softness and sweetness (μαλακοῦ, γλυκεροῦ). Cf. Demetrius *Eloc.* 69-71 on the euphony of ἡέλιος and similar words.

**197** καταδύομένοιο: the long upsilon of καταδύω is paralleled in Hellenistic and later poetry, whereas it is short in Homer.

**199** The asyndeton suggests a note of urgency, after the long preamble. Cf. Hes. *Th.* 114 ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι, although there ταῦτα is resumptive, whereas here it is prospective.

γεραῖε παλαιγενές: cf. *Il.* 17.561 Φοῖνιξ, ἄττα γεραῖε παλαιγενές, where the tone is respectful and familiar.

**200** ἀνέρα: Apollo naturally assumes the thief to be an adult man.

**202–11** The farmer takes his time to come to the point, beginning with a protracted preamble about the general difficulty of giving any useful information, plus the fact that he was busy all day. When he does address the question his answer is at first vague and evasive (208–9), but then becomes more precise about what he saw, although still in halting style.

**202** ὦ φίλος: for this address to a stranger cf. *Od.* 13.229 to Athene in disguise, 15.260. But here ‘my friend’ is in keeping with the farmer’s general moralising tone, in contrast to the more respectful φέριστε (208).

ἴδοιτο: ‘one might see’. For the omission of τις cf. *Il.* 13.287, 22.199, etc. But M’s ἴδοιμι (or Ernesti’s ἴδοιο) could be right here.

**203** πάντα λέγειν: the emphasis is on giving information by speech, and hence πάντα λέγειν is to be preferred to πάντ’ ἀλέγειν.

**204–5** He means that it is hard to distinguish among passers-by whether anyone might be up to no good or not. We should understand μεμαότες with ἐσθλά. M’s πρήσσουσιν may be simply repetition from 203, or else an attempt to give ἐσθλά a verb.

**207** γουνὸν ἀλωῆς οἰνοπέδοιο: cf. *Od.* 1.193, 11.193, in both cases of Laertes (see 87–93n.).

**208** παῖδα: in contrast to Apollo’s ἀνέρα (200) and so emphatic.

ἔδοξα is paralleled in this sense (‘I thought’) in epic at *Il.* 7.192, *H. Aph.* 125, but the Homeric form is δόκησα. The form ἔδοξα recurs in *IG* 1<sup>3</sup> 1 (c. 510–500 BC) and then Pindar and other fifth-century literature.

σαφές δ’ οὐκ οἶδα is a parenthesis which breaks the sense in a natural way, indicating the old man’s hesitation and reluctance. The adjective σαφής does not occur in Homer, who has only σάφα, and otherwise appears in the fifth century, but cf. *H. Dem.* 149 σαφέως.

**209** ὅς τις ὁ παῖς ‘whoever the child (might be)’, as in 277 and 311, *H. Dem.* 119 (with Richardson’s comment).

ἔυκραίρησιον: first here, and then at *A. Supp.* 300 ἔυκραίρωι βοῖ. Homeric ὀρθοκραϊράων (cf. 220) supports the feminine form of the adjective here.

**210–11** The information continues to emerge in a broken, piecemeal style, a succession of short phrases. νήπιος in runover position is emphatic, as often in Homer (cf. Van Nortwick (1975) 69–70).

**210** ἐπιστροφάδην ‘from side to side’, i.e. in a rambling way. Cf. 75 πλανοδίας, and 226.

ἐβάδιζεν: only here and at 320 in early hexameter poetry, common from the fifth century onwards.

**211** ‘And he drove them backwards, and kept their heads facing him.’ In *Il.* 17.752 μάχην ἀνέεργον ὀπίσσω means ‘they checked the battle from behind’, but here ἐξοπίσσω should mean ‘backwards’, as at *Il.* 11.461, 13.436. If κάρη δ’ ἔχεν ἀντίον αὐτῶι is the correct text, κάρη is either an accusative plural or a collective accusative singular. For the former, instead of normal epic καρήατα, cf. *H. Dem.* 12 κάρα as nominative plural (with Richardson’s comment). In *Il.* 10.259 (ρύεται δὲ κάρη θαλερῶν αἰζηῶν) it is probably singular, and possibly also at *S. Ant.* 291 (κάρα σεῖοντες). With Hermann’s ἔχον, the text would mean ‘and they kept their heads facing him’ (cf. West). One could also read αὐτός or αὐτοῖς: ‘he (himself) kept his head facing them’, i.e. he walked forwards himself.

**212–14** Apollo hurries on without further delay, and the old man’s testimony is confirmed by a bird-omen, which enables him to identify the criminal as Hermes. Διὸς παῖδα must imply this here, and the point of using this formula may be to stress that Hermes is his own brother. Cf. Apollod. 3.10.2, where Apollo discovers the truth about Hermes ἐκ τῆς μαντικῆς, and Schol. AB *Il.* 15.256. In a similar way Apollo hears of the love affair of Coronis and Ischys from the raven (*Hes.* fr. 60), a version rejected by Pindar, who says that it was thanks to his own omniscient mind (*P.* 3.27–9).

**216** ἐς Πύλον: i.e. the district near the river Alpheios. Cf. 101, 354–5, and 128–9n. In Antoninus Liberalis’ version (23) the southern (Messenian) Pylos is the scene.

**217** Cf. *Il.* 5.186 (a god) νεφέληι εἰλυμένος ὦμους, 17.551 (Athene) πορφυρέηι νεφέληι πυκάσασα ἔ αὐτήν, 16.790 (Apollo) ἠέρι γὰρ πολλῆι κεκαλυμμένος ἀντεβόλησε. Apollo does not need to conceal himself in this case, and the description must be designed to emphasise his menacing power, as in *Il.* 1.47 ὁ δ’ ἦϊε νυκτὶ ἑοικώς.

**218–26** Apollo’s complete bewilderment is comically absurd in view of his supposed powers of divination. The soliloquy builds up to a climax with the catalogue of creatures in 222–5, culminating in the most outlandish of all, the centaur. Cf. his description of the tracks at 342–9 (where 344–5 echo 220–1), and the puzzlement of the satyrs in *Ichneutai* (see 75–8n.).

**219** = *Il.* 13.99 etc.

**221** ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα: cf. 344. In Homer the meadow of asphodel appears only in the Underworld: cf. *Od.* 11.539, 573, 24.13. Here it refers to the god’s pasture, as in the elaborate descriptions at 72 and 198. For Hesiod (*Op.* 41) asphodel is symbolic of the simplest and cheapest form of diet.

**222–5** For this catalogue of creatures, with οὔτε . . . οὔτε (etc.), cf. *Il.* 17.20–2 οὔτ’ οὔν παρδάλιος τόσσον μένος οὔτε λέοντος | οὔτε σνὸς κάπρου ὀλοόφρονος etc., and *H. Dem.* 44–6, *H. Herm.* 143–5.

**222** βήματα: cf. 345 for βῆμα, which does not occur elsewhere in early hexameter poetry, and Sappho 16.17 L–P = 16.17 V, etc.

**224** κενταύρου λασιάχενος: the epithet appears first here and in *H.* 7.46, next in fifth-century drama. In Geometric and Archaic art the centaur is portrayed either as a horse with a human head and shaggy beard, or as a bearded man with human legs, joined to the back part of a horse (cf. *LIMC* s.v.

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Kentauroi et Kentaurides). The footprints of the second type would be more distinctive.

**225** Apollo recognises both the size and speed of these extraordinary steps. For τοῖα πέλωρα cf. 342 and 349.

βιβᾶι: in Homer the verb occurs only as a participle; cf. 149 προβιβῶν.

**226** ‘Strange are the tracks on one side of the road, and still stranger on the other.’ Cf. 357 ὁδοῦ τὸ μὲν ἔνθα τὸ δ’ ἔνθα. This presumably all refers still to Hermes’ steps, and is a way of saying that they go from side to side (cf. 210) and are totally incomprehensible.

**227–92** Apollo came to Cyllene and entered Maia’s cave. Hermes curled up in his blankets pretending to be asleep, and Apollo searched all the store-chambers of the cavern. He then ordered him to reveal the cattle at once, threatening to hurl him into Tartarus otherwise. Hermes denied all knowledge, claiming that he could have nothing to do with such things, since he was only just born, and offering to swear an oath to confirm his innocence. Apollo laughed at his deceit, saying that he would become an expert in burglary and rustling. He ordered him to get out of his cradle and declared that his divine privilege would be to become the prince of thieves.

In this scene Apollo’s anger and impatience are deflated by Hermes’ blatant sophistry, and he cannot help laughing indulgently at his tricks (281), and admiring him for them. The scene thus foreshadows their reconciliation and Hermes’ reception among the Olympians, and has a burlesque quality which undermines Apollo’s usual seriousness and dignity. On two vases of c. 530 and 490 BC (for details see 21n.) Hermes is shown in his cradle, with the stolen cattle nearby. On the first of these Apollo and Maia are depicted, together with a third bearded figure (possibly Zeus). The second shows what is probably Maia and Apollo.

**227–34** Apollo’s arrival and entry to the cave follow a typical pattern, with mention of divine fragrance, sheep grazing outside, and crossing of the stone threshold. Cf. however especially Hermes’ arrival at Calypso’s island (*Od.* 5.55–77) ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἀφίκετο . . . | ἦϊεν, ὄφρα μέγα σπέος ἴκετο, τῶι ἐνὶ νύμφη | ναῖεν εὐπλόκαμος . . . | πῦρ μὲν ἐπ’ ἐσχαρόφιν μέγα καίετο, τηλόθι δ’ ὀδμή | . . . ἀνὰ νῆσον ὀδώδει [followed by description of the wood around the cave and birds nesting there, etc.] . . . αὐτίκ’ ἄρ’ εἰς εὐρὺ σπέος ἦλυθεν. For other links with this episode cf. 4, 154nn. Cf. also *Od.* 9.181–4, where Odysseus and his men find sheep and goats grazing round the cave of Polyphemus. Van Nortwick (1975) 110–15 and (1980) 1–5 detects a pattern of vocabulary in 227–51, involving divine fragrance, radiance, and wealth, which he finds in Homeric scenes of deception or seduction.

**229** βαθύσκιον: first here, later in Theocritus 4.19 etc.

**230** ἀμβροσίη: this is not used of persons elsewhere in early epic (whereas ἄμβροτος is).

ἐλόχευσε: the verb occurs only here before Attic tragedy.

**231-2** Cf. *H. Dem.* 277-8 ὀσμὴ δ' ἡμέροεσσα θυηέντων ἀπὸ πέπλων | σκίδνατο, of Demeter's epiphany. Fragrance is a sign of divinity: see Richardson on *H. Dem.* 275ff. (p. 252). Here it is most probably due to the presence of Maia, as a feminine deity.

**234** ἑκατηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων 'far-shooting Apollo in person'. Cf. *H. Aph.* 151 ἑκηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων. αὐτός is often applied especially to Apollo: see *H. Ap.* 140n.

**236** χωόμενον περὶ βουσί: cf. Hes. *Sc.* 12 χωσάμενος περὶ βουσί.

**237-9** The simile resembles and may be inspired by *Od.* 5.488-93, where Odysseus heaps leaves over himself as a man hides a brand under a heap of ashes (σποδιῆι μελαίνῃ) to keep it alight, and then Athene sends him to sleep (cf. *H. Herm.* 240-1).

**238** πρέμνων: πρέμνον is only found here in early poetry; cf. Pindar etc.

**239** ἀνείλε' ἔ αὐτόν 'rolled himself up', from ἀνείλέω, which does not recur before Thucydides. The reading of the MSS ἀλέεινεν ἔ αὐτόν has been explained as meaning 'concealed himself': cf. perhaps 85, and *LfggrE* s.v., but it is less easy to extract this meaning here with ἔ αὐτόν than it is at 85 with ὄδοιπορίην.

**240** ἐν δ' ὀλίγωι συνέλασσε 'and he huddled together in a small (bundle)'.

**241** φή ῥα νεόλλουτος: φή ('like') is an emendation. It was read by Zenodotus at *Il.* 2.144, 14.499, and adopted there by modern editors, but Aristarchus held it to be post-Homeric (Schol. A *Il.* 14.499) and quoted examples from Antimachus (fr. 121) and Callimachus or his followers (fr. 260.58, 737). It may occur in Hes. fr. 204.138. See also Janko on *Il.* 14.499-500. νεόλλουτος, if correct, means 'newly washed', and recurs in Hippocrates (νεόλουτος) of a woman after childbirth (1.535 etc.). Hermes curls up like a baby after it has been washed and is ready for sleep: cf. 267-8, where he includes sleep and warm baths among his concerns. The variant θῆρα νέον λοχάων is hard to explain. AHS suggest νεολλοχέων, meaning 'newborn', which occurs nowhere in surviving literature.

ἦδυμον ὕπνον: cf. 249. In Homer the form νήδυμος is normally used, with ἦδυμος as an occasional variant reading. Both occur in later poetry. ἦδυμος is actually the original form of the word: cf. *H. Aph.* 170-2n., and Chantraine, *Dict.* s.v. νήδυμος.

**242** Martin's conjecture ἐγρήσων ἐρατὴν τε would make the verse closer to 153 χέλυν ἐρατὴν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἔέργων. AHS compare Hipponax fr. 177 West Ἐρμῆ μάκαρ, <σὺ γὰρ> κατ' ὕπνον οἶδας ἐγρήσσειν.

μασχάληι 'arm-pit': only here in early poetry, then in Aeschylus etc.

**243** γνῶ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε: cf. Hes. *Th.* 551 γνῶ ῥ' οὐδ' ἠγνοίησε δόλον, of Zeus seeing through the deception of Prometheus.

**244** νύμφην τ' οὐρείην: cf. Hes. fr. 123.1 οὐρειαι νύμφαι.

**245** δολίηις εἰλυμένον ἐντροπίηισι 'wrapped in cunning tricks'. εἰλύω and εἰλυμένος are used elsewhere in a purely physical sense, and ἐντροπίη recurs only in Hippocrates (*Decent.* 2), where it means 'concern', like ἐντροπή. The metaphor is perhaps suggested by the description of Hermes wrapped in his σπάργανα (235-42 etc.). For a similar transference cf. Archil. fr. 191.1 West

ἔρωσ ὑπὸ καρδίην ἔλυσθεις ('love curled up beneath my heart'), with Silk (1974) 131–3.

**246–51** Here the cave is like a great house or temple with store-chambers full of wealth, in contrast to Hermes' complaints at 167–81. Cf. for example *Il.* 6.289–311, where Hecabe takes a precious robe from a storeroom and offers it to Athene, or the storerooms of *Od.* 2.337–47. The spectacle of Apollo hastily and vainly rifling through the possessions of Maia is somewhat ludicrous. Like a police officer with a search warrant he does not stop to question Maia or Hermes until he has been through everything.

**246** ἀνά: this reading suits the context better than ἄρα, since παπταίνω with accusative is used in Homer of looking for someone (*Il.* 4.200, 17.115).

**247** ἀδύτους: elsewhere in early epic the gender is uncertain, but later ἄδυτον is neuter in *Hdt.* 5.72, *E. Ion* 938.

**248** νέκταρος . . . ἠδ' ἀμβροσίας ἐρατεινῆς: cf. *Il.* 19.347, 353, *H. Ap.* 124 νέκταρ τε καὶ ἀμβροσίην ἐρατεινήν.

ἐμπλείους: the variant reading ἐκπλείους is possible, but this form does not occur otherwise before Euripides and Xenophon.

**250** φοινικόνετα καὶ ἄργυφα εἶματα: the first epithet is used of a cloak in Homer (*Il.* 10.133, *Od.* 14.500, 21.118), the second of a robe, in the form ἀργύφειος (*Od.* 5.230, 543); cf. ἄργυφος of sheep.

**252** ἐξερέεινε 'searched'. Cf. *Od.* 12.259 πόρους ἄλως ἐξερεείνων.

**254–9** Apollo's speech of interrogation is brusque and peremptory: a single-verse command plus highly emphatic runover word (Θᾶσσον: 'and quick!'), followed by a more extensive description of the dire consequences of failure to obey, culminating in a sentence with two consecutive examples of integral enjambment (257–9): cf. Van Nortwick (1975) 92–3. Imprisonment in Tartarus is a typical punishment for unruly deities, usually administered by Zeus. Cf. especially *Il.* 8.12–13, where Zeus threatens the gods with either a beating or Tartarus: πληγεῖς οὐ κατὰ κόσμον ἐλεύσεται Οὐλυμπόνδε | ἢ μιν ἔλων ρίψω ἐς Τάρταρον ἠερόεντα (and 8.40 resembles *H. Herm.* 466). Other examples are *Hes. Th.* 868 (Typhoeus), fr. 30.22 (Salmones), and 54(a) + 57 (Apollo himself). Vox (1981) suggests that there is a specific echo here of *Hes.* fr. 54(a) and 57, where Zeus threatens this fate for Apollo because he killed the Cyclopes, and Apollo's mother Leto intercedes to save him. On this theme of divine punishment see also Harrell (1991).

**254** ὦ παῖ: the abruptness of the address is increased by the rare metrical shortening of παῖ. Contrast the more relaxed tone of 282, 436, and 514.

μήνυε: the verb occurs first here and at *SLG* 5323.15 (Simonides?); cf. 264 μήνυτρον. It is the standard legal term later for disclosing information.

**255** Θᾶσσον: the MSS read Θᾶττον (the Attic or Boeotian form) here, but Θᾶσσον at 212. It seems more likely that the usual epic form has been corrupted at 255 than vice versa.

ἐπεὶ 'for otherwise'.

διοισόμεθ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον: an ominously euphemistic way of describing the quarrel which would ensue. διαφέρειν ('to differ') does not occur elsewhere in

early epic; cf. Heraclitus 72 (with the same sense) etc. οὐ κατὰ κόσμον is used in the context of a quarrel at *Il.* 2.214; cf. also *Il.* 8.12, quoted in 254–9n.

**256** Cf. 374 ἠπειλήσε βαλεῖν ἐς Τάρταρον εὐρύν. Πίγεν proposed λαβῶν, but the duplication of ῥίψω with βαλῶν is not unusual.

**257** εἰς ζόφον αἰνόμορον καὶ ἀμήχανον: αἰνόμορος is used of persons in Homer (*Il.* 22.481, *Od.* 9.53, 24.169). The phrase is new and suitably awe-inspiring.

**257–9** οὐδέ σε μήτηρ | . . . οὐδέ πατήρ ἀναλύσεται, ἀλλ' . . . | ἔρρησεις: for this type of threat cf. *Il.* 21.123–5 οὐδέ σε μήτηρ | . . . γοήσεται, ἀλλὰ Σκάμανδρος | οἴσει . . . , *Od.* 24.292–6 οὐδέ ἐ μήτηρ | κλαῦσε περιστείλασα πατήρ ῥ' . . . | οὐδ' ἄλοχος . . . | κώκυς' . . . See also *H. Ap.* 362–70n.

**259** ἔρρησεις: this has a double implication, of wandering vainly (e.g. *Od.* 4.367), and of going to one's ruin or death.

ὀλίγοισι μετ' ἀνδράσιν ἡγεμονεύων 'as leader among the people of small importance', i.e. the souls of the dead. Cf. the Homeric ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα. ὀλίγος means 'slight' in early Greek poetry: cf. (e.g.) *Od.* 14.492 ὀλίγηι ὀπί, and Moorhouse (1947) 31–45. Cf. also later *AP* 9.334 κάμῃ τὸν ἐν σμικροῖς ὀλίγον θεόν, of a minor deity. There may be irony in the fact that Hermes will indeed become a leader for the dead, in his capacity as ψυχοπόμπος (cf. 572–3). AHS take ὀλίγοισι μετ' ἀνδράσιν as 'among little men', and West translates 'among human children'. But with ἀνδράσιν it can hardly refer to children.

**260–77** Hermes' reply is a parody of a defence speech in miniature, fully worthy of this god of rhetoric. He begins by expressing his surprise with a rhetorical question, and denying his guilt or any knowledge of the crime (261–4). He then uses arguments from probability, claiming that he does not resemble a thief, corroborated by appeal to his lifestyle and character as a baby, and suggesting that such an accusation is shocking and improper (269–73). Finally he offers to swear an oath that he is innocent of all complicity, adding (in contradiction to 263) that he only knows of it by hearsay (274–7).

This is the first of Hermes' two defence speeches; the second, to Zeus, is at 368–86. Görgemanns (1976, 113–19) shows how they fit the patterns of later rhetorical theory. For example, the type of argument that Hermes does not resemble a cattle-rustler because he is not strong enough (265) was said to have been discussed by the early fifth-century BC rhetorician Teisias, as an example of the use of τὸ εἰκός (cf. Pl. *Phdr.* 273B3–C4), and by his contemporary Corax (cf. Arist. *Rhet.* 1402a17–20). But the way these arguments are used and developed further in these two passages indicates that the point which Hermes makes was already a traditional one before the time of these two theorists, even if we do not have earlier examples. Stylistically also the speech is highly crafted, with the double rhetorical question (261–2), the use of tricolon crescendo in 263 and 273, the emphatic repetition of negatives in 263–6 and 275–6, the variation of μηνύσαιμι . . . μήνυτρον ἀροίμην (264), the emotive catalogue of 267–8, and the exclamatory expressions of 269–72, ending in a staccato half-line (272), a device used again in the concluding lines (275–7). See Eitrem (1906) 269, Radermacher ad loc., and Kennedy (1963) 40–1.

Van Nortwick (1975, 93-5) also discusses this speech, together with those by Hermes at 307-12 and 368-86. He notes a high frequency of short sentences, simple sentence-structure, and in 260-77 a repetitive pattern of verse-endings with a verb scanned - - - , often preceded by a trochaic noun. Together with alliteration, assonance, and anaphora, these, he suggests, all give an effect of artfully childish speech.

**261-2** There is a slight ellipse of a natural kind in 262: e.g. 'what is this harsh speech . . . and (why) have you come?'

**261** τοῦτον ἀπηνέα μῦθον: cf. Iris to Poseidon at *Il.* 15.201-2 οὕτω γὰρ δὴ τοι . . . τόνδε φέρω Διὶ μῦθον ἀπηνέα τε κρατερόν τε . . . ;

ἔειπας: the Homeric forms are ἔειπες or εἶπας.

**263-4** These lines are quoted by Apollo at 363-4.

**263** Cf. *Od.* 23.40 οὐ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, ἀλλὰ στόνον οἶον ἄκουσα, and *Od.* 3.94 = 4.324 ἄλλου μῦθον ἀκούσας.

**264** οὐκ ἂν μήνυτρον ἀροίμην 'I could not gain a reward for information'. μήνυτρον recurs in Hipponax (fr. 102.4), and later in the plural in Attic writers. Cf. possibly Soph. *Ichneutai* fr. 314.87 Ραδτ μηνυ[.

οὔτε: The sequence οὐ . . . οὔτε . . . is common in epic and later (Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup> 509-10). There is no need to alter this to οὐδέ (as Baumeister and Allen do).

**266** Again οὐκ (the MSS' reading) is better here than οὔτ' (Gemoll) or οὐδ' (Allen). The asyndeton is dramatic and effective: 'this is not my business'.

**269** 'I hope that no one will learn how this quarrel arose!'

**271** Cf. 158 διὲκ προθύροιο περήσειν. Hermes is answering Apollo's original assumption that the cows might be hidden somewhere in the cave.

**272** τὸ δ' ἀπρεπέως ἀγορεύεις: this is the first appearance of ἀπρεπ(έ)ως, and the adjective first occurs in Hippocrates and Thucydides. The concepts of τὸ πρέπον and τὸ ἀπρεπές will later become standard terms of rhetorical theory.

**273** An effective tricolon in its brevity and the contrast of the second and third elements.

χθές: only here in literature before the fifth century, but its derivative χθιζός is common in Homer, where χθιζόν and χθιζά are used adverbially.

**274-7** Hermes offers to swear an oath, but both here and at 378-84 he cunningly avoids perjuring himself (see 275-7n.). Hermes is the expert in the art of swearing oaths: cf. *Od.* 19.394-8, where Autolycus is said to have learnt this from him. As a means of settling a dispute oath-taking is already attested in the *Iliad*, 23.581-5: cf. Richardson on *Il.* 23.566-85. Callaway (1993, 22-4) argues that both here and at 378-84 Hermes only offers an oath, but does not actually swear one. εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις in 274 does leave it somewhat open as to whether he is really doing so or not, since it is a conditional clause.

**274** εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις: the form ἐθέλω is normal in Homer and Hesiod, although θέλω does occur at *H. Ap.* 46, and so could possibly be correct here (see also Richardson on *H. Dem.* 160).

πατρὸς κεφαλῆν: at *Il.* 15.36-40 Hera swears by Zeus's head, together with various other witnesses, and Zeus himself says that when he nods his

head this is the greatest guarantee (τέκμωρ) he can give to the gods (*Il.* 1.524–7).

**275–7** Hermes repeats his denial at 309–11, where 311 = 277. 275 can mean ‘I do not profess to be guilty myself’, a clever way of avoiding an outright lie.

**275–6** The indicative is used here as it is in oaths of denial: cf. *Il.* 10.330–1, 15.41–4, 19.261–2, and Chantraine, *GH* II. 331.

**276** κλοπόν: only here, and at Opp. *C.* 1.517.

**277** αἱ τινες αἱ βόες εἰσί: cf. 209 ὅς τις ὁ παῖς, for this kind of throwaway expression.

τὸ δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούω: cf. *Il.* 2.436 ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν.

**278–80** ‘Thus he spoke, and flashing frequent glances from his eyes he kept signalling with his eyebrows up and down, looking to one side and the other, with a long dismissive whistle, as if listening to a pointless story.’ West (2003) and Vergados (2007a) take ὀφρύσι with what precedes, and ῥιπτάζεσκεν as ‘he tossed and turned’, as in later uses of this verb (Hippocrates etc.). This is closer to Hes. *Th.* 826–7 ἐκ δὲ οἱ ὄσσων | . . . ὑπ’ ὀφρύσι πῦρ ἀμάρυσσεν, and could be right, although ὀφρύσι without ὑπό is slightly awkward in this case.

Hermes’ reactions are described in great detail. Cf. 387 where he winks at Zeus, and 415 where again his flashing eyes are described. The general effect is one of mischievous insolence and contempt for Apollo’s claims.

**278** ἀμαρύσσων: see 45n. (ἀμαρυγή).

**279** ὀφρύσι ῥιπτάζεσκεν: for signals with the eyebrows cf. *Od.* 9.468, 12.194, etc.

ὀρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα: cf. Hes. fr. 294, where this is applied to the many-eyed Argos, Hermes’ enemy (with ὀρώμενον).

**280** ἀποσυρίζων: this compound recurs in Lucian (*VH* 2.5); cf. Homeric σῦριγξ. It may indicate contempt (cf. ἐκσυρίζω, of hissing in the theatre), or indifference.

ἄλιον ὡς μῦθον ἀκούων: ὡς seems necessary here, and τὸν in some MSS may be due to expressions like ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν (*Il.* 5.715).

**281–92** Apollo’s tone changes dramatically to relaxed and friendly amusement and admiration, and the warning at 289 cannot be taken seriously.

**281** ἀπαλὸν γελάσας: cf. *Od.* 14.465 ἀπαλὸν γελάσαι. Zeus likewise smiles at Hera’s deceptive speech, at *Il.* 15.47, and at Hermes’ speech at *H. Herm.* 389–90.

**282** ὦ πέπον: nearly always a term of endearment. But it is also used by Zeus of Prometheus, when deceived by him over the division of sacrificial meat, at Hes. *Th.* 544, 560.

ἡπεροπευτά is used of Paris at *Il.* 3.39, again in a series of vocative epithets.

δολοφραδές: first here; cf. Pi. *N.* 8.33.

**283** ἀντιτοροῦντα: see 178n.

**284** Literally, ‘in the night-time you would not make only one person sit upon the ground’. Sitting on the ground is a sign of grief or despair (see Richardson on *H. Dem.* 197–201), but here it may imply that Hermes has stolen all the furniture.

**285** σκευάζοντα ‘packing things up’: the verb possibly occurs at Arch. fr. 140.2 West, then in Herodotus and fifth-century Attic literature.

ψόφου: the word is attested first in Sappho (twice).

οἱ ἄγορεύεις ‘(to judge by) the way you talk’.

**286–8** The only other use of the word μηλοβοτήρ is at *Il.* 18.529, in the description of a raid on sheep and cattle on the shield of Achilles. Cf. *Il.* 18.528–9 τάμνοντ’ ἀμφὶ βοῶν ἀγέλας καὶ πώεα καλὰ | ἀργεννέων οἰῶν, κτεῖνον δ’ ἐπὶ μηλοβοτήρας. If our poet had this in mind, this would support the reading of the MSS at 288 ἀντήσηις ἀγέλησι βοῶν καὶ πώεσι μῆλων, as opposed to the marginal variant ἄντην (for ἄντηις?) βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις οἴεσσι. βουκόλιον otherwise does not occur before Herodotus. This marginal reading could have arisen as a genuine rhapsodic variant.

**289** πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον: this occurs adverbially at *Od.* 20.116, in the context of the impending death of the suitors; cf. also *Il.* 22.203. Apollo’s words, however, as addressed to an immortal, are an empty threat.

**290** μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἑταῖρε: cf. 15, 67, 577–8, and 436 δαιτὸς ἑταῖρε of Hermes.

**291–2** Already one aspect of Hermes’ honours is announced, confirming his own boast at 166–75. For γὰρ οὖν (‘for indeed’, in Homer always with a backward reference) see Denniston, *GP*<sup>2</sup> 445–6. Here this final statement refers back to 282–8. For Hermes as ‘leader of thieves’ cf. 175, and see 67n.

**293–321** Apollo picked up Hermes, but the child farted and sneezed, and Apollo dropped him at these ominous sounds, but told him that he must lead the way to the cattle. Hermes again denied being to blame and demanded that the case be brought before Zeus. They set off for Olympus, with Hermes leading.

**293–303** Hermes interrupts Apollo’s attempt to seize him by two unexpected and startling actions, which were usually involuntary and so could be regarded as ominous, although here he does them on purpose (294). The first (a fart) is comically treated as an omen in Ar. *Eq.* 638–42, and could be seen in comedy as a parody of Zeus’s thunder (Ar. *Nub.* 392–4). The second (sneezing) was commonly viewed as ominous. These reactions may be intended to confirm Apollo’s prediction at 292, but they also have the effect of making him drop Hermes. Apollo retaliates by saying that he will use them as aids in finding his cattle (302–3). There is an echo at 295–7 of 213–15 (οἰωνὸν . . . ἔσσυμένως δέ), where Apollo sees a bird-omen and at once rushes off towards Pylos. See also Katz (1999) 315–19.

**295–6** οἰωνὸν . . . ἀγγελιώτην ‘let fly an omen, as he was lifted in Apollo’s hands, an insolent servant of the belly, an impudent messenger’. The description is riddling and comically personifies this physical emission in a pseudo-honorific way. Cf. Eubulus, *PCG* fr. 106.1–10, where οἰκείων ἀνέμων ταμίας in a riddle is interpreted as πρωκτός. Theoretically 296 could also refer to a burp, but this is less probable. πλήμων is best taken as ‘insolent’ here, rather than ‘wretched’ (Katz (1999) 317). ἔριθός (‘hired servant’) is occasionally used metaphorically later. ἀγγελιώτης occurs only here in early Greek, later in Callimachus and Nonnus. For further discussion of the way in which early epic and other ‘high’ genres of

poetry refer to words relating to bodily functions cf. Bain (2007), especially 51–2 on this passage.

**297** ἐπέπταρε: cf. *Od.* 17.545 ἐπέπταρε πασὶν ἔπεσσιν, where Penelope treats Telemachus' sneeze as a confirmatory omen.

**299–300** Despite his eagerness to find his cattle Apollo sits down in order to continue his verbal sparring-match (κερτομέων).

**301** θάρσει: perhaps like our colloquial 'don't worry!', i.e. whatever you do, you can't stop me.

σπαργανιώτα: this word occurs nowhere else, and was perhaps invented ad hoc. As in 282 the tone is presumably affectionately mocking. Cf. ἀγγελιώτην (296), μηχανιώτα (436), etc.

**302** καὶ ἔπειτα 'in the end', or 'after all'.

**304–5** In contrast to Apollo it is Hermes who now shows haste to move on and end this argument. σπουδῆι here means 'hastily' (cf. *Od.* 13.279, 15.209). For Κυλλήνιος Ἑρμῆς cf. *Od.* 24.1 Ἑρμῆς . . . Κυλλήνιος, and *H.* 18.1.

**305–6** ἄμφω . . . ἐελέμενος: lit. 'he thrust with his hands along both his ears, with his blanket wrapped round his shoulders', i.e. he stopped his ears from hearing any more, whilst still maintaining his position as a mere baby. This interpretation of 305 seems more natural than taking it as 'pushed his ears back' with παρεώθει as a *tnesis* (AHS), or reading ἐελέμενον and taking σπάργανον as the object of ἐώθει (Càssola). For σπάργανον . . . ἐελέμενος cf. 151–3, where this characterises Hermes as a baby, and similarly 235–42.

**307–12** Hermes maintains his pretence of injured innocence with a further protest, which skilfully leads up to his demand for a trial before their father Zeus. This marks a major turning point in the narrative, diverting Apollo from his original aim of finding the cattle directly, and thereby engineering Hermes' entry to Olympus and ultimate reception as a member of the divine family.

**307** ζαμενέστατε 'most furious'. The epithet occurs first here, then in Pindar and later literature, but cf. Hes. *Th.* 928 ζαμένησε.

**308–11** The four-fold repetition of different forms of the plural of βοῦς within four lines emphasises the absurdity of this whole quarrel over mere cattle. 309–11 echo Hermes' earlier denials at 263–77, especially 275–7. 311 is a variation of 277, and 309 ὦ πόποι . . . γένος expresses exasperation: 'to hell with all the race of cattle!'

**308** ὀρσολοπεύεις: literally 'flay the arse', from ὀρσος (rump) and λέπειν, i.e. 'persecute, give me a hard time'. This coarse expression suits Hermes' comic style. Cf. Anacreon fr. 393 P. ὀρσολόπος of Ares, A. *Pers.* 10 ὀρσολοπεῖται θυμός metaphorically, Max. Tyr. 107 ὀρσολοπεύει μύθῳ ὄνειδείῳ, and *LfgrE* s.v.

**312** δὸς δὲ δίκην καὶ δέξο: i.e. submit your case to arbitration, a legal expression, with the alliteration and brevity of this phrase effectively indicating the reciprocal character of the process. For δίκας διδόναι καὶ δέχεσθαι cf. *IG* I<sup>3</sup> 6.A 41–2, Thucydides, etc., and similarly δίκας διδόναι καὶ λαμβάνειν (*Hdt.* etc.). δίκην διδόναι already occurs in Anaximander (fr. 1).



**313–21** This passage sums up the stalemate which the two gods have reached with a lengthy preamble (313–19), in which the first subordinate clause (αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ) is left suspended at 315, and then resumed after a parenthesis (315–18) with a second αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ (319). The unresolved balance of the conflict is expressed throughout by contrasting phrases, and then neatly encapsulated in the anaphora of 319 (πολύμητις . . . πολυμήχανον). Finally 321–2 move the narrative forward, with the comic picture of the infant Hermes leading the way to Olympus, followed by his adult brother. Hermes has by implication won this round of their contest, but he is still Apollo's prisoner (cf. 330).

**313** διαρρήδην 'expressly, explicitly'. This occurs first here, and is later used above all in legal contexts (of treaties, laws, etc.) from the late fifth century onwards.

**314** οἰοπόλος: in Homer this is used of wild or solitary places (*Il.* 13.473 etc.), as if connected with οἶος ('alone'), but an alternative ancient etymology connected it with οἶς, as if meaning 'sheep-haunted' (cf. Schol. *Il.* 13.473, Schol. A.R. 4.1322), and it may have this sense sometimes in later poetry (e.g. Colluthus 15, and cf. οἰοπολέω in *AP* 7.657). Elsewhere when applied to deities it probably means 'solitary' (Pindar *P.* 4.28, fr. 70b.19, A.R. 4.1322, 1413). It is impossible to know for sure whether our poet intended it to mean 'who haunts the wilds' or 'shepherd' (as most scholars assume). Either way it anticipates his future role as guardian of animals (567–71), as 331 does for his role as herald. See also Janko (1982) 136.

**315** ἀμφὶς θυμὸν ἔχοντες 'with divided hearts'. Cf. *Il.* 13.345 ἀμφὶς φρονέοντε etc.

**315–16** ὁ μὲν νημερτέα φωνῶν | οὐκ ἀδίκως ἐπὶ βουσὶν ἐλάζυτο κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν 'Apollo, speaking the truth, was not unjustly apprehending glorious Hermes on account of his cattle'. The simple verb φωνεῖν is only used in the aorist in Homer. The transmitted reading φωνήν would have to be an internal accusative, as at *S. Ai.* 1107–8 τὰ σεμν' ἔπη κόλαζ' ἐκείνους, and *OT* 339–40 ἔπη . . . ἃ νῦν σὺ τήνδ' ἀτιμάζεις πόλιν, but this seems very awkward here. ἐπὶ βουσὶν represents the subject of the charge, as at *A. PV* 196 ποίωι λαβῶν σε Ζεὺς ἐπ' αἰτιάματι. The language continues to echo that of a lawsuit.

**316** ἐλάζυτο: in Homer the form λάζεσθαι is used. λάζυσθαι is Ionic (Hippocrates) and Attic.

**319** This sounds like a proverbial expression for a trickster meeting his match. πολύμητις must refer to Hermes, the subject of 317–18 and 320–1.

**320–1** Once again the journey is described as over sandy terrain, a very abbreviated way of referring to the whole way from Cyllene to Olympus, and the gods walk on the ground, whereas in Homer they usually fly. To do so here would have ruined the comic effect.

**322–96** They arrived at Olympus, where the gods were assembled, and stood before Zeus, who asked Apollo who this child he had captured could be. Apollo described the theft, the mysterious footprints, the old man who saw Hermes, and how he had hidden the cattle, returned to his cradle again, and denied all

knowledge of the crime. Hermes pleaded that Apollo had come in search of his property without any witnesses and threatened him, and argued on grounds of probability that he could not have done the crime, claiming correctly that he had not driven the cattle to his home or crossed the threshold, and threatening vengeance against Apollo. Zeus laughed at his clever denials. He ordered them both to be reconciled, and Hermes to lead Apollo to the hiding-place of the cattle, and Hermes agreed.

This episode can be seen as an elaborate variation on the traditional motif in the *Hymns* of a new deity's introduction to Olympus and the society of the gods. Cf. 504-7, where Apollo and Hermes return to Olympus, and Zeus rejoices and reconciles them.

The trial scene has a simple and balanced structure:

- 322-8 Arrival of the two parties to the dispute  
 328-32 Zeus interrogates Apollo about the nature of the case  
 333-65 Apollo's accusation  
 366-88 Hermes' defence speech  
 389-96 Zeus gives his verdict.

Apollo's speech is longer than Hermes', because it contains an extensive narrative section. Hermes' reply repeats several of the motifs of his earlier defence (260-77), and in both cases is accompanied or followed by significant eye-movements and other physical gestures (278-80, 387-8). Both speeches provoke laughter from their addressees (281, 389-90).

**322** τέρθρον 'summit'. This rare word occurs first here and was later used especially of the end of a sail-yard. It recurs in the late sixth-century lyric poet Apollodorus (*PMG* 701), Empedocles, etc. The variant reading αἶψα δ' ἴκοντο κάρηνα may derive from κάρηνα as a gloss on τέρθρον.

Θυάδεος Οὐλύμπιοι: cf. *H. Dem.* 331.

**323** Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα: they are here joined for the first time in a single complimentary phrase, perhaps anticipating their impending reconciliation: cf. 397, 504.

**324** 'For there the scales of justice were set in place for them both.' The line resembles and may be influenced by *Il.* 18.507 κείτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα, in the trial scene on Achilles' shield, where τάλαντα refers to golden talents, and κείτο has more point than in the hymn. The origin of the idea of the scales of justice probably lies in the scales of Zeus, which weigh the fates of men and nations in the *Iliad* (8.69 etc.). Cf. Bacchyl. 4.12, 17.25 for Δίκας τάλαντον, A. *Ag.* 250 Δίκαι... ἐπιρρέπει, *AP* 6.267.4 ἐκ Διὸς ἰθείης οἶδε τάλαντα δίκης. Here too the scales of justice are in the power of Zeus as arbiter.

**325** West's εὐωχίη (with synzesis) would give a possible sense ('feasting, good cheer', in Aristophanes etc.), but the true text remains uncertain. For Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον cf. *Il.* 1.420 etc., *H. Herm.* 505.

**325-6** ἀθάνατοι... | ἄφθιτοι: for the repetition cf. *Od.* 3.3 θνητοὶ βροτοὶ etc.

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**326** μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἦῶ: the gods assemble in the morning at *Il.* 1.493–5, *Od.* 5.1–4, and the variant ποτὶ πτύχας Οὐλύμποιο is weak after 322 and 325. Dawn came already at 184–5, but the time-scale is now vague.

**327–8** The two contestants stand ‘before the knees of Zeus’ seeking justice, in the manner of suppliants.

**330–2** Zeus rarely speaks directly in the *Hymns*. Apart from this three-line speech, there is no other instance except in *H.* 1. His words are reported indirectly, e.g. at *H. Herm.* 391–4, and several times in *H. Dem.* This is in marked contrast with the Homeric epics, and it accords with his presentation in the *Hymns* as a more distant figure. Zeus’s interrogation is ironic and bantering. For πόθεν ταύτην μενοεικέα ληΐδ’ cf. 32 πόθεν τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα (again ironic). Hermes has ‘the form of a herald’, i.e. in some way he already appears like what he is soon destined to become (528–32), the patron of heralds (cf. also 314n.).

**332** σπουδαῖον τόδε χρῆμα ‘this (is) a serious matter’: again ironic. σπουδαῖος occurs first here and in Theognis (64–5 χρῆμα σπουδαῖον etc.), χρῆμα in Hesiod (*Op.* 344, 402).

**334–64** Apollo’s speech is simple in structure and content, and the language is quite repetitious (335 κερτομέων, 338 κέρτομον, 340 ἐλαύνων, 342 ἐλάων, 342, 349 πέλωρα, 347, 350 διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον, 352 στίβον, 353 στίβος).

**334** μῦθον . . . οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν ‘no feeble tale’, i.e. a truly serious matter.

**335** Apollo was evidently sensitive to criticism for being greedy: see 176–81, 494–5, 549nn. φιλολήϊος (‘fond of plunder’) is a *hapax legomenon*, which echoes ληΐδα in 330, just as ἐλαύνων (340) and ἐλάων (342) echo ἐλαύνεις (330).

**336–9** The opening of Apollo’s *narratio* already characterises his opponent as a downright master-thief and trickster, and is full of vivid language. παῖδά τινα is somewhat derogatory (‘some mere child’). διαπρύσιος means ‘piercing’, and so ‘through and through, utter’, with a possible secondary allusion also to the thief’s activity as a piercer of walls (178, 283). κεραϊστής (from κεραΐζω, ‘plunder’), occurs only here in literature, but is listed by Hesychius, with the sense ‘baneful comet’, which suggests that it was used in another source.

**337** Cf. Hes. *Op.* 635 πολὺν διὰ πόντον ἀνύσσας.

**338** κέρτομον: the form κέρτομος occurs first in Hesiod (*Op.* 788).

**339** λησίμβροτοι ‘deceivers of men’: another *hapax*, similar in form to τερψίμβροτος.

ἐπὶ γαῖαν: for the accusative without an idea of motion cf. *Od.* 4.417, 7.332, 17.386.

**342** εὐθύ Πύλονδ’ ἐλάων: cf. 355 εἰς Πύλον εὐθύς ἐλῶντα. εὐθύ for Homeric ἰθύ occurs first here, but εὐθύς is found in archaic poetry and then in Attic and later Greek (cf. Janko (1982) 147). At 215–17 Apollo sets off in the general direction of Pylos, perhaps (by implication) having learnt this from the bird-omen of 213–14.

**342–55** After the initial statement of the theft comes a much more detailed section devoted to the all-important theme of the physical evidence (i.e. the footprints) and the verbal testimony of the old man.

**342-9** Cf. 219-26, where the two sets of prints are distinguished. In 225 and 349 πέλωρα refers only to Hermes' prints, but with δοιά in 342 it must refer to both sets. δῖα is a possible variant, but δοιά introduces the description in 344-9 (τῆισιν μὲν γὰρ . . . αὐτὸς δ' . . .).

**344-5** 'For in the case of the cattle, the black dust which held the footprints showed them facing backwards towards the meadow of asphodel': cf. 220-1. For κόνις cf. A. *PV* 1084, *Supp.* 180, 783, in contrast to Homeric κόνις, κόνιν (*Il.* 13.335, 18.23, 23.764).

**346** αὐτὸς δ' οὔτος ἄδεκτος ἀμήχανος 'but as for himself, this unacceptable, impossible fellow'. For ἄδεκτος cf. Hesychius s.v. ἄδεκτον· ἄπιστον. Later (Theophrastus etc.) it is used to mean either 'incapable of' or 'unacceptable', and the latter sense is perfectly possible. This reading gives a suitably emphatic reduplication of epithets with alpha privative (cf. 80n.). West's οὔτ' ὁδοῦ ἐκτός ('without either leaving the road') is ingenious, but the word order is awkward, with this phrase separating οὔτος from ἀμήχανος, and the sense does not add much, in terms of Apollo's general expression of puzzlement about the footprints.

**347** χερσὶν ἔβαινε: i.e. 'walked on all fours', as in A. *Eum.* 37 τρέχω δὲ χερσίν.

**348-9** ἀλλ' . . . βάλινοι 'but he had some other scheme, and was rubbing such monstrous tracks as if one were walking on slender tree trunks'. In Homer vowels are normally scanned long before -τρ-. For the scansion διέτριβε cf. 394 ἀπέκρυψε, *Od.* 5.488 ἐνέκρυψε, and other examples in Chantraine, *GH* 1 108.

**350-5** Apollo is like a detective following the tracks as far as they are visible, and then when they vanish picking up the trail by other means. Cf. 353 ἄφραστος contrasted with 354 ἐφράσατο.

**352-3** στίβον . . . στίβος: 'track' in the sense of 'trodden way' and 'footmarks'. The word occurs first here, then in fifth-century and later prose and poetry.

**355** εἰς Πύλον εὐθύς ἐλῶντα: strictly speaking the old man did not tell Apollo this fact, and the narrative is slightly compressed here (see on 342).

**356** κατέερξε: this compound occurs first here, then in Herodotus and later.

**357** καὶ . . . ἔνθα 'and had juggled his lightning tricks on one side of the road and the other'. διαπυρπαλαμᾶν occurs only here, and could well have been invented ad hoc. πυρπάλαμος ('fire-fashioned') is used as an epithet of the thunderbolt by Pindar (*O.* 10.80), and πυρπαλάμης is said by Hesychius s.v. to be applied to 'those who can devise something quickly', and τοὺς ποικίλους τὸ ἦθος; cf. Photius s.v. πυρπαλάμην 'one who manages something cleverly (παλαμώμενος) like fire'. Eustathius (*Hom.* 513.30) explains πυρπαλαμᾶσθαι as 'to perform evil tricks, and as it were go through fire in one's trickery'. Perhaps the idea is of Hermes' cleverly and quickly concealing all traces, as he actually does after the sacrifice at 138-41. Apollo's phrase is derogatory and vague. Cf. 226 αἰνὰ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο, τὰ δ' αἰνότερ' ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο.

**358-60** Apollo strongly emphasises Hermes' attempt to hide himself, as a further indication of his guilt (cf. 235-42). μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἔοικώς suggests both invisibility and deceitfulness or evil intention, and perhaps echoes *Il.* 1.47 ὁ δ' ἦϊε νυκτὶ

ἔοικώς, of Apollo's own deadly journey to send plague on the Greeks. ἄνθρωπι ἐν ἠερόεντι κατὰ ζόφον repeats this motif of impenetrable darkness, and οὐδέ κεν . . . ἔσκέφατο is a vivid exaggeration of the same idea.

**360** αἰετὸς ὄξυ λάων 'keen-sighted eagle'. Cf. Hesychius s.v. λάετε· σκοπεῖτε, βλέπετε, and two manuscripts have βλέπων as a gloss on λάων in this verse; cf. *Il.* 17.675, where an eagle is said to be 'keenest in sight of all the birds under heaven', *Od.* 19.229 (with Russo's discussion of λάω), and *Il.* 13.344, where γηθήσειε λάων is a papyrus variant for γηθήσειεν ἰδών.

**360–1** Apollo cites another of Hermes' childlike gestures, by which he pretends to have been asleep, as at 240–2.

**361** αὐγάς: αὐγαί meaning 'eyes' occurs first here, later in Attic tragedy.

ὠμόργαζε: ὀμοργάζειν occurs only here, but cf. Homeric ὀμόργνυμι, and *Od.* 18.199–200 τὴν δὲ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆκε, | καὶ ῥ' ἀπομόρξατο χερσὶ παρείας.

δολοφροσύνην ἀλεγύνων: cf. 476 ἀγλαΐας ἀλέγυνε, *H. Aph.* 11 ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειν. In the *Odyssey* ἀλεγύνω is used only of preparing a meal.

**362** μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀγόρευεν: cf. *Il.* 9.309 τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν, *Od.* 1.373.

**363–4** A direct quotation of Hermes' outright denial at 263–4 (with οὐδέ κε for οὐκ ἄν in 364), dramatically closing Apollo's speech.

**365** Cf. *Od.* 16.213 ὡς ἄρα φωνήσας κατ' ἄρ' ἔζετο (again with double ἄρα), and similarly *Il.* 1.68 etc.

**366–88** Hermes' second defence speech is another masterpiece of special pleading and injured innocence (cf. 260–77 with comments). To begin with he makes a gesture with his right hand towards Zeus as president of the assembly, like an accomplished orator (367). His opening gambit is the standard assertion of truthfulness, underscored by reference to his own sincerity and lack of expertise in falsehood (a variant of the disclaimer to expertise in public speeches). 370–7 are a *narratio*, emphasising Apollo's disturbance of Hermes' peace at an early hour of the day, his lack of witnesses, and his violent and threatening behaviour towards one so young and helpless. 377 repeats the argument from τὸ εἰκός made at 265, about the implausibility of the charge. 378–84 then appeal to Zeus for parental support, with a skilful and literally truthful denial of the charge (379–80), an assertion of his respect for the gods (381–2), especially Helios (whom he has not offended, as he worked at night), and an offer again to swear an appropriate oath (383–4 ~ 274–7). His conclusion includes a threat to be avenged against Apollo, showing the emotion of righteous indignation suitable to a peroration, and a final appeal to Zeus to support the younger and weaker party (385–6). On Hermes' use of standard techniques of rhetoric see Görgemanns (1976), 113–19. For the childish aspects of style of the speech see Van Nortwick (1975, 93–5): cf. 260–77n.

**366** Neither of the two variant lines is traditional as a formula of response, although they are made up of formulaic elements. Manuscript variation in such formulae is common in the Homeric poems (cf. Allen (1895) 302). For ἄλλον μῦθον cf. *Il.* 7.358 = 12.232 οἷσα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα

τοῦδε νοῆσαι. ἄλλον μῦθον refers here specifically to Hermes' speech as a whole.

**367** δείξατο δ' εἰς Κρονίωνα 'he pointed towards the son of Cronos': cf. Hdt. 4.150 ἅμα τε ἔλεγε καὶ ἐδείκνυε ἐς τὸν Βάπτον.

Θεῶν σημάτων πάντων: cf. Hes. *Sc.* 56.

**368–9** Hermes' insistence on the fact that he is by his very nature unable to lie may also allude ironically to Apollo's claim to veracity as a mantic god. If so, it would be a kind of counter to 335, where Apollo throws back at him the charge of rapacity. False tales are introduced by an assertion of veracity at *Od.* 14.192, 16.61, *H. Dem.* 120–1. Here, however, Hermes does strictly speaking avoid telling any direct lies in what follows.

**368** ἀληθείην ἀγορεύσω: cf. 561 ἀληθείην ἀγορεύειν. The variant reading καταλέξω could have been suggested by the common Homeric formula ἀληθείην/ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω/-ον/κατέλεξα.

**369** νημερτής 'unerring': used of persons at *Od.* 4.349 etc. (Proteus) and Hes. *Th.* 235 (Nereus).

**370** Hermes deliberately does not name Apollo throughout his speech, and the introduction to the narrative is abrupt: 'he entered our home . . .' Similarly in Attic drama, omission of a person's name in a speech may be a sign of anger or dislike. Forceful irruption into someone's home is described in Demosthenes, *Against Meidias* 78 εἰσεπήδησαν ἀδελφὸς ὁ τούτου καὶ οὗτος εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.

ἐς ἡμέτερον: this form, for ἐς ἡμέτερον, must be due to analogy with ἐς πατρός etc. ('to the house of . . .'). It is a variant with ἐς ἡμέτερον at *Od.* 2.55, 7.301, 17.534, and had Aristarchus' support. It is described as Attic by Schol. *Od.* 2.55, 7.301, but occurs also in Herodotus (1.35, 7.8δ).

**371** ἡέλιοιο νεὸν ἐπιτελλομένοιο: this is an un-Homeric expression for sunrise. ἐπιτέλλομαι is the term used by Hesiod (*Op.* 383, 567) and later (in the active) for the rising of a constellation or heavenly body. The variant νεὸν γ' is possible, as the unsociable time of day could be stressed, but equally γ' may have been added *metri gratia*. Cf. 197 ἡέλιοιο νεὸν καταδυμένοιο, again un-Homeric.

**372** Apollo had cited the old man as an eyewitness (354–5), but failed to bring with him any divine witnesses to justify his assault on Hermes. In Homer the form μάρτυρος is used. μάρτυς occurs first in Hesiod (*Op.* 371), and κατόπτης first here (cf. Aeschylus etc.). μάρτυς/-υρος is used in cases where someone is actually invoked or called as a witness to a fact or a statement (e.g. an oath), whereas a κατόπτης or αὐτόπτης is someone who happens to have been present at an event (cf. Nenci (1958) 221–41).

**373** 'But he insisted on disclosure with much duress' (West). The language again has a legal tone: for μηνύειν cf. 254, and ἀνάγκη is used later of torture, punishment, etc. (LSJ s.v. 1.3).

**373–4** ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ πολλῆς, | πολλὰ δέ μ' ἠπέιλησε: the anaphora with variation of πολλῆς and πολλὰ is a common device.

**375** Cf. Hes. *Th.* 988 τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρικυδέος ἥβης. φιλοκυδής occurs only here and at 481, but later as a proper name Φιλοκύδης. In this line ἐρικυδής would not scan. Cf. also *Il.* 13.484 ἥβης ἄνθος, *H. Dem.* 108 κουρήϊον ἄνθος ἔχουσαι.

**376** τὰ δέ τ' οἶδε καὶ αὐτός is parenthetical. Cf. 382–3 οἶσθα καὶ αὐτός | ὡς οὐκ αἰτίος εἶμι.

**377** Cf. 265.

**378** Cf. *Od.* 9.519, 529 πατήρ δ' ἐμός εὔχεται (εὔχεαι) εἶναι, and formulae such as υἱός . . . εὔχομαι εἶναι. Hermes seems to be taking something for granted, since Zeus has not yet explicitly admitted paternity in his case and the affair was secret (cf. 5–9).

**379–80** ὡς . . . ἔλασσα . . . ἔβην is dependent on πείθεο, with ὡς ὄλβιος εἶην parenthetical, 'so may I prosper', i.e. the prayer or wish for prosperity is dependent on the truth of what he claims. Strictly speaking Hermes had crossed his threshold at line 23, but 380 can be taken as referring to the same event as in 379, and on his return he slipped through the keyhole (145–7). Cf. *Il.* 15.36–46, where Hera swears a solemn oath that she had not prompted Poseidon directly to help the Greeks, again strictly true, but totally misleading (see Janko's comments ad loc.).

**381–2** The three verbs are carefully chosen: due respect for the Sun-god as all-seeing witness and guardian of justice, love for his father, and awe or reverence for his elder brother. In Homer and Hesiod ὀπίζομαι or ἐποπίζομαι are especially used of awe or dread for the anger of a god or powerful mortal, and ὄπις normally of divine vengeance (cf. *Lfgre* s.v.). Hermes can show respect for Helios, since he has not directly offended him, the whole crime having occurred at night.

**383** μέγαν δ' ἐπιδώσομαι ὄρκον 'I shall offer in addition a great oath'. This reading gives a future tense, which might be taken as an offer to swear rather than an actual oath (cf. 274–7n.).

**384** εὐκόσμητος is a *hapax legomenon*, but εὐκόσμως occurs at *Od.* 21.123, Hes. *Op.* 628. προθύραια (perhaps 'porticoes') is also a *hapax* as a noun: cf. Homeric πρόθυρον, and later προθύραιος as an epithet of deities. This extraordinary form of oath may be inspired by Hermes' own role as προπύλαιος or gate-keeper (see 15n. on πυληδόκον). Cf. Men. fr. 884 K–A μαρτύρομαι, | < . . . > τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτον<ι> καὶ τὰς θύρας, where someone swears by Apollo Agyieus and the doors near which his statue stands.

**385** 'And some day I shall repay him in addition for his pitiless search.' Text and interpretation are uncertain. This reading assumes that ποτί is adverbial, and φωρή refers to Apollo's investigation: cf. Hesychius s.v. φώρην· τὴν ἔρευναν, LSJ s.v. φωρά π 'detection, discovery', and 134–7n. The legal term used for searching to recover stolen property is φωρᾶν. For καί ποτε cf. *H. Aph.* 305, *H. Aph.* 48. τίνω normally means 'pay' or 'repay', whereas the middle means 'take vengeance for', but τείσω could be ironic, i.e. 'recompense' in a bad sense. It is possible also (as Gemoll suggests) that the words have the secondary meaning 'I

shall repay the cruel theft', i.e. Hermes could be hinting that in the end he *will* recompense Apollo, as he does by his gift of the lyre. Cf. 385-6 with 417-18 ῥεῖα μάλ' ἐπρήϋεν . . . | καὶ κρατερόν περ ἔόντα.

**386** καὶ κρατερῶι περ ἔόντι: cf. *Il.* 15.195 καὶ κρατερός περ ἔών, *Od.* 8.360.

σὺ δ' ὀπλοτέροισιν ἄρηγε: Hermes ends with a last appeal. Apollo may be the stronger party (and due for more respect as the older one), but Hermes is the younger. Zeus himself was the youngest child (*Hes. Th.* 468-84).

**387** ἐπιλλίζων 'winking': cf. *Od.* 18.11 οὐκ ἄεις ὅτι δὴ μοι ἐπιλλίζουσιν ἅπαντες; ἰλλός means 'squinting', and ἐπιλλίζω is later used of looking askance or mockingly (*AR* 1.486, 3.791, 4.389). Hermes invites Zeus's complicity in his deceit.

**388** Hermes has been holding his σπάργανον over his (left) arm throughout his speech, partly to conceal the lyre, and partly also perhaps as the visible sign of his infancy. ὠλένη occurs nowhere else in early epic, but cf. λευκῶλενος.

**389-96** The quarrel is resolved painlessly by Zeus, whose reaction to Hermes' speech resembles Apollo's at 281, a mixture of admiration and amusement, and Hermes needs no further inducement to comply. He still has up his sleeve (or rather, under his arm) his greatest trick of all to win Apollo's favour.

**389** κακομηδέα: another *hapax legomenon*.

**390** εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως: cf. *Il.* 10.265, *Od.* 20.161, 23.197, *Hes. Op.* 107.

**391** ὁμοφρόνα θυμὸν ἔχοντας: cf. *Il.* 22.263 (ἔχουσιν), *H. Dem.* 434 (ἔχουσαι), *Theognis* 81, 765.

**392** ζητεύειν . . . ἡγεμονεύειν: a neatly balanced pair of verbs. For ζητεύειν (a poetic form of ζητέειν) cf. *H. Ap.* 215, *Hes. Op.* 400.

διάκτορον: Hermes is the guide here, as in his later role.

**393** ἐπ' ἀβλαβίησι νόοιο 'without malicious intent'. Zeus lays down as a condition that Hermes should act properly from now on. The phrase, as part of his verdict, has a legal ring to it. Cf. 524 ἐπ' ἀρθμῶι καὶ φιλότητι, *A. Ag.* 1024 Ζεὺς ἀπέπαυσεν ἐπ' ἀβλαβείαι (with Fraenkel's note), *E. Hipp.* 511 οὐτ' ἐπὶ βλαβῆι φρενῶν, and ἀβλαβῶς, ἀβλαβῆς in treaties (*Th.* 5.18, 47, *IG* 1 33). ἀβλαβίη occurs first here; cf. the personified Ἀβλαβία in *SIG* 1014.67, Cretan ἀβλοπία (*GDI* 4986, 5125), and *H. Herm.* 83 ἀβλαβέως.

**394** δὴ αὐτ': with synizesis, as at *Il.* 1.340 etc.

ἀπέκρυψε: for this scansion cf. 348-9n.

**395** nicely balances the nod of Zeus and Hermes' agreement. ἀγλαὸς Ἑρμῆς (only here, but cf. 432 Διὸς ἀγλαὸς υἱός) is a variant with initial vowel for κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς. In 314 and 500 it is Apollo who is Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱός.

**396** This line closes the whole episode with a reference to the persuasive power of Zeus's will, and the characteristic ease with which divinity achieves its purpose.

**397-512** The two brothers went to the ford of the Alpheios, where the cattle were hidden, and Hermes drove them out of the cave. Apollo was amazed to see that Hermes had killed two of the cows. He began to make bonds of withy (to tie them), but Hermes made them grow into the ground and twine themselves round the cattle, again to Apollo's amazement. But he placated Apollo easily, for



he delighted him by playing the lyre, and he sang about the origin of the gods and how they were allotted their honours. Apollo was astonished at this new sound, asked him how he had discovered it, and promised to reward him with fame and prosperity.

Hermes in answer promised to share his skill with Apollo, and reminded him that he had received from Zeus the powers of omniscience and prophecy. He should play and sing as he wished. If one played with skill the lyre would easily respond, if not it would sound discordantly. Hermes ended by asking Apollo to share with him his role as patron of cattle, and to give up his anger.

Apollo took the lyre, gave Hermes his goad and the care of cattle, and began to play the lyre and sing. The cows returned to their sacred meadow, the two gods went back to Olympus, and Zeus was glad and made them friends. So Hermes has loved Apollo ever since, having taught him how to play the lyre, whilst he in turn invented the panpipes for himself to play.

In this scene of reconciliation the two leading themes of the earlier part of the hymn are interwoven, the creation of the lyre and the theft of the cattle. The lyre is the instrument of harmony and appeasement, by which Apollo's favour is won and strife is ended (cf. Pindar, *Pythian* 1). In return for this gift Hermes receives a share in Apollo's care of cattle (and other animals: cf. 567–71), thus regaining as a free gift what he had originally won by theft. As in the legend of Archilochus' meeting with the Muses (where he receives a lyre in exchange for his cow), lyre and cattle are the elements in a complex process of exchange between the two brothers (cf. 437): Hermes the thief has become Hermes the god of commerce (cf. 516–17). At the same time Hermes emphasises Apollo's own gift of prophecy, a counterpart of musical skill (cf. 466–74, 489, 533–5), and this motif will be resumed in the final part of the hymn, where Apollo grants him a special type of prophecy at Delphi, separate from his own (533–66).

**398** For Pylos and the ford over the Alpheios see 128–9, 216nn., and *H. Ap.* 398, 423.

**400** ἤχοῦ ('where') occurs nowhere else, though cf. Hesychius s.v. ἤχου [*sic*]: ἐνθάδε. ἤχι ('where') is Homeric, and ἤχοῖ is a dialect form (Oropus, *IG VII* 235.16). The form, however, is comparable to common Greek ἀλλαχοῦ, πανταχοῦ, etc., and therefore gives no indication of the hymn's provenance: Janko (1982) 148.

τὰ χρήματ' 'livestock': in the plural this word can refer to any kind of goods or property (literally 'useable things'), e.g. *Od.* 2.78, 203, etc., but is not used elsewhere in early Greek poetry of livestock; it probably has this sense in Xenophon *An.* 5.2.4, 7.8.12; cf. Hesychius s.v. χρήματα: κτήματα, βοσκήματα.

ἀτάλλετο 'were being cared for', or 'were feeding'. The normal epic form for this would be ἀπιτάλλετο (cf. *Il.* 5.271 etc.), but this is unmetrical here, although most MSS read it. ἀτάλλω means 'foster' at Hom. *Epigr.* 4.2 (= *Vita Herodotea Homeri* 174 Allen), and is used in a similar sense metaphorically at Pi. fr. 214.2

Snell–Maehler, *S. Ai.* 559, whereas it means ‘play’ at *Il.* 13.27, Hes. *Op.* 131 (cf. ἀταλός).

**401** κίων παρὰ λάϊνον ἄντρον ‘going the length of the rocky cavern’ (West). ἐς (M’s reading) is probably a conjecture, παρὰ being the more difficult reading.

**402** εἰς φῶς: in Homer φάος or φῶος are always used, and so normally in Hesiod and the *Hymns*. But cf. Hes. fr. 204.150 ἐς φῶς. Otherwise φῶς recurs in Attic and later Greek. In this hymn there is no need to change it to φάος.

**403** ἀπάτερθεν ἰδών ‘looking aside’. Cf. Theognis 1059 ἀπάτερθεν ὀρῶντι.

**405** ἐδύνω: this contracted form of the imperfect (cf. ἐδύνασο) is not found elsewhere in early poetry (cf. Xen. *An.* 1.6.7, 7.5.5). For similar cases cf. Chantraine, *GH* 152–3.

δειροτομήσαι: literally ‘cut the throat of’, and so not strictly true in this case, but virtually equivalent to ‘slaughter’.

**406** ὧδε νεογνός . . . καὶ νήπιος ‘such a newborn infant as you are’, with emphatic alliteration and duplication of sense. For νεογνός cf. *H. Dem.* 141 etc.

αὐτὸς ἐγὼ γε ‘I myself indeed’. Cf. 473, and for αὐτός of Apollo see 234n.

**407** θαυμαίνω κατόπισθε τὸ σὸν κράτος ‘I wonder at your strength in the future’.

**407–8** οὐδὲ . . . ἀέξεσθαι ‘you had better not go on growing much taller’.

**409–19** The sequence of events is unclear, and it is possible that a line or lines have dropped out (e.g. after 415 or 416). Apollo plaits bonds of withy, but these (410 ταί = the withies) take root in the ground and entwine themselves around all the cattle, to Apollo’s amazement. Hermes looks at the place with flashing eyes, ‘eager to hide (it)’ (?). But then he easily pacifies Apollo, by playing on the lyre. It is not clear whether Apollo wants to bind Hermes or the cattle. But it is a bit late for him to do the former, since Hermes has done as he was told by Zeus, and there is no indication as yet that Apollo fears any further thefts (as he does at 514–20). More probably he is preparing to bind his cattle, before taking them home (although at 503–4 they seem to return of their own accord). Withies were commonly used to bind livestock: cf. for example *Od.* 9.427, *E. Cyc.* 224–5, *Verg. G.* 3.166–7, *Columella* 6.2.3. There is no need for a lacuna after 409, as ταί can refer to the δεσμὰ ἄγνου, i.e. ἄγνοι. Hermes then performs a miracle which stops the cattle from leaving, and in his usual mischievous way (415) seems intent on covering the whole place with bushes (see 410–13, 416nn.). Then, somewhat abruptly, he turns his attention to the more essential task of winning over his brother by the power of music. The episode of the bound cattle seems to be forgotten, but in the end Hermes gains a wider share in βουκολία (497–8).

**409** χερσί ‘with his [i.e. Apollo’s] hands’. Cf. *Il.* 19.131 χειρὶ περιστρέψας.

**410** ἄγνου: first here, whereas Homer uses λύγος. It recurs in Hippocrates, and in Attic and later Greek.

**410–13** ταί δ’ . . . κλεψίφρονος: possibly there is an aetiological point to Hermes’ miracle, i.e. some bushes or trees may have been identified as those he had created. Eitrem (1909, 333–5) compared Paus. 2.31.10, which describes a statue

of Hermes Polygios (= πολυ-λύγιος ?), against which Hermes leaned his club of wild olive wood: this took root, and was still growing there in Pausanias' day. Other aetiological legends told of various statues of deities which were bound with withies, or found in a withy bush: cf. Paus. 3.16.11 (Artemis Lygodesma), 7.4.4, and Menodotus of Samos, *FGrH* 541 F 1 (Hera of Samos), quoted in Athenaeus' discussion of withy-wreaths (671E–4B). Cf. also Paus. 1.27.1 (the wooden image of Hermes in the temple of Athena Polias on the Acropolis of Athens was hidden in myrtle boughs), Merkelbach (1970–1) 549–65. In *Hymn* 7 the pirates bind Dionysus with withies, but these fall away from his hands and feet (11–15), and then a vine grows along the top of the sail and ivy twines itself around the mast (38–41).

**410** αἴψα φύοντο: suddenness is typical of such miracles. Cf. *H.* 7.38 αὐτίκα, and similarly when ivy grows at once (εὐθύς) round the newborn Dionysus in *E. Ph.* 651–4.

**411** ἐμβολάδην: only here, and perhaps meaning that they grew into one another 'like grafts'. Cf. later ἐμβάλλω (LSJ s.v. 1.8), ἐμβολάς, ἔμβολος (LSJ s.v. 7), of grafting.

**412** 'Easily, and over all the cattle': these are two separate qualifications of φύοντο. Ease is also a feature of the miraculous, or divine activity. Cf. for example *Hes. Op.* 5–8, with West's comments.

**413** Hermes and Apollo frame this line, in contrast.

κλεψίφρονος: only here and in late authors (Manetho, Gregory of Nazianus).

**414** θάυμασεν: the aorist is used first here.

**415** χῶρον ὑποβλήδην ἐσκέψατο πῦρ ἀμαρύσσων 'eyed the place askance, flashing fiery glances'. Cf. *Hes. Th.* 827 ὑπ' ὀφρύσι πῦρ ἀμάρυσσεν (of Typhoeus), *H. Herm.* 278 πυκνὸν ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀμαρύσσων, and 45. For ἀμαρύσσω used transitively cf. *Q.S.* 8.29. ὑποβλήδην ἐσκέψατο is like ὑποβλέπειν, ὑπόδρα ἰδεῖν. In *Il.* 1.292 ὑποβλήδην seems to mean 'interrupting', and in later epic 'in reply'.

**416** ἐγκρύψαι μεμαώς: if the text of 415–16 is correct, the object must be χῶρον, i.e. Hermes covers the area where the cattle are with the withy branches. This, however, does not necessarily imply that he wants to hide the cattle again from Apollo. The miracle seems to be rather just another demonstration of the mischievous powers of this Puck-like creature.

**417** ὡς ἔθελ' αὐτός 'just as he himself wanted'.

**418** καὶ κρατερόν περ ἔόντα: see 386n.

**418–26** The preparations for Hermes' musical display are described at length, as befits this momentous occasion. He begins to play, and Apollo's reactions of laughter, delight, and desire are portrayed (cf. also 434, and 436–55). He then stands confidently on Apollo's left side and begins the prelude of his song. Throughout this passage there is a constant emphasis on the power of this new music to evoke desire, and this theme is developed later in the scene: cf. 434, 448–9, 478–88, and Introduction 3(b).

**418** λύρην: this conjecture supplies an object for ἐπειρήτιζε. The lyre is not actually called λύρη before this point in the hymn, but cf. 423, and 47–51n. The alternative is to posit a lacuna after 416 or 418.

**419–20** Cf. 53–4, and also 501–2 where M's reading ὑπὸ νέρθεν is probably right. The repetition of χειρός in 418–19 is due to the 'formular' character of the phrasing. For 420 cf. also *Od.* 17.542 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε, γέλασσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια, and *Hes. Th.* 40 where in reaction to the Muses' song on Olympus γελᾶι δέ τε δώματα πατρός (etc.).

**421** ἔρατὴ δὲ διὰ φρένας ἦλυθ' ἰωή: cf. *Il.* 10.139 περὶ φρένας ἦλυθ' ἰωή, *Od.* 17.261–2 περὶ δὲ σφεας ἦλυθ' ἰωή | φόρμιγγος γλαφυρῆς.

**422** The omission of this line in all MSS except M may be due to a scribe's eye jumping from 421 ἔρατὴ to 423 ἔρατόν.

Θεσπεσίης ἐνοπή: cf. *H. Ap.* 360 Θεσπεσίη δ' ἐνοπή, and for ἐνοπή of the music of pipes *Il.* 10.13, *H. Herm.* 512; also *Il.* 2.599–600 ἀοιδὴν | Θεσπεσίην.

καί μιν γλυκὺς ἴμερος ἦριει: cf. *Il.* 3.446, 14.328 καί με γλυκὺς ἴμερος αἶρεϊ (of love), and *Od.* 23.144–5, of the singer, ἐν δὲ σφισιν ἴμερον ὤρσε | μολπῆς etc.

**423** θυμῶι ἀκουάζοντα: West's θυμόν would be parallel to 434 (double accusative with ἦριει), but is not absolutely necessary.

λύρηι δ' ἔρατόν κιθαρίζων: cf. 455, and *H. Ap.* 515 ἔρατόν κιθαρίζων.

**424–5** Hermes is encouraged by Apollo's response and so takes up his stand beside him, with Apollo on his right (the more honorific position).

**427–33** Hermes' song is a cosmogony or theogony like Hesiod's, and the poet seems to have the song of the Muses at the opening of Hesiod's *Theogony* particularly in mind throughout this episode. Cf. also 420 with *Th.* 40. 427–8 and 431–2 resemble the themes of *Th.* 43–6 (and 105–13), and the prominence of Mnemosyne as mother of the Muses recalls *Th.* 53–5. Cf. also 423 ἔρατόν κιθαρίζων and 426 ἔρατὴ . . . φωνή with *Th.* 65 ἔρατὴν . . . ὄσσαν, 70 ἔρατὸς δοῦπος. Moreover, Hermes' song has the effect of appeasing Apollo: cf. the power of the Muses to effect reconciliation and to relieve sorrow, at *Th.* 80–93, 98–103. Radermacher (p. 149) suggested that the poet might have in mind an actual *Theogony* attributed to Hermes, since the late antique *Corpus Hermeticum* contains such theogonic poetry. Hermes' second song has a broader and more ambitious theme than his first (54–61), as it concerns divine society in general, to whose company he now aspires after his exploits: cf. Johnston (2002) 124.

**426** ἀμβολάδην 'as a prelude'. Cf. *Od.* 1.155, 8.266 φορμίζων ἀνεβάλλετο καλὸν αἰεῖδεν (and 17.261), *Pi. N.* 10.31 ἀμβολάδαν. In *Il.* 21.361 ἀμβολάδην is used of water 'bubbling up'.

ἔρατὴ . . . φωνή is a parenthesis.

**427** κραίνων 'honouring'. Cf. Hesychius s.v. κραίνειν· τιμᾶν (etc.). The verb does not seem to be used in exactly this sense elsewhere, but in some of its Homeric uses it could be interpreted as 'give due honour to', as well as 'accomplish', e.g. *Il.* 1.41, 504 τόδε μοι κρήνην ἔελδωρ. In *H. Herm.* 531 and 559 it perhaps means 'authorise, give due authority to'. West (2003) translates here 'he spoke

authoritatively of. Jaillard (2007, 199–204) argues that it actually means ‘authorise’ here, and that Hermes’ song promotes the existence of the gods, but this surely gives him too much power.

γαῖαν ἔρεμνῆν: cf. *Od.* 24.106 ἔρεμνῆν γαῖαν, although there this refers to descending to the Underworld.

**428** These are major themes of Hesiod’s *Theogony*, as announced in the proem: *Th.* 108 εἴπατε δ’ ὡς τὰ πρῶτα θεοὶ καὶ γαῖα γέγοντο, and 112 καὶ ὡς τιμὰς διέλοντο. For the latter cf. *Th.* 383–403 (Styx and her children), 411ff. (Hecate), 885, etc. Cf. also the division of the world between the three sons of Cronos at *Il.* 15.187–93, where Poseidon says that ἕκαστος δ’ ἔμμορε τιμῆς, and ἦτοι ἐγὼν ἔλαχον πολὴν ἄλλα, etc.

**429–30** For a god to begin his song with praise of Mnemosyne is perhaps rather like a mortal singer beginning with the Muses (as Hesiod does in the *Theogony*). But here she is also said to have been assigned to Hermes as his patron. For this type of expression cf. *Il.* 23.78–9 κῆρ . . . ἧ περ λάχε γιγνόμενόν περ. This suits Hermes’ roles as god of speech and interpretation in later literature. Cf. also Hes. *Th.* 94–5 (Apollo and Muses as patrons of singers), and Call. *H. Ap.* 43 κείνος οἴστειπτήν ἔλαχ’ ἀνέρα, κείνος ἀοιδόν.

**431** κατὰ πρέσβιν ‘according to seniority’. Cf. Pl. *Lg.* 855D, 924C, for this phrase.

**433** κατὰ κόσμον ‘in due order’, often applied to speech or song, e.g. 479, *Od.* 8.489, etc.

ὑπωλένιον κιθαρίζων ‘playing the lyre beneath his arm’. Cf. 510, where the MSS have ὑπωλένιον. The instrument was supported by a strap or sling looped round the player’s left wrist and attached to the arm of the lyre: cf. Maas and Snyder (1989) 98, West (1992) 65. Consequently ὑπωλένιον seems more likely to be right than ἐπωλένιον in the MSS here. It recurs at Theocr. 17.30 of a quiver.

**434** ἔρος . . . ἀμήχανος ‘helpless longing’. Cf. 447 μοῦσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων.

**436–95** Apollo’s speech expresses his admiration and amazement, hints at an exchange of cattle for lyre (437), and ends with a solemn promise of fame and favour for his brother. The hint is taken up by Hermes (464–5, 475–95), who couples it with a request that Apollo should honour his promise (477), and an emphasis on Apollo’s prophetic omniscience, which hints in turn at his desire for a share in this skill.

**436** The structure of this verse, with its accumulated epithets, resembles *Il.* 13.769 Δύσπαρι, εἶδος ἄριστε, γυναιμανές, ἠπεροπευτά. βουφόνος is new, but cf. βουφονέων at *Il.* 7.466. It recurs in Simonides and Aeschylus, and as the title of the priest in the Attic ritual of the Bouphonia at Paus. 1.24.4. μηχανιώτης is unique, but on the same model as ἀγγελιώτην (296), σπαργανιώτα (301), etc. πονεύμενε (‘busy’) shows the kind of use of a participle as an epithet which is commoner in later hymns and Nonnus: cf. Orph. *H.* 14.7–8 ὀβριμόθυμε | ψευδομένη, σῶτειρα, 51.7 φαινόμεναι, ἀφανείς (etc.), Nonnus *D.* 2.570 ψευδόμενε,

σκηπτοῦχε. δαιτὸς ἔταῖρε gives Hermes the same phrase he had applied to the tortoise (31).

**437** This plays with the literal sense of oxen (i.e. Apollo's stolen cattle) and their use as a measure of value (ἑκατόμβοις etc.). Cf. Leduc (2005) 163–4.

μέμηλας 'you have contrived': μέλω is used only here with an (internal) object, usually with genitive. μέμηδας is a possible correction.

**438** The asyndeton gives dramatic emphasis to this important statement.

ἠσυχίως: first here; cf. Pl. *Th.* 179e, and ἠσύχιον *Il.* 21.598, ἠσυχίη *Od.* 18.22.

**439–42** Apollo's question reflects the kind of thing one might ask a human musician, and indeed might be traditional in that context: were you born with this skill, or did you have a divine or mortal teacher? It seems rather incongruous for the god of music to ask another god if he was taught by a mortal.

**440** ἐκ γενετῆς: cf. *Il.* 24.535 (of gifts given by the gods), *Od.* 18.6.

**442** δῶρον ἀγαθόν: in Homer ἀγαθός is only used of persons (heroes etc.). Cf. Pi. *Paeon* 9, fr. 52 k. 36 Snell–Maehler (with θρόος, of song), and later Greek verse and prose.

Θέσπιν ἀοιδήν: cf. *Od.* 1.328, 8.498 (with θεὸς ὦπασε).

**443** 'For wonderful is this newly spoken voice which I hear': νεήφατος occurs only here, but cf. Homeric παλαίφατος.

**447–8** Apollo's second question concerns the nature of this skill itself, and is divided into three parts (τέχνη, μοῦσα, τρίβος), which are counterbalanced by the triad of gifts which it offers (449). Just as at 440–2 he had distinguished innate ability and learning, so here he speaks of skill, inspiration (μοῦσα), and practice or experience (τρίβος).

**447** μοῦσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων 'music which inspires [or possibly expresses] irresistible passions'. Cf. 434 ἔρος . . . ἀμήχανος, and 422, 449. This seems a better interpretation than 'music to cure overwhelming cares'. This would resemble Hes. *Th.* 98–103, and cf. also Soph. fr. 314.323–4 καὶ τοῦτο λύπης ἐστὶ ἄκεστρον καὶ παραψυκτῆριον κείνωι μόνον. But it reads a lot into the single word μοῦσα. For μοῦσα as a common noun cf. *H.* 19.15 μοῦσαν ἀθύρων etc., and especially E. *Ion* 757 τίς ἦδε μοῦσα; and *Tr.* 609 μοῦσά δ' ἢ λύπας ἔχει. The central caesura mitigates the effect of the hiatus. ἀμηχανέων is probably feminine genitive plural from ἀμήχανος, treated as a three-termination adjective, as often in early epic (cf. Janko (1982) 139).

**448** τρίβος 'practice, study'. The word occurs first here and (from the sense 'worn or beaten way') usually means 'track' later. But cf. τριβή, which is used of study or practice in the classical period. Plato contrasts τριβή with τέχνη, meaning 'mere routine', and couples it with ἐμπειρία, to describe unscientific procedures or abilities: cf. *Phdr.* 260c, 270b, *Grg.* 463b, *Phil.* 55e, *Lg.* 938a.

τρία πάντα: for this use of πᾶς with numerals cf. *Il.* 19.247 δέκα πάντα τάλαντα etc. (LSJ s.v. c).

**449** For this kind of enumeration of goods cf. for example the English ‘wine, women, and song’. For εὐφροσύνη cf. 480–2 in the context of music and festivities. The accusative form ἔρωτα occurs first here and at Sappho fr. 23.1.

ἦδυμον ὕπνον: see 241n. For music’s power to produce calm sleep in a divine context cf. Pi. *P.* 1.6–12.

**450** Μούσησιον . . . ὀπηδός: ὀπηδός is not Homeric (cf. Pindar etc.), but ὀπηδέω is. Cf. phrases such as Μουσάων θεράπων, of a poet: Hes. *Th.* 100, *H.* 32.20, *Margites* fr. 1.2, etc. But Apollo himself is usually called the Muses’ leader, rather than ‘companion’ or ‘follower’.

**451** οἶμος ἀοιδῆς ‘path of song’. Cf. Homeric οἶμη, and Pi. *O.* 9.47 ἐπέων οἶμον, Call. *H.* 1.78 λύρης . . . οἶμους; also προοίμιον.

**452** μολπή ‘music’ or ‘play’. According to Aristarchus, this word and μέλπεσθαι in early epic referred to play in general as well as music specifically, but to music alone in later poetry: see Janko on *Il.* 13.636–9.

ἱμερόεις βρόμος αὐλῶν: for βρόμος αὐλῶν cf. *H.* 14.3. Apparently Apollo is still only familiar with flute-music and not any stringed instrument, whereas in the *Hymn to Apollo* he claims the *kitharis* after he has been born (131). Cf. *H. Herm.* 509–10 where Hermes’ gift of the lyre is equated with the *kitharis*, and see 47–51n. On Helicon Pausanias saw a bronze statue group showing Apollo and Hermes fighting for the lyre (9.30.1).

**453–4** ‘But never yet was anything else so dear to me in my heart, such as are the exploits of young men at feasts, passing from left to right’: Apollo seems to be saying both (a) that he has never heard anything which he cared about so much before, and (b) that it reminds him of young men’s songs at banquets. For the latter cf. 54–6, with comments on 55–61. In Homer the neuter plural ἐνδέξια is used of things being passed round from left to right (e.g. wine etc.), or of favourable omens (‘on the right’). Here it surely refers to the practice of singing or speaking in turn at symposia or feasts. Later, a lyre was passed round from left to right (ἐπὶ δέξια), or a drinking-cup, or branch of myrtle, to each speaker or singer in turn: cf. Dionysius Chalcius fr. 1, 4 West, Eupolis, *PCG* fr. 354, 395, Pl. *Symp.* 177D3, Anaxandrides, *PCG* fr. 1, with Reitzenstein (1893) 31, 40. Cf. *H. Herm.* 424–5, where Hermes gives Apollo the honorific position on his right while he is singing.

**455** This rounds off Apollo’s passage in praise of Hermes as musician, with a *reprise* of the theme of wonder, emphasised at 440 and 443. The honorific Διὸς υἱέ sets the seal on this.

**456–62** Apollo now moves on to his promise of fame and fortune. There is a slight implication here of the elder brother reasserting his position of authority (457), which might help to explain his use of ἠγεμονεύσω in 461, if the text is correct there.

**456** οἶδας: this form is an Ionic innovation, which recurs at 467 and once in Homer (*Od.* 1.337), instead of the older and more usual οἶσθα which is metrically

guaranteed at 382. Cf. also for οἶδας Hes. *Aspis* 355, Hipponax fr. 177 West, Hdt. 3.72.1, and Janko (1982) 148, S. West on *Od.* 1.337.

**457** ‘Sit down, dear fellow, and assent to the advice of your elders!’ Cf. *Il.* 4.412 τέττα σιώπηι ἦσο ἐμῶι δ’ ἐπιπέιθεο μύθωι, 7.115 ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν νῦν ἴζευσ, and for μῦθον ἐπαίνει πρεσβύτεροισι cf. *Il.* 2.335 μῦθον ἐπαινῆσαντες Ὀδυσσεῆος, 18.312 Ἐκτορι . . . ἐπήνησαν κακὰ μητιόωντι.

**458–62** This fulfils Hermes’ prediction to his mother at 166–73.

**460** ναὶ μὰ τόδε κρανάϊνον ἀκόντιον ‘yes indeed, by this cornel-wood javelin’. Cf. Achilles’ oath by the sceptre at *Il.* 1.234–9 (with 7.411–12, 10.321–31), and Parthenopaeus’ oath by his spear, *A. Sept.* 529–30. The form κρανάϊνον (first here) is closer to the MSS readings than κρανείνον: both occur in later Greek. ἀκόντιον is also new, but is common in fifth-century and later literature.

**460–1** ἦ μὲν ἐγὼ σε . . . ἡγεμονεύσω ‘I shall indeed introduce you among the immortals as honoured and prosperous’. ἡγεμονεύω does not take a direct object elsewhere, and is possibly corrupt, but no satisfactory alternative has been proposed.

**462** καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω ‘and I shall never deceive you’. Apollo’s final insistence on his veracity makes an ironic contrast with Hermes’ past duplicity (cf. also 514–20).

**463–4** Hermes’ reply is described as crafty (or gainful) because of its implied suggestion that he should have a share in Apollo’s prophetic skill as well as in his pastoral role, in return for the gift of the lyre. Equally, περιφραδές (most probably vocative) alludes to Apollo’s veiled request for a share in Hermes’ skill. περιφραδέως is Homeric; the adjective occurs here and at *S. Ant.* 348.

**464–89** There is a very strong emphasis throughout this part of Hermes’ speech on knowledge and skill, prophetic and musical. Forms of the verb δάω are particularly prominent, along with τέχνη, οἶδα, ἐπίσταμαι, σοφίη, διδάσκω, and νῆϊς. Such expertise comes through different forms of speech, the utterances of the gods, and the voice of the lyre, which is described as responding to questioning (483–4, 487–8) just as the gods do in prophecy. The parallel between musical and mantic communication is emphasised by the close resemblance of 482–8 with what Apollo says of prophecy at 533–49, where again good and bad use of this art is contrasted, and at 552–66, where the bee-maidens can also utter true or false oracles.

**464–7** Hermes at once assents, regaining the initiative in his rather lordly opening words.

**465** τέχνης ἡμετέρης ἐπιβήμεναι: cf. 166 τέχνης ἐπιβήσομαι, and 173.

**466–7** ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι | βοῦλῃ καὶ μύθοισι: given Hermes’ subordinate position this might seem particularly assertive. The second half of 466 is used by Zeus at *Il.* 8.40 and 22.184.

**467** σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ πάντ’ εὔ οἶδας: somewhat ironically Hermes reminds Apollo of his reputed omniscience, as again at 474 = 489. Cf. *Pi. P.* 9.29–49, where



Chiron responds to Apollo's embarrassed questions about Cyrene, reminding him gently that he ought to know everything (44–5 κύριον ὅς πάντων τέλος οἶσθα καὶ πάσας κελεύθους etc.).

**468–72** Blatant flattery, in preparation for his request for favour.

**470** ἐκ πάσης ὀσίης 'as is wholly right and proper'. Here ὀσίη refers to what is divinely sanctioned: see also 130, 173nn.

**470–2** ἔπορεν . . . πάντα 'and he has given you fine gifts and privileges: and they say that by the utterance of Zeus you know oracles, Far-Shooter, all the divine revelations that come from Zeus'. Punctuation and text are not certain. It seems best, however, to take τιμάς as object of ἔπορεν together with δῶρα, with a colon after τιμάς, rather than putting a colon after δῶρα and making τιμάς object of δαήμεναι (with σὲ δέ or σέ γε). δαήμεναι will then govern μαντείας (with τε omitted), with θέσφατα πάντα in apposition, and Διὸς πάρα echoing ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς.

**471** ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς: ὀμφή is always used of a divine voice in Homer, and cf. 532, 566. It refers to an oracle at Theognis 808 and elsewhere.

**472** μαντείας: first here in early epic, and in the singular at 533, 547, for Homeric μαντοσύνη. It is often used in the plural of prophecies or oracles: cf. Tyrt. fr. 4.2 etc.

**473** This line does not make sense as it stands, although all of it except παῖδ' is metrically possible. The corruption has not been satisfactorily healed. We expect a request by Hermes for a share in prophecy (e.g. τῶν νῦν αὐτὸς ἔγωγε . . . ἐθέλοιμι δαῖναι), which would then be contrasted with 474 (σοὶ δέ . . .), but it is difficult to suggest a suitable whole line, or to explain the corruption.

**474** This line is repeated again at 489, marking off the intervening passage in which Hermes speaks in detail about the art of lyre-playing, i.e.: 'You do not really need to ask my help over this skill, but since you do, I will give it to you.' For αὐτάγρετον (= αὐθαίρετον) cf. *Od.* 16.148 εἰ γάρ πως εἶη αὐτάγρετα πάντα βροτοῖσι.

**476** ἀγλαΐας ἀλέγυνε 'have a care for festivities'. Cf. Hes. *Sc.* 272 ἐν ἀγλαΐαις τε χοροῖς τε, 284–5 θαλίαι τε χοροί τε | ἀγλαΐαι τ'. In *Od.* 17.244 ἀγλαΐαι refers to arrogant behaviour. There is strong alliteration in this phrase, as at *H. Aph.* 11 ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειν.

**477** σὺ δ' ἐμοὶ φίλε κῦδος ὄπαζε: this picks up Apollo's promise at 458–62, and might be seen as a veiled request for a share in prophecy, although it is not really specific.

**478–88** The description of the lyre resembles that of a hetaera whom one embraces, who has a clear voice and is an eloquent speaker, and who can respond to one's advances if she is properly handled. See also 31n.

**478** εὐμόλπει 'be a fine musician' (West): the verb occurs only here. Cf. Εὐμόλπος as a name at *H. Dem.* 154, and Εὐμόλπια as title of a poem by Musaeus (fr. 11 Diels, Paus. 10.5.6): see Richardson on *H. Dem.* 154.

**479** κατὰ κόσμον: see 433n.

**480** εὔκηλός μιν . . . φέρειν 'take her confidently'. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 671-2 εὔκηλος τότε νῆα . . . | ἔλκεμεν, again with infinitive for imperative.

**481** φιλοκυδέα κῶμον: for φιλοκυδής cf. 375. κῶμος occurs only here in early epic. Cf. Theognis 829, 940, Pindar, etc., and κωμάζω in Hes. *Sc.* 281 etc.

**482** εὐφροσύνην 'a source of good cheer': probably in apposition to μιν in 480, or possibly to ἐς δαῖτα . . . κῶμον. Cf. 449, where this is one of the results of music.

**482-8** Hermes describes the differences between the skilled and unskilled lyre-player, in two balanced and contrasted sentences: 482-6 ὅς τις ἄν αὐτήν . . . ἐξερεεῖνη . . . , 486-8 ὅς δέ κεν αὐτήν . . . ἐρεεῖνη . . . The ease and lack of painful effort of the good player is contrasted with the violence and senseless sounds of the ignorant one. The process is seen as a dialogue, or question and answer, between player and instrument, and the lyre continues to be personified (as at 478-9). She is able to give instruction as well as pleasure to the good player, but her answers to the bad one make no sense. Cf. the good and bad uses of prophecy, at 541-9 (with comments). The lyre is addressed in invocation by Sappho (fr. 118; see *H. Herm.* 24n.), and later cf. Pi. *P.* 1.1, *N.* 4.44, Bacchyl. fr. 20 B. 1, etc.

**482** ὅς τις ἄν αὐτήν: the asyndeton is typical of this hymn (cf. 17, 25, etc.).

**483** σοφίη 'expertise': often applied to musical or poetic skill in early Greek literature. Cf. also 511 ἐτέρης σοφίης . . . τέχνην.

**484** νοῶι χαρίεντα 'to charm one's fancy'.

**485** ῥεῖα συνηθείησιν ἀθυρομένη μαλακῆσιν 'easily played with gentle intimacy'. συνηθεία (first here; cf. Hippocrates, and classical prose) can mean 'intimacy' or 'intercourse', as well as 'habit' or 'custom', and in this context, where the lyre is personified as a ἑταίρη, the first sense is surely relevant. It is also used of musical practice by Plato, *Laws* II 656D. μαλακός is later used sometimes of musical harmony or pitch (LSJ s.v. III.2(e)). For ἀθύρειν of music or song cf. *H.* 19.15, Pi. *I.* 4.39, *Anacreont.* 41.11.

**486** ἐργασίην φεύγουσα δυήπαθον 'avoiding painful labour'. ἐργασίη occurs first here, then in fifth-century and later literature. It may be relevant that it can also be used of sexual intercourse (Arist. *Pr.* 876a39), or applied to the trade of a courtesan (Hdt. 2.135.1, D. 18.129). δυήπαθος is a *hapax*; cf. δυηπαθής and δυηπαθία in Apollonius Rhodius and later.

**487** ἐπιζαφελῶς 'violently, roughly': used of anger in Homer.

**488** μάψ . . . θρυλίζοι 'She would then, vainly and uselessly, utter empty discordant sounds.' For the combination μάψ αὖτως cf. *Il.* 20.348, *Od.* 16.111, *H. Dem.* 83. μετήγορος (cf. μετέωρος) occurs first here, then in Herodotus and later. It is not apparently elsewhere applied to music. Cf. perhaps μετεωροκοπέω, μετεωρολογέω (etc.) in Aristophanes and Plato, used in a derogatory sense of pretentious scientific talk (together with ἀδολεσχία). θρυλίζω is another *hapax*; cf. θρυλέω in Attic Greek, etc. θρυλιγμός or θρυλισμός are used of false musical notes in late Greek: cf. D.H. *Comp.* 11 (of a flute-player) θρυλιγμόν ἢ τὴν καλουμένην ἐκμέλειαν ἠύλησε, and similarly Porph. *in Harm.* p. 204 W.

**489** = 474 (see comment).

**490–5** Hermes concludes his speech with his bargain (lyre for cattle). In 491 ἡμεῖς may mean ‘I’ in contrast to Apollo, but is more likely to be a genuine plural. Hermes associates himself with Apollo as Νόμιος, and emphasises at 493–5 how much Apollo stands to gain by this new arrangement. For this role of Apollo see *H. Ap.* 21n., and for Hermes as god of the fertility of herds and flocks cf. Hes. *Th.* 444–7, Farnell, *Cults* v 9–11.

**491–2** ‘And we in turn, Far-Shooter, shall graze the pastures of the mountain and horse-feeding plain with the cattle which live in the fields.’

**493** ἄλις ‘in plenty’.

**494** μίγδην: first here, for μίγδα (*Od.* 24.77, *H. Dem.* 426); cf. A.R. 3.1381, Orph. fr. 223.

**494–5** ‘And so (οὐδέ) there is no need for you, acquisitive as you are, to be furiously angry’: a slight sting in the tail, reminding Apollo again of his reputation for acquisitiveness (cf. 176–81, 335, 549nn.). This is ironic here, in view of Hermes’ own aims (464 μύθοισιν . . . κερδαλέοισιν). περιζαμενῶς (or -ής) occurs only here and at Hes. fr. 204.126 in early epic.

**496–502** The exchange of lyre and goad seals the pact, and Apollo at once begins to use his new instrument.

**496** ὦρεξ’, ὁ δ’ ἐδέξατο: the lyre should be understood as object of these verbs.

**497** ἔχων ‘which he had’. If correct, this stresses that the goad was Apollo’s by right. But ἔχειν or ἐκὼν are possible conjectures. For the former cf. *Il.* 11.192–3 κράτος ἐγγυαλίξω | κτείνειν, for the latter A.R. 2.55–6 ἐγγυαλίξω | αὐτὸς ἐκὼν.

**498** βουκολίας: cf. Hes. *Th.* 445 (βουκολίας), of Hecate’s and Hermes’ care for cattle, as here.

**499–502** Cf. 53–4, 418–20. In 501 we have ὑπὸ νέρθεν instead of ὑπὸ χειρός (418), and in 502 ἱμερόεν (if right) is a variant of σμερδαλέον (54, 420). Cf. *Il.* 18.570 ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε· λίνον δ’ ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδεν. In 502 the aorist ἄεισεν is appropriate, whereas in 54 the imperfect is better (‘began to sing’).

**500** Apollo is given a whole-line denomination to mark this highly significant moment.

**503–12** The return of the cattle to their home and of the gods to Olympus gives a charmingly bucolic closure to the main story of the theft, and Zeus cements the reconciliation already effected at 389–96, which becomes a permanent bond. At the same time, to compensate for Hermes’ loss of the patronage of one instrument he promptly invents another, the shepherd’s syrinx.

**503–4** With βόας (M) it is Apollo and Hermes who send the cattle back, and the dual ἐτραπέτην suits the context well. βόες . . . ἐτραπέτην would make them return of their own accord, with ἐτραπέτην as intransitive aorist dual used instead of a plural. The former seems clearly preferable. M’s καί ῥα (for ἐνθα) in 503 is also possible: cf. *Od.* 12.233 καί ῥα ἔπειτα etc.

**504–7** Entry or return to Olympus, and joyful reception there, are typical motifs of these hymns: cf. *H. Dem.* 483–6, *H. Ap.* 186–206, *H.* 6.14–18, 15.7–8, 19.42–7. See also 322–96n., and Introduction 1(c).

**505–6** Cf. Apollo's journeys to Pytho and Olympus, playing the *phorminx* and dancing, at *H. Ap.* 183–8 and 513–19, and Zeus's delight with Apollo's music at *H. Ap.* 205–6. (ἐπι)ρώομαι is used of dancing at *Il.* 24.616, *Hes. Th.* 8, *H. Aph.* 261, etc.

**508** διαμπερές ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν: i.e. he has continued to love him ever since. Cf. 125 ὡς ἔτι νῦν τὰ μέτασσα etc.

**508–9** As the text stands in the MSS it is difficult to explain σήματ'. West marks a lacuna, and his suggested supplement means '<and Leto's son acknowledged his brother's love> tokens'. This also gives a δέ clause to answer τὸ μὲν in 507, which otherwise would only be answered by 511 αὐτὸς δ'. The loss of the line could be due to repetition of Λητοῖδην/Λητοῖδης.

**510** δεδαώς: it is better to take this with what precedes ('expert as he was') than to put a comma after ἡμερτήν, as some editors have done.

ὑπωλένιον: see 433n.

**511–12** The invention of the syrinx (first mentioned at *Il.* 10.13 and 18.526) is very briefly described, almost as an afterthought. Hermes invents the syrinx or panpipes also in Euphorion fr. 182 Van Groningen. In Apollodorus (3.10.2) Apollo offers him the golden wand (cf. *H. Herm.* 528–32) in exchange for this new invention, and Hermes then receives the gift of divination by pebbles (cf. *H. Herm.* 552–66). Hermes is several times represented in art with the syrinx from c. 580/570 BC, and sometimes together with Apollo as citharode. It is significant that all the examples belong to the sixth century, whereas from c. 500 onwards it is Pan who is shown with the syrinx: see Haas (1985) 50–2, 60–2, 72–4, and for Hermes cf. also *LIMC* v.1 s.v. Hermes nos. 327–9. Pan plays the pipes in *H.* 19.15 (δονάκων ὕπο). The story of his love for Syrinx and her transformation first occurs in Ovid *Met.* 1.689–712.

**511** ἐκμάσσατο 'sought out, devised'. This compound is only found here.

**512** The asyndeton is due to the fact that 512 explains 511.

τηλόθ' ἀκουστήν is an effective description of a herdsman's pipes, heard far away over the hills. ἀκουστός occurs first here, then in fifth-century and later literature.

**513–78** Apollo says that he is afraid lest Hermes may steal both his lyre and his bow and arrows, and asks him to swear an oath. Hermes swears never to steal from him again, and Apollo promises that Hermes will be his dearest friend, and that he will give him a three-branched golden wand, to keep him unharmed. He cannot give him a share in his own prophetic art, as he alone of the gods is allowed to know Zeus's will. As for mortals, he will deceive some and help others by his prophecies, depending on whether they come with favourable omens or not. But he does offer Hermes a special prophetic gift, three winged virgin sisters, who live in a cave under Mt Parnassus. When these have eaten honey they are

willing to speak the truth, but if they have not done so they utter lies. Hermes also will have the care of all domestic and wild animals, and will be the only messenger to Hades.

Thus did Apollo show his love for Hermes, and Zeus added his favour. He associates with all men and gods, seldom giving profit and generally deceiving mankind at dead of night.

For discussion of this final episode and its place in the poem see Introduction 3(a).

**514–15** The theft of Apollo's bow and arrows (or quiver) was described in Alcaeus' hymn to Hermes (fr. 308 LP = V, with S 264.11–19 *SLG* = fr. 306c Campbell (Loeb)). The scene was popular later: cf. Hor. *Odes* 1.10.9–12, Philostr. *Imag.* 1.26, Lucian *D. Deor.* 11 (7). 1, Schol. *AB Il.* 15.256, and Page (1955) 252–8.

**515** ἀνακλέψῃς 'steal back' or 'steal again'. This rare compound is more likely to have been changed to ἄμα κλέψῃς than vice versa. It recurs in Theocr. 5.9, and in one or possibly two inscriptions (*SEG* 34.1019, sixth century BC, ἀνακλε<π>τέτω, and *GDI* 1586).

κίθαριν καὶ καμπύλα τόξα: cf. *H. Ap.* 131 κίθαρις... καὶ καμπύλα τόξα, which this may echo.

**516** ἐπαμοίβιμα ἔργα 'acts of barter'. Hermes becomes god of commerce as well as theft, here ironically viewed as themselves interchangeable concepts. The epithet is found only here (cf. ἐπημοιβός in Homer). This is the first indication that Hermes has now received this privilege from Zeus (cf. 291–2).

**518–20** Apollo does not specify the nature of the oath, but this is made clear by 521–3.

**518** Cf. *Od.* 5.178 = 10.343 εἰ μὴ μοι τλαίης γε, θεά, μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι, and *H. Ap.* 79 ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τλαίης γε, θεά, μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι. In *Od.* 2.377 θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον is an oath invoking the gods, whereas here it is presumably the oath sworn by gods, as at *Od.* 10.299.

**519** The oath is confirmed either by a nod of the head, as in the case of Zeus's promise at *Il.* 1.524–9, or by invoking the river Styx, the usual formula for divine oaths. In early epic, and often later, the object by which one swears is in the accusative with ὄμνυμι, whereas various prepositions are used in later prose examples.

**521–6** Once again a mutual pact is sealed with promises, in two balanced clauses: ... Μαιάδος υἱὸς... κατένευσεν | μὴ ποτ'... | μηδέ ποτ'... αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων | Λητοῖδης κατένευσεν... | μὴ τινα... | μήτε... μήτ'...

**521–2** Cf. Hermes' earlier threat to ransack Apollo's temple at Delphi (178–81).

**523** ἐμπελάσειν: first here and at *Hes. Sc.* 109.

**524** ἐπ' ἀρθμῶι καὶ φιλότῃτι 'in a bond of friendship'. This legal formula (with ἀρθμός first used here) recurs in *A. PV* 191–2 εἰς ἀρθμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότῃτα... ἦξει, and *Call.* fr. 497a (Pfeiffer (1949–53) II p. 122) ἀρθμὸν

δ' ἀμφοτέροις καὶ φιλίην ἔταμες. Cf. also *Il.* 7.302 ἐν φιλότητι διέτμαγεν ἄρθμήσαντε, and for ἄρθμιος coupled with φίλος cf. Theognis 326, 1312.

**526** μήτ' ἀνδρὰ Διὸς γόνον: i.e. a mortal son of Zeus, such as Heracles.

**526-8** ἐκ δὲ τέλειον . . . τίμιον 'And I shall make an authoritative contract [*or* guarantee] between immortals, and at the same time one which will be altogether trustworthy and honoured by my heart.' Assuming that there is no lacuna after 527, we have here the kind of change from indirect to direct speech which occurs occasionally in Homer: cf. especially *Il.* 4.301-9 (after ἀνώγει), 15.346-51 (after ἐκέκλετο . . . ἄσσας), 23.854-8 (after ἀνώγει τοξεύειν). For some other possible examples cf. Janko on *Il.* 15.346-7. *Il.* 23.855-6 is unique among Homeric instances, in that (as here) the transition occurs within the verse (see Richardson *ad loc.*). In the hymn, the speech is anticipated by the verb κατένευσεν, and it gives dramatic emphasis to the solemnity of Apollo's promise. As at 524 we are here in the realm of legal terminology: τέλειος (and related words) is used of fully constituted or authoritative decrees, laws, etc. (LSJ s.v. 1.1(b)). For σύμβολον see 30n. and especially Gauthier (1972) 69-70 on this passage. Here it may mean either a guarantee (e.g. LSJ s.v. 1.3) or a contract (e.g. Theognis 1150, and LSJ s.v. 11.3, 4). For σύμβολον πιστόν cf. Pi. *O.* 12.7-8 σύμβολον δ' οὔπω τις ἐπιχθονίων | πιστόν ἀμφὶ πράξιος ἔσσομένας εὔρεν θεόθεν, and Isoc. 4.49 σύμβολον τῆς παιδεύσεως πιστότατον.

**526-7** ἐκ . . . ποιήσομαι: a *tnesis*, with ἐκποιέω meaning 'fully make', emphasising again the validity of the action. This compound (first here) has this sense in fifth-century BC and later literature.

**527** πάντως: this makes better sense than the transmitted reading πάντων.

**528-32** The gift of the golden wand (Hermes' κηρύκειον or *caduceus*) seals the compact, just as material tokens or σύμβολα were exchanged in commercial transactions. It has remarkable properties: it will be the bearer of wealth and prosperity, and a protection from harm, and it will 'accomplish [*or* authorise] all the ordinances' (if Θεμούς is correct) 'of good words and actions' which Apollo has learned from the voice of Zeus. Hermes is called χρυσόρραπις in the *Odyssey* (5.87 etc.) and will now be so addressed (*H. Herm.* 539). In Homer he uses his wand to put men to sleep and wake them (*Il.* 24.343-4, *Od.* 5.47-8), and to lead souls down to Hades (*Od.* 24.1-10): see also Richardson on *Il.* 24.343-5. Here, however, for the first time, it is called τριπέτηλον ('trefoil'): this is usually taken as indicating a branch which forks at the top in a V-shape, i.e. the basic form of the κηρύκειον as it was portrayed in art. The earliest example, in the scene of the Judgement of Paris on the Chigi vase (c. 630 BC), shows the top of the wand apparently having a chi-shape (cf. *LIMC* VIII.1 s.v. Kerykeion, and I s.v. Alexandros no. 5). See also Chittenden (1947) 100 for a seventh-century BC *pinax* on which Hermes' *caduceus* has a tip from which spring two three-leafed shoots, one above the other, like two clover plants: the most literal representation of τριπέτηλον. The curved branches take the form of snakes from at least the fifth century BC (*LIMC* s.v. Dionysus no. 706), and the role of the wand as bringer of luck and averter of

harm may be connected with this, snakes being both symbolic of wealth and apotropaic. It has also been compared to the divining-rod. For further discussion and bibliography cf. *LIMC* VIII.1 728–30, and De Waele (1927).

**530** τριπέτηλον: this recurs in Call. *H.* 3.165, Nic. *Th.* 522 as a noun meaning ‘clover’.

ἀκήριον ἢ σε φυλάξει: cf. *Od.* 20.47 διαμπερές ἢ σε φυλάσσω.

**531–2** Hermes will thus be a minister responsible for putting the will of Zeus, mediated by Apollo, into effect. The wording of 532–4 echoes 471–2: cf. δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς | μαντείας . . . θέσφατα . . . In other words, Apollo is offering his brother a significant, though still subsidiary, role in relation to the major prophetic one which he alone is allowed to exercise.

**531** θεμούς ‘dispositions’ or ‘ordinances’. The word is a conjecture, recurring only in Hesychius s.v. θεμούς· διαθέσεις, παραιτήσεις.

**533** διοτρεφές: M’s variant διαμπερές is read by Radermacher and Vergados (2007a). διοτρεφής is normally used of human beings in early epic, but cf. *Il.* 21.223 of Scamander. The combination of φέριστε and another epithet is unusual (*Orph. H.* 13.9, 64.13), but seems quite possible.

ἦν ἐρεείνεις ‘which you ask about’. Cf. *Il.* 6.145 τίη γενεὴν ἐρεείνεις; (etc.). ἐρεείνω does not mean ‘ask for’, but Apollo assumes that Hermes wants a share in his art (unless 473 made this explicit).

**534** Cf. *Od.* 4.561 σοὶ δ’ οὐ θέσφατόν ἐστι.

**535–8** Once again there is strong emphasis on a promise guaranteed by a solemn oath, as at 518–28. πιστόω is used especially in the context of oaths: e.g. *Od.* 15.436, S. *OC* 650, *Th.* 4.88, etc. For the specially close bond between Zeus’s will and Apollo’s prophecies cf. A. *Eum.* 616–18.

**535** τὸ γὰρ οἶδε Διὸς νόος ‘for that (i.e. the subject matter of prophecy) is known by the mind of Zeus’.

**538** πυκινόφρονα: in early poetry only here and at Hes. fr. 253.1.

**539** χρυσόρραπι: see 528–32n. Apollo diplomatically honours Hermes with his newly gained attribute, when denying him what he wanted.

**541–9** Oracles were proverbially ambiguous and liable to misinterpretation, and the god here disclaims responsibility for any possible deception. It is a question of whether the omens are valid or invalid, i.e. whether what is desired or requested of the gods accords with divine favour. In the similar case of Hermes’ oracular gift, truth or deception depends on whether the proper sacrificial offerings have been made (558–63). Cf. Hes. fr. 240.9–11 (of Zeus’s oracle at Dodona): ἐνθεν ἐπιχθόνιοι μαντήϊα πάντα φέρονται, | ὅς δὴ κείθι μολῶν θεὸν ἄμβροτον ἐξερεείνηι | δῶρα φέρων <τ> ἔλθῃσι σὺν οἴωνοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν. See also Amandry (1950) 58–9. 541–2 are paralleled by Hermes’ own functions as summed up by 577–8. There is in addition an analogy with Hermes’ discourse on the lyre, which responds well or badly to a player’s questioning (482–8: see 464–89n.).

**541** ἀνθρώπων δ’ ‘but as for mankind’. This is in contrast with 535 ἀθανάτων.

**542** πολλὰ . . . ἀνθρώπων 'leading about in all directions the tribes of miserable mankind'. Cf. *Od.* 9.465 πολλὰ (i.e. μῆλα) περιτροπέοντες ἐλάνομεν. The implication is that mortals are helpless creatures in the hands of the gods, and also easily misled.

**544-9** For the distinction between birds which have valid significance and others cf. *Od.* 2.181-2 ὄρνιθες δέ τε πολλοὶ ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡελίοιο | φοιτῶσ', οὐδέ τε πάντες ἐναίσιοι, and *Call. H.* 5.123-4 γνωσεῖται δ' ὄρνιχας ὅς αἴσιος, οἳ τε πέτονται | ἦλιθα, καὶ ποίων οὐκ ἀγαθαὶ πτέρυγες.

**544** φωνῆι . . . δειωνῶν 'with the cry or flights of valid birds'. Cf. *Hes. fr.* 240.10-11 (quoted above on 541-9). τεληέντων implies that what the birds appear to portend is accomplished, as opposed to ὄρνιθες μασιλόγοι. Cf. αἰετὸν . . . τελειότατον πετεηνῶν (*Il.* 8.247, 24.315), of a bird 'most capable of bringing fulfilment' (see Richardson on *Il.* 24.314-16), and *Tyrtaeus fr.* 4.2 West τελέεντ' ἔπεα.

**545** This line emphasises the point by repetition after 543.

**546-9** If one tries to obtain something against the gods' will, relying on omens and prophecy, this is tantamount to thinking oneself cleverer than the gods and will lead to failure. Cf. *E. Ion* 373-80, where *Ion* advises *Creusa* not to try to force the gods to utter what they do not want, with sacrifices and interpretation of omens, since this will not bring any benefits.

**546** μασιλόγοισι 'vainly speaking': only here. Homer has μάψ, μασιδίως, *Hesiod (Th.* 872) μασαῦραι.

**549** φήμ': this is emphatic, in parenthesis.

ἀλίην ὁδὸν εἶσιν: cf. *Od.* 2.273, 318 οὐ τοι ἔπειθ' (or οὐδ') ἀλίη ὁδὸς ἔσσεται. Omens and prophecy are often associated with journeys or expeditions, e.g. *Pi. N.* 9.18-20 καὶ ποτ' ἐς ἐπταπύλους | Θήβας ἀγαγον στρατὸν αἰσιᾶν | οὐ κατ' ὄρνιχων ὁδὸν, and *A. Eum.* 770 ὁδοὺς ἀθύμους καὶ παρόρνιθας πόρους.

ἐγὼ δέ κε δῶρα δεχοίμην: cf. *Il.* 2.420 (*Zeus*) ἀλλ' ὃ γε δέκτο μὲν ἱρά, πόνον δ' ἀμέγαρτον ὄφελλε. This is a general rule for the gods in Homer, if what is requested is against their will. In the case of *Apollo*, this appears to be an answer to more specific accusations of φιλοκέρδεια (see on 176-81, 335, 494). The offerings of a sacred cake and animal sacrifice were both essential prerequisites for entry to the temple of *Apollo* and consultation of the oracle (cf. *E. Ion* 226-9), but in no way guaranteed success. For details of procedure cf. *Amandry* (1950) 86-114, *Parke and Wormell* (1956) 32, *Parke* (1967a) 83-4.

**550-1** The two-line honorific address to *Hermes* acts as a prelude to the special prophetic gift which *Apollo* is offering.

**551** Θεῶν ἐριοῦνιε δαῖμον 'swift messenger-deity of the gods': an unusual vocative phrase, since δαίμων in Homer is not normally used of a particular god; cf. however *Il.* 3.420 ἦρχε δὲ δαίμων (*Aphrodite*). Although *Hesiod* uses δαίμονες of the spirits of men of the golden age (*Op.* 122), and later it comes to be used of subordinate spiritual beings, it need not have this connotation here.



**552–66** ‘There are certain august maidens, who are sisters, glorying in their swift wings: they are three, and their heads are sprinkled with white barley meal. They have their homes under a fold of Parnassus, and are teachers, set apart, of a prophetic skill which I practised when I was still a boy, whilst tending my cattle: but my father was not concerned with this. From there then they fly hither and thither, to feed on honeycombs, and make all their authoritative pronouncements. When they have eaten pale honey and are inspired, they are favourable, and willing to speak the truth: but if they have been deprived of the sweet food of the gods, then indeed they utter falsehoods, swarming amongst themselves. These then I grant you, and you should question them accurately and delight your own heart; and if you should teach a mortal man, he will often listen to your voice, if he is lucky.’

Apollo is surely being deliberately mysterious in this description, which lends these characters an awesome dignity. The poet appears to be describing a triad of three virgin sisters, who were associated with Apollo as a boy and taught him their mantic art, which was separate from the prophetic skill he has from Zeus. Their home is under Parnassus (probably in a cave), and they are like bees, for they feed on honey, which gives them inspiration, and swarm in a confused way (*δονέουσαι*) if they are deprived of this. Their utterances may be true or false, depending on whether they are properly fed or not. Hermes is to use them as a source of prophecy for his own pleasure, and he can also benefit mortals if he wishes by passing on this information. It is not clear whether the poet envisages this triad as having anthropomorphic shape but behaving like bees, or whether they are actually bees, which are seen as having human or divine characteristics. The myth about the origins of the oracle at Dodona reflects a similar ambiguity as to whether the instigators were women or doves with a human voice (Hdt. 2.54–7). They may also be a mixed form of ‘bee-maidens’, like the winged woman with a bee’s body from the waist, depicted on two late Geometric gold plaques from Camiros in Rhodes (cf. Cook (1895) 11–12). Given that there are only three of them and they are not actually called bees, they are most probably envisaged as nymphs with bee-like characteristics. Since they are said to live ‘under a fold of Parnassus’ it seems probable that a particular cult of Hermes, associated with a triad of mountain nymphs in a cave beneath this mountain, is in mind here. A plausible suggestion is that these are the Corycian Nymphs, whose cult was located under Parnassus. A very large double cave, thought to be sacred to them, has been excavated high up on the mountain’s foothills, about 3 miles from Delphi. Dedications to the nymphs begin there in the seventh century BC, and later they are often associated with Pan. But at least one fragment of an Attic relief from the cave shows Hermes leading three nymphs, and in another fourth-century BC relief from Delphi itself a mountain is shown with three seated nymphs, Apollo, and Hermes. The cave also contained some 25,000 *astragaloi* (knucklebones), which may have been used for divination, as

they were in some other sanctuaries. See Amandry *et al.* (1984) especially 347-78, 394-425, and Larson (1995) 341-57. Larson also collects evidence for the close association between nymphs and bees in antiquity (352-4).

In Apollodorus' version of the myth of Hermes and Apollo (3.10.2) Apollo gives Hermes the art of divination by means of pebbles, in exchange for Hermes' syrinx. Consequently, the triad of sisters has also been identified with the Thriai, three nymphs of Parnassus who were said to have nursed Apollo, and invented the art of divination by pebbles (called Θριαί). This *aition* derives from Philochorus (cf. *FGrH* 328 F 195, with parallel texts and helpful discussion by Jacoby). Various versions reflect the idea that this form of divination was regarded as less reliable, or less reputable, than Apolline prophecy. If Thriai is another name for these 'bee-maidens', this would fit the implications of the hymn, that Apollo's gift to Hermes is on a lower level of inspiration, and that it is not a direct representation of the will of Zeus (cf. Jacoby, *FGrH* III. B Supplement p. 560). The hymn does not mention divination by either *astragaloi* or pebbles, but it is possible that there is a connection between the bee-maidens, the Corycian nymphs, and these mantic techniques. Offerings of honey may have been made to the nymphs of the cave, who were thought to be a source of inspiration, and then the visitor could have used the throw of either dice or pebbles in order to find out the gods' will. Hermes as god of luck would have been seen as the mediator for this knowledge (cf. 565-6). For divination by pebbles at Delphi and elsewhere cf. Call. *H.* 2.45 (with F. Williams's comments), Amandry (1950) 29-30 and 72, Fontenrose (1978) 219-24, Scheinberg (1979) 8-9; and for divination by *astragaloi* see Frazer on Paus. 7.25.6, and Larson (1995) 347 n. 19. See also on this passage Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 192-216, especially 196-201.

**552-61** There is some verbal similarity here with *H. Dem.* 485-7 ναιετάουσι... σεμναί... προφρονέως; cf. *H. Herm.* 552 σεμναί... 555 ναιετάουσιν... 561 προφρονέως (Scheinberg (1979) 15).

**553** ἀγαλλόμενοι πτερύγεσσι: cf. *Il.* 2.462 ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ποτῶνται (cf. *H. Herm.* 558) ἀγαλλόμενα πτερύγεσσι.

**554** τρεῖς: in Indo-European mythology female deities, nymphs, etc. are often triads of virgin sisters. They can also be winged, or take animal or bird form (e.g. the winged Gorgons of A. *PV* 798-9, or swan-like Graiai, A. *PV* 794-5). In art nymphs are regularly portrayed as a triad (e.g. with Hermes, Pan, etc.). Cf. Scheinberg (1979) 2-7.

κατὰ δὲ κράτος πεπαλαγμένοι ἄλφιτα λευκά: various explanations have been proposed for this odd feature:

- (1) They are like the κανηφόροι, who powdered their hair with flour or white barley: cf. especially Hermippus, *PCG* fr. 25 ὥσπερ αἱ κανηφόροι | λευκοῖσιν ἀλφίτοισιν ἐντετριμμένος, Ar., *PCG* fr. 553 ἀλφιτόχρωτος κεφαλῆς, and Ar. *Ecol.* 732, etc.
- (2) It is a metaphor for their white hair (Matthiae; cf. Allen & Sikes p. 312).
- (3) It refers to bees covered with pollen (Ilgen; Cook (1895) 7; Radermacher).

- (4) Wilamowitz (1931–2, 1381) identified them with the ‘white maidens’ who are mentioned as allies of Apollo against the Gauls at Delphi, in the oracle ἐμοὶ μελήσει ταῦτα καὶ λευκοῖς κόραις (cf. Cic. *de Div.* 1.81, with Greek passages in Pease’s comments). But these were identified as meaning either snowflakes or Athena and Artemis by ancient authors.
- (5) They have been compared to ἀλφίτομαντεῖς, who used barley for divination (Cook (1895) 7, Amandry (1950) 60–1).

The closest analogy seems to be with the κληφόροι.

**555** ὑπὸ πτυχί Παρνησοῖο: cf. *H. Ap.* 269. Here this suggests a cave in the mountainside.

**556** ἀπάνευθε ‘apart’. This seems to mean that they live in a secluded place, away from mankind, or from Apollo’s sanctuary at Delphi. It would fit with their location in the Corycian cave, some distance from Delphi and higher up the slopes below Parnassus.

διδάσκαλοι: first here; cf. Aeschylus etc. μαντεῖης . . . διδάσκαλοι go together.

**556–7** ἦν . . . μελέτησα: the pastoral setting for Apollo’s education in prophecy reminds one of the theme of the poet or prophet who receives his gift of inspiration as a shepherd or herdsman on a mountain: cf. West on Hes. *Th.* 22–34, pp. 159–60. Hesiod’s Muses could also speak truth or falsehood, like these women.

**557** πατήρ δ’ ἐμὸς οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν: ἀλέγιζεν is a conjecture, but seems necessary. Cf. 361 where ἀλεγύνων, ἀλεγίζων and ἀλεείνων are variants. This suggests that this form of divination was not directly derived from Zeus’s will, as Delphic prophecy was. Cf. the account of the Thriai in *FGrH* 328 F 195, where Zeus causes their authority to be doubted.

**558** ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ: for the hiatus (as corrected by Schneidewin) cf. *Od.* 4.236 ἄλλοτε ἄλλωι, Hes. *Op.* 713 ἄλλοτε ἄλλον, and other examples in West’s comment.

**559–63** Honey was used in wineless libations (e.g. Soph. *OC* 481; cf. Schol. Soph. *OC* 100, and Porph. *de Abstin.* 2.20), and could be offered to both the nymphs and Hermes (cf. Paus. 5.15.10, Larson (1995) 355). The seer Iamus was fed on honey by snakes as a baby (Pi. *O.* 6.45–7). Porphyry (*Antr.* 15–19) discusses possible associations of honey and bees with nymphs, and calls honey ‘the food of the gods’ (cf. *H. Herm.* 562), saying that some have identified it with nectar and ambrosia. Cf. also Ransome (1937), especially 119–39, Waszink (1974) especially 11–14. For the contrast in these lines cf. Plato, *Ion* 534A: αἱ βᾶκχαι ἀρύτονται ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν μέλι καὶ γάλα κατεχόμεναι, ἔμφρονες δὲ οὔσαι οὔ.

**559** καὶ τε κραίνουσιν ἕκαστα ‘they make all their ordinances’ or ‘their authoritative pronouncements’ (cf. West). κραίνειν can be used of oracular pronouncements, e.g. at E. *Ion* 464 (cf. A. *Ag.* 1255 τὰ πυθόκραντα). It is also used of true dreams at *Od.* 19.567, as opposed to ἔπε’ ἀκράαντα (560). Cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 368 (π p. 193), ‘to pronounce and establish in binding and valid form with the guarantee of fulfilment in the future’. Possibly there is word-play or an implied

connection here between κήρια and κραίνουσιν. Cf. *Od.* 19.562–7, for word-play between κέρως and κραίνειν.

**560** *Θυίωσιν*: *θυίειν* is used in early epic especially of elements or people raging or in high excitement, and *θυιάς* is later used like *μαινός* of an inspired woman or Bacchant (*A. Th.* 498, 836, *Supp.* 564, etc.; cf. *Θυῖαι* in *S. Ant.* 1151 etc.). The implication here also is probably that they are inspired. The spelling *θυίειν* is likely to be original in this verb: cf. Chantraine, *GH* 1 372. It occurs in a number of older MSS at *Il.* 11.180, *Hes. Th.* 131, 848, 874; cf. also Anacreon, *PMG* fr. 2.17.

**562** *Θεῶν ἤδεϊαν ἔδωδῆν*: cf. *Porph. Antr.* 16 *Θεῶν τροφῆς ὄντος τοῦ μέλιτος*. There was a belief in antiquity that honey ‘falls from the air’: cf. *Arist. HA* 553b29, and *Verg. G.* 4.1 *aerū mellis caelestia dona*.

**563** The two alternative lines are both possible, and look as if they could be rhapsodic variants. But *δι’ ἀλλήλων δονέουσαι* fits well with the bee-like character of the women. Cf. Choerilus, *SH* 318.2–3 *μύρια φῦλ’ ἔδονεῖτο πολυσμήνοισι μελίσσοις | <εἴκελα . . . >*. The confused noise, like bees buzzing, would make their message impossible to interpret correctly.

**564–6** What is for Hermes a source of entertainment (like his music) will be more serious for mortals who may profit from these prophecies.

**565** *εἰ βροτὸν ἄνδρα δαείης*: in Homer the reduplicated aorist *δέδαε* means ‘he taught’ (*Od.* 6.233 etc.), and in Apollonius Rhodius *δάε*, *ἔδαε* also have this sense (1.724, 3.529, 4.989). *δαείης* may be used with this sense here. The normal meaning would be ‘learn’, but this hardly fits the present context.

**566** For *ὀμφή* of a prophetic voice cf. 471, 532. *αἶ κε τύχησι* suggests Hermes’ role as the god who brings luck.

**567–73** In 567–8 Apollo continues to address Hermes and gives him the care of various domestic animals. In 569–73 the construction changes to accusative and infinitive, with Hermes as the subject of the verbs. If this text is correct one should translate 569–71 as ‘and over fierce lions and white-tusked boars, and dogs and sheep, all that the broad earth nourishes, and in the case of all grazing animals, their lord is to be the glorious Hermes’. On this view the infinitives are ‘jussive’, and we have a construction which is especially used in prescriptions, laws and treaties: see Bers (1984) 166–82. The shift from second-person imperative to accusative and infinitive may seem unusual, but cf. for example the prescriptions at *Hes. Op.* 722–60, where we have accusative and infinitive at 735–6 and 748–54, in the middle of a series with nominative and infinitive, or second-person future indicative (729). In 571 *πᾶσι δ’ ἐπὶ προβάτοισιν* is best taken as a general summarising phrase, rounding off the previous list: hence the change to *δέ* rather than another *καί*. Apollo’s speech began by stressing the formality of his compact with Hermes, and on this view it also closes in a more formal style, concluding at 572–3 with Hermes’ solemn role as sole messenger to Hades.

Editors have usually marked a lacuna after 568, and assumed a switch to indirect speech, with either Apollo or Zeus as subject. This would be awkward in the middle of the list of animals, and there is no need for a change of speaker

to Zeus, since Apollo is fully empowered to express the wishes of his father (cf. 468–72 and 533–8). In 575 χάριν δ' ἐπέθηκε Κρονίων refers to the approval of Zeus, rather than actual speech. In defence of the transmitted text see also Brioso (1990) and Vergados (2007a) on 568–71. For Hermes as god of flocks and herds see 490–5n. But originally his associations with the natural world were much wider, and he is often depicted in art with dogs or horses, various wild animals, and (in Archaic art) monsters such as sphinxes, and he was associated with hunting and hunters: cf. Chittenden (1947) 89–114, especially 102–5, and *LIMC* v.1 287, 380–1.

**568** ἡμίονους ταλαεργούς: cf. (in various cases) *Il.* 23.654, 662, 664, and with ἵπποι . . . θήλειαι *Od.* 4.636 = 21.23.

**569–71** A colourful list of creatures, noted by Notopoulos (1962, 367–8) for its 'patterns of sibilant assonances'. For 569 cf. *Od.* 11.611 ἄρκτοι τ' ἀγρότεροί τε σύες χαροποί τε λέοντες, Hes. *Sc.* 177 χλοῦναί τε σύες χαροποί τε λέοντες, and *Od.* 14.532 (etc.) σύες ἀργιόδοντες. For the sense of χαροπός see 194n.

**572** τετελεσμένον 'fully empowered, authorised'. Cf. τέλος meaning 'power, authority'.

**573** 'And he who receives no gift will grant a privilege which is far from the least': this must surely refer to Hades, who was traditionally ἀμείλιχος (*Il.* 9.158), i.e. could not be appeased by offerings, and who yet will give Hermes this unique privilege. Cf. also A. *Niobe* fr. 161.1–3 Radt μόνος θεῶν γὰρ Θάνατος οὐ δῶρων ἐρᾷ, | οὐδ' ἄν τι θύων οὐδ' ἐπισπένδων ἄνοις, | οὐδ' ἐστὶ βωμός, οὐδὲ παιωνίζεται, and Schol. *AbT Il.* 9.158 ἀνελεής ἐστίν· ὅθεν ἐν οὐδεμῖαι πόλει Ἄιδου βωμός ἐστίν (quoting the Aeschylean verses). Pausanias tells us that the Eleians alone worship Hades and have a sanctuary and temple to him, which they open only once a year, in gratitude for his help for the Pylians against Heracles (6.25.2–3). The exception proves the rule. This special accolade for Hermes makes an effective climax for the narrative section of the hymn. Hermes alone is *superis deorum gratus et imis* (Hor. *Od.* 1.10.19). It is also possible to take ἄδοτος as active (cf. Càssola, Vergados), i.e. Hades usually does not give anything, but will do so for Hermes.

**574–8** With these transitional lines we move from the narrative mode to the present time: cf. *H. Dem.* 483–9, 15.7–8, and other parallels in Richardson on *H. Dem.* 483–9.

574–5 echo 506–510, 523–6. 576–8 are a generalising summary of Hermes' ubiquitous powers (cf. for example *H. Ap.* 19–24), qualified by a final ironic allusion to his chief attribute as the unpredictable god of deception.

**577** τὸ δ' ἄκριτον 'continually'. Cf. 126 δηρὸν δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκριτον. It could also mean 'indiscriminately'. For the article cf. Hes. *Op.* 596 τρὶς . . . τὸ δὲ τέτρατον . . ., *Hdt.* 3.104 τὸ ἐωθινόν.

**578** νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην: cf. *Il.* 10.83 = 386, *Od.* 9.143.

**579–80** For these two formulaic closing lines see *H. Ap.* 545–6n.

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