

# PHILIKOS' HYMN TO DEMETER

## Abstract

*Early in the third century BC the poet Philikos, working in Alexandria, composed a long hymn to Demeter in an innovative metre (stichic choriambic hexameters) which he expressly addresses to fellow scholars (grammatikoi). His theme is the rape of Persephone or Kore, and her mother Demeter's grief on the occasion. An early papyrus in Florence preserves a substantial amount of text, albeit in a fragmentary state. This paper contains a new study of the surviving text, based on a new scan of the original papyrus. The mythical narrative composed by Philikos shows us Demeter wandering the earth in search of her daughter; another goddess, Aphrodite, according to my interpretation, attempts to console her by promising her new honours in the future, including the famous Eleusinian Mysteries. However, many points in the hymn's language suggest that Philikos conceived the exchange between the two goddesses as analogous to that between royal ladies. The paper suggests that the composition is to be seen within the context of Alexandrian poetry with its close connections to, and patronage by, the Ptolemaic dynasty.*

## 1. *The poem*

Philikos of Kerkyra, one of the Alexandrian Pleiad of tragic poets, composed in the third century BC a *tour de force* of a hymn in choriambic hexameters catalectic in honour of Demeter. Two lines from the beginning of the poem survive as book fragments; an early papyrus (3rd c. BC) now in the Laurentian Library in Florence preserves some sixty odd lines of the poem, of which a short section (51-62) is nearly complete. The poem appears as fr. 676-680 of *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. As might be expected from a colleague of Callimachus, Philikos' poem merges cult *arcana* with a lively narrative of an entertaining and witty character suited to an audience of *conoscenti*. The

\* My thanks go to Colin Austin and Jonas Grethlein for helpful comments on a draft of this article.

fragmentary state of preservation of the papyrus, combined with Philikos' *recherché* diction and invention, makes the sense difficult to follow, and the text hard to supplement, although the dialect is Attic. Nevertheless, I think some new suggestions can be made.

What remains of the text – and we can only guess at its original length – some two to three hundred verses, like a Callimachean hymn? – falls into several discernible narrative sections. The working premiss here is that the narrative is likely to be vaguely comparable to that of other hymns describing the abduction of Persephone/Kore and Demeter's anguished search for her: first and foremost, the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, then the second stasimon of Euripides' *Helen* which describes the search of the Mountain Mother (also called Deo) for her daughter (lines 1301-68); furthermore, a prose synopsis (with direct quotations) of another poem of 'Orphic' character describing the same myth survives in part on a Berlin papyrus<sup>1</sup>.

Lines 1-21 of fr. 680 contain words which point to Kore's abduction by Hades and Demeter's torchlit pursuit ([μῆ]τέρα παῖς, ληιστήν, λαμπάδας, ἀλύουσα[α]). In line 22 it seems that a female character starts speaking (μύθου προλαβοῦσα), and the next twenty-nine lines (23-50) seem to constitute a continuous long speech by this woman or goddess. The purpose of the speech becomes clear at the end when the speaker tells the addressee (surely Demeter herself) to 'lead Persephone under the stars', to 'raise the torches', and to 'ease that troubled brow'. There follow three lines marking a salute of the goddess by a group of women. In line 54 a new figure is introduced, Iambe of the deme Halimous, who meets the goddess and adds her voice to those of the other women who have tried to cheer her up. Unlike the goddesses and the women worshippers, Iambe announces that she will not offer the goddess cult, but will make some ribald comments as 'mirth helps in grim situations sometimes'. The papyrus breaks off just when Iambe is about to 'loose' (λύσω) something, we know not what<sup>2</sup>. In the text which follows I have tried to provide

<sup>1</sup> P. Berl. 44 = Kern (1922, no. 49). There seems a good chance that a section of Callimachus' *Aitia*, fr. 63 Pfeiffer, contained a narrative of the myth, too.

<sup>2</sup> Latte (11) believes πένθος, 'grief' is object of λύσω as well as χαλάσεις. If Iambe in this piece shares attributes with Baubo one might consider the possibility that she was about to 'loose her girdle' and expose herself (and Iakchos) to Demeter as a way of distracting her from her grief. For this action by Baubo see Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 20.3-21.1. For the compatibility of Iambe-Baubo cf. KLEDT (2004, 65 with n. 1).

supplements at the broken or rubbed edges of the papyrus fragments in order to help our understanding of the content. Of course, this method is circular: one seeks a supplement to suit the sense one hypothesizes. Finding one then seems to confirm the hypothesis. Nevertheless, all new and received supplements are printed after careful examination of a good scan of the papyrus<sup>3</sup>. Whole words within square brackets must, of necessity, be considered *exempli gratia*. The apparatus given is minimal, designed only to document the source of the supplements printed<sup>4</sup>.

## 2. Text

fr. 676

τῆι χθονίαι μυστικὰ Δήμητροί τε καὶ Φερσεφώνη καὶ Κλυμένω  
τὰ δῶρα

fr. 677

καινογράφου συνθέσεως τῆς Φιλίκου, γραμματικοί, δῶρα φέρω  
πρὸς ὑμᾶς

fr. 678

]·χρηγ[

679

]ρσ·[

]σανη·[

]Ταίναρο[ν

fr. 680

]νδε θυγατρὸς [  
μη]τέρα παῖς οὐκ [  
ἄρμ]α κατειλισσομέ[νων δρακόντων  
]που δὲ μετήλλα[ξε

<sup>3</sup> Kindly provided by Rosario Pintaudi in Florence, whom I thank heartily.

<sup>4</sup> Readers requiring full documentation of the history of the text should refer to previous publications, in particular the text and *apparatus* in *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. The abbreviations are: No = M. Norsa, *SIFC* 5, 1927, 87; Gal = C. Gallavotti, *SIFC* 9, 1931, 37; id. *PSI* XII 1282; Vo = Vogliano, Lo = Lobel *apud* Gallavotti; Kö = A. Körte, 'Der Demeter-Hymnos des Philikos', *Hermes* 66, 1931, 442-54; La = K. Latte, 'Der Demeterhymnos des Philikos', *Mus. Helv.* 11, 1954, 1-19; Pa = D.L. Page, *Greek Literary Papyri* no. 90, p. 402-407; LJP = Lloyd-Jones & Parsons (1983, nos. 678-80); Fu = this publication. On the papyrus see further Rosa Otranto in: R. Pintaudi *et al.* (edd.), *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico*, Florence 1998, 82-83 with plate II. A recent study of the hymn is Christopher G. Brown, 'Honouring the Goddess: Philikos' Hymn to Demeter', *Aegyptus* 70, 1990, 173-89.

ἀρπ]άσματα ληιστὴν ν[	5
] λαμπάδα ὕλη δ' . [	
] ὡς τε χιτῶν ἀμπ[εχόνη	
] ασα δὲ τοὺς ἔξαν[	
] τῶιδε κόρη[ . ] . ψα[	
] α τύχην οὔτε γάμ[ους	10
] . ματος εἶπειν ἀναλυ[	
] σην οὐρανὸν ἔνδε . [	
] ἀλύουσα] δροῖμου[	
] νιδαὶ τοῖαδ' ἔπη[	
] π]όδες· οὐκ εἶδ[ε]τε[	15
] ε[.]ο. ημ . . . γ[	
] ν[.]μοι τε[	
-----	
] νυ . [	
] ο χανουσ[	
σ]υμμ[ιγ]ῆ[ς] ἔρριπτο χύδ[ην	20
] μασι θερμῇ δ' ἐπέκαεν ἀ[ύγη.	
] δὲ μύθου προλαβοῦσα θ[εά...	
“ . . . ν]ικηφόρον οἰωνὸν ἔκρινον [	
] κλ]ῦθι λιτὰς μητρόθεν ἀνταδέλφους	
] ις ὁμός πλαγχνον ἔθρεψα κύπριν	25
ποθ]εινὴ γάλα σοι μητρὶ δ' ἐγὼ σύναιμος	
] μ]εγάλας κοινοπάτω λοχεύει	
] μ]εγ]άλαυχόν τε βίαν ἔτικτεν.	
] προῖσις	
] μοιριδία κτήσις, ἐμοὶ δὲ πείθειν	30
] τούτ]ου μετέχειν μηδὲ μόνημ με τοῦμόν	
] . . εἰς ἀπιθήσασα λόγοις, αἱ δὲ θεαὶ σε κ[	
γ]ὰρ ἐσ[ηγ]γέλ]μεθα τιμὴν μί' ἐγὼ σὺν Χάρ[ι]σι]ν στελο[ῦσαι.	
] διέ]σχιστο μέν, ἄλλας δὲ σὺ τιμὰς ἀνελοῦ παρ' ἡμῶν	
] α καὶ μ[ε]ί]ζονας ἀντ' οὐ μεγάλης, ἅς διελοῦσα λέξω.	
οὐδενὶ μὲν γὰρ πλέον] ἢ σοὶ δάσεται τις φίλος, ἀ<ί>ει δὲ πλέον φιλήσω, 35	
] γ ὥρασιν Ἐλευσίναδε μυστηλασίαις ἰάκων	
] τε πολλ[ῆ] πολὺν ἐγδεξαμένη τὸμ παρὰ κύμα νήστην	
] μητιμυ[ρ]ηρούς, τροφίμη, σοι λιπανοῦσ <sup>ω</sup> κλώνας	
] λ[ . ]ς δίχ[α] κρηναῖον ἐκάστης ἐν ὕδωρ ὀρισθέν	
το]ύτου δι[ιθρό]γου σοῖς προσανήσεις δακροῦσι πηγῆν	40
] κα]λεῖται βασ[ί]λεια κρήνη	
] τῶ]νδὲ λόγων τείσομεν ἔργα κρείσσω	
] πρὶ]ν ἐλέγξαι προλαβεῖν ἀπ[ί]στους	
] κλάδ]ον ἰκτῆρα φέρουσι μὲν νῦν	
] . . δε πάλιν χέονται	45
] θ]υομένην σῆι τελετὴν ἑορτῆι	
] ζηλοτύπω κρατήσαι	

ἀλλ' αἰρομένη σκ]ήπτρον ἄγου Φεσ εφόνην ὑπ' ἄστρα  
 ] . δεσιν ἡγησαμένης οὐθὲν ἐμοῦ σφαλῆσει  
 α . [ ]υ πεύκας ἀνελοῦ, λῦε βαρεῖαν ὄφρυν." 50  
 ἢ μὲν [ἔ]ληγεν, [σ]υνεφ[ή]πτοντ]ο δὲ Νύμφαι τε δικαίας Χάριτες  
 τε πειθούς,  
 πᾶς δὲ γυναικῶν ἀ[νάριθμός τε π]έριξ θ' ἔσμος ἐθώπευσε πέδον  
 μετώποις,  
 φυλλοβολῆσαι δ[ὲ] θεὰν [χερσ]ῖ[ν ἀ]γέσχον τὰ μόνα ζώφυτα  
 γῆς ἀκάροπου,  
 τὴν δὲ γεραιὰν παρ[άπ]λαγ]κτον μὲν ὀρείοις Ἀλιμοῦς ἤθεσι,  
 καιρίαν δέ,  
 ἔκ τινος ἔστειλε τύχ[η]ς. καὶ πο]τ[ε] σεμνοῖς ὁ γελοῖος λόγος  
 ἄρα κέρδη. 55  
 στᾶσα γὰρ ἐφθέγγετ[ο δὴ θ]α]ρσαλέον καὶ μέγα· "μὴ βάλλετε  
 χόρτον αἰγῶν·  
 οὐ τόδε πεινῶντι θεῶι [φά]μακον, ἀλλ' ἀμβροσία γαστροδὸς  
 ἔρεισμα λεπτῆς.  
 καὶ σὺ δὲ τῆς Ἀθτίδος, ὦ δα[ί]μον, Ἰάμβης ἐπάκουσον βραχὺ  
 μού τι κέρδος.  
 εἶμι δ' ἀπαίδευτα χέα[ι δαρ]ῶν ἀποικοῦσα λάλοξ δημότις· αἰ  
 θεαί μὲν  
 αἰδ' ἔθάν σοι κύλικας κᾶ[ι τελ]έσαι στέμματα καὶ βαπτὸν  
 ὕδω[ρ] ἐν ὕρῳ. 60  
 ἐγ δὲ γυναικῶν π[έ]λεται, ἦν, βοτάνη δῶρον ὀκνηρᾶς ἐλάφου  
 δίαιτα.  
 οὐθὲν ἐμοὶ τῶνδε [μέτεστιν] γέρας· ἀλλ' εἰ χαλάσεις π[έ]νθος  
 ἐγὼ δὲ λύσω"

Fr. 678 ante 677 Kō, La | Fr. 679 2 mentionem Taenari suspic. edd.  
 | Fr. 680 2 μ]η]τέρα Vo | 3 e.g. Fu, cf. OH 40.14 | 4  
 μετήλλαξ[ε Kō | 5 ἀρπάσματα Kō | 7 ὅς τε Kō: ]ωστο leg. al.  
 | ἀμπεχόνη Fu: ἀμπέχεται al. | 8 ἔξαν[ vel ἐξ ἀν[ | 10 γά-  
 μους Gal | 13 ἀλύουσα Gal | δρόμου Fu: δρόμοι Kō | 14  
 ἔπη Fu | 15 πόδες Gal | εἶδετε Fu: εἰδότες al. | 17 ἄνεμοι  
 Kō | 19 χανουσ[- Fu: ἔξοχα νου[ Gal | 20 συμμιγῆς La: ]  
 .μ]μ[ενο]ν vel ] .μ]μ[ασι]ν vel ] .μ (i.e. ν) μ[όνο]ν possis | χύδην  
 Gal | 21 ἀυγή Fu: ἀγρούς Gal | 22 θεά Fu | 24 κλῦθι Kō |  
 26 ποθεινὴ Fu | 28 μεγάλαυχον Gal | 29 πᾶσις corr. Lobel:  
 πρᾶσις s.l. Π | 30 τούτου Kō | 31 ἀπιθήσασα Kō | σ' vel σε  
 LJP | γ' ἐκάστη Gal: σ' LJP | 32 ἐσηγγέλεμεθα Fu |  
 στελοῦσαι Fu: στεν[ουσα LJP in app. | 33 διέσχιστο μὲν Fu: ]  
 αἴσιον al. | 34 μείζονας Vo | 35 in. Fu | δάσεται LJP (in  
 app. | α<ι>εἰ No | 36 ὥρασιν Gal | 38 μυρηρούς LJP |  
 39 δίχα Thierfelder | 40 τούτου διθρόνου Fu | 41 καλεῖται Vo  
 | 42 τῶνδε e.g. LJP in app. | 43 in. Fu | 44 κλάδον No | 46  
 θυομένην Fu | 47 ζηλοτύπῳ No | 48 ἀλλ' αἰρομένη Fu |

σκήπτρον Kō | 51 συνεφήπτοντο Fu: προσεπέυχοντο Gal | 52  
 ἀνάριθμός τε Fu | 53 χερσὶν Fu, ἀνέσχον Gal | 54 παρά-  
 πλαγκτον Stoneman | 55 καὶ ποτε Fu: al. al. | 56 θαρσαλέον  
 Gal | βάλλετε Vo: βαλλετο Π | 57 φάρμακον No | 58 δαί-  
 μον Powell, Pohlenz | Ιαμβας Π | 59 εἶμι...χέα[ι πολλὸν] La  
 | δαρὸν Fu | 60 αἶδ' ἔθεσάν σοι LJP in *app.*: θεασσοι ut vid. Π  
 | καὶ τελέσαι Fu | στέμματα No, Gal | καὶ βαπτὸν Gal |  
 61 πέλεται Vo | ἦν Fu | 62 μέτεστιν Vo | χαλάσεις πένθος  
 Gal: χαλάσει sens. intrans. La

### 3. Translation

To Chthonic Demeter, Persephone and Klymenos mystic gifts...  
 gifts in a new style of composition by Philikos, I bring you, scholars...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...Tainaron  
 ...  
 ... of the daughter...  
 ... the child [did] not [...] the mother...  
 ... chariot of writhing snakes...  
 ... [she] changed...  
 ... the robber [took] his plunderings... 5  
 ...wood [provided] torches...  
 ... like a garment her wrap...  
 ...  
 ... the maiden ...  
 ... neither her fate nor marriage... 10  
 ... to speak ...  
 ... heaven ...  
 ... exerting herself in pursuit...  
 ... the following words...  
 "... her feet. Did you not see... ? 15  
 ...  
 ... to me..."  
 - - - - -  
 ...  
 ... gaping...  
 ... all together was thrown down in heaps... 20  
 ... and the hot beam burned down.  
 ... the goddess began to speak:  
 "... I judged a sign of victory.  
 ... listen to sisterly pleas on the mother's side.  
 ... I have nurtured a love related by blood 25







and characteristic attribute of Aphrodite – her beauty and charm have a beguiling quality<sup>8</sup>. The speaker here is twice attributed with the power of persuasion (29 ἐμοὶ δὲ πείθειν and 51 δικαίας πειθοῦς).

Lines 24-28 contain some genealogical information about the speaker's kinship with Demeter, but its interpretation is far from simple<sup>9</sup>. First, the pleas of the speaker are said to be 'sisterly on the mother's side' (24 λιτὰς μητρὸθεν ἀνταδέλφους). This suits Aphrodite's relation to Demeter assuming, with at least one authoritative genealogy, that their respective mothers, Dione and Rhea, were sister Titans<sup>10</sup>. In line 25 the speaker says that she 'nurtured a *homosplanchnon* love (ὁμόσπλαγχνον ἔθρεψα κύπριν), which means literally 'of the same inner organs'. LSJ gloss the word as = ὁμογάστριος, 'of the same womb, born of the same mother', but the only other poetic instance of the word in Aeschylus *Septem* 890 seems to mean 'brotherly' (of Eteokles and Polyneikes). In this passage it is less the shared mother (or womb) which is emphasized but rather the father, Oedipus, who cursed his children. It seems to me then that Philikos' use of ὁμόσπλαγχνος here may mean 'of the same mother', or indeed 'of the same father'. Of course, if we write Κύπριν and take this as the goddess's name, the speaker must be claiming to be Aphrodite's mother (hence Page's suggestion that Dione is the speaker). But the epithet ὁμόσπλαγχνον does not sit easily with 'I gave birth to Kypris' (what other way of having a baby is there but ὁμόσπλαγχνον?) and κύπριν with a small k can mean simply 'love' or 'love-child'. On my theory, Aphrodite is talking about a child whom she carried in her womb and gave birth to after a love union, a reference to Aineias, perhaps, whom she bore when Zeus made her fall in love with Anchises<sup>11</sup>.

Then in the next line we hear of a 'wet-nurse (γάλα) for you, whilst I am a blood-relative of your mother'<sup>12</sup>. The second part of the

8 Hera, for example, borrows her *kestos* when she wants to win Zeus round in *Il.* 14.

9 LJP: '24-28 stemmatica quaedam: sed omnia ambigua'.

10 See, for example, [Diodoros] *Bibl.* 1.2 τεκνοῖ δὲ (sc. Ouranos) ἀθις ἐκ Γῆς παῖδας ... θυγατέρας δὲ τὰς κληθείσας Τιτανίδας, Τηθὺν Πέαν Θέμιν Μνημοσύνην Φοίβην Διώνην θεῖαν. Accounts of Aphrodite's birth vary, of course. The *Iliad* makes her Dione's daughter, but Hesiod's *Theogony* gives the 'etymologizing' version of her birth from the froth around Ouranos' severed genitals in the sea. A contemporary of Philikos, Poseidippos, refers to Aphrodite as Dione's daughter as a matter of course (*ep.* 114.19 AB); Theocr. *Idyll* 15.106 Κύπρι Διωνάια.

11 The story is told in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*.

12 The sense 'wet-nurse' for γάλα is attested in a single passage: Callimachus, *Ep.* 50.1 Pfeiffer.

statement can be accommodated to my theory that Aphrodite is referring to her mother Dione, who is indeed related to Demeter's mother Rhea. But the first part – γάλα σοι – is most puzzling as we do not know who Demeter's nurse was. In line 38 the speaker addresses Demeter as τροφίμη, 'mistress', which, if in the vocative case, might indicate that the speaker is the nurse of Demeter, her mistress. This seems to accord with γάλα σοι in 26, if taken as 'I am your nurse'. But a number of doubts arise. τροφίμη might be dative, with σοι, meaning 'they will adorn branches for you, their mistress'<sup>13</sup>; τροφίμος can have an 'active' sense as well, of one who 'nurtures'. The worshippers of Demeter may bring her branches (of myrtle or perhaps olive) as the nurturing goddess who gives plants succour. There remains the mythological problem that we will be hard pressed to find a divinity who is both related to Demeter's mother and at the same time her nurse.

In line 27 the speaker says that the 'common father' (κοινοπάτωρ), who can only be Zeus, 'begets' somebody or something (fem. pl.) 'great', or 'big' (μεγάλας). λοχεύει is usually said of women 'giving birth' to children, occasionally of the man who fathers the child<sup>14</sup>. If we have the same subject in 27 as in 28 (ἔτικτεν), λοχεύει in 27 might be taken metaphorically, 'cause', 'engender', as a man can hardly be said to 'give birth to Force' in a literal sense. In 28 we do not know whether this is Βίαν, the god, or simply a case of abstract 'force', qualified by μεγάλαυχον, 'haughty', 'high-handed'. If I am right that Aphrodite is speaking, she is referring (a) to Zeus' engendering of Persephone by Demeter and (b) to Aphrodite's son Aineias, whom Zeus forced upon her, as it were, through Anchises. The reference to μεγάλαυχος βία, 'boastful force', is on the one hand to the forceful abduction of Kore by Hades, sanctioned by his brother Zeus, and, on the other, to the humiliation inflicted on Aphrodite by Zeus in her union with the mortal Anchises. The name Aineias refers to her pain incurred by the degrading pregnancy.

I do not claim that the genealogical hints given in these lines amount to a watertight case. The strongest indication, in my view, that Aphrodite is speaking is her association with Peitho, and the Charites who support her petition. In lines 29-47 she outlines the ho-

<sup>13</sup> Although the omission of iota adscriptum would be unusual in this papyrus.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. *Orph. Arg.* 136.

nours she and the Charites have been charged with delivering (32 ἐσηγγέλμεθα ... στελοῦσαι) to Demeter to compensate her for the abduction of Kore. She begins by stating the honours which have already been parcelled out between the Olympian goddesses, Aphrodite and Demeter included. She then says that she and the Charites will confer additional honours on Demeter (32-34). She promises to be a good friend to Demeter in the future. She then enumerates (34 διελοῦσα λέξω) the cult honours which Demeter will receive: the great procession of Mystai to Eleusis with cries of 'Iakchos' (36); line 37 seems also to refer to the procession of Mystai along the shore to Eleusis where they will break their fast (37 νήστιν). Line 38 seems to refer to anointed branches of some plant which worshippers will devote to her. We know on the one hand of the bundles of myrtle-sprigs which initiates of Eleusis carried<sup>15</sup>, on the other, of pine branches which women at the Thesmophoria brought for Demeter and Kore<sup>16</sup>. The reference cannot be to the *eiresione*, as that was an element of Apolline worship. Finally we hear of 'streams of water, separately belonging to each' (39). This seems to be a reference to the twin salt streams at Eleusis called Rheitoi which were sacred to Demeter and Kore<sup>17</sup>. Beside this 'shared seat' of cult (40 διθρόνου), the speaker promises, one spring, or well (40 πηγῆν), will flow with Demeter's own tears. One might equate this with the 'Maiden's Well' beside which Demeter sat in mourning when she arrived in Eleusis in the *Homeric Hymn* (99). In 44 we seem to return to the theme of the suppliant branch, and line 46 contains a general reference to Demeter's mystery cult (46 τελετήν).

Lines 47-50 contain the speaker's peroration: she should put 'jealousy' aside (ζηλοτύπωι κρατῆσαι) and lead Persephone back from the underworld into the starlight. The speaker promises to be her guide. The goddess should raise her torch and throw off her mournful expression.

15 See Blech (1982, 282-3). Unfortunately Blech does not comment on the present passage, referring only to Latte (1954). LJP's supplement μυρήρους seems the only satisfactory suggestion to date; one would be happy to read μυρρίνους, 'of myrtle', but this is ruled out by metre. One wonders whether Philikos meant μυρήρους, 'perfumed', in the sense μυρρίνους, 'of myrtle' (an aromatic plant).

16 Σ Lukian *Dial. mer.* 2.1 line 18 Rabe κώνου θαλλούς, cf. Kleid (2004, 124). There was also a custom that suppliants could place (olive?) branches on the altar of the Athenian Eleusinion. See Andok. *de myst.* 110 with MacDowell's commentary.

17 Thus Latte (16) and LJP. Thuc. 2.19.2; Paus. 1.38.1; Hesych. and Phot. s.v.

Lines 51-62 are refreshingly complete and the supplements of the central gap in each line stand a better than average chance of combining sense with extant ink traces. Lines 51 to 53 describe the sequel to Aphrodite's great exhortation. The Nymphs and Graces join in the persuasive effort in a kind of exhortatory epode, and the assembled crowd of women bow down so that their foreheads touch the ground, an Oriental type of *proskynesis*. It seems they pick up what vegetation is at hand on the ground with a view to throwing this on Demeter's head in token of respectful submission (φυλλοβολῆσαι). As Körte points out, the scene recurs in the salute of Attic women of the victorious Theseus in Callimachus' *Hekale*<sup>18</sup>.

Lines 54-62 (the last extant section of the poem) describe the appearance of Iambe from the Attic deme of Halimous to join in the salutation and persuasion of Demeter. She is cast, as in the *Homeric Hymn*, as a buffoon type whose jesting candour contributes to Demeter's change of heart. She comes hurrying along, huffing and puffing as she nearly lost her way on the mountain paths, but still arrives just in time. The poet comments that 'there is a place for joking even in solemn matters' (55). One feels a meta-poetic sense here. Philikos may be referring to the joking tone of his composition on the solemn subject of Demeter's mourning. Iambe then launches into a bold and outspoken declamation (56). She seems to pour scorn on the women's gesture of *phyllobolia*, as 'goat's fodder' (56) is hardly a suitable remedy for a fasting goddess, whose sensitive stomach requires ambrosia (57). She exhorts Demeter to listen to a word of wisdom from an old Attic woman who has lived all too long among rough country folk (59). She proceeds to belittle the gifts already bestowed on the goddess by the goddesses present (Aphrodite, the Nymphs and Graces) and the women: the former have granted Demeter 'cups' (apparently a reference to the Eleusinian *kykeon*) of honour, wreaths and water, whilst the women have given her grass, food of the shy deer (60-61). Iambe abjures such honours and promises something else: 'If you relent in your mourning and I loose...' but here the text breaks off.

The diction and setting of the poem are decidedly Attic. Philikos, from Doric Kerkyra, chooses the Attic dialect to suit a mythical narrative set in Attica. His target audience, however, is likely to have been Alexandrian. As Ewen Bowie has pointed out, his knowledge of

<sup>18</sup> See below.

Attic topography is decidedly faulty<sup>19</sup>. Halimous is on the coast, not in the mountains, and Iambe is unlikely to have lost her way on mountain tracks while walking from Halimous to Eleusis. Philikos was one of the Alexandrian Pleiad of tragedians (some eight names are known), a third century contemporary of the literary stars of that milieu, Callimachus, Theokritos, Poseidippos and others<sup>20</sup>. A suburb of Alexandria was called Eleusis, but there is controversy over whether 'Eleusinian' mysteries were celebrated there<sup>21</sup>. Nevertheless, the cult of Demeter was championed by the Ptolemies. Philikos' poem is likely to have relevance to the religious programme of the Ptolemies. In particular we note that a series of Ptolemaic queens beginning with Berenike I were accorded the cult title of 'Aphrodite'<sup>22</sup>. The conversation between Aphrodite and Demeter in Philikos' poem may have had connotations for relations between the leading ladies of the Ptolemaic dynasty. We note the complex genealogical ties which the speaker enumerates in opening her diplomacy with Demeter. We note the mention of a 'royal spring' (41 βασιλεια κρήνη) which seems to go beyond what we know of 'Demeter's Well' in Eleusis. The speaker promises a lasting alliance with Demeter in the future, too (35). The address *trophime* suits particularly well the dynastic relation between one individual taking a subservient position in relation to a 'mistress'. Perhaps her reference to 'envy' and 'overcoming' in line 47 can be understood within the same context of court rivalries. We know that Callimachus, Theocritus and Poseidippos, for example, offered praise of their queens in their works<sup>23</sup>. We should be aware, in

19 In a paper delivered at the Lampeter conference on Greek hymns in May 2009 which Bowie kindly made available to me prior to publication.

20 See Fraser (1972, 619).

21 See Fraser (1972, 200-201); Hopkinson (1984, 32-39) largely follows Fraser in doubting the existence of Alexandrian 'Mysteries', although the evidence for a cultural *panegyris* at Eleusis is solid enough. See further below.

22 See the articles on Berenike and Arsinoe in *Neuer Pauly* by W. Ameling and note 4 below.

23 Theocritus 15, for example, contains wondrous praise of the Adonis-festival organized by Arsinoe in 274 BC. Poseidippos composed a number of epigrams on the victories in chariot races of the Ptolemaic dynasty, including Berenike I (87 AB), Berenike II (78, 79 [cf. Callimachus *SH* 254-69], 88); *ep.* 119 celebrates the shrine of Aphrodite-Arsinoe (τῆς Φιλαδέλφου Κύπριδος); *ep.* 114 the nuptials of Arsinoe II, in the company of/assisted by (line 19) the daughter of Dione; *ep.* 113 describes the Nymphaion dedicated to Berenike II (see below). An interesting passage for comparison is also Callimachus, *Hymn to Delos* (IV) 218-239, in which Iris addresses Hera in a fawning, subservient manner. One is reminded of

my opinion, of this possible plane of reference in Philikos' composition. If one of the Ptolemaic queens inaugurated a festival of Demeter (perhaps the Thesmophoria rather than Mysteria) in Alexandria, Philikos' piece would recommend itself admirably as an occasional piece celebrating the event.

Having said this, it is worth revisiting sections of the text to see whether the hypothesis of a Ptolemaic 'sub-text' in Philikos' composition can be taken further. Let us first sketch the historical background in greater detail<sup>24</sup>. What we know of Philikos' *floruit* points to the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (285-246 BC). The Suda says that he 'was' (γεγονώς) during the reign of that regent, which presumably does not mean he was born then, but rather was conspicuously active and prominent in this period. As we have seen, he is named among the 'Pleiad' of famous tragic poets of this age, although only a handful of titles of his works survive. Kallixeinos (*ap.* Athen. V 198C) says that he led the band of Dionysian Artists (*technitai*) at the Royal Procession in Alexandria datable to the seventies of the third century<sup>25</sup>. Assuming that he was an established writer by then, perhaps forty years old, we could date his birth tentatively to approximately 315 BC. We do not know when he came to Egypt from his birthplace of Kerkyra. If he was still a young man, twenty, say, then he arrived in Alexandria around 295 BC, during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter; II Philadelphos became co-regent in 285.

Ptolemy I Soter had married the daughter of Antipater, Eurydike (his second wife) in 321. Antipater sent her to Ptolemy together with Berenike, who was in fact her aunt, being the grand niece of Antipater on her mother's side. Not many years passed (317) before Ptolemy took Berenike to wife *too*, it seems. Since both women had children by Ptolemy after this year, there seems to have been a period of 'joint' queenship, with both women sharing the dynast's favours. The decisive sign of preference for Berenike seems to have been the decision to choose her son Ptolemaios (to become II Philadelphos) as heir to the throne before Eurydike's own son Ptolemaios Keraunos. Eury-

a subject kowtowing to a monarch. On the subject generally see A. Couat, *Hellenistic Poetry under the Three First Ptolemies, 324-222 BC*, (Engl. trans.) London 1931.

<sup>24</sup> The information here derives mainly from Stoessl's article on Philiskos (4) in *RE* XIX<sup>2</sup>, the articles on the Ptolemies and their wives by W. Ameling in *Neuer Pauly* s.vv., and Fraser (1972, 619, 650-52).

<sup>25</sup> Stoessl in *RE* XIX<sup>2</sup> s.v. Philiskos, dates this to 275/4 BC.

dike only departed Egypt in 286 BC, when she sought protection from Demetrios. We must assume that from 317 until 286 both women with their several children were resident in the royal court of Alexandria, vying for the regent's favour. Two further facts need to be considered before returning to the literary text. Theocritus makes it clear that Arsinoe, Berenike's daughter and the next Ptolemaic queen, celebrated in her mother's honour a festival of Aphrodite and Adonis in her palace (*Idyll* 15). Arsinoe acknowledges thereby that Aphrodite had taken care of Berenike's deification and had favoured her in her lifetime (*ibid.* 106-8). There was, as we know, a tendency to assimilate the Ptolemaic queen in cult with Aphrodite, and, to an extent, Isis<sup>26</sup>. We know, furthermore, that Ptolemy Soter had supported the cult of Demeter in Alexandria. A suburb of the city was called Eleusis after the Attic town, which hosted, according to Satyros, a panegyris with musical and perhaps dramatic competitions. The Alexandrian Thesmophorion was also a major temple in the city, close to the palace. The major cults of Olympians favoured by the Ptolemies seem to have been (in this order): Dionysos, Aphrodite and Demeter<sup>27</sup>.

Let us, as an hypothesis, imagine that Philikos cast his 'Aphrodite' in the poem in the role of Berenike with Demeter, the scorned mother goddess roaming the world, as Eurydike. We have already seen that Aphrodite is the most likely identification for the speaker of the long paraenetic speech to Demeter, both because of her attendants, the Charites, and mythical precedent, especially in the version used by Euripides in the *Helen*. The genealogical references in lines 24-28 now acquire new significance. First, the roles generally have a bearing on this constellation of queenly roles in the Ptolemaic house. Aphrodite (Berenike) becomes the favoured incumbent, enjoying the company of Nymphs and Graces, whilst Demeter (Eurydike) is the dishonoured queen who has fallen from favour of Father Zeus (Ptolemy) and whose children have been passed over in favour of the rival's. Demeter, searching the world for her daughter who has been raped by the Underworld god with Zeus' consent is an evocative image of Eurydike's putative status in this period. We might add that Eurydike is

<sup>26</sup> Note Poseidippos *Ep.* 141 AB in which a statue of Aphrodite is said to bear an uncanny resemblance to Berenike. Powell (1925, pp. 82-84) is a hymnic composition to 'Arsinoe-Aphrodite'. Arsinoe II in her lifetime received divine honours through assimilation with Aphrodite Euploia, 'of good sailing', and Zephyritis, 'of the West Wind'.

<sup>27</sup> See Fraser (1972, 194-201) with notes.

a likely candidate to act the role of a chthonic deity (the hymn is for Demeter Chthonia) as her mythical namesake was famous for the descent to the Underworld.

When ‘Aphrodite’ says that her appeal to Demeter comes as ‘sisterly pleas on the mother’s side’, that is not strictly accurate according to my hypothesis: Berenike is in fact Eurydike’s aunt on her mother’s side, but perhaps the correspondence is close enough<sup>28</sup>. When Aphrodite says that she has ‘raised a love from the same belly’ (ὁμόσπλαγγνον) we can see, on my hypothesis, that she is alluding to the birth of a child by the same father as in the case of the addressee: Berenike has born a ‘same-seeded’ child to that of Eurydike. Both women have borne children to Ptolemy. In line twenty-six the speaker says (on a plausible reading of the half-line) that she has been ‘nurse’ to the addressee – just as Berenike was in fact a kind of lady-in-waiting to Eurydike when they arrived at Ptolemy’s court. Her statement that she is μητρὶ σύνουμος can be taken in two ways: either that she ‘related to her mother’ (which does not seem strictly true for Berenike) or ‘related through the mother’ which is true of Berenike’s blood tie with Eurydike.

Next comes the statement that ‘the joint father engenders great [...]’ This statement seems well adapted to an allusion to Ptolemy’s joint fatherhood of children by both women. Finally, the reference to ‘high-handed Force’, whilst undefined in context, might allude to the rift which Ptolemy’s double marriage has caused at court, or even to the violence which he is in the process of doing to Eurydike and her children, whom he has spurned. Generally, we could see Aphrodite’s speech as an attempt to restore harmony in the disturbed court relations. Her appeal to Demeter to rescue Phersephone from the Underworld and, with her guidance, to lead her back to the stars, could be taken as an offer of reconciliation to a deeply disenchanted ex-queen.

The piece as a whole would have served admirably as a competition piece for the Alexandrian *panegyris* at Eleusis, where, as Fraser (1972, 200-01) says, references or reenactments of the Eleusinian myth might be thought extremely apposite, even if actual Mysteries on Eleusinian lines were not celebrated there. One might ask whether Philikos would have dared this *poème à clef* when the situation (two

<sup>28</sup> αὐτανέψιος or similar is not a word!



queens with sons as rival contenders for the throne) was still acute, or whether he might have staged the drama at a later date, when it was becoming a historical memory at Alexandria. One might at least posit that he wrote the piece after Eurydike had left Alexandria – and Ptolemy II become co-regent – as it was only then that her status really matched that of ‘wandering Demeter’.

If I am right in this rather bold speculation about Philikos’ ulterior purpose in reworking the Eleusinian myth in this way, it shows an Alexandrian poet again tying in court life with traditional poetic forms, as in the case of Theocritus’ fifteenth and seventeenth idyll and, indeed, Callimachus’ hymns. I think we should not be too surprised if Philikos’ piece had relevance, or, perhaps we should say, gained piquancy, through allusions to the Ptolemaic dynasty. The Royals were, after all, becoming the local gods and were the centre of all Alexandrians’ orbit. Reading the genealogical clues given by the first speaker in Philikos’ hymn in this way in fact explains their extended and riddling quality. If Aphrodite (and only Aphrodite) is speaking to Demeter, her lengthy account of their family relations is puzzling, bizarre even. But when we realize that the poet is playing a teasing game of *double-entendre* not only the sense but also the aesthetic *raison* of the lines becomes apparent.

Some further details of the text gain significance in the light of this hypothesis. In line 38 the address τροφίμη, which has puzzled commentators, corresponds to the relations which Berenike and Eurydike originally had. Berenike seems to have played the role of older chaperone to Eurydike when the women arrived in Alexandria. Eurydike was the ‘young mistress’ (*trofime* in New Comedy) when she was betrothed to Ptolemy and chaperoned by Berenike. Their roles changed, of course, when Berenike gained the affection, and eventually the hand, of Ptolemy and became his favoured spouse, mother of the heir apparent. In this address, in which the speaker, adopting a subservient position to win the addressee’s sympathy, the respectful address ‘mistress’ is part of the persuasive strategy and corresponds to the original relations between the women, on my hypothesis.

In line 41 I have already drawn attention to the expression ‘royal fountain’ (βασίλεια κρήνη) which is not identifiable in the Eleusinian sanctuary. In the *Homeric Hymn* the well at which Demeter sits in mourning is called the ‘Maiden’s Well’ (99 Παρθένιον φρέατος); other sources refer to the Kallichoron Well, a reflection perhaps of cult

dances there<sup>29</sup>. The expression in Philikos, however, successfully combines, in my opinion, a reference to this feature of the Eleusinian myth with a promise that the queen will be given a 'royal fountain'. An epigram of Poseidippos celebrates the building of a Nymphaion, with spring, for (?) Berenike II<sup>30</sup>. I suggest, along similar lines, that there may have been a 'Royal Fountain', or Nymphaion, dedicated to Eurydike, to which Philikos alludes.

The jealousy mentioned in line 47 suits well the general context of rivalry between royal wives which I am positing, but the precise sense cannot be determined in this truncated line<sup>31</sup>.

In line 48, the reference to the 'sceptre' as well as to a return to 'the stars' suits the hypothesis of royal prerogatives. One might note that the usual expression for a return from the Underworld would be 'to the light of day'; 'stars' are unusual. When we recall, however, the deification of members of the Ptolemaic family after death, combined with the idea that they take their place in the firmament as a constellation of stars, the expression gains greater significance. Berenike in the subtext may be promising the spurned Eurydike, together with her daughter (representative perhaps of her children generally), a place in heaven as is her right as a legitimate member of the dynasty.

Several commentators on the hymn have remarked that the *phyllobolia* in line 53 is an unusual salutation for a goddess, being more usual for triumphant athletes or heroes after performing a great feat. Theseus, for example, receives this accolade in Callimachus' *Hekale* after defeating the Marathonian bull<sup>32</sup>. Perikles received similar spontaneous decoration by women with crowns and *tainia* after his speech for the fallen at Samos in 439 BC<sup>33</sup>. If we consider Demeter's hypothetical *alter-ego* in the Ptolemaic dynasty, however, the *phyllobolia* may be seen to suit a returning queen receiving homage from her jubilant subjects much better.

29 Latte (17): 'Ich vermag nur einen schwachen Hinweis zu finden, dass Βασίλεια etwas mit Eleusis zu tun hatte'. But his reference to Arcadian Basilis, a village which apparently had a temple of Demeter Eleusinia (Paus. 8.29.5), does not get us very far.

30 *Ep.* 113 AB, with their note. Lines 13-14 of the poem refers to 'Arsinoe amid the Nymphs throughout the year' – an expression which chimes with my hypothesis here of Berenike surrounded by Nymphs and Graces.

31 Latte (17) refers this to Hades' jealousy if Persephone is removed to the upper world.

32 Fr. 260.11-15 Pfeiffer. On the *phyllobolia* generally see Eratosthenes *FGrHist* 241 F 14, with Blech (1982, 112-13, 154).

33 Plutarch, *Perikles* 28.

Finally, the possibility of playful allusion in Philikos' text is reinforced, in my opinion, by Iambe's appearance. She introduces a moment of comic relief after the solemn matter of Olympian (dynastic) family politics. She distances herself from the gifts which the goddesses and other women have already given Demeter in an attempt to pacify her heart, and chooses instead to utter some 'unpolished' or perhaps 'ribald' truths (59 ἀπαίδευτα). She is 'commenting' on the mythical drama as it has unfolded up to this point from the vantage point of a humble Attic bystander. She is well-suited to the role of conveying meta-poetic reflections on the story as told. The uncouth, but canny figure of Iambe, one feels, is sent bustling onto the scene by the poet to announce another dimension to the divine drama. Iambe 'reinterprets' the divine myth, a process which encourages the reader to do the same and not to take the narrative at face value. Philikos has cast Iambe in a particularly sympathetic light; her sly intervention surely reflects the poet's own clever reinterpretation of the myth<sup>34</sup>.

##### 5. *Select notes on the text*

14-15 Reading τοῖαδ' ἔπη in 14 facilitates the onset of direct speech required by the question οὐκ εἴδ[ε]τε...; in 15. Somebody is formulating a question, probably Demeter ('didn't you see which way my daughter went?') as in the *Homeric Hymn*. The previous mention of 'feet' might be to tracks left by Kore's abductor, or to the (slender?) feet of Kore herself.

19 ]ο χανουσ[, perhaps the ground 'gaping' in the well known mythical chasm through which Hades emerged and returned with his captured bride. Cf. *HHDem.* 16 χάνε δὲ χθών.

20 σ]υμμ[υ]ῆ[ς], 'mixed up', 'thrown together'. Latte (12) imagines that 'withered plants' are being 'thrown down indiscriminately in quantities' ([ἀνθραμον...συ]μμ[υ]ῆ[ς] ἔρριπτο χύδ[ην μαρανθέν). There is scant room between the second mu and the epsilon of ἔρριπτο for four letters, but iota, epsilon and sigma can be quite narrow in

<sup>34</sup> Several scholars have commented on the successful humour of this section: e.g. Fraser (1972, 651) writes: 'the humorous element is not unsuccessful' in this 'confessed literary exercise'. Latte (19): 'Es dürfte nicht nur an dem Erhaltungszustand liegen, dass der Humor der derben Iambereide das beste in dem Gedicht ist'.

this hand, whilst gamma is usually wide. A supplement with only three letters would be preferable but I cannot find one (κρόμμυον hardly suits). Otherwise one might consider a participial ending e.g. -μμενον, or wonder whether the first mu has been assimilated from nu (e.g. ]ν μ[όνον]) as in lines 30 and 37. We do not know what is being ‘thrown in piles’. Plants are only one possibility. In [Hesiod] fr. 30.21 MW all the buildings in Salmoneus’ kingdom are thrown to the ground when Zeus unleashes his anger.

21 α[ύγή, ‘ray’, or perhaps ἀκτίς. Others have accepted Gallavotti’s ἀγοούς, believing that heat and drought are causing the crops to wither as a result of Demeter’s anger. This is indeed a possibility but we need a noun with θερμή, which may come at the end of the line.

22 θ[εά. The abruptness of the beginning of this speech coming, it seems, after a vivid description of disaster on earth, indicates that the arrival and identity of the speaker had been clearly flagged at an earlier stage. The ink trace after λαβοῦσα could be part of many letters, but a section of the arc of theta, sigma or omikron (ruled out, because we need a consonant here) seems to me most likely.

26 ποθ]εινή, ‘desirable’, cf. Theocr. 15.104 said of the Horai who associate with Aphrodite and Adonis and, in context, Arsinoe.

29 Latte 5 argues convincingly against Lobel’s ingenious correction πᾶσις, ‘acquisition’, of supralinear πρᾶσις. On the other hand, πρᾶσις should mean ‘sale’, which does not give any sense either in context or as a gloss of κτήσις. Perhaps the scribe who wrote πρᾶσις (in a different hand) really intended πᾶσις as gloss, but Latte’s objections to πασις for dialectic reasons (Boeotian, not found in Attic) seem decisive.

32 ἐσ[ηγ]γέ[λ]μεθα...στ[ε]λ[ο]ῦ[σαι], ‘we have been announced as going to deliver’ = ‘it has been announced that we will deliver’. Long trial and error produces a form which combines the near-certain α-ρ-ε-ς at line beginning with faint traces of γ-ε-λ before the clear ending μεθα. The speaker (Aphrodite, in my view) states her business, accompanied by the Graces: ‘we are charged with’, ‘our message is...’ Körte was thinking along the same lines with ἐστάλμεθα, but the supplement is substantially too short. For the sense of εἰσαγγέλλω, ‘go in and announce’ (a person) see LSJ s.v. A poetic instance (active = ‘announce’) is found in Eur. *Ba.* 173. For the construction, perfect with future participle, cf. Xen. *Hipparch.* 4.8 ὅς περ ἦν ἥξοντες εἰσηγγελέμενοι ὄσιν οἱ πολέμιοι.

33 διέ]σχιστο, 'was/were sundered', 'split up', said perhaps of the division of honours/regions among the gods and goddesses, as illustrated by e.g. Hesiod *Theog.* 410-52 (Hekate), the Epidaurian Hymn to the Mother of the Gods (Furley & Bremer no. 6.2). Previous editors read αισιον but the alpha cannot be right, in my opinion, because it lacks a cross-bar and the ink does not appear rubbed in this place. I take it as the bottom half of chi. What was taken as iota is, in my opinion, the downstroke of tau (a hole in the papyrus has removed the cross-bar). Final nu is, in my opinion, mu, as the curve of the connecting stroke is visible. So: σχιστο μ. For the metaphorical sense of διασχίζω cf. Chariton *de Chaer. et Call.* 6.1.2.

40 δ[ιθρό]νου, 'twin-throned', as an epithet referring to the cult of τῶ θεῷ at Eleusis. The word occurs otherwise only in Aesch. *Ag.* 43-44 (διθρόνου καὶ δισκήπτρου τιμῆς) and 109 of the 'twin-throned' rule of the Atreidai, with Aristophanes' parody in *Frogs* 1284.

46 θ]υομένην, 'celebrated', in the extended sense of θύω recorded by LSJ s.v. I 4.

51 [σ]υνεφ[ή]πτοντ]ο, 'joined in with', 'were party to'. We need a consonant after nu of ἔληγεν to make position. The next letter is represented by a descender which could be iota, rho or upsilon. Then a gap with a minimal trace, room for only one letter before what might be pi or a combination of two letters. I take the traces as a somewhat depleted epsilon (on the left) and (on the right) the left half of phi. What one needs is a verb which covers the sense 'and the Nymphs and Charites chimed in (sc. 'after she had stopped')', and makes sense of the genitive δικαίας πειθοῦς. I do not feel that we can take this genitive as an epithet of the Nymphs or Graces. There is no such thing as 'Nymphs of just Persuasion'. Nor is a vague 'genitive of respect' satisfactory: 'in the matter of just persuasion'. Presumably Gallavotti's προσεπέυχοντο relies on this use of the genitive. The letter traces do not, in my opinion, suit π-ρ-ο-σ-ε even though LJP say that Gallavotti's conjecture is 'possibly right'. The trace after putative rho cannot be omikron. Where Gallavotti seeks epsilon, there is no trace of the middle horizontal, which would have to be visible in some form, for the surface is not damaged at precisely this point. By trial and error I have arrived at συνεφήπτοντο, which makes good sense of the genitive object ('took up jointly the just persuasion' or 'chimed in with') and fits the letter traces. There are several parallels in prose for συνεφάπτομαι with a genitive object ('lay hands on

jointly', LSJ s.v.); a poetic parallel for the metaphorical sense 'join in' is found in Pindar, *Ol.* 10.97, but here with a dative object (σπουδηι) dependent on the συν- prefix. Other contenders for the position, προσεπέυχοντο (Gallavotti) or προσελίσσοντο (Latte) are – as Latte acknowledges – unparalleled.

52 θ' ἔσμοδος or θεσμοδος? The sense of ἔσμοδος, 'swarm', 'assembly', is easier than θεσμοδος, which, despite Aeschylus *Eum.* 615 (where the Council of the Areopagos is addressed as *thesmos*) and Latte's defence (5), requires an unlikely extension of the usual meaning 'law', 'edict', 'rite' or (even) 'institution' (LSJ s.v. II). Of course θεσμοδος reminds one of the women's Thesmophoria festival and Hesychius' explanation θεσμοί· αἱ συνθέσεις τῶν ξύλων gives one pause for thought: could these 'bundles of wood' be the *bakchoi* carried by initiates of the Eleusinian cult (cf. Blech (1982, 282-83) 'Zweigbündel' sc. of myrtle sprigs)? In the present line, however, the sense must be 'assembly' (of women) and for that ἔσμοδος is semantically preferable. We hear of ἔσμοι of women elsewhere in Aristoph. *Lys.* 353 and of *technitai* in Apollo's Delphic cult in Limenios' paian (Furley and Bremer no. 2.6.1 line 15, and (a likely supplement) in no. 2.6.2 line 19). Printing ἔσμοδος, however, with θ' before, means that another descriptive word must be found for the gap before it. I think ἀ[νάρθιμος τε] fits the gap reasonably well.

55 ἄρα κέρδη (II) or ἄρ' ἀκεροδή<ς> (Norsa, Lobel)? Another difficult choice. ἄρα can mean 'so' (Latte 7 with examples from tragedy) and the plural κέρδη, 'gains', 'profits' (LSJ) does not seem impossible grammatically (*pace* Latte). Conversely, if the copyist had intended ἀκεροδής one wonders why he omitted sigma; he cannot have imagined that a feminine ending -η was required after λόγος.

59 δαρόν, 'all too long'. Attic tragedy only uses the Doric form δαρόν whilst δηρόν is regular in epic (LSJ s.v.). Since, as Latte (2-5) admonishes, Philikos' poetic diction follows Attic tragedy, I suggest this supplement in its Doric vocalization.

60 αἶδ' ἔθεσαν, 'they established' (Lloyd-Jones/Parsons), seems to me the only plausible suggestion to date to provide a verb for this sentence. In the previous line Gallavotti's αἶδε<σ>αἶ με{ν}, even if accepted, does not solve the problem of the missing verb in 60. Something is wrong at the end of 59 and the beginning of 60. It seems that the copyist corrected delta to theta at the end of 59: αἶ[[δ]]θεαίμεν and there is another correction at the beginning of line 60 which I

read as αιδεθεα[[ι]]σσοι. I wondered about θεᾶι, 'do you see?' or θέασα, 'look!', but it is hard to make sense of the rest of the line then. In particular ]. σσαι after the gap cannot be supplemented as καὶ as the horizontal stroke before a-i cannot belong to a rubbed kappa. I can only make sense of that letter as the top horizontal line of sigma. Before the break in the papyrus, the tops of two letters can be seen, most plausible κ-α or κ-λ. My καὶ before τελέσαι is a little awkward but not impossible I think: 'These goddesses established the cult of devoting cups to you and crowns and water'. Latte (9 and 17) remarks on the unusual word order ('künstliche Verschränkungen der Wortstellung') at some points in the hymn, attributable, in Latte's opinion, to the constraints of the unusual metre; his examples are τι in 58 and μέν at the end of 59.

καὶ βαπτὸν ὕδω[ρ] ἐν ὕρῳ. LJP say that καμβαπτον does not fill the available space, but I do not agree. True, iota is narrower than mu in their preference for καμβαπτον but what 'new adjective' is this? Neither ἄμβαπτον, 'not dipped' (?), nor ἔμβαπτον, 'dipped in' (?), occur. But, if βαπτὸν, what is 'water dipped in (= drawn from) water'? Whilst Iambe may indeed be making fun of this 'gift' for Demeter, pointing out that it is not worth much, one feels that the expression cannot be totally tautological. Perhaps ἐν ὕρῳ = 'in salt water', although Latte (10) says that ὕρῳν = sea is a Homerism. One finds Diogenes of Oenoanda using ὕδωρ = sea, in fr. 72 col. ii line 9; cf. D. Clay, 'Sailing to Lampsacus: Diogenes of Oenoanda, New Fragment 7', *GRBS* 14, 1973, 49-59. If ὕρῳν in Philikos = 'sea water', we can make the link with the salt water flowing in the Rheitoi streams at Eleusis (lines 39-40). Pausanias tells us that only the Eleusinian priests can use this water: Iambe's reference here seems to be to libations from these streams, sacred to the goddess.

62 μέτεστιν (Vogliano), although an impersonal construction, can be followed by a nominative indicating what thing is (or is not) a concern to someone (LSJ s.v.). That does not seem to be the case with μελήσει (Lloyd-Jones/Parsons).

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