

## ODYSSEAN ALLUSIONS IN THE FOURTH HOMERIC HYMN

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Both Hermes and Odysseus are known in Greek mythology for their craft and cunning, their powers of *metis*. Indeed, it has often been noted that when Odysseus requires divine assistance in escaping the magic of Kirke, it is appropriately Hermes, the god of deceit, who comes to his aid, not Athena; or again, Hermes who convinces Kalypso that she must release her unwilling house-guest. If Hermes has a place in Homer's myth of Odysseus, it should not be surprising for the author of the fourth Homeric hymn, in turn, to draw on the tradition behind that mortal hero in characterizing his subject. Yet systematic studies of the Hermes hymn have consistently underrated the importance of Homeric influence, speaking instead of the similarities between this hymn and Hesiod. For the most part, such studies have focused on the language of the hymn. G. Windisch, for instance, counted only four Homeric whole lines and 130 formulae in the hymn (scarcely 1/4 of the total),<sup>1</sup> and A. Hoekstra considered the poem so far removed from Homeric style that he did not even include it in his study of the other long hymns.<sup>2</sup> Most recently, R. Janko, after a thorough analysis of early Greek hexameter, concludes simply that the poem is inconsistent.<sup>3</sup>

While a case can fairly be made that the language of the hymn is closer to that of Hesiod than Homer, the resulting tendency to ignore other aspects of Homeric influence has prevented students of the hymn from seeing the thematic and mythological similarities between the stories of Hermes and Odysseus. But the connection between these two figures, and between the hymn and the *Odyssey* specifically, is not insignificant, nor, as I hope to show, is it incidental. It is my thesis here

<sup>1</sup> *De Hymnis Homericis maioribus* (Leipzig 1867). Whole lines are: h. 144 = *Od.* 9.521; h. 219 = *Il.* 13.99; h. 333 = *Il.* 15.253; h. 435 = *Il.* 1.201. Much of the hymn's language can be seen as a reasonable extension of Homeric practice, however: see T. Van Nortwick, *The Homeric Hymn to Hermes: A Study in Early Greek Hexameter Style* (diss. Stanford 1975) 1–17.

<sup>2</sup> A. Hoekstra, *The Sub-Epic Stage of the Formulaic Tradition* (Amsterdam 1969).

<sup>3</sup> R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns* (Cambridge 1982).

that the hymnist chose to model Hermes' struggle for divine acceptance and identity on that of Odysseus for his heroic identity and homecoming. In the current state of Homeric studies, attempts to demonstrate intentional allusion or imitation in early Greek poetry have admittedly become a dangerous endeavor, particularly if one wishes to speak of a correspondence between texts.<sup>4</sup> Cautions have justly been raised about searching for "Homerisms" in early lyric as well as hexameter,<sup>5</sup> and scholars in recent years have largely abandoned the effort.<sup>6</sup> These cautions can, of course, be addressed if one speaks of influence by a tradition rather than a specific text.<sup>7</sup> However, while I believe it likely

<sup>4</sup> Those committed to the theory of oral composition will rightly caution that similarities between the poems may be accounted for by inherited formulaic diction and thematic tradition. For a clear explanation of this view, cf. G. Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (Baltimore/London 1979), Introduction, 42–43, and passim, with bibliography. Followers of neoanalysis, on the other hand, might even suggest the *Odyssey* itself was influenced by an earlier form of the Hermes story, particularly as it seems clear the figures of Hermes and Odysseus share a common typology. (The "Hermes" aspect of Odysseus' character has been noticed, e.g., by K. W. Osterwald, *Hermes-Odysseus* [Halle 1853] and P. Philippson, "Die vorhomerische und die homerische Gestalt des Odysseus," *MH* 4 [1949] 8–22.) On the relative merits and weaknesses of both approaches, see now W. Kullmann, "Oral Poetry Theory and Neoanalysis in Homeric Research," *GRBS* 25 (1984) 307–24, with bibliography. B. Fenik provides a similar comparison from the point of view of oral poetry (*Typical Battle Scenes in the Iliad*, Hermes Einzelschrift 21 [Wiesbaden 1968] 231–40), in which he wisely notes (237) "Typical composition and direct influence are not incompatible."

<sup>5</sup> E.g. J. A. Davison, "Quotations and Allusions in Early Greek Literature," *Eranos* 80 (1955) 125–40 = *From Archilochus to Pindar* (London 1968) 70–85, who criticizes the arguments of Merkelbach (*Untersuchungen zur Odyssee* [Munich 1951] 231) for a *terminus ante quem* for the *Odyssey* based on allusions in Archilochus, but admits possible allusions in Alcman. See now also Janko (above, note 3) 8–11 and Appendix D, 225–28, who offers caveats and suggests some guidelines for accepting literary imitation in early hexameter. His comments mainly concern imitation on the level of diction, and the danger of attempting to date texts by this method. Aware of these problems, Hoekstra (above, note 2) 39–40 and 46 advances a cautious argument for the dating of the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* supported by its direct imitation of Homer in 197 and 199.

<sup>6</sup> Among the exceptions, on the view that Archilochus deliberately echoes Homer, cf. W. B. Stanford, *The Ulysses Theme* (Oxford 1963<sup>2</sup>) 90–91; J. Russo, "The Inner Man in Archilochus and the *Odyssey*" *GRBS* 15 (1974) 139–52; B. Seidensticker, "Archilochus and Odysseus," *GRBS* 19 (1978) 5–22; for Sappho, cf. L. Rissman, *Love as War: Homeric Allusion in the Poetry of Sappho*, Beitr. zur klass. Philol. 157 (Königstein/Ts. 1983).

On imitation and allusion between the epics themselves, see P. Pucci, "The Song of the Sirens," *Arethusa* 12 (1979) 121–32, esp. 125 and note 7 where he states his belief in the early existence of fixed "texts" for the epic cycle. In a subsequent article, "The Proem of the *Odyssey*," *Arethusa* 15 (1982) 39–62, Pucci argues that there is evidence for "the thoroughly allusive quality of the [*Odyssey*] proem and its consistent anti-Iliadic point of view" (47) but does not discuss the problems of assuming such correspondence.

<sup>7</sup> So, e.g., Nagy (above, note 4), Russo (above, note 6). For a discussion of some problems inherent in this technique, see now J. S. Clay, *The Wrath of Athena* (Princeton 1983) 241–46.

that an "Odyssean tradition" did influence the hymn, the number and nature of the parallels discussed below lead me to suspect that the hymnist, who I believe did not compose orally, also knew a more fixed version of the epic. And if, as I believe, he was composing in or near the last quarter of the sixth century, it seems neither improbable nor unreasonable to believe he could have known and used a text of the *Odyssey*.<sup>8</sup> At the risk of failing to convince, then, I will speak here for the most part of parallels with the actual text of the *Odyssey*, rather than with an "Odyssean tradition."<sup>9</sup> The burden of proof for my argument must lie in the accumulation of Homeric echoes throughout the hymn, a particularly difficult task when the parallels and echoes are not always strict, but in the hope of illuminating several troublesome aspects of the hymn, I will try to make the case nonetheless. The Odyssean allusions, I believe, will help to solve two major puzzles in the hymn:

- 1) why Hermes refuses to eat the sacrificial meat for which he longs and which was his reason for killing the cattle (130–33);
- 2) the presence, unnecessary for the plot, of the Old Man of Onchestos (87–93, 185–212).

The subject of the hymn is Hermes' birth in the Arcadian cave of the nymph Maia and his subsequent rise to full Olympian status through a challenge of, and eventual share in, the cult of Apollo. The challenge is offered through the nocturnal theft and sacrifice of Apollo's cattle from Pieria, and Hermes' final acceptance as a god is ratified by an exchange of gifts in which he presents Apollo with the lyre he had invented earlier. In the subject matter of the hymn, then, there is nothing which particularly invites comparison with the *Odyssey*, no special reason to expect echoes of language or theme. But the echoes do exist, in the use of epithets and formulae which recall the Homeric hero, and, more surprising, in specific narrative sequences within the hymn. And, while the context of the epic is different from that of the hymn, nonetheless a basic parallel does exist between their two central figures.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> How similar it was to the text we now possess is impossible to say, but I take it to have been virtually the same. This is not the place to present my arguments for the date of the hymn, but for similar datings on a variety of grounds, cf. J. Humbert (*Homère Hymnes* [Paris 1936]) 115, "dans le dernier tiers du vi<sup>e</sup> siècle"; Janko (above, note 3) 143, "towards the end of the sixth century"; H. Görgemanns ("Rhetorik und Poetik im homerischen Hermeshymnus," *Studien zum antiken Epos*, Beitr. zur klass. Philol. 72 [Meisenheim am Glan 1976]) 128, "auf die ersten Jahrzehnte des 5. Jahrhunderts."

<sup>9</sup> In the end, evaluation of the evidence will remain subjective, and those who do not believe the hymnist knew a form of the *Odyssey* already fixed in its tradition will perhaps draw conclusions different from my own. But I am not sure that matters. I offer here the verbal and thematic parallels which seem to me the most compelling and hope they will not be lost in polemics of theory.

<sup>10</sup> While the hymn shows a closer affinity to the Odyssean tradition than to the Iliadic, a similarity between the characters of the Iliadic Odysseus and the hymn's Hermes can also

The *Odyssey*, as it tells of Odysseus' journey home, describes the hero's reestablishment of his personal, social, and heroic identity. He passes from being "Nobody" to winning back his position as father, husband, son, and king, in short, to being "crafty Odysseus, sacker of cities." The path home is long and difficult, and the poet calls it a *δολιχὴν ὁδόν* (*Od.* 4.393), the same phrase Odysseus uses of his travels in his lying tale to Antinoös (*Od.* 17.426), and with which Menelaos describes his own long journey home (*Od.* 4.483). Some scholars have even seen in Odysseus' journey to the Underworld and passage from Kalypso's island through the sea to his naked arrival in Phaiakia a symbolic death and rebirth. Hermes' own passage in the hymn begins literally from birth:<sup>11</sup> he has no identity (except as Maia's son),<sup>12</sup> no status in the Olympian world, and no "heroic" (divine) sphere. Like Odysseus, he uses craft to win all three. After proving himself in a series of exploits, he gains acknowledgment as Zeus' son and Apollo's brother, and he becomes a god with full Olympian status and his own distinct sphere of influence. His passage from the Arcadian cave to his rightful home among the gods need not have been marked by a physical journey, but the hymnist takes pains to show that it is (in fact, the god makes *five* separate trips).<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the poet uses the very phrase

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be demonstrated: when Helen describes the Greek hero to the Trojan elders, she speaks of his craftiness, his knowledge of deceptions, and his upbringing in the rough country of Ithaka:

οὗτος δ' αὖ Λαερτιάδης πολύμητις Ὀδυσσεύς,  
ὃς τράφη ἐν δῆμῳ Ἰθάκης κραναῆς περ ἐούσης  
εἰδὼς παντοίους τε δόλους καὶ μῆδεα πυκνά. (*Il.* 3.200–202)

And Agamemnon, trying to rally his troops, scolds Odysseus as a lover of profit and deceit "καὶ σὺ, κακοῖσι δόλοισι κεκασμένε, κερδαλέοφρον" (*Il.* 4.339). These descriptions could as well apply to the crafty Hermes, born in the Arcadian countryside and himself a seeker of profit. See further below, note 22.

<sup>11</sup> While the deity's birth is a common topic in hymns, it need not come, as here, at the beginning of the poem; cf., e.g., the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* which clearly establishes the god's position of power on Olympus (1–15) before recounting his actual birth (115–20). And indeed, the other long Homeric Hymns, to Demeter and Aphrodite, do not describe the births of those goddesses at all.

<sup>12</sup> Hermes' paternity, of course, is never seriously in doubt in the hymn: Zeus is named in the first line. However, until he has performed his *ἔργα* and is officially accepted as a son by Zeus (who, on first seeing the baby calls him only "μενοεικέα ληῖδ' . . . , παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα, φυνὴν κήρυκος ἔχοντα" 330–31), Hermes remains an unknown quantity, still merely his mother's son. Cf. Telemakhos, whose quest to prove he is his father's son forms a discrete part of the *Odyssey*, and note his response when Athena asks if he is Odysseus' son:

μήτηρ μὲν τ' ἐμέ φησι τοῦ ἔμμεναι, αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γε  
οὐκ οἶδ'· οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἐὼν γόνον αὐτὸς ἀνέγνω. (*Od.* 1.215–16)

<sup>13</sup> In the first and second of these, the god travels from Mt. Kyllene north to Pieria (70), then south through Boiotian Onchestos (88) to the Alpheios (101) and back to Kyllene

applied to Odysseus' return as he describes Hermes preparing for his first journey (h. 86) οἶά τ' ἐπειγόμενος δολιχὴν ὁδόν. Such an implicit comparison between the two figures and their respective quests justifies closer examination of the hymn for Odyssean echoes of language and theme.

From the outset, the hymnist makes clear his association of Hermes with Odysseus by applying to the young god a Homeric epithet reserved for Odysseus alone. In the first line of the *Odyssey*, the poet chooses to identify his hero, not by name (he is not named until *Od.* 1.21), but with the epithet *πολύτροπος* which comes to characterize the man "of many turns" ever after. This epithet is intentionally ambiguous, but Homer gives a clue to its meaning in the second line:

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον ὃς μάλα πολλὰ  
πλάγχθη, ἐπεὶ Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε.

Two senses are apparent:<sup>14</sup> "much-travelled" is suggested by *πλάγχθη*, and "clever, resourceful" by the phrase *Τροίης ἱερὸν πτολίεθρον ἔπερσε*, a clear allusion to Odysseus' role in the trick of the Trojan horse which finally accomplished the sack of a city ten years of war had not brought down.<sup>15</sup> The latter sense is stronger in book 10 when Kirke, remembering Hermes' warning, calls Odysseus "resourceful" after he has successfully avoided the effects of her magic through a trick (the moly) given to him by Hermes:

ἦ σύ γ' Ὀδυσσεύς ἐσσι πολύτροπος, ὃν τέ μοι αἰεὶ  
φάσκειν ἐλεύσεσθαι χρυσόρραπις ἀργειφόντης. (*Od.* 10.330–31)

(142). After Apollo confronts him there (228), the two journey from Kyllene to Olympos (322), and at Zeus' command they travel from there to recover the cattle at Pylos (by the Alpheios 397–98) and finally back again to Olympos (505), where Hermes' position as a god is ratified by Zeus.

<sup>14</sup> Pucci, "Proem" (above, note 6) 53–54, detects a third, "of many turns of language." While it is true both Odysseus and Hermes manifest their cunning verbally, this does not convince me of a separate metaphoric sense in the epithet.

<sup>15</sup> Stanford (above, note 6) 257–58, note 10, reflects the majority of scholarly opinion that neither Homer nor the extant cycle identifies Odysseus specifically as the inventor of the trick but instead record Epeios as the builder of the Horse, with Athena's help (*Od.* 8.492–93, 11.523; Lesches ap. Procl. [OCT Homer, vol. 5, pp. 106–7]), while making clear only Odysseus' role as the leader in the Horse (*Od.* 4.271–89; 8.494–95, 502ff.; 11.524–25). According to this view only later tradition makes Odysseus responsible for the trick itself, e.g. Apollod. *Ep.* 5.14 (ὕστερον δὲ ἐπινοεῖ δουρείου ἵππου κατασκευὴν καὶ ὑποτίθεται Ἐπειῷ, ὃς ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων); Polyaeus *Strat.* i pr. 9; Philostratus *Her.* 11; Q.S. 12.23–83.

That Odysseus *is* responsible for the sack of the city, through his crafty ways, however, is stated explicitly by Athena at *Od.* 22.230 (σῇ δ' ἥλω βουλῇ Πριάμου πόλις εὐρύαγια), and is supported by the epithet *πολίπορθος* applied only to him in the *Odyssey* (7 times; also *πολιπόρθος* once). The epithet is used of him twice in the *Iliad* (2.278, 10.373) where, however, it is also applied 4 times to Achilles and 4 times to others. The Iliadic use has been debated since antiquity, cf. F. A. Wolf, *Prolegomena ad Homerum*, Ch. 49, note 44.

The hymnist also uses the epithet twice in his poem. Early in the hymn he identifies Maia's newly born infant (named in the first line, but not again)<sup>16</sup> in a manner highly reminiscent of Odysseus' introduction in the *Odyssey*:

καὶ τότε' ἐγένετο παῖδα πολύτροπον, αἰμυλομήτην  
ληϊστήρ', ἐλατήρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων (h. 13–14)

Here παῖδα πολύτροπον replaces Homer's ἄνδρα πολύτροπον and the meaning of the adjective is again clarified by what follows, in this case a series of epithets stressing Hermes' shiftiness and alluding to his theft of Apollo's cattle. The second use of πολύτροπος, as in the *Odyssey*, occurs in direct speech. Apollo, marvelling at the sound of the lyre, asks Hermes where he learned such skill:<sup>17</sup>

νῦν δ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ πολύτροπε Μαιάδος νιέ. (h. 439)

The hymnist reinforces the connection between Hermes and Odysseus with other epithets otherwise used exclusively of Odysseus in the Homeric poems: ποικιλομήτης ("cunning"),<sup>18</sup> πολύμητις.<sup>19</sup> And he twice (h. 271, 331) uses of Hermes the same line-beginning formula applied to the baby Odysseus by Eurykleia as she hands him to Autolykos who names him (*Od.* 19.400): παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα.<sup>20</sup> In Hermes' theft of

<sup>16</sup> Since this poem is a hymn, it would have been necessary to call on the god by name at the outset rather than to postpone the naming as in the *Odyssey*. On the importance of naming the god at the start, cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig 1913) 144ff., R. Keyssner, *Gottesvorstellung und Lebensauffassung in griechischen Hymnos* (Stuttgart 1932) 9ff.

<sup>17</sup> It is of interest that this line is preceded by several other Homeric phrases, emphasized below (435–38):

καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·	= <i>Il.</i> 1.201
Βουφόνε μηχανῶτα πονεύμενε δαιτὸς ἐταῖρε	(cf. <i>Od.</i> 17.271)
πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀντάξια ταῦτα μέμηλας.	( <i>Il.</i> 11.677;
	Helios' herd)
ἡσυχίως καὶ ἔπειτα διακρινέεσθαι ὄω.	(cf. <i>Od.</i> 20.180)

<sup>18</sup> H. 155 and 514; in Homer at *Il.* 11.482; *Od.* 3.163; 7.168; 13.293; 22.115, 202, 281. But cf. h. *Ap.* 322 where Hera uses the same epithet of Zeus.

<sup>19</sup> H. 319; 66 times in the *Odyssey*, 18 in the *Iliad*. Cf. πολυμήτιος of Hephaistos at *Il.* 21.355. Note that many of Odysseus' epithets would not be appropriate to Hermes (e.g. πολύτλας, ἀντίθεος, πολίπορθος, ἀμύμων), and vice versa (e.g. ἀργειφόντης, διάκτορος, ἐριούριος). Πολυμήχανος, commonly used of Odysseus, was known to the hymnist who uses it of Apollo in 319.

<sup>20</sup> It is also of interest that, after stealing Apollo's cattle, Hermes returns to his cradle and resumes his guise as a "normal" infant, playing with his "covering" (h. 152). The hymnist does not specify whether this is the σπάργανον (swaddling-clothes) or a blanket of some sort (not elsewhere mentioned if so), but instead uses the ambiguous word "λαῖφος" which appears twice in Homer, both times describing the rags which disguise Odysseus as a beggar (*Od.* 13.399, 20.206).

Apollo's cattle, moreover, and his subsequent denials, both to Apollo and Zeus, it is easy to recognize those skills Homeric tradition tells us the god gave to Odysseus' maternal grandfather, Autolykos:<sup>21</sup>

... ἀνθρώπους ἐκέαστο  
κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὄρκῳ τε· θεὸς δέ οἱ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν  
Ἑρμείας. (*Od.* 19.395–97)

In addition to these verbal parallels, the hymn also shows similarities with the epic on a thematic level. Three scenes in particular will serve to illustrate the Odyssean influence, not so much in direct verbal reminiscences as in their inspiration and theme.<sup>22</sup>

1) Maia and her cave ~ Kalypso and her cave. In introducing Maia at the beginning of the poem, not only does the hymnist twice use of her (h. 4, 7) Homer's phrase for Kalypso, "fair-haired nymph" (νύμφη εὐπλόκαμος: *Od.* 1.86, 5.30, 57–58), but he also describes her cave in terms which recall the cave of Kalypso. An approaching visitor—Hermes in the *Odyssey*, Apollo in the hymn—notices emanating from each cave a sweet smell: in Kalypso's cave the fragrance is that of burning wood (*Od.* 5.59–61 πῦρ μὲν ἐπ' ἐσχαρόφιν μέγα καίετο, τηλόθι δ' ὁδμὴ / κέδρου τ' εὐκέατοιο θύου τ' ἀνὰ νῆσον ὀδῶδει / δαιομένων); in Maia's the source is not identified (h. 65 εὐώδεος ἐκ μεγάροιο, 231–32 ὁδμὴ

<sup>21</sup> For Autolykos as a thief, cf. (e.g.) *Il.* 10.261–67; Hes. fr. 65.15; and the later story of his cattle-stealing from Sisyphos, Polyaeus *Strat.* 6.52, Hyg. *Fab.* 201. If the hymnist knew the Hesiodic tradition which named Autolykos as the son of Hermes, thus establishing a direct line of descent from the god to Odysseus (e.g. Hes. fr. 65.18; cf. Apollod. 1.9.16), he suppresses it here.

<sup>22</sup> Again, two of Odysseus' exploits in the *Iliad* also show a particular correspondence to Hermes' adventures in the hymn. In the Doloneia of book 10 (241ff.), Odysseus, chosen by Diomedes for his mental prowess (247 περίοιδε νοῆσαι), embarks on a nocturnal escapade involving theft and guile. In this episode, he literally masters Dolon and wears a helmet originally stolen by Autolykos (*Il.* 10.267), master of thieves. These activities would again be equally appropriate to Hermes. And in the funeral games (*Il.* 23.708–32), it is through guile that Odysseus matches the strength of Aias in their wrestling match:

ἀν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς πολὺμητις ἀνίστατο, κέρδεα εἰδῶς (*Il.* 23.709)  
... δόλου δ' οὐ λήθεται Ὀδυσσεύς (*Il.* 23.725)

Here, as in the hymn, the use of cunning enables a weaker opponent to profit in a contest with one who is more powerful. Here too Aias, like Apollo in the hymn, does not actually lose, for in both cases a friendly compromise is effected by the "judge," Achilles (*Il.* 23.733–39) and Zeus (h. 391–96 etc.). Significantly, scholars have considered both Iliadic passages to be late additions and to show Odyssean influence: for the Doloneia, cf. G. Kirk, *The Songs of Homer* (Cambridge 1962) 310–12 and passim; G. P. Shipp, *Studies in the Language of Homer* (Cambridge 1972) 225. The case for the lateness of the funeral games is less convincing, cf. (e.g.) Kirk 208 and passim. Thus, the similarities between the adventures of god and hero appear not to be inherent in the tradition of the *Iliad* itself, but rather to depend on an Odyssean tradition.

δ' ἰμερόεσσα δι' οὔρεος ἡγαθέοιο / κίδνατο). Of the homes themselves we learn that Kalypso's is great and wide (*Od.* 5.57 μέγα σπέος, 77 εὐρὺ σπέος), and that Maia's is great and high-roofed (h. 23 ὑψηρέφρος ἄντροιο, 246 μέγαλοιο δόμοιο).<sup>23</sup> And while the former has meadows and fountains (*Od.* 5.68–71), the latter has a courtyard and rich lawn (or pasture: h. 26, 232).<sup>24</sup>

Both caves contain nectar, ambrosia, and servants who, in each poem, are mentioned only once and then forgotten (*Od.* 5.199 δμωαί; h. 60 ἀμφιπόλους). The possessions in each cave are different: Kalypso has a fire(-place) and loom (*Od.* 5.59–62, 92–93),<sup>25</sup> while Maia has tripods, cauldrons, gold, silver, and rich clothing (h. 61, 246–51).<sup>26</sup> The difference in these details can be accounted for by the specific demands of the two poems. In the *Odyssey*, the loom (and sometimes the fire or hearth) appears as a symbol of home, often of the false homes which tempt Odysseus to abort his return. Since Hermes is already home, the loom need not be singled out (although the rich clothing which was its product is mentioned), and in its place the poet speaks of gold and

<sup>23</sup> Polyphemos' cave is also large (*Od.* 9.182–83 σπέος . . . ὑψηλόν, 237 εὐρὺ σπέος), but given the poet's emphasis on the great size of the monster himself, we could have expected no less. The only other cave described in the *Odyssey* provides a closer parallel (see below, note 24) but its size is not mentioned.

<sup>24</sup> The description of Maia's cave also recalls the cave of the nymphs on Ithaka (*Od.* 13.103–12). That cave too is shaded and comfortable, containing bowls, jars (all of stone), bees and honey, a (stone) loom on which the nymphs weave wondrous clothing, and even "running water."

The cave of the nymphs, with its two entrances, one for mortals, one for immortals, was interpreted by Porphyrios (*On the Cave of the Nymphs*, third century A.D.) as a symbol for the Kosmos; the two entrances were for souls traveling to their genesis, and departing from the world. On the Homeric passage and the later work, see F. Buffière, *Les Mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris 1956) 419–37, 597–616; a revised text with translation of Porphyry has more recently been published as *Arethusa Monographs I* (Buffalo 1969). On the mythological importance of caves in general, see R. Merkelbach, "Die Kosmogonie der Mithrasmysterien," *Eranos Jb.* (1965) 221–22.

<sup>25</sup> *Od.* 5.59–62: πῦρ μὲν ἐπ' ἐσχαρόφιν μέγα καίετο, τηλόθι δ' ὁδμὴ  
κέδρον τ' εὐκέατοιο θύον τ' ἀνὰ νήσον ὁδῶδει  
δαιομένων· ἡ δ' ἔνδον αἰοιδάουσ' ὅπῃ καλῇ  
ἰστὸν ἐποικομένη χρυσείῃ κερκίδ' ὕφαινει.

*Od.* 5.92–93: . . . θεὰ παρέθηκε τράπεζαν  
ἀμβροσίης πλῆσασα, κέρασσε δὲ νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν.

<sup>26</sup> h. 61: καὶ τρίποδας κατὰ οἶκον ἐπηγετανούς τε λέβητας.

h. 246–51: παπτήνας δ' ἀνὰ πάντα μυχὸν μέγαλοιο δόμοιο  
τρεῖς ἀδύτους ἀνέωγε λαβὼν κληῖδα φαεινὴν  
νέκταρος ἐμπλείους ἡδ' ἀμβροσίης ἐρατεινῆς·  
πολλὸς δὲ χρυσὸς τε καὶ ἄργυρος ἔνδον ἔκειτο,  
πολλὰ δὲ φοινικέοντα καὶ ἄργυφα εἴματα νύμφης,  
οἷα θεῶν μακάρων ἱεροὶ δόμοι ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν.



material riches, for it is precisely these things which the young god threatens to steal from Apollo's house at Delphi:<sup>27</sup>

... ἄλις τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἥδ' ἐλέβητας  
πορθήσω καὶ χρυσόν, ἄλις τ' αἶθωνα σίδηρον  
καὶ πολλὰ ἐσθήτα. (h. 179–81)

Hermes' view of his (and Maia's) home is rather different from the description the poet has given us up to this point. When his mother scolds him for stealing Apollo's cattle, Hermes complains that the cave is "gloomy" (ἡερόεντι 172),<sup>28</sup> and says he wants to live with the other immortal gods on Olympos amid wealth and riches. Here the parallel between the two nymphs (both daughters of Atlas), their caves, and the figures of Hermes and Odysseus becomes clear. We are given just enough detail in the hymn to recall Odysseus' situation in the *Odyssey*, and we now realize that Hermes, like Odysseus, is not content to remain in his present surroundings, no matter how appealing they may seem to an outsider.<sup>29</sup> Like Odysseus, Hermes cannot reach his rightful place without leaving the safety and comfort of his hidden paradise, the cave of the goddess, and fighting, whatever the risk, for what he wants—his divine identity. When his mother says "your father begot you to be a great worry (pain) to mortal men and deathless gods" (h. 160–61 *μεγάλην σε πατὴρ ἐφύτευσε μέριμναν / θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι*), we know Hermes will live up to this prophecy as Odysseus lived up to the prediction implied in the name Autolykos gave him:<sup>30</sup>

πολλοῖσιν γὰρ ἐγὼ γε ὀδυσσάμενος τόδ' ἰκάνω,  
ἀνδράσιν ἥδ' ἑταίροις ἀνὰ χθόνα πουλυβοτείραν·  
τῷ δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ὄνομ' ἔστω ἐπώνυμον. (*Od.* 19.407–9)

2) The theft of Apollo's cattle ~ The theft of Helios' cattle. Hermes begins his fight and offers his challenge by stealing the cattle of Apollo. Cattle theft, of course, is a common theme in Greek mythology, but

<sup>27</sup> Cf. *Od.* 13.217–18 where Odysseus inventories the gifts he has acquired from the Phaiakians on his way home: "Ὡς εἰπὼν τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἥδ' ἐλέβητας / ἡρίθμει καὶ χρυσὸν ὑφαντά τε εἵματα καλά. As in the hymn, these objects, valuable as they are, remain incidental to the primary goal of the hero (god) arriving at his destination.

<sup>28</sup> The adjective is a regular epithet of Tartaros and the gloom (ζόφος) of the underworld in Homer and Hesiod, and when Apollo threatens to cast Hermes into Tartaros he uses the same word (h. 256) *ρίψω γὰρ σε βαλὼν ἐς Τάρταρον ἡερόεντα*.

<sup>29</sup> Note that in the *Odyssey* Hermes' reaction to Kalypso's "paradise" is the same as his reaction to Maia's cave in the hymn: both homes are too far from the rest of the gods and the sacrifices of men: cf. h. 167–72 and *Od.* 5.99–102.

<sup>30</sup> On the naming of Odysseus, see (e.g.) Stanford (above, note 6) 10–11, who translates "Man of Odium." G. Dimock, "The Name of Odysseus," *Homer: A Collection of Critical Essays*, ed. G. Steiner and R. Fagles (Englewood Cliffs 1962) 106–21 prefers "Trouble."

there are similarities between this theft and that of Helios' cattle in the *Odyssey* which deserve attention. Each theft involves divine cattle which are then sacrificed, and each theft occurs because the thief (or thieves) is hungry and desires meat (*Od.* 12.332 ἔτειρε δὲ γαστέρα λυμός; h. 64 κρειῶν ἐρατίζων). Although the two accounts do not generally use the same phrasing, the hymnist does use Homeric epithets for the cattle Hermes steals, e.g. ὀρθόκραiros (*Od.* 12.348, h. 220 "straight-horned"), and εὐρυμέτωπος (*Od.* 12.262, 355, h. 355 "wide-browed").<sup>31</sup> And to describe Hermes huddling in his cradle after this adventure, the poet chooses a Homeric image embodied, like its epic counterpart, in a simile:

σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυνε θυήεντ'· ἥ τε πολλὴν  
πρέμνων ἀνθρακίην ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει,  
ὥς Ἑρμῆς Ἐκάεργον ἰδὼν ἀνεεῖλε' ἐ' αὐτόν. (h. 237–39)

τὴν μὲν ἰδὼν γήθησε πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς  
ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσση λέκτο, χύσιν δ' ἐπεχέυατο φύλλων.  
ὥς δ' ὅτε τις δαλὸν σποδιῇ ἐνέκρυνσε μελαίνῃ . . .  
σπέρμα πυρὸς σώζων, ἵνα μὴ ποθεν ἄλλοθεν αὐτῇ,  
ὥς Ὀδυσσεὺς φύλλοισι καλύψατο. (*Od.* 5.486–91)

Perhaps more telling, when Hermes proclaims his innocence in the cattle theft to Zeus and Apollo, he specifically refers to Helios:

ὡς οὐκ οἶκαδ' ἔλασσα βόας, ὥς ὄλβιος εἶην,  
οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔβην· τὸ δέ τ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύω.  
Ἥελιον δέ μάλ' αἰδέομαι καὶ δαίμονας ἄλλους,  
καὶ σέ φιλῶ καὶ τοῦτον ὀπίζομαι. (h. 379–82)

The standard English commentary on the hymns expresses the common view of this passage, "He [Hermes] wishes to covertly disarm the Sun, who sees all things. Else the mention of him is pointless."<sup>32</sup> There is no reason to expect the Sun to have observed a theft which occurred at night, however, and an allusion to the theft of Helios' cattle by Odysseus' men seems a better explanation. Although the earliest evidence for the identification of Apollo with Helios elsewhere is in Aeschylus,<sup>33</sup> I

<sup>31</sup> Ὀρθόκραiros, however, also occurs at *Il.* 8.231. Other Homeric phrases include *πίονα νηόν* *Od.* 12.346 = h. 148, where, however, the meaning is not the same, and *Od.* 12.128–30 ~ h. 74.

<sup>32</sup> T. W. Allen, W. R. Halliday, and E. E. Sikes, *The Homeric Hymns* (Oxford 1936<sup>2</sup>) ad loc.

<sup>33</sup> A. *Supp.* 212–14. Cf. also A. *Th.* 859, and Eratosthenes *Cat.* 24, with its report that in Aeschylus' lost *Bassarai* Orpheus calls Helios "Apollo." J. Diggle (*Euripides: Phaethon* [Cambridge 1970] 147) calls E. *Ph.* 225 the "earliest certain literary identification of Helios and Apollo," but views A. *Supp.* 212–14 as "almost certain." Cf. also Athenaeus (619b) for the view that Telesilla, a sixth-century poetess, dedicated her invocation to the Sun god to Apollo, and the account in Herodotus (9.93) of Helios' sheep kept at Apollonia. I believe there is reason to suspect a connection even in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, but cannot argue the point here. On Helios' connection with Apollo cf. (e.g.) Buffière (above,

believe the hymnist also intended one here. But even if we do not see in it a reference to Apollo, the mention of Helios at this point in the hymn could hardly fail to recall Odysseus' adventure with that god's cattle.

The most important point of similarity between the two thefts lies in the outcome of the slaughter. The companions of Odysseus, overcome by their desire for meat, eat the sacred cattle and perish. But Odysseus, like Hermes in the hymn, does not taste the flesh and ultimately succeeds in his goal. The hymnist gives Hermes a natural motivation for stealing and cooking Apollo's cattle—he desires the flesh, but at the moment when he might eat, the young god does not, though we are told he wants to:

ὁδμή γάρ μιν ἔτειρε καὶ ἀθάνατόν περ ἔόντα  
ἦδεῖ· ἄλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οἱ ἐπείθετο θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ  
καὶ τε μάλ' ἱμείροντι περὶν' ἱερῆς κατὰ δειρῆς. (h. 131–33)

By stressing the difficulty of resisting this temptation, the hymnist brings clearly to mind Odysseus' own struggle, and again makes an implicit comparison between the prudent hero and the clever god. Whatever theories we may form about the religious implications of Hermes' refusal to eat,<sup>34</sup> this scene provides a clear parallel between the god and the hero whose 'odyssey' he mimics, in his need to leave a safe and comfortable home, to travel, and to prove himself by resisting temptation.

3) The Old Man of Onchestos ~ Laertes. In the myth of Hermes stealing the cattle of Apollo there was a tradition, preserved in the Hesiodic *Megalai Eoiai* (fr. 256 MW = Ant. Lib. 23) and later in Ovid (*Met.* 2.687–707), that the young thief turned into stone a man who had witnessed the theft, sworn to keep the secret, and then divulged the information. The old man whom Hermes meets on his way back from Pieria (where he took the cattle), and whom Apollo later questions in his search for the lost animals, is plainly this figure. But in the hymn he neither identifies Hermes as the thief, nor is punished by either god. His presence is not necessary for the plot in any way, yet the poet takes care to describe him, to let us know what he is doing, and to have both gods stop and talk with him.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, in both scenes the description of this man closely resembles that of Laertes in the last book of the

note 24) 189–90; P. Boyancé, "L'Apollon solaire," *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie, et d'histoire offerts à Jérôme Carcopino* (Paris 1966) 149–70; and Diggle, with further documentation.

<sup>34</sup> The question is by no means simple, and I hope to deal with it further elsewhere.

<sup>35</sup> That this hymnist did not feel bound by the tradition to include the old man is illustrated by his idiosyncratic treatment of the lyre's invention which, in his account as in no other we know of, precedes the cattle theft.

*Odyssey*:<sup>36</sup> both are bowed over with age, and both dig about their plants by a rough stone wall.

As Odysseus approaches the orchard he finds Laertes alone, for all the others have gone to gather stones for a retaining wall (*Od.* 24.224–25 αἵμασιὰς λέξοντες ἀλωῆς ἔμμεναι ἔρκος / οἷχοντ’). It is just such a wall Apollo finds the “brutish old man building (up)” when he first approaches (h. 187–88 ἔνθα γέροντα / κνώδαλον εὔρε δέμοντα παρὲξ ὁδοῦ ἔρκος ἀλωῆς),<sup>37</sup> and the same activity in which the old man was engaged when he saw Hermes earlier in the hymn (h. 87 δέμων ἀνθοῦσαν ἀλωήν). Laertes, as Odysseus draws near, is bowed over digging about a plant (*Od.* 24.226–27 τὸν δ’ οἶον πατέρ’ εὔρεν ἐυκτιμένην ἐν ἀλωῇ, / λιστρεύοντα φυτόν, 242 ὁ μὲν κατέχων κεφαλὴν φυτὸν ἀμφελάχαινε). So too is the old man of Onchestos, as we learn both when Hermes addresses him (h. 90 ὦ γέρον ὅς τε φυτὰ σκάπτεις ἐπικαμπύλος ὦμος), and again when he tells Apollo of his work (h. 207 ἔσκαπτον περὶ γουνὸν ἀλωῆς οἰνοπέδοιο). The wording at 207, in fact, preserves the same line-end formula as that found in Athena’s description of Laertes (our first glimpse of him in the epic) at *Od.* 1.193 (ἐρπύζοντ’ ἀνὰ γουνὸν ἀλωῆς οἰνοπέδοιο). Finally, Hermes, Apollo, and Odysseus all begin their addresses to the old men with the same phrase, “ὦ γέρον” (h. 90, 190; *Od.* 24.244).<sup>38</sup> The parallels in this scene, as in the other two I have mentioned, go beyond the conventional and indicate a conscious modeling on the Homeric passage. The hymnist may also have had other reasons for including Onchestos in his narrative, but his transformation of the old man into a Laertes figure does at the least add a further implicit comparison of Hermes with Odysseus.

<sup>36</sup> Note that this section of the *Odyssey* too has been considered by many since the time of Aristarchus to be a late addition; cf. Kirk and Shipp (above, note 22).

<sup>37</sup> Barnes’s conjecture of δέμοντα for the manuscripts’ νέμοντα is now also accepted by Càssola (*Inni Omerici* [Milan 1975]), although it has not entirely convinced Richardson (*JHS* 97 [1977] 174–75). The corruption to νέμοντα is easily explained by a misunderstanding of κνώδαλον, taken in its usual sense as referring to a wild or monstrous animal, and thus requiring a governing verb. Allen-Halliday-Sikes (above, note 32), who defend the manuscript reading, translate, “he found an old man grazing his brute, the stay of his vineyard, beside the road.” They explain that ἔρκος ἀλωῆς “is a parody of the Homeric ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν of Ajax.” But κνώδαλον can also describe people (e.g. *A. Eu.* 644 of the Furies; Cratin. fr. 251 of three “shameless” men; *Arist. Vesp.* 4; *Lys.* 476 of women, called θήριοι at 468), and its application to a coarse old country man is not out of place. A Homeric parody of the sort AHS suggest is, moreover, not in keeping with the hymn’s style.

<sup>38</sup> This last parallel is not compelling by itself since the phrase is a common formula used, both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, to address (e.g.) Priam, Nestor, Phoenix. The other common phrase for addressing an older person is ἄττα which, however, seems to imply familiarity. Achilles uses it twice to Nestor (*Il.* 9.603, 17.561), and Telemakhos six times to Eumaios (*Od.* 16.31, 57, 130; 17.6, 599; and 21.369 where the suitors’ reactions suggest that it is not a term of endearment as elsewhere.)

In addition to these three scenes, various other Homeric reminiscences suggest a link in the hymnist's mind between the stories of Hermes and Odysseus. When Hermes plots the theft of Apollo's cattle, even as he is engaged in his first exploit (the invention of the lyre and its accompanying song), he is described in terms similar to those used each time Penelope's weaving trick against the suitors is recounted (h. 62 τὰ δὲ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μενοίνα; *Od.* 2.92, 13.381, 18.283 νόος δὲ οἱ ἄλλα μενοινᾶ [μενοίνα]). When Hermes speaks of the gifts Zeus has given to Apollo, he uses a Homeric formula used of the gifts Odysseus received from the Phaiakians (h. 470 ἔπορεν δέ τοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα; *Od.* 16.230 ἔπορον δέ μοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα).<sup>39</sup> And in Hermes' confrontation first with Apollo and then with Zeus, as well as in his final reconciliation, Homeric echoes recur. After Apollo threatens his younger brother over the disappearance of his cattle, Hermes denies any knowledge of such animals, saying (h. 263) “οὐκ ἶδον, οὐ πυθόμην, οὐκ ἄλλον μῦθον ἄκουσα.” This line is a combination of two Homeric half-lines: Eurykleia's denial to Penelope of exact knowledge of the suitors' demise (*Od.* 23.40) “οὐκ ἶδον, οὐ πυθόμην” and Telemakhos' plea to Nestor for news, even second-hand, of his father (*Od.* 3.94) “ἦ ἄλλον μῦθον ἄκουσας.” The young god then proceeds to Olympus where he introduces his lie to Zeus by insisting he will speak the truth (h. 368 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ τοι ἐγὼ σοι ἀληθείην ἀγορεύσω). This is the same lie Odysseus delivers to Athena, who is disguised as a small girl, when he awakes on Ithaka (*Od.* 16.226 τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι, τέκνον, ἀληθείην καταλέξω). Later in his speech to Zeus, Hermes challenges that god to grant him justice since he “boasts to be [Hermes'] father” (h. 378 . . . ἐμεῖο πατὴρ φίλος εὔχεται εἶναι). In the regular Homeric formula a man boasts he is someone's *son*, but Hermes' reversal of the normal expression has a precedent in Polyphemos' challenge to Poseidon when he too demanded justice from his father (*Od.* 9.529 . . . εἰμι, πατήρ δ' ἐμὸς εὔχεται εἶναι). At last when a reconciliation between Apollo and Hermes is at hand, the hymnist describes Apollo's reluctance to trust his brother, using a phrase Odysseus twice used in questioning aid offered by Kalypso and later by Kirke (h. 518 ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τλαίης γε θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι; *Od.* 5.178 = 6.343 εἰ μή μοι τλαίης γε, θεά, μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι).<sup>40</sup>

Perhaps even more important are the Homeric expressions the hymnist chooses to highlight the role of the lyre which will bring Hermes his

<sup>39</sup> Variations on this formula are also used when Odysseus tells Polyphemos of the wine he received from Maron (*Od.* 9.201 ὁ δέ μοι πόρεν ἀγλαὰ δῶρα), and in reference to Odysseus' visit to Autolykos (*Od.* 19.413 ἴνα οἱ πόροι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα). The notion of accumulating possessions, while not the end goal, is central to both figures, as it represents the status of each in his world.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Eurykleia's oath to Telemakhos that she will keep silent about his departure (*Od.* 2.377) . . . γρη῏ς δὲ θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ἀπόμνυ.

final victory—the end of his odyssey and the acquisition of Olympian status. When Homer describes Phemios' lyre at *Od.* 17.270–71, he notes its divine origins: φόρμιγξ / ἥπνυι, ἣν ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἑταίρην.<sup>41</sup> The hymnist, in amplifying this theme, borrows Homer's phrase "comrade of the feast" (δαιτὸς ἑταίρη), and applies it first to the tortoise whom Hermes turns into a lyre (h. 31), and then to the god himself (h. 436), thus making clear the link between the two.<sup>42</sup> Once the instrument has been invented, the poet makes use of another Homeric image to describe Hermes testing the lyre. This time he picks the image of Odysseus testing the bow through which he will win *his* final victory. The hero, like a bard with his lyre, takes up the bow in his hand, "tests" it by plucking the string, and listens to the sound it gives back:

ὥς ὅτ' ἀνὴρ φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ αἰοιδῆς  
 ῥῆιδίως ἐτάνυσσε νέφ' περὶ κόλλοπι χορδῆν,  
 αἴψας ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐϋστρεφὲς ἔντερον οἴος,  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἄτερ σπουδῆς τάνυσεν μέγα τόξον Ὀδυσσεύς.  
 δεξιτερῇ δ' ἄρα χειρὶ λαβὼν πεπρήσατο νευρῆς·  
 ἣ δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄεισε . . . (*Od.* 21.406–11)

The description of Hermes in the hymn is faithful to this image:

. . . λαβὼν δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς  
 πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέλος· ἣ δ' ὑπὸ χειρὸς  
 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε, γέλασσε δὲ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.  
 (h. 418–20)

And the reaction of Apollo (h. 420), which signals a positive outcome for the conflict, not only mimics that of Odysseus after stringing his bow and hearing Zeus' thunder (*Od.* 21.414 γῆθησέν τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα πολὺ-τλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς), but is described in precisely the same terms as Penelope's reaction to her son's auspicious sneeze (*Od.* 17.542 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε, γέλασσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια). Finally, when, at the end of the hymn, Zeus accords to Hermes the power of lordship over lions, dogs, flocks, sheep, and "white-tusked boars" (h. 569 ἀργιόδονσι σύ-εσσι), it is hard *noi* to hear an echo of that episode which marked Odysseus' own first victory (*Od.* 19.465 ὥς μιν θηρεύοντ' ἔλασεν σὺς λευκῶ ὀδόντι).

In the end, the hymnist's characterization of Hermes πολύτροπος is as rich as Homer's "man of many turns." The success of Hermes in the hymn, like that of Odysseus in the epic, comes, after much travel, through his cleverness and resourceful use of word and deed. In the

<sup>41</sup> Cf. also *Od.* 8.99 φόρμιγγός θ', ἣ δαιτὶ συνήγορός ἐστι θαλείη.

<sup>42</sup> The role of the lyre is central to the young god's success, and the hymnist therefore takes great care in relating its origins and its place as a σύμβολον of the god. For a discussion of these points, cf. my "Hermes and the Tortoise: A Prelude to Cult," *GRBS* 25 (1984) 201–8.

face of opposition, both god and hero ultimately win the particular status each has been deprived of but to which each is entitled. The evidence detailed above suggests that the poet intentionally modeled much of his narrative on the *Odyssey*. I believe he did so in an attempt to enhance the importance of his subject, a “new” member of the Olympian ranks,<sup>43</sup> by explicit and implicit comparison with a mortal hero. This may seem backwards, except that the hymn also glorifies the power of music and song. In this light, the hymnist’s choice for his model of the most famous of heroes and the most famous of songs makes sense.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>43</sup> The priority of Apollo over Hermes, while commonplace in myth, was evidently not historical. Hermes is mentioned four times in the Linear B tablets (PY 172, PY Xn 1357, TH Of 31, KN D 411), and Apollo never. For a brief account of each god, with recent bibliography, see W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Mass. 1985).

<sup>44</sup> A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the 1984 CAMWS meeting in Williamsburg, Va. Subsequent work on it, and the larger project of which it forms a part, was conducted while on a Fellowship at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, D.C., 1985–86, where I benefited from discussion on several points with H. Roisman. In addition I gratefully acknowledge support from my university’s Excellence Foundation and Research Council. I would also like to thank the editor of *TAPA* and the anonymous referee for especially constructive and helpful comments.