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NOTES ON THE ORPHIC PAPYRUS FROM GURÔB
(P. Gurôb 1; Pack² 2464)

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The first column of the Orphic/Dionysiac papyrus from Gurôb was published by J. G. Smyly in 1921, and both columns subsequently appeared in Kern's *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (fr. 31). I have recently had the opportunity of examining the papyrus in Trinity College, Dublin, and should like to thank the Board of Trinity College Dublin for permission to publish this new edition.

The papyrus (17 x 13 cm.) consists of two columns, though only the line-ends of the first, and the line-beginnings of the second, are extant. There is a lower margin of 1.5 cm., but no top margin. The intercolumnium varies from a maximum 5.5 cm. to a minimum 0.8 cm., and the length of individual lines varies accordingly. Col. i 6, 8, 11 are notably short, but this is not confined to the hexameters: cf. i 13, 15, 17 (where it may have the force of punctuation), 24, 27, 30. The script is a rather messy book-hand, roughly bilinear, though some letters, notably υ, ι, ρ, φ, β, hang below the line. Omicron is generally smaller than the other letters, and hangs from the upper line; sigma is lunate. Mu is made in three movements, and is slightly rounded, as are several other letters, e.g. α, π, ε. Phi is made by a descender with a single cross-bar. Occasional finials are found on some letters, but not with any great regularity. I at first read a trema over iota at i 22, though the traces may belong to the letters in the preceding line, and there are no other lectional signs; a trema would not in any case be expected in an early papyrus text. The use of *scriptio plena* is irregular. A rough comparison might be made with the late third century papyrus of Menander's *Sicyonius*, P. Sorbonne Inv. 2272b (E. G. Turner & P. J. Parsons, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, London, 1987, no. 40), where, however, φ is formed by a descendant and a circle, and there is greater regularity in the script. Eta is in each case rather different, that in P. Gurôb being again slightly more cursive. There can be little objection to Smyly's proposed dating of the papyrus to the third (probably mid-third) century B.C.

The papyrus is a curious mixture of invocations and prayers and what appear to be instructions for a ritual based around the death (and rebirth?) of the infant Dionysus, which had important ritual and initiatory significance (see West, 143ff.). The prayers are most probably hexametrical, though there is no attempt to make line-length coincide with the end of a hexameter; this may be contrasted with the practice of the Derveni papyrus, which appears to be a much more formal text. The length of individual lines can only remain open to conjecture, though line-lengths in early papyri are often roughly the width of a hexameter. The prose sections probably contain not only instructions for actions to be performed during a ritual (cf. the third person imperatives at i 14–5, and probably at i 2), but also prose statements to be said by the initiate (e.g. [ο]ἶν[ο]ν ἔπιον ὄνοϋς, which may be compared with e.g. ἔριφος ἐς γάλλ' ἔπετον in the gold leaves [A1–3]) or the hierophant.

Burkert and others see the papyrus as a *hieros logos*, and call attention to the so-called 'Edict of Ptolemy' (Philopator IV?), which commanded the collection of exemplars of the *hieroi logoi* of the

¹ I am grateful to the following for their assistance with this paper: Dirk Obbink, who provided early advice and a copy of his unpublished paper 'Poetry and Performance in the Orphic Gold Leaves'; Martin West for copies of his own supplements and notes, and for perspicacious comments on the whole; Richard Janko, Sandy Hardie, Ian Repath, Brian McGing, and especially Alberto Bernabé, who kindly read the paper in draft form, and provided detailed corrections, suggestions and further references.

The following works are referred to by author's name: J. G. Smyly, *Greek Papyri from Gurôb*, Dublin, 1921; O. Kern, *Orphicorum Fragmenta*, Berlin, 1922; M. Tierney, *CQ* 16, 1922, 77–87; A. Olivieri, *Atti Acc. Napoli* 8, 1924, 273–305; O. Schütz, *RhM* 87, 1938, 241–67; A. J. Festugière, *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique*, Paris, 1972, pp. 40–2; W. Fauth, *RE* ixA 2257f.; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems*, Oxford, 1983.

Dionysiac mysteries, although the precise purpose of this is unclear.² We know that a *hieros logos* was recited at the Samothracian mysteries (Hdt. 2.51), and another at the mysteries of Demeter on Pheneos (Paus. 8.15.4; cf. 8.15.2). We should also note the allegedly ancient scroll containing the τελετή for the mysteries of Andania which was dug up when the mysteries were re-established in the time of Epaminondas (Paus. 4.26.7, 27.5; F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, Paris, 1969, no. 65.12). Finally, of some relevance is Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄγρα, where the Mysteries at Agrai are described as μίμημα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον. That the papyrus contains such a *hieros logos* is certainly likely, but that we may have here to do with a text belonging to a lower social and literary level is suggested by the somewhat messy script, occasional errors and perhaps by the irregular line-lengths.

Plato (*Rp.* 2.364e) refers to mendicant seers who provide initiation or purification which purports to be effective for both the living and the dead, and who produce a ‘hubbub of books’ by Orpheus and Musaeus according to which they perform their rites. Theophrastus (*Char.* 16.12) mentions the Ὀρφεοτελεσταί visited once a month for purification by the superstitious man with his wife and children, and the author of the Derveni papyrus criticizes those who expect knowledge through initiation, apparently at the hands of similar wandering hierophants (col. XX). These itinerant priests who are unable to give an account of the rites which they perform are no doubt to be contrasted with those mentioned at Pl. *Meno* 81a: οἱ μὲν λέγοντές εἰσι τῶν ἱερέων τε καὶ τῶν ἱερείων ὅσοις μεμέληκε περὶ ὧν μεταχειρίζονται λόγον οἷσις τ’ εἶναι διδόναι. The Derveni author also distinguishes between formal mysteries associated with a city, presumably such as those at Eleusis or Samothrace, and informal ones associated with these wandering priests who receive money for their services. Both forms of initiation are unsatisfactory according to the commentator, but the latter particularly so, because the initiands do not seek further illumination; by implication, the hierophant is probably unable to provide it. Which priests Plato refers to in the *Meno* is unclear, but the distinction between these and the seers in the *Republic* seems roughly comparable to the distinction made in the Derveni papyrus. It might be suspected that the itinerant Ὀρφεοτελεσταί incorporated as many elements from established cults as they could into their own rites, and that these would therefore be highly syncretistic. Furthermore, the copies of the τελεταί carried by such priests, in contrast to the rites of established mystery cults, whose τελεταί were presumably written out in a highly formal style, may have been particularly subject to erroneous or unusual orthography. Both features are found in the Gurôb papyrus. A contrast may be made with the gold leaves, which rely on verbal exchanges which no doubt reflect things said during the mysteries,³ but are not themselves ritual texts. We can also compare the language of the *leges sacrae*, which shows some resemblance to elements in the papyrus.⁴

The papyrus appears to begin with an injunction to collect raw pieces of meat, which suggests that the sacrifice has already taken place. The sacrifice is no doubt referred to in the following prayer (κρίος τε τράγος τε) to Brimo, Demeter, Rhea and perhaps the Kouretes. We may make some attempt to reconstruct the hexameters as follows:

δῶρον δέξ]ατ’ ἐμὸν ποιναῖς πατέ]ρων ἀθεμίστων.
 σῶισόν με Βριμὸν με]γάλη
 Δήμητέρ τε Ῥέα[
 Κουρηῆτές τ(ε) ἔνοπλοι [κικλήσκ]ωμεν⁵

² Sammelb. no. 7266; W. Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Cambridge (Mass.) & London, 1987, pp. 70ff.; G. Zuntz, *Hermes* 91, 1963, 228–39 = *Opuscula Selecta* 88–101; U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Der Glaube der Hellenen*, ii.378. See most recently Baumgarten, *Heiliges Wort und Heilige Schrift bei den Griechen*, Tübingen, 1998.

³ D. Obbink (n. 1); C. Riedweg, in *Ansichten griechischer Rituale. Geburtstag-Symposium für Walter Burkert*, ed. F. Graf, Stuttgart & Leipzig, 1998, 359–98.

⁴ See G. W. Most, *JHS* 117, 1997, 117–35. A. Bernabé discusses Plato and ‘Orphism’ in G. Sfameni Gasparro (ed.), *Destino e salvezza: tra culti pagani e gnosi cristiana. Itinerari storico-religiosi sulle orme di Ugo Bianchi*, Cosenza, 1998, 33–93.

⁵ Or καλώμεν?

] να †ποιωμεν† ἱερὰ καλά
] . νηι κριός τε τράγος τε
] ἀπερ(ε)ΐσια δῶρα.⁶

The ram may seem unusual for Dionysus, but we may now compare the formula κριός εἰς γάλα ἔπεσες in the gold leaves from Pelinna and elsewhere. The Kouretes traditionally appear as the guardians of Zeus, Dionysus and Zagreus, and towards the end of the column we find a reference to the toys used by the Titans to lure the infant Dionysus away from the protection of the Kouretes. Brimō seems to come from the Eleusinian mysteries; cf. *PMG* carm. pop. 862 (= Hippolyt. *Haer.* 5.8.40) ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον, Βριμῶ Βριμόν (the sacred cry at the Eleusinian mysteries) and Richardson on *H. Dem.* pp. 26ff. She again appears in a Dionysiac context on a recently discovered gold leaf (mid-fourth century) from Pherae: Σύμβολα· Ἀν(δ)ρικεπαιδόθυρσον - Ἀνδρικεπαιδόθυρσον - Βριμῶ - Βριμῶ. Εἴσιθ(ι) ἱερὸν λειμῶνα· ἄποινος γὰρ ὁ μύστης. †απεδον†⁷ (see also below on i 22);⁸ and Theodoret. *Graec. affect. cur.* 1.22 (109.4 Canivet) links her with Rhea and Cybele: τὰ τῆς Ῥέας ἢ τῆς Κυβέλης ἢ τῆς Βριμούς . . . ταύτης τὰς ἑορτὰς καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐταῖς τελούμενα ἀπὸ Φρυγίας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετεκόμισαν Ἕλληνας. Rhea and Demeter are identified at least as early as the fifth century (Philodemus, *de piet.* p. 23 Gomperz),⁹ and for the two names in apposition, we might compare P. Derv. XXII.12 Δημήτηρ [Ῥ]έα Γῆ Μῆ[τ]ηρ Ἑστία Δηϊώι, cited as appearing ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις (i.e. not in the Orphic theogony with which the commentator is primarily concerned). At Ar. *Ra.* 384ff. Demeter appears as a goddess connected with salvation, specifically in the context of Eleusinian ὄργια.¹⁰

The goat is mentioned again in the following prose passage, where its flesh seems to be divided between edible and non-edible parts (τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κρέα ἐσθιέτω), and someone, perhaps the uninitiated (see note), is commanded not to look on. The evidence for ritual omophagy is generally weak,¹¹ but it would seem overly cautious not to accept that food, presumably cooked, was consumed at this point. A second hexametrical prayer follows, addressed to Eubouleus and in the second instance to Eubouleus (probably) and Irikepai(g)os, obviously a variant form for Erikepaios (see the commentary):

ἀγ]νὸν καὶ Εὐβουλ(ῆ)α καλῶ[μεν
] . . . εὐρήας κικλήσκω[μεν
] . . . τε φίλους· σὺ ἀπαύανα[ς] [υ υ — —
 Δ]ήμητρος καὶ Παλλάδος ἡμῖν
 Εὐβου]λεῦ Ιρικεπαῖγε
 σῶισόν με [Ἄ]στεροπ]ητά.

The presence of Pallas is perhaps surprising, though Athena appears as the mother of the Kouretes/Korybantēs, and wife of Helios, at Praisos in eastern Crete (Strabo 10.3.19), and also manages to preserve Dionysus's heart after his dismemberment (Orph. fr. 35, 210, 214). Demeter requires less explanation, since she has already appeared in the first prayer in association with Rhea. Eubouleus is the same as Dionysus in the Orphic Hymns, where he is also assimilated to other gods (e.g. Adonis, Pluto), and is earlier a chthonic god, associated with Demeter, Kore etc. and of some importance at Eleusis

⁶ The supplements, here and in the second prayer printed below, and the arrangement of the hexameters, are largely West's; see the commentary for a further discussion.

⁷ Perhaps ὑπέδον? Cf. A1–3 ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδον, and the *symbolon* from the worship of Deo ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδον (below, p. 134).

⁸ First edited by Chrysostomou, 'Ἡ Θεσσαλικὴ θεὰ Ἐν(ν)οδία ἢ Φεραία θεά, diss. Thessaloniki, 1991, 376ss. It will shortly appear in A. Bernabé's edition of Orphic fragments; Professor Bernabé directs my attention to Chrysostomou, *Quinze années de recherches archéologiques*, Athens, 1994, 344; W. Burkert in Burkert et al. (eds.), *Fragmentsammlungen philosophischer Texte der Antike*, Göttingen, 1998, 391ff.; also C. Riedweg (n. 3), 378 and n. 89, 391.

⁹ On the citation of P. Derveni in Phld., see D. Obbink, *Cronache Ercolanesi* 24, 1994, 1–39.

¹⁰ For the connection between Orpheus, Dionysus and Eleusis, at least as early as the fifth century, see in general F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit*, Berlin & New York, 1974.

¹¹ See e.g. A. Henrichs, *HSCP* 82, 1978, 149–52.

(Orph. fr. 52; see Richardson on *H. Dem.* p. 81f.). He appears with Kore ('Queen of the underworld') and Eukles in the gold lamellae from Thurii (A1–3).

The final prose section begins with the statement 'one Dionysus' (εἷς Διόνυσος); Orph. fr. 239b (from a Hellenistic Hymn to Helios) has εἷς Ζεὺς, εἷς Ἀΐδης, εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος (for which Kern lists further parallels), but it is difficult to insert the phrase into the hexameters here.¹² The following phrase, θεὸς διὰ κόλπου, refers to 'the practice . . . of letting a golden snake – earlier, presumably, a live one – slip through the initiand's clothing next to the skin, and then pulling it back again' (West, 96f.), which was a *symbolon* of the mysteries of Sabazius according to Clem. *Protr.* II.16: Σαβαζίων γοῦν μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μουυμένοις ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός· δράκων δὲ ἐστὶν οὗτος, διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων, ἔλεγχος ἀκρασίας Διός. Kern compares δεσποίνας δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας from the lamellae from Thurii (A1–3), though Festugière rightly notes that 'ὑπὸ n'équivaute pas à διά'. The phrase was perhaps uttered while the action was performed.¹³

Ritual consumption of liquid, perhaps wine, follows, with the statement 'as an ass I drank []' (see the commentary for the supplement and interpretation). Statements of this sort belong to the *symbola* of other mysteries. The Eleusinian σύνθημα may be cited: ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς καλάθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην (Clem. Alex. *Protr.* II.21), and that associated with the worship of Deo at *Protr.* II.15: ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκιρνοφόρησα, ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν,¹⁴ both of which describe a series of ritual actions. It is doubtful whether the phrase δίψαι αὐὸς ἐγὼ in the gold leaves from Eleutherna in Crete, and its variants in those from Hipponium, Petelia and Pharsalus, is comparable. The ritual phrase from the lamellae ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπετον (-ες) is also frequently cited in this context, and we may now add ταῦρος εἰς γάλα ἔθορες· κριὸς εἰς γάλα ἔπεσε in the Thessalian gold leaves;¹⁵ but although the bull, ram and kid are typical ritual animals connected with Dionysus, the ass initially seems to fit uncomfortably in this context. Kern compares Ar. *Ra.* 159 ὄνος ἄγω μυστήρια, though Dover (*ad loc.*) takes this simply to refer to Xanthias's rôle as a 'beast of burden'. Tierney (p. 85) suggests that the phrase may mean either 'I am an ass (*mystes*) celebrating the mysteries', or 'I am an ass (animal) bearing the *sacra* so that the mysteries might be celebrated', and sees the ambiguity as the basis for the joke.¹⁶ The Dionysiac fresco at Portus shows the *sacra* being carried by an ass, both clearly labelled.¹⁷ We find βουκόλος as a term for an Orphic priest in the Orphic Hymns (1.10; 31.7), and βούτης, although only meaning 'shepherd' in the Hymns (11.8) may have had a similar force in other contexts. In the parodos of the Cretan priests at E. *Cretans* fr. 473.9–20 Kannicht, Wilamowitz conjectures βούτης (cf. Diels's βούτας) for Porphyry's βροντάς, where it appears to be used of a devotee of Zagreus (who is there associated with initiation, the Cretan Zeus, the Kouretes, the Mountain Mother and escape from rebirth).¹⁸ At E. *Antiope* fr. 203 Nauck βουκόλος again refers to a Dionysiac worshipper, and there is evidence for its use as a cult-title in later associations for members who took part in a form of mimetic dance.¹⁹

¹² See also West, 253; Peterson, *Εἷς θεός*, Göttingen, 1926.

¹³ For the conflation of Sabazius with Dionysus-Zagreus, cf. D. S. 4.4.

¹⁴ Cf. A. J. Festugière, *Rev. Bibl.* 44, 1935, 382f.

¹⁵ Tsantsanoglou & Parassoglou, *Hellenika* 38, 1987, 3–16

¹⁶ Cf. M. Tierney in *Mélanges offerts à m. Octave Navarre par ses élèves et ses amis*, Toulouse, 1935, 395ff.

¹⁷ Cf. G. Zuntz, *Hermes* 91, 1963, 228–39; at Apul. *Met.* 8.24 Lucius is bought by some mendicant priests who make him carry their statue of the Syrian goddess; cf. [Lucian.] *Asinus* 35ff.

¹⁸ Bernabé (in a forthcoming paper on the fragment) prefers to read καὶ {μη} νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βροντάς | τὰς τ' ὁμοφάγους δαίτας τελέσας; cf. G. Casadio, *Didattica del Classico* 2, 1990, 289; A. T. Cozzoli, in A. Masaracchia, *Orfeo e l'orfismo*, Rome, 1993, 163 n. 38.

¹⁹ Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 10 τὸν αὐτὸν ἄρ' ἐμοὶ βουκολεῖς σὺ δαίμονα (sc. Σαβαζίον); Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 3.5; Lucian. *de salt.* 79. In the second-century B.C. *Inscr. Gr. Urb. Rom.* iv 160 (ed. Vogliano-Cumont, *AJA* 37, 1933, 232ff.), the reference is to βουκόλοι and ἀρχιβουκόλοι, and cf. titulus a Cyriac. Ancon. Perinthi exscriptus, ed. Dumont, *Inscr. et. mon. fig. de la*

In the final lines something, possibly the ritual items associated with Dionysus, is placed in a basket. An inscription from Hellenistic Miletus has the slightly obscure injunction: “Whenever the priestess performs the rites of sacrifice (τὰ ἱερά) on behalf of the whole city, nobody must ὠμοφάγιον ἐμβαλεῖν before the priestess has done so on behalf of the city”.²⁰ This must mean something like ‘to throw in one piece of raw meat’, though Henrichs points out that there is no reason to suppose that the ὠμοφάγιον was consumed by the worshippers, and that ‘the alleged omophagy at Miletus was nothing but a peculiar form of Dionysiac sacrifice’.²¹ The Eleusinian *symbolon* quoted above refers to a similar ritual activity. That the tokens are listed in the nominative is attractively explained by Schütz, who supplements e.g. [τὰ σύμβολα, ἃ ἔστι τάδε·].

	P. Gurôb 1: Text ²²		Pl. III
Col. i		Col. ii	
	]α̣σ̣τα̣ ε̣χ̣ων̣ α̣ ευ̣ρη̣ι	[
	]ω̣μα̣δε̣σ̣υν̣λε̣γε	..[
	] δ̣ι̣α̣ τ̣η̣ν̣ τε̣λε̣τη̣ν	α̣..[
	]α̣ τε̣μον̣ ποι̣νας̣ πα̣τε	...[
5	]σ̣ω̣ισ̣ομ̣ με̣ β̣ρι̣μ̣ω̣ με̣[
	] δ̣η̣μη̣τερ̣ τε̣ ρ̣ε̣α	μα̣τ̣[
	]κου̣ρη̣τες̣ τε̣ ε̣νο̣π̣λοι	α̣ρα̣.[
	]ω̣με̣ν	που̣σ̣[
	] γ̣α̣ ποι̣ω̣με̣ν̣ ι̣ε̣ρα̣ κα̣λα	ου̣ν̣συ̣[
10	] ν̣η̣ι̣ κ̣ρι̣ο̣σ̣ τε̣ τρα̣γο̣σ̣ τε̣	ρα̣χο̣σ̣ κ̣ι̣υ̣[
	]α̣πε̣ρι̣σια̣ δ̣ω̣ρα	ευ̣χε̣σ̣[
	] ου̣ και̣ επι̣ πο̣τα̣μου̣ νο̣μ̣ω̣ι	νον̣ π̣.[
	]αν̣ων̣ του̣ τρα̣γο̣υ	μη̣ ε̣χη̣[
	] τα̣ δε̣ λο̣ι̣ πα̣[[...]] κ̣ρε̣α̣ ε̣σ̣θη̣τω̣	τι̣ η̣με̣[
15	] σ̣ μη̣ ε̣φο̣ρα̣τω̣	θεν̣ του̣[
	]χ̣ου̣ ανα̣θει̣σ̣ ει̣σ̣ το̣ α̣νη̣ι̣ρ̣ ε̣	τρι̣χω̣.[
	]α̣λων̣ ευ̣χη̣	β̣λε̣πω̣[
	]νον̣ και̣ ευ̣βο̣υ̣λε̣α̣ κα̣λω̣	κα̣αρ̣..[
	] ευ̣ρη̣ασ̣ κ̣ικ̣λη̣σ̣κ̣ω̣	δ̣ω̣ι̣ λο̣ι̣[
20	] [ . ]ι̣τ̣ο̣ φι̣λου̣σ̣ συ̣ απα̣να̣νας̣	ε̣π̣...[
	]η̣μη̣τρο̣σ̣ και̣ πα̣λλα̣δο̣σ̣ η̣μ̣ιν	δι̣α̣...[
	]λε̣υ̣ ι̣ρικ̣ε̣πα̣ι̣γε̣ σ̣ω̣ισ̣ομ̣ με̣	θε̣ εκ̣ κ̣α̣[
	]η̣ τα̣[]ει̣σ̣ δι̣ου̣σ̣ο̣σ̣ συ̣μβ̣ολ̣α	γε̣υ̣...[
	]υ̣ρα̣ θε̣ο̣σ̣ δι̣α̣ κ̣ολ̣που̣	ζε̣...[
25	]ι̣[]ν̣ επι̣ον̣ ο̣νο̣σ̣ β̣ου̣κο̣λο̣σ̣	πο̣ρει̣.[
	] ι̣ασ̣ συν̣θε̣μα̣ αν̣ω̣ κα̣τω̣ το̣ι̣σ̣	δι̣ου̣λ̣.[
	] και̣ ο̣ σο̣ι̣ ε̣δο̣θη̣ αν̣η̣λω̣σ̣αι	τ̣[
	]ι̣σ̣ τον̣ κα̣λα̣θον̣ β̣α̣λιν̣		
	]ων̣ο̣σ̣ ρο̣μβ̣ο̣σ̣ ασ̣τρα̣γα̣λοι̣		
30	]η̣ ε̣σο̣π̣τρο̣σ̣		

Thrace, 1876, 38 = Pleket, *Inscriptions in the Rijksmuseum, Leiden*, 1958, 91 no. 4. Note also the hymn to Dionysus of the Elean women (*PMG* 871), possibly of considerable antiquity, which invokes him with the refrain ἄξιε ταῦρε.

²⁰ F. Sokolowski, *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1955, no. 48; A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 4, 1969, 235ff.

²¹ A. Henrichs (n. 11).

²² I have indicated the hexameters by putting them in bold type.

P. Gurôb 1: Notes

Column i.

1. We might have e.g. [ἔκ]αστα (Wilcken) and ἔχων ἅ εὕρηι (West), ‘having what he finds’. The objects concerned are unknown and the precise context obscure. Kern writes εὕρηι, comparing 19 εὕρηας.

2. It is difficult not to read συνλεγε[τω] at the end of the line. [τὰ] ὠμὰ δέ (West) at the beginning of the line is very plausible. The first trace after α is of a triangular letter, then there are slight traces of a curved descender and a high cross-stroke (i.e. ε).

3. Smyly read διοτοκιν τελετην, and understood διοτοκιν as an infinitive (cf. the infinitive at i 28 εμβαλιν for -ειν), comparing the formations διδυμοτοκεῖν, σκοληκοτοκεῖν. διὰ τὴν τελετην is read by Diels (ap. Kern). The letter after the first iota is surprisingly small, and I at first read omicron, but it may simply be the upper half of an alpha. The eta of τὴν is very broad, but there is no evidence for an omicron after the tau, and the traces which Smyly read as belonging to a κ are more consistent with the cross-stroke of η. Only faint traces of a high cross-bar remain of the first letter; e.g. τ, ε.

4. Smyly takes]ετεμον as a verb, but although one might τέμνειν an oath or even a libation, I find no parallel for the verb with ποινας. West’s suggestion [δῶρον δέξ]ατ’ ἐμόν ‘accept ye my [offering]’, is attractive, though we find scriptio plena at e.g. i 7 and I cannot see any trace of the right descender of α. Smyly also has πατ (e.g. πατ-[ροσ]); this division would be unusual, but erroneous divisions are attested for some texts, where they correspond to the low literary level of the writer: see P. J. Parsons and E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*², London, 1987, 17 n. 96), but the ε is clearly, though faintly, preserved. Kern proposes πατέ[ροσ], which he takes to refer to Cronos; West more plausibly suggests πατέ[ρων ἀθεμίστων], comparing Orph. fr. 232 ὄργια τ’ ἐκτελέσουσι λύσιν προγόνων ἀθεμίστων μαϊόμενοι, Pl. *Rp.* 2.364a–365b (see above, p. 132); to these add Pi. fr. 133 S.–M. οἴσι δὲ Φερσεφόνα ποιανὴν παλαιοῦ πένθεος δέξεται, P. Derveni VI.4–5 τὴν θυσ[ία]ν τούτου ἔνεκε[ν] π[οιοῦσ]ι[ν] οἱ μά[γο]ι, ὡσπερὶ ποινην ἀποδιδόντες (K. Tsantsanoglou in *Studies on the Derveni Papyrus*, ed. A. Laks & G. W. Most, Oxford, 1997, 95; at VI.8–9 the *mystai* are said to perform sacrifices to the Eumenides in the same way). Two of the gold lamellae from Thurii have ποιανὴν δ’ ἀνταπέτεισ’ ἔργων ἔνεκ’ οὔτι δικαίων (A2–3.4), of a soul appearing before Persephone, and in the gold leaf from Pherae (quoted above, p. 133) the initiate is said to be ἄποινος.

5. Hunt (ap. Smyly) plausibly proposes με[γάλη].

6. Smyly claims that Ρεα | [τε] is an unlikely restoration, since the amount of space left in the inter-columnium suggests that a short word is unlikely to have been delayed until the next line. But this is not supported by the practice elsewhere in the papyrus where regular line-end is avoided. ‘Ρέα | [τε] would be quite acceptable both metrically and in view of the preceding τε.

7. For the apparently traditional phrase here, cf. Pl. *Lg.* 7.796b, which refers to Κουρήτων ἐνόπλια παίγνια, a Cretan choral dance performed in armour, *Orph. H.* 31.1 σκιρτηταὶ Κουρήτες, ἐνόπλια βήματα θέντες, *Orph. Hymn. in Mus.* 20 Κουρήτας τ’ ἐνόπλους Κορύβαντας τ’ ἠδὲ Καβείρους.

8. The traces are consistent with]ωμεν (Smyly), but the papyrus at this point has been torn, and the lower section is covering the upper (as is also the case at i 28). Either καλ]ωμεν or κικλήσκ]ωμεν (both Janko) is possible, and we may compare the probable appearance of these forms at i 18, 19.

9. Smyly prints]να, and suggests ἴ]να (to account for the form of the verb), but there are faint traces before ν which clearly belong to a separate letter, possibly ι. ποιωμεν here is unmetrical, a difficulty felt by West who read -ξομεν, and prints καὶ ῥέξομεν. This provides good sense, and ῥέξω is an expected verb in such a context. But I do not think that anything other than ποιωμεν (ποιῶμεν) can be read in the papyrus, and ποιέω is an equally acceptable verb here. It may simply be that the composer was not a particularly competent versifier; the hexameters in the Pelinna gold leaves (P1–2) also show several unmetrical elements.

ἱερά καλά: cf. Orph. fr. 47 ἐμᾶς ἐπάκουσον εὐχᾶς καλ]η]ᾶ ἱερά κτλ. (cf. A. Bernabé, in *Magia, Astrología en el mundo clásico y helenístico* [in press]) and see A. Henrichs, *ZPE* 4, 1969, 223–41, who

cites Hsch. ὄργια· τὰ ἱερά. οἱ δὲ τὰ μυστήρια and calls attention to the ambiguity of the word. Here, probably ‘rites’.

10. ‘(κρή)νη litterarum vestigiis vetatur; sed cf. 12 ποταμοῦ’; so Kern, whose meaning is unclear, since ν is quite legible in the papyrus. There are small traces of ink in the middle of the line, perhaps compatible with e.g. ι, ν, η etc. But [κρ]ήνηι hardly seems expected in this context (though acceptable in an Orphic environment elsewhere: cf. the spring which appears in some of the gold lamellae, B1–2). Tierney suggests κο]ινῆι, translating ‘a ram and a goat together’.

11. Tierney’s Καβείρων] ἀπερίσια δῶρα, for which he compares *Orph. Arg.* 27 ἀγλάα δῶρα Καβείρων, has nothing to recommend it. For the combination in hexameters, cf. A. R. 1.419 ἀπερείσια δῶρα. Confusion between εἰ and ι is common in papyri in general, and is found again here at e.g. i 28.

12. Tierney cites the tradition that the Kouretes guarded Zagreus by a river (the Hydaspes at Nonn. *D.* 24.43), and unjustifiably concludes that the sacrifice must have taken place out of doors. The gold leaf from Pherae (above, p. 133) has εἴσιθ(ι) ἱερὸν λειμῶνα (of the initiate), and for the holy meadow in the afterlife cf. Pi. fr. 129 S.–M. φοινικορόδοις <δ’> ἐνὶ λειμῶνεσσι, *Ar. Ra.* 449; a gold leaf from Thurii (A4) λειμῶνάς τε ἱερὸς καὶ ἄλσεα Φερσεφονείας; *D. S.* 1.96.5, probably depending on Hecataeus Abder. (*FGrH* 264 F 25) τὰς δὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐν Ἄιδου τιμωρίας καὶ τοὺς τῶν εὐσεβῶν λειμῶνας . . . παρεισαγαγεῖν μιμησάμενον τὰ γινόμενα περὶ τὰς ταφὰς τὰς κατ’ Αἴγυπτον . . . τοῦ δ’ Ὀρφείως τοῦτο καταδείξαντος κτλ.; *Orph. fr.* 222; *Pl. Gorg.* 524a, *Rp.* 616b; *Plut. fr.* 178 Sandbach τόποι καθαροὶ καὶ λειμῶνες ἐδέξαντο; *AP* 7.189.3–4; *Orph. H.* 18.1–2. Some such reference may have been made here.

13. Smyly suggests [τὰς ὄρχεις λαμβ]άνων, comparing Michael Psellus *Τίνα περὶ δαιμόν. δοξάζ.* Ἑλληνας 39 Boisson: τραγοσκελὲς μίμημα παθαινόμενον περὶ τοῖς διδύμοις, ὅτιπερ ὁ Ζεὺς, δίκας ἀποτιννὺς τῆς βίας τῇ Δήμητρι, τράγου ὄρχεις ἀποτεμών, τῷ κόλπῳ ταύτης κατέθετο ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ. We might also think of the removal of the heart (Tierney: τὴν καρδίαν λαμβ]άνων; also favoured by Bernabé, who refers to *Clem. Protr.* II.15.1 *Δηοῦς δὲ μυστήρια καὶ Διὸς πρὸς μητέρα Δήμητρα ἀφροδίσιοι συμπλοκαὶ καὶ μῆνις . . . τῆς Δηοῦς, ἧς δὴ χάριν Βριμῶ προσαγορευθῆναι λέγεται, ἰκετηρία Διὸς καὶ πόμα χολῆς καὶ καρδιουλκία καὶ ἀρρητουργία*), as that part of the slain Dionysus preserved by Athena. However, various parts of the sacrificed animal might be omitted from the meal (cf. *Clem. Strom.* II.20.106 ἐντεῦθεν οἶμαι καὶ τὸν εὐρόντα τὰς τελετὰς οὐ μόνον τινῶν ζώων ἀπαγορεύειν ἄπτεσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἔστιν ἃ καὶ τῶν καταθυομένων ὑπεξείλετο τῆς χρήσεως μέρη δι’ αἰτίας ἃς ἴσασιν οἱ μύσται), and the reference need not be so precise.

14. πα is written above the deleted letters, which look like [[κρ], perhaps [[κρ α]]. The lambda is clear, but οἱ less so. I at first read λετ[[κρ], but of course λετπα would be nonsensical, and λεπτά here inexplicable. For the expression τὰ λοιπὰ κρέα, cf. *Syll.* II³ 736.96, 1044.40, and τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα at 1025.23, 55 (also *Ovid, Met.* 12.154 *sacra tulere suam, pars est data cetera mensis*). Diels (ap. Kern, corrigenda et addenda) proposed λείπακρ α ‘Stücke, denen die Extremitäten fehlen’, but this fails to account for the expunction and the clear epsilon in κρέα.

15. Smyly read]οσ, and suggested e.g. [ὁ δὲ βέβη]λος (cf. the phrase θύρας δ’ ἐπίθεσθε βέβηλοι). There are traces of a curved down-stroke, compatible with σ, and before that a small letter apparently hanging from the upper line, which can only be ο. There are faint traces before that of an angled stroke on the bottom line. West has] μ, which I find difficult to justify from the papyrus. Hardly (νεο)μύστ]ης (Tierney), though the traces of the second letter seem more compatible with σ than anything else.

16. My reading]χου is supported by Wilcken, while Smyly has]λλου. The chi is quite clear, though it is at a slightly odd angle which may have led Smyly to accept λλ. The chi at ii 11 is roughly comparable. Perhaps e.g. παντα]χοῦ, or the name of the god or his worshipper, Βάκ]χου, Ἰάκ]χου (in which case probably not to be connected with the following verb); Schütz has μός]χου.

The last word looks like ανηρε-, but ανηιε- or even ανηριε- might also be possible. The distinction between rho and iota is not always clear, since the bowl of rho can sometimes be written rather perfunctorily. Tierney, Diels and West all supplement [μενον], and it would be difficult to understand

ανηριε[μενον] as anything other than a medio-passive perfect participle from ἀναίρεω; but we would properly expect ἀνηριημένον, and although confusion between eta and epsilon is not inconceivable, even at this early date, Janko perhaps rightly prefers a form of the aorist passive, e.g. ανηριε[[θεν], where short ε is regular.

The second εισ may be the product of dittography, and I suspect that we should read ανα(τι)θεισ {εισ} το ανηριε-; this provides ‘dedicating the chosen’ (sc. piece(s), presumably a reference to the parts removed at i 13).

17. Smyly believed εὐχή to be a heading rather than a part of a sentence, and that]αλων was more probably the last word of the preceding sentence since the prayer is in the singular. West restores plural verbs (despite με at 22, but we should note ἡμῖν at 21), and takes]αλων as a dependent genitive; so already Tierney (whose Γά]λλων, however, is scarcely justifiable) and Schütz (μεγ]άλων). Such headings are also a feature of the magical papyri, though there is no heading introducing the first prayer here at i 4.

18. Smyly tentatively restores Πρωτογό]νον, who is invoked in the large lamella from Thuri (Orph. fr. 47) and who is identified with the sky in P. Derveni, while West has άγ]νόν with an unspecified name in the lacuna. The accusative of Eubouleus appears as -ῆα at *Orph. H.* 41.8, and needs to be restored so here for the metre, though καί needs to be scanned long before the vowel.

19. The first traces are compatible with τ or π, perhaps ι (there are faint remains of either a crossbar or finials); Bernabé suggests the attractive γα]ίως, already presupposed by West’s translation, ‘and let [us] call upon [the Queen] of the broad [Earth]’. Smyly reads ευησ, a personification of the Bacchic cry, to be derived (inexplicably) from εὔιος. Wilcken and Hunt rightly prefer ευρησ.

20. The omicron in ιτο is surprisingly large, but it looks unlikely to be anything else. Initially I thought of θ. We might read η for ι, since only the right down-stroke is still visible. The crossbar of τ is very faint. ἀπαύνας ‘blight’, of either the punishment of the Titans, or of uninitiated sinners? (so Tierney). *Ar. Ra.* 194 refers to ὁ Αὐαίνου λίθος as a place in the underworld, and the gold leaves (B) have δίψηι δ’ εἰμ’ αὖος καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι, which suggest that the verb was generally associated with the after-life.

21. Δημήτροσ Smyly, no doubt rightly.

22.]λευ Πικεπαιγε σωισομ με Smyly. Wilcken read Ἴρικεπαίγε as a Hellenistic variant on Ἴρικεπαῖος (so also Festugière), and Tierney claims the gamma represents an intervocalic spirant, which is plausible before the front vowel ε (but not in the nominative before ο). L. Thraette, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, Berlin & New York, 1980, i.441, provides instances of γ as a glide between ι and a following front vowel (all in the name Ἴγερων-, which appears elsewhere as Ἴερων-); for further instances in the Hellenistic and later papyri, see E. Mayser & F. Schmoll, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit I.2*, Berlin, 1970, 142, and F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Milan, 1976, 72. The first traces lack the finials typical of π, and look more likely to be ιρ-. Erikepaios is a non-Greek name which seems to derive from an Asiatic Dionysus-cult, and which according to Malalas means ‘life-giver’ (*Orph. fr.* 65).²³ West restores Ἡρικε-παι{γ}ε, though I see no reason for doing so. The gold leaf from Pherae (above, p. 133) has Ἄνδρικε-παιδόθυρσον, which Seaford on *E. Ba.* 1157 tentatively translates as ‘Man-and-boy-thyrson’. But the coincidence of the element -κεπαι- in all three words suggests that they should be connected. Both Ἄνδρικεπαιδο- and Ἴρικεπαῖος are probably mystic names based on Erikepaios; perhaps each mystery cult had its own version, which it believed to be particularly efficacious and secret. We might supplement, e.g. Εὐβου]λεῦ, who is identified with Erikepaios at *Orph. H.* 6.4.

23. Wilcken read]ητα, whence Diels’s conjecture Φάν]ητα, but Smyly prefers]ιτα and supplements Λικν]ιτα, an epithet of Dionysus as god of the λίκνον (*Orph. H.* 46.1, 52.3). Only the upper half of a down-stroke survives, with space for the rest of η after it, and it does not ascend above the line as

²³ Richard Janko calls my attention to the Hittite root *pa(i)-* ‘give’.

usual for ι. West convincingly suggests ἀστεροπ]ῆτα ‘hurler of lightning’, which appears as an epithet in the gold leaves from Thurii (A1–3) ἀλλά με μοῖρ’ ἐδάμασσε καὶ ἀστεροπῆτα κεραυνῶι.

Smyly takes σύμβολα to be a heading, and Firmicus Maternus, *de errore* 18, tells us that *symbola* were the means of mutual recognition between initiates. They appear to have consisted of two parts, a *signum* and a *responsum*, and Smyly takes the Eleusinian *symbolon* to be a liturgical dialogue of this sort.

24. Certainly not]ηρα (Smyly), since the traces of the cross-stroke meet the right descender in its centre, not at the top as expected for η.

25. Smyly writes] []ν επιον, and rightly notes that ψυχ]ρ[ὸ]ν is against the traces. Only the lower halves of the descendants (straight and lacking finials) are preserved, and]ρρ[is also possible. Both traces descend below the line, but this is also occasionally found for the first stroke of nu. I have thought of ο]ιν[ο]ν; cf. Kern’s supplement at ii 12. Wine is a possession of the initiate in the Orphic/Bacchic gold leaf from Pelinna: οἶνον ἔχεις εὐδαίμονα τιμήν ‘you have wine as your fortunate honour’, and some Thracian Dionysiac prophets drank wine in order to deliver their prophecies (Aristot. *ap. Macr. Sat.* 1.18.1; cf. *Athen.* 2.38a). Initiates were widely believed to celebrate a symposium in the afterlife (cf. e.g. F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit*, Berlin & New York, 1974, 98–103).

The syntactical connection between ὄνος and βούκολος here is unclear. If we accept the view that the *symbola* were a type of liturgical dialogue, we might have two speakers here: A. ‘As an ass I drank [wine]’, B. ‘As a herdsman I ...’. Less plausible is to supplement βουκολος [τε] ‘an ass and a herdsman drank . . .’. Alternatively, only one speaker may be concerned; cf. the phrase ἔφυγον κακόν· εὖρον ἄμεινον. Smyly suggests ‘I drank as an ass, I became a herdsman’.

26.]γ ι ασ Smyly. E.g. ορ]γιασ, followed by a stop, or perhaps ωμοφα]γιασ. West has]βασ. The σύνθεμα is no doubt the following words, ἄνω κάτω, a pair of opposites reminiscent of the opposite pairs found on the bone tablets from Olbia (e.g. βίος : θάνατος : βίος – ἀλήθεια, εἰρήνη : πόλεμος – ἀλήθεια : ψεῦδος, σῶμα – ψυχή; see F. Tinnefeld, *ZPE* 38, 1980, 67–71, L. Zhmud, *Hermes* 120, 1992, 159–68; *SEG* 28.659–61), and cf. also perhaps Heracl. fr. 33 Marcovich (22 B 60 DK) ὁδὸς ἄνω καὶ κάτω μία καὶ ὡυτή.

27. Smyly wrongly has]σ διο σοι ἐδόθη ἀνηλώσαι, Wilcken (correctly)]καὶ ὄ σοι κτλ.; West reads ἀνήλωσαι. Presumably pieces of meat from the sacrifice (no doubt cooked; see above p. 135) were handed out by the hierophant, and were then ritually consumed by the initiates.

28. ε]ῖς τὸν κάλαθον ἐμβαλ(ε)ῖν Smyly, probably rightly, though the papyrus has been torn so that εμ is no longer clearly legible. Cf. perhaps ii 22 εκ κα]λαθου (see n.).

29–30. κ]ῶνος is proposed, and ἀστράγαλοι read, (no doubt correctly) by Smyly. In addition to (pine-)cone, bull-roarer, knuckle-bones and mirror, the toys used by the Titans to lure the infant Dionysus away from the protection of the Kouretes included a ball, apples, puppets (with jointed limbs), wool/fleece and sometimes the narthex (Clem. *Protr.* II.17, who describes them as σύμβολα); some of these may have been mentioned here. Smyly suggests πλαταγή, mentioned as a toy to keep children quiet at Arist. *Pol.* 1340b26ff., though not otherwise associated with Dionysus. The κ]ῶνος may be either a spinning-top or pine-cone, and West (p. 157) points out that while the former would be a suitable childish toy, the latter were often used to make the head of the thyrsus and appear as a common motif in funerary art and as an attribute of Sabazios. For the bull-roarer (used to imitate thunder?), cf. A. R. 1.1139 (with Σ on 1.1134–39b), 4.137–8; Et. Gen. s.v. ῥόμβωι; Eustath. in Dion. Per. 1134; for its explicit use in Bacchic rites, cf. A. fr. 57.8f. Radt; E. *Hel.* 1362; *AP* 6.165.1; and for its use simply ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς, Archyt. 47 B 1 DK; Epiphan. *Expos. fidei* 10; Diog. trag. fr. 1.3 Snell; Nonn. *D.* 29.190. See Gow on Theocr. 2.30 and JHS 54, 1934, 1ff.

For the ritual use of mirrors, cf. the inscription on a mirror from Olbia (Dubois, *Inscriptions grecques dialectales d’Olbia du Pont*, Geneva, 1996, 144ff. no. 92): Δημόνασσα Ληναίο εὐαὶ καὶ Λήνα(ι)ος Δημόλκο εἰαί; Io. Lyd. *De mens.* 4.51 (107.19 Wunsch) ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ δὲ τῷ Διονύσῳ τὰ

μυστήρια ἐτελεῖτο . . . καὶ εἴσοπτρον (sc. παρελάμβανον) οἶονεὶ τὸν διαυγῆ οὐρανόν, and see W. K. C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion*, London, 1935, 122f.; I. M. Linforth, *The Arts of Orpheus*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1941, 315; Seaford on *E. Ba.* 918–9, CQ 37, 1987, 76–8. In P. Soc. Ital. 850 (ii/iii s. A.D., transcr. G. Coppola; cf. U. Wilcken, APF 8, 1927, 270) we also find mirrors together with Orpheus, though the exact nature of the text is unclear:

	<i>recto</i>	κ[	<i>verso</i>	]δ[]ασστι
		κατασκευα['Ορ-]		] 'Ορφεὺς
		φεὺς ἀντῶ(ι) [κάτο-]		]υς γαίης φι-
		πτρον ὑμ[		]οθέσθαι τι
5		καὶ δίσκος δια[		] . . . ρακίων
		τοῦ δὲ κατόπ[τρον		]μοις ἀρπα-
		Διονύσω(ι) αν . [		]γος ἥσθιον
		γ... πο . [		]ζην . . ε
		]παρατ[		]κελευον
10		]ω πῦρ τ[		μ]ηχαναι[]ε
		]φόβου . [		]απας π[

Column ii

10. It is difficult not to read ῥάχος in preference to Wilcken's ῥάκος, though the significance of either is unclear. Phot. Lex. s.v. ῥάχοι has αἱ μυρικίνα ῥάβδοι, and Kern and LSJ assume this to be the sense here, though for no good reason.

11. Kern's text wrongly inserts a line, εὐχέσ[θω, after 11, though the corrigenda make clear that this is simply an error, and that εὐχέσ[θω is intended as an alternative supplement to εὐχεσ[θαί.

12. Kern tentatively suggests οἶ-]νον π[ιν-; cf. above, i 25n.

13. μὴ ἔχη Kern. ἐχέ[τω Wilcken. 'Post vs. 2 et 26 paragraphos *very doubtful* indicat Smyly' (Kern). I cannot see these.

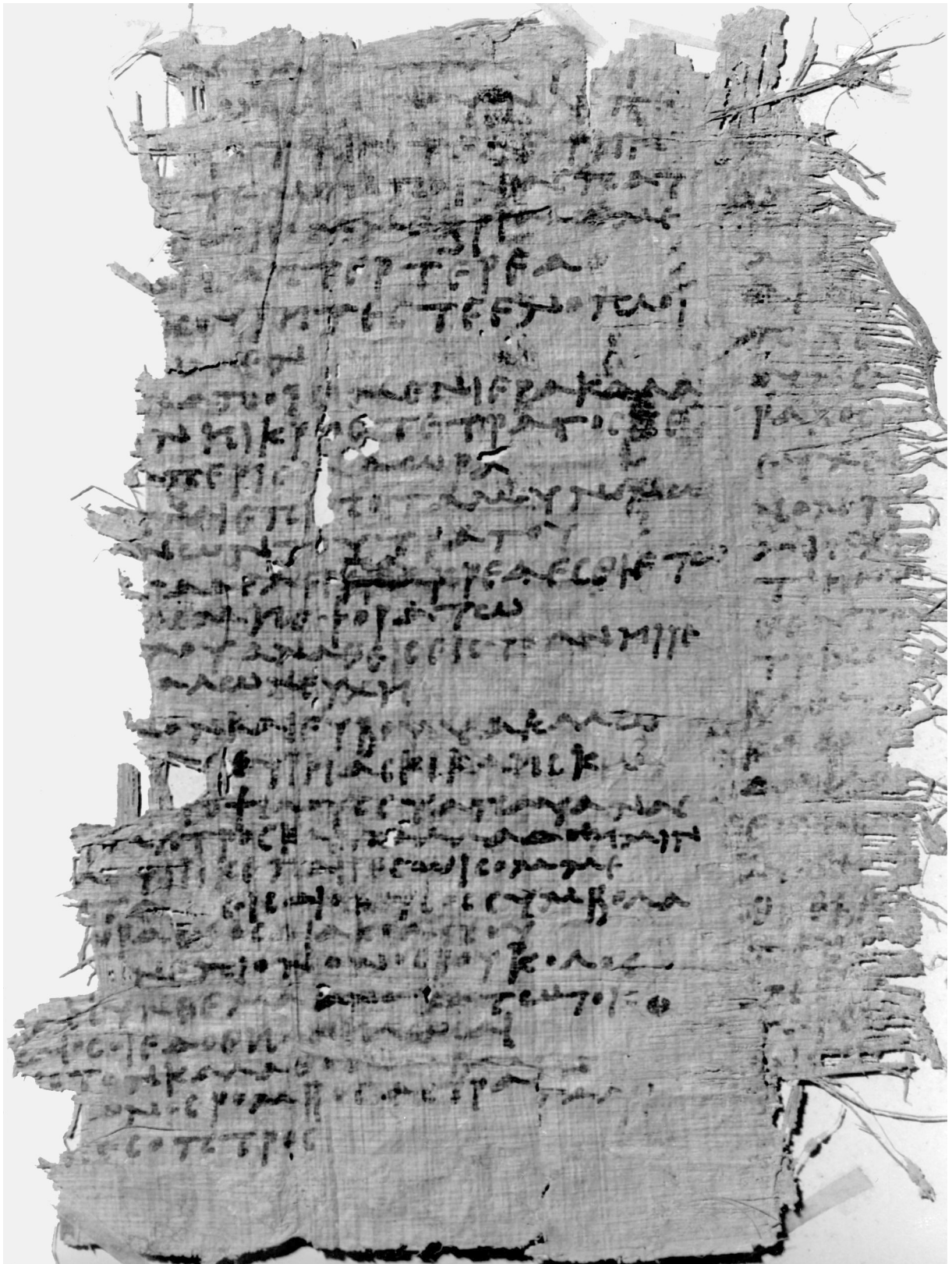
17. The irregularity of the right column edge is remarkable, despite Maas's law that left-hand margins generally drift to the left, and Kern suggests that it may indicate the beginning of direct speech (hence βλέπω, perhaps βλέπω[μεν, as West restores the verbs in the prayers in col. i).

22. Kern prints θ . εικα, but there are traces after the first descendant which suggest kappa. Perhaps εκ κα[λαθου (cf. i 28), but I have also thought of e.g. (-θ' ό? [αυτο]θι?) εκ κα[θαρων as in the formula in the gold lamellae from Thurii, ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρὰ (A1–3).

23. γεύσασ[θαί Wilcken. Either in a ritual context (cf. i 25 επιον, ii 12), or of the Titans consuming Dionysus's body?

25. E.g. πορεία *vel sim.*

26. Perhaps δίου (Δίου?) or a word ending -δίου (West); without a context one can only speculate. I have thought of some form of οὔλος or ἴουλος, either 'corn-sheaf' (which we might connect with the Eleusinian mysteries) or the song in honour of Demeter; thus e.g. δι' οὔλον, δ' ἴουλον (cf. *PMG* carm. pop. 849 = Semus *FGrH* 396 F 23); or perhaps οὔλος 'destructive' (even a compound in δι(α)- 'thoroughly destructive?') as an epithet of the Titans. The last line of column ii is roughly in line with the last one of column i.



P. Gurôb 1 (Pack² 2464); J. Hordern, pp. 131–140