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our *Hymn to Aphrodite* can be considered in places to be secondary to our *Iliad*'s might prove that the *Hymn* was composed or written down later than the *Iliad*. It does not in any respect disprove that the hymnic and the heroic traditions developed simultaneously in a fruitful dialogue, defining their themes and poetics in relation to each other. It is very tempting to suppose that the same poets could adopt alternately Aphroditean or Achillean perspectives, that is, according to the occasion or the mood of the audience, sing in turn tales of war or tales of love, glorify the mortal hero or celebrate the works of the smiling goddess.

7

The Seventh *Homeric Hymn* to Dionysus

An Epiphanic Sketch

Dominique Jaillard

The seventh *Homeric Hymn* to Dionysus is among the *Hymns* which have attracted the least critical attention and it is undeniable that, at first glance, it does not appear to offer much with which to grapple.[1] From both a philological and a historical point of view, the poem's relative brevity (59 lines) and the absence of precise historical allusions have rendered efforts at dating and contextualization particularly tricky.[2] But it is perhaps the linear and clear character of the *Hymn*'s narration

[1] Note, however, the forthcoming publication of the proceedings of a day-long conference devoted to *Hy.* 7, organized by A. Andrisano, 'L'*Inno Omerico VII* a Dioniso e l'iconografia relativa' (Ferrara, 23 November 2005). Note that English translations of the *Hymns* are throughout taken from WL.

[2] Conclusions about dating have varied widely: Patroni (1948) attributes *Hy.* 7 to the poet of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, while Gemoll (1886) dates it to the Hellenistic period. There is no decisive argument for either a late or an early date. Janko (1982), 183–4, concludes that 'in fact, its diction indicates a post-Homeric date', and that 'there is nothing to establish the Hymn's geographical origins, but it may tentatively be dated within the seventh century'. More cautiously, it is tempting to adopt the nuanced conclusion proposed by AHS 379 ('There is no reason to deny it to the sixth or seventh century BC'), or the comments of the more recent editors Càssola 288 ('non databile') and WL 17. In dating a *Homeric Hymn* it is important not only to consider isolated elements of the text transmitted in the collection (linguistic features or historical allusions), which is at best a variant of a tradition whose degree of variability over time is often difficult to establish, but also the tradition itself. In the case of *Hy.* 7, any attempt at a solution remains purely speculative, given the current state of knowledge. The question also seems inseparable from the equally obscure issue of the performative contexts in which this type of short narrative hymn developed, of which *Hys.* 7 and 19 are our only surviving examples. The historical problem

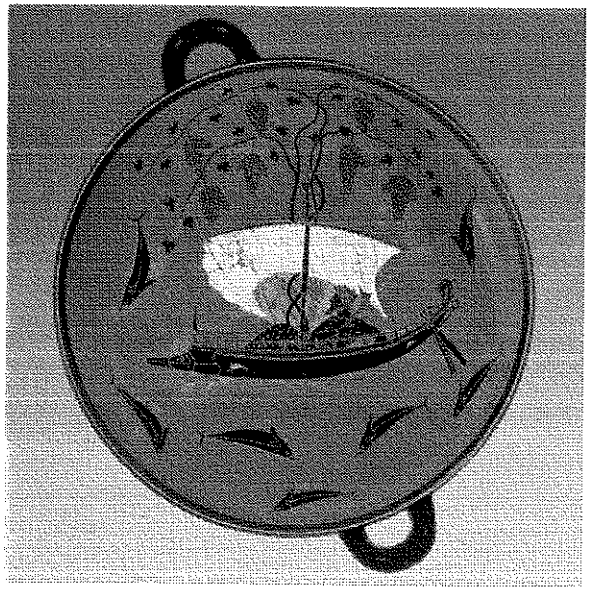

Fig. 2. Dionysus Cup, by Exekias. By Permission of Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek München

which best explains the fact that it has rarely been studied or commented upon in and of itself. The very simple framework of the story is eclipsed by the powerful and manifest *epiphanic image* of the god. Dionysus is captured by pirates and takes possession of their ship, which he transforms by his marvels (*θαύματα*) into a dionysiac universe similar to that which is depicted by Attic painters: not only the celebrated image of Dionysus sailing on the Exekias cup (Fig. 2), but also the image of the oversized god, terrible and fascinating, who rises up on a black-figure amphora of the National Museum of Tarquinia.[3] It is these images of the god demonstrating his power and the relationship that they establish between wine and the sea, more than the *Hymn* itself, which have attracted the attention of specialists

of the Tyrsenians is discussed below n. 5. It provides very little help for dating and contextualizing the *Hymn*.

[3] Black-figure kylix, Munich, Antikensammlungen, 2044, found in Vulci, *ABV* 146. 21, v. 530; black-figure neck amphora, Museo Nazionale Tarquiniese 678, LIMC 790, plate 392, v. 500–50.

working on Dionysus and ancient art: these scholars take account of the poem in as much as it encapsulates, with an undeniable visual power, recurrent and highly significant features of dionysiac epiphany.[4] From a different perspective, the *Hymn* has also been treated by historians as an important document concerning interaction between the Aegean and the western Mediterranean: they consider principally the poem's mention of Tyrsenian pirates in lines 7–8 (*ληϊσταὶ Τυρσηνοί*) and discuss its geography in comparison to other versions of the myth. The Tyrsenians have been taken to refer to either Lemnians or Etruscans.[5] As legitimate as it might be, this approach gives to the few geographical references in the poem a weight which accords poorly with the streamlined character of the

[4] See Lissarrague (1987), 16–118, Isler-Kerényi (2007), 171–86.

[5] See De' Spagnolis (2004), Nobili (2009), with earlier bibliography. *Τυρσηνοί* ('Tyrsenian') can refer to the inhabitants of Lemnos (at least from the time of Thuc. 4. 109; see also Philoch. *FGrH* 308. 100, D. S. 10. 19. 6), who are also taken to be Pelasgians (Hdt. 4. 145, 6. 137–40) and Etruscans (Hes. *Th.* 1015–16, Hecat. *FGrH* 18, 19, etc.). The image of the Tyrsenians, whether they be Lemnians or Etruscans, is sufficient to call to mind piracy in the context of the sixth century BC; see Nobili (2009), 11 ff. Taking into consideration the intentionally indeterminate character of space in *Hy.* 7, any attempt to give a more precise historical or geographical value to the Tyrsenians seems in contradiction to the *Hymn*'s poetics. The suggestion of Crusius (1889), often cited since, of an Attic performance context for *Hy.* 7, specifically at the festivals of Dionysus celebrated at Brauron and as a commemoration of the abduction of young Athenians by Pelasgian or Tyrsenian pirates, is purely speculative. A version of the narrative specifically designed for such a context would have increased the number of specific geographical and mythical references. At the most, one could say that there is nothing against a Panhellenic poem such as ours being performed in this context, but there is no way to know whether it was. As regards the view that the role played by the Athenians (the capture of Lemnos by Miltiades in 510 BC) in the elimination of piracy in the Aegean sea supports an Athenian origin and a connection with the *Anthesteria*, during which the god seems to have been carried in a float shaped like a boat (see the excellent discussion of Parker (2005), 302–3), this is too general an argument and has no more demonstrative value than the vague iconographic parallels recently put forward as evidence; see De' Spagnolis (2004), 61–6, criticized by Nobili (2009), 4. The version of ps.-Apollod. 3. 37–8 (whatever its source) and the monument of Lysicrates suggest that there were Attic variants of the story—but our version of *Hy.* 7 is not one of them. The identification of the pirates as Etruscans and Corinth as the place of the *Hymn*'s production, recently defended by Nobili (2009), runs up against the same types of objections: her arguments only provide a context in which versions of the story may have circulated, and to which Euripides' version may refer (13). The links she proposes between *Hy.* 7 and the Corinthian references of the myth of Arion are also no more than suggestive (18–26). However, her article illuminates a real difficulty, by showing that there is no proof that the Lemnians were considered Tyrsenians before the second half of the fifth century BC (the first attestation is by Thucydides).

narrative, whose framework and emphasis seem on the contrary to be exceptionally (and perhaps intentionally) detached from all local anchorage, whether it be cultic, mythical, or historical.

For this reason it seems essential foremost to try to understand the internal logic and the particular poetics of the *Hymn*'s narrative, whose most striking feature is, as discussed above, the almost exclusive focalization on the epiphany of the god. Taking into account its disconcerting clarity, it is necessary first of all to compare the seventh *Hymn* with the other *Hymns* of the existing corpus, in order to evaluate the uniqueness of its formal and thematic characteristics; this is the only somewhat certain ground for comparison, regardless of the uncertainties surrounding the genesis of the collection. The seventh *Hymn* to Dionysus (59 lines) constitutes, in the same manner as the nineteenth *Hymn* to Pan (49 lines), a short narrative *Hymn*. As such, it contrasts with both the long 'narrative' *Hymns* and the short *Hymns*, which, even when they contain an outline of a narrative (*Hys.* 6, 27), do not properly speaking develop a narrative of divine action. This difference of format seems, as much as one can judge from only two surviving specimens, to involve a more profound distinction. The narrative sections of the four long *Hymns* each deal with a *readjustment* in the division of *timai*, the prerogatives and functions which define the place or status of everyone in the universe, man or god.[6] The four long *Hymns* all narrate a situation, either the birth of a 'new' god (*Hermes, Apollo*) or a 'crisis' (*Demeter, Aphrodite*), involving an adjustment in the articulations or relations of divine prerogatives (*timai*), a refinement or partial redefinition of the divisions and interactions between divine powers and between mortals and immortals.[7]

In contrast, however, to the Hesiodic *Theogony*, a 'hymn to Zeus', which enacts the division and redistribution of powers from the point of view of establishing the *basileia* ('dominion') of the sovereign god, the long *Homeric Hymns* consider the world to be already organized. The principal articulations are already in place, and are not lacking except for the abilities and divine functions which are precisely at the heart of the narrative and are the object of the hymnic celebration. Although they formulate a plan of Zeus, to whom the initiative most often belongs (*Διὸς νόος ἐξετελεῖτο*),[8] the long *Hymns* narrate the specific actions of the god which they praise, thereby delineating certain areas of competence and prerogatives which belong to that god within the divisions of the pantheon. Even if the entirety of relations between divine powers is at issue, they are mostly considered in connection to the specific deity celebrated, whom the *Hymn* by its very nature helps to magnify.[9] At some decisive moment, the hymnic narrative represents a fictional situation in which one of the functional powers is lacking. The stress on the effects of the god's absence helps to define the deity's field of action.[10] Without Hermes the inventor, Apollo remains ignorant of the lyre, which he claims as his right just after birth in the *Hymn to Apollo* (131–2); without Demeter, who withdraws in the *Hymn to Demeter* from the council of the gods (*νοσφισθεῖσα θεῶν ἀγορὴν καὶ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον*, 92), the *timai* of the gods would be reduced to nothing because the sacrifices of men would no longer be accomplished.[11]

In the *Hymn to Hermes*, which reflects upon hymnic practice itself, the question of the readjustment of *timai* is even the explicit subject of the theogonic song performed by the young god (426–33).[12] The question is also treated (in a manner appropriate to Hermes) in both the terms of division in the exchange with Apollo, as well as in the odd strategies deployed in the abnormal sacrifice accomplished by the new-born god. All the glorious deeds (*κλυτὰ ἔργα*) of the young Hermes have an epiphanic value: they show the abilities and the skills (*ἔργα, τέχναι*) which at the end of the narrative will be recognized as his own *timai*.[13] The *Hymn to Demeter* also deals with *timē* and the division of functions amongst the pantheon. The goddess is deceived by Zeus, who is above all concerned to ensure regular and regulated communication between the underworld and the upper world (i.e. between Hades and the rest of the gods), without which the inviolable boundary between the living and the dead would create within the pantheon itself an untenable divide. At the end of the crisis, the new

[6] See Detienne and Sissa (1989), 161–2, Jaillard (2005), 49–62, (2007), (forthcoming).

[7] A feature well-emphasized by Clay (1989), and in this volume (Ch. 11).

[8] *Herm.* 10. Variants: *Διὸς βουλῇσι* ('by the will of Zeus'), *Dem.* 9; *Κρονίδεω πυκινὴν διὰ μῆτιν* ('crafty design of father Zeus'), *Dem.* 414; see also *Aphr.* 45–7.

[9] See Nagy (1979), 186–7, Jaillard (2010).

[10] Jaillard (2007), 22–3.

[11] She and Persephone then return to Olympus at the end of the *Hymn* (484, *βάν ῥ' ἴμεν Οὔλυμπόνδε θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγυριν ἄλλων*), echoing line 92. Cf. Jaillard (2005).

[12] See Jaillard (forthcoming).

[13] On epiphany in *Herm.* see further Vergados in this volume (Ch. 5).

timai that Demeter and Persephone together obtain achieve Zeus' project much better than a marriage which traps Kore in Hades would have done: they weave between the different levels of the cosmos a network of interaction which is subtly articulated and differentiated. Although she is the queen of Hades, Persephone will participate fully in the assembly of the gods on Olympus for two-thirds of the year, by forming an indissoluble functional pairing with her mother. Meanwhile, the power of Demeter extends into Hades through her provision of increased happiness in the afterlife for Eleusinian initiates.[14] In the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, Zeus, in turning against the goddess the irresistible power of sexual desire, subjugates an extremely potent cosmic power by her own dominion and deepens the divisions between mortals and immortals.[15] Without resorting to an equally explicit conceptualization of polytheistic 'theology', the *Hymn to Apollo* explores the consequences of the god's birth, while discretely delineating the reality before his birth, as evinced, for example, by the lands not yet cultivated which he passes on route to Delphi.[16]

It is precisely this reflection upon the structures of the pantheon, the *σχήματ' Ὀλύμπου* ('forms of Olympus'), which Chiron is said to have taught to humans in a fragment of the cyclic *Titanomachy*,[17] and the entire theogonic and cosmogonic dimension characteristic of the long narrative *Hymns* in the collection (despite their differences) which is absent from the two short narrative *Hymns* 7 and 19. At least, these short narrative *Hymns* do not deal explicitly with the power struggles of the pantheon. The *Hymn to Pan* tells of the birth of the god, but the effects of his birth on the articulation of the pantheon and the ordering of the world are not considered. The narrative

[14] See Jaillard (2005).

[15] Aphrodite's universal power is emphasized at the outset of *Aphr.* (1–6). See Pironti (2007), 116–19. On the separation of mortals and immortals, see *Aphr.* 45–52, 247–55, with the commentary of Clay (1989), 164–70, 191–7, who argues that the *Hymn* narrates the end of unions between gods and mortals. This is a strong possibility, although the poem is not explicit about a complete division; see Faulkner (2008), 10–18. A diminishment of her powers and the interaction of gods and men is in any case implied.

[16] See Detienne (1998), 25–9.

[17] Fr. 11 Bernabé: *εἰς τε δικαιοσύνην θνητῶν γένος ἤγαγε, δείξας | ὅρκους καὶ θυσίας καλὰς καὶ σχήματ' Ὀλύμπου* ('And he led the race of mortal men to righteousness, teaching them oaths, good sacrifices, and the forms of Olympus'). Cf. [Hes.] fr. 283 (M–W).

emphasizes the dual nature of the god, who is a 'goat-footed, two-horned, rowdy, merry laugher' (*αἰγοπόδην δικέρωτα πολύκροτον ἡδυγέλωτα*, 37), and the effects that he produces on those to whom he appears: sight of him causes his terrified mother to flee (38–9), and he delights the immortals when Hermes shows him to them (45–6). These genealogical references to parents are not an occasion to introduce a matrimonial strategy aimed at reordering the pantheon,[18] but rather serve, as in the shortest *Hymns*, to explore the features of the gods, as do epithets and brief celebrations of functional or descriptive traits. If one compares, for example, the first nine lines of the long *Hymn to Hermes*, which mention the secret liaisons of Zeus and Maia in the murky cave in Cyllene, with the almost identical lines that form the main body of the short eighteenth *Hymn* to Hermes, only the presence of a narrative recounting the journey of the newborn god from the *atimia* ('dishonour') of the maternal grotto to Olympus, the object of his desire, confers upon the genealogical references an extra meaning: this is signalled straightaway in line 10 of the long *Hymn*, at the start of the narrative proper, by the mention of the 'purpose' (*νόος*) of Zeus.

One might nevertheless ask whether the variant in line 4 of *Hymn* 18, naming Maia as the daughter of Atlas, the reprobate, would not have suggested to a Greek mind, more polytheistic in orientation than our own and replete with cultural knowledge that we do not have, an implicit equivalent to the absent narrative. One might also consider in this light the very brief introduction of *Hymn* 7 to Dionysus, 'Of Dionysus, glorious Semele's son, I will make remembrance: how he appeared . . .' (*ἀμφὶ Διώνυσον Σεμέλης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν | μνήσομαι, ὡς ἐφάνη . . .*, 1–2), to which the declaration of Dionysus in line 56, 'I am Dionysus the mighty roarer, born to Cadmus' daughter Semele' (*εἶμι δ' ἐγὼ Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος, ὃν τέκε μήτηρ | Καδμηῒς Σεμέλη*) and the closing farewell, 'I salute you, child of fair Semele' (*χαῖρε, τέκος Σεμέλης εὐώπιδος*, 58) both respond. As conventional as it seems, this could, by its insistence on maternal descent, be a significant clue for the analysis of a narrative about the misadventure of a god mistaken for the mortal son of some king (11).

From the very outset, the *Hymn* speaks of appearance and apparition, and their ambiguous nature. With the superior knowledge that

[18] On the matrimonial strategies of Zeus, see Bonnafé (1985), 92–6, Clay (2003), 29.

is indicated by the formula μνήσομαι ('I will make remembrance of', 2), evocative of the powers of Mnemosyne,[19] the *Hymn* first celebrates how the god 'appeared by the shore of the barren sea' (ὡς ἐφάνη παρὰ θῖν' ἁλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο, 2). Immediately following this, however, the poem introduces the deceptive nature of his appearance 'in the likeness of a youth' (νεηνίῃ ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς, 3). The narrative depicts the god on a promontory, clearly visible to those who are ironically not able to recognize him, and to whom he appears to be a son of a king: 'they reckoned he was the son of a princely line' (υἱὸν γάρ μιν ἔφαντο διοτρεφέων βασιλήων, 11). Perception is therefore from the outset troubled, as the pirates are both unaware of and at the same time recognize the affiliation of the young man with Zeus. The ambiguity of the dionysiac manifestation (*phanein*) begins the narrative and prepares for the victorious epiphany later in the poem. Dionysus reveals himself while also hiding himself, and shows himself while rendering himself invisible to those who are not capable of seeing him. If one accepts in the initial ὡς ἐφάνη ('how he appeared', 2) both its epiphanic value and its ambiguity, it then follows that it presents misrecognition as a constituent part of dionysiac epiphany.[20] As in the *Bacchae* of Euripides, it is vision and appearance that bring about the process of misrecognition and recognition.[21] The *Hymn*, therefore, narrates a specific pattern of dionysiac epiphany, which belongs to the typical representation of the god in Greek culture, within a narrative structure and a semantic field that arise from the traditional

[19] The formula is a variant, functionally and semantically equivalent to the formulae ἔννεπε Μοῦσα ('tell Muse', *Hy.* 19. 1), ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι ('tell Muses', *Hy.* 33. 1), where the name of the god is likewise introduced by the preposition ἀμφί; see also ὕμνει Μοῦσα ('sing Muse', *Hys.* 9. 1, 14. 2), ὑμνεῖν . . . ἄρχεο Μοῦσα ('begin to sing Muse, *Hy.* 31. 1), ἀείσεο Μοῦσα ('sing Muse', *Hys.* 17. 1, 20. 1), with the name in the accusative; and ἄρχομ' ἀείδειν ('I begin to sing', *Dem.* 1). For a full list of variants, see Pavese (1991), 160–2. As Calame (1995), 6, has shown, the evocation of the god in the third person, as the object of song, is more important than the manner in which the speaker-narrator introduces it; cf. also in this volume (pp. 337–41). The divine power at work can be explicitly named, its relationship to the speaker specified, or on the contrary it can remain implicit, in which case it is contained in the meaning of the verb in the first person. Within the framework of the collection, any attempt to explain the first person by an evolutionary or chronological schema, or by a distancing from the Muse, creates untenable contradictions (for example the early date of *Dem.*).

[20] While the *Hymns* tend to introduce the narrative by a relative pronoun (ὅς, ἥ), the ὡς of *Hy.* 7 reflects the terms of his apparition, as if the enunciation is favouring the singularity of his epiphany.

[21] See Vernant (1986), 248–50, Segal (1997), 221–2.

knowledge of the poet.[22] The *Homeric Hymn* subtly treats a motif, which the tragic poet later varies and amplifies.

Fettered by the pirates, Dionysus puts on his first display of marvels (θαύματα). The bonds do not hold him and the osiers fall away on their own, while the god sits impassively and smiles with his dark eyes:

> τὸν δ' οὐκ ἴσχανε δεσμά, λύγοι δ' ἀπὸ τηλόσ' ἔπιπτον
> χειρῶν ἠδὲ ποδῶν, ὃ δὲ μειδιάων ἐκάθητο
> ὄμμασι κυανέοισι. (*Hy.* 7. 13–15)

> But the bonds would not contain him, the osiers fell clear away from his hands and feet, while he sat there smiling with his dark eyes.

Similarly, the stranger in the *Bacchae* is liberated from his bonds and sits in an equally tranquil fashion to watch the collapse of Pentheus' palace.[23] Upon viewing these wonders, the blindness of the pirates becomes more profound: according to them, a god has sent them this young man (ἐπεὶ ἡμῖν ἔμβαλε δαίμων, 31) in order to ensure a good ransom for them (26–31). The blindness of the Theban king is also increased after he sees the deeds of Dionysus: he asks himself how and why the stranger has been freed and reappeared without understanding.[24] Placed against the blindness of the impious king is the semi-clairvoyance of the tragic messenger,[25] which in the *Hymn* belongs to the helmsman of the ship. He does not know Dionysus, but he recognizes the divine, even Olympian, nature of the hostage who does not *resemble* mortal men:

> ἦ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὅδε γ' ἐστὶν ἢ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων
> ἠὲ Ποσειδάων, ἐπεὶ οὐ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν
> εἴκελος, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς οἳ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσιν (*Hy.* 7. 19–21)

> This is either Zeus, or silverbow Apollo, or Poseidon; he is not like mortal men, but the gods who dwell on Olympus.

There then follows a second set of marvels (τάχα δέ σφιν ἐφαίνετο θαυματὰ ἔργα, 'But suddenly they began to see miraculous apparitions',

[22] See Detienne and Sissa (1989), 168–71.

[23] Cf. E. *Ba.* 614–59; notably 621–2, πλησίον δ' ἐγὼ παρὼν | ἥσυχος θάσσων ἔλευσσον ('And I sat close by watching calmly').

[24] Cf. E. *Ba.* 642–6; esp. 645–6 πῶς προνώπιος | φαίνῃ πρὸς οἴκοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἔξω βεβώς ('How have you come outside to appear in front of my palace?').

[25] See E. *Ba.* 770–4.

34), which transforms the vessel into a dionysiac ship, in which the impious pirates have no more rightful place than Pentheus amongst the Bacchants. Upon perceiving the fragrant wine that spreads across the black ship, the pirates are seized by astonishment (*ναύτας δὲ τάφος λάβε πάντας ἰδόντας*, 37). Then immediately upon seeing (*οἳ δὲ ἰδόντες*, 42) the mast and sails covered by vines teeming with grapes, the sudden appearance of ivy with fruits and flowers, and the oars girded by garlands, they try in vain to row the ship to shore. Finally, in an ultimate reversal of the relationships of vision, it is the oblique and terrifying look cast by the god (*δεινὸν ὑπόδρα ἰδών*, 48), now changed in front of their eyes into a roaring lion,[26] which definitively places the pirates under the control of fear (*ἐφοβήθεν*, 48): having vainly tried to huddle together with the helmsman and having seen their captain seized by the lion (50), they leap into the sea, whereupon they are changed into Dolphins (*πάντες ὁμῶς πήδησαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον, εἰς ἅλα δῖαν*, 52). Prey to a powerful blindness that has continued to grow, the pirates are not able to perceive Dionysus *when their gaze meets with his*, except in his wild and terrifying form. By his metamorphosis into a lion and the apparition of a shaggy bear standing erect on his hind paws (46–7), Dionysus manifests his power (*σήματα φαίνων*, 46) in his most terrible and formidable facets. Meanwhile, to the helmsman who did not fail to recognize his hidden divinity, he reveals his name (Dionysus *ἐρίβρομος*, the 'mighty roarer', 56) and his genealogy (son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, and Zeus, 56–7) at the end of his epiphany. He also grants him limitless prosperity and happiness (*καί μιν ἔθηκε πανόλβιον*, 54).

The details of the dionysiac epiphany narrated by the *Hymn* make evident certain powers of the god and the specific manner of his manifestation, which could not but suggest to a Greek audience accustomed to listening to rhapsodes in the archaic and classical periods a broad network of interconnected myths, in which the god, at first not recognized, reveals his power in his most terrible and destructive aspects, but grants exceptional benefits to those who recognize him or take part in his rites.[27] In both Orchomenus and

[26] His roaring (*μέγα δ' ἔβραχεν*, 45) echoes in epic diction the terrifying groan of weapons (*Il.* 4. 420, 12. 396, Hes. *Sc.* 423) or the earth (*Il.* 21. 387) and suits the god's self-identification as the 'mighty-roarer' (*ἐρίβρομος*, 56) to the helmsman.

[27] Cf. E. *Ba.* 859–61: *γνώσεται δὲ τὸν Διὸς | Διόνυσον, ὃς πέφυκεν ἐν τέλει θεός, | δεινότατος, ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἠπιώτατος* ('And he will come to know Dionysus, son of Zeus, who is fully a god, most terrible, although also most gentle to men'). See Detienne (1985), esp. 11–43.

Thebes, there is a strict division between the daughters of Minyas or Cadmus doomed to religious impurity and the other women, whether 'citizen' Bacchants destined to ensure the prosperity and happiness of the city or Lydians accompanying the god. However, there are important differences between other accounts of dionysiac epiphany and the narrative of the *Hymn*. First of all, in the *Hymn* there is no human community or city involved. Everything instead takes place offshore, on the 'wine-faced sea' (*οἴνοπα πόντον*, 7),[28] a shimmering space that is both uncertain and deceptive. As well, no previous offence against the god is mentioned, nor any refusal to accept or to recognize him. The god appears on an unnamed promontory, his divinity hidden beneath his appearance as a courtly young man, almost as a trap extended to the passing pirates. Moreover, there is no reason given for the profound blindness of the pirates, except for bad fate that leads them on (*τοὺς δὲ ἦγε κακὸς μόρος*, 8).[29] At most, the subtle reference to Dionysus' Theban genealogy (57), could suggest the recurrent misrecognition of a figure whose divinity remains questionable until he shows his more terrible aspects.

But there are also significant differences between the narrative of the *Hymn* and other versions of the abduction of Dionysus by pirates. In the version given in Euripides' *Cyclops* (11–12)—the oldest apart from the *Hymn*, if one excludes the brief allusion of Pindar to dolphins who have not forgotten the life (*βιοτάν*) dear to men[30]—it is the anger of Hera which motivates the action of the pirates. She wishes him to be sold far away, after he has been freed from the madness with which she previously struck him. The ship of Silenus and the satyrs sets off to look for the god, rounding the Cape of Malea and heading towards Sicily (13–22). In the *Library* of pseudo-Apollodorus (3. 37–8) the

[28] The meaning of the epithet is disputed, but in a context so evidently dionysiac, it would surely for an audience of the archaic period have suggested the metaphorical sea crossed by an intoxicated drinker, on which he is tossed around, prey to confusion, and where he risks sinking into a state of *mania*; see Pi. fr. 124 SnM, Choeril. fr. 9 Bernabé, Timae. *FGrH* 566 F 149, with the comments of Lissarrague (1987), 104–7. On the Exekias cup (Fig. 2, see p. 134), the horizon, the division between sky and sea (the dolphins come up close to the vines that surround the mast), is not indicated, thereby creating a space that is infinite (covered by a coral red background) and open (the depiction is not surrounded by a band as is most common).

[29] They flee the same fate when they later throw themselves into the sea (*κακὸν μόρον ἐξαλύοντες*, 51).

[30] Fr. 236 SnM *οἱ δελφῖνες* (sc. *ἐκ τῶν λῃστῶν γενόμενοι*): *φιλάνορα δ' οὐκ ἔλιπον βιοτάν.*

geography is even more precise, as Dionysus hires a ship of Tyrsenian pirates to take him from Icaria, in Attica, to Naxos, places where there were sanctuaries of the god. Taking into account the method of mythographical rewriting characteristic of the *Library*, these geographical references in the myth could be at least as old as those of Euripides. The wonders produced by Dionysus are not the same (the mast and the oars are changed into snakes, ivy and the sound of flutes spread throughout the ship, and the pirates are struck by *mania*), but they are enough, as those in the *Homeric Hymn*, to *represent* the epiphany of the god and the dionysiac transformation of the ship. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (3. 597–691),[31] the action takes place between Chios and Naxos. In the *Homeric Hymn*, however, the only geographical indications concern the faraway places where the pirates may have to carry their hostage before he reveals his origins, from Egypt or Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean to the uncertain boundaries of the world: 'to the Hyperboreans, or beyond' (ἐς Ὑπερβορέους ἢ ἑκαστέρω, 29). The action of the poem itself is therefore detached from all local anchorage and has no attributable cause. And under the influence of Dionysus' presence, a somehow reasonable act of piracy is transformed into a strange and almost fantastical journey to the 'elsewhere'.

It is tempting to interpret these differences as characteristic of the poetics of the *Homeric Hymn*, which represent a choice in opposition to other poetic traditions, or a distinctive trait of the particular version of the tradition that has entered into the collection. If one accepts that the distance from local versions is one of the key indicators for measuring the degree of Panhellenism of a poem or a poetic

[31] Other versions or references to the story: Seneca *Oed.* 449–66; Hygin. *Fab.* 134, *Astr.* 2. 17 (= Aglaosthenes *FGrH* 499 F 3, on Naxos), the Tyrsenian pirates leap into the sea without realizing their actions, under the charm of the song of the baby Dionysus' entourage; *AP* 9. 82; Luc. *Salt.* 22 (allusion), Dionysus subdues the pirates with dance; Philostr. *Im.* 1. 19, ecphrasis of a tableau in which the ship of the Tyrsenian pirates is in the process of attacking the ship of Dionysus and his Maenads, which is burgeoning with vines and ivy—the pirates, seized by madness upon hearing the dionysiac harmonies, forget to row and some are in the process of transforming into Dolphins; Opp. *H.* 1. 650; Nonn. *D.* 44. 240–9, 45. 105–69, 683–92—other allusions to the story in Nonn. are discussed by Vian (2000); Serv. *A.* 1. 57. The frieze of the choragic monument of Lysicrates (334 BC) offers a distinctive version: the scene takes place on the coast, where Dionysus sits and plays with a panther while his satyrs attack the pirates, whom Dionysus has begun to transform into Dolphins; see Ehrhardt (1993). The connection of the frieze to the narrative of a dithyramb victory in the Dionysia of 334 BC, which the monument commemorates, or to a satyr drama, is possible but not certain; see further bibliography in Caspo (2003), 80.

tradition,[32] the seventh *Hymn* to Dionysus could be taken as a model Panhellenic poem, adaptable to many different performance contexts. The process of distillation or delocalization of the narrative may have proved to be easier since the dionysiac sea is an 'elsewhere' that can be represented more abstractly, as is indicated also by the representation of the winy sea on Attic drinking cups from the middle of the sixth century BC. But there are many other ways of distilling and delocalizing a narrative. For instance, the Arcadia of the nineteenth *Hymn* to Pan is no less Panhellenic: it offers an adequate landscape for the god, but in no way fixes it in a more precise location, nor attaches it to the particular cults and mythic elaborations of a local community.[33]

We should also consider for a moment the influence of performance context on the composition of the short narrative hymns. We do not know for certain the constraints imposed upon a rhapsode by a *Hymn* limited to about fifty verses, but the simple fact that there are *Hymns* of varying length dedicated to the same deities suggests a response to functional demands. How best to celebrate a divinity within the predefined framework? How to compose the *agalma* that will most please the rhapsode's divine audience and most increase his *timē*? The response of generations of rhapsodes who fashioned the tradition of *Homeric Hymns* could, in the case of short performances, have been to favour a brief and concentrated narrative sequence, capable of *demonstrating* the powers of the god within a more or less minor episode, but designed in a fashion so as to encapsulate the distinctive features of the divinity. The narrative thus constructs a poetic *epiphany* of the divinity,[34] both invoked and evoked, in a scene which *crystallizes* the figure of the god and the details of his activity. Rather than exploring the position of the god within the divisions of the pantheon and the cosmos, the *Hymn* instead takes on a strong *iconic* value, which, by means of a dense narrative sequence, renders the god intensely present in the place of performance.

In this respect, the poetics of the seventh *Homeric Hymn* to Dionysus seem deeply similar to the economical art of painters such as Exekias, who distils into a synthetic image on his drinking cups the

[32] See Nagy (1979), 115–21. On the Panhellenic aspect of the long narrative *Hymns*, see Clay (1989) and in this volume (pp. 246–7); cf. Introduction (pp. 19–22).

[33] On the landscapes of Pan, see Borgeaud (1988), and in this volume Thomas (Ch. 8).

[34] On the problem of textual epiphanies, see Pucci (1998), 69–80, and for *Herm.* Jaillard (2007), 21–2, 69 ff.

epiphany of the dionysiac world, in which the drinker is caught up while drinking the wine: the iconic image of the tondo is even possibly revealed to him after he has met the fascinating eyes on the exterior of the cup. In this context, the actions of the pirates, which in the narrative logic of the *Hymn* serve to articulate the particular qualities of misrecognition and recognition in the dionysiac epiphany, have no place. On the cup, there is only the representation of the dionysiac world in which the drinker participates fully and with happiness, if he respects the rules of the *symposion*. As has been well-established,[35] the iconographic documents of the archaic period do not provide assistance in dating the appearance of the myth of the Tyrsenian pirates, neither the tradition of the story nor the text of the *Hymn* as has been transmitted to us. Nonetheless, the connection between the aesthetics of the poetic production and the visual images has another virtue, in that it helps in understanding the process of crystallization and distillation of the narrative: both the painters and the tradition of the *Homeric Hymn* either elaborated or selected the imagery that has to do with the epiphany of a specifically epiphanic god,[36] thereby isolating the motif. As such, both the *Hymn* and the images express the shared knowledge involved in religious and social practices,[37] while in return helping, as part of a dynamic process, to give form to that shared knowledge, notably from a Panhellenic point of view.

The differences between the poetics of the two short narrative *Hymns*, to Dionysus and Pan, depend largely upon specific configurations of power, whose brief and striking images are elaborated by rhapsodic traditions. The seventh *Hymn* to Dionysus narrates a pure epiphany, whose context is reduced to a narrative motif required to signal the initial misrecognition of the god that leads up to his revelation: the actions of the Tyrsenian pirates, who seem to come out of nowhere, take place in a location which has no other function than to provide a stage for the manifestation of the god's power. The epiphanic narrative is constructed in relation to the modes of appearance and action of the god: the ambiguation of appearance and apparition, the alteration of perception and sight, the freeing of

[35] AHS 378, Lissarrague (1987), 118, West (2003), 17. The theory that the representation of dolphin-men illustrates the metamorphosis of the pirates in *Hy.* 7 has recently been supported by Kossatz-Deissmann (1992), but justly criticized by Rasmussen and Spivey (1986), Caspo (2003), 79 ff. (with earlier bibliography).

[36] See Detienne (1985), 11 ff.

[37] See Scheid and Svenbro (1996), 3–5.

bonds, and the transformation of the transitory and mobile human space of the ship into a purely dionysiac space (as in the Golden Age,[38] there is spontaneous vegetation, but without soil it owes nothing to the cultivating work of Demeter and causes the growing seasons of flowers and fruit to overlap). Plants and dionysiac substances overrun the space: a fragrant wine spreads throughout the ship, adding to the visible marvels (*θαύματα*) a divine scent (*ὀδμὴ ἀμβροσίη*, 36–7), yet another mark of the god's hold upon the place.[39] The quick rhythm of the narrative, which scholars of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were quick to condemn as a sign of poetic poverty, incoherence, and eccentricity,[40] in fact accords with the accelerated temporality in which the god produces marvels (*θαύματα*) and phenomena that conflict with the ordinary rhythm of time: the rapid flow of the narrative is underlined by the accumulation of adverbs (*τάχα* 'quickly', *αὐτίκα* 'immediately', *αἶψα* 'right away', *ἐξαπίνης* 'suddenly').[41] As for the nineteenth *Hymn* to Pan, it produces imagery that is just as strongly epiphanic, but does so by integrating the figure of the god into the landscape in which he carries out his actions. The evocation is not followed by a single narrative that treats together certain powers of the god, as is the case in the seventh *Hymn* to Dionysus; instead, the poem contains a number of short, isolated narrative elements (Pan's dance amongst the shepherds, Hermes' arrival in Arcadia, the mother's fright upon seeing her newborn's face, etc.), all of which contribute to the representation of the god's appearance within the pastoral space of the mountain.

In producing a 'sketch' of dionysiac epiphany, the seventh *Hymn* to Dionysus removes it from the mythical (non-recognition of the god leading to the introduction of his cult throughout Greece)[42] or ritual (maenadic possession, *symposion*) contexts which ordinarily give rise

[38] Cf. E. *Ba.* 141–3, 695–711, with the comments of Segal (1997), 65, Vernant (1986), 254.

[39] Cf. the mention of Syrian incense in E. *Ba.* 144–50, at the height of the trance described in the *parodos*.

[40] Gemoll (1886), 317, AHS 379, Humbert (1936), 169.

[41] See Detienne (1985), 89–98 for discussion of the features of dionysiac *dunamis*. For a parallel analysis of 'how the scene changes are in syncopation with steady linguistic features', see in this volume Thomas (p. 155).

[42] Cf. E. *Ba.* 83–7, *ἴτε βάκχαι, ἴτε βάκχαι, | Βρόμιον παῖδα θεὸν θεοῦ | Διόνυσον κατάγουσαι | Φρυγίων ἐξ ὀρέων Ἑλλάδος εἰς εὐ- | ρυχόρους ἀγυιάς, τὸν Βρόμιον* ('Go Bacchae, go, leading Bromius, child of a god, from the Phrygian mountains to the broad streets of Greece—Bromius'), and see Detienne (1985), 11–42.

to the epiphany (in its many forms) within narrative or ritual practice; the poem thus performs a sort of abstraction, a fact which reveals all the better certain aspects of its internal structure. It is the very apparition of the god in the form of a young man which produces the misrecognition of the god: as such, Dionysus' appearance reiterates the blurring of lines between mortal and immortal, which is implied by his double birth as the son of Semele, daughter of Cadmus, and Zeus. The ambiguous form in which Dionysus manifests himself on the promontory, where he appears seemingly without cause, deceives and lures the Tyrsenian pirates with the promise of a marvellous ransom. It is thus the initiative of the god, whose appearance induces the wild and impious act of the pirates, which produces the epiphany of his powers and the dionysiac transformation of the sea.

The known ambiguity of dolphins enamoured with human life is significant in that it blurs (or, to be more exact, displaces), in a similarly ambiguous fashion, another constituent boundary of the world order—that between men and beasts.[43] Through their impiety and their misrecognition of the god, the pirates reveal their lack of humanity, while dolphins on the contrary approach towards humanity. The dolphins' sudden appearance in the extremely elliptical description of the metamorphosis, with the brief and almost dry statement that the pirates 'became dolphins' (*δελφῖνες δ' ἐγένοντο*, 53), accomplishes the dionysiac epiphany. As a simple image, it calls to mind, without further description or explicit allusion to another myth, the broader imagery of the dolphin familiar to men. The compressed image of the dolphin in the *Hymn* stirs up a dense network of other images and stories: dolphins accompanying ships, saving men from drowning, and taking them back to shore;[44] dolphins enamoured with the flute (*φίλαυλοι*)[45] and responding to the call of Arion's flute with an emotion that remains foreign to the pirates who abduct the poet;[46] or dolphins leaping in a circle around the ship like a dancing chorus.[47] Moreover, in blurring the boundary between humanity and animality, Dionysus also effects another

[43] Cf. Pi. fr. 236 SnM, quoted above n. 30.
[44] Plut. *Mor.* 984c, Ael. *NA* 12. 22, etc.; see Stebbins (1929).
[45] Pi. fr. 140b. 16–17 SnM [*δελφῖνος*] *τὸν μέν ἀκύμονος ἐν πόντου πελάγει | αὐλῶν ἐκίνησ' ἐρατὸν μέλος* ('[the dolphin] which the lovely sound of flutes inspires in the waveless sea').
[46] Hdt. 1. 23–4.
[47] See Caspo (2003), esp. 78 ff.

displacement: from coarse and savage pirates, he makes musical and benevolent beasts, whose philanthropy accords with the sweetness of the song being performed. This same sweetness is attributed to Dionysus in the final invocation of the seventh *Hymn*:

> *χαῖρε, τέκος Σεμέλης εὐώπιδος· οὐδέ πη ἔστιν*
> *σεῖό γε λῃθόμενον γλυκερὴν κοσμήσαι ἀοιδήν* (*Hy.* 7. 58–9)
>
> I salute you child of fair Semele; there is no way to adorn sweet singing while heedless of you.

It is through his auditory qualities, previously eclipsed by the intensity of the epiphanic vision, that Dionysus reveals himself to the helmsman. He is this time presented as *ἐρίβρομος* (56), 'mighty-roarer' or 'rumbler', an epithet which conveys the ambiguity of the auditory and musical world of Dionysus, which varies between the terrifying roar of the lion, the deafening racket of tympanies mixed with the shrill sounds of flutes, and the sweet and pleasurable sound produced by these same flutes when they accompany the mountain wandering of entranced bacchant women.[48] By changing the pirates into dolphins, the epiphany of the god transforms the savage cry of the lion into a dancing choir and therefore ends by celebrating the sweetness that Dionysus confers upon song.

But why, one might ask, the Tyrsenian pirates? Taking into consideration the unique aesthetic of the *Hymn*, 'Tyrsenian' is nothing more than a convenient signifier in the delocalized space of the dionysiac sea. It is polysemous and connected to various geographical locations in the Greek world.[49] One might hypothesize, in giving full value to the metamorphosis of the pirates into Dolphins, that the sea as a space for piracy is antithetical to the blissful dionysiac sea depicted with such force by Attic painters in the image of Dionysus sailing, or figuring in the motif of a voyage across the winy sea that the drug (*φάρμακον*) of wine promises to participants in the *symposion*. It is from this dionysiac sea that the god is supposed to come when he arrives by sea in the cities of men. And it is in the same sea that he finds refuge when he is pursued by his enemies.[50]

[48] See E. *Ba.* 159–65.
[49] On *Τυρσηνοί* ('Tyrsenian'), see above, note 5.
[50] See the tale of Lycurgus in *Il.* 6. 123–43.

The seventh *Homeric Hymn* to Dionysus can be analysed as a document all the more valuable for our understanding of the epiphanic figure of Dionysus when one defines more exactly its particular poetic logic. In order to do so, a double comparative study has been undertaken above: on the one hand, the poem has been compared to the other *Hymns* of the collection, taking into account the length of the narratives and the particular qualities of the deities celebrated; on the other hand, the poem has been compared to the corpus of narratives and images dealing with dionysiac epiphany. The seventh *Hymn*, or more probably the tradition that underlies it, has abstracted from the framework of the story of Dionysus' abduction a 'sketch' of dionysiac epiphanic structure. It displays this structure in a narrative-image, whose iconic force lies in the fact that it evokes virtually, in the absence of any explicit allusion, an entire dionysiac mythology. It recalls a set of narratives, categories, images, cults, and places, which are all possible resonances of dionysiac elements relevant to the audience. From a poetic point of view, the narrative is configured according to the epiphanic powers of Dionysus. We are therefore dealing not only with the *narration of the divine epiphany*, but with the *epiphanic structuring of the narrative*. In the relationship it creates between words and images, the seventh *Hymn* to Dionysus thus gives precise meaning to the statements that later tradition attributed to Simonides: 'the word is the image of things' (*ὁ λόγος τῶν πραγμάτων εἰκών ἐστιν*), 'painting is silent poetry and poetry is a talking painting' (*τὴν μὲν ζωγραφίαν ποίησιν σιωπῶσαν προσαγορεύει, τὴν δὲ ποίησιν ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν*).[51] Other versions of the myth are no less epiphanic, but by the emphasis they place upon the auditory manifestations of Dionysus, they create a different relationship between the visual and the auditory. Moreover, through the details that they supply, other versions predetermine to a greater extent the network of myths with which they resonate. Meanwhile, in the long narrative *Homeric Hymns* such dazzling epiphanic appearances as that in the seventh *Hymn* have been subsumed by the complex 'theological' rationales which order the narrative according to exact configurations of the pantheon.

[51] Simon. T 47 a–b (Campbell).

8

The *Homeric Hymn to Pan*

Oliver Thomas

The *Hymn to Pan* begins unexpectedly:

ἀμφί μοι Ἑρμείαο φίλον γόνον ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα . . . (*Hy.* 19. 1)

Tell me, Muse, of the dear son of Hermes . . .

Where is the personal name of the divinity which occurs in the first line of all the other *Homeric Hymns*, and of the hymnic proem to Hesiod's *Theogony*?[1] The indirection is not strictly ambiguous, since only one son of Hermes is a plausible subject for a hymn. Nevertheless it may, unless the original performance context created an expectation of a hymn to Pan, have required enough cogitation that the next two words—*αἰγοπόδην δικέρωτα* ('goat-footed, two-horned')—produced a cognitive 'epiphany', in a low-level mimesis of the true epiphany which is the notional goal of many Greek hymns.[2] But whether or not we identify Pan immediately, both *φίλον* ('dear') and the marked patronym prime us for the subsequent importance of Hermes' genealogical relationship with and affection for Pan.

[1] Superficially similar is *Hy.* 33. 1–3, *ἀμφὶ Διὸς κούρους ἑλικώπιδες ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι, | . . . | Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ ἀμώμητον Πολυδεύκεα*, 'Round-eyed(?) Muses, tell of *Dios kourous* . . . horse-taming Castor and blameless Polydeuces'. However, *Διὸς κοῦροι / κούρω* had crystallized from a patronymic ('the sons of Zeus') to a name in its own right ('the Dioscuri'), as its preponderance over apparent alternatives such as *Διὸς υἱώ*, *κούρω Διός* or *Διὸς . . . κούρω* shows.

[2] It is relevant to the possible confusion that Pan's father is not always Hermes. The manuscripts offer *αἰγοπόδην* in verse 2 and *αἰγιπόδην* in 37: either is possible. For epiphany as a request in cletic hymns, see e.g. Furley and Bremer (2001), i. 61.