

ΜΕΛΙΒΟΙΑ: THE CHTHONIA OF
HERMIONE AND KORE'S LOST EPITHET IN
LASUS FR. 702 PMG*

The unique character of the cult of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione and its *drômena* has not failed to attract both ancient¹ and modern attention.² In his survey of Hermione's sacred landscape Pausanias singles out Demeter Chthonia's sanctuary on Mt Pron as 'most worthy of mention' (λόγου μάλιστα ἄξιον) and describes the annual summer festival (ἐορτή) in her honour, the Χθόνια, as 'a prodigious spectacle' (θαύμα) culminating in the secret, indoor sacrificial slaughter of four untamed cows, all of them falling down on the same side as the first animal, by four old priestesses armed with a sickle. Aelian praises the grand and lavish scale (μεγαλοπρεπῶς τε καὶ σοβαρῶς) of this celebration and reports (via Aristocles) what is called the 'only and truly great wonder' of the feast (SH 206. 2 εἶν δέ τι <τοῦτο> μέγα): the sacrifice of an otherwise uncontrollable bull led by the ear to the altar by an old woman. Modern curiosity about the idiosyncratic features of the Hermionian cult of Demeter Chthonia has not fallen short of the ancients' wonder. Its responses have been various, ranging from a physiologically reductionist approach to a more complex understanding of the social dynamics of exclusion

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¹ See Paus. 2.35.4–8 and Ael. NA 11.4 quoting the elegiac couplets (= SH 206) recorded by a certain Aristocles (Ἀριστοτέλης in the MSS; for Grashof's emendation Ἀριστοκλῆς on the basis of the Σ to Theoc. 15.64 Wendel where Aristocles is mentioned as an otherwise unknown author of an antiquarian treatise περὶ τῶν Ἑρμιόνης ἱερῶν, see Jacoby FGrH, IIIb, 284–5 on 436 F 2). On the possible Hellenistic date of SH 206 vs Jacoby's hypothesis of a 'Spätansatz' of imperial age (FGrH IIIb, 284), see L. Prauscello, 'Demeter and Dionysus in the sixth century southern Argolid: Lasus of Hermione, the cult of Demeter Chthonia and the origin of dithyramb', in B. Kowalzig and P. Wilson (edd.), *Song Culture and Social Change: The Contexts of Dithyramb* (Oxford, forthcoming).

² The bibliography is vast: a most useful collection of primary sources is still to be found in S. Wide, *De sacris Trozeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum* (Uppsala, 1888), 45–52. See among modern scholarship M.P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* (Stuttgart, 1957), 329–30; M. Detienne, 'Violentes "eugénies". En pleines Thesmophories: des femmes couvertes de sang', in M. Detienne and J.P. Vernant (edd.), *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* (Paris, 1979), 203–6; J.N. Bremmer, 'The old women of ancient Greece', in J. Blok and P. Mason (edd.), *Sexual Asymmetry. Studies in Ancient Society* (Amsterdam, 1987), 191–215, at 198–9; L. Breglia, 'Falce di Demetra, falce per Demetra', in N. Parise (ed.), *Bernhard Laum. Origine della moneta e teoria del sacrificio. Atti dell'Incontro di Studio, Roma 1995* (Rome, 1997), 43–69; W.K. Pritchett, *Pausanias Periegetes, II. APXAI AΛΛAΣ* vol. 7 (Amsterdam, 1999), 240–3, and more recently V. Pirenne-Delforge, 'Les rites sacrificiels dans la Périégèse de Pausanias', in D. Knoepfler and M. Piérart (edd.), *Éditer, traduire, commenter Pausanias en l'an 2000. Actes du colloque de Neuchâtel et de Fribourg (18–22 septembre 1998)* (Geneva, 2001), 109–34, at 115–19; ead., *Retour à la source. Pausanias et la religion grecque* (Liège, 2008), 201–7; and M. Dillon, *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (New York and London, 2001), 115–16, 245–6.

and integration of sexes within the ritual articulation of *polis* religion.³ In another contribution I have tried to show how the early presence (sixth century B.C.) of an Eleusinian/Dionysiac component, in its Orphic nuance, in the Hermionian cult of Demeter Chthonia may improve our understanding of the cultic dynamics there involved.⁴

My present scope is more limited: I intend to re-examine the soundness of what, according to the reading of the manuscript tradition, is Kore's epithet *Μελίβοια* in Lasus of Hermione's *Hymn to Demeter* (702.2 *PMG*), most probably composed for the local Chthonia.⁵ With few exceptions, contemporary scholarship seems unanimous in regarding the epithet *Μελίβοια* as implausible on either linguistic or cultic grounds (or both), and Hartung's emendation *μελιβόαν* (referring to the following *ῥμνον* of line 2) has gained widespread consensus, imposing itself as the vulgate.⁶ A closer inspection of the evidence available will show that the transmitted reading *Μελίβοια* as a local cult epithet for Kore is indeed in keeping with the pragmatics of the physical and social context in which it was used (the *Χθόνια*) and makes good sense within the foundational myths of Hermione's prehistory situated as it is at the crossroad between competing Thessalian, Argive and Dryopic traditions. Finally, in terms of word formation, parallel evidence from other *Rektionskomposita*⁷ strongly suggests that the epithet *Μελίβοια* can be analysed as a verbal governing compound with the first (verbal) member deriving from *μέλω/μέλομαι* with composition vowel *-ι-* instead of the more usual *-ε-* (for

³ Physiological approach: Detienne (n. 2), followed by Bremmer (n. 2), at 199; social dimension: R. Osborne, 'Women and sacrifice in classical Greece', *CQ* NS 43 (1993), 392–405, at 397 with n. 19; Dillon (n. 2), 115–16 (who downplays Detienne's pervasive concept of 'ritual inversion').

⁴ Prauscello (n. 1).

⁵ The suggestion that the occasion of Lasus' hymn must have been in all probability the Chthonia of Hermione is already in Casaubon's commentary on Ath. 14.624e (I. Casaubon, *Animadversionum in Athenaei Deipnosophistas libri quindecim*, ed. G.H. Schäfer, vol. 3 [Lipsiae, 1843], at 159). Cf. also F.W. Schneidewin, *De Laso Hermionensi commentatio* (Göttingen, 1842), 11; A. Privitera, *Lasos di Ermione nella cultura ateniese e nella tradizione storiografica* (Rome, 1965), 24; Breglia (n. 2), 51 and R. Parker and M. Stamatopoulou, 'A new funerary gold leaf from Pherai', *ArchEph* 143 (2004 [but published 2007]), 1–32, at 12 with n. 35. The unmotivated scepticism of U. von Wilamowitz, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Lyriker* (Berlin, 1900), 8 n. 3 (702 *PMG* could have been ascribed to Lasus only because he was the most famous local poet) is rightly dismissed by F. Bruschich, *Lasos di Ermione. Testimonianze e frammenti* (Pisa, 2000), 76.

⁶ Cf. Page 702 *PMG*, D.A. Campbell, *Greek Lyric*, vol. 3 (Cambridge and London, 1991), 306; see also e.g. Privitera (n. 5), 22 ('da eliminare *Μελίβοια*, epiclesi non testimoniata di Kore'); Nilsson (n. 2), 330 n. 5; G. Zuntz, *Persephone. Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* (Oxford, 1971), 82 n. 1 ('the alleged cognomen *Μελίβοια* rests on a false reading in the fragment of Lasos hymn *apud* Athenaeus 624f' with explicit reference to Page's edition); C.G. Brown, 'Honouring the goddess: Philicus' *Hymn to Demeter*', *Aegyptus* 70 (1990), 173–89, at 175 n. 10. Bruschich (n. 5), 76 and Breglia (n. 2), 49–50 have recently argued for the transmitted reading *Μελίβοια*: yet neither provides a systematic examination of the available evidence.

⁷ The comparable material is most usefully gathered and discussed by T. Meissner, 'Das "Calandsche Gesetz" und das Griechische – nach 100 Jahren', in W. Meid (ed.), *Sprache und Kultur der Indogermanen. Akten der X. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Innsbruck, 22.–28. September 1996* (Innsbruck, 1998), 237–54; id., *S-stem Nouns and Adjectives in Greek and Proto-Indo-European. A Diachronic Study in Word Formation* (Oxford, 2006), esp. ch. 1.6; cf. also T. Meissner and O. Tribulato, 'Nominal composition in Mycenaean Greek', *TPhS* 100 (2002), 289–330, at 298–9 and 306.

example type *Μελέαγρος*) or with the *-τι/-σι-* affix to the aorist stem of the verb (for example type *μελησίμβροτος*).

1. THE TEXT: LASUS fr. 702 PMG

The very beginning of Lasus' *Hymn to Demeter* is twice quoted by Athenaeus, the first time with reference to its asigmatic nature (10.455c–d),⁸ the second time (14.624e–f) to exemplify the mixed *êthos* of the Aeolian mode.⁹ Both times Athenaeus refers to it as 'the hymn composed for the Hermionian Demeter'.¹⁰ The text as printed by Page is the following:¹¹

Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον
μελιβόαν ὕμνον ἀναγνέων
Αἰολίδ' ἄμ βαρύβρομον ἀρμονίαν

2 μελίβοιαν codd.: corr. Hartung

I sing Demeter and Kore, wife of Klymenus,
raising the honey-voiced hymn
in the deep-sounding Aeolian harmony

As already noted by scholars,¹² the fact that the first line (*Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον*) mentions, together with Demeter, also Kore and Hades-Clymenus does not prejudice in any way the identification of 'the Demeter of Hermione' (referred to by Athenaeus as *τὴν Δήμητρα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἑρμιόνη* and *τὴν <ἐν> Ἑρμιόνη Δήμητρα*) with Demeter Chthonia. If we look at the location of her sanctuary within the sacred topography of Hermione,¹³ its immediate surroundings clearly testify to the strong chthonian nature of the whole complex. According to Pausanias' account (2.35.9), just across from Demeter Chthonia's sanctuary (*ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τῆς Χθονίας*) there was the temple, surrounded by statues, of Hades-Clymenus, where the Hermionians sacrificed to him (*καὶ τῷ Κλυμένῳ θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα*). Furthermore, behind the temple of Demeter Chthonia (*ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Χθονίας*) there were three places (*χωρία*) respectively called by the Hermionians 'Clymenus's', 'Pluto's' and the 'Acherusian Lake' (2.35.10 *τὸ μὲν Κλυμένου, τὸ*

⁸ On Lasus' asigmatism, see now J. Porter, 'Lasus of Hermione, Pindar and the riddle of S', *CQ* NS 57 (2007), 1–21.

⁹ The broader context is a digression on Heraclides Ponticus' classification of the three 'original' *harmoniai* (= Heraclid. Pont. fr. 103 Wehrli): the Dorian, Aeolian and Ionian, according to the three Hellenic races. Heraclides quotes the Aeolian, a medium between the Dorian and the Ionic, as the old name for the contemporary Hypodorian: see M.L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1992), 183–4.

¹⁰ Ath. 10.455c *ὁ εἰς τὴν Δήμητρα δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἑρμιόνη ποιηθεὶς τῷ Λάσῳ ὕμνος* and 14.624e *Λάσος ὁ Ἑρμιονεὺς ἐν τῷ εἰς τὴν <ἐν> (add. Schweighäuser) Ἑρμιόνη Δήμητρα ὕμνῳ*.

¹¹ As can be seen from Page's apparatus to 702 PMG the text of the fragment allows for more textual uncertainties than *Μελίβοιαν/μελιβόαν*: they do not, however, affect the present discussion.

¹² See Privitera's and Brussich's commentaries (n. 5), ad loc.

¹³ That is, most probably on the slopes of Mt Pron: for its precise location, see M.H. Jameson, C.N. Runnels and T.H. van Andel, *A Greek Countryside. The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day* (Stanford, 1994), 592–3.

δὲ Πλούτωνος, τὸ τρίτον δὲ αὐτῶν λίμνην Ἀχερουσίαν). Finally no fewer than seven sanctuaries of Demeter and of Demeter and Kore were interspersed in both the urban and the extra-urban landscape of Hermione, marking its boundaries and defining its religious identity as a place with a privileged association with Demeter and especially her chthonian dimension.¹⁴ All this forcibly suggests that Lasus' Hermionian Demeter is Demeter Chthonia. That both Demeter and Kore played a major role in the local mystic cult of Demeter Chthonia is further confirmed by the first line of Philicus of Corcyra's third-century B.C. 'Hymn to Demeter' (*SH* 676 τῇ χθονίῃ μυστικὰ Δήμητρί τε καὶ Φερσεφόνῃ καὶ Κλυμένῳ τὰ δῶρα),¹⁵ and it may be worth observing that in Pausanias' description of the Chthonia we are told that children wear white robes and garlands made of κοσμοσάνδαλον, a flower that to Pausanias looked like a hyacinth (2.35.5). The white colour of the garments and the variety of flower immediately establishes the rite as chthonian: the hyacinth-like quality of the flower (ὑάκινθον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ὄντα καὶ μεγέθει καὶ χρώει) points directly to Kore's abduction.¹⁶

Is there a place for Kore *Μελίβοια* in this context? In trying to answer this question one must constantly bear in mind the nature of our source, that is, a literary text: even if we succeed in showing the appropriateness of such an epithet for the Hermionian Kore, wife of Clymenus, how is *Μελίβοια* to be considered? Should it be regarded as a poetic invention or a ritualized cult epithet? This is, of course, slippery ground and caution is the first rule. Yet, as recently observed by Parker, 'the distinction between poetic and cult epithets is not absolute, because hymns undeniably composed for cult performance are full of "poetic" epithets serving to adorn not the verses but the god'.¹⁷ Admittedly we do not have epigraphic or archaeological evidence for Kore's epiclesis *Μελίβοια* but we have already seen how several elements strongly suggest that Lasus' hymn had a very specific, local *Sitz im Leben*: the Chthonia of Hermione.¹⁸ We have also seen that Hades' epiclesis *Κλύμενος* recorded by Lasus in 702.1 *PMG* is clearly rooted in Hermione's cultic practice (see above Pausanias 2.35.9–10 and the local inscriptional evidence).¹⁹ In trying to make out whether *Μελίβοια* may be a faithful reproduction of a local cult epithet of Kore at Hermione, the main relevant criteria by which to judge the available evidence must then be the 'function-specifying role' of the epithet (that is, the epithet should single out the divine function relevant to the contextual

¹⁴ Cf. Wide (n. 2), 46–8; for the location of these sanctuaries, see S. Guettel Cole, 'Demeter in the ancient Greek city and its countryside', in S.E. Alcock and R. Osborne (edd.), *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (Oxford, 1994), 199–216, at 206.

¹⁵ See now Parker and Stamatopoulou (n. 5), 12; *IG* IV 687 (first c. B.C.) also mentions jointly Demeter, Clymenus and Kore. On the relationship between Philicus' hymn and the Hermionian cult, see Prauscello (n. 1).

¹⁶ For Kore's importance, alongside with Demeter, in the Chthonia of Hermione, see Wide (n. 2), 50–1; O. Kern, *Die Religion der Griechen*, vol. 1 (Berlin, 1926), 223; and esp. Breglia (n. 2), 50–1. For Kore picking hyacinths, cf. N.J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford, 1974), 141 and 143 (ad *Hom. Hymn Dem.* line 7) with further references; for the equivalence *kosmosandalon* = hyacinth cf. S. Amigues, 'Hyacinthos fleur mythique et plantes réelles', *REG* 105 (1992), 19–36, at 32. For the frequency with which cultic epithets are transferred from Demeter to Kore, see Zuntz (n. 6), 81–2.

¹⁷ R. Parker, 'The problem of Greek cult epithet', *OpAth* 28 (2003), 173–83, at 173.

¹⁸ See above n. 5.

¹⁹ The epigraphic evidence is collected by Wide (n. 2), 45–6.

needs of the worshippers) and its power of individuating geographically specific cult sites.²⁰

2. ΜΕΛΙΒΟΙΑ: THE LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

The emendation *μελιβόαν* (agreeing with *ῥμνον*: that is, ‘I am singing of Demeter and Kore, wife of Clymenus, raising a *honey-singing hymn* in the deep-sounding Aeolian mode’) was first proposed by Hartung in 1858 on the basis of Eur. *Phaeth.* fr. 773.34 K (= line 78 Diggle) *μελιβόας κύκνος*.²¹ The adjective *μελιβόας* was then and still remains now, as far as our evidence goes, a *hapax*; yet from a morphological point of view its formation is not only perfectly regular but also fully comparable to well-attested adjectival compounds like *ἥδυβόας*, *καλλιβόας* *et sim.* The resulting *iunctura* *μελιβόαν ῥμνον* restores the traditional poetic image of the song as ‘honey-voiced’ (cf. for instance *μελίγαρυσ*, *μελίγλωσσος*, *μελίκομπος*, *μελίγδουπος* in choral lyric).²² It is true that in later musical reflection the sweetness of a melody tends to be associated with high-pitched tones,²³ whereas the Aeolian mode, at least as far as our limited evidence on the relative pitch of the different *harmoniai* goes, was supposed by some to be the lowest in pitch.²⁴ However there is no incontrovertible evidence that at such an early date *βαρύβρομος* had already acquired a specific tonal value.²⁵ Metrically, if we read *μελιβόαν*, for the second line of 702 *PMG* we would have a sequence cretic + dodrans (~ ~ ~ – – ~ ~ ~ –) comparable to Pind. fr. 52d. 30 M. (= paeon D4 Rutherford) *θέμενος οἱ[ω]νοπόλον γέρας*.²⁶ At first sight Hartung’s *μελιβόαν* offers then a plausible reading. Yet a plausible reading does not mean necessarily a genuine one, for when we come to explain *how* the presumed original reading could have been corrupted into any different reading (transmitted or conjectured), the balance seems to me to turn in favour of Kore’s otherwise unattested epiclesis *Μελίβοια*. Hartung himself, later on in his career (1866), changed his mind and in his *religionsgeschichtliche* account of the Chthonia at Hermione retained *Μελίβοια* without even mentioning his previous conjecture *μελιβόαν*.²⁷

In terms of word formation the second element of the compound *Μελίβοια* clearly stems from *βοῦς* (<*-*βοφια*), as is the case for other proper female names

²⁰ For the empirical validity of these criteria and their possible subdivisions/overlaps, see Parker (n. 17).

²¹ J.A. Hartung, *Die griechischen Lyriker*, vol. 6 (Leipzig, 1858), ad loc.

²² For the references to relevant passages by Pindar and Bacchylides, see the list gathered by E. Rocconi, *Le parole delle Muse. La formazione del lessico tecnico musicale nella Grecia antica* (Rome, 2003), 78–9.

²³ Cf. e.g. [Arist.] *De audib.* 804a 22–8.

²⁴ Cf. Aristox. *El. Harm.* 47.1ff. Da Rios οἱ μὲν τῶν ἀρμονικῶν λέγουσι βαρύτατον μὲν τὸν ὑποδώριον (i.e. the later name of the Aeolian) τῶν τόνων κτλ.; see also Rocconi (n. 22), 18 with n. 66.

²⁵ See above all Rocconi (n. 22), 55–7 and 18 n. 67 with reference to Lasus 702 *PMG* (‘è

possibile che l’aggettivo *βαρύβρομος* sottintenda qui non tanto l’intonazione grave della scala eolica, quanto il suo impatto emotivo sull’uditorio, ... come a voler dire “l’armonia eolia che risuona come qualcosa di grande e pesante”).

²⁶ Privitera (n. 5), 24.

²⁷ J.A. Hartung, *Die Religion und Mythologie der Griechen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig, 1865–66), at 2.135 and 3.62. Hartung’s change of mind is acknowledged by Bruschich (n. 5), 76.

(e.g. *Περίβοια*, *Ἡερίβοια*, *Κλεόβοια*).²⁸ More problematic is the first member of the compound for which, to my knowledge, two different derivations have been proposed: either from the noun μέλι ('honey'), that is, *Μελίβοια* would mean 'die mit süßer Nahrung nährende';²⁹ or, more plausibly, from μέλω/μέλομαι, that is 'she who takes care of/tends the cattle'.³⁰ A connection of Demeter and/or Kore with honey is in itself attested: the epiclesis *Μελιτώδης* for Kore occurs in Theocr. 15.94 (cf. Σ in Theoc. 15.94/95a Wendel) and Porph. *De antr. Nymph.* 18. Furthermore both in the Theocritean scholium and in Porphyrius we are told that the priestesses of Demeter were called μέλισσαι.³¹ Yet in terms of compositional process the parallel data assembled by Bechtel show that in proper names, appellatives and toponyms compounds whose first element is *Μελι-* are better understood as verbal governing compounds with *Μελι-* deriving from μέλω/μέλομαι.³² The presence of the compositional vowel -ι- instead of the more usual -ε- (for instance *Εχέπωλος*, *Μελέαγρος*) or -σι- affix attached to the aorist stem (for instance *τερψίμβροτος*, *μελίσμβροτος*) finds parallels in other nominal and/or verbal compounds like e.g. *Ἀρχίλοχος*, *Αἰσμήδης*, *Πειθυμένης* and can be explained as the result of a direct contamination of the two earlier and regular forms, that is, the type in -ε- and the type in -σι-.³³ It is also worth observing that these compounds with the compositional vowel -ι- start their lives and are popular in proper names (like our *Μελίβοια*), and an important study by Frei-Lüthy has shown that there is a clear correspondence between proper names and epithets in this type of compound.³⁴ The analysis of *Μελίβοια* as a verbal governing compound with the first

²⁸ Cf. E. Risch, *Wortbildung der homerischen Sprache*² (Berlin and New York, 1974), 187 § 50(c).

²⁹ L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*⁴, vol. 1.2 (Berlin, 1894), 802 followed by J. Tambornino *RE* (1931), XV.1 s.v. Meliboia, col. 509. Also Casaubon (n. 5), p. 159 apparently followed this etymology: 'Proserpina Graecis dicta et Μελίβοια et Μελιτώδης. estque, opinor, duarum harum appellationum eadem ratio. Lege Theocriti scholiasten ad idyllium 15 etc.'

³⁰ A.F. Pott, 'Mytho-etymologica', *ZVS* 7 (1848), 241–66, at 255; A. Fick, *Die griechischen Personennamen nach ihrer Bildung erklärt und systematisch geordnet*² (Göttingen, 1894), 458; W. Pape and G.E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*⁴ (Braunschweig, 1911), 889 s.v.; F. Bechtel, *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* (Halle, 1917), 305; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1984), 682.

³¹ Cf. S. Lavecchia, 'Pindaro e le ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑΙ di Paro', *Hermes* 124 (1996), 504–6, at 505 for further references.

³² Bechtel (n. 30), 304–5; cf. also Chantraine (n. 30), 682. However not all of Bechtel's parallels are equally satisfactory. For instance *Μελίδωρος* (six occurrences according to the *LGP*N Search II; no literary attestations) might equally have been analysed at a certain stage as deriving from μέλι 'honey', that is with μέλι functioning as adnominal genitive, cf. e.g. *Γαλαξίδωρος*. More promising are the cases of *Μελικλής* (*IG* XII.5. 490; Hellenistic date?), *Μελίφαντος* (*IG* XII 246 A, 228; fourth/third c. B.C.) and *Μελιθήριος* (not *Μελιθηρίς*: cf. M. Fraenkel's correct reading in *IG* IV.1. 452; fourth c. B.C.). As far as toponyms are concerned, one could add as a good candidate also *Μελίβοτον*, the name of a Galician town (Nic. Con. *Hist.* 130.78 and 160.46 van Dieten). This does not mean of course to deny that interferences between μέλι and μέλω/-ομαι roots may have taken place in compounds.

³³ For a systematic discussion and explanation of the data available see esp. Meissner (n. 7 [1998]); cf. also id. (n. 7 [2006]), 20–2. For the partially different type ἀμβολιεργός (Hes. *Op.* 413), see K. Strunk, 'Verkannte Spuren eines weiteren Tiefstufentyps im Griechischen', *Glotta* 47 (1969), 1–8, at 5–6.

³⁴ C. Frei-Lüthy, *Der Einfluss der griechischen Personennamen auf die Wortbildung* (Heidelberg, 1978), 11–42.

(verbal) element deriving from μέλω/-ομαι is then unobjectionable in terms of word formation.³⁵

The metre is not an obstacle either: we may either (1) scan *Μελίβοϊαν* and have then at 702.2 *PMG* a sequence - - - - - -, interpretable, as suggested by Franco Ferrari, as ~ia ~ia (i.e. with the first foot of the iambic metra implemented by an anapaest);³⁶ or, with more likelihood, (2) scan *Μελίβοϊαν* with correction of the internal diphthong: at line 2 we would thus have a sequence ia[^] dodrans.³⁷ Both metrical interpretations are in keeping with the clear shift of rhythm in the hymn from the dactylo-epitritic start (line 1: — eeD) to a more composite frame (lines 2–3) with heavily iambic and/or aeolic cola.³⁸

One possible objection to *Μελίβοια* could be the consequent bareness of the following unqualified ὕμνος at line 2. It is true that words denoting song in lyric tend overwhelmingly to be accompanied by an epithet, yet the unqualified use of ὕμνος with reference to the composition and/or performance of the song (as in 702.2 *PMG* ὕμνον ἀναγνέων) is not without parallels: cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 1.79–80 παρὰ δὲ τὰν εὐνδρον ἀκτὰν | Ἰμέρα παίδεσσιν ὕμνον Δεινομένεος τελέσας, Bacch. *Ep.* 5.9–12 ἦ σὺν Χαρίτεσσι βαθυζώνοις ὑφάνας | ὕμνον ἀπὸ ζαθέας | νάσου ξένος ὑμετέραν | ἐς κλυτὰν πέμπει πόλιν. From a linguistic and metrical point of view, then, *Μελίβοια* seems to fit the bill.

3. ΜΕΛΙΒΟΙΑ: THE CULTIC CONTEXT

The next step is to see whether Kore's epithet *Μελίβοια* may equally well fit into the specific cultic context of the Chthonia at Hermione. The link between Demeter and/or Kore and cattle is in itself a traditional and widespread feature on both a Panhellenic and local scale³⁹ and as such, at least at first sight, might not seem to differentiate geographically Kore's cult site at Hermione from other cults of Kore. Yet we have seen that the narratives of both Pausanias and Aelian pay unusual attention to the startling sacrifice by female priestess(es) of four cows/

³⁵ The *LGP*N registers four cases of *Μελίβοια*: *IG* IX (I)² 2, no. 495 (third c. B.C., from Palaerus [Acarnania]), *IG* II² no. 9761 (first c. A.D., from Athens) *IG* II² no. 12063 (middle fourth c. B.C., from Athens?) and *IMT SuedlTroas* 460 (= *CIG* 3590; date unknown). A *Μελίβοιος* is to be found in *CIL* IV nos. 4908 and 4955 (Pompeii, first c. B.C./A.D.). For the Thessalian toponym *Μελίβοια*, see M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford, 2004), 720 no. 453.

³⁶ Iambic metra with first anapaestic foot, even if not in consecutive series, are frequent in Pindar: cf. e.g. *Ol.* 9. ep. 2, *Ol.* 13 str. 5, *Nem.* 6 ep. 6.

³⁷ For internal correction of -ou- in lyric, see M.L. West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford, 1982), 11. Strangely Brussich (n. 5), 35 interprets line 2 (he reads *Μελίβοϊαν ὕμνον ἀναγνέων*) as an enoplon.

³⁸ The same shift of rhythm would of course occur also with *μελιβόαν* (see above). Line 3 (*Αἰολίδ' ἄμ βαρύβρομον ἁρμονίαν*: - - - - - - - -) may be either understood as adon. + hemiep. (Privitera) or as dodr^b (= ^gl; Ferrari).

³⁹ Cf. e.g. Callim. *Hymn* 6.136 φέρβε βόας, φέρε μάλα; on μάλα as an authentic Callimachean hyperdorism for μήλα, cf. now the conclusive arguments by A.C. Cassio, 'Iperdorismi callimachei e testo antico dei lirici (Call. Hy. 5. 109; 6. 136)', in R. Pretagostini (ed.), *Tradizione e innovazione nella cultura greca da Omero all'età ellenistica. Scritti in onore di Bruno Gentili*, vol. 3 (Rome, 1993), 903–10, at 907 and 909–10. Polyboea as epiclesis of Kore is attested by Hesych. s.v. Πολύβοια (π 2825 Hansen): θεός τις ὑπ' ἐνίων μὲν Ἀρτεμῖς, ὑπὸ δὲ ἄλλων Κόρη; see Brussich (n. 5), 76.

one bull as the climatic moment of the Chthonia.⁴⁰ Archaeological and numismatic evidence confirms this aspect. Fifth/fourth-century B.C. limestone blocks with holes for fixing the feet of a four-footed animal (Jameson [1953], nos. 1, 2, 4) have been convincingly argued by Jameson to be bases of bovine statues linked to the cult of Demeter Chthonia.⁴¹

As for the numismatic evidence, the obverse of an imperial coin from Hermione shows a bovine animal led by a rope by a *victimarius*.⁴²

Even more important, if we think of the Dryopic heritage in the (pre)history of Hermione,⁴³ is the fact that the bull/ox motif seems to have been strongly associated with the ancients' perception of Dryopic identity, as the encounter of Heracles and the ploughing Theiodamas suggests (cf. Call. *Aitia* fr. 24 Pfeiffer [= 26 Massimilla], Ap.Rhod. 1.1211–14 with Σ to 1212–19a, [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 2.7.7).⁴⁴ In fact the Dryopic element is important not only for the identity of Hermione in general but even more for the Chthonia in particular. From the Archaic period onwards, much of the geography and history of Hermione presents itself as a contrasting tale of resistance and assimilation fought between its Dryopic origin (Hdt. 8.43) and its successive Doric (and more specifically Argive) component.⁴⁵ The pro-Argive version of the foundation of the city recorded by Pausanias at 2.34.4–5 (Hermion son of Europs, son of the Argive Phoroneus) clearly reflects this local tension.⁴⁶ That the cult of Demeter Chthonia was an important part of the Dryopic, pre-Dorian heritage and worked as a strong marker of ethnic identity still in the second century B.C. is clearly attested by the fact that in Hellenistic times the Asinaeans of Messenia, a Dryopian community originally expelled from the Argive Asine by the Argives c. 700 B.C. and widely renowned in antiquity for its

⁴⁰ For the special importance of the cattle sacrifice in the ritual of Demeter Chthonia at Hermione and its bull/cow imagery, see M.H. Jameson, 'Inscriptions of the Peloponnesos', *Hesperia* 22 (1953), 148–71, at 151–2.

⁴¹ Jameson (n. 40), 151–4.

⁴² I. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, *A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*³ (London, 1887), 51 no. 6 (a digital image of the coin is available at the website <<http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/argolis/hermione/i.html>>, no. 25, accessed December 2009). Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner speak of a cow, C. Witmore, 'Multiple-field Approaches in the Mediterranean: Revisiting the Argolid. Exploration Project' (Diss. Stanford, 2005), ch. 5, of a bull (excerpts available on line at <<http://traumwerk.stanford.edu:3455/multiplefields/1122>>, accessed December 2009). C. Grandjean, 'Le monnayage d'argent et de bronze d'Hermioné, Argolide', *RN* 32 (1990), 28–55 is silent about this particular.

⁴³ See already Wide (n. 2), 49, 51–2, Bölte s.v. Hermion/ Hermione (1) *RE* (1912) VIII.1.col. 840. Most recently on the presence of Dryopians in the Argolid see cf. B. Kowalzig, *Singing for the Gods. Performance of Myth and Ritual in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Oxford, 2007), 132–54 (Hermione: 135, 142 n. 34, 145).

⁴⁴ Cf. Call. fr. 24.15 ταύροι and the marginal scholium to line 19 Α[ἐπ]αργε, ὄνομα τ(οῦ) ταύρ(ου); in Ap.Rhod. 1.1214 we are told that Heracles and Theiodamas disputed over a plough-ox (βόας ἀμφὶ γεωμόρου); in [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 2.7.7 Heracles is said to have unyoked and slaughtered τὸν ἕτερον τῶν ταύρων. Cf. E. Livrea, *Studia Hellenistica*, vol. 1 (= *Papyrologica Florentina* 21.1) (Florence, 1991), 291 ad *SH* 206 'tauros seu boves tamquam signum Dryopicae originis Hermionensium interpretamur.'

⁴⁵ See the detailed survey by Jameson et al. (n. 13), 60–5; on the historic and mythical narratives clustering around the Dryopians, cf. D. Fourgous, 'Les Dryopes: peuple sauvage ou divin?', *Métis* 4 (1989), 5–32.

⁴⁶ For Pausanias' personal inference that there must not have been an armed conflict between Hermione and the Δωριεῖς οἱ ἐξ Ἀργεως, see D. Musti and M. Torelli, *Pausania. Guida della Grecia. Libro II. La Corinzia e L'Argolide* (Milan, 1986), 328.

‘ethnic’ pride (Paus. 4.34.11),⁴⁷ sent a delegation to Hermione to take part in the feast in honour of Demeter Chthonia (*IG* IV 679).⁴⁸ According to this inscription, the highlight of the ritual included *συμπομπεύειν καὶ ἄγειν βοῦν* (line 1–2): for the Asinaeans to share in the sacrifice of a *βοῦς* at the Chthonia was the strongest possible way of demonstrating their Dryopic origin. It thus seems undeniable that the Hermionian cult of Demeter Chthonia absorbed and incorporated elements seen as ancient Dryopic relics.⁴⁹ In particular, Wide had already defended the transmitted epiclesis *Μελίβοια* for Kore by comparing Paus. 2.21.8–9 (close to the statue of Leto at her Argive temple there is the statue of the *parthenos* *Χλωρίς* whose original name (ἐξ ἀρχῆς) was Meliboea, apparently one of Niobe’s daughters) and arguing for the syncretic assimilation of an original Dryopic goddess with the Theban heroine Meliboea.⁵⁰ This would fit well with what we know about the Thessalian origin of the Dryopians:⁵¹ in this sense Kore’s epithet *Μελίβοια* would represent the bridging element in Hermione’s intertwining of Boeotian and Argive traditions.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The cumulative evidence here collected seems to point towards the retention of the transmitted reading. *Μελίβοια* as epiclesis of Kore at Hermione is well justified from both a linguistic and cultic point of view, providing an important link between the Dryopian and Dorian heritage of the history of Hermione. Lasus’ hymn to Demeter Chthonia is thus an important source for recovering a lost piece of cultic local history: we should, then, perhaps be reconsidering what already Schneidewin wrote, that is ‘id quoque nomen [i.e. *Μελίβοια*] dubitari nequit quin ex religione Hermionensium sumpserit poeta.’

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⁴⁷ *μόνοι δὲ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Δρύοπων οἱ Ἀσιναῖοι σεμνύνονται καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι τῷ ὀνόματι [...]* Ἀσιναῖοι δὲ Δρύοπες τε τὰ μάλιστα χαίρουσι καλούμενοι.

⁴⁸ See Jameson et al. (n. 13), 65, 93, and Pritchett (n. 2), 242–3. The inscription has recently been re-edited by O. Curty, *Les parentés légendaires entre cités grecques* (Geneva, 1995), no. 2. For *IG* IV 679 testifying to the existence, already in the third century B.C., of a system of *ἐπαγγελία* including *θεωροδόκοι* throughout the Peloponnese, see P. Perlman, *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece. The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* (Göttingen, 2000), 163.

⁴⁹ See already Wide (n. 2), 49, 51–2, Kern (n. 16), 223, Tambornino (n. 29), col. 510.

⁵⁰ S. Wide, 1893. *Lakonische Kulte* (Leipzig, 1893), 176–7.

⁵¹ Cf. already Kern (n. 16), 223; this approach has been further developed by Breglia (n. 2), 49–51.