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ATTICA IN HELLENISTIC POETRY

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Perhaps the main reason for the continuing vitality and attraction of studies in the affairs of Attica, whether they centre on local history, topography, cult and myth, social and political organization or everyday life, is the discovery of inscriptions which gradually increase our knowledge, however problematic their interpretation may be. Turning to the literary sources, in the valuable book by David Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica 508/7 - ca. 250 B.C.*,¹ we find them classified under five headings: Comedy, Tragedy, History, Oratory and Political Thought.² Of these, Oratory is described as 'indisputably the richest of the genres' in both quantity and quality, though Whitehead devotes most space (a whole chapter) to 'The Deme in Comedy'. Since he even pays some attention to lexicographers such as Harpocration, Hesychius and Stephanus of Byzantium, the total absence of Hellenistic poets (apart from Comedians) is surprising: Callimachus does not figure even in the account of the cult of Hecale in her own deme (pp. 210-211), although Callimachus' famous epyllion is our only witness for the annual banquet with which Hecale was honoured.³ Other scholars likewise fail to quote Hellenistic poets when their evidence could be useful. Why this neglect? Of course the style of the learned poets tends to be difficult and obscure; most of their poems are preserved only in tantalizing fragments, of which the text and context can be upset by new papyrus discoveries. Perhaps a more influential consideration is that most scholars who write on Attic affairs are (like David Whitehead) primarily interested in the sixth to the fourth centuries B.C., while nearly all the poets whom I shall be discussing here were active in the period c. 280-200 B.C. But references to Attica in poets such as Callimachus and Euphorion are seldom, if ever, relevant only to the author's lifetime; some of their favourite themes (e.g. myth, cult, topography) may be virtually timeless, while their allusions to Attic daily life and work mostly belong in the world of Old Comedy. A recent book which does take some note of Hellenistic poetry (e.g. p. 121 on Hecale) is *The Heroes of Attica* by Emily Kearns.⁴ Sometimes she might have made more use of these poets. For example, on p. 143 she writes of Aethra 'Cult. None attested, although she has close links with Attic heroes; her worship with Theseus seems *a priori* not unlikely (cf. Alkmene and Herakles).' But surely there is some evidence for the cult of Aethra in Callimachus' Hecale (fr. 78 Hollis = 371 Pfeiffer):

¹ Princeton, 1986, His reference (p. 203) to Epos in the Erchian Sacred Calendar first made me think about a possible connexion with Callimachus, SH 238 (see pp. 11ff. below).

² by Political Thought he means Plato, Aristotle and the Athenaion Politeia.

³ fr. 83 Hollis = 264 Pf.

⁴ BICS Suppl. 57, 1989. I wish I had been able to use her fascinating book when writing my Oxford, 1990 commentary on Callimachus' Hecale; she provided the main impulse to make me return to Attic affairs in this article.

Αἴθρην τὴν εὐτεκνον ἐπ' ἀγρομένηις ὑδέοιμι

This line clearly indicates a hymn of praise to Aethra as the mother of her noble son, delivered at a gathering of women; one can reasonably see here a reflection of actual cult, as in the very similar lines of Theocritus addressed to Alcmena (24,76ff. *πολλαὶ Ἀχαιιάδων ... / ... ἀκρέπερον ἀεΐδοιαι / Ἀλκμήναν ὀνομαστί*).

The poets with whom we shall be mainly concerned⁵ are Callimachus,⁶ Euphorion⁷ and Eratosthenes. Of these much the most difficult is Euphorion (compared with whom Callimachus often seems straightforward and uncomplicated). Consider the following lines (Supplementum Hellenisticum 418,25-26):

ἀλλὰ Διωνύσου Ἀπατήνορος, ὅς ῥα Μελαινάε
ᾧπασε Κεκροπίδαε, ἱερῆς δείκηλα κισύρνης

Ida Kapp, believing the fragment to come from Callimachus' Hecale,⁸ frankly admitted that she was baffled. Most of the piece can be understood with the help of ancient commentators: champions from Athens and Boeotia were fighting for the border region of Melinae, when Dionysus appeared wearing a black goatskin to distract the Boeotian and ensure an Athenian victory, thus gaining the cult title Ἀπατήνωρ ('Deceiver'). But what of ἱερῆς δείκηλα κισύρνης? I am grateful to the editors of SH for their note 'locum, ubi monstrata est aegis sacra', i.e. a phrase in apposition to Μελαινάε.⁹ In the following fragment of Callimachus' Hecale problems of text and interpretation interlock with recently acquired knowledge about the Attic demes. This is what you will read in Pfeiffer's edition (fr. 300):

ἔκ με Κολωνάων τις ὀμέετιον ἤγαγε δήμου
τῶν ἑτέρων

⁵ Among other poets, Lycophron has some cult titles especially relevant to Attica, and is interested in the Attic myth of Helen and Iphigenia (see n. 51 below). Philetas, SH 674 (supplementing fr. 23 Powell, not from the Demeter ?) seems to foresee a visit to Attica, *καὶ κεν Ἀθηναίης δολιχάρορον ἱερὸν ἄετν / καὶ κεν Ἐλευσίνος θεῖον ἰδοί[. λό]φον*. There seems here been strong local Attic colouring in the choriambic Hymn to Demeter by Philicus of Corcyra (SH 676-680); e.g. *Iambe* comes specifically from the deme of Halimous (SH 680,54, see the Editors ad loc). Nicander has a number of references to Demeter's Attic peregrinations. For the much later Nonnus, who nonetheless owes a lot to the Hellenistic poets, see p. 11 below.

⁶ Whether Callimachus ever went to Attica is an intriguing (though hardly vital) question. Many have thought not, on the basis of fr. 178,27ff., where the poet seems to say that he had never travelled by sea. On the other hand the remark which Strabo (9,1,19) ascribes to Callimachus in his prose work on Rivers (fr. 458 Pf.) 'that he would laugh if anyone should venture to say of Athenian girls *ἀφύσσεσθαι καθαρὸν γάνος* Ἡριδανοῖο [SH 1180, from an unknown, perhaps near-contemporary, poet], since not even the cattle would touch it' rather looks (in spite of Strabo's strong disagreement) like the utterance of a man correcting the poetical fantasy of another from his own personal observation.

⁷ the only one of the three not to be connected with Alexandria. From his homeland (Chalcis in Euboea) Euphorion was well placed to learn about Attica; also he became an Athenian citizen by adoption (test. 3 van Groningen).

⁸ fr. 93 in her 1915 edition, reading *μελαίνης* (an impediment to understanding) in line 1.

⁹ Perhaps, however, it is worth bearing in mind the possibility that the sense of the two lines may not be complete.

An ancient commentator reprehended the poet for the form Κολωνάων, as if the deme were called Κολωνή (or Κολωναί) rather than Κολωνός. Older scholars generally accepted this criticism, coupling τῶν ἐτέρων with Κολωνάων in the belief that there were two demes named Κολωνός, viz. 'Hippios' and 'Agoraios'. Following an article by D.M.Lewis,¹⁰ the present consensus is that there were probably two demes called Κολωνή or Κολωναί. At least one scholar has cited this fragment in support;¹¹ the poet is freed from grammatical criticism, and all seems to be well. But it is hard to see what Κολωνάων ... / τῶν ἐτέρων could mean, and Κολωνάων ... δήμου / τῶν ἐτέρων does not sound like elegant Callimachean Greek. Perhaps δήμου intruded as a gloss on Κολωνάων (Maas); in my edition¹² I accept Naeke's conjecture δαίμων, to be coupled with τῶν ἐτέρων, 'some spirit of the malevolent sort'. So this fragment supports the existence of one deme called Κολωνή (Κολωναί), but hardly of two.¹³

The Hecale deserves pride of place among Hellenistic poems devoted to Attica; it illustrates almost all the characteristic themes and interests of these poets. Its Attic flavour emerges strongly from the very first line (fr. I H. = 230 Pf.):

Ἄκταιή τις ἔναίεν Ἐρεχθέος ἔν ποτε γουνῶι

Ἄκταιή derives from Ἄκτῆ, clearly regarded by Callimachus (also by Euphorion, fr. 34,1 Powell) as a *primitive* name of Attica, to be used in this context of a time before the synoecism of Theseus - as in the Iambi (fr. 194,68 Pf.) of the time when Pallas and Poseidon disputed the possession of Attica. She lived 'in the hill country of Erectheus', i.e. the mountainous area surrounding Marathon.¹⁴ We can see from this Callimachus' interest in topography. Since there would be little point in saying 'once there lived an Attic woman in Attica' (although that might be the natural interpretation of Ἐρεχθέος ἔν ... γουνῶι), it is clear that Callimachus distinguished Erectheus from Erichthonius (who figured elsewhere in the Hecale), and connected the former specifically with north-eastern Attica. This would cohere with an entry in Suidas¹⁵ which makes Erectheus son of Rhamnusian Nemesis and founder of the shrine at Rhamnus.

Particularly the poets who worked in Alexandria would have a whole array of scholarly writings to help them. One important category was local chronicles; almost certainly

¹⁰ BSA 50, 1955, 12-17.

¹¹ Wesley E.Thompson, Hesperia 39, 1970, 64-65, followed by J.S.Traill, Hesperia Suppl. 14, 1975, 125.

¹² on fr. 51, p. 204.

¹³ though D.M.Lewis was surely right in arguing for two demes of that name.

¹⁴ Epigraphic evidence does not yet allow us to fix the site of Hecale's deme with precision (cf. my edition, p. 7 n. 10).

¹⁵ s.v. Ῥαμνουσία Νέμεσις (cf. Emily Kearns p. 160). Several scholars (including Kearns *ibid.*, cf. N.Robertson, Rh.M. 128, 1985, 243-246) have cited Nonnus (Dion. 39,210-213) for a Marathonian Erectheus. But I would not lay weight on this evidence, since Nonnus often writes 'Erectheus' for Erichthonius and 'Marathon' for Athens.

Callimachus found the story of the old woman Hecale in Philochorus,¹⁶ while a digression near the end of the poem on Erichthonius, the daughters of Cecrops and the loquacious crow probably comes from another Atthidographer, 'Amelesagoras'.¹⁷ Part of the third book of Philochorus' Atthis was devoted to the local history of the Attic demes;¹⁸ as well as Hecale's own deme, the epyllion mentions a whole cluster of adjoining demes - Aphidnae, Colonae, Decelea, Trinemea and perhaps Semachidae.¹⁹ In several cases the allusion is worth noting as evidence for either the form of the deme's name or its geographical position. Moving just outside Attica, we may be able to find a home for another fragment of the Hecale, plausibly ascribing it to another work of Philochorus. A marginal note on Eusebius by the Byzantine scholar Arethas states that, in the Hecale (fr. 91 H. = 297 Pf.), the island of Salamis was called by an older name, Κόλουρις (Κούλουρις). This information was doubted by some, but is vindicated by the discovery on Salamis of a fourth-century B.C. inscription (not mentioned by Pfeiffer) containing the name Κόλουρις.²⁰ Later we shall find another case of possible agreement between an inscription and Callimachus²¹ when no supporting literary evidence has survived - it is natural to suppose that the poet drew on a lost local chronicle. Some marginal scholia in a papyrus, probably relating to an early part of the Hecale (fr. 5 H.), seem to be discussing Scirus who, in a rare variant of the myth, is father to Theseus' father Aegeus. In my commentary (p. 143) I leave open the question whether Callimachus actually mentioned Scirus or not. Further investigation²² shows that Scirus was synoecist of Salamis (Suidas s.v. Σκίρος) and husband of Salamis who gave her name to the island (Hesychius s.v. σκιρῶς Ἀθηνῶ). If Callimachus mentioned Scirus in the Hecale, he would at that point have an obvious opportunity for stating that the island had previously been called Κόλουρις. A convenient source would be the Καλαμῖνος Κτίσις of Philochorus (FGrHist 328 T 1); perhaps it was in this work (rather than the Atthis) that Philochorus told how Scirus entrusted Nausithous and Phaeax to Theseus for the voyage to Crete (FGrHist 328 F 111).

Another prominent interest of the Hellenistic poets lies in the rare cult-titles of the gods; we have already met Dionysus Ἀπατήνωρ in Euphorion (SH 418,25 above). The Hecale is basically an action of the local cult of Zeus Ἐκάλειος, for which we do not at present have

¹⁶ FGrHist 328 F 109, from Plutarch, Theseus 14.

¹⁷ FGrHist 330 F 1.

¹⁸ FGrHist 328 F 20-33, cf. Kearns p. 93.

¹⁹ If the restoration Σημ]αχίδαας in Hecale fr. 47,18 H. (= SH 286,18) were correct (almost certainly in a speech of Hecale telling her life-story), that would tend to support a northern placing for the deme Semachidae, which is indeed very much the current favourite; the southern placing championed e.g. by P.N.Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*, 1921, pp. 38-39, seems quite out of fashion.

²⁰ IG ii².ii.2, Addenda et Corrigenda p. 810, no. 1590a; cf. A.Chatzis, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1930, 59-73.

²¹ See pp. 11ff. and n. 53 below on the possibility of harmonizing the Erchian Sacred Calendar with a papyrus fragment of Callimachus' Aetia (SH 238) with regard to the hero Epops, and hostility between the neighbouring demes of Erchia and Paiania.

²² prompted by Kearns p. 198.

any evidence unconnected with Philochorus or Callimachus, but the inscribed Sacred Calendars of Attica provide several strange local titles of Zeus; perhaps one day we shall find 'Εκάλειος (or 'Εκαλος) on an inscription. Fr. 85 H. (if the restoration is correct)²³ explains that the most primitive Athenians (before the time of King Amphictyon) celebrated a festival with choral dances 'not to Dionysus of the Black Goatskin whom Eleuther established [i.e. not to Dionysus 'Ελευθερεύς at the City Dionysia], but to Dionysus of the Marshes [i.e. at the Anthesteria]':

οὐδὲ Διωνύσει Μελαναίγιδι, τὸν ποτ' 'Ελευθήρ
εἶσατο, Λιμναίωι δὲ χοροτάδακ ἦγον εὐρτάκ

As well as the cult-titles, note two other typically Callimachean (and Hellenistic) interests - the comparative antiquity of two festivals, and the origins of Athenian drama.²⁴

Pfeiffer in his *History of Classical Scholarship*²⁵ writes 'From the early third century onwards it was not tragedy, but Attic comedy and particularly Aristophanes, that interested the Alexandrian grammarians; even ὑπομνήματα on a few plays by Euphronius and by Callistratus are attested as having been written before those of Aristarchus.' The influence of comedy is very apparent in descriptions of everyday life and work, above all in the domestic scene when Hecale entertains Theseus in her cottage. In fr. 35 H. Hecale takes out from her bread-bin (σιπύη, a word often found in the comic poets) loaves of the Attic ash-baked bread known as ἐγκρυφίακ ἄρτος:

ἐκ δ' ἄρτους σιπύηθεν ἄλις κατέθηκεν ἐλοῦσα
οἴους βωνίτησι ἐνικρύπτουσι γυναικεκ

Emily Kearns points out to me that Athenaeus (3,109bff.) was able to draw on a surprisingly large number of scholarly treatises dealing with bread and cakes, which must have concentrated heavily on Attic comedy. In fr. 34 H. Callimachus ingeniously accommodates in his hexameter, by an epic-style tmesis, the noun μετάκερακ, 'warm water', which is also frequently found in comedy:

ἐκ δ' ἔχεεν κελέβην, μετὰ δ' αὖ κεράκ ἠφύσατ' ἄλλο

Whether Callimachus would have had commentaries (ὑπομνήματα) on the comic poets is not clear; even if he did not, no doubt scholars were already discussing in one form or another the topics arising from comedy which were being ventilated in the generations after Callimachus - for example, the precise nature of the work-song known as the ἱμαίος (Hecale fr. 74,25 H.):

ἀεῖδει καί πού τις ἀνήρ ὑδατηγὸς ἱμαίου

This dispute is likely to have started from discussion (whether in a commentary or some other work) of Aristophanes, *Frogs* 1297 ἱμονιοστρόφου μέλη. By linking the ἱμαίος

²³ see my edition pp. 270-275.

²⁴ a topic at least touched on by Eratosthenes in his *Erigone* (fr. 22 Powell).

²⁵ Oxford, 1968, p. 224.

with an ἀνήρ ὕδατηγός, Callimachus makes plain that he considers the song to be that of a water-drawer; others took it to be a miller's song, among them Aristophanes of Byzantium ἐν Ἀττικαῖς λέξεσιν (Athenaeus 14,619b). We hear of several such monographs on Attic Expressions; a later writer in the same genre (Philemon, perhaps early second century B.C.) was moved to quote Callimachus' list of the different types of olive which Hecale served to Theseus (fr. 36,4-5 H.):

γεργέριμον πίτυρὶν τε καὶ ἦν ἀπεθήκατο λευκὴν
εἰν ἀλλὶ νήχεσθαι φθινοπωρίδα

Another particularly Attic expression (found in tragedy, comedy and inscriptions) is ἀμπρεύειν, used of animals conveying loads with a tow-rope (ἀμπρόν) attached to a cart (fr. 52 H.):

ἄνδρες ἑλάιοι²⁶ Δεκελειόθεν²⁷ ἀμπρεύοντες

Every book of Callimachus' Aetia contained something about Attica,²⁸ although for book 1 all we can claim at present is a passing reference to ritual mockery and fasting in the cult of Eleusinian Demeter (fr. 21,10 Pf. νήστιες ἐν Δηοῦς ἡμασι Ῥαριάδος, for which cf. N.J.Richardson, Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 1974, p. 216). It appears that book 2 ended with a tribute to Athens for its compassion and willingness to receive suppliants, indicated by the altar of Mercy; to judge from a comment by a Sophocles scholiast (ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ β' τῶν Αἰτίων), the final pentameter of the book was (fr. 51 Pf.)

οὔνεκεν οἰκτεῖρειν οἶδε μόνη πολίων.

This is all the more significant in that, according to the view prevalent nowadays, the original version of the Aetia contained only two books.²⁹ Perhaps this is the appropriate time to mention the official interest which the Ptolemies took in Athens throughout the third century B.C. Archaeological evidence suggests that Egyptian military involvement on the side of Athens in the Chremonidean War of the 260s B.C. was more substantial than used to be thought.³⁰ The year 224-3 saw establishment at Athens of a tribe Ptolemais which included a deme Berenikidae.³¹

²⁶ Perhaps Ἀλαιῆες, 'men of Halae' (Araphenides)? The form (preferred by Steph.Byz.) without iota comes in Stat., Theb. 12,622 'atrox (H)alaeus' ('atrox' because of his cult of Artemis Tauropolos?).

²⁷ The learned poets perhaps had a special interest (paralleled by lexicographers like Steph.Byz.) in the τοπικά of the Attic demes - how one said 'at such and such a deme', 'from such and such a deme'. The grammarians who quote this line seem to regard Δεκελειόθεν as unparalleled. The form, from feminine Δεκέλεια, is indeed anomalous (this instance not mentioned by D.M.Lewis in BSA 50, 1955, 13), but Callimachus could have known that it occurs twice in Lysias (23,2-3). In Eratosthenes' Erigone (fr. 22 Powell) we should probably recognize the rare locative Ἰκαρτοῖ, given also by Steph.Byz.; cf. D.M.Lewis, BSA 51, 1956, 172, whence Ἰκα[ρτοῖ] in IG i³, 254,3.

²⁸ Pfeiffer on fr. 709, 'Atticae fabulae passim ... in Aetiis'.

²⁹ deriving from P.J.Parsons, ZPE 25, 1977, 50.

³⁰ J.R.McCredie, Hesperia Suppl. 11, 1966, pp.15-16. Another reflection of contemporary Ptolemaic policy in this region may perhaps be seen in Callimachus' references to the island of Ceos (off the south-eastern coast of Attica). Probably at the time of the Chremonidean War (c. 265 B.C.) Coressos was renamed Arsinoe and held an Egyptian naval base and garrison; the Ptolemaic commander Patroclus may initially have

A particularly intriguing fragment opened an action from book 4 (fr. 103 Pf.):

Ἥρωσ ὧ κατὰ πρύμνον, ἐπεὶ τόδε κύρβις ἀεΐδει

Since this line is quoted as a lemma by the Diegesis, it is syntactically incomplete. Pfeiffer notes 'quid κύρβις "cantaverit" ... adhuc ignotum'; Professor Pat Easterling suggested to me that it would be in Callimachus' manner³² for the ἐπεὶ clause (and in particular τόδε) to comment on the quaint designation 'hero at the stern'.³³ No doubt he was originally anonymous; one can compare the 'hero of the rooftop', ἥρωσ ἐπιτέγιος, known from inscriptions;³⁴ Callimachus is going to reveal that this ἥρωσ κατὰ πρύμνον should be identified with Androgeos - by no means a commonplace piece of knowledge, according to Pausanias (1,1,4). The Diegesis to Call. fr. 103 Pf. is only concerned with the identity of the nameless hero at Phaleron. But it seems probable that Callimachus would have said something to explain the cult of Androgeos. Concerning this, Emily Kearns (p. 40) must surely be right: 'Once more Theseus, and this time the immediate reason is apparent: it is the connexion of the Oschophoria, Theseus' festival at Phaleron, with the return from Crete.' When one reads the account of Theseus' return in Plutarch (Thes. 22), the possibility arises of an interesting symmetry between bks. 1 and 4 of the Aetia. In bk. 1 Minos is sacrificing to the Graces on Paros when he receives news of his son Androgeos' death (frs. 3-7 Pf. with the Florentine Scholia on p. 13); in consequence the Parians continue to sacrifice to the Graces without flutes or garlands. When Theseus returns from Crete in Plutarch (Thes. 22,1), he makes offerings to the gods, and sends to Athens a herald, who has to return before the libations are complete (though he does not interrupt the ritual) with news of the death of Aegeus, Theseus' father. Could Callimachus have presented the establishment of an Attic hero-cult for Androgeos near the end of Aetia bk. 4 as the final expiation of his murder by Athenians which explained the peculiarities of a religious rite near the beginning of Aetia

used Ioulis as his base (John F.Cherry and Jack L.Davis, BSA 86, 1991, 13-17). This is worth remembering in connexion with Call., Epigram 5 Pf. (= 14 Gow-Page), 7-8 ἔστ' ἔπεσον παρὰ θίνας Ἰουλίδα ὄφρα γένωμα / σοὶ τὸ περὶ κελπον παίγνιον, Ἀρσινόη (cf. L.Robert, Hellenica 11-12, 1960, 153-155). And while the Cean story of Acontius and Cydippe in Aetia bk. 3 (frs. 67-75 Pf.) derives, as the poet tells us (fr. 75,53-55), from the local chronicler Xenomedes (c. 450 B.C.), Callimachus adds what purports to be a piece of sociological information from his own day, that the descendants of Acontius are still a powerful family in Ioulis (fr. 75,51-52 δὴ γὰρ ἔθ' ἡμέτερον φῶλον Ἀκοντιάδα / πολὺ τι καὶ περίτιμον Ἰουλίδι ναιετάουσιν). Cherry and Davis (op. cit. p. 26) write of the 'possibility that Ptolemaic policy may have fostered the consolidation of land in the hands of fewer individuals'. Perhaps the poet is paying a compliment to a Cean family which prospered under Ptolemaic hegemony; this point could fit Peter Parsons' relatively late dating of Aetia bks. 3-4.

³¹ J.S.Traill, Hesperia Suppl. 14, 1975, p. 29.

³² One could compare fr. 200a,1 τὰς Ἀφροδίτας - ἢ θεὸς γὰρ οὐ μίᾳ - where, immediately after the initial name of the goddess, the poet introduces a γὰρ clause, explaining his use of the plural number.

³³ Callimachus perhaps shows here the amused and sceptical detachment from his subject-matter often exhibited by the Latin aetiological poets when they discuss the more primitive religious rites of Rome. ἀεΐδει is a nice word to use of the dry and prosaic κύρβις.

³⁴ Kearns p. 159 (though there seems some doubt about the restoration).

bk. 1? It is worth noting that Argonautic aetia similarly appear at the beginning of bk. 1 (fr. 7.19-fr.21) and the end of bk. 4 (fr. 108), though in that case bk. 4 has the outward journey, bk. 1 the return. As Emily Kearns says (p. 40), this identification of the nameless hero with Androgeos is no doubt learned speculation deriving from the Atthidographers, which is unlikely to have affected the hero's character very much. κύρβει in Call. fr. 103 is also a term redolent of archaic Athens, suggesting the ordinances of Solon, which were preserved on κύρβει or ἄξονες. The distinction between the two terms was a matter of argument in antiquity, as among modern scholars.³⁵ One view (ascribed to ἔνιοι in Plutarch, Solon 25,2)³⁶ held that the κύρβει were specifically concerned with religious laws; Callimachus may have agreed. Be that as it may, we seem able to deduce with reasonable confidence that the cult of the ἥρωσ κατὰ πρύμνον at Phalerum was mentioned in the κύρβει attributed to Solon (I am not sure whether this point has been picked up before). We know for certain that Solon mentioned the hero-cult of the herald Λεώσ at Hagnous.³⁷ Euphorion too was interested in the κύρβει, recording in his Apollodorus (fr. 6 Powell) that they and the ἄξονες were written βουτροφηδόν.³⁸

Another fragment (unplaced, but surely Aetia) concerned with Attic cult is 681 Pf.:

νηφάλια καὶ τῆτιν ἀεὶ μελιθεάσ ὄμπας
λήιτειραι καίειν ἔλλαχον Ἑσυχίδες

The subject is the Eumenides, 'to whom also the priestess daughters of Hesychus had the office of continually burning, in a sober state, sweet sacrificial cakes'. We do not hear elsewhere of these priestesses though the second-century B.C. scholar Polemon of Ilium (fr. 49 Preller) speaks of male Hesychidae, and reveals that Hesychus himself received a ram before the sacrifice to the Eumenides.³⁹ The offerings to the Furies were 'wineless', for which νηφάλιος is a technical term (often found on the inscribed sacrificial calendars); Callimachus may have particularly in mind Aeschylus, Eumenides 107 νηφάλια μείλιγματα, and Sophocles, OC 100 νήφων ἀοίνοισ (cf. Albert Henrichs, HSCP 87, 1983, 87ff., with discussion of our fragment at p. 92 and n. 24). In OC 100 the goddesses themselves were described as ἄοινοι, but here, in my opinion, Pfeiffer was right to reject the emendation νηφαλίαις. Application of the epithet to the priestesses (who must stay sober during working hours) looks to me like a typical piece of Callimachean humour, which at the same time (as Henrichs points out) recalls the application of νήφων to Oedipus in OC 100.

³⁵ The ancient evidence is set out by L.B.Holland, AJA 45, 1941, 346-362 (whatever one thinks of his conclusions).

³⁶ and so e.g. Et.Mag. p. 547,45, Gaisford κύρβει· αἱ τὰς τῶν θεῶν ἐορτὰς ἔχουσαι.

³⁷ Steph.Byz. s.v. Ἄγνοῦς (= A.Martina, Solon, Rome, 1968, Test. 473), though credited to the ἄξονες rather than the κύρβει. Cf. Kearns p. 181, Whitehead, Demes of Attica, p. 12.

³⁸ not, of course, a term that could be used in dactylic verse. Van Groningen (on his fr. 9) wonders whether Euphorion might have coined a word such as βουτροφάδην, or else employed a circumlocution (e.g. ὡς ἐν ἀρούρηι / βούς τρέφεται),

³⁹ cf. Kearns p. 71 n. 35 and pp. 167-168.

Finally, ὄμπη (a honeyed cake) is noted by ancient scholars as a particularly Attic word though, unlike πόπανον (see Henrichs p. 91 n. 20 for references to a πόπανον νηφάλιον) it has not yet appeared on ritual inscriptions.

The last Aetia fragment to be mentioned at this stage is the unplaced fr. 178 Pf. (we shall return at the very end to the problem of its position). Athenaeus tells us the immediate context: the poet is describing his Athenian friend Pollis, who, although resident in Alexandria, continued to observe all the festivals of his native Athens, and, on one such occasion, invited his friends to a party (lines 1-5):

ἦὼς οὐδὲ πιθοιγίς ἐλάνθανεν, οὐδ' ὅτε δούλοις
 ἦμαρ Ὀρέτειοι λευκὸν ἄγουσι χόεσ·
 Ἰκαρίου καὶ παιδὸς ἄγων ἐπέτειον ἀγιστύν,
 Ἀθίειν οἰκτίστη, σὸν φάος, Ἡριγόνῃ,
 ἐς δαίτην ἀκάλεσεν ὀμηθέας κτλ.

These lines show Callimachus' familiarity with at least part of the myth of Erigone, which was to be made famous by his pupil Eratosthenes.

The Erigone of Eratosthenes, fellow Cyrenaean and pupil of Callimachus, seems to combine features of his master's two hospitality stories, Molorchus (Aetia bk. 3) and Hecale. Like Hecale, the old man Icarius became the eponym of an Attic deme (incidentally very close to that of Hecale). The myth of Icarius' entertainment of Dionysus was no less rare than that of Hecale, and probably likewise drawn from a local Attic chronicle. After receiving the gift of wine from the god, Icarius set off around Attic initiating his fellow countrymen - in the words of Hyginus (Astronomica 2,4,3), who has just quoted a line of Eratosthenes' poem (fr. 22 Powell), 'cum perambulans Atticorum fines pastoribus ostenderet ...' No doubt this journey enabled Eratosthenes to display his knowledge of the various demes through which the old man travelled. Fr. 23 Powell may show us Icarius in southern Attica:⁴⁰

εἰκότε δὴ Θορικοῦ καλὸν ἵκανεν ἔδος

This line is also of interest for a detail. It is quoted by Steph. Byz. s.v. ἄκτυ, and almost certainly the word ἄκτυ appeared in the text of the poem (λέγεται ἄκτυ καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ὡς Ἐρατοκθένης ἐν Ἡριγόνῃ), perhaps at the start of the following hexameter.⁴¹ But it is awkward that Thoricos should be called both an ἄκτυ and a ἔδος. J.Labarbe, in his discussion of the fragment (Thorikos, Les Testimonia, 1976, 18-19) wants to write ἄκτεος (in apposition to Θορικοῦ). A much more satisfactory solution, in my opinion, would be to take Thoricos here to be not the deme but the eponymous hero. This gives ἔδος + genitive its common meaning 'dwelling-place of ...' and the fragment will mean 'until he came to the

⁴⁰ So E.Maass, *Analecta Eratosthenica*, Berlin, 1883, p. 118. The alternative (favoured by Powell) that the subject of ἵκανεν is Bacchus seems to me much less likely.

⁴¹ Powell was not very good at signalling this kind of phenomenon. For example, the word μελλόγαμος (cf. Theocritus 22,140) surely appeared in the text of Euphorion fr. 7 P. (from schol. Ap.Rh. 1,1063).

< >⁴² city, fair abode of Thoricos'. The eponymous hero is honoured in the Sacred Calendar of the deme Thoricos;⁴³ scholars say⁴⁴ that his only literary appearance is in Hesychius, but surely he is to be recognized here in the third-century B.C. elegy of Eratosthenes.

Almost contemporary with Eratosthenes was Euphorion of Chalcis, in Euboea, who, according to one testimonium (3 van Groningen) became an Athenian by adoption (θέσει).⁴⁵ He composed a poem entitled Μοσπορία⁴⁶ which we imagine to have been a history of Attica from the earliest days (a favourite type of poetic composition in the Hellenistic world).⁴⁷ Fr. 34 Powell perhaps comes from the beginning of the work, and mentions other names given to the country at different times:

Ἄκτῆς δὲ παροίτερα φωνηθείης
οἷ μὲν δὴ ἐνέπουσι καὶ Ἀκίδα κικλήσκονται
οἷ δὲ Ποσειδάωνος ἐπόνυμον ἀύδηθῆναι.

Two other fragments which may belong to this work reflect eastern Attic versions of the myths of Helen and Iphigenia. It seems worth printing fr. 91 Powell before fr. 90, and suggesting⁴⁸ that these lines were consecutive, the sense of the missing words having been 'for that is what <a particular group of people> called her':⁴⁹

ἀγχίαλον Βραυρῶνα, κενήριον Ἴφιγενείης,
() οὔνεκα δὴ μιν
Ἴφι βησαμένωι Ἑλένη ὑπεγείνατο Θησεῖ

The Attic Helen is, like Erectheus,⁵⁰ a child of Rhamnusia Nemesis (cf. Call. Hymn 3,232 Ἑλένηι Ῥαμουσίδι), who may then be handed over to Leda. The version of her abduction

⁴² One would expect a descriptive phrase (or adjective) to follow ἄκτυ.

⁴³ the text in G.Daux, *L'Antiquité Classique* 52, 1983, 150-174. Thorikos himself is mentioned in lines 18 and 28, followed, in both cases, by 'the heroines of Thorikos'.

⁴⁴ Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica*, p. 199, Kearns p. 99 with n. 97, though the latter is quite attracted by the suggestion of Labarbe (Thorikos 15 test. 12) that Hesychius s.v. Θορικός (ὄνομάθη δὲ ἀπὸ Θορικοῦ· Κύπριοι) might conceal a reference to the epic *Cypria* (an idea not taken up by A.Bernabé or Malcolm Davies in their recent editions of Greek epic fragments).

⁴⁵ Some have (implausibly) used this connexion to explain why, in fr. 9,9, Powell, Sciron's turtle is apparently called 'our turtle' (νοιτέρης χέλυος). Van Groningen (on his fr. 11,9), comments nicely 'ce monstre anthropophage, même s'il finit par dévorer Sciron, peut-il être une gloire nationale?'.

⁴⁶ whether from a primeval king of Attica called Mopsops or Mopsopos (cf. Call. fr. 709, Lycophron, *Alexandra* 733, 1340), or from Mopsopia, daughter of Oceanos. 'Mopsopian' as a learned term for 'Attic' is taken over by the Roman poets (first in Tibullus 1,7,54).

⁴⁷ e.g. the Ἠλιακά, Θεσσαλικά and Μεσσηνιακά of Rhianus (fr. 25 Powell, from the Thessalica, resembles Euphorion fr. 34 P. quoted below).

⁴⁸ The suggestion seems obvious, but, as far as I am aware, has not been made before.

⁴⁹ This would be very much in Euphorion's manner; cf. particularly fr. 96,3-4 Powell Βοιωτὸν δ' ὀνόμηνε· τὸ γὰρ καλέσαντο νομῆεσ/ ὅττι ῥα πατρώιει βωῶν ἀπεθήκατο κόπροις, fr. 57 P. ἐς Φθίην χιλοῖο κατῆε πάμπαν ἄπαστος/ τούνεκα Μυρμιδόνες μιν Ἀχιλέα φημίξαντο, fr. 176 dub. τῶι μιν καὶ Περσῆα μετεκλήϊσαν Ἀχαιοί/ οὔνεκεν ἄτεια πέρσειν ἀπειρεσίων ἀνθρώπων, SH 418,43-44.

⁵⁰ cf. Kearns p. 158 (Helen), p. 160 (Erectheus).

which Euphorion adopts is the most discreditable to Theseus;⁵¹ sometimes at least Helen remained a virgin, but here she becomes the mother of Iphigenia, who is sacrificed not at Aulis but at Brauron, on the east coast of Attica. When Euphorion calls Brauron her 'cenotaph' (κενήριον), he indicates that in fact Iphigenia was not sacrificed; an animal (in the Brauronian version a bear rather than a hind) was substituted for her at the last moment. It seems likely that Euphorion's interest in Attica was not confined to his Mopsopia. The damaged papyrus text, SH 418, might conceivably belong to the Mopsopia but more probably comes from another poem, perhaps Dionysus; SH 418,13ff. could be describing the army of Bacchants travelling through Attica. Several demes are mentioned: Aphidna (15), Acherdus (21), perhaps Colone (23), and Melaenae (25, even if technically not a deme in Euphorion's time). Of these, Acherdus is one of the smallest and most obscure Attic demes, the location of which is quite uncertain; some have tried to draw topographical conclusions from its appearance with these other demes here in Euphorion.⁵² A much later (c. A.D. 450) specimen of similar erudition can be found in Nonnus' catalogue of the Athenians who joined Dionysus' Indian campaign. Within the space of 17 lines (Dionysiaca 13,182-198) we encounter the demes of Oenoe, Marathon, Eleusis, Brauron (not technically a deme, cf. Whitehead, *Demes of Attica*, 24 n. 83), Thoricos, Aphidna, Acharnae and Phaleron. Nonnus' models for this passage are indicated by the fact that Dion. 13,186 ἀγχίαλον Βραυρῶνα, κενήριον Ἰφιγενείης is borrowed whole from Euphorion (fr. 91 P., discussed above); note also the echoes of Callimachus' *Hecale*, apparent in lines 171-179 on the birth of Erectheus/Ericthonius and in line 183 γείτονος Ὑμηττοῖο (cf. *Hecale* fr. 18,11 H. = fr. 238,25 Pf. τρηχέος Ὑμηττοῖο, in the same part of the hexameter).

I would like to end with a more detailed consideration of two papyrus fragments from Callimachus' *Aetia* which seem to involve otherwise unknown Attic myths - in the first case Callimachus may illuminate an inscription, probably through the missing link of a local Attic chronicle. Emily Kearns (*The Heroes of Attica*, 1989, p. 114) writes 'the traditions of what must have been many local wars and skirmishes between the towns of Attica seem to have crystallized into this one war between Athens and Eleusis'. Thucydides seems to imply further conflicts (2,15 καί τινες καὶ ἐπολέμησάν ποτε αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα), but neither he nor any other ancient writer mentions another instance. In *Owls to Athens*,⁵³ pp. 127ff. I suggested that, by combining evidence

⁵¹ There are several references (mostly veiled) to Helen's rape by Theseus, and her bearing of Iphigenia, in Lycophron's *Alexandra* (103-104, 143, 147, 505, 513, 851).

⁵² cf. J.S.Traill, *Demos and Tritty*, 1986, p. 137 with n. 38.

⁵³ *Essays on Classical Subjects for Sir Kenneth Dover*, ed. Elizabeth Craik, Oxford, 1990. In his more recent (November 1991) second Martin P.Nilsson Memorial Lecture at the Swedish Institute, Athens, Professor Michael Jameson (quite independently, without reference to *Owls to Athens* or *Suppl. Hell.* 238) suggested that the Erchian Sacred Calendar itself may contain evidence of hostility between the demes of Erchia and Paiania. He observed that the sacrifice which the Erchians made 'on the Paianian side' (πρὸς Παιανιέων, SEG 21.541 col., I lines 31-6) was to Apollo Apotropaïos, perhaps therefore intended to ward off dangerous influences coming from the neighbouring deme. An apotropaic sacrifice by the Erchians near

from the Sacred Calendar of Erchia (SEG 21, 1965, no. 541) with a fragmentary papyrus from Callimachus' Aetia (SH 238) we may recover a tradition of warfare between the neighbouring demes of Erchia and Paiania. The view that Callimachus is talking about Attica at all depends on restoration in line 10 of Π]αιωνιέ[ω]ν, which E.A.Barber suggested but could not explain. If Barber was right, line 9 ὁμώλακεε would make us look for a neighbouring people who could be the victims of aggression by the men of Paiania. Immediately to the east of Paiania lay the deme Erchia; the Sacred Calendar (cols. iv, 18-23 and v, 9-15) reveals that the Erchians sacrificed to a certain Epops, and in SH 238 it appears that 'epops' (a person or a bird?) may have come to help the weaker party against the men of Paiania. So I suggested that the Sacred Calendar may record a thank-offering to the hero Epops for his assistance in a local war. Dr. Robert Parker remarked to me that the 'wineless holocaust (ὀλόκαυτος, νηφάλιος) sacrificed to Epops would be appropriate for a hero. Emily Kearns (p. 54) notes of Panops that 'his name would fit well enough with a protective function'; the same would apply to Epops.

My main motive for returning to this problem here has been reading the discussion of Epops and Epopeus by Walter Burkert in *Homo Necans* (translated by Peter Bing, 1983, p. 183 with n. 22, cf. pp.185-190), on p. 186 he writes of 'the unity of the series: Epops, Epopsios, Epopetes, Epopeus'. One need not accept every detail of his argument, but it has encouraged me to explore further the possible links between lines 9-12 and 13-14 in Callimachus (SH 238);⁵⁴ also I would like to make a bit more of lines 11-14. The text of SH 238,9-14 given below incorporates supplements (most of them suggested before) which would harmonize with my argument.⁵⁵ In particular I treat Ἔποψ as a proper name in line 11, and supplement ὄε] ναέταιε rather than ἐν]ναέταιε in 13, believing that Epops is here identified with Epopeus king of Sicyon. There is one new reading ε[in 12, based upon recent papyrological advice:⁵⁶

Ἐρχιέας] κο[τ] ἔκηδον ὁμώλακεε . . γα . ε . [10
καὶ Π]αιωνιέ[ω]ν ἦν ὑπὸ πάντα δόρε[ι

their boundary with Paiania would be particularly appropriate if there was a tradition that, in the remote past, the men of Paiania had invaded and subjugated Erchia. I am most grateful to Professor Jameson for allowing me to mention this idea (and to Dr. Kearns for bringing it to my attention); he has also touched on Epopeus and Athenian/Sicyonian relations in *Corinthica*, *Studies in Honor of Darrell A. Amyx* (edited by Mario A. Del Chiaro, 1986), p. 7.

⁵⁴ I am still mystified by the ornithological question which begins, probably with τί]νος ἦρα (Barber), in SH 238,5. Perhaps Callimachus ended by transforming Epops into the bird which bore his name, though the hoopoe is nearly always *Tereus* (Owls to Athens p. 129 n. 18).

⁵⁵ Line 9 Ἐρχιέας] Hollis (*Owls to Athens*, p. 129); 10 καὶ Π]αιωνιέ[ω]ν, 11 τῆμος] and 112 ἦρ]ανος in the sense of βοηθός (recognized by Et.Mag.) are all due to Barber in the original publication (*P.Ant.* vol. 3, 1967, 14).

⁵⁶ Professor P.J.Parsons, having re-examined the papyrus, reports that in SH 238,12 με['seems a possible, in fact very plausible, reading of the trace' comparing the joining trace on the lower right of μ with what one sees four lines earlier in SH 238,8 ἀνταπάμειπτο.

τῆμος] Ἔποψ εὐτέ ρφιν . . . δ [
 ἥρ]ανος αἰχμηταῖς ἵκτο με[τ'
 ὄς] ναέταις Κυκλώνος ἐπι[
] ἠβαιήν οὐ τι κατὰ πρόφασιν.

I suspect that in line 11 ρφιν refers to the weaker party (the Erchians, if I am right) - he came *to them* as a helper - and that αἰχμηταῖς (12) denotes the troops which Epops brought with him.⁵⁷ At the end of 12 one might look for με[τ' (or με[θ' or με[τᾶ) followed by an adjective, e.g., supposing that there were anything in the fragile possibility that Epops came from Euboea,⁵⁸ ἥρ]ανος αἰχμηταῖς ἵκτο με[τ' Ἐλλοπίοις.⁵⁹ If indeed Epops went on to become the king of Sicyon elsewhere known as Eropheus, it would be natural to take ἠβαιήν οὐ τι κατὰ πρόφασιν (14), 'on no small pretext', as a veiled allusion to his rape of Antiope daughter of Nycteus, in revenge for which the Thebans attacked Sicyon (Pausanias 2,6,2). The general sense of lines 13-14 might then be 'who <brought> to the inhabitants of Sicyon <grievous ordeals> on no small pretext', e.g. ὄς] ναέταις Κυκλώνος ἐπὶ [κτονόεντας ἀέθλους / ἤγαγεν] ἠβαιήν οὐ τι κατὰ πρόφασιν.⁶⁰ It is possible, of course, that identification of the obscure local Attic hero Epops with the better-known Eropheus king of Sicyon was intended by Callimachus to be a provocative innovation.

One of the most puzzling and least-discussed papyrus fragments of the Aetia is 63 Pf. from the third book,⁶¹ which explains why unmarried girls are not allowed to witness the

⁵⁷ For this motif, of the outsider who comes in to aid a beleaguered community, in Roman aetiological verse, cf. Propertius 4,2,51-52 'tempore quo sociis venit Lycomedius armis / atque Sabina feri contudit arma Tati'.

⁵⁸ see Owls to Athens, p. 129.

⁵⁹ for 'Ellopiian' = Euboean in Hellenistic poetry, see Hegesianax, SH 468 (cf. Callimachus, Hymn 4,20, Euphorion, SH 432,3).

⁶⁰ In the hexameter [κτονόεσσιν ἀϋτήν would be an alternative. For ἐπὶ ... ἤγαγεν in tmesis split between two lines, cf. fr. 384,21-22, Hymn 3,252-253. Note also fr. 384,29 ἐπὶ πτόλιν ἤγαγ' ἀέθλον (not, of course, in tmesis, and in quite a different sense). LSJ s.v. ἐπάγω 4 give examples of the verb meaning 'to bring upon oneself' (here it would be 'upon one's own people'), often something unpleasant.

⁶¹ One must mention (though it seems extravagant) the theory of Maas ap. Pfeiffer vol I p. 500 that the whole action - originally he had condemned only lines 11-12 - is spurious. It would be a most remarkable interpolation. In a review of P.Oxy. vol. XIX, E.A.Barber, who had been working closely with Maas on Callimachus, described fr. 63 as '12 lines ... which seem unworthy of Callimachus' (CR N.S. 1, 1951, 81). The objections given in Pf. I p. 500 are 'participia repetita in fin. pentam. vv. 2, 4, 8, eandem rem saepius dictam' vv. 6,7,8. One must admit these points, but it would be rash to lay too much weight on them when the whole picture is far from clear. If the resemblance (first noted by Lobel in P.Oxy. vol. XIX, 1948, p.19) of this action to the Homeric Hymn to Demeter is not altogether illusory, one might see in the iteration of Demeter's anger a reflection of H.H.Dem. 251-254 τῆι δὲ χολωσαμένη ... / ... θυμῶι κοτέεσσα μάλ' αἰνῶς. W.S.Barrett remarks of line 8 'certainly [θῆ is not another word meaning "become angry" ... perhaps she just went away, χωρίς]θῆ: on the long side, but I think it may be possible'. There is also much in these lines which has a very Callimachean air, e.g. the spondaic fifth foot in line 7 ἀχθήνασα ('ἀχθαίνω novum', Pf.). Pfeiffer fails to note that the baffling lines 11-12 (which originally moved Maas' suspicions) were almost certainly known to Nonnus (Dion. 48,619 νυμφίε, λέκτρα τέλεσσον) not of course a guarantee of authenticity since the papyrus predates Nonnus by perhaps 200 years. In line 3 it seems to me that the high point after ἄν must be a scribal mistake. Alinement with lines 1-2 and metre (Meyer's First Law) both

Attic Thesmophoria (an exclusion not clearly stated elsewhere): on one occasion in the past an unmarried girl (κούρη, 8) had offended the goddess Demeter:

63 (Thesmophoria Attica)

]δοι σὺν παιδί· θ[...]. ἀει[.....]. . . []
 π]ρὸν κῆρι βαρυ[νομέ]νη
]καλέουσα γυνή τ[...].]ν· ἀν· []
]· ηι γρηῦς γείτο[ν].]ρχομένη
 5]· ' ἰδεῖν οὐ γάρ μιν [...]. κλήϊσεν[.] οἶτα
]· σ· ἄφαρ δ' ἀνὰ μὲν θυμὸς [ἔ]γεντο θε[ῆ]ς
]· τος· πολλὸν δὲ περὶ φρεσὶν ἀχθήνασα
]θη κούρη π[ό]τνα χαλεψαμένη.
 τοῦν]εκεν οὐ πως ἐστὶν ἐπ' ὄθμασιν ο[ἴ]τις ἰδέ[εθ]αι
 10 παρθεν]καὶς Διηοῦς ὄργια Θεσμοφόρου
]πόσιν ἐλθέμεναι πρὶν νύμφια λέκτρα τελέσσαι
 εὐαγ]ῆς ἐκ κείνου χρήματος Ἀκτιάειν.

It seems that this is an otherwise unknown Attic myth; probably the main narrative occurred in the lost portion of the text, and what we have here is the aftermath. Pfeiffer commented 'fabula, cuius personae infans, mulier, anus, vicinus et Ceres dea esse videntur'. Even this much is far from clear;⁶² regrettably I came to the conclusion that not enough survives to offer hope of reconstructing the details. But it seems worth suggesting that, as in HH Dem, we have here a theoxeny which turned sour:⁶³ Demeter has been received into the home of

indicate that the hexameter started - 3 -] καλέουσα. Consequently the high point stands too late for the bucolic diaeresis, and I have found no parallel in Callimachus for a significant sense-break after the trochee or dactyl of the fifth foot.

⁶² It is surprising that he did not include a 'virgo' in this list, since, by taking the παῖς (1) to be an 'infans', he precludes possible identification with the κούρη (8). The 'vicinus' (4) might be 'neighbours' in the plural, or might disappear altogether if γείτων were used as an adjective, 'neighbouring' (Barrett). Since the girl would be unlikely to offend Demeter deliberately if she knew the goddess' identity, I wondered whether γρηῦς (4) might be Demeter in disguise (as in H.H.Dem.). Taking up Pfeiffer's οὐ γάρ μιν [ἀνε]κλήϊσεν [ἰ]όντα, 'non revocavit abeuntem' - though the verb is ambiguous ('called' or 'shut?') and other prefixes possible - I imagined a scene in which Demeter, while staying with this Attic family, was being blamed for the straying from home (and subsequent death?) of the παῖς. Mr. Barrett most kindly elaborated this: the κούρη might have been really responsible, but, in answer to her mother's reproaches (ἐγ]καλέουσα in line 3?) attempted to shift the blame on to Demeter (from line 4 up to the first word of line 6 being direct speech by the κούρη) who is enraged by the unjust accusation. We did not, however, feel that we had satisfactorily solved various difficulties. Dr. N.J.Richardson put to me another possibility (mentioned also by Mr. Barrett): in line 9 it is emphasized that unmarried girls are not allowed to 'observe with their own eyes' the Thesmophoria. In line 5 we have ἰδεῖν, in line 1 possibly ἴ]δοι. Could the girl's offence have been *seeing* something forbidden (like the daughters of Cecrops in the myth of Erichonius)? In that case exclusion from witnessing the Thesmophoria would be a particularly appropriate punishment. Dr. Robert Parker said to me that, *prima facie*, he might expect the unmarried girl's offence to be something which distinguished her from a married woman, e.g. 'impertinent curiosity'.

⁶³ In the Homeric Hymn, Demeter, disguised as an old woman (101) joins the family of Celeos and Metanira, which includes four unmarried daughters (108-110) and a much younger son whom the goddess undertakes to nurse (219ff.). But everything goes wrong when Metanira misinterprets the goddess' desire to

an Attic family with at least one unmarried daughter and perhaps a younger son. I would guess that this is not a variant of the Celeos and Metanira legend, but a completely different story: N.J.Richardson in his 1974 edition of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (pp. 74ff., 178-179) mentions many tales about the entertainment of Demeter; another Attic myth which ended with the goddess enraged (and disaster to the host family) was that of Ascalabus.⁶⁴

Earlier in this article (p.9) I quoted the opening of Call. fr. 178 Pf., an unplaced piece of the Aetia which starts with an elaborate account of the poet's friend Pollis who, though living in Alexandria, observed all the festivals of his native Attica. Curiously, in the immediate sequel nothing is made of the Attic festivals, since the aetion to be discussed later in fr. 178 concerns the island of Icos. Wilamowitz and Pfeiffer (see on fr. 185) suggested that the party at Pollis' house belonged early in Aetia bk.3. We now know that the first poem in Aetia 3 was Victoria Berenices (SH 254-269). P.J.Parsons in ZPE 25, 1977, 47 lists the contents of bk. 3 (after Victoria Berenices) as 'One or more poems lost?' followed by Thesmophoria Attica (fr. 63). If fr. 178 does belong to the third book,⁶⁵ Pollis the Athenian would be a very appropriate person to explain why unmarried girls could not attend the Attic Thesmophoria. It seems worth suggesting that fr. 63 might have formed a single poem with fr. 178, and that fr. 63 closed the scene chez Pollis which opened just before the start of fr. 178.

The above survey by no means covers all the material about Attica to be found in Hellenistic poetry. But I hope I have said enough to show that these learned poets represent quite a rich source for the study of certain aspects of classical Attica, and that, in the past, their evidence has not been fully utilized.⁶⁶

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make the boy immortal (243ff.) and Demeter leaves in anger (251ff.), not before laying down instructions about her cult.

⁶⁴ Ant.Lib. 24, from Nicander's Heteroeumena (fr. 56), cf. Ovid.Met. 5,446ff. Ascalabus mocked Demeter for her avid drinking of the κικεών. On the other hand the daughters of Celeos and Metanira evidently won the approval of Demeter (Emily Kearns), since they were the prototypes for the Eleusinian priestess(es), Pausanias 1,38,3.

⁶⁵ The early part of bk. 3 would seem to be indicated for fr. 178 by the absence of the Muses combined with the fact that we probably know the contents of every aetion from the Thesmophoria Attica right through to the end of book 4 (Parsons, ZPE 25, 1977, 47). Nonetheless J.E.G.Zetzel in ZPE 42, 1981, 31ff. makes quite an attractive case for ascribing fr. 178 to bk. 2, which, however, Gregory Hutchinson (Hellenistic Poetry, Oxford, 1988, p. 44, n. 36) is in the end disinclined to accept.

⁶⁶ This article grew out of a seminar talk given at London University in November 1990. I am grateful to Professor Pat Easterling, who issued the invitation, to the audience on that occasion, to Mr. W.S.Barrett, Professor Michael H.Jameson, Professor D.M.Lewis, Dr. Robert Parker and Dr. Nicholas Richardson, who have commented upon various points at differing stages, and especially to Dr. Emily Kearns who read a draft of the whole paper. None of these scholars, of course, is responsible for errors or omissions in the final text.