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## THE SCANDAL OF DIONYSOS ON PAROS (THE MNESIEPES INSCRIPTION E<sub>1</sub> III)\*

### 1. *The Mnesiepes Inscription.*

In November of 1949 a farmer discovered two ancient slabs in one of his fields near the stream bed of the Elitas on the outskirts of Paroikia, Paros. These blocks carried an inscription that transformed our knowledge of the legend and cult of Archilochos on Paros in the Hellenistic age. Before this discovery, it was possible to speak (as did Hiller von Gaertringen) of an Archilocheion on Paros, without the authority of either the Greek word or evidence of cult. The justification for the belief that an Archilocheion existed on Paros was the Sosthenes inscription, usually dated to the early first century BC: the later inscription of Sosthenes, who depended on earlier researches of the Parian historian, Demeas, gave a history, illustrated by the poetry of Archilochos, of the life of the poet as this was coordinated with (and served as a source for) the history of Paros; but it contained no hint of the legend published in the Archilocheion of Paros by an ancestor of Sosthenes nearly two centuries earlier<sup>1</sup>.

Evidence for an Archilocheion on Paros had to await the discovery of the Mnesiepes inscription fifty years after Hiller had spoken of an Archilo-

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<sup>1</sup> Hiller von Gaertringen spoke with prescience in his study of Block A of the Sosthenes' inscription, *Archilochosinschrift von Paros*, “AthMit” 25, 1900, 8. He published Block A in *IG XII.5* no. 445; block B was only published in the supplement to *IG XII* (212-214); both blocks are published by Jacoby under Demeas, *FGrHist* 502 (whom he dates to the first half of the third century). Demeas would, then, be the rough contemporary of Mnesiepes. During the restoration of the cathedral of Hekatondapyliane to its early state, A.K. Orlandos discovered still another fragment from the Sosthenes inscription. This is now lost, but Peek was able to publish it from a squeeze he made of it in the spring of 1962, *Ein neues Bruchstück vom Archilochos-Monument des Sosthenes*, “ZPE” 59, 1985, 13-22; *SEG* 35 (1985) no. 917. Angelos Chaniotis has succeeded in integrating Block C into the Sosthenes inscription and presents the only integrated text of the monument, *Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften: Epigraphische Beiträge zur griechischen Historiographie* (Wiesbaden 1988) T 14 (pp. 57-70). For Mnesiepes, see note 4 below.

cheion. Kontoleon dated the Mnesiepes inscription plausibly to the third century BC<sup>2</sup>. The evidence for this date are the letter forms and format of the Marmor Parium, which dates itself to 264/3 BC. The author of the new inscription and the founder of a hero cult to Archilochos belonged to an important and well documented Parian family. He bears the speaking-name Mnesiepes, “He who remembers the *epos*”<sup>3</sup>. The name can be found on one of the family sarcophagi from the Roman period displayed along the outside wall of the Paros Museum. It is also inscribed on an altar that was taken from Paros and found its way by a circuitous route to Marseilles<sup>4</sup>.

The two blocks on which Mnesiepes had his inscription cut were orthostate blocks, which means that they were a conspicuous part of a some public monument. During a brief excavation at the site of their discovery in July of 1950 Kontoleon discovered a third orthostate block of the same dimensions, which was originally uninscribed. In late antiquity, when the *heroon* of Archilochos was no longer the center of its protective cult, this block received the outline of a right foot and the crude inscription Ζώσιμος Ἀρχιλόχου<sup>5</sup>. Kontoleon referred to these blocks as E<sub>1</sub>, E<sub>2</sub>, and E<sub>3</sub>, E standing for Elitas, the river that feeds into the pasture land spreading down to the sea and the modern site of Livadia – the Meadows.

<sup>2</sup> *Νεαὶ Ἐπιγραφαὶ περὶ Ἀρχιλόχου ἐκ Πάρου*, “ArchEph” 1952, 32-95. The term Ἀρχιλόχειον appeared in E<sub>1</sub> II.17 of the new inscription. Kontoleon's description of the first block as E<sub>1</sub> is explained below.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Lefkowitz has suggested that Mnesiepes' name might indicate that he was a professional rhapsode, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (Baltimore–London 1981) 27: see too Gregory Nagy, *The Best of the Achaeans* (revised edition, Baltimore–London 1999) Chapter 18 § 4 n. 3 (p. 304). Similar are the speaking names Hesiodos, Stesichoros, Polymnestos, and, in Alkman's Louvre partheneion, the names of the two leaders of the choros, Agido and Hagesichora. The name Mnesiepes seems to be restricted to the island of Paros: P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names I* (Oxford 1987) 318.

<sup>4</sup> *IG XII.5*, 303, where Parmenion, son of Mnesiepes, is honored with a crown by the Council and Assembly of Paros. Hiller von Gaertringen dates the inscriptions to the first century A.D. and constructs a stemma of the family commemorated in this sarcophagus (p. 80). Mnesiepes, son of Neomedes and Philyto, daughter of Praxikles, dedicate an altar (*IG XII.5* no. 373). The first attestation of the name Mnesiepes on Paros comes from E<sub>1</sub> II.1. The stemma of his descendants in the family of Dionysios, which includes Sosthenes, son of Prostheneas, the author of the first century inscription, is given by A. J. Gossage, *The Family of Prostheneas at Paros*, “RhMus” 95, 1951, 213-221 (the stemma on p. 219). We can now connect the two Parians by the name of Mnesiepes with the then unknown Mnesiepes, the author of the inscription discovered in 1949.

<sup>5</sup> Published by Kontoleon in the report of his brief excavation, *Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Πάρῳ*, “Praktika” 1950, 261-262; cf. *Archilochos und Paros*, in *Archiloque: Entretiens Fondation Hardt* 10 (1963) 53 and Plate 3.

The third column of E<sub>1</sub> is the focus of this essay in reconstruction. E<sub>1</sub> bears three columns of text; E<sub>2</sub> the beginning of a single column. The columns of both blocks are 57 lines deep. The text of the first column of E<sub>1</sub> is negligible. The second carries Mnesiepes' now famous account of Archilochos' encounter with the Muses as a very young man and their gift to him of a lyre in exchange for the heifer he was bringing down from the Meadows to market in the early evening. The site of this encounter is a place Mnesiepes refers to as Λισσίδες (or λισσίδες πέτραι, Slippery Rocks, E<sub>1</sub> II.28). Slippery Rocks are not common on the dry Cycladic island of Paros. I am convinced from inspection of the area that Mnesiepes set up his inscription and established the altars and *temenos* he refers to (in E<sub>1</sub> II.16-19) near the banks of the Elitas and above the site of Τρίς Ἐκκλησιές (The Three Churches), at just the place where he believed that Archilochos had his fateful encounter with the Muses. It is from the slope above the Elitas in the property of the Salmetanis family that the three blocks of Mnesiepes monument came to light<sup>6</sup>. E<sub>2</sub> contains an account of Archilochos' heroism in battle and the inspiration his martial poetry instilled in his fellow Parians.

Column III of E<sub>1</sub> is not preserved entire. At its greatest breadth, it preserves only 13 letters of text. (By contrast, column II preserves some lines entire; they contain between 33 and 37 letters). Column III continues Mnesiepes' rendition of the Parian tradition concerning Archilochos' early career as a poet and his introduction of the cult of Dionysos to Paros, apparently during the festival of Artemis, which Mnesiepes mentions at the very end of E<sub>1</sub> II. Mnesiepes' narrative describing Archilochos' dramatic performance on the lyre – the “lovely gift of the Muses” (in the words of fr. 1 West) – and his introduction of the cult of Dionysos to Paros has not been given the attention it merits. By contrast, column II, which contains the oracles concerning Mnesiepes' cult of Archilochos in the Parian Archilocheion and Archilochos' encounter with the Muses, has been often studied. It is nearly perfectly preserved. It can justly be called the *regina columnarum* of the Mnesiepes inscription<sup>7</sup>. Yet the legend that continues in E<sub>1</sub> column III is as fascinating as it is fragmentary<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Mnesiepes describes the place in E<sub>1</sub> II.23-28.

<sup>7</sup> As Achille Vogliano called column 8 of *PapHerc* 1232, *Epicuri et Epicureorum Scripta in Herculanensibus Papyris Servata* (Berlin 1928) 126.

<sup>8</sup> Column II of E<sub>1</sub> has been the subject of a number of investigations, beginning with the excellent treatment Kontoleon gave it in his publication of it, “ArchEph” 1952, 53-57. Mnesiepes' narrative has been studied as a version of “Die Dichterweihe” by Athanasios Kambylis, *Zur Dichterweihe des Archilochos*, “Hermes” 91, 1963, 129-150; and in terms of the pattern of folk tales by Carl Werner Müller, *Die Archilochoslegende*, “RhMus” 128,

2. *E<sub>1</sub> III.*

I present the text of E<sub>1</sub> III much as Kontoleon first published it, incorporating the few revisions he made in response to Werner Peek's re-edition the year after it was published<sup>9</sup>. I have transcribed it from the orthostate block in the Paros Museum and will suggest some supplements in sequel.

Lines 1-5 have been effaced.

	EI			
	OI			
	<u>AP</u>			
	P			
10	TO			
	TH			
	άοιδ			
	σας			
	λύραν			
15	<u>Ἀρχιλο</u> [χ			
	ζ <u>Ἐν</u> ἄρχε[ι μὲν . . .			
	τεῖ δ' ἑορ[τεῖ . . .			
	παρ' ἡμῖν			
	φασὶν Ἀρ[χίλοχον	ca. 18 letters		αὐτο-]
20	σχεδιάσ[αντα			
	τινάς τῶν π[ολιτῶν			
	διδάξαντα			
	παραδεδομ[ένα . . .			
	κεκοσμημέ[νος	ca. 20 letters		κή-]
25	ρυκος εἰς Π[άρον			
	ΕΛΗΣΕΝΩΙ			
	καὶ συνακολο[ύθοντας			

1985, 99-151 and Frederick Williams, *Archilochos and the Eunich: The Persistence of a Narrative Pattern*, "Classics Ireland" 1, 1994, 1-20. Danièle Berranger set the Mnesiepes narrative into its Hellenistic context as a vindication of Parian pride and a rehabilitation of Archilochos' dubious reputation, *Archiloque et la rencontre des Muses à Paros*, "REA" 94, 1992, 175-182. Müller's brief remarks on the column that concerns us now are the most valuable we have to date (pp. 120-128). He is right, I think, to stress that Archilochos introduced the new cult of Dionysos to Paros during the festival of Artemis, which was being celebrated on Telesikles' return (p. 124 and note 50).

<sup>9</sup> W. Peek, *Neues von Archilochos*, "Philologus" 99, 1955, 4-49; N. M. Kontoleon, *Zu den neuen Archilochosinschriften*, "Philologus" 100, 1956, 29-39. I also note some of the supplements suggested by C. W. Müller in the text he gives (1985), 123.

των καὶ ἄλλων [ ca. 17 letters κατασκευ-]  
 ασθέντων τὰ μ[ ca. 23 letters πα-]  
 30 ρὰ τοὺς ἐταίρου[ς . . .

Ὁ Διώνυσος σ[  
 οὐλάς ΤΥΛΖ  
 ὄμφακες α[  
 σὺκα μελ[ιχρὰ  
 35 οἰφολίωι ερ[

Λεχθέντων [δὲ τούτων  
 ὡς κακῶς ἀκ[ούσαντας  
 ἰαμβικώτερο[ν  
 οὐ κατανοή[σαντες ὅτι περὶ -----]  
 40 καρπῶν ἦν τὰ[  
 ῥηθέντα εἰς τή[ν  
 ἐν τεῖ κρίσει [.] Μ[----- μετ' οὐ πολὺν]  
 χρόνον γίνεσθ[αι----- τοὺς ἄνδρας ἀσθενεῖς]  
 εἰς τὰ αἰδοῖα. [----- - ἀποπέμψαι]  
 45 τὴν πόλιν τινὰς [θεοπρόπους χρησομένους περὶ τού-]  
 τῶν, τὸν δὲ θεόν [εἰπεῖν τὸν χρησμὸν τόνδε.]

Τίπτε δίκαις ἀνόμοις  
 ἦλθετε πρὸς Π[υθῶ  
 οὐκ ἔστιν πρὶν[ ἄκεσμα  
 50 εἰς ὃ κεν Ἄρχιλ[οχον Μουσῶν θεράποντα τίητε.]

Ἄναγγελθ[έντων δὲ τούτων  
 μιμησκο[μένους----- τῶν ἐ-]  
 κείνου ῥη[μάτων  
 διημα[ρτημέν-  
 55 Διον[υσ-  
 ΠΙΑ  
 ΑΠ

Ε<sub>1</sub> III 27 συνακολούθοντας Clay 29 or ἀσθέντων (for ἀσθέντων)?  
 31 ὦ Διονύσ' ὅς τ Müller 34 [ῥη]θέντων Peek-Kontoleon 35 ἔρ[δειν]?  
 West 37 ἀκ[ούσαντας Clay 39 κατανοή[σαντας Clay 42 μ[ηνίσαντος  
 δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ Peek 44 [οὐ λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ ἀποστεῖλαι] Müller 49  
 ἄ[κεσμα Peek 50 *exempli gratia* Ἄρχιλ[οχον Μουσῶν θεράποντα τίητε.]  
 Parke "CQ" 1958, 93 ἃ διημά[τηκαν Peek 57 Ἀπ[ολλων ?

### 3. *The Scandal of Dionysos on Paros.*

It is now impossible to recover the tradition of Archilochos' introduction of the cult of Dionysos to Paros in its precise detail, but a sinopia outline is still just visible. We note first that Mnesiepes had already established a cult to Dionysos, the Nymphs, and Seasons in the *temenos* of the Archilocheion before he sent to Delphi for advice (E<sub>1</sub> II.8-11). He had, therefore, tacitly acknowledged a relation between the cults of Archilochos and Dionysos, just as he acknowledged a relation between the cult of Archilochos and the cult of the Muses, Apollo Mousagetes, and Mnemosyne (E<sub>1</sub> II.3-4). The narrative of Column III of E<sub>1</sub> seems to run like this:

*Telesikles has returned from Delphi at the moment when a festival of Artemis was being celebrated on Paros. He asks if there are the necessities (evidently for this cult) at home. Wine at least seems to be available and perhaps abundant. Archilochos has suddenly developed into a poet in full possession of his new lyre and poetic powers. He improvises a novel kind of poetry and music and teaches this to some of his companions. This poetry, of which Mnesiepes cites five lines, offends some of the festival audience. The offended parties bring the poet to trial; he is found guilty of an offense. For their treatment of Archilochos, the men of Paros are visited with the punishment of impotence. Seeking relief, they send still another delegation to Delphi. The god greets them with an indignant four line response and declares that they can find no cure for what ails them until they honor the poet Archilochos.*

In E<sub>1</sub> III we have only the beginning of a column. To provide some context for this segment of Mnesiepes' narrative we need to review the argument that leads to it. Column II of E<sub>1</sub> is nearly perfectly preserved. It bears the three oracles given by Apollo to Mnesiepes in response to his inquiries concerning his arrangements for the cult of Archilochos he (and presumably a *thiasos* of fellow Parians) was establishing in a *temenos* (E<sub>1</sub> II.1-19). This is followed by his rendering of a Parian tradition concerning the meeting of Archilochos and the Muses, the perplexity of his father Telesikles at the loss of a heifer and the gain of a lyre, and Telesikles' mission to Delphi to inquire about the meaning of these strange events (E<sub>1</sub> II.19-57). The response Telesikles received in Delphi is a three line oracle (long known in the version of *AP* 14.113) that has no apparent connection with his inquiry about his vanished cow, but promises him an immortal son (E<sub>1</sub> II.50-53). When he returns to Paros late in the day, Telesikles finds the Parians occupied with a festival to Artemis and asks if there are "necessities" (τῶν ἀναγκαίων) at home. Here the column ends (E<sub>1</sub> II.54-57).

How Mnesiepes managed the transition from Telesikles' question about

“necessities” on his return to Paros we cannot determine, although we can pick out a few significant words: poet (or song, 12), lyre (14), Archilochos (15, and perhaps at 8). A *coronis* and *paragraphe* at line 16 announce a transition to a new topic: “In the beginning...”. Clearly, the festival of Artemis remains Mnesiepes’ topic (τεῖ δ’ ἔορ[τεῖ, 17). “They say” (φασὶν, 19) indicates that Mnesiepes is still recording Parian traditions about Archilochos (as he said he would in E<sub>1</sub> II.21-22). The words κεκοσμημέ[ν- and κή-] | ρυκος (24-25) are tantalizing. Do they describe a herald dressed in festival costume come to Paros to announce the new festival Archilochos was to introduce; or do they describe Archilochos acting as a herald himself? If they describe Archilochos, they recall (and are perhaps recalled by) the opening of Solon’s *Salamis* (αὐτὸς κῆρυξ ἦλθον, fr. 1 West).

The tradition of Archilochos as the founder of cult on Paros is not without precedent in the history of the poet’s family. In his description of Polygnotos’ famous painting on walls of the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi, Pausanias allows us to take the tradition of Archilochos’ family as founders of cult back two generations<sup>10</sup>. Polygnotos identified two of the figures on Charon’s ferry as Tellis and Kleoboia. Tellis is described as Archilochos’ grandfather and Kleoboia as the woman who introduced the cult of Demeter to Thasos. They are both rendered as youthful figures, like Archilochos himself in Mnesiepes’ biography and in the Boston pyxis that shows him first with his heifer and a Muse and then with his lyre in the company of the Muses<sup>11</sup>. According to Pausanias, Kleoboia is depicted carrying a chest associated with the mysteries of Demeter. Tellis and his son Telesikles have speaking names that associate them with religious functions (τελετοί). (So, perhaps, did the Argive poetess, Telesilla.) On neighboring Naxos we find the name Telesagoras. On Naxos Telesagoras became, with his daughters, the object of festival abuse, as did Lykambes and his daughters on Paros (Aristotle, fr. 558 Rose)<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> 10.28.3.

<sup>11</sup> ARV<sup>2</sup> 42.1 (The Hesiod Painter), aptly adduced by Kontoleon, “ArchEph” 1952, 57-60 (Plates 1 and 2). Before the discovery of the Mnesiepes inscription, this scene had been viewed as a single representation of a cowherd, cow, and *five* Muses by Caskey; the standing cowherd was gingerly identified as Hesiod by Beazley. The second panel, in which Archilochos seated with his lyre and crowned by an ivy garland, was thought to consist of *three* female figures, flanked to the right by another two Muses; L.D. Caskey and J.D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Oxford 1931) Part I, no. 37, 34-37, Plate XV. In my *Poet, Hero, and the Greek Polis: The Cult of Archilochos on Paros*, Chapter II 2.a (forthcoming), I argue that the seated figure in the second panel is Archilochos transformed from a herder into a poet.

<sup>12</sup> From Athenaeus 8.348B-C. A connection with the tradition of Telesagoras and Lygdamis’ rise to power on Naxos and the festival context of the Archilochean *iambos* on

The foundation legend of a new cult invading a cult already established is hard to parallel. There are some cases of gods being honored in a festival that interrupts or is integrated into another festival; Asklepios (whose cult was introduced to Athens in 420 by Telemachos and, it is said, Sophocles) has a festival at Athens on 18 Boedromion during the long festival of the Eleusinian mysteries. The image of Dionysos as Iacchos was carried up to the Eleusinion on the acropolis during this same festival<sup>13</sup>. An aetiological tradition known to Pausanias comes closer to the Parian legend of Archilochos as the founder of cult; it has Dionysos Aisymnetes intrude into the cult of Artemis Triklaria in Achaia<sup>14</sup>. It is perhaps significant for the reconstruction of Mnesiepes' account of the scandal of Dionysos on Paros that Artemis Eukleia came to be honored in the enlarged cult of Mnesiepes' *temenos* on an altar next to the altar where Dionysos, the Nymphs and Seasons received sacrifices in the first stage of Mnesiepes' cult (E<sub>1</sub> II.10-11).

It is not absolutely certain that Archilochos introduced the offensive form of the cult of Dionysos to Paros that Mnesiepes describes during a festival of Artemis, but I think this must be the case. Mnesiepes does not seem to refer to any other festival in lines 1-15 of E<sub>1</sub> III. It is important to keep well in mind that we are dealing with a foundation legend current in the third century, not evidence for the cults of Paros in the seventh century. We know that both Sophocles and Pindar were thought to have been the founders of cult in Athens and Thebes as well, but their new cults provoked neither opposition nor indignation in the part of their fellow citizens, and neither the cult of the Mother of the Gods in Thebes nor the cult of Asklepios in Athens seem to have involved poetry<sup>15</sup>.

Paros is made by M.L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin–New York 1974) 27.

<sup>13</sup> See A.W. Parke, *Festivals of the Athenians* (Ithaca, New York 1977) 63-64 (for Asklepios) and 65 (for Dionysos' role in the Eleusinia); also Walter Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Berlin–Köln–Mainz 1977) 127.

<sup>14</sup> Pausanias 7.19.4; Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (Oxford 1956), responses 556-557. For the association of Dionysos Aisymnetes, Artemis Triklaria, and the *heros* Eurypylos at Patrai, see M. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der Attischen* (Leipzig 1906) 21 and 294-297. Burkert notes the strange harmony of the association Artemis and Dionysos: "Artemis und Dionysos scheinen einander entgegengesetzt wie Morgenfrische und Abendschwüle" (note 13 above) 340. For the cult, see M. Massenzio, *La festa di Artemis Triklaria e Dionysos Aisymnetes a Patrai*, "SMSR" 39, 1968, 101-132.

<sup>15</sup> We do not need to test the historical truth of these traditions. The tradition concerning Pindar and the household cult of the Mother of the Gods is preserved in Aristodemos, *FGrHist* 383 F 13 (T 1 in L. Lehnus, *L'inno a Pan di Pindaro*, Milan 1979); it must derive from *Pyth.* 3.77-79. The tradition of Sophocles introducing Asklepios to Athens is preserved



The Parian legend of Archilochos concerns the introduction of a new form of poetry to the cults of Paros – that of the iamb and the shocking invective and obscenity connected with the cult of Dionysos. We have been given a view of Archilochos' precocious skill at invective in the verb which describes his rude treatment of a group of women that he did not yet recognize as Muses (σκώπτειν, E<sub>1</sub> II.30). Archilochos, after all, notoriously described himself as the son of Enipo, the Scold (fr. 295a West)<sup>16</sup>.

Mnesiepes' presentation of Archilochos as the founder of cult on Paros is not altogether novel, for it has striking parallels in the legends of the resistance to the cult of Dionysos elsewhere in Greece. The pertinent parallel, as Kontoleon recognized, is the resistance to the cult of Dionysos introduced into Attica from the border region of Eleutherai by the god's "apostle"<sup>17</sup>, Pegasos, and the punishment the Athenian males suffered as a result of their resistance. The legend is preserved in the scholia to Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 243. The language that comes close to that of Mnesiepes is: ἀπεστάλησαν θεωροὶ μετὰ σπουδῆς· οἱ δὲ ἐπανελθόντες ἔφασαν ἴασαν εἶναι μόνην, εἰ διὰ τιμῆς ἀπάσης ἄγοιεν τὸν θεόν<sup>18</sup>. Pausanias records a similar tradition of a disease visited on the males of the Boeotian town of Potniai after they had, in a frenzy produced by wine, murdered the priest of Dionysos during sacrifice. Again, the prescription for a cure comes from Delphi<sup>19</sup>.

There is also the well known (but poorly preserved) legend of the resistance to the cult of Dionysos at Ikaria in the heart of Attica and the involvement of the Delphic oracle in prescribing a cure for the disease that afflicted the demesmen for killing Dionysos' host, Ikarios, and in establishing the new cult of Dionysos. Wilamowitz described Ikarios as the "martyr" of the new cult he introduced to Ikaria<sup>20</sup>; his reward was that he, his daughter Erigone, and their faithful dog, Maira were included in this new cult in the deme of Ikaria on 14 Anthesterion, as Archilochos was included in the cult of Dionysos on Paros. Pausanias dates the cult introduced

in the *Etymologicum Genuinum* 256.6 (T M 69 in *TrGF* iv Radt).

<sup>16</sup> There is an interesting parallel between Archilochos' rude treatment of the Muses and the good natured laughter with which they greeted it and Iambe's abusive language and Demeter's laughter in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, 198-211.

<sup>17</sup> As Farnell styles him, *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1898-1907) 5.41.

<sup>18</sup> *Scholia in Aristophanem* I B ad 243a Wilson, cited by Kontoleon, "ArchEph" 1952, 80-81.

<sup>19</sup> καὶ σφισιν ἀφίκετο ἴαμα ἐκ Δελφῶν, Pausanias 9.8.2.

<sup>20</sup> "Ein Märtyrer des neuen Dienstes", *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (1955, reprint Darmstadt 1984) 2.65.

by Pegasos after the cult introduced by Ikarios<sup>21</sup>. Semachos was also said to have introduced the cult of Dionysos to his local Attic deme; as a result the deme came to be called Semachidai<sup>22</sup>. A local tradition known to Pausanias explains the significance of sacrifices offered to an anonymous *heros* that were offered preliminary to sacrifices to Dionysos by the fact that he introduced the god into Laconia. He too is included in the cult of Dionysos<sup>23</sup>.

The Parian tradition of the punishment inflicted upon the males of the island for their treatment of Archilochos has a striking parallel in the tradition of the revenge taken on the Delphians, who had killed Aesop by pushing him from a cliff in angry retaliation for his insults. In one of the lives preserved in *POxy.* 1800, it is recorded that a “plague-like affliction struck the city. The god [Apollo] replied to the Delphians who had consulted his oracle that the disease would not cease until they had appeased Aesop”. The fragmentary Greek of this account suggests a restoration of the fragmentary Greek of E1 III.47-50: χρηστηριαζόμενοις δ’ αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀνείλεν οὐ πρότερον [λήξ]ειν τὴν νόσον μέ]χρις [ἂν Α]ἴσωπον ἐξι[λάσκωντ]αι, T. 25 Perry<sup>24</sup>. The difference between the two traditions is that in the Parian legend a poet introduces a cult to his native island, is brought to trial, and finally comes to be honored by his fellow Parians; Aesop, who might count as a poet, introduced no cult; he only criticised the religious practices of Delphi. The remedy Apollo prescribed for the people of Delphi was a hero cult and an altar at the spot where Aesop’s body fell to earth. Apollo is as important to the cult of Archilochos on Paros as he is to the establishment of the cult of Dionysos. The introduction of the cult of Dionysos throughout the Greek world was, as it was in the Parian tradition recorded by Mnesiepes, a matter of concern to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> 1.2.5. Farnell (note 17 above, 5.114-116) gathers most of the evidence, especially Apollodorus 2.14.17. The oracle (from Aelian, *Nat. Anim.* 7.28) is no. 542 in Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (note 14 above), discussed in 1.335-336.

<sup>22</sup> Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnika*, s.v. Semachidai; Farnell (note 17 above) 5, ref. 69a.

<sup>23</sup> Pausanias 3.13.7. According to Herodotus, it was the legendary prophet Melampus who introduced Dionysos to the Greek world, 2.49.

<sup>24</sup> Cited by Gregory Nagy with an analysis that connects this tradition of Aesop with that of Archilochos (note 5 above), Chapter 16 §19. Apollo’s name might be present in E1 III.57. The tradition of Aesop at Delphi is studied by Anton Wieckers, *Aesop in Delphi* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 2), Meisenheim am Glan 1961.

<sup>25</sup> Parke and Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* (note 14 above) 1.330-339 (responses 542-552); Pausanias 2.26.8 and *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 974. Apollo’s name might be present in E1 III.57: Ἀπ[ολλων]-

4. *Fr. 251 West.*

Four of the five lines of Archilochos' poetry that provoked some conservative members of his audience (E<sub>1</sub> III.31-35 = fr. 251 West) seem innocuous. But, evidently, they provoked a scandal. The adverb that describes the performance of the poetry Archilochos introduced to Paros is *ιαμβικώτερον* (38), "more scurrilous than allowed"<sup>26</sup>. We have only the first words of five lines of Archilochos' poetry (excerpted as fr. 251 West): Dionysos (in the nominative case), raw barley groats, unripe grapes, figs, and (in the dative case) the fucker. In West's edition, this epithet is dignified as a majuscule.

Three of Archilochos' words seem to be associated with the cult of Dionysos and innocent: *οὔλαί* (barley groats), *ᾠμφακες* (small, unripe grapes), and *σῦκα* (figs). Unmilled barley groats are used during sacrifice as they are salted and thrown at the head of the sacrificial victim and into the flame of the altar; they are important too in the cult of Demeter, who bears the cult epithet *Ioulo* (after *ἴουλος*, a form of the word for barley groats)<sup>27</sup>. *Oulochytai* is a term well known from Homer onward<sup>28</sup>. The association between religious and secular and the innocent and obscene is beautifully illustrated by the passage in Aristophanes' *Peace*, when Trygaios, performing a sacrifice, asks one of his servants to pelt the festival audience in the theater of Dionysos with *ὄλαί* and *κριθαί*. Asked if he has performed the ritual, the servant says that there is no one in the audience who does not have his peck: *οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ κριθὴν ἔχει* (960-966). The sequel makes the sexual double entendre of *κριθή* explicit, as the men in the audience are said to be about to share their "pecks" with the women there<sup>29</sup>.

*ᾠμφακες* or unripe grapes is also a word for the small hard breasts of a pubescent girl. In Modern Greek the word for nipples is *ράγες* (grapes). We find a cluster of words for grapes including *ᾠμφακας ᾠμοτέραις* in

<sup>26</sup> M. L. West effectively places Archilochos in the history of the *iambos* (note 12 above) 22-30. Ralph Rosen provides a sketch of Archilochos and Hipponax as the originators of the Ionian *iambos* and the precursors of Attic comedy, *Old Comedy and the Iambographic Tradition* (Atlanta, Georgia 1988) 12-14, following the lead of Gregory Nagy and his description of *iambos* in its relation to Archilochos' Lykambes, *Best of the Achaeans* (note 3 above) 243-249.

<sup>27</sup> Semos of Delos is responsible for our knowledge of the epithet for Demeter, *FGrHist* 396 F 23 Jacoby (from Athenaeus 14.618D-E, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci* 849 Page).

<sup>28</sup> The practice is described in *Iliad* 1.449-459 and *Odyssey* 3.441-442; additional passages are cited by S. Douglas Olson in his commentary to *Peace* 948-949, *Aristophanes Peace* (Oxford 1998) 251.

<sup>29</sup> Compare *Birds* 505-507 and 565.

Alcaeus 119.16 Voigt, and the words might carry a sexual connotation<sup>30</sup>. The appropriateness of grapes as a metaphor descriptive of nipples is strikingly evident in the *Song of Songs*, where the breasts of the Shulamite are compared to a “cluster of the vine”: τοῦτο μέγεθός σου ὡμοιώθη τῷ φοίνικι | καὶ οἱ μαστοὶ σου τοῖς βότρυσιν (7.8)<sup>31</sup>. We know of a cult of Dionysos Ὀμφακίτης in Laconia. There is also a cult of Dionysos of the fig tree in Naxos (Διόνυσος Συκίτης), an island which, like neighboring Paros, has a name for its remarkable figs<sup>32</sup>. Fig is a word for the female (and male) genitalia throughout the Mediterranean world and needs no elaborate documentation<sup>33</sup>.

The epithet οἰφώλιος is clearly offensive; it is first attested here as a noun (E1 III.5)<sup>34</sup>. Its verbal and adjectival forms were long attested before the publication of the Mnesiepes inscription. The verb form is οἴφω / οἴφέω. The adjectives οἰφολής and οἰφολίς describe notoriously lecherous men and women. The substantive is known mainly from inscriptions, mainly from the Cyclades. Only one inscription concerns illicit intercourse. It occurs in the passage from the Gortyn Law Code providing fines for rape, where the adverb κάρπει is required to mark the action involved as criminal. The Cycladic inscriptions are all cut into the living rock and grossly insulting. On Thera we find “Poseidippidas fucks”, and “Enpylos prostitutes himself”; on Naxos “Karian is a fucker”<sup>35</sup>. A recently published inscription

<sup>30</sup> As M. Vetta suggests, *L'allegoria della vite in Alceo e un'immagine di Demostene*, “QUCC” 22, 1986, 41-42.

<sup>31</sup> Dionysos’ deceptive speech to Beroe in Nonnos, *Dionysiaca* 42.303-312 is filled with sexual double-entendre latent in his agricultural vocabulary.

<sup>32</sup> Both cults are mentioned by Athenaeus in his discourse on figs, 3.76B; cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (note 17 above) 5.119-120. Here he gives the name for Naxian figs as μείλιχα μέλιτχα this might be the supplement to the text of Archilochos. Peek suggested μέλιτχρα. Athenaeus also cites Archilochos for the figs the Parians called “blood figs” (αἰμώνια), 3.76B (= fr. 116 West).

<sup>33</sup> Compare ἴσχας (dried fig) in Hipponax, fr. 124 West and Henderson, *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy* (New Haven and London 1975) 117, 120-122. Vincenz Buchheit explores the erotic associations of the fig in the epigram, *Feigensymbolik im antiken Epigram*, “RhMus” 103, 1960, 200-229. In his revision of Sir Arthur Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy, and Comedy* (Oxford 1962), T.B.L. Webster notes the “transferred sexual meaning” of unripe grapes and honey-sweet figs” (10), as does West, *Studies* (note 12 above) 24-25.

<sup>34</sup> In the recent supplement to *LSJ* (Oxford 1996) it is described, following West, as “prob. a title of Dionysos in Archil. 251.5 W”.

<sup>35</sup> The verb occurs in the Gortyn law code, *The Law of Gortyn* (Berlin–New York 1967) II 2-4 and 16-20 Willetts; the noun in *IG* XII.3, 536-538 (Thera VII-VI century). On the rock on which 536 was cut, the author of this insult etched the outline of a plow. Comparable is *IG* XII.5, 97 (Naxos).

from Naxos was carved in the same spirit; it reads κροῦε νιφον με: “Screw me, if you can beat me”<sup>36</sup>. In an archaic inscription from Tenos (possibly the earliest inscription from the island), Pyrrhies is insulted as a fucker (οἰφόλιος), while Akestoros is called a bugger<sup>37</sup>.

Literary sources are no more elegant than graffiti. A proverb with the verb is attributed (wrongly) to Mimnermos: “Cripples are the best fuckers” (Mimnermos, fr. 15 Diehl). Also connected with the verb is the adjective φίλοιφος, φιλοίφας. In Theokritos, *Idyll* 4 (*The Shepherds*) the rustic father of Corydon is said to be “hard at it” (in Gow’s translation) at the sheepfold and is admiringly called φιλοῖφα (60-64). On a red-figured neck amphora now in Warsaw there is a satyr identified as Oiphon (just as there is a satyr with the name Dithyrambos on the red-figure krater in Copenhagen)<sup>38</sup>. Krithon is also a comic name, and it makes οὐλαί seem less innocent<sup>39</sup>. Οἰφόλιος alone could justify the Parian’s reaction to Archilochos’ new style of poetry, especially if this Dionysiac poetry intruded on the cult of Artemis. But this gross word invites us to look back on three seemingly innocent words: Dionysos, barley groats (οὐλαί), unripe grapes (ὄμφακες), and figs (σῦκα).

##### 5. Abuse and the dithyramb.

When the Mnesiepes inscription came to light, some of the language that might have caused this scandal was already familiar from fragments of Archilochos’ poetry. But this language had no context. Archilochos speaks of the penis in a line that could well describe the impotence visited on the Parians who were scandalized by his poetry: ἀλλ’ ἀπερρώγασι μύκew τένοντες (“but the nerves of the penis were broken”, fr. 252 West). The word σάθη occurs in another poem, where Archilochos compares someone’s penis to that of an ass of Priene (fr. 43 West)<sup>40</sup>. The word for unripe grapes

<sup>36</sup> *SEG* 35 (1985) no. 915.

<sup>37</sup> The inscription is published by Kontoleon, *Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν Τήνω*, “Praktika” 1949, 133-134; as a parallel, he cites a graffito on an Ionic vessel from Berezan (ca. 550-525), *SEG* 32 (1982) no. 724.

<sup>38</sup> See Eustathius, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes* I 319.14 Van der Valk and Hesychius, s.v. φίλοιφος. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris 1984) 2.788, connects the word with the personal name Koroibos. Oiphon (also called Brikon) is illustrated in J.D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland* (Oxford 1928) 13 (Plates 4-6); *ARV*<sup>2</sup> 2.8 (Euthymides); noted by Webster (note 33 above) 10 n. 7. The satyr Dithyrambos is illustrated in the drawing Pickard-Cambridge, *Dithyramb*<sup>2</sup> (Figure 1, p. 5).

<sup>39</sup> As Henderson notes (n. 33 above, 120, commenting on κριθή), Krithon is a comic name (found in Hesychios). Hesychios explains the name as “the nickname of a lecher”.

<sup>40</sup> If Ralph Rosen is right about the meaning of the proper name, Boupalos, the butt of the ribald invectives of Hipponax would come to resemble the anonymous butt of the abuse

does not occur in what survives of Archilochos' poetry, but in the Cologne epode the poet (or narrator) speaks of gently caressing the breasts of the young girl he has taken into the Parian countryside (fr. 196a.47 West). In another poem Archilochos – or more likely an imitator – speaks of a woman he calls Pasiphile (the woman who takes all comers) as a fig tree whose fruit crows peck at (fr. 331 West)<sup>41</sup>.

Lines that reflect Archilochos' relation to the cult of Dionysos are known from Athenaeus (fr. 120 West):

ὡς Διονύσου ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος  
οἶδα διθύραμβον οἴνω συγκεραυνωθείς φρένας.  
“I know how to begin the dithyramb of Lord Dionysos,  
that fine lyric, when my wits have been struck  
by the lightning bolt of wine.”

These lines of catalectic trochaic tetrameter are, as is well known, the first reference to dithyramb in Greek literature<sup>42</sup>. They are cited by Athenaeus in his discussion of the associations of wine with Dionysos and Dionysiac poetry (14.628A) and recalled by Kallimachos (fr. 544 Pfeiffer). There is no better illustration of the scene Archilochos had in mind than the vase of Brygos showing Dionysos with a lyre, surrounded with Maenads, and his head thrown back in musical extacy<sup>43</sup>. Kallimachos, a contemporary of Mnesiepes, knew this poem and spoke of the lyric proem “of Archilochos struck by wine” (fr. 544 Pfeiffer). Mnesiepes or a representative of the tradition he is recording might well have concluded from this opening that Archilochos initiated the dithyramb in Paros. The word that would have caught his eye is ἐξάρξαι – literally, “to lead the chorus”, but open to another interpretation, to “introduce the dithyramb of Lord Dionysos”<sup>44</sup>.

of Archilochos. For the case for Boupalos as Bou-phallos (Bull Dick), see R.M. Rosen, *Hipponax, Boupalos, and the Conventions of the Psogos*, “TAPA” 118, 1988, 29-41.

<sup>41</sup> West doubts Athenaeus' attribution of this poem (from Athenaeus 13.594C-D) to Archilochos (*IEG*<sup>2</sup> 2 p. 108 and “CR” n.s. 20, 1970, 148); Buchheit (note 33 above, 204-210) explicates its obscenity. H.D. Rankin surveys the poetry of Archilochos for such “obscenities”, but sees none in the five line poem we interpret here, *Archilochos of Paros* (Park Ridge, New Jersey 1977) 61-66; also, *ΜΟΙΧΟΣ, ΛΑΓΝΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΥΒΡΙΣΤΗΣ: Critias and his Criticism of Archilochos*, “Grazer Beiträge” 3, 1975, 323-324.

<sup>42</sup> They figure in all modern discussions of the dithyramb, as in Sir Arthur Pichard-Cambridge's study (note 33 above) 9-10; and recently, Bernhard Zimmermann, *Dithyrambos: Geschichte einer Gattung* (Hypomnemata 98, Göttingen 1992) 19-23. Traditionally, Arion was said to have introduced the dithyramb to Greece: Herodotus 1.23 διθύραμβον πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν ποιήσαντα τε καὶ ὀνομάσαντα καὶ διδάξαντα ἐν Κορίνθῳ. Herodotus' διδάξαντα has its apparent parallel in E1 III.22.

<sup>43</sup> ARV<sup>2</sup> 26.14.

<sup>44</sup> For the clear meaning of ἐξάρξαι, see Aristotle on the origins of comedy in im-

There is still another connection between this fragmentary narrative and a fragment from Archilochos poetry. It might allow a tentative supplement to the language of this column and a better appreciation of the sequence of events in Mnesiepes' narrative. On some occasion, Archilochos addressed his fellow Parians in a phrase that was so impressive that three Athenian comic poets imitated it (fr. 109 West):

<ὦ> λιπερνῆτες πολῖται, τὰμὰ δὴ συνίετε  
ρήματα.

We have no context for this address to the impoverished citizens of Paros asking them to “understand my words”. But the imitations of Aristophanes and Eupolis are revealing. We find the phrase in Aristophanes' *Peace* as Hermes addresses the chorus of farmers who had just sung of grapes and figs and the other benefits of Peace (Eirene):

ὦ σοφώτατοι γεωργοί, τὰμὰ δὴ ξυνίετε  
ρήματ'... (*Peace* 603-604)

Hermes is intent on explaining to the philosophical farmers how Athens had lost Peace and her benefits. The scholia to *Peace* 603 identify Archilochos' phrase as the model for Hermes' address<sup>45</sup>. But the imitation of Eupolis is more revealing, for in it we catch the poet addressing his audience and making his defense against those Athenians in his audience who are resentful of the young enjoying Athenian music and poetry. The eight lines come from Stobaeus and so without context, but they deserve quotation for the light they might reflect back on Archilochos<sup>46</sup>:

ἀλλ' ἀκούετ', ὦ θεαταί, τὰμὰ καὶ ξυνίετε  
ρήματ', εὐθὺ γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἀπολογίασομαι  
\* \* \*

ὄ τι μαθόντες τοὺς μὲν λέγετε ποιητὰς σοφούς·  
ἦν δέ τις τῶν ἐνθάδ' αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ ἐν χεῖρον φρονῶν,  
5 ἐπιτιθῆται τῇ ποιήσει, πάνυ δοκεῖ κακῶς φρονεῖν,  
μαίνεται τε καὶ παραρρεῖ τῶν φρενῶν τῷ σῶ λόγῳ.  
ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πείθεσθε, πάντως μεταβαλόντες τοὺς τρόπους,  
μὴ φθονεῖθ' ὅταν τις ἡμῶν μουσικῆ χαίρη νέων.

What is clear is that the poet of this play is defending himself against a

provisation and “those who led the dithyramb”, *Poetics* 4.1449<sup>a</sup>10-11. Improvisation (αὐτο-σχεδιαστική, *Poetics* 4.149<sup>a</sup>9-14) figures in Mnesiepes' narrative as well, E1 III. 19-20. For ἔξαρχος as the leader of choral song, see *Iliad* 24.720-724, Euripides *Bacchai* 141, and Demosthenes *De Corona* 260.

<sup>45</sup> The language of the scholia is given in Cratinus fr. 211 *PCG*: the play these words come from is the *Pytine* (*The Flask*).

<sup>46</sup> Eupolis, fr. 392 *PCG* (from Stobaeus 3.4.32).

conservative preference for foreign poetry and that he feels that some Athenians, in their resentment at the pleasure his local poetry gives the young, have stupidly assaulted Poetry herself. He seems to have a single rival in mind (5). So much Archilochos' might have said in his own defense and it is possible that Mnesiepes knew what he actually did say in his own defense.

It seems, then, that in Mnesiepes' narrative of the legend of the scandal of Dionysos on Paros, some conservative Parians did not understand Archilochos' words or appreciate the new genre of poetry Archilochos improvised on his newly gained lyre and taught to companions, who must have been young, like the poet himself. But the offended Parians were mistaken. It is just possible that a perfect of the verb διαρματάνω is present in διημα[ (54). The supplements "failing to understand [that his language applied to fruits]" (οὐ κατανοήσ[αντες ὅτι περὶ τῶν] καρπῶν ἦν τὰ [ρήματα αὐτοῦ... E1 III.39-40) and "then, recalling the poet's words" (μιμνησκό[μενοι... τῶν ἐ]κείνου ῥημάτων..., E1 III.52-53) might not represent Mnesiepes' exact words, but they describe the failure to understand Archilochos' language on the part of some of his audience.

Archilochos had spoken of Dionysos, barley groats, unripe grapes, figs, and – shockingly – the Fucker. Some members of his audience did not understand that these words were not directed towards them or against their city and they took offense at the new Dionysian poetry Archilochos introduced to Paros. But, once they had received the oracle of Apollo that directed them to honor Archilochos if they wanted a cure to the "disease" from which they were suffering, they reconsidered and thought better of what the poet had said. And perhaps, once again, they were mistaken.

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