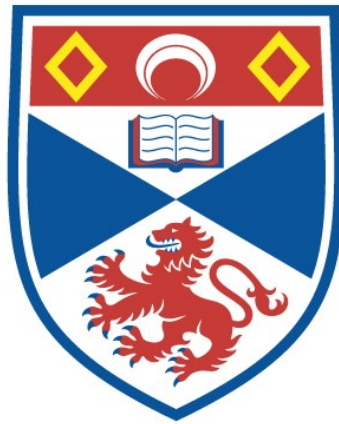


# PHILETAS OF COS : THE POETICAL FRAGMENTS

Konstantin Spanoudakis

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
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**Των γονιών μου**

## A B S T R A C T

The greatest impediment in our effort to reconstruct the history of Greek literature of the 4th c. B.C. is the almost complete loss of important poets such as Antimachus of Colophon, a loss which leaves us in the dark as to the conditions that led to the 3rd c. B.C. renaissance. In the times around 300 B.C. leading figures were active in the SE Aegean, the most prominent of whom was Philetas of Cos. Ptolemy I entrusted him with the tutorship of his son Ptolemy II. Philetas was highly esteemed by his compatriots who honoured him with a statue, and by the avant-garde among Hellenistic poets including Callimachus and Theocritus. He wrote hexameters (*Hermes*), narrative elegy (*Demeter*), *Epigrams* and *Paegnia* and perhaps a *Telephus*. His *Ataktoi Glossai*, the first ever collection of recondite dialect vocables, became instantly renowned. But his poetry did not survive long and is now almost entirely lost: no more than 50 lines survive along with 31 second hand entries of his *Atakta* mainly from Athenaeus. These were last published and studied by G. Kuchenmüller in a Berlin 1928 thesis written in Latin, a work nowadays not easily accessible.

This new approach to the scanty poetical remains of Philetas brings the study of this key figure up to date, takes into consideration material published since the twenties (including two fragments, three important testimonies, Hellenistic fragments which have become available from papyri, verse-inscriptions and inscriptions from Cos). Evidence from various sources is adduced to reconstruct Philetas' poems (particularly his "Coan" *Demeter*, to which most of the surviving fragments are attributed) and the key epigram fr. 27 is newly interpreted to show Philetas a Callimachean before Callimachus. A detailed commentary elucidates the wide range of Philetas' sources of inspiration and the largely neglected influence of his work, often followed up to Imperial times. A list of *Alleged Testimonia* and another of *Alleged Ascriptions* are provided to discuss pseudo-Philetan references and material.

## DECLARATIONS

(i) I, Konstantin Spanoudakis, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 160.000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date 26/10/96 signature of candidate

(ii) I was admitted as a research student in September 1993 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in September 1994; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1993 and 1996

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(iii) I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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## P R E F A C E

Research for this edition and commentary on the poetical fragments of Philetas of Cos commenced in October 1993. The bulk of it was carried out in St Andrews. I also had access to the University Library in Crete and for a short period to the Bodleian and Ashmolean Libraries in Oxford.

I would like to express my thanks to the *Boudouris Foundation* in Athens for a scholarship during my first year in Scotland and to the *School of Greek, Latin and Ancient History* in St Andrews for an annual Award and a grant towards the expenses of a short stay in Oxford. I am grateful to different people who provided help with comments, dispatch of copies of books and articles which were not easily accessible, and encouragement. Notably to Prof. Th. Stephanopoulos (Patras), Mrs E. Craik and Dr S. Philippo (St Andrews), Prof. Od. Tsagarakis (Crete), Dr J. Lightfoot and Dr P. Mackridge (Oxford), Mr J. von Oehsen (Münster) and Mr K. Zamayias from the *Coan Cultural Society "Philetas"*. My friend Gonçalo Cabrita offered valuable assistance with computer-work. The example of my teacher *par excellence* in Crete, the late Jean Kambitsis, has never ceased to be a source of inspiration. My examiners, Prof. S. Halliwell (St Andrews) and Mr A. S. Hollis (Oxford) made numerous improvements and suggestions. Above all I owe gratitude to Dr Malcolm Campbell. His knowledge of epic poetry and his readiness to share it with others are remarkable. He encouraged me to work on Philetas, supervised my research at all stages and was never tired to answer queries, lend items from his exceptional depository of rare books and articles and contribute with ideas. My *Philetas* is indebted to his *Commentary on Apollonius Rhodius Argonautica III 1-471*, which in many respects functioned as an unrivalled prototype.

The thesis is dedicated to Leonidas and Epistimi, my parents: without their support none of this would have been possible.

St Andrews, October 1996.



## ABBREVIATIONS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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#### I. Editions of *Philetas*.

These (except Weber) are referred to by the name of the editor alone. References to *Atakfoi Glossai* follow the general numeration of Kuchenmüller (K.).

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W. E. Weber, *Die elegische Dichter der Hellenen*, Frankfurt 1826.

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J. A. Hartung, *Die griechischen Elegiker* II, Leipzig 1859.

Powell [see A.II CA].

A. Nowacki, *Philetæ Coi fragmenta poetica*, Diss. Münster 1927.

G. Kuchenmüller, *Philetæ Coi reliquiae*, Diss. Berlin 1928.

E. Diehl, *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* II fasc. 6, Leipzig 21942.

G-P [see A.II HE].

Ll-J - P. J. Parsons [see A.II SH].

#### II. Collections of Texts.

Hesychius  $\alpha$ - $\theta$  is cited according to the numeration of K. Latte (Copenhagen 1953/1966), Photius *Lexicon*  $\alpha$ - $\delta$  according to the numeration of Chr. Theodoridis (Berlin-N.Y. 1982-) and Suda according to that of A. Adler (Leipzig 1928-1938). The Orphic *Hymns* are sourced from the edition of W. Quandt (Berlin 31962), the *Anacreontea* from that of M. L. West (Leipzig 21993). The *Etymologicum Magnum* (EM) and Apollonius Sophista *Lexicon Homericum* are quoted according to page and line from Th. Gaisford's (Oxford 1848) and I. Bekker's (Berlin 1833) editions. In the references to inscriptions the location is stated only when it makes a point.

AVI            W. Peek (ed.), *Attische Versinschriften*, Leipzig 1980.

CA             J. U. Powell (ed.), *Collectanea Alexandrina*, Oxford 1925.

CEG           P. A. Hansen (ed.), *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*, Berlin-N.Y. 1983-.

- CGFP** C. Austin (ed.), *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris reperta*, Berlin-N.Y. 1973.
- CPG** E. L. von Leutsch - F. G. Schneidewin (edd.), *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, Göttingen 1839-1851, with Suppl. L. Cohn, al. (edd.), Hildesheim 1961.
- D-K** H. Diels - W. Kranz (edd.), *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin 41952.
- EG** :-Kaibel G. Kaibel (ed.), *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta*, Berlin 1878.
- EGF** M. Davies (ed.), *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Göttingen 1988.
- FGE** D. L. Page (ed.), *Further Greek Epigrams*, Cambridge 1981.
- FGH** F. Jacoby (ed.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin-Leiden 1923-.
- GDRK** E. Heitsch (ed.), *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Göttingen 21963/1964.
- GES** J. Ebert (ed.), *Griechische Epigramme auf Sieger an gymnischen und hippischen Agonen*, Leipzig 1972.
- GPh** G-P (edd.), *The Garland of Philip and some contemporary Epigrams*, Cambridge 1968.
- GVI** W. Peek (ed.), *Griechische Versinschriften I: Grabepigramme*, Berlin 1955.
- GVIKI** W. Peek (ed.), *Griechische Versinschriften aus Kleinasien*, Vienna 1980.
- GVICyr** W. Peek (ed.), *Griechische Versinschriften aus der Cyrenaica und Mauritaniien und Numidien*, Berlin 1972.
- HE** G-P (edd.), *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams*, Cambridge 1965.
- HG** R. Herzog (ed.), *Heilige Gesetze von Kos*, Berlin 1928.
- IdC** M. Segre (ed.), *Inscrizioni di Cos*, Rome 1993.
- IEG** M. L. West (ed.), *Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, Oxford 21989/21992.
- IMEG** E. Bernand (ed.), *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*, Paris 1969.
- LSCG** F. Sokolowski (ed.), *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris 1969.
- LSS** Supplement to the above (Paris 1962).
- LSAM** F. Sokolowski (ed.), *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955.
- OrphF** O. Kern (ed.), *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Berlin 1922.
- PCG** K-A (edd.), *Poetae Comici Graeci*, Berlin-N.Y. 1983-.

- PEG* A. Bernabé (ed.), *Poetae Epici Graeci*, Leipzig 1987-.
- PGR* A. Giannini (ed.), *Paradoxographorum Graecorum reliquiae*, Milan 1966.
- PMG* D. L. Page (ed.), *Poetae Melici Graeci*, Oxford 1962.
- PMGF* M. Davies (ed.), *Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Oxford 1991-.
- P-W* H. W. Parke - D. E. W. Wormell (edd.), *The Delphic Oracle II: The Oracular Responses*, Oxford 1956.
- SEG* H. W. Pleket, R. S. Stoud, al. (edd.), *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, new series, Amsterdam 1976/7-.
- SH* Ll-J - P. J. Parsons (edd.), *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin-N.Y. 1983.
- SLG* D. L. Page (ed.), *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, Oxford 1974.
- Suppl. Mag.* R. W. Daniel - F. Maltomini (edd.), *Supplementum Magicum*, Cologne-Opladen 1990.
- TrGF* B. Snell, al. (edd.), *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Göttingen 1971 (<sup>2</sup>1986)-.

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This section includes only collections of fragments of poets, references to which are not indicated ad hoc.

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## B. Modern Works.

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In the following, dates of publication of the separate volumes are inserted only in the cases of *RE*, *RE Suppl.* and *RAC*.

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- ANRW* H. Temporini - W. Haase (edd.), *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, Berlin-N.Y. 1972-.
- B-P* C. D. Buck - W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives*, Chicago 1945.
- Chantraine P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1968-1980.
- id. *GH* P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*, Paris 1958/1963.
- Denniston  
*GP* J. D. Denniston, *Greek Particles*, Oxford <sup>2</sup>1954.
- DGE* F. R. Adrados, al. (edd.), *Diccionario Griego-Español*, Madrid 1980-.
- Ebeling H. Ebeling (ed.), *Lexicon Homericum*, Leipzig 1880/1885.
- K-G* R. Kühner - B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache II: Satzlehre*, Hanover-Leipzig 1898/1904.
- KIP* K. Ziegler - W. Sontheimer (edd.), *Der Kleine Pauly: Lexikon der Antike*, Stuttgart 1964-1975.
- KWH* H. H. Schmitt - E. Vogt (edd.), *Kleines Wörterbuch des Hellenismus*, Wiesbaden <sup>2</sup>1993.

- LFrE* B. Snell, H. Erbse, al. (edd.), *Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos*, Göttingen 1955-.
- LIMC* H. C. Ackermann - J. R. Gisler (edd.), *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zurich 1981-.
- LSJ* H. G. Liddell - R. Scott - H. S. Jones (edd.), *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 91940.
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- 3OCD* S. Hornblower - A. Spawforth (edd.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 31996.
- OLD* P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1982.
- RAC* Th. Klauser, al. (edd.), *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum*, Stuttgart 1950-.
- RE* G. Wissowa, al. (edd.), *Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart-Munich 1893-1978.
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## II. Abbreviations of names of authors or editors.

- A-H-S T. W. Allen - W. R. Halliday - E. E. Sikes
- F-G E. Fernández-Galiano
- G-P A. S. F. Gow - D. L. Page
- K-A R. Kassel - C. Austin
- Ll-J H. Lloyd-Jones
- N-H R. G. M. Nisbet - M. Hubbard
- P-H W. R. Paton - E. L. Hicks
- Sh-W S. Sherwin-White
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| Osborne                 | S. E. Alcock - R. Osborne (edd.), <i>Placing the Gods</i> , Oxford 1994.   |
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C. *Other Abbreviations.*

Abbreviations of periodicals are identical (with rare, easily recognisable exceptions) to *L'année philologique*. Abbreviations of authors are either identical to or more explicit than those employed in *LSJ* (or *OLD*). "Theogn." comprises both Theognis and the *Theognidea*. All dates are B.C. unless otherwise specified.

|               |   |         |                                   |
|---------------|---|---------|-----------------------------------|
| ad fin.       | ad finem  | *       | same sedes in the verse           |
| ad loc.       | ad locum  |         | or etymological root of a         |
| al.           | alii or aliter  |         | word.                             |
| c.            | century/circa   | x       | occurrences                       |
| ca            | circa   | =       | recurring verse or                |
| cl.           | collato   |         | phrase                            |
| ex.           | exeunte   | ~       | comparable or almost              |
| <i>HH</i>     | Homeric Hymn  |         | identical verses or               |
| id(d).        | idem  |         | passages                          |
| ibid.         | ibidem  | ..      | one word omitted                  |
| in.           | ineunte   | ...     | two or more words                 |
| l.c. (ll.cc.) | loco citato/citeriore<br>(locis citatis/citerioribus) | / ... / | omitted<br>one verse or more than |
| l.l.          | loco laudato  |         | one sentence of a prose-          |
| m.            | mid-  |         | text omitted                      |
| MS(S)         | Manuscript(s)   | [...]   | two or more verses or             |
| op.c.         | opere citato  |         | substantial portion of a          |
| op.s.         | opere sequenti  |         | prose text omitted                |
| Ph.           | Philetas  |         |                                   |
| q.v.          | quo/quem vide   |         |                                   |
| v.l.          | varia lectio  |         |                                   |
| vel sim.      | vel similiter/similia                                 |         |                                   |



## TESTIMONIA

## 1. Suda φ 332

Φιλίτας, Κῶος, υἱὸς Τηλέφου, ὦν ἐπὶ τε Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, γραμματικὸς κριτικός· ὃς ἰσχνῶθεις ἐκ τοῦ ζητεῖν τὸν καλούμενον ψευδόμενον λόγον ἀπέθανεν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ διδάσκαλος τοῦ δευτέρου Πτολεμαίου. ἔγραψεν ἐπιγράμματα, καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἄλλα.

1 Φιλίτας vario accentu codd., cf. T. 14 2 γραμματικὸς <καὶ> κριτικός Tourp cl. ε 359 ἰσχνῶθεις <ἐκ τοῦ ζητεῖν καὶ διώκειν ἀκίχητα> marg. add. M post gl. V

## 2. Hermesian. CA 7.75-8

Οἴσθα δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀοιδόν, ὃν Εὐρυπύλου πολιῆται  
 Κῶοι χάλκειον θῆκαν ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ  
 Βιττίδα μολπάζοντα θοήν, περὶ πάντα Φιλίταν  
 ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυόμενον λαλιήν.

2 θῆκαν A : στήσαν Hecker 3 Βιττίδα A : Βαττίδα Scaliger Φιλίταν A : Φιλιτᾶν epit., Musurus 4 ῥύόμενον A : corr. Hermann

3. Posid. (?). An epigram from the mummy-case papyrus is on a statue of Philetas (spelt Φιλίτας) "in no way heroic but very much in life", erected in the "house of Ptolemy" (Philadelphus?). The text has not been published yet. (Information communicated by A. S. Hollis)

## 4. Strato PCG 1.40-6 (Athen. 9.382bf. + PCair. 65445 s. a.C. III ex.)

ἔθυεν, ἔλεγεν ἕτερα μυρία  
 ποιμαῦθι' ἄ, μὰ τὴν Γῆν, οὐδὲ εἰς συνῆκεν ἄν,  
 μίστυλλα, μοίρας, δίπτυχ', ὀβελούς· ὥστ' ἔδει

4 τὰ τοῦ Φιλίτα λαμβάνοντα βιβλία  
σκοπεῖν ἕκαστον τί δύναται τῶν ῥημάτων.  
ἀλλ' ἰκέτευον αὐτὸν ἤδη μεταβαλῶν  
ἀνθρωπίνως λαλεῖν τι.

1 ετερα μυρια Pap. : ὄστε με A 4 τα του Φιλιτα .. βυβλια Pap. : τῶν τοῦ φιлта ... βιβλίων A 5  
εκαστον Pap. (coniecerat Cobet) : -α A τῶν ῥημάτων A : τωμβυβλιων Pap. 6 αλλ ικετευον Pap. :  
πλήν ἰκετεύω γ' A μεταβαλων Pap. : -εῖν A 7 τι Pap. : τε A

### 5. Theoc. 7.39-41

οὐ γάρ πω κατ' ἐμὸν νόον οὔτε τὸν ἐσθλόν  
Σικελίδαν νίκημι τὸν ἐκ Σάμῳ οὔτε Φιλήταν  
αἰείδων, βάτραχος δὲ ποτ' ἀκρίδας ὥς τις ἐρίσδω.

2 Φιληταν vario accentu codd.

### 6. Call. fr. 532

τῷ ἴκελον τὸ γράμμα τὸ Κῶϊον

### 7a. Call. fr. 1.9-12

..... ] γὰρ ἔην [ὀλ]ιγόστιχος· ἀλλὰ καθέλει  
.... πολὺ τὴν μακρὴν ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρο[ς·  
τοῖν δὲ] δυοῖν Μίμνερος ὅτι γλυκύς, αἰ κατὰ λεπτόν  
.....] ἡ μεγάλη δ' οὐκ ἐδίδαξε γυνή.

1 ἡ μὲν δὴ] Pfeiffer : Κῶος δὴ] Puelma : Κῶος - ἡ] γὰρ ἔην C. W. Müller : ρεην Pap., "fort. γὰρ ἔην"  
Lobel 2 θεῶν Hollis, Matthews (sed v. id. 45) : δρῶν Housman : γραῶν Gallavotti, Milne, Maas : ναῶν  
Smotrytch (νηῶν iam coniecerat A. Vogliano apud J. G. Milne, *JEA* 17 (1931), 118) : Κῶν Vitelli  
("brevius spatium" Pfeiffer, sed cf. Parsons apud Hollis (1978), 402 n. 1) : δὴ Cameron 3 init. suppl.  
Housman fin. suppl. e Schol. Lond. 11 (coniecerat Rostagni) 4 ῥήσιες] Rostagni : Κῶαι] Puelma

7b. Schol. Florentina on Call. fr. 1.9-12 (PSI 1219 s. p.C. II, p. 3 Pf.)

παρα]τίθεται τε ἐν σ(υγ)κρίσει τὰ ὀλίγων στί-  
 χ(ων) ὄν]τ(α) ποιήματα Μιμνέρμου τοῦ Κο-  
 λοφω]νίου καὶ Φιλ{ε}ίτα τοῦ Κόου βελτ{ε}ίονα  
 τ(ῶν) πολ]υστίχων αὐτ(ῶ)ν φάσκων εἶναι[.....

3 Φιλειτατ' Pap. 4 αὐτ pap. : αὐτ(ῶν) edd. : αὐτὰ Pohlenz, sed v. *SH* 675, K. MacNamee, *BASP* 19 (1982), 83-6

cf. Schol. Lond. on vv. 9-12 (p. 3 Pf.)

ἦτοι πολὺ καθέλκει ἦ τ(ήν) πολὺ μακρ(ήν) |  
 ἐδίδαξαν αἱ κατὰ λεπτ(όν) | οὐκ ἐδίδ(αξεν) ἦ  
 μεγάλ(η) | λέγει ὅτι γλυκ(ύς) ὁ Μίμνερος |

8. Crates *HE* 1

Χοιρίλος Ἀντιμάχου πολὺ λείπεται, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν  
 Χοιρίλον Εὐφορίων εἶχε διὰ στόματος,  
 καὶ κατόγλωσσ' ἐπόει τὰ ποιήματα, καὶ τὰ Φιλήτα  
 ἀτρεκέως ἦδει· καὶ γὰρ Ὀμηρικὸς ἦν.

3 φίλιτρα P (caret Pl.) : corr. Dobree (Φιλητᾶ) : Φιλίτα Nowacki : φίλητρα Brunck

9. Antig. [Car.] *Mirab.* 19 (*PGR* p. 42, v. fr. 20)

(bugonia) ᾧ καὶ φαίνεται Φιλίτας προσέχειν, ἱκανῶς ὦν περίεργος.

10. Schol. A on *Il.* 1.524 (I.142 Erbse)

Ἀρίσταρχος ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Φιλιτᾶν προφέρεται

cf. Schol. A on *Il.* 2.111 (I.202 Erbse) ἐν γοῦν τῷ πρὸς Φιλίταν συγγράμματι etc.

11. Strabo 14.2.19 (de Cois illustribus narrans)

οὗτός τε [sc. Hippocrates] δὴ ἐστὶ τῶν ἐνδόξων Κῶος ἀνὴρ καὶ Σίμος ὁ ἰατρός, Φιλίτας τε ποιητὴς ἄμα καὶ κριτικός, καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς Νικίας ὁ καὶ τυραννήσας Κῶων etc.

Φιλίτας Π et codd., cf. fr. 8

12a. Marg. Schol. Theoc. 7.40 in POxy. 2064 s. p.C. II (in A. S. Hunt - J. Johnson, *Two Theocritus Papyri*, London 1930, 8, cf. P. J. Parsons (1983) on POxy. 3548, H. Maehler *La philologie grecque*, 101-2, Dubia 3)

Φιλητας π]οιητὴς ἐγέν[ετο  
μητρο]ς δ(ε) Εὐκτιόνης [  
θανο]ῦσαν ἔθαψεν [  
]

omnia suppl. edd. prr. "In the second line πατρος μεν Τηλεφου may well have preceded, if μητρο]ς δ(ε) Ευκτιόνης is rightly restored" idd.

12b. Schol. Theoc. 7.40f (89.21-2 Wendel)

Φιλητᾶς Κῶος τὸ γένος, ὡς δέ τινες Ῥόδιος, υἱὸς Τηλέφου. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ποιητὴς.

cf. Schol. id. 7.40g (90.1-2 Wendel) ὁ Φιλητᾶς Κῶος ἦν ἢ ὡς ἔνιοι Ῥόδιος ποιητὴς, υἱὸς Τηλέφου.

2 ποιητὴς ἄριστος U 3 Φιλητὴς codd.

13. Schol. Theoc. 7.5-9k (79.20-80.3 Wendel)

Βούριναν : κρήνην λέγει τῆς Κῶ. Φιλητᾶς' [fr. 20]. Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ Κῶος ὑπομνηματίζων φησί· "Βούρινα πηγὴ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἐστίν, ἧς τὸ πρόσωπον βοὸς ῥινὶ παραπλήσιον".

cf. *ibid.* ο (81.24-5 Wendel) Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ Κῶος ὑπομνηματίζων Βούριναν τὴν κρήνην καλεῖ etc.

1 Φιλητᾶς G : Φιλιτᾶς LEAT

#### 14. Vita Theoc. (1.9-11 Wendel)

ἀκουστῆς δὲ γέγονε [sc. Theoc.] Φιλητᾶ καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδου, ὧν μνημονεύει [7.40]. ἤκμασε δὲ κατὰ Πτολεμαῖον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Λάγου.

*ita fere Anecd. Estense* (9.10-2 Wendel)

2 post ἐπικληθέντα <Φιλιάδελφον τὸν Πτολεμαίου τοῦ ἐπικληθέντος> *inserere voluit Ahrens* Λαγῶν, Λάγων *codd.* : *corr. Dindorf*

#### 15. Suda ζ 74

Ζηνόδοτος, Ἐφέσιος, ἐποποιὸς καὶ γραμματικός, μαθητὴς Φιλητᾶ, ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου γεγωναὶ τοῦ πρώτου, ὃς καὶ πρῶτος τῶν Ὀμήρου διορθωτῆς ἐγένετο καὶ τῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ βιβλιοθηκῶν προὔστη καὶ τοὺς παῖδας Πτολεμαίου ἐπαίδευσεν.

#### 16. Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 3 (35.13-9 Crugnola, cf. *Hermesian. CA* 12)

ὁ Ἑρμησιάναξ οὗτος φίλος τῷ Φιλητᾶ καὶ γνώριμος ἦν. Τούτῳ τὰ Περσικά γέγραπται, καὶ τὰ εἰς Λεόντιον τὴν ἐρωμένην. Οὐ δύναται δὲ Νίκανδρος μνημονεύειν τούτου διὰ τῆς προσφωνήσεως, διὰ τὸ τὸν Φιλητᾶν πρεσβύτερον εἶναι Νικάνδρου, καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Νίκανδρος μέμνηται τοῦ Ἑρμησιάνακτος ὡς πρεσβυτέρου ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐκ Κολοφῶνος ποιητῶν.

1 Φιλητᾶ Lp : Φιλιτᾶ G : Φιλητῆ β 4 Φιλητῆν β

17. Vita Arati II (11.5-7 Martin)

{έν} τοῖς χρόνοις δὲ ἐγένετο [sc. Arat.] κατὰ Φιλάδελφον τὸν βασιλέα, συνήκμαζε δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Αἰτωλῷ καὶ Φιλητῷ καὶ Διονυσίῳ τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ..., οὗ καθηγῆσατο τὰ μαθηματικά ὁ Ἄρατος.

cf. Vita Arati IV (19.7-8 Martin) συνήκμασε δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Αἰτωλῷ καὶ Καλλιμάχῳ καὶ Μενάνδρῳ καὶ Φιλητῷ.

5 Φιλητῷ plur. : Φιλιτῷ S

18a. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 319b11-4 (V.158 Henry)

Λέγει δε [sc. Proclus de elegia] καὶ ἀριστεῦσαι τῷ μέτρῳ Καλλῖνόν τε τὸν Ἐφέσιον καὶ Μίμνερμον τὸν Κολοφώνιον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Τηλέφου Φιλήταν τὸν Κῶνον καὶ Καλλίμαχον τὸν Βάττου· Κυρηναῖος οὗτος δ' ἦν.

cf. Phot. *Bibl.* p. 114b20 (II.157 Henry) (inter poetas a Stobaeo libro IV florilectos) Ὑψαῖος, Φιλήτας, Φιλόξενος, Φιλιππίδης.

3 Φιλήταν B : Φιλήταν A : Φιλήτα M

18b. *Canones Byzantini*, Tab. M, *Poetae Elegiaci* (in O. Kroenert, *Canonesne poetarum scriptorum artificum per antiquitatem fuerunt?*, Königsberg 1897, 6)

Ἐλεγειοποιηταὶ δ'. Καλλῖνος, Μίμνερμος, Φιλήτας, Καλλίμαχος.

Cf. Tab. C (in Kroenert, op.c., 13) and cod. N (add. H. Rabe, *RhM* 65 (1910), 342) Ἐλεγείων ποιηταί· Καλλῖνος, Μίμνερμος, Φιλήτας, Καλλίμαχος.

18c. Tzetzes Schol. Lyc. (3.15-6 Scheer)

Ἐλεγείων δὲ ποιηταὶ Καλλίμαχος, Μίμνερμος, Φιλητῶς.

## 19. Quint. 10.1.58

tunc et elegiam vacabit in manus sumere, cuius princeps habetur Callimachus, secundas confessione plurimorum Philetas occupavit.

2 Philetas, Philatas, Phileta codd.

20. Plut. *an seni sit gerenda res publica* 15, p. 791e

ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ Πρόδικον τὸν σοφιστὴν ἢ Φιλῆταν τὸν ποιητὴν ἀξιῶν πολιτεύεσθαι, νέους μὲν ἰσχνοὺς δὲ καὶ νοσῶδεις καὶ τὰ πολλὰ κλινοπετεῖς δι' ἄρρωστίαν ὄντας, ἀβέλτερός ἐστιν, οὕτως ὁ κωλύων ἄρχειν καὶ στρατηγεῖν τοιούτους γέροντας οἶος etc.

## 21. Athen. 9.401e

καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος ἔφη· αἰεὶ ποτε σύ, ὦ Οὐλιανέ, οὐδενὸς μεταλαμβάνειν εἴωθας τῶν παρασκευαζομένων πρὶν μαθεῖν εἰ ἢ χρῆσις μὴ εἶη τῶν ὀνομάτων παλαιά. κινδυνεύεις οὖν ποτε διὰ ταύτας τὰς φροντίδας ὥσπερ ὁ Κῶος Φιλίτας ζητῶν τὸν καλούμενον ψευδολόγον τῶν λόγων ὁμοίως ἐκείνῳ διαλυθῆναι. ἰσχνὸς γὰρ πάνυ τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὰς ζητήσεις γενόμενος ἀπέθανεν, ὡς τὸ πρὸ τοῦ μνημείου αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα δηλοῖ·

ξεῖνε, Φιλίτας εἰμί. λόγων ὁ ψευδόμενός με  
ᾤλεσε καὶ νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἐσπέριοι.

4 φιλιτάς A : φιλητάς C ψευδολόγον codd. : ψευδόμενον Herwerden

22a. Ael. *VH* 10.6

Ἐκωφοδοῦντο εἰς λεπτότητα Σαννυρίων ὁ κωμωδίας ποιητῆς καὶ Μέλητος ὁ τραγωδίας ποιητῆς καὶ Κινησίας κυκλίων χορῶν καὶ Φιλητᾶς ποιητῆς ἑξαμέτρων.

2 ποιητῆς del. Hercher 3 ἑξαμέτρων codd. : πενταμέτρων Ruhnken, probante Meineke 351

## 22b. Ael. VH 9.14

Φιλητᾶν λέγουσι τὸν Κῶον λεπτότατον γενέσθαι τὸ σῶμα. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν ἀνατραπῆναι ῥάδιος ἦν ἐκ πάσης προφάσεως, μολίβου, φασί, πεποιημένα εἶχεν ἐν τοῖς ὑποδήμασι πέλματα, ἵνα μὴ ἀνατρέπῃται ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων, εἴ ποτε σκληροὶ κατέπνεον.

## 22c. Athen. 12.552b

λεπτότερος δ' ἦν καὶ Φιλίτας ὁ Κῶος ποιητής, ὃς καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἰσχύνητα σφαίρας ἐκ μολύβου πεποιημένας εἶχε περὶ τῷ πόδε, ὡς μὴ ὑπὸ ἀνέμου ἀνατραπεῖη.

1 Φιλίτας A : Φιλήτας E

## 23a. Prop. 2.34.29-32

aut quid ferechti tibi prosunt carmina lecta?  
 nil iuvat in magno vester amore senex.  
 tu satius memorem Musis imitere Philitan  
 et non inflati somnia Callimachi.

1 erechti *N* : crethei *plurr.* : erēc(h)th(a)ei (= Aeschlyli) *V2 in marg., Vo, alii alia* 3 satius *suspectum* : potius *Schrader* memorem *musis N, P corr.* : musis memorem *cert.* : Meropem *Musis Jacob* : Cererem *Musis Stroh* : "locus vexatissimus, mea sententia prorsus deperditus" *Fideli* Philitan *plurr.* : Philita *NL* : Filita *F* : Philitae *Santem*

## 23b. Prop. 3.1.1-6

Callimachi Manes et Coi sacra Philitae,  
 in vestrum, quaeso, me sinite ire nemus.

.....  
<sup>5</sup> dicite, quo pariter carmen tenuastis in antro?  
 quove pede ingressi? quamque bibistis aquam?

1 Philitae *plurr.* : Philetae *N*



## 23c. Prop. 3.3.47-52

'quippe coronatos alienum ad limen amantis  
 nocturnaeque canes ebria signa fugae  
 ut per te clausas sciat excantare puellas,  
 qui volet austeros arte ferire viros.'  
 talia Calliope, lymphisque a fonte petitis  
 ora Philitea nostra rigavit aqua.

2 Philitea *plurr.* : Philetea L, Vo, *dett.*

## 23d. Prop. 3.9.43-6

inter Callimachi sat erit placuisse libellos  
 et cecinisse modis, Coe poeta, tuis.  
 haec urant pueros, haec urant scripta puellas,  
 meque deum clament et mihi sacra ferant!

2 dure *codd.* : Coe Beroaldus : Dore Scriverius : pure Scaliger : docte Foster 3 curant *bis codd.* :  
*corr. dett.*

## 23e. Prop. 4.6.3-4

cera Philiteis certet Romana corymbis  
 et Cyrenaeas urna ministret aquas.

1 philippeis *codd.* : Philetaeis *Volscus*

24a. Ov. *Ars Am.* 3.329-330

sit tibi Callimachi, sit Coi nota poetae,  
 sit quoque vinosi Teia Musa senis

24b. Ov. *Rem. Am.* 759-760

Callimachum fugito, non est inimicus amori;  
 et cum Callimacho tu quoque, Coe, noces.

24c. *Ov. Tristia* 1.6.1-2

Nec tantum Clario Lyde dilecta poetae  
 nec tantum Coa Battis amata suo est,  
 pectoribus quantum tu nostris, uxor, inhaeres,  
 digna minus misero, non meliore viro.

1 lyde *F* : lide *nonnulli* 2 battis *F* : batis *M* : bactis *D* : baccis *GT* : Bittis *Merkel*

24d. *Ov. Ex Ponto* 3.1.57-8

nec te nesciri patitur mea pagina, qua non  
 inferius Coa Battide nomen habes.

1 coa battide *s* : coabit tibi de *A* : coa pithyde *C* : coa batide *le* : choa bachide *ebi* : Coa Bittide  
*Merkel*

25. *Stat. Silv.* 1.2.252-5

hunc ipse Coo plaudente Philetas  
 Callimachusque senex Umbroque Propertius antro  
 ambissent laudare diem, nec tristis in ipsis  
 Naso Tomis divesque foco lucente Tibullus.

1 Philetas *plurr.* : Philytes *M*

## 26. Choerob. in Theod. Alex. 360.16 (IV.I.338.10-2 Hilgard)

Φιλήτας ὁ διδάσκαλος Θεοκρίτου.

Φιλίππας *NC* : Φιλητὸς *V* : corr. Bernhardt (*Gr. Lit.* II.2, 566), M. Haupt, *Hermes* 6 (1871), 185

27. Tzetzes *Exeg. II.* p. 126.9 Hermann

πολλοὶ τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς ἐτυμολογίας ἐπεμελήθησαν ... Ἀρίσταρχος, Ζηνόδοτος,  
 Φιλητᾶς, Σαπφῶ καὶ ἕτεροι.

## ALLEGED TESTIMONIA

1. Plut. *Pericl.* 2.1, p. 153a (= Philemon *PCG* T 35)

οὐδείς εὐφυῆς νέος ἢ τὸν ἐν Πίσῃ θεασάμενος Δία γενέσθαι Φειδίας ἐπεθύμησεν, ἢ τὴν Ἥραν τὴν ἐν Ἄργει Πολύκλειτος, οὐδ' Ἀνακρέων ἢ Φιλῆμων ἢ Ἀρχίλοχος ἤσθεις αὐτῶν τοῖς ποιήμασιν. οὐ γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον, εἰ τέρπει τὸ ἔργον ὡς χαρίεν, ἄξιον σπουδῆς εἶναι τὸν εἰργασμένον.

3 Φιλῆμων codd. : Φιλητᾶς Bryan (acceperat Bernardakis) : Ἰππώναξ Cobet

## 2. Cat. 95.9-10

Parva mei mihi sint cordi monumenta <sodalis>  
at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho.

1 <sodalis> om. codd., add. Aldina : Philetæ Bergk : Phanoclis Rossbach : Phalaeci Munro : Catonis Leo

<Sodalis> in. v. 9 was printed by Avantius in the editio princeps, the so-called Aldina, in 1502 and is henceforth commonly printed in this line. Bergk's unfortunate conjecture (*mei ... Philetæ* would sound most awkward, see J. B. Solodow, *CPh* 82 (1987), 145) won approval from Rostagni and M. Puelma, *MH* 11 (1954), 114, cf. id. *Phil.* 101 (1957), 99, *MH* 39 (1982), 224 n. 14. On the poem see W. Clausen, *GRBS* 5 (1964), 188-191, Hutchinson 296-7.

3. There is a growing belief that old Philetas *praeceptor amoris* in Long. 2.3-7 harbours features of the Coan's poetry.

4. R. Herzog, *Phil.* 79 (1924), 426f. held that the antagonistic poet of Herodas in *Mim.* 8 is Ph., cf. already O. Crusius, *RE* V (1905), 2281; sceptically J. Sitzler, *PhW* 47 (1927), 40, *contra* Kuchenmüller 24-5, Pfeiffer (1968), 90 n. 5 ("the incredible fancies of R. Herzog"). M. Musurus supplemented the lacuna that he posited after [Moschus]

*Epit. Bion.* 92, in which different cities are said to deplore the loss of Bion more than that of their native poets, with his own ... ἔν τε πολίταις / Τριοπίδαις ποταμῶ θρηνεῖ παρ' Ἀλέντι Φιλητᾶς (Bach 17-8).

5. Hunter 17 n. 67 felt that there is "a fair chance" that the description of Linus as tutor of Heracles in Theoc. 24.105-6 γράμματα μὲν τὸν παῖδα γέρον Λίνος ἐξεδίδαξεν, / υἱὸς Ἀπόλλωνος μελεδωνεὺς ἄγρυπνος ἦρωσ refers to Ph.'s education of the young Ptolemy. In that poem the young Heracles seems to represent in some respects the young Ptolemy Philadelphus (Hunter 27) and it has been suggested that the list of his tutors represents real courtiers like Theoc. himself. Hunter adduced a late Hellenistic inscription from Klaros (*BCH* 10 (1886), 514-5; a certain Gorgos) ὁ πάσης πολύβυβλος ἀφ' ἱστορίας μελεδωνός and the fact that Ph. was known to have worked himself to death with νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἐσπέριοι. In another Theocritean passage J. B. Macqueen, *LCM* 8 (1983), 128 lifted Ph. too high proposing Κῶνον ἀοιδόν in 7.47-8 Μοισᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χίον ἀοιδόν / ἀντία κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι.

6. After G-P ad loc. ("since Philetas may be called the head of the school which A. is decrying A. perhaps remembers his description of the poet" [fr. 27.3-4]) Hollis (1996), 61 n. 33 held that conceivably Antip. Thess. *GPh* 20.3[-4] (φεύγετε) οἳ τ' ἐπέων κόσμον λελυγισμένον ἀσκήσαντες [/ κρήνης ἐξ ἱερῆς πίνετε λιτὸν ὕδωρ], in an epigram evoking Archil. against the Callimachean school of poetry, "specifically attacks Philetas" as ἐπέων κόσμον in v. 3 occurs in Philetas fr. 27.3.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A passage in the Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniates 491.3-6 van Dielen (second half of the 12th c.) has given rise to speculation involving Ph.: "Ὅθεν ὄπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματικῶν ἔξεων ὁ Κῶός φησι ποιητής, ὡς εἰς τὸ ἄκρον προελθοῦσαι φιλοῦσι πρὸς τὸ κάταντες ὡς φιλυπόστροφοι μεταφέρεσθαι, μὴ ἀτρίμας ἔχουσαι μένειν τῷ συνεχεῖ ἀεὶ τῆς κινήσεως, τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Μεσοποταμίτῃ συμπέτωκεν ἄντικρυς. The Κῶος ποιητής on whom Nicetas draws has always been thought to be Hippocrates. Ποιητής can mean "author of a prose-work", but the usage is unattested in Nicetas who despite the fact that he regularly pays attention to the human body, see A. Kazhdan, "Der Körper im Geschichtswerk der Niketas Choniates" in G. Prinzig - D. Simon (edd.), *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, Munich 1990, 91-105, neglects the Hippocratic corpus. D. A. Christides, "Ὁ "Κῶος ποιητής" τοῦ Νικήτα Χωνιάτη", *Hellenica* 35 (1984), 70-3 identified the source of this passage with Philon fr. 458 (II.149-150 von Arnim) and suggested that his name was corrupted into Φιλητᾶς whence the appearance of the Coan poet in Nicetas Choniates. If the assumption is correct, the mistake would interestingly suggest that the literary circles in Constantinople identified Ph. with the name Call. used to apply to him.

## Fr. 1 (Parth. 2 = CA 5)

Περὶ Πολυμήλης  
Ἱστορεῖ Φιλίτας Ἑρμῆ

Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀλώμενος περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τὴν Σικελῶν θάλασσαν ἀφίκετο πρὸς Αἴολον καὶ Μελιγουνίδα νῆσον. ὃς αὐτὸν κατὰ κλέος σοφίας τεθηπῶς ἐν πολλῇ φροντίδι εἶχε τά <τε> περὶ Τροίης ἄλωσιν καὶ ὃν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἐσκεδάσθησαν αἱ νῆες κομιζόμενοις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλίου διεπυθάνετο ξενίζων τε αὐτὸν πολὺν χρόνον διῆγεν. (2) τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἦν ἡ μονὴ ἡδομένῳ· Πολυμήλη γὰρ τῶν Αἰολιδῶν τις ἐρασθεῖσα αὐτοῦ κρύφα συνῆν. ὡς δὲ τοὺς ἀνέμους ἐγκεκλεισμένους παραλαβὼν ἀπέπλευσεν, ἡ κόρη φαρᾶται τινα τῶν Τρωικῶν λαφύρων ἔχουσα καὶ τούτοις μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων ἀλινδουμένη. (3) ἔνθα ὁ Αἴολος τὸν μὲν Ὀδυσσεῖα καίπερ οὐ παρόντα ἐκάκισεν, τὴν δὲ Πολυμήλην ἐν νῷ ἔσχε τίσασθαι. ἔτυχε δὲ αὐτῆς ἡρασμένος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Διῶρης, ὃς αὐτὴν παραιτεῖται τε καὶ πείθει τὸν πατέρα αὐτῷ συνοικίσει.

4 αἴολον ubique P 5 <τε> add. Legrand 8 ἡδομένη P : corr. Leopardus 11 καὶ τούτοις P : κὰν τούτοις Kayser 12 ἀλινδουμένη P : ἐναλινδουμένη Bast : ἐπαλινδουμένη Sakolowski

Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀλώμενος περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν Τυρρηνῶν καὶ τὴν Σικελῶν θάλασσαν These introductory lines explicitly place Aeolus' island in the west. In *Od.* 8.29 Alcinous appears not to know whether Odysseus reached his kingdom from the east or the west. But *Od.* 12.3-4 places Circe's island in the east. Odysseus' wanderings in the west are, however, well founded on ancient testimonies beginning with [Hes.] *Theog.* 1011-6 and *Spuria* fr. 390, and this location was advanced in Hellenistic times.<sup>1</sup> Parth. before going into the main story chooses to locate the scene with unusual precision: arrived at Aeolus, i.e. the island of Meligounis – a kind of hendiadys – in contrast to the vagueness of Homer. It would seem that Ph. grasped the

<sup>1</sup> [Hes.] *Theog.* 1011-6 is probably an insertion from classical times, see West on v. 1016. But Schol. A.R. 3.309-13a, b (229.11-19 Wendel) take its authenticity for granted when they claim that A.R. followed Hes. in placing Odysseus and Circe in the Tyrrhenian sea. For Odysseus in the West cf. A.R. 3.311-2, 4.849-850, see Campbell on the former passage and on the whole question E. D. Phillips, "Odysseus in Italy", *JHS* 73 (1953), 53-67, Prinz 156f.

opportunity to hint at his view on an issue quite vivid in antiquity. To the strenuous ancient efforts to locate Odysseus' wanderings on the map reacted Erat. warning his contemporaries of the fruitlessness of such attempts.<sup>2</sup> From these lines it can be inferred that Ph. was one of those advocating the "fundamental" view on geography in Homer. Aristarchus seems to have believed that the Homeric geography is fictitious, see A. Buonajuto, *A&R* 41 (1996), 1-8, esp. 4-5, but his *Πρὸς Φιλίταν* would not deal with such broad questions. The Tyrrhenian and the Sicilian are two successive seas in the south-west of Italy, the limits of which are not always precisely defined, cf. Thuc. 4.24.5 ἐκ μεγάλων πελάγων, τοῦ τε Τυρρηνικοῦ καὶ τοῦ Σικελικοῦ. Quotations from Steph. Byz. show Parth. and Ph. to share a strong predilection for naming geographical places and this juxtaposition could be a product of either.

**ἀλώμενος** A poetic word, quite often in Homer, usually contracted as here. It is constructed with different prepositions, see *DGE* s.v., but ἀλώμενος περί with accusative is surely prosaic, cf. in Parth. 15.2 περί τὴν Ἥλιδιαν ἀλωμένης, 36.4 περί αὐτόν (sc. τὸν τόπον) ἀλωμένη, Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 13.1 περί τὰς ὄχθας ἀλύουσα, Long. 1.28.1 ἀλύοντα περί τὴν θάλασσαν, also Parth. 30 ἀλώμενον διὰ τῆς Κελτῶν χώρας "through the land of". The verb itself, nevertheless, being a *vox propria* to describe sea-wanderings, often applies to Odysseus, see Garvie on *Od.* 6.206 and cf. *Od.* 8.28 ξεῖνος ... ἀλώμενος ἵκετ' ἐμὸν δῶμα, Theoc. 16.51.

**ἀφίκετο πρὸς Αἰόλον καὶ Μελιγουνίδα νῆσον** Cf. *Od.* 10.1 Αἰολίην δ' ἐς νῆσον ἀφικόμεθ' whence Q.S. 14.474 (Iris) Ἴκετο δ' Αἰολίην etc. Ἀφικνέομαι often initiates a hospitality scene, see Reece 13. Parth. writes ἀφικνέομαι πρὸς + Accus. (here and 7.2) or παρά + Accus. (17.4, 30.1) for persons, ἐπί + Accus. (8.6) and mostly εἰς + Accus. for places (5.5, 8.2, 18.1, 34.1, 36.1 – 16.2 εἰς Δάρδανον ἀφικέσθαι is an exception), cf. 1.1 ἀφικόμενος εἰς Καῦνον πρὸς Αἰβίαλον, 1.3 ἀφίκετο εἰς Βύβαστον πρὸς Στάφυλον. In Homer the verb can govern a simple Accusative. The verbal echoes

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Strabo 1.2.14 and see Pfeiffer (1968), 167-8, G. Aujac, *Pallas* 24 (1977), 21-2, F. Prontera, "Sull' esegesi ellenistica della geographia omerica" in G. W. Most, al., *Philanthropia kai Eusebeia. Festschrift für A. Dihle*, Göttingen 1993, 387-397. But Strabo himself was defiant, see D. M. Schenkenveld, *Mnem.* 29 (1976), 52-64. Polyb. also believed that the *Od.* reproduces real geographical data, see Walbank, *Polybius* III, 577-8. Periodically such theories do come up, see H. H. and A. Wolf, *Der Weg des Odysseus*, Munich <sup>2</sup>1990 where they are conveniently gathered. Some of them indeed reach absurd levels. Needless to say, Odysseus' adventures are lost in the sphere of myth, see A. Lesky, *RE* Suppl. XI (1968), 799-800, Griffin 91-3, Heubeck 4-5, M. Dickie, "The Geography of Homer's World" in Ø. Andersen - M. Dickie, *Homer's World. Fiction, Tradition, Reality*, Bergen 1995, 29-56.

of the *Od.* in Parth. are filtered through Ph. and indicate how closely the latter followed the Homeric passage in what it actually tells us about the episode.

**Μελιγουνίδα νήσον** Lipara, the biggest of the Aeolian islands, was commonly identified as the house of Aeolus, cf. Thuc. 3.88, Virg. *Aen.* 8.416-7 *Aeoliamque l... Liparen*, see K. Ziegler, *RE* XIII (1927), 719-721. The Aeolian islands were located in the Tyrrhenian sea near Sicily, cf. the *Hypothesis* of Eur.'s *Aeolus* (in C. Austin (ed.), *Nova Fragmenta Euripidea*, Berlin 1968, 88-9), v. 22 ἀνώκησεν ἐν ταῖς κατὰ Τυρρηνίαν νήσοις, see L1-J, *Gnomon* 35 (1963), 444, which goes directly back to Eur. whence Sostrat. *FGH* 23 F 3 Αἰολος, τῶν κατὰ Τυρρηνίαν βασιλεὺς τόπων, Plut. *par. min.* 28, p. 312c. The ancient name of Lipara was Meligounis, which other erudite poets used. Schneider 47 n. 2 was no doubt right in suggesting that here the phrase is a quotation from Ph., see on fr. 2. The following ὃς αὐτόν marks the commencement of the main story.

**κατὰ κλέος (σοφίας)** Parth. 36.1 has (Rhesus goes to Cius) κατὰ κλέος γυναικὸς καλῆς but the phrase is dactylic and it may be a focalisation from the original. It comes up in a similar context in A.R. 2.754 when after the battle with the Bebryces the Mariandyni take notice of the Argonauts κατὰ κλέος ὃ πρὶν ἄκουον. A warm reception follows in which the guests narrate their adventures and the pleased host king Lycos at the end rewards them by sending along his son to guarantee safe passage for a long journey. The phrase first occurs in another reception scene in Pind. *Pyth.* 4.125 where Jason arrives at Iolcus καὶ κασίγνητοὶ σφισιν ἀμφοτέρω / ἤλυθον κείνου γε κατὰ κλέος whence A.R. would pick it up, but this does not necessarily leave Ph. out. Homer has only μετὰ κλέος in *Il.* 11.227 "at the news of" where Schol. D render μετὰ τὴν ἀκοήν ... κληδόνα ἢ φήμην ἀκούσας and 13.364 ("in search of κλέος") where Aristoph. Byz. proposed κατὰ κλέος. On Homeric κλέος "fame" see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 487. It is a heroic term that is rewarding in more peaceful times, cf. Hes. fr. 199.9 (suitors of Helen) πολλὰ δ' ἔεδγ[α δίδον,] μέγα γὰρ κλέος [ἔσκε γυ]γαικός. Κατὰ κλέος implies an independent source of information but this would not prevent Odysseus from bolstering up his fame by introducing himself in the boastful terms of *Od.* 9.19f. to the Phaeacians. His reputation would render him worthy of respect and reward, cf. also Oedipus encouraging the Thebans in Soph. *OT* 7-8.

**σοφίας** Odysseus is twice regarded by his hosts as πεπνυμένος, *Od.* 8.388 (with Garvie ad loc.) by Alcinous and *Od.* 19.350 by Penelope. Σοφός is a later addition to his stock of qualities, cf. Pind. fr. 260.7 (Odysseus than Palamedes) κυριώτερο[ λείσ σοφίας λόγον, Soph. *Aj.* 1374-5 (chorus) ὅστις σ', Ὀδυσσεῦ, μὴ λέγει γνώμη σοφόν /

φύναι, τοιοῦτον ὄντα, μῶρός ἐστ' ἀνήρ, *Phil.* 440, 1244, *Eur. Cyc.* 450 (chorus) σοφόν τοί σ' ὄντ' ἀκούομεν πάλαι, *Philostr. Jun.* 1.5. Stoics regarded Odysseus a model of wisdom, cf. *Hor. Epist.* 1.2.18-21 *rursus quid virtus et quid sapientia possit / utile proposuit nobis exemplar Ulixen, / qui* etc. with R. Mayer (Cambridge 1994) ad loc. Initially σοφία had a positive meaning but it later developed to be an ambiguous term of cleverness used on cunning purposes (see Dover on *Ar. Clouds* 331 on the parallel semantic evolution of σοφιστής) and in *Theogn.* 218 σοφίη denotes the ability to show flexibility according to the situation, as opposed to ἀτροπίη. The word here retains both colours: what Aeolus thought as wisdom turns out to be cunning. Gaselee translated "wisdom", Stern "cleverness".

**τεθηπώς** The reputation of Odysseus' *sophia* has an effect of astonishment and admiration on the part of Aeolus. The hero occasionally displays a charisma causing similar feelings, as in *Od.* 7.145, 8.17-18 to the Phaeacians, *Od.* 8.459 to Nausicaa, *Od.* 16.178 to Telemachus, *Od.* 24.392 to his loyalists or *Il.* 23.728 to the spectators of his treacherous wrestling with Aias, and even more so when he has the help of a god, as might be the case here. Θάμβος is usually caused by sight, see Campbell on *A.R.* 3.215, exceptionally by hearing, cf. *Hdt.* 2.156 τέθηπα δὲ ἀκούων (of a πλωτὴ νῆος),<sup>3</sup> or by both, as when a character delivers a speech, cf. *Il.* 24.632-3 αὐτὰρ ὁ Δαρδανίδην Πρίαμον θαύμαζεν Ἀχιλλεύς, / εἰσορόων ὄψιν τ' ἀγαθὴν καὶ μῦθον ἀκούων, cf. *Bacch.* 5.84, *Call. fr.* 43.85 (the poet listens to the erudite Muses and wants to learn more) ἦ γὰρ μοι θάμβος ὑπετρέφ[ετ]ο, *Orph. Arg.* 1158 (Medea) ὦδε δ' ἔφη, θάμβος δὲ ... ἵκετο πάντας, *Nonn. D.* 19.89 ἐθάμβεον .. μολπήν, 21.231. The latter seems to be the case here, cf. how Odysseus during a former embassy to Troy despite his humble appearance elicits amazement among his audience in *Il.* 3.224, where see Kirk on the interpretation of ἀγασσάμεθα. Τέθηπα is appropriate in this context and it reflects the original meaning of the word "remain speechless", see A. Blanc, "L'accablement et la stupefaction, κατηφής et τέθηπα" in *Mélanges Taillardat*, 38-40. All the speaking part was performed by Odysseus; Aeolus impressed by his guest is reported as only posing questions (διεπυνθάνετο) and as offering generous hospitality. Τέθηπα occurs only here in *Erot. Path.* and is not trivialised to become

<sup>3</sup> Cf. also *Hes. Theog.* 834 θαύματ' ἀκούσαι cf. *Pind. Pyth.* 1.26 and *Paul. Sil. Soph.* 447, *A.R.* 3.670 (Chalciope) θαμβήσασα when she heard (v. 669 ἔκλυεν) unexpected news cf. *Orph. Lith.* 573-4, *Antip. Sid. HE* 12.1 Μναμοσύναν ἔλε θάμβος ὄτ' ἔκλυε that Sappho is not the tenth Muse, *Nonn. D.* 1.486 ἐθάμβεες ἀκούσας, similarly *Aristeas EGF* 1.1 θαυμ' ... μέγα φρεσὶν ἡμετέρησιν, *A.R.* 4.74 (Argonauts) θάμβεον, εὐτ' ἐνόησαν Medea's advent. The usual effect of hearing a narration, music etc. is described by τέρπομαι, cf. *Il.* 1.474 φρένα τέρπετ' ἀκούων, *Od.* 12.52, 15.393, 23.308, *Archil. IEG* 168.4 τέρπειαι δ' ἀκούων, see *Zs. Ritoók, Mnem.* 42 (1989), 336-9.



prosaic until the 2nd c. A.D. It is heavily an epic form which should hark back to Ph., cf. τετρήχασιν in fr. 5.3, see in general Ch. R. Barton, "Greek τέθηπα etc.", *Glotta* 81 (1993), 1-9 and contrast Parth. 30.2 (Heracles) τὸ κάλλος ἐκπλαγέντα τῆς κόρης. (Dr Lightfoot regards it as another ionicism of Parth. cf. Hdt. 1.c.). Parth.'s diction is an amalgam of poetic – he himself was a fine and very productive poet – and prosaic elements, see the (inadequate) list in Sakolowski XVI, some of which seem to reproduce the poetic prototype which Parth. had at hand while summarising it, cf. above Μελιγουνίδα νῆσον and e.g. in ch. 27 = Moero CA 4 χερνήτιν γυναῖκα, which should have been printed as a separate fragment.

ἐν πολλῇ φροντίδι εἶχε Parthenian, 9.6 ἐν πολλῇ φροντίδι ἐγίγνετο. It is twice pointed out that Aeolus took the best of care of his guest, see on ξενίζων. This is founded on Odyssean grounds, but here it gains further in significance, when contrasted to the reward this reception was answered with. Odysseus is an expert in convincing his listeners that he is a trustworthy person. In view of his secret dealings with Polymele certain remarks of Alcinous, a potential parallel to Aeolus, would look completely ludicrous, as *Od.* 11.363-7 ὦ Ὀδυσσεῦ, τὸ μὲν οὐ τί σ' εἰσκομεν εἰσορόωντες / ἤπεροπῆα τ' ἔμεν καὶ ἐπίκλοπον, οἷά τε πολλούς / βόσκει γαῖα ... / ψεύδεά τ' ἀρτύνοντας, ὅθεν κέ τις οὐδὲ ἴδοιτο / σοὶ δ' ἐπι μὲν μορφή ἐπέων, ἐνὶ δὲ φρένες ἐσθλαί etc. It is sheer irony that Odysseus tells Cyclops in *Od.* 9.478 that he is punished because he mistreated his guests or that in *Od.* 14.158 he takes a (true) oath in the name of Zeus and ξενίη τράπεζα. Aeolus might have praised the hero's *sophia* with similar remarks of comic irony.

τά <τε> περὶ Τροίης ἄλωσιν καὶ ὄν τρόπον αὐτοῖς ἐσκεδάσθησαν αἱ νῆες κομιζομένοις ἀπὸ τῆς Τλίου διεπυθάνετο The interests of Philetan Aeolus are well in accordance with his Odyssean ones, *Od.* 10.14-5 ἐξερέεινεν ἕκαστα, / Ἴλιον Ἀργείων τε νέας καὶ νόστον Ἀχαιῶν. Odysseus is asked to narrate two non-Homeric events, the sack of Troy and the return of the Achaeans. Their content is familiar to the audience of the *Od.*, where they pop up as the "best-sellers" of the time, and connect the individual hero with the rest of the heroic world, cf. *Od.* 1.325-7, 8.492f. As Telemachus says in *Od.* 1.351-2 τὴν γὰρ αἰοιδὴν μᾶλλον ἐπικλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι, / ἢ τις ἀκούοντεςσι νεωτάτη ἀμφιπέληται and isolated Aeolus is naturally eager to learn details, cf. διεπυθάνετο ~ *Od.* 10.14 ἐξερέεινεν ἕκαστα, first-hand on such a popular subject.<sup>4</sup> Presumably a reference to other heroes' *nostoi* would function as an

<sup>4</sup> In Q.S. 14.466f. Aeolus collaborates with Athena to make the return of the Achaeans difficult. His questions here would gain an ironic character but the episode in Quintus interrupts the flow of the

easy transition to Odysseus' own, by far longer and more distressful sufferings, see on fr. 5, which he would single out with the ulterior motive of winning Aeolus' sympathy and help. Significantly Aeolus neither in the *Od.* nor in Parth. is reported to have specifically asked about them, as hosts usually do, cf. Alcinous in *Od.* 8.572f., Eumaeus in *Od.* 14.185f., Dido in Virg. *Aen.* 1.753f., see Reece 25-8. In any case Odysseus would not be prevented from laying out his plan and saying what best served his interests. This would fall within the epic convention of ignoring parts of the question, as Odysseus does with Arete in *Od.* 7.236f., and laying emphasis on points of the speaker's own choice.

**Τροίης ἄλωσιν** Cf. Parth. 16.4 μετὰ Τροίας ἄλωσιν. "Ἄλωσις is unHomeric, but it became the *vox propria* for the sack of a city and in particular of that of Troy, cf. Stesich. *PMGF* S 89.11 Τρο<ί>ας ἀλώσι[μον] ἄμαρ ~ Ibyc. *PMGF* S 151.14-5, Aesch. *Ag.* 589 ἄλωσιν Ἰλίου ~ Soph. *Phil.* 61, Pind. fr. 52f.81-2, Hdt. 1.5, Soph. *Trach.* 288, Eur. *Hec.* 1135 Τρωικὴ ἄλωσις, Plato *Laws* 685c Τροίας ἄλωσις and later Triph. Ἰλίου ἄλωσις, which Gerlaud 10 regarded as innovative with reference to the numerous *Ilioupersides*.

**τῆς Ἰλίου** The feminine in compliance with the Homeric norm, see Hainsworth on *Il.* 12.115, except *Il.* 15.71 αἰπὺ Ἰλιον, where Aristarchus proposed an emendation to delete the neuter, which Zenodotus had previously essayed to introduce also in *Il.* 16.92 and 18.174, see Janko on *Il.* 16.89-96. The neuter, nevertheless, prevailed in tragedy – Eur. *Andr.* 103 which has the feminine is one deliberate epicism among others in that passage, see Stevens ad loc. – but when Hellenistic poets use it, e.g. Call. fr. 186.20, they rather make a philological point than take the tragic form up.

**Ξενίζων τε αὐτὸν πολὺν χρόνον διῆγεν** Cf. *Od.* 10.14 μῆνα δὲ πάντα φίλει με, 23.314-5 Αἰολὸν ἴκεθ' ὃ μιν πρόφρων ὑπέδεκτο καὶ πέμπ'. Ξενίζω is a technical term denoting reception and entertainment of a guest according to proper etiquette, see H. J. Kakridis, *La notion de l'amitié et de l'hospitalité chez Homère*, Thessaloniki 1963, 107. The probably most important moment in the development of a guest-friendship is the dining together time, cf. *Od.* 14.80, 21.34-6, A.R. 3.377 often referred to as ξενία or κοινὴ τράπεζα, cf. *Od.* 14.158, al., Theoc. 16.27 and see Gerlaud on Triph. 658-9, Reece 22-5, Garvie on *Od.* 7.166 and Kakridis 115-126 ("Ἑλληνικὴ Φιλοξενία") with Modern Greek parallels. Stories were usually narrated after the meal and one wonders if Ph. made a (presumably comic) reference to the exceptional gastronomic interests of

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narration, which resumes in vv. 488f., and is commonly considered as "une addition manifeste", F. Vian, *Quintus de Smyrne* III, Budé 1969, 169.

Odysseus, a feature of his personality, see Stanford 67-70, Russo on *Od.* 18.44, D. Arnould, *REG* 102 (1989), 510-14 and cf. esp. *Od.* 7.215-221 where Odysseus "despite his sufferings" (κηδόμενόν περ) insists on finishing off his (already prolonged) meal, an attitude later regarded as totally disreputable, but at that time fully approved by his host, 7.227 κατὰ μοῖραν ἔειπεν! That Odysseus, as it seems, repeatedly emphasizes his "great sufferings" in his narration to Aeolus would be no impediment to his appetite, as he always knows to distinguish grief from the persistent needs of his belly, cf. *Il.* 19.225-7, *Od.* 17.284-7 κακὰ πολλὰ πέπονθα / κύμασι καὶ πολέμῳ ... / γαστέρα δ' οὐ πως ἔστιν ἀποκρῦψαι μεμαυῖαν, / οὐλομένην etc. Friendly reception answered with ingratitude is a typical motif in Parth.'s stories.

τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἦν ἡ μονὴ ἡδομένῳ Sometimes the host detains his visitor more than he wishes, and the hospitality becomes unpleasant and embarrassing, cf. Menelaus' aphorism in *Od.* 15.69-74 ἴσόν τοι κακόν ἐσθ', ὅς τ' οὐκ ἐθέλοντα νέεσθαι / ξεῖνον ἐποτρύνῃ καὶ ὃς ἐσσύμενον κατερύκη. / χρὴ ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν, ἐθέλοντα δὲ πέμπειν (vv.72-4), cf. Theoc. 16.27-8 and see Reece 34-5. Odysseus is certainly capable of entertaining a host for a considerable period, cf. *Od.* 14.192-8 and see M. J. Arthorpe, *CQ* 30 (1980), 19. But Aeolus' long detaining becomes pleasant for the reason exposed immediately afterwards. P. E. Sonnenburg *apud* Nowacki 32 n. 5, who thought that *Hermes* consisted of pentameters as well as of hexameters, proposed a "Philetan" pentameter τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἦν ἡ μονὴ ἡδομένῳ, "quem reciperem, nisi res nimis incerta esset", Nowacki l.c. Beyond the fact that *Hermes* was an exclusively hexameter poem, this is a clumsy pentameter: μονή, although it comes up in drama, is non-epic, non-Hellenistic and securely Parthenian, cf. 36.2, 4.<sup>5</sup> The at any rate noteworthy dactylic rhythm is accidental and the conclusion is made easier by the fact that Parth. was himself a poet of hexameters. Still, the ironic expression and tone ("Aeolus kept him a long time asking this and that; but he did not have a bad time either") might depict relevant remarks in the Philetan prototype and definitely depict the spirit of the story: wit, as of *Hermes* and Odysseus, is its most prominent feature.

**Αἰολιδῶν** Not Αἰολίδων as Sakolowski, Powell and those who follow them. Gasellee in his Loeb ed. accentuates correctly. Αἰολίς is the tribe of the Aeolians, cf. Dion. Per. 536-7 Αἰολίδων ... νήσων, / Λέσβου etc., Αἰολίδαί are the offspring of Aeolus from the patronymic Αἰολίδης, Hes. fr. 10.1 Αἰολίδαί, Call. fr. 618, A.R.

<sup>5</sup> This is a predominantly prosaic word: Hdt. 1.94.5, Thuc. 3x, Plato 7x, Xen. Ages. 5.1.4, 5.6.12, Arist., Hippocr. *Praec.* 9.254.13 Littré, Polyb. 4.41.4, 5, Plut. 8x, Diod. Sic. 17.69.6, Philon 15x, Flavius Jos. 2x, Eunapius p. 501 Boissonade, Luc. *Bis Acc.* 8, *Fug.* 11, *Ver. Hist.* 2.1, Plotinus 5x.

1.121, al., cf. Call. *HyDel.* 315 Κεκροπίδαι and for the genitive Pind. *Pyth.* 4.72, A.R. 3.339, Adesp. Pap. Eleg. *SH* 964.16 Αιολιδέων, further Call. *HyPal.* 34 Ἀκεστοριδῶν.

**ἐρασθείσα αὐτοῦ** "Die Antike kennt nur Liebe auf den ersten Blick", Kroll on Cat. 64.86. Love strikes the eyes, cf. the etymology of Eros advanced in Plato *Crat.* 420a-b ὅτι ἐσρεῖ ἔξωθεν καὶ οὐκ οἰκεία ἐστὶν ἡ ῥοή αὐτῆ τῷ ἔχοντι, ἀλλ' ἐπίσακτος διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων, and *Phaedo* 251b, Musae. 94-5 ὀφθαλμὸς δ' ὁδός ἐστιν· ἀπ' ὀφθαλμοῦ βολῶν / κάλλος ὀλισθαίνει καὶ ἐπὶ φρένας ἀνδρὸς ὀδεύει. The initial excitement is followed by frequent and passionate looks that might be reciprocal, see on the οὐ κόρον εἶχεν ὀπωπῆς motif West on Hes. *Theog.* 910, Bühler on Mosch. *Eur.* 86, Campbell on A.R. 3.287-8, Livrea on Colluth. 257. The motif usually applies to men, but when the men are exceptional – and disloyal! – it may equally well apply to women, as Nausicaa looking at Odysseus in *Od.* 6.237, 8.459, Medea at Jason in A.R. 3.287-8, Ariadne at Theseus in Cat. 64.91-93, Dido at Aeneas in Virg. *Aen.* 1.714-5 – Helen at Paris in Colluth. 254f. is a complete reversal of roles with grotesque overtones. As usually with the women surrounding Odysseus it is Polymele *sua sponte* that falls in love with him. Since Ph. borrows a number of elements from the Phaeacian books of the *Od.*, the Nausicaa episode being a potential parallel to his own story, Polymele's sudden love might have been advanced by an intervention of Hermes in a role akin to that performed by Athena in *Od.* 6.13f. The Homeric hero has a close relationship with female characters, who unlike the Iliadic heroes, show confidence and affection to him.<sup>6</sup> In principle of course Odysseus is impervious to any love-affair because of his insuperable desire to return home, cf. e.g. *Od.* 5.151-8. In Ph., however, the fact that he donated his secret mistress some of the Trojan spoils perhaps indicates that he has shown some affection to her – which by no means

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<sup>6</sup> See Stanford 43-65. He talked of a "closer temperamental affinity between Odysseus and the women ... than between him and the more conventional warrior-heroes"(p. 65). For the most important female figures around Odysseus see also E. Delebeque, *Construction de l'Odyssee*, Paris 1980, 109-128, M. Steinthal, "Frauen um Odysseus", *Gymnasium* 98 (1991), 497-516, typology F. R. Adrados, "Ο Οδυσσεύς και οι γυναίκες" in *Εύχην Ὀδυσσεύι, Πρακτικά Ζ' Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια*, Ithace 1995, 11-24. On the keen interest of the *Od.* in women see Griffin 81-87, id., *Homer on Life and Death*, Oxford 1980, 56-61. S. Butler, *The Authoress of the Odyssey*, London <sup>2</sup>1922 went as far as to develop the theory that the *Od.* was composed by a woman. On Odysseus' war-weary aspect see Edwards on *Il.* 19.216-237 and on his individuality as a hero M. Finkelberg, *G&R* 42 (1995), 1-14. For his character in Homer see also U. Hölscher, "Der epische Odysseus", *Gymnasium* 98 (1991), 385-396, Rutherford 16-27.

justifies Gaselee's unfortunate paraphrase "he (sc. Odysseus) fell in love with Polymele".

**κρύφα συνῆν** Parthenian, 35.1 ταύτη κρύφα συνῶν ἐλελήθει. The secret meetings of Odysseus and Polymele would probably take place during the night. Hermes would secure privacy. In *Il.* 24.343-4 with his wand ἀνδρῶν ὄματα θέλγει / ὦν ἐθέλει, cf. *Od.* 5.47, 24.3, Hippon. *IEG* 177, Nonn. *D.* 35.234f., and he is a god closely associated with sleep, cf. *Od.* 7.136-8 with Garvie ad loc., Athen. 1.16b, Plut. *quaest. conv.* 7.9.6, p. 714c, Heliod. 3.5 and see Livrea on A.R. 4.1733 on Hermes as ἡγήτωρ ὄνειρων. Note also that Alcinous in *Od.* 7.346 sleeps μυχῶ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο "in the innermost recess of his lofty house".

**τοὺς ἀνέμους ἐγκεκλεισμένους παραλαβῶν** Cf. *Od.* 10.19-20 δῶκε δέ μοι ἐκδείρας ἀσκὸν βοὸς ἐννεώροιο, / ἔνθα δὲ βυκτάων ἀνέμων κατέδησε κέλευθα. The striking and obscure word of this passage is βυκτάων, a Homeric hapax which – or a rendering of which – Ph. might have fancied using, as Lyc. 738 βύκτας δ' ἐν ἀσκῶ συγκατακλείσας βοός did when he dealt with the same episode, cf. id. 184, 756, A.R. 3.1328. Odysseus is most competent in extracting gifts. In *Od.* 8.381 he flatters Alcinous, who in response urges the Phaeacians to grant gifts to their *xeinος*. He could have followed this design here as well. Aeolus, as in *Od.*, would voluntarily place his capacities at his guest's disposal.

**ἀπέπλευσε** Odysseus' departure constitutes a turning point in the evolution of the episode. The central figure, after performing his role, goes off stage. But it is also a turning point for Ph.'s sources: having got rid of Odysseus he now turns to Eur. *Aeolus*. What follows is naturally of much interest to Parth., who needs to narrate a complete story, but beyond the scope of *Hermes*: in the original it would have been exposed in brief. Indeed all traces of poetic diction disappear after ἀλινδουμένη, though Parthenian parallels keep on coming up. Odysseus of course has to leave Polymele behind, since the contrary would be inconsistent with the Homeric background of the story: after all the happy end lies at hand.

**κόρη** The term is used of young women implying innocence and often virginity. It is ironically used here of Polymele who in reality is neither innocent nor a virgin anymore. Poets like to highlight the change of status, cf. Call. *Dieg.* fr. 98-9, ll.11-2 (obligatory *ius primae noctis*) ἔωθε[ν] δὲ τοὺς γονεῖς ἀντὶ παρ- / θέ[ν]ου γυ[ναῖ]κα κομίζεσθαι, Anon. *HE* 41, Mosch. *Eur.* 165 ἡ δὲ πάρος κόρη Ζηνὸς γένειτ' αὐτίκα νόμφη with Bühler ad loc., Kost on Musae. 287 and cf. *CEG* 24 (Attica, ca 540) σῆμα Φρασικλείας. | κόρη κεκλέσομαι | αἰεὶ / ἀντὶ γάμοι παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο λαχῶσ' ὄνομα,

Aristaenet. 1.6. Cf. in Parth. 5.3 τῷ κατηγγυημένῳ τὴν κόρην μνηστῆρι of a bride who had previously slept with her brother and 35. A.R. invariably calls Medea κούρη, even after the murder of Apsyrtus and her marriage with Jason. The subtle irony could go back to Ph. as one of the elements that he picks up from the Phaeacian books of the *Od.* He might have noticed how often Nausicaa is called κούρη in these books and that in direct address Odysseus begins with the reverent *Od.* 6.149, 175 ἄνασσα and ends up in *Od.* 8.468 with κούρη.<sup>7</sup> Epic normally uses κούρη, see Richardson on *HHD* 439, though A.R. 1.811 indulges in the atticism κόρη.

**φωράται** The first trace of Eur. *Aeolus* in this episode of *Hermes*. In this tragedy Aeolus finds out about the offspring of the secret liaison between two of his children, Macareus and Canace. In Sostrat. *FGH* 23 F 3 the incident is simply described as Αἴολος δὲ περὶ τούτων μαθὼν etc., but this must have been a highly dramatic moment as we gather from the *Hypothesis* of the play, vv. 33-4 συνδραμόντες δ' εἰς τὸ αὐτ[ο] / κοντ. (:τουῦτον Luppe) [...]οι τὸ μὲν γεννηθὲν ἢ τροφὸς σ[, but the details are unknown, see W. Luppe, *Phil.* 116 (1982), 17-8. The discovery in Ph. could have been plotted in similar terms. In A.R. 4.16 Medea fears the servants who escorted her in her first meeting with Jason will disclose her secret to Aietes. Φωράομαι once more in Parth. 34.1 φωράσας δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἀνεῖλεν.

**τινὰ τῶν Τρωικῶν λαφύρων ἔχουσα** A most witty device of Ph.: the Trojan spoils replace the new-born child in *Aeolus*. That Odysseus presented Polymele with Trojan spoils is superbly ironic and at the same time well matching the Homeric story. The heroic is in any case a strongly acquisitive society. Odysseus' acquisitive character well exceeds the average and is pervasive in the *Od.*<sup>8</sup> Obviously he is not the ideal of

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<sup>7</sup> A regretted status? In the Phaeacian books Nausicaa is called by name 9x (6.17, 25, 186, 213, 251, 276, 7.12, 8.457, 464). As κούρη she appears 13x (6.15, 20, 47, 74, 78, 113, 142, 147, 223, 237, 7.2, 303, 8.468), cf. παρθένος ἀδμῆς in 6.109 with Garvie ad loc., 6.228 and the group of girls called κούραι in 6.122, 135, 222. Alcinous calls her 6.68 τέκος, 7.300 παῖς ἐμή. In *Od.* 18.279 Penelope is ironically called κούρη.

<sup>8</sup> See Griffin 94-5, Russo on *Od.* 19.271-287, Rutherford on *Od.* 19.185, I. N. Perysinakis, "Η λειτουργία του πλούτου στην πλοκή της Οδύσσειας του Ομήρου" in *Εὐχὴν Ὀδύσσει, Πρακτικά Ζ' Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσεια*, Ithace 1995, 287-314. The quality seems to be a feature of Odysseus' family: in *Od.* 24.333-5 Odysseus says to Laertes σὺ δέ με προῖεις καὶ πότνια μήτηρ / εἰς πατέρ' Αὐτόλυκον μητρὸς φίλον, ὄφρ' ἂν ἐλοιμην / δῶρα, τὰ δεῦρο μολῶν μοι ὑπέσχετο καὶ κατένευσεν, cf. 19.413. Penelope displays a similar ability to extract gifts in *Od.* 18.250f. much to the joy of Odysseus, vv. 281-3. The quality then passes over to Telemachus, cf. *Od.* 4.600-2. Odysseus' greediness is not

generosity. In his *apologos* to the Phaeacians he strives to present himself as a leader who practises justice: he twice claims to have supervised in person the fair distribution of booty, *Od.* 9.42 = 549 δασσάμεθ', ὡς μή τίς μοι ("if I could help it" Shewring) ἀτεμβόμενος κίοι ἴσης.<sup>9</sup> But this does not seem to be the case at all: his comrades, who are left completely out of sight in Parth./Ph., complain about sailing back with empty hands! Their jealousy drives them to open the wind-sack of Aeolus, *Od.* 10.38-45 – an act that Odysseus *a priori* condemns as "foolish" (10.27 ἀφραδίησιν).<sup>10</sup> As a result the winds blow again driving them back to Aeolus, who is not willing to offer any more help. Odysseus' Homeric stinginess and its repercussions stand in ironic contrast to the unusual generosity he displayed with Polymele. Should he have treated his companions likewise, his troubles would be over once and for all. But Polymele had paid a special price for her gifts; contrast Odysseus' thrift as a suitor of Helen in Hes. fr. 198.4-6 δῶρα μὲν οὐ ποτ' ἔπεμπε τανισφύρου εἶνεκα κούρης / ἦδε γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν ὅτι ξανθὸς Μενέλαος / νικήσει, κτήνῳ γὰρ Ἀχαιῶν φέρτατος ἦεν.

**μετὰ πολλῶν δακρῶν ὀδύρομαι** (e.g. ὀδύρετο .. Ὀδυσσῆος) employed of Polymele's weeping would create a witty rhetorical effect, since the verb is often linked with the name of Odysseus, see Rutherford on *Od.* 19.265-7 ad fin. and on ἐκάκισεν.

**τούτοις ... ἀλινδομένη** Parth.'s ἀλινδέομαι is an equivalent of the Attic κυλινδέομαι, the exclusively prosaic καλινδέομαι being a result of their conflation, see Chantraine *DE* s.v., Frisk *GEW* s.v. The orthodox epic form – the exclusive one in Homer, early Lyric, A.R., Imperial Epic – is κυλίνδομαι. Parth.'s natural choice would be the common prosaic κυλινδέομαι so that the word looks like reproducing diction from the original. The poetic careers of ἀλινδέομαι and ἀλίνδομαι are confined to Hellenistic poetry – both disappear in Imperial poetry – and the occurrence of this word in Parth. suggests that it probably first found a place in learned poets'

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always to his benefit: in *Od.* 9.228-9 despite his companions' entreaties, he insists on waiting for Cyclops hoping for hospitality gifts, *ibid.* 266-8.

<sup>9</sup> Sc. μοίρης. On the importance of equal share in Homer see Rutherford on *Od.* 20.282. The formula is derived from *Il.* 11.705 referring to Nestor. The line was condemned in antiquity by both Zenodotus and Aristarchus, see Hainsworth ad loc. No doubt it is an old formulaic attribute of the ideal, just and caring king. Odysseus systematically strives to present himself as such, see R. B. Rutherford, *JHS* 106 (1986), 146-7. In the second case, the distribution of Cyclops' sheep, it is, he says, his companions who offer themselves to allot him the ram as a special share, which he then lavishly sacrifices to Zeus.

<sup>10</sup> R. B. Rutherford, *JHS* 106 (1986), 151 highlights the passage from the mutual lack of trust perspective.

vocabulary in this Philetan passage. Should one speculate on which form Ph. used, one would rather expect the recherché ἀλίνδομαι than the commoner ἀλινδέομαι.<sup>11</sup> The passive of both occurs first in Hellenistic poetry and Ph. would not like to stray from its Homeric parallel (κυλίνδομαι): his neologisms never ignore the Homeric background, see on fr. 8 δμῳίδες. Parth.'s form is not binding: he would have rather turned the rare form into the commoner prosaic one, as he might have done with κόρη/κούρη. The verb mostly occurs in the participle and if the present participle was used (Polymele is caught at the time she was rolling around) the only possible form would be ἀλινδομένη. It is only in the participle that this form occurs in Leon. Tar., Nic. ll. cc.

Homer uses κυλίνδομαι to describe an act of profound grief or despair, as e.g. *Il.* 24.640 (Priam) κυλινδόμενος κατὰ κόπρον (on the habit see Richardson on *Il.* 22.414), or *Od.* 10.499 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ κλαίων τε κυλινδόμενος τ' ἐκορέσθη, the reaction of Odysseus when he heard he had to descend to Hades. Call. *Iambi* fr. 191.42 μέλλοντας ἤδη παρθένοις ἀλινδεῖσθαι and Herodas 5.30 πρὸς Ἀμφυταίην ταῦτα, ... / μετ' ἧς ἀλινδῆ use the word with an erotic sense, cf. also ambivalent Nonn. *D.* 10.371-2 (Dionysus and his beloved Ampelos wrestling) κυλινδομένων ἐν κονίῃ / ἀμφοτέρων καμάτοιο προάγγελος ἔρρεεν ἰδρώς. A precursory notion of this is discernible here, as the rolling around of Polymele expresses an erotic despair and refers to "whirling" diction which, as fr. 5 suggests, Ph. had employed in an ambiguous/erotic context. The construction with dative has seemed awkward in the past, but is sound: the meaning is not that Polymele is rolling *among* Odysseus' gifts, i.e. κἄν τούτοις ἀλινδουμένη as Kayser had proposed and Gaselee, Stern understood it, but rolling *with* Odysseus' gifts, i.e. Polymele has taken them in her embrace, and the construction is securely paralleled with Call. l.c. παρθένοις ἀλινδεῖσθαι, where, as once Kayser in the Parthenian text, R. Kassel, *RhM* 112 (1969), 100 unnecessarily proposed ἤδη <ν> παρθένοις. In Parth. Sakolowski printed ἐπαλινδουμένη but neither this nor any other emendation he recorded is superior to the MS's ἀλινδουμένη. For different reasons neither Nic.'s datives, *Ther.* 156 ἀλινδόμενοι ψαμάθοισι (~ [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3.425 ψαμάθοισι κυλινδόμενος), 204 ἀλινδηθεῖς ὀλίγον δέμας (sc. πηλῷ) nor Plut.'s late prosaic *reg. et imper. apophthegm.* 184f Θεμιστοκλῆς μειράκιον ὦν ἐν ποτοῖς ἐκυλινδεῖτο καὶ γυναιξίν or Sext. *Emp. Adv.*

<sup>11</sup> Nic. *Ther.* 156, 204 uses both. 'Αλίνδομαι only in Nic. *Ther.* 156, Leon. Tar. *HE* 33.2. 'Αλινδέομαι is lighter, Call. *Iambi* fr. 191.42, Herodas 5.30, (mostly) late prose. The earlier form is ἀλίνδω – G-P on Leon. Tar. l.c. are incorrect in assuming the opposite – as is κυλίνδω, but the frequentative form prevailed, as did κυλινδέω, see Chantraine *DE* s.v. ἀλίνδω, Headlam-Knox on Herodas 5.30, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 191.42, *DGE* s.vv. ἀλινδέομαι, ἀλίνδομαι.



*Math.* 1.291 (Zeus) χαμαὶ ρίψας ἑαυτὸν συγκαλινδεῖται τῇ γυναικί (adduced by Headlam-Knox on Herodas 5.30) are of much help here.

**καίπερ οὐ παρόντα** Marks a difference to *Od.* 10.71f. where Aeolus scolds Odysseus face to face. It also points out the hero's unique ability to dodge the punishment he deserves. Contrast his fate to that of Polymele: τὸν μὲν Ὀδυσσεῖα ... ἐκάκισεν, τὴν δὲ Πολυμήλην ... τίσασθαι. R. Herzog, *Phil.* 79 (1924), 411 regarded "die Entfesselung der Winde als Strafe für die heimliche Liebesschaft" of Odysseus with Polymele, but Aeolus' telepathetic capabilities seem unsubstantiated.

**ἐκάκισεν** *Od.* 10.72-5 give us a clue as to what Aeolus might have said. By hinting at this passage Ph. would make clear that his story elucidates the background of the Homeric episode. Proper hospitality entails certain obligations by both sides. Other characters in Parthenian stories show respect to their hosts and refuse to give in to a secret affair, as Antheus in 14.1 ἀπεωθεῖτο ... Δία ξένιον καὶ κοινὴν τράπεζαν προῖσχύμενος (which led him to a tragic death) or Promedon in 18.1 Δία τε Ἑταιρήιον καὶ Ξένιον αἰδούμενος.<sup>12</sup> In an example of extreme sensitivity in Hdt. 1.43-6 Adrastus, a *xeinos* of Croesus, cuts his throat over the tomb of his host's son, whom he had accidentally killed during hunting. But Odysseus' vile act insults in the most disgraceful way the hospitality, friendship and help of which he was recipient. The Greeks had the strongest feelings about such behaviour, cf. Achilles in *Il.* 9.374-6 (about Agamemnon) οὐδὲ τί οἱ βουλάς συμφράσσομαι, οὐδὲ μὲν ἔργον / ἐκ γὰρ δὴ μ' ἀπάτησε καὶ ἤλιτεν· οὐδ' ἂν ἔτ' αὐτίς / ἐξαπάφοιτ' ἐπέεσσιν· ἄλις δέ οἱ. Menelaus in *Il.* 3.353-4 bids Zeus grant him victory over Paris, since this would be of broader benefit, ὄφρα τις ἐρρίγησι καὶ ὀψιγόνων ἀνθρώπων / ξεινοδόκον κακὰ βέξαι, ὃ κεν φιλότητα παράσχη and Melanthe's offence in *Od.* 18.321f. is even more grave because she was brought up by Penelope but still betrays her. In Hippon. (?) *IEG* 115 all the burden of the fragment falls on the last two lines, 15-6 ὅς μ' ἠδίκησε, λ[ὰ]ξ δ' ἐπ' ὀρκίοις ἔβη, / τὸ πρὶν ἑταῖρος [ἐ]ών.

The popular etymology of Odysseus' name from ὀδύσσομαι "be angry with", already advanced by his godfather Autolycus in *Od.* 19.406-9 and alluded to several times in the *Od.*, see Rutherford on *Od.* l.c., S. West on *Od.* 1.62 and occasionally later, cf. Soph. fr. 965 ὀρθῶς δ' Ὀδυσσεύς εἰμ' ἐπώνυμος κακῶν / πολλοὶ γὰρ

<sup>12</sup> The expression used in such accusations is αἰσχύνειν ξενίαν τράπεζαν. Paris is often accused of that, Aesch. *Ag.* 401, Lyc. 137, Q.S. 413-4, Triph. 658-9. Referring to a husband cf. *Od.* 8.269-270 λέχος δ' ἦσχυνε καὶ εὐνήν / Ἥφαιστοιο ἀνακτος of Ares' adultery with Aphrodite. On Ξένιον Δία αἰδεῖσθαι see Campbell on A.R. 3.193 and on oaths to ξενίη τράπεζα H. I. Kakridis, *La notion de l'amitié et de l'hospitalité chez Homère*, Thessaloniki 1963, 106-7.

ὀδύσσαντο δυσμενεῖς ἔμοι, may have been employed in this context. The hero himself is conscious of the fact that he has caused grief to others: in *Od.* 23.306-7 he tells Penelope ὅσα κήδε' ἔθηκεν / ἀνθρώποις ὅσα τ' αὐτὸς οἰζύσας ἐμόγησε.

τὴν δὲ Πολυμήλην ἐν νῶ ἔσχε τίσασθαι Parthenian, 14.1 ἐν νῶ εἶχε τίσασθαι αὐτόν, 8.5 νῶ δὲ εἶχεν αὐτὴν τίσασθαι. Here again we stand on tragic ground. In the early twenties of the 5th c. Eur. produced *Aeolus* fr. 13-41, the subject of which was the incestuous love of Macareus and Canace, two children of Aeolus. Canace gets pregnant and Macareus persuades their father to allow his children to marry each other. The couples are to be defined by lot, but luck does not favour the lovers. In obscure circumstances Aeolus finds out the truth, Canace commits suicide and is soon followed by Macareus. The *Hypothesis* of the play stops before its last part, but the loss is mitigated by Sostrat. *Tyrrhenica* FGH 23 F 3 who having read Eur.'s play informs us about the tragic end: Αἴολος δὲ περὶ τούτων μαθὼν τῇ θυγατρὶ ξίφος ἔπεμψεν· ἡ δὲ ὡς νόμον δεξαμένη τὸν σίδηρον αὐτὴν ἀνεῖλε. Μακαρεὺς δὲ τὸν γεννήσαντα προεξιλεωσάμενος ἔδραμεν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον· εὐρῶν δὲ τὴν ἀγαπωμένην αἰμορραγοῦσαν τῷ αὐτῷ ξίφει τὸν βίον περιέγραψε, whence Plut. *Par. Min.* 28, p. 312c-d. Today only fragments containing mostly maxims survive, but in antiquity, because of its revolutionary theme, the play became instantly renowned and not before too long it invited the mockery of comedy, thus winning a lasting fame.<sup>13</sup> Nowacki 34-5 assisted by some remarks of Rohde 107f. on the influence of Eur.'s novel erotic stories on Hellenistic poetry, was the first to notice the impact of Eur.'s *Aeolus* on this part of Ph.'s *Hermes*, see also Nesselrath 207 n. 90. There are many

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<sup>13</sup> On the Euripidean play see H. J. Mette, *Lustrum* 23 (1981), 16-22 and H. van Looy, *AC* 60 (1991), 300, Gareth Williams, *CQ* 42 (1992), 201-9. *Aeolus* became a favourite target of Ar., cf. *Clouds* 1371-2, *Frogs* 850, 1081, *Thesm.* 177-8, al., but also of later comedians, cf. Eriphus *Aeolus* PCG 1 and Antiphan. *Aeolus* PCG 19-20, see K-A, PCG III.2, 34 (on Ar. *Aeolosikon*) and Nesselrath 205-9. Ar.'s ridicule of course advanced the interest in the play: "From the early third century onwards it was not tragedy, but Attic comedy and particularly Aristophanes, that interested the Alexandrian grammarians", Pfeiffer (1968), 224; on studies on comedy in Hellenistic times see Nesselrath 172-187. Ov. *Her.* 11 knew it (Rohde 108 n. 2 unfortunately denied any link and assumed a lost Hellenistic model), but Nesselrath 206 nn. 87, 88 was surely right to point out that S. Jäkel, *GB* 8 (1979), 101-118 made too much out of it; see on the difference in emphasis in Ov. (unfortunate love) and in Eur. (incest) K. Philippides, *Mnem.* 49 (1996), 426-439. Even Nero according to Suetonius *Nero* 21 *inter cetera cantavit Canacem parturientem*, see A. Lesky, *Ges. Schr.*, Bern-Munich 1966, 342-3. Such a play obviously would find it difficult to be included in a canon in Christian times. Scheibner 112-3 asserted that the Egyptian habit of fraternal marriage which Ph. saw being practised in Alexandria might have played a role, but there is no need to stray from a clear literary background.

Euripidean elements taken up as they stood or adapted by Ph.: a secret love-affair, a secret product of an impermissible liaison – son or gifts, deceit of Aeolus (in Eur. additionally Canace gives birth to her child τῷ νοσεῖν προ[σοιη]τῶς, *Hypoth.* v. 26), dramatic revelation of the truth followed by Aeolus' wrath and intention of punishing his daughter, an attempt to save the child by the nurse replaced in Ph. by an attempt to save Polymele herself by her brother – both successful, and an incestuous marriage of Canace/Macareus as of Diores/Polymele – but with a big difference of emphasis within their respective contexts. It should be noted that the secret love-affair is picked up from Eur. to be rendered in Ph. a component element of his interpretation of the relevant Homeric episode.

Aeolus has every good reason to be outraged with his guest, but has even better reasons to put most of the blame on Polymele's shoulders. His anger is a Euripidean element, enriched in Ph. with grotesque overtones, see on fr. 6. It must have played a key-role in Eur. where in view of the disastrous outcome of his wrath Aeolus comes up with a fitting maxim, fr. 31 ὀργῇ γὰρ ὅστις εὐθέως χαρίζεται, / κακῶς τελευτᾷ· πλεῖστα γὰρ σφάλλει βροτούς. This was then taken up by *Ov. Her.* 11 where Aeolus v. 15 *tumidae non imperat irae* and cf. his vehement, almost insane (v. 74 *insana regia voce sonat*) reaction in vv. 73f. We are not told what Aeolus did with Odysseus' gifts. We are not told how he was planning to punish his daughter in *Hermes* either, but presumably Ph. used the sword-motif of Eur., as later did *Ov. Her.* 11.3, 93-100. There is a list of fathers punishing their daughters in their outrage about secret love-affairs in A.R. 4.1087-95 where the Schol. (307.1-2 Wendel) record a Κατάλογος ἀσεβῶν by an undatable Lysippus of Epirus.

**ἔτυχε δὲ αὐτῆς ἠρασμένος ὁ ἀδελφὸς Διώρης** The secret love between children of Aeolus is already known in Homer. Ph. uses it not because he is keen on employing the incestuous love motif *per se*, but because he needs to exploit the incestuous marriage of Aeolus' children to replace Eur.'s tragic finale with a happy end: this is suggestive of the nature of the stories included in *Hermes*. With the exception of Adesp. Pap. Eleg. *SH* 964.15-6 neither Diores nor Polymele are attested as names of any of Aeolus' children elsewhere, see Roscher I, 194 s.v. Aeolus (3). Since Ph. invents the whole story he prefers not to use traditional names; instead he turns to Homer. Diores from διφο-ρηής "pleasing to Zeus" occurs 3x in the *Il.* 2.622, 4.517, 17.429, in the first two cases as leader of the Epeians whose dramatic death is described in *Il.* 4.517-526, see von Kamptz 88, Kirk on *Il.* 4.517. Polymele appearing only once in *Il.* 16.180, cf. Trojan Polymelos in *Il.* 16.417, is a choice not without significance, see *Herm.-Disc.* The two names are the only Iliadic traces in the Odysseus-episode of *Hermes*: Odyssean names would have a rather confusing effect.

**αὐτὴν παραιτεῖται** "begs off punishment for her", see *LSJ* s.v. παραιτέω III. As Macareus in Eur., Dioreas pleads for Polymele to be spared.

**καὶ πείθει τὸν πατέρα αὐτῷ συνοικίσαι** Cf. the *Hypothesis* of *Aeolus* ὁ δὲ νεανίσκος ἔπεισε τὸν πατέρα [τὰς θυγα-] / τέρας συνοικίσαι τοῖς υἱοῖς. Part of Macareus' argumentation was a verse renowned in antiquity, Eur. fr. 19 τί δ' αἰσχρὸν ἦν μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκῆ;, cf. the parodies in Ar. *Frogs* 1475 τί δ' αἰσχρὸν ἦν μὴ τοῖς θεωμένοις δοκῆ;, Machon 410 Gow. For Eur.'s own opinion cf. *Andr.* 173-6 with Stevens ad loc. expressly condemning incest as "barbaric". The groom normally had to extract the assent of both his father, cf. Men. *Dysc.* 784-7 and see D. MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens*, London 1978, 86, and the father of the bride. Τὸν πατέρα here is tantalisingly vague, as *Aeolus* comprises both qualities ("their father" Stern, "his father" Gaselee) and one wonders if Ph. took advantage of the awkward situation; contrast the plural in 10.1 *Κυάνιππος* ... εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν Λευκῶνης ἐλθὼν, παρὰ τῶν πατέρων αἰτησάμενος αὐτὴν ἡγάγετο γυναῖκα. In Homer the intermarriage seems to be *Aeolus*' own decision, *Od.* 10.7 ἐνθ' ὃ γε θυγατέρας πόρεν υἰάσιν εἶναι ἀκοίτις. No account is given for it, but one assumes that it is a result of the family's isolation.

**συνοικίσαι** συνοικίζω is a *terminus technicus* meaning "give permission to cohabit as husband and wife", συνοικεῖν being the verb to denote the actual state of marital cohabitation, see A. R. W. Harrison, *The Law at Athens*, Oxford 1968, 2. The father's assent was technically called ἔκδοσις.

The next chapter in Parth., entitled Περὶ Εὐύπτης and notated Ἱστορεῖ Σοφοκλῆς Εὐρυάλω, begins in an unparalleled way: οὐ μόνον δὲ Ὀδυσσεὺς περὶ Αἴολον ἐξήμαρτεν, ἀλλὰ etc. Maass (1894), 2 assumed because of that a common source, but the unusual connection is only due to the fact that Parth. conceived his collection as a unity and is in this case facilitated by the content of the next chapter. In its first part which gives us the background of the main story, i.e. *Odysseus*' murder of *Euryalus*, an illegitimate child of his, the hero τὴν Τυρίμμα θυγατέρα ἔφθειρεν Εὐύπτην, ὃς αὐτὸν οἰκείως τε ὑπεδέξατο καὶ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας ἐξένισε. This story shows again how easily inappropriate behaviour towards his hosts was ascribed to *Odysseus*, but is unlikely to have functioned as a model for Ph., whose story was made up to stand within its *Odyssean* context. The motif of course could have been popular in Hellenistic times and it is rather on such a source that Parth. draws: Eustath. *Comm. Od.* 1796.50f. informs us that in Soph.'s play, *TrGF* IV, pp. 194-5, *Euryalus* was killed by *Telemachus*, not *Odysseus* as in Parth.

## Fr. 2

## Μελιγουνίδα νήσον (?)

From Parth.'s (Odysseus) ἀφίκετο πρὸς Αἰόλον καὶ Μελιγουνίδα νήσον Schneider 47 n. 2 suggested that εἰς Μελιγουνίδα νήσον is a phrase extracted from the Philetan prototype. Among a number of instances likely to reflect the original, this is the most obvious one (note the dactylic form of the whole clause). Μελιγουνίς is the ancient name of Λιπάρη (modern Lipari) which attracted some attention in the erudite poets, Call. *HyDian.* 47-8 νήσω ἐνὶ Λιπάρη (Λιπάρη νέον, ἀλλὰ τότ' ἔσκεν / οὔνομα οἱ Μελιγουνίς), where the parenthesis seems to refer directly to Ph., Euph. CA 51.8 Ἡ που θερμάστραις ἢ που Μελιγουνίδι τοῖαι / μαρμαρυγαί.<sup>14</sup> In principle regional history was a keen interest of the Hellenistic poets, here all the more imperative for Ph. since Meligounis was a Cnidian colony, cf. Paus. 10.11.3, *CEG* 832i (Lipara, 475-450), and a cult of a "Tyrrhenian" ithyphallic Hermes existed in the area, cf. Call. *Iambi* fr. 199. Learned poets also took pains with the ancient onomatology, see on fr. 23.1. According to Suda Call. published a Κτίσεις Νήσων καὶ Πόλεων καὶ Μετωνομασίαι (p. 339 Pf.) which presumably dealt thoroughly with such questions. The Cyrenean's interest in antiquarian names is well attested cf. frr. 580-5, 599, 601, *HyDel.* 36-7 where see Mineur. Some passages in Strabo such as 10.2.17 (an extract from Apollod. about Samos) οὐ δ' ἔκαλεῖτο τῷ αὐτῷ ὀνόματι πρότερον, ἀλλὰ Μελάμφυλλος, εἶτ' Ἀνθεμῖς, εἶτα Παρθενία ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Παρθενίου etc. indicate that consolidated information about the subject was available. Onomatology seems to have been the first subject touched by poems dealing with a certain region, cf. Euph. *Mopsopia* CA 34 on Athens, Rhian. *Thessalica* CA 25 on

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Strabo 6.2.10 (αἱ Λιπαραῖοι νήσοι) εἰσὶ δ' ἑπτὰ μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, μεγίστη δ' ἡ Λιπάρη, Κνιδίων ἀποικος, ἐγγυτάτω τῆς Σικελίας κειμένη ... ἔκαλεῖτο δὲ πρότερον Μελιγουνίς ... ὑπηκόους ἔχουσα τὰς νῦν λεγομένας Λιπαραίων νήσους, ἃς Αἰόλου τινὲς προσαγορεύουσι with Lassere ad loc., Steph. Byz. (442.9 Meineke) Μελιγουνίς· μία τῶν Αἰόλου νήσων, Comm. PAnt. on Call. I.c. (p. 53-4, ll. 6-7 Pf.) Λιπάρη γάρ] νήσος Σικελίας, ἧτις πρ[ότερον Μελιγουνίς, Schol. PCair. on ibid. (p. 55, ll. 1-2 Pf.) Μελιγουν(ις) τὸ πρότερον ἔκαλεῖτο | ἡ νῦν Λιπάρη. An aetion for the Lipara-name is supplied by Schol. Call. I.c. (p. 60.40-4 Pf.) νήσος ... πλησίον Σικελίας, ἔνθα ἦν τὰ χαλκεῖα τοῦ Ἡφαίστου. ... λέγεται δέ, ὅτι σίδηρα διάφορα θέντες ἐν αὐτῇ ναῦται ἔωθεν εὐρήκασιν αὐτὰ ἐκ τῆς ἀναδόσεως τοῦ πυρὸς ἀναπαλινθέντα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐκλήθη ἡ νήσος Λιπάρη· <...> διὰ τὸ αὐτὰ διάφορα ὄντα ἔν γενέσθαι (?), cf. Pytheas ἐν περιόδῳ γῆς fr. 15 Mette = Schol. A.R. 4.761-5a (291.25-292.6 Wendel) and for Hephaestus Theoc. 2.133-4 Λιπαραίω / .. Ἀφαιστοίω.

Thessaly. For Parth. cf. ch. 19 supplying the information, irrelevant to his story, νήσου τῆς πρότερον μὲν Στρογγύλης, ὕστερον δὲ Νάξου κληθείσης, which goes back to the original (according to the notation *Andriscus Naxiaca*, a 3rd c. historian). On the geographical interests of the erudite 3rd c. see Fraser I, 520f.

### Fr. 3 (CA 8)

--- ἰσχυρὰ γὰρ ἐπικρατεῖ ἀνδρὸς ἀνάγκη,  
ἢ ῥ' οὐδ' ἀθανάτους ὑποδείδιεν οἱ τ' ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ  
ἔκτοσθεν χαλεπῶν ἀχέων οἴκους ἐκάμοντο.

Stob. 1.4.4 (I.71 Wachsmuth, c. περὶ ἀνάγκης κτλ.)

Φιλῆτα Ἐρμοῦ ASM

1 fort. <τλήσομαι> Meineke : <ἄνσχεο> e.g. Scheibner ἐπικρατεῖ codd. : ἐπι<χθονίου> κρατεῖ perperam von Blumenthal

**ἰσχυρὰ** Epic diction demands κρατερῆ or κραταιή, cf. *Il.* 6.458 (quoted ff.), *Od.* 10.273 κρατερῆ δέ μοι ἔπλετ' ἀνάγκη, *HHAphr.* 130, *Hes. Theog.* 517, *Cypria EGF* 7.3, *Theogn.* 195, 387, *Bacch.* 11.46, fr. 20A.19-20, oracle in *Hdt.* 1.37.3 = 33.2 P-W, *Adesp. PMG* 1017.2, *A.R.* 2.18, al., but its absence is mitigated by the following ἐπικρατεῖ. Ἴσχυρός is unHomeric, occurring in poetry mostly in tragedy. The expression is unattested elsewhere in poetry,<sup>15</sup> but cf. Thales 11A 1.35 D-K ἰσχυρότατον ἀνάγκη· κρατεῖ γὰρ πάντων, *Eur. Hel.* 514 δεινῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχύειν πλέον, *Adesp. TrGF* 502 (*Eur.*?) οὐδεὶς ἀνάγκης μεῖζον ἰσχύει νόμος, *A.R.* 2.232-3 πικρὴ .. καὶ ἄατος ἴσχει ἀνάγκη, further [*Aesch.*] *Prom.* 105 τὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης σθένος, 514 τέχνη δ' ἀνάγκης ἀσθενεστέρα μακρῶ, *Eur.* fr. 299 πρὸς τὴν ἀνάγκην πάντα τᾶλλ' ἐστ' ἀσθενῆ. The word is here placed in an emphatic position.

**ἐπικρατεῖ** The epic tradition demands ἐπίκειται viz. ἐπικείσεται, as *Il.* 6.458 κρατερῆ δ' ἐπικείσεται ἀνάγκη! (= *Orac. Sib.* 3.572), *A.R.* 3.430 (quoted ff.), cf. *Paulus Epist. Cor.* 1.9.16 ἀνάγκη γὰρ μοι ἐπίκειται (sc. εὐαγγελίζεσθαι).

<sup>15</sup> The occurrences in prose are all of legal character, even *Hdt.* 1.74 ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεις ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμμένειν, cf. *Antiphon* 5.11, 6.25 and, despite A. Z. Bonaldi, *BIFG* 3 (1976), 272, they exercised no influence on Ph.

Ἐπικρατεῖν after Homer appears in colloquial (Ar.) and prosaic occurrences. In Homer when transitive it always takes a dative. It denotes mastery in the battlefield and it always refers to a relation between two persons, see J. L. Breuil, "κράτος et sa famille chez Homère" in Casevitz 28. It is a strong term, "prevails above anything else", as in Archil. *IEG* 115. It is particularly appropriate as it carries the threatening notion of the κράτος derivatives, cf. Schol. D *Il.* 1.25 κρατερόν· ἰσχυρόν, ἀπειλητικόν, EM 532.27, al. and *Il.* 16.66-7 κυάνεον Τρώων νέφος ἀμφιβέβηκε / νηυσὶν ἐπικρατέως, Hes. *Scut.* 321 (Heracles) πάλλεν ἐπικρατέως his shield, Nic. *Alex.* 72 καὶ κεν ἐπικρατέουσιν ἀπεχθέα νοῦσον ἀλάλκοις, and prompts an underlying ἐπὶ κρατί, cf. for the imagery Eur. *Her.* 640 (τὸ γῆρας) ἐπὶ κρατί κεῖται.<sup>16</sup> A word-play on κράτος and κάρτα is not unparalleled, cf. Aesch. *ScTh* 412-3 σπαρτῶν δ' ἀπ' ἀνδρῶν ὧν Ἄρης ἐφείσατο / ῥίζωμ' ἀνεῖται – κάρτα δ' ἔστ' ἐγχώριος, 940, A.R. 3.1297 κρατεροῖσιν ... κεράεσσιν, 3.1307 (Jason drags the bulls by their horns) εἶλκεν ἐπικρατέως, Opp. *Hal.* 2.46 (swordfish's muzzle) κρατερόν ἄορ, [id.] *Cyn.* 2.79, 94 (horns of the Phrygian bulls) οὐ ... κρατερῆσιν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆφι πέπηγε, 334 (sheep fighting with their foreheads) κρατερός δὲ δοῦπος πρὸς αἰθέρα ἰκάνει, Q.S. 6.216-9 (Heracles and Iolaus with Lernaia Hydra) κρατερὰ φρονέοντε / ἄμφω, ὃ μὲν τέμνεσκε καρῆατα .. / ... ὃ δὲ καίε σιδήρω / αἰθομένω· κρατερῆ δὲ κατήνυτο θηρὸς ὀμοκλή, 11.469 κρατερῆ τρυφάλεια, Triph. 480-1 μάστακα ... μεμαρπῶς / εἶχεν ἐπικρατέως and perhaps A.R. 3.1052 κρατεροῦς ζεύξας βόας, Adesp. Pap. Eleg. *SH* 958.12 εἰς κρατερὴν δουλοσύνην ἔθεμ[, cf. Call. fr. 75.6 ὄνοιο κάρθ' ~ νν. 8-9 ὅστις ἀκαρτεῖ / γλώσσης.

**ἀνδρός** "mortal", as usually in epic, see Edwards on *Il.* 18.429-35. Ἄνῆρ (as θνητός, ἄνθρωπος and the like) commonly comes up in maxims (which are very often introduced by γάρ, see Campbell on Q.S. 12.388), but the point may be quite specific as ἄνδρα is the first word of the *Od.* and had a certain impact as such, see A. Kahane,

<sup>16</sup> Ananke, as other abstract forces that threaten the man, lie ἐπὶ or ὑπὲρ him, cf. *Il.* 21.110 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοι καὶ ἐμοὶ θάνατος καὶ μοῖρα κραταιή, *HHAr.* 284 ὑπερθεν πέτρῃ ἐπικρέματα, Mimn. *IEG* 5.6 γῆρας ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀντίχ' ὑπερκρέματα (with Allen ad loc.) and for ὑπὲρ ... ὑπερκρέματα see van Groningen on Theogn. 85, Simon. *PMG* 520.4 ὁ δ' ἄφυκτος ὁμῶς ἐπικρέματα θάνατος, Pind. *Nem.* 8.14, Call. fr. 64.1-2 κακὸν ... / ... ἐπικρεμάσαι, A.R. 2.578 ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς γὰρ ἀμήχανος ἦεν ὄλεθρος, 2.173, 2.222, 3.483, [Mosch.] *Megara* 74 (δαίμων λυγρός) ὃς θ' ὑμῖν ἐφύπερθε κάρης βαρῆς αἰωρεῖται, Adesp. Pap. Eleg. *SH* 970.5 (λάας) κρατὸς ὑπερ κρέματα, Antip. Thess. *GPh* 87.6 (Niobe) ἧ δὲ βαρῆς πότμος ἐπικρέματα.

*TAPA* 122 (1992), 115-131. Odysseus after Homer is not simply a mortal; he is an ἥρωας, a rank between gods and men.<sup>17</sup>

**ἀνάγκη** Ananke is the power which imposes on someone an unwelcome but inescapable task. Here not the personified goddess, but "the compulsion imposed on men in concrete circumstances (as opposed to the "predestined rigid necessity")", Wil. *Die Griech. Trag.* II, 26 as translated by Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 218. In Homer it regularly comes up as clausula, cf. also Call. *HyDel.* 35, A.R. 2.18, 232, 3.430 etc.

ἢ ῥ' οὐδ' ἀθανάτους ὑποδείδιεν ὑποδείδω, on which see Campbell on A.R. 3.318, is often used to denote the fear of a superior power, as Jason of Medea in A.R. 4.394, and particularly of the gods, cf. *Il.* 1.406 (Briareus) τὸν καὶ ὑπέδεισαν μάκαρες θεοί, *Od.* 2.66 θεῶν ὑποδείσατε μῆνιν, Q.S. 3.598, 12.488 μακάρων δ' ὑπεδείδιε (Köchly : ὑποδ- codd.) μῆνιν, cf. for the wording *Od.* 8.224-5 οὐθ' Ἡρακλῆι οὐτ' Εὐρύτω Οἰχαλιῆι, / οἳ ῥα καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἐρίζεσκον περὶ τόξων, A.R. 2.820-1 κάπριος ἀργιόδων, ... ὃν ῥα καὶ αὐταί / Νύμφαι .. ὑπεδείδισαν. The form employed is sanctioned by *Od.* 17.564. Simon. *PMG* 542.29 ἀνάγκη δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται (Diog. Laert. 1.4.79 attributes it to Pittacus; cf. also Hdt. 1.91) is the first attestation of a widespread proverb, see Page ad loc., *DGE* s.v. ἀνάγκη II.3 and cf. Q.S. 12.60-1 Τρωσὶν .. ἐνέπνευσεν μέγ' ἀνάγκη / θάρσος, ὃ περ πρὸς Ἄρηα καὶ οὐτιδανόν περ ἐγείρει.

ἔκτοσθεν χαλεπῶν ἀχέων ὀπισθεν, ἔκτοσθε, ἔντοσθε are Homeric. Antim. fr. 136.3 brings into epic ἔμπροσθεν (before him Hdt., Plato) for the Homeric πρόσθε, then occurring as a v.l. in A.R. 4.590. Ἐκτός, ἔκτοθι, ἔκτοθεν, ἔκτοσθε are always constructed with a concrete noun in Homer, but cf. Hes. *WD* 115 = Theogn. 1121 = *GVI* 1830.4 (3rd c. A.D.; the deceased in the Elysian Fields) κακῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων/, Orph. *Arg.* 1109 χαλεπῶν ἔκτοσθεν ἀπάντων, further A.R. 1.1037 ἀδευκέος ἔκτοσθεν ἄτης, Opp. *Hal.* 3.606 πόνου ἔκτοσθε, Dioscurus *GDRK* 42.7.19 ἔκτος ἀνάγκης, with the meaning "beyond the realm of". On the adverbial suffix -θεν see Chantraine *GH* I, 244. Χαλεπῶν ἀχέων is novel, probably modelled on χαλεπὸν ἄλγος (*Od.* 2.193, Theogn. 555, *GVI* 768.7-8 (2nd c.)). On its range of meanings see

<sup>17</sup> In Homer all heroes are common mortal men, see Hainsworth on *Il.* 12.23 (the only occurrence of ἡμίθεος in the *Il.*). From Hes. *WD* 160-1 onwards they appear as demigods. West ad loc. noted that in the archaic construction ἡρώων ἡμιθέων the burden lies on their half-divine parentage, not on their semi-divine status. On a hero's rank see N. J. Richardson in P. E. Easterling - J. V. Muir, *Greek Religion and Society*, Oxford 1985, 56-7, Bremmer 12-3. On their cult in the different states see Burkert 203-8, E. Kearns *Le sanctuaire grec*, 65-107.



F-G on *Od.* 21.412, F. Mawet, *Recherches sur les oppositions fonctionelles dans le vocabulaire homérique de la douleur*, Brussels 1979, 293-349, further literature in Campbell on A.R. 3.446.

**οἴκους ἐκάμοντο** An unusual expression against the traditional *Il.* 2.750 οἰκί' ἔθεντο/ (whence Plut.'s *Mor.* 49e arbitrary emendation of Hes. *Theog.* 64 οἰκί' ἔχουσι), *HHAp.* 46 = 137 οἰκία θέσθαι, *Il.* 12.166-7 μέλισσαι / οἰκία ποιήσονται, *HHAp.* 77, *Od.* 6.9 ἐδείματο οἴκους. It makes a witty point about the construction of the dwelling place of the gods. The transitive ἐκάμοντο is Homeric, *Od.* 9.130 οἷ κέ σφιν καὶ νῆσον ἐκτιμένην ἐκάμοντο/, and after Ph., A.R. 1.1322 περικλεῆς ἄστυ καμόντα/, 2.718 ἱρόν .. ὃ ρ' ἐκάμοντο/, Q.S. 12.37 (ἵππον) τόν ρ' ἐκάμοντο/. Call. would have disliked a hexameter with word-break after princeps in both fourth and fifth foot.

The fragment is explicitly ascribed to *Hermes* by the Stob. codd. It presents a similarity with Q.S. 3.649-651 (Calliope consoles Thetis) Ἥ οὐκ αἰεὶς ὅτι πάντας ... / ἀνθρώπους ὀλοὴ περιπέπταται ἄσχετος Αἴσα / οὐδὲ θεῶν ἀλέγουσα, τόσον σθένος ἔλλαχε μούνη; / Ἥ καὶ νῦν (will destroy the city of Priam). The identification of the speaker is important for its interpretation. Gnomae in early epic are usually delivered by the characters, not the poet, with rare exceptions, see Edwards 6. It is only in imperial epic through the influence of rhetoric that maxims by the poet become common, see Campbell on Q.S. 12.388. Between Aeolus and Odysseus, despite Hunter (1993), 114 n. 55 ("most likely spoken by Aeolus"), the latter is preferable. Aeolus, loved and patronised by the gods, is rather unlikely to openly state their impotence towards ananke and he is even less likely to console Odysseus with the possible but unsuitable thought that if gods bow to ananke, then mortals have to do the same and suffer accordingly, thus displaying an unacceptable lack of compassion.<sup>18</sup> He does not seem to have said much either: Parth. says that he mostly asked questions. Odysseus on the other hand has good reasons to mention ananke: the fragment would refer to a deed the hero was forced to perform. Γάρ in v. 1 explains the necessity of accomplishing the task mentioned in the preceding lines. In situations like this ananke regularly turns up as motivation for a heroic deed: quite often in tragedy, see Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 514 and cf. Jason justifying his decision to undertake to kill Aietes' bulls with a similar maxim in A.R. 3.428-431 τῷ καὶ ἐγὼ τὸν ἄεθλον ὑπερφιάλόν περ ἑόντα / τλήσομαι, εἰ καὶ μοι θανέειν μόρος. Οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἄλλο / ῥίγιον ἀνθρώποισι

<sup>18</sup> A primary virtue of any consoler, see W. Burkert, *Zum altgriechischen Mitleidsgefühl*, Diss. Erlangen 1955, 56f.

κακῆς ἐπικείσεται<sup>19</sup> ἀνάγκης / ἧ με καὶ ἐνθάδε νεῖσθαι ἐπέχραεν ἐκ βασιλῆος.  
Odysseus himself often justifies a deed of his by invoking the sheer necessity of the  
circumstance, as in *Od.* 6.136, 7.218, al. The gods are an apt parallel in the mouth of  
Odysseus as an *a fortiori* consolatory parallel.<sup>20</sup>

Which adventure specifically does this fragment refer to? The assonance of the  
novel construction χαλεπῶν ἀχέων along with the twice repeated α-ε-ω sequence of  
vowels prompts Ἀχέρων,<sup>21</sup> a synonym for Hades so used by Asclep. *HE* 2.3, Theoc.  
12.19, 15.86, Call. fr. 191.35, see G-P on Bian. *GPh* 6.3 and cf. *IMEG* 32.4 (3rd c.),  
*SEG* 27.328.6 (2nd c.?). Χαλεπός, like its derivative verb χαλεπαίνω, is often related  
to a deed that arouses indignation, cf. *Od.* 2.193-4 σοὶ δέ, γέρον, θωῆν ἐπιθήσομεν,  
ἦν κ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ / τίνων ἀσχάλλης· χαλεπὸν δέ τοι ἔσσειται ἄλγος and see *LSJ* s.v. I.1  
("hard to bear"). Such was Odysseus' reaction when Circe told him he had to

<sup>19</sup> LI-J proposed ἐπικείται but see Vian ad loc., M. Campbell, *Gnomon* 62 (1990), 483. Meineke's 351  
supplement <τλήσομαι> in Ph. is *spiritu* correct. Scheibner 109 proposed the "klanglich besser"  
ἀνοσχεο.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *Il.* 5.381f. (Dione presents a list of gods suffering from mortals to console Aphrodite), *Il.* 18.117-  
121 (Achilleus invokes the parallel of Heracles, beloved by Zeus, for the inevitability of his own death),  
see Edwards ad loc., Richardson on *Il.* 21.106-7. In Panyas. *EGF* 16 someone encourages Heracles,  
who has to accomplish his labours by Zeus' will, by quoting a list of gods who had suffered for the  
same reason. In *GVI* 1249.15-24 (2nd/1st c.) the deceased tries to mollify the sorrow caused by his  
death by quoting a list of heroes favoured by the gods who had to die as well, cf. also *GVI* 1521.5-6  
(1st/2nd c.), 1804.10 (1st c.), 1935.15 (2nd c.).

<sup>21</sup> Such assonances occur in similar contexts. *Il.* 2.694 (Achilleus of Briseis) τῆς ὃ γε κεῖτ' ἀχέων, τάχα  
δ' ἀνστήσεται ἔμελλον, *Il.* 3.42 = 24.91 ἔχω δ' ἄχε', *Il.* 18.29 θυμὸν ἀκηχέμενοι μεγάλ' ἴαχον, *Il.*  
20.282 κὰδ δ' ἄχος οἱ χύτο μύριον, Alc. *PMGF* 116 ἔχει μ' ἄχος ὃ ὄλε δαίμων ~ A.R. 3.464, Eur.  
*Hel.* 365 = *IT* 197 ἄχεα τ' ἄχεσιν, Ar. *Frogs* 184 = Achaeus *TrGF* 20 F 11 χαῖρ' ὃ Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὃ  
Χάρων, χαῖρ' ὃ Χάρων, which Radermacher and Dover regarded as solemn, Stanford "with its  
assonance" comic, Erinna *SH* 402.1 εἰς Ἀΐδαν κενεὰ διανήχεται ἀχώ, A.R. 3.446 κῆρ ἄχει  
σύχουσα, A.R. 3.659, Q.S. 12.583 ἀναχάζεται ἀχνημένη κῆρ. In pessimistic contexts Ἀχιλλεύς and  
'Αχαιοί are often juxtaposed with ἄχος, as in *Il.* 10.145 ἄχος βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιοῦς, *Il.* 16.21-2  
(Patroclus' death) ὃ Ἀχιλλεῦ, ... μέγα φέρτατ' Ἀχαιῶν, / ... ἄχος βεβίηκεν Ἀχαιοῦς, *Il.* 16.822 ἦκαχε  
λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν, *Il.* 18.446, *Il.* 23.212 Πάτροκλος, τὸν πάντες ἀναστενάχουσιν Ἀχαιοί, Asclep. *HE*  
29.3 ('Αρετά) ἄχει μεγάλω βεβωλημένα εἰ παρ' Ἀχαιοῖς etc., Triph. 42 ἀμβολιῆ δ' ἦσαλλε  
δυσασχθέει λαὸς Ἀχαιῶν. Ἀχιλλεύς could be etymologised by ἄχος + λαός, as proposed by G. Nagy,  
*The Best of the Achaeans*, Berkeley 1979, 69f.; *contra* G. B. Holland, *Glotta* 71 (1993), 17-27, but see  
again G. Nagy, *ICS* 19 (1994), 3-9. J. Griffin, *Homer, Iliad IX*, Oxford 1995, 20 compared  
Πενθεσίλεια. Demeter Ἀχαιά was understood to mean "the one who suffers ἄχη", cf. Nic. *Ther.* 484-5  
and see V. Suys, *AC* 63 (1994), 14-9.

undertake a journey to Hades in *Od.* 10.496-9 *αὐτὰρ ἔμοιγε κατεκλάσθη φίλον ἦτορ / κλαῖον δ' ἐν λεχέεσσι καθήμενος, οὐδέ νύ μοι κῆρ / ἦθελ' ἔτι ζῶειν καὶ ὄρᾶν φάος ἠελίοιο*, cf. also the reaction of his companions in 10.566-8. In *Od.* 11.622 *χαλεποῦς .. ἀέθλους* the adj. characterises the Hades journey of Heracles imposed on him by Eurystheus. *Χαλεπός* is also a variant of *κρατερός* on the same subject in *Od.* 10.582, 624, cf. *GVI* 768.7-8 (2nd c.; death) *χαλεπὸν ... / ἄλγος*, *Q.S.* 3.455 (death) *χαλεποῖς ἐν πένθεσι*. "Ἄχος is a word closely associated with death or feelings caused by death.<sup>22</sup> It was paronymologically connected with 'Αχέρων itself. The first attestation of such a connection is Aesch. *Ag.* 1558 (Acheron) *πρὸς ὠκύπορον πόρθμευμ' ἀχέων*. The derivation was discussed by Apollod. of Athens among other etymologies of names of the Underworld in the 20th book of *Περὶ Θεῶν* inscribed *Περὶ τοῦ Ἄιδου*, *FGH* 244 F 102a *'Αχέροντα μὲν διὰ τὰ ἄχη* (sc. *καταφνομάκασιν*), who goes on to quote Melanippid. *Persephone PMG* 759 *καλεῖται δ' <εἵνεκ'> ἐν κόλποισι γαίας / ἄχε' εἴσιν προχέων 'Αχέρων* and *Licymn. PMG* 770a (Acheron) *μυρίασις πηγαῖς δακρῶν ἀχέων τε βρῦει* and *b 'Αχέρων ἄχεα πορθμεύει βροτοῖσιν*.<sup>23</sup> *Ananke* is also associated with death, particularly in funerary epigrams.<sup>24</sup> Among Odysseus' adventures the journey to Hades was the most dangerous and the most impressive one. The hero would easily dwell particularly on that. The verbal effect of this fragment along with the other two fragments of *Hermes* preserved in *Stob.* suggest that it refers specifically to it.

These three lines provide us with a religious foothold as well. They contain three traditional, well founded logical statements (a. the man has to submit to ananke, b.

<sup>22</sup> The feeling caused by the loss of a companion is *ἄχος*, *Il.* 4.169, 17.539, 18.22, al., then *CEG* 11.4, 153.2 (both m. 5th c.), see Hansen on *CEG* 714.5, Pers. *HE* 7.8, Theodor. *HE* 8.4. "Ἄχος was thought to underlie the Homeric formula *θανάτοιο δυσηχέος*, see Kirk on *Il.* 2.686, or the phrase *θάλασσά τε ἠχέεσσα* (*Il.* 1.157), cf. Leon. *Tar. HE* 15.1, Euph. *CA* 98.1. Cf. also *Q.S.* 12.225 *πολέμοιο δυσηχέος* and see Erbse (IV.491) on *Schol. Il.* 18.307 *<δυσηχέος> : διὰ τοὺς ἀναιρουμένους*, Campbell on *A.R.* 3.96. As *χαλεπός*, it was sometimes understood to describe a sentiment of indignation, cf. *Schol. Il.* 14.458 (III.670 Erbse) *'Αργείοισι δ' ἄχος γένετο : οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναιρέσει, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ χλεύῃ*.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. also Apollod. of Athens *FGH* 244 F 102f.4 *ὁ δὲ 'Αχέρων ἀπὸ τῶν γινομένων ἐπὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἀχῶν παρήχθη, καὶ ἡ 'Αχερουσία λίμνη*. The etymology seems to have been widely accepted, cf. also *Suda* α 4687 *'Αχέρων ποταμὸς ἐν Ἄιδου μεμυθευμένος : παρὰ τὸ ἄχη ῥεῖν* and the more elaborated version in *EM* 180.46 *'Αχέρων ὁ ἐν Ἄιδου ποταμὸς : παρὰ τὸ ἐστερηῆσθαι χαρᾶς τοὺς ἐκεῖ κατιόντας, Ἥ ὁ τὰ ἄχεα ῥέων ἀχρέων, καὶ καθ' ὑπέρθεσιν, ἀχέρων*, Eustath. *Comm. Il.* 207.31-2 (I.316-7 van der Valk, q.v.).

<sup>24</sup> See above all H. Schrekenberg, *Ananke*, Munich 1964, 66-71. Add *GVI* 48.7, 941, 969.9-10, 1039.7, 1283.7, 1593.1, 1656, 1759.3, 1896.18, 2034.3, 2055.7 (4th c. B.C. to 2nd c. A.D.), the "Spätepigramm" *GVIKI* 18.4 (Phrygia) *[πότμ]ον ἄφευκτον [ιδόνθ',] ὅς κοινός ἐστιν ἀνά[γκη]*, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.546.

ananke prevails even on the gods, c. the gods are beyond any mental grief, note "epic" τ') of which the second invalidates the third.<sup>25</sup> Ἐκάμοντο is significant in this respect. For the dwelling place of the gods epic uses neutral phrases such as ὑπέρτατα δώματα ναίουσι, Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι, see on these formulae W. M. Sale, "Homeric Olympus and its formulae", *AJPh* 105 (1984), 1-7. The poet of the *Il.* credited Hephaestus with the toil of having constructed the Olympian residences (*Il.* 1.607-8, 14.166 = 338, cf. 18.371 and see Kirk on *Il.* 1.605-8 and West on Hes. *Theog.* 43). The fact that the gods are said to have been personally involved in the construction of their home is evidently ironical. A sceptical Hellenistic poet could indeed have thought "who else could have built the gods' dwelling place, if not the gods themselves?". This rigid logic is comparable to that of Call. *HyJov.* 8-9 "Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεύσται"· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ᾧ ἄνα, σεῖο / Κρῆτες ἔτεκτῆναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἔσσι γὰρ αἰεὶ. Not everybody would agree that firm conclusions can be drawn about the theological beliefs of the learned Hellenistic poets, but witty mistrust of the traditional system is undeniable.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> This is meant to contradict the traditional belief that gods, unlike mortals, are μάκαρες, ῥεῖα ζῶντες etc., cf. *Il.* 24.525-6 ὡς γὰρ ἐπεκλώσαντο θεοὶ δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι, / ζῶειν ἀχνημένοι· αὐτοὶ δὲ τ' ἀκηδέες εἰσί, see Richardson ad loc. and M. W. Edwards, *Homer. The Poet of the Iliad*, Ithaca-London 1987, 138-142. Further W. Kraus, "Götter und Menschen bei Homer" in *Aus Allem Eines: Studien zur antiken Geistesgeschichte*, Heidelberg 1984, 15-27. Men and gods are often juxtaposed in polar expressions, see Richardson on *HHD* 111, Janko on *Il.* 14.198-9.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Hutchinson 3 "it is impossible to know what the poets believe", but also *Ll-J Acad. Pap.* II, 242 "I think we can understand the religion of the poets rather better than he [sc. Hutchinson] thinks possible". For Call. cf. A. W. Bulloch, *MH* 41 (1984), 209-230: "I would hesitate to make any guess about Callimachus' personal beliefs or hopes, but I would say that his religious poems present a very non-simplistic, distrustful view. He is not a nihilist, to be sure, rejecting religion out of hand, but when he examines accepted religious values he finds that they do not work as a system in the way that they should" (p. 229), see the criticism of Bing 26-7 n. 38 and further literature in Hopkinson 12 n. 1. The subtle Hellenistic irony is a different thing from the open burlesque of the gods in Homer. The interpretation of this is still open to discussion (impious irreligiousness or expression of the sublimity of the gods?), see W. Burkert, "Götterburlesque in altorientischen und griechischen Mythen", *Eranos Jahrbuch* 5 (1982), 336-357, id. 122, Janko 168-170. We may guess that the frivolity of the Homeric gods did not offend the religious sentiment of the Homeric man, as it did with Xenoph. 21B 11, 12 D-K and Plato *Rep.* 390c. Cf. the amused reaction of the gods themselves to the Ares/Aphrodite adultery in *Od.* 8.326f.

## Fr. 4 (CA 6)

ἀτραπὸν εἰς Ἄϊδαο  
ἦνυσα, τὴν οὐ̄πω τις ἐναντίον ἦλθεν ὀδίτης

Stob. 4.51.3 (V.1067 Hense, c. περὶ θανάτου etc.)

Φιλῆτα Ἑρμοῦ Α Φιλῆτα Σ, om. Μ.

1 εἰς Ἄϊδαο cod. Par. rec. : εἰς ἄδεω AS : ἀτραπὸν Ἄϊδεω Meineke : Ἄϊδο<ς δ>ω̄ von Blumenthal

**ἀτραπὸν εἰς Ἄϊδαο / ἦνυσα** corresponds to *Od.* 10.490 ὁδὸν τελέσαι καὶ ἰκέσθαι / εἰς Ἄϊδαο δόμους. Ἄνύω "complete" is often used of long or tiresome journeys, see Hoekstra on *Od.* 15.294, and reinforced by ὀδίτης is highly ironical as Odysseus did not cross Acheron to complete his descent to Hades. The verb is constructed with different objects, such as ὁδόν, δρόμον, κέλευθον, see *DGE* s.v. ἀνύω I.5, but its construction with ἀτραπός, necessitated by the intended pun, is eccentric, as the effort contained in the verb is contradicted by ἀτραπός, regarded as signifying the shortcut, cf. Hesych. α 8138 ἀτραπός· ὁδὸς τετριμμένη, μὴ ἔχουσα ἐκτροπὰς, ἀλλ' εὐθεῖα, *Apol. Soph.* 46.6 ὁδὸς εὐθεῖα μὴ ἔχουσα ἐκτροπὰς. ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ 'τρηχεῖαν ἀταρπὸν' (*Od.* 14.1) καταχρηστικῶς τῇ λέξει χρῆται. For parallels cf. *Lyc.* 123 νέρθεν θαλάσσης ἀτραποὺς διήνυσεν, *Nicod. Her. FGE* 1.2 (Odysseus) δολιχὴν ἐξανύσας ἀτραπὸν, *Nonn. D.* 18.321 ἀταρπιτὸν ἦνυε, *Orph. Arg.* 115 ἀταρπιτὸν ἐξανύοντα, *GVI* 698.6 (m. 2nd c.; deceased to wanderer) χ[α]ίρων ἐξανύσαις [ἀτραπὸν]/, 853.4 (2nd c. A.D.; the deceased) δύσβατον αἰφνιδίην ἀτραπὸν| ἦνύσατο/, *EG* 781.2 Kaibel (ca 276) τὴν ὀλίγην ἀνύσεις ἀταρπιτὸν, *SEG* 30.1350.1-2 (1st/2nd c. A.D.) ἀνύσαντα ... / ... ἀταρπιτὸν βιότου and with a different meaning *Soph. Aj.* 606 ἔτι μέ ποτ' ἀνύσειν τὸν ἀπότροπον αἰδηλον Ἄϊδαν. *A.R.* 4.838 coins οἴμον ὀδεύειν.

**ἀτραπὸν εἰς Ἄϊδαο** ἀτραπός is often used of the way to Hades, but a pun is unparalleled with the possible exception of *GVI* 2078 (2nd c.) ἀδίαυλ[ον - - / ... κατ]ιῶν ἀτραπὸν εἰς Ἄϊδα, cf. *Leon. Tar. HE* 79.1-2 τὴν ἐπ' Ἄϊδος / ἀταρπὸν ἔρπων, *Antip. Thess. GPh* 38.6 ἐπεὶ πεζοῖς ἀτραπός εἰς Ἄϊδην, *Anon. GDRK* 63.26 (quoted ff.), *GVI* 646.2 (2nd c.), 756.10 (ex. 2nd c.) κατέδ]υ ἀτραπὸν εἰς Ἄϊδαν/, 853.4 (quoted above), 985.2 (2nd c. A.D.) ἀτραποὺς εἰς Ἄϊδ[ην] κ[α]τέβην/, 1179.8 (2nd c.), 1249.16 (2nd/1st c.), 1268.7 (1st c. A.D.), 1561.5 (3rd c. A.D.), 1479.2 (2nd c. A.D.), 1508.16 (ca 201) ἴκεο τὴν κοινήν ἀτραπὸν εἰς Ἄϊδεω/, 1552.1 (2nd/1st c.), *AVI* 84.2 (3rd c. A.D.). Οἴμος is a more common term to denote the way to Hades. The relevant Homeric passage *Od.* 10.488-574 insists on ὁδός (*Od.* 10.490, 501, 563), cf.

*Od.* 24.10 εὐρώεντα κέλευθα. Ἄτραπός is apt as the way to Hades is an one-way path rather than a broad way (ὁδός), see on the semantic difference between the two G-P on Leon. Tar. *HE* 74.8, idd. on Antip. *Thess. GPh* 38.5f. This whole fragment of Ph. is based on an etymological pun on the word. Modern scholars derive ἀτραπός from copulative α- + τραπέω "tread on", see Frisk *GEW* s.v., and interpret the word as "Fußpfad". In antiquity the word was etymologised by α- privativum + τρέπω "change direction, turn back", cf. Plato *Phaedo* 66b κινδυνεύει τοι ὡσπερ ἀτραπός τις ἐκφέρειν ἡμᾶς μετὰ τοῦ λόγου, Arist. *HA* 622b25 (ants) ἀεὶ μίαν ἀτραπὸν πάντες βαδίζουσι, Nic. *Ther.* 478 φεῦγε δ' ἀεὶ σκολιήν τε καὶ οὐ μίαν ἀτραπὸν ἴλλων, Theodot. *SH* 757.4-6. Hesych.'s ἐκτροπὰς μὴ ἔχουσα might be a relic of a more explicit interpretation. The way to Hades was traditionally regarded as irreversible.<sup>27</sup>

εἰς Ἄϊδαο MSS MA have εἰς ἄδεω; Scalinger's easy correction εἰς Ἄϊδεω creates a pentameter hemistich, which factually rules it out. Meineke 350, who regarded εἰς (Ἄϊδαο) in one of the codd. Parisini as a "manifesta interpolatio" proposed ἀτραπὸν Ἄϊδεω. But there is no reason to delete the preposition. On the scansion of Ἄϊδης see V. Schmidt, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Herondas*, Berlin-N.Y. 1968, 1-9, C. J. Ruijgh, *Lingua* 25 (1970), 306-7, McLennan on Call. *HyJov.* 62. On the aspirated Attic form Ἄϊδης see Richardson on *HHD* 347.

ἀτραπὸν ... / ἦνυσα, τὴν οὐπὼ τις ἐναντίον ἦλθεν Cf. the πολύστιχος in *Il.* 4.334-5 ἔστασαν, ὀππότε κέν τις ἐναντίον ἄλλος ἐπελθὼν / Τρώων, Leon. Tar. *HE* 74.5-6 (Hades) ἦ γὰρ τὴν οὐπὼ πρὶν ἰτὴν ὁδὸν ἐτμήξαντο / ἄνθρωποι, Anon. *GDRK* 63.26-7 (of Hades) λοξὴν δ' ἀτραποῦ τρίβον ἐρπύσας / τόπον ἦλθε τὸν οὐ [τ]ι[ς]

<sup>27</sup> See Gow on Theoc. 12.19, G-P on Anon. *HE* 48.6, Th. K. Stephanopoulos, "Tragica III", *ZPE* (on Eur. fr. 868; forthcoming) cl. *GVI* 868.3, 1905.23, 1989.9f., 1928.8, 1994a.15f., Adesp. *TrGF* 658.17 with Kannicht-Snell ad loc. Add Anacr. *PMG* 396.11-2, Lyc. 833, *IMEG* 33.23 (2nd c.) οἰκία μοι νεκῶν· ἀνεπίστροφα πρὸς φάος ἠοῦς, *GVI* 2078 (2nd c.; quoted above), *AVI* 95.1 (1st c. B.C./1st c. A.D.; sepulchral epigram) ἄμφω τὴν ἀδίαυλον[, *SEG* 40.563.9-10 (ca 150-50) νεόνυμφον ... τὰν ἀδίαυλος / .. Ἄϊδας ἄρπασεν, Aristeides *GDRK* S2.2.2-3 ἀστραφέεσσι πύλησιν ... / Ἄϊδεω, Anon. *GDRK* 53.5, Opp. *Hal.* 4.107-8 Ἄϊδος .. / ... ἀνοστήτιοι λόχοιο, Nonn. *D.* 30.159 εἰ πέλε νόστιμος οἶμος ἀνοστήτιο βερέθρου, 35.65, *Par. Jo.* 2.22, 5.25, 20.9, Cat. 3.12 (Lesbia's sparrow), Virg. *Aen.* 6.128-9. In "Emped." *FGE* 1.3-4 a deceased doctor πολλοὺς μογεροῖσι μαραινομένους καμάτοισι / φῶτας ἀπέστρεψεν Φερσεφόνης ἀδύτων/. Virg. *Aen.* 6.154-5 *lucos Stygis et regna invia* (= ἄβατα) *vivis / aspicias* makes another word-play on the same subject. A different word-play with ἀτραπός occurs in Antip. Sid. *HE* 66.5 τὴν ἀτριπτον (Salmasius : ἀτρεπτον P) καὶ ἀνέμβατον ἀτραπὸν. Kuchenmüller prints three times (p. 40 text and apparatus, p. 44) ἀτραπος, but the etymological pun does not depend upon the accentuation.

(<ἀφίκετο> Grenfell-Hunt : <ἐπῆλθ' ἐκών> Weil), [Opp.] *Cyn.* 1.20-2 τρηχεῖαν ἐπιστεῖβωμεν ἀταρπόν / τὴν μερόπων οὐ πῶ τις ἔης ἐπάτησεν ἀοιδαῖς.<sup>28</sup>

τὴν οὐ πῶ τις Cf. *Od.* 10.502 εἰς Ἄιδος δ' οὐ πῶ τις ἀφίκετο νηὶ μελαίνῃ. This is strong wording; πῶ discounts any possibility that such thing has happened in the past, cf. e.g. Call. *HyArt.* 244, A.R. 4.261-2. In *Il.* 9.148 = 9.290 Agamemnon promises Achilles ὅσσ' οὐ πῶ τις ἐῆ ἐπέδωκε θυγατρὶ, cf. *Il.* 2.553, 19.11 (Thetis of the arms of Achilles) and *Il.* 24.505 (Priam to Achilles) ἔτλην δ' οἷ' \*οὐ πῶ τις ἐπιχθόνιος βροτὸς ἄλλος/. Odysseus is very often said to have achieved what οὐ πῶ τις accomplished before him, *Od.* 1.c., 12.186-7 (Sirenes), 19.350 (Penelope acknowledges the exceptional wisdom of this stranger), 19.365 (Eurycleia of Odysseus' piety), 19.380 (no stranger resembled Odysseus like this one), 24.267-8 (Odysseus to Laertes) καὶ οὐ πῶ τις βροτὸς ἄλλος / ξείνων τηλεδαπῶν φιλίων ἐμὸν ἵκετο δῶμα, then Hes. *Scut.* 10 (Alcmene's love for Amphitryon), Pind. *Ol.* 12.7-8, 13.31. Call. fr. 384.29 transfers it to Sosibius, Theoc. 17.38 to Ptolemy's love for Berenice and A.R. 3.919 to the insuperable beauty of Jason.

ἐναντίον ἦλθεν ~ - χ Cf. *Il.* 6.394 \*ἐναντίῃ ἦλθε (= 15.88 with Janko ad loc.), then *Od.* 13.226 ἐναντίος ἦλθε/, *Il.* 17.257 ἀντίος ἦλθε or *Il.* 6.251 ~ 15.454 ~ *Od.* 14.278 ἐναντίος ἦλυθε ~ χ/. For ἀτραπὸν ἔρχομαι cf. Opp. *Hal.* 3.504 ἦλθον ἀτραπόν.

ὀδίτης Clausular, as usually in Homer and later. Here intrinsically equivalent to "mortal" (βροτὸς, θνητός, ἐπιχθόνιος, vel sim.).<sup>29</sup> The word is significant as it is the vehicle for an allusion to the incomplete journey of Odysseus in Hades: he did not

<sup>28</sup> [Opp.]'s passage is indebted to Call. fr. 1.25f., see Pf. ad loc., W. Schmitt, *Kommentar zum ersten Buch von Pseudo-Oppians Kynēgetica*, Diss. Münster 1969, 49-50, A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994), 157 with n. 24 and in general S. Costanza, "Motivi Callimachei nel proemio del *Cynegetica* di Oppiano d'Aramea" in *Studi ... G. Monaco* I, Palermo 1991, 479-489.

<sup>29</sup> The earthbound character of human's nature is one more feature confirming their inferiority to the gods, *Il.* 5.441-2 (Apollo to Menelaus) οὐ ποτε φύλον ὁμοῖον / ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων "men walking on the ground", *Il.* 17.446-7 οὐ μὲν γὰρ τί πού ἐστιν οἰζυρώτερον ἀνδρός / πάντων ὅσσα τε γαῖαν ἐπι πνεῖει τε καὶ ἔρπει, Archil. *IEG* 130.1-2, see Ll-J, *The Justice of Zeus*, Berkeley<sup>2</sup> 1983, 3-4. Cf. the formula χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων, Hes. *Theog.* 879, *HHD* 352, *HHAprh.* 108, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.98, "used of men in relation to the superior powers of the gods", Richardson on *HHD* 113, and the formula ἐπιχθόνιων .. ἀνδρῶν, *Il.* 1.266, 9.558 ~ Antim. fr. 88, Call. fr. 637, *Il.* 1.272, 24.505, see West on Hes. *WD* 141 and cf. Theoc. 17.125, EM 367.26 ἐπιχθόνιοι οἱ ἐπίγειοι· διότι κατὰ φύσιν ἐπὶ τῆς χθονός εἰσι. πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολήν τῶν οὐρανίων θεῶν and the contemptuous ἐπὶ χθονὶ σῖτον ἔδοντες on which see Hainsworth on *Od.* 8.222.

cross Acheron. From the shore he walked on foot to this river and, while standing there, the souls of the dead approached him for consultation. Odysseus performed a necromancy.<sup>30</sup> Theoc. 16.52-3 (Odysseus) 'Αΐδαν τ' εἰς ἔσχατον ἐλθῶν / ζῶός might also play on this. On the form and meaning of the word see G. Redard, *Les noms grecs en -της -τις*, Paris 1949, 32.

The fragment is part of Odysseus' narration to Aeolus. Its survival reveals that Ph. "non modo interpretatus est in Mercurio suo sed mutavit quoque" the Homeric sequence of Odysseus' travels, Kuiper 147. When the hero visits Aeolus in *Od.* 10, after Cyclops and before Laestrygonians, he still has most of his companions and only later learns about the necessity to descend to Hades. Kuiper drew attention to Lyc. 648-819,<sup>31</sup> where the poet deviates from the Homeric order placing the Aeolus episode after Sirenes, i.e. including Cyclops, Laestrygonians, Scylla and Charybdis, Circe and the Underworld. The possibility that Ph. draws on the same vein as Lyc. is faint. Timaeus of Tauromenion, an authority on the Greek West, might have reported

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<sup>30</sup> Cf. the instructions of Circe in *Od.* 10.490-1, 10.511f. In *Od.* 12.21 she takes Odysseus' proper descent to Hades as granted, see Griffin 28-9, P. Habermehl, *RAC* XVII (1995), 512-4 and on the contradictions of *Od.* 11 see K. Matthiessen, *GB* 15 (1988), 15-45, Od. Tsagarakis, "Od. 11: the question of sources" in Ø. Andersen - M. Dickie (edd.), *Homer's World. Fiction, Tradition, Reality*, Bergen 1995, 123-131 (both for its unity and authenticity). Acheron (river or lake) divides the world of the dead from that of the living; its crossing is the turning point on the way to Hades, cf. *Il.* 8.369 (Styx), 23.72-3, *Od.* 10.513-5 and see Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Reading" *Greek Death*, Oxford 1995, 61-5, P. Habermehl, *RAC* XVII (1995), 264. Therefore one does not simply need to "walk", but to "sail" to Hades, cf. *Ar. Frogs* 136-7, *Hermesian. CA* 7.3, Theoc. 1.140 (see A. M. van Erp Taalman Kip, *Hermes* 115 (1987), 249-251), 17.47-9, Leon. Tar. *HE* 10.1, 59.1-2, A.R. 3.61 with Campbell ad loc., *GVI* 1883.10 (2nd c.), Meleag. *HE* 60, Antiph. *GPh* 28, Etruscus *GPh* 1, Anon. Hymn *GDRK* 53.5.

<sup>31</sup> The so-called "Odyssey" of the *Alexandra*, on which see St. Jocifović, *RE* Suppl. XI (1968), 895-7, Hutchinson 261-4. S. West, "Lycophron Italicised?", *JHS* 104 (1984), 137-141 vigorously defended an older opinion postulating a second "Italiot" phase in the *Alexandra* and therefore deleted all lines of Italiot content as spurious, see also A. Rengakos, *AA* 47 (1994), 32, P. M. Fraser, <sup>3</sup>*OCD*, 896 postulating a Ps-Lyc. writing in the 2nd c. On the construction of Odysseus' adventures in Homer see G. A. Privitera, "Ordine e forma dei viaggi di Odisseo" in *Σπονδές στον Όμηρο. Πρακτικά στ' Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια*, Ithace 1993, 57-74.



Odysseus' adventures in Italy.<sup>32</sup> It is unknown whether he presented them in an altered order or whether his dates would permit Ph. to take account of his work or vice-versa. With Lyc. the possibility is stronger. To the Odyssean stops he adds others at Pithicousai, Bais, Cyma and Ossa. "Quae num iam Philetas quoque omnia tetigerit, neque scio neque scire curo", Kuiper 148. But such innovations would go beyond Ph.'s scope to reach an arbitrariness alien to the philologist-poet. It is more sensible to assume that Ph. altered the traditional order to provide Odysseus with material to narrate. Reports of his adventures in an unHomeric order also occur in a disputed passage in Eur. *Tro.* 433-443 (descent to Hades mentioned last) and in Prop. 3.12.24-36, see P. Fedeli ad loc. In such lists questions of chronology seem to matter little, even less when other purposes can be served better without complete faithfulness to Homer. Lyc., however, preserves the very same order and after the Aeolus episode returns to the orthodox Homeric sequence, vv. 711f. It may well be Ph. that he is following.

This fragment reveals an important aspect, it seems, of Odysseus' tricky account of his adventures: exaggeration. The proud οὐ πῶ τις is important. If the same Odysseus descended to the same Hades as in Homer, he knows that he is not the first one to have done this: even if he ignores Theseus, whom he saw in *Od.* 11.631, Heracles himself tells Odysseus of his own journey to Hades in *Od.* 11.601-627.<sup>33</sup> Odysseus' assertion that he is the first to accomplish such a deed is consciously a lie. It is indicative of the fact that Odysseus did not spare exaggerations to raise his prestige.

Something may be said about the extent and presentation of the episode in *Hermes*. In the *Od.* the *Nekyia* has a central position and is stretched out in other parts of the poem before and after it. It is an impressive accomplishment and Odysseus may well have insisted on it in his narration. As Ph. places Odysseus' wanderings in Italy (and so, evidently, Circe's island), he might have placed the entrance to Hades within range and Cymae on the shores of the Tyrrhenian sea, cf. Lyc. 695-6, Virg. *Aen.* 6.106f., is an obvious possibility. The journey to the Underworld might be presented as the most recent of Odysseus' deeds, just before his visit to Aeolus.

As frs. 2 and 3 relate to it, Maass (1895b), 279 n. 1 (a book described by K. Ziegler, *RE* XVIII (1939), 1203 as "phantastisch und unzuverlässig") and Cessi 139 reached the erroneous conclusion that the central theme of Odysseus' account was his

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<sup>32</sup> On Timaeus see K. Meister, "The role of Timaeos in Greek Historiography", *SCI* 10 (1989-90), 55-65. He was heavily used by A.R. 4, see Vian III, 34, 38-46 *passim*. Lyc. drew on him too, see K. Ziegler, *RE* XIII (1927), 2338-9.

<sup>33</sup> Greek and Roman mythology credited a number of heroes such as Heracles, Orpheus, Theseus and Perseus with journeys to the Underworld, cf. the list in Virg. *Aen.* 6.119-124 (Odysseus is meaningfully omitted) and see Roscher VI, 35-48, P. Habermehl, *RAC* XVII (1995), 505-512.

experience in the Underworld. But this is not of central importance for the evolution of the episode. Should it have been so, Parth. would have mentioned it, as he does with the sack of Troy and the dispersal of the Achaean fleet. The descent to Hades would serve more to bring into connection Odysseus and Hermes. Hermes guides heroes in as well as out of Hades and Heracles in *Od.* 11.626 mentioned him with regard to his own journey into the Underworld.<sup>34</sup> Hermes is often represented in art as guiding heroes in the Underworld, see the list in G. Siebert, *LIMC* V.I, 335, and he commonly escorts Odysseus too.<sup>35</sup> Touchefeu-Meynier 286 concluded that "la presence d' Hermès lors de l'évocation des morts ..., alors qu' il ne figure pas dans l'Odyssée, laisse facilement imaginer ce qu' aurait pu être le rôle du dieu dans une pièce de théâtre". There are a number of candidates in drama, most likely of which is the *Psychagogoi* of Aesch. fr. 273-8.<sup>36</sup> Ph. would take advantage of a nonHomeric literary background linking Odysseus' descent to Hades with Hermes.

#### Fr. 5 (CA 7; Hermes?)

ἦ μὲν δὴ πολέεσσι πεφύρησαι χαλεποῖσι,  
 θυμέ, γαληναίη δ' ἐπιμίσγεται οὐδ' ὄσον ὄσον,  
 ἀμφὶ δέ τοι νέαι αἰὲν ἀνῖαι τετρήχασιν

Stob. 4.40.12 (V.922 Hense, c. περι κακοδαμονίας)

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ (sc. Philetæ) S : om. MA

1 χαλεπῆσι S : corr. Trincivelli

ἦ μὲν δὴ is used in emphatic affirmations and is almost always confined to speeches (always in Homer), see Denniston *GP*, 389. "Affirmative ἦ expresses a "subjective

<sup>34</sup> See H. Herter, *RhM* 119 (1976), 217-8 with n. 92. The only reference to Hermes *psychopompos* in Homer is the disputed *Od.* 24.1-10, see Erbse 72-5, but often later, *HHHerm.* 258-9, Soph. *Aj.* 832, Hegesipp. *HE* 5.2, al.

<sup>35</sup> See Touchefeu-Meynier *Index Rerum Nominumque*, p. 334 s.v. Hermès, esp. pp. 135-6, 138-9, cf. id. *LIMC* VI.I, 961 and Brommer 80-3.

<sup>36</sup> Parodied by Ar. *Birds* 1553f. The theatre plays dealing with Odysseus are gathered in Touchefeu-Meynier 305 (Ph.'s *Hermes* is misplaced here; correctly omitted in id., *LIMC* VI.I, 946). For later treatments of the Hades-journey of Odysseus see Roscher III, 626.

certainty" ..., it often affirms a quantitative statement, cf. *Il.* 19.109 (oath), *Od.* 2.272, 4.33, 19.235, Call. *HyDel.* 2-3, A.R. 1.631, 3.954, al. and is often preceded by a vocative/exclamation", Bulloch on Call. *HyPal.* 91. Normally with a quantitative supplement, it often confirms a disagreeable reality or, as here, endurance in grief, cf. *Il.* 2.798 ἦ μὲν δὴ μάλα πολλὰ μάχας εἰσήλυθον ἀνδρῶν, 9.348, 464, 17.538-9 ἦ δὴ μὰν ὀλίγον γε Μενoitιάδαο θανόντος / κῆρ ἄχεος μεθέηκα, 18.12 ἦ μάλα δὴ τέθηκε Μενoitίου ἄλκιμος υἱός, Archil. *IEG* 188.4-5 ἦ γὰρ πολλὰ δὴ σ' ἐπῆμξεν / πνεύμ]ατα χειμερίων ἀνέμων, μάλα πολλακίς δ'. ε[, A.R. 1.807 Ἦ μὲν δηρὸν ἐτέτλαμεν, 4.900-1 (Sirenes) ἦ θαμὰ δὴ πολέων μελιηδέα νόστον ἔλοντο, Rhian. *CA* 1.1-2 Ἦ ἄρα δὴ μάλα πάντες ἀμαρτίνοιοι πελόμεσθα / ἄνθρωποι, and perhaps Eurh. *CA* 50.1. The affirmation of a fact is often, as here, accompanied with a vocative of compassion or wonder, cf. *Il.* 24.518 ἄ δειλ', ἦ δὴ πολλὰ κάκ' ἄνσχεο σὸν κατὰ θυμόν, *Od.* 9.507 ὦ πόποιοι, ἦ μάλα δὴ με παλαίφατα θέσφαθ' ἰκάνει, Semon. *IEG* 22 <ἦ> (suppl. Bergk) πολλὰ μὲν δὴ προυκπονέαι Τηλέμβροτε, A.R. 1.1337 Ἦ πέπον, ἦ μάλα δὴ με κακῶ ἐκυδάσσαο μύθῳ, 4.1673 Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἦ μέγα δὴ μοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θάμβος ἄηται, 4.1749, *GVI* 1502.1-2 (in. 3rd c.), 2017.1-2 (bef. 229) ἦ μάλα δὴ περὶ σεῖο λυγρὸμ πότμον ἔκλυε πάτρα, / Ἄλκῆ[v], see for the much affected in 3rd c. ἦ μάλα δὴ asserting funerary grief Peek, *AVI*, 85. Such strong asseverations are sometimes used to reinforce false statements, cf. Odysseus in *Od.* 14.216, Jason in A.R. 4.96-7. On exclamations after asseverative expressions see Vian on A.R. 4.59.

**πολέεσσι πεφύρησαι χαλεποῖσι, / θυμέ** Cf. in a fragment dealing with the ability of a man to endure unavoidable misfortunes Archil. *IEG* 128.1 θυμέ, θύμ', ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσιν κυκώμενε.<sup>37</sup> The diction is formed in combination with Homeric

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<sup>37</sup> See S. D. Sullivan, *SIFC* 87 (1994), 14-6. Archil. was very popular among the learned poets of the 3rd c., see Pfeiffer (1968), 145-6, and Ph. might have spotted him first. Theoc. *HE* 14 wrote an encomiastic epigram for a statue of his. But Call., as before him Pind. *Pyth.* 2.55-6, condemned him in *Grapheion* fr. 380 and Antip. Sid. *GPh* 20 mentioned them as two opposites, see W. Bühler, "Archilochos und Kallimachos" in *Archiloque* (Entr. Fond. Hardt 10), Vandœuvre-Genève 1963, 225-253, E. Degani, "Note sulla fortuna di Archiloco e di Ipponate in epoca ellenistica", *QUCC* 16 (1973), 79-104, esp. 82-8, R. S. Slings, *ZPE* 79 (1989), 1-8. The Archaic and Hellenistic eras, however, have some similarities. The Archaic poetry is the product of a society of great unrest and speedy changes which exerted an impact on the poets themselves, see A. Bonnard, *Archiloque*, Budé 1958, XXX-XXXII, O. Tsagarakis, *Self-Expression in Early Greek Lyric, Elegiac and Iambic Poetry*, Wiesbaden 1977, 10-4. The Hellenistic times were equally restless with an impact on the poetry of the era. The archaic era is characterised by a strong sense of individualism, reaffirmed in the Hellenistic period, esp. in the philosophical thought, when the great communal achievements of the classical age, which offered

underpinnings such as *Od.* 8.137 *κακοῖσι συνέρρηκται πολέεσσιν* / *Od.* 18.123 = 20.200 *κακοῖς ἔχει πολέεσσι*, all of Odysseus, on whose pessimistic moments in the *Od.* see R. B. Rutherford, *JHS* 86 (1986), 154-5, cf. also Hes. *WD* 119 *σὺν ἔσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν* / *Q.S.* 14.290 *πολέεσσι περιπλήθουσα κακοῖσιν* ~ 294. To the traditional scheme Ph. brought about two changes: instead of *κακοῖσι* he writes *χαλεποῖσι*, previously unattested as a noun, and transfers *πολέεσσι* from the end of the verse to the position before the caesura.<sup>38</sup> These two words mutually exchange their usual metrical positions. The line might have influenced A.R. 4.993 *πολέεσσιν ἐνισχομένη καμάτοισι* / *Θρινακίης* etc. of the troubled and retarded journey of Argo.

**θυμέ** *θυμός* is the centre of the emotions, the organ where joy and grief is to be felt, and addresses to it are usual from Homer onwards in all genres of poetry.<sup>39</sup> The effect is an artificial distancing between the person and his *thymos*. One gains the impression here that the hero consoles his own *thymos*. His apostrophe is well founded on Homeric grounds as Odysseus, the most self-conscious epic hero, already in the *Il.*, but mostly in the *Od.* establishes a special relationship with his *thymos*.<sup>40</sup>

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a sense of safety to the individual, had collapsed, see also A. Dihle, *Studien zur griechischen Biographie*, Göttingen 1956, 35-56 (ch. "Individuum und Gesellschaft in der Zeit um 400 v. Chr.").

<sup>38</sup> On the form see Chantraine *GH* I, 206-7 and P. Wathelet, "Les datifs analogiques en -εσσι dans la tradition épique", *REG* 104 (1991), 1-14. It occurs 10x in Homer, in nine of which it is placed in the second half of the verse. In expressions of the Philetan kind (4x) it is always a clausula as in Hes. *WD* 119. Before the caesura only in *Od.* 5.54, then here in Ph., Call. fr. 110.61 (the only attestation of the form) cf. also fr. 358.3 *πλεόνεσσι*, always in A.R. (1.273, 2.1027, 1216, 3.900, 4.993), Nic. *Alex.* 242, Epica Adesp. *CA* 4.16 (attributed by Hollis 29-30 n. 15 to Rhian., with whom F. Williams, *CR* 64 (1994), 17 agreed), *SEG* 42.329.3 (ca 200), *Q.S.* 4 out of 6 occurrences, Claud. *Gig.* 59. The form is not attested in Theoc., Arat. or Nonn. For *χαλεποῖσι* as clausula cf. *Od.* 2.83, *HHAp.* 358.

<sup>39</sup> For *thymos* as the centre of the sentiments cf. e.g. *Il.* 9.321, *Od.* 13.263 and see J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of Soul*, Princeton 1983, 54-6, Caswell 40-1. On apostrophe to one's *thymos* see Rutherford on *Od.* 20.18-22, Hainsworth on *Il.* 11.403, Hutchinson 168f. and in drama W. Schadewaldt, *Monolog und Selbstgespräch*, Berlin 1926, 201f.

<sup>40</sup> In critical moments Odysseus turns to his *thymos*. In *Il.* 11.403f. he converses with it in view of the dangers of the battle. He addresses it also in *Od.* 5.298, 355, 407, 464, 6.118. In *Il.* 4.494 Odysseus is distressed *θυμόν* for the death of one of his companions and when wounded in *Il.* 11.458 he *κῆδε* .. *θυμόν*. In *Il.* 10.232, 244-5 his *thymos* leads him to brave deeds in the battlefield, cf. *Od.* 9.213, 500, 14.219, al. Already in the proem of the *Od.* 1.4 the hero suffers in the sea *ὄν κατὰ θυμόν*. Odysseus often needs to consult his *thymos*, cf. *Od.* 9.295 *ἀμηχανίη δ' ἔχε θυμόν*, 299 *τὸν μὲν ἐγὼ βούλευσα κατὰ μεγαλήτορα θυμόν* etc., 302 *ἕτερος δέ με θυμὸς ἔρυκεν*.

**γαληναίη** varies Homeric γαλήνη, γαλάνεια being previously a poeticism in lyrics in tragedy, cf. fr. 17.2 δειλαίων for Homeric δειλῶν. The form recurs in Call. *HE* 52.5 (γαλήνη unattested, but 2x ἀναγκαίη, 1x ἀνάγκη), A.R. 1.1156 (γαλήνη in 4.1249), Arat. 3x (γαλήνη 2x; adj. γαληναῖος first here in v. 765), later Apollonid. *GPh* 9.4, Antip. Thess. *GPh* 57.2, Opp. *Hal.* 3x (γαλήνη 2x). Theoc. has only γαλήνη, 2x. Adj. in -αῖος are usually derived from the cognate noun ("having to do with .."), cf. Herodian *Καθολ. Προσφδ. apud* H. Hunger, *JÖByz* 16 (1967), 12 (fr. 48), 20 (~Erat. *SH* 398) and see Bulloch on Call. *HyPal.* 50. These enjoyed some popularity in Hellenistic verse, see Schmitt 40-2 for a list of occurrences in Call. and in general B-P 44-5, 48f. A.R. 3.324 has ἐρημαῖην (as substantive first in 3.1197) after Emped., on which see Livrea on Colluth. 42, Campbell on Q.S. 12.489, id. σεληναίη 2x (never σελήνη; σεληναίη 1x in Call., σελήνη 2x, cf. Theoc. 2.165 with Gow ad loc.), Leon. Tar. *HE* 66.1 ἐπακταῖος for ἐπάκτιος, *HE* 86.6 (hapax) βορειαίης (= βορείης).

**γαληναίη δ' ἐπιμίσγειαι** Cf. *Il.* 10.548-9 (Nestor to Odysseus) αἰεὶ μὲν Τρώεσσ' ἐπιμίσομαι, οὐδέ τί φημι / μιμνάζειν παρὰ νηυσὶ γέρων περ ἐὼν πολεμιστῆς. For the sense cf. *Il.* 13.797 (ἄελλη) ἀλλ' ἐπιμίσγεται, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.251-2 (Jason) ἔν τ' Ὠκεανοῦ πελάγεσσι μίγεν πόντῳ τ' ἐρυθρῷ / Λαμνιαῖν τ' ἔθνει γυναικῶν ἀνδροφόνων, Call. *HE* 38.5-6 φεῦγε θαλάσση / συμμίσειν. 'Επιμίσομαι in Homer is used for hostile (*Il.*) or friendly (*Od.*) intercourse and, though ἐπιμίσομαι commonly takes an abstract object, it always takes a concrete one, cf. though Pind. fr. 94.4-5 (Apollo) ἀθανάταν χάριν / Θήβαις ἐπιμ<ε>ίξων, Opp. *Hal.* 4.214 λύσση ... ἐπιμίσγεται. For γαληναίη cf. *Anacreont.* 17.12-3 μέλαν ὄμμα γοργόν ἔστω / κεκερασμένον γαλήνη. Maritime language is commonly employed of psychological suffering, cf. *Il.* 9.4-8 and see Caswell 51-61.

**οὐδ' ὅσον ὅσον** From colloquial ὅσον ὅσ(σ)ον, e.g. Ar. *Wasps* 213 τί οὐκ ἀπεκουμήθημεν ὅσον ὅσον στίλην;, Ph. constructs his οὐδ' ὅσον ὅσον "not even a bit". Homer has οὐδ' ἥβαιόν (*Il.* 2.380, al.), οὐδέ τυτθόν (*Il.* 1.354), οὐδέ μίνυνθα (*Il.* 20.27, A.R. 2.230), cf. also colloquial οὐδ' ὄναρ (Eur. fr. 107, Herodas 1.11, Call. (or Rufinus) *HE* 63.4, 5 and Herodas 7.33 οὐδ' ὅσον ῥιπήν ("not even a moment") and the exquisite Callimachean *HE* 3.9 οὐδ' ὅσον ἀττάραγον. For the double ὅσον<sup>41</sup> cf. Leon. Tar. *HE* 77.3 τίς μοῖρα ζωῆς ἀπολείπεται ἢ ὅσον ὅσον στιγμή, Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.255.5 ἀμφασίης ὅσον ὅσον ὑπερπρύηνον ἀνάγκη, and for the juxtaposition *Il.* 16.722 ὅσον ἦσσαν .. τόσον, Gorgias *Enc. Hel.* 11 ὅσοι δὲ ὅσους περὶ ὄσων, Leon.

<sup>41</sup> Still surviving with a comparable meaning in Modern Greek ὅσο-όσο as a colloquial expression for the sale of the remaining goods in the market-place.

Tar. *HE* 75.5-6 ὄσος ὄσσον/ and on different forms of the same word beside one another see N. Hopkinson, *Glotta* 60 (1982), 162-177, esp. 168-171; for τόσ(σ)ον ὄσ(σ)ον see on Adesp. Pap. Hex. *SH* 924.8 and cf. the eccentric A.R. 1.468 τόσον ὄσσάτιον (then as ὄσον ... / τοσσάτιον in Joann. Gaz. 1.220-1, 2.189-190), Theoc. 1.54 τοσσῆνον ὄσον. Ph.'s novel combination οὐδ' ὄσον enjoyed a more widespread and lasting career, cf. Asclep. *HE* 19.2, Call. *HyAp.* 37, A.R. 1.290, 482, al., Theoc. 9.20 with Gow ad loc., Headlam on Herodas 7.33. "Ὄσον in these cases has the meaning of ὀλίγον "just, merely", cf. A.R. 2.112 ὄσον ... μούνον ~ "Plato" *FGE* 6.1, and see G-P on Diosc. *HE* 8.1 ὄσον εἶπα, Livrea on A.R. 4.1271. The final effect of the verse is deliberately wry, as besides the high poetical γαληναίη and ἐπιμίσομαι lies the humble οὐδ' ὄσον ὄσσον.

**πεφύρησαι .. / ... ἐπιμίσγειαι ... / ... τετρήχασιν** Ph. might have extensively employed ambivalent "whirling" terminology for his Odysseus-episode, cf. Polymele ἀλινδουμένη. For the present beside perfects cf. *Il.* 4.11 ἀεὶ παρμέμβλωκε καὶ ... ἀμύνει, see P. Chantraine, *Histoire du parfait grec*, Paris 1927, 19, id. *GH* II, 198. Juxtaposed synonyms are another way to exhibit erudition. Some synonyms in Homer seem formulaic but some others have some literary value, cf. *Il.* 10.44 ἐρύσσειται ἠδὲ σαώσει, 10.52 δηθὰ καὶ δολιχόν, 15.106-7 οὐκ ἀλεγίζει / οὐδ' ὄθεται, 18.478 ποίει 479 βάλλε 482 ποίει 483 ἔτευξ', 22.407-9 κώκυσεν ... / ᾤμωξεν ... / κωκυτῶ ... καὶ οἰμωγῇ, 23.364-5 ἐσσυμένως ... ᾤκα ... / ... ταχέως, 24.365 δυσμενέες καὶ ἀνάρσιοι. In Hellenistic poetry cf. Asclep. *HE* 17.4 τέφρην ... κάνθρακίην, Call. *HyJov.* 20 εὐυδρος 22 ὑγρός 24 διεροῦ, *ibid.* 71 ἐμπεράμους 74 ἴδρις 78 εὐ εἰδότας, *HyAp.* 22 πέτρος 23 λίθος 24 μάρμαρον, *ibid.* 57 θεμέλια .. ὑφαίνει 58 θεμέλια .. ἐπῆξε (61 ἔπλεκε βωμόν) 64 θεμέλεια .. ἐγείρειν, *HyArt.* 9 τόξον 10 ἄεμμα, 238 βρέτας 240 πρύλιν, 86 δαίμων 119 θεή 137 ἄνασσα (see P. Bing - V. Uhrmeister, *JHS* 114 (1994), 23-5), *HE* 38.3 ἐν ὑγρῇ 5 θαλάσση, 2.1 ἐχθαίρω 3 μισέω 4 σικχαίνω (in a crescendo disposition), fr. 75.12 κακὸς χλόος, .. νοῦσος 17 πυρί 19 ὀλοὸς κρυμός, A.R. 1.1021 ἐπιφραδέως ἐνόησεν 1023 νημερτὲς ἐπήϊσαν, 1.1274-6 ᾤκα δὲ Τίφυς / εἰσβαίνειν ὀρόθυνεν ... / οἱ δ' εἰσβαίνον ἄφαρ, 2.265 ξιφέεσσιν 274 φάσαν(α) 288 ξιφέεσσιν, 2.818 εἰαμενῆ 819 ἰλύι 822 τίφος, 2.1034 ὄρνιν 1044 οἰωνόν, 3.148 αἶψα .. αὐτοσχεδόν, 3.223 ἀναβλύσκε 224 νᾶεν 225 προρέεσκε 227 ἀνεκῆκιε, 3.347 ἀμφίπολοι 254 δμῶαι, 3.360 ἔσαν .. υἱες 361 ἔην πάϊς 363 γόνον ἔμμεναι, 3.378 ταμῶν ... κεάσσας, 3.863-4 λυγαίη ἐνὶ νυκτὶ σὺν ὀρφναίοις φάρεεσσι / ... ἐρεμνῆ σείετο γαῖα, 3.967 = 4.693 ἄνεω καὶ ἄναυδοι, 4.1295 from *Il.* 19.346 ἄκμηνοι καὶ ἄπαστοι, Theoc. 1.27 κισσύβιον 55 δέπας 143 σκυῖφος, 11.23-4 οἶχη ... ἀνῆ .. / φεύγεις, Eurh. *CA* 34.1 φωνηθείσης 2 κικλήσκεισθαι 3 αὐδηθῆναι, Simias *Egg* 11 (Hermes) θοῶς ... ὠκὺ .. φέρων νεῦμα ποδῶν 13 θοαῖς ἴσ' αἰόλαις νεβροῖς κῶλ' ἀλάσσων 15 κραιπνοῖς ... ποσί 20 θοοῖσι<v> .. ποσίν, [Mosch.] *Megara* 94 ἔχων

μακέλην 101 λίστρον ... ἐρείσας 108 νόμασκεν μακέλην, then Archias *GPh* 24.2 νεφέλης, 4 λίνων, 6 πάγαι, Nonn. *D.* 1.128-9 εἶπατε ταύρω, / εἰ βόες εισαΐουσιν, 37.443 φίλος δ' ἐρίδαινεν ἑταίρω. In Ph. cf. also fr. 17.1 μελέοιο 2 δειλαίων, fr. 23.1 ἱερόν 2 θεῖον.<sup>42</sup>

**ἀμφὶ δέ τοι νέαι αἰὲν ἀνῖαι τετρήχασιν** Echoed in A.R. 4.447 in an invocation to Eros (ἐκ σέθεν) ἄλγεα τ' ἄλλ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν ἀπείρονα τετρήχασι/, cf. also 4.350-1 (Medea) ἐπεὶ τὰ ἕκαστα νόφ πεμπάσσατο κούρη / δὴ ῥά μιν ὀξεῖαι κραδίην ἐλέλιξαν ἀνῖαι / νωλεμές,<sup>43</sup> Euph. *SH* 415i.20 τάδ' ἀμφὶ σ[ε] τετρήχοιεν. Its relation to Mimn. *IEG* 1.7 αἰεὶ μιν φρένας ἀμφὶ κακαὶ τείρουσι μέριμναι is not necessarily close. The line contains some remarkable rhetorical figures. There is a sort of an anagrammatisation νέαι : αἰέν<sup>44</sup> and an emphatic wailing effect produced by an exceptionally heavy spondaic ending and an excessive -αι- alliteration.<sup>45</sup> This sound

<sup>42</sup> On synonyms in Homer see K. O' Nolan, "Doublets in the *Odyssey*", *CQ* 28 (1978), 23-37 and Hainsworth 13-5. On the – not always skilful – effort to avoid repetitions of words see Janko on *Il.* 16.297-300. In Call. see F. Lapp, *De Callimachi Cyrenai tropis et figuris*, Diss. Bonn 1965, 116f., Bornmann XLVIII-LI.

<sup>43</sup> Echoing *HHD* 40 ὄξυ δέ μιν κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβε, but cf. ἐλέλιξαν ~ πεφύρησαι, ἀνῖαι, νωλεμές (see Vian on 2.553) ~ αἰὲν τετρήχασιν. In 4.447 the poet comments on the devastating consequences of Eros, see Hunter (1993), 116-8. A.R. may echo the fragment more than once, see also on v. 1. A direct dependence of Euph. l.c. on Ph. was suggested by Rengakos 146 n. 674 and this may well be the case, though his usage does not seem to harbour any second meaning.

<sup>44</sup> The phenomenon is almost non-existent in Homer, cf. though *Od.* 2.58-9 ἀνὴρ, / ... ἀρὴν ἀπὸ οἴκου ἀμύναι and the surely unintentional *Il.* 5.160, 609, al. /εἰν ἐνὶ etc. The ancients tried to detect some ἀνογραμματισμοί in Homer such as ἡέρα / Ἥρα in *Il.* 21.6 ἡέρα δ' Ἥρη, cf. Plato *Crat.* 404b-c and see Campbell on A.R. 3.211. Eustath. *Comm. Il.* 45-6 (l.74 van der Valk) quotes some late examples. Tzetzes Schol. Lyc. (5.4-7 Scheer = Lyc. *SH* 531) said that Lyc. won fame in the court of Ptolemy Philadelphus mainly because of his anagrams, but the credibility of this information is contested. There is a famous case in Virg. *Aen.* 8.322-3 *Latiumque vocari / maluit, his quoniam latuisset in oris*, see F. Ahl, *Metaformations: Soundplay and Wordplay in Ovid and Other Classical Poets*, Ithaca 1985, 47-8, A. Cameron, "Greek Anagrams", *AJPh* 116 (1995), 477-484.

<sup>45</sup> Spondaic verses as this one are almost always preceded by an uncontracted fourth biceps, see West (1982), 154, Hollis 18, Sickling 74. The break here is necessitated by the intended rhetorical effect. The fact that at latest by the end of the 4th c. -αι- began to be pronounced -εε-, see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 208-9, Kannicht on id. *Hel.* 166, does not diminish the aimed alliteration. Sound-patterns are common in Homer, see W. Bernhardt, *De alliterationis apud Homerum usu*, Diss. Gotha 1904, L.Ph. Rank, *Etymologiseering en verwante Verschijnselen bij Homerus*, Assen 1951, 28-34 and in Hellenistic verse Hollis on Call. *Hec.* fr. 16, M. Huys, *Le poème élégiaque hellénistique P.Brux. Inv. E. 8934 et P.Sorb.*

was regarded as most appropriate for depicting a mourning context. It is non-existent in Homer, where αἰαῖ, αἰάζω are unknown, but cf. later Aesch. *Pers.* 922-930 (al.) γὰρ δ' αἰάζει τὰν ἐγγαίαν / ἦβαν Ξέρξῃ κταμένην Ἄιδου / σάκτορι Περσῶν [...]. ἐξέφθινται. / αἰαῖ <αἰαῖ> κεδνῶς ἀλκῶς / Ἄσια δὲ χθών, βασιλεὺ γαίας, / αἰνῶς αἰνῶς ἐπὶ γόνυ κέκλιται, the usually double αἶλινον on which see Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 171a-3, Achaeus *TrGF* 20 F 28 βαβαῖ βαβαῖ, βήσομαι γυναῖκας, then Hermesian. *CA* 7.43-4 (Antim.) ὑπὸ ξηρὴν θέτο γαῖαν / κλαίων, αἰάζων δ' ἦλθεν etc. (Ilgen : καλλίων αἶζαον διηλθεν cod.), A.R. 4.604-5 Ἡλιάδες ταναῆσιν ἰαεῖται / αἰγείροισι / μύρονται κινυρὸν μέλαι γόον, Theoc. 2.55 αἰαῖ Ἔρωσ ἀνιαρέ, Mnasilc. *HE* 10.1-2 Αἰαῖ παρθενίας ὀλοόφρονος ἄς ἄπο φαιδρᾶν / ἔκλασας ἀλικίαν, ἡμερόεσσα Κλεοῖ, [Mosch.] *Megara* 27-8 αἰνοτόκεια φίλον γόνον αἰάζουσα / μαινομένοισι πόδεσσι, Bion *Epit. Adon.* 56-7 ἔχω δ' ἀκόρεστον ἀνίαν / καὶ κλαίω τὸν Ἄδωνιν, *passim*, cf. the accumulation of initial αι- in vv. 88-95 (all but v. 92) and the fact that this poem begins and ends with the syllable -αι-, Parth. *SH* 646.2-3 κλαῖεν ἀηδονίδων θαμινώτερον, αἶ τ' ἐνὶ βήσσης / ... μύριον αἰάζουσιν, Nonn. *D.* 5.354-5 αἶλινον Ἀκταίωνι, φίλαι, φθέγξασθε, κολῶναι / ναί, λίτομαι, καὶ θῆρες ὁμοίον, funerary epigrams beginning with αι- such as a 5th c. epitaph *apud* J. Ebert, *ZPE* 112 (1996), 66 v. 1, *CEG* 556.1, 686.1 (both 4th c.), Arat. *HE* 2.1 αἰάζω Διότιμον, Greg. Naz. *AP* 8.120.1 and -αι- tails such as Asclep. *HE* 31.1-2 παρὰ τῷδε κάθημαι / Αἴαντος τύμβῳ, Call. *HyAp.* 20 Θέτις Ἀχιλλῆα κινύρεται αἶλινα μήτηρ, A.R. 1.c., 4.1339-40 ὠρύεται· αἶ δὲ .. / .. ὑποβρομέουσι ... βῆσσαι, Q.S. 7.331 μύρεται αἰόλα τέκνα.

**αἰέν** Cf. *Od.* 11.482 (Odysseus) ἀλλ' αἰέν ἔχω κακά. Αἰέν is a typical element in complaints, cf. e.g. A.R. 2.631, 3.94 and see W. Marg, *Der Charakter in der Sprache der frühgriechischen Dichtung*, Darmstadt<sup>2</sup> 1967, 52-3, Macleod on *Il.* 24.62. In Ph. fr. 15.1 νῦν δ' αἰεὶ πέσσω, fr. 16.3-4 (κακά) μένουσιν / ἔμπεδ' αἰεῖ.

**τετρήχασιν** τέτρηχα is the Homeric perfect of θράσσω, a cognate of τάρασσω, revived by Ph. and afterwards frequently used in Hellenistic poetry. In Homer *Il.* 2.95, 7.346, both of assemblies in turmoil, but the image is clearly one of the sea, cf. *Od.* 5.291 ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον, Archil. *IEG* 105.1 κύμασιν τάρασσεται πόντος, Pind. *Ol.*

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*Inv.* 2254, Brussels 1991, 92-4. The ancient critics approved of these as εὐφωρότερον καὶ μουσικώτερον, see Richardson on *HHD* 179f. and id. *CQ* 30 (1980), 283-7, R. Meijering, *Literary and Rhetorical Theories in Greek Scholia*, Groningen 1987, 42-4 on the ancient Homeric Schol. On rhetorical figures in general in Homer see Macleod 50-3, Edwards 55-60, Rutherford 82-5, M. S. Silk, <sup>3</sup>*OCD*, 193-4 s.v. assonance. As the inventor of all arts, Homer was also the inventor of rhetoric, see Hillgruber 13-4 (Sophists), 27-9 (Stoics).



2.69 and *Il.* 2.144 κινήθη δ' ἀγορή φη κύματα μακρὰ θαλάσσης (the most striking of three similes with the same content in *Il.* 2, see Kirk on 2.394-7). It is very often used of the sea, cf. Leon. Tar. *HE* 63.1 τετρηχυῖα θάλασσα, A.R. 1.1167 τετρηχότος οἰδματος, Euph. *SH* 415ii.20, Nic. *Ther.* 267, Opp. *Hal.* 5.244, but also of the torments of love, as A.R. 4.447 (quoted above; "et puis encore d' autres malheurs sans fin, mer de tourment" Vian-Delage), 3.275-6 Ἔρως πολιοῖο δ' ἠέρος ἔξεν ἄφαντος, / τετρηχῶς, τaráσσω being previously used of love, cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 969 ὅταν τaráξη Κύπρις ἠβῶσαν φρένα. In certain passages a connection with τρηχύς is probable, cf. Asclep. *HE* 30.1 τρηχεῖα θάλασσα, A.R. 2.70-1 κῦμα θαλάσσης / τρηχύ, 1.613 τρηχὺν ἔρον and see H. Erbse, *Hermes* 81 (1953), 173-4, criticised by Rengakos 145-6, Livrea on A.R. 4.447. But "such colouring does not rule out a more fundamental association with ταραχή", Campbell on A.R. 3.276, which in view of κυκόμενε and ἐπιμίσγεαι is certain here. Campbell also noted that the association of a sea-verb with Eros is natural through his sea-born mother, cf. Asclep. (or Posid.) *HE* 36.

Bach 37-8 was the first to assign this fragment to *Hermes*. MS *S* of Stob. has τοῦ αὐτοῦ (a fragment of Ph.'s *Demeter* precedes), MSS *MA* do not preserve the lines. Bach's assignation has good reason: a soliloquy of Odysseus in the presence of Aeolus, in which the hero deplores the misfortunes he has gone through, fits both the personality of Odysseus and his aims in Ph.'s poem. The monologue in itself is peculiar. In the *Od.* the hero soliloquises when he is all alone and the soliloquy is introduced by the poet. Those are monologues in moments of genuine despair.<sup>46</sup> But here Odysseus soliloquises before Aeolus (and the Aeolids?) and the soliloquiser coincides with the narrator. This eccentricity indicates the different function this monologue has, as it constitutes part of Odysseus' strategy to win the sympathy and eventually the help of Aeolus. To achieve this he takes advantage of his fame of being the hero who has suffered more than anyone else, the πολύτλας hero. The *Od.*-poet points out the fact immediately after the proem, 1.11f. and Menelaus in *Od.* 4.106-7 knows of Odysseus that οὐ τις Ἀχαιῶν τόσσ' ἐμόγησεν, / ὅσσ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐμόγησε

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Jason's monologue in A.R. 4.1331f. See R. L. Fowler, "The Rhetoric of Desperation", *HSCP* 91 (1987), 20-3 and in general C. Henze, "Die Monologen in den homerischen Epen", *Phil.* 63 (1904), 12-30, M. W. Edwards, *Homer. The Poet of the Iliad*, Ithaca-London 1987, 94-6, M. M. Willcock, *G&R* 37 (1990), 9-12. S. Scully, *TAPA* 114 (1984), 11-27 noted that monologues in Homer depict the individual's thought in its purest form and offer an insight into the man rather than into the hero: "The private thoughts of a hero question the values of heroic activity as he could never do publicly". On Iliadic soliloquies apart from Odysseus' cf. 17.90-105 (Menelaus), 21.550-70 (Agenor), 22.98-130 (Hector). Achilles delivers four monologues in the last books of the *Il.*, see Edwards on *Il.* 20.425-7.

καὶ ἤρατο. Odysseus in highly emotional tones would present himself as miserable, stirred by never-ending troubles, a man who deserves to be pitied. The practice is known from e.g. *Od.* 6.169f. χαλεπὸν δέ με πένθος ἰκάνει. / χθιζὸς ἔεικοστῷ φύγον ἤματι οἴνοπα πόντον / τόφρα δέ μ' αἰεὶ κῦμα φόρει κραιπναί τε θύελλαι / νήσου ἀπ' Ὠλυγίης· νῦν δ' ἐνθάδε κάββαλε δαίμων, / ὄφρα τί που καὶ τῆδε πάθω κακόν· οὐ γὰρ οἶω / παύσεσθ', ἀλλ' ἔτι πολλὰ θεοὶ τελέουσι πάροιθεν. / ἀλλά, ἄνασσ', ἐλέαιρε etc. where Odysseus is convincing (cf. *Od.* 6.206 ἀλλ' ὅδε τις δύστηνος ἀλώμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνει etc.), cf. also *Od.* 7.24-6 to Athena or *Od.* 18.51-8 where Odysseus preparing to fight with Irus, pretends to be an old and weak man in order to secure the neutrality of the suitors.

The most noteworthy feature of the fragment, however, is its highly cryptic language. The superficial imagery is that of the sea, where Odysseus has suffered a lot.<sup>47</sup> All important words (πεφύρησαι, χαλεποῖσι, θυμέ, γαληναίη, ἐπιμίσγειαι, ἀνῆαι, τετρήχασιν) can be read with their innocent Homeric sense as well as their allusive post-Homeric meaning. Πεφύρησαι gives the impression of someone striving to save his life among waves and γαληναίη viz. γαλήνη is the *vox propria* for "calm" in the sea.<sup>48</sup> But the erotic innuendos are there as a kind of dramatic irony. For desperate addresses to the *thymos* (or *psyche*) in an erotic context, cf. Simon. *IEG* 21.3, Pind. fr. 123.2, 127.4, Meleag. *HE* 19.3, 96.2, al., Hellenistic elegy POxy. 3723ii.23 (s. II p.C.), "Plato" *FGE* 6.3, Philod. *GPh* 11.3, *Anacreont.* 60.24. Μίσγομαι is common for sexual intercourse and it is used ambiguously at least once in *Od.* 6.287-8 (Nausicaa despises a woman) ἧ τ' ἀέκητι φίλων πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς ἐόντων / ἀνδράσι μίσγηται πρὶν γ' ἀμφάδιον γάμον ἐλθεῖν.<sup>49</sup> Ἐπιμ(ε)ίγνυμι in classical times is used of sexual intercourse and in Call. *HyJov.* 13 ἐπιμίσγομαι is used in an allusive way, vv. 11-3 ἔνθεν ὁ χῶρος / ἱερός, οὐδὲ τί μιν κεχρημένον Εἰλειθυίης / ἔρπετὸν οὐδὲ γυνὴ ἐπιμίσγεται, see McLennan ad loc. In A.R. 3.658-9 (a young bride mourns her husband who died before they experienced the joys of love) οὐδὲ τί πω πάσαις ἐπιμίσγεται ἀμφιπόλοισιν / αἰδοῖ ἐπιφροσύνη τε the verb "provides a further reinforcement" of "a powerful picture of a sexual urge" of Medea,

<sup>47</sup> Whence Wil. *HU*, 191 n. 33 was induced to propose the unattractive πελάγεσσι, accepted by O. Hense in the Stobaeus edition.

<sup>48</sup> In Homer the word occurs only in *Odyssey* and only with this meaning. In tragedy see D. van Nes, *Die maritime Bildersprache des Aischylos*, Göttingen 1963, 65f., further J. Péron, *Les images maritimes de Pindar*, Paris 1974, 290-1, *DGE* s.v.

<sup>49</sup> See Hainsworth ad loc. *Od.* 7.246-7 (Circe) οὐδέ τις αὐτῇ / μίσγεται οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων is a doubtful case, see in general D. L. Cairns, "Mixing with men and Nausicaa's Nemesis", *CQ* 40 (1990), 263-6. On ambiguous μίσγομαι see Garvie on *Od.* 6.136 and cf. the ambivalent (Calypso) ἐφίλει in *Od.* 7.255-6.

see Campbell (1983), 40 with 110 n. 15. The combined seafaring and sexual notions of μίσογομαι, despite Braswell ad loc., find a precedent in Pind. *Pyth.* 4.250-1 of Jason (quoted above). The tranquillity of the soul denoted by γαληναίη could be granted by abstention from erotic adventures. The unusual construction with ἐπιμίσομαι intensifies the ambiguity. Aphrodite of the sea is evoked as γαληναίη in Philod. *GPh* 15.1 and in Leon. Tar. *HE* 23.6 from Apelles' Aphrodite *Anadyomene* εὖ δ' ὀμμάτων γαληνὸς ἐκλάμπει πόθος.

'Ανῖαι superficially refers to one more of Odysseus' many misfortunes. It is an exclusively Odyssean word almost always connected with Odysseus. It can denote weariness because of a protracted or enforced stay of a stranger with his host, cf. *Od.* 7.192-3, or the sentiment caused by a prolonged activity which does not lead to the desired conclusion, cf. *Od.* 2.291 (weariness by protracted fighting in Troy, see Campbell on Q.S. 12.376). 'Ανία also has a long tradition in an amatory context, cf. Sappho fr. 1.3-4 μὴ μ' ἄσαισι μὴδ' ὀνίαισι / δάμνα, Asclep. *HE* 17.5, 19.3, 42.4, Posid. *HE* 6.4, Theoc. 29.9, Hermesian. *CA* 7.92, Anon. *HE* 31.1, Meleag. *HE* 107.3. In Call. *HE* 13.1 a man in love snorts ἀνιηρόν / πνεῦμα, in Theoc. 2.39 enamoured Simaetha concedes Δέλφις ἔμ' ἀνίασεν and in 11.71 Cyclops in love ἀνιᾶται. In A.R. 3.290 (Eros to Medea) γλυκερῆ .. κατεῖβετο θυμὸν ἀνίη and in 3.1066-7 Medea addresses Jason ἀνιηρῶ ... / .. μύθῳ, cf. also 3.765-6, 777, 1103.

Τετρήχασι can cover both semantic fields, but besides ἀνῖαι the erotic sense prevails. Χαλεποῖσι equally well applies to sea and love, cf. *Od.* 10.464 χαλεπῆς ἄλης, Arat. 110 χαλεπὴ ... θάλασσα, Sappho 1.25-6 χαλέπαν δὲ λῦσον / ἐκ μερίμναν, Asclep. *HE* 16.2 χαλεπὴ Κύπρις, Theoc. 2.95, 29.22, 40 παυσάμενος χαλέπω πόθῳ, 30.1, 17, 23, Call. fr. 75.49, *HE* 3, Anon. *HE* 31.1 χαλεπῆς δεσμὸν ἀλυκτοπέδης, Hellenistic elegy POxy. 3723ii.22 (s. II p.C.) ρύσασθαι χαλεπῶν θυμὸν ε[, Anon. *GDRK* 39.15 θηλυτέρης δὲ νόος χαλεπώτερός ἐστ[ι θ]αλάσ[σης]. Odysseus actually deploras his erotic adventures under a seafaring pretext, as e.g. Polyxo's speech to the Lemnian women in A.R. 1.675f. abounds in sexual allusions under an agricultural pretext. Sea-images (mostly storms) are commonly used as love images, cf. Asclep. (or Posid.) *HE* 36.5 with G-P ad loc., Anon. *HE* 22 and Meleag. *HE* 25, 64, 114.7-8, al. The ambiguity is here facilitated by Aphrodite's double capacity as goddess of love and of the sea, naturally known in Cos as such, cf. *SEG* 26.758, a ca 325-300 dedication to Aphrodite ὑπερ τῶν πλεόντων, *IdC* ED 178b.A.10-11 (ex. 3rd c.) τό τε ἱερόν / τᾶς Ἀφροδίτας <τᾶς> Πανδάμου καὶ τᾶς Ποντίας and in general see Bodson 49 n. 20, Pirenne-Delforge 433-7. The subtle irony is produced by studied verses of high finish.

The fragment seems to belong to a later part of the Odysseus episode in *Hermes*: the hero expresses self-pity about his repeated seafaring misfortunes, which should mean that he has already narrated most of them – all up to his arrival at Aeolus'

island? It may be delivered in connection with Odysseus' arrival at Aeolus; the hero would then go on to request help. The erotic allusions should hint at Polymele's growing passion for the stranger and foreshadow the evolution of the episode.

**Fr. 6 (CA 9; Hermes?)**

ἀγαθὴ δ' ἐπὶ ἦθεσιν αἰδῶ

Choerob. in Theod. p. 360.16 (IV.I.338.10 Hilgard = Herodian II.763.20 Lentz) ἰστέον ὅτι τὸ αἰδῶς Φιλίτας (:Φιλίππας codd., v. T. 25) ὁ διδάσκαλος Θεοκρίτου χωρὶς τοῦ ζ προηνέγκατο εἰπὼν ἀγαθὴ etc., cf. Phot. *Lex.* α 552 αἰδῶ χωρὶς τοῦ ζ. "ἀγαθὴ δὲ ἐπὶ ἦθεσιν αἰδῶ". ἡ λέξις Ἡρωδιανοῦ.

δὲ ἐπὶ codd. ambo locis ἐπὶ codd. : ἐπι Bergk

**ἀγαθὴ** Like other abstract concepts, e.g. Ἔρις (Hes. *WD* 24), δόξα (Solon *IEG* 1.4), γνώμη (Eur. *Hipp.* 427), αἰδῶς can be ἀγαθὴ or οὐκ ἀγαθὴ, cf. *Od.* 17.347 αἰδῶς οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένῳ ἀνδρὶ παρεῖναι, 17.352 αἰδῶ δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴν φῆσ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρὶ προῖκτη, Hes. *WD* 317 αἰδῶς δ' οὐκ ἀγαθὴ κεχρημένον ἄνδρα κομίζειν – all proverbial phrasings. For the idea cf. *Il.* 24.44-5 οὐδέ οἱ αἰδῶς / γίνεται, ἢ τ' ἄνδρας μέγα σίνηται ἢ δ' ὀνίνησιν ~ Hes. *WD* 318 with West ad loc., Eur. *Hipp.* 385-6 αἰδῶς τε· δισσαὶ δ' εἰσίν, ἢ μὲν οὐ κακὴ, / ἢ δ' ἄχθος οἴκων.

**ἐπὶ ἦθεσιν αἰδῶ** Cf. Nonn. *D.* 38.43 (Idmon) ἔχων ἐπὶ χεῖλεσι πειθῶ/, Ibyc., who lived in Samos, *PMGF* 318 has οὐτι κατὰ σφετερὰν ἐελδῶ/. Ph. plays here with the proverb αἰδῶς ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς, Arist. *Rhet.* 1384a34, Eustath. *Comm. Il.* 923 (III.447 van der Valk), *Comm. Od.* 1754, *App. Prov.* 1.10 (*CPG* I, 381), also known in the form αἰδῶς ἐπὶ (ἐν) ὄμμασι, cf. *HHD* 214 ἐπὶ τοι πρέπει ὄμμασιν αἰδῶς, A.R. 3.93 τυτθὴ δ' αἰδῶς ἔσσειτ' ἐν ὄμμασιν, Anon. *HE* 33.3-4 ἐπ' ὄμμασι δ' ἡ περίσματος / αἰδῶς, Q.S. 14.39-40. Ἐπί is a variant of ἐν in Theoc. 4.7 ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὀπώπει, cf. also for ἐπὶ in this context Theogn. 85 οἴσιν ἐπὶ γλώσση τε καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔπεστιν / αἰδῶς, Call. *SH* 239.7 αἰδῶς ἴζεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις and see G-P on Leon. Tar. *HE* 31.3, Campbell on A.R. 3.93. Ph. substitutes ὄμμασι with the similarly-sounding and metrically equivalent ἦθεσι, cf. already *Il.* 13.121-2 ἀλλ' ἐν φρεσὶ θέσθε ἕκαστος / αἰδῶ. This along with the addition of ἀγαθὴ gives his version of the proverb a moral character. In view of the proverb at work Bergk's ἐπι (= ἔπεστι), accepted by Powell, is unsuitable. On the hiatus ἐπὶ ἦθεσι see Campbell on A.R. 3.327 \*ἐνὶ ἡματι. On the

idea that αἰδώς as ἀναΐδεια resides in the eyes, cf. [Arist.] *Physiogn.* 807b29-30 ἀναιδοῦς σημεῖα ὀμμάτιον ἀνεπτυγμένον καὶ λαμπρόν, Longinus *De Subl.* 4.4 οὐδενὶ οὕτως ἐνσημαίνεσθαι τὴν τινῶν ἀναΐδειαν ὡς ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς and see Richardson on *HHD* 214, Hollis on Call. *Hec.* fr. 49.14-5, Cairns *Aidos*, 98-9 n. 1.<sup>50</sup> The tendency to end a hexameter with *sententiae* is well attested, see Gow on Theoc. 5.38, Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 117.

**αἰδῶ** αἰδώς is the sentiment which prevents someone from conducting himself in a way that will later make him feel shame before third persons or a superior power – φόβος τις ἀδοξίας as Arist. *EN* 1128b14 put it. As it functions proleptically, it is a "negative" virtue, cf. expressions like κωλύει αἰδώς, ἴσχει αἰδώς, ἐρύκει αἰδώς, αἰδοῖ ἐεργομένη etc. The sentiment felt after the deed is described by the term αἰσχύνη. See Ll-J, "Honour and Shame in Ancient Greek Culture", *Acad. Pap.* II, 253-280 ("αἰδώς is .. the feeling which leads one to resent an offence against one's own τιμή or to avoid an action of one's own which might do it harm", p. 257), Cairns *Aidos*, further bibliography in S. West on *Od.* 2.64-6. For the elsewhere unattested excision of -ς Schwyzer *GG* I, 478 compared feminine nouns such as τροφῶ (ός), ἀηδῶ (-ών), εἰκῶ (-ών) etc. Conceivably the form contributed to an intended rhetorical effect. Αἰδώς is common at the end of a hexameter at all periods<sup>51</sup> and no doubt echoes of αἰδῶ/ clausulae and of the epic habit of other -ῶ (or -ῶ) hexameter-endings would have facilitated the excision. To quote but some examples cf. *Il.* 15.561 = 661 αἰδῶ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῶ/, *Il.* 22.60 = 24.487 = *Od.* 15.348 = Hes. *WD* 331 ἐπὶ γήραος οὐδῶ/, *Il.* 7.409 οὐ γάρ τις φειδῶ/, *Od.* 14.92 οὐδ' ἐπι φειδῶ/ cf. Hes. *WD* 369, *Il.* 1.24, al. = *Od.* 11.55, al. = Hes. *Theog.* 443, 551 = *WD* 366 θυμῶ/, Hes. *WD* 73 = Antip. Sid. *HE* 11.3 Πειθῶ/ see Livrea on Colluth. 28, *Il.* 4.24, al. = *Od.* 8.321, al. δῶ/, after [Hes.] *Scut.* 229, *HH* 19.21 cf. Erinna *SH* 402.1 = Call. *HyDian.* 245 ἠχώ/, Call. *HyDian.* 239 Ἰππῶ/, Simias *CA* 10 Δωδῶ/, A.R. 1.4, al. = Theoc. 11.20 al. =

<sup>50</sup> The play of the proverb could be more explicit, if preceded by a polar antithesis such as e.g. </οὐ τοι ἐπ' ὀμμασίν ἐστ' > ἀγαθὴ δ' ἐπὶ ἠθεσιν αἰδῶ. Οὐ τοι is a usual hexameter opening, *Il.* 2.361, 6.335 οὐ τοι ἐγώ, al., cf. *Il.* 10.91 ἐπεὶ οὐ μοι ἐπ' ὀμμασι. For τοι in gnomics cf. *HHD* 214 (quoted above) and see Denniston *GP*, 542-3. The elision in the caesura is rare, but sufficiently attested to be legitimate, see Hollis 23. Cf. Long. 1.22.1 σωθεὶς ἐκ κυνός φασιν οὐ λύκου στόματος.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Il.* 15.129, 657, 24.44, Hes. *WD* 192, *HHD* 214, *Cypria* *EGF* 7.5, [Hes.] *Scut.* 354, fr. 204.82, Theogn. 253, 653, 1067, Ion *IEG* 30.1, *CEG* 102.1 (ca 400), Erinna *SH* 401.34, A.R. 3.652, 681, 785, 1068, Arat. 493, Isyllus 16 (*CA* p. 133), Diosc. *HE* 13.5, *GVI* 2061.12 (3rd c.), 1518.3 (2nd/1st c.), 1695.5 (1st c. A.D.), *SEG* 33.1042.5 (late Hellenistic), Antip. Thess. *GPh* 76.3, Opp. *Hal.* 1.722, 2.43, al., [id.] *Cyn.* 3.372, Q.S. 14.55, al., *Orac. Sib.* 1.49, 90, al., Claud. *AP* 9.139.5, Orph. *Arg.* 409, 883, Agath. *AP* 5.302.13, Paul. Sil. *AP* 5.286.3, Joann. Gaz. 1.46, Musae. 98, Nonn. 9x.

Arat. 342, al. Ἀργώ/, A.R. 4.530 Πυθώ/, *HHHerm.* 326 = A.R. 1.1156 = 3.828 = Theoc. 17.59 = Arat. 751, al. = Leon. Tar. *HE* 43.7, 77.1 ἠῶ/, Euph. *SH* 415ii.16 = Nonn. *D.* 2.143 Κομαιθῶ/.

The fragment was attributed to *Hermes* by Powell, who linked it with fr. 3 because of its gnomic character. But this is vague and insufficient. It would seem possible that when Aeolus found out about the secret affair of his daughter and his former guest, he used this maxim in his traditionally angry reaction, see on fr. 1 τὴν δὲ Πολυμήλην ἐν νῶ ἔσχε τίσασθαι. The content of the proverb fits the circumstances: Polymele during Odysseus' sojourn would have taken her usual innocent stand ἐν ὄμμασι but not ἐν ἡθεσι, as she κρύφα συνῆν with the stranger. Other indications point towards *Hermes* as well. Αἰδῶς in Homer is employed in all occurrences but one (*Il.* 15.657) in direct speech. As Arist. *EN* 1128b15-6 noted οὐ πάσῃ δ' ἡλικίᾳ τὸ πάθος (sc. αἰδῶς) ἀρμόζει, ἀλλὰ τῇ νέᾳ. When the term applies to moral issues, it mostly refers to women<sup>52</sup> and is particularly apt of young maidens: κοῦραι should display αἰδῶς in their dealings with men, cf. *Il.* 2.514 παρθένος αἰδοίη ("looks like a common formula but the two components are not found conjoined elsewhere", Kirk ad loc.), A.R. 3.681-2 αἰδῶς / παρθενίη, Triph. 368, see Campbell on Q.S. 12.555. Αἰδῶς is a traditional opponent of Eros, cf. esp. A.R. 3.652-3 ἔρυκέ μιν ἔνδοθεν αἰδῶς / αἰδοῖ δ' ἐργομένην θρασὺς ἕμερος ὀτρύνεσκε, 3.681f., 3.785 until the days of Eirenaeus Refer. (m. 6th c. A.D.) *AP* 5.253.3 αἰδῶς νόσφι πέλει τῆς Κύπριδος. As Eros overwhelms the mind of its victim *aidos* disperses, cf. A.R. 3.1068 and see Campbell on A.R. 3.288-9, Kost on Musae. 98. In Pind. *Pyth.* 4.218 Aphrodite instructs Jason ὄφρα Μηδείας τοκέων ἀφέλοιτ' αἰδῶ and in [Theoc.] 27.69-70 a young girl after making love to Daphnis πάλιν ἔστιχε μᾶλα νομεύειν / ὄμμασιν αἰδόμενοις, κραδίη δέ οἱ ἔνδον ἰάνθη. Cf. also Callirhoe in Chariton 1.1.8 αἰδουμένη κατάφωρος γενέσθαι that she loves Chaereas.

The mode of expression in an occasion of wrath is noteworthy. Hellenistic poets freely use proverbs or variations of proverbs to produce a light, even grotesque effect.<sup>53</sup> *Dictio levior* in passages of high tension is commonly employed by the

<sup>52</sup> See Cairns *Aidos*, 120-5, 185-8, 305-340. Αἰδῶς is often associated with σωφροσύνη, the feminine virtue *par excellence*, see Kost on Musae. 33, Cairns op.c., 104 n. 69. For the sentiment of the erotic αἰδῶς "(feminine) modesty", a struggle between one's dignity and feelings, cf. *Il.* 2.262, *Od.* 8.324, A.R. 1.792, 3.1023.

<sup>53</sup> Φύσει γὰρ χαρίεν πρᾶγμά ἐστι ἡ παροιμία, Demetr. *De Eloc.* 156, where χαρίεν is a specification of τὸ γελοῖον, see P. Chiron, *Démétrios, Du Style*, Budé 1993, LXXXVIII-XCI and on the whole question J. F. Kindstrand, "The Greek Concept of Proverbs", *Eranos* 76 (1978), 71-85. On proverbs in

erudite poets to wittingly defuse the tenseness of a situation with an amusing remark. Call. *Hec.* fr. 7 ἴσχε τέκος, μὴ πῖθι employs comic πῖθι in a moment of high tension. Angry characters in particular often make fun of themselves. Idas in A.R. is irascible and ludicrous, cf. esp. 3.556f., 1252f. Aietes' threats in 3.576f., easily undermined by Argos and his mother in 3.606-611, are grotesque, cf. also his funny turn-out and speech in 4.219-435 and Call. fr. 7.29-34. Erychthon's father, a tragic figure, is presented as making grotesque remarks about his son's hunger, vv. 103f. The precinct of Demeter in Call. *HyDem.* 26 is so thick-planted that διὰ κεν μόλις ἦνθεν οἰστός; during an appalling family row in Theoc. 14.23 the wife is outraged κῆφλέγεται· εὐμαρέως κεν ἀπ' αὐτᾶς καὶ λύχνον ἄψας. Erat. *CA* 17 ἔκ τέ οἱ ὄσσε / κανθῶν παμφαίνεσκε Μοσυχλαίη φλογὶ Ἴσον in a tense moment possibly involving the murder of Hes. alludes to the proverb Λήμνιον βλέπειν.<sup>54</sup>

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Call. and Theoc. see the Indexes s.v. Proverbia viz. Proverbs in Pfeiffer and Gow (with Dover li) respectively. In epigram see E. Prittwitz-Gaffron, *Sprichwörter im griechischen Epigramm*, Gießen 1911 and in general L. Hensel, *Weissagungen in der alexandrinischen Poesie*, Diss. Gießen 1908.

<sup>54</sup> Comic elements in serious poetry have a long history, see A. K. Zervou, *Ironie et Parodie: le comique chez Homère*, Athens 1990, L. Golden, "Τὸ γελοῖον in the *Iliad*", *HSCP* 93 (1990), 47-57, B. Seidensticker, *Palintonos Harmonia*, Göttingen 1982 (comic elements in tragedy; he also examined the main Homeric passages, pp. 46-64). In Hellenistic poetry see G. Giangrande, *L'humour d'Alexandria*, Amsterdam 1975, P. Veyne, *L'élégie érotique romaine*, Paris 1983, 24-40 ("Callimaque et l'humour lyrique"). Zanker 11-2 pointed out the incongruity of the hexameter's innate grandeur (see Russel on Longinus 3.9.4) and a humorous content.

### *Hermes-Discussion*

The hexameter poem *Hermes* was probably not the most appreciated work of Ph. in antiquity, but thanks to Parth. the one we know more about, as in the second chapter of *Erot. Path.* he summarises an episode from it. Inevitably Parth.'s proceedings with his sources and the credibility of the notations come into question. There are cases where we are explicitly told that he takes into consideration more than one source, cf. 11.3 οἱ δὲ πλείους φασίν, 14.1 Κλεόβοια, ἦν τινες Φιλαίχμην ἐκάλεσαν, 14.3 ἔφασαν δὲ τινες, 26.2. When he is aware of a short poetic treatment, even one of his own, he quotes it without this being his primary source. The discrepancies between ch. 14 and Alex. Aet. CA 3 (quoted in it) clearly demonstrate that, see J. Stern, *Eranos* 85 (1987), 39. It may be assumed that Parth. draws mainly on one source, enriching it with additional information from others, in which case he marks the addition with vague expressions such as the above.<sup>1</sup>

To put it more specifically, was Ph. the direct source of Parth. in his Polymelechapter? Almost certainly, yes. As stated in the prologue his sources are poetic.<sup>2</sup> The content of ch. 2 relates to the *Od.* The account of Odysseus' Aeolus-sojourn in Homer is virtually defective. Initially Aeolus welcomes and hosts the hero and, when he asks to depart, he even puts the winds into an utricule to guarantee a safe journey. Odysseus' toils would have ended there, if his companions were not jealous of the many gifts that he was carrying home. They open the sack and the winds drive them all back to Aeolus. The hero uses soothing words again (*Od.* 10.70 μαλακοῖσι καθαπτόμενος ἐπέεσσιν) and asks for help but this time Aeolus refuses. As a justification he adduces the fact that Odysseus is hated by the gods, *Od.* 10.73-5 οὐ γάρ μοι θέμις ἐστὶ κομιζέμεν οὐδ' ἀποπέμπειν / ἄνδρα τόν, ὃς κε θεοῖσιν ἀπέχθηται μακάρεσσιν. / ἔρρ', ἐπεὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ἀπεχθόμενος τόδ' ἰκάνεις.

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<sup>1</sup> On the similar question raised in Ant. Lib. P. M. C. Forbes-Irving, *Metamorphosis in Greek Myth*, Oxford 1990, 20-4 deemed that Ant. draws on one source each time and remains faithful to it, the poetic digressions being "a feature of hellenistic narrative", see also M. Papatomopoulos, *Antoninus Liberalis*, Budé 1968, XVI-XIX.

<sup>2</sup> Parth. claims to summarise τὰ παρὰ τισι τῶν ποιητῶν κείμενα. Generally this may only mean that he is aware of a better-known poetic treatment on the same subject and may well be untrue in treatment of stories of the recent past. Dr. Lightfoot wrote to me (26/5/96): "He says in the preface that his sources are poetic, but not all the stories necessarily come from poetic sources; we cannot *prove* that any of his sources are historiographical, for that matter, but it is very hard to believe that all of his stories come straight from poetry (eg. 8, or the other stories about events in the recent past). Poetical historiography, *historia fabularis*, or other mythographical manuals, are other likely sources, or works of paradoxography".



What happened between the first and the second visit to Aeolus? The usual assumption is that Aeolus attributed Odysseus' misfortune (in fact owed to the vanity of his companions) to the wrath of the gods – for what, we are never told – against the will of whom he refuses to act. Ph., if he had ever taken such an explanation into account, must have found it insufficient. His suspicions would be reinforced by the fact that the episode in the *Od.* is expounded by Odysseus himself, a narrator particularly skilful in dissimulating the full truth, cf. the elusive language of *Od.* 7.255-6 (Calypso) ἦ με λαβοῦσα / ἐνδυκέως ἐφίλει τε καὶ ἔτρεφεν (cf. Jason in A.R. 2.764 narrating ὡς Λημνιάδεσσιν ἐπεξεινοῦντο γυναιξίν). One wonders how the Philetan Odysseus would present to Aeolus the Calypso and Circe episodes. His deceitful eloquence is outspokenly denounced in Pind. *Nem.* 7 and 8 and the *delectare* of poetry is evoked as a reason to question the credibility of his Phaeacian tales in *Nem.* 7.20-3 ἐγὼ δὲ πλέον' ἔλπομαι / λόγον Ὀδυσσεός ἢ πάθαν / διὰ τὸ ἀδυεπῆ γενέσθ' Ὀμηρον, cf. then Lyc. 764 (Odysseus) τὸν μυθοπλάστη ἐξαλκκτήσει γόον in which the adj. "surely implies downright invention"<sup>3</sup> and Luc. *Ver. Hist.* 1.3. Ph.'s own story does not only interpret the Homeric data on geography and modify the traditional sequence of Odysseus' adventures, but also supplements with verisimilitude the lacunose Homeric narration providing an aetion for the inexplicable wrath of Aeolus in Odysseus' second visit. The Homeric data are elaborated and recast.<sup>4</sup>

The idea is similar with a liaison between Hermes and Calypso in [Hes.] *Heoiai* fr. 150.30-1 Κεφαλλήνων ἀγερώχων φύλον .. / οὗς τέκεν Ἐρ]μάωνι Καλυπῶ πότνια

<sup>3</sup> S. West, *CQ* 33 (1983), 116. On Pind.'s passage see N. J. Richardson, *PLILS* 5 (1985), 384-9, G. Most, *The Measure of Praise*, Göttingen 1985, 148f., G. Nagy, *Pindar's Homer*, Baltimore-London 1990, 423-7 and on his critical attitude towards Homer see G. Nagy, op.c., 414-437 with A. Köhnken, *Gnomon* 67 (1995), 7-9. On Odysseus' lies see P. Walcot, "Odysseus and the Art of Lying", *Anc. Soc.* 8 (1977), 1-19, Pratt 85-94, E. L. Bowie, "Lies, Fiction and Slander in Early Greek Poetry" in Chr. Gill - T. P. Wiseman, *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, Exeter 1993, 17-20, E. Fuchs, *Pseudologia*, Heidelberg 1993, 24-38, S. Richardson, "Truth in the tales of the *Odyssey*", *Mnem.* 49 (1996), 393-402. For a comparison of the Phaeacian apologoi and the false tales in Ithace see C. Emlyn-Jones, *G&R* 33 (1986), 1-10. Within the frame of the *Od.* the Phaeacian tales are consistently regarded as genuine, cf. 1.6-9, 20.19-21 and the recapitulation of 23.248-284. G. Most, *TAPA* 119 (1989), 15-30 argues that the whole Phaeacian narrations are fictitious and shrewdly aim at Odysseus' quick release ("the stranger's stratagem"). On Odysseus' personal comments in his narration see I. J. F. de Jong, *CQ* 42 (1992), 1-11.

<sup>4</sup> It is an amusing coincidence that Odysseus hushes up his second visit when he narrates his journeys to his wife in *Od.* 23.14-5. In *Hermes* of course there was no word of a second visit of Odysseus to Aeolus; this would be beyond the poem's scope. In Ovid's account of the Aeolus-episode, *Met.* 14.223-233, the second visit is also omitted due to the narrator's wish (Macareus, a son of Aeolus) to present his father as positively as possible.

νόμφη, an affair prompted, as Odysseus' with Polymele, by the god's innocent visit in *Od.* 5, see West (1985), 131-2. Treatment of easily deduced Homeric paralipomena seems to have been a trend with the erudite poets. Asclep. *HE* 29 wrote an epigram on Ajax's tomb. In a choliambic fragment id. *SH* 216 discussed an action concerning the site of Hecabe's death. Posid. *SH* 700 focused on the tomb of Pandarus ("de sepultura tacet Homerus", *SH* ad loc.).<sup>5</sup>

Learned vocabulary such as Μελιγουνίς shows the author of the prototype to be an erudite poet. The story shows him to be a scholar as well. Most of the notations in Parth. indicate sources dating from the 3rd c. Another fact restricts the possible field of our choice even more drastically: no attestation of an erotic affair between Odysseus and Polymele survives other than this Parthenian account. In general the Aeolus-sojourn was neglected in both literature and art.<sup>6</sup> A neglected theme subjected to an innovative treatment is the kind of story Parth. collects.<sup>7</sup> Most importantly there is the notation: ἱστορεῖ Φιλίτας Ἑρμῆ.

Earlier it was commonly accepted that Parth. was the author and at the same time the notator of his chapters. R. Hercher, *Phil.* 7 (1852), 451f. refuted this belief with arguments winning almost universal approval.<sup>8</sup> Ten out of thirty-six chapters lack a notation. As some of the poetic texts cited as sources are recovered, it is easily

<sup>5</sup> Post-Homeric events during the capture of Troy elicited some attention too, cf. Simias *Gorgo CA* 6 (see on Aeneias' post-Homeric fortune Edwards 299-301, P. Wathelet in F. Jouan - A. Motte (edd.), *Mythe et politique: Actes du colloque de Liège*, Liège 1990, 287-296). Euph. *SH* 453 treats the death of Killa and her son Mounippos by Priam after advice from the oracle of Zeleia. Others wrote on specific Homeric episodes such as Alex. Aet. *Κίρκια CA* 2 or Philoxenus *PMG* 816f. on the Cyclops episode influencing Theoc. 11. Idaeus Rhodius *SH* 501, q.v. wrote a *Homerus Auctus* by adding one line of his own for each genuine one; this was a game practised by Timolaus of Macedon *SH* 849 too. Sotades *CA* 4a, b also wrote an *Iliad* in the so-called "Sotadeum" metre and Hipparchus an Ἰλιάς Αἰγυπτία.

<sup>6</sup> "Pour Odysseus lui même pas de document significatif", O. Touchefeu-Meynier, *LIMC* VII, 960, see also Brommer 68-9. Nothing is to be made out of two Etruscan scarabées (*LIMC* VI.II, 645 nn. 64 and 65) in which a young person often identified with Hermes opens the utricule of Aeolus, even if the identification is correct, see Touchefeu-Meynier 272, G. Comporeale, *LIMC* VII, 980.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. ch. 33.1 = Simias *CA* 5.1 Διαφόρως δὲ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἱστορεῖται τὰ Νιόβης etc. His poetry consisted of ἱστορία ξένοι καὶ ἄτριπτοι, Artemidorus *Onirocr.* 4.63 = *SH* 605 (g), where his elegies are mentioned in the same breath as Lyc.'s *Alexandra*. Extant fragments indicate a bewildering abundance of rare mythological material, glossae and exotic geographical names.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. id., *Hermes* 12 (1877), 306-319, Rohde 122-5. The best review of the question is by C. Wendel, *Gnomon* 8 (1932), 148f. See also R. Keydell, *KIP* IV, 530, J. Stern, *Parthenius, Erotica Pathemata*, N.Y. 1992, 106-8. Von Blumenthal, *RE* XIX (1938), 1896 still thought a definitive answer to be impossible.

confirmed that they cannot be Parth.'s immediate sources, see e.g. on Euph. *SH* 415i.12-8. The confidence of the notator about his accuracy varies too; in ch. 8 e.g. he cites a source acknowledging that the names there are different than in Parth. The notations are preserved in the margin of the MS next to the title and, if embedded there, they would disturb the intended easy transition from chapter to chapter. Parth. in the body of his text does not appear sensitive in indicating his sources. The notations are the work of an erudite editor of Parth., who had access to recondite Hellenistic verse. This by no means implies that they are misleading. Where verifiable they are accurate in identifying the source or a source handling the theme of the chapter in a similar way. In the case of ch. 2 the uniqueness of the story renders the Philetan authorship most likely.

But if the information about the derivation of the Odysseus/Polymele episode is not supplied by Parth. himself a question of survival is involved. There is no reason to doubt that the grammarians would commence the quest for Parth.'s sources the day following the publication of his work in Rome. His own source-book though does not seem to have been accessible to many. Odysseus' speech, the part most relevant to Homer, may well have survived independently in an anthology, which would eventually yield the three fragments in Stob. Parth. pays little attention to this part and at a later stage his story would hardly be identifiable on the basis of such a piece in an anthology. The grammarians' way would rather be different. As the story provides supplementary evidence for an Odyssean episode current Homeric commentaries may have recorded it as a noteworthy piece of information. This is not a principle applicable to many Parthenian chapters, but the notation process was not universal either and the source of each notated story would have been traced separately. Most of the surviving material drawn from Hellenistic poets in the Homeric Schol. (mostly on the *Il.*) is adduced to explain the mythological background of the Homeric passage in question. In the case of Euph. a plethora of information survives this way. In other cases additional information or a variation is reported. Spicy stories elucidating Homeric paralipomena would be particularly welcome. Schol. *Il.* 14.295 (III.635 Erbse) inform us about Euph.'s *CA* 99 treatment of Hera's secret liaison (or rape) by the giant Eurymedon and the anger of Zeus when he learned it. Schol. *Il.* 15.639 (IV.134 Erbse) report anonymously Diot.'s *SH* 393, an author almost as obliterated as Ph., eccentric story that Eurystheus was Heracles' παιδικά, διὸ καὶ τοὺς ἄθλους ὑπομεῖναι. Schol. *Il.* 3.314 (I.415 Erbse) transmit a tradition originating in Stesich. *PMGF* 224 and treated (as a naughty deed?) by Euph. *CA* 56 and Alex. Aet. *CA* 13 that Hector is not a son of Priam but of Apollo. Eustath. *Comm. Od.* 1665.45f. tells of Call.'s *HyPal.* 75f. version of Teiresias' blinding when he saw Artemis (sic) naked. This marginal notation could be an early one perpetuated in the MSS tradition.

A final consideration needs to be entertained: in ch. 28 the notator cites two sources which Parth. allegedly merged into one chapter: Ἱστορεῖ Εὐφορίων Ἀπολλοδώρω, τὰ ἐξῆς Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀργοναυτικῶν α'. The possibility that Parth. merged a story in Ph. with one in Eur. can be confidently ruled out. Not only because any notator able to identify the recondite *Hermes* would easily identify the traces of Eur.'s *Aeolus*, but also because there is secure evidence that the end of the chapter has been worked out by Ph. himself. Parth.'s stories normally have a tragic end. So did Eur.'s play. But the incest-motif is here used for exactly the opposite purpose, to produce a happy ending. The elements from *Aeolus* should then be contained in the original. The possibility that Parth. himself added part of the story faces the additional objection that it utterly contradicts his principles, as these are set out in the preface of his collection.

As Ph. seems to have been the direct source of Parth., we need to read between the lines to figure out where the weight of the prototype would lie. In general Parth. narrates ὅτι ἐν βραχυτάτοις stories μὴ αὐτοτελῶς λελεγμένα and this gives plenty of room for speculation. Couat 73 ("its theme was entirely erotic"), Rohde 80 and Christ-Schmid-Stählin *Griech. Lit.* II.1, 122 thought that the central theme of the episode was the love-affair of Polymele and Odysseus and its implications. Similarly Cessi 139, von Blumenthal 2167, Barber, <sup>2</sup>*OCD*, 814 followed by Trypanis 267, believed that the central theme of the episode was the emotions of Polymele. True, Ph. gave love a place in a story where it previously had none. Yet, he is not the first to do so: the trend is clear as early as Eur. Hellenistic poets were fond of dealing with the erotic affairs of heroes for whom the tradition had a certain respect. Antim. *Lyde* dealt with unfortunate erotic affairs of heroes and Hermesian. in the third book of *Leontion* represented a number of eminent Greek poets and philosophers as victims of their love-passion. Ph. would find the erotic element interesting, but in this episode of *Hermes* he applies it above all as part of his interpretation of the relevant Homeric passage. It does not appear that love as such had a prominent place in *Hermes* (Kuchenmüller 42 was right on this). For Odysseus it is a welcome relief (ἦν ἡ μὴ καὶ αὐτῷ ἡδομένῳ), but the main interest of the hero is to charm Aeolus with exciting and packed narrations and possibly also with compliments and flattery, an integral part of his arsenal, see Rutherford 62-3. While Odysseus is methodically working on Aeolus he – as a secondary sequel – provokes and gives in to the erotic desire of Polymele. This liaison is not connected with his main objective. Neither is Polymele reported to intervene with Aeolus for Odysseus' sake, as Eilebie in Parth. 1.1 Ἐφασαν γὰρ τὴν κόρην ἰδοῦσαν τὸν Λύριον εἰς ἔρωτα ἐλθεῖν καὶ πολλὰ τοῦ πατρὸς δεηθῆναι κατασχεῖν αὐτόν, nor is there any need to do so since Aeolus is amicably disposed towards his guest. Moreover, Parth.'s programmatic (stories) μὴ αὐτοτελῶς λελεγμένα imply a selection of those constituents that are of interest to him; in

principle he is mostly interested in the erotic aspect of the story. But despite this, there is no trace of typical features such as erotic suffering, first venue etc. In the final section of Parth.'s report Polymele is caught rolling with Odysseus' gifts in a state of desperation. Tension rises when deceived Aeolus angrily blames Odysseus and plans to punish Polymele. The incident is pointed out in Parth., but the scene seems to have been coloured with grotesque overtones and the final outcome remains harmonious. The last thing one would expect in a *Hermes* are dirges of any sort. One may claim that Ph. insists on the happier aspects of the story. Aeolus may well have addressed his daughter in direct speech, but the last part of the episode would have been narrated briefly, only to round off his story with the essential happy-ending.

It is in vain that one will look to Polymele for the central character of the episode. That was Odysseus and his cunning methods to attain his objects. The focus is on him alone: his companions are kept completely off-stage. A substantial portion of the episode would be occupied by his narration (Stob.'s three fragments (3, 4, 5) are derived from it). Homer mentions it with the colourless *Od.* 10.16 καὶ μὲν ἐγὼ τῶ πάντα κατὰ μοῖραν κατέλεξα on which Ph. elaborates. Odysseus' narration, as a non-amatory element, is also disproportionately mentioned in Parth. He could omit a large portion of Odysseus' stories without significant loss for the plot. Odysseus is the type of hero who entertains people with stories in return for hospitality and gifts. He is a notoriously competent story-teller and himself narrates a significant portion of the *Od.* Not rarely he receives compliments and admiration for his narrative capabilities, cf. *Il.* 3.216-224 (Antenor), *Od.* 11.364-9 (Alcinous and Arete), *Od.* 17.518-521 (Eumaeus to Penelope) and cf. *Od.* 19.203 ἴσκε ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγων ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, which bears a remarkable resemblance to the ability of the Muses in Hes. *Theog.* 27, see Rutherford ad loc., M. J. Alden, *LCP* 2 (1992), 9-14. The shrewdness of the main character is the predominant element underlying the whole episode.

This ascertainment is of direct relevance to the riddle of the title. Individual titles were given to works of literature already by the 5th c. apart from some lyric poems cited by their opening words, a practice not entirely abandoned even after title-giving became the rule. Since archaic poems bore no title from the 4th c. onwards, booksellers and scholars assigned titles to untitled works. These were not always pertinent. In the case of Hes.'s *Works and Days* or the *Shield of Heracles* they refer only to a relatively small part of the whole poem. But when libraries began to be established and organised, title-giving became a necessity for classification reasons as well.<sup>9</sup> Since the

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<sup>9</sup> See Bühler 45-6, West (1978), 136, E. Nachmanson, *Der griechische Buchtitel*, Göteborg 1941, R. Blum, *Kallimachos, the Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography*, Wisconsin 1991, 146-8. Technical matters in C. Wendel, *Die griechisch-römische Buchbeschreibung*, Halle 1949, 24f. (placement of title on the papyrus roll), 29f. (form of title).

author himself was to give a title to his work, the possibility of misleading titles becomes very unlikely.

The title *Hermes* seems incompatible with the content of the Odysseus-episode. D. Ruhnken, *Epist. Crit.*, 284 (*pace* Sakolowski 7) in the m. 18th c. did not hesitate to correct Ἴστορεῖ Φιλίτας Ἑρμῆ into Ἴστορεῖ Φιλητᾶς <καὶ> Ἑρμη<σιάνναξ>. The controversy gave rise to different proposals. Kuiper 147 tried to explain the title by an alleged kinship of Odysseus and Hermes through Autolycus. The latter was a king beloved of Hermes, who in *Od.* 19.394f. gives Odysseus his name. Hermes endowed Autolycus with exceptional versatility and from this point of view he could be regarded as "the mythical prototype of the proepic Odysseus" and an ideal patron of the hero.<sup>10</sup> Later Autolycus was said to be a son of Hermes and grandfather of Odysseus, whence Odysseus is ultimately connected genealogically with Hermes.<sup>11</sup> This relationship is a post-Homeric device. In Homer Autolycus is not the father, but the godfather of Odysseus, cf. Schol. *Od.* 10.277 (466.7-8 Dindorf) οὐχ ὡς Αὐτολύκου πατήρ· Ὅμηρος τοῦτο οὐ δηλοῖ and see Russo on *Od.* 19.394. One would like to see it as a fiction of genealogical poetry. Disregarding this, Kuiper's suggestion entails that Odysseus was the central figure of all *Hermes*, but no trace of a treatment of an episode other than Aeolus survives in the Schol. (e.g. information about an enhanced role of Hermes) or elsewhere.

Kuchenmüller 47-8 convinced himself that *Il.* 16.179-192 could offer the solution. In that Iliadic passage Polymele, daughter of Phylas, provokes the love of Hermes, sleeps secretly with him and bears Eudorus. Kuchenmüller thought that Ph. modelled his own story on this passing genealogical digression. The two stories are intrinsically different<sup>12</sup> and there is no good reason to abandon the Odyssean

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<sup>10</sup> See the penetrating study of D. M. Maronitis, *Ἀναζήτηση καὶ νόστος τοῦ Ὀδυσσεύα*, Athens 1971, 156f. On Autolycus and Odysseus see also Stanford 8-24, Rutherford and Russo on *Od.* 19.397, Gow on Theoc. 24.115f. where Arpalycus (*Autolycus* Heyne) said to be a son of Hermes, teaches Heracles the tricks of wrestling, boxing and pancratium. Shrewdness is a primordial feature of Odysseus' character, cf. Helen in *Il.* 3.202 εἰδῶς παντοίους τε δόλους καὶ μήδεα πυκνά and Odysseus' self-presentation in *Od.* 9.19-20 εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πᾶσι δόλοισιν / ἀνθρώποισι μέλω and see Maronitis, *op.c.*, 178f.

<sup>11</sup> See Roscher III, 613, E. Wüst, *RE* XVII (1937), 1918. Autolycus appears as son of Hermes first in [Hes.] *Heoiai* fr. 64, then Pherec. *FGH* 3 F 120, [Apollod.] 1.9.16 and Ov. *Met.* 11.312.

<sup>12</sup> Hermes in *Il.* is enamoured with Polymele in his capacity as νόμιος, see on this A-H-S on *HHHerm.* 568, cf. Eustath. *Comm. Il.* 1053.52f. (III.831 van der Valk) τὸ δὲ Πολυμήλη εὐμόρφω οἰκεῖον γυναικὶ ὄνομα διὰ τὰ ἐκ τῶν θρεμμάτων πολλὰ ἔδνα and see J. Zwicker, *RE* XXI (1951), 1766. Cf. also *Il.* 14.489-491 Ἴλιονῆα, / υἱὸν Φόρβαντος πολυμήλου, τὸν ῥα μάλιστα / Ἑρμείας Τρώων ἐφίλει καὶ

background and context of Ph.'s story. The fact though that Hermes and Odysseus share a woman with the same name may bear some significance on its own right. Von Blumenthal 2167 was more drastic: as he thought that the central figure of the poem is Polymele he proposed as title 'Ερμῆ (sc. Πολυμήλης) referring to a gloss interpreted by Hesych. ε 5947 as ἔξοδος. Beyond the fact that such a title is at least obscure, if not incompatible with the content of the story, it is also very unlikely that Ph. would use a gloss as a title.<sup>13</sup>

A more sensible explanation was proposed by Maass (1894),<sup>12</sup> who attributed the title to the fact that Hermes often appears as helper of Odysseus in Homer. This role is of course primarily performed by Athena.<sup>14</sup> She is a resourceful goddess and has a temperamental affinity with Odysseus, *Od.* 13.296-9 εἰδότες ἄμφω / κέρδε', ἐπεὶ σὺ μὲν ἔσσι βροτῶν ὄχ' ἄριστος ἀπάντων / βουλῆ καὶ μύθοισιν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐν πᾶσι θεοῖσι / μήτι τε κλέομαι καὶ κέρδεσιν.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, Hermes assumes an important role in his own right. In *Od.* 10.275-306, a few lines after the Aeolus episode, he appears in the form of a handsome young man to give Odysseus the μῶλυ, an unidentifiable plant to be used as a protection from Circe.<sup>16</sup> Maass' point is of value,

κῆσιν ὅπασσε with Janko ad loc. In Ph. Odysseus does not fall in love and Polymele, daughter of Aeolus, does not get pregnant.

<sup>13</sup> Τὰ ἅγια τοῖς κυσὶν διδόναι? Hellenistic poets clearly prefer to use names as titles. Theoc. 7 and 27 in some of the MSS bear respectively as titles the glosses Θαλύσια and Ὀαριστός. But Theoc. does not seem to have assigned titles to the individual poems at all, see Gow I, lxx with n. 1 on *Thalysia*, id. II, 485 on *Oaristys*.

<sup>14</sup> Athena as a war-goddess has many protegés in the *Il.*: Diomedes in the 5th book, Tydeus, a member of the previous generation of heroes, in 4.390, Heracles in 8.362-3 and particularly Achilles, 20.94, 22.414f., whom Zeus in 19.342 calls ἀνδρὸς ἐήος "the man you favour" (M. Hammond). But Odysseus keeps a special place in her favour, cf. *Il.* 10.245, 278f., *Il.* 22.782-3 (Ajax) ὦ πόποι, ἦ μ' ἔβλαψε θεὰ πόδας, ἦ τὸ πάρος περ / μήτηρ ὧς Ὀδυσῆι παρίσταται ἠδ' ἐπαρήγει with Richardson ad loc. Cf. also *Ilias Parva EGF 2*, Soph. *Phil.* 134, Eur. *Cyc.* 350f. and later Q.S. 5.361-2, 14.630, Triph. 112. For the two in the *Od.* see M. Müller, *Athene als göttliche Helferin in der Odyssee*, Heidelberg 1966. The nature of their cooperation is different in the *Il.* than in the *Od.*, where she mainly offers counsel. S. West 61 sees "no suggestion of any intellectual bond" between the two in the *Il.*

<sup>15</sup> Athena and Odysseus share the Homeric term κερδοσύνη in *Il.* 22.247 and *Od.* 4.251, 14.31 respectively, see Richardson on the Iliadic passage. Cunning Athena deceives Hector in *Il.* 22.226f. and she is soon πολύμητις, *HH* 28.2, Anon. *SLG* 415.2-3 Παλλάδα δ[ / μ]ητιόεσσαν ἀρη[γόνα, Colluth. 145, Orph. *Lith.* 575, see Campbell on Q.S. 12.154, Vian on Nonn. 26.36-7.

<sup>16</sup> The Iying Odysseus in *Od.* 15.319-324 ironically attributes to Hermes a number of skills related to handwork, not versatility, a gift usually of Athena, *Od.* 7.110-1, Hes. *WD* 49, al. On μῶλυ see Ch. de Lamberterie, *LALIES* 6 (1987), 129-138 who derives it from a substantivised epithet \*μῶλυς "soft".

but does not solve the title-question on its own, as Hermes does not seem to have been of direct help to Odysseus in the story Parth. narrates. But even if he did, this would not mean much: "Velutsi Apollonius *Argonauticis* inscripsisset "Ἡρῆ" noted Kuchenmüller 46.

A modern trend tends to regard the treatment of the story in Ph. as a digression: "(Ph. wrote) a formal epyllion of the narrative type containing as a main subject some exploit of Hermes with the Polymela story as a digression", M. M. Crump, *The Epyllion from Theocritus to Ovid*, Oxford 1931, 27, "Parthenius does not necessarily summarise an extended narrative", Hutchinson 11 n. 15, "Parth. ... summarizes a story ... which occurred in the poem. We cannot be sure that this was the main theme", Hollis 24 n. 6, "(Parth. 2) is not necessarily a full or accurate summary", F. Williams, *3OCD*, 1164. Knox 65 came up with two explanations: either that the notator has erred in citing Ph. by a possible reference to the Iliadic Polymele in *Hermes*, or, more likely, that Ph. treated the subject "only briefly, in a digression triggered by the name of Polymele", in other words that the Iliadic reference was amply dealt with in Ph., whence a short digression with the Parthenian story was generated. The effort to downgrade the importance of the Odysseus-episode in *Hermes* is directed by the need to somehow accommodate both the title of Ph.'s poem and the content of the Parthenian chapter. But the reasoning seems unconvincing. The Odysseus-portion might indeed have not been extended but at the same time it could not have been a short digression of the length of e.g. Alex. Aet.'s account of Orpheus' death in his *Apollo CA* 3 (quoted in Parth. 14), as it contained dialogues in direct speech which would require a broader treatment. And surely the unheard (or – at the very least – recondite) story would stand quite oddly as a passing digression without due attention and documentation.

A connection of the god and Odysseus should rather be sought at another level. Hermes was a god with an incredible range of activities and associations. Erat. some years after Ph. wrote a poem inscribed *Hermes* which treated some hilarious stories about the childhood of the god and the five zones of the terrestrial globe as the god saw them from the skies.<sup>17</sup> Such broad issues could be accommodated in a poem revolving around Hermes, the god credited with the invention of all arts and sciences. The crucial question is whether Ph.'s poem consisted only of the episode summarised in Parth. or included other stories as well. The former view used to be almost unanimously accepted in the past.<sup>18</sup> But it is a dead-end for the title-question. Others

<sup>17</sup> On Erat.'s *Hermes* (*CA* 1-16, *SH* 397-8 – and 922?) see *in primis* Fraser I, 623-4 with II, 881f. nn. 49, 51, 52, Zanker 99. The poem is estimated to have been of 1540-1670 lines, see *SH* 397, Hollis 340.

<sup>18</sup> See Couat 73, Körte-Händel 254. Different views are briefly summarised by K. Kost, *KWH*, 195. Wil. *HU*, 191 n. 33 thought too that "das Epyllion ging überhaupt den Odysseus an".



thought that *Hermes* was a collection of minor poems in different metres and subjects. According to Bach 29 this view goes back to Heerenius;<sup>19</sup> it was then revived by Legrand 436: "Peut-être l'*Hermès* était-il un recueil de pièces indépendantes de sujets et de tous divers".

It was first Nowacki 27 who noted that "videtur Philitas finxisse et aliorum heroum fata erroneaque narrasse quae sub Mercuri tutela pertulissent: inde titulus 'Ερμῆς". Hermes is ἡγεμόνιος, ἀγήτωρ and πομπάιος and in this capacity he escorts travellers and indeed guided many heroes in their adventures.<sup>20</sup> The poem could then have consisted of stories of different events that occurred to heroes, whom Hermes had escorted in their deeds. The connective element would be the god himself. Whether the adventurers were all children or grandchildren of Hermes, as Autolycus' parentship would suggest, cannot be demonstrated, but it may be a possibility. Hermes' offspring tend to inherit his shrewdness, as Erytos and Echion πολυλήιοι 'Ερμείαιο / υἱέες εὖ δεδαῶτε δόλους in A.R. 1.51-2, cf. also Athena's hereditary interest in Telemachus. To judge by the one story we know the episodes in *Hermes* would be fictional or recondite, rather than the most widely known. They would also be agreeable and witty and some of erotic character.<sup>21</sup> Priam's itinerary under the escort of Hermes in *Il.*

<sup>19</sup> "Heerenius in Commentatione de Fontibus Eclogarum Stob. pag. 157 vel in eodem carmine metra variasse Philetam, vel sub *Hermetis* titulo plura ab eo comprehensa esse putat carmina minora (quae vulgo dicuntur *Eιδύλλια* sive *Eclogae*), metri partim elegiaci, partim heroici. Neque inepta nobis videtur posterior sententia etc."

<sup>20</sup> See the list in G. Siebert, *LIMC* V.1, 292. On Hermes guiding travellers see Roscher I, 2381-3, H. Herter, *RhM* 119 (1976), 208-210. In *Il.* 24.334-7 Zeus tells him: 'Ερμεία, σοὶ γὰρ τε μάλιστα γε φίλτατόν ἐστιν / ἀνδρὶ ἐταιρίσσαι, καὶ τ' ἔκλυες φ' κ' ἐθέλησθα / βάσκ' ἴθι, καὶ Πρίαμον κοίλας ἐπὶ νῆας 'Αχαιῶν / ὧς ἀγαγ' etc., see MacLeod, Richardson ad loc. Some derive the name of the god from ἔρμα "heap of stones (for the orientation of travellers)", as Wil., Nilsson, Herter, Hunger, but see Frisk *GEW* s.v. Ἐρμῆς. See also S. West and Heubeck on *Od.* 1.37 and 11.471 respectively.

<sup>21</sup> Mere speculation though it is, one is tempted to point out two heroes, whose stories could possibly find a place in Ph.'s poem. The first is Perseus, born by Danae after she paired in her bronze chamber with Zeus transformed into golden rain, a story involving another deceived father, Acrisius. His flight to Aethiopia to decapitate Gorgo took place under the auspice of Hermes, Artem. *Onir.* 4.63 φασὶ γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον Περσεὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Γοργούδς τομὴν ἀπιόντι <τὸ ἕτερον τῶν ὑποδημάτων δόντα> τὸ ἕτερον ἔχειν μόνον ... πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν εὐκόλον ... εἰσὶ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ Λυκόφρονι ἐν τῇ 'Αλεξάνδρῳ [vn. 834f.] καὶ παρὰ Ἡρακλείδῃ τῷ Ποντικῷ ἐν ταῖς Λέσχαις [*SH* 479] καὶ παρὰ Παρθενίῳ ἐν <ταῖς> 'Ελεγείαις [*SH* 605 (g)] καὶ παρ' ἄλλοις πολλοῖς ἱστορίαι ξέναι καὶ ἄτριπτοι. On Danae's conception cf. Asclep. *HE* 11.5-6 (involving the worship of Zeus Hyetius in Rhodes and Cos, on which see Sh-W 361-2, Craik 184), Hedy. *HE* 8.5-6, Euph. *SH* 418.42-4. Perseus in Aethiopia rescued Andromeda with whom he was then involved in an erotic liaison, see Gow on

24.349-467 is suggestive, as in a relatively small journey the god has the opportunity to combine protection with shrewdness, see Erbse 67-70. Subsequently we seem to have to do with a *Kollektivgedicht* as the *Lyde* of Antim.,<sup>22</sup> the *Leontion* of Hermesian., the *Apollo* of Alex. Aet. or the *Erotes* of Phanocl. These poems are of some length and tend to conclude with a grandiose ending, as Ov. *Met.*, here conceivably an adventure of the god himself.<sup>23</sup>

Odysseus' controversial sojourn with Aeolus would most suitably find a place in such a poem. The Odyssean role of Hermes, to which Maass drew attention, is helpful. Hermes is the god advancing Odysseus' *nostos*, cf. *Od.* 1.84-7, 5.29-31, and the hero

Theoc. 24.73. His adventure is linked with traditions in many Doric islands of the Aegean close to Cos, among them Seriphos, Astypalaia and Lindos in Rhodes, cf. A.R. 4.1513-7 and see Craik 160.

The second is Aethalides, the official messenger of the Argonauts. He is Ἑρμοῦ υἱὸς καὶ Σαμίας ἐταῖρος and a low-profile hero appearing in A.R. 1.53-5, 640-9, 3.1175, cf. Schol. on 1.643-648e, f (56.16-57.7 Wendel with loc. sim.) and see Vian on 1.649. Aethalides is a curious character said to be reincarnated in different persons like Trojan Euphorbos or even Pythagoras. When he died his father struck a good deal with Hades, for him to live alternately above and under the earth, Pherekydes *FGH* 3 F 109. Aethalides is gifted with a charismatic memory. He was almost certainly treated already in classical tragedy. His dealings with Hypsipyle, whom he sees before Jason, are open to the suspicion of misconduct, A.R. 1.650-1 "Ὅς ῥα ("en tous cas" Delage) τόθ' Ὑψιπύλην μειλίξατο (ἔπεισε τῷ λόγῳ συνετὸς ὢν, Schol. ad loc. (57.8 Wendel)) δέχθαι ἰόντας / ἤματος ἀνομένοιο διὰ κνέφας ("during the darkness of the night"). Hypsipyle's over-friendly approach to the Argonauts, A.R. 1.653f., and her hastiness to admit them, A.R. 1.700-1, show him to have been more than successful. A.R. 1.648-9 Ἄλλὰ τί μύθους / Αἰθαλίδεω χρεῖώ με διηνεκέως ἀγορεύειν; may hint at a recent well-known treatment of this character. On strong χρεῖώ "object/purpose of quest or assignment" see Campbell on A.R. 3.173. On Heracles tutored tricks in wrestling etc. by a son of Hermes cf. Theoc. 24.115-7 (see above n. 10).

<sup>22</sup> N. Krevans in Harder 156 n. 48 ("The *Hermes*, an epyllion ... may copy the *Lyde* in recounting obscure love-stories") is tendentiously telling us half-truth. The *Lyde* was written in elegiacs and its content was pessimistic, cf. Hermesian. *CA* 7.45-6 = T. 11 Matthews γόων δ' ἐνεπλήσατο βίβλους / ἱράς, [Plut.] *Cons. Ap.* 9, p. 106c = T. 12 Matthews ἐξαριθμησάμενος τὰς ἡρωϊκὰς συμφοράς. Ph.'s poem would rather be seen as a reaction.

<sup>23</sup> Perhaps an erotic one. Hermes is a lustful god. Interestingly, he and Odysseus share an important woman. Schol. Theoc. 7.109-110b, c (105.4-20 Wendel) give Hermes a prominent place among Penelope's lovers, Schol. b τὸν Πᾶνά φασι γεννηθῆναι ἐκ τῆς Πηνελόπης συλλαβούσης ἐκ τῶν μνηστήρων· ἕτεροι δὲ λέγουσι τὸν Ἑρμῆν εἰς τράγον μεταβληθέντα, καὶ τούτου ἐρασθεῖσα ἡ Πηνελόπη καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὄχευθεῖσα ἔτεκε τὸν Πᾶνα· ἔστι δὲ ὁ Πᾶν τραγόπους, cf. Hdt. 2.154, [Apollod.] *Epit.* 7.38 and see M. A. Harder on POxy. 4306.2ii.2f. Later versions tried to expurgate her, cf. Tzetzes on Lyc. 772 (245.18-23 Scheer) (Pan) Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Πηνελόπης ἄλλης, Nonn. *D.* 14.92f., but see Roscher III, 1910, Hopkinson on Nonn. *D.* 24.86-7.

acknowledges his help with a sacrifice in *Od.* 14.435-6. In Soph. *Phil.* 133 Odysseus on Lemnos evokes Hermes too: 'Ερμῆς δ' ὁ πέμπων δόλιος ἡγήσαιτο νῶν. What is even more important is the intellectual bond linking Odysseus and Hermes. Autolycus, to whom Kuiper drew attention, is important as a mediator through whom the hero inherits the qualities of his spiritual father. Hermes was protector of the travellers, a god of unrivalled versatility and lustfulness. All features play a role in Odysseus' story.<sup>24</sup> In *Od.* 6.148 he tells the Phaeacians a μῦθος κερδαλέος, a phrase applied in extant early epic only to Hermes in *HHHerm.* 162, 260, 463. A comparison of the Homeric Odysseus and Hermes in *HHHerm.* shows that an affinity had been established very early, see Pratt 63-7.

The episode would not be dealt with at great length. Ph. restricts his protagonists to the minimum: Odysseus, Aeolus and Polymele. Diore's appearance at the end of the episode is necessitated by the intended happy-ending. There is no trace of Aeolus' numerous children in Parth. and in Ph. they would be no more than a mere reference. In *Od.* 10.8-9, however, these αἰεὶ παρὰ πατρὶ φίλω καὶ μητέρι κεδνῇ / δαίνυνται, cf. also Q.S. 14.477-8. Odysseus' companions do not figure at all in Parth. and in view of the modification of the Homeric chronology Ph. might have conveniently got rid of them. Although a large portion of the episode would be occupied with Odysseus' narrations, the hero would not have insisted on all of them indiscriminately. His Underworld experience received the attention due, but other adventures might only be briefly recounted. Odysseus knows how to summarise already in Homer, cf. *Od.* 7.240-297 summarising the Calypso and Nausicaa episodes in books 5 and 6 or (in direct speech), *Od.* 23.306-346 effectively reviewing the whole narration to the Phaeacians in books 9-12.<sup>25</sup> One would think that the story would have been dealt with within the moderate length of an epyllion like *Megara* or Mosch. *Eur.*

As the correspondences between Parth. and Homer show, to build his own story Ph. relies on every single line of the Homeric passage on Odysseus' Aeolus-visit. This is, nevertheless, only concisely narrated. Odysseus narrated to Aeolus his adventures and Aeolus offered him exemplary hospitality for a considerable length of time. We do not learn much about these proceedings in *Od.* 10. The best-recounted reception and

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<sup>24</sup> The *Nosti*-sagas seem to have credited Odysseus with a number of children on his way back home, cf. *Nosti Dubia et Spuria EGF* 1.

<sup>25</sup> Summaries serve purposes of foreshadowing and retrospection, see A. Notopoulos, *TAPA* 82 (1951), 88-95, M. J. Apthorp, *CQ* 27 (1977), 7-9, R. B. Rutherford, *JHS* 86 (1986), 154 n. 52. In *Il.* 1.366-392 Achilles recapitulates his conflict with Agamemnon, cf. also Thetis in *Il.* 18.444-456 (athetised by Aristarchus as redundant). Phineus in A.R. 2.311f. recounts in a concise form the Argonautic route and Medea summarises their adventures up to then in 4.730-7. Lists of Odysseus' travels commonly appear later, cf. *Eur. Tro.* 433-443, *Lyc.* 648f., *Prop.* 3.12.24-36, *Tib.* 4.1.54-78.

hospitality in a foreign country the hero experienced is that in Phaeacia, on which see Reece 101-121. Ph. to cover the gaps turned to it. The Phaeacians heard the same stories as the Aeolids and, most importantly, the Odysseus/Polymele and Odysseus/Aeolus couples are potential parallels to the Odysseus/Nausicaa and Odysseus/Alcinous ones: a daughter of hospitable parents is attracted to the stranger. Polymele and Nausicaa (both κοῦραι, see n. on Parth.) share the virtue of αἰδώς (the first if only superficially) and Odysseus' narrative skills elicit the admiration and praise of his listeners. Some "Phaeacian" elements could have been exploited by Ph. with a highly ironic effect: in *Od.* 7.169-71 Alcinous asks his beloved son Laodamas to stand up and offers Odysseus his distinguished place at the table. In 7.136-8 the Phaeacians pour a libation to Hermes before going to bed. In 7.299-301 Alcinous, having full trust in Odysseus, criticises Nausicaa's prudent decision not to take him in her chariot while crossing the city-street. In 8.546-7 Alcinous naively declares that a stranger (like Odysseus) holds the status of a brother "for those who have even the slightest grasp of understanding".

*Hermes* was hardly a much read or influential piece. A.R. 4.447 indicates that A.R. knew and took it into account. Jason in 3.428-431 invokes ananke in a similar way as Odysseus in fr. 5 and Ph. may lurk in 4.993 too. The same may be true of Euph. *SH* 415i.20. Short appearances of Aeolus in 4.764-9, 4.777-9, 4.819-822 do not seem to bear Philetan marks.<sup>26</sup> But the κατὰ κλέος hospitality of the Bebryces in 2.752f. may take into account the good example of Aeolus. P. Händel's, *Lex. Alt. Welt*, 2298 proposal that this episode of *Hermes* could be the prototype of the third book of the *Argonautica* is an unhappy one.<sup>27</sup> Lyc. knew Ph. and took up two glosses discussed in the Coan's *Ataktoi*, πέλλα and ὄμπνιος στάχως, see A. Rengakos, *ZPE* 102 (1994), 123-4. In the "Odyssey" of his *Alexandra* he may follow the Philetan order of Odysseus' travels up to the Aeolus-visit. Some lines might bear traces of Ph. V. 657 ἕνα φθαρέντων ἄγγελον λιπὼν φίλων, sc. Odysseus, hints at the (already Odyssean) ability of the hero in narrating his sufferings to others. Vv. 666-7 ἄλλος δ' ἐπ' ἄλλω μόχθος ἄθλιος μενεῖ, / τοῦ πρόσθεν αἰεὶ πλεῖον ἐξωλέστερος and vv. 813-4

<sup>26</sup> Aeolus in *Argonautica* is discussed by V. Knight, *The Renewal of Epic*, Leiden 1995, 144-7 (mainly the unexpected return motif) ignoring Ph. Campbell on A.R. 3.306 deemed that memories from the Odyssean episode were awakened through Ph.'s treatment. The same could be said for Herodas 8.37 Ὀδ]υσσέως ο[....] Αἰόλ[ου] δῶρον. But in neither case emerges a direct reference to the Coan.

<sup>27</sup> There is an uncontested affinity of Jason and Odysseus, particularly their mutual capability to manipulate people and esp. women. Polymele bears little resemblance with bold (even ruthless) Medea. Jason, as Odysseus, is regarded in Hes. fr. 38 as a grandson of Autolycus. Crucially, love is of much greater importance in *Argonautica*, as the success of the whole expedition depends upon the power of Cypris, cf. Phineus in 2.423-4.

ἄστρεπτον Ἄδην [cf. fr. 4.1 ἀτραπόν] δύσεται τὸ δεύτερον [cf. *Od.* 12.22] / γαληνὸν ἦμαρ οὐποτ' ἐν ζωῇ δρακῶν are comparable with fr. 5.2-3. In vv. 678-80 the intervention of *Hermes* before the encounter with Circe is given emphasis: ἀλλά νιν βλάβης / μῶλυσ σαώσει ρίζα καὶ Κτάρος φανείς / Νῶνακριάτης Τρικέφαλος Φαιδρὸς θεός. Τρικέφαλος refers to *Hermes* guiding travellers, see K-A on Ar. *PCG* 556. About Lyc.'s tragedy *Aeolus* we know nothing more than its existence. Since Ph. used the Euripidean play, an influence on this is possible.<sup>28</sup> The absence of any trace other than the name Meligounis in Call. is at any rate noteworthy.

Whatever the fate of *Hermes* may have been, the *Odysseus*-episode seems to have survived independently and Parth. was in the position to have direct access to it, probably through an anthology containing Hellenistic rarities. No trace of the story appears anywhere else other than in an anonymous elegy recovered in POxy. 2885 fr. 1, printed as Adesp. Pap. Eleg. *SH* 964. The 2nd c. A.D. papyrus preserves eleven badly mutilated fragments, most of them in elegiac metre and one in iambic trimeters + hemiepes ("epodus"). The text runs as follows, vv. 11-20:

π]αῖς Ταφίη γήσους π[ Ἐχι]νάδας ο. [   
 π]ατρίδι καμνούση [...] ἔλευθ [   
 ἦ]καχε παρθενική ν. σ. [...]νοσουδ[   
 14 π]αιδὸς ὑπερ σφετέρης π[ν]εῦμαπε [   
 ὤ]λεσεν Ἄψυρτον Μήδη [κάσ]ιν, ἡ δε [   
 Δι]ώρη ν[ε]αρῶν ἔξοχον [Αἰο]λιδέων.   
 ἀ]λλὰ τί [ταῦ]τα διε [..] [..] τηο δα [   
 18 ο]υδο [ ]το ουτ. [ ]. σιπο[. ]κραδίηγ[   
 χ]λαινή δ' ὑπ' Ἐρωτος ἀτασ[θ]άλου, ὅς σε [   
 δ]ή τι κατασμύξας θήσει [ἐλ]εγχοτέρη[ν].

12 ν. σ. "primo loco ι vel υ ut vid." *SH* : Νίσου μένος? Lobel 14 ]αιδες pap. : corr. Lobel π[ν]εῦμ' ἀπέπ[νευσε πατήρ Luppe 15 nomen Aeolidis cuiusdam latet 17 "δίει[μι vel sim." *SH* 19 χ[δι]λαινη pap. "praecedebat μή, 'haec narro, ne ...'?" *SH* ὅς σ' ἔ[τι κείνων e.g. Lobel

In this piece someone (her nurse?) addresses a woman burnt by love adducing obscure mythological examples of disastrous loves. The material is typically

<sup>28</sup> Lyc.'s *Aeolus* is known from Suda λ 837 = *TrGF* 100 T 3 (whence F 1a), see K. Ziegler, *RE* XIII (1927), 2321 fruitlessly comparing *Alexandra* 738-9, F. Schramm, *Tragicorum graecorum hellenisticae quae dicitur aetatis fragmenta*, Diss. Münster 1929, 30. Lyc. uses an impressive range of sources, which he freely contaminates, amends or adds to, see K. Ziegler, l.c., 2338-43 and St. Josifovic, *RE* Suppl. XI (1968), 914-922 (both ignoring Ph.).

Hellenistic. In v. 11 παῖς Ταφίη refers to Comaetho betraying her father Pterelaus, king of Taphos, for the love of Amphitryon, who with Panopeus besieged it. The story is first attested in Euph. *SH* 415ii.14-7 οὐ γὰρ κεν νήσοισιν Ἐχινά[σι] ἐσκήμψαντο / ... / ἔκ [δὲ τ]ρίχα χρυσεῖν κόρσης ὄλοψε Κομ[αιθῶ / πα[τρ]ὸς ἐοῦ – ὡς δὴ ῥ' ἄταφος τάφος εἶο πέλοιτο, to which our passage is indebted, and Lyc. 934. Vv. 13-4 allude to the story of Scylla, daughter of Nisus (v. 13 ν. σ. ?), who also betrayed father and fatherland for the love of Minos. The story is treated as early as Aesch. *Choeph.* 613f. where Scylla is bribed with a golden necklace. The love motif is most probably a Hellenistic invention, see Hollis on Call. *Hec.* fr. 90.1 Σκύλλα γυνὴ κατακᾶσα καὶ οὐ ψύθος οὐνομ' ἔχουσα / πορφυρέην ἤμησε κρέκα, cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 621 (Scylla) ἡ κυνόφρων, and cf. the treatment of Parth. ἐν ταῖς Μεταμορφώσεσι *SH* 637. Our poet seems to specifically allude to Call.'s reference. For ἤκαχε παρθενικὴ in v. 13 cf. Call. fr. 67.2 ἤθετο Κυδίππη .. ἐπὶ παρθενικῇ of a beloved young man, Acontius, further A.R. 1.671 / τῆ καὶ παρθενικαί. On substantivated παρθενικὴ see Campbell on A.R. 3.5 and on the adj. id. on Q.S. 12.555 (both Hellenistic/Imperial). In the sense "daughter" see Pfeiffer II, 103 on v. 25. It is suitably ironic in view of her plot, cf. A.R. 4.483 of Medea after Apsyrtus' murder. Medea's appalling crime became renowned due to A.R. 4.395f., 450f. In A.R. 4.557-8, 4.584-8 it even prompts the anger of Zeus himself. The woman who caused the death of Diores is set side by side with these notoriously vile criminals. The elsewhere unattested name of Diores secures a Philetan trace, but the version envisaged is the one of Eur. with its tragic end. We seem to have to do with a conflation, probably prompted by the fact that the author of the anonymous piece noticed the Euripidean motifs in Ph.'s story. The name of the Aeolid at the end of v. 12 might be as innovative as Ph.'s Polymele. Victimizer and victim would be juxtaposed as with Medea and Apsyrtus. In all these stories the full blame falls on the women. The daughter of Aeolus would appear to be the instigator of her incestuous liaison with Macareus/Diores. Ph. modifies the Euripidean story to bring about his happy-ending, but the anonymous poet insists on the tragic end to serve his dissuasive purpose. The poem at the end assumes a very personal tone with a warning to the enamoured woman that reckless love will give her an even worse fame. This comes close to Latin love elegy.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>29</sup> A. S. Hollis *apud SH* compared Prop. 3.19.11f., 4.4.39f., see also A. M. Morelli, *RFIC* 122 (1994), 400-401, 410-411. He compared regarding it as a contemporary piece Anon. POxy. 3723ii (s. II p.C.) published by P. J. Parsons in 1987, an elegiac fragment which resembles what we know of Hermesian. *Leontion* and at the end gains a personal tone with an apostrophe of the lover (Hose; rather than of the poet, Morelli). See on this F. Williams, *ZPE* 75 (1988), 57f., W. Luppe, *CR* 39 (1989), 124f., P. J. Parsons, *MH* 45 (1988), 65f., M. Hose, *Phil.* 138 (1994), 67f. (for an imperial date), A. M. Morelli, *RFIC* 122 (1994), 385f., J. L. Butrica, *PLILS* 9 (1996), 298-301, H. Bernsdorff, *ZPE* 111 (1996), 43-4

The fragment is profoundly erudite in diction as well. In v. 14 emotional π[ν]εῦμ' ἀπέπνευσε creates a superficial pathos; it would glance at Homeric *Il.* 4.524 = 13.654 /θυμὸν ἀποπνεύων (see Matthews 185), a phrase used of Apsyrtos in the scene of his murder in A.R. 4.472. Μήδη in v. 15 is an exquisite form conjectured in Euph. CA 14.3 by Meineke *metri gratia* (Μήδεια codd.). It is attested in Androm. *GDRK* 62.9 ὠκύμορον πόμα Μήδης/, as in Euph. in relation to her dangerous occult capabilities. In Ennius *Trag.* fr. 115 Jocelyn it appears of Medea abandoning her home because of love. Κάσις is elevated; tragic *par excellence*, cf. Lyc. 3x (19, 399, 467), rare in Hellenistic verse (which prefers traditional κασίγνητος), Call. fr. 75.23 (Apollo expresses his will), Nic. *Ther.* 345, *GVI* 692.5 (2nd/3rd c.), but more often later, Nicod. Her. *FGE* 8.1, Anon. *AP* 14.38.1, Greg. Naz. *AP* 8.98.1, 8.151.4, Orph. *Arg.* 1229. Of Apsyrtos in Eur. *Med.* 167, 1334. On derogatory v. 19 χλιαίνη "covet, lust for" of unattained or unattainable love cf. Hermesian. CA 7.89 (Socrates), Anon. *HE* 10.2, "Soph." *FGE* 1.1 = *IEG* 4.1 and often in Meleag., see G-P on *HE* 33.6 and cf. Maccius *GPh* 2.1 θερμαίνει μ' ὁ καλὸς Κορνήλιος, the corresponding prosaic γλίχομαι in Parth. 7.3 τῆς ὥρας ἐγλίχετο τοῦ παιδός and for the idea Theoc. 7.56 θερμὸς .. ἔρωσ ἀντῶ με καταίθει, Adesp. Pap. Eleg. *SH* 962.10, q.v. θαλυκρὸς ἔρωσ, Meleag. *HE* 26.4 θερμὸς Ἐρωσ, Opp. *Hal.* 5.454 ἐράσσατο θερμὸν ἔρωτα. On ἀτάσθαλος of love cf. Anacr. *PMG* 127 (Ἐρωτες) ὑβρισταὶ καὶ ἀτάσθαλοι, Nonn. *D.* 11.456 ἀτάσθαλος ἐχθρὸς Ἐρώτων. It is an ethical term implying just punishment for disregard of the *decorum*, see S. West on *Od.* 1.7, Campbell on A.R. 3.390 (in Hellenistic poetry in strongly condemnatory contexts). In A.R. 4.1092 it is used in the reverse direction, of fathers imposing severe punishments on their daughters on account of their secret loves. In v. 20 κατασμύξας, a word literally used of smouldering fire, is a gloomy term implying an ill-fated finale; it often denotes the Hellenistic flames of unfortunate love, see Gow on Theoc. 3.17, Campbell on A.R. 3.446. Initial δῆ is a Callimachean predilection, see Cameron (1995), 317 n. 76. Ἐλεγχότερος in the same verse is a novel comparative.

The papyrus fragments are linked with a prefacing τοῦ αὐτοῦ or a new title. They are commonly assumed to be by the same author. The poem examined post-dates not only Ph., but also Call. and A.R. One would think that Parth. could be the author of such a piece.<sup>30</sup> Mutilated papyri of the 3rd or even the 4th c. A.D. containing poems of

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proposing καθείς in v. 21 for the papyrus' †δαθείς, R. Führer, *ZPE* 112 (1996), 67-8. This kind of "subjective" expression in Greek elegy may be a development of the late Hellenistic or Imperial times.

<sup>30</sup> "Sicuramente il poeta doveva avere a disposizione un manuale di ἐρωτικά παθήματα, del tipo di quello parteniano, se non da esso derivato", A. M. Morelli, *RFIC* 122 (1994), 406-7. J. L. Butrica's, *PLILS* 9 (1996), 301-5 attribution to Hermesian. *Leontion* is impossible. So is her suspicion for vv. 15-

Parth. have come down to us, e.g. *SH* 609, 626. The Callimachean air of the fragment is suggestive. The Cyrenean is mentioned in the same breath with Parth. in Pollianus *AP* 11.30 = *SH* 605 (e) and Luc. *Hist. Conscr.* 56 = *SH* 605 (f) and cf. the Callimachean echoes in Parth. *SH* 646.<sup>31</sup> Noticable is the concentration of names as in v. 11, which may have been a distinct feature in the poetry of Parth., a much quoted poet in Steph. Byz. For his interest in cult-sites cf. *SH* 620-2. On the same papyrus *SH* 967.9 νυνειδωλα[ suggest a link with Parth. *Eidolophanes* *SH* 630. The embedded epode *SH* 965 could be inserted in an anthology of Parthenian poetry, as he was ἐλεγειοποιὸς καὶ μέτρων διαφόρων ποιητής, *Suda* π 664 = *SH* 605 (a).

W. Clausen, "Virgil and Parthenius", *HSCP* 80 (1976), 179 noted the similarity of Polymele rolling with Odysseus' gifts to Dido in *Aen.* 4.645-650 *interiora domus intrumpit limina et altos / conscendit furibunda rogos ensemque recludit / Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus / hic, postquam Iliacas vestis notumque cubile / conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata / incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba* etc. Parth. exercised considerable influence in Latin poetry and there is evidence that he influenced Virg. in particular.<sup>32</sup> The Roman may well have been familiar with

6 that "the poet alludes to a version ... in which Polymela [?] was already wedded to Dioces when Odysseus [?] arrived, then killed her consort ... for a desired union with the visitor".

<sup>31</sup> The Callimachean air perseveres in the other fragments of the papyrus as well. In *SH* 967.7 εἶθε γὰρ is not attested before Call., see Pfeiffer on fr. 260.48. For v. 14 (and probably v. 12) οἷδ' ὅτι Lobel refers to the opening of Call. *HE* 7.1, Meleag. *HE* 70.1, "Ptolemy" *FGE* 1.1. "ὄθματα in l. 16 is a Callimachean affectation, see Pfeiffer on fr. 1.37, Campbell on A.R. 3.93. V. 3 ἱερὸν π[ρο]λ[ί]θερον is a Homeric rarity, *Od.* 1.2. V. 5 θερμὰ λοετρά insists on a banal Homeric combination varied by the erudite poets as Call. *Hec.* fr. 48.5 τινθαλέοισι .. λοετροῖς, Nic. *Alex.* 463, Call. fr. 43.48 ζεῖον[τα] λοετ[ρά], A.R. 3.300 λιανοῖσιν .. λοετροῖς, see Campbell on 3.273. For *SH* 964.9 μέροπ[ε]ς cf. Call. *Hec.* fr. 115.2. Πίφιγγες in *SH* 964.28, q.v. is Hellenistic, cf. also νησιδ[ο]ς in *SH* 964.37. The meaning of v. 41 λισσῆ was controversial (λεία or τραχέα), 3x in *Od.* λισσῆ .. πέτρη cf. A.R. 4.922, 2.382 λισσῆ ... νήσῳ. Ἀμοιβιδόν in *SH* 964.42 is Hellenistic, A.R. 2.1226, see Livrea on A.R. 4.76 (the commonest Hellenistic form is ἀμοιβάδις, see *DGE* s.v.) and Imperial, *EG* 1037.1, 10 Kaibel (150 A.D.), 3x in Q.S., Anon. *AP* 15.47.2, 16.351.3, prose, cf. Imperial ἀμοιβάδιος, Strato *AP* 12.238.1, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.349, Q.S. 5.65. According to Schol. *Il.* 18.506f (IV.539 Erbse) Aristarchus wanted to legitimise it as Homeric. For v. 44 ἀρθμός cf. Call. fr. 80.19, A.R. 2.755.

<sup>32</sup> Parth. *SH* 647 Γλαύκῳ καὶ Νηρηϊ καὶ εἰναλίῳ Μελικέρτῃ influenced Virg. *Georg.* 1.437 *Glauco et Panopeae et Inoo Melicertae* which may be conflated with Callimachean material, see Thomas ad loc. Macrobius *Sat.* 5.17.18 = *SH* 605 (i) notes that *versus est Partheni, quo grammatico in Graecis Vergilius usus est*. On Parth. and Latin poetry see the references in *SH* p. 291. See also R. O. A. M. Lyne, *CQ* 28 (1978), 186-7 (who was restrained regarding Parth. part of the Neoteric program), Clausen



the summaries of Parth., addressed to Cornelius Gallus as raw material for erotic poetry. The two stories use a similar motif: the narration of Aeneias excites the love of Dido and when love turns out to be desperate, it causes frenzy and despair. Dido's reaction as she rushes into her chamber could have been thought as Polymele's possible reaction too. Above all Dido's holding Aeneias' gift and uttering a gloomy soliloquy bears a noticeable similarity with Polymele rolling in despair with Odysseus' gifts in her hands. But this is only half the truth: the sombre Virgilian milieu is different. "The narrative now becomes laden with death ... The theme of Greek tragedy – *deus quos vult perdere dementat prius* – is powerfully predominant".<sup>33</sup> Dido has irrevocably decided to die, 4.451 *mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri*, and in 4.474f. she works out the time and the manner. We are constantly reminded that Dido is raging, cf. 4.531-2, in a crescendo rhythm culminating in a vehement and insane outbreak as soon as she sees the Trojan fleet sailing off shore, 4.586f. To judge by her attributes she is *the* insane figure of the whole epos, see J. Dion, *Les passions dans l'oeuvre de Virgile*, Nancy 1993, 315-320. Eventually the signs of death are clear on herself, 4.642-4 *at trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido / sanguineam volvens aciem, maculisque trementis / interfusa genas et pallida morte futura* etc. She takes in her hands a sword, a gift of Aeneias, and utters a last monologue – she then falls upon it.

In the death scene of Dido Virg. abandons his epic models and resorts, as elsewhere, to tragedy. Ajax in the homonymous play of Soph. vv. 815f. commits suicide by jumping upon a sword, vv. 833-4, which he had received as a gift from Hector.<sup>34</sup> The sword in Virg. does not only function as a means of death. It is the symbol *par excellence* of the shocking combination of love and death.<sup>35</sup> The sword as

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5-6 (Parth. initiated Virgil in the principles of Hellenistic poetry), N. Horsfall, "Virgil, Parthenius and the Art of Mythological Reference", *Vergilius* 37 (1991), 31-6, Papangelis 81-2.

<sup>33</sup> R. D. Williams on *Aen.* 4.450f. On Dido's journey towards her death see Heinze 102-6, Clausen 50f.

<sup>34</sup> Not a hospitality gift. The story first in *Il.* 7.303f. Ajax's decision to kill himself is not an unswayed one. He is persecuted by a god's wrath and by design of Athena he is destined to die that day, vv. 756-7, but the tragic figure hovers between life and death, vv. 394f., 457f., until he meets his final decision, vv. 646f., and fate, vv. 815f. On the Sophoclean passage see R. L. Kane, "Ajax and the sword of Hector. Soph. *Aj.* 815-22", *Hermes* 124 (1996), 17-28. On Virg.'s reception see Heinze 120 n. 59, E. Lefèvre, *Dido und Aias*, Mainz 1978, 12-5, W. Kullmann, *Homerische Motive*, Stuttgart 1992, 342, Clausen 54-7. *Ov. Her.* 11.98 (Canace of Aeolus' sword) *pectoribus condam dona paterna meis* employs the same motif.

<sup>35</sup> See R. G. Basto, "The swords of *Aen.* 4", *AJPh* 105 (1984), 333-8. Such symbols are the bed and the act of kissing it. The sword is mentioned again in *Aen.* 6.457 in the highly emotional encounter of Aeneias and Dido in the Underworld retaining both of its aspects. On the *Leitmotiv* of *Aeneid* 4 see R.

an object of death remains within its tragic boundaries. In Ph.'s poem nothing can be more remote than the notion of death: he skilfully removes the horrible end of Eur. As a symbol of love, which has a certain function as such, it bears some similarity with Odysseus' gifts. But then again the gifts perform a different role within their respective contexts. In Virg. Venus designs that Dido is to fall in love through them too, 1.658-660 (Cytherea plots) *ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido / pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furentem / incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem*. Aeneias publicly donates some Trojan spoils to Dido for her hospitality in *Aen.* 1.647f. which make an impression on the Tyrians, 1.709, and deeply touch Dido, 1.714 *pariter puero donisque movetur*. Aeneias' gesture turns out to produce a very personal feeling – a constituent element of the final destruction. In a moment of high tension she still calls them *dulces exuviae* "sweet/dear spoils".<sup>36</sup> Odysseus' gifts did not provoke Polymele's love; they were given as a reward for a private favour. Dido and Polymele are two different figures too: Dido is dominant, the leader of a nation.<sup>37</sup> Polymele is only a helpless young girl. One may argue that behind Polymele's rolling around a gift of sentimental value lurks Dido's similar reaction in the *Aeneid*, provided that one does not lose sight of the complexity of innate, profound differences among the common elements in each poem.

Others attempted to detect Parthenian influence on other Virgilian passages. First O. Crusius, *RE* V (1905), 2279 and then Heinze 67 n. 126 assumed a Philetan influence on Virg. *Aen.* 1.50f., where Aeolus *Hera admonente* raises a sea-storm. But Aeolus has a similar role in the Achaeans' return from Troy and this Virgilian passage bears a noticeable similarity with Q.S. 14.466f. both in the description of Aeolus' cave and in the subsequent sea-storm. Virg. clearly draws on this vein.<sup>38</sup> Crusius, l.l. also

F. Moorton, "Love as Death: the pivoting Metaphor in Vergil's story of Dido", *CW* 83 (1990), 153-166 with further literature. In general see E. Vermeule, *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Pottery*, Berkeley 1979, ch. V. In tragedy cf. *in primis* the Antigone/Haemon scene in Soph. *Ant.* 1234-41, see A. Lesky, *Vom Eros der Hellenen*, Göttingen 1976, 60-77. The most complete treatment is by Th. D. Papanghelis, *Propertius: A Hellenistic Poet on Love and Death*, Cambridge 1987.

<sup>36</sup> See R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Virgil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1987, 21-3. On public and private in the Aeneias-Dido relation see S. F. Wiltshire, *Public and Private in Vergil's Aeneid*, Amherst 1989, 90-3. Dido and Aeneias exchange gifts in private too: the Dardanian sword with which Dido puts an end to her life in *Aen.* 4.646-7 is a *quaesitum munus*. Aeneias' cloak and sword in *Aen.* 4.261-4 are *dives quae munera Dido / fecerat*, cf. also 1.647-655, 1.659, 9.266, 11.72-5.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.360f. Passions are running high with Medea too. In A.R. 4.20-3 she had decided to commit suicide until she thought of fleeing with the Argonauts.

<sup>38</sup> The affinity of the passages has prompted thoughts of direct dependence, see Ph. I. Kakridis, *Κόιντος Σμυρναῖος*, Athens 1962, 127-8. But there are *ad totum* and *ad partem* strong objections to that, see

considered *Aen.* 4.507-8 (Dido) *super exuvias ensemque relictum / effigiemque toro locat haud ignara futuri*. As Parth. reports nothing of the kind, this would entail direct Philetan dependence. But the lines describe Dido's well calculated preparations for her death, and could not have any place in Ph.

## DEMETER

## Fr. 7

## ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρος (?)

Call. *Aetia* fr. 1.9-10 ἀλλὰ καθέλκει / ... πολὺ τὴν μακρὴν ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρος etc., *Schol. Flor.*, p. 3, ll. 12-5 Pf. παρα]τίθεται τε ἐν σ(υ)γκρίσει τὰ ὀλίγων στί- / χ(ων) ὄν]τ(α) ποιήματα Μιμνέρμου τοῦ Κο- / λοφω]νίου καὶ Φιλίτα τοῦ Κῶου βελτίονα / τ(ῶν) πολ]υστίχων αὐτ(ῶν) φάσκων εἶναι [...

**ὄμπνια** καρποφόρος, Hesych. ο 828. The adj. is derived from ὄμπ(ν)η· τροφή, εὐδαιμονία Hesych. ο 826, used in its original form ὄμπη in Call. fr. 658, 681, Nic. *Ther.* 450 on which see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 681, Schmitt 84 n. 4, and is coined after πότνια. This rare Attic word is first attested in Soph. fr. 246 ὄμπνίου νέφους, glossed as μέγα, πολὺ, ἠὺξημένον but Pearson ad loc. was surely right in assuming that it refers to the fertilizing quality of the clouds, cf. also Moschio<sup>1</sup> *TrGF* 97 F 6.10 καρποῦ ὄμπνίου "nourishing". Demeter enjoyed widespread worship in Athens<sup>2</sup> but ὄμπνιος is first attested as directly linked to Demeter in Ph., in the novel combination ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρος. He knew the word from his dialectal researches and he discussed ὄμπνιον στάχυν in *Ataktoi Glossai* fr. 44 K. "Ὀμπνιος is thereafter very often used in connection with Demeter, mostly because of the reproduction of Call. fr. 1.10, cf. also Call. *Hec.* fr. 111, q.v. ὄμπνιον ἔργον, *ibid.* fr. 144 ὄμπνιον ὕδωρ, A.R. 4.989 (Δηώ) Τιτῆνας δ' ἔδαεν στάχυν ὄμπνιον ἀμήσασθαι, *Erat. CA* 16.17 ὄμπνιον ἀλδήσκουσαι καρπὸν Ἐλευσίνης Δημήτερος, Lyc. 621 Δηοῦς ... ὄμπνιον στάχυν, Nonn. *D.* 11.213 = 31.39 ὄμπνια Δηώ, 6.13 (Demeter) ὄμπνια μήτηρ, *Pampr.* 3.115 ὄμπνια Δηώ, *OrphF* 280.9-10 ὄμπνια .. Δήμητρος ... / δῶρ(α), Hesych. ο 831 ὄμπνιος λειμών· ὁ τῶν πυρίνων καὶ Δημητρίων καρπῶν· ἐπεὶ ὄμπνια ἡ Δημήτηρ and with an extension of meaning Archim. *Syr.* (?) *SH* 201.44 ταύτη γ' ὄμπνιος ἐν σοφίῃ, Lyc. 1264 κτῆσιν ἄλλην ὄμπνίαν κειμηλίων, Paul. *Sil. Soph.* 145 ὄμπνια Ῥώμη, 10x in Nonn. (7x of

<sup>1</sup> Moschio is an Athenian contemporary of Ph. He is heavily influenced by Eur. and at the same time displays considerable affinity to Hellenistic practices, see Th. K. Stephanopoulos, *ZPE* 75 (1988), 19-38. Fr. 4 from *Hermes* and his *TrGF* 97 F 2 express a similar idea. His employment of ὄμπνιος may indicate that he was one of those in Athens who knew the *Ataktoi Glossai*.

<sup>2</sup> See Deubner 40-92, Brumfield, archaeological evidence in E. Simon, *Festivals of Attica*, Wisconsin 1983, 17-37, van Straten 77-9 on votive reliefs.

Demeter/grain, 2x of the Moon, 1x of the Sun). *IG* II.2 1352.2 (Attica, 2nd c. A.D.) formerly supplemented as *ιερέως τῆς Ὀμ[πνίας Δήμητρος* should now be dismissed for *τῆς Ὀμ[ονοίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, see P. Chuvin on Nonn. *D.* 6.13. For cognates cf. Geminus *GPh* 4.4 *ὀμπνιακῶν χαρίτων*, Frust. Adesp. Auct. *SH* 1094 = Hesych. ο 833 *ὀμπνηρὸν ὕδωρ*, Suda ο 304 *ὀμπνηρὸν ὕδωρ*, Phot. *Lex.*, II.23 Naber *ὀμπνηρὸν ὕδωρ*.

**Θεσμοφόρος** Cult-name of Demeter, first attested in a ca 500 inscription from Pheneos (*LSJ* Suppl. s.v.) and Hdt. 1.91, 134. In antiquity, whatever its original meaning may be, it was understood to mean "lawgiving" since Demeter was thought to have established civic life after introducing agriculture, cf. Call. *HyDem.* 18 *ὡς πολίεσσιν ἐαδῶτα τέθμια ἔδωκεν*, Virg. *Aen.* 4.58 *legiferae Cereri* with Pease ad loc. and esp. Diod. Sic. 5.5.2-3, Ov. *Met.* 5.341-5 with Bömer ad loc. and P. Arbesmann, *RE* VI (1936), 20-4. Asclep. *HE* 10.2 *σεμνήν .. Θεσμοφόρον* creates a less bold novelty by bringing together two traditional attributes to Demeter (*σεμνή* already *HHD* 1, al.). There was a month's name *Thesmophorios* in Rhodes (also Crete and elsewhere) conceivably treated in Simias *Μῆνες* CA 8. The interest of the erudite poets is attested in Call. *Μηνῶν προσηγορία* etc., p. 339 Pf. In Cos there was a cult of Dionysus *Thyllophoros*.

We know from the *Scholia Florentina* that Call. in his *Aetia*-prologue fr. 1.10 refers to a short-scale poem of Ph. by calling it *ὀμπνια Θεσμοφόρος*, and it has long been recognised that this is his *Demeter*. I. Cazzaniga, *RFIC* 40 (1962), 245 n. 1 ("una voce allusiva di Phileta") and Schmitt 28 n. 10 ("da es auf des Philetas Δημήτηρ anspielt, mag es auch von dort genommen sein") deemed that the phrase depicts Philetan diction. Hollis (1978), 402 n. 3, cf. id. 295, suggested that Ph. used the phrase "near the beginning" of *Demeter* so that the readers of Call. would be more easily alerted to recognize the allusion. It is indeed a well-established practice in both Greek and Roman literature to refer to poems by a couple of striking words near their beginning, see A. S. Gratwick, *G&R* 38 (1991), 199-202. Originally the practice sprang out of sheer necessity, since title-giving in Greek literature seems to have appeared first with the Tragedians and only later became the norm in the age of books and Libraries, see on *Herm.-Disc.*

Ph. had a penchant for delicate novel constructions and might well have been the first to use a dialectal word denoting plenty as an epithet of Demeter.<sup>3</sup> It is unlikely

<sup>3</sup> Such epithets naturally fit the goddess very well, cf. among other examples Hes. *Theog.* 912 *Δήμητρος πολυφόρβης*, *HHD* 4 *Δήμητρος ἀγλαοκάρπου*, Soph. fr. 754.2 with Radt ad loc. *φερέσβιος* Δηῶ, Ag.

that Call. created himself a bold novelty in the *Aetia*-prologue only to refer to a work written by someone else. This point is further strengthened by the fact that neither ὄμπνια nor Θεσμοφόρος is what Call. favours of Demeter. "ὄμπνια occurs only here in his extant *oeuvre* as an epithet of Demeter, in spite of the fact that he wrote a Hymn to the goddess. Instead he prefers the traditional πότνια, fr. 63.8, *HyDem.* 10, 49, 59 and the cases of Δημήτηρ (12x) and Δηώ (7x) by far outnumber Θεσμοφόρος, used only when no other alternative is possible, fr. 1.10 and 63.10, an action for the exclusion of maidens from the Thesmophoria in Athens, see A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 93 (1992), 14-5. "ὄμπνια is formed on and – at least acoustically – prompts πότνια, the epithet *par excellence* of Demeter, 5x in *HHD* see Richardson on v. 39 (add *CEG* 317.1 (Attica, ca 450) πότνια Διοῖ, Adesp. *SLG* 460.11 πότνια Δάματερ Ἐλευσινία in a Hymn inscribed in the papyrus Δήμητρος Κείσις). Ph.'s ὄμπνια was facilitated by Demeter's widespread cult-epithet πότνια. Should the construction hark back to Ph., the Coan seems to have had in mind the opening of Pind. fr. 37 *Hymn to Persephone* (or to *Demeter*) which began with Πότνια Θεσμοφόρε.<sup>4</sup> The Hymn was later known to Paus. and was available in Alexandria. According to a common epic practice "the first word of an epic poem often formed a kind of title, giving the main subject".<sup>5</sup> As the prototype and the common practice suggest, two of the first words of *Demeter* could be "ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρος.

One would expect Ph. to use a third person narration ("Er-Stil") rather than the vocative ("Du-Stil"). Pindar's l.c. vocative is dictated by the common practice to employ πότνια in vocative (always in Homer and A.R. and "nearly always elsewhere", Campbell on A.R. 3.79, Richardson on *HHD* 118), but this restriction does not apply to ὄμπνια. The narrative character of the poem would suggest employment of the 3rd person (the second-person address to Chalcon in fr. 20 is due to a very special reason). Νάσσατο in fr. 13, if it stood at the beginning of the poem, would make this very probable. It is with the accusative that the *HHD* and most Hymns to Demeter begin,

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*Frogs* 382 καρποφόρον ... Δήμητρα, [Eur.] *Rhes.* 964 καρποποιού Δήμητρος θεᾶς, Ogrh. *Hy.* 40.7 θρέπτειρα θνητῶν πάντων, 43.9 μητέρι καρποδοτέρι, Call. *HyDem.* 2 = 119 Δάματερ ... πολυτρόφε πολυμέδιμνε with Hopkinson ad loc., Theoc. 10.42 Δάματερ πολύκαρπε, πολύσταχυ cf. Aristocl. *SH* 206.1, Philip *GPh* 26.3 Δάματρος εὐκάρπου.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Vita Pindari Ambrosiana (I.2.6-10 Drachmann) ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ ὄναρ ἐπιστάσα αὐτῶ ἐμέμψατο, ὅτι μόνην τῶν θεῶν οὐχ ὕμνησεν. ὁ δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν ἐποίησε ποίημα οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ Πότνια Θεσμοφόρε χρυσάνιον (vel χρυσανίου). Vita Pindari Ambrosiana offers as title Εἰς Δήμητρα, Paus. 9.23.3-4 Εἰς Περσεφόνην, which is accepted by Snell-Maehler. The title, whatever it was, is of minor importance here.

<sup>5</sup> Richardson on *HHD* 1, see also R. Janko, *Hermes* 109 (1981), 9-11, W. H. Race, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 5-8, A. Ford, *Homer. The Poetry of the Past*, Ithaca-London 1992, 23-9.

cf. *HHD* 1 Δήμητρ' ἠύκομον σεμνήν θεὸν ἄρχομ' αἰεΐδειν, *Lasus Herm. PMG* 702 Δάματρα μέλπω, *Adesp. Pap. Hex. SH* 990.1 ὕμνον Δήμητρος πολωνύμου ἄρχομαι, *Philic. SH* 676 τῆ χθονίη μυστικὰ Δήμητρι etc., sc. μέλπω vel sim., contrast *Orph. Hy.* 40.1 Δηῶ ... πολωνύμε δαῖμον / σεμνή Δήμητερ etc., *Aristocl. SH* 206.1 Δάματερ πολύκαρπε and the song of Milon to Demeter in *Theoc.* 10.42f.<sup>6</sup>

Subsequently it seems that the initial part of *Demeter* defined its theme, and made two other points as well: it gave immediately the religious tone that seems to have permeated the poem and under the surface it created an ironic effect, since ὄμπνια Θεσμοφόρος would not quite correspond to reality: during her search for Core, the dramatic time of *Demeter*, the goddess had imposed famine on the human race. Analogously, *Call. HyDem.* 2 = 119 Δάματερ μέγα χαῖρε πολύτροφε, πουλιμέδιμνε ironically points to the hyperbolic result of the goddess' bounty as seen in the punishment of Erysichthon. The delicate combination of the solemn and the grotesque seems to have been the most attractive feature in Ph.'s most influential work.

#### Fr. 8 (CA 19; *Demeter*?)

δμώιδες εἰς ταλάρους λευκὸν ἄγουσιν ἔρι

Strabo 8.5.3 (inter exempla apocopes) παρὰ Φιλίητα (codd. : Φιλε-ται Π) δέ· δμώιδες etc.

**δμώιδες** An elaboration of the Homeric δμωή. It first occurs in Aeschylean lyrics (4x), see Hutchinson on *ScTh* 363, Eur. 9x, then Ph., A.R. 1.285, Lyc. 1123, trivialised in Roman times, Hagias and Dercyl. *FGH* 305 F 4, *Plut. Cam.* 33.4, Q.S. 3x, *GVI* 459.1 (Roman times), *Nonn. D.* 13x and *Par. Jo.* 18.78. Later Q.S. 3.684, al. created δμωιάς -άδος, cf. *Antip. Thess. GPh* 34.1 δμώιον ... βρέφος. Δμωίς is formed on similar Homeric nouns, such as κληίς etc., see Chantraine *GH* I, 207-8, id., *La*

<sup>6</sup> W. H. Race, "How Greek poems begin", *YCS* 29 (1992), 13-38 classified the opening of all sorts of Greek poems into four main categories: narrative, dramatic, discursive and hymnal. Ph.'s opening would be a hymnal one, which is itself subdivided into "rhapsodic" (Race, l.c., 19f.) and "cultic" (Race, l.c., 28f.). Cult-hymns lay emphasis on the request addressed to the god and usually employ the second person. Rhapsodic hymns assume the presence of a human audience and employ the third person. Fundamental on "Du-Stil" and "Er-Stil" is Norden 143-156. See also A. M. Miller, *From Delos to Delphi: A Literary Study of the Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, Leiden 1985, 1-9, C. Calame, *MH* 52 (1995), 6-8. A. L. T. Bergen, *Arethusa* 15 (1982), 83-108 examines apostrophe on the example of the *HHAp*.

*formation des noms en grec ancien*, Paris 1933, 337-9, Russo on *Od.* 19.518 on hapax adj. *χλωρήϊς*. Many of these forms are coinages of tragedy taken up in Hellenistic verse, cf. *κρηνίς* after Eur. *Hipp.* 208 in Theoc. 1.22, Alc. Mess. *HE* 12.2, [Call.] Fr. Inc. Auct. 751, *παρηϊς* after Aesch. *Choeph.* 24, al. in A.R. 3.1064, 4.1066. Others are Homeric hapaxes, such as *πλημμυρίς* from *Od.* 9.486 in A.R. 2.576, 4.1241, 1269 cf. Philo Jud. *SH* 686.5 or *ἀχερωϊς* from *Il.* 13.389 in A.R. 4.1476. Others are coined and confined in Hellenistic poetry, e.g. *ἀλσηίδες* in A.R. 1.1066, 4.1151, *λεχωϊς* in Call. *HyDian.* 127, *HyDel.* 56, 124, A.R. 4.136 where see Livrea, *πλοκαμῖς* after Men. fr. 901 K-Th in Theoc. 13.7, Euph. *CA* 94.3, *HE* 1.3, see Fantuzzi on Bion *Epit. Adon.* 20, from Homeric hapax *πλόκαμος*, on which see Livrea on A.R. 4.19, or *ποταμηϊς* in A.R. 3.1219, Nic. *Alex.* 128. Euph. *CA* 8 turns the town Ἀλύβη (*Il.* 2.857) into Ἀλυβηϊς and Erat. *CA* 5 the town Ἀπία into Ἀπίς. A list of such forms in Call. is provided in Schmitt 22-6, see also Williams on *HyAp.* 48 and in general B-P 416f., M. Meier, -ιδ: *Zur Geschichte eines griechischen Nominalsuffixes*, Göttingen 1975. Their frequency in Theoc. 7 may suggest that Ph. affected them.

**τάλαρος** *τάλαρος* is the spinning basket used both before and after spinning, cf. Leon. Tar. *HE* 42.4 εἰροκόμον τάλαρον and see Gow on Theoc. 18.32, G-P on Antip. Sid. *HE* 4.5f. with reference to Hesych. κ 393 κάλαθος' ... γυναικεῖον σκεῦος εἰς ἐρίων ἀπόθεσιν. Here it is used with its religious associations, see ff. The word was brought into connection with *τλᾶν*, cf. A.R. 4.1062 οἶον ὅτε κλωστήρα γυνή ταλαεργὸς ἐλίσσει / ἐννουχίη, Nonn. *D.* 6.140-2 τιθήνην, / κάλλιπε σὺν τάλαιοις, καὶ ὀππόσα ... / ... νέμει ταλασήϊος ἰδρώς, Suda τ 41 ταλασήϊον ἔργον· ἡ ἐριουργία, which Hollis 360-1 held as a quotation of Call., see Campbell on A.R. 3.292, Blümner *TuT* I, 103-4, *LSJ* Suppl. s.v. ταλασήϊος. It is an object often related with the women's dutiful toils. In *GVI* 1881.7 (1st/2nd c.) a *τάλαρος* depicted on a woman's tomb is εὐτάκτου .. ἀρετᾶς .. μάνυμα, cf. Nonn. *D.* 20.245-6 δμῶϊς ... Παλλάδι ... / .. τάλαιοις and see C. Dobias-Lalou, *REG* 95 (1982), 47-8 for other inscriptional evidence.

**λευκόν** Here an adj. with religious significance. In *HHD* 191f. Demeter refuses to sit down until Iambe fetches a stool and καθύπερθε δ' ἐπ' ἀργύφειον βάλε κῶας (v. 196). White implies purity and is therefore particularly appropriate of Demeter. In Pind. *Ol.* 2.95 Hieron ἀμφέπει Δάματρα λευκίππου τε θυγατρὸς ἑορτάν and in Call. *HyDem.* 120 the sacred basket is carried by λευκότριχες ἵπποι, cf. also v. 122 (Demeter) λευκὸν ἔαρ, λευκὸν δὲ θέρος καὶ χειμᾶ φέρουσα, Ov. *Fasti* 4.619-620 *alba decent Cererem: vestis Cerialibus albas / sumite; nunc pulli velleris usus abest*, *Met.* 10.431-5. According to Paus. 2.25.5 in Hermione the group of children in the procession in honor of Demeter wear λευκὴν ἐσθῆτα, cf. also Cypriot Philios *CEG* 854.3 (Priene,



ca 350) seeing in a dream Θεσμοφόρους τε ἀγνάς ποτνίας ἐμ φάρεσι λεοκοῖς. At the same time possession of wool is a classic indication of luxury and wealth, and granted high social status on its own right, cf. Hes. *WD* 234 and see J. Pley, *De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu*, Gießen 1911, 67-79. By common knowledge it was flocks that rendered their owners wealthy, see Matthews on Antim. fr. 61 πολλά δὲ μῆλα, τὰ περ ἀφνήμονας ἄνδρας <ἔθηκεν> (suppl. Bergk) (add *Od.* 19.113, [Hes.] fr. 10a.39 ἀφ[ν]ειδὸς μῆλο[ισι]). The quality of the wool was defined by its whiteness, cf. Strabo 6.3.9 ad fin., Martial 14.155, Colum. 7.2.3-5 and the advice of Virg. *Georg.* 3.386 *continuoque greges villis lege mollibus albos.*<sup>7</sup>

**λευκὸν .. ἔρι** Perhaps an echo of *HHD* 309, 452 (after *Il.* 5.196, al.) κρῖ λευκόν, cf. Antim. fr. 49.1 = *SH* 61.1 ]κριλ[, further *HHD* 208 ἄλφι whence Antim. fr. 145. The construction is unHomeric and a novelty on the whole. The line owes its survival to the artificial abbreviation of ἔριον to ἔρι, cf. αἰδῶ in fr. 6. Strabo in a long extract from Apollod. of Athens containing this fragment quotes many examples of apocope (Arist.'s *Poet.* 1458a4-5 ἀφηρημένον ὄνομα) from different authors from Homer (κρῖ, δῶ, μάψ) and Hes. fr. 329 βρῖ for βριθύ to Antim. fr. 79 ὄψ for ὄψις (which Matthews ad loc. considered as the elsewhere unattested nominative of Homeric ὄπος etc., see id. 57(c) on Antim.'s apocopes), Arat. fr. 155 Maass πηδά for πηδάλια and Euph. *CA* 153a ἦλ for ἦλον, see Schwyzer *GG* I, 16 n. 1. On the collective singular (usually ἔρια) see K-G I, 13.

**ἄγουσιν** The use of ἄγω governing an inanimate object was controversial in antiquity. Where the verb means "carry" it is normally used of living creatures, φέρω

<sup>7</sup> On white as colour of chastity see G. Radke, *Die Bedeutung der weißen und der schwarzen Farbe in Kult und Brauch der Griechen*, Diss. Jena 1936, 57-63 and on white garments prescribed in ritual see Wächter 16-9. On Demeter's white see Richardson on *HHD* 42f., Hopkinson 40 and on the *Graeco ritu* Roman cult-practices Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 1.c. For the excellence of white wool see Blümner *TuT* I, 100, Orth, *RE* XII (1924), 596-7, G. M. Frayn, *Sheep-Rearing and the Wool Trade in Italy during the Roman Period*, Liverpool 1984, 28-44 examining literary and artistic sources. As with other animals (see Thomas on Virg. *Georg.* 3.386), the sheep's colour had a certain importance. Achilles in *Il.* 24.621 slaughters an δῖν ἄργυρον as part of his generous reception of Priam and in Hes. fr. 198.11 Thoas from Aetolia offers ἄργυρα μῆλα as *hedna* to Helen. On Homeric "white sheep" see Edwards on *Il.* 18.527-9 and cf. the "bright wool" in Aesch. *Eum.* 45, Soph. *Trach.* 675. In Virg. *Aen.* 4.457-9 Dido in *tectis de marmore templum / conjugis antiqui miro .. honore colebat, / velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum* where see Austin. White is also the colour of joy and good omen. In Cat. 64.318-9 ironically the Fates spin *ante pedes autem candentis mollia lanae / vellera virgati custodibant calathisci*.

being used of things. Among a number of instances the *locus classicus* for their distinction is *Il.* 23.512-3 δῶκε δ' ἄγειν ἐτάροισιν ὑπερθύμοισι γυναῖκα / καὶ τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα φέρειν. Ph. probably makes a philological point, particularly if he has *Il.* 18.567-8 (quoted ff.) in mind. Aristarchus eventually issued a verdict that ἄγω cannot govern an inanimate object, traces of which are often found in the Schol., see Ebeling s.v. A.9, Erbse on Schol. *Il.* 11.362b (III.245), van der Valk on Eustath. *Comm. Il.* 57.14 (I.91), *LFrE* s.v. ἄγω, Janko on *Il.* 16.221-4. Ph., however, was right in asserting that ἄγω sometimes does govern such objects. One wonders if the controversy might have become an issue in Aristarchus' *Against Philetas*.

The fragment is clearly part of a description of everyday life, on which Hellenistic poets like to focus,<sup>8</sup> in a wealthy or royal house. It varies *Il.* 18.567-8 παρθενικαὶ δὲ καὶ ἠίθεοι ... / πλεκτοῖς ἐν ταλάροισι φέρον μελιηδέα καρπὸν, cf. *Od.* 4.124f., [Hes.] *Scut.* 293-4, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.41-2, and it is then echoed in Call. fr. 178.1-2 (an Athenian in Alexandria celebrates Anthesteria) ὅτε δούλοις / ἦμαρ Ὀρέστειοι λευκὸν ἄγουσι χόες. The pentameter may belong to *Demeter* as it refers to an outstanding Coan product, wool, which also has religious significance and means to portray a well-known scenery in the worship of Demeter. There were taxes on wool in Cos as *LSCG* 168.5, 8 (1st c.) evidence, see Rostovtzeff *SEHW* I, 240, Sh-W 231 and there was also a worship of Hermes *Eumelios*, see Sh-W 313-4 and in general Nilsson *GGR* I, 506. Demeter was regionally regarded and enjoyed a cult as goddess of flocks and pasture (ταυροφόρος and μηλοφόρος), see Farnell III, 313-4 nn. 10-4 with the reservations noted in pp. 32-3 and cf. Call. *HyDem.* 136 φέρβε βόας, φέρε μᾶλα, φέρε στάχυν, οἷσε θερισμόν where the meaning of μᾶλα is controversial ("sheep" or "fruits"), cf. Paus. 1.44.3 and see Hopkinson ad loc. Sacrifices of ὄις τέλειος καὶ τελέα κυόεσσα in honour of Demeter are recorded in Cos, *HG* 1.59-60 (ca 300), 8.III.B.25 (4th c.), see Nilsson *GGR* I, 151, Bodson 123 n. 21. In Eupolis *PCG* 196 a ram is sacrificed to Demeter, an ewe in Adaeus *GPh* 2.1 and a sheep to Ceres in Virg. *Aen.* 4.57-8, cf. *LSS* 87A.2-3 (Lindos, 2nd c.), 95.5-6 (Camiros, 1st c.) and a Greek votive relief in Pompeii of ca 400 representing a group of worshippers leading a sheep by the horns to the seated Demeter, see van Straten 79 with n. 218 for inscriptional evidence. Wool appears in *HHD* 191 with a purificatory power, see n. on λευκὸν and Richardson 212, and is an offering to Demeter in Phigalia, Paus. 8.42.11 ἐρίων τὰ μὴ ἐς ἐργασίαν πω ἤκοντα ἀλλὰ ἔτι ἀνάπλεα τοῦ οἰσύπου.

<sup>8</sup> See G. Huber, *Lebensschilderung und Kleinmalerei im hellenistischen Epik*, Solothurn 1926 (on spinning pp. 48-50, see also Campbell on A.R. 3.291), Zanker 155-227.

The image described would resemble a procession such as those in honour of the goddess, in which baskets containing ritual objects (and wool?) were carried, cf. the κάλαθος in Call. *HyDem.* 1, 3, 120 and see Hopkinson 41-2 cl. *LSCG* 65.29-30 (Andania, ca 90) ταῦτα αἱ παρθένοι αἱ ἱεραὶ καθὼς ἂν λάχωντι, ἄγουσαι τὰ ἄρματα ἐπικειμένας κίστας ἐχούσας ἱερὰ μυστικά. For the practice add *LSAM* 61.6-7 (Mylasa in Caria, 3rd c.; Demeter-cult) τὴν ἀγαφο[ρὰν τοῦ καλάθου] / [ἐπιτ]ρέπεσθαι ταῖς ἱερείαις καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀ[νεχθῆ] ... / [τ]αῖς ἱερείαις παραδιδόναι with Sokolowski ad loc. referring to an Athenian law evidencing the procession of κάλαθος in a Demeter festival in Athens, and Nonn. *D.* 13.188-9 οἱ τ' ἔχον .. Ἐλευσινίην χθόνα Διοῦς / μυστιπόλοι ταλάροιο καὶ εὐκάρπιο θεαίνης, 31.69 τάλαρον Δήμητρος, see Vian on 27.285-6.

In the 3rd c. Cos had a large population of slaves. "The reader of Herodas and of the Coan inscriptions cannot resist the impression that the slave population of Cos was large and was not used solely for domestic service", Rostovtzeff *SEHW* I, 245, see also Sh-W 245. The social framework of Cos consisted of citizens, metics and slaves. The scene might have occurred in Chalcon's palace. Servants and slaves are a *sine qua non* in an insight in a palace, cf. e.g. Antim. fr. 20-1 or A.R. 3.254f., 271f. Weaving wool or spinning is the female work *par excellence*, see S. West on *Od.* 1.356-8 and it constituted an essential part of the education of women of all social classes throughout antiquity, cf. Pandora in Hes. *WD* 64 teaching the primitive woman πολυδαίδαλον ἱστὸν ὑφαίνειν and see A. Forbes, "The Education and Training of Slaves in Antiquity", *TAPA* 86 (1955), 330-1 (examining Ptolemaic papyri) and S. Pomeroy, *ZPE* 32 (1978), 19-20. Beauty and weaving were mostly appreciated in a female slave, cf. e.g. *Il.* 9.128-130, 23.263, and it was one of their main duties, cf. e.g. *Od.* 22.422-3, Simon. *PMG* 618 εἰριπόνοι δμωαί, A.R. 3.254-5. Their price mainly depended upon their capacity to weave, cf. Xen. *Oec.* 7.41 with Pomeroy ad loc.

Weaving of wool is a favourable domestic activity in Homer, cf. *Il.* 3.125, 6.456, 12.433-5, 16.491-2, al., *Od.* 7.235, 19.138-140, al. and despite Huber, op.c., it is not rare in Hellenistic verse, cf. Erinna *SH* 401.29, Call. fr. 520 with Pf. ad loc., A.R. 3.291, 4.1062, Theoc. 15.80, 28.1, Alex. Aet. *CA* 3.4, Leon. Tar. *HE* 72, Antip. Sid. *HE* 5. The labour and order of the slaves is perhaps expressed by a tonical rhythm (δμωίδες εἰς ταλάρους | λευκὸν ἀγοῦσιν ἐρί), a phenomenon certified only later with Babrius (2nd c. A.D.) and Nonn., see F. Vian, *Nonnus* I, Budé 1974, LH-LIV, L. D. Stephens, *GRBS* 26 (1985), 83-97. Any toil which had a repetitive rhythm could be accompanied by a song, cf. e.g. Call. *Hec.* fr. 74.25 with Hollis ad loc., Erat. *CA* 10, Theoc. 10.41, 22.10-11. The rowing of the Argonauts in A.R. 1.536-541 is likened to a harmonious dance. For the early morning songs of wool-workers cf. Erinna *SH* 401.22-3 with M. L. West, *ZPE* 25 (1977), 105-6, Leon. Tar. 1.1., Theoc. 24.77.

## Fr. 9 (CA 16; Demeter?)

γηρύσαιτο δὲ νεβρός ἀπὸ ζωὴν ὀλέσσασα  
ὀξείης κάκτου τύμμα φυλαξαμένη

Antig. [Car.] 8 οὐχ ἤτιόν δὲ τούτου θαυμαστόν, καθωμιλημένον δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ περὶ τὴν ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄκανθον τὴν καλουμένην κάκτον· εἰς ἣν ὅταν ἔλαφος ἐμβῆ καὶ τραυματισθῆ, τὰ ὅστα ἄφωνα καὶ ἄχρηστα πρὸς αὐλοῦς ἴσχει. ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Φιλίτας ἐξηγήσατο περὶ αὐτῆς εἶπας· γηρύσαιτο etc., cf. Athen. 2.71a (de cacto agens) καὶ Φιλίτας (:Φιλητάς CE) ὁ Κῶος· γηρύσαιτο etc.

1 νεβρός Antig. : νεκρός Athen. CE ζωὴν Antig. : ψυχὴν Athen. CE ὀλέσσασα Antig. : ὄλεσσα Athen. E : ὄλεσα Athen. C.

**γηρύσαιτο** Strictly speaking non-Homeric, though cf. hapaxes *Il.* 4.437 γῆρυς, *Od.* 12.187 μελίγηρυν. It can be used of singing; in Hes. *Theog.* 28 the Muses can ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι, Hermes in *HHHerm.* 425-6 λιγέως κιθαρίζων / γηρύετ' ἀμβολάδην, cf. Sappho fr. 96.20, hapax in A.R. 2.845 of the poet's voice. Singing is called γῆρυς in Simon. *PMG* 593.3, Lyr. Adesp. CA 38.8, Matro Pit. *SH* 540.4, γάρυμα in Alcman. *PMGF* 4i.5, cf. also *Od.* 12.187 (Seirenes) μελίγηρυν ἀπὸ στομάτων ὄπ(α), *HHAp.* 519. Aesch. *Eum.* 569 describes the sound produced by a trumpet as ὑπέρτονον γήρυμα. The verb can also apply to the voice of animals, melodic as Theoc. 1.136 (owls and nightingales), Pamphil. *HE* 1.3 (cicada), poeticising Plut. *de soll. anim.* 19, p. 973a (birds), or not so melodic as Theoc. 9.7 (calf and cow, panpipe and oxherd), Meleag. *HE* 118.6 (cock) and cf. γῆρυς in Eur. *Tro.* 441 (oxen), A.R. 1.1244 (sheep), Simias *HE* 1.2 (partridge), Antip. Thess. *GPh* 82.2 (cock). The root is absent in Call. Ph. applies it to the sound produced by a musical instrument made of an animal's bone. The effect is somehow paradoxical as the fawn articulating a feeble, ugly sound, is now said to produce a post-mortal melody. On prosody see *DGE* s.v. The following δέ is used in "passionate or lively exclamations", see Denniston *GP*, 172.

**νεβρός** Α παρὰ προσδοκίαν for αὐλός. Its corruption into νεκρός is common, cf. Cleoboulina *IEG* 3, Anacr. *PMG* 408.1, Bacch. 13.87, Aesch. *Eum.* 111, 246, Eur. fr. 677, Timo Phlias. *SH* 790. In Homer 10x, mostly masculine, as usually later. Feminine in *Il.* 4.243, Bacch. 13.87, Eur. *Alc.* 585, *Bac.* 866, *Elec.* 860, Adesp. *TrGF* 419, always in Theoc. (5x) where the gender is discernible, see Gow on 11.40, Simias *Egg* 13. Not in A.R., hapax in Call. *HyArt.* 95 where the gender is not identifiable.

ἀπό ζωὴν ὀλέσασα Cf. A.R. 4.1305 ἀπό ζωῆς ἐλίασθεν/, further id. 4.1433 ἀπούρας / φρουρὸν ὄφιν ζωῆς, Antip. Thess. *GPh* 102.6 ἀπό ζωὴν εἴλετο, Pers. *HE* 7.2 ἀπό ψυχὰν ἐρύσαντο / ὠδίνες, Nic. *Ther.* 705 (sea-turtle) κεφαλῆς ἀπό θυμὸν ἀράξει/. Ζωὴν here replaces Homeric θυμὸν, *Il.* 8.90, al. ἀπό θυμὸν ὄλεσεν/, 16.861 ἀπό θυμὸν ὀλέσσαι/, cf. *Od.* 12.350, al.<sup>9</sup>

**νεβρὸς ... / ὀξείης κάκτου τόμμα** Echoed in Theoc. 10.4 ὥσπερ οἷς ποιίμνας, ἄς τὸν πόδα κάκτος ἔτυψε said by Milon who later sings a hymn to Demeter, cf. Eryc. *GPh* 9.2 ἀραχναίη σκαιὸν ἔτυψε πόδα. Theoc. often employs comparative clauses to insert literary allusions, as e.g. in 4.16 (a scraggy calf) μὴ πρῶκας σιτίζεται ὥσπερ ὁ τέττιγξ; hinting at Call. fr. 1.34 or in 6.17 hinting at Sappho fr. 1.21. Nic. *Alex.* 126 οἶά τε γῆρεια νέον τεθρυμμένα κάκτου echoes the four most memorable words of this fragment.

**κάκτου** As far as our present knowledge goes, this term is introduced into poetry by Ph.; its rare subsequent poetic occurrences depend on him. As a typical example of his influence the word vanishes after the next generation of poets. Phaenias of Eresus fr. 38 Wehrli in the 5th book of his *Περὶ Φυτῶν* and Theophr. *HP* 6.4.10 tell us that cactus is confined to Sicily: Ἡ δὲ κάκτος καλουμένη περὶ Σικελίαν μόνον, ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν .... τὸ δὲ φύλλον ἔχει πλατὺ καὶ ἀκανθῶδες, whence Pliny *NH* 21.97, see F. Olck, *RE* II (1896), 1455-8 s.v. Artischocke, Gow on Theoc. 10.4, Lembach 79-80. Epich. of Sicily mentioned it μετὰ τῶν ἐδωδύμων λαχάνων, Athen. 2.70d-71a. It is nowadays frequent in Greece but, despite S. Amigues on Theophr. l.c., not in ancient Greece, as the extreme rarity of the word indicates. One does not need to worry about Ph.'s source of information, as A. Lindsell, *G&R* 6 (1936), 85 ("how did Philetas know about the κάκτος if it is a purely Sicilian plant? [...] κάκτος must just be left a mystery."): the Coan derived his knowledge from botanical handbooks. The geographical restriction of the plant might give its name a glossographic interest as well. A Syracusan gloss is discussed in fr. 38 K. Κάκτος here stands as *pars pro toto* for any spinous plant.

<sup>9</sup> Ψυχή and θυμός can both be employed for the loss of life. H. Erbse, *Glotta* 71 (1993), 131 defined their semantic difference: "Mit dem Entweichen des θυμός geht die Regsamkeit der Glieder verloren (sie werden starr), mit dem Entfliehen der ψυχή verliert der Körper nicht nur seine Beweglichkeit, sondern alles, was wir als Leben empfinden". Ascription of θυμός to animals is regular in Homer (ψυχή in *Od.* 14.426, [Hes.] *Scut.* 173), see S. West on *Od.* 3.455, J. Bremmer, *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul*, Princeton 1983, 125-131 ("The Soul of Plants and Animals"), Caswell 15.

**τύμμα** In a poetic context a medical word, see *LSJ* s.v. and cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1430 (the only attestation in tragedy), Theoc. 4.55, Nic. *Ther.* 403, 426, 653, 737, 919, 930, fr. 32.4, Androm. *GDRK* 62.12, 87, Argent. *GPh* 2.4 (bee-sting), Marc. Sid. *GDRK* 63.47, 84 (fish-bite) ~ Opp. *Hal.* 2.50, 492, Q.S. 4.396, 401, 404 (in a "medical" passage, cf. 6.457-8 (Podalirius) τετυμμένα δούρασι φωτῶν / ἔλκε' ἀκειόμενος), of rain-drops Antiph. *GPh* 9.2. Τύπτω is the *vox propria* in Hellenistic poetry for accidental pricking (τυπή mostly denoting an intentional blow), cf. Theoc. 4.53 ἐτύπην 55 τύμμα and see Gow on Theoc. 4.51 where πατάσσω is employed.

Antig. [Car.] quotes this distichon for its paradoxical content, but offers no indication as to the work it is derived from. Reitzenstein *EuS*, 179 ascribed it to *Paegnias* ("non iniuria" Powell) because of its content, Kuchenmüller 64 n. 2 because of its form. A. S. Hollis also felt that this fragment "might well belong to a riddling epigram" as fr. 27. Cessi 128-9 n. 4 maintained that it is part of *Demeter* describing the goddess' wanderings in Sicily. Antig. quotes another fragment of Ph. (fr. 20) with paradoxographic content which most probably belongs to *Demeter*. Other considerations would point in this direction too. Apparently we are dealing with a banquet. Music commonly entertains the participants, cf. Athen. 14.616e-618c and see West (1992), 24-8, and the urge for the *aulos* to play is a typical one. This may be part of Chalcon's hospitality-offering to Demeter. He certainly had additional reasons to entertain his guest with pipes. In broad terms an *aulos* naturally appears in an elegiac poem as the recitation of elegiac pieces was regularly performed to the accompaniment of pipes, see West (1974), 13-4. More specifically the Coan king would have noticed the sad disposition of Demeter. Resort to piping would be a good idea. As West (1992), 31 noted "Greeks were familiar with the idea that music can alter the disposition of those who hear it. [...] There were stories of music being employed deliberately to manipulate peoples' moods" (citing some examples). Piping has multiple emotional functions depending on its tone. To assuage grief and enhance joy was a basic one, see West (1992), 106 and cf. Hes. *Theog.* 98-103 (listening to music) εἰ γὰρ τις καὶ πένθος ἔχων νεοκηδέϊ θυμῷ / ἄζηται κραδίην ἀκαχήμενος [...] αἴψ' ὄγε δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται οὐδέ τι κηδέων / μέμνηται, Plut. *quaest. conv.* 3.8.2, p. 657a ὡς περ <γὰρ> ἡ θρηνηδία καὶ ὁ ἐπικήδειος αὐλὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ πάθος κινεῖ καὶ δάκρυον ἐκβάλλει, προάγων δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς οἶκτον οὕτω κατὰ μικρὸν ἐξαιρεῖ καὶ ἀναλίσκει τὸ λυπητικόν, ὁμοίως ἴδοις ἂν καὶ τὸν οἶνον etc. and in an orgiastic context Eur. *Bac.* 378-81 ὃς τὰδ' ἔχει, / θιασεύειν τε χοροῖς / μετὰ τ' αὐλοῦ γελάσαι / ἀποπαῦσαι τε μερίμνας etc.

It is further appropriate to the instance because piping arouses the reverent sentiment of τὸ θεῖον, Plut. *quaest. conv.* 7.8.4, p. 712e-713a τὸν δ' αὐλὸν οὐδὲ

βουλομένοις ἀπόσασθαι τῆς τραπέζης ἔστιν· αἱ γὰρ σπονδαὶ ποθοῦσιν αὐτὸν ἅμα τῷ στεφάνῳ καὶ συνεπιθέγγεται τῷ παιᾶνι τὸ θεῖον ... καταχεόμενος φωνὴν ἠδεῖαν ἄχρι τῆς ψυχῆς ποιοῦσαν γαλήνην, *sept. sap. conv.* 5, p. 150e οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες οἰόμενοι Σκυθῶν διαλέγεσθαι βέλτιον ὁμῶς τοὺς θεοὺς ὀστέων καὶ ξύλων ἠδίων ἀκροᾶσθαι νομίζουσιν, *Telestes PMG* 806.1 καλλιπνῶων αὐλῶν ἱερῶν. Piping at banquets is originally a religious element.<sup>10</sup> This tallies with the Demeter-sanctified palace of Chalcon. Pipes were commonly used in religious festivals and played a part in Cos too, cf. *HG* 1.53 (ca 300) and see in general West (1992), 14-21, E. Reinach in Ch. Daremberg - M. E. Saglio, *Dict. des antiq. gr. et rom.* V, Paris 1919, 320-2. In *IdC* EV 234 (1st/2nd c.; cf. *SEG* 26.954) Ariston, a professional aulete, dedicates a statue of Bacchus to Bacchus and Apollo and a mother of an *auletris* appears in Theoc. 2.146 (apparently located in Cos).

Such a function of the *aulos* finds a precedent in Eur. *Hel.* 1338-52 where it was effectively employed to alter Demeter's sombre mood: (Demeter) ἐπεὶ δ' ἔπαυσ' εἰλαπίνας / θεοῖς βροτείῳ τε γένοι, / Ζεὺς μελίσσω στυγίους / Ματρὸς ὀργὰς ἐνέπει· / Βᾶτε, σεμναὶ Χάριτες, / ἴτε, τὰν περὶ παρθένῳ / Δηῶ θυμωσαμένην / ἴλυπαν ἐξαλλάξατ' ἄλαλᾶ / Μοῦσαι θ' ὕμνοισι χορῶν. / χαλκοῦ δ' αὐδὰν χθονίαν / τύπανά τ' ἔλαβε βυρσοτενῆ / κάλλιστα τότε πρῶτα μακά- / ρων Κύπρις· γέλασεν δὲ θεά / δέξατό τ' ἐς χέρας / βαρύβρομον αὐλόν / τερφθεῖσ' ἀλαλαγμῶ, see M. C. Giammarco-Razzano, "Sincretismi Euripidei: Demeter auletris", *PP* 281 (1995), 116-35 tracing the origins of Demeter *auletris* in her orgiastic cult as merging with that of the Mountain-mother. A suggestive parallel – or even an echo via an intermediate source – is provided by Nonn. *D.* 6.24f. Agitated Demeter decides to consult the astronomer Astraeus who welcomes her, see P. Chuvin, *Nonnus* III, Budé 1992, 5-6, and being ἠδυεπῆς persuades her to drink nectar. In 6.33 (Astraeus) μόγις παρέπεισεν ... Δηῶ Nonn. echoes Call. *HyDem.* 8 Δαμάτειρα μῶνος ἔπεισεν. He also organises a dinner ὄφρα μερίμνας / θυμοδακεῖς Δήμητρος ἀποσκεδάσειε τραπέζῃ, vv. 35-6. A party follows in which Zephyros, a son of Astraeus, entertains the sorrowful goddess by playing pipes: Ζέφυρος δὲ περιθλίβων θρόον αὐλοῦ / εἰαρινοῖς δονάκεσσι μελίζετο θῆλυς ἀήτης, vv. 42-3. Hesperus, another son of Astraeus, contributes by exhibiting his dancing capabilities. Interestingly the namesake wind and star may have figured in *Demeter*, see *Dem.-Disc.* on Call. *HyAp.* 81f., *HyDem.* 7. Dancing may have featured in the hospitality-scene, as it is a constituent of an epic feast, cf. *Od.* 8.256-265, and was considered as a remedy to suffering. It would also make a ritualistic point, as dancing was performed in honour of Demeter, cf. Ar. *Frogs* 440f. and see S.

<sup>10</sup> For some reason *aulos* is only mentioned twice in Homer, *Il.* 10.13 in the Trojan camp and *Il.* 18.495 in wedding festivities, see West (1992), 82 n. 5. But Cycladic and late Minoan art suggests cultic origin, see W. D. Anderson, *Music and Musicians in Ancient Greece*, Ithaca-London 1994, 20f.

H. Lonsdale, *Dance and Ritual Play in Greek Religion*, Baltimore-London 1993, 158-160. In Call. *HyAp.* 8 the youngsters prepare for μολπήν and χορόν.

Even the paradoxical belief is tailored to fit Demeter. The shedding of blood is the classic way of pollution, see in general Parker 104f., but the fawn needs to be unprikked by any thorn, if its tibia are to become an effective musical instrument. Thus its purity is guaranteed. The true origin of this precondition is cultic. During the ritual the music instrument needs to be of pure origin and as such were regarded the bones of certain animals, see J. Defradas on Plut. *sept. sap. conv.* 150e (Paris 1954, 98). In a Coan inscription prescribing strict rules of purity priestesses of Demeter are not allowed to wear clothing fabricated from dead animals or eat meat by animals slaughtered in an inappropriate fashion, *HG* 8 (3rd c.), see Parker 52. It is at any rate precarious to try to indicate the source on which Ph. draws. Still cactus, a plant occurring in a non-Greek land, is first mentioned in Phaenias and Theophr., both pupils of Arist. The Stagirite was the first to exhibit an interest in paradoxography focusing on animals and plants.<sup>11</sup> Ph. provides the first attestation of this cactus-miracle and may be drawing on Arist., cf. his interest in another prickly plant in Antig. [Car.] 169 Περί δὲ τῶν φυτῶν τῆς ἀκάνθης εἶδος Ἀριστοτέλην φάσκειν περὶ τὴν Ἐρύθειαν εὐρίσκεσθαι διαποίκιλον τὴν χροάν, ἐξ οὗ πλήκτρα γίνεσθαι etc.

Be this as it may, Antig. seems to be drawing directly on Ph. The possibility that he uses the same source as Ph. should be discounted. If so he would have named his other source either ad hoc or in a previous introductory chapter and then used Ph. for illustration. But this is not the case. In the first part of his work, ch. 1-26, Antig. declares his immediate source in each chapter separately. As Wil. noticed<sup>12</sup> on the chapters drawing on poets, "diese Kapitel haben zumeist gar keinen weiteren Zweck als die Dichter zu illustrieren, sie haben auch keine Quelle, sind aber eben deshalb von den Lexicographen, die von der Dichterexegese ausgehen, besonders berücksichtigt". Hesych. κ 363 κάκτος· ἄκακτα ὑφ' ἧς ἐὰν πληγῇ νεβρός ἀχρεῖα ἴσχε τὰ ὀσῶα εἰς ἀλόους depends directly on Antig. So does Athen. who quotes Ph. in his discussion on cactus.<sup>13</sup> The paradoxographer's καθωμιλημένον δὲ μᾶλλον indicates that in Sicily it

<sup>11</sup> Περὶ θαυμασίων ἀκουσμάτων ascribed to Arist. by some MSS is not his. It can be dated in the 3rd c. and is strongly influenced by Arist. *HA*. Chapters 1-30 (except 26), 60 and 63-77 are of zoological content, see K. Ziegler, *RE* XVIII (1949), 1149-52, O. Regenbogen, *RE* Suppl. VII (1951), 1406-7, Fraser I, 771-2, N. J. Richardson *La philologie grecque*, 15-6.

<sup>12</sup> In *AvK*, 22. See also K. Ziegler, *RE* XVIII (1949), 1146, O. Regenbogen, *RE* Suppl. VII (1951), 1407-8, C. Jacob, "De l'art de compiler à la fabrication du merveilleux. Sur la paradoxographie grecque", *LALIES* 2 (1983), 123-9.

<sup>13</sup> Wil. *AvK*, 21-2 n. 12 was no doubt right to assume that originally in the text of Athen. stood Antig.'s interpretation as well, then omitted by the epitomiser. In principle Wil. op.c., 123 n. 1 maintained that



should be a widespread belief but also that it would not have been widely written down. "Ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Φιλίτας ἐξηγήσατο is used to introduce Ph.'s unusual, cryptic way of describing the miracle. "Expound, interpret" are the closest meanings offered by *LSJ* s.v. II.3. Antig., as suspected also in fr. 20, most probably has the full work of Ph. or an extensive portion of it, from which he quotes excerpts of paradoxographic interest and on which he relies for the interpretation of a fragment whose meaning is not easily perceived if it stands on its own.

The diction employed is high. This is fitting to such a well-mannered and well-educated king as Chalcon. The idea is expressed in a very cryptic way. This is fitting to the banqueters' habit of exchanging riddles among themselves, an effort followed by applause or a symbolic forfeit, cf. Athen. 10.457c-f. Athen. quotes a riddle of similar content ascribing it to Theogn. 1229-30 ἤδη γάρ με κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἴκαδε νεκρός, / τεθνηκῶς ζωῶ φθειγόμενος στόματι, i.e. the cockle-shell used as a musical instrument. Thanks to Antig.'s explanation the meaning is clear. Ph. subtly alludes to the construction of pipes by using bones of a fawn which has kept itself unpricked by a cactus.<sup>14</sup> Pipes were made from different material like ivory, wood or/and metal, see Blümner *TuT* II, 390-4, West (1992), 85-9. Reed was the commonest, but no such example actually survives. Bones of different animals were also used and according to Pollux 4.76 (I.223.26-8 Bethe) the Scythians even ἀετῶν καὶ γυπῶν ὄστοις ἀθλητικῶς ἐμπνέουσιν. Bone-pipes are disparagingly mentioned in Ar. *Ach.* 862-3 ὕμεις δ', ὅσοι Θείβαθεν ἀύλειται πάρα, / τοῖς ὄστίνοις φουσεῖτε τὸν πρωκτὸν κυνός. Juba, a 2nd c. A.D. author of a treatise on metric, *FGH* 275 F 82 = Athen. 4.82e asserted that bone-pipes are a Theban invention, cf. also Pollux 4.75 (I.223.21-2 Bethe) and Antip. Thess. *GPh* 75.1 νεβρείων ... ἀύλων in an epigram dedicated to Pind. Athena is usually credited with the invention of the *aulos*, cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 12.29f., Bion fr. 10.7, Antip. Thess. *GPh* 108.3-4, and in a parenthetical digression probably with Ph. in mind Call. *HyArt.* 244-5 ascribed to her the invention of the bone-pipes: οὐ γάρ πω νέβρεια δι' ὄστέα τετρήναντο, / ἔργον Ἀθηναίης ἐλάφω κακόν, see Bornmann ad loc. and Reinach, l.l., 301 n. 9 regarding it "almost certainly a Boeotian fable". Plut. *sept. sap. conv.* 5, p. 150e tells us that the pipe-makers of his time προέμενοι τὰ νεβρεῖα χρῶνται τοῖς ὄνειοις καὶ βέλτιον ἤχειν λέγουσιν. He then quotes an enigma ascribing it to Cleoboulina, the shadowy 6th c.

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Athen. had direct access to Antig.; contra L. Nyicos, *Athenaeus quo consilio quibusque usus subsidiis Dipnosophistarum libros composuerit*, Basle 1941, 21 n. 60 who postulated an unspecified source containing material from Antig. But there is no need to do that.

<sup>14</sup> A literal translation would result in a nonsense; so Gulick in the Loeb *Athenaeus*. K. J. Gutzwiller, *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies*, Wisconsin 1991, 151 elaborated on the misunderstanding: "the lines obtain their poetic power from the empathy we feel for the animal's pain".

poetess, printed in *IEG* 3 as κνήμη νεκρὸς ὄνος με κερασφόρω οὔας ἔκρουσεν and in *non posse* etc. 26, p. 1104d a verse of an anonymous tragic poet Adesp. *TrGF* 419 Κρητικούς ἀύλους θανοῦσι (Rasmus : θανούσης codd.) κῶλα ποικίλης νεβροῦ, cf. perhaps also Euph. *SH* 418.37 ν[έβρεια in a Bacchic ritual. As it is clear by the jesting mood of Plut., who observes the oddity of the donkey's bone, long regarded as the most unmusical of living creatures, producing a melodic sound and by the irony of Ar., the bone-pipes were not highly esteemed. They were rather considered to be old-fashioned and to produce a sound of poor quality, cf. Antip. Thess. *GPh* 75.1 ὀπόσον σάλπιγξ ὑπερίαχε αὐλῶν etc. Ph. seems to be referring to it as an archaistic element appropriate to the times Demeter visited Cos and contrasted to the more advanced pipes of his own times.

#### Fr. 10 (CA 4; Demeter?)

Φλιοῦς γὰρ πόλις ἐστί, Διονύσου φίλος υἱός  
Φλιοῦς ἦν αὐτὸς δεῖματο λευκολόφος

Steph. Byz. s.v. Φλιοῦς (pp. 667.20f. Meineke) Φλιοῦς· πόλις Πελοποννήσου, ἡ πρότερον Ἀραιθυρέα καὶ Ἀράντεια, ἀπὸ Φλιοῦντος τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ Χθονοφύλλης. Πανσανίας δὲ ἀπὸ Φλίαντος ὡς μαρτυρεῖ καὶ τὸ ἐθνικὸν Φλιοῦντιος ἢ Φλιούσιος. (ὡς μαρτυρεῖ ... Φλιούσιος post Χθονοφύλλης inserere voluit Meineke : haec verba eiecienda esse monuit Nowacki) Φιλίτας δὲ φησι· Φλιοῦς etc. ὀνόμασται δὲ παρὰ τὸ φλεῖν, ὃ ἐστὶν εὐκαρπεῖν. etc.

1 γὰρ RV : om. cett. τοῦ Διονύσου codd. : corr. Salmasius.

**Φλιοῦς** Inscriptions until Imperial times unanimously offer Φλειοῦς. The MSS of the literary texts divide among themselves, see Meyer 269-271, id. *RE* Suppl. IX (1962), 827, Thraette I, 322-3. For a list of Greek towns deriving their name from a mythological figure allegedly connected with them see Eijkmann 20-3.

**Φλιοῦς ... / Φλιοῦς** For the anaphora in general see on fr. 23.1. This is a false one, since the name of the city in v. 1 (Φλιοῦς ... πόλις) coincides with the name of its founder in v. 2. The repetition places the name of Phlious in the centre of the reader's attention, a fact which does not correspond to the actual importance of the town. Arist. *Rhet.* 1414a6f. and Demetr. *De Eloc.* 61 note the emphatic effect on the unimportant Nireus in *Il.* 2.671-3 Νιρεὺς αὖ Σύμηθεν ἄγε τρεῖς νῆας εἴσας, / Νιρεὺς Ἀγλαΐης

υἱὸς Χαροποῖο τ' ἀνακτος, / Νιρεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε. Phlius' *ktisis* of the homonymous town was questioned and the anaphora may denote insistence on a certain version. On a formal level the second Φλιοῦς followed by a relative clause creates a typical anaphora scheme used to provide supplementary information, cf. *Il.* 12.95-6, *Od.* 1.22-3 and see Fehling (1969), 184-5.

**γάρ** As often, it introduces here an explanatory parenthesis, a frequent stylistic device in Hellenistic poetry. These have been studied by M. von Albrecht, *Die Parenthese in Ovids Metamorphosen und ihre dichterische Funktion*, Hildesheim 1964, see also Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 22, 70. It is highly probable that Phlius or a cognate was mentioned in the preceding line.

**Φλιοῦς γὰρ πόλις ἐστὶ** This should not be mistaken for a common introduction of a locality of the type *Il.* 6.152 ἐστὶ πόλις Ἐφύρη etc.<sup>15</sup> The way the fragment is formed gives the impression that the very existence of Phlius is set in doubt. It is more similar to expressions used "when a beneficiary deity is being neglected", as *Il.* 9.502 καὶ γὰρ τε Λιταὶ εἰσι Διὸς κοῦραι μέγαλοιο / ... / αἶ etc., Alc. *PMGF* 1.36 ἐστὶ τις σιῶν τίσις, Soph. *OC* 1267-8 ἀλλ' ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ σύνθακος θρόνων / Αἰδώς, Eur. *Med.* 1085-6 ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔστιν μοῦσα καὶ ἡμῖν / ἦ etc., Antim. fr. 131.1 ἐστὶ δέ τις Νέμεσις μεγάλη θεός, ἦ etc. with Matthews ad loc., West on Hes. *WD* 11-46, sometimes reinforced through repetition as Lyc. 535-7 Ἄλλ' ἐστὶ γὰρ τις, ἐστὶ καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα / ἡμῖν ἀρωγὸς πρευμενῆς ὁ Δρύμνιος / δαίμων ... / ὅς etc., Cercidas (?) *CA* 18.34 ἔστιν γὰρ, ἔστιν ὃς τάδε σκοπεῖ δαίμων, *GVI* 675a.9 (3rd c. A.D.) ἐστὶ γὰρ ἐν φθιμένοις Νέμεσις μέγα, ἔστι ἐπὶ τύμβοις, cf. *GVI* 657.6 (ca 205 A.D.) ζῶει τοὶ νεκύων, ζῶει τειμήρορ Ἄτη. For ἐστὶ confirming what may be regarded as doubtful cf. Call. *HE* 9.1-2 Ἔστι τι, ναὶ τὸν Πᾶνα, κεκρυμμένον, ἔστι τι .. / ναὶ μὰ τὸν Διώνυσον, πῦρ, Theoc. 3.20 ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν κενεοῖσι φιλήμασιν ἀδέα τέρψις, 24.40, Leon. Tar. *HE* 19.11-2 εἰσὶ θανόντων, / εἰσὶν ἀμοιβαῖαι κὰν φθιμένοις χάριτες, Meleag. *HE* 26.4, 90.4. Ph. apparently essays to bring neglected and small Phlius into the limelight: so does his whole poem with Cos.

**Διωνύσου φίλος υἱός / Φλιοῦς** Emphatic ("Dionysus' own son"), see next n. Φίλος υἱός in nominative or accusative is 16x clausula in Homer and in a Zenodotean verse replacing *Il.* 16.666. Otherwise mostly <sup>2</sup> - φίλον υἱόν or <sup>4</sup> - φίλον υἱόν. For the construction cf. *Il.* 2.564 Σθένελος, Καπανῆος .. φίλος υἱός/, an early 5th c. epitaph from Megara *apud* J. Ebert, *ZPE* 112 (1996), 66 v. 1 Πόλλις Ἀσπίχῳ φίλος υἱός/,

<sup>15</sup> Cf. e.g. *Il.* 13.32, *Od.* 4.844, Antim. fr. 2, A.R. 3.1085, 4.982, Dem. Bith. *CA* 4.1 and see Hainsworth on *Il.* 11.711, Davies on Soph. *Trach.* 752-3, Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 37.

A.R. 2.118 Ἀγκαῖος Λυκοόργιοιο θρασὺς υἱός/, Alex. Aet. CA 6.2-3 ἔνθα Δολίων / υἱὸς Σειληνοῦ νάσσατο, Ascler. HE 33.5 Βότρυος φίλος παῖ/ in iambics. Later cf. esp. Colluth. 283-4 /εἰμὶ .. Πριάμοιο .. φίλος υἱός / εἰμὶ δέ etc. In similar schemes in Homer the stress is on the pedigree and mostly falls on the father, cf. *Il.* 6.395-6 Ἀνδρομάχη, θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Ἡετίωνος, / Ἡετίων, ὅς etc., *Il.* 21.85-6 Λαοθόη, θυγάτηρ Ἄλταο γέροντος, / Ἄλτεω ὅς etc., see Edwards on *Il.* 20.371-2.

**Φλιοῦς** Φλ(ε)ίας or Φλιοῦς is in all but the Argive version, which is mentioned only to be discredited by Paus. 2.12.6, a son of Dionysus, cf. A.R. 1.115 with Schol., Paus. 2.6.6, 2.12.6, Hyg. *Fab.* 14, Orph. *Arg.* 194-6, Val. Flacc. 1.411, Steph. Byz. l.c. As his mother is mentioned regularly Chthonophyle who in Paus. *Il.* 11., is Phlius' wife, a Nymph and in the Argive version Araithyrea, but this is probably a misunderstanding of *Il.* 2.571 Ἀραιθυρέην τ' ἔρατεινήν. He is mostly known as an Argonaut, see M. L. Towbridge, *RE* XX (1941), 290-1, Vian on A.R. 1.117.

ἦν αὐτὸς | δείματο λευκολόφος Cf. *Od.* 14.7-8 ἦν ῥα συβώτης / αὐτὸς δείματο, Nonn. *D.* 41.66-7 Βερόης .. πόλιν ... / ἦν Κρόνος αὐτὸς ἔδειμε. The phrase is probably echoed in A.R. 1.142-3 ἀλλά μιν αὐτὸς / γείνατο ... / Λητοῖδης of another disputed and divine father, Apollo as parent of Idmon. Campbell *Echoes* ad loc. refers to Hes. *Theog.* 924 Αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκώπιδα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην. Middle δείματο is more *recherché* than the active though the two are interchangeable. Ph.'s emphatic expression ranks him on the side of what apparently is a local version, that Phlius built his city. Paus. 2.12.3 notes that Phliasian things were controversial: διάφορα δὲ ἐς τοὺς Φλιασίους τὰ πολλὰ εἰδῶς εἰρημένα, τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὠμολογημένοις χρήσομαι. According to his account autochthonous Aras founded Arantia around hillock Arantinos. When his daughter Araithyrea died prematurely the town took her name. Then Phlias, a son of Dionysus, gave it its final name, Paus. 2.12.3-6, cf. Schol. *D.* *Il.* 2.571 (Araithyrea) ὕστερον Φλιοῦς προσηγορεύθη ἀπὸ Φλιοῦντος τοῦ Διονύσου. Strabo 8.6.24 reports that it was Araithyrea's citizens who ἀναστάντες (this might suggest expulsion by force, see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 12.4) ἐκεῖθεν πρὸ τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔκτισαν πόλιν, ἣν ἐκάλεσαν Φλιοῦντα.

**λευκολόφος** "white-crested". Non-Homeric, first in Anacr. *PMG* 433.1-2 ἐγὼ δ' ἔχων σκύπφον Ἐρξίῳνι / τῷ λευκολόφῳ μεστὸν ἐξέπινον and differently in Ar. *Frogs* 1016 λευκολόφους τρυφάλειας "white-crested helmets" used by Aesch. boasting of his pure and elevated diction. Eur. *Phoen.* 119 has the exquisite Doric λευκολόφας. Crinag. *GPh* 44.2 ποιηρὸν τοῦτ' ἀνὰ λευκόλοφον uses it with its literary sense; it "presumably means a hill with grassy slopes and a crest of white rock", G-P ad loc. cl. Theoc. 1.13 τοῦτο γεώλοφον. Lexicographers offer Pollux 4.139

λευκοκόμος "white-haired" and Hesych. λ 736 λευκόκρας· λευκοκέφαλος. Φοινικολόφος occurs in Eur. *Phoen.* 820 of a dragon, Theoc. 22.72 of a bird. Olympian gods are often χρυσόλοφοι "gold-crested", cf. Bacch. fr. 20.13 Sn-M (Ares), Anacr. *PMG* 346vi.18, Ar. *Lys.* 344 (Pallas) and parodic γοργολόφα in Ar. *Ach.* 567. Antim. fr. 95 has πυρσολόφους "straps cut from fire-dried leather". The adj. here is chosen to theoretically fit both town and founder. Phlious is built on a fertile upland surrounded by hillocks. But here it rather applies to the founder whose name lies closer and is supported by internal rhyme αὐτός ... λευκολόφος. Phlius "white-crested" can contain a number of innuendos. Λευκός commonly applies to hoary aged persons as in Tyrt. *IEG* 10.23, Anacr. *PMG* 358.7, al., Eur. *Hec.* 500, Call. fr. 194.52, A.R. 2.672, Rufinus *AP* 5.103.3 = 37.3 Page, al. The meaning would be "Phlious of an older generation". Alternatively Alc. fr. 140.4-7 mentions helmets using white horse-hair as plumes, cf. Ar. *Frogs* 1016 (quoted above) and Xen. *Cyrop.* 7.1.1 (Cyrus and his suite on their horses) λευκοῖς λόφοις. This application would prompt the image of Phlious, who was one of the Argonauts, as a warrior. At the same time, however, λευκός is the adj. applied to women's flesh and Ar. regularly uses it of homosexuals in the sense "womanish".<sup>16</sup> Anacr.'s λευκολόφος Erxion might be an effeminate beloved of the poet. The adj. may refer to Phlious' womanish features, as inherited by him from his effeminate father. This may be an established feature of his personality, cf. Val. Flacc. 1.411-2 *et quem fama genus non est decepta Lyaei / Phlias immissus patrios de vertice crines*, 3.148-9 *gravis ... / Phlias* in a battle scene, Orph. *Arg.* 196 (Phlias) ἄμωμον ἔχοντα δέμας καὶ ἐπίφρονα μῆτιν. Dionysus' long hair and white complexion were features of his effeminacy, cf. Eur. *Bac.* 453-9 with Dodds ad loc., Nonn. *D.* 17.185, and on effeminate long hair see K. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*, London 1978, 78. Cycnus, a Priamid killed by Achilles when the Achaeans first landed at Troy, is referred to by Theoc. 16.49 as θῆλυν ἀπὸ χροιάς and the Schol. (328.9-10 Wendel) προποῦνδ λευκὸς γὰρ ἦν τὴν χροιάν ἐκ γενετῆς, ὡς φησιν Ἑλλάνικος (*FGH* 4 F 148). [Hes.] fr. 237 = Schol. Theoc. *ibid.* record a different derivation: Ἡσίδοδος δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχειν αὐτόν φησι λευκὴν· διὸ καὶ ταύτης τῆς κλήσεως ἔτυχεν. Similarly Achilles in Bion fr. 2.16f., transvested to avoid recruitment for service at Troy, was weaving χερὶ λευκᾷ and blushing χιονέαις .. παρηΐσι, Nonn. *D.* 11.223 (Asterios, an eromenos of Dionysus, with) λευκὸν .. δέμας.

<sup>16</sup> See Ussher on *Eccl.* 63-4, J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse*, Oxford<sup>2</sup>1991, 211. Λευκός may as well apply to men simply to denote beauty (in *Il.* 11.573 not even that) without any implications of homosexuality, cf. Theoc. 20.24, Bion *Epit. Adon.* 8-10, Long. 1.16.1, 2.4.1. Defence of swarthy (mostly feminine) complexion is a witty Hellenistic motif taken up by the Romans, see G-P on Philod. *GPh* 8.1-2, E. Courtney, *LCM* 15 (1990), 117-8, Cameron (1995), 233-6.

The distichon is a brief digression on Phlius, a small Doric town in the Argolid. It is quoted in Steph. Byz. in a lemma which strongly resembles Schol. A.R. 1.115 (16.17-21 Wendel) πόλις Πελοποννήσου ἡ Ἀραιθυρέα, ἡ νῦν ὀνομαζομένη Φλιοῦς ἀπὸ Φλιοῦντος τοῦ Διονύσου καὶ Χθονοφύλλης. ... καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Διόνυσος Φλιοῦς ὀνομάζετο ἀπὸ τοῦ φλεῖν τὸν οἶνον, ὃ ἐστὶν εὐθηνεῖν. Steph. draws on it (via Orus' *Ethnica*? See Wendel (1932), 90f., esp. 93-4) and \*Campbell wondered "if the Philetas quotation once stood in the Scholium (from Theon?)". This is all the more probable since in addition to the verbal similarities these two are the only ancient sources explicitly deriving Φλιοῦς from φλέω "abound", a connection that may be relevant to the Philetan context. Phlius is not mentioned in the *Catalogue of Ships*, though its name is attested in Mycenaean, see Chantraine *DE* s.v. φλέω. It was later identified with Homeric Araithyrea, *Il.* 2.571, A.R. 1.115, the ruins of which were still there in late Hellenistic times, cf. Strabo 8.6.24, Paus. 2.12.5 and see Erbse on Schol. *Il.* 2.571 (I.306).

Despite its size Phlius played an active role in the historic events of classical times and was rewarded with an enthusiastic praise by Xen. *Hell.* 7.2.1 ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῶν μὲν μεγάλων πόλεων, εἴ τι καλὸν ἔπραξαν, ἅπαντες οἱ συγγραφεῖς μέμνηται· ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ, καὶ εἴ τις μικρὰ πόλις οὔσα πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἔργα διαπέπρακται, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἄξιον εἶναι ἀποφαίνειν. Φλειάσιοι τοίνυν etc. But Phlius principally distinguished itself in the cultural life of classical Greece. There were claims for a Phliasian origin of Pythagoras' ancestors, Paus. 2.13.1. Timon the Sillographer (*SH* 775-848) was a Phliasian, as were the philosopher Asclepiades, cf. Crates *SH* 348, and above all Pratinas, who was said to have invented the satirical play in Phlius before introducing it in Athens, cf. Diosc. *HE* 22.3, 23.4, see Meyer 282-3. It is mostly because of its former cultural radiance that it is mentioned by Hellenistic poets. But the vast new conquests and the resultant cosmopolitanism led small places like Phlius to degradation and neglect.<sup>17</sup>

Ph. had some good reasons for bringing Phlius back into the limelight in *Demeter*. With any local historian in his hand he could not have failed to notice what a good parallel to Cos Phlius was. It was not sizable, but still important in cultural matters. As Cos it was a Doric town with a peaceful, conciliatory tradition between aboriginals and newcomers represented by the advent of Heraclids, cf. Paus. 2.13.1-2. Dissidents had to emigrate to Samos and Clazomenai. Significantly it also had a widespread cult of Demeter. Paus. 2.13.5 mentions a sanctuary of Demeter and Core in the

<sup>17</sup> On Phlius see Meyer, N. Pharaklas, *Φλειασία*, Athens 1972, and for an account of its history up to modern times J. Hopp in S. Läufer (ed.), *Griechenland. Lexikon der historischen Städte*, Munich 1989, 542-4.

Acropolis with a Demeter-statue nowadays identified with a small temple in the northern part of the town. Another temple of Demeter with "ancient" sitting statues lies in the southern part of Phlius, Paus. l.c., and a third lies in the nearby locality Celeai which had strong links with Eleusis, see Roscher II, 1294. Above all possible connections to Cos Phlius was reputed for its excellent wine. Dionysus' cult must have been important, see Meyer 288, and a proud local tradition held that the town was built by one of his sons. Demeter had strong links with Dionysus, the two representing the solid and liquid form of nutrition.<sup>18</sup> The fertility of the Phliasian plain makes *Araithyrea έρατεινή* in *Il.* 2.571 and its wine renders Argonaut Phlius άφνειός ... *Διώνύσοιο έκτητι / πατρός έοϋ* in *A.R.* 1.116-7. The fame of Phliasian wine exceeded the boundaries of the Argolid, cf. Antiphan. *PCG* 232.2 = *Athen.* 1.27d and even nowadays a vast vineyard stretches away around the modern village of Phleiasia, see R. Baladie, *Le Peloponnèse de Strabon*, Paris 1980, 181 n. 51. The importance of viticulture for Phlius is not least indicated by the golden-plated and honors-receiving she-goat established in the central market with the aim of placating the constellation "Goat" which *τὰς άμπέλους λυμαίνεται συνεχώς*, Paus. 2.13.6.

The Coan wine was just as famous. Cos, as most islands in the eastern Aegean (but not Samos) produced wine of high quality and reputation. Strabo 14.1.15 and 14.2.19 (Cos) *εϋκαρπος δέ πασα οϊνω δέ και άρίστη, καθάπερ Χιος και Λέσβος* twice put it side by side with the excellent wine of Chios and Lesbos. Literary and archaeological evidence suggests that the Coan wine-trade flourished from the 4th c. onwards. From *LSCG* 168.9 (Cos, 1st c.) we learn that the owners of *τοϊ άμπελοστατουντες*, skilled workmen of viticulture, were liable to taxation, as was very probably the wine production itself. Coan wine was also prescribed for various medicinal purposes. It still enjoyed a good name in Byzantine times, as it does nowadays.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> See Dodds on *Eur. Bac.* 274-285, Hopkinson on *Call. HyDem.* 70-1, J. Gerbeau - F. Vian, *Nonnus VII*, Budé 1992, 82-4 and for representations of both in art see L. Beschi, *LIMC* IV.I, 882.

<sup>19</sup> On Coan wine cf. also *Athen.* 1.33b and see Sh-W 236-41, Craik 16-7, Höghammar 35-6 and on its medicinal use P-H xliii-xliv, Sh-W 236 n. 1. For the excellent wine of Chios and Lesbos cf. *CEG* 606.5-6 (Athens, 4th c.) and see G-P on *Call. HE* 68. For the reputation of Coan wine in Byzantine times see Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινών Βίος και Πολιτισμός V*, Athens 1952, 125. For the production in modern times cf. Chatzivasileiou 29 n. 42 with interesting statistics: "Στά χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας ή εξαγωγή ετήσια ποσότητα σταφυλιών της Κω προς την Άλεξάντρεια της Αιγύπτου, αλλά και προς τὰ γύρω νησιά, άνερχόταν σε 8.000.000 όκάδες, με ετήσια έσοδα για τὸ νησί 3.000.000 γρόσια. Άπό ίταλικές στατιστικές τοϋ 1922 ... μαθαίνουμε ότι ή ετήσια παραγωγή σταφυλιών την εποχή εκείνη ήταν 23.000 στατήρες. Οί ίδιες στατιστικές μιλοϋσαν για σιτάρι 8.800 στατήρες, κριθάρι 11.000 στ., έλιές 4.000 στ., λαχανικά και φρούτα 12.400 στ.". Viticulture in Cos is in sharp decline

Without overlooking the local Demeter-cult, it seems that the opportunity for a Phlious-reference in *Demeter* is owed to wine. It is emphatically stated that Phlious was built by a son of Dionysus. A similar statement in A.R. links the prosperity of the town with its production of wine. This assumption gains further support by the role of wine in *HHD* 206-10:

τῇ δὲ δέπας Μετάνειρα δίδου μελιηδέος οἴνου  
 πλήσασ', ἢ δ' ἀνένευσ' οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν οἱ ἔφασκε  
 πίνειν οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, ἄνωγε δ' ἄρ' ἄλφι καὶ ὕδωρ  
 δοῦναι μίξασαν πτέμεν γληχῶνι τερεινῇ.  
 ἢ δὲ κυκεῶ τεύξασα θεῶ πόρεν ὡς ἐκέλευσε.

Demeter in principle refuses to drink anything, cf. Call. *HyDem.* 8, Ov. *Met.* 5.446-7, Nonn. *D.* 6.30-1, but she denounces wine-drinking in particular; οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν "because it is not in the order of nature", Richardson ad loc., "implies a ... divine sanction", id. on *Il.* 23.44, cf. also Diosc. *HE* 19.9-10 (Anacr.) καὶ ἐν Διοῦς ("Underworld") οἰνωμένος. Instead Demeter drinks the cyceon ὀσίης ἔνεκεν "for the sake of the rite" (v. 211), where Demeter "in founding the rite, is also acting as the prototype of the initiates and observing the prescription which she herself has created", Richardson ad loc. Her stand was indeed observed in ritual. Normally sacrifices to Demeter, as to other chthonic deities, were wineless (νηφάλια), see Wächter 109, A-H-S, Richardson on *HHD* 207. But Cos here is an exception; wine was a regular offering to Demeter in local cult, *HG* 1.60-1 (4th c.). In Phigalia ἀμπέλου καρπός was offered to Demeter too, Paus. 8.42.11, see Farnell III, 102, 302 n. 107 for other exceptions and Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 1.334 (farmer to Ceres) *cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho*.

The circumstances in *Demeter* would be similar to the ones in the Homeric hymn. Ph., who treats other Coan commodities, could hardly leave wine out, a product that granted Cos income from exports and fame abroad and not least because of the unusual, heretical offering of wine to Demeter in this island. Significantly in the elegant Theoc. 7.147 Phrasidamus and Antigene, two Coan nobles, celebrate their private festival of Demeter by drinking four-year old wine. One cannot tell if Demeter's aversion to wine, an attitude contradictory to her relation with Dionysus, was appeased in Ph., but probability suggests that at least her Coan hosts would not abstain from it. As Dionysus boasts in Nonn. *D.* 12.260 οἴνου μὴ παρεόντος ἀτερπέα δεῖπνα τραπέζης. The goddess, as in local cult, would have to bear with the

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nowadays: in 1965 were cultivated 4.000 acres, in 1975 2.400 acres and in 1995 only 1.200. The wine production has fallen from 453 tonnes in 1981 to ca 160 tonnes in 1995.



irregularity. The obvious occasion for a distichic digression on Phlious would be given in the table-conversation between Demeter and her hosts. The reference would come up at the right moment to remind Demeter of another place where her cult is practised as widely as viticulture. As Pyxa (modern Asphendiou) is nowadays the main wine-producing area in Cos and most probably was in antiquity too, see Sh-W 241, this fragment should belong to the same context as fr. 11, which is part of an aetion for Pyxa's name conceivably recounted after dinner.

In addition, the very name of Phlious implies fertility of soil, cf. Hesych. s.v. φλιοῦς ἢ τῶν καρπῶν ἔκχυσις and prompts a connection with φλεῖν "abound", attested in extant literature only in Aesch. Ag. 377, 1416 both times in genitive absolute, a usage that makes it look like a fossilised form, cf. Plut. *quaest. conv.* 5.8.3, p. 683e τὸ γὰρ ἄγαν ἀκμάζειν καὶ τεθληθέναι φλοίειν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν λέγεσθαι quoting Antim. fr. 37 (Thebes) φλοίουσαν ὀπώραις which varies *Od.* 11.192 τεθαλυῖα τ' ὀπώρα. Crucially, the only ancient sources directly linking the town's name with φλεῖν are Schol. A.R. 1.115 via Διόνυσος Φλιοῦς whence Steph. Byz. s.v. Φλιοῦς, both of them related to the Philetan fragment. One would think that the derivation of Φλιοῦς from φλεῖν would first be established in the Philetan context. This would be the Coan's ironic comment on the abundance of commodities on Chalcon's feasting table, despite the famine. The effect of affluence is remarkably intensified by a studied flow of φ-λ-ι-ς sounds: Φλιοῦς .. πόλις ... φίλος .. / Φλιοῦς ... λευκολόφος.<sup>20</sup> To produce this effect Ph. indulges in the anachronism of calling the town Phlious, not Araithyrea. The name of this town links Dionysus and Demeter in another way too, as it prompts their shared cult-attributes as deities of vegetation, Demeter Φλειά and Dionysus Φλιοῦς, Φλῖος, Φλεύς on which see Roscher III, 2383 s.v. Phleon, J. Schmidt, *RE* XX (1941), 269, 290, Chantraine *DE* s.v. Φλεύς. In an inscription from Ephesus Δημητριασταὶ καὶ Διονύσου Φλέω μύσται appear together. In Nonn. *D.* 21.80 Φλειώ is the name of a maenad, see N. Hopkinson, *Nonnus* VIII, Budé 1993, 52-3.

<sup>20</sup> The alliteration can also imply an overflow of words, cf. Hesych. s.v. φλυάσσει· φλυαρεῖ, ληρεῖ, *LSJ* s.v. φλέδων, φλύω. A.R. 2.393-4 φέρβονται Φίλυρες· Φιλύρων δ' ἐφύρπεθεν ἕασι / Μάκρωνες seems to make this point and might owe something to our passage. It occurs in a lengthy speech by Phineus after dining with the Argonauts. In direct speech it covers more than ninety verses, A.R. 2.317-407, and is rich in alliterations, cf. vv. 316, 322-3, 330, al. Φίλυρες might have prompted a reminiscence of Φλιοῦς. The alliteration would stress Phineus' bubbling and would make a pertinent point since the *aphradie* for which he was severely punished by the gods was his protracted and detailed prophecies (v. 314 χρείων ἐξείης τε καὶ ἐς τέλος) threatening to undermine respect to the gods, cf. 2.246, 311-6. A similar alliteration in Simias *CA* 7 αἰθέρος ὠκεῖται πρόπολοι πιλναντο Πέλειαι aims at portraying the flapping of the birds.

The fragment was earlier ascribed to *Demeter* on false grounds. "Cum Dysaules, Celei frater, Phliasiam Cereris religionem condidisse crederetur, fieri potuit, ut de rebus Phlasiis Philetas in Cerere nonnulla exponeret", Maass (1895a), IX n. 5. He founded this ascription on Paus. 2.14.2 but this passage refers not to Phlious but to Celeai, a locality five stades away. So Nowacki 72 demolished his argument. Maass had meanwhile convinced Powell and Körte whom Händel (<sup>2</sup>1960), 253 did not correct. Cessi 132-3 thought that Demeter goes around the Peloponnese and Ph. touches on the archaeology of different places. H. Stadtmüller, *BPhW* 15 (1897), 453 advanced the wild theory that this distich is part of a passage dealing with the origins of the Nemean Games and the death of Archemorus deducing his argument from Prop. 2.34.37-8. \*Campbell entertains the possibility of the lines belonging to *Telephus*: since Phlious' homeland is linked to "Corcyra", scene of the Jason/Medea marriage treated in *Telephus*, Phlious could be mentioned in this connection. In A.R. 4.566-571 Poseidon snatches away Cercyra, a daughter of Asopus, ἑκὰς Φλειουντίδος αἴης. Apollonius displaces young Cercyra from Alcinous' island to Κέρκυραν ... Μελαίναν, an island south of Dubrovnik. "It may be that Apollonius hereabouts is taking issue with Ph. in more than one respect (note also Ph. "white", Apollonius "black")". Ingenious though the proposal is, the Apollonian text does not offer a touch of polemic. ἑκὰς Φλειουντίδος αἴης is true for both Cercyrai. "Far away from home" belongs to the conventions of elopement. In Ph. emphatic "Dionysus' own son ... who himself etc." points to wine-growing Phlious, as in A.R. 1.115-7. Moreover, we do not know what Ph. called Alcinous' island. Phliasian Cercyra would rather not be mentioned in relation to a name other than anachronistic *Cercyra*, admittedly used by Call. fr. 12.4 with Pf. ad loc., cf. *HyDel.* 156, but *Drepane* in fr. 14 as always in A.R.

If anything this distich sufficiently exhibits the interest of the erudite poet in foundation legends. Learned poets were familiar with the regional geography, history and mythology of the Greek world and particularly of towns in mainland Greece, Asia Minor and the Aegean sea. Out of this interest a separate, now almost entirely lost genre of epic poetry and historiography arose. It is from this point of view that these lines are echoed in Call. *HyAp.* 56-7 in a passage dealing with Apollo *ktistes*, see *Dem.-Disc.* ad loc.

## Fr. 11 (SH 673)

αὐτὰρ ὃ γε ~ ~ - γυμνὸν ἄεμμα ~ -

E. Lobel, POxy. 2258 A fr. 2 back, marg. ad Call. *HyAp.* 33 (s. p.C. VI/VII) <ἄεμμα :-> τ[ὸ] τόξον κ(αι) Φιλί-| [τας ἐν] Δήμητρι· αὐτα εγει ].. γυμνὸν ἄεμμα ]. (suppl. Lobel).

"post αὐτα spatium vacuum (littera una angustiore non amplius), deinde ε dispexit Lobel neque intellexit; nos dubitantissime, ut in atramento evanido, de αὐτα.ογε cogitamus, ut sit αὐτὰρ ὃ γε", *SH* ad loc. αὐτὰρ ὄγε / <εἴλκυσε> γυμνὸν ἄεμμα e.g. malit A. S. Hollis

**αὐτὰρ ὃ γε** usually refers to what precedes and is only rarely prospective, see Gow on Theoc. 7.94f. It draws attention to a new turn in an episode in progress. *Αὐτὰρ* is epic, "adversative" or "weakly adversative, or purely progressive", Denniston *GP*, 55. ο or ε are not always easily distinguishable on papyri, cf. e.g. Simon. *IEG* 20.4. A. S. Hollis would prefer to see this as the end of a pentameter followed by the start of a hexameter cl. Posid. *SH* 705.21 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ / γήραϊ μυστικὸν οἴμον ἐπὶ Ῥαδάμανθου ἰκοίμην and for a pentameter clausula ὄγε / Call. fr. 24.6.

**γυμνὸν ἄεμμα** varies *Od.* 11.607 / γυμνὸν τόξον ἔχων in a passage describing Heracles as Odysseus met him in Hades. Cf. on "nude" weapons *Od.* 21.416-7 ὠκὸν οἰστόν, ὃς οἱ παρέκειτο τραπέζῃ / γυμνός, Pind. *Nem.* 1.52, A.R. 1.1254 γυμνὸν ... ξίφος ~ 4.465 and Nonn. *D.* 22.160, 306, Theoc. 22.146 γυμναὶ μάχαιραι, Xen. *Ages.* 2.14, Aen. Tact. 27.9, and see Livrea on A.R. 4.465, *DGE* s.v. I.1 ad fin. and in Latin see *OLD* s.v. nudus (6). With γυμνόν "out of its bow-case" contrast *Od.* 21.53-4 τόξον / αὐτῷ γωρυτῷ, Antim. fr. 108 with Matthews ad loc. and F-G 137-8.

**ἄεμμα** Hesych. α 1363 ἄεμμα· τόξον, ἰμάτιον (the second explanation is a product of confusion with Hesych. γ 319 γέμματα· ἰμάτια (Latte)). First in Ph. (of Heracles?), whence Call. applies it to two famous archers, *HyAp.* 33 to Apollo and *HyArt.* 10 to Artemis. It subsequently disappears, see Schmitt 102 n. 15, Williams on Call. *HyAp.* 33. K. Kuiper, *Studia Callimachea* I, Leiden 1896, 51 first sensed a Cretan origin for the word. The Cretans were famous archers and Kuiper's intuition derives support from Call. *HE* 61.1 where a Cretan archer Ἐχέμμας = ὃς ἔχει ἄεμμα appears,<sup>21</sup> cf.

<sup>21</sup> The intended etymology was first noticed by K. Ziegler, *RPh* 77 (1938), 79-80. Ἐχέμμας is in fact a Dorian diminutive of Ἐχεμένης, see Masson *OGS* I, 259-266, esp. 263-4. On the gemination see von Kamptz 21-2 and Masson *OGS* II, 549-561, esp. 556-7. On Cretan archers cf. *GVI* 1811.4-5 (Telos,

also in Call. *HyAp.* 33 the meaningful ἄμμα τὸ Λύκτιον = τὸ Κρητικόν from the name of a Cretan village. It is related to ἄμμα "cord" and should rather be another dialect-gloss which Ph. used in *Demeter*, than simply an erudite term known only to Ph. and Call. No Cretan glosses are included in the extant fragments of *Ataktoi*. A Cypriot gloss is treated in fr. 30 K. Simias *CA* 27 = Athen. 7.327e-f discusses the name of a fish in the dialect of Crete, Posid. (?) Adesp. Pap. Eleg. *SH* 961.5 employs a Cretan gloss and δρόμος "gymnasium" in Call. *Hec.* fr. 71.3 is said to be Cretan too. Interestingly the wife of Merops and mother of Cos was called Ἐχέμεια, a Nymph whose fate was in a way similar to Persephone's, as she was targeted – ironically – by the arrows of Artemis when she neglected the goddess and was eventually abducted to Hades by Persephone while she was still alive.<sup>22</sup>

The way this marginal comment is preserved on the 6th/7th c. A.D. papyrus does not allow any certainty about metrical form. The extent of the quotation does not allow certainty about the meaning either. The editors of *SH* postulated a pentameter ("fort. pentameter"). If the gaps are correctly supplemented in the first two lines then the gap in the third should be quite short as well. This is more probable than the alternative possibility favoured by E. Livrea, *Gnomon* 75 (1985), 597 who placed γυμνὸν ἄμμα "potius in fine hexametri" cl. Call. *HyArt.* 10 εὐκαμπὲς ἄμμα/. This does not seem to be compatible with the gaps and the Callimachean phrase is not indicative for Ph., as it is meant to vary καμπύλα τόξα/, 5x clausula in Homer.

Who is likely to be holding a bow in *Demeter*? The Philetan phrase varies a Homeric one picked up from a passage on Heracles, *Od.* 11.606-8 ὃ δ' ἔρεμνῆ νυκτὶ εἰοικώς, / γυμνὸν τόξον ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ νευρῆφιν οἰστόν, / δεινὸν παπταίνων, αἰεὶ βαλέοντι εἰοικώς, see in general J. T. Hooker, *LCM* 5 (1980), 139-146. Schol. Theoc. 7.5-9f (79.6-7 Wendel), possibly summarising *Demeter* in a concise form, link Chalcon and Antagoras' reign with Heracles' siege of Cos and the reception of Demeter. Since the Dorian hero is linked to Cos, Ph. may be referring to him. He might have also absorbed something from the grotesque effect of an unprovokedly on the alert, almost panic-stricken Odyssean Heracles. Γυμνὸν already suggests readiness

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2nd c.) and see H. van Effentere, *La Crète et le monde grec*, Paris 1948, 180-5, G-P on Antip. Sid. *HE* 28.3, Bornmann on Call. *HyArt.* 81, N-H on Hor. *Odes* 1.15.17.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. on her Eur. *Hel.* 381f. (involving metamorphosis), EM 507.55, Hyg. *Astr.* 2.16 (these may suggest a Hellenistic treatment) and see O. Dibelius, *Quaestiones Coae mythologicae*, Greifswald 1891, 16, Escher, *RE* V (1905), 1912-3, S. Jackson, *ZPE* 110 (1996), 45. The Coans might have liked to tell Demeter a story similar to hers from their own mythical past, in which Persephone was the heartless abductor.

for a warlike involvement. Of such a character were indeed Heracles' proceedings in Cos.

Initially he besieged and sacked Troy because of king Laomedon's failure to grant him some of his divine horses, the promised reward for Heracles saving his daughter Hesione from a sea-monster, see Kirk on *Il.* 5.640-2. On the way back a tumultuous sea caused by Hera led him to Cos. The incident is well established in epic poetry and mythological tradition.<sup>23</sup> In *Il.* 14.250f. Hypnos does not report more than Heracles' advent to the island. In *Il.* 15.24f. Zeus adds that he had to rescue Heracles and get him back to Argos. We still do not learn much about his proceedings in Cos.<sup>24</sup> [Hes.] fr. 43a.60-3 when he comes to mention Eurypylus in the *Heoia* of Mestra gives in a concise form the panhellenic version of the myth:

τοῦ δ' υἱεῖς Χάλκων τε καὶ Ἀνταγόρης ἐγένοντο.  
 τῷ δέ<sup>25</sup> καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀλίγης Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱὸς  
 ἔπραθεν ἡμερόεντα πόλιν, κε[ρ]αίε δὲ κώμας  
 εὐθύ[ς ἐπ]εῖ Τροίηθεν ἀνέ[πλε]ε γηυσ[ί] θ[ο]ήσι.

The trifling reason (ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὀλίγης) for which Heracles sacked Cos is not clear. It might be that he was mistaken for a pirate as [Apollod.] says. The information

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *Il.* 14.250f., 15.24f., [Hes.] *Heoiai* fr. 43a.61f., Pind. *Nem.* 4.26 with Schol. (III.70.9-18 Drachmann), *Isth.* 6.31-2 and apparently more detailed in fr. 33a, Schol. *Il.* 14.255 (III.622 Erbse) = Pherec. *FGH* 3 F 78, Adesp. Pap. Hex. *SH* 903A, Schol. A.R. 1.1300-5b (118.15-8 Wendel) = Nic. fr. 15, Dionys. Bass. *Gig.* fr. 71, see D. Marcotte, *ZPE* 75 (1988), 53-6, [Apollod.] 2.7.1, Ov. *Met.* 7.363-4, Plut. *quaest. gr.* 58, p. 304 c-d, Eustath. *Comm. Il.* 983.33-5 (III.633 van der Valk), see C. Robert, *Die griech. Heldensagen* II.2, Berlin 1924, 561-4, Sh-W 317-320, Prinz 86-8, F. Brommer, *Herakles* II, Darmstadt 1984, 63, Janko on *Il.* 14.250-261. Heracles appears on Coan coins and enjoyed an ancient and widespread cult as a god in Cos, cf. *HG* 3 = *IdC* ED 140 (4th c.), *HG* 10 (ca 300).

<sup>24</sup> Evidently the *Il.*-poet draws on a *Gigantomachy* or *Heracleia* and the incident is familiar to his audience, if for anything else because of the grotesque consequences it entailed for Hera. Vian (1992) postulated the existence of a *Heracleia* dealing with the triad Ilioupersis / Landing on Cos / Gigantomachy and proposed Pisander of Camiros (Rhodes, ca 600) as its most likely author. That there was an archaic poem known to Hes. fr. 43a.61-5 treating these subjects is beyond any doubt, cf. also Xenoph. *IEG* 1.21. Heracles is one of the beyond-the-Trojan-cycle figures that the collective mood of the *Il.*-poet extensively absorbed, see W. Kullmann, *Das Wirken der Götter in der Ilias*, Berlin 1956, 25-35, Kirk on *Il.* 8.363, J. Griffin, *Homer, Iliad IX*, Oxford 1995, 4-5.

<sup>25</sup> The v.l. τῶν δέ is a simplification due to misunderstanding of the text. At the time of Heracles' landing in Cos, its leader in [Hes.], as in most versions, is Eurypylus. Despite *SH* p. 407 τῷ δέ should refer to him, see Vian (1992), 135 n. 16, rather than to his sons and successors.

of Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4.26 (III.70.16-8 Drachmann) that Heracles sacked Cos because of his passion for Chalchiope is a typical Hellenistic invention. What followed Heracles' victory is not clear either. Some brutality is suggested by Hes.'s wording (ἄλκιμος υἱός / ἔπραθεν ... κε[ρ]άιξε) and in a tough version exculpating Heracles as a criminal Pherec. reports that he not only killed Eurypylus but also his sons and raped his daughter Chalchiope.

[Apollod.]'s version is a milder one in the line of [Hes.] containing some interesting details: προσέπλει δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τῇ Κῶ καὶ νομίσαντες αὐτὸν οἱ Κῶοι ληστρικὸν ἄγειν στόλον, βάλλοντες λίθοις προσπλεῖν ἐκώλυον. ὁ δὲ βιασάμενος αὐτὴν νυκτὸς εἶλε, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Εὐρύπυλον, Ἀστυπάλαιας παῖδα καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἔκτεινεν. ἐτρώθη δὲ κατὰ τὴν μάχην Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ Χαλκῶδοντος, καὶ Διὸς ἐξαρπάσαντος αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἔπαθε. πορθήσας δὲ Κῶ ἦκε δι' Ἀθηνᾶς εἰς Φλέγραν, καὶ μετὰ θεῶν κατεπολέμησε Γίγαντας. In relation to this Schol. Theoc. 7.130-1d (109.22-3 Wendel) supply the important information that the Coan deme of Pyxa was named after Heracles' flight when the Coans launched a sudden attack on him: <Πύξα : δῆμος τῆς Κῶ> (suppl. Ahrens) φύξα τις ὧν ἐκεῖθεν γὰρ ἔφυγεν Ἡρακλῆς αἴφνης ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν Κῶων, cf. Schol. *ibid.* 130-1e (110.1-3 Wendel).<sup>26</sup> [Apollod.]'s account is quite different from the one envisaged in the Theocritean Schol. In [Apollod.] Heracles kills Eurypylus; in Schol. Theoc. 7.5-9f (79.6-8 Wendel) his sons have already succeeded him (conveniently evading his death by Heracles' sword). In [Apollod.] Heracles is stoned to be prevented from entering the harbour (βάλλοντες λίθοις προσπλεῖν ἐκώλυον). During the night he sacks Cos and in a duel with Chalcon he is wounded and has to be rescued by Zeus, an element already extant in *Il.* 15.29-30. In the Schol. Zeus is not involved at all: Heracles flees in panic. In [Apollod.] Chalcodon is in defence: in the Schol. he is in a surprise attack.

<sup>26</sup> See Arnott (1979), 102, Zanker (1980), 374. Local inscriptions and the popular etymology suggest Φύξα. All MSS in Theoc. 7.136 and *HG* 16.11-2 (3rd c.) transmit Πύξας which Wil. *HD* II, 138 thought was a deliberate change of Theoc. – to manifest disapproval of the popular etymology admitted by Ph.? The original form is Πύξα from the Asia Minor plant πύξος "box", see Herzog, *HG*, 41. Schol. Theoc. 7.130/1a (109.17-8 Wendel) Πύξας : οἱ μὲν τὸν ἐν Κῶ δῆμον· οἱ δὲ τόπον, ἐν ᾧ ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἀφ' οὗ Πύξιος λέγεται talk of the cult of Apollo Φύξιος. Oblique references to Apollo in Pyxa could be extant in Ph. A link between Apollo and Heracles, perhaps insignificant, already appears in *Od.* 11.606 (Heracles) ἐρεμνῇ νυκτὶ εὐικῶς/ from *Il.* 1.47 (Apollo) ἦε νυκτὶ εὐικῶς/. Call. employs ἄεμμα of Apollo. In Coan cult the two coexist in Pyxa, see Herzog, *HG*, 20, Sh-W 59 and share a sanctuary in Halasarna, the dominant cult being that of Apollo, see Sh-W 319-320. The tutelary deities of the Coan Gymnasium, hallmark of Hellenism in Hellenistic times, were Apollo and Heracles. The statue of Delian Apollo in Call. fr. 114 is also related to the Meropian days of Cos, see S. Jackson, *ZPE* 110 (1996), 43-8.

In [Apollod.] the confrontation of the two seems to have taken place in the harbour of the town of Cos: in the Schol. in Pyxa, four miles SW of the Coan capital, see Gow on Theoc. 7.130, Sh-W 59. Things could not be different though since the application of the false etymology is posterior to the naming of the Coan deme. In [Apollod.] Heracles still forcibly conquers Cos (πορθήσας δὲ τὴν Κῶ), while the local version would rather enhance a compromising solution, stressing the fact that the fight erupted because of a misunderstanding.

The Coan version would then be substantially different from any other. There is no hostile intention against Heracles. He is attacked only because he is mistaken for a pirate. Since he launches a counter-attack his advent had to be resisted. Emphasis is laid on the fact that, although he killed Eurypylos granting him a heroic death, he was forced to flee by Chalcodon. Heracles then returns victorious against the Meropes (νυκτὸς εἶλε in [Apollod.] is of some importance) and the confrontations end in a draw. Subsequently he has to come to terms with them. A conciliatory marriage between him and Eurypylos' daughter Chalciopé produced Thessalus as an offspring (*Il.* 2.679, Plut. *quaest. gr.* 58, p. 304d), thus founding a new dynasty and making Coan nobles proud of their pedigree. That Cos did not have to submit to Heracles by force, but by a peaceful settlement should be a distinct feature in the local version. The etymology advanced in the Schol. is a popular one fitting Coan pride, to which Ph. often makes concessions. Φόζα which the Coans referred to Heracles is a disreputable term (*AR* 4.5 uses it of Medea's flight) applying to the panic flight of the cowards. Aristarchus noted that it is used ἐπὶ τῆς μετὰ δειλίας φυγῆς, see Erbse on Schol. *Il.* 9.2b (*Il.* 394-5).

The piece of information about Pyxa seems to have been supplied by Nicanor, the Coan commentator of Ph., and have been perpetuated through Theon, see P-H 356, C. Wendel, *RE* XVIII (1936), 273. Nicanor is mentioned by name in Schol. Theoc. 7.5-9k and is likely to have contributed in the surviving Schol. on other Coan localities too. POxy. 2258A transmitting the fragment may directly draw on Salustius, an undated (Wil. suggested a 4th/5th c. date) commentator of Call., as Pfeiffer II, xxix suggested, see also Hollis 37. Here he is very probably commenting on a Philetan text describing the victorious Coan assault on Heracles in Pyxa and the conjecture that this fragment is derived from that specific passage suggests itself. Ph. would not treat the full story but would focus on the episode in Pyxa drawing attention to the fact that intrepid Heracles suffered a humiliating defeat by legendary Coan leaders. In *Demeter* the crimes of Heracles in Cos, extant in most versions, would have to be suppressed (cf. Eurypylos' convenient death prior to his advent).

Names of places in the periphery of Greece were often explained in connection with leading mythological figures, see on fr. 10.1. So *Psycterios* in Thrace was named ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀναψύξαντος τὸν ἰδρῶτα ἐν τῷ καταπαλαῖσαι τὸν Ἀδραμύλῃν as

A.R. recounted in his *Foundation of Cnidus* CA 6. Another Heracles-story might have been included in A.R. *Foundation of Rhodes*, an island which also had a tradition of a Heracles-visit, see Schmid 75 and on Heracles on Rhodes Prinz 88f. Such stories linking remote places with heroes of panhellenic stature were regular in local traditions and Foundation-poetry always paid attention to them: A.R. (if the fragment is by him) e.g. dealt with Achilles' siege and capture of Lesbos in his *Foundation of Lesbos* CA 12. Their usefulness is evident, as they confirmed the role of the periphery in the official Greek history and mythology. Ph. had good reasons to discuss Heracles' advent in Cos: it is an incident sanctioned in epic tradition and the protagonists are a prominent figure of Greek legend confronting a Coan noble. An inscription of the 1st c. A.D. *IdC* EV 224 shows that some Coans traced their noble ancestry back to Heracles with a precise computation of the generations elapsed, see G. Pugliese-Caratelli, "ΑΠΟΓΟΝΟΙ ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΟΥΣ" in *Studi ... M. Gigante*, Naples 1994, 543-7. With this, as with other references, Ph. advances his aim to write a poem of panhellenic character and offers a further insight into the parentage of the nobility of his own time, cf. Call. fr. 75.50f. on the Acontiadaï, a powerful family in 3rd c. Ioulis.

An unexplained allusion to Heracles on Cos in Ov. *Met.* 7.363-4 (Medea's flight through the Greek world) *Eurypylique urbem, qua Coae cornua matres / gesserunt, tum cum discederet Hercules agmen* is probably derived from a Coan treatment of this subject, and perhaps from Ph. This Ovidian passage is replete with obscure mythological allusions. *Discederet* may be related to Heracles' φύξα and note that Homeric *Il.* 2.677 Κῶν, Εὐρυπύλου πόλιν occurs before Ov. only in Hermesian. CA 7.75 Εὐρυπύλου πολιῆται / Κῶοι, which might reflect an expression of the Coan.

On what occasion would Heracles' advent to Cos be treated in *Demeter*? Ph.'s was not a *ktisis*-poem aiming to relate in detail all legends associated with Coan archaeology. It seems that Demeter visited Chalcon's palace: from this section of the poem may come fr. 8, 9, 10. After the typical hospitality-offering, garrulous host and (occasionally) guest tell stories until late in the night, see Hollis 343. Chalcon would have found the opportunity to introduce himself and selectively offer a retrospective view of the deeds of himself and of his ancestors. Demeter would have her own corresponding section later in the *locus amoenus*. The interest would focus on Coan subjects. Alternatively, it would be possible for the Heracles-episode in Pyxa to be narrated by Chalcon – rather than in a digression by the poet – on the spot as Demeter and her companion(s) approached the Coan locality.



## Fr. 12 (CA 21; Demeter?)

## νήχυτον ὕδωρ

EM 602.40 νή· στερητικόν ἐστίν ἐπίρρημα· ὁράται δὲ καὶ ἐπιτατικόν ὡς ἐν τῷ νηλής, νήνεμος, νήχυτον ὕδωρ Φιλήτας.

**νήχυτον** A Philetan coinage that established itself in the sense "abundant". It is formally coined on the one hand on the basis of Homeric νη- compounds such as νήγρετος etc. and on the other on Homeric -χυτος adj., such as ἀμφίχυτος, see B-P 524. Derivatives of χέω, νάω or ρέω are commonly used of the flow of water. In Homer, nevertheless, the substantive χύσις is only used of leaves, *Od.* 5.483 φύλλων ... χύσις, and only later of water, A.R. 4.1416, Arat. 393, see Kost on Musae. 327. The verbal adj. χυτός in Homer always refers to a burial mound, see Richardson on *Il.* 23.256, but cf. later Eur. *Cycl.* 66 κρήναις παρ' ὑδροχύταις, etc. Prefix νη- has normally a negative force, see Chantraine *DE* s.v. ν-, νε-, but an artificial Hellenistic interpretation saw in it an augmentative nuance, cf. Schol. A.R. 3.530 (234.18-9 Wendel with loc. sim.) νήχυτον ὕδωρ· τὸ πολύχυτον· τὸ γὰρ νη- καὶ στέρησιν σημαίνει καὶ ἐπίτασιν, Hesych. ν 552 νήχυτον· πολύ. Ph.'s usage ranks him as the initiator of this erroneous interpretation, which would find application in his interpretation of certain Homeric passages too. Surprisingly enough Aristarchus shared this view and understood νηλιτεῖς in *Od.* 16.317 = 19.498 ~ 22.418 (women slaves) αἶ τε σ' ἀτιμάζουσιν καὶ αἱ νηλιτεῖς εἰσιν as πολυαμάρτητοι, cf. also Schol. *Od.* 1.380 (I.65 Dindorf) νήποινοι· πολύποινοι. The idea is a derivative of the double power of other prefixes such as α-, which sometimes puzzled Hellenistic philologists, as with ἀξύλω in *Il.* 11.155, see Hainsworth ad loc. and in general Chantraine *DE* s.v. ἀ, ἄ. The intensifying force of ζα- (Aeolic δια- used mainly in composition), as in ζαχρηής, ζάθεος etc. was though never set in doubt.

**νήχυτον ὕδωρ** The *iunctura* immediately appealed to learned Hellenistic poets: A.R. 3.530 νήχυτον ὕδωρ/ takes it up *verbatim* but applies it to sea-water, then Claud. *Gig.* 25 (thirsty giant wants to drink νήχυτον ὕδωρ/), Musae. 247. Call. *Hec.* fr. 11 νήχυτος εὐρώς/ and Nic. *Alex.* 587 νήχυτον ἰδρῶ/ directly echo Ph., see also Livrea on A.R. 4.1367, Hollis on *Hec.* l.c. and in Imperial poetry Kost on Musae. 247. Variations of form are Nic. *Alex.* 174 ἀχύνετον ὕδωρ whence Dionys. Bass. Fr. Dub. 82 λύσσαν ἀχύνετον, and Orph. *Arg.* 39 = 312 ἐπινήχυτα δῶρα/. From the Homeric hapax use of καταχεύω of water in *Il.* 14.435 καὶ δὲ οἱ ὕδωρ χεῦαν, cf. then Ar. *Peace* 971, *Thesm.* 487, Theoc. 1.7 coins καταχεῦς ὕδωρ. Nonn. never uses νήχυτον, but emulates

it in *D.* 19.346 Σιληνοῦ ζαχύτοιο, cf. 14.425, al. χυτὸν ὕδωρ ~ Opp. *Hal.* 1.413; the adj. might also lurk in *D.* 11.426 νήριθμον ὕδωρ, 48.602 νήδυμον ὕδωρ/, cf. also Hippocr. in Galen 19.91 γήχυτον glossed by Hesych. γ 541 as τὸ ἀπαλὸν τῆς γῆς, which might be of poetic provenance. The incidences in Hellenistic hexameter leave no doubt about the metrical position of this phrase.

G. Knaack, *Hermes* 23 (1888), 136 n. 1 and \*Campbell wanted to ascribe this fragment to *Telephus*, in which some facets of the Jason-Medea story were treated, on the grounds of *verbatim* repetition in A.R. 3.530 φάρμαχ' ὄσ' ἤπειρός τε φύει καὶ νήχυτον ὕδωρ/ in a passage dealing with Medea's magical powers. Cessi 137 ascribed it to *Demeter*: "De Burina fonte optime haec dici poterant". His suggestion seems to be right. Demeter has strong links with water and water must have played a role in *Demeter*, as it is converted to an image of programmatic significance along with other Philetan images in Call. *HyAp.* 110-2 and Theoc. 7.136f. There is at hand a reference to Bourina in fr. 13; from Theoc. 7.6-7 it will be argued that Ph. described in his poem the creation of this Coan spring. An abundant gush of water is a typical element in scenes describing the creation of wells, cf. Antim. fr. 136.3 (Achilleus) τοῦ δ' ἔμπροσθε ποδῶν κρήνη γένηται ἀενάουσα, Call. *HyJov.* 31-2 (Rhea) πληξεν ὄρος σκήπτρω· τὸ δέ οἱ δίχα πολὺ διέστη, / ἐκ δ' ἔχεεν μέγα χεῦμα, fr. 546, A.R. 4.1446 (Heracles) λάξ ποδὶ τύπεν ἔνερθε· τὸ δ' ἀθρόον ἔβλυσεν ὕδωρ, 4.1148, Arat. 219-20 (Hippocrene) ἀλλ' Ἴππος μιν ἔτυψε· τὸ δ' ἀθρόον αὐτόθεν ὕδωρ / ἐξέχυτο, Q.S. 14.646-8 Αὐτὸς δ' ἄρα γαῖαν ἔνερθε / ῥῆξε Ποσειδάων, ἀνὰ δ' ἔβλυσεν ἄσπετον ὕδωρ / ἰλὺν τε ψάμαθόν τε, Nonn. *D.* 4.354-5, Orph. *Arg.* 598-600. The phrase then might originally derive from the passage describing the appearance of the Coan spring. Nowacki 82 had linked this and fr. 13 as parts of a bucolic poem in a Coan scenery. Bourina's waters and their connection with medicine would provide the necessary background for A.R.'s νήχυτον ὕδωρ used by Medea to produce magical drugs which, as Demeter, can even stop the rivers flowing, A.R. 3.532. The Philetan phrase might have once stood in a commentary on A.R. whence EM, well acquainted with that author, probably picked it up.

## Fr. 13 (CA 24; Demeter?)

νάσσατο δ' ἐν προχοῆσι μελαμπέτροιο Βουρίνης

Schol. Theoc. 7.6 (79.20-80.1 Wendel) Βούριναν : κρήνην λέγει τῆς Κῶ. Φιλιτᾶς δάσαντο etc.

1 δάσαντο codd. : νάσσατο Heinse : δάσσατο Kayser, alii alia σελαμπέτροιο codd. : μελαμπέτροιο Heinse : -τροις Nowacki : -τρον Hartung hex. finem interiisse proposuit Ahrens 2 Βουρρίνης (Βουρίνης) codd. : Βυρίνης Bach : Βορίνης Heinse

**νάσσατο** δάσαντο is senseless and the plural is in any case unacceptable. Heinse proposed **νάσσατο** which became widely accepted.<sup>27</sup> **Νάσσατο** is appropriate of wandering figures and often stands at the beginning of a hexameter from Hes. *WD* 639 onwards, cf. A.R. 4.1140, al., Dem. Bith. *CA* 6 and probably Call. fr. 43.114. The verb is usually used of rivers ("settled at the banks of"), lakes or hills, but here it could hardly have this meaning, as in Cos the area around Bourina could only be approached with great difficulty and was therefore uninhabited. The creation of Bourina may have been described at some length in *Demeter*, but this fragment calling her by name does not seem to come from that scene. We do not know to whom the verb refers, but Bourina is strongly associated with Demeter. Cultic **νάσσατο** would have a meaning, if Demeter is its subject and the "waters of Bourina" is a metonymy for "Cos" (as in Androm. *GDRK* 62.171, see p. 116 with n. 41) looking forwards to the *locus amoenus* scene next to Bourina; the line would stand at the beginning of the poem and the Scholiast of Theoc. would quote the first occurrence of the spring's name in Ph. A.R. uses the verb with a wide range of meanings "make inhabitable, establish" or "inhabit" or "make to inhabit", see Livrea on A.R. 4.275. In 4.988 Δηὼ γὰρ κείνη ἐνὶ δῆ ποτε νάσσατο γαίῃ Demeter "took residence" in Corfu and founded her cult, cf. Macris in 4.1140, Dike in Arat. 134, Lyc. 1041 (Telphusian Demeter) Λάδωνος ἀμφὶ ρεῖθρα ναίουσα, Nonn. *D.* 13.278 (Aristaeus) Μεροπηίδι νάσσατο νήσῳ and for the expression [Call.] Fr. Inc. Auct. 744 ὀνομακλείτ' / Βουθούη Δρίλωνος ἐπὶ προχοῆσιν ἐνάσθη. Kayser's 65 δάσσατο accepted by Diehl is unsuitable. Δατέομαι means "divide among ourselves" occurring in this sense only in plural or "distribute, apportion". The plural often occurs as a clausula in Homer but such a distribution of words is prohibited by the following δ', the violation of Hermann's bridge in the

<sup>27</sup> Wil. *Textg.*, 152, Nowacki and after Powell, Wendel, *LSJ* s.v. ναίω III, Webster 41, Livrea on A.R. 4.132, Bowie 77, Zanker 56, Thomas 42, Knox 73. Thomas 42-4 discussed the form and postulated as a subject a migrant whom he links with the "poor fisherman" (?) of *CA* 17, 20.

following hexameter and, in view of Demeter's famine, the unlikelihood of a verb related to a proper meal. No more likely seems the notion that someone distributed something to others near the waters of Bourina. As it seems, Chalcon and Demeter made a tour around Cos mindful more of Coan antiquities than of Persephone and being exhausted stopped to rest at an ideal Coan locality. Bourina would constitute part of this *locus amoenus* which is inadmissible of masses.

**ἐν προχοῆσι** In Homer προχοαί is the mouth of a river, *Il.* 17.263, *Od.* 5.453, al. but already in Hes. *WD* 757 the term can mean "flood, waters" or a river of a lake, see West ad loc., Bühler on Mosch. *Eur.* 31, Livrea on A.R. 4.132, Campbell on A.R. 3.67. Matthews 146 saw this meaning in some Homeric passages as *Od.* 11.242, 20.65. Ἐν προχοῆς is as Homeric as ἐπὶ προχοῆσι which is more suitable of rivers, see Bulloch on Call. *HyPal.* 64 and cf. Antim. fr. 93 = *SH* 79 Πακτωλοῦ χρυσεοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀνδῆροισιν θάασσον, Erat. *CA* 7 Ἀρύαντος ἐπὶ προχοαῖς ποταμοῖο, Theoc. Chius *SH* 738.4 Βορβόρου ἐν προχοαῖς.

**μελαμπέτροιο** μελάμπετρος is usually recorded as an absolute hapax, though it has been proposed with some probability by Emperius in (Hellenistic) "Ion" *FGE* 1.1 μελαμπέπλοισ .. ἐν γυάλοισι (P, Pl, Suda : μελαμπετάλοισ Lobbeck), cf. μελάμπεπλος in Eur. *Alc.* 427, al., Antip. Sid. *HE* 19.10, Paul. Sil. *AP* 11.10.4 and Ar. *Frogs* 470 Στυγὸς ... μελανοκάρδιος πέτρα. Μέλας-compounds often form Homeric hapaxes, as *Od.* 15.173 μελάνδετος, *Od.* 16.175 μελαγχροῖς paralleled by two other Homeric *unica*, *Il.* 13.589 μελανόχρωσ, *Od.* 18.246 μελανόχροος, or absolute hapaxes as e.g. Aesch. *ScTh* 857 μελάγκροκον, Ar. *Frogs* 470 μελανοκάρδιος, Timoth. *Pers.* 134 μελαμπεταλοχίτων and later Nonn. *D.* 31.116 μελάνζωνος. Even those compounds attested more than once give out a sense of exquisiteness. It seems that the question attracted the attention of Hellenistic philologists, cf. esp. Adesp. Pap. *SH* 991, an *onomasticum poeticum* composed in early Hellenistic times and by some implausibly attributed to Ph. which in the extent to which it is preserved, begins with a battery of μέλας-compounds: [μαλαμπέ]τραλος, [μελάμ]φυλλα, [μελαγ]κρήπιδες, [μελα]μφαρής. Ph. himself discussed μελαγκράνινος in *Hermeneia* fr. 53 K. It is not irrelevant that Schol. D show a preference for such compounds, cf. μελανονεφής rendering κελαινεφής in *Il.* 2.412, μελάμπους glossing κυανόπεζα in *Il.* 11.268, both hapaxes. It is on this Philetan coinage that Theoc. 7.7 (Chalcon created Bourina) εὖ ἐνερεισάμενος πέτρα γόνυ might depend, whence Schol. ad loc. (80.3 Wendel) ἔστι δὲ ῥέουσα ἐκ πέτρας διὰ βοῶς κεφαλῆς, al.

**μελαμπέτροιο Βουρίνης** The phrase seems to be an exquisite variation of the Homeric formula κρήνη μελάνυδρος, *Il.* 9.14, al.<sup>28</sup> transposing attention from water to the stones surrounding the spring.<sup>29</sup> The two words as they stand in the MSS result in an unmetrical scheme and each one has been variously emended. Hartung's μελαμπέτρου is plainly inferior as a *lectio facillior*. Nowacki's μελαμπέτροις restores a hexameter unit, but the successive spondees after the female caesura gain only faint support from fr. 5.3. Μελαμπέτροιο is a *difficilior* reading and on its own metrically sound. One would prefer the striking word of the verse to refer directly to the fountain itself. The -οιο genitive is also supported by another consideration: the Philetan phrase seems to emulate the Homeric clausula *Il.* 16.160 = 21.257 = Theogn. 959 κρήνης μελανύδρου/ possible only with a contracted genitive singular, see Janko on *Il.* 16.156-163 ad fin. A conscious change in the established *sedes* brought about a change in the form too.<sup>30</sup> Th. Bergk, *Kl. Phil. Schr.* II, Halle 1886, 776 suggested ("fort.") δ' ἐν προχοῇσι μελαμπέτροιο δάσαντο / Βουρίνης. Alternatively Ahrens thought that the last part of the verse is excised and was later followed in that by Wendel. But such a gap is hard to explain.

<sup>28</sup> See Russo on *Od.* 20.158. Water is often dark in Homer as e.g. *Il.* 2.825, 16.3 ὡς τε κρήνη μελάνυδρος, see West on Hes. *Theog.* 3. This is most probably the meaning of Call. *Hec.* fr. 116.1 ἐλικώτατον ὕδωρ. The Homeric expression implies purity while *Il.* 21.335, al., *Od.* 3.429, al. λευκὸν ὕδωρ lays emphasis on the brightness of the water. See on this Stevens on Eur. *Andr.* 1228, Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 28, Bömer on Ov. *Met.* 3.407.

<sup>29</sup> Such shifting from a traditional point of attention (implied by similarity of diction) to a novel one occurs in Theoc. 22.38-9 where the conventional brightness of water is applied to the pebbles underneath it. In the same fashion Call.'s *prôton legomenon HyDian.* 101 μαλαμψήφιδος Ἀναύρου, *HyDel.* 76-7 μελαμψήφιδος ... / Ἴσμηνοῦ produce another μέλας-compound and shift the poetic lens from the flowing water to the reflection of the stones in the river-bed. Cf. later Nonn. *D.* 26.236 and for the image the oracle in Hdt. 1.55 = 54.2 P-W πολυψήφιδα παρ' Ἑρμοῦ/, Call. *HyJon.* 26 πολύστιόν τε Μετώπην, Nic. *Ther.* 792, 950, *Alex.* 466 (of the sea), see A. Crugnola, *Acme* 14 (1961), 130, Euph. *SH* 418.36 π[ο]λυκρο[κ]άλιο παρ' ἀνδ[ρ]οισι Νεμείης. The ancestor of such images is *Il.* 21.257f. ὡς δ' ὄτ' ἀνὴρ ὄχετηγὸς ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου / ἄμ φυτὰ καὶ κήπους ὕδατι ῥόον ἠγεμονεύη / .... / τοῦ μὲν τε προρέοντος ὑπὸ ψηφίδες ἄπασαι / ὄχλοῦνται· τὸ δέ τ' ὄκα κατειβόμενον κελαρύζει etc., cf. also the more violent *Il.* 16.389-92.

<sup>30</sup> This is similar to e.g. Antim. fr. 83 Πύδητος κούρη τηλεκλειτοῦ ποταμοῖο where a metrical change imposes a change of form in the traditional clausula *Il.* 14.321 = *Od.* 19.546 ~ [Hes.] *Scut.* 327 κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο/ or to A.R. 1.1228 κρήνης ... καλλινάοιο/ (καλλιρόου Schol. ad loc. (111.24 Wendel; καλλίνας first occurs in Euripidean lyrics) which varies Homeric *Od.* 17.206, *HHAp.* 122 κρήνη καλλιρός of which the singular genitive occurs in *HHAp.* 385 κρήνης καλλιρόου. A.R. retains the traditional order but the alteration of the metrical position brings about an alteration in the form as well.

**Βορίνης** is Bach's proposal followed by Cholmeley, Powell (and Nesselrath in the *Index of SH* s.v.), Bowie 77, Knox 73. Heinse preferred Βορίνης and was followed by Wil. *Textg.*, 152. Bourina's name occurs in this fragment of Ph. – but presumably more than once in *Demeter* – whence Theoc. 7.6 (Βούριναν plur. : Βούρειαν codd. tres), Androm. *GDRK* 62.171 (Βούριννα) and in the Theocritean Schol. (79.20 Wendel: Βουρινν- cod. : Βουρριν- cett., *ita fere* p. 81.25 Wendel, al.) and Eustath. on Dion. Per. 511 (Βούριναν). A form of the spring's name is secured by *IdC* ED 259 (1st c. A.D.) [μὴ ἀντ]λώντ[ω] / [τούτου] τοῦ ὕδα- / [τος ἀ]πὸ Βου- / [ρίνας] ἄχρι / [πόλι]ως. But alternative spellings may have been current and the note of Nicanor, the Coan commentator of Ph., who put forward an etymology of βοῦς + ρίς -ινός which one can trust is in accord with what stood in Ph.'s text, cf. Schol. 7.5-9ο (81.24-5 Wendel) Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ Κῶος ὑπομνηματίζων Βούριναν τὴν κρήνην καλεῖ, would be possible with the Βυρ- form too. The original form of the name would be Βύρινα. The formation is parallel to that of Μύρινα, attested as place-name in Lemnos, Crete and the Aeolic coast in Asia Minor where it comes up also as Μούρινα due to its ancient pronunciation, see W. Ruge, *RE* Suppl. VI (1935), 615-6, Zgusta 411. The form Μύρινα is Aeolic. In *Il.* 2.814 the name of a supposed Amazon is Μυρίνη, see von Kamptz 137, 310 and in *AP* four epigrams of a certain Μύρινος survive (*GPh* p. 289f.) of whom nothing else is known. The Greeks did not understand those names and tried to explain them with arbitrary etymological devices. A variation of o/u/ou vocals in non-Greek names is therefore not uncommon, as it obviously constituted "einen Versuch .. mit griechischen Mitteln einen fremden Vokal wiederzugeben, dessen Aussprache wohl zwischen o und u gelegen haben wird", A. Heubeck, *BzNF* 1 (1949), 278-9, cf. also R. Herbst, *RE* XVI (1935), 1093 s.v. Myrina.<sup>31</sup> Later scholiasts of Theoc., who had little idea about Coan details, see Wil. *Textg.*, 152, thought that the name of the well should be etymologised διὰ τοῦ βου ἐπιτατικοῦ, on which see MacDowell on Ar. *Wasps* 1206, Chantraine *DE* s.v., and subsequently altered the name into Βούρεια, as of βου- + ῥέω. The true etymology of Bourina has to do with a prehellenic stem \*βουρ- or \*βυρ- and the pre-Hellenic/Asia Minor suffix -v-.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Βούρινον, τὸ in the sense "a calf's snout" occurs in Ps-Apuleius *Herbarium* 86, an author dated by *LSJ* in the 4th c. The fountain Βουκεραῖς in the Boeotian Plataiai treated in Call. *Aet.* fr. 42 is not quite a parallel case. The two names are not etymologically connected. According to the tradition the name of Bourina was related to the aspect of the rock around it. The name of Βουκεραῖς on the other hand was related to the circumstances of its creation, since allegedly a bull struck the ground with its horn to create it.

<sup>32</sup> For the βουρ- stem cf. Βοῦρα, a daughter of Ion who gave her name to a town in the northern Peloponnese with a Demeter cult, Paus. 7.25.9, and an inscription Διὶ Βουριήνω near Amorion in

The fragment is transmitted as an antecedent to Theoc.'s reference to the spring Bourina by the ancient Schol. ad loc. and was first attributed to *Demeter* by G. Knaack in Susemihl I, 177 n. 17. This is supported by the fact that the Theocritean passage which describes the creation of Bourina is a direct reference to *Demeter*. In terms of text-criticism and interpretation the incomplete quotation is a riddle. Still, we learn that Ph. referred to Bourina. This was in his days and still is the most important spring of the island and its waters turned out to be of vital importance when the Coans in the form of synoecism removed the capital from Astypalaia to the town of Cos in 366/5, a few years before Ph. was born.<sup>33</sup> Water supply was a critical issue in the ancient world and particularly in the SE Aegean a problem not easy to address, see Craik 134.<sup>34</sup> Bourina was accommodated in an elaborate spring-house which used to be dated to Mycenaean times. In default of evidence to support this dating R. Hope-Simpson and J. E. Lazenby proposed a Hellenistic dating.<sup>35</sup> A reasonable assumption

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central Asia Minor suggests a toponym \*Βουρίων, see Zgusta 127. For pre-Hellenic -ίνα cf. place-names such as Αἰγίνα, Λαγίνα (Caria) or Κότινα (Thessaly) and in Asia Minor see the *Reverse Index* in Zgusta 684. On non-Greek names in the SE Aegean see Craik 47-50. The ancient river and spring names of modern Turkey have been studied by J. Tischler, *Kleinasiatische Hydronymie*, Wiesbaden 1977.

<sup>33</sup> On the Coan synoecism and its repercussions see Moggi 333-41 with bibliography, Sh-W 40f.

<sup>34</sup> In antiquity the fullest treatment on terrestrial waters was written by Seneca *Nat. Quaest.* 3 (*De aquis <terrestribus>*), see N. Gross, *Seneca's Naturales Quaestiones*, Stuttgart 1989, 104-47. The most complete bibliographical reference for works on water in antiquity is to be found in Vitruvius *De Archit.* 8.3.27. See also M. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten*, Leipzig 1921, T. R. Glover, *Springs of Hellas and other Essays*, Cambridge 1945, 1-29 (an exemplary treatment) and D. E. Gerber (Toronto 1982) on Pind. *Ol.* 1.7-9. On fountains used for water-supply see R. E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks built Cities*, London 1949, 198-209, G. Arnoud, "L'alimentation en eau des villes grecques" in *L'homme et l'eau en Méditerranée et au proche Orient I*, Lyon 1981, 69-82. On technical questions see D. P. Crouch, *Water Management in Ancient Greek Cities*, Oxford 1994.

<sup>35</sup> In *BSA* 65 (1970), 58 n. 34, mentioned in Sh-W 17. For this dating also F. Glaser, *Antike Brunnenbauten (κρήναι) in Griechenland*, Vienna 1983, 140 n. 23, see also A. W. van Buren, *RE Suppl.* VIII (1956), 462, R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Antike Wasserkultur*, Munich 1990, 23-4. A bibliography on Bourina would include L. Ross, *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres I*, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1845, 131-4, S. Pantelides, "Περὶ τῆς ἐν νήσῳ Κῶ Βουρίνης Πηγῆς", *Πανδώρα* 12 (1861), 181-5, K. Büchner, *RE* III (1899), 1067-8, id. *RE* XI (1921), 1477, Herzog *KF*, 159-161, Sudhoff 32-8, Gow on Theoc. 7.6, 7, Sh-W 16-7, Arnott (1979), 102-3, Zanker (1980), 373-7, id. 119-120.

would be that the constructions around Bourina took place shortly before or shortly after the synoecism. Kühn 45 was correct in emphasising the importance Bourina gained with this event and added that the premises around Bourina would serve the Coans for recreational purposes too. But this is probably a misleading impression resulting from the distorting poetic lens of Ph./Theoc. It must be around the same time that an aqueduct was constructed to channel water from the spring to the town, a for its time advanced and famous construction. Needless to say Ph. in his poem would not describe the Bourina of his own days; a sheer anachronism such as this would invalidate the sense of reality which he strives to achieve. Μελαμπέτροιο contributes to this sense of truthfulness. As far as the appearance of Bourina is concerned the comment of Nicanor, a contemporary eyewitness, can reasonably be taken as authoritative, see Wendel (1920), 128. It is quite likely that a popular Coan belief transmitted to us only through Nicanor connected the aspect of the spring with its name and Ph. might have held this pareymology as valid in scholarly terms.

Nicanor's information was understood in different ways in antiquity. Some of the Schol. deemed that Bourina's outlet was actually a bull's muzzle, Schol. on 5-9k (80.3 Wendel) ἔστι δὲ ῥέουσα ἐκ πέτρας διὰ βοῶς κεφαλῆς or a stone in that shape superimposed by Chalcon, Schol. on 5-9o (81.21-3 Wendel) Βούρεια δέ, ὅτι ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς βοῶς ἐκ λίθου πεποιημένης ἐδόκει τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκρεῖν οὕτω τοῦ Χάλκωνος μηχανησαμένου τε καὶ κατασκευάσαντος whence Eustath. on Dion. Per. 507 καλουμένη οὕτω διὰ τὸ προτομήν τινα εἶναι αὐτόθι εἰοικυῖαν ῥίνι βοῶς. But Schol. on 5-9o elsewhere (81.24-7 Wendel), expressly drawing on a source ultimately relying on Nicanor, understood that the shape of the rock where the outflow of Bourina was, resembled the nose of a bull: Νικάνωρ δὲ ὁ Κῶος ὑπομνηματίζων Βούριναν τὴν κρήνην καλεῖ. συμβῆναι γάρ φησιν ἐξ αὐτομάτου καὶ αὐτοφυῶς βοῶς ῥίνι παραπλήσιον εἶναι τὸν τόπον, ἐξ οὗ τὴν κρήνην ἐκραγῆναι ὁ Χάλκων ἐποίησεν.

The creation of Bourina by Chalcon is described by Theoc. in not only concise but also nebulous terms, 7.6-7 Χάλκωνος, ὃς ἐκ ποδὸς ἄννε κράναν / εὔ ἐνερεισάμενος πέτρα γόνυ. It is plain that we have to do with a miraculous appearance of a spring for which Chalcon used his foot. More specific deductions from Theoc. are difficult. The brevity of the description is related to the economy of the poem and is also suggestive of the fact that he refers to an incident well known to his readers. Schol. on 7.5-9i (79.18-9 Wendel), al. provide information about a statue on Chalcon near Bourina and some have thought that Theoc. describes here a work of art, see Legrand 219, Cholmeley on Theoc. 7.6, Kühn 44 and S. Nicosia, *Teocrito e l'arte figurata*, Palermo 1968, 11-2. The grateful Coan community might have erected a statue of its benefactor king near Bourina after the synoecism, but, it will be argued, Theoc. refers to what seems to have been a very influential scene in *Demeter*. Still, no really satisfactory description of the specific proceedings of Chalcon has been adduced



hitherto. The hazy Theocritean lines may be clarified if one takes into consideration the shape of the rock from which Bourina flowed. It seems that it formed some sort of a ledge, which partly accounts for the popular etymology of the spring's name. Chalcon was instructed to "lean firmly" (εὖ ἐνερεισάμενος) with his knee on the rock's ledge and kick the rock underneath, cf. Schol. on 5-9ο (81.17-8 Wendel) οὐχὶ ὀρθοστάδην ἰστάμενος, ἀλλὰ οὕτω δεῆσαν κάμψας τὸ γόνυ etc. Thus Bourina came into existence. The process is unusual, but it is exactly due to this that the spring allegedly got its name: the trace of Chalcon's knee on the protruding rock would give it the distinctive shape of a bull's muzzle. The bizzare proceedings are therefore an aetion for Bourina's name. The imperfect ἦνυε serves to point out the event as a mythical and great one by crediting it with a duration it did not have, cf. 7.152 Πολύφαμον, ὃς ὥρεσι νᾶας ἔβαλλε.

Another fact that can be established with reasonable certainty is that Bourina's creation was described with some detail in *Demeter*, see *Dem.-Disc.*, Reconst. Attention to the discounted but valuable Schol. on 5-9ο (81.7-20 Wendel) will turn out to be rewarding: Βούρειαν ὃς ἐκ ποδός : ὅτε ὁ Χάλκων ἐβασίλευε τῶν Κῶων, εὐρέθη ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Κῶ ἢ πηγῆ, ἦν νῦν ὁ Θεόκριτος λέγει, μὴ πρότερον οὔσα. εὐρέθη δὲ οὕτως. ἀνηγγέλθη τῷ βασιλεῖ παρά τινος τῶν περὶ ταῦτα δεινῶν, ὅτι ὕδατος ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος ἐνδομυχεῖ. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτεπιστατήσας τῷ τόπῳ ἠτύουρησεν, ὅσα συνέτεινε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος ἔκρηξιν. τοῦτο οὖν δηλοῖ τὸ ὃς ἐκ ποδός ἄνυε κράναν, ὅτι ὁ Χάλκων διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ποδῶν καὶ δι' αὐτεπιστασίας ἦνυσεν, ἦγγον κατειργάσατο καὶ κατῶρθωσε, τὴν κρήνην. τὸ δὲ "εὖ ἐνερεισάμενος πέτρα γόνυ" τοῦτό ἐστιν, ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Χάλκων, οὐχὶ ὀρθοστάδην ἰστάμενος, ἀλλὰ οὕτω δεῆσαν κάμψας τὸ γόνυ καὶ καλῶς ἐδράσας καὶ στηρίξας τοῦτο τῇ πέτρῳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ κρήνῃ αὐτοχειρὶ κατεπράξατο τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος ἔκρηξιν. In the Theocritean Schol. as we have them today genuine information supplied by Nicanor and later elaboration are inextricably interwoven. This note tells us an unparalleled story which might cast some light on the obscure Philetan context. Some, disregarding the background which supports the concise reference of Theoc., were quick to strip the Scholium of any credit rejecting it as "eine offensichtlich *ad hoc* erfundene" addition, Kühn 44 n. 4; but the note is too complicated to simply come out of thin air.

It defines the dramatic time of Bourina's creation during the reign of Chalcon, i.e. the time in which Demeter visited Cos. The spring was created<sup>36</sup> somewhere in Cos μὴ πρότερον οὔσα. This detail may even go back to Ph. It is a poetic topos established in Hellenistic times to emphasise that a well is created in a previously dry

<sup>36</sup> "Εὐρέθη". Its meaning becomes evident from the context. Sh-W's 16 assertion that Chalcon "discovered" Bourina is inaccurate. On the miraculous appearance of springs see McLennan on Call. *HyJov.* 31.

place. Thus the well gains in importance and the narration in interest, cf. Call. *HyJov.* 17f. (Arcadia's dryness before Rhea created a well), A.R. 1.1145-8 (Rhea) 'Η δὲ καὶ ἄλλο / θῆκε τέρας· ἐπεὶ οὐ τι παροίτερον ὕδατι νᾶε / Δίνδυμον, ἀλλὰ σφιν τότ' ἀνέβραχε διψάδος αὐτῶς / ἐκ κορυφῆς ἄλληκτον, 4.1441f., Arat. 218-9 οὐ γάρ πω 'Ελικῶν ἄκρος καταλείβεται πηγαῖς, / ἀλλ' Ἴππος μιν ἔτυψε, Lyc. 247-8 (Achilleus landing in Troy) κρηναῖον ἐξ ἄμμοιο ροιβδήση γάνος, / πηγὰς ἀνοίξας τὰς πάλαι κεκρυμμένας. "It was announced to the king by someone competent in these things (παρὰ τινος τῶν περὶ ταῦτα δεινῶν) that hidden in this place lies plenty of water" the note goes on. Fountains possess a divine nature themselves and are usually created by or with the assistance of a divine entity and δεινός is often used of the reverent and fearful effect of a god on a mortal. Dover on Theoc. 7.6f. assumed divine assistance for the creation of Bourina. The δεινή entity informing Chalcon about underground water must be Demeter. It seems that she then instructed Chalcon about the exact way Bourina was to come to light. Hence the puzzling proceedings: Chalcon "not standing straight but, since it was thus needed, bending his knee and placing it well and leaning it on the rock of the well brought about with his own hand<sup>37</sup> the gush of the water". Demeter's instructions are concealed in the vague οὕτω δεῖσαν. The reduction might be due to the usual process of simplification or to an austere Christian excision.

The exact position of Bourina has turned out to be controversial.<sup>38</sup> Theoc. in his 7th poem more or less gives indications for all geographical names he mentions apart from Bourina. This is not fortuitous. The spring in Theoc. constitutes part of the *locus amoenus* which appears at the beginning and the end of the idyll and forms, so to say, a frame within which the main story is narrated. Unlike the other places this idyllic one is unreal; it only exists in the mind of Theoc. and is intended to create the suitable environment for his "divine" poetic initiation. Theoc. therefore is not of great service for the topography of Bourina. Puelma 162-3 n. 58 was deluded by the unquestionable similarity in the description of the ideal settings at the beginning and the end of the poem. Neglecting its poetic context he took the information at face value and suggested that Bourina was situated somewhere close to the estate of Phrasidamus and Antigens.<sup>39</sup> The traditional view identifies Bourina with a spring 4-5 km SW of the

<sup>37</sup> Ἀὐτοχειρὶ is a later distortion. From Theoc.'s authentic information we know that Chalcon used his foot, 7.6 ἐκ ποδός. On this topos in the miraculous creation of springs, see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 2.4, Matthews 331.

<sup>38</sup> Eustath. on Dion. Per. 511 (199.34 Bernhardy) πηγή τις παρὰ Θεοκρίτῳ Βούρινα Ἰταλική confuses it because of Theoc.'s homeland. A town in south Italy was called Βουραία.

<sup>39</sup> He found followers in G. Luck, *MH* 13 (1966), 186 n. 3, T. G. Rosenmeyer, *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral*, Berkeley-L.A. 1969, 187, U. Ott, *RhM* 115 (1972), 147 n. 44 trying to refute G. Weingarh, *Zu Theokrits 7 Idyll*, Diss. Freiburg 1967, 96-8 and D. R. Winter,

modern town of Cos called before its identification πηγή τοῦ Ἴπποκράτους. Herzog *KF*, 159 n. 4 declared that "die Identität ist für jeden verständigen sicher" and his view was accepted by Gow on Theoc. 7.6 and somewhat lightly by Sh-W 16. It is plain that the name is not a survival from ancient times but a revival as soon as it was identified with the ancient Bourina by European antiquaries in the 18th c.<sup>40</sup> The present name should therefore not be regarded as any help in this respect. Zanker (1980), 373-7, who convinced Bowie 77 n. 4, argued for this identification on the grounds of three logical steps: "Firstly, we know that Claudius' personal physician, the Coan C. Stertinus Xenophon, improved the water supply of the famous Asclepieion on Cos by running pipes from the spring nowadays called Bourina to the temple; the spring is about 1 km south and upland of it. Secondly, we have indisputable evidence (independent of *Id.* 7.6 ff. and *Σ ad loc.*) that Bourina was a cult-centre of Asclepius; it is found in the invocation to Asclepius by Nero's personal physician, Andromachus of Crete: ἰλήκοις ὄς τήνδε μάκαρ τεκτῆναο Παίων, / εἶτε σε Τρικκαῖοι, δαῖμον, ἔχουσι λόφοι, / ἢ Ῥόδος ἢ Βούρινα καὶ ἀγγιᾶλη Ἐπίδαυρος. Thirdly, it is highly probable that Andromachus would not have mentioned Bourina in the context of other cult-centres, if it were not immediately associated with the Asclepieion on Cos".

Zanker's argumentation is not impeccable in its entirety, but makes a crucial point. Neither Theoc. 7.6f. nor the Schol. ad loc. link Bourina to Asclepius in any way. The spring might have provided the Asclepieion with water early enough. But it is

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*Theocritus' "Thalysia"*, Diss. Ohio 1974, 17. The view was dismissed by Elliger 330-1, who pointed out that Bourina is the only place mentioned in Theoc. 7 by name and at the same time lacks real geographical data.

<sup>40</sup> The older name Πηγή τοῦ Ἴπποκράτους, nowadays in use along with the revived Βούρινα, see Chatzivasileiou 164-5, is not due to the fact that in Hellenistic times it supplied the famous Asclepieion with water, but because it is thought to exist "from the times of Hippocrates", the most famous Coan of antiquity, cf. the plane tree "of Hippocrates", fr. 14. Zanker (1980), 376 attributed the change of accent (ancient Βούρινα to modern Βούρινα) "to the influence of the Italian still spoken on Cos". He is wrong on both premises. Dr P. Mackridge (Oxford, 14/3/95) wrote to me: "It is true that in spoken modern Greek a feminine in -ina with the stress on the antepenultimate would be quite exceptional, though there are plenty of neuter plurals ... . I'm not at all convinced by the notion of Italian influence which I don't think explains anything; besides, Italian wasn't commonly spoken on Cos, though it was taught as a compulsory subject in schools during the Italian occupation between the end of the First World War and 1948. This seems too brief and recent a matter to have affected the pronunciation of this toponym; besides, the Italians would have pronounced it Buri'na, with an initial b, not v. I should have thought that if the name was a natural survival, it would have been more likely to have become Βούρενα. If, on the other hand, it was a revival, then it should have kept the same initial stress as in AG". The name seems to me to be a revival accentuated as is convenient in Modern Greek usage.

nowhere associated with Asclepius before Androm. *GDRK* 62.169-171 (quoted above). Moreover, in his text Bourina stands for the whole island of Cos<sup>41</sup> and this becomes evident when considering the prototype lines as appearing in Herodas 4.1-2 χαίροις, ἄναξ Παίηον, ὃς μεδεῖς Τρίκκης / καὶ Κῶν γλυκεῖαν κήπιδουρον ὄκηκας. Both Herodas and Androm. draw on the same prayer book, as does Anon. *Hymn to Asclepius GDRK* 53.9-10 εἴτ' ἐφέπεις Τρίκκης ἱερῆς ἔδος εἴτ' ἐρατεινὴν / Πέργαμον εἴτ' ἐπὶ τοῖσιν Ἰαονίαν Ἐπίδουρον but Herodas' original Κῶν γλυκεῖαν is replaced in Androm. by Βούριναν. This was not a spring of any importance to the rest of the Greek world and its temporary revival in Androm. is evidently due to the fact that not long before his days his colleague C. Sertinius Xenophon supplied the famous Asclepieion of Cos with water from the spring in those days called Bourina. This renders the identification almost certain.

The fact that Bourina would be created by Chalcon under the guidance of Demeter is significant on its own right. She is linked with the main water-source of Cos as Hera Ἴμβρασίη (AR 1.186, Nic. *Alex.* 619) in neighbouring Samos granted ample water to the inhabitants of that island. As in Ithace *Od.* 17.207 (spring) τὴν ποίησ' Ἴθακος καὶ Νήριτος ἠδὲ Πολύκτωρ with Schol. ad loc. (639.12f. Dindorf), so in Cos the main spring of the island has appeared due to the piety of one of its mythical leaders and the ultimate in the pedigree of Coan nobility. Gow on Theoc. 7.6 noted that Chalcon's descent via Eurypylus from Poseidon renders him a quite suitable founder of a spring. But Demeter herself has a close association with water and springs.<sup>42</sup> In general she is a "just out of the city" goddess and her temples and shrines are usually situated just outside inhabited areas or at the city limits and often on a hill.<sup>43</sup> In the *HHD*, the archetype for the establishment of Demeter's cult, the goddess orders Celeus to build her temple above the well Callichoros, v. 272 Καλλιχόρου

<sup>41</sup> Reference to usually a river standing for the land it flows through, is a well-founded poetic topos, cf. *Il.* 4.91 λαῶν, οἳ οἱ ἔποντο ἀπ' Αἰσηποῖο ῥοάων (= from Lycia), Simon. *IEG* 11.29, A.R. 2.866 Ἴμβρασίοισι παρ' ὕδασι (= in Samos, cf. Nic. *Alex.* 150), Theoc. 4.6 ἐπ' Ἀλφειόν (= to Olympia) ~ Bacch. 6.3, Theoc. 7.151 τὸν ποιμένα τὸν ποτ' Ἀνάπῳ (= in Sicily), Nonn. 47.265 Ἰλισσοῦ .. ῥέεθρα ... ἑάσσας (= Athens), see Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 3. Many places and above all islands took their names from local rivers, see the list in Eijkman 15-6. In general (the most important) *pars pro toto* in naming places is common, e.g. "Argos" for "Peloponnese" or "Achaean land" in *Il.* 2.108, 7.363, 9.141, al., "Athenai" for "Attica" in *Il.* 2.546.

<sup>42</sup> The triangle Demeter / Poseidon / Chalcon would only come into question in view of Demeter's animosity to Poseidon, held corresponsable for Persephone's rape. In some versions the goddess turns her anger against him, cf. Paus. 8.42.2 (Phigalia) and see Richardson 258.

<sup>43</sup> See Richardson on *HHD* 171, A. Schachter *Le sanctuaire grec*, 44-5, S. G. Cole, "Demeter in the Ancient Greek City and its Countryside" in Alcock-Osborne 199-216, Bremmer 30.

καθύπερθεν ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ. A piece of information provided by Paus. 1.38.6 φρέαρ τε καλούμενον Καλλίχορον, ἔνθα πρῶτον Ἐλευσινίων αἱ γυναῖκες χορὸν ἔστησαν καὶ ἦσαν ἐς τὴν θεόν, renders it almost certain that the Eleusinian cult of Demeter started as worship of a sacred well, cf. also Hesych. ε 4898 ἐπικρήναια· ἑορτὴ Δήμητρος παρὰ Λάκωσι and Demeter φρεάρροος in Athens.<sup>44</sup> The link played a role in the Coan cult of Demeter too. As Richardson on *HHD* 99 notes "at Cos, a sanctuary of Demeter and Core centring on a spring has been found, and a statue of Core beside the spring suggests their close connection (Herzog, *AA* (1901), 134 ff.)", see on this "small fountain sanctuary on the northern outskirts of the modern town" Sh-W 53, Kabus-Peibhofen 91-2 with Tab. 96 (p. 302). Demeter's role beyond its cultic and religious meaning may have a literary one as well: in an unparalleled poetic invention (?) extending the sterility-of-the-land motif in Eur. *Hel.* 1335-7 the goddess πηγὰς δ' ἀμπαύει δροσεράς / λευκῶν ἐκβάλλειν ὑδάτων / πένθει παιδὸς ἀλάστω. This indication tallies with plenty of others that the famine motif in *Demeter* becomes only a loose convention. In fact Demeter seems to have initiated or contributed to all activities that granted Cos its prosperity in Hellenistic times.

#### Fr. 14 (CA 14; *Demeter?*)

θρήσασθαι πλατάνῳ γραίη ὕπο

Athen. 5.192e ὁ γὰρ θρόνος αὐτὸ μόνον ἐλευθέριός ἐστιν κάθεδρα σὺν ὑποποδίῳ, ὅπερ θρήνων καλοῦντες ἐντεῦθεν αὐτὸν ὠνόμασαν θρόνον τοῦ θρήσασθαι χάριν, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ καθέζεσθαι τάσσουσιν, ὡς Φιλίτας (Φιλίτας A : Φιλίτας C)· θρήσασθαι δὲ etc., de quo Eustath. *Comm. Od.* 1482.37f. θρόνος δὲ ὅτι ἐλευθέριός ἐστιν κάθεδρα σὺν ὑποποδίῳ καὶ ὅτι θρήνων τὸ ὑποπόδιον καλοῦντες ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τὸν θρόνον ὠνόμασαν τοῦ θρήσασθαι χάριν, ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ καθέζεσθαι λέγουσιν, ὁ Ἀθήναιος λέγει. παρ' ᾧ καὶ χρῆσις Φιλίτα, τὸ "θρήσασθαι etc."

θρήσασθαι δὲ codd. : δὲ del. Musurus : θρήσσαι δὲ Maass γαίη codd. : corr. Schneider

{**δέ**}

is transmitted after θρήσασθαι but since the verse is surely a hexameter, it rests unhappily before the caesura: *brevis in longo* before the caesura is legitimate in

<sup>44</sup> See Farnell III, 314 n. 11, more in Richardson 18f., R. Ginouves, *Balaneutiké. Recherches sur le bain dans l'antiquité grecque*, Paris 1962, 375-382, S. G. Cole, "The Uses of Water in Greek Sanctuaries" in R. Hägg, al. (edd.), *Early Greek Cult Practice*, Stockholm 1988, 164-5.

Hellenistic pentameter, see West (1982), 158, but it is unknown in hexameter until Imperial times.<sup>45</sup> There is no apparent reason for it to be a later insertion and it could hardly be a transposed Philetan word. Most editors choose to delete δέ. A. S. Hollis suggested to transpose it: "Suppose that the verb was originally exemplified in *two* quotations, of which the first has fallen out, so that the original text read ὡς <so and so in such and such a work καὶ> Φιλίτας δέ· θρήσασθαι - ὑπο" cl. e.g. Athen. 2.63a καὶ Ἀναξίλας δέ· followed by a quotation.

**θρήσασθαι** An absolute hapax. It is to be connected with θρᾶνος "bench" in Ar. *Plut.* 545. Schol. ad loc. ἐτυμολογεῖται δὲ παρὰ τὸ θορεῖν ἄνω ἢ παρὰ τὸ θρῆσαι, ὃ ἐστὶ καθίσαι postulate a \*θράω which prompted E. Maass to suspect a corruption in the Philetan text and propose θρῆσαι δέ. Schol. Ar. *Hippeis* 369 (93.3-4 Koster, cf. Suda θ 451) where θρανεύομαι means "be stretched on the tanner's board" define θρᾶνος as "tanning bench". *Il.* 14.240, al., *Od.* 1.131, al. has θρῆνυς "footstool" originally "support", a word already Mycenaean, see Janko on *Il.* 14.238-41 (Homeric footstools "kept one's feet off the earthen ground"). Corinna *PMG* 683 has the more advanced θρᾶνυξ, Euph. *CA* 39 the Ionic θρῆνυξ. Eur. fr. 569 has ἀθράνευτον glossed by Hesych. α 1613 as ἄστρωτον. In id. *Bac.* 633 συντεθράνωται (see Dodds ad loc.) and Lyc. 664 θρανύξαντες from \*θρανύσσω "be shivered, be shattered", a more fundamental connection with θραύω emerges, cf. also Hesych. θ 680 θρανεύεται· συντρίβεται. "Bei Abtrennung eines vo- bzw. vu- Suffixes ergibt sich Anschluß an den Aor. Inf. θρήσασθαι ... gewöhnlich mit "sich setzen" wiedergegeben. Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung muß aber vielmehr "sich aufstützen, aufstemmen" od. ähnl. gewesen sein, wenn das Wort, wie wahrscheinlich, zu derselben Sippe wie θρόνος gehört", Frisk *GEW* s.v. θρᾶνος. Ph. might have picked it up from an Ionic dialect with the specific meaning "sit down" (probably on a surface lower than that of a proper chair). Athen. himself apparently does not understand it very well and is relying on a glossary to interpret it: θρήσασθαι ... ὅπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ καθέζεσθαι τάσσουσιν, ὡς Φιλίτας etc. With this rare gloss Ph. in a masterly fashion varies *HHD* 98 ἔζετο δ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο etc., 197 ἔνθα καθεζομένη etc. Call. *HyDem.* 15 ἐκαθίσσασθαι faces the challenge by using a middle form occurring as Hopkinson ad loc. noted, only once in Homer, the active being attested 32x. In fr. 611 he employs the banal καθεζέω.

<sup>45</sup> See West op.c., 177. Δέ never follows a caesura. Elided it can precede it. Caesura even after a monosyllabic preposition is doubtful since there is always one in the fourth foot too, see West (1982), 36 with n. 12. Monosyllabics in general tend to be avoided at the end of the hexameter. Cf. a similar question in Antim. fr. 79 - - - Δήμητρος τοι | Ἐλευσινίης ἱερῆ ὄψι where P. Maas would prefer Δήμητρος τοι - - - Ἐλευσινίης ἱερῆ ὄψι.

**πλατάνω** Homer *Il.* 2.307, 310 knows only πλατάνιστος, cf. also Hdt. 5.119, al. By classical times (Ar., Plato) the only current form was πλάτανος. In Hellenistic poetry A.R. 2.733, Rhian. *HE* 10.1 use πλατάνιστος, Nic. *Ther.* 584, Hermesian. *CA* 7.76 and then Mosch. fr. 1.11, Meleag. *HE* 13.8 employ πλάτανος, Theoc. both (1x πλάτανος, 3x πλατάνιστος, see Gow on 18.44), Call. neither. In Imperial times the two forms coexist: Zonas *GPh* 3.1 πλάτανος, Thallus *GPh* 5.1, 5 πλατάνιστος, Nonn. *D.* 2x each form, Triph. 130 πλάτανος, Orph. *Arg.* 913 πλατάνιστος. The resurgence of the latter is due either to Homericisation or to poeticization, as in Alciphron 4.13.4. The tree derives its name from its broad leaves, cf. Theophr. *CP* 1.10.4.

**πλατάνω γράϊη ὕπο** O. Schneider, *Phil.* 6 (1851), 523 n. 18, cf. id., *Callimachea* II, Leipzig 1873, 669 corrected the MSS' γαίη to γράϊη. Γραῖα first appears as a noun in *Od.* 1.439 but γέρον is soon used also as an adj. applied to inanimate objects, *Od.* 22.184 σάκος .. γέρον, see Gow on Theoc. 7.17, and in Aesch. *Ag.* 295 γραΐας ἐρείκης it characterises a tree, whence probably, as Fraenkel ad loc. suggested, Soph. fr. 868 \*γραΐας ἀκάνθης. Unger had earlier proposed λασίη ὕπο which found sympathy with Bach and Thomas 41 n. 18 on the strength of Anon. *FGE* 74.6 λασίας θάμνω ὕπο πλατάνου; when applied to trees λάσιος mostly refers to oaks, see Bornmann on Call. *HyDian.* 192. MSS' γαίη, accepted by Kayser and Bergk, does not really make much sense, although Call. *HyDem.* 15 emphatic χαμάδις ἐκαθίσσαο and the Thesmophoric practice of sitting on the ground would support it. On the other hand the easy emendation γράϊη πλατάνω ὕπο contains nothing against the notion of Demeter actually sitting on the ground. It gains in probability from two further considerations: first, it seems to be an echo of the inverted order of *HHD* 101 (Demeter disguised as an old woman and seated under the shade of an olive-tree) γρηὶ παλαιγενέει (ἐναλίγκιος). Ph. either misunderstood that passage regarding ἐναλίγκιος as referring to the immediately preceding θάμνος ἐλαΐης instead of Demeter whence he reused the falsely innovative image in his poem or, more probably, he transferred the traditional image of Demeter as an aged woman, which he cannot use in his own poem, to the tree under the shade of which the goddess sits to rest. Secondly, γράϊη tallies with the popular and scientific notion of the plane-tree's longevity, see ff.

This short and corrupt fragment is quoted by Athen. in order to illustrate θρήσασθαι as meaning "sit down". It seems to be part of the Philetan response to *HHD* 98-101:

ἔζετο δ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῖο φίλον τετιμημένη ἦτορ  
 Παρθενίῳ φρέατι ὄθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται  
 ἐν σκιῇ, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε πεφύκει θάμνος ἐλαίης,  
 γρηὶ παλαιγενέει ἐναλίγκιος

The olive-tree of Eleusis is replaced by the plane-tree of Cos. As usually the line contains one element linking it to Demeter (θρήσασθαι) and another one linking it to Cos (πλατάνῳ γραίῃ ὕπο). Θρήσασθαι refers to the notorious sitting down of the exhausted Demeter. It is a typical scene established in *HHD*, then cf. in poetry Pamphus<sup>46</sup> *apud* Paus. 1.39.1 ἐποίησε δὲ Πάμφως ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι (sc. the ἼΑνθιον καλούμενον) καθῆσθαι Δήμητρα μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τῆς παιδὸς γραι εἰκασμένην, Call. fr. 611 with Pf. ad loc. Καλλιχόρῳ ἐπὶ φρητὶ καθέζεο παιδὸς ἄπυστος, *HyDem.* 15 τρις δ' ἐπὶ Καλλιχόρῳ χαμάδις ἐκαθίσσασα φρητὶ, *On. Fasti* 4.503 (*Agelastos Petra*) *hic primum sedit gelido maestissima saxo*. In Ph. the θρ- πλ- γρ- alliteration represents her movement as more lively. Demeter's sitting down also retains its religious significance and is directly linked with a practice in the Athenian Thesmophoria described by Plut. *Is. et Os.* 69, p. 378d καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνησι νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν Θεσμοφορίοις χαμαὶ καθήμεναι. Contact with the ground is a sign of grief, cf. e.g. Achilles in *Il.* 18.22-7 or Penelope in *Od.* 4.716-720 and the ritual in Athens no doubt imitates Demeter's grieving conduct in Eleusis, see Farnell III, 94-5, Richardson 212, 351-2 and on v. 200. A similar Coan cult-practice would give rise to a tradition having the goddess sitting on Coan ground.

Art amply uses the image of seated Demeter. In contrast to male gods, statues of female deities often represent them as seated. Standing cult-statues are definitely older as a type, but ones of seated gods were known to the Greek world at least as early as the 8th c., see Kirk on *Il.* 6.90-2. Demeter is commonly represented as seated both in Greece, see *LIMC* IV.I, 858-60 with vol. II, 571-2, and in Rome, see *ibid.* IV.I, 899-900 with vol. II, 602-3, either alone or seated with Persephone or seated while Persephone is standing. Grandiose seriousness is a typical feature in Demeter's artistic representations. Such statues were typical in her cult and we know many of them from

<sup>46</sup> According to Paus. 7.21.9 Pamphus "made the oldest hymns for the Athenians". P. Maas, *RE* XVIII (1949), 352-3 maintained his scanty fragments to be of Hellenistic date on metrical grounds. On his version of the Demeter-myth see Förster 30-3. His effort to alter Paus.'s (ἄτε γυναῖκα) Ἀργεῖαν as Pamphus made Demeter to be, into γεραιάν can be discounted. Clay 234-5 argued that the seated Demeter in *HHD* 202-4 resembles a woman about to give birth, a fact which led Iambe to make fun of the disguised old woman. Her interpretation relies on the notion that mourning women sit on the ground instead of on a chair, but it disregards the ritualistic point the Hymn makes in these verses with the woolen fleece, the stool etc.



the centre of her cult in Eleusis. In Cos there were such statues of Demeter in Hellenistic times, as a "colossal seated-statue of Demeter (or Cybele)", see Kabus-Preißhofen 161 and Tab. 70.1, 2, or a bust of Demeter certain features of which suggest a seated statue: "Die strenge frontale, aufrechte Haltung und der geradeaus gerichtete Blick lassen an eine Sitzstatue denken", Kabus-Preißhofen 91 with Tab. 22.2 nr 96. In Cnidus in the vicinity of Cos a seated statue of Demeter was found in her sanctuary which is commonly regarded as a masterpiece of ancient sculpture, see Farnell III, 277, *LIMC* IV.I, 859 with vol. II, 571.

Ph. describes an idyllic setting, the constituent parts of which might partly reproduce real data, so as to give his scenery the value of an action. If such a tradition existed, it would be reflected in cult. Ph. could for example have in mind a *temenos* of Demeter in which a statue of the seated goddess would lie. Statues or effigies were commonly placed under trees to benefit from their shade cf. Call. *HyDian.* 239, A.R. 1.1121, Moero *HE* 2.4. Each sanctuary needed trees for shade and a sense of seclusion (the epic ἄλσος σκιερὸν or σκιόεν). Plane-trees were the most common ones, cf. Hdt. 5.119.2, Ach. Tat. 1.2.3, because they grew quickly, were lofty, beautiful, long-living and provided ample shade. So the sanctuary of Demeter in Lerna in Argolis was surrounded by plane-trees, Paus. 2.36.8, 37.1. The cult of Helen at Sparta evolves around a plane-tree, cf. Theoc. 18.43-8 with Gow ad loc. and cf. the sacred plane-trees in Thallus *GPh* 5 (Aphrodite) and Thyill. *FGE* 1.1 (Pan).<sup>47</sup> The holiness of the locality would be founded on a tradition linking it with Demeter, to which Ph. would refer. Even a certain plane-tree could be brought into association with Demeter, as the olive-tree was sacred in Acropolis, the oak in Dodona or the palm in Delos, see Burkert 85-6. The scenery would strongly resemble a precinct of Demeter with plane-trees, a water source and a seated statue of Demeter in the Carnasian grove in Andania, Paus. 4.33.4, cf. 9.39.2. At the same time details in local versions adapting features of the canonical one were always attended to in local cult. In Phigalia there was a tradition of Demeter visiting the town and retiring in a nearby cave. The Phigalians established a sanctuary of the goddess there and the statue they erected paid attention

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<sup>47</sup> On gods/heroes' sanctuaries and plane-trees see Murr 12-5, Lembach 179-181. On trees in Hellenistic poetry see M. F. Williams, *Landscape in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, Frankfurt 1991, 54f. On the sacred timber of sanctuaries see D. E. Birge, *Sacred Groves in the Ancient Greek World*, Diss. Berkeley 1982, O. de Cazanove, al. (edd.), *Les bois sacrés. Actes du colloque intern. de Naples*, Naples 1993, D. Birge, "Trees in the Landscape of Pausanias' *Periegesis*" in Alcock-Osborne 231-245. On Minoan/Mycenean tree-sanctuaries see Burkert 28. Laws protecting the felling of these trees were common. From a Coan inscription of the 5th c. *HG* 11 = *LSCG* 150A we know that cutting off Asclepius' cypress entailed a severe fine of 1000 drachmas, cf. also in Cos *HG* 12 = *LSCG* 150B (4th c.; Apollo's cypress) and in general cf. Paus. 2.28.7 and see Sokolowski on *LSCG* 37, Parker 165.

to the fact that Demeter sat in that place to rest: πεποιῆσθαι δὲ οὕτω σφίσι τὸ ἄγαλμα· καθέζεσθαι μὲν ἐπὶ πέτρα etc., Paus. 8.42.8.<sup>48</sup> Similarly in Megara Ἀνακλήθραν τὴν πέτραν ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς Δημήτηρ, εἶ τῷ πιστά, ὅτε τὴν παῖδα ἐπλανᾶτο ζητοῦσα, καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀνεκάλεσαν αὐτήν. Ἐοικότα δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δρῶσιν ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι αἱ Μεγαρέων γυναικες etc., Paus. 1.43.2.

It is to the beliefs linking plane-trees with ancient times that Theophr. is referring to illustrate with fitting caution the longevity of some trees, *HP* 4.13.2 Τὴν δὲ μακροβιότητα μαρτυροῦσιν ... καὶ αἱ παραδεδομένοι φῆμαι παρὰ τῶν μυθολόγων. Ἐλαίαν μὲν γὰρ λέγουσιν τὴν Ἀθήνησι, φοίνικα δὲ τὸν ἐν Δήλῳ, κότινον δὲ τὸν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ ἀφ' οὗ ὁ στέφανος, φηγοῦς δὲ τὰς ἐν Ἰλίῳ τὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἴλου μνήματος· τινὲς δὲ φασὶ καὶ τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς πλάτανον Ἀγαμέμνονα φυτεῦσαι καὶ τὴν ἐν Καφύαις τῆς Ἀρκαδίας. Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὅπως ἔχει, τάχ' ἂν ἕτερος εἴη λόγος etc. with S. Amigues (Budé 1989) ad loc. (pp. 288-91). A current tradition holds that an imposing plane-tree of prodigious size called "of Hippocrates" in the homonymous square of the modern town of Cos near the harbour is the biggest and most ancient in the world.<sup>49</sup> Cos was an island rich in natural resources of timber, above all cypresses and plane-trees, see Craik 18-9 and wood was a product liable to taxation, *LSCG* 168.6 (1st c.). These notions were facilitated by the observation that plane-trees live on for ages, cf. Theophr. *HP* 1.c. and 4.16.2. Plane-trees are nowadays believed to live for no longer than five hundred years.

Hermesian. *CA* 7.75-6 αἰδόν, ὃν Εὐρυπύλου πολιῆται / Κῶοι χάλκειον θῆκαν ὑπὸ πλατάνῳ is likely to be pointing to this haunting scene in *Demeter*; the bond linking intellectuals and plane-trees might have also played a role in his imagery. A. S. Hollis thought that Hermesian.'s "apparent imitation ... suggests that Philetas may have applied these words to himself". He raised the possibility of the fragment related to a lover's common resort to the countryside, as Orpheus in Phanocl. *CA* 1.3-4 πολλακί δὲ σκιεροῖσιν ἐν ἄλσεσι ἔζειτ' αἰείδων / ὃν πόθον or Acontius in Call. fr. 72. One should though enter the *caveat* here that Hermesian.'s image of Ph. as lover may be a gross distortion. Philetan influence has been suggested in Meleag. *HE* 13.7-8 φυγῶν τὸν Ἔρωτα μεσημβρινὸν ὕπνον ἀγρεύσω / ἐνθάδ' ὑπὸ σκιερᾷ κεκλιμένος

<sup>48</sup> The main source for Demeter's cult in Phigalia is Paus. 8.42.1-3, see Stiglitz 122-134, M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris 1985, 312-7, id. *Le sanctuaire grec*, 219f. For the peculiar cult of Demeter in Arcadia see Nilsson *GGR* I, 477-81, id. *Feste*, 342-9, M. Jost, *Sanctuaires*, 298f. with index of sources.

<sup>49</sup> "Of Hippocrates" because a modern belief insists that the tree is so old that Hippocrates was tutoring under its shade. See P-H xlviii, Sh-W 260-1. A Christian tradition attributes its planting to Saint Helene, mother of Constantine the Great, as she stopped at Cos on her way to Jerusalem searching for the Holy Cross.

πλατάνῳ where the learned Syrian uses a common motif. This fragment has often been –unconvincingly – regarded as a possible piece of evidence of Philetan bucolic poetry, cf. e.g. Couat 79, von Blumenthal 2168, Bowie 75 and Thomas 41-2.

### Fr. 15 (CA 1)

νῦν δ' αἰεὶ πέσσω, τὸ δ' ἀέξεται ἄλλο νεῶρες  
πῆμα, κακοῦ δ' οὐπω γίνεται ἡσυχίη

Stob. 4.40.11 (V.922 Hense, c. περὶ κακοδαμονίας)

Φιλήτα Δῆμητρος MA Φιλητ S.

νῦν δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος, Hesych. ν 729, cf. *LSJ* s.v. νῦν I.4 "opposite to what might have been under other circumstances". Νῦν δέ is used after an unreal hypothesis or wish or a real situation of the past and brings one back to a usually unhappy reality. It is very often used in Homer and in tragedy with a rhetorical colour mostly in *rheseis*, cf. e.g. [Aesch.] *Prom.* 158, Soph. *OC* 905, *Phil.* 949, Eur. *Or.* 504, 1134, *Med.* 16 (on which C. W. Willink, *CQ* 38 (1988), 317), fr. 636.6, Theodectes *TrGF* 72 F 8.6. Never in choral lyrics except Eur. *Hel.* 1161 where the formula νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν ... / ... τείχεα δέ is evidently influenced by the rhetoric of the funerary epigram. Their frequency in tragedy is obviously due to the fact that such contrasts tend to come up on occasions of desperation, cf. the Argonauts in A.R. 4.1256 and Ancaeus in 4.1270. In funerary epigrams νῦν δέ usually distinguishes the status while the deceased was still in life with his present one, cf. the seminal *Il.* 19.289, 319 and *AP* 7.211, 271, 538, 670 etc. whence transferred to the erotic field in Asclep. *HE* 19.1. In this fragment of lamenting character Demeter expresses self-pity about her present troubles, which are presumably contrasted to her previous happiness or her potential happiness should Persephone be with her.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>50</sup> In general "νῦν is hardly found in tragedy except in commands", J. D. Denniston on Eur. *Elec.* 408, see also West on Hes. *Theog.* 963. Νῦν δέ in the speeches of Achilles bears some significance, cf. *Il.* 9.344, 356 and see Edwards on *Il.* 18.88. The contrast theme is a typical feature in funerary lament, see Lattimore 172-7, M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, Cambridge 1974, 165-171. Pohlentz 34-5 interpreted "Wäre ich ein Mensch, dann könnte ich mich ausweinen. So ist Leid unsterblich, wie ich selbst", but this makes no real point and lacks any positive evidence or parallel.

**πέσσω** Attic πέττω, πέπτω, see on fr. 18.1. The verse is modelled on two passages employing πέσσω in a metaphorical and a literary way, *Il.* 24.639 ἀλλ' αἰεὶ στενάχω καὶ κήδεα μυρία πέσσω and *Od.* 7.118-9 ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰεὶ / ζεφυρίη πνείουσα τὰ μὲν φύει, ἄλλα δὲ πέσσει (this may have exerted a broader influence: the Philetan passage could go on to emphasise the succession of griefs Demeter goes through, after the model of the succession of fruits in *Od.* 7.120-1) and is echoed in *oppositio* in A.R. 1.283-4 (Alcimedea) ἄλλα δὲ πάντα πάλαι θρεπτήρια πέσσω. / Νῦν γε μὲν etc. The literary meaning of the verb is "digest" and the Coan makes an ironic point here (and in fr. 18.1) since Demeter abstains from food. The absolute use of the verb is an innovation. The omission of the object creates a vagueness to suggest that here Demeter digests griefs instead of food. There is no need with Nowacki 39 to supply any object. Πῆμα in the next line is suggestive enough. For this ambivalent use of πέσσω cf. the following ἀέξεται and ἔλλαχε in fr. 18.2. Expressions that create an ironic, almost comic effect might have been a recurrent feature in the lamentation of Demeter.

(τὸ δ') ἀέξεται - ~ - x Here in its usual *sedes* in epic, cf. *Il.* 9.66, Hes. *Theog.* 195, *WD* 377, *HHD* 235, 300, al., see *LFrE* s.v. ἀέξω. In Hellenistic poetry cf. Call. *HyDian.* 131, A.R. 2.45, 878, Moero *CA* 1.2, Antig. Car. *SH* 47.2, Nic. *Ther.* 544, Maistas *Aret.* 34 (*CA* p. 70) and similarly Theoc. 15.21. Never in Arat. (4x).

**ἄλλο νεῶρες / πῆμα** Most closely paralleled in A.R. 2.137 ἄλλο / πῆμα' αἰδέηλον, cf. also [Aesch.] *Prom.* 1075 ἀπρόοπτον πῆμα, *Il.* 21.39 ἀνώϊστον κακόν, Simon. *PMG* 527.1-2 κακόν / ἀνεπιδόκητον, Arat. 768 ἀπρόφατον κακόν and on the whole piece Eur. *Aeolus* fr. 35 αἰεὶ τὸ μὲν ζῆ, τὸ δὲ μεθίσταται κακόν, / τὸ δ' αὖ πέφηνεν αὔθις ἐξ ἀρχῆς νέον. "Ἄλλο is often used in expressions denoting a succession of griefs in a sense approaching "additional", as *Il.* 18.435, *Od.* 5.179 = 10.300 πῆμα κακόν ... ἄλλο, Hes. *Theog.* 800, Aesch. *Ag.* 865, Eur. *Med.* 705, *Hipp.* 874, *Hec.* 233, A.R. 2.223, 3.910, 3.1081, Q.S. 9.94-5 ~ Nonn. *D.* 21.91 κακώτερον .. ἄλλο / πῆμα, cf. the examples from late Greek epic in Campbell on Q.S. 12.487 and see Dover on Ar. *Frogs* 515 on a similar nuance of ἕτερος.

**ἀέξεται ... / πῆμα** Another bold metaphor. The irony of πέσσω aptly extends to ἀέξεται as well, as it alludes to the non-growing crops during Demeter's famine, cf. *HHD* 469 (Rhea to Demeter) ἀ[ῖ]ψα δὲ κα[ρ]πὸν ἄεξε φερέσβιον ἀνθρώποισιν: what grow instead, are Demeter's sufferings. The closest parallels are *Il.* 17.139 ~ *Od.* 17.489 μέγα πένθος .. ἀέξων cf. *GVICyr* 5.13 (2nd c.) πέ[λ]γθος ἀέξει/, Nonn. *D.* 26.154 and Anon. *AP* 7.334.16, Theogn. 1031 ἄλγος ἀέξων cf. *GVI* 1920.5 (1st c. A.D.) and Nonn. *D.* 19.34, A.R. 3.837 ἀχέων, τὰ οἱ ἐν ποσὶν ἦεν / θεσπέσι', ἄλλα τ'

ἔμελλεν ἀεξήσεσθαι ὀπίσσω, Q.S. 1.23, 116, al., 9.383 ἔλκος ἀέξετο, Nonn. *D.* 12.269 ἀεξομένης ... ἀνίης, 304 ὠδίνας ἀέξων (Dionysus in the scene of Ampelos' death, reproducing the same ambiguity as in Ph.). With the metaphor cf. the elegiac epitaph in G. B. D' Alessio, *ZPE* 106 (1995), 22-6 (Arta, 6th c.) v. 6 πένθος ἔθαλλε, Soph. fr. 441a.11 ἐπὶ μέγα τόδε φλ[ύει κα]κόν (suppl. Barrett), Eur. *Alc.* 1085 ἠβάσκει κακόν, Androm. *GDRK* 62.84 (to gain sharper sight snakes eat fennel) πιαῖνον δειλοῖς ἄλγεα βουπελάταις, Joann. Gaz. *Ambon* 228 (sailors) ἄλγεα βουκολέοντες ἀλικμήτοιο μερίμνης. From the parts of the body or plants that "grow" already Homer employs ἀέξω with χόλος (*Il.* 18.110) and θυμός (*Od.* 2.135), cf. Hes. *Theog.* 493 μένος καὶ φαίδιμα γυῖα ἠΰξετο. In Hellenistic poetry it is used both literally, e.g. Call. *HyJov.* 55 (child Zeus), *HyDel.* 84 (δρύας), and metaphorically, as in Call. *HyJov.* 95 (ἄνδρας), 131 (οἶκος), *HyArt.* 34 (θεόν), A.R. 1.206 cf. Samius *HE* 1.5 (κῦδος), 1.1339 (μῆνιν), 2.641 (θάρσος), [Theoc.] 25.17 (μένος), Arat. 552 (ὄραι), Nic. *Ther.* 390 (ἔαρ). The phrase contributes to the remarkably descriptive language of the fragment.

**νεῶρες** rather means "sudden, unexpected" than simply "new", *LSJ* s.v. *Vox tragica*, cf. Soph. *Elec.* 901, *OC* 730 φόβον νεῶρη, *Ichn.* 160, Eur. *Antiope* fr. 48.6 Kambitsis, q.v. Δί]ρ[κ]ης νεῶρες αἶμα (sounding similar to Ph.'s phrase), fr. 964.5-6 ἴν' εἶ τι πάσχοιμ' ... / μή μοι νεῶρες (Musgrave : νεαρὸν, νεαραῖς testt.) προσπεσὸν μᾶλλον δάκοι, cf. also Aesch. *Pers.* 693 νεοχμὸν ἐμβριθὲς κακόν, Eur. *Hipp.* 866-7 τόδ' αὖ νεοχμὸν ἐκδοχαῖς / ἐπεισφρεῖ θεὸς κακόν and Ar. *Frogs* 1371-2 ἕτερον αὖ τέρας / νεοχμὸν, *Thesm.* 701. But here it is rather a tragic vest on an epic body. Ὀρνυμι is freely used of persons, things and abstract meanings (κακόν, μένος, φόβον, στόνον, σθένος, etc.), but never with πῆμα as subject or object. Νεῶρες creates an impressive image of a calamity suddenly rising in front of the inflicted as a wave, cf. *Il.* 11.657 πένθεος, ὄσσον ὄρωρε, *Od.* 7.270-1 ξυνέσεσθαι οἰζυῖ / πολλῇ, τήν μοι ἐπῶρσε Ποσειδάων (particularly appropriate as the οἰζύς is a storm in the sea), Aesch. *Ag.* 346-7 ἐγρηγορὸς τὸ πῆμα ... / γένοιτ' ἄν, Pind. *Pyth.* 4.155 μή τι νεώτερον ... ἀναστάη κακόν, Q.S. 13.254 σφίσι πῆμα κόρυσσε / ~ 6.601 = 8.227 ~ Opp. *Hal.* 5.77. A sea-image underlies this metaphor, cf. Q.S. 5.82-3 περὶ δέ σφιν ἀέξετο κῦμ' ἀλεγεινόν / ὀρνύμενον, 14.247 and *Il.* 4.422-3, 23.214 ὄρτο δὲ κῦμα ~ *Od.* 14.522, al., Antim. fr. 41a.14 = *SH* 52.14 κύματ' ὀριν[, A.R. 1.106-7 ὀρινόμενον .. / κῦμ' ἄλός, 2.565-6, 2.580-1 καὶ σφίσιν ἀπροφάτως ἀνέδου μέγα κῦμα πάροιθεν / κυρτόν,

ἀποτμήγι σκοπιῇ ἴσον, 2.1102, Frust. Adesp. Auct. *SH* 1184 and similarly Claud. *Gig.* 12-3 τὰ δὲ μυρία κύματα λαῶν / ὄρνυτ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν.<sup>51</sup>

**πῆμα, κακοῦ** Here juxtaposed but belonging to different syntactical units; the two are often conjoined, as in *Od.* 3.152 πῆμα κακοῖο, 5.179, al. πῆμα κακόν, 7.195 κακόν καὶ πῆμα, Lyc. 611 κακῶν καὶ πημάτων παραίτιον. Similarly A.R. 2.601 ἀφλάστοιο κόρυμβα ~ Lyc. 295 ἄφλαστα καὶ κόρυμβα. Πῆμα is the specific or separate misfortune, κακόν the general plight in which Demeter finds herself.

**οὐ πω** "not yet", see J. G. Fontenrose, *AJPh* 62 (1940), 65-79, West on Hes. *Theog.* 560, Janko on *Il.* 15.426-8 and cf. fr. 4.2.

**γίνεται** Most MSS in Homer have this old Ionic form instead of γίγνομαι and inscriptions provide evidence that it prevailed later, see West on Hes. *Theog.* 429, Campbell on Q.S. 12.2, Allen on *Mimn.* fr. 1.4.

**κακοῦ ... ἠσυχίη** In prose one encounters Hdt. 6.135 ἠσυχίη ("respite, release") τῆς πολιορκίας, Plato *Rep.* 583e ἠσυχίη τῆς ἡδονῆς, but in poetry the construction is only paralleled with Pind. *Nem.* 1.70 ἠσυχίαν καμάτων μεγάλων, though the repertoire of nouns with κακοῦ (-ῶν) is rich: *Il.* 2.380 ἀνάβησις κακοῦ, *Il.* 9.250 ~ *Od.* 22.481 κακοῦ .. ἄκος cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 631, *Od.* 12.120 οὐδέ τις ἔστ' ἀλκή (sc. ἀθανάτου κακοῦ of Charybdis), Hes. *Theog.* 876 ~ *WD* 201 κακοῦ δ' οὐ γίνεται ἀλκή, *Carm. Aur.* 56 ~ *Ps-Phoc.* 120 λύσιν .. κακῶν cf. Hdt. 6.139, Adesp. *TrGF* 430a γένοιτο παῦλα .. κακῶν with Th. K. Stephanopoulos, *ZPE* 83 (1988), 231-2, *Men. Mon.* 14.2 ἀνάπαυσις .. τῶν κακῶν, Q.S. 9.15 κακοῦ δ' οὐ γίνετ' ἐρωή, *Orph. Arg.* 893 κακῶν ... πυθμῆν. This Philetan expression is often paralleled with *Mimn. IEG* 12.2 οὐδέ κοτ' ἄμπαυσις γίνεται οὐδεμία, but such an approach is not favoured by the context in *Mimn.* and similar expressions are frequent in epic, e.g. *Il.* 4.245 οὐδ' ἄρα τίς σφι ... γίνεται ἀλκή, *Il.* 21.528 οὐδέ τις ἀλκή γίνεται, *Od.* 21.305 etc.

**ἠσυχίη** ἠσυχίη may have philosophical implications, cf. Plato *Rep.* 583e and see Pohlenz 27-9, but these should be kept afar from this passage. The term is mostly prosaic and so is its use here, but it does not lack an epic background. It is a Homeric hapax, *Od.* 18.22 ("rest"), then as "rest, peace of soul, tranquillity" in *HHHerm.* 356, *Archil. IEG* 196a.16, *Theogn.* 4, 331, Solon *IEG* 4.10, Leon. Tar. *HE* 58.4, *Antip.*

<sup>51</sup> This is well paralleled with the κυλίνδω-image applying equally well to κύμα and πῆμα: *Od.* 1.162, al. κύμα κυλίνδει, Alc. fr. 208.2, A.R. 2.732, see Livrea on A.R. 4.152 ad fin. whence *Il.* 11.347, al. πῆμα κυλίνδεται, *Antip. Sid. HE* 22.8, *Nonn. D.* 10.96.

Sid. *HE* 29.10. Ἠσύχιος only once in Homer, *Il.* 21.598 cf. Arat. 999, ἥσυχος first in Hes. *Theog.* 763, *WD* 119 and Hippon. *IEG* 80.2, then Call. *HE* 50.4, Lyc. 3, 1216, Diosc. *HE* 9.4, Timo Phlias. *SH* 841.2, Sotadea *CA* 7.9, *GVI* 1411.2 (3rd/2nd c.). The adverb ἥσυχίως in *HHHerm.* 438, ἥσυχῆ in Pind. *Pyth.* 11.56, Theoc. 14.27, ἥσυχια in Theoc. 2.11, 100, 6.12, Arat. 1001, Zenod. *HE* 3.3, Meleag. *HE* 34.5, ἥσυχον in Arat. 1000, Meleag. *HE* 33.3. Call. *HyPal.* 72, 74 uses ἀσυχία "calm of nature"; in *HE* 9.4 ἥσύχιος ποταμός of a man not showing his love. Ἠσυχία is often related to (abstinence from) love, as in Eur. *Hipp.* 444, Asclep. *HE* 17.2, Theoc. 7.126,<sup>52</sup> Phanocl. *CA* 1.4, Anon. *HE* 10.4 and cf. Parth. 36.3 ἥσυχάζει αἰδοῖ κατεχομένη, Maccius *GPh* 2.1 ὤμοσ' ἐγὼ .. ἀφ' Ἠδυλίου .. / .. ἥσυχάσειν.

**Fr. 16 (CA 3; Demeter?)**

τῶ οὐ μοι πολέων γαίης ὑπερ ἠδὲ θαλάσσης  
ἐκ Διὸς ὠραίων ἐρχομένων ἐτέων  
.....

οὐδ' ἀπὸ Μοῖρα κακῶν μελέω φέρει, ἀλλὰ μένουσιν  
ἔμπεδ' ἀεὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλα προσαυξάνεται

Stob. 4.40.15 (V.923 Hense, c. περὶ κακοδαμονίας)

Φιλίτα S, om. MA; Cereri attribuit Bergk.

1 τῶ οὐ μοι S : locum corruptum esse censet Powell, "emendatio incerta" Hense, alii proponunt alia πολέων S : πλεῖον Emperius : (οἱ)μοι πολέω Kuchenmüller οὐδέ S : corr. Gesner 2 ἐσχομεν ὦν S : corr. Jacobs inter vv. 2 et 3 lacunam statui 3 μελέω κακῶν S : κακῶν μελέω Passow : κακῶν μελεδῶ von Blumenthal : μελέω τι κακῶν Heinrich φέρουσιν S : corr. Grotius 4 ἔμπεδα καὶ S : ἔμπεδ' ἀ<εῖ> καὶ Meineke

**τῶ οὐ μοι** Many efforts have been made to replace this with a verb that we need in the first two verses. But in a highly emotional passage one would expect an accumulation of negative statements of what Demeter, who apparently talks, cannot accomplish, cf. Q.S. 7.64-5 (Podalirius of the death of his brother Machaon) τῶ μοι πένθος ἄλαστον ἐποίχεται· οὐδ' ἔτι κείνου / τεθναότος φάος ἐσθλὸν ἐέλδομαι

<sup>52</sup> One could hardly agree with H. Edquist in A. J. Boyle (ed.), *Ancient Pastoral*, Monash 1975, 19-32 relating the term to the idyllic environment in id. 7 and Virg.'s *otium*.

εἰσοράσθαι. Powell regarded the construction as corrupt, but O. Hense had prudently warned that any emendation is precarious. The tradition gives a sense as it stands and Wil. *HD* II, 115 n. 3 and Diehl ad loc. ("ego omnia recte se habere puto") were probably right in defending it. The hiatus creates no difficulties, cf. *Il.* 2.250, 14.126, al., A.R. 1.334 and see M. Campbell in M. Fantuzzi - R. Pretagostini (edd.), *Struttura e storia dell'esametro greco* I, Rome 1995, 195. For the juxtaposition of the personal pronoun cf. *Il.* 14.126 /τῶ οὐκ ἄν με, *Il.* 4.410 /τῶ μή μοι cf. Arat. 413, *Il.* 19.213 τό μοι οὐ τι, *Od.* 13.5 τῶ σ' οὐ τι, A.R. 2.15 /τῶ καί μοι, 3.978 τῶ μή με λίην, Arat. 379 τῶ καὶ .. οἱ cf. Q.S. 13.255, Pind. *Pyth.* 5.23 τῶ σε μή. Τῶ suggests that Demeter gave a reason for her endless sufferings and an explicit reference to Zeus' responsibility might have preceded. Chalcon in fr. 18.1, q.v. might be taking up that point rather than the one in v. 2. On the orthography of τῶ see Garvie on *Od.* 7.25-6.

πολέων ... / ... ἐτέων πολέων (= Attic πολλῶν) is an epic form which also comes up in lyrics in drama, see Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 1332. The gap between πολέων and the rest of the construction by no means justifies an emendation. The genitive absolute is a strong and independent structure within a sentence and accordingly enjoys a certain degree of liberty, which permits it to maintain its coherence even if its elements are scattered in the text. The Hellenistic poets in particular created more complex structures with absolute genitives than their predecessors, see G. Vasilaros, *Der Gebrauch des Genitivus Absolutus bei Apollonius Rhodius im Verhältnis zu Homer*, Athens 1993, esp. his conclusions pp. 251-7.

γαίης ὕπερ ἠδὲ θαλάσσης is based on Homeric precedents such as *Il.* 14.408 = *Od.* 20.98 = *HHD* 43 ἐπὶ τραφερὴν τε καὶ ὑγρὴν, *HHD* 69 πᾶσαν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 576, *Il.* 24.341-2, al. ἡμὲν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν / ἠδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν, *Od.* 9.69 /γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον, Hes. *Theog.* 582 ἥπειρος ... ἠδὲ θάλασσα, *HH* 15.4 κατὰ γαῖαν .. ἠδὲ θάλασσαν, [Mosch.] *Megara* 43 ἐπὶ γαῖαν .. ἠδὲ θάλασσαν. Γαίης ὕπερ is rare; it occurs in *Il.* 13.200 = Hes. *WD* 551 = A.R. 4.1426, cf. *Il.* 23.327 ὕπερ αἴης/, \*A.R. 4.1271 = \*Opp. *Hal.* 1.37 γαίης ὕπερ. The clausula ἠδὲ θαλάσσ(ης)/ is common. Cf. Theoc. 17.76 \*γαίας ... θαλάσσης, \*Q.S. 5.7.

ἔκ Διός The phrase often stands at the beginning of a hexameter or pentameter in the emphatic runover position,<sup>53</sup> such as *Il.* 2.33, 70, al., *Od.* 1.283, Hes. *Theog.* 96 /ἔκ δὲ Διός whence Call. *HyJov.* 79 (cf. [Hes.] *Scut.* 197 /ἐν δὲ Διός), Theoc. 26.31, Arat. 744, Cleanth. *CA* 1.4 /ἔκ σοῦ (sc. Διός), Mosch. *Eur.* 15, Diot. *HE* 1.4 (pentam.), Q.S. 2.223, 8.223, Triph. 227, Nonn. *D.* 21.334, al. Cf. after a pentameter caesura Ion

<sup>53</sup> See on this Edwards on *Il.* 18.74-5, Garvie on *Od.* 6.29-30.



*IEG* 27.6, conversely Marc. Arg. *AP* 9.246.4 /οὐ Διὸς ἐκ χειρῶν, ἀλλὰ etc., never in A.R. The phrase often serves as an *exordium* in poems such as Alc. *PMGF* 29, Theoc. 17.1 with Gow ad loc., Arat. 1, Strato *AP* 12.1.1, see M. Fantuzzi, *MD* 5 (1980), 163-172.

**ἐκ Διὸς ὠραίων ἐρχομένων ἐτέων** Zeus is originally and above anything else the sky-god, cf. *Il.* 15.192 and see West on Hes. *WD* 416, Burkert 126. The idea that years as well as days and nights come from him is Homeric, cf. *Il.* 2.134 ἐννέα δὴ βεβάασι Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί, *Od.* 14.93 ὄσσαι γὰρ νύκτες τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐκ Διὸς εἰσιν whence [Mosch.] *Megara* 46 νύκτας τε κλαίουσα καὶ ἐκ Διὸς ἡμαθ' ὀπόσσα with Th. Breitenstein, *Recherches sur le poème Mégara*, Copenhagen 1966, 50, A.R. 1.1071 ἐκ Διὸς ἡμαρ ἐπήλυθεν and see Hainsworth on *Il.* 11.84-5 ad fin. on ἱερὸν ἡμαρ, κνέφας ἱερὸν. In Arat. 265f. he assigns to the Pleiads the giving of signs of the seasons to come Ζεὺς δ' αἴτιος .. / ὄ σφισι καὶ θέρεος καὶ χειμάτος ἀρχομένοιο / σημαίνειν ἐκέλευσεν ἐπερχομένου τ' ἀρότιο. In Moero *CA* 1.9-10 he assigns that duty to the doves in return for their help when he was a child. Therefore Zeus brings about the season for each agricultural work, Arat. 742-4 τὰ δέ που μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν, / ὥρη μὲν τ' ἀρόσαι νειούς, ὥρη δὲ φυτεῦσαι, / ἐκ Διὸς ἤδη πάντα πεφασμένα πάντοθι κεῖται. But in a related passage Call. *HyDem.* 121-3 μεγάλα θεὸς εὐρύανασσα / λευκὸν ἔαρ, λευκὸν δὲ θέρος καὶ χειμα φέροισα / ἤξεϊ καὶ φθινόπωρον, ἔτος δ' εἰς ἄλλο φυλαξεῖ makes Demeter bring fruitful seasons. The point seems to be that Zeus' acknowledged authority in the succession of seasons is insufficient to produce crops without Demeter's consent. In Lyc. 620-3 Diomedes' curse has a similar effect: εὐχὰς ἀρούραις ἀμφ' ἐτητύμους βαλεῖ, / Διοῦς ἀνεῖναι μήποτ' ὄμπνιον στάχυν, / γύας τιθαιβώσσοντο ἀρδηθμῶ Διός, / ἦν μή etc.

**ὠραίων .. ἐτέων** The phrase was taken up by Theoc. 7.85 ἔτος ὠριον, cf. [25].28 θέρος ὠριον, *GVI* 715.3 (1st/2nd c.; a young boy died) ἐξ ἐτέων ὠρης, ὀλίγον δέμας, *CEG* 557.3 (ca 350) ἐννεετεις γὰρ ἰδὼν κυκλίους ὄρας ἐνιαυτῶν, *HG* 1.35-6 = *LSCG* 151.35-6 (ca 300) ἐορτάζε[ν] .. / ... ἐνιαύτια ὠραῖα ἐορτάγ in a *lex sacra* prescribing rites of Zeus Polieus for the month Batromios, m. February, "die geeignetste Zeit für die ἐνιαύτια ὠραῖα ..., die Erbitung eines guten Jahres vom Wettergott", Herzog, *HG*, 8). 'ὠραῖον ἔτος in Theoc. seems to be equivalent to "spring".<sup>54</sup> The Schol. (101.14-7 Wendel) note: ὠριον : τινὲς τὸν ὄλον ἐνιαυτόν.

<sup>54</sup> So Legrand, Gow, Monteil. "Ἔτος cannot mean anything else than "year", see C. J. Emllyn-Jones, "ἔτος and ἐνιαυτός in Homeric formulae", *Glotta* 45 (1967), 156-161; *contra* R. S. P. Beekes, *Glotta* 47 (1969), 138-142, see also *LFrE* s.v., S. West on *Od.* 1.16 and cf. Pind. *Nem.* 11.40 ἐτέων περόδους. Τὸ γοῦν ἔαρ etc. probably suggests a lost more detailed argumentation.

δύναται δὲ καὶ οὕτως (:οὗτος LP) οὐ πάντως τὸ δωδεκάμηνον λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν ὥρων μεταβολήν· διαιρεῖται γὰρ εἰς δ'. τὸ γοῦν ἕαρ ὁ Θεόκριτος ὥριον εἶπεν. Gow ad loc. cited a number of examples where a noun's meaning is restricted by the adj. applied to it, such as *Od.* 17.606 ~ [Theoc.] 25.86 δειελον ἡμαρ cf. A.R. 3.41 δειελον ὥρην, Antim. fr. 29 θέρεος σταθεροῖο ("mid-summer"), A.R. 1.450 σταθερὸν ἡμαρ, *Il.* 5.539, al. νέαιρα γαστήρ, Hor. *Epod.* 3.29 *annus hibernus* (=winter), *Odes* 3.23.8 *romifero ... anno* (=autumn), Virg. *Aen.* 6.311 *frigidus annus*. Homeric *Il.* 21.111 μέσον ἡμαρ, cf. *Il.* 16.777 = *Od.* 4.400 ἥλιος μέσον οὐρανὸν ἀμφιβεβήκει, is also comparable; analogously, in Philod. *GPh* 2.1 λυκαβαντίδας ὥρας = λυκάβαντας the meaning of the noun is expanded. The traditional view since Kayser's days (p. 54) regards ὠραῖος as "epitheton ornans τῶν ἐτέων, quatenus ἔτεα continent ὥρας, nihil amplius" as in *HHD* 265 ὠρησι ... περιπλομένου ἐνιαυτοῦ or Long. 1.23.1 ἡ ὥρα τοῦ ἔτους "the season of the year" i.e. late spring. But this misses an important point. Ὠρη is also a term closely associated with vegetation; in Homer it describes "die freundliche Zeit, die vegetatives Leben zur Reife bringt", Erbse 41, and as such it is related to Demeter, who in *HHD* 54, 192, 492 is ὠρηφόρος ("bringer of ripeness", Richardson on v. 54) and ὠρία on a coin in Smyrna.<sup>55</sup> Cf. Hes. *WD* 31-2 βίος .. ἐπεητανὸς κατάκειται / ὠραῖος, τὸν γαῖα φέρει, Δημήτερος ἀκτὴν, Ar. *Frogs* 1034 καρπῶν ὠραι, Philic. *SH* 680.36 ἰγωρα... (:ὠρα[τιο]ν Diehl cl. Ar. *Frogs* 395 : ὠρασιγ Gallavoti cl. *HHD* 205) Ἐλευσινάδε μυστηλασίαις ἰάκχων. Ὠραῖος is a word linked to the maturity of crops (and animals, even women) and to spring, which is the most important season for agriculture and therefore for Demeter too, and the one in which most of the festivals held in her honour were taking place, see Brumfield 33-9. Persephone's return to the upper world is traditionally set in spring, see Richardson on *HHD* 399f. At the same time ὠραῖος can simply mean "timely", as in Hes. *WD* 392-4 ὠρια ... / ἔργα κομίζεσθαι Δημήτερος, ὡς ... / ὠρι' ἀέξεται, Arat. 1075-6 Χαίρει καὶ γεράνων ἀγέλαις ὠραῖος ἀροτρεὺς / ὠριον ἐρχομέναις, ὁ δ' ἀώριος αὐτίκα μᾶλλον or Anyte *HE* 16.2 ὠραίου ... νάματος ἀδὸ πόμα i.e. coming up at the right moment for the wayfarer. The phrase seems to play upon the ambiguity "timely/

<sup>55</sup> Farnell III, 318 n. 33. It has been disputed whether ὠρηφόρος is compatible with the famine motif dominating the Hymn or whether it should be seen as a later accretion, but Richardson 15, followed by Foley 98 n. 58, is definitely right in considering the two elements as inseparable. Horai themselves, daughters of Zeus assigned with the supervision of the succession of seasons, are Persephone's companions in Orph. *Hy.* 29.9, 43.7 and in the Thesmophoric procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus according to Callix. *FGH* 627 = Athen. 5.198b ἐπηκολούθουν Ὠραι τέσσαρες διεσκευασμέναι καὶ ἐκάστη φέρουσα τοὺς ἰδίους καρπούς, but, despite Kuchenmüller 51, do not have a place in this passage. Szadeczy-Kardoss 163-4 translated "als nach der Verordnung des Zeus die Jahre der Jugend vergehen", but a reference to the past would demand παρ-ερχομένων.

fertile seasons". Demeter probably implies that though Zeus' authority will grant an undisturbed succession of seasons, her own authority will keep them fruitless.

**έρχομένων έτέων** This provides a novel appearance to the Homeric formula έτος ήλθεν, *Od.* 1.16, 2.107, 14.287, 19.152, al., which never occurs in the absolute genitive. It is comparable with similar Homeric absolute genitives such as *Il.* 2.551 περιτελλομένων ένιαυτών, *Od.* 1.16 έτος ήλθε περιπλομένων ένιαυτών, see Vasilaros, op.c., 92-3, *Od.* 11.248 περιπλομένου ένιαυτού. A.R. 1.688 has τελλομένου έτεος, cf. 1.690 έπερχόμενον εις έτος. In the second verse the choice of words creates a succession of o/e sounds: ώραιών έρχομένων έτέων.

If, as it seems, ού in v. 1 does not need to be "corrected", ούδ' in v. 3 is meaningless unless a verb lies between the two negatives. For reasons of content ούδ' in v. 3 most probably introduces a new paratactical clause governed by από .. φέρει. The emendation of πολέων into πολέω by Grotius, accepted by Kuchenmüller, presupposes an additional emendation of (τω) ού μοι into something else. The verb sounds awkward with γαίης ύπερ ήδè θαλάσσης and is rather incompatible with the second verse of the fragment. Wil. *HD* II, 115 n. 3 justified the two negatives through means usually applied to dramatic texts, "durch die Erregung des Redenden ... auch durch das lange Zwischenglied" and went as far as to consider ούκ for ούδ' in v. 3. He also "necessarily" ("notwendig" and therefore, it seems, half-heartedly) connected μοί in v. 1 with μελέω in v. 3. One feels more comfortable about postulating a lacuna of two verses, which would specifically refer to *Demeter*, not offering a point of general interest, and therefore omitted by an anthologist. Both the content of the fragment and ούδ' indicate that Demeter in a sentimental outbreak deplored her misfortunes with a succession of two or three negative statements concluded with a final αλλά-clause. This would create a suitable rhetorical effect, as often in epic.<sup>56</sup>

**Μοίρα** Singular as always in Homer except *Il.* 24.49. In later versions Moirai very often play a role in connection with Persephone's abduction. In *Ov. Met.* 5.529f. Zeus declares that Core can return to the upper world provided that she has not eaten anything in the Underworld; this is not negotiable *nam sic Parcarum foedere cautum est* (v. 532) and cf. v. 534 *non ita fata sinunt* (sc. *Cererem educere natam*), *Fasti*

<sup>56</sup> This rhetorical scheme is common in epic, cf. *Il.* 1.152-8, 4.223-5 Ένθ' ούκ άν βρίζοντα ίδοις Άγαμέμνονα δϊον / ούδè καταπτώσσοντ', ούδ' ούκ έθέλοντα μάχεσθαι, / αλλά μάλα σπεύδοντα etc., *Il.* 13.712-6, *Od.* 4.566-7, 6.43f. and on three negations in similes see Edwards (1991), 28-9, *Hes. Theog.* 423-5, *Archil. IEG* 128, A.R. 1.644-8, 4.1776-9 ού νύ τις ύμμιν άεθλος / .... / ούτ' άνέμων έριώλαι .. αλλά έκηλοι etc., *Call. HyDel.* 302-3, *Phoen. CA* 5.5-10, [*Mosch.*] *Epit. Bion.* 20-2, etc.

4.520 (Demeter to a daughter of Celeus) *heu, melior quanto sors tua sorte mea est*. In Claud. *RP* 1.217f. Moira compels Zeus to indulge in Persephone's rape: (Zeus to Aphrodite) *candida Tartareo nuptum Proserpina regi / iam pridem decreta dari; sic Atropos urget / sic cecinit longaeva Themis. nunc matre remota / rem peragi tempus*, see Gruzelier on 1.214f., 218f. In 3.410 Demeter herself complains about Moira: *sic numina fatis / volvimur et nullo Lachesis discrimine saevit*. In Nonn. *D.* 6.94 εἰ λίνα Μοιράων ἐπιπέιθεται assent of Moirai is a presupposition for Core's rape, cf. also Orph. *Arg.* 1195 (Plouton) κούρην ἐπεβήσατο δαίμονος αἴση. In Orph. *Hy.* 43.7-9 Μοῖραι / καὶ Χάριτες κυκλίοισι χοροῖς πρὸς φῶς ἀνάγωσι [sc. Persephone] / Ζηνὶ χαριζόμεναι καὶ μητέρι καρποδότειρι, see Richardson 83 against L. Malten, *ARW* 12 (1909), 421f. who postulated a broader influence of the Orphic version. More relevant to Ph. might be the intermediary role of Moirai in Phigalia where they persuade Demeter to lay her wrath aside, Paus. 8.42.3. Claud. *RP* 1.487f. assigns to them another intermediary role: Pluto launches severe threats because he is the only unmarried god and the Fates as suppliants beg him not to realize them, but to turn to Zeus for a solution. In a relief on the altar of Hyacinthus in Amyclai Demeter, Core, Pluto, Moirai and Horai are portrayed with Aphrodite, Athena and Artemis, cf. Paus. 3.19.4 and see Kannicht 383. Demeter and Moirai are associated in cult in Acrocorinth as θεοὶ σύννοικοι, Paus. 2.4.7 and archaeological evidence suggests that the connection is as early as the 6th c., see D. Callipolitis-Feytmans, "Déméter, Coré et les Moires sur les vases corinthiens", *BCH* 94 (1970), 45f. In Corinth, see L. Beschi, *LIMC* IV.I, 883 with vol. II.598, Demeter is twice represented as a lady holding in her hands her recently-born daughter. Beside her are the Moirai spinning, thus prompting the idea of their predestined sufferings.<sup>57</sup> Moirai had a well established worship at Cos in the 3rd c. and the oaths ναὶ Μοίρας and μὰ τὰς Μοίρας in Theoc. 2.160 and Herodas 1.11 respectively, both in Coan settings, seem to be a local peculiarity, see Sh-W 326, 106 n. 122. There is no evidence that Moirai were worshipped in connection with Demeter at Cos, but a link might have existed in popular thought. Noteworthy Moirai (v. 11), Persephone (v. 32) and Demeter (vv. 69, 86) are the only deities evoked in Herodas 1.

**κακῶν μελέω** Codex S, the only one preserving the fragment, offers μελέω κακῶν and Passow inverted the sequence of the words to restore metrical order. The text may be badly corrupt or we may simply have to do with a mistake of *simplex ordo*. When ἀποφέρω, as usually and always in Homer, see Chantraine *GH* II, 92-3, takes a concrete object (τούτω sc. two fighters in *Il.* 5.257 or τεύχεα in *Od.* 16.360 = 326), it

<sup>57</sup> This resembles the Moirai (substituting the traditional Muses) in Cat. 64.303f. singing *felicia ... / carmina* (vv. 382-3) of the doomed Achilles in the wedding of his parents.

governs an accusative, but a genitive of separation would be possible with an abstract object. Von Blumenthal's 2168 κακῶν μελεδῶ has some merit as it is possible Greek, cf. [Aesch.] *Prom.* 26 ἀχθηδῶν κακοῦ, Eur. *Suppl.* 807 ἄλλη κακῶν, and would allude to Demeter's traditional wasting herself away, cf. *HHD* 94 εἶδος ἀμαλδύνουσα πολὺν χρόνον, 201 ἦστο πόθῳ μινύθουσα βαθυζώνιοιο θυγατρὸς with Richardson ad loc. and for the topos MacLeod on *Il.* 24.123. The ancients seem to have etymologised μελεδῶν from μέλη + ἔδω, cf. EM 756.23 μελεδῶναι· αἱ τὰ μέλη ἔδουσαι φροντίδες and see West on Hes. *WD* 66 γυιοβόρους μελεδῶνας, Campbell on A.R. 3.4-5. In Nonn. *D.* 6.30-1 πιεῖν δ' ἠρνήσατο Δηῶ / Περσεφόνης μεθύουσα μεληδόνι.

**μένουσιν / ἔμπεδ' αἰεί** Cf. A.R. 3.772-3 οὐδέ τις ἀλκή / πήματος, ἀλλ' αὐτως φλέγει ἔμπεδον and for the diction Orph. *Arg.* 710 (Blue Rocks) βυσσόθεν ἐρριζοῦντο καὶ ἔμπεδον αἰέν ἔμιμον. The emendations of Grotius and Meineke are certain. The construction is a combination of two Homeric phrases, μένον ἔμπεδον + ἔμπεδον αἰέν.<sup>58</sup> On the plaintive αἰεί see on fr. 5.3. Μένουσιν / ἔμπεδ(α) literally means "remain in earth" and makes a point as Hippon. and an anonymous tragic poet (Aesch.?) are attested to have used the word in the sense χθόνιος, Hesych. ε 2425 ἔμπεδῆς <δὲ> γαμόρος <ἔ>μαρψεν "Αἰδης (= Adesp. *TrGF* 208)· ἔμπεδον ἔλεγον τὸν "Αἰδην, ὡς <καί> (add. Kannicht-Snell) Ἰππῶναξ (*IEG* 146a) ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐν πέδῳ καὶ χθόνιος<sup>59</sup> and M. L. West, *BICS* 24 (1977), 97-8 established it in Aesch. *Ag.* 1172 (Cassandra) ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους τάχ' Ἐμπέδῳ (= "Αἰδη; ἔμπεδω codd.) βαλῶ. This sense lurks in A.R. 2.642-4 Τούνεκα νῦν οὐδ' εἴ κε διέξ Ἄϊδαο βερέθρων / στελλοίμην, ἔτι τάρβος ἀνάψομαι, εὔτε πέλεσθε / ἔμπεδοι ἀργαλείοις ἐνὶ δειμασιν, Nonn. *D.* 19.6 Στάφυλον .. κατεύνασεν ἔμπεδος ὕπνος, 38.218 cf. Leon. *Tar. HE* 74.7-8 ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐγγαίων [= χθονίων] Ἄιδωνέος Ἑρμεία τε καὶ Νυκτός "an unusual sense, though in Plut. *Mor.* 953a Erebus is defined as τὸ χθόνιον καὶ ἐγγαίον

<sup>58</sup> *Il.* 5.527 = 17.434 = *Od.* 11.152, al. μένον ἔμπεδον, cf. also Aesch. *Ag.* 854, oracle in Hdt. 7.140.1 = 14.3 P-W, A.R. 2.135, Anon. *GDRK* 56.24, Q.S. 5.270, al., Orph. *Arg.* 610 + *Il.* 16.107 = Hes. fr. 294.4 / ἔμπεδον αἰέν, for which cf. also Theogn. 1084, Solon *IEG* 15.3, A.R. 1.499, 646, *SEG* 27.844.25 (2nd c. A.D.), *AVI* 79.3 (2nd/3rd c. A.D.), Orph. *Arg.* 347 and further *Il.* 15.683 ἔμπεδον ἀσφαλὲς αἰεί, 9.317 νωλεμὲς αἰεί, 10.364 ἐμμενὲς αἰεί, 14.238, al. ἀφθιτον αἰεί, *Od.* 9.74 συνεχὲς αἰεί, *Od.* 1.68 ἀσκελὲς αἰέν, see on these patterns Hainsworth 10.

<sup>59</sup> Emended West : ἀντὶ τοῦ ὁ (vel ὦν) ἐν πέδῳ, χθόνιος Degani : ἀντίον τοῦ οὖν ἐμπέδου χθόνιος codd. Cf. also Phot. *Lex.* ε 738 ἐμπεδῆς γαμόρος· τὸν δὲ "Αἰδην ἔμπεδον ἔλεγον. Ἰππῶναξ, where cod. *Zavordensis* adds in margin ἔπος ἐμπεδοθυρήσεις. Chr. Theodoridis, *Eikasmos* 2 (1991), 33-4 understood this as "always search for a word", but see E. Degani, *ibid.*, 37 for other possibilities. If the marginal note was originally part of the ἐμπεδῆς entry it must be connected with Hades. Ἐμπεδοθυρήσεις may be a colloquial-sounding formation for "bound to die".

σκότος", G-P ad loc.<sup>60</sup> Ἐν can be used to denote what is contained *in* or *under* a closed space, see *LSJ* s.v. ἐν A.I.3 and cf. *CEG* 607.1 (4th c.?) φθιμένους κρύπτει τάφος [ἐ]γ χθονὶ τεῖδε, Leon. Tar. *HE* 75.2 (a dead's) ἐγχθόνιος σποδιά (Kaibel : ἐν χθονὶ οἷς P), A.R. 2.1272-3 μελισσταγέας χέε λοιβάς / Γαίη τ' ἐνναιέταις τε θεοῖς. For the idea cf. Call. *HE* 19.4 (Δήμητρι) καὶ τῇ κάτω θυγατρὶ and further Opp. *Hal.* 3.486-7 (Minthe, mistress of Pluto) τὴν ποτε κούρην / φασὶν ὑπουδαίην ἔμμεναι and the applications of ὑποχθόνιος. It is noteworthy that Demeter's innocent complaint is expressed in highly allusive language. This seems to have been a prominent feature in the goddess' speech.

**ἀλλὰ .. / ... ἄλλα** This may be an intentional word-play. Cf. Homeric *Il.* 9.45, al. ἀλλ' ἄλλοι, *Od.* 7.118-9, 8.169-170 ἄλλος μὲν γάρ τ' εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνὴρ / ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφήν ἔπεσι στέφει ~ 8.174-5, Archil. *IEG* 25.5 οὔτις ἄλλος μάντις ἀλλ' ἐγώ, and in Hellenistic verse Call. *HyJov.* 72-3 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν μακάρεσσιν ὀλίζοισιν αὐθι παρῆκας / ἄλλα μέλειν ἑτέροισιν, *HyDel.* 165-6 ἀλλά οἱ ἐκ Μοιρέων τις ὀφειλόμενος θεὸς ἄλλος / ἐστί, *HE* 2.5-6 ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν / τοῦτο σαφῶς, Ἡχώ φησὶ τις ἄλλος ἔχει', A.R. 1.97-9 οὐ μὲν ἔτ' ἄλλους / γήραος υἱᾶς ἔχεν βιότοιο κηδεμονῆας, / ἀλλά ἐ τηλύγετον, 1.894 ἄλλων ἐκ πόλιων. Ἄλλ' οὐ σύ γε etc., 2.1049-1050 ἀλλά τιν' ἄλλην / μῆτιν πορσύνωμεν, 4.743-4 Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἰκέτης καὶ ὁμόγνιος ἔπλευ ἐμεῖο, / ἄλλο μὲν οὐ τι κακὸν μητίσομαι, Theoc. 7.91-4 πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα / Νύμφαι κῆμὲ δίδαξαν ... / ἐσθλά, ... / ἀλλὰ τόγ' ἐκ πάντων μέγ' ὑπείροχον, 1.36-7, 4.17-9, Phoen. *CA* 1.9-10 ἀλλ' ἦν ἄριστος ἐσθίειν τε καὶ πίνειν / κῆρᾶν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ πετρῶν ὄθει, Antip. Sid. *HE* 8.4-5 οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλα / ἱερὸν ἀλλ' ἐν ἐμοί, Argent. *GPh* 7 ἄλλος ὁ Μηνοφίλας ... / ἄλλος ... / ἀλλ' ἴτε etc. For such juxtaposition of cognates cf. Arat. 779-780 ἄλλοτε γάρ τ' ἄλλη ... / ἄλλοτε δ'

<sup>60</sup> Ἐμπεδον was correctly understood to mean "in the earth" in antiquity, cf. Schol. *D Il.* 9.335 ἔμπεδα: ἐδραῖα, βέβαια καὶ ἀσφαλῆ. πέδον γὰρ ἡ γῆ, EM 335.49, Eustath. *Comm. Il.* 905.11 (III.391 van der Valk, q.v.) ἐν τῷ πέδῳ ἦγουν ἀπλῶς τῇ γῆ. Its original meaning is sometimes sensed in Homer in occurrences such as *Il.* 19.12 μέγα τεῖχος Ἀχαιῶν ἔμπεδον ἦεν, *Il.* 17.434 ὡς τε στήλη μὲνει ἔμπεδον, ἦ τ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ etc., *Od.* 12.434 στηρίξαι ποσὶν ἔμπεδον ("on the ground"), *Od.* 23.203 (Odysseus' bed in Ithace fixed to the ground) ἔτ' ἔμπεδόν ἐστι, γύναι, λέχος. The word does not occur in Call. or Theoc. but cf. in this sense in Hellenistic poetry A.R. 1.499 ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἐν αἰθέρι τέκμαρ ἔχουσιν (a witty game), 2.960 οὐδ' ἔτι μιμνάζειν θέλον ἔμπεδον, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ νηί, / ... ἔβησαν, and perhaps 1.646 (the soul of Aethalides in the Underworld) ἔμπεδον αἰὲν ἀμειβομένη μεμόρηται, Leon. Tar. *HE* 32.5 ρίζα γὰρ ἔμπεδος οὖσα, [Mosch.] *Megara* 115 κεῖται δ' ὁ γ' ἐπὶ χθονὸς ἔμπεδον, Num. Her. *SH* 582.4 ράφιν ἔμπεδον (:ἐμπέδιον Casaubon) "deep-rooted", later Crinag. *GPh* 27.5 δρῦες ἔμπεδα ρίζαις / ἐστᾶσιν, Q.S. 8.169 (a foreland cannot be removed by the impetus of rivers) ὁ γὰρ ἔμπεδον ἐρρίζωται, Paul. Sil. *Ambon* 186, 279 βάσις ἔμπεδος.

ἄλλοῖαι, further A.R. 1.90-1 οὐ μὲν ἄμ' ἄμφω / οὐδ' ὁμόθεν, 2.28 οἰόθεν οἶος cf. 3.1096, 4.418, 4.1118 or A.R. 3.192 πάντες ἐπεὶ πάντη with Campbell ad loc.

**προσαυξάνεται** A term originally applying to vegetation as ἀέξεται in fr. 15.1. The verb is exclusively prosaic appearing first in Theophr. and then in Polyb. As in fr. 5.2 the juxtaposition of high poetic and plain prosaic diction is noteworthy. If it applies to Demeter, the goddess in her desperation might just be making a pessimistic prediction about her future (note the present tense). It might also refer to the repercussions of her conflict with the rest of the gods and perhaps to the untoward incidents that occurred to her during her wanderings (note προσ-), see on these Richardson 74f., 178-9.

Only one MS of Stob. transmits this fragment with the lemma Φιλῆτα. The fact that it has been attributed to all three titled works of Ph. is an indication of how puzzling its content is. Cessi 137 assigned it to *Demeter* as words of Celeus to the goddess when she called him a happy man. But the same scholar (1914), 286-7 made the new suggestion that these verses are words of Telephus to Clytemnestra in order to win her sympathy and therefore belong to *Telephus*. Couat 78 deemed that here Ph. "laments his own ill-luck". Nowacki 64-5 believed that the fragment is part of *Hermes* as words of desperation by Odysseus, but metre is prohibitive to this suggestion. Bergk took these verses to be part of *Demeter* in relation to fr. 15 and 18 and was followed by Wil. *HD* II, 115 n. 3, Kuchenmüller 50-1, and Powell 91. Demeter seems to have mentioned to her Coan hosts her endless and adventurous wanderings. It seems that this happened in a very emotional speech that could have led Demeter to tears (fr. 17) and prompted Chalcon to a consolatory response (fr. 18). Μοί in v. 1 may be used to assert Demeter's authority over the vegetation of land. Γαίης ὕπερ ἠδὲ θαλάσσης seem to depend on ἐρχομένων to acknowledge Zeus' authority over land and sea, which is a contested issue in *Il.* 15.193 (Poseidon talks) γαῖα δ' ἔτι ξυνή πάντων καὶ μακρὸς Ὀλυμπος. It is less likely that it depends on a verb describing the wanderings of Demeter over land and sea as in *HHD* 43 ἐπὶ τραφερῆν καὶ ὑγρῆν.<sup>61</sup> Ὠραίων hints

<sup>61</sup> Demeter was said to have orbited the earth searching for her daughter, cf. Carcin. II *TrGF* 70 F 5 πόθῳ δὲ μητέρ' ἠφανισμένης κόρης / μαστήρ' ἐπελθεῖν πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ χθόνα influenced by Eur. *Hel.* 1302-7 Μάτηρ ἐσύθη θεῶν ἀν' / ὑλᾶντα νάπη / ποτάμιόν τε χεῦμ' ὑδάτων / βαρύβρομόν τε κῦμ' ἄλιον / πόθῳ τᾶς ἀποιχομένης / ἀρρήτου κούρας, Ant. Lib. 24.1 (echoing Nic.'s *Heter.*) πλανήτις ἐπήει γῆν ἅπασαν, Call. *HyDem.* 9-16, Ov. *Fasti* 4.574 *praeteritus Cereri nullus in orbe locus* and cf. a detailed geographical account in 4.467f., 497f., 563f., *Met.* 6.438-9 *Interea pavidae nequiquam filia matri / omnibus est terris, omni quaesita profundo*, 6.642-3, Ael. Arist. *Eleus.* 3 (poets etc. tell) Δήμητρα δ' ἐπέρχεσθαι γῆν πᾶσαν καὶ θάλατταν ζητοῦσαν τὴν θυγατέρα. In some versions Demeter even goes to Hades to search for her daughter, see Richardson 259. Diehl's understanding of the text

at seasons timely but fruitless. Moira, as a deity traditionally with superior power to that of Zeus,<sup>62</sup> may be invoked as a last resort for a solution; but to no avail: in all versions she stands on the side of Zeus. Μελέω can be either masculine or feminine and may refer to Demeter. "Εμπεδ(α) would hint at Persephone's current abode. No doubt the verses that seem to be missing between vv. 2 and 3 would cast more light on the interpretation of this fragment.

#### Fr. 17 (CA 2.3-4)

καὶ γάρ τις μελέοιο κορεσσόμενος κλαυθμοῖο  
κῆδεα δειλαίων εἶλεν ἀπὸ πραπίδων

Stob. 4.56.26a (V.1129 Hense, c. παρηγορικά)

Φιλήτα Δήμητρος MA, τοῦ αὐτοῦ S

1 κορεσσόμενος codd. : corr. Frobeniana

**καὶ γάρ τις** The poet assumes here what seems to be a didactic tone: "Because, of course, when someone ...". Καί means "in fact", Denniston *GP*, 108-9.

**μελέοιο μέλεος** means "vain" in Homer but "*miser*" in tragedy. Ancient critics were aware of the change of meaning, cf. Schol. *Il.* 16.336 (IV.238 Erbse) μέλεον ἀντὶ τοῦ

"quare neque peregrinus hospes neque transmarinus ... neque Parca malorum quid mi misero aufert" is not convincing.

<sup>62</sup> Zeus very often has to bow to Moira, see H. Fränkel, *Early Greek Poetry and Philosophy*, London 1975, 53-64 (ch. "Gods and Powers"), Erbse 284-293, Janko 4-7. Whether this is his own choice to keep the established order of the world undisturbed or because of inferiority to Moira, is a question still open to discussion. In other instances Moira is identical with the will of Zeus, see the collection of passages in Od. Tsagarakis, *Nature and Background of Major Concepts of Divine Power in Homer*, Amsterdam 1977, 117-134 and cf. Hainsworth on *Od.* 7.196-8. Hellenistic poets sometimes used the idea, as Call. *Hypal.* 104-5 (Athena cannot undo the harm to Teiresias) ἐπεὶ Μοιρῶν ᾧδ' ἐπένησε λῖνα, / ἠνίκα τὸ πρῶτον νιν ἐγείναιο, *HyArt.* 22-3, Theoc. 1.138-140. On the whole the Greeks believed that there are some abstract powers to which Zeus himself bows, such as Eros (or "Aphrodite"), cf. *HHAphr.* 36f., Asclep. *HE* 11.5 and see Bühler on Mosch. *Eur.* 76 or Ananke, see on fr. 3.2. Musae. 323 Ἐρως δ' οὐκ ἤρκεσε Μοίρας makes a point when he presents Eros and Moirai in conflict over Leander's death.



μελέως, ματαίως. καὶ διὰ παντὸς οὕτως Ὅμηρος χρῆται· οἱ δὲ τραγικοὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκτροῦ καὶ τάλανος and see Erbse on Schol. *Il.* 10.480 (III.102). Hellenistic poets affected its ambiguous usage, cf. Call. *HyDel.* 117 μέλαιοι γὰρ ἀπειρήκασιν τένοντες (the only occurrence in Call.), Alex. Aet. *CA* 3.17 ὅταν ἀρνήται μέλειον γάμον ἀγλαδὸς Ἀνθεύς. A.R. employs μέλειος in both senses, e.g. 1.616 ὦ μέλαι ("tragic") and on the other hand 3.487-8 μελέη ... / ἔλπωρή, cf. also the intriguing 1.1249 μελέη δέ οἱ ἔπλετ' ἀυτῆ "feeble", "until his cries grew faint" Hunter, cf. the echo of Opp. *Hal.* 4.631 and see in general Livrea on A.R. 4.605, Rengakos 114. The word is ambivalent here too, as Demeter's lament is both tragic and vain. Ph. seems to be the first to take advantage of its ambiguity.<sup>63</sup> Wittily enough this hints at Demeter's passionate crying resulting in only one tear, see ff. (a weeping with negligible effect!).

**μελέοιο .. κλαυθμοῖο** κλαυθμός is picked up directly from *Il.* 24.717 (7x in Homer: *Il.* 24.717, *Od.* 6x). Its only adj. in Homer is *Od.* 17.8 κλαυθμοῦ τε στρυγεροῖο. It is rare in poetry afterwards, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1554, ousted by the erudite poets, cf. *GVI* 1897.25 (2nd c.), *IMEG* 87.1 (2nd c. A.D.), Q.S. 3.521 (quoted ff.). Κλαύθονται ἀδελφόν occurs in an epigram in P<sup>T</sup>eb. 3.7 (s. a.C. I; noted in *LSJ* Suppl. s.v.) where Hunt-Grenfell noted "l. κλαύσονται".

**κορεσσάμενος κλαυθμοῖο** A variation of *Il.* 24.717 ἄσεσθε κλαυθμοῖο (the only occurrence of κλαυθμός in the *Il.*) cf. then Q.S. 3.521 κλαυθμοῦ ἄδην κορέσασθαι and further *Il.* 22.427 κορεσσάμεθα κλαίοντες, *Od.* 20.59, 4.541 = 10.499, *Il.* 23.157 γόοιο ... ἄσαι and see J. Latacz, *Zum Wortfeld 'Freude' in der Sprache Homers*, Heidelberg 1966, 187-9. In lamentation contexts κορέννυμι in Homer always governs a participle, but it is common with an abstract object in the genitive, *Il.* 11.562, *Od.* 11.421, al.

**κῆδεα .. εἶλεν** Cf. A.R. 2.240-1 ἀδινὸν δ' ἔλε κῆδος ἕκαστον / ἠρώων, 2.858 κῆδος ἔλοντο/, 3.692. In Homer cf. *Od.* 10.363 ἐκ κάματον .. εἶλετο γυίων, *Od.* 11.201 μελέων ἐξείλετο (θυμόν) varied in Theoc. 17.24 μελέων ἐξείλετο (γῆρας).

**δειλαίων** δειλαιος, as γαληναίη in fr. 5.2, is a choicer variation of the Homeric δειλός ("wretched" not "cowardly", see Janko on *Il.* 13.275-8), which is used exclusively of persons. The form is first attested in Hippon. *IEG* 36.4 (quoted ff.), cf.

<sup>63</sup> The most conspicuous example of an ambiguous use of a word in Hellenistic poetry is Call. *HyArt.* 90 κόνας ἤμισυ πηγούς "black-and-white" relying on the controversial meaning of πηγός "black" or "white", see on *SH* 415i.16, A. Rengakos, *ZPE* 94 (1992), 24-5, J. Chadwick, *BICS* 39 (1994), 3, Matthews on Antim. *Stud. Hom.* fr. 185.

also Adesp. Iamb. *IEG* 14.2, but it is above all a *vox tragica*, whence it passes over to Hellenistic poetry (mostly in vocative): Call. 5x with an accumulation in *HyDem.* 83 (see Hopkinson ad loc.), 93, 100, all referring to victims of Demeter's wrath, A.R. only 3.464, 8x in the Theocritean corpus, Arat. 946, Leon. Tar. *HE* 16.5, Bion fr. 1.4. Hellenistic poets could not ignore the prestigious heritage of classical tragedy. Eur. *Aeolus* strongly influenced Ph.'s *Hermes*, as his *Medea* did with A.R.'s character. In this fragment μελέοιο and δειλαίων have a tragic background. So e.g. Call. *HyDem.* 34 πάντας δ' ἀνδρογίγαντας ὄλαν πόλιν ἀρκίος ἄραι glances at Eur. *Phoen.* 1131-2 γίγας ἐπ' ὤμοις γηγενῆς ὄλην πόλιν / φέρων, see F. Bornmann, *ZPE* 91 (1992), 15-7 and on tragic diction in Call. Schmitt 157-8. In A.R. cf. in particular 3.791f. and see Campbell (1983), 41-2, 109-110 n. 14 and in general Hunter 2-3.

**δειλαίων .. ἀπὸ πραπίδων** Cf. Hippon. *IEG* 36.4 (Plutos) δειλαιοσ γὰρ τὰς φρένας, Men. *Sic.* fr. 5 δειλαιοι φρένες. "Dicuntur autem πραπίδες δειλαῖαι, poetarum more, quum ipse homo fuerit δειλαιοσ, δειλός, miser", Kayser 38. Hellenistic poets and esp. Call. have a strong preference for placing the preposition between the noun and its adj., cf. Call. *HyAp.* 59 καλῆ ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ περιηγέος ἔγγυθι λίμνης, see McLennan on Call. *HyJon.* 48 and cf. in Homer *Il.* 13.667 ~ *Od.* 15.354 νοῦσφ ὑπ' ἀργαλέῃ φθίσθαι οἷς ἐν μεγάροισιν. Even the scanty fragments of Ph. securely testify to his interest in euphonic effects produced by juxtaposed words such as fr. 27.4 μύθων παντοίων, or internal rhyme such as μελέοιο .. κλαυθμοῖο and δειλαίων ... πραπίδων, cf. also fr. 5.1 πολέεσσι .. χαλεποῖσι, fr. 16.2 ὠραίων .. ἐτέων, fr. 27.2 κλήθρην .. μακέλην, fr. 10.2 αὐτόσ .. λευκολόφοσ, or symmetry between the initial and the concluding word of the verse, such as fr. 20 βουγενέασ ... μελίσσασ. All these phenomena have a long history in epic.

**πραπίδων** The term occurs 11x in Homer and 7x in Hes., always in the plural. They were identified with φρένες and both with the diaphragm, see Schol. *Il.* 11.579 (III.233 Erbse, q.v.) and Schol. *Il.* 13.412 (III.483 Erbse), but φρένες might in fact mean "lungs", see Janko on *Il.* 16.481. The word was originally understood in its physical meaning, see S. D. Sullivan, "πραπίδες in Homer", *Glotta* 65 (1987), 182-193 (examining the use of the word up to classical times). In Hellenistic and Imperial times πραπίδες were perceived mainly as the centre of intellectual activity, cf. Adesp. Pap. Epigr. *SH* 979.5 = *FGE* 151b.5 (Homer) ἀπ' ἀθανάτων .. πραπίδων, Frust. Adesp. Auct. *SH* 1086 λευκῶν πραπίδων glossed as κακῶν φρενῶν by Hesych. λ 746, Adesp. Pap. Eleg. *SH* 962.15 μετὰ πραπίδεσσι βαλεσ[θ' which is a mere variation of the Homeric μετὰ φρεσὶ βάλεσθε. Here, however, as often in early epic, πραπίδες are envisaged as the centre of psychological grief, e.g. *Il.* 22.43 ἦ κέ μοι αἰνὸν ἀπὸ πραπίδων ἄχοσ ἔλθοι, *Il.* 24.514 (quoted ff.), then A.R. 3.764-5 ὀππότ'

άνιας / άκάματοι πραπίδεσσιν ένισκίμψωσιν "Έρωτες (the only occurrence in A.R., an ambiguous use covering both the physical and mental sense). Erudite poets only rarely use the term, 1x in A.R., cf. Maiist. 46, Archim. Syr. (?) *SH* 201.41, POxy. 3535i.16 (s. II p.C.; Hellenistic hexameter). Instead they prefer its equivalent φρένες, 30x in A.R. But its use in Hellenistic inscriptions continued unabated, *GVI* 475.2 (Cos, 2nd/1st c.) δακρυόεν πέ[νθος ένι] πραπίσιν/, 658.5 (3rd c.), 705.6 (ex. 1st c.), 748a.8 (3rd c.), 755.1 (ca 100), 1028.2 (2nd/3rd c.) 1042.4 (2nd/3rd c.), 1149.12 (in. 2nd c.), 1516.2 (2nd/1st c.), 1700.2 (1st c.), *EG* 853.3 Kaibel (2nd c.?). Later Crinag. *GPh* 7.6, [Opp.] 4x, Q.S. 1x, oracle 473.14 P-W (3rd c. A.D.), Nonn. 8x.

Ph. here has in mind the scene of Achilles and Priam's weeping in *Il.* 24. The fragment alludes to *Il.* 24.513-4 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥα γόοιο τετάρπετο δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς, / καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ πραπίδων ἦλθ' ἕμερος ἡδ' ἀπὸ γυίων etc. Note the active form in Ph. for the passive in the Iliadic prototype, cf. for the latter *Il.* 22.43, *Od.* 6.140 ἐκ δέος εἴλετο γυίων, and for the former *Od.* 8.149 σκέδασον δ' ἀπὸ κήδεα θυμοῦ, A.R. 1.979 βάλεν δ' ἀπὸ δειμάτα θυμοῦ, 4.685 νυχίων ἀπὸ δειμάτα πέμψεν ὄνειρων. The crucial verse *Il.* 24.514 was athetised in antiquity "as unnecessary and because of Aristarchus' view that γυῖα referred only to the hands and feet, not to all the limbs", Richardson ad loc. Ph.'s reference shows that the question of its authenticity was raised as early as his days. This phenomenon of scholarly questions playing a role in the creation of poetry is attested in Ph. also in fr. 18.1 ἐκ Διὸς ἄλγεα πέσσειν with reference to *Il.* 24.617 θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει. Ph. might have liked to make his point even more clear by adding a reference to γυῖα (e.g. ἡδ' ἀπὸ γυίων vel sim.), which constitutes the core of the objections of those who athetise the verse. Δειλαίων would cleverly apply to both πραπίδων and γυίων.

Jacobs 121 was the first to print fr. 17 and 18 as one unit and a century later Maass (1895a), IX reposed the conjunction. He was followed by Powell, but the suggestion is not convincing. In fr. 17 the word is of a compromise that will bring about a permanent solution by an external intervention from Zeus. In fr. 18 we have to do with a description of an internal psychological process, that satiation of weeping resulted in a tranquillity of the soul, far from the worries that tormented it. Having said this, the two fragments apparently belong to the same context, Demeter's crying and its implications.

It is clear that someone has had his fill of crying and is eventually relieved by the satiation of his own tears. Who is it? In principle gods are beyond the realm of tears,<sup>64</sup>

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1396 (Artemis) κατ' ὄσσων δ' οὐ θέμις βαλεῖν δάκρυ, Q.S. 3.642-3 and see Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 17 and D. C. Feeney, *The Gods in Epic*, Oxford 1991, 156 with n. 116. The

but the suffering character in the poem is Demeter and subsequent treatments of the myth have her reacting with tears to the abduction of her daughter. Call. *HyDem.* 17 μὴ μὴ ταῦτα λέγωμες ἃ δάκρυον ἄγαγε Διοῦ and Philic. *SH* 680.40 [.πουδ[...]]γου σοῖς προσανήσεις δακρύοισι πηγὴν are the first testimonies. Then Ov. *Fasti* 4.521-2 *dixit, et ut lacrimae (neque enim lacrimare deorum est) / dedicit in tepidis lucida gutta sinus*, Nonn. *D.* 6.8-9 βαρνομένης δὲ θεαίνης / δάκρυσιν αὐτοχύτοισι καθικμαίνοντο παρειαί<sup>65</sup> and cf. Claud. *RP* 1.190f. preferring an alternative use of the motif: Demeter cries when she abandons Sicily for Ida in Crete, vv. 192-3 *heu quotiens praesaga mali violavit aborto / rore genas*. But when Demeter comes back home and finds out about Persephone's abduction *haeserunt lacrimae, nec vox aut spiritus oris redditur*, 3.151, and she is unable to weep, 3.159-160 *nec deflet plangitve malum. tantum oscula telae / figit et abrumpit mutas in fila querellas*. Κορεσσάμενος implies satiation of weeping. Gods occasionally indulge in moderate weeping in epic and the expression used, if understood literally, would mean that Demeter cried out. Ph. knows that as with other excitements, cf. *Il.* 19.221 αἴψα τε φυλόπιδος πέλεται κόρος ἀνθρώποισιν, satiation of tears is quick, *Od.* 4.103 αἰψηρὸς δὲ κόρος κρυεροῖο γόοιο. Crucially, Call. l.c. uses the singular δάκρυον and one is more prepared to assume that Demeter indulged in a moderate weeping (and that Philic. l.c. is exaggerating) than that Call. belittles the innovation of the Coan. The goddess' self-restraint is used to make fun of a Homeric formula.

In *HHD* Demeter is distraught and angry but does not cry, cf. vv. 40-2, 56, 76-7, 198. The tear of Demeter is a device which predates Philic. and Call. The latter *HyDem.* 17 apparently has in mind a specific case where Demeter cries with regard to her daughter's fortune. The aphorism μὴ μὴ ταῦτα λέγωμες indicates that this is not a version that the Cyrenean himself treated elsewhere. The question is inevitably related to the hypothesis of an alleged Hellenistic prototype of Ov. *Fasti* 4.419-620, but at any rate Ov. is unlikely to have picked up the motif of Demeter's tears directly from –

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only instance of a god actually crying in Homer is *Il.* 21.493 ~ 496 (Artemis abused by Hera) δακρύνουσα δ' ὑπαιθα θεὰ φύγεν ὧς τε πέλεια. Ares even when he learnt about the death of his son Ascalabus in *Il.* 15.113-4 θαλερῶ πεπλήγετο μηρῶ / χερσὶ καταπρηγέσσει, ὀλοφυρόμενος δ' ἔπος ηῦδα etc. but he is far from shedding tears. In contrast to this heroes are full of tears in epic, cf. Schol. *Il.* 1.349 (I.104 Erbse) ἔτοιμον τὸ ἠρωϊκὸν πρὸς δάκρυα ... καὶ ἡ παροιμία "ἀεὶ δ' ἀριδάκρυες ἄνδρες ἔσθλοί", see Hoekstra on *Od.* 16.191, Hainsworth on *Il.* 9.14-5. The heroic code does not permit tears caused by fear or physical pain.

<sup>65</sup> Call. *HyDem.* 17 is of course expressed with Callimachean wording, cf. *HE* 34.1-2 ἐς δέ με δάκρυ / ἤγαγεν. The wording in Nonn. *D.* 6.8-9 draws on Call. *Hec.* fr. 48.5 τινθαλέοισι καθικμήναι.ντο λοετροῖς. Interestingly in the "Athenian" Hymn in *D.* 19.88 beside the tomb of Celeus ὄμμασι ἀκλαύτοισι Θαλυσιάς ἔστενε Διῶ.

or even through – Ph. Ovid's source does not need to go that far, when a reference in Call. is at hand. He often presents gods weeping and Demeter would be most suitable for such an application. Indeed her tears are taken up as an established element of the myth in Claud. and Nonn.<sup>66</sup>

On the origination of the motif it is only this fragment of Ph., as was first suggested by Cessi 124-5 in a different context, that indicates a bold, novel treatment. Its popularity makes clear that Demeter's tears were not shed in vain. But how did he come up with the idea of presenting the goddess first crying and then being relieved by her own tears? In epic poetry gods or heroes sometimes change mood, as Hera in *Il.* 1.595 (Hephaestus) ὡς φάτο, μείδησεν δὲ θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη after a nasty row with Zeus, or Menelaus and Telemachus, who in *Od.* 4.219f. distraught and weeping due to their reminiscences of Odysseus change their mood by drinking a φάρμακον prepared by Helen.<sup>67</sup> In *HHD* 198-205 Demeter notoriously changed her mood due to the obscene jokes of Iambe:

δηρὸν δ' ἄφθογγος τετιμημένη ἦστ' ἐπὶ δίφρου,  
οὐδέ τιν' οὔτ' ἔπει προσπτύσσετο οὔτε τι ἔργω,  
ἀλλ' ἀγέλαστος ἄπαστος ἐδητύος ἠδὲ ποτῆτος  
ἦστο πόθω μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρός,  
πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ χλεύης μιν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα  
πολλὰ παρὰ σκώπτουσ' ἐτρέψατο πότνιαν ἀγνήν  
μειδῆσαι γελάσαι τε καὶ ἴλαον σχεῖν θυμόν·  
ἦ δὴ οἱ καὶ ἔπειτα μεθύστερον εὐαδεν ὄργαϊς.

Iambe plays a role also in Philic. *SH* 680.54f., Nic. *Ther.* 132, cf. [Apollod.] 1.5.1, and in the Orphic version the funny lady is called Baubo, *OrphF* 52.<sup>68</sup> In Eur.

<sup>66</sup> L. Malten, *Hermes* 45 (1910), 548 unfortunately assumed a Callimachean treatment in the *Aetia*, see Hinds 115 n. 28. Pohlenz 35 with n. 2 thought that Ov. draws his tears directly from Ph., but Bömer's reservations are justified: "Ob das Motiv über Philetas zu Ovid kam ... ist wohl nicht zu beweisen", cf. also H. Herter, *RhM* 90 (1941), 254 with n. 35, 257. In Ov. *Fasti* 4.523 with Demeter *flent pariter molles animis virgoque senexque*, i.e. Celeus and his daughter.

<sup>67</sup> Homeric gods also change their mind from one moment to the other, as Poseidon in *Il.* 15.200f. (μεταστροφή Ποσειδάωνος), cf. Phoenix in *Il.* 9.497 στρεπτοὶ δὲ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί. Wise Nestor in *Od.* 3.147 adds the detail that gods do not change their views on human affairs straight away: οὐ γὰρ τ' αἴψα θεῶν τρέπεται νόος αἰὲν ἑόντων, cf. Bacch. 5.94-6.

<sup>68</sup> On Demeter's change of mood see Foley 45-6. On Baubo see M. Olender, "Aspects de Baubo", *RHR* 202 (1985), 3-55, translated in English by R. Lamberton in D. M. Halperin, al. (edd.), *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, Princeton 1989, 83-113.

*Hel.* 1338-52 Demeter is made to smile by the sound of a drum played by Aphrodite by order of Zeus. A shift to a more cheerful mood is then a typical feature of the myth, cf. also Call. fr. 474 †περσίητ' ἔνεκεν πένθος ἀπωμόσατ[ο which may well refer to Demeter, Nonn. *D.* 6.51 (after a dinner-feast by Astraeus Demeter) σεισαμένη βαρὺ κέντρον ἀμερσινόοιο μερίμνης. But in all these cases this is due to an external reason. A similar attempt seems to have taken place in *Demeter* with piping on request of Chalcon. Here, however, Demeter sheds her worries because of an "internal" reason. The idea is drawn from *Il.* 24.513-4 where the satiation of weeping puts an end to the need to cry. Indirectly one can infer the absence of a character performing the role of Iambe. Noteworthy is the psychographic technique of Ph. who represents human – better: superhuman – feelings as factors that can provoke certain reactions which in the traditional treatments of the story were only provoked by non-psychological, "external" reasons. In the prototype passage, as in other cases in epic, heroes stop crying and start talking, e.g. *Od.* 4.541-2, 10.499, 19.213-4, 20.59 (Niobe in *Il.* 24.613 ἢ δ' ἄρα σίτου μνήσατ' ἐπεὶ κάμε δάκρυ χέουσα is a peculiar case) and similarly Medea's tears lead her to a monologue in A.R. 3.761f. These verses seem to be a comment by the poet and the plot would go on with a consolatory speech by Chalcon, which would follow immediately afterwards.

#### Fr. 18 (CA 2.1-2)

ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἐπὶ χρόνος ἔλθῃ, ὃς ἐκ Διὸς ἄλγεα πέσσειν  
ἔλλαχεν καὶ πενθέων φάρμακα μῶνος ἔχει

Stob. 4.56.26 (V.1129 Hense)

Φιλήτα Δήμητρος MA, Φιλήτα S.

ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἐπὶ χρόνος ἔλθῃ Cf. Pind. *Ol.* 10.7 ἐπελθὼν ὁ μέλλων χρόνος, Eur. *Ion* 15 ὡς δ' ἦλθεν χρόνος, Nonn. *D.* 11.520 ἀλλὰ τότε χρόνος ἦλθε μεμορμένος, 45.273 ἀλλὰ .. ὅτε χρόνος ἦλθε χορείης. 'Ἄλλ' ὅτε (δῆ) comes up very often in this *sedes* in Homer to introduce a new stage in a continued narration or speech. The closest Homeric parallels are *Od.* 1.16 ἀλλ' ὅτε δῆ ἔτος ἦλθε and *Od.* 2.107 = 18.152 = 24.142 ἀλλ' ὅτε τέτρατον ἦλθε ἔτος καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὄραι. Ἐπέρχομαι is a *vox propria* for time to come.

ἐπὶ χρόνος ἔλθη Echoed in Call. *HyAp.* 37 ἐπὶ χρόνος ἦλθε in a passage that seems to be heavy with reminiscences from Ph.,<sup>69</sup> cf. then Joann. Gaz. 2.158 (lightning) ἐπὶ χρόνον ἦλθεν ἰωῆς. Imitations of sound-effects such as this are a common feature in Hellenistic poetry, see McLennan on Call. *HyJon.* 12 where κεχρημένον Εἰλειθυίης is echoed by [Theoc.] 25.35 κεχρημένος εἰλήλουθας, cf. also e.g. Call. *Hec.* fr. 70.9 ἔρυμα χθονός from \**Il.* 4.137 = \*Hes. *WD* 536 ἔρυμα χροός, A.R. 2.108 ὑπὲρ ὄφρυος ἦλασε χειρὶ ~ Theoc. 22.104 ὑπερθε κατ' ὄφρυος ἦλασε πυγμῆ, see Vian on A.R. 2.109, Antag. *CA* 1.1 ἐν δοιῇ μοι θυμός, ὃ τοι γένος ἀμφίσβητον from Call. *HyJon.* 5 ἐν δοιῇ μάλα θυμός, ἐπεὶ γένος ἀμφήριστον, Erat. *CA* 22 περὶ τράγων ὠρχήσαντο from Call. *HyJon.* 52 περὶ πρύλιν ὠρχήσαντο, Leon. Tar. *HE* 12.1 ἄκρον ἐρώτων/ echoing Call. *HyAp.* 112 ἄκρον ἄωτον/ and the internal echo in A.R. 3.290 κατείβετο θυμός ἀνίη ~ 3.1131 κατείβετο θυμός ἀκουῆ. They definitely played a role in Homer too, e.g. *Il.* 9.324 κακῶς δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλει αὐτῆ from *Il.* 11.604 κακοῦ δ' ἄρα οἱ πέλεν ἀρχή, see Hainsworth ad loc., *Il.* 12.187 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Πύλωνα καὶ Ὀρμενον ἐξενάριξεν from *Il.* 11.422 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα Θόωνα καὶ Ἔννομον ἐξενάριξεν, *Il.* 17.330 ὑπερδέα δῆμον ἔχοντας from formulae like *Il.* 19.229, al. νηλέα θυμὸν ἔχοντας, see Edwards on the former passage, *Od.* 10.436 ὁ θρασὺς εἶπετ' Ὀδυσσεύς from *Il.* 20.320 ὁ κλυτὸς ἦεν Ἀχιλλεύς, *Il.* 23.483 Αἴαν, εἶδος ἄριστε κακοφραδές from *Il.* 3.39 = 13.769 Δύσπαρι, εἶδος ἄριστε, γυναιμανές, see Richardson on the former passage and in general R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*, Cambridge 1982, 225-8 ("*Exemplum* and *Imitatio* in Oral Epic"). *Klangwirkungen* like this give a sufficient *raison d'être* for incomprehensible or not quite comprehensible constructions in Homer, like *Il.* 10.349, al. θοῆν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν from *Od.* 2.430, al. θοῆν ἀνὰ νῆα μέλαιναν, see MacLeod on *Il.* 24.366, or *Od.* 15.299 νήσοισιν ἐπιπροέηκε θοῆσιν from *Il.* 17.708 νησὶν ἐπιπροέηκα θοῆσιν. On the importance of sound-effects in Homeric text criticism see H. van Thiel, *Homeric Odyssey*, Hildesheim 1991, VI-VII.

ἐκ Διός Rather with ἄλγεα than with πέσσειν, though both are possible, as in the *Iladic* model, 24.617 θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει, where see Richardson. The phrase is

<sup>69</sup> Perhaps influencing A.R. 2.1216 ἐπὶ χλοός εἶλε παρειάς/ for which *Od.* 3.35 ὠχρός τέ μιν εἶλε παρειάς/ noted by Campbell *Echoes* ad loc. is an apparent model, see also Livrea on A.R. 4.1279. For Call. cf. *HyJon.* 55 ταχινοὶ δέ τοι ἦλθον Ἴουλοι (of Zeus) and perhaps Adesp. Pap. Eleg. *SH* 965.7 (Parth.?) ἐν γενεῖφ χνοῦς ἐπ[- - -]. Id. *Hec.* fr. 74.22 πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον, αἴψα γὰρ ἦλθεν has a convincing Odyssean background, see Hollis ad loc., but this should not preclude a Philetan flavour. Adesp. Pap. Hex. *SH* 906.8 νότος καὶ ἀπὸ κρύος ἔλθη/ seems to reflect Hes. *WD* 543 ὀπότεν κρύος ὠριον ἔλθη/, cf. Dion. Per. 670 ὀπότεν πλεῖστον κρύος ἔλθη. On adverbial ἐπὶ χρόνον see Livrea on A.R. 4.962.

usually placed either in the first or in the fifth and more rarely in the second foot of the hexameter. Zeus is the *persona propria* to allot griefs, cf. *Il.* 2.375, al., *Od.* 8.81-2, al., Mimn. *IEG* 2.15-6, and indeed more than any other god, cf. *Il.* 6.138-9 τῶ μὲν ἔπειτ' ὀδύσαντο θεοὶ ῥεῖα ζῶοντες, / καὶ μιν τυφλὸν ἔθηκε Κρόνου παῖς; conversely in Call. *HyDel.* 259 οὐδ' Ἥρη νεμέσησεν, ἐπεὶ χόλον ἐξέλετο Ζεὺς. His decisions prevail above anything else and, however harsh, are inescapable for men and gods alike, cf. *Il.* 8.143-4, *Od.* 5.103-4, Hes. *WD* 105. The phrase here refers specifically to the role played by Zeus in the rape of Persephone. Zeus is involved already in the first attestation of the myth in Hes. *Theog.* 913-4 (Demeter) ἧ τέκε Περσεφόνην λευκῶλενον, ἦν Ἀιδωνεύς / ἦρπασεν ἧς παρὰ μητρός, ἔδωκε δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς, an indication that this was an integral element of the myth at its birth, cf. also *HHD* 2-3 (Persephone) ἦν Ἀιδωνεύς / ἦρπαξεν, δῶκεν δὲ βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς, 21, 27, 77-80, see Förster 35 n. 1, Richardson on *HHD* 3, Foley 32 and for a theological interpretation Clay 211f., then Eur. *Hel.* 1317-9, [Apollod.] 1.51 Διὸς συνεργῶντος. In Ov. *Fasti* 4.584 Pluto is mentioned only as *Jovis frater*. Zeus' involvement goes through varying degrees of intensity, at first beginning with simple assent to the rape and later ending up in clear patronage. In Claud. *RP* 2.204-246 Zeus even hurls a thunderbolt to prevent Athena and Artemis from rescuing Persephone at the moment of her abduction<sup>70</sup> and in 3.55-64 he forbids any of the gods to reveal the abduction of Persephone to Demeter, accompanying his interdiction with severe threats. Zeus' role must have been pointed out in Demeter's grievous speech, as fr. 16.1-2 τῶ οὐ μοι ... / ἔκ Διός indicates, and obviously her consoler takes this element up. Demeter immediately realises that her daughter's fate could not have been determined without Zeus' consent and she is not slow to turn her anger against him, cf. her instant reaction in *HHD* 91 χωσαμένη δῆπειτα κελαινεφέι Κρονίωνι and *mutatis mutandis* her angry speeches in both Ovidian versions, *Met.* 6.509f. and *Fasti* 4.585f.

**ἐκ Διὸς ἄλγεα πέσσειν** The fact that Ph. overtly refers to *Il.* 24.617 (Niobe, another *mater dolorosa*) θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσει, reproducing the "ingesting griefs instead of food" irony, perhaps indicates that he along with Call. *HyAp.* 22-4 καὶ μὲν ὁ δακρυόεις ἀναβάλλεται ἄλγεα πέτρος, / ὅστις ἐνὶ Φρυγίῃ διερὸς λίθος ἐστήρικται, / μάρμαρον ἀντὶ γυναικὸς οἰζυρόν τι χανούσης, regarded *Il.* 24.614-7, which

<sup>70</sup> See Gruzelier on 1.121. With the thunderbolt Zeus, as the father of Persephone, simultaneously sanctions the marriage, 2.230-1 *nimbus hymenaeus hiulcis / intonat et testes firmant conubia flammae*. Direct participation of gods in the scene of the rape is first attested in Eur. *Hel.* 1314-8 where Artemis and Athena set off to help Core, but Zeus ἄλλαν μοῖραν ἔκραινεν. The Euripidean passage anticipates his reaction in Claud. *Kannicht* 342-3 was surely right in postulating an older, well known source featuring this element of the myth.



described the transformation of Niobe into a rock, as genuine, an opinion broadly shared in present times, see Richardson ad loc. and cf. the contemporary treatment of the myth by Euph. CA 102 = Schol. A *Il.* 24.602 (V.619 Erbse) and Simias of Rhodes CA 5 = Parth. 33. Later Aristophanes and Aristarchus athetised the lines, but Ph.'s text shows that the question of their authenticity had been raised as early as his day, see Williams on Call. *HyAp.* 22, A. Rengakos, *Der Homertext und die hellenistischen Dichter*, Stuttgart 1993, 95-6. As a matter of principle references to contested Homeric passages are usually taken to imply approval of their authenticity and it might well be so, if there are indisputable verbal echoes, as here in Ph. In reality, nevertheless, it is not always quite clear if such references should unquestionably indicate a certain attitude towards a question of authenticity. The poet-philologists might like to hint at a textual problem and, as they often do with controversies of scholarly character, just leave the question open.

**ἄλγεα πέσσειν** The phrase is the result of the combination of two different Homeric constructions, *Il.* 3.157, al. ἄλγεα πάσχω and *Il.* 24.617 = 24.637 κήδεα πέσσει, both rhythmically similar, cf. further *Il.* 1.81 χόλον καταπέψη, *Il.* 4.513 = 9.565 χόλον θυμαλγέα πέσσειν (the first passage of Achilleus, the second of Meleag.; whence *GVI* 1610.3 (1st/2nd c.), Nonn. *D.* 42.183-4 πέσσω / ... ἔλκος ἐρώτων. The standard epic expression is ἄλγεα πάσχω, cf. Solon *IEG* 4.8 and see in the Homeric context A. Rijksbaron in F. Letoublon (ed.), *Act. du colloque P. Chantraine*, Amsterdam 1992, 181-191, the corresponding active version being ἄλγεα τίθημι or δίδωμι and more rarely τεύχω. Later Q.S. 12.291 produced the unique πονησάμενοι ... ἄλγεα λυγρά. Πέσσω literally means "digest" but when it refers to negative psychological feelings "it implies absorption into the body rather than actual digestion", Kirk on *Il.* 3.512-3. Ancient philologists were confused as to whether it means "nurse one's anger for a long time" and thus let it grow and become μῆνις or κότος "uncompromising wrath", as Schol. *Il.* 5.513b (I.534 Erbse), Apol. Soph. 96.7 suggest, or "ingest it, let it cool down", as Schol. *D Il.* 4.513 καταδαπανᾶ ἢ πραῦνει ("non recte" Ebeling s.v. πέσσω (b)) and as Arist. *EN* 1126a22f. οἱ δὲ πικροὶ δυσδιάλυτοι, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὀργίζονται· κατέχουσι γὰρ τὸν θυμὸν ... διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐπιφανὲς εἶναι οὐδὲ συμπεῖθει αὐτοὺς οὐδεὶς, ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ πέσαι τὴν ὀργὴν χρόνου δεῖ understand it, see A. Z. Bonaldi, *BIFG* 3 (1976), 266-271. Both uses of πέσσω in Ph. are allusive; in fr. 15.1 νῦν δ' αἰεὶ πέσσω, τὸ δ' ἀέξεται ἄλλο νεῶρες / πῆμα he glances at *Od.* 7.118-9 ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰεὶ / ζεφυρή πνεύουσα τὰ μὲν φύει, ἄλλα δὲ πέσσει "ripen" (of fruits), in which the antithesis αἰεὶ / ... τὰ μὲν φύει, ἄλλα δὲ πέσσει is reflected in αἰεὶ πέσσω, τὸ δ' ἀέξεται ἄλλο, see nn. ad loc. In this passage both interpretations of πέσσω advanced in Ph.'s times are applicable, cf. fr. 17.1 μελέοιο .. κλαυθομοῖο for a similar case, a fact which creates an artificial ambiguity based purely on philological grounds.

This would be removed by the context, but the consolatory/advisory character of the lines indicates that Ph. followed Arist. in interpreting πέσσω as "ingest to cool down".

**ἔλλαχε** In a polytheistic system the division of "spheres of influence" among the gods is a prerequisite for the balance of the universe and the Greeks imagined this process to have taken place in the form of a lottery, cf. Call. fr. 119. Λαγχάνω along with the high-styled ἔμμορε is the verb usually employed to denote this division of power, cf. *Il.* 15.190-2 (Poseidon) ἦτοι ἐγὼν ἔλαχον πολλὴν ἄλλα ... / παλλομένων, 'Αΐδης δ' ἔλαχε ζόφον ἠερόεντα, / Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρύν, Hes. *Theog.* 203-4, *HHHerm.* 478, Panyas. *EGF* 13.1, 3, Antim. fr. 131.2, Call. *HyDel.* 74 and esp. the Hellenistic anonymous *Hymn to Demeter SH* 990.5, 7, 9, at the preserved beginning of which the word is of the division of power among the gods, see Richardson on *HHD* 85f., Williams on Call. *HyAp.* 43 on ἔλλαχεν, Campbell on A.R. 3.3-4 on ἔλλαχεν/ἔμμορεν and in general Burkert 248, Bremmer 4. The field of authority of each god constitutes his τιμή<sup>71</sup> and Demeter's own τιμή has suffered a severe insult because of Zeus' comportment with regard to the abduction of her daughter. The notion of τιμή is therefore a key-meaning in the *HHD*, cf. vv. 268 εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ τιμάοχος (Demeter revealing her true identity to Metaneira; on the form of the adj. see C. Dobias-Lalou, "Τιμάοχος et ses avatars" in *Mélanges Taillardat*, 38-40), 328 τιμάς θ' ἄς κεν ἔλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν (the gods offering Demeter τιμάς to propitiate her), 443-4 ὑπέδεκτο δὲ τιμάς / δωσέμεν (Zeus promises to grant Demeter τιμάς) and vv. 366, 461 to Persephone, see J. Rudhardt, *MH* 35 (1976), 1-17, transl. in English in Foley 198-211 and cf. also Philic. *Hymn to Demeter SH* 680.33-4 [ἄ]λλας δὲ σὺ τιμάς ἀνελοῦ πα[ρ] ἡμῶν / ... καὶ μ[ε]ρίζονας ἀντ' οὐ μεγάλης said by a yet unidentified divine entity sent to Demeter by Zeus, Anon. PHarris 6.9-10 (s. III p.C.) δώσειν γὰρ τιμάς ... ἔν τε θεοῖς μακάρεσσι said by Hermes, sent by Zeus to Demeter. Still, the supplement of the verb here is ἄλγεα πέσσειν and the ironical tone of *Il.* 14.617 is reproduced: Demeter's share in divine power amounts to nothing other than the nursing of griefs, a use of ἔλλαχεν paralleled in Mimn. *IEG* 12.1 Ἥλιος μὲν γὰρ ἔλαχεν πόνον ἥματα πάντα, Stesich. *PMGF* 232.3 κήδεα δὲ στοναχάς τ' Ἀΐδας ἔλαχε cf. Anon. *GDRK* 48.9, Call. *HyDel.* 96-7 (Apollo to Thebes) σὺ δὲ

<sup>71</sup> See West on Hes. *Theog.* 74, G. Zanker, "Τιμή in Hesiod's *Theogony*", *BICS* 35 (1988), 73-8. Τιμαί are interchangeable between gods and men. Gods receive τιμάς from mortals through sacrifice, gifts etc. and in their own turn they can grant τιμή to them, cf. e.g. *Il.* 1.505 τιμησόν μοι υἱόν (Thetis to Zeus), Call. *HyAp.* 29, see West on Hes. *Theog.* 81. Gods were believed to bother about their τιμή no less than heroes: in Hes. *WD* 138-9 Zeus obliterates the silver race οὐνεκα τιμάς / οὐκ ἔδιδον μακάρεσσι θεοῖς.

τέκνα κακογλώσσοιο γυναικός / ἔλλαχες, Nonn. *D.* 8.139 (Danae) λάχεν ἔδνος ἔρωτος ὕδωρ ἀλός.

**καὶ πενθέων φάρμακα μῶνος ἔχει** Modelled on Adesp. Eleg. *IEG* 21 Ζεὺς πάντων αὐτὸς φάρμακα μῶνος ἔχει, cf. also Solon *IEG* 16.2 γνωμοσύνης μέτρον, ὃ δὴ πάντων πείρατα μῶνον ἔχει, Hes. fr. 307.2 (Paieon) ὃς ἀπάντων φάρμακα οἶδεν. Καί denotes identity, cf. also in direct speech A.R. 1.347 Αὐτὸς ὃ τις ξυνάγειρε καὶ ἀρχεῦοι ὀμάδοιο, 3.174-5, see K-G II, 231 (mostly prosaic). Φάρμακον belongs to medical language. Πενθέων φάρμακα is yet another novelty based on *Od.* 4.220 φάρμακον ... / νηπενθές ... κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἀπάντων varied in Call. *HE* 42.4 πανακὲς πάντων φάρμακον. Cf. also Pind. *Nem.* 10.76-7 λύσις / .. πενθέων, *Il.* 15.394 φάρμακ' ἀκήματ' ... ὀδυνάων cf. Nonn. *D.* 6.364, Eur. *Bac.* 283 φάρμακον πόνων, fr. 1079 λύπης φάρμακον cf. Maccius *GPh* 4.4, Carcin. *TrGF* 70 F 71 φάρμακον κακῶν cf. Philemon *PCG* 77.1, *CEG* 656.2 (4th c.) βλαψίφρονος μανίας φάρμακα, see *LSJ* s.v. φάρμακον II.1. Μῶνος belongs to typical religious language, see Norden 155 n. 1, Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1280-2. \*ἔχει is a gnomic present.

The fragment contains typical words of consolation evidently addressed to Demeter by one of her hosts. Since Chalcon can be said to have been given an important role in the poem, one assumes that it could be him. In the prototype passage, which could be part of another consolatory effort, it is stated that suffering and deliverance from suffering lie both in the authority of Zeus, cf. Nausicaa's attempt to console Odysseus in *Od.* 6.188-9, and therefore one should come to terms with him for a resolution. This bit of Chalcon's consolation takes the form of advice. Perhaps Ph. made an effort to enhance Chalcon's stature by presenting him somehow contributing with pieces of advice towards a settlement of the Zeus/Demeter dispute. His stand would also secure the prudent neutrality of the Coans. But at this stage Demeter would refuse to consider reconciliation. Her inveterate attitude is a typical feature of the myth which penetrated popular belief, cf. Anon. *PMG* 935.19f., and gave rise to all this folly with mediators sent by Zeus, an element apparently exploited at full length by the poets.

## Fr. 19 (SH 675B; Demeter?)

## ἄστλιγγες

Schol. A.R. 1.1297 (117.13-7 Wendel) ὄστλιγγες· αἱ λαμπηδόνες· ἐν ἄλλοις (codd. : ἐν Αἰτίοις Wendel, "vix recte" Pfeiffer) δὲ σημαίνει ἡ λέξις τοὺς βόστρυχας· "ἀπ' ὄστλίγγων δ' αἰὲν ἀλειφα ῥέει" [Call. fr. 7.12]. τοῦτο δὲ φησιν Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῷ β' τῆς Καθόλου (I.44.4 Lentz)· "παρὰ μὲν Ἀπολλωνίῳ καὶ Φιλητῷ διὰ τοῦ α'".

**ἄστλιγγες** A rare gloss known to Theophr. before Ph. with a capacity to denote "toutes choses qui s' enroulent et se replient", Chantraine *DE* s.v. ὄστλιγγες. In Theophr. *HP* 3.18.5 ἄνθος λευκὸν βοτρυῶδες ... ὄστλιγγες ἔχον ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ βότρυς it means "tendrils" of vine and sounds like a technical term, cf. EM 159.38 ἀστίαγας· τὰς ὑποφυλλίδας τῶν βοτρυῶν, οἱ δὲ ἀκτῖνας ἀνγὰς, ἔνιοι ἄστριγγας καὶ ἄστριγας ἄλλοι. In Call. fr. 7.12 (quoted in the same Apollonian Scholium) the word denotes "locks of hair" of the anointed statue of the Graces in Paros.<sup>72</sup> The word occurs two more times, A.R. 1.1296-7 τὰ δὲ οἱ ὄσσε / ἄστλιγγες μαλεροῖο πυρὸς ὡς ἰνδάλλοντο "like sparks of blazing fire"<sup>73</sup> and Nic. *Alex.* 470 ὑπ' ὄστλίγγεσσιν ἀραιαῖς "tentacles" of the sea-hare, see A. Crugnola, *Acme* 14 (1961), 132-3, Schmitt 82 n. 3 (directly linking Ph. and Call.). The only other meaning supplied by the Apollonian Scholium is βόστρυχας quoting Call. fr. 7.12. Ἐν ἄλλοις implies more than one author and Ph. may have been the victim of compression here. It is just possible that relying on the fundamental application of the word to anything twisted and glowing Ph. initiated the usage with the meaning "locks of (radiant) hair". The usual form of the word is ὄστλιγγξ but *teste* Herodian Ph. and A.R. wrote ἄστλιγγξ. The only extant occurrence in A.R. is 1.1297 where all sources provide ὄστ- retained by Fränkel, Ardizzoni and apparently Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 7.12, but not by Vian. The etymology of the term is obscure; the ancients advanced absurd explanations, such as παρὰ τὸ ὄστοῦν <καὶ τὸ> εἰλεῖσθαι sampled in Etym. Gen. s.v. ὄστλιγγες (quoted by Wendel on Schol. A.R. 1.1297), cf. also Hesych. ο 1452 ὄστλιγγξ· πλόκαμος, <παρὰ

<sup>72</sup> An alleged etymological link of βότρυς with βόστρυξ might have facilitated the application to hair, cf. for the link A.R. 2.677 (Apollo's hair) πλοχμοὶ βοτρυόεντες, Anon. *AP* 9.524.3 (Dionysus) βοτρυοχαίτης, Nonn. *D.* 25.162 βότρυν ἐθειρήs, Christod. *AP* 2.91, 325-6, Joann. Gaz. 1.48 πλοκάμων ἐλικώδεϊ κόσμῳ, see Chrétien on Nonn. *D.* 10.182.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. for the idea Eur. fr. 386 πῶγωνα πυρός, Aesch. *Ag.* 306 πῶγωνα φλογός which Pollux 2.88 interprets as ἡ εἰς τὸ ὄξυ ἀναδρομὴ τῆς φλογός (Fraenkel on Aesch. l.c.) and [Theoc.] 25.244 πυρσαὶ ... ἔθειραι, Orph. *Arg.* 1220 (Circe) ἀπὸ κρατὸς γὰρ ἔθειραι / πυρσαῖς ἀκτίνεσσιν ἀλίγκισι ἠόροιντο.

τό> (suppl. Latte) ἐλίξαι, βόστρυχος, ἢ τὸ ἐν βόστρυσι γινόμενον. The term as it was perceived in antiquity was related to brilliance, cf. Schol. A.R. 1.1297 (117.13 Wendel) ὄστλιγγες· αἱ λαμπηδόνες, Hesych. α 7862 ἄστλιγγας (:αστιγνας codd.)· ἀύγας (:αῖγας codd.)· ἢ ἄστριγγας, and if the differentiation in form is due to a different derivation Ph. might have propounded an etymology from α- + στίλβω, often applied to a shining face or hair. This would tally with the conceivably anointed locks of Demeter. A.R. employs a variety of terms for "hair" (ἔθειραι, κόμη, πλόκαμος, χαίτη), but there is no reason to discredit Herodian. The Scholiast does not seem to know of any other occurrence in A.R. and seems a bit puzzled when he quotes Herodian. The MSS' ὄστ- might be due to the preceding ὄσσε and as the surviving fragments of A.R. show, his other works were not widely read to elicit much attention by the lexicographers.

It seems possible that Ph. used this rare term to refer to Demeter's radiant hair. This is often a subject of attention in the *HHD* and her free worn hair became a topos in descriptions of her grief which found application in cultic practice. Demeter bears many attributes for her beautiful hair, *Il.* 14.326 καλλιπλόκαμος, *HHD* 1, 297, 315, [Hes.] fr. 280.20, Archestr. *SH* 135.1-2 ἠύκομος. In *Il.* 5.550, *HHD* 279, 302 she is ξανθή and Archil. *Iobachoi* Spuria *IEG* 323 χρυσοέθειρ may also refer to her, cf. *ibid.* fr. 322.<sup>74</sup> Demeter is also *HHD* 251, 295 καλλιστέφανος and *HHD* 224, 307, 384, 470, Hes. *WD* 300 εὐστέφανος. These epithets evidence a particular sensitivity to the locks of the goddess. Unbound hair is a symbol of mourning and grief<sup>75</sup> and Demeter is said to react accordingly in *HHD* 40-2 ὄξυ δέ μιν κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίταις / ἀμβροσίαις κρήδεμνα δαΐζετο χερσὶ φίλησι. When the poet of the Hymn wants to contrast Demeter's grievance to Celeus' daughters' gaiety, he again uses images involving hair, vv. 177-8 ἦϊξαν κοίλην κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται / ὤμοις αἴσσαντο κροκίῳ ἄνθει ὁμοῖαι as contrasted to vv. 181-3 ἦ δ' ἄρ' ὀπισθε

<sup>74</sup> See Richardson on *HHD* 302 (correct "*Lith.* 588" into "*Lith.* 594") and cf. later Dioscurus *GDRK* 42.21.10 ξανθή Δημήτηρ, Nonn. *D.* 6.113 ξανθοφύης, 11.395 ξανθόκομος. Gods are commonly golden-haired but Demeter's colour is golden like the ripe corn, see Richardson on *HHD* 454, Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 1.96 and cf. later Philip *GPh* 19.8 Διοῖ τῇ σταχυοστεφάνῳ, Orph. *Lith.* 242, Nonn. *D.* 1.104 σταχυηκόμος.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. Alc. Mess. *HE* 14.2 ἀπλεκτον χαίταν ἐν χροῖ κειραμένα, see Richardson on *HHD* 41, Fantuzzi on Bion *Epit. Adon.* 20, Vian on Nonn. *D.* 11.239-241. When my grandmother lost her only (then) child due to an untraced mine in the m. forties she left her hair unkempt for two months. Nowadays in similar occasions in high villages in Crete women wear a veil to cover their hair and men grow an untidy beard for a long time.

φίλον τετιμημένη ἦτορ / στείχε κατά κρήθην κεκαλυμμένη, ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλος / κυάνεος ῥαδινοῖσι θεᾶς ἐλελίζετο ποσσίν. Cf. also Anon. *PMG* 935.5-7 (4th/3rd c.; Demeter) ὡς ἦλθε πλανωμένα / κατ' ὄρεα καὶ νάπας / σύρουσα ῥυτὰ[ν] κόμαν, Nonn. *D.* 6.6-8 (Demeter) καὶ κεφαλῆς γονόεσσαν ἀπεσφήκωσε καλύπτρην, / αὐχενίης λύσσασα καθείμενα βόστρυχα χαίτης, / παιδὶ περιφρίσσουσα, *On. Met.* 5.472 (Demeter) *inornatos laniavit diva capillos* cf. 5.513, *Fasti* 4.457-8 *mentis inops rapitur, ut quas audire solemus / Threicias fusis maenadas ire comis*.<sup>76</sup>

We do not know what Ph. made out of Demeter's locks. The image of the unkempt hair of the goddess would suitably find a place in the picturesque scenery in his *locus amoenus*. Demeter laments her misfortunes there and her unkempt hair would intensify the image of her deplorable state, which is meant to contrast to the exuberant beauty of the scenery. Her unbound hair was imitated by her worshippers. The hair of her initiates was worn free in her cult, cf. Celeus' daughters in *HHD* 177-8, Call. *HyDem.* 124 ἀνάμπυκες, a law regulating entrance to the temple of the goddess at Lycorusa *LSCG* 68.9-10 (3rd c.) forbidding women to enter with their hair bound up and see Richardson on *HHD* 176-181 and p. 351 (Addenda), Hopkinson 41, 82-3 and in general L. Sommer, *Das Haar im Religion und Aberglauben der Griechen*, Diss. Münster 1912. Call. uses ὄστλιγγες in fr. 7.12 for the anointed and fragrant head of a statue of the Graces, but the passage that seems to be under direct Philetan influence is *HyAp.* 38-41, see *Dem.-Disc.* ad loc. As the Graces-statue and Apollo in Call., Ph. might have first presented Demeter with hair anointed with aromatic oil as a controversial sign of beauty.<sup>77</sup> Theoc. 7.147 (πίθων ἀπελύετο) κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ may be another misapplication of Theoc. to the head of the wine-jars. ὄστλιγγες would suitably prompt the notion of radiance. This would pointedly contravene the grieving person's traditional negligence of self caring, but may be selected to make a ritualistic point.

Loose hair and bare feet are often mentioned together. In *HHD* the goddess is καλλίσφυρος. Call. *HyDem.* 10 πότνια, πῶς σε δύναντο πόδες φέρειν may allude to

<sup>76</sup> Demeter is first likened to a maenad in *HHD* 386. The wildly flowing hair of the raging maenad is a typical element in her description, Eur. *Bac.* 150, *Hel.* 1364-5, Ar. *Lys.* 1311-2, Cat. 63.23, 64.255, see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 193.35, Dodds on Eur. *Bac.* 862-5, Campbell on Q.S. 12.535-9, Henderson on Ar. l.l.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. Hera in *Il.* 14.176 ~ Nonn. *D.* 32.16 or the *Anadyomene* of Apelles in Leon. Tar. *HE* 23.5, see Lilja 82-8, Bulloch on Call. *HyPal.* 32 (of Athena). This was a habit of the ladies of the *haute-société*, cf. Berenice in Call. fr. 110.78 with Pf. ad loc. or of hetairai, cf. Eur. *Cyc.* 500-2 ἑταίρας / .. λιπαρὸν βό- / στρυχον, Antip. Sid. *HE* 23.10. On perfumed hair and high social status see L. Soverini, *ASNP* 24 (1994), 820-7. The goddess most caring about her hair-style is of course Aphrodite, Call. *HyPal.* 21-2, A.R. 3.45f., Claud. *Gig.* 45f.

her bare feet during her wanderings; an explicit reference comes up in vv. 124-5 ὡς δ' ἀπεδίλωτοι καὶ ἀνάμπυκες ἄστν πατεῦμες, / ὡς πόδας, ὡς κεφαλᾶς παναπηρέας ἔξομες αἰεὶ in the form of a cultic practice, cf. also the Lycorusa-law *LSCG* 68.6-7 (3rd c.) μηδὲ ὑπο- / δήματα to enter Demeter's temple. In *Ov. Fasti* 4.426 Persephone *errabat nudo per sua prata pede*. Persons afflicted with the loss of a beloved one normally wander around with loose hair and bare feet, cf. Bion *Epit. Adon.* 20-2 (Aphrodite) λυσαμένα πλοκαμίδας ἀνὰ δρυμῶς ἀλάληται / πενθαλέα, νήπλεκτος, ἀσάνδαλος, αἱ δὲ βᾶτοι νιν / ἐρχομένην κείροντι ~ Nonn. *D.* 42.269 or Autonoe who having lost her son wanders in Nonn. *D.* 5.407 ἀπέδιλος.<sup>78</sup> Ph. is likely to have attended to Demeter's bare feet in his idyllic setting; her brisk walking might have had a magical effect on the stones on the way, see *Dem.-Disc.* on Theoc. 7.25-6.

The esoteric ambience, Demeter's sentimental lament, her discussion with Chalcon, her unkempt, ravishing hair<sup>79</sup> and possibly her bare feet would give the impression of the goddess and the Coan king as a loving couple facing difficulties in life. Sexual allusions might have lurked in this passage. The sweet fragrance of Demeter could make such a point, see Campbell on Mosch. *Eur.* 91-2, Lilja 90-2. Demeter and Chalcon's overnight stay on *stibades* consisting of unaphrodisiac constituents is ambiguous and lays down the ritualistic process of the Thesmophoria, a celebration notoriously charged with allegations of sexual breaches. The Nymphs, almost certainly appearing in the scene, and Hesperus, the star of love and lovers, or some "erotic" flowers such as roses and poppies, cf. on the latter Theoc. 11.57, might have been meant to convey the same ambivalence. Demeter herself was not free of slips of the kind. Different traditions were developed about her liaisons with Zeus, Poseidon and the mortal Iasion, cf. for the latter *Od.* 5.126 ᾧ θυμῷ εἶξασα μίγν φιλότῃ καὶ εὐνῇ / νειῶ ἐνὶ τριπόλῳ, Hes. *Theog.* 971, fr. [178].8-12, Theoc. 3.50-1. Interestingly a tradition about a liaison with her host Celeus was also developed, Schol. Aristeides, p. 53.15 Dindorf (Demeter granted crops) πρῶτον ἀθέσμιως

<sup>78</sup> For loose hair and bare feet see Wächter 22, 23-4, Hopkinson 41 and J. Hickenbach, *De nuditate sacra*, Gießen 1911, esp. 31-4. As Demeter's devotees, the Locrian virgins observe purity and sweep the floor of Athena's altar in Euph. *CA* 53 ἀναμπέχονοι γυμνοῖς ποσὶν .. / .... / νόσφι κρηδέμνοιο.

<sup>79</sup> For long hair as an erotic trait cf. e.g. *Eur. Bac.* 455 (Dionysus) πλόκαμός τε γάρ σου ταναός ... / γέννυν παρ' αὐτὴν κεχυμένος, πόθου πλέως, Theodectes *TrGF* 71 F 1.5f., Theoc. 5.91, 11.7, Hellenistic elegy POxy. 3725.19 (Heracles) ἠγκόμου Θρηϊκος ὕλα κατετήκ[ετο, Philostr. *Epist.* 16 and cf. the applications of ἐρασιπλόκαμος.

συγγενομένη Κελεῶ and in at least one festival of Demeter Eleusinia, in Basilis (Arcadia), a τοῦ κάλλους ἀγών used to take place.<sup>80</sup>

The lexicographic references collected by Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 7.12 to illustrate ὄστλιγγες = "locks of hair" provide a good example of how interest in Call. superseded and eventually brushed aside Philetan material.

#### Fr. 20 (CA 22; Demeter?)

##### βουγενέας φθάμενος προσεβήσαο μακρὰ μελίσσας

Antig. [Car.] *Mirab.* 19 Ἴδια δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς συγκρίσεις καὶ ἀλλοιώσεις τῶν ζῴων, ἔτι δὲ γενέσεις, οἷον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν βοῦν ἐὰν κατορύξης ἐν τόποις τισίν, ὥστε αὐτὰ τὰ κέρατα τῆς γῆς ὑπερέχειν, εἶθ' ὕστερον ἀποπρίσης, λέγουσιν μελίττας ἐκπέτεσθαι· σαπέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς τοῦτο διαλύεσθαι τὸ ζῴον. (2) ᾧ καὶ φαίνεται Φιλίτας προσέχειν, ἰκανῶς ὧν περιεργος· προσαγορεύει οὖν αὐτὰς βουγενεῖς λέγων· βουγενέας etc.

φάμενος cod. : φθάμενος Barnes προσεβήσαο cod. : προσεβήσατο Bach : προσεβῶσατο Hartung

**βουγενέας** βουγενής is not a new adj. It was an ancient cult-epithet of Dionysus in Argos referring to his oxen-like appearance, Plut. *Is. et Os.* 35, p. 364f Ἀργείοις δὲ βουγενῆς Διόνυσος ἐπὶ κλην ἐστίν and Emped. 31B 61.2 D-K describes a perished monstrous animal species as βουγενῆ ἀνδρόπρωρα "creatures with the nature of oxen and face of man". A late source tells us that Eumelus *EGF* T 2, a shadowy figure commonly held to have lived in the 8th c., wrote a *Bugonia*.<sup>81</sup> The form has elaborate Homeric parallels that found their way into Hellenistic verse such as *Od.* 4.336 νεβροῦς .. νεηγενέας whence Nic. fr. 18.1, Antip. Sid. *HE* 63.1, perhaps Theodot. *SH*

<sup>80</sup> For Demeter's affair with Celeus see W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, Berlin-N.Y. 1972, 315 n. 56, id. 220. For her καλλιστεία in Basilis (and perhaps Pylos) cf. Athen. 13.609e and see Nilsson *Feste*, 336, Stiglitz 58-9.

<sup>81</sup> We are completely ignorant of its contents but if the title is correctly transmitted, it rather means a poem on the breeding of oxen, "a Corinthian rival to Hesiod's *Works and Days*", see G. Huxley, *Greek Epic from Eumelus to Panyassis*, London 1969, 78-9. He leaves the possibility open for the title being corrupted from an original *Theogonia*. An alternative explanation for the suspect title would be a late reduplication of the following "*Europian*": *Eumelus, poeta qui Bugoniam et Europian* etc. The corruption would have been facilitated by the attachment of an obscure practice to an obscure poet.



759.6 and contemporary inscriptions, *GVI* 802.5 (2nd/1st c.), 976.5 (2nd/3rd c.) or *Il.* 2.54 Πυλοιγενέος βασιλῆος with Kirk ad loc. whence Euph. *SH* 428.2 Πυλοιγενέεσσι .. νηυσίν, cf. also *Il.* 15.171 = 19.358 αἰθρηγενέος Βορέαιο/ whence A.R. 4.765 ἀνέμοις αἰθρηγενέεσσιν or after *HHAphr.* 229 (and as a variant in *Il.* 11.427, 23.81) Theoc. 27.43 εὐγγενέων. Others as διογενής were ignored by Hellenistic poets as banal and some were modified for the sake of variation. Antim. fr. 41a.7 = *SH* 52.7 γηγενέας τε θεοῦς προτερηγενέας Τιτῆνας coins προτερηγενής from Homeric παλαιγενής (still used by A.R. 1.1, 2.848, Epica Adesp. *CA* 9ii.5, *GES* 68.6 (ex. 3rd c.)) subsequently taken up by Call. *HyJov.* 58, A.R. 4.268 where see Livrea or A.R. 2.450, 3.824 (noun), 3.1224 (adj.) ἥριγενής after Homeric ἥριγένεια (still in Theoc. 24.39). Other -γενεσ- adj. are Hellenistic creations, as Nicaenet. *CA* 1.7 ὕλιγενῆ (Meineke : ὕλι γενεσ cod.), Euph. *SH* 442.29 θαλασσογενῆ cf. Archestr. *SH* 187.7, id. *CA* 108 κεβληγόνου Ἀτρυτώνης cf. Nic. *Alex.* 433 μήκωνος κεβληγόνου (active sense), A.R. 4.1641 μελιτηγενέων ἀνθρώπων (from Hes. *WD* 143f.) cf. Euph. *SH* 434.11 μελιγγ[ενέ (suppl. Lobel), Nic. *Ther.* 874 ὀρειγενής after Moschio *TrGF* 97 F 6.5 in a different sense, Sotades *CA* 15.1 παντογενής. See in general B-P 723-4.

Ph. is the first to use the term of bugony. He was followed by Call. *SH* 254.4 Δαναοῦ .. ἀπὸ βουγενέος applied to Danaus, an offspring of Io transformed into a cow. Then Bian. *GPh* 17.2 contemptuously addresses bees as βουγενέες, cf. Anon. *AP* 9.363.13 βοηγενέεσσι μελίσσαις/, Hesych. β 882 βουγενέων τῶν μελισσῶν. Others tried to create variations as Eryc. *GPh* 11.3 βούπαισι .. μελίσσαις with G-P ad loc., Strato *AP* 12.249.1 the rather clumsy βουποίητε μέλισσα, Theoc. *Syrinx* 3 ταυροπάτωρ with Schol. ad loc. (338.10-11 Wendel) ταυροπάτορα δὲ εἶπεν τὴν μέλισσαν, ἐπειδὴ σηπομένων τῶν ταύρων μελίσσας φασὶ γίνεσθαι, Archel. Chers. *SH* 127 = *FGE* 2a βοὸς φθιμένης πεπλανημένα τέκνα and cf. Nic. *Ther.* 741 ἵπποι γὰρ σφηκῶν γένεσις, ταῦροι δὲ μελισσῶν. Later Porph. *Antr. Nymph.* 18, a 3rd c. A.D. neoplatonist philosopher, reused the adj. in a passage bringing forward an allegorical interpretation of bugony as souls of the dead seeking their rebirth so as to lead just lives. In *Geoponica* 15.2.4 occurs βουγονής.

**φθάμενος** As evidenced by Kayser 64 ("Barnes in *Vita Theocriti*, p. LI, ed. Wart.[on, Oxonii 1770] corrigere voluit φθάμενος, sine causa") φθάμενος for the MS' φάμενος was first proposed by Joshua Barnes. Rohde *Kl. Schr.* II, 310 n. 1 objected to φάμενος and προσεβήσαο referring to the same person and independently repropounded φθάμενος drawing attention to *Il.* 23.779 ὡς ἦλθεν φθάμενος, cf. outside epic Eur. *Andr.* 990 μὴ φθῆ σε προσβᾶς δῶμα. Φάμενος is not an interpolation by Antig., as the quotation is introduced by λέγων and as this would contradict his practice not to interpolate words of his own in his poetic quotations (conveniently gathered by O. Musso, *Prometheus* 5 (1979), 83-90). Kayser 64 ("pro solemnī ὡς ἔφατο καὶ προσεβήσατο") and Bach 54

deeming its object to be "ea, quae in sententia hunc versum praecedenti dicta erant" retained it, but φάμενος without ὧς would be plainly inadmissible, cf. *Il.* 22.460 and see Campbell on *Q.S.* 12.66. Φθάμενος would refer to the dangers anticipated by a non-professional in his approaching a bee-hive. His clumsy proceedings might have led to a grotesque conclusion. Bergk followed by Diehl printed the unappealing Φαμενός which involves a needless emendation of προσεβήσαιο to προσεβήσατο.

**προσεβήσαιο** In early epic the form προσεβήσατο occurs in *Il.* 2.48, 15.292, *Od.* 21.5, 43, *HHHerm.* 99 but [Hes.] *Scut.* 33 = fr. 195.33 has προσεβήσατο. The orthodox Homeric forms are the so-called mixed Aorists ἐβήσατο, ἐδύσατο etc. which ancient grammarians held as imperfects and derived from a sigmatic present \*βήσομαι, Schol. A (I.137 Erbse) and D on *Il.* 1.496, Herodian I.447.10 Lentz. Modern scholarship regards these forms as imperfects of the future βήσομαι (*Il.* 2.339).<sup>82</sup> Aristarchus preferred the mixed forms but did not put them in the text, cf. Schol. *Il.* 3.262 (I.406 Erbse) and Erbse on Schol. *Il.* 2.35a (I.184). In most cases the MSS offer both forms. The Alexandrians preserved the mixed forms in their texts of Homer, while themselves consistently using the "normal" -α- endings as Ph. here, Simias *CA* 65 ἐβήσατο cf. Nic. *Alex.* 302, *Ther.* 31 or Call. *HE* 3.1 and A.R. 4.1133 ἀνεύρατο on which see Pfeiffer on fr. 384.40 sq. ad fin., or A.R. βήσατο 8x ("er kann sie nur aus einem damals gültigen Homertext bezogen haben", Leumann *Kl. Schr.*, 235 n. 1). In A.R., however, there are cases where MSS divide between -ετο and -ατο forms, as 1.63, 4.458, 4.1176. This divergence may be used as an argument in favour of dualism in Homer with the particular form depending upon occasional MSS support. "The possibility of 'normalisation' on an extensive scale in the MSS of Hellenistic authors cannot .. be excluded, but the -ε- readings in A.R. may equally be due to 'Homericisation', and it should be noted that developments in the *koine*, where weak aorist -α- endings were encroaching on the non-sigmatic strong aorist endings, made the Homeric mixed forms even more unusual", Bulloch on Call. *HyPal.* 65. Call. or Theoc. never use passive forms of βαίνω or δύω in their extant work.

**προσεβήσαιο μακρά** Hartung conjectured προσεβώσατο which found approval with Couat 82 and von Blumenthal 2168. The two verbs are confused in the MSS in *Il.* 12.227, see Hainsworth ad loc., and Zenodotus proposed βοῶν for βιβῶν in *Il.* 15.307, cf. also *Il.* 2.224. The proposal requires a third person singular and contradicts the ancient beliefs about the bees' capability to perceive sounds. Ph. would not ignore the

<sup>82</sup> See Schwyzer *GG* I, 788, Chantraine *GH* I, 416-7, Leumann *Kl. Schr.*, 234-241, Risch 250. See also S. West on *Od.* 1.330, Hainsworth on *Od.* 6.321, Campbell on A.R. 3.291.

scientists' hesitation about granting bees the gift of hearing.<sup>83</sup> The Philetan phrase varies the Homeric formula μακρὰ βιβάς "take big strides in a certain direction" occurring 9x in Homer in different forms, see Chantraine *DE* s.v. βαίνω (4), Janko on *Il.* 13.809.<sup>84</sup> The Homeric μακρὰ βιβάς etc. in contrast to κοῦφα βιβάς used for a cautious, half-crouched advance, denotes the proud gait of the heroes in the battlefield, see Janko on *Il.* 13.158 and cf. Virg. *Aen.* 10.572 *longe gradientem* of Aeneias, but in a non-heroic context it is transformed into a comic element, here of someone taking confident steps towards a swarm of bees. The Homeric phrase is comically exploited already in *Od.* 9.450 of Polyphemus' ram prancing through the field, see M. Casevitz in id. 57, and in *Od.* 11.539 of Achilleus' shadow in the Underworld, cf. *e contrario* onomatopoeic μακῶν "bleating" applying only to animals except from *Od.* 18.98 where it applies to comical Irus.

The reference to a swarm of bees contained in this hexameter offers a two-fold link to *Demeter*. On the one hand bees are intimately associated with Demeter and on the other with Cos. The goddess' sacred animal *par excellence* was the bee, cf. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.106a = fr. 158 (Demeter) ταῖς ἱεραῖσ<ι> μελίσσαις τέρπεται. The notorious purity of the insect granted it the goddess' favour. Demeter's initiates and priestesses were called *Melissai* and although priestesses of some deities in general could be called by the same name, the term seems to have applied mostly to the devotees of Demeter, cf. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4.106c (II.113.12-4 Drachmann) μελίσσαις δὲ τὰς ἱερείας κυρίως μὲν τὰς τῆς Δήμητρος, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰς πάσας, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ζῶου καθαρὸν, Hesych. μ 719 μέλισσαι· αἱ τῆς Δήμητρος μύστιδες, μ 1294 s.v. μητροπόλους, see Bodson 35 n. 162, Schol. Theoc. 15.94/5a (313.16-9 Wendel), Porph. *Antr. Nymph.* 18 and in Hellenistic poetry cf. Call. *HyAp.* 110, Philic. *SH*

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<sup>83</sup> Ancients commonly agreed that bees possessed the sense of scent and detested strong smells, Arist. *HA* 626a26, see Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 4.49, but doubted their ability to hear, Arist. *HA* 627a17, see Wilkinson 261-2, Davies-Kathirithamby 54-5, Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 50 ("no organ of hearing has yet been identified"). A broadly held belief had it that bees can settle by production of a rattling noise, see Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 4.64. In fact bees seem to be sensitive to vibrations of the ground. Adesp. Pap. Misc. *SH* 990.2 .]κλαπακούσατε, δεῦτε, μέλισσαι summons the devotees of Demeter to listen to the Hymn and on a physical level might play on that.

<sup>84</sup> In Soph. *Phil.* 42 προσβαίη μακρῶν (codd. : προστείχοι Herwerden) for the sense required ("walked far away") is most doubtful, see LI-J - N. Wilson, *Sophoclea*, Oxford 1990, 180. On μακρὰ cf. Arat. 1124, Antip. Thess. *GPh* 82.1 and see *LSJ* s.v. μακρός I.3. Other forms of the adj. used adverbially are μακρόν, see Fantuzzi on Bion *Epit. Adon.* 51, μακρῶν and more rarely μακρῶς.

680.52 γυναικῶν ... ἔσμός, Adesp. Pap. Misc. *SH* 990.2.<sup>85</sup> Apollod. in the first book of *Περὶ Θεῶν FGH* 244 F 89 (see Jacoby ad loc.) supplies the information that in Paros the celebrants of the Thesmophoria were called *Melissai* too after the daughters of a Parian king Melissos (another benevolent recipient of Demeter), but we do not know if the equation of this term with *Thesmophoriazousai* is valid for Cos.<sup>86</sup>

At the same time Cos was and still is an island famed for its excellent honey, cf. Strabo 10.5.9 ἅπαν μὲν οὖν τὸ νησιωτικὸν μέλι ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ἀστεῖόν ἐστι καὶ ἐνάμιλλον τῷ Ἀττικῷ, τὸ δ' ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς νήσοις [a group of islands including Cos] διαφερόντως, μάλιστα δὲ τὸ Καλύμνιον and see Craik 15, Sallinger 438. Two out of the eight surviving epigrams of Nicias of Cos involve bees, *HE* 6, 8. In the ancient world honey played a much more important role than it does nowadays. It was the only sweetening agent available and found many different applications in cooking and confectionery, even medicine and religion.<sup>87</sup> A traditional Coan delicacy was called παῖσα (Athen. 14.646f) and according to Hesych. δ 2172 the Coans used the term δόλπαι for traditional cakelets: δόλπαι· πλακούντια μικρά· Κῶοι. Ph. in *Ataktoi* fr. 36 K. discussed ἀμόραι, a small cake sweetened with honey. Coan honey would have been esp. appreciated in Alexandria where exports are recorded; but although an

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<sup>85</sup> The goddess is also represented in coins with bees and her daughter bore the cult-epithet μελιτώδης, see Gow on Theoc. 15.94. On Demeter's association with bees see A. B. Cook, "Bee in Greek Mythology", *JHS* 15 (1895), 14f., F. Olck, *RE* III (1899), 448, K. Giannoulidou, *Athena* 63 (1959), 312-8, Bodson 25-38 ("Présence de l'abeille dans le culte de Déméter"), Sallinger 443. On her devotees as *Melissai* see M. van der Kolf, *RE* XV (1932), 525, S. Lavecchia, "Pindaro e le μέλισσαι di Paro", *Hermes* 124 (1996), 504-6 (relating fr. 140a with fr. 158) and on her depiction with bees on coins L. Armbruster, "Die Biene auf griech. Münzen", *Archiv für Bienenkunde* 33 (1952), 49-73.

<sup>86</sup> It does not seem to have been known in Athens at Ar.'s time. The name *Melissa* attested only once in Cos in an inscription of Imperial date, is not of much value here, since such names are broadly attested in Greece, see Bodson 29 n. 133, P. M. Fraser - E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* I, Oxford 1987, 304. If a swarm of bees attacked Chalcon, see *Dem.-Disc. Reconst.*, a metaphor for the participants in the orgiastic cult of Demeter may be there. Βουγενέας would have a distinguishing power as well: these are the oxen-born bees. Antim. fr. 78 called the Parian priests of Demeter with the rare terms Καβάρνους ... ὄργειῶνας.

<sup>87</sup> See on ancient honey's usefulness M. Schuster, *RE* XV (1932), 374, Sallinger 435-7. On honey in medical operations cf. Theophr. *HP* 9.11.3, 18.3, see L. Koep, *RAC* II (1954), 277. It was also used to improve wine of poor quality, see Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 4.100-2. See also Gulick's *Index* in his Loeb *Athenaeus* s.v. honey.

income from beekeeping was liable to taxation, production of fine honey would give Cos more fame than fiscal revenues or hard currency.<sup>88</sup>

A reference to Coan honey may have had a function within Ph.'s poem. A male character, as suggested by φθόμενος, swaggers towards a beehive. Superstitions about bees included the notion that they foretell the arrival of a *xeinos*, see Olck, *RE* III (1899), 448 and presence of animals (but not insects) often preempts a theophany of a god related to them, see Williams on Call. *HyAp.* 5. This application is obstructed by the fact that a certain person approaches a swarm of bees rather than observes it from afar. The superstition that a swarm of bees is a threatening prodigy, cf. the lethal bees in Antip. Thess. *GPh* 69, Bian. *GPh* 17, may be a more relevant notion. A reasonable assumption would be that Demeter urged Chalcon to step towards a swarm of bees. The legendary Coan king seems to have taken full part in a joint effort with her to develop techniques that would turn out to be of benefit to the Coans of that time and of the future. The story would have along with its religious significance the function of an action for the institution of apiculture in Cos. Historically speaking beekeeping must have been brought in by the Thessalians. Aristaeus, on whom see e.g. Vian on A.R. 2.153, commonly regarded as the *prôtos euretês* of apiculture, is a son of Apollo and the Thessalian nymph Cyrene. Dionysus is occasionally regarded as the inventor of bee-keeping because of his own association with honey, see Dodds on Eur. *Bac.* 704-711. But in Cos it is Demeter and Chalcon who introduce the beneficial art. The purpose of Chalcon stepping closer to the bees is most probably to collect honey.<sup>89</sup> It is Demeter who most probably brought up honey. This is the food of men of the golden epoch, see West on Hes. *WD* 233, Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 1.131-2 and mixed with milk it is commonly considered to be a dish appropriate for the immortal gods, cf. newly born Zeus in Call. *HyJov.* 49-51 and see H. Usener, *Kl. Schr.* IV, Leipzig-Berlin 1913, 398-417. One wonders if Demeter, despite her fast, would be tempted to try some of the exceptionally good Coan honey. This would not be unfounded in tradition since the cyceon, Demeter's holy drink, contained honey, see A. Delatte, *Cycéon*, Paris

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<sup>88</sup> On exports to Alexandria see Craik 17 and on bees and honey in Alexandria H. Chouliara-Raios, *L'abeille et le miel en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs*, Ioannina 1989. A law laid down in Magnesia against anyone luring bees belonging to another man to his own premises is worth mentioning here, Plato *Laws* 843d. For bees and honey as an indication of prosperity cf. Hes. *WD* 232-3 and see Bodson 22 n. 92. Nowadays the Dodecanese (mainly Rhodes, Cos and Calymnos) produces 700 tonnes of honey from 45.000 European type bee-hives.

<sup>89</sup> If he wanted to make the bees gather he would have to produce a rattling noise. If he wanted to turn them away he would need to light a fire and produce smoke, Arist. *HA* 623b20, A.R. 2.130-4 with Vian ad loc., Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 4.229-30. Strangely enough ancients believed that honey falls from the sky and bees are gifted to collect it on earth; Arist. *HA* 553b23-554a15 offers the relevant theories.

1955, 23-40. In Ov. *Fasti* 4.545-6 Celeus sets out *liquefacta coagula lacte / pomaque et in ceris aurea mella suis*. The goddess would then instigate or instruct the Coan king to try to collect some honey from a bee-hive.

The link between Demeter and Coan honey would eventually be reflected in Coan cult-practices. In general honey was a placatory offering to chthonic gods and a thanks-giving one to sky-gods, mostly in the form of *pelanos* or *melicraton*.<sup>90</sup> Demeter's close association with bees and honey is due not only to her chthonic (Farnell III, 63-5) but also her vegetative nature. Virg. *Georg.* 1.343-7 advises the farmer to offer wine and honey to Ceres at the beginning of the spring: *cuncta tibi Cererem pubes agrestis adoret: / cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho, / terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges, / omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur orantes / et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta*. Paus. 8.42.11 reports that the Phigalians offered annually honey-combs together with other crops to the altar of Demeter, cf. also Ar. *Thesm.* 285 πόπανον .. θύσω τοῖν θεοῖν. We possess no information about similar offerings to Demeter in Cos, but we know that *pelanos* was offered to Asclepius, Herodas 4.90-1 ἐς τὴν τρώγλην / τὸν πέλανον ἔνθεος τοῦ δράκοντος which was originally meant literally but later evolved to denote a donation of money, see R. Herzog, *ARW* 10 (1907), 205-219, Headlam ad loc.

Bees in *Demeter* must have played some role, as they are singled out as a memorable scene by Call. and Theoc. The poet here addresses a male character who, as argued, may well be Chalcon, in the second person. In Homer Iliadic heroes often address gods in the second person, but the poet himself confines such addresses to apply to heroes, namely Achilles, Menelaus, Melanippus, Patroclus and Eumaeus, and only to one god, Apollo in *Il.* 15.365, 20.152 where see Edwards and cf. Schol. *Il.* 20.2 (V.1 Erbse). Call. often addresses gods in second person, A.R. 4.1706 addresses Apollo and the tone might even become impertinent, as in Asclep.'s epigram on Zeus' erotic misconduct *HE* 11, cf. id. *HE* 14.5-6 and see Hutchinson 267-8. As Schol. *Il.* 16.787 (IV.300 Erbse) note, Homer uses a second-person apostrophe to express

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<sup>90</sup> *Pelanos* was a mixture of meal, honey and oil, see P. Stengel, *Hermes* 29 (1894), 281-9, id. 66-72, Sokolowski on *LSCG* 131 (Thera, 4th c.) Κούρης / πελαν[ός], Matthews on Antim. fr. 101. On religious honey see Roscher II, 1323, M. van der Kolf, *RE* XV (1932), 379-82, Sallinger 449-452. On honey as offering to the gods of the Underworld cf. *Od.* 10.519 = 11.27, A.R. 2.1271f. and the offerings to Adonis in Theoc. 15.115-8. As an offering to the dead see Richardson (1993), 187. On the ritualistic use of bees and honey at tombs see Bodson 23 n. 95. See also W. Robert-Tornow, *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica*, Berlin 1893.

sympathy, ἡ ἀποστροφή σημαίνει τὸ συναχθόμενον.<sup>91</sup> So with benign Eumaeus (15x in *Od.*) or with Patroclus (8x in *Il.*, all in his fatal book 16). Antim. fr. 7 apostrophises illustrious Tydeus destined to find a tragic death in the Theban battlefield and A.R. 4.1485 moribund Canthus. If Ph. here addresses Chalcon, he is expressing sympathy with the Coan king presumably for a misfortune of his. What this would be, we do not know. But the address of compassion prompts one to think that the Coan king might have suffered the consequences of his amateurish (φθόμενος) involvement with bees. It would be extremely ironic if the favourable insects of Demeter, protector of all Coans, attacked Chalcon. This would match the grotesque effect of the verse with προσεβήσαο μακρά. Chalcon is sketched in sympathetic terms and is likely to be involved in scenes of naive or comic content. The "heroic" second person apostrophe would here be reduced to apply to an incident involving a swarm of bees and their unsuspecting victim.

Βουγενέας is significant. Hinting at a birth from the putrifying corpse of an ox, it superbly undermines the notion of purity with which the poem and Demeter are particularly concerned. At the same time it constitutes an allusion to a well-known practice during the first day of the Thesmophoria, when the ἀντλήτριαι bore from underground chambers the rotten carcasses of pigs which had been thrown in there at an earlier date. These were placed on altars and then scattered in the fields to fertilise the earth, Schol. Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 2.1 (275 Rabe; F. Jacoby in *FGH* IIIb Suppl. 2.204 suggested Apollod. of Athens *Περὶ Θεῶν* as the source of this Scholium.)

The fragment also refers to coeval paradoxography. In principle Hellenistic poets welcomed the intrusion of such material in their poems, an area largely unexploited in the classical past and contributing to an atmosphere of naivety. Ph. refers to another paradoxical belief in fr. 9 (also from *Demeter*) and the two fragments sufficiently evidence his interest. Therefore Sussemlahl I, 463 was probably right in giving him a leading role in the development of Hellenistic paradoxography.<sup>92</sup> The *mirabile* here is

<sup>91</sup> On Homer see M. Parry, *The Language of Achilles and other Papers*, Oxford 1989, 310-326, Russo on *Od.* 17.272, Kirk on *Il.* 4.127. See also N. Yamagata, *BICS* 36 (1989), 91-103, Mathews 96-8. Further references in Hunter (1993), 104 n. 18.

<sup>92</sup> Arist. pioneered interest in the field but the collection *On Miraculous Reports* is not his, see N. J. Richardson *La philologie grecque*, 14-5. Ph. is the first Hellenistic poet integrating samples of his interest in his poems. Call. proved himself the champion in paradoxography with his *Θαυμάτων τῶν εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν γῆν κατὰ τόπους ὄντων συναγωγῆ*, forty-four chapters of which survive through Antig. [Car.], fr. 407-411 Pf. In some chapters Call. draws on Arist. and Theophr., see Pfeiffer (1968), 134-5. On other *mirabilia* in the Cyrenean see Giannini, *PGR*, 20 and cf. A.R. 4.601f. (an ἄορονος lake), Euph. *CA* 137. Some of his disciples carried on research on the subject: Philostephanus of Cyrene wrote paradoxical epigrams, *SH* 691 = *FGE* p. 21. On the history of paradoxography see K. Ziegler, *RE* XIX

bugony, i.e. the spontaneous generation of bees from the dead body of an ox. The bees provoked an exceptional interest in antiquity which is partly reflected in the fact that Arist., who treated 581 species of animals in his biological works, devoted to them a section longer than to any other creature but man.<sup>93</sup> Along with technical literature written in prose Mened. of Ephesus *SH* 547-8, a grammarian contemporary with Ph., had written a poem on bees presumably in the Hesiodic manner of which only two references in Pliny survive. Nic. versified apiculture in *Melissourgica*, see Gow-Scholfield 215, and Virg. wrote the 4th book of *Georgica* on the creature's ways. Arist., who was considered as the uncontested authority on the subject, was at a loss about the mode of engenderment of bees and so were other specialists as Colum. 9.2.4 and Pliny 11.46. The main passage, *GA* 759a8, is introduced with a statement professing the controversial nature of the question: Ἡ δὲ τῶν μελιττῶν γένεσις ἔχει πολλὴν ἀπορίαν. The reason is obvious: *apium enim coitus visus est numquam*, Pliny *NH* 11.46. In *HA* 553a17f. Arist. offers two theories, namely that bees are reproduced either by various plants, mainly flowers but also the olive-tree, or by the queen-bee, commonly regarded in antiquity as a male. The question remained unresolved throughout antiquity and the Middle Ages until F. Huber in 1791 first observed the procreative route of the queen.<sup>94</sup>

Of course simplifying popular beliefs did not have to bother about all this scientifically based speculation. The notion of bugony was a widespread conviction of the ancient world which found a quick welcome in Hellenistic poetry and broad recognition in technical literature.<sup>95</sup> This quick reception is not only due to an almost

(1949), 1137f., A. Giannini, *RIL* 97 (1963), 247-266 (Homer to Call.), id. *Acme* 17 (1964), 99-140 (Call. to Imp. times), Fraser I, 770-4, M. M. Sassi *Spazio letterario*, 449-468.

<sup>93</sup> On Arist.'s bees see *Byl* 340-355. The chief passages are *HA* 553a17-554b21, 623b4-627b22, *GA* 759a8-761a2. Other principal sources in antiquity include various passages in *Ael. NA*, Colum. book 9, Pliny *NH* 11.11-70, *Geoponica* 15.2-9, see Wilkinson 260-1, H. M. Fraser, *Beekeeping in Antiquity*, London <sup>2</sup>1951, J. E. Jones, <sup>3</sup>*OCD*, 237. On prehistoric beekeeping H. G. Buchholtz, al., *AH* J, 181-5. Further bibliography in Bodson 20 n. 78, Davies-Kathirithamby 47-8. On other paradoxical beliefs about bees cf. [Arist.] *Mirac. Rep.* 16-22, *Ael. NA* 5.42.

<sup>94</sup> On the male queen of the ancients see Wilkinson 264, Davies-Kathirithamby 62-3, Thomas on Virg. *Georg.* 4.21. On their puzzlement with regard to the engenderment of the bees see Wilkinson 265-6, *Byl* 344-5, Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 4.197-209, Isager-Skydsgaard 96. The procreation without sexual intercourse accounts for their association with chastity, see Davies-Kathirithamby 279-80, S. Pomeroy, *Xenophon, Oeconomicus*, Oxford 1994, 279-280. Lyrica Adesp. *CA* 7.16 calls them *δυσέρωτες*.

<sup>95</sup> References in F. Olck, *RE* III (1899), 434-5, C. R. Osten-Sacken, *On the Oxen-born Bees of the Ancients*, Heidelberg 1894 (with additions 1895), H. M. Ransome, *The Sacred Bee in Ancient Times and Folklore*, London 1937, 112-8, Wilkinson 268-9, Fraser I, 779, II, 1088 n. 447, Page, *FGE*, 22, Davies-



obsessive interest in peculiarities, but has also to do with an inquisitiveness about the origin of all creatures. So Arat. wrote an *Anthropogonia* SH 93, Boeo an *Ornithogonia* CA p. 24 known from the *Metamorphoseis* of Ant. Lib. and Archel. Chers. a work inscribed Τὰ Ἰδιοφύη "Things of distinct nature" which probably included eccentricities about the birth of living beings, see Fraser I, 780, II, 1089 nn. 451, 452, Page, *FGE*, 20-1. Another poem of the same title is ascribed to "Ptolemy king of Egypt", SH 712, q.v. All four are likely to have treated in an unscientific way absurdities of the kind of bugony. As scorpions are generated from the body of crocodiles, wasps from a dead horse and beetles from carcasses of asses, even snakes from the spinal cord of a human corpse (Archel. Chers. SH 129 = *FGE* 3), so bees can be hatched from the corpse of a dead ox.

Virg. *Georg.* 4.287 places the idea specifically in Egypt, the country seen as the provenance of all marvels, but Fraser's hesitation ("the belief ... is of great antiquity and cannot be traced to any one period or place") may well be justified. It is certain that belief in bugony was widespread in Egypt<sup>96</sup> whence it was probably introduced to Greece. Arist. is the only ancient source failing to discuss bugony. He offers an exhaustive discussion mentioning a number of theories, some of which are not immune from popular beliefs, and the missing out of bugony indicates that he had not heard of it rather than that he rated it unworthy of his attention. This should mean that the notion was unknown to Greece by then. The transition from Egypt must have taken place around Ph.'s days. And since he is the first Greek author to display knowledge of the marvel,<sup>97</sup> he might have been a conveyor of bugony from Egypt to Cos. Other poets followed soon, cf. n. on βουγενέας and in Latin poetry Virg. *Georg.* 4.287f., *Ov. Met.* 15.364-7 and more amply *Fasti* 1.377f. Nic.'s two brief references in *Ther.* 741 and *Alex.* 446-7 might suggest a more detailed treatment in his *Melissourgika*. The only surviving reference, Collum. 9.2.4 = fr. 94 with Schneider ad loc., is about bees first born *Cretae Saturni temporibus*.

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Kathirithamby 65-6, Mynors 293-4. On similar paradoxical births see Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 15.368 and on spontaneous generation in general, decisively refuted only in 1864 by Louis Pasteur, see Davies-Kathirithamby 21-2.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Plut. *Cleom.* 39, Antig. [Car.] 19 ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, see F. Olck, *RE* III (1899), 435, A. S. F. Gow, *CR* 58 (1944), 14-5, Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 1.1.

<sup>97</sup> The name of Democr. in Colum. 9.14.6 = 68B 27a D-K *progenari posse apes iuvenco perempto Democritus et Mago nec minus Vergilius prodiderunt* is highly suspect, see A. E. Shipley, *JPhil.* 34 (1915-8), 101, A. S. F. Gow, *CR* 58 (1944), 15, D-K on Democr. Spur. 68B 300.8. Democr. came to be regarded as omniscient and plenty of paradoxa were connected with his name by Pliny, Colum. and others.

Bugony became so credible a notion that a whole ritualistic process developed around it. First Virg. gives a detailed description of the recommended process. A two-year old calf is to be secluded in a semi-lit chamber, beaten with clubs to death with care being taken not to break its hide, and left therein. Later sources, see F. Olck, *RE* III (1899), 435, specify the timing too: worms appear seven days after the death of the calf; in thirty-one days they grow to perfect bees. This was seriously recommended as late as the 17th c., see A. E. Shipley, *JPhil.* 34 (1915-8), 98. Its validity was occasionally questioned in antiquity, see Olck, l.l. citing Byzantine sources, but it was usually regarded as well-founded – despite the fact that an experiment would prove the idea to be wrong. Still, as it has been noted, it was always cheaper to buy new bees than to sacrifice a bull to beget them. The origins of bugony might be as absurd as of any other spontaneous birth. If any reason underlies the notion, this would rather have to do with the fact that in lands with scarce vegetation as in Egypt, bees were observed to hive in desiccated carcasses of dead animals, as in Hdt. 5.114 (in the exposed cadaver of an executed rebel) or *Judges* 14.8 (in a dead lion), rather than with the confusion of bees with drone-flies (*Eristalis tenax*) which lay their eggs in carrion, as ingeniously proposed by Osten-Sacken. This supposition is not only incompatible with the factual aversion of bees to anything impure, but also to the ancient notion of the bee's chastity. Besides, any careful observer would have noticed that those insects buzzing around carcasses did not actually produce any honey. In an era entirely relying on observation for scientific progress a multitude of bees frequenting a plant etc. would easily evoke the idea of their way of procreation, cf. Arist. *HA* 553a21-3 (engenderment of bees) ἄλλοι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνθους τῆς ἐλαίας· καὶ σημεῖον λέγουσιν ὅτι, ἂν ἐλαιῶν φορὰ γένηται, τότε καὶ ἔσμοι ἐφίενται πλεῖστοι.

Maass (1895b), 295 thought that Ph. dealt extensively with bugony as part of a treatment of Aristaeus' myth (F. Williams, <sup>3</sup>*OCD*, 1164 still considered it as a possibility). Von Blumenthal 2168 held that the verse is "unmistakably" related to the myth of Comatas in a bucolic poem by Ph. and Webster 42 n. 2 that it "certainly alludes to the myth of Comatas or Aristaeos". Maass' arguments were effectively demolished by Rohde, *Kl. Schr.* II, Tübingen-Leipzig 1901, 310-311, but a statement by Mynors 294 that this heap of concise references to bugony "suggest that the subject has already been treated in poetry" prompted Thomas 44 n. 70 to independently revive the old proposal. Antig. introduces the Egyptian marvel<sup>98</sup> by a short description of the

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<sup>98</sup> Ἴδιαι δέ etc. Ἴδιος in Antig. as θαυμαστός, θαυμάσιος is equivalent to παράδοξος, cf. cc. 7, 89.1, 85, 91, 142b.2 and see Giannini, *PGR*, 263, Fraser II, 1089 n. 452. This chapter contains typical elements used by Antig. in chapters quoting lines from poetry (short description of marvel, short characterisation of the poet, short quotation), cf. c. 7 Ἴδιον δέ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ ἔντερα τῶν προβάτων· τὰ

process as his source had it, and then comes to his poetic quotation:  $\phi$  καὶ φαίνεται Φιλίτας προσέχειν, ἰκανῶς ὦν περίεργος· προσαγορεύει οὖν αὐτὰς βουγενεῖς λέγων· βουγενέας etc. The brief characterisation of the poet just before the quotation of one of his verses is a common practice in Antig. [Car.]. Φαίνεται προσέχειν is an expression of doubt which is not due to the loss of the context. A collector of *mirabilia* in the 3rd c. would have at his disposal either a substantial excerpt with explanatory notes or, more likely, a copy of the whole poem, of which he only quotes one line. Then he adds that Ph. προσαγορεύει "calls" bees oxen-born – no more. As Rohde pointed out "es ist durch Antigonus' Redeweise geradezu ausgeschlossen zu glauben, daß Ph. jenes Mirakel erzählend berichtet habe". In principle any bees could be called oxen-born without an exposition of the whole process being necessary to justify the characterisation. Besides, although Ph. freely admits paradoxographic material in his verses, one would question whether he would like to dwell on the subject at length in *Demeter*. Cos is not reported to be rich in oxen. The verse is an indication of Ph.'s poetry being not always readily comprehensible, a text for knowledgeable readers by the demanding author of fr. 27.

#### Fr. 21 (SH 675C; *Demeter*?)

##### Θεσσαλαί

Hesych. θ 405 Θεσσαλαί· αἱ Κῶται παρὰ Φιλίτῃ καὶ αἱ φαρμακίδες.

Θεσπάλαι cod. : corr. Salmasius.

Hesych.'s lemma tells us that Ph. called the – or some of the – Coan women "Thessalians". This constitutes a clear reference to the colonisation of Cos by Thessalian tribes. The event of the remote Coan past crept into popular belief as an element belonging to common Coan heritage and as such survived in local society for many generations. This might have been facilitated by current relations. A 3rd c. inscription from Cos *IdC* ED 48 reports imports of grain from Thessaly, see M. Segre, "Grano di Tessaglia a Cos", *RFIC* 12 (1934), 169-193. Coan doctors regularly offered their services in Thessaly and Cos was asked to send *theōroi* to the Thessalian festival

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μὲν γὰρ τῶν κριῶν ἐστὶν ἄφωνα, τὰ δὲ τῶν θηλέων εὐφωνα. ὄθεν καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ὑπολάβοι τις εἰρηκέναι, πολυπράγμονα πανταχοῦ καὶ περιττὸν ὄντα: [*HHHerm.* 51], cf. also c. 25a.

of Athena Itonias, see Sh-W 110 n. 142 and 114 respectively. In this case popular belief is an echo of well attested historic facts. The autochthonic pre-Hellenic population of Cos was called *Meropes* "the indigenous people".<sup>99</sup> The first Greek settlers were Thessalians who mixed with the non-Greek aboriginal population who inhabited a scantily populated and underdeveloped island, see Craik 22. There is sufficient evidence to posit a pre-Dorian<sup>100</sup> movement from Thessaly to some of the Aegean islands, such as common place- and person- names or common cult-practices. In the case of Cos common toponyms, as Pele and Oromedon, and common names of leading figures as Eurypylus, king of Thessaly in *Il.* 2.734-7 and legendary ruler of Cos in *Il.* 2.676-680, speak for an early association.<sup>101</sup> Other names such as

<sup>99</sup> Allegedly from a mythical king Merops, leader of the indigenous Meropes, brought into connection with Homeric μέρωψ "mortal man". The name seems pre-Hellenic and non-Greek, as Δόλοπες, Δρύοπες etc., see Sh-W 47 n. 95, Chantraine *DE* s.v. μέρωψ. It is first attested in *HHAp.* 42 (Cos) πόλις Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων and became a stock phrase, Thuc. 8.41.2 Κῶν τὴν Μεροπίδα, Paus. 6.14.12, and the inhabitants of the island were regularly called Μέροπες by others and by themselves, cf. Pind. *Nem.* 4.26, *Isth.* 6.45, *CEG* 817.5, 862.4 (both 4th c., Epidaurus and Cos respectively), Staphylus *FGH* 269 F 9, Call. *HyDel.* 160, Strabo 15.1.3, 33, Schol. *Il.* 14.255 (III.622 Erbse), Eustath. *Comm. Il.* 97.41 (I.153 van der Valk), see Wil. *Kl. Schr.* I, 144, Herzog *KF*, 170-2, Modzke, *RE* XV (1935), 1655-6, Butler-Barber on Prop. 2.34b.31, G-P on Meleag. *HE* 3.4, Sh-W 47-50, S. Jackson, *ZPE* 110 (1996), 44 n. 9. Relying on Strato *PCG* 1.6 πρόσους κέκληκας μέροπας ἐπὶ δεῖπνοισι, 7, 8 (~T. 3) A. S. Hollis wondered whether the cook's insistence on μέροπας harbours an entry of the *Ataktoi Glossai*.

<sup>100</sup> In classical times Cos was consciously Dorian, cf. Strabo 14.2.6 Δωριεῖς δ' εἰσὶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἀλικαρνασεῖς καὶ Κνίδιοι καὶ Κῶοι, οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς οἱ τὰ Μέγαρα κτίσαντες μετὰ τὴν Κόδρου τελευτήν οἱ μὲν ἔμειναν αὐτόθι, οἱ δὲ σὺν Ἀλθαίμηνει τῷ Ἀργεῖῳ τῆς εἰς Κρήτην ἀποικίας ἐκοινώνησαν, οἱ δ' εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ τὰς λεχθεισὰς ἀρτίως πόλεις ἐμερίσθησαν. ταῦτα δὲ νεώτερα τῶν ὑφ' Ὀμήρου λεγομένων ἐστίν. Κνίδος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀλικαρνασὸς οὐδ' ἦν πω, Ῥόδος δ' ἦν καὶ Κῶς, ἀλλ' ἄκεῖτο ὑφ' Ἡρακλειδῶν, cf. Hdt. 7.99 and see Sh-W 29-30, Craik 27-30. V. Parker, "Zur Datierung der Dorischen Wanderung", *MH* 52 (1995), 130-154, esp. 146-7 dated the Dorian settlement in Dodecanese, as elsewhere, in the 10th c. on grounds of archaeological findings. He also maintained that between Mycenaean and late Geometric times this part of the Aegean was uninhabited.

<sup>101</sup> See Paton in P-H xiv-xv and 344-8 (Appendix F: "Connection of Cos with Southern Thessaly"), Herzog *KF*, 172, Wil. *GdH* I, 81-2, Sh-W 17-8 with n. 36, Craik 163-4. The fertility of Cos was the critical attraction for any settlers. Reception from the locals was another key-issue, see Schmid 168-9, 173-5. Prinz 86-8 may have been right in arguing that the necessarily concise Homeric information actually goes back to current foundation myths of these islands. Rhodes enjoys a more detailed reference in *Il.* 2.653-670, see Schmid 4-8. A later version, Schol. A.R. 3.1090b = Rhian. of Bene *FGH* 265 F 30 = Apollod. *FGH* 244 F 164, Strabo 9.5.23, [Apollod.] *Epit.* 6.15b, had it that Antiphos and Pheidippos settled in Thessaly after the Trojan war and gave the place the name of their father. This

Chalcon/Chalcodon, the eponymous hero of Chalcis in Euboea, or Chalciope are seen as vestiges of Euboian Abantes joining the Thessalians on their way to Cos, see P-H 345-6.

The Greek settlers no doubt brought with them elements of their advanced civilisation. So the "Thessalian" era would be considered as a time in which the whole Coan population experienced progress in activities of vital importance such as agriculture and fishing and saw a substantial improvement in their standard of living. The foundation of Bourina with all its significance is also linked to this time. The Thessalian settlers brought with them new habits and introduced the cult of Asclepius from the mainland. The hostile reception of the Dorian Heracles (quickly to be resolved with a decent compromise), who represents a second massive invasion of Dorian tribes in Cos, by the Thessalian/Coan king Eurypylus is indicative of a population content with its status. At the end a new amalgam resulting from the successive colonisations wisely accepts all these figures, who in fact represent historic conflicts over the island, as part of a common heritage. The cult of Homonoia was very ancient and prominent in Cos.

This turbulent legendary past of the SE Aegean islands had attracted the attention of local historians, cf. Zenon (?), a 3rd c. Rhodian historian, *FGH* 523 F 1, and is occasionally treated or mentioned by Hellenistic poets with a specific interest in the region or because of broader antiquarian quests. Antim. in the second book of *Lyde* fr. 85 φεύγοντας γαίης ἔκτοθι Δωτιάδος refers to the colonisation of Cnidus by Thessalians leaving from the Dotian plain, an ancient cult-centre of Demeter. So does Call. *HyDem.* 24 (Pelasgians) οὐπω τὰν Κνιδίαν, ἔτι Δώτιον ἱρὸν ἔναιον and A.R. in Ῥόδου Κτίσις *CA* 10 ὅσσα τε γαίης / †ἔργα τε Δωτιάδος πρότεροι κάμον Αἰμονῆες. These principal poetic references are conveniently offered by Steph. Byz. s.v. Δώτιον (256.14f. Meineke), cf. also Diod. Sic. 5.61.2 (Triops to Cnidus). The Thessalian migration could have also been dealt with in archaic foundation-poems. Iambl. *VP* 2.3.4 informs us about Thessalian settlers in Cos and the subject could have been treated in Semon. or Asius *Foundation of Samos*, see Schmid 16-24. In A.R. Κνίδου Κτίσις the Thessalian migration could have been dealt with too, see Hunter (1989), 11. A treatise Περὶ Κνίδου probably in prose is assigned to Posid. *SH* 706 which "fort. Ap. ... redarguebat" (*SH* ad loc.). Rhian. *Thessalica*, a large-scale epos of at least sixteen books, could have touched on the subject too. It dealt among others with Thessalian colonies. *CA* 48 Ἀγύλλιον χαλκόν quoted by Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀγύλλα

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gives priority to a Coan Thessalus over a Thessalian one and must originate in excessive Coan pride. But it is clearly a *prothysteron*. W. Kullman, *Die Quellen der Ilias*, Wiesbaden 1960, 108, 389 tried to explain the complete absence of Thessaly in the *Il.* by assuming Homeric knowledge of this version, but see Prinz 86-7 n. 27.

(23.18 Meineke) is with certainty attributed to *Thessalica* because the Tyrrhenian town of Agylla was a Thessalian colony. It also treated religious matters as indicated by a reference to Athena Itonias, *CA* 47. It is highly probable that in *Antim.*, as in *Call.*, the reference to the Thessalian migration is related to Demeter. The Dorian expansion to the Cnidian peninsula is referred to also in *Lyc.* 1389f. For a full list of ancient references and (lost) treatises on Thessaly see F. Stählin, *RE* VI (1937), 78-91.

What would be the context of this "Thessalian" reference in *Demeter*? In epic individual women are often protagonists in sensitive scenes amid bloody conflicts, as in turn Hecabe, Helen and most of all Andromache in *Il.* 6 or Hecabe with her emotional entreaty to Hector in *Il.* 22.79-89, which influenced the attitude of Geryone's mother in *Stesich. PMGF* 13.2f. In other cases women might be used to express sensitive feelings as at a heart-breaking separation, cf. Hecabe in *Il.* 24.200f. and the Thessalian women in *A.R.* 1.247f., or at communal lament of a dead, as in *Il.* 24.697f. A group of women might be mentioned as impressed eyewitnesses on the site of heroic deeds or as confronting heroes who engender feelings of admiration.<sup>102</sup> *Demeter*, however, does not seem to have described genuine heroic deeds (Heracles' advent to the island is no exception) and there is no apparent reason why impressed Coan women should be called "Thessalians". It is very probable that historically the institution of Demeter's cult in the fringes of the SE Aegean and in Caria is to be dated to the days of the Thessalian colonisation, which brought about the introduction of the cult of Asclepius and of other Greek deities as Poseidon, whose worship blossomed in the islands. The cult of Demeter in fertile Cos was soon endorsed by the majority Dorian population as it happened in other places of Dorian dominance with an established pre-Dorian worship of Demeter.<sup>103</sup> In mythological terms the establishment of Demeter's worship in Cos takes the form of the goddess visiting the

<sup>102</sup> Cf. for the motif *Il.* 15.683, 18.495-6, *Od.* 19.235, *HHAp.* 134-5, *Call. Hec. fr.* 69.14-5, *A.R.* 4.1182-5, 1192-5, *Euph. CA* 51.15, *Phylic. SH* 680.52-3, *Q.S.* 6.130-1, 12.441-3, *Triph.* 466.

<sup>103</sup> See Nilsson *GGR* I, 463 refuting the information supplied by *Hdt.* 2.171 that the Demeter-cult vanished from the Peloponnese except from secluded Arcadia because of the Dorian invasion. As for Thessaly, even if O. Kern's, *Die Religion der Griechen* III, Berlin 1938, 210f. theory that the Demeter-cult originated in Thessaly whence it spread to the rest of the Greek world, is not correct, see Ch. Picard, *REG* 50 (1927), 330-7 favouring a Cretan origin, it by all means had an early, deep-rooted and wide-spread cult of Demeter, of which the fertile Dotion plain was the most famous and ancient centre. In *Il.* 2.696 Pyrasus is called Δημήτερος τέμενος, Antron is mentioned as a cult-centre of Demeter in *HHD* 491, see Richardson ad loc., and *Hdt.* 7.200 speaks of a shrine at Anthela, the centre of the Amphictionic League, see also O. Kern, *RE* IV (1901), 2714-5, Roscher II, 1288-9. On Poseidon's transfer of cult see Craik 183 and on transfer of cult from mother city to colony in general see Z. Maklin, *Religion and Colonisation in Ancient Greece*, London 1987.

island during Chalcon's reign. A distinguished cult-site of Demeter in the neighbouring Cnidian peninsula, the Triopion, founded by Triops, the leader of the Thessalian migrants, is associated with Cos by its mythical homonymous king, on whom see Schol. Theoc. 17.68/69b (321.18-9 Wendel), Sh-W 192 with n. 103. If then the Coan women were called "Thessalians" in a context related to the local cult of Demeter, the reference would make a good point and would be historically vindicated.

In addition to that, some of Demeter's festivals were open only to women and among them the Thesmophoria, the by far most widespread religious festival in the Greek world.<sup>104</sup> Thesmophoric rites were performed even in the remotest spots with a Greek population and close to Cos in places like Rhodes, where also a month-name Thesmophorios, Telos, Nisyros, Cnidus, Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletus and Priene. In Cos Thesmophoria are not directly attested. Socrates of Cos, a 3rd c. local historian, wrote a treatise on cult-titles (Ἐπικλήσεις Θεῶν), cf. Diog. Laert. 2.47 and see Herzog *KF*, 211 and Sh-W 19, which would be of much help here, had it not perished. Still, a ritual involving one or more *pannychides* only by women in honour of Demeter after the model of the Athenian Thesmophoria leaves little doubt about the existence of the festival in Cos. A late 3rd or early 2nd c. metrical inscription found in 1900 in the modern town of Cos by Herzog and published with commentary by id., *PhW* 52 (1932), 1013-7, cf. Sh-W 311-2, evidences the fact. The inscription is dedicated by Aischron, a married Coan woman, to Demeter Soteira and perhaps to Core and Poseidon. Herzog published it as follows:

Ἀνίκα γὰμ Μερόπ[ων χαλκογλώχινι τρι]αίνα  
 παῖς Κρόνου ἐνδε[κάτῃ νυκτὶ Βοαδρομίου]  
 ἐν τελεταῖς Δάμα[τρος ἀπορρήτῳ τε συνέ]δρῳ  
 τρισάκι σεῖς' Αἴσχ[ρον κέκλετ' ἀπημοσύναν]  
 αἰτεῖν εἰς Σώτει[ραν ἀνισχούσας χέρας ἀγνάς]  
 Δάματρος σεμν[ᾶς μύστιδας εὐσεβέας,]

<sup>104</sup> Cf. the emphatic address to γυναῖκες in Call. *HyDem.* 1. In *HHD* all main roles are performed by women with the sole exception of Demophon. It is only later that Celeus and the Eleusinian λαός appear. On the Thesmophoria see Wächter 130-1, P. Johansen, "The Thesmophoria as a Women's Festival", *Temenos* 11 (1975), 78-87, Parker 81-3, Burkert 242-6, G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Misterie e culti mistici di Demetra*, Rome 1986, 223-283, Bremmer 76-8. On the origins of male exclusion see Farnell III, 84-7 (Athens), 106-112 (elsewhere). For other Demeter-festivals involving women see briefly Foley 71-5 with reference to J. J. Winkler, *The Constraints of Desire*, London-N.Y. 1990, 193-202. A list of the places where Thesmophoria were taking place is to be found in Nilsson *Feste*, 313-6, see also Farnell III, 326-332 and P. Arbesmann, *RE* VI (1937), 24-6.

ὄν καὶ ἀπαρξάμ[ένα Δάματρα θεὰν Σώτειραν]  
καὶ Κούραν νυχ[ίαις ἰλάσατ' ἐν τελεταῖς.]  
λήξε δ' ἅπας μυκ[ηθμός ἐκοιμίσθη τε θάλασσα,]  
χθῶν [δὲ σα]λευ[ομένα πάυσατ' ἐπευξάμενας.

The event described is clearly one of the Coan ladies being gathered at night in the sanctuary of Demeter to celebrate the goddess with secret (? , v. 3) rites. "Der Frauenkult ist etwa wie die Thesmophorien in Athen zu denken", Herzog, l.l., 1015. Sudden earth-tremors disrupt the process and Aischron, a brave woman who may be a dignitary of Demeter, exhorted the worshippers to address an entreaty to the goddess, who is said to have brought to a stop all portents.

The possibility for a religious context for this fragment seems appealing. In Ph.'s poem Demeter establishes her cult in Cos and Thesmophoria could not possibly be missed out. Arguably Thesmophoric practices might have defined at a large extent the course of action in *Demeter*. In general poems with an antiquarian content make a systematic effort to point out links with coeval practices in form of aetia. In A.R. *Foundation of Rhodes CA* 11 ὁ ποιητής φησιν ἄπυρα τοὺς Ῥοδίους ἱερὰ θύειν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἥφαιστον ἔνεκα τῶν γάμων ἔχθραν, ὅτι ἐπεδίωξε τὴν Ἀθηναῖαν βουλόμενος συμμιγῆναι.

The second part of the lemma adds that witches in general can also be called "Thessalians". Thessalian women were indeed celebrated witches, see G-P on Anon. *HE* 35.6, N-H on Hor. *Odes* 1.27.21 and cf. Sosiph. *TrGF* 92 F 1.1 μάγοις ἐπαφδαῖς πᾶσα Θεσσαλὶς κόρη, Ar. *Clouds* 749 γυναῖκα φαρμακίδ' εἰ πριάμενος Θετταλὴν / καθέλοιμι νύκτωρ τὴν σελήνην etc. Schol. ad loc. (157.1-6 Koster) suggest that this was a long lasting reputation ("καὶ μέχρι νῦν δὲ φαρμακίδες παρ' ἡμῖν αἱ Θετταλαὶ καλοῦνται") and link it with Medea's occult capabilities, but Dodds on Plato *Gorgias* 513a5-6 was no doubt right to connect this reputation with the widespread cult of Hecate in Thessaly. Some would prefer to take this second piece of information to refer to Ph. and to draw conclusions such as Bach 74 "mulierum veneficarum genus olim apud Coos fuisse videtur" or Sh-W 309 who regarded it as "very possible" that Ph. dealt with Mestra *pharmakis*, the Thessalian mother of Eurypylos. Similarly, \*Campbell saw as "a possible application" a reference to Medea's activities as witch in a broader Argonautic context, cf. of Medea A.R. 4.52-3 οἷα γυναῖκες / φαρμακίδες, Strabo 1.2.39 ἢ τε Μήδεια φαρμακὶς ἱστορεῖται. Coan witches are not mentioned in ancient sources and the last bit of information seems to be a later independent addition to the information supplied in the first bit.



## Fr. 22 (CA 20; Demeter?)

οὐδ' ὕκης ἰχθὺς ἔσχατος ἐξέφυγεν

Athen. 7.327b-c Ζηνόδοτος δέ φησι Κυρηναίους τὸν ὕκην ἐρυθρίνον καλεῖν. Ἑρμιππος δὲ ὁ Σμυρναῖος ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἰππώνακτος [fr. 93 Wehrli] ὕκην ἀκούει τὴν ἰουλίδα· εἶναι δ' αὐτὴν δυσσθήρατον. διὸ καὶ Φιλήταν (Φιλίταν A : Φιλητάν C) φάναι· οὐδ' ὕκης etc.

ὕκη AC : corr. Dindorf

**ὕκης** The beginnings of the poetic career of this fish under this name are hazy. From Athen.'s information that Hermippus ἐν τοῖς περὶ Ἰππώνακτος identified hyces with ioulis, it has been commonly assumed that Hippon. first used the word, *IEG* 169 ("hinc colligunt Hipponactem voce ὕκης usum esse", West ad loc.). Athen. says nothing about Hippon. His source read in Hermippus' treatise *On Hipponax*, who mentioned fishes in his poems and employed many glosses, cf. *IEG* 130f. (ἀλίβας from *IEG* 134 is taken up by Call. fr. 216), that hyces is to be identified with ioulis – or vice versa. E. Degani (Teubner <sup>2</sup>1991) printed the reference in the *Dubia*, "num Hippon. hac voce usus sit (ita edd. omnes) incertum videtur". Subsequently ὕκης occurs in a fragment of an unidentifiable author quoted by Athen. 7.304e (fish hippus) μνημονεύει αὐτοῦ καὶ Ἰαντιφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τῇ Θηβαῖδι† λέγων οὕτως· ἢ ὕκην ἢ ἵππον ἢ ὄν κίχλην καλέουσι.<sup>105</sup> The first secure and datable reference is this one in Ph. quoted in Athen.'s hyces-entry, whence Call. *HE* 65 θεὸς δὲ οἱ ἱερὸς ὕκης and most probably fr. 509 ἐξ ἀλὸς οὐ ἰδίκην (:οὐδ' ὕκην Bentley) ἀνέρα Βουχέτιον /

<sup>105</sup> Jonse and Bentley emended Ἰαντιφάνης to Ἰαντιμάχος whereas Stoll proposed Ἰαντιφάνης ὁ κωμικός omitting ἐν τῇ Θηβαῖδι as a later addition. Kinkel in his edition of the fragmentary epic poets (Leipzig 1877) omitted the reference, Wyss printed it as *Dubium* fr. 157 and wanted to ascribe it to Antiphan. Matthews listed it as *Dubium* fr. 192 and wanted to ascribe it to Antim. K-A *PCG* II, 421 discuss the reference but do not print it as a separate fragment of Antiphan. Wyss ingeniously emended Athen.'s text into Ἰαντιφάνης ὁ κωμικός ἐν Προβλήματι, "in huius enim fabulae griphis ... heroico numero adstrictis complures pisces commemorantur". Antiphan. was a prolific poet of the Middle comedy who must have died early in the 3rd c. when Demetrios of Phaleron wrote his *Περὶ Ἰαντιφάνους*, fr. 194 Wehrli, see Nesselrath 193-4. Of his *Πρόβλημα* *PCG* 192 survive γρίφοι in a symposium, where the word is *inter alia* of fishes, see Nesselrath 320 and on Antiphan.'s fishes pp. 291-3. Hexameters were used in comedy already in Ar., see Sickling 119. If the author of the verse is Antiphan. he might draw on *Ataktoi*. Though seemingly an easier attribution, subject matter suggests that one would do well to resist Antimachean authorship.

ἔλκειν (see Schmitt 19 n. 2), Num. Her. *Halieutica SH* 571.1, 581.1 ὕκας ἀγελίδας (a shoal fish), Opp. *Hal.* 1.97 (stays by the shore).

**ἰχθύς** In disyllabic forms -υ- is usually long, as here, apart from rare exceptions, see Gow on Theoc. 21.49. In trisyllabic forms and compounds it is always short. Ὑκῆς as ἰχθύς, is a collective singular, cf. Theoc. 21.6 Ἰχθύος ἀγρευτῆρες ... δύο γέροντες (see Gow ad loc.), Leon. Tar. *HE* 66.2-3 κίχλης καὶ σκάρου ἰχθυβολεύς / καὶ λάβρου πέρκης, Erat. *CA* 12.1-2 ἄγρης μοῖραν ... ἰούλους / ἠὲ γενειῆτιν τρίγλην ἠ περκάδα κίχλην, Nic. fr. 18.2 ἠ φάγροι ἠ σκῶπες ἀρείονες ἠὲ καὶ ὀρφός, Machon 28-9 Gow ὄψου πετραίου παρατεθέντος ποικίλου / ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης, Leon. Alex. *FGE* 37.1 ἰχθῦν ... οὐκ ἀγοράζει, Anon. *FGE* 21.4-5 πολὺν .. βῶκα / καὶ σκάρων οὐ θρίσσης νόσφιν ἀρυσσάμενοι, Antiphan. *PCG* 130, Marc. Sid. *GDRK* 63.17, *passim*, Opp. *Hal.* (e.g.) 2.187-8, and for the vernacular of the papyri (τὴν ἄγραν τοῦ ἐκβησομένου ἰχθύος, ἰχθύος ὑπηρεσία etc.) see A. Jördens, *ZPE* 84 (1990), 49 n. 17.

**ἔσχατος** Arist. *HA* 598a12-3 says that erythrinus is πελάγιος "a fish of the open sea". Fishes, as other creatures of the water, were regarded as animals ἐκ τῶν μάλιστα ἀνοητοτάτων καὶ ἀμαθεστάτων which dwell δίκην ἀμαθίας ἐσχάτης ἐσχάτας οἰκήσεις, Plato *Tim.* 92b. Ἐσχάτας in Plato means "at the furthest point", i.e. far out into the sea as seen from the land (cf. *Od.* 7.204-5). In Ph. the notion of depth is primary, cf. Theoc. 7.58 εὐρον, ὃς ἔσχατα φυκία κινεῖ (probably an echo of ὕκῆς .. ἔσχατος), 16.52, Phalaec. *HE* 4.4 Νότου πρήσαντος ἐσχάτην ἄλα "the depths of the sea". This accounts for hyces being δυσθήρατος.<sup>106</sup>

The pentameter apparently stands in a fishing context. Someone uses such an effective mode of fishing that not even the δυσθήρατος hyces managed to escape. Coan waters were teeming with fish and fishing was of too much importance to the economy of Cos, as to any other of the neighbouring islands. If *Demeter* had a local

<sup>106</sup> On the proverbial stupidity of fishes see Bodson 45-6. Plut. *de soll. anim.* 22, p. 975b tells us that, as today, the ancients called "fishes" τοὺς ἀμαθεῖς καὶ ἀνοήτους. Yet this notion was not convenient to Opp.'s aims: νόημα / πυκνὸν ... καὶ μῆτις ἐπικλοπος are the endowments of his fishes, *Hal.* 3.92-3. Ἐσχατος does not pertain to the physical size of the fish (big fishes were believed to frequent the lower part of the sea, cf. *Ataktoi* fr. 57 K., Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 1.141-2 *alta petens* of a fisherman casting nets), nor could it possibly mean "not even the last hyces-fish escaped" as Gulick in the Loeb *Athenaeus* understood it.

colour, fishing would be expectable.<sup>107</sup> In the islands fishes were abundantly available and must have been a common dish in the Aegean menu. In Asclep. *HE* 25.8 a wealthy host is planning to offer his guests fish for dinner and in id. *HE* 26 a master sends his attendant to buy fish for a pending dinner-party. Their dialogue reflects something of the grotesque scenes in comedy involving cunning slaves as purveyors of fish and rude fish-sellers in the market (mostly provided by Athen., see E. W. Handley, *MH* 53 (1996), 140-4), but it is suggestive of the epigrammatist's own world as well. So it is with the epigrams of Hedyll. from Samos *HE* 7-9 on ὀψοφάγοι "gluttons eating fish", a subject probably initiated by Posid., see G-P on Posid. *HE* 7 and converted by Hedyll. to apply to fish-eaters. His *HE* 9.2 δραχμῆς ἐστὶν ὁ γόγγος ἄπας implies a cheap price for fish in Samos.

At the same time fishing had a solid epic background. In Homer it finds a place in similes, e.g. *Il.* 5.487, 16.406-8, 24.80-2, *Od.* 5.432, 10.124, 12.251-4, 22.384-8, but orthodox heroic diet values meat and rejects fish. Menelaus' starving companions in *Od.* 4.368-9 resort to fishing when all other means of nutrition were exhausted. This became a notorious question among ancient Homerists.<sup>108</sup> Yet, new layers in the epic tradition indicate a fundamental change of attitude towards fish-eating, which presumably always played a role in the diet of the lower social strata. So in *Od.* 19.113-4 fishing is a eulogy in the land of the wise leader which τίκτη .. ἔμπεδα μῆλα, θάλασσα δὲ παρέχη ἰχθύς / ἐξ εὐηγεσίης. Hes. *Theog.* 440-3 knows of professional fishermen addressing prayers to Hecate and Poseidon and in *Cypria EGF* 20 Palamedes, an innovative hero, is murdered by Odysseus and Diomedes as he goes on

<sup>107</sup> See Craik 15 and in general L. Bohlen, *Die Bedeutung der Fischerei im Altertum*, Diss. Hamburg 1936. An inscription of the 3rd c. found in Cos *IdC* ED 128.6 ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ τῇ ἰχθυοπω[λιδι] (suppl. Maiuri) is a *lapis errans* believed to have originally come from Halicarnassus. Fishing in Cos is today in decline; only seventy small fishing boats were registered in 1980, see Chatzivasileiou 32.

<sup>108</sup> *Od.* 4.368-9 αἰεὶ γὰρ περὶ νῆσον ἀλώμενοι ἰχθυάσκον / γναμπτοῖς ἀγκίστροισιν, ἔτειρε δὲ γαστέρα λιμός, cf. also *Od.* 12.32. See on Homeric fishing H. G. Buchholtz, al., *AH* J, 132-6, S. West on *Od.* I.c., F-G on *Od.* 22.384-8, Janko on *Il.* 16.407-8. In Plato's short notice on Homeric diet in *Rep.* 3.404b-c it is noted that ἐπὶ στρατιᾶς ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἡρώων ἐστιάσεσιν οὔτε ἰχθύσιν αὐτοὺς ἐστιᾶ καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ ὄντας, οὔτε ἐφθοῖς κρέασιν ἀλλὰ μόνον ὀπιτοῖς, ἃ δὴ μάλιστ' ἄν εἴη στρατιώταις εὐπορα, cf. the more detailed discussion in Athen. 1.24f-25f and κατὰ τὴν κωμικὴν χάριν Eubul. *PCG* 118 ἰχθὺν δ' Ὀμηρος ἐσθίοντ' εἴρηκε ποῦ / τίνα τῶν Ἀχαιῶν; κρέα δὲ μόνον ὀπτῶν etc. with Hunter ad loc. (his fr. 120). Parker 360 suggested that the exclusion of fishes from the heroic diet might be related to their being ὠμησταί "men-eating" and thus infected; for a discussion on the background of eating raw flesh see J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death*, Oxford 1980, 19-21. Later the *Chorizontes* used the fact that fish is consumed in the *Od.* but not the *Il.* as an argument supporting their case, cf. Schol. *Il.* 16.747 (III.295-6 Erbse) and see Schmidt 182-7.

a fishing trip. In Hellenistic poetry [Theoc.] 21 is a dialogue between two fishermen, in 1.39f. there is a descriptive simile with an aged fisherman, cf. also 3.26, fr. 3 and see Gow II, 369. Call. *HyDel.* 15 writes that ἰχθυβολῆες ἀλίπλοοι ἐνάσσαντο Delos, cf. also fr. 378, Choer. (?) *PEG* 21, see Powell 251, Erinna (?) *SH* 404, Erat. *CA* 12 mentioning different species of fish to be fished perhaps in a river, Alex. Aet. *CA* 2 on the pompilus, Nic.'s fishes in both of his extant poems, Theodor. *SH* 744, Mosch. fr. 1.<sup>109</sup> Ph., a Coan who embarked on at least one long journey to Alexandria, uses sea-images in his poetry, cf. fr. 5, 15, 26 and in *Il.* 21.126 he proposed φρῖχ' ὑπαλύξει (:ὑπαῖξει codd., but see S. Hatzikosta, *AC* 63 (1994), 201-9) arguing that οἱ πίονες τῶν ἰχθύων καὶ εὐτροφοὶ τὸ ψῦχος ὑπομένουσι καὶ οὐ φθείρονται, fr. 57 K. A diligent reading of Arist.'s biological works would complete his knowledge.

Ἐξέφυγεν indicates that the method employed is fishing-nets. This is a much more effective way than any other and therefore the one mostly used by professionals. For fishing-nets in Cos cf. Herodas 3.20 where the father of the hopeless pupil is a Coan fisherman practising his profession δικτύοις. The verse seems to view fishing as a means of living. This might have been necessitated in Ph. by Demeter's famine. As with the companions of Menelaus in *Od.*, the sterility of the Coan land would make the Coans turn to alternative ways of nutrition. Demeter keeps the land barren, but has little authority over products not under her direct dominion. We do not know who would actually fish in *Demeter*, but it may be Chalcon, who pioneers the ways meant to secure the Hellenistic prosperity of Cos. If so, the whole scene is designed to be grotesque, as fishing was regarded throughout the ancient world as a humble and contemptuous activity and the effect of the legendary Coan king laboriously wrestling with nets can only be grotesque, cf. the old man in Theoc. 1.39-44.

Approach to the sea might have taken place in *Demeter* as an aetion accounting for the Coan ἄλαδε ἔλασις taking place in the second day of the Attic Thesmophoria for purificatory purposes, cf. Philic. *SH* 680.37 q.v. τὸμ παρὰ κῦμα νήστηγ, Hermesian. *CA* 7.17 (Thesmophoric procession) Ἐλευσῖνος παρὰ πέζαν and see Deubner 72. In Cos *HG* 8.IIIB.25-6 (3rd c.) if Demeter's shrine is defiled the law ordains ἐξαγέτω ἅ ἱέρεια Κοροτρόφον κατὰ τὰ νομι[ζ]ό- / [μενα ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ

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<sup>109</sup> At the same time technical literature versifies fishing in *Halieutica*-poems, cf. the list provided in Athen. 1.13b = Caccalus (?) Arg. *SH* 237 = Num. Her. *SH* 568 with Pancrates Arc. Θαλάσσια Ἔργα *SH* 598-601; of these only Opp.'s poem in five books survives, see J. Richmond, *Chapters on Greek Fish-lore*, Wiesbaden 1973, 48, 76-7. As Arcestr. *SH* 133 put it, his poem treats ὅπου ἐστὶν ἕκαστον / κάλλιστον βρωτόν τε and it seems that gastrimargic literature of that time dealt not only with cooking but also with places to find and ways of catching fishes, cf. above all Arcestr. *SH* 139-187, Matro Pit. Ἀττικὸν Δεῖπνον *SH* 534 *passim*, Timarchidas Rhod. *Deipnon* *SH* 772 (book 8).

θυέτω ὕ]ν ἢ οἶν Κοροτρόφω, where Herzog's supplement relies on a common practice documented in *ARW* 10 (1907), 412 n. 2.

Why is hyces singled out? Its sanctity is propounded by Call. *HE* 65 a, b θεός δέ οἱ ἱερός ὕκης and is sometimes taken to mean that Call. identified the Homeric "holy fish" with hyces.<sup>110</sup> This seems to contradict *Galateia* fr. 378.1 (also quoted in Athen. 7.284c) ἢ μᾶλλον χρύσειον ἐν ὄφρυσιν ἱερόν ἰχθύν which explicitly identifies the "holy fish" with χρύσοφρυς, an opinion shared by Erat. *CA* 12 and probably enjoying broader acceptance if an identification with the pompilus is taken into consideration, cf. Athen. (>Pamphilus >Cleitararchus) 7.284d Κλείταρχος δ' ἐν ἑβδόμῃ Γλωσσῶν "οἱ ναυτικοί, φησίν, πομπίλον ἱερόν ἰχθύν προσαγορεύουσι διὰ τὸ ἐκ πελάγους προπέμπειν τὰς ναῦς εἰς λιμένα· διὸ καὶ πομπίλον καλεῖσθαι χρύσοφρυον ὄντα". In contrast to this the hyces-fragment does not seem to be a general statement and οἱ in the reliable version of the tradition suggests that it refers to hyces as a sacred fish according to the judgement or belief of someone or some people. This prompts a connection with [Call.] Fr. Inc. Sed. 509 which contains a fitting collective singular, but any attempt to refer the two fragments to the same epigram (Meineke and Schneider) is precarious. Hyces seems then to have been considered sacred in some region(s), but there is nothing to suggest that Cos was one of them.

The identification of the fish in antiquity is inevitably involved. This is not an issue as controversial as it seems at first sight. Hyces was commonly regarded as being the erythrinus, cf. Zenodotus in Athen. 7.327b,<sup>111</sup> Cleitararchus in Athen. 7.300f, Hesych. s.v. ὕκος· ἐρυθρίνος. This view is probably also shared by Num. Her. who in

<sup>110</sup> A reference to an ἱερός ἰχθύς "big and bizzare fish" dragged out of the sea by a fisherman in a simile in *Il.* 16.407 resulted in a rash of different suggestions in antiquity with regard to its identification, see Janko ad loc., A. Rengakos, *ZPE* 94 (1992), 25 and for ἱερός = big see Hainsworth on *Il.* 10.56-8. Athen. 7.327a quotes the Callimachean line in his hyces-entry along with Ph.'s reference. He most probably quotes the same fragment in 7.284c as ἱερός δέ τοι, ἱερός ὕκης. In this version θεός was ousted by another ἱερός, which makes a better point in that passage of Athen. The resulting variation in the scansion of ἱερός is a faked one. The sanctity of erythrinus advocated by the Pythagoreans (Iambl. *VP* 109, Diog. Laert. 8.19, Suda π 3124 (IV.265.12 Adler) παντὸς δὲ μᾶλλον ἀπηγόρευε μήτε ἐρυθρίνον ἐσθίειν μήτε μελάνουρον etc.) is not of immediate relevance here, since the Pythagoreans viewed erythrinus as another recipient of the soul, see Bodson 46-7, Parker 358, 362-3, but it is indicative of the notions surrounding this fish. On ritualistic prohibitions against the eating of fish see Wächter 95-102.

<sup>111</sup> The wording in Athen. 327b Ζηνόδοτος δὲ φησι Κυρηναίους τὸν ὕκην ἐρυθρίνον καλεῖν is inaccurate; the sense clearly requires Ζηνόδοτος δὲ φησι Κυρηναίους ὕκην τὸν ἐρυθρίνον καλεῖν. K. Latte, *Phil.* 80 (1925), 168 n. 65 acknowledged the mistake (the reason being the division of a single note into two) but would keep the transmitted text.

the surviving fragments of *Halieutica* SH 568-588 mentions ioulis (SH 583.1, 584.2) and hycles twice each, but never erythrinus. Hycles and erythrinus mutually exclude each other in authors of such broad scope as Opp. Athen. seems to be the only exception, as he discusses each name in different entries (erythrinus in 7.300e-f), but his superficial distinction does not carry much weight as he lacks technical knowledge and relies entirely on his glossographic sources; thus he is quick to note that Zenodotus and Cleitarchus identify hycles with erythrinus.<sup>112</sup>

Hermippus of Smyrna, a grammarian of the late 3rd c., fr. 93 Wehrli tried to cast doubt on the universally accepted identification by equating hycles with ioulis. Hermippus is twice called ὁ Καλλιμάχειος in Athen. 2.58f and 5.213f and his interest in Hippon. might be due to the Callimachean allegiance to the archaic poet. His hycles-discussion may be due to the occurrences of the gloss in Call. The fact that he considered Ph. in this context further suggests dependence of the Cyrenean on the Coan. Hermippus often produced individual theories, see H. Gärtner, *KIP* II, 1079 s.v. Hermippus (2), and this seems to be another one of his eccentricities. There is no word of hycles in Athen.'s ioulis-entry and in his hycles-entry ὕκην ἀκούει τὴν ἰουλίδα "takes as to mean, understands", a term usually so used in the ancient Schol., see *DGE* s.v. ἀκούω I.3 and cf. in Athen. e.g. 7.327c ἄλλοι δ' ἀκούουσιν ἱερὸν ἰχθὺν τὸν ἄνετον, indicates that this is no more than his personal opinion. Hermippus' mistake might have been prompted by certain features of ioulis which could suggest a similarity with hycles: it is a shoal fish, Arist. *HA* 610b6, it is caught with casting nets, Plut. *de soll. anim.* 26, p. 977f, and could become a good dish.

That Ph., however, espoused an equation of hycles and ioulis is out of the question. Athen.'s wording (εἶναι δ' αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν ἰουλίδα) δυσθήρατον. διὸ καὶ Φιλῆτα φάναι etc.) to the extent that it implies such an identification is misleading. The mistake is evidently due to Hermippus on whom Athen. or his source draws, who, with profit for his argument, identified the Philetan hycles with ioulis. Ioulis frequents mossy rocks, cf. Leon. Tar. *HE* 66.5 ἰουλίδα πετρήσσαν with G-P ad loc., Opp. *Hal.* 1.124, and despite the fact that it is a harmless fish it had a bad reputation in antiquity.

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<sup>112</sup> As Thompson *Fishes*, 67 noted, the identification of hycles and erythrinus "is a remarkable statement, for it would seem just possible that these words survive in *Vaca* or *Vacca*, names given in various parts of the Mediterranean (including both Spain and Sicily) to the allied fishes *Serranus cabrilla*, *scriba*, and *hepatus*, or in *Vucic*, a name for the last of these at Spalato". Dölger, *Ichthys* II, 354-7 created a difficulty *ex nihilo* only to try to refute it himself. He thought that Athen. treats hycles as a dark fish, which would rule out an identification with erythrinus, named after its reddish colour. He then overcomes the difficulty relying on the darkening qualities of ἐρυθρός as the Greeks perceived it. In reality Athen. does not classify hycles anywhere and the fragment of "Antiphan. of Colophon" adduced to support such a categorisation does not have any worth whatsoever in this respect.

It was said to carry poison in its mouth because of a paretymological connection with *ἰός*, cf. Ael. *NA* 2.44 ἔχουσιν ἰοῦ τὸ στόμα ἔμπλεων, καὶ ὄτου ἂν ἰχθύος ἀπογεύσονται, ἄβρωτον ἀπέφηναν αὐτόν and see Thompson *Fishes* s.v. *ιουλίσ*. It is almost always as a dangerous fish that it is mentioned in Hellenistic verse, Erat. *CA* 12.1, Leon. *Tar. HE* 66.5-6, Num. *Her. SH* 583, 584.2-3, later Opp. *Hal.* 2.434-453.

There were some good reasons for Ph. to insert a reference to *hyces/erythrinus* in *Demeter*. He had access to authoritative information about animals, insects or fishes. Arist. produced the finest biological work in antiquity and the Coan scientists and intellectuals looked up to his word with respect. The Stagirite does not discuss or mention *hyces* and most probably he had not heard of that name. He treats both *erythrinus* and *ioulis*. In *HA* 598a12-3 he says that *erythrinus* is one of the deep-sea fish, echoed in Ph.'s ἔσχατος, cf. then Ov. *Hal.* 104 *caeruleaque rubens erythrinus in unda*, Opp. *Hal.* 1.96-7 (one of the fishes which) χθαμαλοῖσι παρ' αἰγιαλοῖσι νέμονται, / ψάμμον ἐρεπτόμενοι καὶ ὄσ' ἐν ψαμάθοισι φύονται. *Erythrinus'* asexuality may have played a role too: εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν ἰχθύων οἱ μὲν πλεῖστα ἄρρενες καὶ θήλειες, περὶ δ' ἐρυθρίνου καὶ χάννης ἀπορεῖται· πάντες γὰρ ἀλίσκονται κυήματα ἔχοντες, Arist. *HA* 567a27-9. In 538a18-9 Arist. classifies *erythrinus* as one of the fishes with which τὸ μὲν τίκτον ἐστὶ καὶ γεννῶν, τὸ δ' ὄχευον οὐκ ἔστιν, cf. also a more detailed discussion in *GA* 741a36-8. But *Demeter* despised the hermaphroditism of this fish.<sup>113</sup> She would dislike impure fishes no less than other impure animals, cf. the treatment of the *tope* by her initiates in Ael. *NA* 9.65 οἱ μούμενοι τοῖν θεοῖν οὐκ ἂν πάσαιτο γαλεοῦ φασιν· οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν εἶναι καθαρὸν ὄψον, ἐπεὶ τῷ στόματι τίκτει. οὐ τίκτειν δὲ αὐτὸν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν ... τῆς δὲ τρίγλης οὐκ ἂν γεύσαιτο οἱ αὐτοὶ μύσται ... καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἄνω που εἰπὼν οἶδα. The notion of *hyces'* impurity is further strengthened by the fish's medicinal properties, as it was regarded as sexually invigorating. According to Xenocrates in Oribasius 1.129, a 1st c. A.D. medic, *erythrinus* is a palatable and nutritious dish and has aphrodisiac properties εἴ τις αὐτὸν ἐν οἴνῳ πνίξας πίοι, cf. also Pliny *NH* 32.50.

Although it is mainly chthonic deities who receive sacrifices of fish,<sup>114</sup> *Demeter's* association with sea and sea-creatures is very poor. Opp. *Hal.* 2.17f. sets

<sup>113</sup> "It is a fact, rediscovered in the eighteenth century by Cavolini, that certain fishes of the family Serranidae are hermaphrodite: the lower part of the genital gland secreting milt, and the fish besprinkling and fertilising its own spawn as soon as it is laid", Thompson *Fishes*, 66. On *erythrinus* see Thompson op.c. s.v., M. Wellmann, *RE* VI (1909), 601, E. de Saint-Denis, *Vocabulaire des animaux marins en latin classique*, Paris 1947, 36-7, F. Capponi, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Halieuticon*, Leiden 1972, 447-450 (full collection of passages and further bibliography).

<sup>114</sup> Wil. *GdH* I, 283-4 alleged that fishes were not used as sacrificial offerings, but his remark is essentially refuted by the numerous examples of such offerings provided by Athen. 7.297d-298a, 325a-

her aside claiming that her realm is strictly confined to the solid earth. On the other hand the nourishing aspect of the sea brought her close to Poseidon in the cults of certain regions.<sup>115</sup> In Paus. 1.38.1 Demeter is said to own the salty currents called *Rheitoi* near Eleusis as well as the fishes in them: Λέγονται δὲ οἱ Ῥεῖτοὶ Κόρης ἱεροὶ καὶ Δήμητρος εἶναι, καὶ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἐξ αὐτῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔστιν αἰρεῖν μόνους. An Aristophanic fragment *Thesm.* II PCG 333 ἰχθὺς ἐώνηται τις, ἢ σηπίδιον / ἢ τῶν πλατειῶν καρίδων ἢ πουλύπους suggests that fish was regularly consumed in the Attic Thesmophoria and according to Ael. NA 9.51 the participants in the Eleusinian mysteries held red mullet in honour, cf. also Athen. 8.307f.

Demeter's antipathy to erythrinos found an application in cult-practice. Scholium R on Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 7.4 (280.20-4 Rabe) informs us that erythrinos was among the fishes excluded from the abundant table of the Haloa-festival in Eleusis: Ἐνταῦθα οἶνός τε πολὺς πρόκειται καὶ τράπεζαι πάντων τῶν τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης γέμουσαι βρωμάτων πλὴν τῶν ἀπειρημένων ἐν τῷ μυστικῷ ... καὶ θαλαττίων τρίγλης, ἐρυθίνου, μελανούρου, καράβου, γαλεοῦ. This indicates a discrimination against certain fishes in Eleusis. Demeter's alleged aversion to erythrinos would justify a reference to it in *Demeter*, as is the case with wine in fr. 9. But in contrast to wine, it is not known whether erythrinos played a part in Coan cult-practice. Theoc. fr. 3.3-4 (a fisherman) σφάζων ἀκρόνυχος ταύτη θεῶ ἱερὸν ἰχθύν / ὄν λεῦκον καλέουσιν, ὁ γὰρ θ' ἱερώτατος ἄλλων knows of petitionary sacrifices of fish by professional fishermen and the fishermen association in Cos<sup>116</sup> could have been involved in a ritual of this kind. That fish was a sacrificial animal in Cos we know from an inscription setting

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d, *AP* book 6 and inscriptional sources. Sacrifices of fish were offered to Poseidon, mostly a god of the open sea, Aphrodite ποντία, see Roscher I, 402, Artemis, cf. A.R. 1.570-1 and see G-P on Apollonid. *GPh* 1.1-2, Hecate, Priapus, Apollo ἄκτιος, see Vian on A.R. 1.104, Hermes and even Pan, cf. Pind. fr. 98, Theoc. 5.14, Archias *GPh* 5-7 and see G. W. Most, *ZPE* 64 (1986), 34-6. On sacrifices of fish see above all Bodson 45-57, who concluded that the religious function of fishes is no less widespread or original than that of other animals. See also Stengel 201-2, Dölger *Ichthys* II, 17-24, 377-386, Engemann, *RAC* VII (1969), 985-6. On the notion that gods can be in ownership of animals see Isager-Skygaard 191-8 and on the well-founded coupling of certain fishes with certain gods see Bodson 52-3.

<sup>115</sup> See Farnell III, 321 n. 42a. Plut. *quaest. conv.* 4.4.3, p. 668e alleges that Demeter is often σύνναος of Poseidon due to salt! The "ploughing of the sea" motif is common, cf. Theoc. fr. 3.2 (άνήρ) ἐξ ἀλός φ' ζωή, τὰ δὲ δίκτυα κείνω ἄροτρα etc., Philip *GPh* 50, see West on Hes. *Theog.* 440. Cf. also the anonymous *Hymn to Nile* v. 18 ἰχθύες ἐν πεδίοισι καὶ οὐ βόες ἀμφινέμονται, republished by R. Cribione, *ZPE* 106 (1995), 97-106.

<sup>116</sup> See on these in general Stöckle, *RE* Suppl IV (1924), 174-5 s.v. Berufsvereine and cf. perhaps Leon. Tar. *HE* 20 of an aged fisherman buried by the συνεργατίνης ἰχθυόλων θίασος (v. 10). For a similar association of sailors in Roman Thessalonike see E. Voutiras, *ZPE* 90 (1992), 87-96.



down regulations in the posthumous shrine that Diomedon established for the cult of Heracles, *HG* 10.42-3 = *IdC* ED 149.42-3 (ca 300) ποιεῖν δὲ καὶ τὰν ἀποπυρίδα | κατὰ τὰ πάτρια.<sup>117</sup>

The Cyrenean gloss ὕκης would appeal to Ph. for the common ἐρυθ(ρ)ῖνος. Ph. had an interest in Cyrenean glosses as is attested in fr. 32 K. Κυρηναῖοι δὲ τὸν ποδονιπτῆρα δῖνον ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς Φιλήτας φησὶν ἐν Ἀτάκτοις, cf. also fr. 44 K. The Cyrenean was a Doric dialect and Ph.'s interest could have grown during his sojourn in Egypt. He might have discussed ὕκης in *Ataktoi*. That he reused the gloss in one of his poems – or vice versa – is no impediment, as he is very likely to have done the same with ὄμπνιος. It is from the *Ataktoi* rather than from *Demeter* that Zenodotus, a "pupil" of Ph., picked it up to discuss it (apparently) in his *Ethnikai Lexeis*, see K. Nickau, *RE* Suppl. XI (1972), 41.9f., 42.8f. Call. as a Cyrenean had additional reasons to use this gloss in his poetry. His treatise *Περὶ Μετονομασίας Ἰχθύων*<sup>118</sup> dealt with dialect variations and it can be conjectured that a discussion on hyces would most appropriately find a place there too. It would seem that the grammatical and perhaps literary treatment of the word originates in Ph.

### Fr. 23 (*SH* 674; *Demeter*?)

καὶ κεν Ἀθηναίης δολιχαόρου ἱερὸν ἄστν  
καὶ κε[ν Ἐλευ]σίνος θεῖον ἴδοι[μι λό]φον

Schol. T ad *Il.* 21.179b (V.163 Erbse) ἄστροι : τῷ δόρατι. Φιλήτας : "καὶ κεν Ἀθηναίης δολιχαόρου" ἀντὶ τοῦ "μέγα δόρυ ἐχούσης" + Schol. T ad *Il.* 14.385 (III.656 Erbse) {δεινὸν} ἄστροι : τινὲς τὴν τρίαιναν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ πᾶν ὄπλον ἄστροι καλοῦσιν· ὅθεν καὶ "Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου" [*Il.* 5.509] καὶ "Ἀθηναίης δολιχαόρου ἱερὸν ἄστν" + POxy. 2260i.1f. (cod. pap. s. II p.C., ed. E. Lobel) ἱερὸν ἄστν καὶ κε[ c. 5 ] | σεῖνος θεῖον ἴδοι[ c. 5 ] | φον (vac.) καὶ ὁ τὴν Φορ[ωνίδα] | πεπονηκώς, ἐν ο[ἷς φη]σιν [*EGF* 5] etc.

2 ἴδοι[μι e.g. Lobel, sane certum : ἴδοι[τε Snell.

<sup>117</sup> On ἀποπυρίδα cf. Athen. 8.334e and on the inscription see I. de Pratt, *Leges Graecorum sacrae*, Leipzig 1896, on 144B.5-6, P-H 75, Dölger *Ichthys* II, 377-82, Sh-W, *ZPE* 24 (1977), 210-3, id. 364-5.

<sup>118</sup> See Pfeiffer on fr. 406. Most probably part of his *Ἐθνικὰ Ὀνομασῖαι* on which see Pfeiffer (1968), 135, R. Tossi *La philologie grecque*, 149-150.

**καί κεν ... / καί κεν** For duplicated καί κεν + Optative cf. *Il.* 6.456-7, Simon. *IEG* 22.9f.; here it reproduces the stuttering effect of *HHD* 141-4 where Demeter, as probably in our passage, reveals future plans (in *HHD* as servant in Celeus' house): καί κεν παῖδα νεογνὸν ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἔχουσα / καλὰ τιθηνοίμην καὶ δώματα τηρήσαιμι / καί κε λέχος στορέσαιμι μυχῶ θαλάμων εὐπήκτων / δεσπόμενον καὶ κ' ἔργα διδασκῆσαιμι γυναῖκας. The use of anaphora in a short epic catalogue is common, see Mineur on Call. *HyDel.* 70-4. It is a distinct feature of Hellenistic verse, cf. fr. 10 and e.g. in Call. *HyJov.* 6-7, 8-9, *HyArt.* 34-5, *HyDel.* 260-4, see for Homeric precedents West on Hes. *WD* 5f. and for late epic C. de Stephani, *A&R* 41 (1996), 36-7 n. 6. Theoc. more than anyone else made extensive use of different forms of repetition, see Dover xlvi-xlvii.

**κεν Ἀθηναίης** Aeolic κέν is more frequent than Ionic/Attic ἄν in Homer, A.R. and Call. Sometimes in Homer the two occur side by side, as *Il.* 24.437, *Od.* 9.334, see Chantraine *GH* II, 345-6, Janko on *Il.* 13.126-8 ad fin. Juxtaposed with Ionic Ἀθηναίης it produces a dialect contrast, a phenomenon which in Homer is a consequence of the conditions in which these poems were composed, but a self-conscious play in Hellenistic poetry, cf. Call. *HyJov.* 1 Ζηνὸς ἔοι τί κεν ἄλλο παρὰ σπονδῆσιν ἀείδων / λῶφον where κεν "provides a contrast for the Ionic ἔοι", McLennan ad loc.

**Ἀθηναίης** The short Ionic form Ἀθήνη and the long one coexist in Hellenistic verse along with Doric Ἀθηναία. The latter is inscriptionally attested up to the 3rd c. and is the form mostly used in classical Athens, see Threatte I, 271f., Dunbar on Ar. *Birds* 828. Koine uses by then only Ἀθηναῖα, see Bulloch on Call. *HyPal.* 5. The form here in its usual *sedes*.

**Ἀθηναίης δολιχαόρου** As we learn from the erudite POxy. 2260i.1f. (ultimately from Apollod. Περὶ Θεῶν?) the adj. was first used of Athena in *Phoronis EGF.* 5 οὐδ' ἔτι κουρ[- / ἀρκέσει ἐγρεμάχη δολιχαόρος ἀγρομε[-. As extant fragments evidence, *Phoronis* was a poem of much interest with regard to religious matters, cf. the effort to account for Hermes ἐριούσιος in *EGF* 4. Its author picks up ἐγρεμάχη from *HHD* 424 (first occurrence). Athena is predominantly a war-goddess, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 925f. She usually carries her arms, the most conspicuous of which is the aegis, and she is regularly represented in art and literature as handling a long spear.<sup>119</sup> In *Il.*

<sup>119</sup> See P. Demargne, *LIMC* II.1, 969f. with vol. II, 716f. and H. G. Niemeyer, *Promachos. Untersuchungen zur Darstellung der bewaffneten Athena in archaischer Zeit*, Waldsassen 1960. On

5.745-6 = 8.389-390 Athena brandishes an ἔγχος / βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν, a formula elsewhere applied only to Achilles, cf. also Athena's πελώριον ἔγχος in *Il.* 8.424 and in *Od.* 1.99-100 her ἄλκιμον ἔγχος ... / βριθὺ μέγα στιβαρόν which Aristarchus condemned as a loan from the *Il.* In *Il.* 18.517 Ares and Pallas lead an army on Achilles' shield καλῶ καὶ μεγάλῳ σὺν τεύχεσιν, cf. also Hermod. *HE* 1.3 τὰν δ' ἐν Κεκροπίδαις δορυθαρσέα Παλλάδα, Claud. *Gig.* 38 θεὰ .. δορυσσόος. Such an attribute may well have an artistic background.

**δολιχαόρου** The adj. occurs only in *Phoronis EGF* 5 and here.<sup>120</sup> It is in essence equivalent to the absolute hapax *Il.* 21.155 δολιχεγγής, cf. further on Homeric long spears *Il.* 13.162, al. δολιχὸν δόρυ ~ Nonn. *D.* 23.53, *Il.* 13.830 μακρὸν δόρυ, *Il.* 4.533, al. δολίχ' ἔγχεα, the formula δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος 20x in *Il.*, 4x in *Od.*, see Kirk on *Il.* 3.346-7, then *Il.* 14.385, al. ἄορ τανύηκες. Its second component is the obsolete word ἄορ, which was soon lost in the vernacular and was felt to be archaistic, cf. [Plut.] *de Homero* 14 and see Hillgruber 122-3. Ἄορ is very rare after Homer: Hes. *Theog.* 283, [Scut.] 221, 257, Eur. *Elec.* 476 (lyr.), resurrected in Imperial epic. It is usually identified as ξίφος, φάσγανον, Schol. *Il.* 3.271b (I.407 Erbse, q.v.), see Garvie on *Od.* 8.403-5. As, however, Arcadian and Aetolian use extended its meaning to cover every implement, Ph. uses it here of Athena's long spear. The term is also used with elasticity in Call. *HyDel.* 31 ἄορι τριγλώχινι of Poseidon's trident, but with its usual meaning in *Hec.* fr. 10.2. Opp. *Hal.* 2.465, al. employs it metaphorically of the swordfish's muzzle, [id.] *Cyn.* 2.533 of the horn of rhinoceros. The author of *Phoronis* evidently agreed with those who interpreted Apollo's epithet χρυσάορος as "with long spear".<sup>121</sup> Ph. could have brought forward his interpretation relying on the dialectal meaning of ἄορ in his scholarly works. Glosses from Arcadia or Aetolia are not extant, but for trivial words discussed with meanings other than their usual ones, cf. fr. 30 K. ἄωτον and for the extension of ἄορ's meaning cf. the restriction of ἐλινόζ's meaning

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Athena's aegis see Nilsson *GGR* I, 436-7, Burkert 140 with Near Eastern parallels, Richardson on *Il.* 21.440-1. "Pallas" most appropriately expresses her war-capacity, see Bulloch on Call. *HyPal.* 1-4.

<sup>120</sup> Though the papyrus could potentially provide further examples. In Euph. *SH* 415i.22 ]χάορος (probably of Orion) Latte proposed δολ]ιχάορος printed by van Groningen in his fr. 24c.22: "Legi nequit δολ]ιχάορος", *SH* ad loc. considering ἀ]γγάορος, for which A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 89 (1991), 30 n. 8 adduced Hor. *Odes* 1.28.21 *devexi ... Orionis*.

<sup>121</sup> Apollo χρυσάορος in *Il.* 5.509, 15.256, *HHAp.* 395, al.; χρυσάωρ in *HHAp.* 123, Hes. *WD* 771, A.R. 3.1283, al., "an unexpected attribute for a god whose typical weapon is the bow", Kirk on *Il.* 5.508-11, see also *LFrE* s.v., A. Rengakos, *ZPE* 94 (1992), 38 and on the declension of such forms Janko on *Il.* 15.254-9. Similar terms apply to Artemis, Orpheus and Perseus. The exact meaning of these cultic attributes is disputed, see Richardson on *HHD* 4.

in fr. 43 K. Bach 82 had classified v. 1 (the only one then known) under Γραμματικά καὶ Κριτικά.

**ἱερόν** i- is short by nature. Metrically lengthened it can become long, which is the norm in the fifth foot. In its dactylic form it usually precedes a noun (only four exceptions in Homer), see Hopkinson 46 and on v. 40.

**ἱερόν ἄστν** "under divine protection", see Dover on Ar. *Frogs* 652. Ἱερός is freely attributed to persons and things with a divine link, see Burkert 269, and is a common attribute of geographical places.<sup>122</sup> The specific combination is unHomeric, though Homer has ἱερὴν πόλιν ("an unusual phrase", Kirk on *Il.* 1.366), ἱερόν πτολίεθρον and comes quite close in *Il.* 4.103 = 121 ἱερῆς εἰς ἄστν Ζελεΐης/, 21.128 ἄστν ... Ἰλίου ἱρῆς, see further Campbell on Q.S. 12.235. It is fittingly applied to Athens, which in a long-established tradition is both ἱεραία and ἄστν, cf. *Od.* 11.323 ἐς γοῦνον [= acropolis] Ἀθηναίων ἱεράων (probably an Attic interpolation), [Hes.] fr. 43a.67 (quoted ff.), 146, Pind. fr. 75.4, Bacch. 18.1, 23.1, Eur. *Med.* 825-6, "Simon." *FGF* 64.1, Nonn. *D.* 19.82, see further P. Wülfing-von Martitz, *Glotta* 38 (1960), 284 n. 3 and D. Lau, *RAC* Suppl. Lief. 4 (1986), 639-641 and cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 869 χώρας θεοφιλεστάτης, *CEG* 606.8 (Attica, 4th c.) θεοῖσι μάλιστα φίλαι θνητοῖσί τε Ἀθῆναι, Nonn. *D.* 24.96 θεοκρήπιδος Ἀθήνης.

**ἄστν** *vox propria* of Athens from classical times onwards after the synoecism. It was regarded as being the first ἄστν and then the ἄστν *par excellence* in the Greek world, see Jacoby on Philoch. *FGH* 328 F 2. Strictly speaking its use here is anachronistic: before synoecism ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἢ νῦν οὔσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον, Thuc. 2.15.3. But Erat. *CA* 23 = Steph. Byz. (140.3f. Meineke) s.v. ἄστν λέγεται ἄστν καὶ δῆμος etc. employed ἄστν of the Attic deme Thoricos and Nic. *Alex.* 131 ἀν' ἄστνρον Ἰπποθόωντος of the controversial case of Eleusis. Since many of the erudite Hellenistic poems dealt with the mythical past, in principle the poets strived to keep up an image of verisimilitude so as to present their compositions as credible. Thus they take care to provide the reader with an approximate chronology of legendary events, cf. A.R. 1.736-7 and see Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 24, Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 70.10, and usually display a particular attention to

<sup>122</sup> See P. Wülfing-von Martitz, *Glotta* 38 (1960), 278-288, Kirk on *Il.* 4.378, St. Scully, *Homer and the Sacred City*, Ithaca-London 1990, 16-40, Mineur on Call. *HyDel.* 1. On its range of meanings see J. Chadwick, *Lexicographica Graeca*, Oxford 1996, 150-161.

the onomatology they employ. A.R. calls Athens Κεκροπίη, never Ἀθῆναι.<sup>123</sup> He does not call Corfu Κέρκυρα, not even Σχερία as in Homer, but employs the even more ancient denomination Δρεπάνη. Call. too is careful not to name Athens in *Hec.*, cf. fr. 70.9 (Athena) ἐῆς ἔρυμα χθονός or he vaguely calls it ἄστυρον "citadel, small town" in fr. 69.6 and 71.2, cf. also Athens' still *angusta moenia* in Cat. 64.80 with Fordyce ad loc. Call. also leaves the eponymous nymph of Cyrene unnamed in *HyAp.* calling her νύμφη (v. 90) or Ὑψηίς (v. 92). So does Mosch. *Eur.* 8-9 with the continent named after the main character of his poem: (Europa) οἴσατ' ἠπείρους δοιάς περὶ εἶο μαχέσθαι, / Ἀσίδα τ' ἀντιπέρην τε.

**Ἀθηναίης .. ἱερὸν ἄστυ** Probably echoed in Euph. *CA* 9.5 \*Ἀθηναίης ἱερὴν (ἀνελεύσατο) κίστην/, cf. *Od.* 6.321-2 ἄλσος / ἱρὸν Ἀθηναίης, Call. fr. 384.35 \*καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίης γὰρ ἐπὶ στέγος ἱερὸν ἦνται, Q.S. 8.358 Ἀθηναίων (Vian : -αίων codd.) ἱερὸν πέδον. For (δολιχα)όρου ἱερὸν ἄστυ cf. Call. *HyDel.* 70 ὄρος ἱερὸν Αὔγης and for the rare clausula ἱερὸν ἄστυ (here, Q.S., late oracles and inscriptions) see Campbell on Q.S. 12.235 (add Theodot. *SH* 757.7, *SEG* 27.405.6 (3rd c. A.D.) Βειθυ[νίδος εἱερὸν] ἄστυ/) and for the metrical scheme - - - (adj.) ἄστυ/ (unattested before "Theogn.") cf. Theogn. 785 = Anon. PVind. Rainer 2981B.66 (s. p.C. III ex.; in Gow, *Buc. Gr.*, 168f.) = Adesp. *GDRK* 17A.17 ἀγλαὸν ἄστυ/, Antim. fr. 28.2 Δύμιον ἄστυ/, Frust. Adesp. Auct. *SH* 1177 = Q.S. 3.29, 4.478 = *IMEG* 140.3 = 145.3 (both late Imperial) ὄλβιον ἄστυ/ (a rare expression, see Campbell on Q.S. 12.78), Call. fr. 43.46 κείμεγιον ἄστυ/ (for the text see G. Massimilla, *ZPE* 81 (1990), 18), A.R. 4.274 μύρια δ' ἄστυ/, [Mosch.] *Epit. Bion.* 90 Τήιον ἄστυ/, Triph. 395 πάτριον ἄστυ/, Q.S. 1.52, al. Τρώϊον ἄστυ/, 4.451, al. κύδιμον ἄστυ/, and perhaps A.R. 2.1268 ἱερά τ' ἄλση/.<sup>124</sup> In Homer always - - ἄστυ/ (10x) except *Il.* 11.706 ἀμφὶ τε ἄστυ/. For Ἀθηναίης ... ἄστυ cf. *Eur. Med.* 771 ἄστυ καὶ πόλισμα Παλλάδος, *GVI* 984.5 (Athens, 2nd c. A.D.) ἄστυ Ἀθήνης/, Nonn. *D.* 19.117, al. ἀστὸς Ἀθήνης/ as well as A.R. 1.1116 /ἄστυ ... Ἀδραστείης from the eponymous deity, Call. *HyAp.* 73 ἄστυ

<sup>123</sup> See Bornmann on Call. *HyArt.* 227. For Athens' different names cf. Euph. *CA* 34. Hdt. 8.44.2 notices that Athens was called Κεκροπίη from its legendary king Cecrops, before Erichthonius, a close associate of Athena, gave the city the name of its protecting goddess, cf. also Philoch. *FGH* 328 F 94 with Jacoby ad loc. on the Attidographic tradition and see A. Kleingünther, *Prōtos Eureses*, Leipzig 1933, 129. Attic synoecism was commonly attributed to Theseus, see Moggi 44-89.

<sup>124</sup> The metrical structure - - - ἄστυ/ may occur from Hellenistic hexameter onwards with nouns or verbs in which case an adj. often precedes, cf. A.R. 1.794 ναίεται ἄστυ/, Maiist. 9 (*CA* p. 69) ἤλυθεν ἄστυ/, *SEG* 38.731.5 (ca 194) ἴξομαι ἄστυ/, *SEG* 30.182.1 (Athens, Roman times) Κέκρο]πος ἄστυ/, Q.S. 9.327 Ἰλίου ἄστυ, Orph. *Arg.* 145 ἔκτισεν ἄστυ/, Musae. 74 ἔδρακον ἄστυ/, Dion. Per. 264 ἔλλαχον ἄστυ/, *SEG* 36.1345.2 (6th c. A.D.) Καίσαρος ἄστυ/. Ἄστυ is never clausular in Nonn.

Κυρήνης from the eponymous Nymph (~ Pind. *Pyth.* 4.260-1), see further on Ἐλευσίνοσ ... λόφον. An inscription of the 5th c. found in Cos (perhaps originally from Samos) *IdC* EV 361 runs ἡρόσ τέμ- / ενος Ἀθην- / ᾗς Ἀθηνῶν / μεδεόσης.

Ἐλευσίνοσ ... λόφον i.e. Eleusis. Λόφον is virtually synonymous with ἄστυ in v. 1. Eleusis lies 21 km west of Athens from which it is separated by the range of Aigaleos hills. It is built at the seashore beneath a hill in imposing scenery. But what is probably meant here is the eponymous hero Eleusis who, according to one version, was himself the recipient of Demeter.<sup>125</sup> Ἐλευσίνοσ ... λόφον corresponds to Ἀθηναίης ... ἄστυ and the practice of naming cities by their eponymous heroes is particularly liked by Hellenistic poets with antiquarian interests, cf. A.R. 1.186 πτολίεθρον ἀγαυοῦ Μιλήτοιο, 2.1186 μετ' ἀφνειὴν θείου πόλιν Ὀρχομενοῖο as 3.265-6 πόλιν Ὀρχομενοῖο, / ὅσ τις ὄδ' Ὀρχομενός, 3.1094-5, Anon. *SLG* 460.9 Ὀρχομενοῦ ... πεδίον κλε[εννοῦ (vel -[εννον), Rhian. *CA* 60 Ἐχίονοσ ἄστυ of Echinus, a town in Acarnania, Erat. *CA* 23 Θορικοῦ καλὸν .. ἔδοσ on which see A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 93 (1992), 9, Opp. *Hal.* 5.521-2 Βύζαντοσ .. / ἄστυ, Nonn. *D.* 13.79 ἐπώνυμον ἄστυ Κορώνου. In Theoc. 1.147 ἀπ' Αἰγίλω = ἀπ' Αἰγιαλίας, Call. *HyDel.* 47 φεῦγεν δ' ὁ γέρων μετόπισθεν Φενειός, and perhaps A.R. 3.1073 ἦ νύ που ἀφνειοῦ σχεδὸν ἴξεαι Ὀρχομενοῖο the eponymous hero stands for the name of the place. From the formal point of view see Meineke on Steph. Byz. s.v. ἄστυ (p. 140.4; add *Il.* 24.544, *HHAp.* 37). Call. prefers to write ethnicon + ἄστυ, see Pfeiffer on fr. 75.74. This way of mentioning a town artificially gives the impression of an era in which places did not yet have their final names. In Homer cities are rarely named after their founder's name as in *Od.* 10.81 Λάμου αἰπὺ πτολίεθρον, Τηλέπυλον Λαιστρυγονίην, see Heubeck ad loc. They are regularly named after their current ruler's name as *Il.* 1.366 Θήβην, ἱερὴν πόλιν Ἡετίωνοσ, 16.153, 2.803, al. ἄστυ μέγα Πριάμου, 9.668, 14.230, 19.296.

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 147, Servius on Virg. *Georg.* 1.19. Panyas. *EGF* 21 heretically made him father of Triptolemus, another recipient of Demeter in Eleusis, whose role is played down in *HHD*, see on him S. B. Matheson, *GRBS* 35 (1994), 345-372. On the eponymous hero see Richardson ad loc., E. Kearns, *The Heroes of Attica*, London 1989, 98 with n. 96, 158-9. On the scansion of his name see Powell on Erat. *CA* 16.18. Paus. 1.38.7 Ἐλευσίνα δὲ ἥρωα, ἀφ' οὗ τὴν πόλιν ὀνομάζουσιν, οἱ μὲν Ἑρμοῦ παῖδα εἶναι καὶ Δαείρας Ὀκεανοῦ θυγατρὸσ λέγουσι, τοῖσ δὲ ἐστί πεποιημένα Ὠγγυον εἶναι πατέρα Ἐλευσῖνι indicates that he became a subject in (local?) poetry. In Hyg. (where Rose wanted to amend *Eleusinum* to *Eleusin*), Servius and Harpocration s.v. Ἐλευσίνα he appears as Ἐλευσίνοσ but as Ἐλευσίσ in Panyas. l.l. = [Apollod.] 1.5.2, Paus. 1.38.7. In *HHD* l.s. the form seems to be Ἐλευσίνοσ. The original form, however, must be Ἐλευσίσ, as is the name of the town. Ἐλευσίνοσ, initially a genitive, must be a remnant of e.g. ἀνὴρ Ἐλευσίνοσ "man of Eleusis" turned into a proper name for convenience.

*Il.* 2.546-7 is a highly problematic passage, see Schol. ad loc. with Erbse's (I.302) note.

**θεῖον** A synonym of the previous ἱερόν, cf. [Theoc.] 25.10 ἱερόν θεῖοιο παρὰ ῥόον Ἄλφειο. On the word's formation see Hainsworth on *Od.* 5.11. The normal Homeric use of the adj. following names scanning ~ - - -, see Hainsworth on *Il.* 11.806, does not seem to be confirmed in Hellenistic verse. Only here with a proper name, cf. also A.R. 2.613 ἐνέπνευσεν θεῖον μένος. In early epic it normally applies to men ("godlike") and only rarely to things, see LI-J on Semon. *Females of the Species* 89. It occurs less often in tragedy, see Fraenkel on Aesch. *Ag.* 1547. Here used as an attribute of a hill where Demeter's worship takes place: "consecrated to the goddess".

**θεῖον .. λόφον** An echo of the Homeric application of θεῖος to things, *Od.* 4.43 θεῖον δόμον, *Od.* 2.341 = 9.205 θεῖον πότον, *Od.* 8.264 χορὸν θεῖον, cf. perhaps A.R. 2.1091 ~ 1.970 θεῖον στόλον. The combination is unHomeric but since peaks of hills were early enough used as sanctuaries, see Burkert 26-8, R. Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History*, Oxford 1996, 29-33, mountains or hills are often said to be holy, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 2 Ἐλικῶνος ... ὄρος μέγα τε ζᾶθεόν τε, cf. *ibid.* 23, [Theoc.] 25.209, Adesp. Pap. Hex. *SH* 938.4, *HHAphr.* 258 (Ida), Simon. *PMG* 35b.1 Π]άρνηθος [.]πὸ ζα[θεοῦ, Eur. *Orest.* 1382-3 καλλίβωλον Ἴ- / δας ὄρος ἱερόν, *Phoen.* 234 (Parnassus), Ar. *Clouds* 270 Ὀλύμπου κορυφαῖς ἱεραῖς, Boethus *GPh* 1.1, Q.S. 2.444 ζαθέφ Ὀλύμπω, Call. *HyDel.* 70 ὄρος ἱερόν Αὔγης / Παρθένιον with Mineur ad loc. In *id. fr.* 407i a marvel is placed ἐν τῇ κατὰ Ἱερόν ὄρος θαλάττη τῆς Θράκης mentioned also in A.R. 2.1015.

**ἴδοιμι** Demeter, as if stuttering, uses recurring καί κεν clauses as a personal formula. The first person seems therefore certain.

**Ἐλευσῖνος θεῖον .. λόφον** *HHD* 318 πτολίεθρον Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης, 356 Ἐλευσῖνος κранаὸν πτολίεθρον, 490 Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης δῆμον, cf. Simon. *IEG* 11.40 Ἐλευσῖνος γῆς ἐ]ρατὸν πεδίον. Demeter evidently refers to the hill where in *HHD* 272 she ordered Celeus to build her temple. These were regularly set up on hills, see Richardson on l.1. Proleptically Eleusis' hill, while it belongs to its eponymous hero, is holy even before Demeter sees it. The anachronism finds a precedent in *HHD* 97 = 318 = 419 Ἐλευσῖνος θυοέσσης or the name Καλλίχορος in v. 272, see Richardson on v. 97 and cf. Ov. *Fasti* 4.507-8 *fors sua cuique loco est: quod nunc cerialis Eleusin / dicitur, hoc Celei rura fuere senis*. This direct reference to *HHD* is noteworthy. Erudite poets deliberately indulge in such lapses: A.R. 1.1092 Αἰσονίδη, χρειώ σε τόδ' ἱερόν εἰσανιόντα etc. anticipates the sanctuary of Rhea the

Argonauts will later found. A.R. 4.659-660 ἀλὸς ... / Αὐσονίης dates Ausones in Argonautic times, cf. Schol. ad loc. Call. *Hec.* fr. 71.2-3 Λυκείου / καλὸν ... κατὰ δρόμον Ἀπόλλωνος refers to the Gymnasium of Lycaean Apollo in Erichthonius' time. Q.S. 12.90 alludes to siege-engines used in the Trojan war. The phenomenon was later trivialised by the Romans, see Bömer on *Ov. Met.* 2.795, Campbell on Q.S. 1.1. On anachronisms in tragedy with reference to Homer see P. E. Easterling, *JHS* 105 (1985), 1-11.

This fragment is compiled by three different sources, none of them offering a clear indication as to which poem it belongs. It was first assigned to *Demeter* (as reconstituted from Ovid) by L. Alfonsi, *Aegyptus* 34 (1954), 211-4. The Homeric Schol. quote Ph. to illustrate the liberal use of ἄορ. POxy. 2260i.1f. examines δολιχάορος, the striking word of the quotation, as applied to Athena and luckily quotes another line, which is a pentameter. The papyrus discusses also the term Παλλάς and since it contains material of theological interest and research based *more hellenistico* on etymological interpretations, as Παλλάς from πάλλω in col. ii, R. Merkelbach, *APF* 16 (1956), 115-7, cf. id. in A. E. Hanson (ed.), *Collectanea Papyrologica. Texts ... H. C. Youtie* II, Bonn 1976, 3, assumed with good reason that it is derived from Apollod.'s Περὶ Θεῶν, thus refuting Lobel's identification as a "commentary on a poetic text". The author of the papyrus after quoting Ph. goes on to argue on etymological grounds for ἄορ meaning "sword", not "spear", and at the end of col. i, ll. 28-30 he adds: οὔτοι μὲν ο[ῦν] | καὶ ἐν ἑτέροις πολλοῖς | τὴν τοιαύτην τῶν ὀνομάτων [... Lobel noted that "the missing accusative may .. be a word for "ambiguity, confusion, substitution" or the like"; Merkelbach proposed μετάθεσιν. He also identified οὔτοι as "Philitas und der Verfasser der Phoronis". If so more lines of them would have been quoted. Lobel was more restrained. The text is indeed so vague, that neither οὔτοι nor ἐν ἑτέροις πολλοῖς can be pressed to precision. What might e.g. be meant are the νεώτεροι producing and applying novel interpretations on some Homeric passages. That a Philetan passage was very soon included in discussions of this kind is indicative of how innovative it was considered, of an evident link of poetry and scholarship, as well as of the interest it elicited in the circles of the grammarians.

The two verses speak of Athens and Eleusis as two separate religious entities lying very close on the map. This corresponds to reality, as according to Paus. 1.38.3 the Eleusinians retained autonomy in religious affairs even after their accession to Athens. Both Eleusis and Athens are conspicuous cult-centres of Demeter. The speaker acknowledges the precedence of Athena in Athens, but speaks of Eleusis' principal deity in rather unspecified terms: apparently it is Demeter proleptically referring to her own central cult-site. But if taken as being spoken by Demeter, the



verses gain in significance. A tradition of a visit and warm reception existed in Athens, but the cult of Athena Poliouchos was the official one. An antagonism of the two goddesses for the best part of Greece might be lurking. If by ἄστυ Ph. means only the Acropolis, keeping up with the real data of *Demeter's* dramatic time, this would significantly compress Athena's field of authority. Even with its technical meaning ἄστυ, confined by the Aigaleos hills, would leave out large parts of Attica and Eleusis administratively belonging to παραλία, see P. J. Rhodes, *A Commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia*, Oxford 1981, 251-2. Athena's inferiority is secured by the not so flattering, as it would at first seem, δολιχάορος: Demeter herself is *HHD* 4, al. χρυσάορος.

Beyond the neatly expressed concurrence in matters of religious prevalence, Demeter's bitterness may be related to Athena's part in her troubles. Athena and Artemis are mentioned in the second list provided by Persephone as being present along with the Oceanids at the scene of the rape, *HHD* 424, and are present in most versions. Her stand, however, is equivocal. In some versions she ineffectively opposes and in some others she favours the rape, cf. *Orph. Arg.* 1191-6, and although Athena tried to prevent Pluto in *Claud.*, Core's nurse still accuses her of complicity, *RP* 3.198f., see on evidence in art Förster 135, 201-10 and Richardson on l.l.

Though apparently grossly put aside, the key issue for Demeter is to recover Persephone. *Ov. Fasti* 4.467f., 497f., 563f. provides a detailed geographical account of Demeter's searching. As gods usually do, Demeter flies from place to place: from afar she discerns Acropolis and the Eleusinian hill.<sup>126</sup> The choice of the specific destination constitutes a blatant reference to the *HHD*. Demeter under the guise of an old woman claims to have followed a slightly different route from Crete to the Athenian port of Thoricos and from there to Eleusis, vv. 126-130. Athens in both versions is a common stop for a common destination.

But above all Demeter's itinerary bears a remarkable resemblance to that of Mestra as described by [*Hes.*] *Heoiai* fr. 43a.66-8:

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<sup>126</sup> In *HHD* 43 Demeter sets out looking for her daughter "like a bird". Homeric passages are gathered and discussed in H. Bannert, *Formen der Wiederholung bei Homer*, Vienna 1988, 57-68, see also Hainsworth on *Od.* 5.51. Winged gods in Homer are only Iris in *Il.* 8.398, 11.185, Hermes wearing sandals in *Od.* 5.44-6 and Athena in the suspect *Od.* 1.96-8. In *Call. HyDem.* 10 Demeter orbits the earth on foot! In *Ov. Fasti* 4.497, *Met.* 5.642, 648 and *Claud. RP* 1.181-190 she is carried by a chariot led by dragons, see Bömer on *Fasti* l.l. and Gruzelier on *Claud.* l.l.

Μήστρη δὲ προ]λιποῦσα Κόων ποτὶ πατρίδα γαῖαν  
 ...]ησ ἱερέων ποτὶ γουνὸν Ἀθηνέων  
 ... ἐ]πεὶ τέκε παῖδα Ποσειδάωνι ἄνακτι.

67 νηὶ θεῆ ἑπέρ]ησ' e.g. Merkelbach : βουλῆ Ἀθηναίων West

According to this version Poseidon elopes with Mestra and carries her away to Cos, where she bears Eurypylus, the legendary Coan king and father of Chalcon and Antagoras, before she returns to her pitiable father in Athens.<sup>127</sup> The Philetan verses echo the Ps-Hesiodic passage, to which Ph. attended elsewhere too, cf. fr. 11.

Imminent arrival at Eleusis reveals another detail of some importance: Demeter visited Eleusis, her last destination, immediately after her visit to Cos. Thus the Coan cult of the goddess is presented as very closely linked to the panhellenic Eleusinian one. This might have a true basis in Coan cult-practices. By this affiliation to Eleusis the Coan cult gains in stature. It moreover sanctions Coan precedence over Eleusinian concerning the seniority of the respective cults. This might be a Philetan response to a proud Coan belief. Such claims of priority in worship of a deity over another of the same deity seem to have been regular. The Sicilians claimed priority in the benefactions of Demeter for themselves, Diod. Sic. 5.4.4-5 φιλανθρωπότατα δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑποδεξαμένων τὴν θεόν, πρώτοις τούτοις μετὰ τοὺς Σικελιώτας δωρήσασθαι τὸν τῶν πυρῶν καρπὸν [...] οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν, διὰ τὴν τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης πρὸς αὐτοὺς οἰκειότητα πρῶτα τῆς εὐρέσεως τοῦ σίτου μεταλαμβάνοντες etc. Argos had a similar rivalry with Athens over the establishment of the mysteries. Paus. 1.14.2 Ἑλλήνων οἱ μάλιστα ἀμφισβητοῦντες Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ἀρχαιότητα καὶ δῶρα, <ᾗ> παρὰ θεῶν φασιν ἔχειν, εἰσὶν Ἀργεῖοι indicates that other Greek states raised similar claims as well.

The position of the verses in *Demeter* seems to be clear: the goddess is departing. It might be part of her reply to Chalcon when, as any willing host, he would ask her to stay longer. An important stylistic feature of the distichon is its air of solemnity and religious gravity: elevated vocabulary and, unlike other fragments, three grandiose adjj. in two verses.<sup>128</sup> To this sense of godlike spoken words contributes also the repetition of the same sound-pattern (*Satzparallelismus*). This is a well

<sup>127</sup> Kakridis 155-6 objected to the displacement of Erysichthon (usually located in Thessaly) in Hes. and wanted to see in Athens only a stop on the way to Thessaly, but conceded that the text is not easy to emend.

<sup>128</sup> Accumulated adjj. are a regular feature of hymnic language, cf. Call. *HyArt.* 189-190 and see Bühler 212-5.

attested Hellenistic technique and a recurrent feature in hymnic/religious language.<sup>129</sup> Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 722-5 ἔννεα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων / οὐρανόθεν κατιῶν δεκάτη δ' ἐς γαῖαν ἵκοιτο· / ἔννεα δ' αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων / ἐκ γαίης κατιῶν δεκάτη δ' ἐς Τάρταρον ἵκοι, Soph. fr. 957 νῆ τῷ Λαπέρσα, νῆ τὸν Εὐρώταν τρίτον, / νῆ τοὺς ἐν Ἄργει καὶ κατὰ Σπάρτην θεοῦς, Call. *HyJon.* 87-8 ἐσπέριος κεινός γε τελεῖ τά κεν ἦρι νοήση· / ἐσπέριος τὰ μέγιστα, τὰ μείονα δ', εὐτε νοήση, *HyAp.* 16-7, 26-7 ὃς μάχεται μακάρεσσιν, ἐμῷ βασιλῆι μάχοιτο· / ὅστις ἐμῷ βασιλῆι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι μάχοιτο, *HyDel.* 84-5 (Nymphs' verdict) Νύμφαι μὲν χαίρουσιν, ὅτε δρύας ὄμβρος ἀέξει, / Νύμφαι δ' αὖ κλαίουσιν, ὅτε δρυσι μηκέτι φύλλα, Theoc. 18.43-6 (sung by a maiden chorus in Helen's cult at Sparta) πρᾶταί τοι στέφανον λωτῶ χαμαὶ ἀύξομένοιο / πλέξασαι σκιαρὰν καταθήσομεν ἐς πλατάνιστον· / πρᾶται δ' ἀργυρέας ἐξ ὄλπιδος ὑγρὸν ἄλειφαρ / λαζύμεναι σταξεῦμες ὑπὸ σκιαρὰν πλατάνιστον, Eurh. CA 2 Ἴκτο μὲν ἐς Πυθῶνα Διὸς, φηγοῖο προφήτιν / ἵκετο δ' ἐς Πυθῶνα καὶ ἐς γλαυκῶπα Προνοίην, *Orac. Sib.* 3.760-1 αὐτὸς γὰρ μόνος ἐστὶ θεὸς κούκ ἔστιν ἕτ' ἄλλος / αὐτὸς καὶ πυρὶ φλέξειεν χαλεπῶν γένος ἀνδρῶν and often in Nonn. *D.*, as 1.428-9 (Typhoeus to Cronus) καλὸν ἐμοὶ βροτὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ Κρονίωνα διώκειν, / καλὸν ἐμοὶ σύριγγα σὺν ἀστεροπῆσιν ἀείρειν, 3.440-1, 4.294-5 (Pythia prophesies) μαστεύεις τινὰ ταῦρον, ὄν οὐ βοέη τέκε γαστήρ, / μαστεύεις τινὰ ταῦρον, ὄν οὐ βροτὸς οἶδε κιχῆσαι, 8.359-360 (Zeus to Semele) τλήθι μένειν χρόνον ἄλλον, ἕως ἔτι φόρτον ἀείρεις, / τλήθι μένειν χρόνον ἄλλον, ἕως ἐμὸν υἱὰ λοχεύεις, 19.57-8, see Hopkinson on 23.233-233a. A modern parallel is the repetitive use of similarly sounding pairs of lines in Od. Elytis "Ἄξιον Ἔστί in the last part of this composition (Δοξαστικόν) which makes broad use of ecclesiastical features and language.

<sup>129</sup> See Hollis on Call. *Hec.* fr. 75 where a reference to id. on Ov. *Met.* 8.628-9. As a feature of religious gravity see Norden 258-63, 355-64 and s.v. Rhythmische Prosa, Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 267. West on Hes. *WD* 1-10 noted that among the rich stylistic elements of the proem there is "a balancing of phrases which results in rhyme (1-2, 5-8)". Rhyme between verses occurs mostly in short lists from which notion all other instances of rhyme may derive.

## *Demeter-Discussion*

### A. Reconstruction.

In antiquity *Demeter* was commonly regarded as a masterpiece. Only three fragments in Stob. and one in a marginal Scholion on Call. *HyAp.* are *expressis verbis* attributed to it, offering no more than confusion about its content and influence. In 1829 Bach 25 discussed it in a paragraph assuming, as others before and after him, the poem to have contained the typical and recurrent features of the Demeter-myth: rape of Core and wanderings of Demeter. Speculation started soon. Förster 72 posited that Ph. followed the Sicilian version. Maass (1895a), VII-X maintained that Eleusis was the scene of the action and the protagonists the same characters as in *HHD*. He propounded a reconstitution of Ph.'s poem from Ov. *Fasti* 4.417-620 and considered fr. 15 and 16, which he published as one, as the consolation of Celeus to Demeter. His paper was influential. Sitzler, *JAW* 104 (1898), 93 and Cessi 122-5 assented, but not his reviewer H. Stadtmüller, *BPhW* 15 (1897), 452.

Cessi 122-137, keeping to the same, line reconstructed *Demeter* on the basis of Ovid's treatments in *Met.* 5.341-661 and *Fasti* 4.417f. Pohlenz 35-6 with n. 3 immediately objected to the suggestion that Ov. used Ph. as a source. But Cessi's view found sympathy with A. A. Day, *The Origins of Latin Love Elegy*, Oxford 1938, 14-6 and Nowacki 40-5, who, since three of the four *Demeter*-fragments in Stob. are of lamentatory content, also accepted an earlier proposal of O. Crusius, *RE* V (1905), 2279 that *Demeter* is a *paramytheticon* like Antim.'s *Lyde*. M. Haupt on Ov. *Met.* 5.385-408 considered Ph. or Call. as possible sources for Ovid's *Fasti*-version, but see M. von Albrecht's updated note on 5.341-661. Kuchenmüller 53-8 strongly objected to the idea that Ov. drew on Ph. as a matter of principle and von Blumenthal 2167-8 agreed. Speculation was then diverted in other directions.

G. Lafaye, *Les Métamorphoses d'Ovide et leur modèles grecs*, Paris 1904, 190 n. 1 was the first to wonder whether the direct model of Ov. is a lost part of Call. *Aetia*. L. Malten, "Ein Alexandrinisches Gedicht vom Raub der Kore", *Hermes* 45 (1910), 506-553 fell into the trap and tried to answer the question in a way classic in his times (see R. F. Thomas, *CPh* 85 (1990), 78): he postulated the existence of a lost Hellenistic intermediary poem known to Ov. through Call. As Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 611 noted "hoc multis probavit ... at ne minima quidem ex parte confirmatum est". E. Bethe, "Ovid und Nikander", *Hermes* 39 (1904), 1-4 proposed Nic. as the only model of Ov. largely relying on Ant. Lib. 24. His view was further developed by K. Barwick, "Ovids Erzählung vom Raub der Proserpina und Nikanders 'Ἐτεροιούμενα'", *Phil.* 80 (1925), 455-66. H. Herter, "Ovids Persephone Erzählungen und ihre hellenistischen Quellen", *RhM* 90 (1941), 236-268 stood between both tendencies: Ov. uses in *Fasti*

mostly Call. and in *Met.* mostly Nic., who had previously used Call. In this he follows an older distinction by Förster 74-80, cf. 84-8, 293-6. He also observed that there is "keine wirkliche deutliche Entsprechung" of Ph. in Ovid. F. Montanari, *ASNP* 4 (1974), 109-137 laid emphasis on Ovid's debt to Nic., whom he used selectively in both treatments. He also highlighted the Homeric background, to which ultimately all versions refer.

Richardson 72 concluded that Ov. "knew and imitated the Hymns directly", cf. also W. S. Anderson, *Gnomon* 61 (1990), 356-7. The fact was curiously denied by Herter, l.c., 253, but a more detailed examination by Hinds 51f., 72f. revealed striking similarities and established the *HHD* as the main source of Ovid. Though some felt that Hinds tended to "a rather tendentious thesis for Homer", W. S. Anderson, *Gnomon* 61 (1990), 387, cf. Knox 73, he does not ignore the Hellenistic sources; after all Ovid's first-hand debt to Nic. is there beyond any doubt.

Ovid's usefulness with regard to Ph. would only come into question if his debt to a Hellenistic treatment that had used Ph. could be proven. *Fasti* provides a more appropriate form to accommodate Hellenistic aetiological interests. Should certain features hark back to, let us say, Nic., Ov. would be of use as a second-hand source for Ph., elements of whom Nic. would have conceivably incorporated in his own treatment, such as, hypothetically, the unconstrained revelation of Demeter's grief in *Fasti* 4.509f., her medical/magical capability in relation to poppy-juice in 4.529-542, offering of milk and honey by her hosts or the end of fasting heralded by the appearance of Hesperus in 4.535-6. Most of these features in their seminal form appear in *HHD*.

*Summa summarum* Ovid-based efforts would not really yield any results for *Demeter*. Pfeiffer (1968), 169 n. 1 discussing Erat. *Erigone* warned us that "detailed reconstructions of Greek poems, based on supposed imitations, mythographers, lexicographers, etc., have invariably been discredited as soon as substantial parts of these poems have turned up in papyri". If we turn to external evidence probably related to Ph. and try to combine it with what internal evidence can tell us, we might be led to more plausible conclusions. The crucial information is provided by Schol. Theoc. 7.5-9f (79.6-8 Wendel) telling us about Chalcon and Antagoras that οὔτοι δέ εἰσιν οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἡρακλέους πολιορκίας τὴν Κῶ κατοικήσαντες καὶ ὑποδεδεγμένοι τὴν Δήμητραν, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν περιήει τὴν Κόρην ζητοῦσα. Schol. on Theoc. 7, not coincidentally, tell us more about *Demeter* than any other single source. This Scholium is the only attestation of Demeter's visit to Cos and it seems, as first G. Knaack in *Susemihl* I, 177 n. 17 saw, to epitomise the content of Ph.'s poem. Two incidents are picked out: Chalcon and Antagoras' confrontation with Heracles when he landed on their island and the reception of Demeter as a guest when the goddess was going around places looking for her abducted daughter. These might not have been of

equal weight in *Demeter*, but of all episodes included they are singled out as the most important ones.

It emerges clearly that we are dealing with a poem of local character. It follows the typical story-line of Demeter visiting a place where she is eagerly welcomed, founds her cult and benefits the local population in different ways. On the contrary, ill-reception would be appropriately punished. The locals would also be rewarded, if they could provide information on Core's fortune, see Richardson on *HHD* 75f. Such provincial traditions are known mainly through Paus. and are conveniently gathered in Richardson 178-9 supplementing A-H-S 108-9. Evidently they served the purpose of legitimising Demeter's local cult and made up a sort of aetion for it. So in Paros according to Apollod. *FGH* 244 F 89 (quoted in fr. 20) Demeter was hosted by king Melissos and in exchange donated to his sixty daughters Persephone's loom and disclosed her rites first to them. The Argive version contained both pious and impious alternatives: Athera and Mysios welcome her and eventually found the temple of Demeter Mysia; but Colontas, despite the objections of his daughter Chthonia, did not. Colontas ends up with his house burnt, while Chthonia is transferred to Hermione, where she founds a temple of Demeter, Paus. 2.18.3, 2.35.4, 7.27.9. The tradition about Phytalus in Attica, close to Cephisos on the way to Eleusis, is typical, Paus. 1.37.1 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλον φασιν οἴκῳ Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναί οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τάφῳ· ἐνθάδ' ἀναξ ἥρωσ Φύταλός ποτε δέξατο σεμνὴν / Δήμητραν, ὅτε πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν, / ἦν ἱερὰν συκῆν θνητῶν γένος ἐξονομάζει· / ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγήρωσ.

Stories of this kind could surely be infinitely multiplied throughout the Greek world where Demeter was worshipped. Of greater importance is what the poets made out of them. The canonical, i.e. Eleusinian, version had always been a popular theme after *HHD*. The evidence is gathered in Förster 29-98 who should now be consulted with caution, Richardson 68-73 and Foley 30-1. And not least so in Hellenistic poetry, cf. Antim. *Lyde* fr. 78, 79, Ph., Call. *HyDem.*, fr. 611 and probably fr. 474, Nic. *Ther.* 483-7, *Alex.* 129-132, Philic. *SH* 676-80, Adesp. Pap. *SH* 990 and perhaps Pamphus in Paus. 1.38.3, 7.37.9, al. But some poets coming from regions with a widespread and original cult of Demeter versified the local version instead of the better-known Eleusinian. And since they created *ex nihilo* they freely summoned the central version to their help. So Pind. fr. 37 in Paus. 9.23.2 might have given preponderance to the Theban elements in his *Hymn to Persephone* (or *Hymn to Demeter*): Θηβαίοις εἰς Δήμητρα Θεσμοφόρον is the title offered by *Vita Ambrosiana*. As indicated by fr. 1 Ph. might have paid attention to this poem.

Schol. Ar. (which provide us with much of what we know of Archil.) *Birds* 1764 ascribe to Archil. a *Hymn to Demeter*: δοκεῖ δὲ πρῶτος Ἀρχίλοχος νικήσας ἐν Πάρῳ

τὸν Διμήτρος ὕμνον ἑαυτῷ τοῦτο ἐπιφωνηκέναι, i.e. accorded to himself an acclamation originally applying to Heracles, when he won the established poetic competition for a *Hymn to Demeter* in Paros. The authenticity of the transmitted acclamation is contested, see West (1974), 138-9, but this does not invalidate the information about the *Hymn to Demeter*. The goddess' cult in Paros, formerly called *Demetrias*, see Richardson on *HHD* 491, affected Archil.'s poetry in a broader sense, cf. *IEG* 169 Διμήτρῳ τε χεῖρας ἀνέξων and Spuria *IEG* 322 Διμήτρος ἀγνῆς καὶ Κόρης / τὴν πανήγυριν σέβων, 323 from *Iobachoi*, see West (1974), 24-5. Paus. 10.28.3 provides information about a priestly association of Archil.'s family, which is of disputed authority; *contra* H. D. Rankin, *Archilochos of Paros*, New Jersey 1977, 17-8, *pro* A. P. Burnett, *Three Archaic Poets: Archilochus, Alcaeus, Sappho*, London 1985, 24-5.

Perhaps the best parallel to Ph. is Lasus of Hermione in the m. 6th c. ἐν τῷ εἰς τὴν ἐν Ἐρμιόνι Διμήτρα ὕμνω, Athen. 14.624f, of which the first three lines survive, *PMG* 702 Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον / μελιβόαν ὕμνον ἀναγνέων / Αἰολίδ' ἄμ βαρύβρομον ἄρμονίαν. We are told that it was an asigmatic hymn. Lasus was a poet fond of exquisite diction, cf. Philodemus *On Poets*, *apud PMG* 706 οὐδὲ τὰ Λάσου μάλιστα τοιαῦτα > πεποικιλμένα etc. "despite their great elaboration", Hesych. λ 372 Λασίσματα· ὡς σοφιστοῦ τοῦ Λάσου καὶ πολυπλόκου, cf. in the above fragment Κλυμένοι', μελιβόαν, ἀναγνέων, βαρυβρόμον and see G. A. Privitera, *Laso di Ermione*, Rome 1965, 21-8. If we are to judge from Call. *Hec.* fr. 100 Δηῶ τε Κλυμένου τε πολυξείνοιο δάμαρτα and Philic. *SH* 676 τῇ χθονίῃ μυστικὰ Διμήτρῳ τε καὶ Φερσεφόνῃ καὶ Κλυμένῳ τὰ δῶρα he enjoyed some popularity in Hellenistic times. The cult of Demeter Chthonia in Hermione was eminent, cf. Paus. 2.35.4-9 and Farnell III, 320 n. 37, Pfeiffer on Call. *Hec.* fr. 278 = 99 Hollis, and local tradition would supply Lasus with the necessary material. [Apollod.] 1.5.1 reports that the Hermionians were Demeter's informants about the rape. Perhaps then there were claims of Hermione being the site of the rape and this should be related to the local belief that descent to Hades there is short (and therefore the dead do not need a fare), Strabo 8.6.12. Heracles was also said to have ascended with Cerberus from Hades to Hermione, Paus. 2.35.11. Ael. *NA* 11.4, quoting Aristocle. *FGE* 1, says that big oxen are offered to Demeter in Hermione, which miraculously make themselves available to be sacrificed. Interestingly then *mirabilia* related to the subject might have been treated in Lasus' *Hymn to Demeter*.

Another poet said to have been influenced by the Demeter-cult of his homeland is the tragedian Carcin. from Acragas in Sicily. According to Timaeus *FGH* 566 F 164 *apud* Diod. Sic. 5.5.1 he had been spending most of his time in Syracuse καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων τεθεάμενος σπουδὴν περὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ πανηγύρεις τῆς τε Διμήτρος

καὶ Κόρης, κατεχώρισεν ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασι τούσδε τοὺς στίχους: [TrGF 70 F 5]. On Demeter's cult in Sicily see Bömer on Ov. *Fasti* 4.421.

That Ph. wrote a poem about Demeter's advent to his own homeland is then no innovation. The goddess' cult in Cos, one of the earliest, is widely attested, see Fraser II, 916 n. 290, Sh-W 305-312, Craik 188-9 and for the numerous inscriptions pp. 216-7. If we look at the surviving fragments bearing in mind this perspective, we notice that some of them are related to Cos and some others to the traditional features of Demeter's distressed behaviour. They clearly fall into four categories, potentially revealing a lot about the content of *Demeter*. There are a) a group of fragments describing ordinary activities of women-slaves in a regal house, fr. 8, a feast with piping, fr. 9, and table-conversation about wine, fr. 10, and Heracles in Cos, fr. 11, b) fragments describing a Coan locality which combined constitute a *locus amoenus*: a shady plane-tree, fr. 14, ample water-flow fr. 12, the spring Bourina, fr. 13, and bees, fr. 20, c) a group of fragments related to a lamentation scene, fr. 15, 16, followed by weeping, a consolation effort, both in direct speech, and subsequent relief, fr. 17, 18, 19.<sup>1</sup> Another fragment is part of a departing scene of – most probably – Demeter moving towards Athens and Eleusis. Some fragments seem to allude to Coan cult-practices, fr. 14, 21, and many mention famous Coan products, fr. 8 flocks and wool, fr. 10 wine, fr. 20 honey, fr. 22 fishes, most of which have a significance in the worship of Demeter. Set in their traditional epic context these scattered elements would give us a more complete picture. Eventual gaps in the following reconstruction will be supplemented with information elicited by the influence of the poem on, above all, Theoc. and Call.

We cannot really tell under what circumstances Chalcon and Demeter met. In Theoc. 7. Simichidas meets Lycidas at noon-time, when theophanies usually take place.<sup>2</sup> Nor can we tell with certainty at what stage Demeter revealed her true identity. In *HHD* 268f. she introduces herself under dramatic circumstances, but this is different from the warm, undisturbed reception she experienced in Cos. One would think that the poem would lose much of its dramatic power, if Demeter immediately stated her identity. Initially she would rather indicate the reason for her grief, rather

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<sup>1</sup> Kuchenmüller's objections to these fragments referring to *Demeter*, unfortunately shared by H. Herter, *RhM* 90 (1941), 254, are groundless. Demeter's "new griefs" (fr. 15 and perhaps 16.4), which he regarded as unsuited to the goddess, result from her wanderings and her conflict with the other gods. Her relief in fr. 17 serves to introduce a change of mood after weeping, not oblivion of Persephone.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Theoc. 7.10f., 21, 1.15-8, Call. *HyPal.* 70-2 with Bulloch on v. 72, A.R. 4.1312, see Th. D. Papanghelis, *Mnem.* 92 (1989), 54-61. Meeting scenes usually follow a rigid pattern, see Richardson 179-180 and Appendix III, pp. 339-343, F. Williams, *MPhL* 3 (1978), 219-235. Wells often serve as accidental meeting points, cf. *Od.* 9.105, 15.441, 17.212, *HHD* 105f.



true, as she does in *Ov. Fasti* 4.519 with the concise statement *mihi filia rapta est*, than fictitious, as in *HHD* 111f. Then Chalcon would offer himself to host her and only at a later stage – possibly in the *locus amoenus* scene – would she majestically announce who she really is, as Hermes does with Priam in *Il.* 24.460. The noble appearance of Demeter alone would suffice to grant her hospitality and respect, cf. *HHD* 157-9 (Eleusinian leaders) τάων οὐκ ἄν τις σε κατὰ πρότιστον ὀπωπὴν / εἶδος ἀτιμήσασα δόμων ἀπονοσφίσειεν, / ἀλλά σε δέξονται· δὴ γὰρ θεοεἰκελός ἐσσι and see on this epic motif H. Bernsdorff, *Zur Bedeutung des Aussehens im homerischen Menschenbild*, Göttingen 1992.

Subsequently Demeter is invited to Chalcon's palace. This would be briefly described. Demeter sees female slaves pursuing in orderly fashion their everyday toils. Hospitality usually follows an established pattern: amazement of recipients, offering of distinguished seat, preparation and setting out of food and bath, cf. *A.R.* 3.271-4 and see W. Arend, *Typische Szenen bei Homer*, Berlin 1933, 68-76, Richardson on *HHD* 180f., 188-201, id. on *Il.* 24.202-3, Kirk on *Il.* 1.533-4. Demeter abstains from certain features involved in hospitality scenes and, as in *HHD*, the traditional scheme might not be strictly followed in Ph. The established set of reactions of a sorrowful guest involves his sitting down / in silence / for a long time / and eventually speaking sad words in a feeble voice, see Richardson on *HHD* 197-201, Campbell on *Mosch. Eur.* 18-20. Whatever the case may be the feast continues with music. Chalcon summons a piper to entertain his guest. Simultaneously a table conversation takes place. With the sound of pipes and with the imposing presence of a goddess the ambience is an unusual one: holiness is in the air. For a banquet stressing purity, sweet odour and music with religious overtones cf. Xenoph. *IEG* 1. Sorrowful Demeter would not say much. Her hosts talk in passing about wine (a select one is on the table), but mainly about the recent landing of Heracles on Cos, the bravery of the locals and his humiliating flight. The locality of the incident was thereafter named Πύξα "Flight".

The next day a tour around Cos takes place. The opportunity for this is not absolutely clear. Reasonably Demeter's need to search for her daughter would provide the necessary pretext. But Schol. *Theoc.* 7.5-9o (81.9-13 Wendel) commenting on the creation of Bourina, suggest another possibility: ἀνηγγέλη τῷ βασιλεῖ παρά τινος τῶν περὶ ταῦτα δεινῶν, ὅτι ὕδατος ὁ τόπος ἐκεῖνος ἐνδομυχεῖ. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτεπιστατήσας τῷ τόπῳ ἠτύουρησεν, ὅσα συνέτεινε πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος ἔκρηξιν. Taken at face-value this should mean that Demeter (see on fr. 13) informs Chalcon about Bourina and the king goes there with the purpose of creating the well. The pretext for the excursion is not Persephone, but Bourina. Arguably this is an echo of a well informed Scholium, but also a many times rehashed one. Minor details may not have been reproduced accurately. Common sense suggests that an excursion of

anxious Demeter for a reason other than the official one is a very strained possibility. The process described in the Scholium would rather happen altogether on the spot.

It is no wonder that Demeter's Coan recipients do not organise public banquets or games. Here the epic hospitality takes the form of a sight-seeing tour. Under the guise of Persephone's recovery attention would be diverted to Coan landscape and its archaeology. Oblique references to contemporary Cos would underlie this section. Itineraries commonly give the opportunity to an author to fit in stories that would otherwise not bind so well with the main story-line. Schol. *Il.* 22.145-57 (V.300 Erbse) where some topographical details are supplied while Achilles chases Hector, imply that the poet "may be following his custom elsewhere of filling a space in the story, as for example where a journey is taking place", Richardson ad loc. with reference to id., *CQ* 30 (1980), 266-7. Their main function in reality is the anti-climactic effect on the dramatic events under way. In the experimental [Theoc.] 25.153f. during the itinerary of Heracles and Phyleus the hero finds the time to narrate his adventure with the lion of Nemea with which the poem ends and in Orph. *Lith.* Orpheus expounds the power of stones during a walk. Similarly Antim. in the 6th book of *Thebaid* takes advantage of the so-called *Argivorum iter* fr. 29f. to apparently include a number of stories. *Inter alia* he describes the landscape the heroes are going through and discusses the river Ladon in connection with a shrine of Demeter Erinys which Ladon supplied with water, fr. 33. Erat. *Erigone* apparently contained a tour around Attica by Icarus with the aim of spreading viticulture. Conceivably plenty of Attic details crept into that section of the poem. Topographical details might give rise to digressions about the archaeology of a place, cf. the brief Evander-Aeneias tour in Virg. *Aen.* 8.307-369 and particularly the precursory religious awe in vv. 348-359 foreshadowing the institution of Zeus' temple in Capitolium. On the topography of their tour described with a superstitious reverence, see K. W. Grandsen, *Virgil, Aeneid VIII*, Cambridge 1976, 29-36. As for Virg., a Demeter-tour around Cos would have a certain sentimental significance for Ph. too.

It is self-evident that in *Demeter* Persephone matters less than Cos. The daughter provides only the pretext. Ph. in his sight-seeing tour focuses on landscape, but probably also on Demeter cult-practices casting aetiologic light on them. That poets can be consciously negligent of their main theme is a well-known practice. In *HHD* Richardson 260 noted that "Demeter's original purpose in visiting Eleusis, to find her daughter, is removed in the *Hymn*, and her visit is consequently less clearly motivated". And Vian III, 5 noticed about the golden fleece that "a dire vrai, bien qu'elle soit le but même de l'expédition, elle paraît n'avoir constitué le plus souvent qu'un épisode secondaire".

We lack any means to reconstruct Demeter's Coan tour. Conceivably she visited places that would later become her worship centres, but evidence of her cult in Cos is

so overabundant that this criterion would not lead to specific conclusions. Since she and Chalcon produced Bourina, the area around it and near the town of Cos, not long before Ph. established as capital of the island, is the obvious focus of interest. The tour of Theoc. and his friends in poem 7 could give us an idea, but the capital of Cos in mythical times was not identical to that of synoecised Cos. Historically speaking from Geometric times to synoecism Astypalaia in the west was the central town, cf. Strabo 14.2.19 Ἡ δὲ τῶν Κῶων πόλις ἑκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν Ἀστυπάλαια, καὶ ᾠκεῖτο ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ ὁμοίως ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ· ἔπειτα διὰ στάσιν μετόκησαν εἰς τὴν νῦν πόλιν περὶ τὸ Σκανδάριον, καὶ μετωνόμασαν Κῶν ὁμωνύμως τῇ νήσῳ. Before Astypalaia the main settlement seems to have been the cemetery nowadays known as the Serraglio in the east of the town of Cos, see Sh-W 48-9, Craik 11-2. It is not demonstrable that the Coans of historical times knew it, but presumably there was a tradition reflecting historic reality. As the establishment of the new capital in 366 happened under turbulent circumstances a tradition about a former capital in the east would be adduced as an argument by those in favour of the new capital. Be this as it may, it seems that the poem focused on the eastern part of the island – if for nothing else to celebrate the new capital. The three Coan localities, Bourina, Pyxa and Haleis, all in the east, about which the Theocritean Schol. have access to authoritative information (apparently from Nicanor) are most likely to have figured in Ph. too. Perhaps he follows a local belief locating Chalcon's palace somewhere close to the town of Cos or the Seraglio. The two wayfarers would then move from east westwards. Theoc. 7 almost certainly reproduces some of the geography of *Demeter*. Of course Theoc.'s poetic route to maturity under the guidance of Ph. would imply more than a mere topographical loan.

The toils of Demeter and Chalcon are fruitless. Sometime in the afternoon they are both exhausted and stop to rest under the shade of a plane-tree. The classic needs of the wayfarers are shade and water. Dionysus' long list of the essentials for his journey to Hades in Ar. *Frogs* 113 includes πορνεῖ, ἀναπαύλας, ἔκτροπᾶς, κρήνας, ὁδοῦς. At a boy's return Theoc. 12.8-9 says σκιερὴν δ' ὑπὸ φηγόν / ἠελίου φρύγοντος ὁδοιπόρος ἔδραμον ὡς τις. Shade is usually provided by trees,<sup>3</sup> water by springs. Plane-trees are most suitable to provide shade. In Plato *Phaedr.* 229b Socrates explains the advantages of sitting under a plane-tree in the idyllic scene described in *Phaedr.* 229a-d: Ἐκεῖ σκιά τ' ἐστὶν καὶ πνεῦμα μέτριον, καὶ πόα καθίζεσθαι ἢ ἄν βουλώμεθα κατακλιθῆναι. Plane-trees provide ample shade as early as *Il.* 2.507 where sacrifices take place καλῇ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῳ, ὅθεν ῥέεν ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ, cf. Theoc.

<sup>3</sup> The best shade is proverbially that of a rock, cf. Hes. *WD* 589, Anyte *HE* 18.1, West on the first passage. Even the most industrious workers in the fields rest during the midday heat, cf. Hes. *WD* 582f., Theoc. 10.51, see Gow on Theoc. 1.15 and cf. the drowsy snake in A.R. 4.1505 μεσημβρινὸν ἡμᾶρ ἀλύσκων and the lizards resting during midday in Theoc. 7.22.

18.44, 46, 22.76, Nic. *Ther.* 584 θερειλεχέος πλατάνοιο, Meleag. *HE* 13.8, Mosch. fr. 1.11-2, Anon. *FGE* 73, 74, Thyill. *FGE* 1, Ach. Tat. 1.2.3, see N-H on Hor. *Odes* 2.11.13. The additional advantages of resting under a plane-tree applying to Demeter and Cos have been discussed in fr. 14.

Water is just as essential. In Aesch. *Ag.* 901 where Clytaemnestra likens Agamemnon's advent to ὄδοιπόρω διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος, Asclep. *HE* 1.1 ἡ δὲ θέρουσ διψῶντι χιῶν ποτόν and later [Opp.] *Cyn.* 2.39-40 ψυχρὸν δ' ἐξ ἄντροιο προχεύμενον ἄργυρον ὕδωρ / οἶον κεκμηῶτι ποτόν γλυκερόν τε λοετρόν water for the tired wayfarer appears to have acquired a proverbial colour. In a large number of epideictic epigrams from Hellenistic times onwards shade and water figure as a pleasant relief of great utility to the wayfarer, cf. Nicias *HE* 5.1-2 "Ἴζευ ὑπ' αἰγείροισιν, ἐπεὶ κάμες, ἐνθάδ', ὀδίται, / καὶ πῖθ' ἄσσον ἰὼν πίδακος ἀμετέρας, Anyte *HE* 18 Ξεῖν', ὑπὸ τὰν πέτραν τετρυμένα γυῖ' ἀνάπαυσον / ... / πίδακά τ' ἐκ παγᾶς ψυχρὸν πίε, δὴ γὰρ ὀδίταις / ἄμπανμ' ἐν θερμῷ καύματι τοῦτο φίλον, cf. id. *HE* 3, 17, Leon. Tar. *HE* 5, Hermocr. *HE* 2, Satyrus *FGE* 3.3-4 ἄλκαρ ὀδίταις / δίψης καὶ καμάτου καὶ φλογὸς ἡελίου, Anon. *FGE* 78, "Plato" *FGE* 42, see Page on Tiberius Ilus *FGE* 6.

Demeter and Chalcon, wayfarers under harsh sun, tired and thirsty sit under a Coan plane-tree. Since no spring appears to be around, the goddess instructs the Coan king how to call Bourina into existence. That the spring and the shady plane-tree belong to the same context is not least suggested by Theoc. 7.8 ἐύσκιον ἄλσος around Bourina. As it is produced, it flows with ample water; Chalcon drinks to his heart's content. That L. Roß, *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* III, Stuttgart-Tübingen 1845, 132 saw in the vicinity of Bourina "eine Gruppe mächtiger Platanen" is another of these striking similarities between ancient and modern flora, as with the trees on the banks of Scamander, see Richardson on *Il.* 21.350-1, or timber-felling on Mt Ida, see id. on *Il.* 23.177, cf. further Vian on A.R. 2.945 à propos the strong winds along the "Great Shore". Mild Zephyros, associated with Demeter and *loca amoena* might have blown to freshen up the couple.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Mrs Athena Tarsouli, *Δωδεκάνησα* III, Athens 1950, 35-6 toured the area and recorded her own suggestive experience: "Σὲ μιὰ μαγευτικὴ τοποθεσία κάτω ἀπὸ τὰ Β.Α. ριζοβούνια τοῦ Δίκιου καὶ σὲ μιὰς ὄρας ἀπόσταση ἀπὸ τὴν πολιτεία βρίσκεται ἡ πανάρχαιη καὶ ἱστορικὴ πηγὴ τῆς Βουρίνας, λεγόμενῃ καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ Ἰπποκράτη ... Τὸ αὐτοκίνητο, συντομεύοντας τὴν ἀπόσταση, μᾶς πηγαίνει ὡς τὴν τοποθεσία Παναγία Τσουκαλαριά, ὁμῶς ἀπὸ κεῖ καὶ πέρα ὁ δρόμος γίνεται ἀδιάβατος, τόσο ποῦ μέσ' ἀπὸ ἀνώμαλα κι ἀνηφορικὰ μονοπάτια πρέπει νὰ περάσεις γιὰ νὰ φτάσεις ὡς ἐκεῖ ὕστερ' ἀπὸ τρία τέταρτα, πεζὸς ἢ μὲ ἄλογο. Τὸ πανοραματικὸ τοπίο ποῦ ξετυλίγεται κάτω ἀπ' τὰ μάτια μᾶς εἶναι ἄρκετὸ γιὰ νὰ μᾶς ξεκουράσει ἀπὸ τὴν κοπιαστικὴν πεζοπορία, ὅπως καὶ τ' ὀλόδροσο νεράκι τῆς πηγῆς νὰ μᾶς δροσίσει τὸν φλογισμένο, ἀπ' τὸ καλοκαιρινὸ λιοπύρι, λάρυγγά μᾶς. [...] Ἄν

Trees and springs constitute the two basic constituents of a *locus amoenus*.<sup>5</sup> Plane-trees very often find a place in ideal sceneries. They were regarded, as indeed they are, as beautiful trees, see H. Gossen, *RE* XX (1949), 2337-8 (in other respects a disappointing article), Schönbeck 49-51, Meiggs 276-7. Cimon is said to have ornamented the Athenian Agora with plane-trees, Plut. *Cimon* 13.7, see K-A on Ar. *PCG* 113, Meiggs 272. They were correctly believed to grow near sources of water, cf. Theophr. *HP* 1.4.2, 4.8.1 so that plane trees and springs, rivulets etc. appear together in ideal sceneries, cf. *Il.* 2.307, Theogn. 882, Plato *Phaedr.* 230b, Mosch. fr. 1.11-2, Tiberius Ilus *FGE* 6.3.

Bees appearing in fr. 20, part and parcel of a *locus amoenus*, belong to the same context. A swarm of bees first appears in *Il.* 2.87-90 in a comparison with the Achaean masses gathering for a council. On this passage depends Aesch. *Pers.* 128 and Choer. *SH* 318 *περὶ δὲ κρήνας ἀρεθούσας / μυρία φύλ' ἔδονεῖτο πολυσμήνοισι μελίσσαις / <εἵκελα>* (suppl. Meineke). Thereafter they often appear in ideal sceneries and, since they were allegedly nurtured with water, not rarely in connection with springs or dewy meadows. In *Od.* 13.102f. in the charming Ithacan shore besides a cavern *τιθαιβώσσουσι μέλισσαι*, cf. also *Od.* 17.205f., Simon. *PMG* 593, Eur. *Hipp.* 76-7, Theoc. 1.107, 5.46-7 *ὦδε καλὸν βομβεῦντι ποτὶ σμάνεσσι μέλισσαι, / ἔνθ' ὕδατος ψυχρῶ κρᾶναι δύο*, 7.142, 22.41-2 *λεῦκαί τε πλάτανοί τε καὶ ἀκρόκομοι κυπάρισσοι / ἄνθεά τ' εὐώδη, λασίαις φίλα ἔργα μελίσσαις*, Call. *HyAp.* 110-2, A.R. 1.879-882 (in a *λειμών / ἐρσήεις*) whence Virg. *Aen.* 6.707-9 see W. W. Briggs in *ANRW* II.31.2, 970-1, Nicias *HE* 6.1-2, Adesp. Lyr. *CA* 7.12-8, Anon. PVind. Rainer 2981B.56 (s. a.C. III ex.; in Gow, *Buc. Gr.*, 168f.) *φιλόδροσος .. μέλισσα*, Long. 1.9.1, Nonn. *D.* 5.243-6, Virg. *Georg.* 4.8f. discussing *sedes apibus statioque*, cf. vv. 18-24 *at liquidi fontes et stagna virentia musco / adsint et tenuis fugiens per gramina rivus, / palmaque vestibulum aut ingens oleaster inumbret / ut, ... / ... / vicina invitet decedere ripa calori / obviaque hospitiis teneat frondentibus arbos*, 4.139-40 where the Corycian old man breeds bees in his garden, *Ecl.* 1.53-5, Martial 2.46.1-2. To the

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σήμερα τὸ δάσος αὐτὸ [sc. the one described in Theoc. 7] δὲν ὑπάρχει, ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ λίγα δέντρα σπαρμένα σὲ ἀραιὲς ἀποστάσεις, τὸ μαγευτικὸ τοπίο τῆς Βουρίνας μὲ τὴν πανοραματικὴ τοῦ θεά δὲν ἔχασε τίποτε ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαία τοῦ ὁμορφιά. Ξαπλωμένοι κάτω ἀπὸ τὸν ἴσκιό ἐνὸς ἀπ' αὐτὰ τὰ, κατὰ τὸ περισσότερο, ἄγρια δέντρα, μὲ προσκέφαλο ἓνα λιθάρι ἢ κάποιον χοντρὸ παρακλάδι ἀπὸ τὶς ρίζες τοῦ ἢ τὸν κορμὸ του, ξεκουραζόμαστε ἀφήνοντας τὴ σκέψη μας νὰ πλανηθεῖ στὰ περασμένα καὶ στὰ μακρινά, ... ὅσο ποῦ τὸ ἀλαφροφύσημα τοῦ μεσημεριάτικου μπᾶτη μᾶς κλείνει τὰ βλέφαρα κάτω ἀπὸ τῆς πνοῆς τοῦ τὸ πέρασμα."

<sup>5</sup> Fundamental: Schönbeck, cf. also H. Thesleff, "Man and *locus amoenus* in Early Greek Poetry" in *Gnomosyne ... Festschrift für W. Marg*, Munich 1981, 31-45, Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 28, M. Davies, *Hermes* 114 (1986), 400-1, Garvie on *Od.* 6.292, P. Hardie, *3OCD*, 880.

poetic imagery Arist. *HA* 596b15f. added his scientific weight: ἡ δὲ μέλιττα μόνον πρὸς οὐδὲν σαπρὸν προσίζει, οὐδὲ χρήται τροφῇ οὐδεμίᾳ ἀλλ' ἢ τῇ γλυκὺν ἐχούσῃ χυμόν· καὶ ὕδωρ δ' ἥδιστα εἰς ἑαυτὰς λαμβάνουσιν ὅπου ἂν καθαρὸν ἀναπηδᾷ.<sup>6</sup> In [Opp.] *Cyn.* 4.275, Dion. Per. 327 Nymphs, the water-creatures *par excellence* are said to be protectors of bees, see Davies-Kathirithamby 51. So bees are an apt choice: they match the scenery, Demeter and Cos.

Further features likely to be depicted in the Philetan *locus amoenus* will be detected in the examination of its influence in Call. and Theoc. Indeed this turned out to be a very inspiring scenery. Still, the already certified features suffice to indicate that the setting around Bourina is modelled on *Od.* 17.205-211. Odysseus and Eumaeus are walking towards the palace in Ithace:

ἄστεος ἐγγὺς ἔσαν καὶ ἐπὶ κρήνην ἀφίκοντο  
 τυκτὴν καλλίροον, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται,  
 τὴν ποίησ' Ἴθακος καὶ Νήριτος ἠδὲ Πολύκτωρ·  
 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αἰγείρων ὕδατοτρεφέων ἦν ἄλσος,  
 πάντοσε κυκλοτερές, κατὰ δὲ ψυχρὸν ῥέεν ὕδωρ  
 ὑψόθεν ἐκ πέτρης· βωμὸς δ' ἐφύπερθε τέτυκτο  
 Νυμφάων, ὅθι πάντες ἐπιρρέζεσκον ὀδίται.

The Odyssean circumstances are similar to those in Ph., as Odysseus and Eumaeus walk towards the town of Ithace. The spring itself is similar to Bourina too: both are created by legendary rulers of the respective islands,<sup>7</sup> both flow out of a rock and are surrounded by poplars serving as resting points for the wayfarers. And both are holy.<sup>8</sup>

In this locale of almost mythical charm a dialogue between Demeter and Chalcon takes place. Now it is Demeter's turn to get her troubles off her chest. The *locus amoenus* is the most suitable scenery for her to bewail her misfortunes, as these contrast to the beauty of the place. The *HHD*-precedent of Demeter sitting at

<sup>6</sup> On water-carrying bees cf. Arist. *HA* 625b19 ὑδροφοροῦσιν, Ael. *NA* 5.11 and see Davies-Kathirithamby 58-9. The attempt to establish a distinct kind of bees *hydrophoroi* and the adjacent information that Nic. fr. 93 specified them as the drones is uncertain. Ael. *NA* 5.42 mentions among names of bees ἐργοφόροι τινές (codd. : ὑδροφόροι Hercher) adding that Νικανδρὸς δὲ †εὐφορεῖν† (:ὑδροφορεῖν Reiske, alii alia) τοὺς κηφήνας φησί.

<sup>7</sup> For Ithace cf. Schol. *Od.* 17.205 (II.639 Dindorf). On the Odyssean passage see C. S. Byre, *AJPh* 115 (1994), 1-11 and on ideal sceneries in *Od.* Elliger 113-8.

<sup>8</sup> It was first U. Ott, *RhM* 150 (1972), 147-8 who noticed the correspondences between the Homeric spring and Bourina as described in Theoc. 7.6-7, cf. also N. Crevans, *TAPA* 113 (1983), 208-212, M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral*, New Haven 1983, 224-7, Hunter 23.

Callichoros to mourn shows that the locale around Bourina and the lamentation-scene belong to the same context. The description of the vegetation would be static, like the "traurige Fruchtbarkeit" that Goethe saw in Segesta.<sup>9</sup> Demeter's lament is vividly conducted in direct speech and is influenced by the tearful encounter of Achilles and Priam in *Il.* 24. The final effect, however, is not plangent, but rather amusing, in the same way that Cyclops' blubbering does not render Theoc. 11 a dull poem, any more than do the lover's pains in Theoc. 3. In the unreal world in which the scene is placed, even Demeter's grief is unreal and remote. What is superficially a sombre effect is alleviated by comically allusive language: ἄλγεα πέσσω in fr. 18.1, cf. fr. 15.1, alludes to her fasting, ἀέξεται in fr. 15.1, προσανξάνεται and ὠραίων ἐτέων in fr. 16.2, 4 to the sterility of the land, ἔμπεδ(α) in fr. 16.4 to the current residence of her lost daughter. Demeter's anger towards Zeus in fr. 18.1 and her tears have an effect of grotesque excessiveness. Μελέοιο κορεσσάμενος κλαυθομοῖο in fr. 17.1 wittily hints at a weeping which, in spite of the circumstances, would produce but one tear, enough though to satiate a goddess. Superb irony and innovation make this section no less enjoyable than any other. Not unjustifiably it exerted a considerable influence on later poetry.

For all lack of evidence it is worth considering the possibility of flowers related to Demeter being mentioned in the *locus amoenus* scene. Demeter's exuberance covers flowers as well, *HHD* 471-3 (Demeter lifts famine) αἴψα δὲ καρπὸν ἀνήκεν ἀρουράων ἐριβόλων. / πᾶσα δὲ φύλλοισίν τε καὶ ἄνθεσιν εὐρεῖα χθών / ἔβρισ'. Certain flowers had close associations with Demeter and Persephone. The *HHD* would offer a broad selection: narcissus μεγάλαιν θεαῖν / ἀρχαῖον στεφάνωμα, Soph. *OC* 683-4, does not appear in Homer or Hes. but in *HHD* 8f., 15f. Persephone tries to grasp it while Pluto seizes her; crocus, the violet, Homeric hapax *Od.* 5.72, hyacinth, also Homeric hapax *Il.* 14.348, and roses. Poppy and corn-ears are mentioned in Theoc. 7.156-7 in a passage influenced by Ph. All these blossom in spring and play a role in the cult of Demeter and Persephone, see Richardson on *HHD* 6f., Foley 33-4, Blech 252-7. Ph. would have chosen flowers associated with Demeter and flourishing in Cos. It would be as ironic as anything if some of the flora in the locality where Demeter stops to rest resemble those figuring in the scene of Persephone's rape. On the other hand e.g. Theoc. 7.68 κνύζα τ' ἀσφοδέλω τε, probably taken up from Ph., indicate that he made use of his own resources as well to enrich the traditional flowers. This consideration gains plausibility not only by the flora figuring in Theoc. 7 but also by the almost certain appearance of the Nymphs in the locality.

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<sup>9</sup> *Italienische Reise*, 20 April 1787; mentioned in P. Philippon, *Griechische Gottheiten in ihren Landschaften*, Oslo 1939, 60.

Along with its physical beauty the Coan scenery exudes a reverent sanctity. The signs are clear. Springs are commonly sacred. As Farnell V, 40 noticed "no objects of the natural world attracted the religious devotion of the primitive and later Greeks so much as the rivers and springs, and no other obtained so general a recognition in the cults of the Greek states"; Schönbeck 20 n. 3 quoted Servius on Virg. *Aen.* 7.84 "*nullus enim fons non sacer*". Trees and esp. plane-trees are very often part of sacred groves, see on fr. 14. Bees are equally divine, cf. Arist. *GA* 761a4-5, Plato *Ion* 534b-c, Xen. *Oec.* 7.32, see Byl 341-2 with reference to Pappus Alex. 5.1 (p. 304 Hultsch), Davies-Kathirithamby 69. The spring, the rock and the trees are constituent parts of a sanctuary, see Burkert 84-7. This is then, as usually in poetry, a *locus amoenus* and at the same time a *locus sanctus*, cf. *Od.* 5.57-73, on which Schönbeck 61-70, *Od.* 13.102f., Sappho fr. 2, see Pearce 301-2.

Apparently Ph. described his homeland as sanctified, beautiful and blessed. A parallel is provided by Soph. *OC* 16-8, 668-693. Soph. was born in Colonus and was so closely bound to Athens that, unlike other celebrities of his time, he never abandoned it for any other place. The first stasimon of *OC*, vv. 668-693, is devoted to Colonus, the second to Attica, vv. 694-719. So the intimate local theme is woven into the broader Attic one. Colonus is described in terms of a *locus amoenus* in which, as Schönbeck 88f. noticed "der Aspekt der Heiligkeit der beherrschende Zug ist". The first strophe of the stasimon is devoted to Dionysus, the second to Demeter and Persephone. Flowers related to the two goddesses, ceaseless water springs and fertility of the soil figure in the latter strophe.

The season in which Demeter visited Cos would be the spring, when the flora are blossoming. Ὠραίων ἐτέων in fr. 16.2, q.v. suggests such a season, as does the metaphorical language of fr. 15 and the florescent nature of the *locus amoenus*. The search for shade and severe thirst imply harsh sun. Bees normally appear in spring (fr. 20), sheep were shorn in spring (fr. 8) and Zephyros blows mostly in the spring too.<sup>10</sup> Suggestively Theoc. 7 is placed a little later, in July or August, see Gow II, 127. On the ancient division of the year into two, three and occasionally four seasons see Richardson on *HHD* 399f., Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 122-3, M. Davies, *Prometheus* 15 (1989), 31-3. Ph. of course does not describe spring at Cos, but a *locus*

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<sup>10</sup> For the bees cf. *Il.* 2.89 βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν, Eur. *Hipp.* 77, Nicias *HE* 6.1-2 ἄρ φαίνουσα μέλισσα / ξουθαῖ ἐφ' ὠραίοις ἄνθεσι μαινομένα, Anon. *HE* 50.1-2 μελισσῆς / οἶμον ἐπ' εἰαρινὴν .. νισομένας, Meleag. *HE* 50.2 ἐκπρολιποῦσ' εἰαρινὰς κάλυκας, Q.S. 6.326 (bees) ἐκχόμεναι καναχηδόν, ὄτ' εἰαρος ἡμᾶρ ἴκηται, Long. 1.9.1 ἦρος ἦν ἀρχὴ καὶ πάντα ἤκμαζε ἄνθη ... βόμβος ἦν ἤδη μελιττῶν etc. and see Austin on Virg. *Aen.* 6.707. For the sheering in spring cf. Ar. *Birds* 714 προβάτων πόκον ἡρινόν. For Zephyros see ff. on Call. *HyAp.* 81f.



*amoenus et sanctus*. One should be aware of the essentially different nature of a description of spring itself, such as Ibyc. *PMG* 286, see Schönbeck 39-41.

About the final section of the poem we cannot say or conjecture much. There are some indications largely inferred from Theoc. 7, that the conversation went on and eventually the goddess and Chalcon had to sleep out overnight, as the Coan women would do during the *Thesmophoria*. The next thing we know is that in a grandiose distichon Demeter announces her intention of visiting Eleusis, which should mean that her departure from Cos is imminent. At the end the poet might have kept a few lines for himself and his fellow-citizens. This is a question related to the form of the poem.

The preceding discussion clearly establishes the fact that, as suspected by Bulloch 36 n. 1, *Demeter* was a narrative elegy. The title of the work is clear too. *Demeter*, not *Hymn to Demeter*, is unanimously transmitted by Stob. and the marginal Scholium on Call. *HyAp.* 33. Originally ὕμνος could simply refer to an epic poem, as *Od.* 8.429 (τέρπηται) ἀοιδῆς ὕμνον (:οἶμον Bentley, see West on Hes. *WD* 662) ἀκούων, Hes. *Theog.* 33, or a choral lyric composition, as Alc. *PMGF* 27, or even an elegy of erotic content, as Theogn. 993, see W. H. Smith, *Greek Melic Poets*, London 1900, 27-32, Lattke, op.s., 13f., C. Calame, *MH* 52 (1995), 3. It is only later that the term established itself as a poem with specific features and structure, *invocatio* (salutation), *epica* or *media pars* (narrative), *preces* (prayer), addressed to a god or a hero. In Hellenistic times besides the traditional Hymns, literary creations with narrative were composed. The most conspicuous examples are Call.'s Hymns challenging the older models in technique and content: metre, language, seriousness, choice of material.<sup>11</sup> Such a poem, it seems, was Ph.'s, retaining the external features of a Hymn and having a narrative content. At the end of *HHD*, vv. 490-5, the poet mentions Demeter's main cult-places and bids for her bounty using the solemn infinitive. The favour asked at the end of poems with Hymnic structure is usually "consonant with the god's powers as established in the body of the Hymn".<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Hymnic elements are scattered in all sorts of Hellenistic poetry, see E. Vogt, *KWH*, 257-9. A Hymnic bibliography would include M. Lattke, *Hymnos. Materialien zu einer Geschichte der antiken Hymnologie*, Fribourg-Göttingen 1991, W. D. Furley, "Types of Greek Hymns", *Eos* 81 (1993), 21-41, K. Thraede, *RAC* XVI (1994), 916-7 (Greek Hymns), 922-4 (Definition), D. Fröhder, *Die dichterische Form der Homerischen Hymnen*, Hildesheim 1994, 17f., C. Calame, *MH* 52 (1995), 2-19 (structure), R. Parker, <sup>3</sup>*OCD*, 735-6. On cultic Hymns J. M. Bremmer, "Greek Hymns" in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship*, Leiden 1981, 193-205 and on religious Hellenistic Hymns W. D. Furley, *JHS* 105 (1995), 29-46.

<sup>12</sup> See W. H. Race, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 10-4. On *HHD* see Richardson on vv. 490-5, Foley 63-4 and in general R. Janko, *Hermes* 109 (1981), 15-6, C. Calame, *MH* 52 (1995), 8-10.

Ph. would conceivably request eternal prosperity for the descendants of her benevolent host. A shift to present times just before the end of the Hymn as a link to contemporary reality and proof of the god's ever-lasting power, is a common feature, see Richardson on *HHD* 485-9, R. Janko, *Hermes* 109 (1981), 14-5, Foley 63. It is in this last section of the poem that certain images, as the water-metaphor, would probably *expressis verbis* be set under the favourable supervision of Demeter, who would thus be invoked as the deity of good poetry. Ph. might have talked about his poetry in a solemn, semi-religious way, perhaps requesting the eulogy of Demeter. However, Müller's 42 view that he described "vermutlich im Eingang des Werkes" his poetic confirmation in which he appeared as προφήτης of Demeter, largely relies on Prop. 3.1, 3.3 and is prohibitively far-fetched.

The sequence of events, as has been established, prompts the impression that it is designed to reflect the Thesmophoric rites. This festival was usually celebrated outside the city boundaries, see Burkert 442 n. 3. The slaves carrying baskets with wool in fr. 9 prompt the image of a procession. The ascent to Bourina would correspond to the *anodos* to Pnyx in the first day of the Attic Thesmophoria, see Schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 658. The fasting and lament of Demeter would prescribe the gloomy mood during the second day of the celebration (Νηστεία), cf. Plut. *Dem.* 30.5 τὴν σκυθρωποτάτην τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμέραν ἄγουσαι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ νηστεύουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες. Demeter's sitting on Coan soil, her probable break of fasting in the evening and the overnight stay on *stibades* also lay down a prototype ritual. During the third day of the Attic Thesmophoria a meat-banquet took place, cf. Schol. Ar. *Thesm.* 372.

One last consideration is worth entertaining. Cos was the most famous and most long-lasting medical centre of the ancient world. All extant versions of Hippocr.'s life unanimously testify that he was a Coan Asclepiad, who had travelled a lot practising and exhibiting his art. The Asclepiads were a widespread organisation, the members of which claimed descent from the mythical hero with healing capabilities. They had a special bond with Cos. A local tradition held that Asclepius himself landed on the island from Thessaly, Herodas 2.97. It was Coan doctors who transplanted their art to Alexandria. The first known figure was Praxagoras, coeval of Ph. and teacher of Herophilus, the greatest medic of his times. Medicine was in Cos a sort of a "national profession" exported initially here and there and from the late 4th c. predominantly to Alexandria as part of the Ptolemaic monopoly of Coan intelligentsia. The *koinon* "guild" of Coan doctors was powerful in Cos and some of them were prosperous enough to be inscriptionally attested as generous donors to public needs. The flow of

Coan medics to Alexandria was constant and surely came to have some influence on the Ptolemaic court.<sup>13</sup>

Ph. would not neglect such a long and proud tradition. Internal indications and considerations throw more light on the matter. Firstly, Demeter is sometimes given healing capabilities. The seed is sown in *HHD* 228-30 (Demeter about Demophon) οὐτ' ἄρ' ἐπηλυσίη δηλήσεται οὐθ' ὑποταμὸν / οἶδα γὰρ ἀντίτομον μέγα φέρτερον ὕλοτόμοιο, / οἶδα δ' ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἐσθλὸν ἐρυσμόν, cf. Call. *HyDem.* 125 ὡς πόδας, ὡς κεφαλὰς παναπηρέας ἔξομες αἰεὶ, Antiphil. *GPh* 39, Orph. *Hy.* 40.20, Artem. *Oneirocr.* 2.39, Ov. *Fasti* 4.529-532. In most cases medical and magical powers appear combined. Secondly, Bourina in Ph.'s time was the source supplying the conspicuous Coan Asclepieion with water, a *sine qua non* element for every medical treatment. For reasons related to both ritual and medicine each Asclepieion needed a source in the vicinity, see F. Graf *Le sanctuaire grec*, 178-186. Bourina lies approximately 1 km south and upland of the Coan Asclepieion. A link might have been developed on that count.<sup>14</sup> Thirdly, most of the Coan commodities mentioned in surviving fragments of *Demeter* have medicinal properties, as honey or hyces. This is important since, as Fraser I, 342 noted "Hippocratic ignorance regarding the cause of disease did not prevent a carefully elaborated system of cures based on repeated observation. Much of this therapeutic element consisted largely of a carefully regulated system of dieting, which corresponds in essentials to dietetic principles in force today". Then there is the medical terminology employed in some fragments: 9.2 τύμμα, 15.1, 18.1 πέσσειν, 17.2 πραπίδων, 18.2 πενθέων φάρμακα. Nic. *Alex.* 449-450 most probably reproduces Philetan diction to discuss the healing properties of honey.

In addition to this, Ph. exhibits a not negligible interest in coeval science, as indicated by his references to animals and plants presupposing knowledge derived from current scientific manuals (Theophr., and Arist.?). The insinuation of scientific knowledge is a clear trend in Hellenistic poetry. Medicine is in its own right well-

<sup>13</sup> On Coan medicine see (selectively) Herzog *KF*, 200f., Fraser I, 338-347, Sh-W 256f., 259-260 (*koinon*), 266-270 (list of known Coan doctors), 270-1 (wealth), Craik 107f., esp. 126-8. On Praxagoras "teacher" of Herophilus see R. J. Littmann in *ANRW* II.37.3, 2692f.

<sup>14</sup> The cult of Asclepius was apparently not introduced in Cos before 350 and the supervision of medical activity might have previously been a responsibility of Demeter. Even after the introduction of his cult from the mainland the two were associated in Cos no less than in other Asclepius-centers, see C. Benedum, "Asklepios und Demeter", *JDAI* 101 (1986), 135-157, R. Parker, *Athenian Religion. A History*, Oxford 1996, 179-180. In general see Rubensohn, "Demeter als Heilgottheit", *AM* 20 (1895), 360f. contesting the liaison of Demeter and Asclepius, Farnell III, 367 n. 258, Richardson on *HHD* 228-230 quoting a 4th c. inscription from Phalasarina influenced by these lines of the *HHD*.

rooted in epic tradition, cf. esp. *Il.* 4.389-419, 11.844-8.<sup>15</sup> Medical knowledge was freely used to interpret certain passages in Homer, cf. Schol. *Il.* 2.20a (I.181 Erbse) στῆ δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς : ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἴσταται ὡς τῶν αἰσθήσεων φθεγγόμενος πλησίον. αἱ δὲ αἰσθήσεις ἀπὸ τῆς βάσεως τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχουσιν, see the *Index* in Erbse V, 146-8 s.v. Medizin, Schmidt 202-213, or indeed of other authors, cf. Schol. Theoc. 7.144 (112.16-9 Wendel) παρὰ πλευρῆσι δὲ μῆλα : καλῶς ἔφη τὰ μῆλα ταῖς πλευραῖς περικρεμάννυσθαι. τὸ γὰρ μῆλον τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν περὶ τὰ σπλάγχνα εἶναι <δοκεῖ>, τὰ δὲ σπλάγχνα παρὰ ταῖς πλευραῖς. Medicine was of primary interest to Hellenistic poets who in many passages incorporate medical knowledge and employ medical diction.<sup>16</sup>

But Ph. might have also had his own, personal reasons for turning his attention to medicine. There is uncontested evidence about interdisciplinary activity in Cos. Nicias, a friend of Theoc., is the best-known of the figures who practised medicine but also had literary interests.<sup>17</sup> He was an author of epigrams and Theoc. addresses him in two poems, 11 and 13, and sends a gift to his wife Theugenis in poem 28. His *HE* 1 stands on an Asclepius-statue set up by Nicias. But he was not the only doctor with philological interests. Call. in *HE* 3 most probably addresses a Coan doctor Philippus. As in Theoc. 11 the subject is love cured by song. On the other hand Xenocritus, a grammarian contemporary with Ph., composed the first Hippocratic glossary, see M. Fuhrmann, *RE* IX (1967), 1553, and in the next generation Philinus, another Coan doctor, became widely known as a medical glossographer, see Pfeiffer (1968), 92 n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> See S. Laser, *Medizin und Körperpflege* in *AH* S, P. Cordes, *RhM* 134 (1991), 113-20. In general P. Cordes, *Iatros*, Stuttgart 1994 on medics from Homer to Arist. supplementing F. Kudlien, *Der Arzt im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, Wiesbaden 1979.

<sup>16</sup> For A.R. cf. 3.761f., 4.1518f. 1645-7, 1673f. (Talus) and see Fraser I, 634, Zanker 72-3. On Theoc. see Gow I, xix n. 3. On Call. G. W. Most, "Callimachus and Herophilus", *Hermes* 109 (1981), 188-196. In *Pinakes* he included medical authors, fr. 429. Arat. had written poems with medical content, *SH* 92-8, see E. Maass, *Aratea*, Leipzig 1892, 223f. For Euph. cf. *CA* 41, 43, 159, and relying on Erotianus *Praef.* Εὐφορίων πᾶσαν ἐσπούδασε λέξιν (sc. of Hippocr.) ἐξηγήσασθαι διὰ βιβλίων ε fr. 175-6 van Groningen, but the identification with the poet is uncertain (*caret apud CA* and *SH*). Nic. was described by Suda as ἅμα γραμματικὸς τε καὶ ποιητὴς καὶ ἰατρός, see H. Schneider, *Untersuchungen zu Nikander*, Wiesbaden 1962, 79-91, J. M. Jacques, "Nicandre de Colophon: poète et médecin", *Ktema* 4 (1979), 133-149, A. Tonwaide, "Nicandre: de la science à la poésie. Contribution à l'exégèse de la poésie médicale grecque", *Aevum* 65 (1991), 65-101. For different *Iatrika* in Hellenistic times see *SH* p. XX and in general see Pfeiffer (1968), 152f., Zanker 113f., esp. 124-7. On poems of medical content of later date see B. Effe, *Dichtung und Lehre*, Munich 1977, 194-204.

<sup>17</sup> On Nicias of Miletus see J. Geffcken, *RE* XXVII (1936), 335f. s.v. Nikias (24), G-P, *HE* II, 428-9, W. Schott, *Arzt und Dichter: Nikias von Miletos*, Munich 1976, A. Lai, *QUCC* 51 (1995), 125-131.

It was with good reason that Herzog *KF*, 199f. talked about the "University of Cos". Being one of the wealthiest elements in the Coan society doctors would be to Ph. and his circle not only friends, but also patrons.

What the occasion might have been for Demeter to exhibit her healing capabilities, might be suggested by fr. 20 βουγενέας φθάμενος προσεβήσαο μακρὰ μελίσσας. The fragment contains multiple ironic innuendoes. Βουγενέας undermines the notion of purity. Φθάμενος denotes the gauche movement of Chalcon in his effort to approach the swarm of bees and collect honey. Προσεβήσαο μακρά, usually used of the march of heroes, ridicules Chalcon's groundless confidence. The address in the second person shows compassion. But about what? A possible scenario involving an attack of bees on Chalcon has been described in fr. 20. On that occasion the goddess might have rushed to heal the victim. The power of bees would be shown to be ambivalent: they produce honey used to cure, but can also damage someone's health. Ironically enough, again, Demeter is able to cure others, but not herself.

With this rudimentary reconstruction it becomes clear that *Demeter* involves Cos inasmuch as it involves Demeter. Heroes are often presented speaking in flattering terms about their homeland. In *Od.* 9.21-8 for reasons that do not only have to do with nostalgia Odysseus describes Ithace to the Phaeacians and does not dissimulate his emotions, vv. 27-8 οὐ τι ἔγωγε / ἦς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ιδέσθαι, vv. 34 ὡς οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἦς πατρίδος and cf. Jason in *A.R.* 3.1085f. These praises usually take place away from home. With the poets the examples can be infinitely multiplied. To take a look only at Hellenistic poets, *A.R.*, whether from Rhodes, see A. Rengakos, *WSt* 105 (1992), 50f., or from Alexandria, wrote *ktisis* poems on both. Demosthenes of Bithynia wrote *Bithyniaca* in at least 10 books, *CA* 1-13. Nicaenet. of Samos occupied himself with local history, see *HE* II, 417, and wrote an epigram on the widespread local cult of Hera affectionately calling her νήσου δεσπότην ἡμετέρης, *HE* 4.8. Athen. 15.673b quoting the fragment says that he was ποιητής .. ἐπιχώριος καὶ τὴν ἐπιχώριον ἱστορίαν ἡγαπηκῶς ἐν πλείοσι. Simias' *Gorgo* might be about a Rhodian woman. *CA* 11 speaks of Igetes and Telchines, two of the tribes that settled in Rhodes in legendary times. Call.'s allegiance with Cyrene is well attested in his poetry. Phoen. wrote a dirge on his native town Colophon, whose population was forced to flee by Lysimachos ca 287-1, Paus. 1.9.7.

An important *caveat* should be noted here: Ph. does not write a foundation poem on Cos. *Ktisis*-poetry has its origins in Homer, cf. the *Catalogue of Ships* and the Phaeacian archaeology in *Od.* 6.4-10. It takes on a definite form in archaic lyric poetry with works such as Mimn. *Smyrneis*, Semon. *Archaeology of the Samians* or Xenoph. *Foundation of Colophon*. The genre experienced a fresh upsurge in Hellenistic times, when a new, massive expansion of the Hellenic world took place. This genre of poetry

is to a large extent lost.<sup>18</sup> Ph. would have plenty of material available for such a poem, since the island's mythical background was exceptionally rich. Call. made a point when he wrote *HyDel.* 160-1 ὄγγυίην .. Κόων Μεροπηίδα νήσον. A knowledgeable Coan from Isthmus addressed on his tomb *GVI* 1566.1 (1st c. A.D.) his place of origin as Ἴσθμῆ, παλαι[γ]ενέος νήσου πέδον, ἄφθιτε δῆμε. Macareus *FGH* 456 F 1a, b, most probably a Coan historian of the 3rd c., wrote *Κωκά* in at least three books. So G. Vitelli, *PSI* 11 (1935), 141 n. 2 wanted to read Κῶν in Call. fr. 1.9 postulating a foundation poem by Ph. on his home-island.

Ph. has also been credited with a *Meropis*. In Prop. 2.34b.31 *tu satius memorem Musis imitere Philitam* a 15th c. MS gives *Meropem* as an epithet to Ph. (accepted by Hanslik in his Teubner 1979 ed.) and G. Luck, *MH* 105 (1962), 347 proposed *Meropen* .. *Philitae* postulating a *Meropis* by the Coan. Cos sometimes appears in Hellenistic verse. Schneider 47 n. 2 plausibly suggested that Κόων Μεροπηίδα νήσον in Ant. Lib. 15.1 should go back to Boeus *Ornithogonia CA* p. 25. Call. mentions Cos in *HyDel.* 160-1 and later Meleag. who spent the last years of his life there. But the only surviving poetic fragment actually dealing with a subject of Coan prehistory is an anonymous extract of a *Meropis* found in a papyrus containing material commonly attributed to Apollod. Περὶ Θεῶν and printed as *SH* 903A. The story-line is embarrassingly simple. Heracles fights the Meropes in Cos but in a confrontation with Asteros, whose skin is impenetrable, he is in danger of being killed. Athena intervenes, saves him, kills Asteros with her lance and dries his skin destined to become her *aegis*. Apparently we have to do with the Coan adaptation of Heracles' appropriation of the Nemean lion's hide, cf. for the topos J. N. Bremmer, *Mnem.* 46 (1993), 234-6. As A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 25 (1977), 69-75 noted, subject-matter and technique indicate that the *Meropis* "ist von einem Koischen lokal Dichter verfaßt, dessen Verse voll von ungeschickten Anklängen aus hohe Epos sind" (p. 75).

But its date is disputed. The editors of the papyrus L. Koenen - R. Merkelbach in A. E. Hanson (ed.), *Collectanea Papyrologica: Texts H. C. Youtie* II, Bonn 1976, 3-26 and B. Kramer who republished it in PKöln III.126, dated it in the second half of the

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<sup>18</sup> Some of the works produced are mentioned above. A.R. wrote a series of Foundation poems, Call. dealt with the foundation of Sicilian cities in *Aetia* II and wrote a prose work *Κτίσεις νήσων καὶ πόλεων καὶ μετονομασίαι*, p. 339 Pf. On the archaic genre see E. L. Bowie, *JHS* 106 (1986), 27-34, C. Dougherty, "Archaic Greek Foundation poetry", *JHS* 114 (1994), 35-46. On the Hellenistic see Ziegler 18f., Ll-J *Acad. Pap.* I, 25-6, Schwinge 38-9, Hunter (1989), 10-2, K. Kost, *KWH*, 191-3. On its typical elements see Cairns 68-86. In general see Schmid, T. J. Cornell, *RAC* XII (1983), 1107-1125. On Foundation Historiography see Fraser I, 511f. Zanker 25 makes the pertinent point that *ktisis*-poetry under the Ptolemies focuses on areas of strategic interest and could be said to serve political pursuits as well as contributing to the "Hellenisation" of the Alexandrian institutions.

6th c.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand Sh-W 48 n. 96 and E. Livrea, *Gnomon* 57 (1985), 599, to whom *contra* Vian (1992), 136 n. 22, dated it in the 3rd c. on the grounds that a) Apollod. defines the poet as one of the νεώτεροι, a neutral term which in the Scholia means "poets later than Homer" (and before Aristarchus). But is there any guarantee that it is used in [Apollod.] with its technical meaning? b) the subject-matter fits 3rd c. interests, cf. Herodas 2.95, Theoc. 7.5f. The argument is dismissed by Ll-J op.c., 25 as inconclusive, but it might have some value. Coan things mattered more under the Ptolemies than at any other period. Ll-J's view that Coans would "hardly have tolerated" such a gauche poet is not decisive, since even if all literate Coans shared the "Callimachean" taste of poetry, tolerance towards an untalented but ambitious poet in Cos could be affected by non-literary factors, such as economic power or high patronage. From a technical point of view the fragment is not poor. Callimachean metric rules are adhered to but in v. 5 σ|κληρῆς | πέτρης ἐξάλτο χαμᾶζε (spondaic word after masculine caesura without bucolic diairesis, Hollis 20) and perhaps in v. 11 /Ἡρακλεῖος ἄνακτ[ος] (Mayer's second law: iambic-shaped words are avoided before the caesura), where one could plead the proper name. The scattered affinities with motifs in Epich. *CGFP* 85a (offered by the same papyrus), Eur. *Ion* 987-997 and Arist. fr. 637 Rose do not really say much. The well-read poet "fabulam narrat inauditam ... fort. ab ipso poeta consutam", *SH* ad loc. Should it have been of archaic date, one would think that at least speculation about its author would be known to Apollod. or his source. One would wonder too, if such a shoddy piece would survive anonymously for so many centuries. A late date would suggest a perfectly feasible line of survival Cos > Alexandrian Library > Apollodorus.<sup>20</sup> Though the variation of Homer is not indicative in either direction the aetiologic element might be. While Cos was emerging as a cultural centre in the m. 4th c. the literary ambitions of local well

<sup>19</sup> So did Ll-J *Acad. Pap.* I, 21-9, F. Vian, *Sileno* 11 (1985), 259 n. 34, who argued for the influence of Pisander of Camiros (Rhodes) *Heracleia*, id. (1992), 133-6, Davies, *EGF*, 143, Bernabe, *PEG*, 131-5, Janko 191 ("clearly of seventh or sixth century date"), cf. Knox 83 n. 86, and A. Henrichs in A. Bulloch, al., *Images and Ideologies. Self-definition in the Hellenistic World*, Berkeley-L.A.-London 1993, 187-195 ("late archaic").

<sup>20</sup> The anonymity of the poet may be due to the nature of Apollod.'s source. The papyrus' περιεπέσομεν δὲ ποιήμασιν, | ἐφ' ὧν ἦν ἐπιγραφὴ Μεροπῆς, | οὐ δηλοῦσα τὸν ποησο[...], ἢ | πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις Μέρωσι ... καὶ ἄσπερον ὑπάρχειν διεσάφει. [...] ἐδόκει δὲ μοι τὰ ποιήμα[τα] νεωτέρου τινὸς εἶναι· διὰ | [δὲ] τὸ ἰδίωμα τῆς ἱστορίας | [ἐξε]λάβομεν αὐτό. εἶχεν δὲ | τὰ ἔ]πη οὕτω etc. may mean that Apollod. came upon a *collection* of anonymous pieces dealing with Coan archaeology and bearing the general title *Meropis* of which he quoted one piece due to the peculiarity of its content. Such a compilation may have been used as a guide of Coan mythology next to similar prose-works.

educated but untalented poets grew. We have a fragment of such a poet with Phylarch. *SH* 694A = Perp. Adscr. 2. *Meropis* might be a product of the same ambience.

As for Ph., he does not seem to have ever written a poem of the "old" style and *Demeter* does not set out to narrate a series of events related with Meropian Cos. He examines only a fraction of the long Coan prehistory confining himself to Chalcon's times and Demeter's landing on the island, which remains the central theme throughout the poem. Of course themes related to aetiology of names of sites and contemporary cult-practices freely infringe. His dramatic dates are carefully calculated. Demeter's advent to Eleusis is placed by *Marmor Parium FGH* 239A.12-4 ca 1400 when Erechtheus was king of Athens. Indeed her sanctuary in Eleusis, discovered in the early thirties, dates from Mycenaean times, 15th-13th c., see K. Clinton, "The Sanctuary of Demeter and Core in Eleusis" in N. Marinatos - R. Hägg (edd.), *Greek Sanctuaries*, London-N.Y. 1993, 110-24. Chalcon's time *grosso modo* accords with these dates: he confronts Heracles, a hero usually dated two generations before the Trojan war, placed in 13th c. Heracles' marriage with Chalcon's daughter Chalciope gave Thessalus as an offspring, whose sons Pheidippos and Antiphos led the Coan contingent in the Trojan expedition.

What, if any, was Ph.'s main source? Call.'s notorious fr. 612 ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν αἰίδω was presumably mentioned at the beginning of a bizarre story to boost its credibility, cf. A.R. 4.1381f. and see Wil. *HD* II, 92 n. 2. Therefore, it might not have the universal validity of a poetic principle. Cos was not short of traditions of gods or heroes landing on it. Eurypylus was a son of Poseidon, who held on the island a duel with Polybotes. A visit by Athena is attested in the previously discussed *Meropis*. Herodas 2.97 κώσκληπιός κῶς ἦλθεν ἐνθάδ' ἐκ Τρίκκης / κῆτικτε Λητοῦν ὧδε τεῦ χάριν Φοίβη attests a landing of Asclepius and the birth of Leto on Cos, the latter a misunderstanding resulting from the name of her father Κοῖος in Hes. *Theog.* 404. Another tradition held that Pyleus due to adverse weather landed on Cos, was hosted by Molon, one of the Abantes, and met his fate on the island. This seems to have been the subject of Soph. *Peleus* fr. 487-496.

Demeter's visit to Cos is only attested in Schol. Theoc. 7.5-9f, which appears to summarise in the most concise way the content of *Demeter*. Ph.'s poem follows a long-established line of composition with regional visits of Demeter and one would like to believe that the fact itself and most of the aetia in the poem are long-standing oral and/or written traditions. Popular Coan belief might have credited Chalcon, as he was the recipient of Demeter, with advances in the standard of living, institution of fine laws, establishment of agriculture and apiculture. Popular belief likes to attribute progress achieved through long efforts to one legendary figure, as is the case with Agesilaus in Sparta. Some of the *mirabilia* included in the poem, such as the creation of Bourina, might be part of the same tradition. A local historian would not fail to



record such a claim. Myrsilus of Methymna in Lesbos, a 3rd c. local historian who wrote *Ἱστορικὰ Παράδοξα*, admitted in his *Λεσβιακά*, an account of local history, marvels of an historic nature, some of which we know through Antig. [Car.] *Mirab.* 29-30, see Fraser II, 1083 n. 411.

The place of *Demeter's* composition is not known. Ph. was by then an accomplished poet and though we lack the means to prove it, it could be a product of nostalgia. Coan landscape and a series of traditional Coan commodities are telling. In *Od.* 13.237-249 Athena sketches Ithace to Odysseus by providing information about its great fame, its landscape, its vegetation, its agricultural and cattle-breeding activities, its waters. Archil. was a poet who had to emigrate to Thasos, but one that never forgot his native Paros and its delicious figs. His scanty fragments include no less than three references to his native island, *IEG* 116 ἕα Πάρον καὶ σῦκα κείνα καὶ θαλάσσιον βίον cf. *IEG* 251.4 σῦκα μελ[ιχρά (suppl. Peek), 166.3 ἱμ]ερτὴ Πάρ[ος (suppl. Lobel), and 204. Significantly Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.23 calls Archil.'s poems *Parios ... iambos* and Posid. *SH* 705.11 τοῦ Παρίου = of Archil., see LI-J *Acad. Pap.* II, 178-9. In the same fashion Call. was called by later grammarians ὁ Κυρηναῖος, see Fraser II, 1099 n. 521 and he himself in T. 5 evokes *Demeter* as γράμμα τὸ Κώϊον. Later the Romans, who possessed more of Call. than we do today, see A. Allen, *CQ* 46 (1996), 308-9, often called Ph. simply *Cous* (*poeta*) – Ov. always so. From the technical point of view *antonomasia* is common in Call., see Bulloch on *HyPal.* 18, but in essence this attribute of Ph. seems to have to do more with the strong Coan element in *Demeter*. One would conjecture that he would be thus known in a broader circle of erudites in Alexandria.

As evidenced by Herodas 2.26-7, 95-6 Coans were people proud of the autonomy they enjoyed under the Ptolemies and of their origin. In the multicultural society of Alexandria native Greeks, esp. of the upper classes, never lost their allegiance to their individual places of origin. Call. felt strongly about Cyrene and so did the Syracusans in Theoc. 15.89f., who lived in Alexandria. In Egypt Ph. would see a lot to remind him of Cos: export-products such as honey, wine or fishes, merchants, diplomats, administrators, mercenaries and certainly other intellectuals, above all doctors. He might have celebrated with them religious festivals the Coan way, cf. the festival to *Demeter* held annually in Alexandria by an Athenian in Call. fr. 178-184. Most importantly, Ph. would see a prominent cult of *Demeter* that would in some respects resemble the one at home. His poem would then have an Alexandrian touch too.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> On the Ptolemaic cult of *Demeter* see Visser 36-7 and sources in pp. 81-2, Fraser I, 198-201, Hopkinson 32-43 (ritual), Weber 342-3. A. P. Smotrych in *Miscellanea Rostagni*, Torino 1963, 251-2 even thought that *Demeter* might have been composed for a royal celebration of *Demeter* in Alexandria.

This is certainly relevant to Ph.'s effort to give his poem a panhellenic character. Surviving references to other Greek places related both to Cos and Demeter, such as fr. 21 with Thessaly, fr. 10 with Phlious and fr. 23 with Athens and Eleusis make this effort clearly discernible. So does his diligence in using and alluding to passages dealing with Coan themes within a broader context, as [Hes.] *Heoiai* fr. 43a.55f. His aim may have been further enhanced with references to other regional visits of Demeter. The goddess complains about new griefs ceaselessly coming up, fr. 15, adding to the old ones, fr. 16.4. It is just possible that Demeter in that section referred to embarrassing ill-receptions she had experienced elsewhere, which would render Coan hospitality even more appreciable. Cos, we know from fr. 23, was Demeter's last stop before Eleusis. The *HHD* also seems to be aware of other similar myth-patterns, which it plays down to become an individual creation, see Foley 97-103. Demeter's new troubles also arise from the ongoing conflict with the gods. Her reaction is not calculated. As Achilles in the *Il.* is not only angry with Agamemnon, but with all Achaeans, cf. 1.240-3, 299, 9.316, so Demeter is at odds with all gods: Zeus and Moira are mentioned by name, cf. also Athena in fr. 23. Thus the help provided by mortal Chalcon looks even more important. By these means the poem surpasses its Coan boundaries not only in terms of poetic value, but also in terms of its internal structure. To judge by the poem's influence, Ph. succeeded in his ambition to write a poem of universal interest about his native island.

What were the features that made *Demeter* so special to the great Alexandrian poets? The choice of material balances itself on the delicate combination of three fundamental parameters: it has to be related to Cos, to Demeter and to have a solid epic background. A most striking feature is that the treatment of the basic features and the language employed possess an overwhelming subversive power. The fundamentals of the poem are undermined one by one. The notion of purity is a primary casualty. Demeter is a goddess particularly concerned with purity and the Coans were very diligent with this issue as well: fragments of *leges sacrae* *HG* 8 from the Asclepieion dated in the early 3rd c. prescribe the strictest purificatory rules for the priests of Demeter Olympia and Korotrophos.<sup>22</sup> Despite all this, Demeter's bees, creatures of exemplary purity, are born out of the putrifying corpse of a bull and her fish ὕκνης is asexual itself, but is used by contemporary doctors as sexually invigorating.

Keeping to the same line Chalcon, the respected Coan benefactor, seems to repeatedly become a grotesque figure. The bold treatment which he experiences in

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<sup>22</sup> See on this Coan law R. Herzog, *ARW* 10 (1907), 400-415, id., *HG*, 20-5, Sh-W 305-6, Parker 52-3. On Demeter's purity see Parker 393, Burkert 452 n. 29 with a reference to D. White, *Hagne Thea*, Diss. Princeton 1964. She is ὄρνις in *HHD* 203, 439, Archil. *IEG* 322, Hes. *WD* 265, Moschio *TrGF* 97 F 6.24, al. Persephone is also ὄρνις in *Od.* 11.386, *HHD* 337 where see Richardson.

*Demeter* would be made easier by the fact that, unlike other legendary rulers such as Merops and Chalciopie who enjoyed worship in Cos, he is exempted from any religious association by later Coans. Then a careful reading reveals that Demeter's pain is expressed in such a way as to suggest a ludicrous whimpering. Her fasting is subjected to verbal ironies, cf. fr. 18.1 ἄλγεα πέσσειν, and is undermined by conceivably drinking water from Bourina and perhaps trying some Coan honey. The reverent goddess is reduced to an ordinary Coan lady, a humanisation foreshadowed in *HHD* and foreshadowing the treatment of gods in Call. and A.R. Persephone's fortune, though all the fuss is about her, tends to be forgotten.

The sterility-of-the-land motif suffers severe blows. At a superficial level Cos is submitted to the same punishment, as all other places.<sup>23</sup> But Cos, broadly speaking a fertile island, in 3rd c. was short of grain, see on fr. 21, and wheat, cf. Herodas 2.17, which were necessarily imported from elsewhere, see Sh-W 228 n. 38. Demeter is predominantly a deity of corn and cereals, see Farnell III, 33f. with nn., and Ph. would take advantage of the contradiction that despite her broad worship, Cos was not self-sufficient in products immediately related to her. In fact the poem does not seem to refer to them at all. Cos, instead, was rich in alternative ways of nourishment, such as fishes or honey. Commodities such as wine and apples, see on these ff. on Theoc. 7.144, appear as they are placed under the patronage of Dionysus. Others such as hyces, wine, beans or apples (the last two reprobated by Arcestr. *SH* 192.13-4 as being in a symposium τραγήματα ... / πτωχείης παράδειγμα κακῆς) are not only beyond the realm of Demeter, but also resented by her and her initiates. It is on such products that the poem lays emphasis. Thus the sterility of land is valid, but does not really affect the Coans: in lean times they can still enjoy almost everything. This results in an extreme irony, as in a poem honouring Coan Demeter her importance in Coan life is shown to be seriously diminished. This kind of superficial devotion and exquisite, allusive refutation may have permeated the whole poem.

Another distinct feature of *Demeter* is the absorption on a large scale of contemporary science. So fr. 22 ὕκης .. ἔσχατος harbours the Aristotelean ascertainment that erythrinos lives in the lower part of the sea. The plane-tree of fr. 14, as certified by Theophr., grows in a damp place close to Bourina. The paradoxon of bugony presupposed Arist.'s and others' wonder about the procreation of the insect. His conscious appeal to science is made clear by the employment of κλήθρη in fr.

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<sup>23</sup> Roman fantasy later allowed an exception in Ov. *Am.* 3.10.37 where because of Demeter's love for Iasius *sola fuit Crete fecundo fertilis anno; / omnia, qua tulerat se dea, messis erat.* Local traditions might have raised such claims. Ov. *Met.* 5.476-7 where Demeter emphatically imposes famine on *Trinacriam ante alias, in qua vestigia damni / reperit* might harbour a vigorous effort to refute a similar tradition about Sicily.

27.2. Such an orientation appears in the vocabulary as well. "Ἄστλιγγες is a typical example. Picked up from Theophr. as ὄστλιγγες it is introduced to poetry, whence Call., A.R. and Nic. take it up. The same is true with fr. 16.4 προσαυζάνεται. A similar process is strongly suspected with Theoc. 7.68 κνύζα from Theophr.'s (and Arist.'s?) κόνυζα, 7.138 ὀροδαμνίς from Theophr.'s ὀροδάμνη and 7.147 τετράενες.<sup>24</sup> It is noteworthy that Ph. alters the forms of these vocables apparently to render them poetic. Interestingly, however, the great Hellenistic poets show some reservation retaining the original form unless they intend to make an unmistakable reference to their Philetan source. "Ἄστλιγγες/ὄστλιγγες is a good example, cf. also the conceivably Philetan ὀροδαμνίς/ὀροδάμνη in Theoc. l.c.

But when contemporary science fails to give an answer, Ph. employs alternative means to solve the unsolved questions. *Demeter* is open to unscientific paradoxography too. Of such content are fr. 9 and 20, and cf. the miraculous creation of Bourina and the very probable appearance of Nymphs in the same locality. Intrusion of material of such a nature would certainly be facilitated by the dramatic time of the poem, set in the remote world of myth. The employment of magical practices by Demeter may be suggested by the apotropaic γραία ... / .. ἐπιφύζοισα in Theoc. 7.126-7 and possibly the reference to lizards in v. 22, see Gow on 2.58. Ph.'s interest in the subject is secured by the power of Hippomenes' apples in fr. 29.

*Demeter* is pioneering in other respects too. After Antim. it is leading experimentation with elegiac distichs as a vehicle for narrative aiming to supplant the hexameter, see Bulloch 31-8. It heavily uses glosses, a particular interest of Ph.: ὄμπνια, ἄεμμα, θρήσασθαι, ἄστλιγγες, most of which were never used in poetry before. Novel and exquisite vocabulary appears: δμώιδες, μελαμπέτροιο, νεῶρες, δολιχαόρου. This substantially reduces the mechanical combination of two Homeric phrases to create a novelty, a technique heavily used in *Hermes*. A lot of phrases are ambiguous or allusive, as e.g. fr. 12 νήχυτον ὕδωρ, fr. 16.4 ἔμπεδ', fr. 17.1 μελέοιο .. κλαυθομοῖο, fr. 23.1 Ἀθηναίης δολιχαόρου, others are bold, as fr. 9.1 γηρύσαιτο νεβρός, fr. 14 πλατάνω γραίη ὑπο, fr. 18.1 ἄλγεα πέσσειν. In fr. 16.4 low prosaic and elevated poetic diction are juxtaposed. Fr. 15 employs highly descriptive language.

*Demeter* of course never loses its Coan perspective. In many fragments a number of resources of Coan wealth are mentioned. Cos is an island of 286 sq. km, smaller only than Rhodes and equal to Carpathos. In Hellenistic times it was a prosperous place. Call. *HyDel.* 164 calls it λιπαρή τε καὶ εὐβοτος, εἶ νύ τις ἄλλη and Eustath. *Comm. Il.* 983.31-2 (III.633 van der Valk) refers to a proverb of most probably Byzantine date ὄν οὐ θρέψει Κῶς, ἐκεῖνον οὐδὲ Αἴγυπτος. A Coan

<sup>24</sup> On the wide range of verbal rarities in Theophr.'s botanical works see R. Strömberg, *Theophrastus. Studien zur botanischen Begriffsbildung*, Göteborg 1937, 161-176.

inscription recording different social groups liable to sacrificial offerings *HG* 1 (ca 300) serves as the principal source of information with regard to products and producers, see Rostovtzeff *SEHW* I, 240-3, Sh-W 224f., Höghmmar 34. Agricultural commodities, viticulture, fisheries, timber, textile industry (the only silk-producing island in the Aegean), farming, shipyards and docks figure in the first place. Those mentioned in Ph., arguably related to purity and ritual, are selected to make a point. Demeter teaches Chalcon to exploit the island's natural resources either by introducing improved techniques, as with fishing, or by instituting from scratch a new source of nutrition as with apiculture. This is the just reward of the Coans for their hospitality, as prescribed by the central motif, see Richardson 259 on the gift of agriculture to the Eleusinians and on vv. 75f.

With such benefactions Demeter confirms her title as Thesmophoros with which she is probably invoked at the beginning, most probably in the first verse of the poem. But her capacity as such is not restricted to the provision of "civilised" food. In a broader sense it signifies the institution of civilised life in general.<sup>25</sup> But Demeter's contribution to Coan wealth suggests that in *Demeter* the term might be equivalent to ὀλβοδότειρα and Ph. perhaps understood θεσμός to mean θησαυρός "treasure" as in Anacr. *PMG* 406, see R. Herzog, *ARW* 10 (1907), 411. Demeter's link with Coan prosperity relies on her old association with wealth, cf. in *primis* *HHD* 386f., *OrphF* 280.10 and Call.'s *HyDem.* 126f. request for abundance in gold and goods. In Hes. *Theog.* 969f. ("Wealth depends on good crops above all", West ad loc., q.v.), Ar. *Thesm.* 296-7, Scolion *PMG* 885.1, *Orph. Hy.* 40.20 she is the mother of Plutus, see also W. Burkert, *Homo Necans*, Berlin-N.Y. 1972, 319 n. 73 for the archaeological evidence.

Chalcon acts here as an intermediary for the sake of all Coans. The ancestor of all Coan nobles appears as the guardian of Demeter's precepts. So the poem at the end celebrates Coan nobility no less than Demeter. His and his successors' rule is alleged to be ἐλέω Θεοῦ eternal. Demeter is indeed a civic goddess often associated with political power.<sup>26</sup> As *Theoc.* 7 attests Coan nobles regarded themselves as closely associated with Demeter. It is also certain that they actively supported cultural activities on the island. In this way Ph. pays tribute to their noble efforts to promote *les*

<sup>25</sup> See on fr. 7 and Farnell III, 75f., Brumfield 70-3. Müller 36 inferred this meaning from Call. *HyDem.*

<sup>26</sup> See above all Farnell III, 72-5 with the restriction noted in pp. 79-80 that since her temples are found outside the city-limits, she must have initially been apolitical, M. Detienne in id. - P. Vernant, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grecs*, Paris 1979, 197-8, Foley 142-150 ("The Hymn to Demeter and the Polis": how the Hymn reflects social evolution of the Athenian community), Bremmer 18 with 25 n. 37 and cf. *HHD* 149f. listing previous leaders of Eleusis, Call. *HyDem.* 18, 134-5 τάνδε σάω πόλιν ἔν θ' ὁμοιοίᾳ / ἔν τ' εὐηπελίᾳ adapting *HH* 13.1 (*To Demeter*).

*belles lettres* in Cos in the process no doubt reciprocating the assistance they provided him in his own literary activities. But Coan aristocrats honoured Ph. not only during his lifetime: the bronze statue erected in his honour after his death is likely to have been an initiative of theirs.

In literary terms the main model of the poem is the *HHD* adapted to Coan standards. The Homeric hymn reached the height of its popularity in Hellenistic times, see Richardson 68f., Foley 151-169 on influence on modern literature, and it might have served as a model for other poems on Demeter's provincial visits. As the hymn demonstrates the aetiological connection of the Eleusinian mysteries with their mythological background, see P. Walcot, *G&R* 38 (1991), 1-17, so Ph.'s poem constitutes an *ad totum* and *ad partem* action for the widespread cult of Demeter in Cos and the way this is conducted. Chalcon is supposed to correspond to Eleusinian Celeus. Both institute Demeter's cult in their kingdom. But Celeus' role is curtailed in the Hymn, in favour of female characters with religious connotations and the polis. So the Coan king assumes the role of Iambe as well. Chalcon gives rise to amusing scenes and comments and if Demeter would be made to laugh, a culminatory point in all extant treatments, see Richardson 216-7 with ethnological parallels, he would be the reason for it.

The archaic model anticipates plenty of features in Ph.'s poem. As is the case with *Demeter*, the Homeric hymn "is unique in archaic poetry for the degree of humanisation its gods experience", Foley 88. The piety of the Eleusinian people in vv. 299-302 might have found a Coan parallel in *Demeter*, cf. fr. 21 Θεσσαλαί. As in *Demeter*, the claim of a poem with panhellenic perspective is advanced in *HHD* with references to other cult-centres, see Foley 175-8. Breaking of fast and grotesque efforts to change Demeter's sombre mood were arguably also taken up. Her medicinal/magical capacities would be exploited at full length in the Coan. Attention to Demeter's hair was probably also heeded, fr. 19. Eleusis itself appears in fr. 23 as the next destination of Demeter. The verbal affinities in the existing fragments are not striking, still cf. fr. 8 λευκὸν .. ἔρι with *HHD* 308 λευκὸν κρῖ cf. also v. 452, fr. 23 καί κεν ... / καί κεν taken up from *HHD* 141-4 and in the same fragment Ἐλευσῖνος ... λόφον pointing to *HHD* 272, and probably fr. 16.2 ὠραίων ἐρχομένων ἐτέων with *HHD* 265 ὄρησι περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν. The Coan adaptation becomes clear in the replacement of the shady Eleusinian olive-tree in *HHD* 98-101 with the traditional plane-tree of Cos in fr. 14. And as Demeter sits at well Callichoros to mourn, so she does in Cos with Bourina. Cyceon is conceivably also transformed into Bourina's ample and pure water and possibly Demeter's resentment of wine in *HHD* 206f. would have to be moderated to accord with Coan standards. The Phlious-reference would provide a good argumentative parallel.

In the section in which Demeter bewails her misfortunes Ph. seems to have turned to the celebrated *Il.* 24 and in particular to the dramatic meeting-scene of Achilles and Priam, a father afflicted with grief by the loss of his son, vv. 507f. Fr. 18.1 ἐκ Διὸς ἄλγεα πέσσειν echoes *Il.* 24.617 θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πέσσειν. The dependence becomes clear in fr. 17 modelled on *Il.* 24.513-4 of Achilles having his fill of weeping. The motif in the two scenes is common: in *Il.* the two heroes burst into tears when they are reminded of their lost loved ones and the younger Achilles tries to console inconsolable Priam. Μελέοιο .. κλαυθοῖο in fr. 17.1 could be prompted by *Il.* 24.524 οὐ γὰρ τις πρῆξις πέλεται κρυεροῖο γόοιο. Demeter's tears could be introduced with an allusion to *Il.* 24.507 Ὡς φάτο, τῷ δ' ἄρα πατρός ὑφ' ἕμερον ὄρσε γόοιο so as to tip off the reader about the prototype scene.

But the erudite poet draws on a wider spectrum of sources. The address to the goddess in v. 1 most probably varies the beginning of a Pindaric hymn on the same subject. Pindaric images might have recurred at the end of the poem too. Fr. 15 metaphorically uses language applied to vegetation in *Od.* 7.118-9. Γυμνὸν ἄεμμα in fr. 11 echoes Heracles' γυμνὸν τόξον in *Od.* 11.607. Fr. 18.2 is modelled on Adesp. Eleg. *IEG* 21. The scene with piping fr. 9 relies on Eur. *Hel.* 1339f., a tragic poet whose *Aeolus* Ph. used in *Hermes*.

Last but not least, fr. 23 indicates an affinity with [Hes.] *Heoiai* fr. 43.55f., a passage dealing with Mestra's coupling with Poseidon on Cos which produced as an offspring Eurypylus, the mythical Coan king. The same passage mentions Heracles' landing on Cos which Ph. treated at some length, see on fr. 11. And the form Χάλκων, as indicated by Theoc. 7.6 used by Ph. for Χαλκῶδων, first occurs in this passage. This influence in two different sections of *Demeter* suggests a more extensive presence. This is made even more probable by the fact that Call. *HyDem.* chose his subject from this very same passage as a theme associated with Cos, so as to indicate emulation with Ph.'s *Demeter*. *Heoiai* enjoyed considerable popularity in Hellenistic times.<sup>27</sup> Ph. himself used it also in fr. 29 with regard to Atalante and perhaps in *Telephus* about the Mysian hero. As the ancestor of the Hellenistic *Kollektivgedicht* it might have had some effect on *Hermes* too. His "pupil" Hermesian. *CA* 7 *passim* and Phanocl. *CA* 1.1, 31 took up the Ἥ οἴην form. Nicaenet. of Samos wrote a Γυναικῶν κατάλογος *CA* 2 and Asclep. (or Archias) *HE* 45.8 refers to it and apparently takes Hesiodic

<sup>27</sup> On the Hellenistic popularity of catalogue-poetry with mythological exempla see M. Fantuzzi, *PCPS* 41 (1995), 35 n. 86, Cameron (1995), 380-6. For an account of *Heoiai*'s influence on Hellenistic poets see J. Schwarz, *Pseudo-Hesiodica*, Paris 1960, 585-9. Catalogue-like poetry already appears in *Od.* 11.255f., 568f. with the list of heroines and heroes respectively. *Heoiai* is innovative in establishing a separate poetic genre with this distinct form. It is believed to have been composed in an Attic ambience in the m. 6th c., see West (1985), 130f., J. R. Marsh, *The Creative Poet*, London 1987, 157f.

authorship for granted. A.R.'s 1.20-233 list of Argonauts owes something to *Heoiai*, see Vian I, 7. See also J. J. Clauss, "Hellenistic Imitations of Hes. *Catalogue of Women* fr. 1.6-7 MW", *QUCC* 36 (1990), 129-140 on A.R. 1.333-7, 3.173, Theoc. 7.35.

## B. Influence.

### a) Theocritus.

The most impressive aspect of *Demeter* is the influence it exerted on those who read it in full and above all on Theoc. and Call. In Theoc. 7 the poet with his friends Eucritus and Amyntas set off for the estate of Phrasidamus, a Coan noble who celebrates the Thalysia, a private festival in honour of Demeter. On the way they meet the goatherd Lycidas. They address each other and on Simichidas' request agree to conduct a contest of bucolic song (v. 36 βουκολιασδώμεσθα). Lycidas sings first about his beloved Ageanax embarking on a sea-journey to Mytilene and about the sweet time he will spend remembering him with the sound of pipes while Tityrus sings about Daphnis and the shepherd Comatas, both nurtured for some time by bees because of their poetic skills. Simichidas, himself in love with Myrto, sings about his friend Aratus, who loves a boy, Philinus. The subject inspires Aristis, a man of worth. Simichidas, issuing some threats, calls upon Pan and the Erotes to help Aratus, who anyway loses his former charm. The poem ends with a wish for tranquillity for Theoc. and his friends. Lycidas subsequently donates him his stick and takes the way on the left while Theoc. goes on to an ideal locality where the celebration is supposed to take place.

In the past the poem used to be read on the basis of the "mascarade bucolique" theory, according to which Theoc. was a member of a semi-religious confraternity of "bucolic" literates, of which Ph. was the leader. These allegedly dressed in shepherds' garb, used poetic pen-names and held contests in the countryside.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, after Gow's painstaking study and Kühn's article it became clear that the poem describes the poetic confirmation of Theoc. So Segal 112 was able to declare that "as a result of

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<sup>28</sup> This fancy is at least as old as F. L. C. Graf Fink von Finkenstein, *Arethusa und die bukolischen Dichter des Altertums* I, rev. ed. 1806 (1st ed. 1789), 140, see G. Weingarth, *Zu Theokrits VII Idyll*, Diss. Freiburg 1967, 45f., and gained momentum when Reitzenstein *EuS*, 226 espoused it, cf. then B. A. van Groningen, *Mnem.* 12 (1959), 45-8, M. C. Mittelstadt, *RhM* 113 (1970), 211-227, S. Walker, *Theocritus*, Boston 1980, 20; *contra* e.g. Herzog *KF*, 209, Wil. *HD* II, 138, A. S. F. Gow, *CQ* 34 (1940), 47-51, Arnott 338-9.



the criticism of the last three decades it will never again be possible to read Idyll 7, as could Legrand nearly a century ago, as "le recit d'une bonne journée de Théocrite à Cos".<sup>29</sup>

The confusion largely results from the inextricably interwoven complex of reality and illusion in poem 7. Zanker (1980), 373-7 has convincingly argued that the poem depicts in a way unique in bucolic poetry real geographical data. On the other hand Lycidas and the *locus amoenus* at the end of the poem look completely fictional. And then again the real ambience is matched with references to real persons in Cos. Noticeably Theoc.'s experience is not realised in a dream as Hes.'s and Call.'s,<sup>30</sup> but in the remote Coan past, now recalled with affection and nostalgia. Ἦς χρόνος ἀνίκ(α) refers to a distant time in which objective factors in the poem may now have a different status, but one that still has some sentimental value for the speaker.<sup>31</sup> The initiator is not a god but an earthly entity with supernatural charisma. The unusual initiation corresponds to the individual kind of poetry Theoc. writes.

Lawall 120-3 argued that the poem concluded an initial so-called "Coan collection" comprising poems 1-7 traces of which he detected in poem 7. He therefore placed it "on the eve of his departure from Cos". Poem 7 in fact recapitulates Theoc.'s way to artistic perfection. It will be shown not to be introvert, but incorporating external sources of inspiration. The introduction and the sequestered scenery when he reached his destination in the poem suggest that he is now an accomplished and established poet. The idyll must have been composed in Alexandria at a later stage. Among other names of real persons in vv. 39-41 those of Ph. and Asclep. appear superficially with great respect. Boucher 218, Bowie 79-80 and M. Fantuzzi *Spazio letterario*, 154 ("un appassionato omaggio a Filita") suggested that the whole poem is a γέρας to Ph. Their ascertainment has some truth in it, as Ph.'s poetry seems to be pervasively present. A closer look will reveal more.

Τῶ Δηοῖ in v. 3 τῶ Δηοῖ γὰρ ἔτευχε θαλύσια καὶ Φρασίδαμος / κἀντιγένης is the first sign of Philetan intrusion. The term occurs only here in Theoc.; elsewhere he uses Δημήτηρ 3x, 7.32, 135, 10.42. Δηώ appears constantly in passages with Philetan overtones, see ff. on Nic. In the same line ἔτευχε Θαλύσια is a striking phrase.

<sup>29</sup> But yet again N. Zagagi, *Hermes* 112 (1984), 427-438 interpreted the poem not as a poetic confirmation, but as "an allusion to a concrete event in Theoc.'s life which shook him out of his complacent self-confidence and helped him to mature as a poet through self-recognition".

<sup>30</sup> See Puelma 163 and on the motif M. Paschalis, "Ὀνειρο καὶ Ποιητική. Το ὄνειρο του Ενίου ως ἀπόπειρα ἀνανέωσης του ἀρχαίου ἐπικού προοιμίου" in D. Kyrtatas (ed.), *Ὀψεις Ἐνυπνίου*, Heraklion 1994, 127-153.

<sup>31</sup> On the different interpretations of the introductory line see Gow, Dover ad loc., Wil. *HD* II, 142 with n. 1, A. S. F. Gow, *CQ* 34 (1940), 52-3, T. Choitz - J. Latacz, *WJA* 7 (1981), 86-7.

Θαλύσια, which gave the poem its title in the MSS, is a Homeric hapax, *Il.* 9.534 of harvest-offerings to the gods, used only here by Theoc. Ph. referred to contemporary cult-practices and, as already suspected by Kuchenmüller 21 n. 7, cf. also Boucher 218-9, he might have applied it to Demeter first.<sup>32</sup> Theoc. 7.31 creates the adj. θαλυσιάζ, whence Nonn. takes it up for Demeter, see Vian on *D.* 2.92, Livrea on Pampr. 3.149 where an agricultural worker sings θαλύσιον ὕμνον. Τεύχω in the sense "prepare" occurs only here in Theoc. Vv. 4-5 εἶ τι περ ἐσθλόν / χαῶν τῶν ἐπάνωθεν is a Theocritean expression, cf. 2.34 and *HE* 15.4, but the Doric gloss χαός or χάιος may be Philetan. The Schol. ad loc. (78.13-4 Wendel) note its dialectal provenance in a more specific way, χαῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν. χαὰ γὰρ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὰ ἀγαθὰ. It was previously used by Ar. *Lys.* 90-1, 1157 in this sense and it has plausibly been restored in Alex. Aet. *CA* 7.1.<sup>33</sup> Ph. is likely to have picked up a gloss in such a conspicuous place which is so relevant to his subject.

Vv. 5-6 ἀπὸ Κλυτίας τε καὶ αὐτῶ / Χάλκωνος mention Clytia, daughter of Merops and mother of Chalcon, probably figuring in *Demeter* along with her husband Eurypylus. Χάλκων is the abbreviated, affectionate form of Χαλκῶδων ([*Apollod.*] 2.7.1), see von Kamptz 10-3 and in general Bornmann on Call. *HyArt.* 239. The form is evidently in line with [*Hes.*] fr. 43a.60. Chalcon is singled out in Theoc. and Schol. Theoc. 7.5-9g (79.16 Wendel) Χάλκωνα τὸν τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν Κῶν διαδεξάμενον tell us that he succeeded Eurypylus to the throne apparently as his older son, whence his central role in Ph. with regard to his brother's Antigenes can be inferred. Theoc. has of course his own reasons for praising the ancestors of all Coan nobles, who supported him in difficult times and granted him access to the Ptolemaic court. This, as other Philetan loans, should be examined as elements integrated and functional in Theoc. as well as sources of information about *Demeter*. The Bourina-creation follows a short description of its surroundings. The puzzling proceedings of Chalcon would not

<sup>32</sup> Harvest festivals are widely attested for Demeter, see Brumfield 147-155. The Attic equivalent is Procharesteria, a spring celebration of Demeter. Thargelia devoted to Apollo might have originally been devoted to Demeter. On first-crop offerings in general see W. Burkert, *Structure and History of Greek Mythology and Ritual*, Berkeley-N.Y. 1979, 52-4, id. 66-8, Isager-Skydsgaard 169-173.

<sup>33</sup> By Valckenaer. Ph.'s use would make its dialectal colour dimmer. His precedence would answer Ll-J's objection in *Studi ... M. Gigante*, Naples 1994, 372: "the word is Doric ... and since it is Doric, why should it be introduced by emendation?". He regarded Bergk's τροφίς ἀρχαίου (:τροφίμος ἀρχαίου codd.) as "the best emendation so far proposed" and attributed Alex. Aet. *CA* 7 to Ar. (*olim* fr. 676b Kock). But his hypothesis is speculative and the diction of the fragment renders it unlikely. A. J. van Windekens, *Dict. etym. complémentaire de la langue gr.*, Leeven-Paris 1986, s.vv. wanted to see the root in Homeric hapax *Od.* 19.177 Δωριέες .. τριχάικες "very noble" and in ἀχαίνης "petit(e) du noble (Edelhirsch)", on which see Livrea on A.R. 4.175.

be so puzzling to those who had read Ph.'s more detailed description. Schol. ad loc. quote a verse from *Demeter* which clearly suggests dependence. Remarkably, κράναν occurs only here as a clausula in Theoc.

In v. 8 in the vicinity of Bourina αἴγειροι πετέλαι τε reappearing in v. 136 make up a striking combination. As Puelma 162-3 n. 58 first noticed<sup>34</sup> the phrase is unHomeric and unique in Hellenistic poetry, in a way paralleled only in Call. *HyDem.* 27 ἐν μεγάλαι πετέλαι ἔσαν and 37 ἧς δέ τις αἴγειρος, μέγα δένδρεον αἰθέρι κύρον in the description of Demeter's grove. On A.R. 4.1427 αἴγειρος, πετέλη of the miraculous transformation of the Hesperids see ff. ad loc. An αἴγειρος close to a κρήνη is mentioned in Nicias *HE* 5.1-2 and the tree commonly occurs in damp places, cf. Theophr. *HP* 4.1.1, *Il.* 4.382-3, *Od.* 9.140-1, Eur. *Hipp.* 208f., Mnasalc. *HE* 15.3 with Seelbach ad loc. (p. 28), Virg. *Georg.* 4.186, 482f., Gow on Theoc. 7.8. So does πετέλα, cf. Theophr. *HP* 3.1.1, *Il.* 21.242, 350, Theoc. 1.21. With the sole exception of Eur. *Hipp.* 210 αἴγειρος disappears after Homer, until it is rediscovered by the Hellenistic poets. Πετέλα, 3x *Il.*, is rare in Hellenistic poetry, Call. *HyDem.* 27, *HyArt.* 120, A.R. 4.1427 (*locus amoenus*), Theoc. 1.21, 7.8 = 136, 27.12 as a tree providing ample shade, Nic. *Alex.* 109. Absent in bucolic other than Theoc.

V. 9 (poplars and elms) χλωροῖσιν πετάλοισι κατηρέφες κομώσσαι finds a parallel in A.R. 3.928 (ἐγγύθι νηοῦ) / αἴγειρος φύλλοισιν ἀπειρεσίοις κομώσσαι in the description of the first trysting field of Jason and Medea, cf. also Nic. fr. 74.24 χλωροῖς ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐπηρέφες πετάλοισιν. One should be cautious about detecting a *verbatim* Philetan loan here, when an archaic model in *Ilias Parva EGF* 6.2 χρυσείοις φύλλοισιν ἰάγανοῖσιν κομώσσαν emerges, on which A.R. draws. Theoc. may be alluding to a certain Philetan verse by conflating diction from different sources.

In his reference to Bourina Theoc. takes issue with Ph. in more than one respect. He does not only epitomize a haunting scene in *Demeter*, but also reproduces Philetan diction, circumstances and goals. As Chalcon and Demeter, so Theoc. and his friends walk under midday-sun, 7.10, 21. Bourina and its shady surroundings, the only real place described though it is not one of the landmarks of Theoc.'s journey, is meant to provide a refreshing contrast to the Coan heat. It also contributes to – and foreshadows – the divine atmosphere to be further developed at the end of the poem. The divine element was a prominent feature in *Demeter*. The two localities constitute the narrative frame of poem 7. Theoc., as before him Ph., pays his own homage to Chalcon (surprisingly Th. Rheinhardt, *Stadt und Land bei Theokrit*, Bonn 1988, 120-1 argues against Kühn 45 on this count) and his preliminary reference to Bourina foreshadows

<sup>34</sup> Cf. then Mackay 77-8, Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 28, Bowie 79 n. 53.

the water-image of poetry reemerging at the end of the poem. This will be argued to hark back to Ph. too.

Other verses too may allude to the Coan. The ἐπυτιμβίδιοι κορυδαλλίδες in v. 23 resurfacing in v. 141 are inconspicuous birds associated with chthonic Demeter, see A. Lezzi-Hafter, "Demeter mit dem Vogelszepter" in E. Böhr - W. Martini (edd.), *Studien zur Mythologie und Vasenmalerei*, Mainz 1986, 87-9 identifying the bird on top of Demeter's sceptre in a 5th c. Boeotian plate (nr VIII.B in Gow II) as a lark. Lycidas' vv. 25-6 ὥς τοι ποσὶ νισσομένοιο / πᾶσα λίθος πταίουσα ποτ' ἄρβυλίδεσιν αἰεῖδει might harbour a reference to the velocity of Demeter, not so comfortable to Chalcon during their tour, cf. v. 21 (Lycidas to Simichidas) μεσαμέριον πόδας ἔλκεις commonly used of "slow and painful walking", Gow ad loc., and the magic effect of her brisk walking on the stones. Dover's rationalistic comment ad loc. is not really fitting. Demeter might exhibit this kind of superhuman capability – all the more surprising if she has not yet disclosed her true identity – as she may eventually appear as a goddess associated with poetry. Ἄρβυλίδες, usually on the feet of travellers, in Anon. *AP* 16.253.2 are worn by Artemis, another rural goddess. Schol. on 7.26a (86.23-87.2 Wendel) try to explain the marvel ἴσως διὰ τὴν εὐμουσίαν τοῦ Θεοκρίτου. Her capability might be a transference from Orpheus, often said to be able with his music to bewitch the rocks in the mountains.<sup>35</sup>

Ph. is mentioned by name in v. 40. In Lycidas' song motifs and probably technical vocabulary from him make an abundant appearance in an altered context. In v. 58 ἔσχατα φυκία the adj. is used with the same meaning as in fr. 20 ὕκης .. ἔσχατος – and the phrase may echo this fragment in inverted order. Calm sea and fishing turns up in v. 60, cf. fr. 20. Four-year old Coan (?) wine appears in v. 65 Πτελεατικὸν οἶνον, cf. fr. 10. Lycidas' unjustified and grotesque eagerness to drink his wine in vv. 69-70 πίομαι ... / αὐταῖσιν κυλίκεσσι καὶ ἐς τρύγα χεῖλος ἐρείδων might be due to a motif originally applied to Chalcon.<sup>36</sup> In vv. 71f. there come up piping, cf. fr. 9, by

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Eur. *IA* 1211f., A.R. 1.25-6, Phanocl. *CA* 1.19-20, Damagetus *HE* 2.3-4, Antip. Sid. *HE* 10.1, Anon. *FGE* 31.7 (Hellenistic), [Apollod.] 1.3.2, Q.S. 3.639, *IMEG* 23.9-10 (3rd c. A.D.), Orph. *Arg.* 262-3.

<sup>36</sup> The motif hardly makes any sense in the Theocritean context, unless it conceals a reference to Lycidas' song background. "I do not think I know what Theokritos wrote or meant at the beginning of this line", Dover ad loc., who prints the MSS' text in *crucis*. Gow printed Valckenaer's αὐταῖς ἐν κ. relying on Schol. on 70a (97.3-4 Wendel) οὐ διαρῶν εἰς μικρά, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπνευστὶ πίνων. POxy. 3548 fr. 14a.ii (s. p.C. II) published in 1983 by P. J. Parsons has an embarrassing gap supplemented by the editor on the basis of the letterspace as αὐταῖ[σιν κυλί]κεσσι[γ]. There is no need to alter anything. Dover noted similar expressions occurring in comedy of gluttons, as Ar. *Frogs* 560 where Heracles eats cheese αὐτοῖς τοῖς ταλάροις, etc. and Schol. on 70b (97.5-6 Wendel) got it right:

two shepherds whose identity would no doubt bear some significance (Ἀχαρνεύς, Λυκωπίτας), and Daphnis wandering on the mountains in search of Xenea and the compassion of the nature to his grief, like Demeter's *anodos* to Bourina in search for Persephone and her lament in the *locus amoenus*. In vv. 78f. appear bees in meadows assisting Comatas, a herdsman with poetic talent, to survive a whole spring (did Demeter so use the bees appearing in fr. 20? Cf. Zeus in Call. *HyJov.* 51). In this story the Schol. on 78/9a and 83 (99.6f. and 101.7f. Wendel) say that Theoc. transferred τὰ τοῦ Δάφνιδος εἰς τὸν Κομάταν. In v. 85 ἔτος ὄριον "spring" is the only exact parallel and seems a direct loan from Ph. fr. 16.2 ὠραίων .. ἐτέων.

Most importantly, the botanical specimens associated with Lycidas are cryptically but directly related to Demeter and Persephone/the Underworld. Lycidas' garland consists of anise, roses and white stock, all three commonly used in garlands, vv. 63-4 ἀνήτινον ἢ ῥοδόεντα / ἢ καὶ λευκοῖων στέφανον περὶ κρατὶ φυλάσσων. At the same time ἀνηθος, one of the *aromata*, Theophr. *HP* 9.7.3, *CP* 6.9.3 cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 2.48, broadly used in cooking and medicine, see Dover on Ar. *Clouds* 982, is related to Adonis, on whose bower it appears as a decoration in Theoc. 15.119, cf. then [Mosch.] *Epit. Bion.* 100. Roses are associated with Persephone since she was gathering them in *HHD* 6 and were – and still are in Greece – commonly used on graves, Simias *HE* 5.3, *GVI* 728.3, 1201.1, 2005.37, 2029.8 (3rd to 1st c.). So are, despite their white colour, ἴα, another aromatic flower, Theophr. *HP* 6.67, cf. *HHD* 6 with Richardson ad loc., Bacch. 3.2 Δάματρα ἰοστέφανόν τε κούραν, Theoc. 1.132 (Daphnis' death), *CEG* 578iii.2 (ca 350; a funerary garland ἴου στεφάνοις), Philod. *GPh* 26.8, *GVI* 1409.3 (2nd c. A.D.), 2005.37 (1st/2nd c.) – in the last three passages a favourite flower around tombs.<sup>37</sup> The beans of v. 66 κύαμον δέ τις ἐν πυρὶ φρυξεῖ are of Philetan provenance. As wine in fr. 9 and hyces in fr. 22, Demeter resented them too: in Pheneos she rewarded the hospitality of the locals and τούτοις τὰ ὄσπρια ἢ θεὸς τὰ ἄλλα, κύαμον δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκέ σφισι, Paus. 8.15.3 and consumption of beans was forbidden in her Eleusinian festivals, Porph. *De Abs.* 4.16, cf. also Paus. 1.37.4,

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τουτέστιν ἡδέως πίνων καὶ ἀθρόως, οὐ διαιρῶν εἰς τὰ μικρότατα τῶν ἐκπομάτων. Καὶ ἐς τρύγα in Theoc. means "to the bottom of the glass". For κύλικας, usually denoting a wine-cup, cf. Philic. *SH* 680.60 (of Demeter's cyceon?). On the lines see also G. Giangrande, *MPhL* 8 (1978), 63-6 (both for the MSS-text), A. M. Mesturini, *QUCC* 8 (1981), 105-112. There may be some similarity between Simon. *IEG* 22 and Theoc. 7.61f. but it does not seem to go beyond the conventions of a symposium. One should be cautious about adopting the possibility of a direct dependence advocated by R. Hunter, *ZPE* 99 (1993), 11-4, cf. id. 26.

<sup>37</sup> The flora of the grave has been studied by G. Luck, *Phil.* 100 (1956), 279-282, cf. also Latimore 129-131.

see Wächter 102-5, esp. 103 and on the similar prohibitions of the Pythagoreans cf. Call. fr. 553 with Pfeiffer ad loc.

Then in the neat vv. 67-8 Lycidas unnecessarily and anachronistically lies on a *στιβάς* by the fire-place: *χὰ στιβάς ἐσσεῖται πεπυκασμένα ἔστ' ἐπὶ πᾶχυν / κνύζα τ' ἀσφοδέλω τε πολυγνάμπω τε σελίνω*. Couches knocked up with boughs of soft plants were regarded as a primitive kind of bed which progress replaced with proper ones (*κλῖναι*), Plato *Rep.* 372b, 373a. They were commonly considered as rough and inconvenient, used perforce in the countryside, expeditions, or pilgrimages.<sup>38</sup> Fleabane and asphodel are known to have been used in such bedding. Schol. on 68a (96.8-11 Wendel) provide the seemingly irrelevant information ("that is not likely to be T.'s point", Gow ad loc.) about the plant's supposed unaphrodisiac properties and its use in the Thesmophoria: *ἔστι δὲ φυτὸν ψυκτικώτατον, ἔνθεν καὶ ἐν Θεσμοφορίοις ὑποστρωννύουσι τὴν θερμότητα τὴν κατὰ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἐκκόπτοντες*, a function known from Dioscorid. 3.121, Theophr. *HP* 3.18.2, Schol. Theoc. 4.25b (142.21-143.2 Wendel).<sup>39</sup> The Schol. here might not be providing just encyclopaedic information. *Κόνυζα* first appears in Arist. *HA* 534b28 and Theophr. *HP* 6.2.6 and then appears as poetic *κνύζα* in Theoc. 4.25, 7.68 and Nic. *Ther.* 70 (with *κόνυζα* in *Ther.* 83, 875, 942, *Alex.* 331, cf. *ibid.* 615 *κονυζῆεν φυτόν*). In *Ther.* 70 in a passage discussing herbs able to repel dangerous reptiles *κνύζα* is a plant used for *στιβάδες* and Schol. 70b (61.4-6 Crugnola, q.v.) report its use in the Thesmophoria too. As in Theoc., a couple of lines later, v. 73, asphodel appears in the same function. This plant is early enough linked to Persephone and the nether world, *Od.* 11.539 = 573 = 24.13 *κατ' ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα*, Luc. *Nec.* 11.<sup>40</sup> For those who have no better option

<sup>38</sup> On *stibas* see G-P on Antiph. *GPh* 9.1, Lembach 24-31. On the tough life on them cf. Alc. fr. 130b.1-2 with LI-J, *ZPE* 108 (1995), 35-7, Hippon. *IEG* 62, Aesch. *Ag.* 1540, Ar. *Birds* 816, Nicaenet. *HE* 4.3-5, Adesp. Pap. Eleg. *SH* 958.15-7, Bion *Epit. Adon.* 69-70 with Fantuzzi ad loc. and cf. *στιβαδοκοιτέω* "sleep on litter" in Polyb. 2.17.10. Euph. *CA* 161 pejoratively called those sleeping on the ground *χαματεῖναι*. Lycidas' *stibas* does not have much in common with the soft bedding in a symposium, cf. e.g. Sappho fr. 94.21 *στράμν[αν ἐ]πὶ μολθάκαν* in a banquet with garlands and perfumes and see K. Dover, *Plato, Symposium*, Cambridge 1981, 11, K. M. D. Dunbabin, "Triclinium and Stibadium" in W. J. Slater (ed.), *Dining in a Classical Context*, Ann Arbor 1991, 121-148.

<sup>39</sup> The same is said of *λύγος* or *ἄγνος* "chaste-tree" also used as *στιβάς* in the Thesmophoria, cf. Schol. Nic. *Ther.* 71a, b (61.7-15 Crugnola), or elsewhere, cf. Polyphemus in *Od.* 9.427-8, Nicaenet. *HE* 4, Alc. fr. 130.1-2.

<sup>40</sup> See Murr 240-3, Lembach 31-3. It is the classic offering to chthonic deities, Persephone, Demeter, Artemis and to chthonic Dionysus in Theoc. 26.3-4. Hatzikosta on Theoc. 7.68 quotes two passages from Modern Greek poetry influenced by *Od.* 11.538-9: G. Seferis, *Ἡμερολόγιο Καταστροφώματος Β'*, "Ὁ Στρατῆς ὁ Θαλασσινὸς ἀνάμεσα στοὺς ἀγαπάνθους": Δὲν ἔχει ἀσφοδίλια, μενεξέδες, μήτε

asphodel may serve as food as well, cf. Hes. *WD* 41, Theophr. *HP* 7.12.1, 7.13.3. Arist. *HA* 627a9 mentions it among the plants from which bees fetch wax for the comb. It may not be coincidental that Sudhoff 32 saw on his way to Bourina glades of asphodel.

Σέλινον "celery" is aromatic, cf. Theophr. *HP* 1.12.2, Theoc. 3.23 εὐόδομοισι σελίνοις, and is often used in garlands but in connection with στιβάδες it appears only in Diod. Sic. 16.79.3 ὑποζυγίων σέλινά κομιζόντων εἰς τὰς στιβάδας (Gow ad loc. and Lembach 34 miss this passage). A reference to it here is deliberately eccentric, but might be attributed to the attention paid to odours in the poem. The mystery is resolved though, when celery is seen as the classic plant of the dead. Hylas in Theoc. 13.42 ominously sees θάλλοντα σέλινά around the spring of the Nymphs, cf. [Mosch.] *Epit. Bion*. 100, Plut. *Tim*. 26.1 τὰ μνήματα τῶν νεκρῶν εἰώθαμεν ἐπεικῶς στεφανοῦν σελίνοις· καὶ παροιμία τις ἐκ τούτου γέγονεν, τὸν ἐπισφαλῶς νοσοῦντα δεῖσθαι τοῦ σελίνου, Timaeus *FGH* 566 F 118 = Plut. *quaest. conv.* 5.3.2, p. 676d δοκεῖ τὸ σέλινον ἐπικήδειον εἶναι etc., and for the proverb Suda τ 832 s.v. τοῦ σελίνου δεῖται, see Garland 26, 171.

A large part of this vocabulary is derived from scientific manuals and in a slightly altered form is introduced into poetry. The Demeter-background in Lycidas' garland, bed and song conceivably harks back to Ph.<sup>41</sup> But in what context? Lycidas lies on a *stibas* made of soft plants related to the goddess. In similar terms so do Theoc. and his friends in vv. 132-5 on a couch made of σχοῖνος "rush", cf. Ar. *Plut.* 540f., Theophr. *HP* 4.12, and freshly-stripped vine-leaves, as Laertes' summer couch in *Od.* 11.192-4. The plants strewn in Theoc.'s bed are not related to Demeter. But the vocabulary might be to *Demeter*. In v. 133 χαμευνίσιν is a form nowhere else attested. Theoc. uses elsewhere, 13.33 common χαμεύνη, as A.R. 3.1193, 4.883. Forms in -ις, cf. Ph. fr. 8 δμώιδες, appear in poem 7 more than usually and indeed in passages suspected of Philetan loans, v. 23 κορυδαλλίδες, v. 26 ἀρβυλίδεσσιν (Lycidas speaks), v. 133 χαμευνίσιν, v. 138 ὀροδαμνίσιν, v. 141 ἀκανθίδες, v. 155 Δάματρος

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ὑακίνθους / πῶς νὰ μιλήσεις μὲ τοὺς πεθαμένους; and a sonnet by L. Mavilis (souls of dead) Κι ἂν πιοῦν θολὸ νερὸ ἀναθυμοῦνται, / διαβαίνοντας, λιβάδια ἀπ' ἀσφοδίλι / πόνους παλιὸς ποῦ μέσα τους κοιμοῦνται. Cf. also G. Seferis, *Μυθιστόρημα Θ'*, "Εἶναι παλιὸ τὸ λιμάνι": Τ' ἄστρα τῆς νύχτας μὲ γυρίζουν στὴν πατρίδα / τοῦ Ὀδυσσεά γιὰ τοὺς νεκροὺς μὲς στ' ἀσφοδίλια. / Μὲς στ' ἀσφοδίλια σὰν ἀράξαμε ἐδῶ-πέρα θέλαμε νὰ βροῦμε / τὴ λαγκαδιὰ ποῦ εἶδε τὸν Ἄδωνι λαβωμένο.

<sup>41</sup> An intense Philetan presence in Lycidas' song was suspected on other premises by Bowie 79, who combining Theoc. 7 and Long.'s Philetas, thought that Lycidas is a character in a Philetan bucolic: "I would expect the song that Lycidas sings (52-89) to evoke the form, tone and detail of some Philetan poetry, while of course adapting it in Theoc.'s own manner to offer the reader provocative *imitatio*".

ἀλωίδος (final *locus amoenus*).<sup>42</sup> Οἰναρέοισιν from technical term οἰναρίζειν, Ar. *Peace* 1147, is an absolute hapax. In Babrius 34.1-2 vine leafs are used in a celebration of Demeter.

Demeter's concealed presence in the description of Lycidas' bed and probably in Theoc.'s vocabulary about his στιβάς may be significant. The plants mentioned in this context could not be part of a *locus amoenus*. There is no apparent reason for Theoc. to refer to Demeter in such a covert way in a poem expressly related to one of her festivals. Even less so to allude to Persephone and the Underworld. Perhaps Chalcon and Demeter strayed from the palace and then had to spend a night in the Coan countryside on στιβάδες made of plants of Demeter's choice. This would constitute an aetion for the beds that the women prepared on the bare ground during the second day ("Fasting") of the Thesmophoria in Athens and probably in Cos, a practice related to the notion of conducting the festival μιμούμενοι τὸν ἀρχαῖον βίον.<sup>43</sup> As in Call. *Hec.* the scenery would be downgraded from the luxury of the Coan palace to a more humble niveau with further opportunities for chatting, cf. the Argonauts in A.R. 1.450f. Ph.'s interest in the low is well exhibited in the objects of everyday use he discussed in *Ataktoi Glossai*. This may also account for Hesperus' role in Call. *HyDem.* 7-9 and may be related to the Ἐριφοὶ ἑσπέριοι "setting in the evening" in v. 53.

The unity of this nest of allusions to Ph. in Lycidas' song and in the *loca amoena* at the beginning and the end of the poem is guaranteed by their common association with Demeter and Persephone or the nether world. The flora of Lycidas as such has been discussed above. His happy motifs are also easily convertible to funerary. Garlands offered to the dead were, as nowadays, a common practice.<sup>44</sup> Ἀφυξῶ is vague; for libations of wine in funerals cf. e.g. *Il.* 23.219-21 (Achilleus) ἐλῶν δέπας

<sup>42</sup> Theoc. in general likes such forms, 1.9 οἶδα, 2.35 ἐρυθακίς, 4.59 ἐρωτίδα, 5.3, 139 ἀμνίδες, 5.50 ἀρνακίδας, 5.94 ὄρομαλίδες, 5.145 κερουχίδες (a frequency of bucolic terms in idyll 5), 11.7 πλοκαμίδος, 15.6 κρηπίδες, 15.21 περονατρίδα, 15.63 πρεσβύτις.

<sup>43</sup> Diod. Sic. 5.4 of the Syracusan women. On the religious *stibas* see J. M. Verpooten, "La stibas ou l'image de la brousse dans la société grecque", *RHR* 162 (1962), 147-60, Burkert 107 with 390 n. 79 and on *stibadeion* "grove of worship with *stibades*" see H. Lavagne, *Operosa Antra*, Rome 1988, 111-6. For the anaphrodisiac composition of the Thesmophoria-bedding see Burkert 443 n. 26 with reference to E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, Gießen 1910, 139-54.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 618 (the earliest reference), *Alcmaeonis EGF* 2.3, Eur. *Tro.* 1143-4 ὡς περιστείλης νεκρὸν / στεφάνοις, Ar. *PCG* 205.1. See Lattimore 135f., Fantuzzi on Bion *Epit. Adon.* 75, Blech 81f., Garland 26, 116: "Whether any religious significance attached to the rite remains unclear, though it is possible, as Lattimore suggests, that it contains an allusion to the belief that the buried dead help fertilise the earth and in this way are repaid for their favours".



ἀμφικύπελλον, / οἶνον ἀφυσσόμενος χαμάδις χέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν, / ψυχὴν  
 κικλήσκων Πατροκλῆος δειλοῖο with M. Andronikos, *Totenkult* in *AH W*, 26, 91f.,  
 Lattimore 127-8 and the joke on Anacr.'s tomb Anon. *FGE* 35a. In v. 66 assonant πᾶρ  
 πυρὶ κεκλιμένος (a *vox propria* for the "lying" of the dead; echoed in Eryc. *GPh* 7.4  
 (oxherd) παρ' δρυὶ κεκλιμένου/) is dubious. For στιβάς "grave" see *LSJ* s.v. (5) and  
 as a funeral bier cf. *Alcmaeonis EGF* 2.1-2 νέκυς δὲ χαμαιστρώτου ἔπι τείνας /  
 εὐρείης στιβάδος, Bion *Epit. Adon.* 69, Virg. *Aen.* 11.67 (dead Pallas to be laid)  
*agresti sublimis stramine*. Piping in vv. 71f. is the typical funerary music, see Garland  
 32-3, West (1992), 23-4.

The poplar in vv. 8 = 136 is found in Persephone's grove in the Underworld, *Od.*  
 10.509-510 ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης / μακραὶ τ' αἰγίροι καὶ ἰτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι and is  
 often connected with death, *Il.* 4.482f., A.R. 4.604, Nonn. *D.* 2.155, Orph. *Arg.* 953  
 πολυκλαύτων τ' αἰγείρων. The Odyssean ἰτέαι ὠλεσίκαρποι are replaced with the  
 similarly sounding and also fruitless πετέαι from an Iliadic context. Elms are planted  
 by the Nymphs around the tomb of Eetion in *Il.* 6.419-20 and the tree became a symbol  
 of grief. In Virg. *Aen.* 6.282-3 in the *vestibulum* of Hades *in medio ramos annosaque*  
*bracchia pandit / ulmus opaca, ingens*, see M. Schuster, *RE IX* (1961), 553-4 and cf.  
 the elms around Protesilaus' tomb said to lose their foliage when they grow high  
 enough to see the hated Trojan wall, Antiph. *GPh* 23.3-4, q.v., Thyill. *FGE* 2.5, *EG*  
 898.2 Kaibel ("Rom. aet."), Q.S. 7.408-9. Significantly both elm, cf. Theophr. *HP*  
 3.4.2, 3.14.2 (in 3.3.4 he says the question is disputed because a fruitful elm was  
 observed in Crete) and see M. Schuster, *RE IX* (1961), 545-6, and poplar, cf. Theophr.  
*HP* 3.14.2 and see Lembach 115-7, were (falsely) considered as trees which do not  
 produce any fruits. The grievous and carefully calculated construction seems to be  
 rather a direct loan from Ph., than a combination of two components picked up from  
 him.

In v. 140 ἀκάνθα, a Homeric hapax *Od.* 5.328, is a broad term denoting "thorn"  
 and is a classic sign of bareness and desolation of the land in which it appears; in  
 Theoc. it carries associations with the nether world, cf. Theoc. 1.132 (together with  
 βᾶτοι).<sup>45</sup> Βᾶτος, κακὴ λῶβη in Call. fr. 194.102, appears in Heracles' funerary pyre in  
 Theoc. 24.90. It is often exorcised from the tomb of a virtuous man, cf. Philod. *GPh*  
 26.8 (φῦε) μὴ βᾶτον ἀλλ' ἀπαλὰς λευκοῖων κάλυκας with G-P ad loc., *GVI* 1409.2,  
 2027.5 (both 2nd c. A.D.), but appears around the grave of vitriolic figures such as  
 Timon, cf. Hegesipp. *HE* 8.1, Zenod. *HE* 3.2, or Hippon., cf. Alc. Mess. *HE* 13.2.

<sup>45</sup> See Murr 272-4, M. C. P. Schmidt, *RE V* (1903), 1200-2, Lembach 82-4. The notion of desolation is  
 an enduring one, cf. A. Kalvos (1792-1869) *Odes* ἄκα' (destruction of Chios by the Turks 1822) Ὅχι  
 φῶ καὶ χαράν, / ἀμὴ φλογώδεις ἀκάνθας / βρέχει δι' αὐτοῦς ὁ ἥλιος.

In v. 144-5 ὄχλαι μὲν παρ ποσσὶ, παρὰ πλευραῖσι δὲ μάλα / δαφυλέως ἀμῖν ἐκυλίνδετο pears and apples are mentioned in one breath, as in Call. *HyDem.* 27-8 ἐν δὲ καὶ ὄχλαι, / ἐν δὲ καλὰ γλυκύμαλα in Demeter's sacred grove, cf. Demeter's μῆλα also in vv. 11, 136 and see Parker 361-3. One would hardly want to see a fortuitous point of contact here. The two are juxtaposed in Alcinous' garden in *Od.* 7.115 (quoted ff.) and 7.120 ὄγχνη ἐπ' ὄγχνη γηράσκει, μῆλον δ' ἐπὶ μήλω, in a passage that served as a model for fr. 15 and perhaps had a broader impact on a passage of *Demeter*, and in Laertes' garden in *Od.* 24.340-1. Both bear subterranean associations, *Od.* 11.589 = 7.115 ὄχλαι καὶ ῥοιαὶ καὶ μηλέαι ἀγλαόκαρποι in Hades, Theoc. 1.134 (Thyrsis' death), and Praxilla *PMG* 747.3 makes a good point when she says that death will deprive her of ὠραίους σικύους καὶ μῆλα καὶ ὄγχνας. Homeric 7x ὄγχνη had a short career as ὄχνη in Theoc. 1.134, 7.144, Nic. *Ther.* 513 reappearing much later in Pallad. *AP* 9.5.1, 4. Μῆλα are aromatic, Theophr. *De Odor.* 5, as pears, id. *CP* 6.16.2, and can denote "fruits" in general, see Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 136. What is probably meant here is the μῆλον Κυδώνιον "quince", an aromatic fruit deriving its name from a town in Crete, with sexual properties, cf. Athen. 3.81c and see S. Döpp, *Hermes* 125 (1995), 341-5, from which the Coans produced a famous perfume. Apples, as pomegranates, were resented by Demeter and her initiates in Eleusis abstained from them, Porph. *De Abst.* 4.16, see Wächter 106-7. Such products had an intense presence in *Demeter*. Κυδωνικὸν .. ἄνδρα of Lycidas in v. 12 might be of relevance here as another misplacement. The Odyssean characters claiming a fictitious identity often trace their origin in Crete and so does Demeter in *HHD* 122f. Μῆλα and ὄχλαι would hardly figure in the *locus amoenus* along with black poplars and elms. Picked up from Alcinous' garden they may have been transferred to the garden in Chalcon's palace, which as fr. 8 indicates, may have been described in some detail, or to the feasting table of the Coan king. But Theoc. throws all in the same basket. Βράβιλον in v. 146 is a dialect gloss (Rhodes and Sicily) first used in poetry here and in 12.3, where it is disparagingly contrasted to the apple. That non-cereal, wild fruits might have appeared in *Demeter* is not incompatible with the famine motif.

Philetan voices seem to cease in Simichidas' song. Schol. Theoc. 109-110d (105.21-3 Wendel) report of v. 110 (swear to Pan) ἐν κνίδαισι καθεύδοις that ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀγρία κνίδη, ἧς τὸν καρπὸν συλλέγουσιν, ὅταν τὸν πυρὸν ἀλοῶσιν. Vv. 118-9 βάλλετε μοι τόξοισι τὸν ἡμερόεντα Φιλῖνον, / βάλλετε, ἐπεὶ τὸν ξεῖνον ὁ δῦσμορος οὐκ ἐλεεῖ μεν bear some resemblance to Asclep., mentioned side by side with Ph. in v. 40, *HE* 17.2-5 †ἧ μὴ καὶ τόξοις† βάλλετε μ' ἀλλὰ κεραυνοῖς / καὶ πάντως τέφρην θέσθε με κἀνθρακίην. / ναὶ ναὶ βάλλετε, "Ἐρωτες etc., whence Posid. *HE* 5. A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 39 (1980), 7-27, esp. 25-7 acknowledged the intricate nature of Simichidas' song ("Coherence or Patch-work?") and turned to archaic poetry for

elucidation adducing Archil. *IEG* 196a.26-8 ~ Theoc. 7.120-4 and Hippon. *IEG* 6 ~ Theoc. 7.103f., see also Hunter 24-5.<sup>46</sup>

They resurface all the more strongly in the final section of the poem, vv. 128f. In v. 130 Πύξα awakes Philetan reminiscences, cf. fr. 11. In v. 133 occurs χαμευνίσιν; in v. 136 ἱερὸν ὕδωρ most probably flowed in Ph. too. In the same verse occurs αἴγειροι πετέλαι τε and in v. 138 ὀροδαμνίσιν might be Philetan too. That Theoc. picks up not only motifs, but also vocabulary is certain (at least) from v. 85 ὄριον ἔτος. Ὀρόδαμνος is glossed by Hesych. ο 1273 as κλώνες, κλάδοι, βλαστήματα, ὄρηκες. The term is picked up from Theophr. *HP* 9.16.3, where it applies to the big twigs of δίκταμον "dittany", a plant occurring, as nowadays, mostly in Crete. It is introduced into poetry and appears in the original form in Call. fr. 655, whence probably Antip. *Thess. GPh* 35.3, 106.3, and Nic. *Ther.* 863, *Alex.* 603 used of various trees or plants. In Theoc. it is a hapax and the elsewhere unattested -ις form may be meant to make the dependence clear. It would find a suitable place around Bourina, a locality with plenty of shade, cf. σκιαραῖς ὀροδαμνῆσι, and rare vocables.

V. 142 πωτῶντο ξουθαὶ περὶ πίδακας ἀμφὶ μέλισσαι reproduces a Philetan image and probably some Philetan diction. In v. 147 τετράενες (-ος P. von der Mühl, unnecessarily) has a distribution very similar to ἄστλιγγες. Δίενος and τρίενος occur in Theophr. *HP* 7.5.5. Then Theoc. uses it here with an altered form of a four-year old wine (cf. the different diction employed in 16.15-6 ἀνῶξα δὲ Βίβλινον αὐτοῖς / εὐώδη τετόρων ἐτέων; from Theoc. *Nonn. D.* 19.122 ἰκμάδα τετραέτηρον .. Λυαίου) and Call. fr. 33 τετράενος, of a child's age which, technically speaking, marks the end of infancy, cf. *HyAp.* 58. For four as a number with religious significance see A-H-S on *HHHerm.* 19. Remarkably, only Schol. Theoc. 7.147a (112.23-4 Wendel) provide the information that οἱ Ἀττικοὶ τὸ ἔτος ἔνος λέγουσιν, ἄλειφαρ δὲ τὴν ἀλοιφήν. Ph.'s interest in Attic vocables is certain with *Ataktoi* fr. 44 K. ὄμπνιος and with the warm welcome of this collection in Athens; the word might originally be his. As with other rarities in poem 7 Theoc. is likely to have preserved the original form (and Call. the context?). The word disappears afterwards. Greg. *Cor. De dial. Dor.* 90 mistook it for Dorian cl. Theoc. 7.147. Ἄλειφα is used next to ὄστλιγγες in Call. fr. 7.12 and is probably the term used for Demeter's anointed hair, see ff. on Call. *HyAp.* 38. In Ph., as in Theoc., the term would further extend the subterranean allusions in the *locus amoenus*. It almost always finds a funerary application as a *vox propria* for the aromatic unguent used to clean and preserve the body of the dead, *Il.* 18.351 ἐν δ'

<sup>46</sup> These parallels are convincing, but Theocritan reception may be second-hand. Hunter 27 noted that "if Bowie's hypothesis, or something like it, is correct, then the song of Lycidas may be full of Philitan echoes, and Theocritus' archaic models will have been mediated to him through prior reworkings in Philitas".

ᾠτειλᾶς πλῆσαν ἀλείφατος, *Il.* 23.170, *Od.* 24.44-5 καθήραντες χροῖα καλόν / ὕδατι τε λιαρῶ καὶ ἀλείφατι, 24.67, *Bion Epit. Adon.* 67, Q.S. 14.265 of olive-oil in a simile of funerary context. The expression (πίθων ἀπελύετο) κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ seems to be another misplacement from Demeter's unguent head to the head of the wine-jars.

Two different kind of Nymphs appear in idyll 7. In v. 92 Coan Nymphs teach Simichidas how to write good poetry, a function they often assume in Theoc., see Gow ad loc., *Kambylis* 38f. In v. 136-7 τὸ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ / Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε water is flowing from a grove sacred to the Nymphs of Cos. The same Nymphs are said to mingle the wine in Phrasidamus' farm in v. 154. The Castalian Nymphs of Parnassus appear as patrons of two different poetic themes in v. 148. Castalis is a stream in Parnassus, the place *par excellence* for the cult of Nymphs, cf. *Soph. Ant.* 1126-30, *A.R.* 2.711, *Call. fr.* 75.56-8, see P. Amantry, *L'Antre Corycien* II, Paris-Athens 1984, 395-425. Their sudden appearance in Theoc. is surprising, but is perhaps due to his intended claim for inspiration from a source enjoying universal, not only local, recognition. The Coan nymphs are placed under those of Castalia. In a rhetorical question they are said to have mixed a wine paralleled to the wines of Polyphemos/Odysseus and Chiron/Heracles.<sup>47</sup> These subjects involving monstrous mythical creatures treated in a light way might have been dealt with by Ph. in now lost poems, but are here adduced with their notoriously ill-fated outcome resulting in mutilation and death respectively, see M. Fantuzzi, *PCPS* 41 (1995), 28-9, who noted that "both questions which Theoc. asks the Nymphae imply in fact a negative answer" (p. 28). Since the answer to the question whether the wine in these stories was the same like the one next to Demeter's altar is negative, Theoc. might hint at those poems as inferior to *Demeter* the way Call. does in the *Aetia*-prologue. The Cyrenean would then state in that passage not just his own opinion, but one commonly held in certain circles in Alexandria. For the Nymphs' association with death see Fantuzzi on *Bion Epit. Adon.* 19.

The possibility itself that Coan Nymphs appeared in a divine ambience in *Demeter* gains considerable support from a number of indications.<sup>48</sup> Demeter and Nymphs shared a cultic affinity due to their common association with vegetation,

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<sup>47</sup> Pholus' hospitality to Heracles provides plenty of comic footholds, cf. [Appolod.] 2.5.4 and the reference in Theoc. is the next attestation after Stesich. *PMGF* S 19.

<sup>48</sup> Bowie 84 attributed the Nymphs in Theoc. and Long. to Ph. on the basis of the combination of Theoc. 7.138-9 and Long. 1.4.3. From Prop. 3.3 he cautiously gave him the Castalian Nymphs as well. Thomas 63-4, who found Bowie's "a fascinating article ... largely convincing in its broad and major conclusions", adopted the idea of bucolic Nymphs and presented a *Stemma Nymphorum* from Ph. to Theoc. 7, Virg. *Ecl.* 1, the garden of Corycius in *Georg.* 4 and Long.

water and springs.<sup>49</sup> Nymphs were broadly worshipped in Cos and a tradition surviving through Pliny *NH* 5.134 held that one of the island's previous names was *Nymphaia*. In local religion a link seems to have been established early enough: "The link between the Nymphs and Demeter in Cos may be of considerable antiquity since the archaic sanctuary of Demeter and Core was centred on a spring-house".<sup>50</sup> Water and vegetation conceivably played a considerable role in *Demeter* and Ph. might have given to the lovely creatures a place in his *locus amoenus*. Literary considerations tell us more: Nymphs appear in *Od.* 17.208-211 ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αἰγείρων ὕδατοτρεφέων ἦν ἄλλος, / πάντοσε κυκλοτερές, κατὰ δὲ ψυχρὸν ῥέεν ὕδωρ / ὑπόθεν ἐκ πέτρης· βωμὸς δ' ἐφύπερθε τέτυκτο / Νυμφάων, ὅθι πάντες ἐπιρρέζεσκον ὀδίται, in a passage which is the main prototype for the articulation of the landscape around Bourina. They also figure as Persephone's companions in *HHD* 5 and often henceforth. Then Nymphs appear next to poplars *and* in a Demeter-ambience in *Theoc.* 7 (in Cos) and in Demeter's grove in *Call. HyDem.* 37-8 ἦς δὲ τις αἰγείρος, μέγα δένδρεον αἰθέρι κῦρον, / τῷ ἔπι ταὶ νύμφαι ποτὶ τῶνδιον ἐπιόωντο, whence *Ov. Met.* 8.746-50, in passages overtly alluding to Ph. As in these, Nymphs would appear in *Demeter* at noon-time close to poplars and elms, both growing in the vicinity of water sources and favoured by the divine creatures, cf. for the association with the latter *Il.* 6.421, Hesych. s.v. Πτελεάδες and see G-P on *Antiph. GPh* 23.3-4.

In vv. 156-7 ἃ δὲ γελάσσαι / \*δράγματα καὶ μάκωνας ἐν ἀμφοτέροισιν ἔχουσα Demeter is made to laugh, not because of anything funny, as usually, but because as a goddess related to poetry she approves of *Theoc.* She holds in either hand handfuls of corn and poppies. Both are very common attributes of hers and both appear in *Call. HyDem.* 19-20 κάλλιον, ὡς καλάμαν τε καὶ ἱερὰ δράγματα πράτα / ἀσταχύων ἀπέκοψε and esp. 43-4 (Demeter disguised as a priestess) γέντο δὲ χειρὶ / \*στέμματα καὶ μάκωνα. *Theoc.* seems to preserve the original. *Call.* having used δράγματα above recalls similarly sounding στέμματα from *Il.* 1.14 /\*στέμματ' ἔχων ἐν χερσὶν

<sup>49</sup> Mnaseas of Patara *apud* Schol. *Pind. Pyth.* 4.106a (II.112.20-113.11 Drachmann) in a heretical appropriation of Demeter's beneficence credited the Nymphs with putting an end to eating raw flesh and establishing civilised food. One of them, Melissa, invented apiculture and gave her name to the honey-producing insects. Ἄνευ γὰρ Νυμφῶν οὔτε Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τιμᾶται διὰ τὸ ταύτας πρώτας καρπὸν ἀποδείξει καὶ τὴν ἀλληλοφαγίαν παύσαι καὶ περιβλήματα χάριν αἰδοῦς ἐξ ὕλης ἐπινοῆσαι etc. In *Orph. Hy.* 51.16 Nymphs are evoked as σὺν Βάκχῳ Δηοῖ τε χάριν θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι, cf. *Antip. Thess. GPh* 82.3, *Paus.* 5.20.3, *Long.* 4.13 and see H. Herter, *RE* XVII (1936), 1572-3, Richardson on *HHD* 5 noting their frequent participation in scenes of abduction. They also appear along with the Graces in the reconciliation scene in *Philic. SH* 680.31-2, 51.

<sup>50</sup> *Sh-W* 329, see also on this ancient cult M. Segre, *RIA* 6 (1938), 191-8. Cf. in Cos *LSCG* 152 (4th c.), 153 (3rd c.), *IdC* ED 81 = 44 P-H (ex. 3rd c.), *IdC* ED 186.6 (2nd c.).

(ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος) of the Chryses-supplication providing diction to this passage, cf. also Philic. *SH* 680.60 στέμματα on Demeter's head, in Cos *HG* 1.30, 37 (ca 300) and in general Sokolowski on *LSCG* 17B.22. Μήκων is a Homeric hapax, *Il.* 8.306, associated with death, cf. also Stesich. *PMGF* S 257i.9. This static image common to Theoc. and Call. may hark back to Ph.

We will probably never be able to appreciate idyll 7 in its full depth without solid evidence from its *Demeter*-background. It can still, however, be determined that the reception of Ph. is intensively recreative. Lycidas' song consists of motifs from *Demeter*, employed in a completely different, often deliberately ill-assorted, "Theocritean" context. Diction strongly suspected of having been derived from Ph. is conglomerated to form novel constructions. Perhaps borrowed plants would be enriched with some additions of Theoc.'s own. The whole poem seems to have been conceived as a πᾶν ἐπ' ἀλαθείᾳ πεπλασμένον (v. 44) composition. As a result of this massive heterogenous accumulation in the final scene reality is completely abandoned.<sup>51</sup> Acoustically the cicada sings together with the frog, inconspicuous and non-melodic birds are brought together with melodic ones. Why all this? The profusion of the description, as Hutchinson 209-212 observed, functions as a climax: "Theoc. is now excelling the poets he has shown us". The final incoherent and non-pragmatic scenery is the world of insuperable Theocritean poetics. The eventual destination was rudimentarily anticipated at the beginning of the poem. But when the poet accomplished his route, his initial aspiration is lavishly surpassed.

Even if only some of the above considerations happen to be true, idyll 7 as a matter of fact begins and ends with Philetan images. The main narration is contained between two idyllic sceneries, the one being an expanded version of the other. The correspondences are meant to be unmistakable, cf. vv. 1-2 ~ vv. 131-2 (Simichidas, Eucritus, Amyntas), v. 7f. ~ vv. 135f. (sources and their surroundings). This falls happily within what one could call Theoc.'s "cluster technique", i.e. a scenery at the beginning of the poem more or less reappearing at the end to round it off. But their stressed Philetan colour gives them a special significance. The route takes place under the auspice of the Coan. His vocabulary and motifs are freely used. There is no doubt that Theoc. pays some sort of tribute to the poetry of the old master, just as there is no doubt that he regarded himself a poet superior to him, cf. vv. 40-1. Ironically his superiority is articulated in predominantly Philetan terms; and ironically abundant vegetation consists of fruitless trees or plants related to the bareness of land, just as the lovely locale in what is supposed to be Phrasidamus' private estate consists of plants bearing gloomy associations with the chthonic world. Other elements, as celery in

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<sup>51</sup> See Schönbeck 77, Arnott 333-346, Pearce 294f. Curiously, Lembach 19-21 regarded Alcinous' garden in the *Od.* as a "Wundergarten" while that of Phrasidamus in Theoc. 7 as "mehr alltäglich".

Lycidas' *stibas*, are pointedly misplaced. The final effect is confusing. Ph.'s uncanny misreception has an ironic touch. It multiplies contradictions figuring in *Demeter*, such as a sorrowful mother in agreeable scenery or famine with abundant vegetation, and apparently constitutes Theoc.'s self-styled comment on an unreserved admiration for Ph. in his day.

Poem 7 is a very personal creation and refers primarily to its creator himself. Unlike Ph.'s "public" poem paying attention more to the Thesmophoria, the context of idyll 7 is a private festival of Demeter. His friends Eucritus and Amyntas are only mentioned at the beginning and the corresponding end and experience nothing of the encounter with Lycidas. The same is true for Phrasidamus. They all look like ornamental elements used to set up an illusionary context. Similarly the *locus amoenus* is not secularised, it belongs only to the few initiated. The route to it is not an event confined in time, but rather part of his own poetic route towards mature superiority. External influences are radically transformed to accord with his own requirements. Idyll 7, it emerges clearly, is above all a homage to Theoc. himself.

#### b) Callimachus.

That Call. absorbed more *Demeter* in *HyAp.* than in *HyDem.* is not as curious as it would at first seem. The hymn celebrates Apollo, the god most honoured in Cyrene.<sup>52</sup> Call. uses the opportunity to unfold his feelings about him and the city that gave him birth. The poem's affinity with *Demeter* relies on Cyrene's similarity to Cos and Apollo's similarity to Demeter. At the end the two parameters converge upon establishing Call.'s poetic alliance with Ph. Surviving indications of the undisputable influence of Ph. on Call. made Pfeiffer (1968), 284 postulate a close affinity between the two poems. He then thought of this as a "rather harsh suggestion", but his philological instinct was almost certainly correct.

Cyrene, as Cos, "perhaps because of its remoteness from the main centres of Greek life ... inspired warm, indeed affectionate feelings in her children until the end of antiquity, when Synesius was bishop of Ptolemais, the city of the Cyrenaean Pentapolis", Fraser I, 786. Both were Dorian, cf. v. 89 emphatic Δωριέες. The festival with which the hymn is brought into connection is the Carneia, a typically Dorian celebration of Apollo<sup>53</sup> and the vocabulary employed has a strong Doric colour, as e.g.

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<sup>52</sup> See Chamoux 301-311, Fraser I, 653-6, A. Laronde, *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique*, Paris 1987, 169-171. Apollo's already archaic temple in Cyrene was right in the centre of the city, Demeter's outside the city-limits.

<sup>53</sup> See Farnell IV, 131f., Gow on Theoc. 5.83 and cf. in Cos *HG* 2 = *IdC* ED 241, *IdC* ED 174.1 (both 4th c.; month Carneios), *HG* p. 35(p), an altar plaque dated in the 3rd c., *IdC* EV 219.8-9, EV 226.8

v. 41 *πρῶκες* or v. 87 *τέθμιαι*. In both poems the origins of either place are traced back to their original settlers. Interestingly both have a Thessalian connection. Call.'s version accepts a Thessalian settlement in Thera, cf. v. 95 and see Williams on v. 89, from where the settlers sailed off to Libya. As Cos, Cyrene is fertile, v. 65 *βαθύγειον ἐμὴν πόλιν* (note the technical term employed; for *βαθύς* "fertile, wealthy" see Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 113 *βαθὺν οἶκον*). It also has a water source dedicated to the central deity, v. 98 *πηγῆσι Κύρης*, related also to the name of the city, and a legendary king with the same name, v. 92 Eurypylyus, and the same father, Poseidon, both of whom lived one generation before the events narrated in either poem. Remarkably, Call. follows (rather than creates) the conciliatory version about the relations between settlers and locals: Eurypylyus peacefully offered his kingdom to Nymph Cyrene as a prize for killing a lion ravaging his flocks.<sup>54</sup> And as in Cos, Cyrenean nobility is associated with the main god of the city and enjoys high patronage from him. In both poems it is the local cult of Demeter and Apollo respectively on which emphasis is laid, cf. esp. vv. 69-71. Most importantly, Call. is devoted to Cyrene no less than Ph. to Cos.<sup>55</sup>

As for Cyrenean Apollo, he experiences a calculated adjustment to the requirements set by Coan Demeter. In vv. 26-7 Apollo's alliance with the Alexandrian king is established. These affinities occur mostly in the aretalogy section, vv. 32-64. In vv. 38-41 attention is diverted to his eternal beauty and his anointed hair. In vv. 43-4,

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(both 1st c. A.D.), see Sh-W 302, Craik 211. Some points of contact in the religion of Cos and Cyrene are discussed in Herzog, *HG*, 55-6.

<sup>54</sup> The episode of the Nymph Cyrene slaying the lion is usually situated in Thessaly and aims at protecting the flocks of her father, cf. [Hes.] fr. 215, Pind. *Pyth.* 9.13f., 31f., A.R. 2.500f. Call. is the first evidencing the displacement in Cyrenaica, but is unlikely to be the inventor himself. He rather follows a local tradition reported also by Acesander *FGH* 469 F 4 (of unknown date), see Williams on v. 91, C. Calame in Harder 41 n. 8.

<sup>55</sup> For Call.'s love of Cyrene cf. above all *HyAp.* 65-96, *HE* 29, 32, the former evidencing that his family played a leading role in local society, fr. 602, on which see Fraser II, 1098-9 n. 516, fr. 75.58-9 if (Aristaeus) *Κυρή[νης] / υἱό[ς]* is to be read (see A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 11-3) and see Pfeiffer II, xxxviii-xxxix, Fraser I, 786-9, II, 1095 n. 495, R. Nicolai, "Cirene, Carneia e Callimaco", *MD* 28 (1992), 153-173, L. Lehnus, "Antichita Cirenaiche in Callimaco", *Eikasmos* 5 (1994), 189-207. Cameron (1995), 9-11 held that some of Call.'s poems including the *HyAp.* were written in Cyrene at a later stage in Call.'s life. On Cyrene's foundation myth see W. Leschhorn, *Gründer der Stadt*, Stuttgart 1984, 60-72 and on Apollo Archegetes *ibid.*, 109-115, C. Calame in L. Edmunds (ed.), *Approaches to Greek Myth*, Baltimore 1990, 277-341 (pp. 319-21 on Call. *HyAp.* ~ Cyrene). On the town's place in the Hellenistic world see also B. Gentili (ed.), *Cirene. Storia, mito, letteratura*, Urbino 1990, F. Montanari *Spazio letterario*, 636-8, J. M. Reynolds, <sup>3</sup>*OCD*, 421-2.



cf. v. 19, his paradoxical *provinciae* of poetry and war are stressed, see K. Bassi, *TAPA* 119 (1989), 219-231, of particular importance in a poem involving polemics over poetics. In vv. 45-6, cf. vv. 39-40, Apollo's medical capacity elicits attention, cf. e.g. A.R. 4.1511-2. Apollo is also νόμιος, vv. 47f. All these appeared as features of Demeter in Ph. His capacity as *ktistes*, vv. 55f. finds no parallel with Demeter, but the construction of his altar in Delos bears a similarity with Demeter ordering the construction of her temple in Eleusis, *HHD* 270f. The lack of correspondence is made up by an elaborate and protracted echo of fr. 21 in vv. 56-7. In vv. 65f. Φοῖβος καὶ βαθύγειον ἔμην πόλιν ἔφρασε Βάττω / ... / ... καὶ ὤμοσε τείχεα δώσειν / ἡμετέροις βασιλευσιν· ἀεὶ δ' εὖορκος Ἀπόλλων the Cyrenean nobility, the Battiads, is placed under the immediate patronage of Phoebus. In vv. 80-3 on Apollo's altar grow a variety of flowers. In vv. 93-6 the mutually beneficial commitment of Apollo and the deme of Cyrene concludes the section on Call.: οὐδὲ πόλει τόσ' ἔδειμεν ὀφέλιμα, τόσσα Κυρήνη, / μνωόμενος προτέρης ἀρπακτύος. οὐδὲ μὲν αὐτοῖ / Βαττιάδαι Φοῖβοιο πλέον θεὸν ἄλλον ἔτισαν. In the final passage the two gods appear united as patrons of good poetry.

It does not take much to establish that the two poems are *in principio* parallel.<sup>56</sup> It is highly likely that an eventual increase in Philetan verses, a prospect with only slight probability, would cast more light on what seems to have been a quite close affinity. But let us turn to the specifics.

Ὀρπηξ is a word suitable to shady vegetation. It is a Homeric hapax, *Il.* 21.38 in a passage narrating the death of Priamid Lycaon, and appears in Hellenistic poetry in Theoc. 7.147 as hapax, cf. also [25]. 248, Call. *HyAp.* 1, fr. 194.10, A.R. 1.1425, 4.1425, Nic. *Ther.* 33, *GVI* 1913.4 (3rd c.). We cannot say which word Ph. employed for the sanctified palace of Chalcon. Μέλαθρον in v. 2 aptly comprises both meanings "palace" and "temple". Antim. fr. 33.2 (Ladon) Δήμητρος τόθι φασὶν Ἐρινύος εἶναι ἔδεθλον first uses ἔδεθλον (secular in Aesch. *Ag.* 776) in the sense "shrine" as in *HyAp.* 72. If indeed Apollo's sublime theophany at the very outset of the hymn contains two direct allusions to Ph., the aphorism ἐκάς ἐκάς ὅστις ἀλιτρός acquires a strengthened poetic significance. In vv. 4-5 appear the palm-tree of Delos and the swan, both closely associated with Apollo: οὐχ ὀράας; ἐπένευσεν ὁ Δῆλιος ἠδύ τι φοῖνιξ / ἐξαπίνης, ὁ δὲ κύκνος ἐν ἠέρι καλὸν ἀεῖδει. They adapt to Apollo's requirements the Coan plane-tree and the bees, Demeter's sacred insect. The animals are generally said to be sensitive enough to perceive the presence of a god, cf. *Od.* 16.161, Theoc. 2.35-6 (dogs in both passages) and see Bulloch on Call. *HyPal.* 2. Dependence on Ph. is suggested by the affinity of the two animals to their respective deities and to each other, as pure and poetic creatures (the swan already sings).

<sup>56</sup> The modelling of *HyAp.* on *Demeter* speaks too for an early date for this hymn's composition.

The manifold witticism in v. 16 ἐπεὶ χέλυς οὐκέτ' ἀεργός is inspired by Ph. fr. 9.1 γηρύσαιτο δὲ νεβρός. Demeter's pipes are substituted with Apollo's lyre. Mute animals are said to produce musical instruments. The marvel is absent from Call. but he surpasses his prototype with ἀεργός, which makes the additional point that the proverbially slow tortoise turns into an instrument producing the quick motion of dance. In vv. 20-4 Call. probably makes multiple references to Ph.:

οὐδὲ Θέτις Ἀχιλλῆα κινύρεται αἴλινα μήτηρ,  
ὀπόθ' ἰὴ παιῆον ἰὴ παιῆον ἀκούση.  
καὶ μὲν ὁ δακρυόεις ἀναβάλλεται ἄλγεα πέτρος,  
ὅστις ἐνὶ Φρυγίῃ διερός λίθος ἐστήρικται,  
μάρμαρον ἀντὶ γυναικὸς οἰζυρόν τι χανούσης.

Thetis and Niobe, both *matres dolorosae*, may be referred to as covert parallels to Demeter. Due to Apollo's vindictiveness they have both lost their offspring but, as Demeter in Ph., their pain is now assuaged with music. In Call. Apollo's *paieon* is fittingly heard.<sup>57</sup> More specifically in vv. 22-4 the Cyrenean follows the Coan in making a reference to the contested *Il.* 24.614-7. But this is not all. V. 22 (Niobe) ἀναβάλλεται \*ἄλγεα πέτρος glances at fr. 18.1 (Demeter) \*ἄλγεα πέσσειν. On a superficial level ἀναβάλλεται means "put off" and the Schol. indeed render it ὑπερτίθεται "delays". But with it Call. points to a version of the myth according to which Niobe was punished for making fun of the Letoids' clothes. Hyg. *Fab.* 9.2, see A. Lesky, *RE* XVII (1936), 662, preserves the story: *Amphion in coniugium Niobam Tantalī et Diones filiam accepit, ex qua procreavit liberos septem totidemque filias; quem partum Niobe Latonae anteposuit, superbiorque locuta est in Apollinem et Dianam quod illa cincta viri cultu esset, et Apollo vestem deorsum .. atque crinitus, et se numero filiorum Latonam superare (3) ob id Apollo etc.* This is a much older version. Some scholars have discerned a reference to it in Aesch. *Niobe* fr. 155 Ἴστρος τοιαύτας παρθένους ἐξεύχεται / τρέφειν ὃ θ' ἄγνός Φῶσις with Radt. ad loc. Archaic lyric poetry dealt with the myth extensively and the feature could go back to it. In Simias *CA* 5 = Parth. 33 the ἔρις between Niobe and Leto is περὶ καλλιτεκνίας, cf. also Schol. *D Il.* 24.602 ἐπαρθεῖσά τε τῷ πλήθει τῶν παίδων καὶ τῇ καλλονῇ ὠνείδιζε τῇ Λητοῖ ὅτι δύο μόνους ἐγέννησεν ... καὶ ὅτι εὐτεκνοτέρα αὐτῆς ἐστίν, a version treated by Euph. *CA* 102. The Callimachean expression plays with the double meaning of ἀναβάλλεται as "delays" and as vernacular "puts on", see *LSJ* s.v. B.III

<sup>57</sup> On Paean and its association with Apollo see L. Deubner, *Kl. Schr.*, Königstein-Taunus 1982, 204-225, L. Käppel, *Paian. Studien zur Geschichte einer Gattung*, Berlin-N.Y. 1992. It is later replaced by *nomos*, see I. Rutherford, *CPh* 90 (1995), 354-361.

(mostly comedy). Its parallelism with Ph. (along with its evident debt to *Il.* 24.614f.) is clear: as Demeter digests not food but griefs, fr. 18.1 ἄλγεα πέσσειν, so Niobe does not put on clothes but griefs. The surprising πέτρος acoustically prompts πέσσω. The extended application of ἀναβάλλομαι finds a good parallel with Homeric ἐνδύω, always used of putting on clothes, except *Il.* 19.366-7 ἐν δέ οἱ ἦτορ / δῦν' ἄχος ἄτλητον of Achilles ready to wear his new armour, see Richardson on *Il.* 23.622. Vv. 16 and 22 prove Call. a superb master of *receptio cum variatione*. Other words playing with two possible meanings in the same passage are v. 19 ἔντεα "weapons" or "musical instruments" and v. 23 διερός "living" or "wet", see F. Williams, *MPhL* 5 (1981), 84-93.

In v. 33 τό τ' ἄεμμα τὸ Λύκτιον Call. discussing Apollo's bow and quiver directly borrows Ph.'s ἄεμμα. This has been argued in fr. 11 to be a Cretan gloss, which Call. has additional reasons to take up considering the contribution of the Cretans to the foundation of Cyrene. According to Hdt. 4.151, 154, 161, to whom Call. v. 65f. is indebted for his extensive treatment on the subject (4.150-165), Battos was a son of Cretan Oaxos, and Agroitas *FGH* 762 F 1 reports that the Nymph Cyrene was snatched away by Apollo first to Crete and then to Libya, see Chamoux 99-102, Vian on A.R. 4.1497. In v. 37 θηλείαις οὐδ' ὅσον ἐπὶ χνόος ἦλθε παρειαῖς the word is of Phoebus' everlasting youth. Οὐδ' ὅσον perhaps refers to a memorable coinage by Ph. occurring (at least) in *Hermes* fr. 5.2. Elsewhere in Call. only *HE* 3.9 οὐδ' ὅσον ἀττάραγον and probably *SH* 259.3 οὐδ' ὅσον ἐ., cf. also *HyAp.* 42 οὔτις τόσον ὅσον. Ἐπὶ χνόος ἦλθε echoes fr. 18.1 ἐπὶ χρόνος ἔλθη. Vv. 38-41 transfer to Apollo several remarkable features of Demeter in Ph.:

αἱ δὲ κόμαι θυόεντα πέδω λείβουσιν ἔλαια·  
οὐ λίπος Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποστάζουσιν ἔθειραι  
ἀλλ' αὐτὴν Πανάκειαν· ἐν ἄστει δ' ᾧ κεν ἐκεῖνα  
πρῶκες ἔραζε πέσσωσιν, ἀκήρια πάντ' ἐγένοντο.

First Apollo's hair is attended to. Apollo *effeminatus*, cf. v. 37 θηλείαις ... παρειαῖς, and ἀκερσικόμης shares this feature with Demeter. Call. avoids using ἄστλιγγες/ὄστλιγγες; this he keeps for another passage – and ἄεμμα precedes in v. 33. Instead he employs κόμαι, ἔθειραι. Elsewhere he also uses βόστρυχος, πλόκαμος, τρίχες, χαίτη. V. 38 contains three words possibly picked up from *HHD*: Κόμαι occurs in Homer only *Il.* 17.51, then *HHD* 279, both times without the article. Θυόεις in Homer only *Il.* 15.153 of a cloud in which Zeus is wrapped, but is mostly connected with Demeter, *HHD* 97, 318, 490 of Eleusis blessed by the goddess' presence, cf. also Pampr. 3.120. In Call. also *HyDel.* 300, fr. 229.15. The adj. is always in Hellenistic poetry linked to the divine, see Campbell on Mosch. *Eur.* 68 and cf. *GVI* 267.1

(2nd/3rd c.), and could well have become an attribute of Demeter herself in Ph.'s fragrant scenery before its application to Apollo's hair. Πέδωφ is picked up (by whom?) from *HHD* 455.

Phoebus' hairs are said to drip aromatic unguents, as the statue of the graces in Call. fr. 7.12 (quoted ff.). Odours in *Demeter* would have an intense presence. Demeter's divine fragrance is stressed in *HHD* 277-9:

ὄδμη δ' ἱμερόεσσα θυθέντων ἀπὸ πέπλων  
σκίδνατο, τῆλε δὲ φέγγος ἀπὸ χροῶς ἀθανάτοιο  
λάμπε θεᾶς, ξανθαὶ δὲ κόμαι κατενήνοθεν ὤμους.

Gods commonly give out a sweet odour, see Lilja 19f., 25f., Richardson 252, Williams on Call. *HyAp.* 38 and on the perfumed hair of a godhead Gerbeau on Nonn. *D.* 18.351 (add Aphrodite in Virg. *Aen.* 1.403-4). Ph. would not ignore the reference in the Homeric Hymn, not least since Cos, as Cyrenaica, was famous for its aromatic unguents, esp. marjoram and quince, cf. Athen. 15.668e-f drawing on Apollonius' medical treatise *Περὶ Μύρων* of the 1st c. A.D. and see P-H xliii, Sh-W 242-3 who draws attention to the name Ἀρωματίνη attested in an inscription in Isthmus nr 425 P-H. That Demeter as a matter of principle does not wash herself, cf. *HHD* 50, Call. *HyDem.* 12 = 16, is a fittingly ironic contradiction. Ph.'s divine fragrance intensely perfumes Theoc.'s *locus amoenus*, 7.132-4 where Theoc. and his friends ἐν τε βαθείαις / ἀδείας σχοίνοιο χαμευνίσιν ἐκλίθημες / ἐν τε νεοτμάτοισι γεγαθότες οἰναρέοισι in a locale where πάντ' ὄσδεν θέρεος μάλα πίονος, ὄσδε δ' ὀπώρας and cf. the aromatic plants scattered throughout the poem.

Apollo's fragrance in this passage is also directly indebted to Demeter's. "Ἐλαία in the sense "drops of unction" is novel. It is paralleled in the singular with *Il.* 23.186, *Od.* 7.107, *HH* 24.3 (Hestia-statue) αἰεὶ σῶν πλοκάμων ἀπολείβεται ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον. The notion of greasy aroma could hark back to *Demeter*. Theophr. *De Odor.* 26 informs us that famous Coan quince-perfume consists of a mixture of olive oil and quince, a recipe valid for most perfumes in antiquity, cf. Theophr. *op.c.* 7f. and see Bulloch on Call. *HyPal.* 16 on Athena's hated χρίματα μεικτά. At a cultic level unguent drops falling from the tresses of the goddess – for the tears she cannot shed? – would account for the habit of her initiates of anointing their στέμματα with fragrant unguents, cf. Philic. *SH* 680.38, q.v. [μ]υ[ρη]ρούς (suppl. Ll-J - Parsons) σοι λιπανοῦσι κλῶνας. Oil was also poured on offerings to Demeter in Phigalia, Paus. 8.43.11. The motif is fittingly reproduced in Call. as in Cyrenaica in addition to ἐλαῖαι .. κάλλισται καὶ ἔλαιον πλεῖστον, Theophr. *HP* 4.3.1, there were famous perfumes esp. of roses and crocus, cf. Theophr. *HP* 6.65, *CP* 6.18.3. Philetan diction, however, seems to be reproduced in fr. 7.12 ἀπ' ὀστλίγγων δ' αἰὲν ἄλειφα ῥέει of the anointed

head of a statue of the Graces in Paros. "Οστλιγγες is picked up from Ph. fr. 19. "Αλειφα is hapax in Call. and occurs also in Theoc. 7.147 πίθων ἀπελύετο κρατὸς ἄλειφαρ in a deliberately different context and 18.45 of the ritualistic smooth oil for Helen's cult-statue under a shady plane-tree in Sparta, both times as ἄλειφαρ. Probably it was the word employed for the unguent drops from Demeter's locks. If so, plural ἔλαια is meant to be an echo of the Philetan term.

In the elegant vv. 39-40 note the strong alliteration οὐ λίπος Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποστάζουσιν .. / ... Πανάκειαν ... ὧ κεν ἐκείναι and the homoeoteleuton ἔθειραι / ἐκείναι. Apollo's locks drip οὐ λίπος (vulgar grease) but αὐτὴν Πανάκειαν. Panacea is a minor medicinal deity, daughter of Asclepius, and as a substantive a name of different plants of medicinal use, Theophr. *HP* 9.11.1-3. It may hark back to Ph. since a) it flows from Apollo's hair, a motif conceivably occurring in *Demeter*, in which the goddess might have been presented as having medicinal capabilities, b) a proper reference to medicine and Apollo in the Hymn occurs in vv. 45-6 and c) Panacea was worshipped in Cos in association with Asclepius. Herodas 4.5-6 κῶνπερ οἶδε τίμιοι βομοί / Πανάκη τε etc. testifies to an altar of hers outside the Coan Asclepieion, which is confirmed by excavations.<sup>58</sup> In v. 41 πρῶκες is a Doric word, Greg. *Cor. De dial. Dor.* 93, recurring in Theoc. 4.16 which echoes πρῶκιον in Call. fr. 1.34. "Εραζε "to the ground" occurs always at the end of the verse except here and [Theoc.] 25.265 (before the caesura). Here it violates Meyer's first law (words of shape x - - do not end in the second foot), the only other instance in Call. occurring in *HyDem.* 91. Hollis 19-20 wondered if the violation means to produce a special effect. Ἀκήρια "unharmful, safe" has a medical colour, cf. Schol. ad loc. (p. 50.41 Pf., q.v.) ἄνοσα καὶ ἀφθάρτα, and though it should not be confused with ἀκήρατα or ἀκηράσια, see Vian on A.R. 4.159, it implies purity. Apollo's healing power renders him the pure god *par excellence*, see Parker 393. A cathartic law found in Cyrene and dated to the last quarter of the 4th c. *LSS* 115 prescribes purificatory restrictions allegedly decreed by Apollo, see Parker 332-51 with further bibliography. Purity was of exceptional concern to Demeter, the Coans and Ph. and it will reappear with its poetic symbolism at the end of the Hymn.

In the passage discussing Apollo *nomios*, vv. 47-54 Call. lavishly employs rarities (v. 50 βουβόσιον, v. 53 ὕπαρνοι) novelties (v. 48 ζευγίτιδας (fem.), v. 51 ἐπιμηλάδες, v. 52 ἀγάλακτες) and technical terms (v. 54 μουντοτόκος, διδυματόκος). Μουντοτόκος is the epicised form of the zoological term μονοτόκος, Arist. *HA* 576a1,

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<sup>58</sup> See Sh-W 347-351. I. C. Cunningham, *CQ* 16 (1966), 115-7 expressed reservations about the Coan localisation of mimiamb 4, but see Sh-W 350-2, F. Manakidou, *Beschreibung von Kunstwerken in der hellenistischen Dichtung*, Stuttgart 1993, 18f. and in general on *SEG* 41.688.

GA 772b2, used of animals bearing one suckling at a time.<sup>59</sup> It might be introduced into poetry by Call., but it would also suit Demeter or Persephone very well as a witty alternative to their traditional attributes, Opp. *Hal.* 3.488-9 κούρην / μουνογόνην ἤρπαξεν, *OrphF* 109, *Orph. Hy.* 29.2 (Persephone) μουνογένεια θεά, 40.16 (Demeter) μουνογενής, Paus. 1.31.4 (Persephone) Πρωτογόνη, see Hopkinson (1994), 210, *LSJ* s.v. μουνογόνος quoting an inscription of the 2nd c. from Tricca on Persephone and cf. of her companion Hecate Hes. *Theog.* 448 μουνογενής ἐκ μητρὸς ἐοῦσα, A.R. 3.847 Δαῖραν μουνογένειαν where the Scholiast confused Hecate with Persephone. The loss of the only-child is more painful and is often pointed out in funerary epigrams.<sup>60</sup> Nonn. *D.* 6.31-2 in the sententious μουνοτόκοι γάρ / τηλυγέτους διὰ παῖδας ἀεὶ τρομέουσι τοκῆες of Demeter and *ibid.* 58-9 μουνοτόκου δέ / κούρης of Persephone with passive sense, may not have been the first to apply the term to them.

Ph.'s presence perseveres in vv. 56-7 where the word is of Apollo as founder of cities (*ktistes*), a particular cult of him in Cyrene, see Fraser I, 788-9:

Φοῖβος γὰρ ἀεὶ πολίεσσι φιληδεῖ  
κτιζομένησ', αὐτὸς δὲ θεμέλια Φοῖβος ὑφαίνει

This echoes Ph. fr. 10 about the foundation of Phlious:

Φλιοῦς γὰρ πόλις ἐστὶ Διωνύσου φίλος υἱός  
Φλιοῦς ἦν αὐτὸς δείματο λευκολόφος

Ph.'s δείματο is rendered with θεμέλια .. ὑφαίνει, cf. /δείματο in *HyAp.* 62. In v. 58 τετραέτης extends Homeric *Od.* 2.106, al. τρίετες etc. but it is feeble if it is meant to emulate Ph.'s conceivable τετράενες, appearing as τετράενος in fr. 33.

Traces of *Od.* 7.117-21, a passage on which fr. 15 is modelled and which, to judge by some flora in *Theoc.* 7, probably exerted a broader influence on a certain

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Homeric *hapax Il.* 17.5 (heifer) πρωτοτόκος ... οὐ πρὶν εἶδυῖα τόκοιο, *Theoc.* 5.27 (goat), of women Plato *Theaet.* 151c, al., Nonn. *D.* 9.315, and *Ataktoi Glossai* fr. 48 K. πρόκας ... οἶον πρωτοτόκους. Διδυματόκος is a quality of *Theoc.*'s goats, 1.25, 2.34, 5.84, 8.45 which also Philip *GPh* 15.5 and Long. 2.34.1 appreciated. Μονογενής of Jesus became common in Christian literature, cf. Nonn. *Par.* 1.58 with E. Livrea, *Gnomon* 68 (1996), 397.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. e.g. *CEG* 174b.4, c.4 (ca 475-450), Leon. Tar. *HE* 71.2, Nicaenet. *HE* 2.3, *GVI* 665.3f., 734.4, 840.3, 857.2, 961.4, 1043a, 1878.3, 2089.5 (3rd c. B.C. to 2nd c. A.D.), *SEG* 34.274.4 (late Imperial times; deceased) δς ἐπλετο μητέρι μόνος, 42.1684.2 (Roman Imperial Period).

passage in *Demeter*, first occur in v. 78 τελεσφορίην (a Cyrenean word prompting Θεσμοφόρια) ἐπετήσιον and mostly in vv. 80-3:

ἰὴ ἰὴ Καρνείε πολύλλιτε, σεῖο δὲ βωμοί  
 ἄνθεα μὲν φορέουσιν ἐν εἴαρι τόσσα περ ὦραι  
 ποικίλ' ἀγινεῦσι ζεφύρου πνείνοντος ἔέρσην,  
 χεῖματι δὲ κρόκον ἠδύν.

For unHomeric εἴαρι, though cf. *Il.* 2.89, al., then e.g. A.R. 4.961 εἰαρινός, cf. Theoc. 7.97. In Hellenistic poetry also Theoc. 12.30, [23].29, Leon. Tar. *HE* 19.7, Zenod. *HE* 3.3, Alex. Aet. *CA* 1.2, Antig. Car. *SH* 47.1, Nic. *Ther.* 32, 74, *Alex.* 569, Bion fr. 2.17, cf. εἴαρος in Theoc. 13.26, Arat. 514, Euph. *CA* 40.3, Bion 2.1, 17, εἴαρ in Nic. *Alex.* 577, Num. Her. *SH* 582.2, Bion fr. 2.15. Early epic knows only ἔαρι, *Il.* 21.283, 22.151, Hes. *WD* 462 where see West. ὦραι are associated with Apollo ὠρίτης, Lyc. 352 and *LSJ* Suppl. s.v. Ὀρείτης, as well as with Demeter ὠρηφόρος, see on fr. 16.2. The verses influenced Nic. *Alex.* 232-3 (apples) \*τοῖα περ ὦραι / εἰαριναὶ φορέουσιν ἐνεψιήματα κούραις.

Zephyros εὐδιεινός καὶ ἥδιστος, Arist. *Prob.* 943b21, al., is a mild (cf. Arist. op.c. 946a17, Theophr. *De Ventis* 38 λειότατος τῶν ἀνέμων, in poetry *Il.* 19.415-6, Philoxenus *PMG* 835, A.R. 4.768, 821, Diosc. *HE* 11.2), refreshing wind blowing only in spring and autumn, Arist. op.c. 943b28 πνεῖ ἔαρος μάλιστα, 946a18-9, Theophr. op.c. 38 and see N-H on Hor. *Odes* 4.1, Vian on Nonn. *D.* 3.11, at evening time, Arist. op.c. 944a10, 946a19 πρὸς ἑσπέραν τῆς ἡμέρας, Theophr. op.c. 41, 47. It is an agreeable part of an ideal landscape since it was blowing in the Elysian Fields in *Od.* 4.567-8 (and still was in *EG* 1046.22 Kaibel (ca 161 A.D.)) αἰεὶ ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνείνοντος ἀήτας / Ὀκεανὸς ἀνίησιν ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους, and often around springs, cf. Leon. Tar. *HE* 85.2, Hermocr. *HE* 1.1-2 Ἴζευ ὑπὸ σκιερὰν πλάτανον, ξένε, τάνδε παρέρπων, / ἄς ἀπαλῶ Ζέφυρος πνεύματι φύλλα δονεῖ, Nicaenet. *HE* 4.2, "Plato" *FGE* 17.2, Anon. *FGE* 74.3, 78.2, Satyrus *FGE* 3.3. Its ripening power links it to Demeter, cf. Theoc. 10.46-7 ἐς βορέαν ἀνεμον τᾶς κόρθους ἀ τομὰ ὕμμιν / ἢ ζέφυρον βλέπέτω· παίνεται ὁ στάχυς οὕτως, in a hymn to Demeter of wheat harvested before full ripeness. Zephyros appears as a wind of vegetation in the influential *Od.* 7.119 ἀλλὰ μάλ' αἰεὶ / ζεφυρίη πνείουσα τὰ μὲν φύει, ἄλλα δὲ πέσσει, "Bacch." *FGE* 1.2 τῷ πάντων ἀνέμων πιωτάτῳ Ζεφύρῳ, Call. fr. 110.53 θῆλυς ἀήτης, Satyrus *FGE* 1.1 Ζεφύροιο ποιητόκου (Blomfield : ποντοτ- P : πλοητ- Pl.), Nonn. *D.* 3.10 Ζεφύροιο προάγγελος ἔγκυος ὦρη, 31.110 ἀεξιφύτου Ζεφύρου, Etym. Gud. s.v. παρὰ τὸ ζωοφόρος εἶναι. τρέφει γὰρ τοὺς καρπούς. ... τῷ γὰρ θέρει πνέοντι αὐτῷ οἱ καρποὶ αὐξονται, Cat. 64.282 *aura aperit flores tepidi fecunda*

*Favoni* with Kroll ad loc., Servius on Virg. *Georg.* 1.43.<sup>61</sup> It has the power to nourish or to ruin the crops, Theophr. *De Ventis* 38 <καὶ τῶν καρπῶν> τοὺς μὲν ἐκτρέφει, τοὺς δ' ἀπολλύει καὶ διαφθείρει τελείως, depending on the season it blows, Theophr. op.c. 43-5. As the wind traditionally most suitable for winnowing chaff from the grain, cf. [Bacch.] l.c., Virg. *Georg.* 1.134, it is linked to Demeter who supervises this activity, cf. *Il.* 5.499-502 ὡς δ' ἄνεμος ἄχνας φορέει ἱεράς κατ' ἀλώας / ἀνδρῶν λικμώντων, ὅτε τε ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ / κρίνη ἐπειγομένων ἀνέμων καρπὸν τε καὶ ἄχνας, / αἱ δ' ὑπολευκαίνονται ἀχυρμαῖαι, 13.588-92, Xen. *Oec.* 18.6-7, Opp. *Hal.* 4.497f., see West on Hes. *WD* 599 and cf. Adaeus *GPh* 2.3, Diod. *Zon. AP* 6.18.1 Δημήτηρ λικμαῖα. Its procreative power is miraculously extended to the animals as well, see R. Böker, *RE* VIII (1958), 2323-5 s.v. Winde. In Call. it occurs only here and is attested as used in fr. 615 to account for the name of the Epizephyrian Locrians. Given this literary background and Demeter's withdrawal Zephyros might have been summoned to benefit vegetation in the *locus amoenus*. His ambivalent power would accord with the subversive constituents of that scene.<sup>62</sup>

Χεῖματι in v. 83 is emphatic. It might be a *correctio* if saffron occurred in Ph.'s spring. Crocus is a flower *par excellence* associated with Demeter and Persephone, cf. *HHD* 6 with Richardson ad loc., Soph. *OC* 684; it appears around tombs in *GVI* 1363.4 (Astypalaia, 1st c.), 2005.3 (1st/2nd c.) ἡδυπνόου τε κρόκου. It blossoms in autumn or winter, cf. Theophr. *HP* 6.8.3, 6.10, Nic. fr. 74.56 κρόκος εἶαρι μύων, but often figures with spring flowers as a literary convention, see Bühler on Mosch. *Eur.* 68. Here it is aptly taken up, since it flowers in Cyrene, cf. Theophr. *HP* 4.3.1 κρόκον πολλὸν ἢ χώρα φέρει καὶ εὖοσμον, but is not brought into connection with Apollo or used by Call. elsewhere. *Demeter's* influence culminates in the coda of the Hymn, vv. 105-12:

ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ' οὕατα λάθριος εἶπεν·  
 "οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν αἰοῖδὸν ὃς οὐδ' ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει."  
 τὸν Φθόνον ἀπόλλων ποδί τ' ἤλασεν ᾧδὲ τ' εἶπεν·  
 Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῖο μέγας ῥόος, ἀλλὰ τὰ πολλὰ  
 λύματα γῆς καὶ πολλὸν ἐφ' ὕδατι συρφετὸν ἔλκει.

<sup>61</sup> For another ancient derivation from ζόφος "west" see P. Moraux, *ZPE* 41 (1981), 51.

<sup>62</sup> Stormy winds of course have no place in a *locus amoenus*, see M. Davies, *Hermes* 114 (1986), 401 cl. *Od.* 6.43, Sappho 2.10f., Soph. *Trach.* 146 etc. Philic. *SH* 680.21 φυσή[μ]ασι θέρμη δ' ἐπέκαεν ἀ[γ]ροῦς (suppl. Körte, Gallavoti) and Ov. *Met.* 5.482-4 *primis segetes moriuntur in herbis, / et modo sol nimius, nimius modo corripit imber, / sideraque ventique nocent* follow a version in which the winds are deployed to harm the crops. The blowing of Zephyros to the opposite effect would constitute an interesting antithesis, see on fr. 13 on a version of Demeter preventing the springs from flowing.



Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντός ὕδωρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,  
 ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει  
 πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον".

The passage was not so long ago regarded as a gauche addition of Call. or even as a later interpolation, see Cahen ad loc. (pp. 84-6). But its function is obvious. Apollo among his other capacities is the patron of poetry. This is founded in tradition: the first verse of the *Il.* known to Nicanor and Crates was Μούσας ἀείδω καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα κλυτοτόξον, see Pfeiffer (1968), 238-9, cf. also Hes. *Theog.* 94-5, A.R. 1.1 whence Orph. *Arg.* 1, Posid. *SH* 705.1f., 9 and see O. Falter, *Der Dichter und sein Gott*, Würzburg 1938, 51-2. Even more so in Call. whose alliance with Apollo is additionally prescribed by his Cyrenean origin. Apollo is indeed invoked at crucial moments, *Aetia* fr. 1.21, *HyAp.* 105f., *Iambi* 13 fr. 203.1. But Apollo does not broker any sort of poetry; he only patronises "good" poetry: ἀπόλλων οὐ παντὶ φαίνεται, ἀλλ' ὅτις ἐσθλός. So the Hymn ends with polemics over poetics. Ph. tends to come up in such passages. The modelling of the *HyAp.* on *Demeter* is concluded with an undisguised reference acquiring the power of a programmatic symbolism.

Phthonos employs the πόντος-image. Apollo rejects the huge and sluggish flow of Euphrates carrying along much dirt. What is best, decrees Apollo, is the small pure drop that the bees carry for the sake of Deo. Vv. 110-2 reproduce an image from *Demeter* in which bees buzz around a source of water (Bourina) which is turned sacred, as everything else, by Demeter. The very same image is reproduced in Theoc. 7.142 πατῶντο ξουθαὶ περὶ πίδακας ἀμφὶ μέλισσαι.<sup>63</sup> Δηοῖ rings the bell of the model. Καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος places emphasis on purity, with which Demeter, Coans and possibly Ph. were concerned. Ἀχράαντος is "a decidedly sombre word" which has a religious touch and often implies sexual chastity, see Campbell on Mosch. *Eur.* 73; it is a novel form of ἄχραντος modelled on Homeric ἀκράαντος. Πίδαξ is almost certainly of Philetan provenance. It is a Homeric hapax *Il.* 16.825 πίδακος ἀμφ' ὀλίγης and is used by Call. here and Theoc. 7.142 in the same context and in the only occurrence in either. Ἱερῆς replacing Homeric ὀλίγης depicts the divine ambience in the Philetan scenery, cf. Theoc. 7.136f. Ὀλίγης is kept to apply to λιβάδος, as in A.R.

<sup>63</sup> Müller 42 deemed that these lines "scheinen geradezu ein Philitas-Zitat zu sein", but see Perp. Adscr. 12. P. Kyriakou, *Homeric Hapax Legomena in the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, Stuttgart 1995, 230-1 following Müller rightly established a link in the insect images in Call. and Theoc., but took her argument to unconvincing extremes: "Instead of the Philetan pure and alcohol-free grove, Phrasidamus' farm overflows with rare wine. Totally unexpectedly ... Theoc.'s poem would .. wander off in a non-Philetan direction. [...] According to this scenario, Callimachus ... would react to Theoc.'s piece along the "purified" lines of the Philetan model".

4.1454 (flies) ἀμφ' ὀλίγην μέλιτος γλυκεροῦ λίβα. Πίδαξ specifically applies to a natural source which, as Bourina (see on fr. 13 μελαμπέτροιο) often springs out of a rock, cf. A.R. 4.1456 πετραίη περὶ πίδακι cf. Q.S. 3.578-9, Leon. Tar. *HE* 3.1-2 Αὔλια καὶ Νυμφέων ἱερὸς πάγος αἶ θ' ὑπὸ πέτρῃ / πίδακες whence Anon. *FGE* 73.1-2 ἄ θ' ὑπὸ πέτρᾳ / πίδαξ, Nonn. *D.* 32.295, 45.309-310, and cf. for the imagery Nicias *HE* 5.1-2 Ἴζευ ὑπ' αἰγείροισιν ... ὀδίτα, / καὶ πῖθ' ἄσσον ἰὼν πίδακος ἄμετέρας. The association of the word in its early occurrences with Nymphs may be due to Ph.<sup>64</sup>

Two distinct layers make up the imagery of the passage: the water- and the bee-image. Puelma 156 n. 38 inferred from Prop. Tt. 22c, e that Ph. used the water-motif in a "programmatisch wichtige Stelle". Müller 41-2 attributed the symbolism of both water and bees to Ph. In fact both are much older than the Coan. The water-image of poetry originates in Pind.<sup>65</sup> So does the image of the poet as a bee, cf. esp. *Pyth.* 10.53-4 ἐγκωμίων γὰρ ἄωτος ὕμνων / ἐπ' ἄλλοι' ἄλλον ὥτε μέλισσα θύνει λόγον, *Isth.* 7.18-9 (quoted above) and Plato *Ion* 534a-b λέγουσι γὰρ δήπουθεν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οἱ ποιηταὶ ὅτι ἀπὸ κρηνῶν μελιρρύτων ἐκ Μουσῶν κήπων τινῶν καὶ ναπῶν δρεπόμενοι τὰ μέλη ἡμῖν φέρουσιν ὥσπερ αἱ μέλιτται, καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω πετόμενοι· καὶ ἀληθῆ λέγουσι. κοῦφον γὰρ χρῆμα ποιητῆς ἐστὶν καὶ πτηνὸν καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ οὐ πρότερον οἶός τε ποιεῖν πρὶν ἂν ἔνθεός τε γένηται καὶ ἔκφρων καὶ ὁ νοῦς μηκέτι ἐν αὐτῷ ἐνῆ.<sup>66</sup> Call.'s knowledge of the Pindaric background becomes evident by the

<sup>64</sup> Πίδαξ is favoured by the Hellenistic poets, but its occurrences might all follow the same path. Call., Theoc. and probably Nicias depend on Ph. The term is associated with Nymphs in Theoc. and Leon. Tar. II. cc., Hermocr. *HE* 2.2, A.R. 4.1394, 1451, 1456, see Livrea on 4.1451, and later Alciphron 4.13.11. Absent from bucolic other than the one (Philetan) occurrence in Theoc. It becomes more popular later: Apollonid. *GPh* 2.4, Antip. Thess. *GPh* 70.4, Sabinus *GPh* 2.4, Leon. Alex. *FGE* 33.1, Anon. *GDRK* 16.11, Anon. *AP* 9.585.2, Q.S. 4x, [Opp.] *Cyn.* 3x, Orph. *Lith.* 369, Orph. *Hy.* 11.8, Nonn. *D.* 9x, Orph. *Arg.* 598, Joann. *Gaz.* 2.136. Crinag. *GPh* 43.1 coins the absolute hapax εὐπίδακες.  
<sup>65</sup> See in general Wimmel 222f., Kambylis 113f., Cameron (1995), 363-6 and in particular M. Poliakoff, "Nectar, springs and the sea: critical terminology in Pindar and Callimachus", *ZPE* 39 (1980), 41-7. On Pind. and Call. seminal is M. T. Smiley, *Hermathena* 18 (1924), 46-72, cf. also J. K. Newman, "Pindar and Callimachus", *ICS* 10 (1985), 169-189, N. Hopkinson, *A Hellenistic Anthology*, Cambridge 1987, 88-9, T. Fuhrer, *AJPh* 109 (1988), 53-68, O. K. Lord, *Pindar in the Second and Third Hymns of Callimachus*, Diss. Michigan, Ann Arbor 1990, further in L. Lehnus, *Bibliografia Callimachea 1489-1988*, Genoa 1989, 339-345 *passim*. There is much need for a comprehensive study on this question. On water-terminology with regard to speech, φωνῆν χεῖν, ῥεῖ λόγος etc., see G. Wilhelmi, *Untersuchungen zum Bild vom Fließen in der Sprache der griech. Literatur*, Diss. Tübingen 1967.

<sup>66</sup> See N. J. Richardson, "Pindar and Later Literary Criticism" in *PLLS* 5 (1985), 391-2 and J. Duchemin, *Pindare poète et prophète*, Paris 1955, 247-252. In general see M. Schuster, *RE* XV (1931),

employment of ἄκρον ἄωτον in v. 112; so does the presence of Ph. with the reference to Deo.<sup>67</sup>

With regard to bees F. Williams on v. 110 has definitely demonstrated that vv. 110-2 can be read equally satisfactorily in three different ways: a) the physical: bees as actual bees, b) the religious: bees insinuating "priestesses of Demeter" and c) the poetic: bees as poets. Any insistence on one at the expense of another is pointless, see also C. Calame in Harder 52-4. Notion a and b occurred in *Demeter* too. The question is whether Ph. made use of the archaic precedents to give to his images the power of a poetic symbolism, or whether it was Call. who did so for him, whence the Romans in any case took them up. Certainty is not possible but the former possibility seems more likely. Would Ph. ignore the implications of his images? If he began his poem (fr. 7) with a reference to Pind. he might have referred to him at the end too. Moreover, the poetic bee is not a favourite symbolism in Call.: these are the untrodden path and the water, both from Pind. Bees appear more than once in Theoc. 7 in relation to poetry and the notion of bees as symbols of proverbial industry, cf. Arist. *GA* 759a8-761a1, Hes. *WD* 304-6, Pind. *Pyth.* 6.54, would appeal to Ph.'s erudite poetic dogma.

The same question is posed for the water-image. In *Demeter* pure, sacred and ample (νήχυτον) water had flown. A similar kind of water runs from the cave of the Nymphs in Theoc. 7.136-7, prefigured in vv. 6-7 with a reference to Bourina itself.<sup>68</sup> That water, as Call.'s here, is of a poetic nature. The fact that in two accomplished poets the same images convey the same meaning suggests that in Ph. *Demeter* would

382-3, Kambylis 98f., G-P on Leon. Tar. 98.1, J. H. Waszink, *Biene und Hönig als Symbol des Dichtens und der Dichtung in der griechisch-römischen Antike*, Opladen 1974, Davies-Kathirithamby 70-2, G. Crane, *AJPh* 108 (1987), 400-2, Sallinger 448. On bees nurturing poets see Gow on Theoc. 1.146. On μελίφθογγος, μελίφωνος etc. see C. Riedweg, *ICS* 19 (1994), 147-8. R. Hunter, *ZPE* 76 (1989), 1-2 saw in the Platonic passage the imagery of Call. fr. 1.29-38.

<sup>67</sup> The presence of the bees in vv. 110-2, let alone of Demeter, has never been convincingly accounted for. Only Pfeiffer (1968), 284 cautiously suggested a reference to *Demeter*. G. Huxley, *GRBS* 12 (1971), 214-5 related it to the Euphrates-reference and saw a link with the Pontic honey. G. Crane, *AJPh* 108 (1987), 399-403 saw the stress on a Callimachean conception which regards the sweetness of poetry as its purity, cf. also Schwinge 16-9. The lines are not vexed by serious textual problems, but Hutchinson 78 n. 102 suspects "some corruption" in vv. 109-111.

<sup>68</sup> Lawall 78, 106, N. Krevans, *TAPA* 113 (1983), 208-12 and Hunter 24 even advocated a link between Bourina and Hesiodic Hippocrene. It is difficult to see any link other than a general one, as the Boeotian spring is the ultimate source of all poetic initiations, but if Ph.'s verses were understood to convey a poetical significance some would make the connection early enough. That Bourina though is meant to be a parody of Hippocrene "with the pastoral cow substituted for the epic horse", Krevans, l.c., 209 is misleading for both Theoc. and Ph.

give the source she helped to be produced a role appropriate to her capacity as goddess of poetry. Crucially, Call. makes a quantitative addition in v. 112. From the pure and sacred source an ὀλίγη λιβάς "small trickle" would suffice, cf. the cicada's δρόσος in fr. 1.33. Pind. *Isth.* 18-9 ὄ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον / κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν ἐξίικηται ζυγὲν first made the point, but λιβάς is carefully chosen to be unPindaric. As it seems, the evident tripartition of the concluding verse does justice to all three contributors to the passage: πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς (Ph.)| ὀλίγη λιβάς (Call.)| ἄκρον ἄωτον (Pind.).

Emulation with Ph. takes a different form in *HyDem*. The Coan's influence has been suspected on vague premises, but no specific links have been traced.<sup>69</sup> Direct references to Ph. are indeed restricted to the essentials. Three passages are of particular interest in this respect. The section recapitulating traditional features of the myth, vv. 6-23, the description of Demeter's grove, vv. 24-38, and Demeter's appearance in vv. 42-4. The introductory vv. 1-6 set up the illusionary cultic context and render the Hymn mimetic. Women are waiting for a sacred κάλαθος to arrive after a procession. The choice of the second day of the Thesmophoria might make a point since Ph., as it seems, dwelt specifically on that with the day-long privations during the itinerary of Chalcon and Demeter, the break of fasting in the evening and the probable overnight stay on *sibades* in the Coan countryside. In the next verses Call. selects memorable features of the traditional Demeter-myth blending them with playful witticism.

A reference to Hesperus comes first in vv. 7-9:

Ἑσπερος ἐκ νεφέων ἐσκέψατο (πανίκα νεῖται;),  
Ἑσπερος, ὅς τε πιεῖν Δαμάτερα μῶνος ἔπεισεν  
ἀρπαγίμας ὄκ' ἄπυστα μετέστιχεν ἵχνια κῶρας.

Hesperus in its sole occurrence in Homer is declared the most beautiful of all stars, *Il.* 22.318 (Achilleus in his new armour like) Ἑσπερος, ὅς κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσταται ἀστήρ, cf. Sappho fr. 104b, A.R. 2.40-2, Bion fr. 11.3 ἔξοχος ἀστρῶν, Q.S. 5.131-2, etc. It is the star escorting lovers taking pains at night and, most importantly, marking the end of the day's labours. If Chalcon and Demeter had to spend a night in the Coan countryside, the cultic action of sleeping on bare ground during the second day of the Thesmophoria ("Fasting"), here performed by Demeter and her first male initiate in Cos, would need to be supplemented with one accounting for the break of fasting in

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<sup>69</sup> Cf. e.g. Bowie 80 n. 58: "Callimachus' own *Hymn to Demeter* ... should owe something to *Demeter* too" or M. Haslam in Harder 119 n. 14: "If we had Philetas' *Demeter* the poem would no doubt become more complex still". For Müller's assumptions see ff.

the evening when Hesperus appears.<sup>70</sup> The star's beauty would match with the scenery. The notion of release from labour would make it easier for the goddess to break her fast. On Bourina's affinity with cyceon see on fr. 13. A further indication for a Philetan Hesperus might be provided by the anonymous epideictic epigram T. 20 of Ph. wearing himself out with νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἐσπέριοι which Page, *FGE*, 443 regarded as a direct quotation from Ph. (*Perp. Adscr.* 4) and *Theoc.* 7.53 Ἐριφοὶ ἐσπέριοι may be relevant here. The Coan would be proven innovative and Call.'s comment does not fall short of witticism: it was not Iambe, nor Baubo nor anyone else that earlier treatments might have adduced, who persuaded Demeter to drink; it was none other (μῶνος) than Hesperus, i.e. her own late evening fatigue.<sup>71</sup>

Demeter's wandering back and forth – on foot! – from the extreme west to the extreme east in vv. 10-11 is treated with apparent irony.<sup>72</sup> So is the endless, boring repetition of traditional motifs, vv. 12-6:

οὐ πίεις οὔτ' ἄρ' ἔδες τῆνον χρόνον οὐδὲ λοέσσα.  
 τρὶς μὲν δὴ διέβας Ἀχελῷον ἀργυροδίναν,  
 τοσσάκι δ' ἀενάων ποταμῶν ἐπέρασας ἕκαστον,  
 τρὶς δ' ἐπὶ Καλλιχόρῳ χαμάδις ἐκαθίσσαο φρητὶ  
 αὐσταλέα ἀποτός τε καὶ οὐ φάγες οὐδὲ λοέσσα.

It is highly ironic that Call. while summoning his listeners to show fitting respect, loads his verses with smouldering, poignant comments in all directions. Τρὶς ... / τοσσάκι ... / τρὶς and the immediate resumption of the fasting-motif neatly expresses this abuse, which after all is not pleasing even to the goddess: quest for

<sup>70</sup> The sources for νηστεία are gathered by P. Arbesmann, *RE* VI (1936), 20. For a direct link of Hesperus and break of fast cf. also *Ov. Fasti* 4.535-6. The break in *Ov.* is accidental as the goddess eats a poppy-seed prepared as a medicine for Celeus' sick son. Cf. also the inversion of the motive in *Met.* 5.440-1 *illam non udis veniens Aurora capillis / cessantem vidit, non Hesperus.*

<sup>71</sup> Hopkinson on vv. 7-8 noted that "for the anaphora in C. and Bion [fr. 11.1-2 Ἐσπερε, τᾶς ἐρατᾶς χρύσειον φάος Ἀφρογένειας, / Ἐσπερε, κυανέας ἱερὸν, φίλε, νυκτὸς ἄγαλμα] one might postulate a lost (lyric?) source, cf. Sappho fr. 104.2 Voigt". This might be true of an erotic Hesperus. Ph. might have alluded to it as such. Call. would adopt it to emphasise its novel role in this version. D. A. Kidd, *Latomus* 33 (1974), 25 thinks that the hint is at the mythological character Hesperus offering hospitality to Demeter.

<sup>72</sup> Πότνια, πῶς σε δύναντο πόδες φέρεν ἔστ' ἐπὶ δυθμάς, / ἔστ' ἐπὶ τῶς Μέλανας καὶ ὅπα τὰ χρύσεια μῆλα; Hopkinson ad loc. strove to locate all three places in the West but there is no need to violate the natural meaning of the verses, see R. Hunter, *MD* 29 (1992), 10 n. 3 cl. *Mimn. IEG* 12.8-9 (Helios transferred) χάρου ἀφ' Ἐσπερίδων / γαίαν ἐς Αἰθιόπων, where see Allen.

innovation in a saturated motif brought her to tears, v. 17 μὴ μὴ ταῦτα λέγωμες ἃ δάκρυον ἄγαγε Διοῖ. On this verse referring specifically to Ph. see on fr. 17. As it marks the end of the passage reviewing traditional features, it constitutes a turning point. The poet will now proceed to suggest alternative subjects about Demeter introduced with a triple κάλλιον: Demeter as goddess of ordinances, Demeter bestowing upon Triptolemus the art of cultivating cereals.<sup>73</sup> The passage with the dismissible trivial themes opens and ends with conspicuous features from Ph. The references give the Coan a distinguished place, but clearly classify his version as another treatment of the worn-out old story. This, as we shall see, comes as no surprise.

With the third κάλλιον Call. arrives at his subject: the punishment of Erysichthon. Parenthetical v. 22 ἵνα καὶ τις ὑπερβασίας ἀλέηται is on the one hand adduced as an additional reason to avoid transgressions employed in trivial treatments for the sake of innovation. Champions of exquisite variation, among them principally Ph., would be the recipients of this comment. On the other hand it makes a good point within the poem anticipating the moral to be deduced by Erysichthon's transgression and punishment, cf. *Il.* 23.598 οἴσθ' οἶαι νέου ἀνδρὸς ὑπερβασίαι τελέθουσι.

In vv. 24f. the poet embarks upon his select subject. The Pelasgians had established for Demeter καλὸν ἄλσος ... / δένδρεσιν ἀμφιλαφές. This last word recurs in passages with Philetan overtones, see ff. on A.R. All of its trees occur also in Theoc. 7 and very probably go back to Ph.: elms, pear-trees, apples and a poplar related to the Nymphs, aptly taken up in this context as ominous trees. Δρῦς in v. 60 stands for "tree" (see Seaford on Eur. *Cycl.* 383). Πίτυς in v. 27 is a remarkable exception. Pine-trees are a stock-feature in ideal localities and they grow close to water, cf. Theoc. 1.1-2 (πεῦκαι in 22.40), Leon. Tar. *HE* 3.2 ἢ θ' ὕδασι γειτονέουσα πίτυς. They are mostly related to death and lamentation, cf. *Il.* 13.390 = 16.483, Simon. *IEG* 11.2, Theoc. 1.134, Euph. *CA* 84.1, Nic. *Alex.* 300-1, Nonn. *D.* 12.134 and Odysseus sees one as an ominous sign in the yard of Cyclops in *Od.* 9.186. Steph. Byz. s.v. Μίλητος (452.9-13 Meineke) tells us that its twigs were used as *stibades* in the local Thesmophoria, but the information is isolated.<sup>74</sup> Still, πίτυς, πεύκη and ἐλάτη belong to the same family

<sup>73</sup> Müller 42 thought that it is the themes of vv. 18-21 that are complementarily taken up from Ph. Things are in fact the other way round. R. Hunter's view, *MD* 29 (1992), 10 "vv. 7-17 of Hymn 6 represent a small-scale rewriting of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*" is sweepingly simplistic.

<sup>74</sup> In Miletus, formerly called Pityousa ὅτι ἐκεῖ πρῶτον πίτυς ἔφθ, the use of pine-trees in the Thesmophoria is due to restrictively local reasons, διὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς γεννέσεως, Steph. Byz. l.c. In the Asclepius-temple of Epidaurus (m. 5th c.) the god holds a branch of pine and C. Benedum, *JDAI* 101 (1986), 144 n. 44 tried to establish an association with Demeter via medicine. From a religious point of view this may be true, but it cannot apply to the Callimachean passage.

of trees and are discussed successively in one chapter in Theophr. *HP* 3.9. One was often mistaken for the other and Theophr. *HP* 3.9.4 elaborately tries to distinguish *πεύκη* from *πίτυς*, see S. Amigues (Budé 1989) ad loc. Murr 111 noted that *πίτυς* is a collective term for all coniferous trees, later replaced in that by *πεύκη*. These trees were mostly associated with orgiastic cults. The torches carried by Demeter in *HHD* 48 were of such a character, see Richardson ad loc., and a *πεύκη* is mentioned in Philic. *SH* 680.50 ]ν *πέυκας* ἀνελοῦ, λῦε βαρεῖαν ὄφρῶν, cf. *ibid.* v. 6 ]λαμπάδας υληδ[, and Pampr. 3.120 θυόεσσαν Ἐλευσινίης φλόγα *πέυκης*. It might be a Callimachean addition which along with other latent "violent" vocabulary, cf. vv. 28-9 ὕδωρ / ... *ἀνέθυε* ("boiled up") θεὰ δ' *ἐπεμαίνεται* χῶρῳ and see Hopkinson 5, draws on the orgiastic vein of the Demeter-cult undermining the peacefulness of the locality and foreshadowing the storm which is about to come.

Coniferous trees were mostly associated with the cult of Dionysus Dendritis, see Dodds on Eur. *Bac.* 109-110. Tragedy offers *πίτυς* only in Aesch. fr. 78c.39 (bacchant) *πιτύος* ἔστεμμένος and in the epicising fr. 251. But trees of the same family appear in Eur. *Bac.* 1051-3 ἦν δ' ἄγκος ἀμφίκρημον, ὕδασι διάβροχον, / *πέυκαισι* συσκιάζον, ἔνθα *μαινάδες* / *καθῆντ'*. Pentheus in v. 1061 climbs *ἐς* *ἐλάτην* ὑψαύχενα for a better view and the maenads summoned by Dionysus ἦξαν *πελείας* ὠκύτητ' οὐχ ἥσσονες, v. 1090. Eventually vv. 1103-4 *δρυῖνοις* συντριανοῦσαι *κλάδοις* / *ρίζας* [sc. of the *ἐλάτη*] *ἀνεσπάρασσον* ἀσιδήροις *μοχλοῖς* and at the end uproot the fir with their bare hands, vv. 1109-10. *HyDem.* 29 *ἀνέθυε* (>θύω "rage") and *ἐπεμαίνεται*, and the batch of armed retainers of Erysichthon rushing, v. 36 *ἔδραμον*, into the grove and striking a poplar to cut it down may have a Bacchic/orgiastic background. Dionysus' anger justified in vv. 70-1 (as transposed by Reiske) *καὶ γὰρ τῷ* Δάματρι *συνωργίσθη* Διόνυσος / *τόσσα* Διώνυσον γὰρ ἃ *καὶ* Δάματρα *χαλέπτει* would gain a special meaning.

In vv. 42-4 Demeter disguises herself as the public priestess of the city, in order to try to dissuade Erysichthon, γέντο δὲ *χειρί* / *στέμματα* *καὶ* *μάκωνα*, *κατωμαδίαν* δ' ἔχε *κλῶδα*. This is a transformation more advanced than in *HHD* 91f. where she took the secular guise of an old woman. For *στ.* *καὶ* *μακ.* see on Theoc. 7.157 *δράγματα* *καὶ* *μάκωνας* which has been argued to hark back to Ph. The expression might be related to the public priestess of Demeter in Cos and her Thessalian origin. Doric *κλῶδα* is rendered in Hesych. κ 2954 s.v. *κληῖδες*: ... *παρὰ* Ἐφεσίοις *τῆς* θεοῦ *τὰ* *στέμματα* and the dialectal meaning might have found an application here as "sacred garment", see Hopkinson ad loc. and on the appearance of priests in general Burkert 97.

The Coan's presence does not exhaust itself in loans of scattered vocabulary and flora. This time he exerted a more "fundamental" impact. Call., it seems, looked at *Demeter* not only as a source of inspiration, but mainly as a challenge. The subject of

his poem is chosen from *Heoiai* fr. 43a.2f. which Ph. had used. He puts Cos clearly into the picture. Erysichthon is mostly known as the father of Mestra, who is associated with Cos from the days she coupled with Poseidon and bore Eurypylos on this island in *Heoiai* fr. 43a.55-9. Her grandfather Triops, a mythical Coan king, is the eponym of the Cnidian promontory opposite to Cos, cf. Schol. Theoc. 17.68-9b (321.18-9 Wendel). The locale of the crime is not Athens, as in *Heoiai*, but Thessaly, v. 24 (Pelagians) οὐπω τὰν Κνιδίαν, ἔτι Δώτιον ἱρὸν ἔνατον, bearing ancient associations with Cos which were pointed out in *Demeter*. These and other considerations of minor importance prompted Fraser II, 916-7 n. 290 and Sh-W 306-311 to the erroneous conclusion that Cos was the place of the hymn's performance; *contra* Hopkinson 38-9: "Once we get rid of the preconception of h. 6 as a poem of actual performance, these arguments have little force". In fact they are part of Call.'s emulation with Ph.<sup>75</sup>

Most importantly, Demeter is for the first time brought into connection with the Erysichthon myth. The reasons for the innovation have been a long unresolved riddle. Fehling 178 considered the destruction of Demeter's grove as a "willkürlich gewählte Möglichkeit ... . Unklar ist die Begründung mit der er [sc. Call.] es auf Demeter bezog".<sup>76</sup> A rationalising version in Diod. Sic. 5.61, one of the rare accounts derived from a vein unscathed by Call. or his influence, attributes the crime not to Erysichthon, but to his father Triops. His version in then echoed in Marcellus of Side *EG* 1046.95-6 Kaibel and Hyg. *Astron.* 2.14.3. This is commonly assumed to be the original tree-felling which Call. blended with Erysichthon taking the place of his father. That Call. invented the episode from scratch is at any rate highly unlikely. Wil. *HD* II, 37-8

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<sup>75</sup> The story is conceivably located in Athens also in Achaëus' satyr-play Αἰθων *TrGF* 20 F 6-11. The original localisation occurring in most versions is that of Thessaly. The displacement in *Heoiai* is rather due to the Attic ambience of its composition. M. Steinrück, *Maia* 46 (1994), 293 n. 8 saw in it a link between the Thessalian/Boeotian themes preceding the Mestra-episode and the Ephyrean/Corinthian following it. A modern Greek story "Myrmidonia and Pharaonia" attested only in Cos with protagonists Dimitroula and her beloved ploughman (cf. Ἐρυσί-χθων) bearing striking similarities with the story of Erysichthon, has been adduced as a further argument for a Coan localisation. R. M. Dawkins, *Forty-five Stories from the Dodecanese*, Cambridge 1950, 348 who first published it, considered it as a genuine survival, which is theoretically possible, see I.Th. Kakridis, *Oi 'Αρχαίοι Ἑλληνες στὴ Νεοελληνικὴ Παράδοση*, Athens 1978, esp. 81f., but a mediaeval revival through the literate intermediation of Ovid's *Met.*-translation of Maximus Planudes (late 13th c.), cf. E. J. Kenney, *Mnem.* 16 (1963), 57, and of Call.'s Hymn seem much more reasonable, see Mackay 33f., 55f., Fehling 185-196, Hopkinson 26-30, Müller 67 n. 226.

<sup>76</sup> For the literary tradition of Erysichthon's myth see Fehling 173-185, Hopkinson 18-30, Müller 65-76. For its treatment in Art see U. Kron, *LIMC* IV.I, 14-8, C. W. Müller, *RhM* 133 (1988), 136-142.



thought that the contamination of Triops' sacrilege with the Erysichthon myth had already happened in Call.'s source and later speculation postulated a recondite local story. This assumption rests on very feeble premises. As a matter of fact all testimonies of Erysichthon's crime against Demeter are derived from Call. and although this does not necessarily mean that he contaminated the story first, vv. 24-30 relating it to the early history of the Pelasgians in Thessaly, adduced to support it, carry little weight to account for Erysichthon supplanting Triops.

Demeter's connection with Erysichthon entails obvious advantages for Call. Its weak point is the reason for Erysichthon's sacrilege. The extant fragment of *Heoiai* commonly seen as a source of primary importance does not provide any justification. In Call. Erysichthon's crime is unhappily attributed to the perverted folly of his youth. This is counterbalanced by numerous opportunities for grotesque references and an appropriate action for the punishment of Erysichthon with incessant hunger by the goddess of bounty. Müller 72 n. 244, cf. also U. Kron, *LIMC* IV.I, 15, saw the transfer of Triops' offence to Erysichthon as an attempt "den Heros Eponymos des Triopion zu entlasten", a region of particular interest to the Ptolemies, cf. Theoc. 17.68 with Schol. ad loc. (321.14-7 Wendel) and for the ties of Cnidus and Cos cf. *IdC* ED 77 (3rd/2nd c.), and the cult-centre of the Dorian *hexapolis*, consisted of Cos, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Lindos, Ialysos and Kamiros. Moreover with Demeter becoming related to figures bearing associations with Cos his aim to emulate Ph., placed in the introduction among those having treated once more trivial motifs, becomes apparent. Emulation with Ph. may also account for two formalistic elements: the choice of dialect and the choice of metre. The artificial Doric of Hymn 6 is commonly seen as a feature uniting it with Hymn 5. Hopkinson 44 saw no "profound rationale" for its use and deemed that "we should look for explanation rather to the Hellenistic fondness for dialectal experiments". Müller 47-8 saw in its employment an element reinforcing the sense of community in the illusionary cultic context in which the Hymn is placed. Call. on the other hand uses the traditional hexameter for Ph.'s pentameter. The antithesis in metre may be deliberate. His choices of subject and dialect prompt the impression that he perceived his own Hymn and Ph.'s poem as a contrasting pair. His intention is to offer a superior alternative "besieging" his rival with elements and features of a more exquisite nature, but still related to Ph.'s theme.

Crucially, Erysichthon's novel link with Demeter also serves very well the poetic metaphor which underlies the poem. Demeter appears as a goddess protecting good measure in poetry. Those dear to her are contrasted to magnitude and excess. Erysichthon is the grotesque inversion of the poetic ideal: a latent poet who lost the sense of moderation. As such he turns against Demeter: with primitive ferocity he attacks her sacred grove. He does not speak, he only eats. He drinks not water, but wine, vv. 69f. And his unassuageable hunger is meaningfully expressed with the sea-

metaphor, familiar from *HyAp.* 105f., vv. 89-90 τὰ δ' ἐς βυθὸν οἶα θαλάσσης / ἀλεμάτως ἀχάριστα κατέρρεεν εἶδατα πάντα. Triops' wish when addressing Poseidon is ambiguous too, vv. 99-101 αὐτὰρ ἐμεῖο / τοῦτο τὸ δειλαιὸν γένετο βρέφος· αἶθε γὰρ αὐτόν / βλητὸν ὑπ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἐμαὶ χέρες ἐκτερέιξαν, since, as Call. knows, Apollo's capacity covers both archery and poetry, *HyAp.* 44 Φοίβω γὰρ καὶ τόξον ἐπιτρέπεται καὶ ἀοιδή. Erysichthon as a greedy βρέφος might have a disparaging poetic touch too. He eventually ends up begging for the dirty leftovers from the feast at a public crossroad, vv. 114-7:

καὶ τόχ' ὁ τῶ βασιλῆος ἐνὶ τριόδοισι καθῆστο  
αἰτίζων ἀκόλως τε καὶ ἔκβολα λύματα δαιτός.  
Δάματερ, μὴ τῆνος ἐμὴν φίλος, ὅς τοι ἀπεχθής,  
εἶη μηδ' ὁμότοιχος· ἐμοὶ κακογείτονες ἐχθροί.

For ἐνὶ τριόδοισι cf. *HE* 2.4 σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια and for Erysichthon's ἔκβολα λύματα cf. the poetic λύματα in *HyAp.* 111. The verses contain an aphorism of artistic content expressed in terms particularly appropriate to the Alexandrian Museum, cf. ὁμότοιχος, τῶ βασιλῆος ~ *HyAp.* 26, 27, 68 of Ptolemy. Demeter is clearly evoked as goddess of poetry. In her capacity as such she has the authority to bless Call.'s innovative treatment, vv. 29-30 θεὰ δ' ἐπεμαίνετο χάρῳ / ὅσον Ἐλευσίनि, Τριόπα θ' ὅσον ὀκκόσον Ἐννα. The goddess' unreserved approval of the novel treatment is demonstrated by her fascination with the novel ambience in which Call. places her. An apt parallelism with the traditionally favoured Eleusis and Enna serves to show that Demeter fancies the new environment no less than the old one.<sup>77</sup>

The affinities of *Demeter* with *Hec.* do not seem to go beyond the level of a motif-similarity. In the former a god visits a benevolent mortal king, as in the latter a hero visits an old woman of noble origin who is now impoverished. Either incident constitutes a cultic action for Coan Thesmophoria and Zeus Hecaleus respectively. Both poems treat subjects of an unheroic nature. They use different metre, but employ comic elements in serious instances. The local element elicits much attention, Coan or Attic. The conversation of Theseus and Hecale during the night the hero spent in her hut, including Hecale's own life story, would find a parallel in the long conversations of Chalcon and Demeter in the palace, during their tour in Cos and mostly during the night they probably spent in the open air. Whether the scope of Ph.'s material was as broad as that of Call.'s, cannot be determined. The description of Chalcon's palace

<sup>77</sup> On questions of interpretation see Hopkinson ad loc. Ἐννα cannot be anything else but the eponymous Nymph of the Sicilian town. R. Hunter's view, *MD* 29 (1992), 10-11, that Call. here declares his Hymn of equal stature to the *HHD* is on the right track.

would not offer many similarities with Hecale's hut, but both would share powerful descriptions of reality, a striking trait in *Hec.*, almost certainly featuring in *Demeter* too, as is suggested by e.g. fr. 13 μελαμπέτροιο Βυρίνης or fr. 20 πλατάνω γραιή ὕπο. If Ph. treated Pholus' hospitality-offering to Heracles, as suggested by Theoc. 7.149f., his influence on *Hec.* would conceivably be more substantial.

### c) Others.

Demeter and her cult, as has been seen, inspired various poetic treatments in different times but the goddess herself is never before associated with poetry. Apart from *HyDem.* she assumes this role in *HyAp.* 110-2 in alliance with Apollo, in fr. 1.10 and in Theoc. 7, see N. Hopkinson, *CR* 38 (1988), 401. All these cases constitute undisguised references to Ph. *Demeter* and the goddess' short career as patron of poetry is evidently due to him. After the generation next to Ph. she returns undisturbed to her accustomed duties. It can be determined therefore that it was *Demeter* that rendered Demeter a symbol of the new poetic creed. The possibility of her poetic capacity covering the *Sôros* as well is attractive. This was an early collection of epigrams attested by Schol. A on *Il.* 11.101 (III.145 Erbse) {αὐτὰρ ὁ} βῆ ῥ' Ἴσον {τε} : Ζηνόδοτος ἔξω τοῦ ρ "βῆ Ἴσον". μὴ ἐμφέρεσθαι δέ φησιν ὁ Ἀρίσταρχος νῦν ἐν τοῖς Ποσειδίππου ἐπιγράμμασι τὸν "Βήρισον", ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Σωρῷ (*SH* 701) εὐρεῖν ἐξελεγχόμενον αὐτὸν ἀπαλεῖψαι.<sup>78</sup> The content of *Sôros* is unknown. Some, as Knaack in Susemihl II, 698, G-P, *HE* II, 116 or Dover on Theoc. 7.155, think that it was a collection of epigrams of Posid. alone, but the affinities among Asclep., Posid. and Hedyll., literary and classificatory, as double ascriptions going back to Meleag., who in *HE* 1.45-6 mentioned all three together, boost the theory advanced by Reitzenstein *EuS*, 96-102 that *Sôros* was a collection containing epigrams of these three poets. After W. Peek, *RE* XXII (1954), 431, Cameron (1993), 369f. took up this view plausibly modifying it, with the suggestion that the individual epigrams bore an indication of authorship already in *Sôros*.

The title given to the collection though has largely remained unaccountable. F. Lassere, *RhM* 102 (1959), 307f., esp. 325-7, on the basis of Theoc. 7.155 and occasional motifs in Theoc. 7 thought that Theoc. systematically refers to *Sôros*. Even if his conclusion is wrong his contribution is of some importance as he first related the title of the collection to Demeter. The link was then taken up by Lawall 106-7 comparing the "harvest of poetry" metaphor with the "Garland" of Meleag. and others,

<sup>78</sup> On *Sôros* see the bibliography gathered by Erbse and *SH* II. cc. See above all LI-J *Acad. Pap.* II, 190-1 tentatively considering the possibility of Posid.'s *sphragis SH* 705 prefacing the *Sôros*, G-P, *HE* II, 116, 483 and A. Cameron (1993), 369-376.

to which one would object that σωρός, unlike στέφανος, implies lack of studied arrangement. None of the proposals leaving Demeter out is nearly as convincing. Cameron (1993), 375 summarised them: "A collection of short poems might without absurdity have been likened to a "heap of winnowing grain" ... . According to Matthew Santirocco, "that the collection is winnowed (i.e. that the chaff has been removed) suggests Alexandrian polish and labor" (*Arethusa* 13 (1980) 47). One might add that the ear of grain well suggests the smallest literary creation, the epigram; and a heap of them a collection of epigrams. Fraser suggests rather the meaning "treasure" (op. cit. II, 801 n. 72) comparing σωρευτής "one who heaps up wealth" (*LSJ*), but this meaning is not attested for σωρός itself". An association with Demeter seems likely. Σωρός originally and most appropriately applies to a heap of corn, cf. Hes. *WD* 778 and see *LSJ* s.v. (1). Demeter herself is called Orph. *Hy.* 40.5 σωρήτις "of the harvest heap" and Adaeus *GPh* 2.5 πολύσωρος. Should this be so, Theoc. 7.155-6 is of unavoidable relevance. It would clearly emerge that the publication of *Sôros* antedates the composition of idyll 7.

But why should a collection of epigrams be set under Demeter's auspices? And why should epigrams published elsewhere be unabridged here in an unparalleled collection by the poets themselves? When their joint edition came out they were apparently all still alive.<sup>79</sup> Two of the three possible contributors lived in Samos, Asclep. being the oldest and most highly reputed of all. The third, Posid., had strong ties with him. The edition of *Sôros* might have been his idea. Simultaneously, the notion of "poetic" Demeter originates and always refers to Ph. One is prompted to the hazardous but appealing assumption that *Sôros* is somehow related to Ph., who advanced a new poetic creed with *Demeter* and pioneered experimentation with epigram – perhaps the first posthumous *Festschrift* ever published? Comparable would be the *genethliakon* genre as Call. *Iambi* 12 written for the seventh day celebration of Leon's (a γνώριμος of Call.) daughter, Antip. Thess.'s *GPh* 31 γενέθλιον .. βίβλον to Piso or the birthday-epigrams of Leon. Alex. *FGE* 1, 30, 32, see further Mineur 11f. From Posid. *SH* 700-1 and Asclep. *SH* 219 and *HE* 29 Bergk conjectured that *Sôros* contained many epitaphs on Iliadic heroes, see on Posid. *SH* 700, which would be consistent with the conditions of its publication. In line with this, Theoc. would offer his seventh poem as his own honorary tribute, 7.155-6 ἄς ἐπὶ

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<sup>79</sup> That both editions of Posid.'s epigrams were published while he was still alive is plain from the *Il.-Scholium*. This makes *Sôros* an essentially different collection from the anthologies put together by compilers already in the early Hellenistic period and known to us through papyri. See on these G-P, *HE* II, 115-7, Fraser I, 606f., Cameron (1993), 1f., pointing out that the short nature of the epigram and the fact that it is prone to monotony render it apt to be anthologised, id., *J OCD*, 101, P. Bing, *AuA* 61 (1995), 121 n. 19 on the current state of our knowledge.

σωρῶ / αὐτίς (not "again" but "in my turn") ἐγὼ πάξαιμι μέγα (as opposed to the short epigram) πτύον (a Homeric hapax, *Il.* 13.588; as the instrument used to winnow chaff from grain, it suggests a selection and recast of Philetan motifs).

A.R., who knew and utilised *Hermes*, in certain passages turned his attention to *Demeter* too.<sup>80</sup> In 1.278f. Alcimede bids a melodramatic farewell to her departing son. The parallelism of two mothers either having lost or about to lose their only offspring is obvious. In v. 279 (κακὴν) βασιλῆος ἐφετην is picked up from *HHD* 358 (Διός) βασιλῆος ἐφετηῆς. In v. 280 Alcimede's κηδέων (τε λαθέσθαι) though common in such contexts, might be related to Demeter's κήδεα (.. εἶλεν ἀπὸ πραπίδων). Vv. 282-9 seem to reproduce a succession of Philetan notions:

τὸ γὰρ οἶον ἔην ἔτι λοιπὸν ἐέλδωρ  
 ἐκ σέθεν, ἄλλα δὲ πάντα πάλαι θρεπτήρια πέσσω.  
 Νῦν γε μὲν ἢ τὸ πάροιθεν Ἀχαιιάδεσιν ἀγητή  
 δμῶις ὅπως κενεοῖσι λελείψομαι ἐν μεγάροισι,  
 σεῖο πόθῳ μινύθουσα δυσάμμορος, ᾗ ἔπι πολλήν  
 ἀγλαΐην καὶ κῦδος ἔχον πάρος, ᾗ ἔπι μούνῳ  
 μίτρην πρῶτον ἔλυσα καὶ ὕστατον· ἔξοχα γὰρ μοι  
 Εἰλήθια θεὰ πολέος ἐμέγηρε τόκοιο.

Vv. 283-4 ἄλλα ... πέσσω. / Νῦν are an unmistakable *oppositio in imitatione* of fr. 15 νῦν δ' αἰεὶ πέσσω, τὸ δ' ἀέξεται ἄλλο νεῶρες / πῆμα. The Apollonian verse contains the only metaphorical πέσσω of Hellenistic poetry (two literary applications occur in *Matro Pit. SH* 534.6, 103), which takes as an object θρεπτήρια related to Demeter as a goddess of nourishment and occurring in *HHD* 168, 223. Philetan fr. 8 δμῶιδες in Chalcon's palace resembles v. 285 δμῶις .. κενεοῖσι .. ἐν μεγάροισι. V. 286 is modelled on *HHD* 201~304 ἦστο πόθῳ μινύθουσα βαθυζώνιο θυγατρός.<sup>81</sup> The next clause lays emphasis on Alcimede's previous happiness. A similar notion has been suspected to precede fr. 15, q.v. νῦν δ' αἰεὶ πέσσω etc., a possibility well-matching the attention paid to that fragment in this passage. Then the status of the mother with a sole offspring equally well applies to Alcimede as to Demeter, see on *Call. HyAp.* 54 on the conceivable use of μουντοκόκος in *Demeter*. As in Ph. with Chalcon, a consolatory effort by Jason follows. Vv. 296-300 seem to draw some ideas from Ph. The notion of useless tears and forbearance for misfortunes sent by the gods are derived from the Achilles-Priam meeting in *Il.* 24.522f., 549f. which Ph. used in

<sup>80</sup> This section is indebted to Campbell *Echoes*.

<sup>81</sup> Vv. 285-6 are found in a different form in the *Proecdosis* βείομαι οὐλομένοισιν οἰζυρῇ ἀχέεσσιν / σεῖο πόθῳ, φίλε κοῦρε, δυσάμμορος.

the lamentation scene, cf. for the first fr. 17.1 μελέοιο .. κλαυθμοῖο and the second may be postulated on the basis of fr. 18 ([bear because] only Zeus, who caused your grief, can cure it) and *HHD* 147-8 (Celeus daughters consoling Demeter) θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκη / τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι· δὴ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν. For ἄλγος cf. Chalcon's fr. 18.1 ἄλγεα πέσσειν. V. 298 πῆματα αἰδήλα is the only true parallel to Ph. fr. 15.1-2 νεῶρες / πῆμα. 'Αίδηλος, 9x in A.R., interestingly prompts "Αιδης, to whom it applies in Soph. *Aj.* 608, al., cf. A.R. 1.102. In the same verse \*θεοὶ θνητοῖσι is picked up from \**HHD* 111.

In Hellenistic times the Demeter-myth was a heavily saturated subject. Aristeides *Eleus.* I.416d later said that εἰς μέσον ποιηταὶ καὶ λογοποιοὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς πάντες ὕμνοῦσι Κόρην τὴν Δήμητρος ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι. Philic. rejoices in his claim to present a novel treatment, *SH* 677 καινογράφου συνθέσεως τῆς Φιλίκου, γραμματικοί, δῶρα φέρω πρὸς ὑμᾶς and Call. in the introductory section of *HyDem.* deals ironically with the desperate efforts to renew the old story and teaches a lesson by treating a novel Demeter-subject. A.R. took a different approach. In 4.866-79 he fits in an episode manifestly using diction and motifs from the Demeter /Demophon episode in *HHD* 237f. applying them to the similar efforts of Thetis to immortalise Achilles.<sup>82</sup> After this experimentation Apollonius inserts a reference to a version of a provincial Demeter-visit. In 4.982f. the Argonauts reach Corfu. Two aetia are adduced to account for its ancient name *Drepane*: either a sickle (δρέπανον) buried under the island with which Cronus castrated his father or another sickle with which Deo while taking residence on the island taught the Titans how to harvest wheat. A.R. apparently draws on a Cercyrean tradition and if the address to the Muses vv. 984-5 ἴλατε, Μοῦσαι, / οὐκ ἐθέλων ἐνέπω προτέρων ἔπος denotes approval of the Cronus-version and has a touch of polemic, this may be addressed to Call. apparently accepting the Deo-version, see Pfeiffer on fr. 14 and Vian III, 29-30, 35. In these elegant Hellenistic verses A.R. might have admitted some vocabulary from *Demeter*. Ph. had treated Corfu and the Argonauts in "*Telephus*". The island is introduced in a typical way as we know it from e.g. *Od.* 4.354-5, see Campbell *Echoes* ad loc. and cf. also Adesp. Pap. Hex. *SH* 956.5-6, 4.982-3 "Ἔστι δέ τις πορθμοῖο παροιτέρη Ἰονίοιο / ἀμφιλαφῆς πείριρα Κεραυνίη εἰν ἀλλ' νῆσος. 'Αμφιλαφῆς comes up in two conspicuous passages under Philetan influence, Call. *HyDem.* 26 (ἄλσος), see Hopkinson ad loc. restoring the Doric character of the term, *HyAp.* 42 ('Απόλλων) and this may be a third one. It occurs 3x in Call., 3x in A.R. (2.733 ἀμφιλαφεῖς πλατάνιστοι, cf. Plato *Phaedr.* 230b)

<sup>82</sup> See Richardson 237-8, Vian on A.R. 4.879, S. Jackson, *LCM* 15 (1990), 53-6. On A.R. depends [Apollod.] 3.13.6. The story is first attested here, but Schol. *Il.* 16.222b, 18.57a, 60 (IV.217, 445, 446 Erbse) attribute it to οἱ νεώτεροι providing the additional information that the incident occurred when Achilles was twelve days old. Some have thought of the *Cypria* as a possible source.

and Theoc. 24.46. Only here it applies to an island and only here in A.R. in the sense "huge". Πίειρα occurs only here in A.R. Πίων occurs in Theoc. 7.143 θέρεος μάλα πίονος, cf. 7.33. Call. *HyAp.* 65 uses βαθύγειον of Cyrene. Δηώ in vv. 986, 988 was employed by Ph. In v. 989 στάχυν ὄμπνιον was discussed by Ph. in *Ataktoi* fr. 44 K. The adj. in a Demeter-context is a novel Philetan application.

One last passage is worth referring to, which if not directly indebted to Ph., presents a noticeable similarity of motifs. In 4.1393f. the Argonauts after having carried the Argo a long way on their shoulders "like rabid dogs" πίδακα μαστεύεσκον· ἐπὶ ξηρῇ γὰρ ἔκειτο / δίψα δυηπαθίη τε καὶ ἄλγεσιν. Eventually they reach an ἱερὸν πέδον with golden apples and find the Hesperid Nymphs lamenting the death of the monster Ladon who used to serve as guardian of the golden apples, vv. 1406-7 Ἄγχοῦ δ' Ἑσπερίδες, κεφαλαῖς ἐπι χειράς ἔχουσαι / ἀργυφέας ξανθῆσι, λίγ' ἔστενον. The ἱερὸν πέδον in v. 1396, the (golden) apples, the mourning, the blond Hesperid Nymphs transformed into trees which most probably figured in *Demeter*, vv. 1427-8 Ἑσπέρη αἰγείρος, πτελέη (this juxtaposes the constituents of a novel Philetan combination, see on Theoc. 7.8) δ' Ἐρυθῆς ἔγεντο, / Αἰγλή δ' ἰτείης ἱερὸν στύπος, bear a similarity to Demeter and the scenery around Bourina. In vv. 1403-5 the putrifying corpse of Ladon with desiccated flies around it (Livrea ad loc. saw a reference to spontaneous generation) would contrast to Bourina's clear water with βουγενέας bees flying around it and allude to the chastity-subversive choices of Ph.

Heracles is involved in this story as the slayer of Ladon and the creator of a spring to satisfy his own thirst. In vv. 1437-40 the Nymph Aigle describes him and his weapons: ὄσσε δέ οἱ βλοσυρῶ ὑπέλαμπε μετώπῳ, (usually applying to beasts) / νηλῆς· ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα πελωρίου ἔστο λέοντος / ὠμόν, ἀδέψητον· στιβαρὸν δ' ἔχεν ὄζον ἐλαίης / τόξα τε with which he killed Ladon. Heracles is ἄ τε χθόνα πεζὸς ὀδεύων / δίψη καρχαλέος, vv. 1441-2, and seeking for water he sees a rock: τὴν ὃ γ', ἐπιφρασθεὶς ἢ καὶ θεοῦ ἐννεσίησι, / λάξ ποδὶ τύψεν ἔνερθε· τὸ δ' ἀθρόον ἔβλυσεν ὕδωρ, vv. 1445-6. For the second hemistich of v. 1456, cf. Arat. 219 τὸ δ' ἀθρόον αὐτόθεν ὕδωρ, Theoc. 7.136 τὸ δ' ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ, Call. *HyDem.* 28 τὸ δ' ὥστ' ἀλέκτρινον ὕδωρ and for the article Nic. *Alex.* 571-2 τὸ δὲ συνεχὲς ἀθρόον ἄσθμα/. Vv. 1447-9 present him like a beast: αὐτὰρ ὃ γ', ἄμφω χεῖρε πέδῳ καὶ στέρνον ἐρείσας / ῥωγάδος ἐκ πέτρης πίεν ἄσπετον, ὄφρα βαθεῖαν / νηδύν, φορβάδι Ἴσος, ἐπιπροπεσῶν ἐκορέσθη. Heracles, a noted comic glutton, was described in *Demeter* in grotesque terms culminating in a scene of humiliating flight. His appearance, search for water, creation of a new spring with a kick on a rock and the beastly satiation of his thirst might conflate Philetan motifs applied to him and to the no less grotesque Chalcon. For the latter's eager drinking of water or wine see above on Theoc. 7.69-70.

Philic. of Corcyra's *floruit* is placed by Suda φ 358 = *TrGF* 104 T 1 during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus and he is therefore some years younger than Ph. He was

said to be the author of 42 tragedies of which nothing survives, and was a member of the Pleiad. As a priest of Dionysus in Alexandria he took part in the famous procession of Ptolemy leading the *περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνίτας*. The Ptolemaic house claimed to have a special relation with Dionysus and showed favour to his cult. Philic. as the chief priest of this god must have had strong ties with the royal family and would have heard of Ph. as the king's tutor. His *Hymn to Demeter*<sup>83</sup> composed in choriambic hexameters makes a witty reference to *Demeter* in *SH* 680.39-41:

].[.]ς δ..[.] κρηναῖον ἐκάστης ἐν ὕδωρ ὀρισθέν  
]. πουδ[....]γου σοῖς προσανήσεις δακρύοισι πηγῆν  
]λείται βασι[ί]λεια κρήνη

39 δίχ[α] Gallavoti, "fort. recte" *SH* 41 e.g. οὐποτ' ὀλείται vel κα]λείται Vogliano

V. 40 seems to conflate two elements from *Demeter*: the tears of Demeter and the creation of a well. The spirited allusion relies on the well-attested motif of "flood of tears" (*νῶμα* or *πηγή δακρύων*), a topos in tragedy, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 888, Soph. *Antig.* 803, *Trach.* 852, see Bond on Eur. *Her.* 449-50 and cf. later Men. *Sic.* 219, Posid. *SH* 705.19, [Mosch.] *Megara* 45-6, *Epit. Bion.* 28-9, Nonn. *D.* 46.354. The Philetan context seems to persevere in the next verse as well. Demeter is invoked as *βασίλεια* in Ar. *Frogs* 382-3 *τὴν καρποφόρον βασίλειαν, / Δήμητρα θεάν*, Pampr. 3.126, 156 and *βασίλισσα* in an inscription of Roman times in N. Galatia, *LSJ Suppl.* s.v.; this is an attribute denoting religious power, see Bulloch on Call. *HyPal.* 52, and was known in Cos. A Coan stele of the 1st c. *GVI* 1158.21 evokes Persephone as ὦ *βασίλεια, Διὸς πολυώνυμε κούρα*<sup>84</sup> and *HG* 2.5 = *IdC* ED 241.5 (4th c.) employ it of Hera. Frequent invocations are appropriate in passionate entreaties, but the adj. here seems to refer to the following *κρήνη* and the allusion points rather to the Coan king Chalcon

<sup>83</sup> On Philic.'s life see the Testimonia in *TrGF* 104 and Page, *FGE*, 460. For his participation in Ptolemy's procession cf. Callix. Rhod. *FGH* 627 F 2 (p. 169.8-9) = *TrGF* 104 T 4 and see E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemaeus Philadelphus*, Oxford 1983, 54-5, and in general Fraser I, 231f., V. Fortenmeyer, *Historia* 37 (1988), 90-104 (date), M. Finkelberg, *G&R* 42 (1995), 43-4. On the ties of the Ptolemaic royal house with Dionysus see Gow on Theoc. 17.26, 108, 112 and cf. Erat. *FGH* 241 F 16 τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κτίζοντος ἑορτῶν καὶ θυσιῶν παντοδαπῶν γένη καὶ μάλιστα περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον. On the latter's cult in Alexandria see Visser 35f., Fraser I, 201-4, Weber 343-6. On his *Hymn to Demeter* see *SH* ad loc. and C. G. Brown, *Aegyptus* 70 (1990), 173-9, A. M. Morelli, *RFIC* 122 (1994), 285-297.

<sup>84</sup> Persephone shares this attribute with her mother. To Bruchmann *Epitheta Deorum*, 191 add this inscription and *GVI* 1871.15 (Paros, 2nd c. A.D.).



creating a spring on the instructions of Demeter than to the daughters of Celeus in *HHD* (*SH* ad loc.). Ph., who was interested in stressing Demeter's political power as patronising the Coan royals, might have employed the term. Other affinities, as the presence of the Nymphs in vv. 31-2, 51 or the anointed crown of Demeter's initiates in vv. 38, 60, are of a more general character.

Nic.'s date is disputed as the ancient testimonies place him either as a contemporary of Call. or in the m. 2nd c. There are secure indications that he knew and alluded to *Demeter*. If Hermesianax in *Ther.* 3 φίλ' Ἑρμησιάναξ, πολέων κυδίστατε παῶν, to whom the poem is addressed, is to be identified with Nic.'s compatriot poet (an unlikely possibility), an acquaintance with Ph. may be established on the basis of this link. Nic. is the author of *Glossai* in more than three books, fr. 120-145. His own interest in lexicography would sooner or later lead him to Ph. In *Ther.* 758 (spider-bite) γλῶσσα δ' ἄτακτα λέληκε he employs unpoetic and unHellenistic ἄτακτος and seems to allude to Ph. He gives room to Philetan voices in similes or digressions mostly in *Alex.* In v. 126 οἶά τε δὴ γήρεια νέον τεθρυμμένα κάκτου he neatly echoes fr. 9.1 γηρύσαιτο δὲ νεβρὸς ... / .. κάκτου τύμμα φυλαξαμένη. A couple of verses later cyceon and Demeter come up as part of the treatment for a patient bitten by a reptile, vv. 128-32:

τῷ δὲ σὺ πολλάκι μὲν γληχῶ ποταμηῖσι νύμφαις  
ἐμπλήδην κυκεῶνα πόροις ἐν κύμβει τεύξας,  
νηστείρης Διοῦς μορόεν ποτὸν ᾧ ποτε Διῷ  
λαυκανίην ἔβρεξεν ἄν' ἄστυρον Ἴπποθόωντος  
Θρησίσης ἀθύροισιν ὑπὸ ῥήτρησιν Ἰάμβης.

Λαυκανίην ἔβρεξεν implies Demeter's thirst and glances at *Il.* 24.642 (wine) /λαυκανίης καθέηκα in a passage which Ph. used in *Demeter*. Λαυκανίη is a rare term, *Il.* 2x (22.325, 24.642), *A.R.* 2x (2.192 λευκ-, 4.18 (distressed Medea) λαυκανίης ἐπεμάσσατο), *Euph. SH* 415ii.24 λαυκανίην ἠμάξατο and Nic.'s occurrence of Demeter.

In *Alex.* 433-64 Nic. discusses the paralytic effect of the poppy, a plant associated with Demeter. He comes to mention the medicinal use of honey, vv. 445-51:

τοτὲ δ' ἔργα διαθρύψαιο μελίσης  
ἄμμιγα ποιπνύων Ὑμησίδος αἶ τ' ἀπὸ μόσχου  
σκήνεος ἐξεγένοντο δεδουπότος ἐν νεμέεσσιν·  
ἔνθα δὲ καὶ κοίλοιο κατὰ δρυὸς ἐκτίσαντο  
πρῶτόν που θαλάμας συνομήρεες, ἀμφὶ καὶ ἔργων

μνησάμενοι Διοῖ πολυαπέας ἤνυσαν ὄμπας  
βοσκομένα θύμα ποσσὶ καὶ ἀνθεμόεσσαν ἐρείκην.

Μελίσσης stands in its usual *sedes*. In a "seemingly irrelevant digression" (Gow-Scholfield ad loc.) a reference to bugony is inserted, which was introduced into Greek poetry by Ph. The bees' ἔργα allude to their proverbial diligence at which Ph. might have hinted in his poetic bee-metaphor. For the expression cf. also *Alex.* 445, 547, 554 ἱερὰ ἔργα μελίσσης, 144 μελισσάων καμάτω, *Call. HyJov.* 50, *Nicias HE* 6.3, *Theoc.* 22.42, *A.R.* 4.1132-3, *Arat.* 1030. In *Nic.* poppy and honey, both linked with Demeter, cause and cure the harm. Διοῖ in v. 450 constantly recurs in passages where Ph. is at work. The form is usually taken as a hypocoristic of Δημήτηρ, which matches Χάλκων for Χαλκώδων, and was favoured by Hellenistic poets, see Richardson on *HHD* 47, Hopkinson on *Call. HyDem.* 17, Campbell on *A.R.* 3.414. It is not Homeric or Hesiodic; it originally occurs in a firmly Attic ambience, 3x in *HHD* (47, 211, 492), then *CEG* 317.1 (*Attica*, ca 450), *Soph. Antig.* 1121, *Eur.* 4x. It has been proposed in *Antim.* fr. 126.2 = *SH* 74.2 ]ουσαι by M. L. West, then *Call.* 7x, *A.R.* 4x, *Euph. CA* 9.14, *Theoc.* and *Lyc.* 1x each (none of the last four is known to have ever used Δημήτηρ), *Diosc. HE* 19.9, *Nicarch. HE* 4.2, *Antip. Sid. HE* 57.3, *Mosch.* fr. 4.4.<sup>85</sup> In *Call. HyAp.* 110, *HyDem.* 17, (132), *Theoc.* 7.3, *Nic. Ther.* 450 (all in dative), *A.R.* 4.986, 988, see A. Rengakos, *ZPE* 102 (1994), 124 n. 61, *Lyc.* 621 Διοῦς ... ὄμπιον στάχυν we may reckon with direct Philetan dependence. He apparently revived it from *HHD* and impetus was granted by *Call.* and *A.R.* "Ὄμπη is an Attic vocable glossed by *Hesych.* ο 823 as πυροὶ μέλιτι δεδευμένοι, i.e. cakes of meal and honey, see Pfeiffer on *Call.* fr. 681. It occurs 2x in *Call.* as an offering to chthonic gods and here in *Nic.*, where the *Schol.* (159.9 *Crugnola*) note τούτους γὰρ Δήμητρι ἔθουον. It subsequently disappears in poetry.<sup>86</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Next *Antip. Thess. GPh* 82.3, 8, 101.2, *Antiph. GPh* 15.5, 22.3, 39.5, *Zonas GPh* 2.1, *Archias GPh* 19.8, *Anon. FGE* 47.5, *GVI* 720.1 (*Attica*, 2nd c. A.D.), 879.3 (*Eleusis*, 3rd c. A.D.), *EG* 863.4, 864.2, 866.1 *Kaibel* (all *Eleusis/Athens*, all "Rom. aet."), *ibid.* 1064 (ca 161 A.D.), *SEG* 39.1673.14 (1st/2nd c. A.D.), *AVI* 20.3 (*Eleusis*, 3rd c. A.D.), *Anon. GDRK* 22verso.20, *Opp. Hal.* 2.19, 4.497, *Nonn. D.* 30x (*Δημήτηρ* 17x). The form is frequent in Attic inscriptions, but only in metrical examples, see *Threatte II*, 260-2. *Call.* fr. 302.2 with Pfeiffer ad loc. = 103.2 *Hollis* has Δηωίνην, *Adesp. Pap. Hex. SH* 927b.7 Δηωίνη and an inscription of the 2nd c. from *Didyma* Δηωίς (*LSJ* *Suppl.* s.v.) all meaning "daughter of Demeter", i.e. *Persephone*.

<sup>86</sup> Similar is φθοῖς, a kind of πλακοῦς "cakelet" with religious associations, cf. *Athen.* 14.647d. It is attested in a 4th/3rd c. inscription from *Cos* and in *Adaeus GPh* 2.2 as an offering to Demeter. It first occurs in an Attic ambience, *Ar. Plut.* 677, then *Call.* fr. 610, where Pfeiffer following *Rauch* is inclined

In *Alex.* 470 Nic. uses ὄστλιγγες in a different application from Ph. He is the poet most likely to have treated bugony to some extent in *Melissourgica*, see on fr. 20. In *Ther.* 33 νήχυτος ὄρπηξ/ he might combine two Philetan terms. In *ibid.* 70, 73 he mentions κόνυζα and ἀσφόδελος side by side as Theoc. 7.68. Another link emerges with the employment of the motif of Demeter's ardent thirst. In *HHD* the goddess, as is appropriate, decently drinks her cyceon. In *Ant. Lib.* 24 from the 4th book of Nic.'s *Heteroioumena*, Demeter in Attica finds herself in a condition similar to the one in *Demeter*: καὶ αὐτὴν <αὔην> (a certain addition from *Lact. Plac. Fab.* 5.7 *Ceres ... aestu torrida*) ὑπὸ πολλοῦ καύματος ὑποδέχεται Μίσμη καὶ διδοῖ ποτὸν ὕδωρ ἐμβαλοῦσα γλήχωνα (cf. *Alex.* 128) καὶ ἄλφιτον εἰς αὐτό. But impertinent Ascalabus cannot refrain from commenting on the goddess' eagerness. He is turned into a gecko. In Ph. in the *locus amoenus* the exhausted Demeter might have drunk water from Bourina in the evening and one wonders if Nic.'s passage is related *in oppositione* to Chalcon's reaction. The Colophonian might have integrated Philetan innovations in a more traditional context.

The author of *Megara* is not known, but the poem is certainly a post-Theocritean, Hellenistic creation and might indeed be a product of the 3rd c. It opens with a lament and weeping by Megara, Heracles' wife, and goes on with an attempt by Alcmena, Heracles' mother, to console her. It seems that the poet of this plangent piece took into consideration some aspects of *Demeter*'s bewailing section. Vv. 36f. νῦν δ' οἱ μὲν Θῆβην ἰππότροφον ἐνναίουσιν / ... / αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ Τίρυνθα κάτα κραναὴν ... / πολλοῖσιν δύστηνος ἰάπτομαι ἄλγεσιν ἦτορ / αἰὲν ὁμῶς, δακρύων δὲ πάρεστί μοι οὐδ' ἴ' ἐρώη. / ἀλλὰ πόσιν μὲν etc. might owe something to fr. 15. In v. 68 occurs the consolatory topos of the inescapable destiny allotted by the gods. In v. 75f. Demeter and Core appear as a parallel to Alcmena's love for Megara. In v. 91f. Alcmena narrates a dream of hers foreshadowing her son's tragic death in Trachis; when he has carried out his ordered task of digging a big ditch, a threatening huge fire rises from it, vv. 105-9:

αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' αἰὲν ὄπισθε θεοῖς ἀνεχάζετο ποσσίν  
 ἐκφυγέειν μεμαῶς ὄλοδὸν μένος Ἥφαιστοιο·  
 αἰεὶ δὲ προπάροιθεν ἐοῦ χροδὸς ἤνυτε γέρρον  
 νώμασκεν μακέλην, περὶ δ' ὄμμασιν ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα  
 πάπταινεν μὴ δὴ μιν ἐπιφλέξῃ δῆιον πῦρ.

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to link the fragment with a reference to the Thesmophoria with the *caveat* that φθοίας are offerings to other gods as well.

Heracles' panic-stricken flight finds a precedent in *Demeter*. His grotesque employment of his mattock as a shield (ἥύτε γέπρον) is a reaction expected by a retreating fighter. Vv. 108-9 elaborate on *Od.* 10.606-7 which Ph. also adapted.

*Demeter*'s remarkable influence leaves no room for doubt that Call.'s praise and Ph.'s subsequent inclusion in the canon of the elegiac poets was above all due to this poem.

## TELEPHUS (?)

## Fr. 24 (CA 15)

Schol. A.R. 4.1141 (307.17-9 Wendel) ἔνθα τότ' ἐστόρε<σαν> : ἐν τῷ ἄντρῳ Μάκριδός φησι τὸν γάμον γεγενῆσθαι Μηδείας καὶ Ἰάσονος, Φιλητᾶς δὲ ἐν Τηλέφῳ ἐν τῇ Ἀλκινόου οἰκίᾳ.

3 ἐν Τηλέφῳ codd. : ὁ Τηλέφου Bach

The Apollonian Scholium is the only testimony for a Philetan work entitled *Telephus*. According to this the marriage of Jason and Medea took place in Corcyra, not in the cave of Macris as in A.R., but in the house of Alcinous. The venue of the pairing of the young couple varies from version to version: Iolcus in [Hes.] *Theog.* 997-9, Colchis near the river Phasis in Antim. fr. 75 (with Aeetes' consent in Timonax *FGH* 842 F 72), Corcyra in Timaeus *FGH* 566 F 87, Ph. (Alcinous' palace), A.R. (Macris' cave) and possibly Call., see Vian III, 33-4 n. 7, or Byzantium in Dion. Scyt. *FGH* 32 F 3 = fr. 31 Rusten.<sup>1</sup> Whether the location in the version of A.R. is older than that of Ph. (P. Friedländer, *RhM* 69 (1914), 315) or vice versa is hard to say. The Apollonian is a more exquisite place and might therefore be his own innovation adopting as a prototype the marriage of Peleus and Thetis in the cave of Cheiron, see Vian III, 49f., Hunter (1993), 73-4. The strong wording of 4.1141 "Ἐνθα (sc. in Macris' cave) τότ' ἐστόρεσαν λέκτρον μέγα etc. and 4.1161-4 Οὐ μὲν ἐν Ἀλκινόοιο γάμον μενέαινε τελέσσαι / ἦρωσ Αἰσονίδης, μεγάροις δ' ἐνὶ πατρὸς ἐοῖο / νοστήσας ἐς Ἴωλκὸν ὑπότροπος· ὧς δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ / Μήδεια φρονέεσκε· τότ' αὖ χρεῶ ἦγε μιγῆναι clearly indicates that A.R. is aware of alternative traditions. Ph. on the other hand might have had his own reasons for imposing a coupling in Alcinous' house.

The content of the poem, as far as this can be detected from the title, is controversial. Some have considered it to be related to Ph.'s presumably deceased father Telephus.<sup>2</sup> T. 11a would suggest a strong allegiance of Ph. and his parents. Rohde adduced Parthenius Chius, an early 4th c. epic poet who according to Suda π

<sup>1</sup> All supplied by Apollonian Schol. See Wil. *HD* I, 198, M. W. Haslam on POxy. 3698.16f., Vian III, 33, A. Dyck, *Hermes* 117 (1989), 464-5.

<sup>2</sup> See Rohde 79 n. 3 who attributes the idea to J. G. Schneider, Couat 75, Wil. *SuS*, 290, Webster 40, K. Kost, *KWH*, 149, \*Campbell. It is probably from Euph.'s Ἐπικήδειον εἰς Πρωταγόραν CA 21 that Wil. *HD* I, 115, followed by K. Kost, *KWH*, 196, claimed that Ph.'s poem was written in hexameters too. But Parth. wrote epicedeia in elegiacs.

665 ἐποίησε εἰς Θέστορα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα, i.e. composed a poem in honour of his father, cf. Plato *Phaedo* 61b εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐποίησα. One thinks of the epicedeia (*Trauergedichte*), an almost entirely lost genre which enjoyed some popularity in Hellenistic times and later in Rome. Arat. *SH* 103-5, Theoc. according to τινες in *Suda* T. 1A Gow, Euph. *CA* 21, and Parth., who seems to have specialised in the field, *SH* 608-9, cf. 610-4, 615, 618-9, 626, 629, wrote such poems about friends or relatives. These would not so much have a biographical content, but would rather insist on the grief felt by the poet due to the loss of the person involved and its parallelism with mythological examples. If Ph.'s was such a poem the genre would originate in him.<sup>3</sup> The full title would be Ἐπικήδειον εἰς Τήλεφον which would normally be abbreviated as Πρὸς (or Εἰς) Τήλεφον, but a reference to the name alone is paralleled with Parth. *SH* 618-9 Βίας or εἰς Βιάντα of what seems to have been an epicedium and possibly *SH* 606 Ἀρήτη belonging either to Ἀρήτης Ἐγκώμιον (*SH* 607) or to Ἀρήτης Ἐπικήδειον (*SH* 608-9).

Others take the title to refer to the celebrated Mysian hero.<sup>4</sup> This seems to be the most natural choice but neither option can be proven in a decisive way. Two considerations might be relevant here. First in Pergamon, the other big centre of Asclepius-cult together with Cos, a badly damaged part of the Zeus-temple dating from the m. 2nd c. was dedicated to Telephus, see H. Heres, *LIMC* VII.I, 857-862. This hero's need for medical treatment brought him close to Asclepius but nothing of the kind is known about Cos. Secondly, the Telephus-tale would provide the suitable breadth for numerous appeals to myth to be incorporated. The myth was first dealt with in *Cypria EGF* p. 42.47-9, 53-4, but Telephus became a celebrity with his treatment in tragedy and particularly in the much discussed play of Eur. which became a frequent subject of parody in Ar.<sup>5</sup> Another Hellenistic poem whose title is the name of a celebrated "tragic" figure is Euph.'s *Philoctetes CA* 44-5. Philoctetes was another wounded hero of the Trojan war. *CA* 44 deals with the tragic death in the sea of Iphimachus who was helping to feed the sick hero and in *CA* 45 the word is of the establishment of the shrine of Ἀπόλλων Ἀλαῖος in Lemnos, where Philoctetes laid

<sup>3</sup> F. Jacoby, *RhM* 60 (1905), 47, 55, 66 consistently held an alleged *Bittis* by Ph. as an epicedium.

<sup>4</sup> R. Pfeiffer, *CQ* 37 (1943), 32 n. 3 was adamant that the poem is not related to Ph.'s father: "There is not the slightest probability that Philetas' *Telephos* ... was an epicedium for his father", cf. also A. Lesky, *Gesch. der griech. Lit.*, Bern <sup>3</sup>1971, 789, E. Calderon, *EClás* 30 (1988), 23.

<sup>5</sup> On Eur.'s play see E. W. Handley - J. Rea, *The Telephus of Euripides*, London 1957, M. J. Cropp in C. Collard, al., *Euripides. Selected Fragmentary Plays*, Warminster 1995, 17f. and on the parody it elicited cf. Ar. *Ach.* 432f., *Thesm.* 46f. and see P. Rau, *Paratragodia*, Munich 1967, 19f., 141-4. It is a good parallel to *Aeolus* which strongly influenced the Odysseus-episode in *Hermes*. On the Telephus-myth see M. Strauss, *Studien zu Ikonographie und Geschichte des Mythos von Telephus*, Munich 1995.

down his bow.<sup>6</sup> Very probably other mythological subjects were also treated in that poem.

If Ph.'s poem dealt with Telephus the hero, a link with the Argonauts' sojourn on Corcyra might be established on the basis of erotic misconduct being for Telephus a kind of family tradition. In [Hes.] *Heoiai* fr. 165, a work which Ph. assiduously used elsewhere, Auge, mother of Telephus, is consigned by the gods to the care of Teuthras, the Mysian king, not as his wife as usually, but as an adopted daughter. There, not in Tegea as usually, she pairs with Heracles to give birth to Telephus, see West (1985), 93-4. Cf. vv. 3-10:

]μαλα δ' εὔαδεν ἀθα[νάτοισιν].[ "

ἦ ῥ' ὀ δὲ] ῥί[γησ]έν τε καὶ ἴδιε μῦ[θον] ἀκούσ[ας  
 ἀθανά]τῶν οἳ οἱ τότε ἔναργέες ἄντ' ἐφάνησαν·

6           κούρη]ν δ' [ἐ]ν μεγάροισιν εὐ τρέφεν ἦδ' ἀτ[ίταλλε  
 δεξάμ]εν[ος], ἴσον δὲ θυγατράσιν ἦσιν ἐτίμ[α.  
 ἦ τέκε] Τήλεφον Ἀρκασίδην Μυσῶν βασιλῆ[α,  
 μιχθε]ῖσ' ἐν φιλότῃ βίῃ Ἑρακλῆει  
 10           εὐτε μεθ' ἵ]ππους στεῖχεν ἀγαυοῦ Λαομέδοντο[ς etc.

Auge's misbehaviour with the stranger Heracles disgracing Teuthras may be paralleled with Jason and Medea abusing Alcinous' hospitality with an illegitimate coupling. A.R.'s version making Alcinous' judgement about Medea's future depend upon her previous marriage with Jason may be a compromising invention with obvious grotesque overtones. In this case the marriage had to take place in Alcinous' house. The incident would find a precedent with the potential pairing of Odysseus in *Od.* 6-8. Heracles is associated with Hermes in a way resembling Odysseus's liaison with this god, cf. Theoc. 24.115-7, he was presented as a farcical glutton in classical comedy, but he was also considered the arch-ancestor of the Ptolemies. The Phaeacians had a reputation for hospitality, cf. Call. *HyDel.* 156 and Auge is mentioned in *ibid.* 70. Telephus himself was charged with such behaviour too. According to a genealogy going back to the *Ilias Parva EGF* p. 52.14 and fr. 7 he coupled secretly with Astyoche, Priam's sister, to give birth to Eurypylus, cf. Q.S. 6.135-8:

<sup>6</sup> His Italiot adventures mentioned by Tzetzes *apud* Euph. CA 45 ("Dubium") refer to Lyc. 612f., 1245f., on whom Tzetzes comments, rather than to Euph. The wording is not clear but a conflation of sources is likely from a Tzetzes notorious for his slips of memory. On Telephus in Cyprus see P. M. Fraser, *RDAC* (1979), 328-343.

τὸν γὰρ δὴ τέκε διὰ κασιγνήτη Πριάμοιο  
 Ἄστυόχη κρατερῆσιν ὑπ' ἀγκοίνησι μιγεῖσα  
 Τηλέφου, ὃν ῥα καὶ αὐτὸν ἀταρβεί Ἡρακλῆι  
 λάθρη ἑοῖο τοκῆος ἐυπλόκαμος τέκεν Αὔγη etc.

That the Apollonian Scholium discusses the venues in the different authors does not of course indicate where the burden in Ph. fell. The fact that the notice about the Coan seems to be an early contribution to the exegesis of A.R.'s poem by someone who had direct access to Ph.'s text adds to the uncertainty about the central theme of that part of *Telephus*. The Scholium itself, separate from that on A.R. 4.1153 (308.7-11 Wendel) providing similar information, could even go back to Chares, a pupil of A.R. who according to Schol. on 2.1052-7a (203.12-3 Wendel) wrote a treatise on the myths occurring in the *Argonautica* (Περὶ Ἱστοριῶν τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου), and would then survive through Theon. That the Coan elaborated on the Argonautic myth at length (Szadeczky-Kardoss 162-3 who surmised an influence by Mimn., and \*Campbell) does not seem probable as no other information about his alleged treatment survives.

Abuse of hospitality is the subject-matter of the Odysseus episode in *Hermes* and a favourite motif in Parth. *Erot. Path.*, who also treated the Telephus-myth in *SH* 650. Significantly he applies to Telephus the traditional epithet of Hermes ἀργειφόντης. This might suggest that the god and the hero were somehow linked. A further link might have already occurred in [Hes.] as the god handing over Auge to Teuthras would normally be Hermes *paedophoros*, cf. his commending infant Dionysus to Macris in A.R. 4.1134-7 and see in art G. Siébert, *LIMC* V.I, 319-20. These considerations would question the very existence of *Telephus*. In reality, however, an attempt to relate *Hermes* with the Apollonian Scholium would have a meaning only if ἐν Τηλέφῳ is corrupt<sup>7</sup> or could stand for "in the chapter (of *Hermes*) dealing with Telephus" as divided by a diligent grammarian. But in this case the Medea/Jason example would serve only as a briefly-mentioned parallel. This is most unlikely. The tendency to get rid of *Telephus* often leads scholars to resort to a proposed correction by Bach 60 ("fort. recte" Powell, cf. also Susemihl I, 177 n. 19). If a grammarian early enough to be unaffected by Call.'s "Coan" byname for Ph. actually wrote Φιλητῶς δὲ ὁ Τηλέφου (which is an easy alteration; the transmitted ἐν Τηλέφῳ would be an assimilation to the following ἐν τῇ Ἀλκινόου) out of philological fastidiousness or to distinguish him from a homonym, the *Telephus* would be a phantom and the Jason/Medea episode would most suitably be accommodated in *Hermes*.

<sup>7</sup> Turning Φιλητῶς δὲ ἐν Τηλέφῳ into Φιλητῶς δ' ἐν Ἑρμῇ λέγει seems too violent an emendation to deserve serious consideration.



Alternatively, the Argonautic episode in Corcyra is a mythological digression from a parallel event related to the Telephus-legend and treated by Ph. Should this be so, the secret-liaison motif would find a place in this witty poem but would not constitute its guiding motif. Digressions related to other turns of the Telephus-myth would come up too. Kuchenmüller 60 unfortunately tried via Heracles, Telephus' father, to suggest a link with *Demeter*. Any thought of a possible connection with the so-called "Telephus-epyllion" printed as *Epica Adesp. CA 4* must be abandoned: that poet lacks the creativity of Ph.

## EPIGRAMS AND PAEGNIA

## Fr. 25 (CA 11+12)

Ἐκ θυμοῦ κλαῦσαί με τὰ μέτρια καί τι προσηνές  
 εἰπεῖν, μεμνήσθαι τ' οὐκέτ' ἔόντος ὁμῶς.  
 -Οὐ κλαίω ξείνων σε φιλαίτατε, πολλὰ γὰρ ἔγνωσ  
 καλά, κακῶν δ' αὖ σοι μοῖραν ἔνειμε θεός.

Stob. 4.56.10 (V.1125 Hense, c. παρηγορικά) = vv. 1-2

Φιλῆτα Παιγνίων MA Φιλῆτα S

+ Stob. 4.56.11 (V.1125 Hense) = vv. 3-4

Φιλέα Ἐπιγραμμάτων MA Φιλέα S.

Philetæe tribuit Brunck. Duo disticha conjunxit Schneidewin.

1 μέγα codd. : μάλα Brunck : corr. Jacobs 2 ὁμῶς codd. : ὁμῶς Bergk 4 νέμει codd. : corr. Gesner

**ἐκ θυμοῦ** An expression for strong feelings, cf. *Il.* 9.343 (Achilleus of Briseis) \*ἐκ θυμοῦ φίλεον ~ \**Il.* 9.486 (Phoenix of Achilleus; "a striking phrase", Griffin ad loc.), *aliter Il.* 23.595 \*ἐκ θυμοῦ πεσέειν, cf. then [Hes.] fr. 58.4 \*ἐ]κ θυμοῦ φ[ιλε-, Theogn. 62 (φίλον ποιεῦ) \*ἐκ θυμοῦ, Phanocl. *CA* 1.2 \*ἐκ θυμοῦ Κάλαϊν στέρξε (pent.), Theoc. 17.130 \*ἐκ θυμοῦ στέργουσα, [Mosch.] *Megara* 60 \*ἐκ θυμοῦ στενάχουσα, Bion fr. 9.2 \*ἐκ θυμῶ δὲ φιλεῦντι, Naumach. *GDRK* 29.33 (children) \*ἐκ θυμοῦ φιλείεις, Q.S. 1.423, 3.505, al., and in an interpolated verse Theoc. 2.61 \*ἐκ θυμοῦ δέδεμαι (in love). Further Theoc. 8.35 (vales and rivers) βόσκοιτ' ἐκ ψυχᾶς τὰς ἀμνάδας, Nicarch. *II AP* 11.7.2 ἐκ ψυχῆς τερπόμενος, Ps-Phoc. *Gn.* 50 ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀγόρευε, *Or. Sib.* 8.331 ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀγάπα. In tragedy only Aesch. *Ag.* 48 ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες, Adesp. *TrGF* 458.7 (anger) εἶπέ τ' ἐκ θυμοῦ τάδε, not in *Ar.* The reaction should be moderate, but genuine. Note the heavy spondaic beginning of v. 1 and 3, which have the same metrical structure.

**τὰ μέτρια** μέτρον is often employed to define the appropriate intensity in the expression of funerary grief, cf. Euph. *CA* 21 (from Ἐπικήδειον εἰς Πρωταγόραν; evidently indebted to this passage) τῶ καὶ μέτρια μὲν τις ἐπὶ φθιμένῳ ἀκάχοιτο, / μέτρια καὶ κλαύσειεν· ἐπεὶ καὶ πάμπαν ἄδακρυν / Μοῖραι ἴεσκμήναντο (MA : ἐσημήναντο S : ἐσικμήναντο Meineke), Eur. fr. 46 πάντων τὸ θανεῖν· τὸ δὲ κοινὸν ἄχος / μετρίως ἀλγεῖν σοφία μελετᾷ, fr. 418, Antiphan. *PCG* 54.1-4 πενθεῖν δὲ

μετρίως τοὺς προσήκοντας φίλους / οὐ γὰρ τεθνήσκειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδόν, / ἦν παῖσιν ἐλθεῖν ἔστ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχον, / προσεληλύθασιν and *GVI* 1740.5-6 (1st c.; deceased mother) ἄν καὶ παρακαλῶ δακρύειν ὅσον θέμις / κοιναὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώποισιν αἱ τοῖαι τύχαι. The advice is of course old, cf. Archil. *IEG* 128.6-7 χαρτοῖσιν τε χαῖρε καὶ κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα / μὴ λίην, γίνωσκε δ' οἶος ῥυσμὸς ἀνθρώπους ἔχει, Theogn. 591-4. Μετριοπάθεια was propounded by the Academy and Peripatos; the Stoics favoured ἀπάθεια, see R. Kassel, *Unter-suchungen zur griech. und römischen Konsolations-Literatur*, Munich 1958, 56-7, 93-4. Μέτρια for μετρίως is rare; "articulo ostenditur modum quendam solitum ac certum maeroris esse, ultra quem procedere non deceat", Nowacki 50. For the call for moderation by the deceased Reitzenstein *EuS*, 179 contrasted Solon *IEG* 21 μηδέ μοι ἄκλαντος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι / καλλείπομι θανῶν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς, but his attempt to correlate Mimn. *IEG* 11 is futile, see Allen 65-6.

**προσηνές** sc. ἐμοί. Non-epic (for the common ἥπιος) and only rarely Hellenistic, Leon. Tar. *HE* 11.9, 19.3, 80.3, Adesp. Pap. *CA* 18i.10 (Cercidas?), *SH* 966.9 πρ[ο]σηνέα (Parth.), Anon. PSchubart 6.12 (s. III p.C.) = Antim. Dub. fr. 200.12 ]ισανες ("possis [προ]σανές" Schubart; most uncertain), but often in contemporary funerary inscriptions (mostly as a virtue of the deceased), cf. *GVI* 677.5 (3rd/2nd c.), 843.1-2 (2nd/1st c.) Λυσίμαχον μῦθοι[σ]ι προσηνέα πᾶσι πολίταις / καὶ ξεῖνοις, 1112a.2 (2nd/3rd c.), *SEG* 30.1410.1 (1st c.), 28.1042.7 (late Hellenistic). First in Anacr., then Emped. and Pind., late prose. Of speech cf. Thuc. 6.77 ἐκάστοις τι προσηνές λέγοντες.

**μεμνήσθαι δ' οὐκέτ' ἐόντος ὁμῶς** / Cf. *Od.* 1.289 τεθνηῶτος .. μηδ' ἔτ' ἐόντος/, Arat. 373 τις ἀνδρῶν οὐκέτ' ἐόντων, Anyte *HE* 8.3 (deceased girl) οὐ τοι ἔτ' εἰμί, Meleag. *HE* 128.5 (Niobe) οὐ σοι παῖδες ἔτ' εἰσίν. The phrase had an impact on A.R. 1.896 (Hypsipyle to Jason) Μνώεο μὴν, ἀπεῶν περ ὁμῶς/ (plurr. : ὁμῶς cod.). The infinitives for the more usual imperatives give the entreaty a solemn tone. Bergk's ὁμῶς "none the less" is derived from ὁμῶς "equally, simultaneously", see Vian on A.R. 3.949, Hutchinson on Aesch. *ScTh* 712, and often appears with a concessive participle, but ὁμῶς is secured by the Apollonian passage and by the fact that the exhortations κλαῦσαί με τὰ μέτρια and μεμνήσθαι οὐκέτ' ἐόντος are supplementary rather than antithetical.

**οὐ κλαίω** This answers only one of the three requests. Along with the more common request to shed a tear of sympathy, often the deceased himself produces various

reasons for which one should not weep for his fate.<sup>1</sup> In some instances he claims his death to be vindicated by a worthy life, cf. Carp(h)yl. *HE* 1.1-2 Μὴ μέμψη παριῶν τὰ μνήματά μου, παροδῖτα· / οὐδὲν ἔχω θρήνων ἄξιον οὐδὲ θανάων etc., Posid. *SH* 705.21f. μηδέ τις οὖν χεύαι δάκρυον etc., *IMEG* 35.7f. (2nd c.) ταῦτα μαθὼν χαίροντι νόφ παράμειβε κέλευθον (v. 21), *AVI* 78.2f. (2nd/3rd c.) μὴ κλαύσης φθιμέ[[ etc., cf. also *CEG* 477.1 (400-390) εὐδαιμών ἔθανον etc., 524, 579, 601, 606, 613.3 θν[ή]ισκω ζηλωτῆς μοίρας θανάτου τε τυχοῦσ[α] (all 4th c.), see Lattimore 217. Cicero contrasted in several passages Solon *IEG* 21 (quoted above) with Ennius *Epigr.* 46 Courtney *nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu / faxit. cur? voluto vivos per ora virum*, cf. also Hor. *Odes* 2.10.21-4.

**ξείνων** The term covers the whole semantic field from "brotherly friend" to "stranger", see Gow on Theoc. 5.66, J. Pinsent in *Mélanges E. Delebeque*, Aix-en-Provence 1983, 313-8, Edwards on *Il.* 17.151-2. Here perhaps a friend from old times.

**φιλαίτατε** Rare for the common φίλτατος. First in Xen. *Anab.* 1.9.29, from Ph. Theoc. (who never has φίλτατος) 7.98 ὁ τὰ πάντα φιλαίτατος of Aratus called ξείνος in v. 119, then Dioscurus *GDRK* 42.4.31, 21.15, cf. Call. *HyDel.* 58 φιλαίτερον .. υἷα, a comparative trivialised in Nonn. *D.* (5x). Cf. Homeric γεραίτατος (also [Theoc.] 25.48) and from παλαιός Call. *SH* 274.4 παλαιότερον οὐνομα, fr. 66.8-9 παλαιάτατα ... / οἰκία, see McLennan on *HyJon.* 40 and on other irregular superlatives Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 93.3, 535, Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 139.

**ξείνων .. φιλαίτατε** "dearest of friends", cf. Call. *HE* 42.2 ξείνων λῶστε. It varies the Homeric address *Il.* 13.249 = 19.315 = *Od.* 24.517 = Archil. *IEG* 168.3 φίλταθ' ἑταίρων, relying on *Il.* 17.584, al. ξείνων φίλτατος, cf. in address *Il.* 24.748 "Ἐκτορ ... φίλτατε παίδων, cf. 24.762, *Od.* 1.158 = 19.350 φίλε ξεῖνε, Eur. *Cycl.* 418 (Cyclops to Odysseus) φίλτατε ξείνων, *CEG* 530.4 (m. 4th c.; deceased to a friend) φίλτατ'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Philitas Samius *HE* 2.3-4 χά μικκά τάδε πατρὶ λέγει· 'πάλιν ἴσχεο λύπας, / Θεϊόδοτε· θνατοὶ πολλακὶ δυστυχέες', *GVI* 372.2-3 (2nd/3rd c.) καὶ σοὶ παραινῶ, σύνιγαμε, / μὴ κλαῖε· Μοιρῶν γὰρ μίτος πάντας καλεῖ, 861.5f. (3rd c. A.D.), 1097.5-6 (2nd/1st c.) μήτηρ, μὴ με δάκρυε· τίς ἡ χάρις; ἀλλὰ σεβάξου· / ἀστὴρ γὰρ γενόμην θεῖος ἀκρεσπέριος, 1050 (2nd/3rd c.), 1199 (2nd c. A.D.), 1275.9-10 (2nd c. A.D.), 1584.9-10 (2nd/1st c.), 1704.3-4 (3rd c. A.D.), 1816.5-6 (1st c.) [μὴ] θρηνεῖτε γόοις, προσκηδέες, οὐ γ[ὰ]ρ [ἔ]ν[ε]σ[τ]ι / δάκρυσι τὴν ὀλοὴν Μοῖραν ὑπεκπροφυ[γ]εῖ[ν], 1990.5f. (2nd/1st c.), 1993.5f. (1st/2nd c.), *SEG* 37.736 (1st c. A.D.) ἀλλά, πάτερ, μὴ κλαῖε· πανύστατα τοῦτο παραινῶ / εἶδ' ὡς τὴν ἀρετὴν κάγλ φθιμένοις ἔλαχον, *SEG* 41.1150.8 (2nd c. A.D.?) and Agath. Schol. *AP* 7.574.9-10 ἔμπης ὄλβιος τοῦτος, ὃς ἐν νεότητι μαρανθείς / ἔκφυγε τὴν βίτου θᾶσσον ἄλιτροσύνην. The heroic version of the motif in Diosc. *HE* 30, al., see Lattimore 237-240.

ἀνδρῶν (a common form of address in tragedy), *IMEG* 5.11-2 (2nd c.; dead to wanderer) φέριστε / ξεῖνε, *GVI* 1332.1 (1st/2nd c.; dead to wanderer) ξένε φίλτατε, Theoc. 15.74 = 24.40 φίλ' ἀνδρῶν (15.52 ἄνερ φίλε), further *Od.* 14.301 = 21.388 δειλὲ ξείνων, *Od.* 14.443 δαιμόνιε ξείνων. The affectionate address means to counterbalance the speaker's refusal to weep. ὦ ξένε was first employed by Simon. and became popular with Hellenistic epigrammatists, see Seelbach on *Mnasalc.* (his) ep. 13.1 (p. 47). On *Anredeformen* in general see H. Zilliakus, *RAC* Suppl. Lief. 3 (1985 [1964]), 470-6, E. Dickey, *Greek Forms of Address, from Herodotus to Lucian*, Oxford 1996, esp. 135-8 and on the genitive in these expressing the uniqueness of the addressee see K-G I, 339.

ἔγνωσ "experienced".

πολλὰ .. ἔγνωσ / καλὰ, κακῶν δ' αὐ σοι μοῖραν ἔνειμε θεός Contrast Asclep. *HE* 33.5-6 φεῦ τὸν τεκόντα, φεῦ δὲ καὶ σέ, Βότρυος φίλος παῖ, / ὅσῶν ἄμοιρος ἡδονῶν ἀπώλευ and cf. Tyrt. *IEG* 12.38 (the brave man who survives) πολλὰ δὲ τερπνὰ παθῶν ἔρχεται εἰς Ἀίδην, *GVI* 1395.2 (2nd c. A.D.) πολλὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ παθῶν / φρεσί, πολλὰ δὲ λυγρὰ; more neutral *GVI* 1028.5-6 (2nd/3rd c.; a young boy) ἄρτι δ' ὑπ' Ἀδην / κείμαι, μήτε καλῶν μήτε κακῶν μέτοχος, *SEG* 31.846.2 (3rd c. A.D.; a baby died) οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ ἀγαθὸν γνούς, βίος ὅτι φέρει, *Luc. AP* 7.308.3-4 (a five-year old boy prematurely seized by Hades) ἀλλά με μὴ κλαίοις· καὶ γὰρ βιότοιο μετέσχον / παύρου καὶ παύρων τῶν βιότοιο κακῶν. That life is a mixture of good and evil fortune is an old ascertainment: *Il.* 24.527-533, *Od.* 4.236-7, 8.63, 15.487-8, *Hes. WD* 669, *Theog.* 570, 602, 906, (?) Stesich. *PMGF* S 150.4, Solon *IEG* 13.63, *Theogn.* 192, 355-360, *Bacch.* 5.50-5, *Eur. Hec.* 57-8, *A.R.* 4.1165-7, *Call. Hec. fr.* 115 with Hollis ad loc., *Anon. HE* 33.1-2, *Q.S.* 7.9-10, *AVI* 39.5-6 (2nd c. A.D.), *Q.S.* 7.9-10. The typical sympathy of the wayfarer is refuted on the grounds of the old topos.

μοῖραν ἔνειμε θεός Cf. *Bacch.* 5.50-1 θεός / μοῖραν .. καλῶν ἔπορευ. The Fates allocate to each mortal a certain destiny at his birth, cf. *Il.* 24.210 and see West on *Hes. Theog.* 218-9, Edwards on *Il.* 20.127, Erbse 273f. The passive equivalent is μοῖραν ἔλλαχε. When a character does not know which god is the instigator of an incident or feeling he uses the vague θεός τις, see Hainsworth on *Il.* 9.600 and cf. e.g. *A.R.* 3.323. Epic poets with *theos*, used both by divine and human speakers, do not express the notion "einer hinterhältig ins menschliche Leben eingreifenden Macht [as with

*daimon*], sondern sie denken an die Hochheit der Himmlischen".<sup>2</sup> Asclep. *HE* 19.4 ends an erotic (and later Philod. *GPh* 24.4 an epideictic) epigram with θεός/.

"Reliquiarum Philetæ omnium specimen pulcherrimum", Kuchenmüller 66. The deceased brings forward three requests in two verses. The unexpected reply comes from a character with principles, cf. the sharp correspondences of v. 1 μέ ~ v. 3 σέ, v. 4 σοί and v.1 κλαῦσαι ~ v. 3 οὐ κλαίω. There is no need to lament the end of a happy life: death is everybody's common destiny. The two successive quotations in Stob., the first ascribed to *Paegnia*, the second to *Epigrams*, are apparently one unit, see also Wil. *HD* I, 116 and, if hesitantly, *HE* II, 477-8. This is not only due to their evident coherence but also due to the fact that vv. 1-2 could not be placed among the παρηγορικά on their own and that Euph.'s passage reviews the whole epigram rather than the first distich only, as μέτρια appears not in the request for sympathy but in the consolatory answer. The epigram incorporates typical elements of the funerary inscription, as the address to the wayfarer and the request for sympathy.<sup>3</sup> It seems that this sensitive creation belongs to the transitional period from *Steinepigramm* to *Buchepigramm*. It constitutes the clearest indication of Ph.'s creative role at the dawn of the literary epigram.

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<sup>2</sup> Erbse 267-9. On the different nuances of the two terms (*daimon* is used only by mortals) see also G. Francois, *Le polythéisme et l'emploi au singulier des mots theos, daimon dans la littérature grecque*, Paris 1957, esp. pp. 305f., 317-326, Rutherford on *Od.* 19.10 and cf. Call. fr. 586 εἰ θεὸν οἴσθα, / ἴσθ' ὅτι καὶ ῥέξαι δαίμονι πᾶν δυνατόν. In the plural the two terms may be equated, cf. *Il.* 1.222 and see Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 1111-4, Dover on Theoc. 2.11. On *theos*, the general term to express the divine, see Burkert 271-2, Erbse 269-273. *Daimon* originally is the power which actually apportions things among men, cf. Alc. *PMGF* 65 δαίμονας τ' ἐδάσσατο and see Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 210-5, Chantraine *DE* s.v., Richardson on *HHD* 300, West on Hes. *WD* 122-3, Burkert 420-1 n. 3, Campbell on A.R. 3.389-390.

<sup>3</sup> The address to the wayfarer, appearing as early as the 6th c., is "fundamentally appropriate to the inscribed epitaph", see Lattimore 230-4, Ch. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Reading" *Greek Death*, Oxford 1995, 279-284. On the typical στήθι καὶ οἴκτιρον request see Lattimore 234-5.

## Fr. 26 (CA 13; Epigrams?)

γαῖαν μὲν φανέουσι θεοὶ ποτε· νῦν δὲ πάρεστιν  
αἰψηρῶν ἀνέμων μούνον ὄρᾶν τέμενος

Stob. 4.17.15 (IV.401 Hense, c. περὶ ναυτιλίας καὶ ναυαγίου)

Φιλήτα Ἐπιγραμμάτων SMA.

2 αἰψηρῶν S : αἰψηλῶν M : λαιψηρὸν A

**αἰψηρῶν** Most editors since Kayser print the banal λαιψηρῶν, cf. *Il.* 14.17 = 15.620 λιγέων ἀνέμων λαιψηρὰ κέλευθα/, A.R. 1.926, 4.886 λαιψηροῖο .. Ζεφύροιο, 4.241 ἀνέμου λαιψηρὰ ... ἀέντος where see Livrea. Λαιψηρός is a variant of αἰψηρός in *Il.* 20.276, *Od.* 2.257 (4.103) and αἰψηρά of λαιψηρά in *Il.* 10.358. Αἰψηρός of winds is rarer, but possible, cf. Hes. *Theog.* 379 Βορέην τ' αἰψηροκέλευθον with West ad loc., Pind. fr. 94b.16-7 Ζεφύρου ... πνοάς / αἰψηράς, Epica Adesp. CA 1.9 (of a dog Βορῆς), Q.S. 8.184 ἀνέμων ῥιπῆσιν .. αἰψηροῖσι, 4.349 νεφέλησιν .. αἰψηρῆσιν and Wil. *HD* II, 183 n. 1 and G-P, *HE* II, 478, who noted that ephelcystic -v in πάρεστιν is in favour of αἰψηρῶν, were right in defending it.

**ἀνέμων ... τέμενος** "dominion of the winds", i.e. the sea. In Homer τέμενος has its secular (and probably original) application as land set apart as property of a king, *Il.* 6.194, 9.574, al., *Od.* 6.293, al., but also its religious one as land dedicated to a god, see Edwards on *Il.* 18.550-1, W. Donlan, *MH* 46 (1989), 129-145. The latter is its usual meaning later and always in Hellenistic poetry. Here it is used metaphorically, as Aesch. *Pers.* 363 τέμενος αἰθέρος, Pind. *Pyth.* 2.2 (Syracuse) τέμενος Ἄρεος, ibid. 4.56-7 (Egypt) Νεΐ- / λοιο πρὸς πῖον τέμενος Κρονίδα. Valckenaer was deceived by Homeric *Il.* 5.524 μένος Βορέας καὶ ἄλλων / ζαχρειῶν ἀνέμων, *Od.* 5.478 = 19.440, cf. Q.S. 3.700 λαιψηρῶν ἀνέμων ἱερὸν μένος, into the unfortunate proposal ἀνέμων ... τὸ μένος. For the doxographic belief that the sea is the seat and realm of the winds cf. *Il.* 21.334-5 (Hera) Ζεφύροιο καὶ ἀργεστᾶο Νότοιο / εἶσομαι ἐξ ἀλόθεν χαλεπὴν ὄρσουσα θύελλαν cf. Q.S. 5.637-8, Xenoph. 21B 30.1, 5 D-K πηγή δ' ἐστὶ θάλασσαν ὕδατος, πηγή δ' ἀνέμοιο· / [...] / ἀλλὰ μέγας πόντος γενέτωρ νεφέων ἀνέμων τε / καὶ ποταμῶν with Heitsch ad loc. for the Homeric background, *Il.* 11.297-8, expressions like *Il.* 2.396-7 κύματα .. / παντοίων ἀνέμων with genitive of cause (see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 713), Menecr. Ephes. *SH* 546, Nic. *Alex.* 171-2 θάλασσαν, / ἦν τε καὶ ἀτμεύειν ἀνέμοις πόρην Ἐννοσίγαιος, Lyr. Adesp. CA 33 ("Ῥοδίοις ἀνέμοις"),

Hor. *Odes* 3.3.4-5 *Auster / dux inquieti turbidus Hadriae*, Tib. 1.9.9 *freta per parentia ventis*.

This fragment is classified by Stob. in the chapter *περὶ ναυτιλίας καὶ ναυαγίου* and is ascribed to the *Epigrams* of Ph. Both pieces of information have been set in doubt. Wil. *HD* I, 115 ("den Namen Epigramm schwerlich verdient"), Powell on fr. 10 ("certe fr. 13 Epigramma non est"), G-P, *HE* II, 478 ("it does not look as though it was part of an epigram") and D. L. Page, *Epigr. Graeca*, OCT 1975, 75 ("mancum videtur, siquidem epigramma") noticed the difficulty of these lines being part of an epigram. Earlier Reitzenstein *EuS*, 179 wanted to ascribe them to a "short gnomic elegy" apparently with an allegorical meaning "even in the most adverse circumstances there is hope". But this does not look likely at all. Stob.'s interpretation of a sea-storm description followed by Webster 41 ("a storm in the Argonauts' voyage"), Zanker 102 n. 3 is not binding. Kuchenmüller 68, who held the lines a complete epigram, ingeniously suggested them to be a riddle about Rhodes, which according to a tradition suddenly appeared from the sea, Pind. *Ol.* 7.55f., al. He also considered Anaphe (p. 69 n. 1), an island bearing associations with the Argonauts and Thessaly, see Craik 164, Vian III, 67. But *ποτε* indicates that this is not a case of emergency. G-P held it as more probable to be a comment of a sailor in the open sea ("Providence will ultimately bring them in sight of land") and \*Campbell compared A.R. 4.1215f., 1251f., cf. also Mosch. *Eur.* 132-3. But the fragment rather seems to take the form of a confident prediction or a prophecy. It might be said by a deity. If the "realm of winds" is an elaborate way of saying "sea", it could even be said by someone facing the sea at a seashore. Nisyros, an island visible from Cos, is an *ἀπόθραυσμα* of Cos jabbed by Poseidon's trident in his duel with the giant Polybotes. In *Il.* 2.676-80 it is ruled by the Coan king and it might once have been a Coan possession. In historic times it was under the aegis of Cos, cf. Hdt. 7.99, until the 3rd c. when it came under the Rhodian sphere of influence.<sup>4</sup> A group of the Coan nobility was called Nisyriadae. The definitive Coan claim of a special relation with Nisyros might have given this island a

<sup>4</sup> According to the myth Nisyros was created when Poseidon trying to overwhelm giant Polybotes heaved up a gigantic rock from Cos and hurled it at him, cf. Strabo 10.5.16, Paus. 1.2.4, [Apollod.] 1.6.2, see F. Vian, *La guerre des Géants*, Paris 1952, 76-9, 202-3, 230-2, Sh-W 32-3 and on Coan influence on the neighbouring islands *ibid.* 88-9, Herzog, *HG*, 45. According to a contemporary belief in Nisyros, nowadays home to only a thousand inhabitants, Polybotes buried under the island is puffing up toxic breath through the narrow fissures in the volcanic crater of the island. Interestingly too, a current tradition in Cos holds that the small neighbouring island of Astypalaia was created when in ancient times a part of the island containing the town of Astypalaia was detached from Cos by a natural disaster.



place in *Demeter*. The goddess and Chalcon seem to have walked in the district of Cos opposite to Nisyros and to have approached the sea in fr. 22. In the poetry of a native of Cos the sea is naturally expected to contribute to its imagery, cf. fr. 15.2 νεῶρες πῆμα.

#### Fr. 27 (CA 10)

Οὐ μέ τις ἐξ ὄρέων ἀποφώλιος ἀγροιώτης  
αἰρήσει κλήθρην αἰρόμενος μακέλην,  
ἀλλ' ἐπέων εἰδὼς κόσμον καὶ πολλὰ μογήσας  
μύθων παντοίων οἶμον ἐπιστάμενος.

Stob. 2.4.5 (II.27 Wachsmuth, c. περὶ λόγου καὶ γραμμάτων)

Φιλῆτα Παιγνίων (Φιλῆτα A : Φιλητ παιγν- S : Φιλῆτου παιγνία T).

**μέ** Supplemented by κλήθρην in v. 2.

**τις** Pejorative, "not just any". Τις often replaces the name of characters whose role does not matter in a story, cf. e.g. *Il.* 13.578-9, Hdt. 1.43, Call. *HE* 34.1.

**ἐξ ὄρέων** refers to ἀγροιώτης, cf. Q.S. 1.63 ~ 7.505-6 ἀπ' οὐρεος ἀγροιώται, Opp. *Hal.* 3.386 (derogatorily of a hunter) ὀρέστερος ἀγροιώτης/. For the rustic from the mountains failing to appreciate the value of an adler cf. the shepherds in the mountains failing to respect the beauty of a hyacinth in Sappho fr. 105b οἶαν τὰν ὑάκινθον ἐν ὄρεσι ποιμένες ἄνδρες / πόσσι καταστειβουσι, χάμαι δέ τε πόρφυρον ἄνθος... . Often at the beginning of hexameter, but cf. \*AR 1.1100, 2.400, 976, \*Arat. 118 and see Campbell on Q.S. 12.410.

**ἀποφώλιος** An Odyssean word (4x) of obscure etymology, see *LFrE* s.v., Hoekstra on *Od.* 14.212. Then [Hes.] fr. 31.2 (= *Od.* 11.249), Eur. fr. 996, Nic. *Alex.* 524. It bears implications of poor intelligence in *Od.* 5.182 (Calypso to Odysseus) ἦ δὴ ἀλιτρός γ' ἐσσι καὶ οὐκ ἀποφώλια εἰδὼς, / οἶον δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἐπεφράσθης ἀγορεῦσαι, *Od.* 8.177 νόον δ' ἀποφώλιός ἐσσι and see *DGE* s.v. II.1. As with ἀποβώμιος on which see Seaford on Eur. *Cycl.* 364, or with ἀποθύμιος (*Il.* 14.261, Hes. *WD* 710, cf. *Il.* 1.562 ἀπὸ θυμοῦ) the Alexandrians probably understood it as

ἀπὸ φωλεοῦ, cf. Schol. *Od.* 5.182 (261.27 Dindorf) ἀποφώλια' ἀπαίδευτα. φωλεοὶ γὰρ τὰ παιδευτήρια, Hesych. α 6798 and see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 68.2.

**ἀγροιώτης** *A metri gratia* Homeric transformation of ἀγρότης, see Risch 35. For these -ιώτης nouns cf. ἀσπιδιώτης (*Il.* 2.554, 16.167, Theoc. 14.67, see Livrea on Colluth. 58), ἀγγελιώτης (*HHHerm.* 296, Theogn. 870, Call. *Hec.* fr. 69.6, *HyJov.* 68 with McLennan ad loc.), εἰραφιώτης etc. and see B-P 572-3, G. Redard, *Les Noms Grecs en -της -τις*, Paris 1949, 9. They tend to be placed at the end of the hexameter. Ἀγροιώτης, *Il.* 3x, *Od.* 2x, refers disparagingly to inferior intelligence in *Od.* 21.85 (Antinous to Eumaeus) νήπιοι ἀγροιώται, ἐφημέρια φρονέοντες, cf. Sappho fr. 57, *Ar. Thesm.* 58 ("boorish", cf. the antithesis of ἄστυ/ἀγρός in *Clouds* 47, *Frogs* 5, al.) and Latin *rusticus* on which see Hutchinson 282. In literary terms cf. Hor. *Ars Poet.* 272-3 *ego et vos / scimus inurbanum lepido seponere dicto* and in relation to a poet's appearance *Ar. Thesm.* 159-160 ἄμουσον ἐστὶ ποιητὴν ἰδεῖν / ἀγρεῖον ὄντα καὶ δασύν. Both ἀποφώλιος and ἀγροιώτης are Homeric, here conjoined in a novel expression.

**αἰρήσει** "understand, comprehend in full depth", a colouring of the meaning "conquest", see *DGE* s.v. A.III.3 citing Plato *Phileb.* 17e, 20d, *Polit.* 282d and K. J. McKay, *Antichthon* 12 (1978), 38-9 citing Soph. *Phil.* 863, Plato *Phaedo* 81b, *Tim.* 51a. He compares similar nuances of λαμβάνω, ἄπτομαι and συναρπάζω to conclude that "any verb of physical grasping might naturally be used intellectually", see ff.

**αἰρήσει ... αἰρόμενος** A pseudo-repetition superficially like the ones abounding in epic, see Fehling (1969), 134f., cf. *Il.* 1.595-6 ~ 14.222-3 μείδησεν ... / μειδήσασα, 20.61-2 ἔδεισεν ... / δείσας, 20.403-6 ἤρυγεν, ὡς ὄτε ταῦρος / ἤρυγεν ... / ... / ὡς ἄρα τὸν γ' ἐρυγόντα, 21.395-6 ἀνήκεν / ... ἀνήκας. To judge by the faked Philius-anaphora in fr. 10 Ph. might have affected these. Cf. in Hellenistic verse Hermesian. *CA* 7.94 εὔρε ... εὔρόμενος, Call. *HE* 59.1-2 μανεῖς .. / ... ἐμάνη μανίαν, 8,4 οὐκ εἶα τὴν προπέτειαν εἶν, *Ascler. HE* 22.1-3 ἀποπτὰς / ... οὐ πέτομαι, / φιλέων ... φιληθείς, 4.1-4 ἐχούση / ... / .. ἔχον ... / ... ἔχη, 9.2 ἤξειν κούχ ἤκει cf. 10.1, 3, Theoc. 12.16 ἀντεφίλησ' ὁ φιληθείς, later *EG* 994.1-2 Kaibel (2nd/3rd c. A.D.) Μέμνων οἶδε λαλεῖν ... οἶδέ τ[ε] σιγᾶν, / εἰδώς καὶ φωνῆς νεῦρα καὶ ἠσυχίας. This kind of repetition was disliked by Brunck 234 ("Ingratum est αἰρήσει – αἰρόμενος. Forte scripserat ἀμφιτεμῶν μακέλη") but it does not indicate a "sécheresse d'expression" as van Groningen, *Poésie Verbale*, Amsterdam 1953, 71 n. 6 asserted: "man (muß) darüber klar sein, daß die Alten solche Wiederholungen nicht wie wir mieden", Kroll on Cat. 55.18 *tenent* .. / ... *tenet*.

**κλήθρην** A rare tree in Greek literature.<sup>5</sup> It comes up 2x in the *Od.* in 5.64 surrounding Calypso's cave and 5.239 as material for Odysseus to build his boat, whence it was probably brought to Ph.'s attention. Theophr. *HP* 3.14.2 says that the alder is a lofty tree (φύσει δὲ ὀρθοφυῆς) growing in damp places (φύεται δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἐφύδροις, ἀλλόθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ). Its soft wood renders it suitable for ship-building (a well-attested property curiously rejected by Mynors on Virg. *Georg.* 2.451-2). Crucially, it belongs to the trees growing not on the mountains, but only in valleys, Theophr. *HP* 3.3.1. A rustic from the mountains would not recognise it. Since its picturesque Odyssean days the alder was regarded as a beautiful and robust tree, cf. also its occurrence in a painting in Philostr. Jun. *Imag.* 6.2 (Orpheus singing) and Cat. 64.289 = Virg. *Ecl.* 6.33 *proceras ... alnos*, Ov. *Met.* 13.790 *longa procerior alno* with Bömer ad loc.

**αἰρόμενος μακέλην** A generic description of the hard working but uneducated rustic. The tough job of digging is often contrasted to the delicacy of literate efforts, cf. Ar. *PCG* 232 ὅστις ἀυλοῖς καὶ λύραισι κατατέτριμμαι χρώμενος / εἶτά με σκάπτειν κελεύεις; with K-A ad loc., Ps-Phoc. 158 Εἰ δέ τις οὐ δεδάηκε τέχνης, σκάπτειτο δικέλλη, Diog. Laer. 7.169. Μακέλλα "mattock" is a Homeric technical term occurring only in a passage containing six hapaxes in six verses. It is an implement for digging and breaking up the soil (Nonn. *D.* 4.255, al. πεδοσκαφέεσσι μακέλλαις), not cutting down a tree, cf. Anon. *AP* 16.202.3-4 ἀγροῖώτης / . . ἐποτρύνων ἔργα φυτοσκαφίης. It is always related to humble activities and persons, cf. Hes. *WD* 469-70 ὁ δὲ τυτθὸς ὄπισθε / δμῶος ἔχων μακέλην, Arat. 8, A.R. 1.1533, [Mosch.] *Megara* 94, 108, Antip. Thess. *GPh* 71.3, Antiph. *GPh* 42.3, see Livrea on A.R. 1.c., Gow on Theoc. 16.32 (a wealthy leader inimical to the Muses dies without posthumous fame) ὡσεὶ τις μακέλα τετυλωμένος ἔνδοθι χειράς. Here Theoc. has Ph. in mind. For the expression cf. Men. *Dysc.* 526-7 νεανίας ἐγὼ τις ἐξαίρων ἄνω / σφόδρα τὴν δικέλλαν, ὡς ἂν ἐργάτης βαθύς and for the epic rarity of αἶρω (~αείρω, ἄρνωμι) see Hopkinson on Call. *HyDem.* 34.

**ἐπέων .. κόσμον** In *Od.* 8.489 Odysseus praises Demodocus as singing λίην .. κατὰ κόσμον.<sup>6</sup> Epic characters talk κατὰ κόσμον, e.g. *HHHerm.* 433, or οὐ κατὰ κόσμον,

<sup>5</sup> See Murr 17, Stadler in *RE* VI (1909), 470-2 s.v. Erle, J. Andrè, *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin*, Paris 1956, 24, Meiggs 108-9.

<sup>6</sup> See Hainsworth, Garvie ad loc., A. Ford, *Homer. The Poetry of the Past*, Ithaca-London 1992, 122-3. "Well" by C. Macleod, *Collected Essays*, Oxford 1983, 5 or "well (very much as it should be)" by E. L. Bowie in Chr. Gill - P. Wiseman, *Lies and Fiction in the Ancient World*, Exeter 1993, 16 are too vague. "With what utter rightness" Shewring, "Gar nach der Ordnung" Schadewaldt are closer to its intended

e.g. *Od.* 8.179. Thersites in *Il.* 2.213 ἔπεα ... ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε ἦδη, see Ebeling s.v. κόσμος I.b and for κατὰ κόσμον in Hellenistic poetry Livrea on *A.R.* 4.360. For the expression cf. Solon *IEG* 1.2 κόσμον ἐπέων †φῶδῆν ἀντ' ἀγορῆς θέμενος, Parmen. 28B 8.52 D-K κόσμον ἐμῶν ἐπέων, Democr. 68B 21 D-K (Homer) ἐπέων κόσμον ἔτεκτῆναι παντοίων, Antip. Thess. *GPh* 20.3 (ποιηταὶ ἀκανθολόγοι) ἐπέων κόσμον λελυγισμένον ἀσκήσαντες, then Simon. *IEG* 11.23 τόνδ[ε μελ]ίφρονα κ[όσμον ἀο]ιδῆς / ἡμετ[έ]ρης with C. O. Pavese, *ZPE* 107 (1995), 15 (add *Orph. Arg.* 252 εὐτερπέα κόσμον ἀοιδῆς), Theogn. 242 εὐκόσμως ἀείδειν, Pind. fr. 194.2 ποικίλον κόσμον αὐδάεντα λόγων, Simias *Egg* 10 κόσμον νέμοντα ῥυθμῶν, further *Od.* 11.367 μορφή ἐπέων, Hes. *WD* 403 ~ *HHAp.* 20 νομὸς ἐπέων, Pind. *Ol.* 3.8-9 (lyre, pipes) ἐπέων τε θέσιν / ... συμμείξαι πρεπόντως, Call. *HE* 56.2-3 τὸ μελιχρότατον / τῶν ἐπέων, Alex. Aet. *CA* 5.6 παρ' Ὀμηρεῖν ἀγλαῖην ἐπέων, Posid. (?) *HE* 24.2 τ]ῶν ἐπέων σοφίη, Nicarch. *HE* 3.3 (Homer's) τεκτοσύνη ἐπέων. Κόσμος in Arist. *Poet.* 1452b2 is a literary value but a lacuna in the text deprives us of more information. "It must refer to some sort of ornament. At *R(het.)* 1404a34, b37 and Isocr. 9.9 κόσμος and κεκοσμημένη λέξις include all poetical and abnormal use of language", Lucas on 1457b33. The ἐπέων κόσμος here relates to the form, i.e. the arrangement and articulation (rhetoric, means of expression: a notion lacking in Homer) of the content (the μύθων οἶμος of the next verse) from the central meaning of κόσμος as "adornment" and "arrangement", see Dover on Ar. *Frogs* 1005 (Aesch.) κοσμήσας τραγικὸν λῆρον and, slightly differently, W. J. Verdenius, *Mnem.* 36 (1983), 16-7 with further references. The arrangement of this epigram renders it an exemplary κόσμος ἐπέων.

**πολλὰ μογήσας** A stock-phrase in epic referring to the tough toils in the battlefield, see Janko on *Il.* 15.235, or to Odysseus' adventures, see Garvie on *Od.* 6.175-7, and cf. also Hes. *Theog.* 967, Theogn. 71. Invertedly, the phrase refers here to the toils of erudition to be injected into a learned Hellenistic poem. Bach 42 refers to [Manetho] 1.8 (I will sing of the stars) νύκτας ἄυπνος ἐὼν καὶ ἐν ἡμασι πολλὰ μογήσας. Ph. himself is said by Hermesian. *CA* 7.77-8 to wear himself out studying all possible

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meaning. Hainsworth 36-7 points out the importance of the correct sequence of events in oral poetry. Κατὰ κόσμον *vis à vis* a narration should mean "in the correct order" and therefore "true", and at the same time "with good performance", i.e. with competence in the recital itself. A. Romeo, *Il proemio epico antico*, Rome 1985, 15 ("secondo un intrinseco carattere di causalità") makes too much out of it. G. Walsh, *The Varieties of Enchantment: Early Greek Views on the Nature and Function of Poetry*, Chapel Hill 1984, 89, cf. also S. Goldhill, *The Poet's Voice*, Cambridge 1991, 57-8, made an interesting point in distinguishing in Odysseus' praise an external, "public" reception which fascinated the Phaeacians and a very personal one which led Odysseus to tears.

ways of diction and different glosses. For the erudite poet's *πόνος* cf. Theoc. 7.51 *μελύδριον ἔξεπόνησα* (note the diminutive) to which contrast vv. 47-8 *Μοισᾶν ὄρνιχες ὅσοι ποτὶ Χίον ἀοιδόν / ἀντία κοκκύζοντες ἐτώσια μοχθίζοντι*, Hermesian. CA 7.35 (Mimn. discovered the pentameter) *πολλὸν ἀνατλάς*, Asclep. HE 28.1 *γλυκὺς πόνος Ἑρίνης*, Call. HE 55.1 *Τοῦ Σαμίου πόνος εἰμί*, A.R. 4.1775-6 *ἐπὶ κλυτὰ πείραθ' ἰκάνω / ὑμετέρων καμάτων*, Herodas 8.71 *τὰ μέλεα ... τοὺς ἔμοὺς μόχθους*, Meleag. HE 129.3, Bion fr. 8.3, Antip. Thess. GPh 31.1-2 *βίβλον / μικρὴν ... πονησάμενος*, 103.1. In id. GPh 85.1 *πόνος* refers to a work of art.<sup>7</sup> Not much later similar terms may refer to the composition of a literary creation without any further implications, cf. Long. Praef. 3 *τέτταρας βίβλους ἐξεπονησάμην* and cf. the use of *πόνημα* until recently in Modern Greek.

*εἰδὼς ... / ... ἐπιστάμενος* Ph.'s poetic ideal requires the poet to work hard (*πολλὰ μογήσας*) and know. Erudition is the fundament of good poetry; Call. in *Πρὸς Πραξιφάνην* fr. 460 praised Arat. *ὡς πολυμαθῆ καὶ ἄριστον ποιητὴν*. The old perception that (oral) poetry is a gift granted by the Muses or a god, e.g. *Il.* 12.176, *Od.* 8.488, is here inverted; the motif occurs in the erudite poets with the value of an old convention with a new meaning. For the *εἰδὼς* poet cf. *Il.* 7.241, Hes. *Theog.* 27-8, Theogn. 669-670, Antiphan. PCG 207.6, Call. HE 30, fr. 64.10 (?), Leon. Tar. HE 58.6, Alex. Aet. CA 4.2, Adesp. Frust. Auct. SH 1153, Theoc. 15.97 *πολύιδρις ἀοιδός*, 146 and for *ἐπιστάμενος*, a technical term for the "knowledge" of the poet, cf. *Od.* 21.406, *HHHerm.* 479, Archil. IEG 1.2, Solon IEG 13.52, Theoc. 17.7, 113, Posid. (?) HE 24.4, Theodor. HE 14.1 and see U. Dubielzieg, *RhM* 138 (1995), 343-4 on Call. fr. 1.8. For the two synonyms cf. Anon. HE 56.1-2 *Οἶδα φιλεῖν .. ἐπίσταμαι ... / μισεῖν* and in general see on fr. 2.2.

*μῦθων παντοίων* Cf. *Il.* 20.248-9 *στρεπτή δὲ γλῶσσ' ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολέες δ' ἔνι μῦθοι / παντοῖοι, ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα*, *Od.* 22.347-8 (Phemius) *θεὸς δέ μοι ἐν φρεσὶν οἶμας / παντοίας ἐνέφυσεν*. If *ἔπη* are the form, *μῦθος* is the narrative itself. The two are juxtaposed in *Od.* 4.597-8 *μῦθοισιν ἔπεσσι τε σοῖσιν ἀκούων / τέρπομαι*, 11.561. The phrase does not imply the principle of *poikilia*,<sup>8</sup> but

<sup>7</sup> See G-P on Asclep. HE 28.1, Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 204-9, Schwinge 10-1, Paranghelis 43-4 and on Latin *labor* see Lyne on *Ciris* 99 ad fin. Posid. HE 6.3 *ἡ δὲ πρὶν ἐν βύβλοις πεπονημένη ... / ψυχὴ* does not have this meaning as A. Szastyńska-Siemoion, *Eos* 74 (1986), 221 thought. *Πεπονημένη* describes the permanent educative effort of the poet, not its product, cf. Theoc. 13.14.

<sup>8</sup> Already a poetic principle in Pind., see H. Maehler, *Auffassung des Dichterberufs im frühen Griechentum*, Göttingen 1963, 90-1, W. J. Verdenius, *Mnem.* 36 (1983), 17. Call. defended his *πολυειδίη* in *Iambi* 13, fr. 203, which he practised with hexameter, elegiac and iambic poems, poems in

emphasises the notion of erudition. Knowledge of rare tales and knowledge of recondite versions of better-known tales ἡδυσμένω λόγῳ καὶ τάξει is the recommended new sort of poetry.

**μύθων .. οἶμον** Homer and the Hellenistic poets use οἶμη of song. The original meaning of the word most probably was "song" but it soon became associated with οἶμος, see Frisk *GEW* s.v., Hainsworth on *Od.* 8.74. Οἶμος is Homeric but cf. in this sense *HHHerm.* 451 ἀγλαὸς οἶμος ἀοιδῆς, Pind. *Ol.* 9.47 ἐπέων οἶμον λιγύν, *ibid.* 1.110, Aesch. *Ag.* 1154, Eur. *Rhes.* 422-3, see Mastronarde on Eur. *Phoen.* 911, Call. *HyJov.* 78 λύρης εὖ εἰδόμενος οἶμος, ambivalent in fr. 1.27 δίφρον ἐλῆν μηδ' οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, further Bacch. 19.1-2 κέλευθος / ἀμβροσίων μελέων, Hermesian. *CA* 7.94 λόγων πολλὰς .. διόδους, *GVI* 1001.7 (Rhodes, ca 100) βύβλου πάσης ἐδάην ἰθεῖαν ἀταρπὸν, *EG* 878.6 Kaibel (ca 269 A.D.) = *FGH* 100 T 4.6 (Dexippus) εὐρατο παντοίην ἱστορίας ἀταρπὸν, *Musae.* 175 πολυπλανέων ἐπέων ... κελεύθους.<sup>9</sup> For the imagery see O. Becker, *Das Bild des Weges und verwandte Vorstellungen im frügrüchischen Denken*, Wiesbaden 1937, 68f., McLennan on Call. *HyJov.* 78, B. Snell, *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*, Göttingen<sup>5</sup> 1980, 219-230 and on Call. fr. 1.25-8 in particular F. Williams, *ZPE* 110 (1996), 40-2. The ancient form of οἶμος was aspirated, see C. J. Ruijgh, *Lingua* 44 (1978), 18, Braswell on Pind. *Pyth.* 4.248(a).

This piece is transmitted as a paegnon by Stob. and its obscure meaning would well justify such a categorisation, but we cannot be sure that Ph. actually published it as such. Some of the proposed interpretations are worth noticing only as examples of extreme oddity. Kayser 47-8 translated it with the impossible "cantus sive poesis me, si alnus essem, potius moverat id de loco duceret, quam rusticus indoctus, qui ligone uteretur ad excindendum me" and saw "procul dubio" a reference to Orpheus. Bach 41 misled by a recurrent theme in Latin elegy thought that Ph. here confirms his immortality: no rustic will chop me down, but a literate etc., "ut paucis absolvamur: Carmina et libri mei nunquam peribunt". He was followed by Couat 76-7 who added his own "I shall live!" to complete the sense, and Cessi 141-2. Maass (1895a), III-VII proposed the verses to be a notice for an alder-stick, a poetic symbol as in Theoc. 7.43-

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lyric metres, hymns, epigrams, victory songs and scholarly prose works. Nonn. in his huge *D.* propagated *poikilia* more than anyone else, cf. 1.11-33 and see Hopkinson (1994), 124. *Poikilia* is also a literary value in the Homeric Schol., see N. J. Richardson, *CQ* 33 (1980), 266.

<sup>9</sup> In *HHHerm.* 531 θεμοῦς (Ludwig : θεοῦς codd.) ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων / τῶν ἀγαθῶν Hermann proposed *perperam* οἶμους. D. A. Svarliev, *Hermes* 119 (1991), 473-7 proposed οἶμον for οἶτον in Call. *HyPal.* 94-5 μάτηρ μὲν γοερᾶν οἶτον ἀηδονίδων / ἄγε βαρὺ κλαίωσα.

4, expressing the hope that a *poeta doctus* not a rustic will take hold of it. This *apophoreton* idea was espoused by Nowacki 56-7, Butler-Barber 17 n. 1, J. van Sickel, *QUCC* 19 (1975), 59 n. 61 and Bowie 75. Reitzenstein *EuS*, 179 compared Alc. *PMGF* 16 οὐκ ἦς ἀνήρ ἀγρεῖος οὐ- / δὲ σκαιὸς οὐδὲ †παρὰ σοφοῖ- / σιν† οὐδὲ Θεσσαλὸς γένος, / Ἐρυσίχατος οὐδὲ ποιμήν, / ἀλλὰ Σαρδίων ἀπ' ἀκρῶν and drew the conclusion that here speaks a lady who rejects the love of a rustic for that of an erudite poet.<sup>10</sup> Diehl and Latacz were attracted by it and Wil. *HD* I, 116 pushed it to extremes by suggesting that the speaker is Bittis herself. F. W. Schmidt, *SO* 7 (1928), 30-2 in principle accepted a woman as speaker and thought that her name is the unattested Κλήθρη.

There have also been those who advocate a link with two known and one unknown work of Ph. First Schweizer 55-6 in a brief *Anhang* suspected a Homeric riddle alluding to the alders that Odysseus cut down in *Od.* 5.259. He therefore postulated a connection with *Hermes*. His idea was revived by Ch. Carriga, *Lexis* (1989), 79-87. I. Cazzaniga, *RFIC* 40 (1962), 238-248 saw literary criticism intended and related the epigram to the story of Erysichthon in Call. identifying the alder with the sacred αἴγειρος in *HyDem.* 37 and the rustic with Erysichthon storming the grove to chop down its trees. In conclusion, the goddess personified in her sacred tree declares her preference for an erudite poet to a rustic. But the equation of alder and oak is in the air and the sacrilege of Erysichthon in connection with Demeter is not attested before Call. and it is very probably a contamination with a crime committed by his father Triops. K. J. McKay, *Antichthon* 12 (1978), 36-44 interpreted αἰρήσει as "comprehend" and conjoined ἐξ ὀρέων with ἀγροιώτης but reached the disappointing conclusion that the epigram refers to a lost work of Ph. named Κλήθρη and, should δρῶς be supplemented in Call. fr. 1.10, it would refer to this lost work. Before him G. Coppola, *Cirene e il nuovo Callimaco*, Bologna 1935, 139-145 followed E. Maass in reading βλήθρην "tender" and deemed that here speaks the oak missing in Call. 1.1.

C. Wachsmuth suggested that κλήθρη stands for a writing tablet made of alder wood. The metonymy was paralleled by Kuchenmüller 61 with Eur. *IA* 39 and *Hipp.* 1253-4 where πεύκη means "writing tablet" and the idea found support with P. Bing, *RhM* 129 (1986), 222-6, cf. id. 31-3, K.-H. Stanzel, *Liebende Hirten. Theokrits Bukolik und die Alexandrinische Poesie*, Stuttgart-Leipzig 1995, 351-3, *LSJ* Suppl.

<sup>10</sup> Not long afterwards Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 31 (1896), 201 n. 2 appeared less confident: "Daß ich in meinem "Epigramm und Skolion" oft überschritten habe, ist mir wohl bewußt. .... Ich würde jetzt schwerlich das Fragment des Philetas ... mit Sicherheit deuten wollen". The Alc.-passage he adduced does not say much; it is a *Partheneion*, a song sung by a chorus of maidens expressing their preference for an *asteios* husband from Sardis in the form of a typical negative priamel, see Latacz 81-2, Davies ad loc. (*EGF* p. 72) and for the motif cf. [Theoc.] 20.2f.

s.v. κλήθρα. Bing tried to sweep aside an objection by Wil. drawing attention to writing tablets of alder wood from the 2nd c. A.D. found in Vindolanda near Hadrian's wall in northern England. But the evidence is late and – most importantly – from a country whose wet climate favours the alder, which in Greece is a very rare tree. There is no real testimony for alders used to produce writing tablets in Greece.<sup>11</sup>

The labyrinth of interpretations is due to the deliberately confusing, even contradictory elements constituting this epigram. Ἐξ ὀρέων can be conjoined just as well both with ἀγροιώτης and with αἰρήσει. The latter can mean "win over", "take away (uproot)" or "comprehend". Κλήθρην in its position would be expected to be an adj. to μακέλην; it has been interpreted as a tree, a woman, a writing-tablet/book or suspected as corrupt. Αἰρόμενος is a pseudo-parallel to αἰρήσει. Efforts to restore a monosemantic flow of thoughts ended up in numerous interventions in the text;<sup>12</sup> but to no avail. True, the first two lines read equally well in their "physical" meaning: No dull-witted rustic will remove me, an alder, from the mountains etc.<sup>13</sup> It is only in the last two verses that the true meaning reveals itself: not a rustic, but an erudite, who has acquired broad knowledge with much toil. Stob. classified it in *περὶ λόγου καὶ γραμμῶτων*. Literary criticism is intended. This technique of "tail-surprise" is well-known in the epigram. It would suffice to point to Asclep. *HE* 32 as to whether the speaker is a woman or Antim.'s book:

<sup>11</sup> A talking book raises no suspicion in the "book-culture" of the Hellenistic times. The dawn of this "era of books" goes back to Ar. *Frogs* 1114, Plato *Apol.* 26d-e, Xen. *Symp.* 4.27, see E. G. Turner, *Athenian Books in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.*, London <sup>2</sup>1977, *DGE* s.v. βιβλιοπώλης, Dover (1993), 34-5, H. Maehler, <sup>3</sup>*OCD*, 251. In Hellenistic times see Pfeiffer (1968), 102-5, P. E. Easterling in *id.-Knox* 23-4, Bing 10-48 where the "talking book" is discussed. Wood in general is known to have been used for writing purposes, cf. the list of publications in W. M. Brashar - F. A. J. Hoogendijk, *Enchoria* 17 (1990), 21-54 with the additions noted in T. de Jong - K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 106 (1995), 236 n. 1. In general see also E. Lalou-Dobias (ed.), *Les tablettes à écrire de l'antiquité à l'époque moderne*, Turnhout 1992.

<sup>12</sup> Hartung 33 read βλωθρήν "tall", a Homeric gloss revived in Hellenistic times, see Page on Anon. *FGE* 59.1, E. Maass βληθρήν "tender", R. Holland, *PhW* 45 (1925), 14 even κλήθρον "as a doorbar" of a laurel that the poet had allegedly planted. Wil. held that "κλήθρην ein Adjektiv zu μακέλην verbirgt" and is therefore corrupt, but declined to make an uncertain emendation. He persuaded Webster 42. R. F. W. Schmidt, *SO* 7 (1928), 30-2 comparing Goethe's *Gefunden* proposed μακέλη. Older interpretative proposals are recorded in I. Cazzaniga, *RFIC* 40 (1962), 258-9 n. 1.

<sup>13</sup> In this reading ἐξ ὀρέων refers to αἰρήσει, cf. Call. *HE* 36.1-2 τὸν αἰπόλον ἤρπασε Νύμφη / ἐξ ὀρέων. The place to cut down a tree is naturally the mountains, cf. *Il.* 1.235, 12.132, 13.390 = 16.483, 16.634, 17.743, *HHAphr.* 266, Simon. *IEG* 11.2-3, [Hes.] *Scut.* 374f., Call. fr. 194.34-5, A.R. 3.858, 969, 4.1682, Anon. *FGE* 77.2, Virg. *Aen.* 2.626.



Λυδὴ καὶ γένος εἰμὶ καὶ οὖνομα, τῶν δ' ἀπὸ Κόδρου  
 σεμνοτέρη πασῶν εἰμὶ δι' Ἀντίμαχον·  
 τίς γὰρ ἔμ' οὐκ ἤεισε; τίς οὐκ ἀνελέξατο Λυδὴν,  
 τὸ ξυνὸν Μουσῶν γράμμα καὶ Ἀντιμάχου;

But if the last two lines are clear in this respect how are we supposed to read the first two? The key-words are αἰρήσει as "understand" and κλήθρη as a beautiful tree growing in the valleys, not the hillsides: No unlettered rustic from the mountains will understand me, an alder, one who raises his mattock, but etc. Κλήθρη in this reading as a noble urban tree is a qualitative evaluation of μέ in v. 1. This is a talking book. The epigram seems to be a fictitious book-inscription. These became a mode in Hellenistic times.<sup>14</sup> They usually provide information about the identity of the author and make a statement about the value of the work. They differ from this epigram in this and in that they are not written by the author of the book himself. On the other hand the "seal", known since Theogn., self-introduces the author and has a more personal character, as Posid. *SH* 705. This epigram takes the identity of the author as known; it rather instructs the reader about the way he should read the work it prefaces, drawing his attention to its cryptic, allusive nature.

Which work specifically this is, we cannot say. Still, some considerations are worth recording. An uneducated reader will not understand a book which is a κλήθη. The notoriously tall alder may contrast to its moderate size. A small scale work of Ph. praised by Call. fr. 1.9f. is *Demeter*. This is said to καθέλκει by far its "long" (μακρήν) rival. The primary meaning of this verb is "launch a ship, draw it to the sea" and the alder was most of all known for this usage since the *Od*. Hellenistic poets used many different sources for images with applications to literary criticism. An image alluding to the botanical qualities of a tree is unprecedented and had no reproductive impact on the learned poets espousing the same poetic principles. This may well suggest that the tree-image is a Philetan peculiarity appropriate to the content of the poem or poems it prefaces. *Demeter* was a work enriched with abundant vegetation and botanical knowledge. Kuchenmüller 62 on the other hand suggested that this

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Asclep. l.c. prefacing a copy of Antim. Lyde, *HE* 28 on Erinna Distaff, Call. *HE* 55 on Creophylus *Oechalias Halosis*, *HE* 56 on Arat. *Phaenomena*, Leon. Tar. *HE* 101 on the same work, later Artemidorus (1st c.) *FGE* 1 on his collection of bucolic poems or Antip. Thess. *GPh* 31 on a booklet he composed for Piso, see Page on Anon. *FGE* 32, Bing 29f. These often contain statements indicating a literary stance. For the epigram as the suitable *forum* to express literary reflections see Chr. Riedweg, "Reflexe hellenistischer Dichtungstheorie im griechischen Epigramm", *ICS* 19 (1994), 123-150.

piece prefaced a collection of paegnia by Ph. and found sympathy in that with von Blumenthal 2168 and Q. Cataudella, *Helicon* 7 (1967), 402-4.<sup>15</sup>

Two features in this epigram are worth pointing out. First its studied symmetry. The rustic receives two verses, the literate another two. An adversative ἄλλά marks the transition from the one to the other. The first receives eleven words, the second another eleven in a correspondence of 7+4 and 7+4. The rustic is in the negative part, the erudite in the positive. Unless we are to reckon with the unlikely possibility of it being fortuitous, its structure suggests that this is a complete piece. More importantly it turns the principle of κόσμος ἐπέων it purports to convey into practice. Rhetorical symmetry is acclaimed to be a fundamental feature of "good" poetry. So Call. arranged his hymns with care: "two short, two long, two short poems ... the first pair 'masculine', the second 'mixed' (twins), the third 'feminine'; the flanking pairs broadly 'mimetic', the middle pair more traditionally 'epic'. .... several other common features lead one to regard them as contrasting and complementary pieces", Hopkinson 13. In *HyDem.* the first 23 verses are concerned with ritual; the next 92 verses (4 x 23) with narrative followed by a concluding 23 verses of ritual. Hermesian. *Leontion* also seems to have its themes arranged with diligence: the first book contained the loves of rustics, the fifth those of erudites; and in this first came the poets in chronological order, then the philosophers. Virg. *Georg.* 4.4 sets out to relate the life-style and habits of bees *ordine* and a well-articulated speech by Anchises is described in *Aen.* 6.273 as delivered *ordine*, see Norden ad loc. This correspondence of form and content is common in Hellenistic poetry. Call. *HE* 2 is an outstanding example where the echoes in the last line echo the servile repetition of the cyclic poets, see further A. Hurst, *MH* 51 (1994), 150-163 on the example of *HyArt.* and cf. Nonn.'s ἔργα ποικιλία in *D.* 1.16-33 with four different names for Dionysus and five synonyms denoting "sing".

Another remarkable feature of this epigram is its polemical tone. This takes the form of the common rhetorical formula οὐκ etc. ἄλλά etc., cf. in form Xenoph. *IEG* 1.21f. denouncing songs about mythical creatures in a symposium and Anacr. *IEG* 2:

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<sup>15</sup> *Alīi* saw *alia*: H. Stadtmüller, *BPhW* 15 (1897), 451 held that Ph. addressed with this epigram Theoc. and received an answer in id. 7.40, that Simichidas even in bucolic is inferior to Ph. R. Herzog, *Phil.* 78 (1923), 418 deemed the piece to be a "dichterische Selbstbekenntnis in bukolischer Umgebung". Later Puelma 163 postulated a "Selbstbiographisches Initiationsgedicht hesiodischer Tradition" by Ph. Bucolic was also detected by Couat 76-7. Bowie 75 ("an extract rather than a complete poem"; *contra* K. J. McKay, *Antichthon* 12 (1977), 36-7, Hutchinson 84) conceded that it does not offer any bucolic foothold but, he said, it might be derived from a "bucolic context", although "that can only be guesswork". G. Giangrande, *AC* 37 (1968), 511 n. 50, still insisting in *QUCC* 12 (1971), 105 n. 34, mistook the negation of a rustic for a "polemique anti-bucolique" precursory to that which he thought he had detected in Theoc. 7.

οὐ φιλέω, ὃς κρητῆρι παρὰ πλέω οἰνοποτάζων  
 νείκεα καὶ πόλεμον δακρυσέοντα λέγει,  
 ἀλλ' ὅστις Μουσέων τε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης  
 συμμίσγων ἔρατῆς μνήσκειται εὐφροσύνης.

The rustic is downgraded with three disparaging attributes: he is ἐξ ὄρέων, ἀποφώλιος ἀγροιώτης and αἰρόμενος μακέλην. These find three positive parallels full of erudition in ἐπέων εἰδῶς κόσμον, πολλὰ μογήσας and μύθων παντοίων οἶμον ἐπιστάμενος. Ph. addresses this epigram not just to any reader, but to his contemporary literates and critics. The polemical tone is related to the opposing trends in the conception of poetry in his days. As Ziegler first showed, the "Callimachean" principles were never dominant. It was only a relatively small circle of learned poets practising studied refinement among many others still pursuing their poetic ambitions the old way. The titles adding to our knowledge since Ziegler's ascertainment confirm his view in a more credible way.<sup>16</sup> The new conception of *leptotes* had to fight its way through. Its advocates had numerous adversaries with whom they had to compete. Some have suggested that the ideas more vigorously propounded by Call. were older than him, e.g. P. J. Parsons, <sup>3</sup>*OCD*, 277 "(Call.'s) 'new' aesthetic ... might seem less novel if we had the poetry of the 4th cent.", and Gow I, xxii n. 3 and Papanghelis 241 n. 48 thought of Ph. as a possible forerunner. The notions of erudition (vv. 3-4) and probably of moderate scale (underlying κλήθηρη) and high-finish poetry (as contrasted to the crude rustic of vv. 1-2) make this case look almost certain. The emphasis on the πόνος of the good poet prompts another consideration. Hermesian. *CA* 7.35-6 Μίμνερος δέ, τὸν ἠδὺν ὃς εὔρετο πολλὸν ἀνατλάς / ἦχον καὶ μαλακοῦ πνεῦμ' ἀπὸ πενταμέτρου applies to archaic Mimn. the Hellenistic prescription of educative toil, in his extant fragment paralleled only by vv. 77-8 (Ph.) περὶ πάντα .. / ῥήματα καὶ πᾶσαν τρυόμενον λαλιήν. Mimn. was highly-esteemed by the Hellenistic learned poets and his name keeps on coming up, cf. Posid. *HE* 3, Alex. Aet. *HE* 13, Call. fr. 1.11-2, *Frust. Adesp. Auct. SH* 1060 = *Antim. Dub. fr.* 197 = *IEG* 192 (*Lyde*) and see Szadczky-Kardoss 157-9, id. *RE Suppl.* XI (1968), 949-950. In Call. fr. 1.10 with *Schol. ad loc.* Mimn. and Ph. are placed side by side as elegists keeping on the same poetic track. As Hermesian.'s reference is certainly earlier than Call.'s second *Aetia*-prologue the approximation of Ph. and Mimn. seems to be older than Call. and, since it

<sup>16</sup> See also Gow II, xxii and *Ll-J Acad. Pap.* II, 236. Papanghelis 17-8 expressed reservations due to lack of evidence and Cameron (1995), 263f. (ch. X) tried to refute the *opinio communis*. M. J. Edwards, *Latomus* 53 (1994), 806-812 argued for an "unusual and by no means authoritative position of Callimachus in Greek poetry".

would not seem to be a novel coupling by Hermesian. himself, it might go back to praise of Mimn. by Ph. himself.

Suda φ 332 says that Ph. ἔγραψεν ἐπιγράμματα καὶ ἐλεγείας καὶ ἄλλα and Stob. ascribes two distichs to *Epigrams* (fr. 25.3-4, 26) and fr. 25.1-2 and 27 to *Paegnia*. The two successive distichs of fr. 25 are apparently one unit as an epigram but fr. 26 could hardly be part of another epigram. Most probably we have to do with one epigram and fr. 27 characterised as paegnon. It is certain that Ph. wrote epigrams and from fr. 25 one may deduce that he contributed to the novel turn that this genre experienced in his days.<sup>17</sup> The epigram might, nevertheless, have not been the field of specialisation of the Coan; in this Asclep., called by Schol. Theoc. 7.40 (89.7-8 Wendel) an ἐπιγραμματοποιός, seems to have particularly distinguished himself. Ph. is disregarded by Meleag., who spent the last years of his life on Cos. Reitzenstein *EuS*, 180 justified the blatant omission by assuming that Ph. did not publish a separate collection of epigrams, Boucher 209 for exactly the opposite reason. Wil. *HD* II, 115-6 asserted that the epigrams were not collected yet and there would be a danger of two collections with the same content. But the absence of such a conspicuous poet is probably due to the fact that his epigrams were already lost by Meleag.'s days.<sup>18</sup> The only surviving paegnon is fr. 27 which most probably prefaced a poem or a collection of poems. Its intriguing meaning justifies this ascription, but one cannot really know if it was ever published in a book of *Paegnia*. From the ascriptions of fr. 25 to *Paegnia* and *Epigrams* some have concluded that the one may be an alternative title for the other.<sup>19</sup> But in view of their distinction in Stob. this looks unlikely; the division of fr. 25 might be due to an excision of a previous *Paegnia*-fragment. Perhaps Ph. named some of his more spirited or inscrutable epigrams *Paegnia* and published them together with the *Epigrams*. Arat. *SH* 101 wrote *Epigrams* and is said by Suda (= *SH*

<sup>17</sup> See H. Beckby, *Anthologia Palatina* I, Munich <sup>2</sup>1965, 20-1, G-P, *HE* II, 476, Fraser II, 859 n. 405, Bulloch in Easterling-Knox 616, Cameron (1993), 3. Paradoxically Hutchinson 21 n. 46 opined that "the epigrams attributed to Ph. may well be spurious (and late) and he may not have written any epigrams despite Suda φ 332"; *contra* H. White, *AC* 60 (1991), 214.

<sup>18</sup> A.R. is said by the notation of Ant. Lib. 23 to have written epigrams. A.R.? *FGE* I is apocryphal, see Vian I, XXIV, Hunter (1989), 9, Cameron (1995), 227-8 ("a product of a much later age"). These were ignored by Meleag. and might have had the same fate. Meleag. also ignored Theoc.'s epigrams, see Cameron (1993), 141-4.

<sup>19</sup> First Bergk entitling the collection Παίγνια ἢ Ἐπιγράμματα, cf. also Barber <sup>2</sup>*OCD*, 814 (after the 1st ed. (1949), 678), Webster 41, Trypanis 267, F. Williams, <sup>3</sup>*OCD*, 1164.

111) to have written *Paegnia* as well. Suda provides the same information for Homer Sellius, a grammarian of probably the 2nd c. who wrote εἶδη πλεῖστα. There is hardly anything to be said about the content of Ph.'s *Paegnia*. They may have been short poems of witty, even cryptic, nature. The term itself applies to a very wide range of poems such as ones about lascivious loves, whole comedies, prose-works of exquisite form like the *Encomium of Helen* by Gorgias, the *Carmina Figurata* and even the bucolic poems of Theoc.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> The inventor of the genre is naturally "Homer" with *Margites* and *Batrachomyomachia*. On παίγνιον "play-thing" see G-P on Anyte *HE* 20.4 and on παίζω of *lusus amatorius* see *idd.* on Asclep. *HE* 4.1. On the genre see von Blumenthal 2396-8, Lausberg 358f., M. Puelma, *MH* 53 (1996), 127 (classifying them among the "zwanglose Collectanea and Miscellanea") and on the technopaegnia see Hutchinson 17, Weber 119, Cameron (1995), 33-7 (dating them in the late Hellenistic age). These were championed by Simias of Rhodes and since the genre originally evolved around the Dodecanese Christ-Schmid-Stählin *Griech. Lit.* II.1, 125 followed by Kuchenmüller 21 and Hunter 19 ("an easy guess that the *Paegnia* included some metrical 'games'") attributed its origination to Ph.; *contra* Pfeiffer (1968), 90. Nowacki 20, 53-4 following W. E. Weber, *Die eleg. Dichter der Hellenen*, Frankfurt 1826, 661 was inclined to accept an amatory content. E. Martini in *Epitymbion .. H. Schwoboda*, Reichensberg 1927, 190-2 thought that Ph. wrote subjective erotic elegies in his *Paegnia*.

## INCERTAE SEDIS

## Fr. 28 (SH 675A)

## Ἄργανθώνιον

Etym. Gen. AB (*apud* C. Wendel, *Schol. in Apol. Rhod. Vetera*, Berlin 1935, 107.16 n.) Ἄργανθώνειον ὄρος Κίου, οἶον "ἀμφ' Ἄργανθώνειον ὄρος προχοάς τε Κίοιο" [AR 1.1178]· τινὲς δὲ Ἄργανθώνην αὐτὸ φασιν. Εὐφορίων δὲ καὶ Φιλήτας Ἄργανθώνιον λέγουσιν διὰ τοῦ τ, οἶον "Χθιζὸν μοι κνώσσοντι παρ' Ἄργανθώνιον αἶπος" [CA 75]. Σιμύλος δὲ ποταμόν φησιν, οἶον "Μύσιον ἀπύοντα παρὰ ῥόον Ἄργανθώνης" [SH 725]. Eadem fere EM 135.25f.

3 τινὲς ... φασιν om. B Φιλίας AB : Φιλητάς Kulenkamp 4 post αἶπος desinit B 5 φησιν EM : φασιν A.

Arganthon is a mountain in Mysia identified with Samanludagh, 957 m. high, see É. Delage, *La géographie dans les Argonautiques d'Apollonios de Rhodes*, Bordeaux 1930, 115-6. Our information about its poetic occurrences relies almost entirely on the lemma in Etym. Gen. AB, which as already seen by Valckenaer ultimately draws on a lost Scholium on A.R. 1.1178, see Wendel (1932), 94-5 who postulated a mediation of Orus' *Ethnica* for the Etym. Gen. It is dug up and introduced into poetry by Ph. and it soon became *the* mountain in Mysia. It appears in an Argonautic context (Hylas episode) in A.R., cf. Ant. Lib. 26.2 from Nic. *Heter.*, Strabo 12.4.3 who reports of an ὄρειβασία θιασευόντων καὶ καλούντων Ὑλαν in Arganthon, Orph. *Arg.* 637-8, Prop. 1.20.33, and most probably in Euph. and Simylus, a late Hellenistic poet of elegies, perhaps of the 1st c.<sup>1</sup> Some would place Ph.'s reference in this context but there are other possibilities such as a story related to the huntress Arganthon, Rhesus' wife, whose tragic death in the area when she heard of her husband's fate gave the mountain its name. The story is transmitted in Parth. 36 trading under the name of Asclepiades of Myrlea *FGH* 617 F 2, a grammarian of the 1st c. who in his *Bithyniaca* showed an interest in the traditions of his motherland, cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄργανθών (111.17-20 Meineke) as well as the elegant Adesp. Pap. Hex. *SH* 939. A novel locality would invite an explanation for its name. Much fuss has been made as to whether the

<sup>1</sup> For an Argonautic context see G. Türk, *De Hyla*, Breslau 1895, 39, R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 35 (1900), 94 n. 2. Who first linked the Hylas episode with Arganthon is not clear. The mountain very probably did not appear in the first attestation of the myth in Hellenic. *FGH* 4 F 131b = Schol. A.R. 1.1207 (109.17f. Wendel).

quotation in Etym. Gen. is from Ph. or Euph. Earlier Bach 58, who found sympathy with Cessi, had printed it as a fragment of Ph. A long established *opinio communis* gives the line to Euph. and it seems to be correct. But Kuchenmüller 86 may also be right in asserting that Euph. might have taken up from Ph. the expression Ἄργανθώνιον αἶπος, which would easily account for the omission of the Philetan quotation in favour of the better-known poet. If this is so Theoc. 7.148 Παρνάσιον αἶπος is relevant here. Αἶπος occurs first in tragedy, see Fraenkel on Aesch. Ag. 285 Ἄθῳν αἶπος, who suspects occurrences in post-Homeric epic, which in similar formations found a place as clausulae in Hellenistic poetry, cf. A.R. 2.505 Μυρτώσιον αἶπος/, Euph. l.c., see on Parth. SH 652 Τυφρήστιον αἶπος (correct "Adesp. 1075" into "Adesp. 1175"). Cessi (1914), 286 n. 1, who thought that the quotation in Etym. Gen. is Philetan, also thought of Telephus wandering in Mysia to find his mother.

The delight of the learned poet in mentioning names of exotic places is well known. Cf. Theoc. 7.76-7 μακρὸν ὑφ' Αἴμον / ἢ Ἄθω ἢ Ῥοδόπαν ἢ Καύκασον ἐσχατόωντα, a conspicuous example imitated by Virg. *Georg.* 1.332, a reference to the Thracian mountain Ὑψίζωρος in Call. *Hec.* fr. 71.1 or Lyc. 417-20 Τὸν μὲν γὰρ Ἡϊῶν Στρυμόνος Βισαλτία, / Ἄψυνθίων ἄγχουρος ἠδὲ Βιστόνων, / κουροτρόφων πάγουρον Ἡδωνῶν πέλας / κρύψει, πρὶν ἢ Τυμφρηστὸν ἀνυγᾶσαι λέπας. In Ph. cf. fr. 30 and the notable accumulation of geographic names in the overture of Parth. 2 = fr. 1. The juxtaposition of names of places, sites of worship, springs, rivers, mountains etc. is a technique affected by the Hellenistic poets, cf. e.g. Call. *HyDel.* 19-22, *HyDian.* 187-8 and in Homer *Il.* 13.4-6, as these names carry their full weight in the *poésie verbale*, see Papanghelis 63-5 and cf. from Modern Greek poetry Od. Elytis "Ἄξιον Ἔστί (1961), Γένεσις, p. 16 ἢ Ἴος ἢ Σίκινος ἢ Μῆλος / "Κάθε λέξη κι ἀπό ἕνα χελιδόνι / γιὰ νὰ σοῦ φέρνει τὴν Ἄνοιξη μέσα στὸ θέρος" εἶπε (sc. the Creator) and the symmetrical use of stanzas consisted only of proper names of winds, islands, flowers etc. in that poem.

### Fr. 29 (CA 18)

τά οἳ ποτε Κύπρις ἐλοῦσα  
μῆλα Διωνύσου δῶκεν ἀπὸ κροτάφων

Schol. Theoc. 2.120b (290.1-6 Wendel) μᾶλα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι <Διωνύσοιο> · τὰ ἐράσματα καὶ ἔρωτος ποιητικά, καθὸ <τά> (add. Ahrens) ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης διδόμενα τῷ Ἴππομένει μῆλα ἐκ τῶν

(Wendel : τοῦ codd.) Διονύσου, ταῦτα δὲ εἰς ἔρωτα τὴν Ἀταλάντην ἐκίνησεν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Φιλήτας (K : Φιλητάς (corr. in Φιλιτάς UE) UEA)· τὰ οἱ ποτε etc.

1 ἐλοῦσα K : ἐλοῖσα cett. 2 Διωνύσοιο K : Διόνυσον cett. : corr. Casaubon.

**τὰ οἱ ποτε Κύπρις ἐλοῦσα / μῆλα** Cf. Nic. fr. 50.1-2 Σιδόεντος ἢ Πλείστου ἀπὸ κήπων / μῆλα ταμῶν χνοάοντα, Colluth. 60-1 ἔνθεν Ἔρις ... ἐλοῦσα / μῆλον. Ἐλοῖσα of most MSS is a Dorism due to Theoc. Διωνύσοιο in K appears for the same reason.

**μῆλα Διωνύσου .. ἀπὸ κροτάφων** An ambiguous wording; apples were said to have been invented by Dionysus who, as the god of the "juice of life", see E. R. Dodds, *Euripides, Bacchae*, Oxford 1960, xi-xiii, Blech 181-5, is the patron of all fruits, cf. Athen. 3.82d ὅτι δὲ καὶ τῶν μῆλων εὐρετῆς ἐστὶ Διόνυσος μαρτυρεῖ Θεόκριτος ὁ Συρακόσιος οὕτως ἰσχυρῶς λέγων· [2.120-1]. Νεοπτόλεμος δ' ὁ Παριανὸς ἐν τῇ Διονυσιάδι [CA 1] καὶ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ ὡς ὑπὸ Διόνυσου εὐρεθέντων τῶν μῆλων, καθάπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀκροδρύων, Diod. Sic. 3.63.2 (Dionysus taught humanity the gathering of fruits) and see Blech 183 n. 13. The notion seems to occur first in Ph. and it may be derived from a regional cult of Dionysus. It is reflected in Theoc. and Neoptolemus of Paros. Call. fr. 412 asserted that Dionysus' crown consists of apples, see ff.

**ἀπὸ κροτάφων/** A common Hellenistic pentameter clausula-form, cf. fr. 17.2 ἀπὸ πραπίδων/, Antip. Thess. *GPh* 100.4 ἀπὸ κροτάφων/, Simias *HE* 1.2 = Call. *HyPal.* 12 = Alc. Mess. *HE* 14.6 = Rhian. *HE* 7.4 ἀπὸ στομάτων/, Posid. *HE* 8.4 ἀπὸ προθύρων/, 11.6 ἀπὸ σταδίων/, Antip. Sid. *HE* 15.8 ἀπὸ στολίδων/, 45.4 ἀπὸ πλοκάμων/, *GVI* 1039.4 (2nd c.) ἀπὸ βλεφάρων/, 1627.10 (1st c.) ἀπὸ σταγόνων/, *SEG* 30.483.4 (Thespiiai, undated) ἀπὸ προσόδων/, then Nicarch. *HE* 4.4 ἀπ' ἀσταχῶν/, Theodor. *HE* 17.4 ἀπ' Ἰλλυριῶν/, *GES* 56.4 (ca 300) ἀπ' ἠϊθέων/, *GVI* 1150.14 ἀπ' ἀθανάτων. There are only rare occurrences in pre-Hellenistic (Mimn. *IEG* 12.8 ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων/) or Imperial pentameters.

**κροτάφων** κρόταφοι, 11x in Homer, is a term of medical colouring which, although it does not occur in Call., has a regular distribution in Hellenistic poetry: Asclep. *HE* 46.1, Theoc. 7x (11.9, 14.68, 15.85, [20].23, 22.124, 125, 30.13 – the lemma in Rumpel's *Lexicon* is misleading), A.R. 2x (1.219, 1261), Arat. 2x (56, 69), Euph. *CA* 84.5 and perhaps *SH* 428.8, Phantias *HE* 2.2, Nic. 2x (*Ther.* 732, *Alex.* 27), Antip. Sid. *HE* 51.2 (the only occurrence in singular), Meleag. *HE* 46.5, Anon. *FGE* 97.7, *Batrachom.* 131, most likely Epica Adesp. *CA* 9iii.9 and in contemporary inscriptions,



*GVI* 653.6 (2nd/3rd c.), 1916.8 (Rhodes, 2nd c.), 1991.9 (1st c.), *GVICyr* 5.18 (2nd c.), *GES* 73B.4 (m. 2nd c.), cf. also Homeric πολιοκρόταφον in Antip. Sid. *HE* 28.4, *GVI* 1821.3 (2nd c.) and the absolute hapax δολιχοκροτάφου in *CEG* 779.3 (Attica, 4th c.?).

Schol. Theoc. 2.120 quote this fragment to illustrate the function of the erotic apples. Philinus approaches the house of his beloved Simaetha μάλα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι Διωνύσοιο φυλάσσω, / κρατὶ δ' ἔχων λεύκαν, Ἡρακλέος ἱερὸν ἔρνος (vv. 120-1). Theoc.'s second poem (*Pharmakeutria*) involves love and magic as a desperate woman deserted by her lover employs magic spells to regain his affection. Its locale is usually placed in Cos, see Dover 95-6. The story of Hippomenes and Atalante itself appears in Theoc. 3.40-2 where an enamoured goatherd offers Amaryllis ten apples (3.10) and then adduces an appropriate parallel: Ἴππομένης, ὅκα δὴ τὰν παρθένον ἤθελε γάμαι, / μᾶλ' ἐν χερσὶν ἐλὼν δρόμον ἄνυεν' ἃ δ' Ἀταλάντα / ὡς ἴδεν ὡς ἐμάνη, ὡς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα. As Wil. *Kl. Schr.* V.2, 96-7 saw, this passage is directly indebted to Ph. The best-known version of the myth occurs in [Hes.] *Heoiai* fr. 72-6 where Hippomenes running naked beats Atalante in a footrace by throwing at her three golden apples provided to him by Aphrodite, which the maiden pauses to pick up, see Gow on Theoc. 3.40. But these apples which from Ph. pass over to Theoc. are not the usual tokens of love; nor in this version is Atalante beaten in the footrace because of her delays, and therefore forced to marry Hippomenes. These apples rather possess the magic power to provoke uncontrollable erotic desire in their recipient, cf. the magic apples of *Suppl. Mag.* 72i.10f. ἧ <δ'> ἄν δῶ μήλω τε βάλω μήλω τε πατάξω / πάντα ὑπερθέμενη μαίνοιτ' ἐπ' ἐμῆ φιλόττη / .... / ... <καὶ> μὴ παύσαιτο φιλῶν με. / <πότνια> Κυπρογένεια τέλει τελέαν ἐπαιοιδὴν and Long. 2.4.4 (Philetas of Eros) στὰς δὲ πλησίον ἐγέλα πάνυ ἀπαλὸν καὶ ἔβαλλέ με τοῖς μύρτοις καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἔθειλε μηκέτι θυμοῦσθαι. That Aphrodite's gifts can have such a power is already known from her κεστός used by Hera to lure Zeus in *Il.* 14.214f.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See C. Faraone, "Aphrodite's κεστός and the apples for Atalante", *Phoenix* 14 (1990), 219-243, esp. 230-238 examining magic texts. Magic was commonly employed on erotic purposes, cf. also Eur. *Hipp.* 478, 509f., Xen. *Mem.* 2.6.10, Philox. *PMG* 818, Virg. *Aen.* 4.483f. On the apples in the Atalante myth see J. Trumpf, *Hermes* 88 (1960), 20-1, M. Lagauer, *Untersuchungen zur Symbolik des Apfels in der Antike*, Diss. Erlangen-Nürnberg 1967, 90-6, M. K. Brazda, *Zur Bedeutung des Apfels in der antiken Kultur*, Diss. Bonn 1977, 69f. and in general A. R. Littlewood, "The Symbolism of Apple in Greek and Roman Literature", *HSCP* 72 (1968), 147-181, D. Fasciano, "La pomme dans la mythologie greco-romaine" in *Mélanges M. Lebel*, Quebec 1980, 45-55. On apple as a love token see Gow on Theoc. 5.88, Livrea on Colluth. 59. On the relation of the Philetan and Theocritean passages see also Schweizer 51,

The provenance of the apples which Aphrodite handed over to Hippomenes varies. They are said to come from the garden of the Hesperids in Schol. Theoc. 3.40-2b (127.11 Wendel), *ibid.* c (128.2-3 Wendel), *Mythogr. Vat.* 139 and Virg. *Ecl.* 6.61 or from Aphrodite's grove in Tamassos in Cyprus in Ov. *Met.* 10.644f. with Bömer ad loc. An Attic red-figure calyx crater of ca 420 depicts Atalanta and Hippomenes nude before the footrace while Aphrodite receives the apples from a winged Eros, see J. M. Barringer, *CIA* 15 (1996), 71-4. Here they come from Dionysus' wreath all the more surprisingly since this usually consists of ivy, cf. *HH* 26.1, Eur. *Bac.* 80, *Cycl.* 620, al., and apples are closely associated with Aphrodite, cf. Schol. Ar. *Clouds* 997c (193.11-2 Holwerda), Paus. 2.10.5 and see Lembach 134-7, Pirenne-Delforge 410-2. Garlands or apples are common love-tokens and their combination would constitute a passionate, grotesque reinforcement. A wreath of apples is not unparalleled, cf. Hippon. *IEG* 60, Meleag. *HE* 1.27. Schol. Theoc. 2.120a (289.20-4 Wendel) say that Call. fr. 412 ἐν τῷ Περὶ Λογᾶδων (?collection of diverse rare stories?) τὸν Διονύσου στέφανον ἐκ μήλων εἶναι φησιν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ τὸν Ἴππομένην λαβεῖν Ἀφροδίτης αἰτησαμένης, ὡς Διόδωρος ὁ ποιητῆς ἐν Κορινθιακοῖς [*SH* 381]. Aphrodite and Dionysus work together for erotic purposes in Anacr. *PMG* 346.56 (?), 357, cf. *Anacreont.* 43.12f., 49, 52.5f., al. Ph. seems to be the first to report this version which then occurs in Call. and Diodorus plausibly identified by Schneider with the Elaite known from Parth. 15 = *SH* 380 (παρὰ Διοδώρῳ τῷ Ἐλαίτῃ ἐν Ἐλεγείαις). Hippomenes' apples come close to Dionysus also in Nonn. *D.* 48.180-2 where the god wins over Pallene as his bride after a wrestling fight and his gain is compared with that of Hippomenes casting to Atalante χρυσοφαῆ προπάροιθε γαμήλια δῶρα. Significantly Aphrodite's granting of the apples, unlike *D.* 12.88-9, is suppressed here. This is a peculiar version enhancing the role of Dionysus, the origins of which may tentatively be traced to the region around Corinth. Ph. would know it from the Sicyonian vocable ἱακχα which he glossed as στεφάνωμα εὐῶδες, a term which may be related with Dionysus/Iacchus, broadly worshipped in this wine-producing area. This Corinthian/Sicyonian tale would serve to counterbalance the Boeotian and Arcadian ones.

As *Ataktoi* fr. 40, 41, 42 K. evidence, Ph. had an interest in garlands and their composition. In fact the wording of the Theocritean Scholium might harbour some Philetan vestiges. Ταῦτα δὲ εἰς ἔρωτα τὴν Ἀταλάντην ἐκίνησεν wittily hints at the foot-race and is more than what is expected from a Scholiast. Theoc.'s spirited ὡς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα might have found a precedent in Ph.

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U. Ott, *Die Kunst des Gegensatzes in Theokrits Hirtengedichte*, Hildesheim 1969, 182, M. Fantuzzi, *PCPS* 41 (1995), 22-3. There is no reason to agree with Wendel (1920), 99 who asserted that the source of Theoc. is Call. fr. 412, Ph. being only introduced in the Schol. by Theon.

The fragment cannot be attributed to any known work of the Coan with certainty. The relative clause prompts the impression that the reference to the myth of Atalante is a passing one; the word seems to have been of apples: τὰ οἷ ποτε etc. If Ph. treated Polyphemus, see *Dem.-Disc.* on Theoc. 7.151f., this kind of apples would suitably be mentioned in a context similar to Theoc. The transmission and the erotic traits of this fragment favour this possibility. Less likely, apples are related to Demeter and may have figured in *Demeter*, see *Dem.-Disc.* on Theoc. 7.134 and for Dionysus in that poem cf. fr. 10. Others, as Rohde 79, saw the desired evidence for an erotic elegy. Earlier efforts to argue for a Philetan influence on Prop. 1.1.15f., who follows the Boeotian version involving a footrace and golden apples, were abandoned, but F. Cairns, "The Milanion - Atalanta exemplum in Prop. 1.1: *videre feras* (12) and Greek models" in *Hommages à J. Veremas*, Brussels 1986, 33-8, esp. 37-8 thought he had reached a fitting compromise by suggesting that Prop. contaminated his sources and gave Ph. a "secondary" role. But his involvement in that poem is unnecessary.

From a technical point of view the intricate word-order of this fragment with the relative pronoun preceding its antecedent is noteworthy. This indicates an affinity with Callimachean practices, see Hollis on *Hec.* fr. 51.

### Fr. 30 (SH 675D)

#### Ἰχναί

Steph. Byz. (342.17-9 Meineke) Ἰχναί· πόλις Μακεδονίας. Ἡρόδοτος ἐβδόμη [7.123]. Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ Ἰχνας αὐτὴν φησι. Φιλίτας δ' ἄλλην φησὶ διὰ τοῦ α.

2 Φιλίτας V : Φιλητάς cett., v. fr. 10 ἄλλην codd. : Ἰχνην Xylander φησὶ διὰ codd. : φησὶ <τήν> διὰ Meineke.

A true rarity. Ichnai is mentioned in Hdt. 7.123 as a town in Macedon which Erat. called Achnai. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰχναί (156.16-8 Meineke) refers first to a Thessalian and then to a Boeotian town of that name. But Strabo 9.5.14 calls the Thessalian town Ichnai and refers to the noted local cult of Themis, see J.Cl. Decourt, *La vallée de l'Énipeus en Thessalie*, Athens-Paris 1990, 154-5. The aetion for its name provided by Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἰχναί (342.19-21 Meineke) suits the ancient Thessalian town: (Themis) διωκομένη .. ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κατελήφθη ἐν τοῖς τῶν Ἰχναίων τόποις, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ διωχθῆναι κατ' ἰχνοσ ὠνομάσθη. Erat. had a staunch interest in geography – the

term γεωγραφία might be a coinage of his – and is the author of Γεωγραφικά in three books, see Pfeiffer (1968), 164f. He very probably was aware of this tradition and thus called the Macedonian town (commonly called Ichnai) Achnai to distinguish it from the Thessalian Ichnai. Strabo l.c. would draw on his vein. Since Ph.'s Achnai is not related to the town in Macedon, it might have to do with the Thessalian one. His reference would then survive in a polemical passage of Erat. supporting his inversion of the traditional names. There is no indication as to the work of Ph. in which Erat. would find a reference to the Thessalian (?) Achnai; centaur Cheiron though, possibly treated by Ph., see *Dem.-Disc.* on Theoc. 7.148f., lived in Thessaly. Kuchenmüller 85 thought that he first transposed the reference to the poetical fragments "quod non verisimile est Coum in grammaticis de eiusmodi rebus egisse", but it was first classified as such by Kayser 70 (his fr. XXVI).



the ascription remains only a "faint possibility" for Hollis (1996), 57 n. 6. The epigram is exquisite and erudite and a "big" name might have written it, but none of these factors points compellingly to a certain authorship. Its date is the 3rd c. ("early Hellenistic" Hollis 264) as the commentator seems to have written in the 3rd or early 2nd c., i.e. after Theodor. quoted in vv. 47-53 discussing Δωσώ (*SH* 743 = *FGE* p. 95) and before the 2nd c. hand which copied it. Theodor. is dated with confidence in the second half of the 3rd c. The learned and Hellenistic traits are unmistakable. For the 'Aethiopian Memnon' cf. Call. fr. 110.52 Μέμνονος Αιθίοπος/. Ῥινοτόρος is a Homeric hapax of Ares in *Il.* 21.391-2 recurring in Hes. *Theog.* 933-4, Ἄγροτέρη of Artemis in Homer only *Il.* 21.476, see Maehler on Bacch. 11.37, *LSJ* Suppl. s.v., Threatte II, 305 (esp. Attica); ἀφέψαλος, for which cf. Hesych. α 8625 ἀφεψάλου· ἄνευ σπινθήρος λαμπροῦ, and Δωσώ (= Aphrodite) are rarities. Χυτὸν ἥριον emulates Homeric χυτὴ γαῖα "(sepulchral) mound of earth" by using the much affected since early Hellenistic times Homeric hapax (*Il.* 23.126) ἥριον, Asclep. *HE* 31.1, Anon. *FGE* 136.1 (4th/3rd c.), Alex. Aet. *CA* 3.3, Call. fr. 43.4, *SH* 254.7, *Hec.* fr. 79, Theoc. 2.13, 14.75, A.R. 1.1165, Euph. *SH* 453, Lyc. 444, 1208, Nicaenet. *HE* 2.1, Leon. Tar. *HE* 11.1, "Ion" *FGE* 2.5, Nic. fr. 108.1, *IMEG* 66.7 (2nd/1st c.). Σπλλάς is Homeric and Hellenistic, A.R. 7x, Call. *HyDel.* 243, Theoc. *HE* 20.6, Euph. *CA* 3, Nic. *Alex.* 289, Lyc. 1081, Amyntas *SH* 42.2, Adesp. Pap. Epigr. *SH* 978.11, Adesp. Pap. Hex. *SH* 923.14, trivialised in Opp. *Hal.* (13x). Τιθηνέω is unHomeric (τιθήνη is), *HHD* 142, Theogn. 1231, al. and substantive ἀδάμας is unHomeric too (occurring only as a proper name) but crops up 4x in Hes. (+ 3x in *Scut.*). Δωσοῦς νυμφίῳς "Ares" = "knife" glances at an ancient interpretation of ὄξυς "Ares" as "sword" in *Il.* 7.330, see G-P on Antip. Thess. *GPh* 23.3. The riddle is carefully articulated in three distichs each one disclosing more information towards the solution than the previous and may come from a book containing enigmatic epigrams. It is noteworthy that the solution is prefixed, a practice which was not the definite norm, see Page, *FGE*, 469-470. In this respect it differs from Ph.'s only surviving pagnion (fr. 27, transmitted, however, by Stob.) which most probably prefaced a book. But its obscure meaning and refined learning renders it a comparable specimen of a riddle-epigram.

2. Hollis (1978), 402-6 supplemented the lacuna in Call. fr. 1.10 with θεῶν] and made "the relatively less demanding assumption that Ph. (or conceivably another poet) wrote a long work bearing, like the *Demeter*, the name of a goddess for its title" (p. 403). This Callimachean passage is very likely to contain a reference to another poem by Ph., see on less likely proposals Perp. Adscr. 14. Possibly Hermesian. T. 2 harbours Philetan traces too.

3. A. S. Hollis raised the possibility that dactylic θαν]οῦσαν ἔθαψεν[ in T. 11a might come from a work of Ph. about the death of his mother. The formula is common in funerary epigrams and there is something like it in Hermesian. CA 7.43 θανοῦσαν ὑπὸ ξηρὴν θέτο γαῖαν of Antim.'s Lyde. But any conclusion is precarious.

## b) PERPERAM ADSCRIPTA.

1. [Ph. Inc. Sed. CA 17 = *Hermeneia* fr. 4 Diehl = *Ataktoi Glossai* fr. 53 K. = *Hermes* fr. 3 Nowacki]

λευγαλέος δὲ χιτῶν πεπινωμένος, ἀμφὶ δ' ἀραιή  
 ἰξὺς εἰλεῖται κόμμα μελαγκράνινον

Strabo 3.5.1 (*incolae insularum Balearidum*) ἄζωστοι ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐξήεσαν ... σφενδόνας δὲ περὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τρεῖς μελαγκρανίνας {μελαγκρανίνας: σχοίνου εἶδος, ἐξ οὗ πλέκεται τὰ σχοινία· καὶ Φιλῆτας γε (Coraes : τε codd.) ἐν Ἑρμηνείᾳ· λευγαλέος etc. ὡς σχοίνῳ ἐζωσμένου}.

2 ἰλεῖται Αω' ("pro glossemate haberi potest" Lassere, vix recte) : εἰλεῖται cett. : εἴληται vel εἴλυται Meineke κόμμα codd. : ἄμμα Salmasius : "possis etiam ῥάμμα [acceptit Powell]. Sed nihil mutandum" Meineke μελαγκραῖνας codd. ambo locis : μελαγκρανίας perperam Salmasius : corr. Coraes, Meineke : "cave ne Philetæe glossema corrumpas" Lassere.

As Tyrwitt already noticed the lemma propounding μελαγκράνινος is a marginal note that crept into the text of Strabo. In the Vatican Strabo-palimpsest of the late 5th c. A.D. (Π) that part of Strabo's work does not survive. This is a gloss discussed by Ph. in *Hermeneia* where he quoted an anonymous distichon to illustrate his interpretation as he did in *Ataktoi Glossai* fr. 40 K. with the gloss ἰάκχα. It is considered as *incerti poetae* by Wil. *HD* I, 115 n. 1, Barber, <sup>2</sup>*OCD*, 814, Pfeiffer (1968), 91, R. Tossi *La philologie grecque*, 147, Rengakos 108-9 n. 480 (who noted that a link between this distich and A.R. 1.1218-9 πρόφασιν πολέμου ... / λευγαλέην postulated by R. Merkel, *Ein Kapitel Prolegomena zu Apollonius Rhodius*, Progr. Schleusingen 1850, 149 is fantastic), but earlier it was commonly ascribed to Ph., cf. Brunck 234, Kayser 52-3, Jacobs 123, Bach 34-5, Meineke 348-350, Diehl, and since Powell printed it as such, it is sometimes still discussed as a genuine fragment. This possibility would only be true if Ph. inserted portions of his poetry in his philological works, as Parth. did in his *Erot. Path.*, but it is unlikely that Ph. would have adduced passages of himself to enhance

his own interpretations.<sup>1</sup> Tyrwhitt had tried *contra metrum* to ascribe it to *Hermes* and was followed by Nowacki on the false premise that *Hermes* consisted of both hexameters and pentameters. Cessi (1914), 287-8 deemed that the unknown character described in a sorry plight should be Telephus who was notoriously represented wearing rags in Eur.'s play. The MSS' Ἑρμηνεία would be corrupt. He convinced E. Calderon, *EClás* 30 (1988), 24. Webster 41 concluded from this quotation that features of the low and humble already occurred in Ph. (which may well be correct) winning approval from E. J. Kenney, *Moretum. A Poem Ascribed to Virgil*, Bristol 1984, xxxi and Zanker 56, and thought of a fisherman as those in [Theoc.] 21 and in Hellenistic Art. Bowie 75 (and A. S. Hollis) saw in it a point of limited resemblance with Lycidas in Theoc. 7. The distich itself is of high quality, vividly descriptive and apparently of a date not long before Ph.'s days. Λευγαλέος is extended to apply to material objects, the prosaic form πεπινωμένος (cf. πίνος in tragedy, A.R. 2.200, Call. fr. 122.5, πινόμεν in A.R. 2.301, πινόεσσα in Antip. Sid. *HE* 7.3) is juxtaposed to traditionally epic vocabulary, cf. of the cynic philosopher Diogenes Antip. Thess. *GPh* 97.3 ῥυπόεντι πίνω πεπαλαγμένον ἔσθος, Soph. *OC* 1259. Ἰξύς reflects its Homeric usage in *Od.* 5.231 = 10.544 περὶ δὲ ζώνην βάλετ' ἰξυῖ of the waist of Calypso and Circe respectively, cf. Long. 1.4.2 (statues of Nymphs with) ζῶμα περὶ τὴν ἰξύν, Dion. Per. 840-1 (women celebrants of Dionysus) χρυσοῖο κατ' ἰξύος ἄμμα βαλοῦσαι / ὀρχεῦνται. It is employed 2x by Arat. 310 (man), 683 (144) whence Diophil. *SH* 391.8, [Theoc.] 25.246 (lion), and Archias *GPh* 21.3 (cicada), Androm. *GDRK* 62.53 (man), Opp. *Cyn.* 2.6 (Centaur). On εἰλεῖται see *LSJ* s.v. εἶλω c.II "bind fast", and cf. Call. *SH* 253b.1a-1 ἀμφὶ τε κῆρες / εἰλεῖνται, [Mosch.] *Megara* 104 περὶ δ' αὐτὸν .. εἰλεῖτο φλόξ/, Arat. 53 (the coil of the Dragon) κατ' αὐτὴν / εἰλεῖται κεφαλὴν whence Anon. *GDRK* S4.1-2, Dion. Per. 161-2 ἐπὶ δισσήν / εἰλεῖται στροφάλιγγα, A.R. 2.571 νῆα ... πέριξ εἶλει ῥόος. The form is common in Hellenistic verse, Theoc. 1.31, A.R. 4.1271 cf. 4.1067, Arat. 46, 224, 445, al. Μελαγκράνινος is a gloss which takes into consideration the substantive μελαγκρανίς "black bog-rush (schoenus nigricus)" in Theophr. *HP* 4.12.1, cf. Pliny *NH* 21.113 and see A-H-S on *HHHerm.* 460.

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<sup>1</sup> Zenodotus has been unjustifiably accused of inserting verses of his own to complete the sense in certain Homeric passages, see Pfeiffer (1968), 114.



2. [Phylarch. *SH* 694A = Phylarch. (?) *FGH* 81 F 84 = Ph. Dub. *CA* 25 = 28 K.]

†σουριη μοῦνοι μὲν ἐλεύθεροι ἱεροεργοί,  
 ἄνδρασι †προσκεينوισιν ἐλεύ<θε>ρον ἄμαρ ἔχοντες·  
 δούλων δ' οὔτις πάμπαν ἐσέρχεται οὐδ' ἠβαιόν.

Athen. 14.639d (de Saturnalibus et festis similibus) Κῶοι δὲ τούναντίον δρῶσιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Μακαρεὺς ἐν τρίτῳ Κωακῶν [*FGH* 456 F 1b]: ὅταν γὰρ τῇ Ἥρᾳ θύωσιν, δούλοι οὐ παραγιγνόνται ἐπὶ τὴν εὐωχίαν. διὸ καὶ Φύλαρχον (codd. : Εὐφορίωνα Meineke : Φιλητᾶν tentavit Kaibel) εἰρηκέναι· Σουρή etc., cf. Athen. 6.262c sine loco poetico.

1 σουριη codd. : Νισύριοι Dalechamps : "Iunonis sive nomen, sive cognomen" Kaibel, inde Οὐρανίη Herzog, Kuchenmüller 2 προσκεινοισι codd. : πρὸς (πάρ Meineke) Κῶοισιν Villebrun : πρὸς ξείνοισιν proposui ἔλευρον codd. : corr. Musurus ἄμαρ codd. : ἡμαρ man. sec. A.

Apparently a poor poet's work. The fragment was quoted in local historian Macareus' *Coaca* book 3. Kaibel, Bergk, Powell, Kuchenmüller and L. Sbardella. *QUCC* 52 (1996), 107-113 (as part of an alleged *ktisis*-poem on Cos by Ph.) were tempted to ascribe it to Ph., Meineke even to Euph. "The fragment is corrupt and the nature of the poem is obscure"; the poet's name "hazardous to amend", *Ll-J Acad. Pap.* I, 26. First R. Herzog, *Phil.* 65 (1906), 633 printed Οὐρανίη in v. 1 which was then independently proposed by Kuchenmüller 87, a title attested twice in Coan inscriptions (nowhere else in the Dodecanese), see Craik 219. Νισύριοι, if accepted, might mean that among foreigners only the Nisyrians, enjoying special privileges in Cos, see on fr. 26, were legitimised to participate in the ritual of Hera, access to which was otherwise prohibited to foreigners and slaves. The cultic exclusion of foreigners is widely attested, see Wächter 118-123, cf. of Hera's cult *Hdt.* 6.81. On her worship in Cos see *Sh-W* 296f., Craik 187. If Νισύριοι is to be read in the first line, πρὸς ξείνοισιν would suggest itself, as a Coan poet might take pride in the generosity with which his country treated the Nisyrians. Ἱεροεργός is the person in charge of a religious ceremony, a general term applying to ritual, banquets and sacrifices, but v. 3 shows that here it means "attendant of a sacred rite". *Call.* fr. 517 (in an utterance of Apollo) shows its noble effect. Here it may be an effort to provide an elevated alternative to the usual ἱεροποιός.<sup>2</sup> Ἐλεύθερον ἡμαρ is Homeric. Ἐχοντες is intolerably feeble;

<sup>2</sup> Ἱεροποιός is the term occurring in the sacred documents, see the *Index* in *LSCG* p. 343, and in Cos, cf. *HG* 1.38, 39, 51 (4th c.), *IdC* ED 71B.15 (4th c.), *HG* 8.33 (3rd c.), *IdC* ED 93.5 (3rd c.), 89.7 (1st c.). Ἱερούργος is rare, see *LSJ* s.v. with *Suppl.* (add *LSCG* 144A.5, B.4 (Lebena, 2nd c.)), Sokolowski on *LSCG* 3.8 (ἱεουργέω), F. Bader, *Les composés grecs du type de Demiourgos*, Paris 1965, 136-8.

Kuchenmüller was forced to propose ἄγοντες (ἄγουσι already Meineke). V. 3 is modelled on *Il.* 13.701-2 Αἴας δ' οὐκέτι πάμπαν, ... / ἴστατ' ... οὐδ' ἠβαιόν/, cf. also *Od.* 9.462 ἐλθόντες δ' ἠβαιόν. On οὐδ' ἠβαιόν see S. West on *Od.* 4.793-4, Kirk on *Il.* 2.2. The exclusion of slaves from religious festivals is not uncommon, see Wächter 123-5 and in general F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griech. und Rom*, Stuttgart 1990. Wil. *GdH* I, 283 n. 3 thought that the cult of Hera Argeia is involved which would originally be confined to the Greek settlers of Cos. Craik 165 thought that in Hera's cult this might have to do with the refuge offered to Heracles, Hera's foe, when he was cornered in a battle with the Coans by a Thracian (i.e. slave?) woman, Plut. *quaest. gr.* 58, p. 304 c-d. The provincial poet Phylarch. is not known from any other source.

### 3a. [Philitas Samius *HE* 1]

πεντηκονταέτις καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ φιλέραστος  
 Νικιάς εἰς νηὸν Κύπριδος ἐκρέμασεν  
 σάνδαλα καὶ χαίτης ἀνελίγματα, τὸν τε διαυγῆ  
 4 χαλκὸν ἀκριβείης οὐκ ἀπολειπόμενον,  
 καὶ ζώνην πολύτιμον, ἃ τ' οὐ φωνητὰ πρὸς ἀνδρός·  
 ἄλλ' ἔσορᾶς πάσης Κύπριδος ὄπτασίην.

Ἄνάθημα τῆ αὐτῆ [sc. Ἀφροδίτῃ] παρὰ Νικιάδος· Φιλιτᾶ Σαμίου. 1 πεντηκονταέτης P : corr. Reiske 3 τὸν τε Ap. B : τὸν δὲ P 5 φωνητὰ C : -νή τὰ P 6 ἐς ὄρη P : corr. Jacobs.

### 3b. [Philitas Samius *HE* 2]

ἃ στάλα βαρύθουσα λέγει τάδε· "τὰν μινύωρον  
 τὰν μικκὰν Ἀΐδας ἄρπασε Θειοδόταν"  
 χά μικκὰ τάδε πατρὶ λέγει· "πάλιν ἴσχεο λύπας,  
 Θειόδοτε· θνατοὶ πολλάκι δυστυχέες."

Φιλιτᾶ Σαμίου εἰς μικρὴν τινα θυγατέρα Θεοδότου καὶ αὐτὴν Θεοδότην καλουμένην. 1 μινύωρον C : -ριον P 3 χά μικκὰ apogr. : χ' ἀμμικὰ P 4 πολλὰ P : corr. Reiske.

The corrector added the ethnic in the first epigram and both name and ethnic in the second. The epigrams belong in a Meleagrean context but no Ph. is mentioned in his preface. Meleag. himself does not seem to have added ethnics to the names of poets. This became a necessity because of later accretions but again there is only one

Ph. in *AP*, see the balanced discussion in *HE* II, 476. Since vv. 3-4 τὸν τε διαυγῆ / χαλκόν recurs in *HyPal.* 21, Bulloch 130 n. 4 was inclined to believe that they belong to the Coan, but appeared more sceptical in Easterling-Knox 546. They were first printed as such by Jacobs 121. But if the author was he, Meleag. would not have failed to notice him in his preface. The Coan is never linked with Samos as the island of his origin and the corrector might have added the ethnic to distinguish the lesser known poet from his famous namesake in a broader context. The name Νικιάς in v. 2 of the first epigram stands on a solid Samian tradition too: a Samian hetaira Νικώ is attested in Athen. 5.220f and the name occurs in context 3x in Asclep., see G-P on Asclep. *HE* 10.2. No other source provides any information about the Samian Philitas.

4. [Anon. *FGE* 134.2]

νυκτῶν φροντίδες ἔσπεριοι

Quoted in Athen. T. 20. Page, *FGE*, 443 deemed that the weird phrase is a direct quotation from Ph.: "the main point of the epigram may be that this is parody of the style of Philitas, if not an actual example of a καλούμενος τῶν λόγων ψευδολόγος taken from his writings". The epigram from which this quotation is taken is a fictitious epitaph written not long after Ph.'s death (πρὸ τοῦ μνημείου αὐτοῦ ἐπίγραμμα in Athen.) by someone familiar with the mockery of Middle comedy about the Coan. This particular reference might be chosen to allude to a notorious scene in *Demeter*, see *Dem.-Disc.* on Call. *HyDem.* 7-9. The inscrutable juxtaposition of νυκτῶν and ἔσπεριοι may well be an on the spot specimen of a ψευδόμενος λόγος but in view of the comic character of the epigram it does not seem to reproduce a Philetan conjunction. This would become clear if Eubulides' logical riddle of ψευδόμενος λόγος would be employed in comedy in relation to litterati or indeed to Ph.

5. [*Atakt. Glos.* fr. 50 K.]

παύσω σε τῆς σκύζης

Hesych. s.v. σκύζης: παρὰ Φιλίτα· παύσω σε τῆς σκύζης· ἀντὶ τοῦ τῆς κάπρας.

From this quotation in Hesych. and from id. s.v. ἴ' ὑπ' ἀνὴν· παρ' Ἑκαταίῳ Φιλίτας (Musurus : παρεκατέω Φιλιάς cod.; = Hecataeus *FGH* 1 F 365 = *Ataktoi* fr. 51 K.), Kayser 68 and Bach 61f., esp. 67 concluded that Ph. wrote iambs.

Meineke wanted to ascribe this fragment to Philemon, M. Schmidt regarded it an anonymous quotation in Ph.'s *Ataktoi*. It might be derived from comedy (but not recorded among the comic Adespota in *PCG* VIII) or, more likely, to invective iambic poetry in the style of Hipponax. Σκυζῶω "be in heat" is according to Arist. *HA* 572a, b a *vox propria* for dogs and the substantive occurs in comedy as an abusive term of women, see Chantraine *DE* s.v. σκυζῶα. The second fragment is hopelessly corrupt, see R. Tossi *La philologie grecque*, 147 n. 5. "Von Iamben sind nur unsichere Spuren vorhanden", Wil. *HD* II, 116. It is likely that Ph. quoted these iambic remnants when discussing the glosses they contain in *Ataktoi*. Their only significance is that they evidence the Coan's spectrum in detecting or interpreting rare terms to overstep the realm of hexameters or pentameters.

The iambic fragments in Stob. 4.33.19 (V.804 Hense) = Philemon fr. 92 Kock (Φιλῆτου SMA) = *Comp. Men. et Philist.* 2.59-67, 4.22.48 (IV.518 Hense) = Philemon fr. 239 Kock (Φιλῆ<sup>τ</sup> S : Φιλίτα MA : Philemoni attr. Meineke : "sed nihil mutandum. immo intercidit Philetæ dictum una cum nomine Φιλῆμονος aliusve poetæ comici" Hense ad loc.) = *Men. Sent.* 118, 2.1.5a, b, c (II.4 Wachsmuth) = *Comp. Men. et Philist.* 2.77-80 = Philemon fr. 118 Kock (Φιλῆτα FP : Μιλητ L), 2.4.3 (II.27 Wachsmuth) = Philemon fr. 112 Kock (Φιλῆμονος T : Φιλητ S : (Φ)ιλῆτα A) = *Comp. Men. et Philist.* 2.189-191 and 2.46.11 (II.261 Wachsmuth, Φιλη<sup>τ</sup> L : Φιλῆμονος Meineke : Φιλῆτου Gaisford) = *Comp. Men. et Philist.* 2.12-5 (attributing it to Men. under the title Μένανδρος. Περὶ Τύχης) have nothing to do with Ph. of Cos. They were printed by Kayser 71-3 among his *Fragmenta Incerta et Suspecta* and *dubitanter* by Bach 61-7. They are not printed among Philemon's genuine fragments in *PCG*, see vol. VII, 317. Kayser 68-9 and Bach 66-7 also misread Φιλητᾶς for Ὀφελίων in Athen. 2.43f = Ophelion *PCG* 4 which after quoting Eubul. *PCG* 133 runs Τὰ αὐτὰ δ' ἰαμβεῖα καὶ Ὀφελίων φησί.

#### 6. [Euph. *SH* 429.46-9]

46 ἦνυσα.[  
Αἰγαιησ[  
48 τῆς οὐδ' [αἴθουαι οὐδὲ κρυεροὶ καύηκες]  
δύπται.[

46 "ad fin. fort. τ[." *SH* 48 Euph. CA 130 suppl. Barigazzi

Scheibner published the fifty-four lines long, badly mutilated hexameter fragment printed as Euph. *SH* 429 (?) and attributed it to Ph. inserting in v. 46 fr. 4 from

*Hermes*. Despite the objections of R. Pfeiffer and Ll-J *per litt.* he abode by his ascription in *Phil.* 111 (1967), 129-132. His proposal was almost universally rejected, cf. Fraser II, 792 n. 21 ad fin. ("lacks any positive foundation", cf. Cairns 25 n. 111), Trypanis 267, and A. Barigazzi convincingly fitted Euph. CA 130 in v. 48, see also R. J. D. Carden, *BICS* 16 (1969), 34-5, *SH* ad loc. Bowie 74-5 with n. 40 rightly asserted that "in any case mythological material seems to predominate and we are very far from bucolic" correcting Fraser l.l. ("a bucolic hexameter poem"), but insisted that "Philetas could still be the author" because vv. 6-7 Ὠρομέδον[το]ς / ]εζην ("suspectum, contra metri normam" *SH*) ταυρώπιδος Ἡρη[ς] "would be easier to explain". This carries very little weight. Oromedon is most probably not the Coan mountain, but the giant Eurymedon, an aspiring lover of Hera, cf. Euph. CA 99, mentioned with features of her beauty in the next verse. As the editors of *SH* noted "et alii aliorum versus ab ἦνυσα incipiant" and Odysseus' egocentric and cunning narration in one of *Hermes'* episodes would not stray to such a mythological width to serve his pressing immediate interests.

7. [Philetas *Naxiaca* FGH 498]. From EM 795.12 Φιλτέας· παρὰ τὸ φιλῶ φίλτος ῥηματικὸν ὄνομα, οὗ παρώνυμον Φιλτέας, ὡς πρῶτος Πρωτέας, ἄριστος Ἀριστέας. Φιλτέας δὲ ἐστὶν ἰσοκαλαβίος ἱστορήκεν, ὃ τὰ Νάξια συνθεῖς Kayser 30-2, 51-2 attributed at least three books of *Ναξιακά* to Ph. and *suo arbitrio* declared them to be composed in verse. Bach 82 rejected the unfounded speculation on the form but discussed *Naxiaca* as a genuine work of the Coan. Two pieces of information have survived from this work, Schol. Lyc. 633 ἀμφικλήστους χοιράδας Γυμνησίας] ... Τίμαιος (FGH 566 F 66) δὲ φησιν εἰς ταύτας τὰς νήσους ἐλθεῖν τινὰς τῶν Βοιωτῶν, ἅστινας νήσους χοιράδας εἶπεν [sc. Lyc.]. Φιλτέας δὲ ἐν τρίτῃ *Ναξιακῶν Βαλιαρίδας* φησὶν αὐτὰς ὕστερον ὀνομασθῆναι and Eustath. *Comm. Od.* 1885.50 καὶ ὃ τὰ *Ναξιακά* γράψας ἰΦιλήτας εἶτε Καλλῖνος whence Eudocia added among Ph.'s works καὶ τὰ καλούμενα *Ναξιακά* in Suda T. 1. R. Stiehle, *Phil.* 9 (1854), 505 wanted to establish the Coan's name in the first passage as Ph. allegedly spoke of the Balearid islands in Perp. Adscr. 1, overlooking the fact that the lexicographic insertion does not relate to Strabo's subject matter. He had also ignored Meineke 351-3 who had corrected the arbitrary emendations and had given the work back to its author winning the approval of Powell 96. On this shadowy historian Philetas see Jacoby ad loc.

8. [Ph. *Aliena* CA 27 = *Ataktoi* fr. 40 K.]

Ἔστηκ' ἀμφὶ κόμας εὐωδέας ἀγχόθι πατρός  
καλὸν ἰακχαῖον θηκαμένη στέφανον

Athen. 15.678a ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ἰάκχαν (dett. : ἰάκχα A) τινὰ καλούμενον οἶδα στέφανον ὑπὸ Σικυωνίων ὧς φησι Τιμαχίδας ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις. Φιλίτας δ' οὕτως γράφει· ἰάκχα ἐν τῇ Σικυωνίᾳ στεφάνωμα εὐώδες· ἔστηκ' etc.

1 ἀμφίκομα A : corr. Schweighäuser

First Brunck 524 and Jacobs 122 followed by Bach 57-8 printed this elegiac distichon as a genuine Philetan fragment, but it is plain that it is a quotation from another poet employing the term ἰακχαῖον in the relevant lemma in *Ataktoi Glossai*. Anacr. *PMG* 397.2 ὑποθυμίδας περὶ στήθεσι λωτίνας ἔθεντο used another gloss for "garland". The Sicyonian gloss ἰακχαῖος suggests a link with Dionysus/Iacchus, broadly worshipped in Sicyon of the famous vineyards, cf. for the Sicyonian wine Pind. *Nem.* 10.43, Athen. 1.33b, Pliny *NH* 14.74 and for the cult of Dionysus Paus. 2.7.5 (processions and rituals) and a dedicatory inscription in phalaecians *SEG* 29.1334 (230-220) on which see A. Kerkhecker, *ZPE* 86 (1991), 27-34, L. Lehnus, *CQ* 46 (1996), 295-7 suggesting Mnascal. as a possible author. "Ἐστηκεν and θηκαμένη implies a careful, ceremonial placing, cf. Eur. *Med.* 1160 (Glauce) χρυσοῦν τε θεῖσα στέφανον ἀμφὶ βόστρυχας, perhaps a coronation signalling initiation of a rite, cf. in a ritual of Aphrodite *Cypria EGF* 5.2-3 (Nymphs and Charites) πλεξάμεναι στεφάνους εὐωδέας, ἄνθεα γαίης, / ἂν κεφαλαῖσιν ἔθεντο and see Blech 302-7. The quotation then seems to relate to a celebration of Dionysus, who as a god of vegetation is intimately related with wreaths, see Blech 202f., 210f. Εὐώδης is a common attribute to wine. Here the κόμας are εὐωδέας because of the garland, cf. Eur. *Med.* 841 ἐπιβαλλομένην χαιτοῖσιν εὐώδη ῥοδέων πλόκον ἀνθέων, Nonn. *D.* 2.89 καλύκων εὐώδεα χαιτην, 12.318. The adj. often applies to flora, cf. *HH* 19.26, Ibyc. (?) *PMGF* S 257i.9 στέφανον εὐώδη, [Hes.] fr. 26.21, Pind. *Nem.* 11.41 ἄνθος εὐώδες, Theoc. 4.25, 22.42, al.

9. [Frust. Adesp. Auct. *SH* 1048 = Ph. Dub. *CA* 26 = Antim. Dub. fr. 203]

Θοή δ' ὑπεδέξατο γαῖα

Transmitted by EM 453.6 and Epim. *Homerici* θ 25 (369.37 Dyck) in discussing the various meanings of θοός, see *SH* ad loc. Maass (1895a), IX n. 5 was induced by Ov. *Met.* 5.423 (Pluto with Persephone on his chariot) *icta viam tellus in Tartara reddit* to ascribe this hemistich to *Demeter*. Θοή may mean μέλαινα, see on Antim. *SH* 62.2. Matthews on Dub. fr. 203 argued for Antimachean authorship, cf. id. 291.

## 10. [Erat. CA 11]

## κρήνης Γαργαφίης

EM 135.32 'Αργαφίης· οἶον· "νιψάμεναι κρήνης ἔδραμον 'Αργαφίης" [[Call.] Fr. Inc. Auct. 740]· ... τὸ δὲ ἐντελὲς ἐν τῷ Ἑρμῇ· κρήνης Γαργαφίης.

Hunger attributed this fragment to Ph.'s *Hermes*, Hemsterhuis to Erat.'s *Hermes*. Powell on Ph. (his) fr. 17 considered ἐν Ἑρμη<νία>. Th. Bergk, *Analecta Alexandrina* II, Marburg 1846, 19 supported the ascription to Erat. "cum illud carmen longe nobilius magisque grammaticorum studiis fuerit explicatum" and Ed. Hiller, *Eratosthenis Carminum reliquiae*, Lipsiae 1872, 27-31 secured the ascription by drawing attention to the fact that Hermes walked through Boeotia with the stolen cattle of Apollo, *HHHerm.* 88f., Ant. Lib. 23. Γαργαφίη is a well at the foot of Cithaeron known in historical times as the source of water for the Greek army at Plataiai. Its identification with 'Αργαφίη is uncertain.

## 11. [Euph. CA 75]

## χθιζόν μοι κνώσσοντι παρ' Ἀργανθώνιον αἴπος

Bach 58 and Cessi (1914), 286 n. 1 *iniuria* stripped Euph. of his verse to ascribe it to Ph., see on fr. 28. Kayser 71 had earlier placed it among his *Fragmenta Incerta et Suspecta*. Kayser 67 had also by mistake attributed to Ph. Nic. *Ther.* 33 μαράθου δὲ νήχυτος ὄρηξ quoted next to Ph. fr. 12 in EM. For the same reason G. Diltthey, *De Callimachi Cydippa*, Leipzig 1863, 38 tried to ascribe [Call.] Fr. Inc. Auct. 739 πολὺ τρύος ἤλασεν ἔξω to Ph., see Pf. ad loc., and P. E. Sonnenburg *apud* Nowacki 32 n. 5 mistook a hexametric formation in Parth. τῷ δ' ἄρα καὶ αὐτῷ ἦν ἡ μονὴ ἡδομένω for Philetan.

## 12. [Call. HyAp. 110-2]

Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδαρ φορέουσι μέλισσαι,  
ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρὴ τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει  
πίδακος ἐξ ἱερῆς ὀλίγη λιβάς ἄκρον ἄωτον.

Müller 40-1, cf. id. (1990), 28, claimed that the famous Callimachean lines "scheinen geradezu ein Philitas-Zitat zu sein". The verses constitute an overt reference to Ph. but a three-verse direct loan is unparalleled in Call. As elsewhere, the Cyrenean has more subtle ways of incorporating Philetan material than direct quotation.

13. From Theoc. 11.1-3 Οὐδὲν ποττὸν ἔρωτα πεφύκει φάρμακον ἄλλο, / Νικία, οὐτ' ἔγχριστον, ἐμὴν δοκεῖ, οὐτ' ἐπίπαστον, / ἢ ταῖ Πιερίδες and Long. 2.7 Ἔρωτος γὰρ οὐδὲν φάρμακον, οὐ πινόμενον, οὐκ ἐσθιόμενον, οὐκ ἐν ᾠδαῖς λεγόμενον, ὅτι μὴ φίλημα καὶ περιβολὴ καὶ συγκατακλιθῆναι γυμνοῖς σώμασι Cairns 26-7 inferred that "Theocritus' line may .. be an echo of Philetas". He also traced the pan-pipes in Long. 2.34 back to Ph., cf. id. *WS* 97 (1984), 107, and from Long. 2.35 *fin.* and Call. fr. 1.37 (!) he postulated a poetic encounter of Eros and Ph., cf. also Bowie 78. All this in "Philetan bucolic poetry of erotodidactic character". Hunter (1983), 78 expressed reservations about this reasoning but himself drew a line linking Long. with Theoc. and ultimately Ph. to whom he tentatively ascribed numerous expressions or motifs, p. 79f. Long. 2.37 expressly echoes Theoc., see C. M. Mittelstadt, *RhM* 113 (1970), 217. To the immediate relation of the two the poetry of a third is irrelevant; no conclusions about Ph.'s poetry can be substantiated this way. The Coan has also been credited with a broader impact on Theoc. 1 by P-H 357 n. 1 where the death of Thyrsis allegedly alludes to Ph.'s death on the very slender ground that Theoc. was a "pupil" of Ph. and Hermes appears in v. 77 to console Daphnis. F. Cairns, *WS* 97 (1984), 105-6 also maintained that the poetic symbolisms in Theoc. 1 go back to Ph., who allegedly treated a bucolic character Daphnis in his poems. These "would have made Theocritus' readers see *Idyll I* as extending and supporting the literary manifesto of Philetas". In *ibid.*, 97-8 from Prop. T. 22e Cairns inferred that "wax and *corymbi* ... were a Philetan symbolic complex" so that Theoc. 1.27-31 "may derive from Philetas" convincing A. Sharrock, *Seduction and Repetition in Ovid's Ars Amatoria 2*, Oxford 1994, 145 who elaborates further on Ovidian grounds. From Hermesian. T. 2 and Ov. Tt. 23c, d an amatory elegy *Bittis* has often been posited.

14. The vexed lines in Call. fr. 1.9-12 have given rise to further speculation about alleged works of Ph. G. Vitteli, *PSI* 11 (1935), 141 n. 2 supplemented Κῶν] in Call. fr. 1.10 ("brevius spatio" Pfeiffer, but cf. P. J. Parsons *apud* Hollis (1978), 402 n. 1) postulating a *ktisis*-poem by Ph. This found sympathy with R. Pretagostini, *Ricerche sulla poesia alessandrina*, Rome 1984, 128-9 and L. Sbardella, *QUCC* 52 (1996), 93-119. The latter adduced Call. Tt. 5, 6a, b, Theoc. 7.1-11, Herodas 2.95-8 and



Hermesian. T. 2 as references to a *Cos* by Ph. in the line of the anonymous *Meropis* SH 903A. Phylarchus SH 694A would be lines from that poem. He also saw room for a shorter poem *Demeter* restrictively dealing with the institution of the goddess' cult in this island. The popular supplement γρᾶν would allude to Ph.'s alleged *Bittis*: "waiving any doubts over the space in the papyrus (will it take five letters?) ... a description of Bittis as 'the old woman' would surely be grotesque", Hollis (1978), 403. Knox 67-8 found it "a bit inappropriate", but still regarded *Bittis* as "the best candidate". M. Puelma, *Phil.* 101 (1957), 95 n. 2 condemned Rostagni's αἱ κατὰ λεπτόν [ρήσιες in Call. fr. 1.12 on the ground that it implies a collection of poems entitled Κατὰ λεπτόν as Arat. SH 108-9, cf. Cameron (1995), 325 n. 117. He conjectured Κῶαι ascribing to Ph. "eine Reihe von mittelgroßer elegischer Einzelgedichte in einer Buchsammlung vereinigt", id., *MH* 39 (1982), 226 n. 18. C. Gallavotti, *Aegyptus* 22 (1942), 115f. thought that Call. fr. 1.13-6 allusively refers to Ph.'s longer and shorter poems and by supplementing αἱ Κῶαι in v. 16 postulated a lost Philetan *Catalogue of Women*. L. Alfonsi, "La poesia amorosa di Filita", *Aegyptus* 23 (1943), 161 even thought that Ph. might have treated in *Demeter* or "a similar work" the myth of Massagetai against a μακρὸν ἄνδρα. W. Wimmel, *Hermes* 86 (1958), 346-353 favoured δρῶν] referring to an unknown work of the Coan. K. McKay, *Antichthon* 12 (1978), 36-44 accepted this supplement and postulated a poem Κλήθρη on the ground of fr. 27.2, see ad loc.

15. *Res Romanae*. Maass (1895b), 280f. conjectured that Virg.'s whole treatment of bugony is indebted to Ph. He found support with Cessi 135-6, L. Malten, *Kyrene*, Berlin 1911, 29f. and Christ-Schmid-Stählin *Griech. Lit.* II.1, 122. Maass, op.c., 295-6 also held that Ph. in fr. 20 addresses Aristaeus, the inventor of apiculture. Of his treatment Virg. *Georg.* 4.315f. would be a "faithful summary". This was tentatively accepted by Kuchenmüller 79 n. 6 ("Fortasse ... breviter"); *contra* Rohde *Kl. Schr.* II, 310-1, Nowacki 78 and see on fr. 20. Maass (1895a), XI-XIV also thought that he could deduce from Prop. 3.34.35-6 the content of a Philetan poem dealing with the myth of Heracles and Omphale; *contra* already R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 31 (1896), 198f. L. Richmond in his Cambridge 1928 ed. p. 221 opined that Prop. 2.12 is a literary translation ("Philetam expressit"!) of a Philetan poem; *contra* Boucher 223 n. 2 and common sense. W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur*, Stuttgart 1924, 29 deduced from Prop. T. 22c that Ph. in his poems referred to Hippocrene and Aganippe, two springs sacred to the Muses. J. Hubaux, *BAB* 39 (1953), 263 from Long. 3.5.4 and Prop. 3.16.13-4 attributed the motif of the lover's immunity to Ph.; *contra* Hunter (1983), 82-3. G. Luck, *MH* 105 (1962), 347 read in the vexed Prop. 2.34b.31 *tu satius Meropen Musis imitere Philitae* postulating a *Meropis* by Ph., see

*Dem.-Disc.*, Reconstr. I.M.LeM. DuQuesnay, *PLLS* 3 (1981), 29-182 at 38-51 esp. 39-40 from the correspondences in Virg. *Ecl.* 2.28-39 and Long. 2.32.7 postulated Ph. as their common model, cf. also Hunter (1983), 81-2, Bowie 81-3, Thomas 40. Bowie 81 deduced another Philetan motif from Virg. *Ecl.* 1.5 *formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas* and Long. 2.7 ἐπήνουν τὴν Ἠχὼ τὸ Ἀμαρυλλίδος ὄνομα μετ' ἐμὲ καλοῦσαν. From Virg. *Ecl.* 7.4 *ambo florentes aetatibus, Arcades ambo* and its apparent imitation by the roughly contemporary Eryc. *GPh* 1.1-2 Γλαύκων καὶ Κορύδων, οἱ ἐν οὖρεσι βουκολέοντε / Ἀρκάδες ἀμφοτέροι Bowie 82-3 identified the common source that Reitzenstein *EuS*, 131-2 n. 2 had postulated with a bucolic poem by Ph. supplying "the name Corydon and perhaps even the Arcadian setting". Thomas 58-9 assented and tried to refute the objections meanwhile raised by R. Jenkyns, *JRS* 79 (1989), 34 n. 33. According to Bowie the name Lycinna in combination with Long.'s Λυκαίνιον, cf. also Theoc.'s Λυκίδας, would also hark back to Ph. And from Prop. 3.3 four motifs would be of Philetan origin: a divine encounter (perhaps with Apollo), the message "small is beautiful", the *spelunca* in Prop. 3.3.27 and the love themes in a rural context. Müller 42, cf. id. (1990), 28-9, from T. 22b and the coda of Call. *HyAp.* concluded that Ph. in his poetry presented himself as the hierophant of Apollo's concept of poetry and the Callimachean/Roman Κῶφος is a term with religious/mystic connotations. Thomas 35-70 suggested that if Ph. in Long. 2.3 reflects a character in a pastoral poem of the Coan Ph. and since he bears "an uncanny resemblance" to the Corycian old-man in Virg. *Georg.* 4.116-148, the latter too should hark back to him. So he proposed in p. 54 a *stemma senum* starting from Ph. and spreading to Theoc., Virg. *Ecl.* 1, *Georg.* 4 and Long. Knox 75 deemed that Prop. 3.1.1f., 3.3.51f., 4.6.3 and 2.34.31-2 are passages "so specific that we may suppose that they reflect specific passages in the poetry of Philetas". Hollis (1996), 57 n. 8 in the first two cases "tends towards scepticism" but deemed that Prop. 2.34.31 "certainly looks as though it may contain a more definite allusion to something in Philetas' own poetry ... but it is hard to have much confidence in this text or any particular emendation thereof". After A. La Penna, *RFIC* 116 (1988), 318-320 he argued mainly on Roman grounds that "Philetas himself, in his own poetry, may have expressed the hope that he would receive honours from his Coan compatriots" (p. 56).