

# ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. VIII

HELSINKI 1974 HELSINGFORS

## INDEX

Paavo Castrén	About the Legio X equestris . . . . .	5
Anne Helttula	On itum ambitum datum: a formula of ius sepulchri . . .	9
Paavo Hohti	Freedom of speech in speech sections in the histories of Herodotus . . . . .	19
Maarit Kaimio	Music in the Homeric hymn to Hermes . . . . .	29
Jorma Kaimio	The Etruscan genitival forms . . . . .	43
Iiro Kajanto	On the idea of eternity in Latin epitaphs . . . . .	59
Saara Lilja	Theriophily in Homer . . . . .	71
Bengt Löfstedt	Bemerkungen zur Sprache des Jonas von Bobbio . . . . .	79
Teivas Oksala	Was bedeutet honoratum . . . Achillem bei Horaz (Ars 120)? . . . . .	97
Tuomo Pekkanen	Adam of Bremen 4,14: Wizzi, Mirri, etc. . . . .	105
Reijo Pitkäranta	Stilistischer Kommentar zur "Passio Septem Martyrum"	127
Erkki Salonen	Über einige Lehnwörter aus dem Nahen Osten im Griechischen und Lateinischen . . . . .	139
Heikki Solin	Analecta epigraphica, XV–XXVII . . . . .	145
Jaakko Suolahti	L'anno della nascita di Gesù . . . . .	173
Rolf Westman	Ein überdecktes Wort in Solons Salamiselegie . . . . .	187

CORRIGENDA

- p. 4 edentum l. edendum  
 p. 9 n. 2 l. 2 p. 00 l. pp. 15 f.  
 p. 33 n. 4 l. 4 λύγ l. λύγ  
 p. 34 l. 16 p. 00 l. p. 33  
 p. 41 l. 12 αὐδα[v l. αὐδα[v  
 p. 43 title -s/al l. -ś/al  
 p. 43 l. 18 p. 00 l. p. 44  
 p. 74 l. 5 (Il. 8,188-190) l. (Il. 8,188-190).  
 p. 89 n. 3 l. 1 Vitas l. Vitae  
 p. 101 l. 3 τύρν l. τύρν  
 p. 107 n. 1 in nn. 1 and 5-6. l. p. 105 n. 1 and p. 106 nn. 4-5.  
 p. 110 n. 1 n. 27 below. l. p. 115 n. 1.  
 p. 115 n. 2 n. 25 above l. p. 112 n. 2  
 p. 118 l. 27 p. 109 above): l. p. 109 above);  
 p. 119 l. 33 4,14:38 l. 4,14:1  
 p. 119 n. 38 l. 1 38 l. 1  
 p. 119 n. 38 l. 2 (see n. 1 above) l. (see p. 105 n. 1)  
 p. 122 l. 29 delete line following the quotation  
 p. 122 l. 32 p. 109 l. p. 108 f.  
 p. 123 n. 4 l. 3 p. 106 fn 2 l. p. 109 n. 3  
 p. 129 l. 18 ff. l.  
 Z. 15 *eam* (sc. *multitudinem*) *rebaptizationis sauciaret machera*  
 Homoioteleuton Antithese Homoiotel. Homoiotel. korrespondierende  
 Metaphern  
 Z. 16 *stolarum baptismatis (taetrae) nigredinis turparet inluvie*  
 und dazwischen Antithese  
 Z. 17 *vino carnis suae purificans*  
 korresp. Chiasmus  
 Metaphern mit Alliteration  
 und Homoioteleuton *fecerat dealbatam*  
*prelo exprimens crucis*  
 p. 135 n. 2 vgl. S. 00.1. vgl. S. 131.  
 p. 140 l. 14 99. l. 99."  
 p. 141 l. 3 šammu l. šamnu  
 p. 141 l. 24 SIM l. ŠIM  
 p. 141 n. 1 transfer note to p. 142, n. 1  
 p. 142 l. 13 vor<sup>1</sup>. l. vor<sup>2</sup>.  
 p. 142 l. 27 l l. 2  
 p. 148 l. 30 delete line following "...Zeit zu schreiben." and  
 insert after l. 23 "die Dative Grania,"  
 p. 188 n. 1 l. 6 A. 4 l. A. 2  
 p. 189 n. 3 l. 2 (o. 188,2 4) l. (o. 188,2)

## MUSIC IN THE HOMERIC HYMN TO HERMES

M a a r i t   K a i m i o

The invention of a new instrument, the lyre, and the making of music is one of the central themes in the Homeric Hymn to Hermes. Consequently, we find many references to music in this Hymn, partly taken word for word from Homer or, anyway, expressions of the same types as the musical references found in Homer, sometimes non-Homeric in character and often problematic as to their meaning. One purpose of this paper is to consider afresh the interpretation of some such expressions. This serves as a basis for a more general interpretation of the musical passages, namely, to delineate which aspects of music and musical performance the author of this hymn describes and which methods of description he uses. As the dating of the hymn is not clear,<sup>1</sup> it would be interesting to see how far or nearly related it is to the Homeric world in this respect.

The author has, in fact, a singularly difficult task before him: to put into words the charm of instrumental music. It is the sound of the instrument, never heard before, which mollifies the angry Apollo. The author's approach to the elucidation of the new phenomenon is basically four-fold: firstly, he describes the creation and the structure of the instrument; he then describes the musical performance; thirdly, he demonstrates its effect upon the hearer; fourthly, he portrays the manner of playing required from the performer.

1. The first aspect, the construction of the lyre, does not tell us much about the music itself. After the encounter with the tortoise and his humorous speech, Hermes proceeds to make the instrument (47–51). It is a primitive

---

<sup>1</sup> Allen, Halliday and Sikes (the 2nd edition with commentary, 1936, cited in this paper as AHS; the text according to this edition) consider, 275., mainly on the basis of the mention made of the Triphylian Pylos (398), that the Hymn is not later than the seventh century. Humbert (*Coll. des universités de France*, 1936, 114f.) places it in the last third of the sixth century, Radermacher (*Der homerische Hermeshymnus*, 1931, 216, 222f.) as contemporary with the Old Comedy.

lyre,<sup>1</sup> consisting of a sound-board made of the tortoise-shell with an ox-hide stretched over it, with projecting arms connected with a cross-bridge, and seven strings, which are played with a plectrum. Here is our first problem: 51, the strings are called *συμφώνους*; Antigonus of Carystus presents the variant *θηλυτέρων*,<sup>2</sup> strings made of sheep-gut. Allen, Halliday and Sikes hold the view that this may be right, being an interpretation for the special mention made by the poet of female instead of male sheep. But if *σύμφωνος* is right, what does it mean? "Sounding together", said of the strings of the Greek lyre, probably could mean only that they were tuned in strict relation to each other. Such a meaning for *σύμφωνος* is, however, remarkably late. AHS, who date the Hymn to Hermes not later than the seventh century, consider this the first appearance of the adjective in the strict musical sense. The next occurrences are from the fifth century, in Sophocles, Aristophanes and, perhaps, Ion of Chius. The sense of *σύμφωνος* in the certain fifth century instances is, however, not the same as in the Hymn. In Soph.Ichn. 254 (Page), Hermes is singing [ *μέλος* ] *ξύμφωνον* to the music of his lyre; in Soph.OT 421, the echo produced by Cithaeron to the cry of Oedipus is meant; in Ar.Av. 220, the rejoicing voices of the gods mingle with the song of the nightingale, in Av. 659 the nightingale is said to be *ξύμφωνον Μούσαις*, singing with the Muses. In all these examples, *σύμφωνος* means simply "singing with, resounding to". It is used of two sounds of different kind and origin heard together, as accompaniment or complement of each other.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, in Ion of Chius<sup>4</sup> fr. 6,2 D *ένδεκάχορδε*

<sup>1</sup> The hymn mentions the instrument by using the names *χέλυσ* (in 24, 33, of the animal, also called *χελώνη* in 42, 48, and, meaning both the animal and the instrument, in 25), *φόρμιγξ* (in 64, the Homeric formula *φ. γλαφυρήν*; 506), *λύρη* (423), *κίθαρς* (499, 509, 515) and the verb *κίθαρίζω* (423, 425, 433, 455, 475, 476); besides, it is referred to as *ἄθυρμα* in 52 (in 40, of the tortoise). *φόρμιγξ* and *κίθαρς* are both used in Homer, apparently meaning the same instrument (see AHS p. 286, Wegner, *Archaeologia Homérica* III U, Musik und Tanz, 16). *λύρη* is a later term, appearing first in Archilochus fr. 51,47 D. Radermacher is of the opinion that the change of terminology in the Hymn is intentional, *λύρη* and *κίθαρς* appearing only in the later part of the poem since the instrument there is passing into Apollo's possession (p. 73). I doubt if this change is really due to the fact that the *κίθαρς* is habitually linked with Apollo. The playing is called *πλήκτρῳ περητιζέω* (53; 419, 501), as well as *κίθαρίζεω*, even in the latter part, and it is natural that at the beginning, when Hermes finds the tortoise and starts making his new plaything, the official names of the instrument are avoided, except in 64, where the concealing of the Homeric "hollow phorminx" in the rustic cradle may well be intentionally humorous.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a real variant, not his own conjecture, see AHS LXVII.

<sup>3</sup> So also in Anth.Pal. 9,584,15, of the cicada singing the notes of the broken seventh string.

<sup>4</sup> The authorship of the fragment is spurious; Ion of Chius, who died 422, seems too early to praise Timotheus' invention of the eleven-stringed lyre. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Timotheos, Die Perser*, 1903, 75 n. 1) regards Ion of Samus, around the turn of the

λύρα, δεκαβάμονα τάξιν ἔχοισα / εἰς συμφωνούσας ἁρμονίας τριόδους, it is used to denote the pleasing musical relations between the strings, and such sense is also required of the metaphor used of good cooking in Machon 2,9 Kock (l. 476 Gow)<sup>1</sup> ὡσπερ λύραν ἐπίτειν' ἕως ἂν ἡδὺς ᾗ, / εἶθ' ὁπότεν ἤδη πάντα συμφωνεῖν δοκῆς / εἶσαγε διὰ πασῶν † Νικολαίδας Μυκόνιος †; so also in another cooking "symphony" of the comedy, Damoxenus' *Σύντροφοι* 51,54.<sup>2</sup> In this light, *σύμφωνος* referring to the tuning of the strings seems remarkably out of place in a hymn of the seventh century; even in a fifth century hymn it would be used in a more specific sense than usual. Perhaps we should believe in *θηλυτέρων* after all. In that case, the construction of the lyre is described purely technically, without any reference to the sound at all.

2. Directly after Hermes has perfected the instrument, there follows the first description of the performance and the sound of the lyre: 53 *πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέλος, ἢ δ' ὑπὸ χειρὸς / σμερδαλέον κονάβησε· θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν αἶδεν / ἐξ αὐτοσχεδῆς πειρώμενος, ἥντε κοῦροι / ἤβηται θάλιησι παραβόλα κερτομέουσιν, / ἀμφὶ Δία Κρονίδην κτλ.* The ll. 53-54 are repeated, with slight variations, in 419-420 and 501-502. In 53, the MSS. have *μέρος*, in the other instances *μέλος*, which is accepted by AHS in the text also in 53. Radermacher, on the other hand, thinks that the variation is quite intentional: in the first passage, Hermes tests each "part", i.e. string in turn, elsewhere *μέλος* is used "da es sich um ganz anderes handelt" – he does not say what is actually happening there: he is probably thinking of a similar distinction as Humbert, who also retains the MSS. readings and translates 53 "tour à tour", 419 "harmonieusement", and 501 "selon la melodie". In fact, surely in all instances one and the same thing is meant, the tuning of the strings, a natural enough action preliminary to the singing and playing itself. The same word is, therefore, to be expected in all three instances, but should it be *μέλος*<sup>3</sup> or *μέρος*?<sup>4</sup> The latter is, as AHS remark, not a Homeric word, but there are many other non-Homeric

---

century, as the author; Diehl RE IX p. 1867 is of the opinion that the author can be dated to the fourth century at the earliest.

<sup>1</sup> The third century B.C.; see Gow, Machon: The Fragments, 1965, 5ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to Gow (143), Damoxenus' play was written long after the death of Epicurus in 270 B.C.

<sup>3</sup> As in AHS.

<sup>4</sup> As in Weiher, *Homerische Hymnen* 1961<sup>2</sup> (Tusculum-Bücherei), Evelyn-White, *Hesiod, the Homeric Hymns and Homeric*, 1936<sup>2</sup> (Loeb Classical Library).

expressions in the Hymn, and neither is the phrase *κατὰ μέλος* Homeric<sup>1</sup>; in early writers, the word in the sense "limb, part" always appears in the plural. In references to music, we find only the expression *ἐν μέλει φθέγγεσθαι* (Pl.Sph. 227D), cf. *ἐμμελής*, and the opposite *παρὰ μέλος* (Pind. Nem. 7,69, Pl. Phlb. 28B, Lg. 696D, etc.). Thus, I find the interpretation of *μέλος* as a musical term – "song, music, melody" – improbable in this context; as to *κατὰ μέλος / μέρος* in the sense "limb for limb, part for part", I prefer the latter, which, although non-Homeric, occurs quite frequently in the fifth century.

When played upon with the plectrum, the lyre *σμερδαλέον κονάβησε* (54, 420, 502<sup>2</sup>). The formula is commonly used in Homer of resounding elements to emphasize the loudness of a noise – arms echoing with blows or movements, ships, houses, the ground resounding to a noise.<sup>3</sup> In this formula, the adverb has in Homer already lost its original sense of a "terrible" sound, which is still present in other Homeric formulas using this word, e.g. *σμερδαλέα ἰάχων*, *σμερδαλέον δ' ὤμωξεν*, *σμερδαλέον δ' ἐβόησεν*: these are all used in scenes of intense emotion, e.g. rage or grief. But the sense of this echo-formula is in Homer, as here, simply "loudly"; however, this is the first time that it is connected with an aesthetically pleasing sound.

Then the god begins to sing – 54 *καλὸν ἄειδεν* (-σεν 502) is a Homeric formula,<sup>4</sup> used with *ὑπό* referring to singing to the accompaniment of an instrument also in Il. 18,570. The following description of the performance concentrates entirely upon the singing – the manner is described as improvising, as youths improvise bold songs at festivals, and the theme of the song is narrated (57-61).

The other descriptions of the performance upon the lyre are similarly constructed and do not say much more about the music itself. When Hermes presents his new invention to Apollo, we are given the technical detail that the lyre was held upon the left arm (418 = 499 *ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρός*, 433 *ἐπωλένιον*). The music is – after verses 419f. repeated from 53f. – described mainly with laudatory adjectives and adverbs denoting aesthetic pleasure. *ἐρατός* appears three times, twice of the instrumental music, once of

<sup>1</sup> It appears in fact only in Strabo 2,1,30, where *ἡ κατὰ μέλος τομή* is distinguished from *κατὰ μέρος*, but these are geographical terms.

<sup>2</sup> In 502, the other MSS. except M have *ἰμερόεν*; there is hardly any need to change the text of the formula.

<sup>3</sup> Il.2,334,466; 13,498; 15,648; 16,277; 21,255, 593; Od. 10,399; 17,542.

<sup>4</sup> *καλὸν* with *ἀείδω* Il. 1,473; 18,570; Od. 1,155; 8,266; 10,227; 19,519; 21,411.

the song: *ἐρατὴ ... ἰωὴ / θεσπεσίης ἐνοπιῆς* (421), *ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων* (423),<sup>1</sup> *ἐρατὴ δέ οἱ ἔσπετο φωνή* (426). The repetition may well be intentional, emphasizing the irresistibly enthralling quality of Hermes' music in this scene of reconciliation with Apollo. The adjective does not characterize music in Homer; it is linked with Aphrodite's gifts in Il. 3,64, and *ἐρατειός* is common in other contexts, especially as an epithet in geographical names. *θεσπέσιος* is used in our hymn of the sound of the lyre in a general appreciative sense, "wonderful"; in this sense it is used in Il. 2,599f.<sup>2</sup> The music of the lyre is further described by *λιγέως κιθαρίζων* (425). The adverb denotes a clear, far-ringing sound; it is everywhere in the Hymns connected with music and conveys everywhere a strongly positive appreciation.<sup>3</sup> Such a sense, partly denoting the musical quality of clearness, partly the aesthetic pleasure, is already familiar in Homer – as the epithet for the phorminx (twice in the Iliad, seven times in the Odyssey), for the Muse Od. 24,62, characterizing the song of the Sirens Od. 12,44, 183 and of Circe 10,254. Positively appreciative, too, is the use of the word in connection with a good public speaker (*λιγὸς ... ἀγορητής*, four times in the Iliad, once in the Odyssey, *λιγέως* Il. 3,214) or a herald (the epithet *λιγύφθογγος* Il. 2,50, 422; 9,10; 23,39; Od. 2,6). It may be noted that the speakers whose voice is so characterized are all men; it is, therefore, doubtful whether the notion of shrillness and a high-pitched voice was originally linked with the adjective in addition to the sense of clearness, loudness, which is certain.<sup>4</sup> *λιγέως κιθαρίζων*, as well as all the other examples of this word in the Hymns, belongs to the sphere of the phorminx and the Muses, where the

<sup>1</sup> Also in h. Ap.515; the second person singular in Apollo's speech h.Herm. 455.

<sup>2</sup> The Muses deprive Thamyras of his "divine" or "wonderful" song. The song is there thought of as really being divine, a gift from the gods; Hermes' music is of course also divine, since he is divine himself, but this sense is hardly felt to be pregnant here. Elsewhere in the Iliad, *θεσπέσιος* in connection with sounds simply means "loud" and refers mainly to human shouting (e.g. the formulas *ἦχῃ θεσπεσίῃ*, *θεσπεσίῳ δ' ὀμάδῳ*); in the Odyssey, it is linked with supernatural, but not pleasant sounds in 11,43, 633 (the uncanny sounds of the dead), 24,48f. (the Nereids); it is perhaps used with aesthetic appreciation in 12,158 as the epithet of the Sirens.

<sup>3</sup> Adjectives and adverbs based on *λιγός*, *λιγρός* occur in the Hymns in connection with the lyre h.Herm.478, XXI,3, the Muse XIV,1, XVII,1, the Muses' singing XIX,24, the Nymphs XIX,19, the song of the swan (followed by a reference to the minstrel) XXI,1.

<sup>4</sup> In other Homeric contexts, the group *λιγός* does not contain a positive aesthetic appreciation of the sound, but seems to refer mainly to the loud, piercing character of the sound – so in connection with crying and wailing (the formulas *κλαῖον δὲ λιγέως* with variations – always referring to men, except in Od.21,56 to Penelope – and *λίγ ἐκώκυε* invariably referring to women, as *κωκύω* always does), with certain birds, which, whatever species they represent, are certainly not song-birds (Il.19,350; 14,290), with the lark (Il.11,531) and with winds (the formulas *λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα*, *λιγὸς οὖρος*,



word even in Homer had grown pale and become a vague term of approbation, saying in fact nothing particular about the quality of sound.

After such references to the music of the lyre, the author passes to Hermes' song: with a sweet voice, he sang a prelude (*ἡγηρῦετ' ἀμβολάδην* 426); then comes the enumeration of his themes 427-432, all of which he sang *κατὰ κόσμον* (433) — that, too, a term of praise found in Homer (Od. 7,489).

The other descriptions of the performance upon the lyre occur in 476ff., where Hermes promises his lyre to Apollo and exhorts him to play, and in 499ff., where Apollo tries the instrument. The latter passage repeats almost word for word the lines 53f., without further details as to the manner of the performance or the contents of the song. In the former passage, the playing is described mainly in 478f. *εὐμόλπει μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων λιγύφωνον ἑταίρην | καλὰ καὶ εὖ κατὰ κόσμον ἐπιστάμενος*<sup>1</sup> ἀγορεύειν. *εὐμολπέω* is a new compound, but otherwise the characterizations are Homeric, of the common type relating to the general impression of aesthetic pleasantness or correctness; of *λιγύφωνος*, see above p. 00.

Thus, when describing the musical performance, the author of the Hymn is very conventional. The sound of the lyre is referred to with vague aesthetic characterizations already found in Homer or closely resembling the Homeric types of expression. Similar laudatory expressions describe the singing, and in fact, the singing is more in the foreground in the passages even though it is the lyre which is new, not the skilful song. Instead of dwelling in greater detail upon the music, the author goes on to enumerate the themes of the song, in a manner typical of epic descriptions of singing.<sup>2</sup>

3. As the lyre proves to be the means of placating Apollo, it is natural that the poet dwells upon Apollo's reaction to the music. When Hermes starts demonstrating his skill to Apollo, the effect of the music upon him is

---

*πνοιῇ ὑπο λιγυρῇ*, adverbs in Il.19,218; Od.4,567) — the winds are always brisk breezes or heavy gales mostly having a definitely negative effect, except in Od.4,567, where the refreshing breezes of the Zephyr in Elysium are described.

The etymology of the word is not clear, see Frisk II 121f., Walde-Pokorny II 399, van Windekens, Glotta 35. (1956) 208ff.; as there definitely are instances where the word does not refer to a quality of sound, but to quickness and flexibility (e.g. Xenophon Cyn.4,1, Hesychius), I am not sure that we are to understand the Homeric usages of the lash and the wind as references to a sound.

1 *ἐπιστάμενος* is Barnes' conjecture of MSS. *ἐπισταμένως*, a form apparently springing from a desire to help the metre (see AHS, who cite metrical parallels). Radermacher prefers Ludwig's certainly less probable suggestion *ἐπισταμένην*, referring to the lyre. But Hermes is here referring to Apollo's talent, also emphasized in 480 *εὐκηλος* and 489, as he prepares his arguments about the importance of good technical skill (482ff.).

2 Cf. e.g. Il. 9,189, Od.8,266ff., 499ff., etc., Hes.Theog.43ff., 66f., 105ff.

described: 420ff. γέλασσε δὲ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων / γηθήσας, ἐρατὴ δὲ διὰ φρένας ἤλυθ' ἰωή / θεοπεσίης ἐνοπῆς, καί μιν γλυκὺς ἕμερος ἦρει / θυμῷ ἀκούζοντα. The reaction of smiling at something delightful is expressed with a Homeric formula.<sup>1</sup> Laughing or smiling as a reaction to music is expressed in Hes. Theog. 40, where the house of Zeus "smiles" as the lily-like voice of the Muses permeates the air.<sup>2</sup> The following words of our Hymn seem to show a more developed insight into and expression of the effect of music upon human soul — at least, such an impression is readily formed by translations of the passage into modern languages, cf. Evelyn-White "for the sweet throb of the marvellous music went to his heart, and a soft longing took hold on his soul as he listened", Humbert "les accents séduisants de cette voix divine allèrent au fond de son coeur, et le doux désir s'empara de son âme, pendant qu'il écoutait", etc. A modern listener with a preference for romantic music could well describe the effect of, say, a melody of Tchaikowsky as going straight to his heart and evoking a vague feeling of indefinable longing in his soul, but there is no indication in the Greek lines of any similar effects. The end of 421 is modelled upon the phrase *περὶ φρένας ἤλυθ' ἰωή* in Il. 10,139, where Nestor awakens Odysseus with his shout; it means simply that Odysseus heard his call, *φρένες* being in Homer the seat of perception and thought as well as of the emotions, cf. especially Od. 1,328 *τοῦ δ' ὑπερωϊόθεν φρεσὶ σύνθετο θέσπιν ἀοιδὴν / κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο*. Thus, here, too, the phrase in all probability means that Apollo heard the sounds of the lyre, the main emphasis in this line being upon the pleasing quality of the sound, not upon its effect on Apollo. (*γλυκὺς ἕμερος ἦρει* (or *αἰρεῖ*) is also a Homeric formula,<sup>3</sup> the object of the longing (weeping, food, sexual satisfaction) being expressed in the genitive. Music is mentioned as the creator of the longing in Od. 23,144, where the singer taking his lyre arouses the longing for song and dance. Here, it may seem that Apollo is not longing to do anything but hear the music, but, in fact, his longing has a clear, concrete object: to get hold of this marvellous instrument and play it himself. The author emphasizes his longing again in 434 *τὸν δ' ἔρος ἐν στήθεσσι*

1 *γέλασσε δὲ* +subject completing the line in Il.21,408 of Athene laughing at Ares' fall, Od.17,542 of Penelope at the well-omened sneeze of Telemachus; Il. 19,362 metaphorically of the earth glittering with bronze.

2 Sellschopp, *Stilistische Untersuchungen zu Hesiod*, 1934, 83, interprets this as referring to the sound of laughter, meaning that the house of Zeus is echoing to the song, but this is improbable; cf. the smile of the personified Sky, Earth and Sea as a reaction to the wonderful smell of the narcissus h.Dem.13f., and of the personified Earth at Apollo's birth h.Ap.118.

3 Il. 3,446; 11,89; 14,328; Od. 22,500.

*ἀμήχανος*<sup>1</sup> *αἴνυτο θυμόν*, directly introducing the speech of Apollo, where he hints at a bargain, saying that Hermes' music is worth fifty cows (437), talks of an easy chance of reconciliation (438) and promises gifts and glory to Hermes (458ff.). Hermes understands him immediately ("but since you are so set on playing the lyre..." 475) and is willing to comply with his wish.

Apollo's following speech to Hermes largely reflects the effect of the strange music upon him. He emphasizes his amazement and wonder. In Homer, such amazement is not expressed in connection with music, though frequently in connection with other works of art.<sup>2</sup> The expressions used in the Hymn are – except for *θέσπιν ἀοιδήν* 422, cf. Od. 8,498 – for the most part non-Homeric, although not very far removed from Homeric usages – *θαυματὰ ἔργα* 440, *θαυμασίην ... νεήφατον ὄσσαν* 443,<sup>3</sup> *δῶρον ἀγαθόν* 442,<sup>4</sup> *κλυτὰ μῆδεα* 456.<sup>5</sup> Apollo's wonder and susceptibility to the charm of the music is summed up in the ll. 447ff.: *τίς τέχνη, τίς μοῦσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων, / τίς τρίβος; ἀτρεκέως γὰρ ἅμα τρία πάντα πάρεστιν / εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἥδυμον ὕπνον ἐλέσθαι*. The first and last of the questions are apparently clear: "What is this skill? – What is this practice?" – referring to the new technique of playing and Hermes' practical skill in it.<sup>6</sup> *μοῦσα ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων* is rather problematic; it has aroused suspicion, firstly, because of the unusual pl.fem.gen. – which, however, can be explained as a Ionic form from *ἀμήχανος* or as the genitive of a nominative ending with *-ης*, otherwise not found of this adjective<sup>7</sup> – and secondly, with regard to the sense of the genitive with *μοῦσα*. It has been understood (if accepted at all) in the qualitative sense (Ilgen; Weiher translates "welche Meisterschaft voll mühsamer Sorgen") – but such a thought of the terrible pains at learning to play is quite out of place in Apollo's admiring speech. The most natural thought is provided if we take the genitive as objective

1 *ἀμήχανος* in the sense "irresistible, overwhelming", found only in the Hymns and in Hesiod, see Scholz, LfrgE 632f.

2 E.g. in the formula *θαῦμα ιδέσθαι* frequently denoting astonishment at fine craftsmanship – in the Iliad mainly of arms (5,725; 10,439 etc.), in the Odyssey also of other exquisite objects (purple yarn 6,306, clothes 8,366 etc.).

3 The adjectives formed on *θαῦμα*. *θαυμάζω* do not occur in Homer; *θαυμαστός* h.Dem. 10, *θαυματός* also h.Herm.80, VII,34, *θαυμάσιος* only here.

4 *ἀγαθός* is used in Homer as a laudatory epithet of persons, not of things.

5 Resembles the frequent Homeric formula *κλυτὰ τεύχεα*.

6 *τρίβος* is apparently used for *τριβή*, see AHS, Frisk p. 931, although it has also been interpreted metaphorically as "path, way" (LS *τρίβος* I 2, Humbert, Evelyn-White); Radermacher suggests combining *μελεδώνων τριβος*, comparing Hesychius s.v. *τριβοντες· λειοῦντες*. The opposition between *τέχνη* and *τριβή* as the theoretic and the practical, experimental skill of an art or craft is current at least in the fifth century writers.

7 See Schuch, LfrgE 631, AHS.

(Franke, AHS), "a music to expel overwhelming cares" — a sentiment encountered frequently enough,<sup>1</sup> which would no doubt be most appropriate here in Apollo's mouth, since the music in fact has just freed him of his cares.<sup>2</sup> *μουσα* in the sense "song, music" is frequently used by the fifth century poets, and probably as early as in Od. 24,62, where the "clear muse", referring to the wailing songs of the Muses and the Nereids, reduces the Achaeans to tears. The genitive is unparalleled, but perhaps not impossible in view of the use of *ἐπρωδή* with the genitive.<sup>3</sup>

In the next verse (449), Apollo declares that one can draw from the music, according to one's wishes, mirth, love, and sweet sleep. These things, then, are created by music, or, at least, music greatly assists us in attaining them. In Homer, the effects of music are referred to only in terms of the delight, the charm, or, alternatively, the sorrowful emotions created by it.<sup>4</sup> The Hymn describes, in fact, the occasions for which Hermes' music seems to be exactly suited: festive occasions, free of care; erotic encounters;<sup>5</sup> the hour of going to sleep, requiring a soothing lullaby. Apollo in fact anticipates the counsels of Hermes in 480ff., where the latter tells him to bring the instrument confidently into feast, dance and revels (probably including nightly serenades), to be *εὐφροσύνην νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματος*. Only the soothing lullaby is not mentioned here; but it is certainly not an unusual idea. Thus, when Apollo praises the effects of the new music, he sums them up as propagating the three main joys of life: banqueting (where one eats well), love, and sleep.<sup>6</sup>

In the next verses (450ff.), Apollo confesses that the new music surpasses everything he has ever heard in the feasts of young men or even among the Muses, for all that they are experts in music: *τῆσι χοροί τε μέλουσι καὶ ἀγλαὸς οἶμος αἰοιδῆς / καὶ μολπή τεθαλυῖα καὶ ἡμερδεις βρόμος αὐλῶν* (451f.). The

1 Cf. e.g. Hes.Theog. 55, Soph.Ichn. 253 (Page, Lit.Pap.).

2 Schuch in LfrgE 632 suggests that *ἀμηχανέων μελεδώνων* is said "wohl vom Schicksal der Menschen, das neben dem seligen Leben der Götter und dem Sein der Dinge Gegenstand göttlichen Gesanges ist". The life of men is mentioned as the theme in two of his references (Hes. Theog.50, h.Ap.289ff.), but Hermes, in this hymn, has not sung a word of the cares of mortal men, and there is, therefore, no logical reason why Apollo should mention such things.

3 E.g. Aesch.Eum. 649.

4 E.g. Il.9,185; Od.8,367f., 521ff.; 1,340ff.; 12,44.

5 Cf. Il.3,55f., where lyre and love, locks and comeliness are all mentioned contemptuously together by Hector as tokens of the sensuous luxury preferred by Paris.

6 Cf. e.g. the list of longed-for but unattainable joys compiled by the soldiers of Ajax in Soph.Ajax 1199ff. — they must lie without wreaths, wine-bowls, music, love, sleep, in the cold and wet.

qualifications are again not expressed in Homeric formulas, although they are not far removed from the way music is described in Homer. ἀγλαός belongs in fact to the province of sight, "splendid, shining, bright" (LS), and is applied by Homer to different kinds of presents and prizes, and also frequently to gods and heroes, once metaphorically to εὖχος "shining fame".<sup>1</sup> Here the metaphoric use has been extended still farther: "fame" is a kind of "prize", but here, purely aesthetic pleasure seems to be meant. For the use of οἶμος for Homeric οἶμη — or perhaps ὕμνος ἀοιδῆς as in Od. 8,429 — see AHS. τεθαλυῖα is also a new characterization for music, although θαλερός is used of the human voice in Homer;<sup>2</sup> ἱμερόεις is a Homeric characterization for song and instrumental music, although it is not used of the sound of flutes.<sup>3</sup>

The delight produced by music is, moreover, expressed in Hermes' exhortation to Apollo: sing and play and (476) ἀγλαΐας ἀλέγνυε. ἀγλαΐη in Homer is used of shining appearance, fame, position, luxury, in Ps.-Hes.Scut. of festive splendour;<sup>4</sup> thus, it is more natural that here it means a splendid, delightful performance,<sup>5</sup> not specifically the delight felt by the player himself. In 506, the delight of both the player<sup>6</sup> and the audience is mentioned: the gods return to Olymp *τερπόμενοι φόρμιγγι, χάρη δ' ἄρα μητίετα Ζεύς.*

Thus, the author describes the delightful effects of music more thoroughly than we find anywhere in Homer, but this is naturally due to the importance of this aspect in regard to his theme. The ideas themselves are by no means unusual; they are found in Homer and in the seventh to fifth century poets. The expressions are often non-Homeric, but not very far removed from the Homeric sphere of thought.

4. The author makes his most original contribution to the description of instrumental music when, through Hermes, he gives advice as to the manner of playing the lyre 482ff.:<sup>7</sup> ὅς τις ἂν αὐτὴν / τέχνη καὶ σοφίη δεδαημένος ἐξερεΐνη / φθεγγομένη παντοῖα νόω χαρίεντα διδάσκει / ρεῖα συνηθείησιν ἀθυρομένη μαλακῆσιν, / ἐργασίην φεύγουσα δυήπαθον· / ὅς δέ κεν αὐτὴν / νῆϊς ἐὼν τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιζαφελῶς ἐρεΐνη, / μὰ ψ αὐτῶς κεν ἔπειτα μετήορά τε

<sup>1</sup> See Mette, LfrgE 75ff.

<sup>2</sup> Il. 17,696; 23,397; Od. 17,518; 18,304.

<sup>3</sup> Il. 18,570; Od. 1,421; 17,528; 18,304.

<sup>4</sup> See Mette, LfrgE 74f.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the Homeric examples of ἀγλαὰ ἔργα etc. in LfrgE ἀγλαός B I 1 b.

<sup>6</sup> Already expressed in Il.9,186, where Achilles delights himself with his lyre.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Radermacher p. 157: "Jetzt spricht nicht mehr Hermes, jetzt spricht der Dichter selbst von einer ihm vertrauten Kunst und er tut es mit warmer Empfindung."

*θρυλίζοι*. The good and the bad lyre-player are distinguished by their handling of the instrument; a bad player cannot produce good music, but Apollo is sure to play well. The playing is represented as a dialogue between the player and the personified lyre; how it will respond depends on the manner in which the request is made. AHS refer to an example of personification of the instrument in Plato, Lg. 656D. In Homer, the nearest thing to personification is in Od. 17,270f. ἐν δέ τε φόρμιγξ / ἦπύει, ἣν ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἑταίρην, cf. h.Herm. 478 λιγύφωνον ἑταίρην. But in the early lyric, there are symptoms of parallel thinking, emerging at first in the invocation addressed, not to the Muses, but to the instrument, as in Sappho ll8LP; the form of the verse is not clear, but the sense is given by Hermog. Id. 2,4 (p. 334 Rabe) ἄγε χέλυ δῖά μοι λέγε φωνάεσσα δὲ γίνεο, by Eust. 9,41 ἄγε μοι, δῖα χέλυ, φωνάεσσα γένοιο;<sup>1</sup> or in other expressions eliminating the part of the player and making the instrument speak for itself, as Theogn. 761 φόρμιγξ δ' αὖ φθέγγοιθ' ἱερὸν μέλος ἠδὲ καὶ ἀλδός. In our passage, it is mainly the verses 485-486 with the words *συνήθεια* and *ἐργασίη* which have been interpreted in different ways. *συνήθειαι* is understood by Radermacher and AHS as "practice":<sup>2</sup> the lyre likes being played upon (pass.) "easily, gently" and "with tender practice". The author may mean predominantly the gentle "touch" of a player skilful enough to bring out the finest qualities of the instrument, but he does not say so in technical terms; I would rather understand *συνήθεια* even more generally than "practice", in the sense "habitual acquaintance, intimacy", as better suited to the general personified tone of the passage.

The lyre abhors "toilsome working" (i.e. handling): this phrase anticipates the figure of the unskilled player, introduced in the following clause. Radermacher understands *ἐργασίη* as "Handwerkstätigkeit", which produces a hard and heavy touch, unsuitable to the handling of a musical instrument, and sees here a certain Hellenic disdain for rough work (p. 159). This is surely a far-fetched idea. *ἐργασίη* is frequently used in the sense "practice" applied to all the arts, as is seen from the references offered by AHS. It seems to me that *ἐργασίη* – "practice, working on the technical details" – as such, even without the epithet, is a notion less pleasing to the lyre than *συνήθειαι*, intimacy with the player.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Later e.g. Bacch.fr.20B,1 ff., Pind.Nem.4,44, Ion of Chius (?) 6 D.

<sup>2</sup> For this sense, cf. especially Plat.Lg.656D.

<sup>3</sup> It is improbable that *ἐργασίη* would refer to the working of the lyre itself, and not to that of the player; there is no reason to depict the lyre as downright lazy, willing to shun work; on the other hand, everything in the passage of personification centres upon the problem of how the lyre should be treated and addressed.

The unskilled player flings his request at the lyre ἐπιζαφελῶς, a word used by Homer in connection with anger, in the sense "vehement, violent":<sup>1</sup> here, the adverb refers to the opposite of the gentle treatment of 485. The consequence of such a rough request is that μὰψ αὐτως κεν ἔπειτα μετήορά τε θρυλίζοι. There is some doubt as to the subject of the clause. Taken separately, the subject seems to be the same as that of the relative clause, i.e. the player; the parallel τὸ πρῶτον / ἔπειτα favours this. However, the whole concept of the playing as a dialogue consisting of requests and responses indicates that this line refers to the response of the lyre; after the second relative clause, parallel to 482, the hearer certainly expects a parallel change of subject, and so it is easily understood even if it is not mentioned. The request–response theme is sustained in the next line σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅτι μενουῶς. θρυλίζω<sup>2</sup> is not found elsewhere; it is interpreted as a musical term, "make a false note" (LS), "einen Misston auf der Kithara hervorbringen" (Frisk p. 687). Certainly, a faulty musical performance is meant here, but the word is, in my opinion, used metaphorically, as is the rest of the context, with the same meaning here – as it probably usually has – as θρυλέω "make a confused noise, chatter, babble" (LS), "schwätzen, viel Gerede machen" (Frisk p. 687).<sup>3</sup> The passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, where he uses θρυλιγμός of a false note played by a flutist, points in the same direction: De comp. verb. 55-56 (Usener–Radermacher p. 39) σομφὸν ἐμπνεύσας ἢ μὴ πείσας τὸ στόμα θρυλιγμὸν ἢ τὴν καλουμένην ἐκμέλειαν ἠύλησε. Here, ἐκμέλεια is the proper term for a false note apparently produced in this case by false "Ansatz"; θρυλιγμός, "babble", is a descriptive word used for the sound, and not necessarily (although, as far as we know, it does not occur elsewhere) an "apparently rare word"<sup>4</sup> nor a technical term needing elucidation.

It is also very unlikely that μετήορα would, for once, be used here in a precise musical sense – AHS suggest "high, i.e. off the note, perhaps sharp", although they remark that the word is not applied elsewhere to musical notes.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Il.9,516, 525; Od.6,330.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. θρυαλ-; maybe it should be corrected to θρυλλ-, see AHS, Radermacher.

<sup>3</sup> θρυλος means a kind of murmur. Fritz p. 687 compares θρυλέω with the many verbs expressing sound which end with -εω, eg. κομπέω, κελαδέω, βομβέω, δουπέω, ροιβδέω

<sup>4</sup> Radermacher p. 159.

<sup>5</sup> The basic meaning of μετέωρος "raised off the ground, in mid-air" has probably induced AHS to interpret it as "high, above the normal pitch" in the musical sense; but it should be noted that while our expressions for differences in musical pitch are imbued with the metaphorical use of "high" and "low", it is quite another matter in ancient Greek – if the relations of pitch were ever expressed in images of different points on a vertical line

It is in accord with the general personification of the lyre that it is said to "babble idly" – *μετήορος* in a metaphorical sense "wavering, inconstant, thoughtless", see LS *μετήορος* II, cf. also the usages of *μετέωρος* III.<sup>1</sup> If the subject of the clause is the player, the adverb could also refer to a bad, pompous style of performance.

As a comparison, we may finally glance briefly at the expressions used in Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, where the situation is very nearly the same – the satyrs hear the music of the lyre for the first time, and Cyllene explains to them what it is. At first, the satyrs comment upon the unknown *ψόφος* which frightens them with its strangeness (110f., 151 Page). Then, when placating Cyllene, they ask her in polite Homeric terms about the origin of the divine sound (*θέσπιυ αὐδὰ[ν 196*) which holds them in amazement, and then, less politely, what is *τὸ φθέγμα ... τοῦθ' ὅπερ φωνεῖ* and who is "scraping" it (*τίς ποτ' αὐτῷ διαχαράσσειται 207*). Cyllene then explains what this sound is which rings out from the invisible instrument (*ἀφανεῖ δ' ὃ πεύθῃ φ]φθέγμα μηχανῆ βρέμ[ον 231*): Hermes has invented this *ἡδονῆς / ἔμμεστον ἄ[γγος* and plays (*δονεῖ*) it (235). The satyrs are amazed at how a dead animal can produce such a loud sound; Cyllene describes the tortoise and explains that the varied sounds are caused by its shell – *φωνεῖ μὲν αἰό]λο[ν φ]ορίνη σύγγονος τῶν ὀστράκων (250)*. Then Cyllene tells of Hermes' delight in his playing: *καὶ τοῦτο λύπης ἔστ' ἄκεστρον καὶ παραψυκτῆριον / κείνῳ μόνον, χαίρει δ' ἀλύων καί τι προσφων[ῶν μέλος] / ξύμφωνον· ἐξαίρει γὰρ αὐτὸν αἰόλισμα τῆς λύρας (253ff.)*. Finally, the satyrs describe the music of the lyre: 257ff. *ὄκροθ)ψάλακτός τις ὀμφὰ κατοιχνεῖ τόπου, / πρεπτὰ δ' αἰῶν δὲ τόνου φάσματ' ἔγ/χωρ' ἐπανθεμίζει*.

One may note how Sophocles always keeps the sound of the instrument in the foreground; Hermes' singing is secondary – he likes singing to it (255), no more. We hear that the music is, apart from being strange and (on one occasion, to please Cyllene) divinely beautiful, also loud<sup>2</sup> and full of changes (*αἰόλος, αἰόλισμα*); the expressions used by the chorus in the passage cited last ("voice that goes forth over the land", "fantasies that the strings make to flit around us everywhere", in Page's translation) are remarkably original in comparison with

---

(here I am not able to go into the problem posed by different expressions used for pitch in Greek), the expressions most commonly used by musical writers for high and low pitch, *δξύς* and *βαρύς*, are in any case metaphors from quite other areas of thought.

<sup>1</sup> Plato several times combines the notions of *μετεωρολογία* and *ἀδολεσχία*, cf. *Crat.*401C, *Phdr.*270A, *Plt.*299B; in the last-mentioned passage they are used in a completely negative sense.

<sup>2</sup> Implied in verbs like *βρέμει, δονεῖ* and in the usage *τοιάνδε ... γάρων (237), φθέγμα τοιωῦτον (239)*.



those used in the Hymn to Hermes. Even allowing for the great differences of style adopted with different genre and metre, I find that Sophocles' way of describing the strange music as a whole is much more modern than that of the author of the Hymn, in that he is capable of describing music as music, using expressions free from the fetters of tradition, creating new images to describe the perception and effect of music, inserting into his description suggestions of the melodic movements of the music.

The author of the Hymn to Hermes, in accordance with his theme, dedicates, it is true, much more attention to the description of music and its effects than we find anywhere in Homer, even in the *Odyssey*, which is far richer in references to musical matters and their aesthetic value than the *Iliad*. On the other hand, especially when he should be describing the instrumental music, the author resorts to the traditional epic means of describing music and, in fact, song, not instrumental music. His expressions are largely non-Homeric, but such that the Homeric vocabulary and phraseology is often used in modified form and sense, or the expressions chosen, though consisting of different words, do not differ much from the Homeric sphere of thought. If we think of the date of the Hymn, this aspect, then, does not afford any good reason for placing it very late, namely the end of the fifth or even the fourth century. Neither can we, of course, defend an earlier dating, e.g. seventh century, on these grounds alone; the epic flavour of the descriptions of music may be due to a large extent to the epic form and metre of the Hymn. On the whole, however, the general tenor of the references to music seems to be well in accord with the sixth or early fifth century writers.