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Recommended Citation

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Reprinted from *American Journal of Philology*, Volume 108, Issue 3, 1987, pages 416-426.
Publisher URL: <http://www.jstor.org/journals/00029475.html>

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Abstract

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Comments

Reprinted from *American Journal of Philology*, Volume 108, Issue 3, 1987, pages 416-426.

Publisher URL:<http://www.jstor.org/journals/00029475.html>

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The American Journal of Philology, Vol. 108, No. 3. (Autumn, 1987), pp. 416-426.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0002-9475%28198723%29108%3A3%3C416%3AHF4DAT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-3>

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HIPPONAX FR. 48 DG. AND THE ELEUSINIAN *KYKEON**

κακοῖσι δώσω τὴν πολύστονον ψυχὴν,
 ἦν μὴ ἀποπέμψης ὥς τάχιστα μοι κρίθεων
 μέδιμνον, ὥς ἂν ἄλφιτον ποιήσωμαι
 κυκεῶνα πίνειν, φάρμακον πονηρίας.

4 πίνων MSS πίνειν Ahrens

Hipponax fr. 48 Dg. has been understood in the past as a statement of the poet's poverty and hunger.¹ More recently, however, scholars have pointed out the humor and ambiguity of the fragment, noting in particular the mock-heroic diction of the first two lines and the bathos that results when this sort of diction is applied to such an apparently trivial subject as one's own hunger.² Most commentators now also agree that the exact meaning of the expression φάρμακον πονηρίας in the last line is elusive, and that the poet intentionally plays on the various associations and nuances inherent in each word of the phrase.³ The subtlety of this small fragment, however, has still not been exhausted, and a close examination of several points will show that it also operates in several other poetic dimensions.

Our investigation must begin with the phrase φάρμακον πονηρίας, since the whole point of the fragment depends on it. In what way, we may ask, will the barley drink (κυκεῶν)⁴ be a φάρμακον? Is it supposed to act as an actual "drug," or, metaphorically, as a "remedy" or "prophylactic"? What, in fact, does the poet mean by πονηρία? The

*The following works will be referred to in abbreviated form: Degani *Hipp.* = E. Degani, *Hipponactis Testimonia et Fragmenta* (Leipzig 1983); Degani *LG* = E. Degani and G. Burzacchini, *Lirici Greci* (Florence 1977); Delatte = A. Delatte, *Le Cycéon, breuvage rituel des Mystères d'Eleusis* (Paris 1955); Richardson = N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974).

¹See, e.g., D. Gerber, *Euterpe* (Amsterdam 1970) 298; Delatte, 27.

²For the diction of the fragment see n. 36 below.

³See especially Degani *LG* 61-63. φάρμακον πονηρίας "e ambiguo nella sua polisemia ed il poeta gioca appunto su tale ambiguità." (p. 63); cf. also Richardson, 344.

⁴On the composition and various uses of the *kykeon* see Delatte, 23-40; Richardson's Appendix IV, 344-48, and our discussion below *passim*. The *kykeon* consisted fundamentally of barley-meal mixed with a liquid. The liquid (usually either water, honey, oil or wine) varied the consistency of the drink and distinguished its uses. Herbs were often added, sometimes as a garnish, sometimes for medicinal purposes; but perhaps originally as an intoxicant (see p. 423 and n. 29 below).

usual interpretation is that the speaker demands a *kykeon* as a remedy against the hunger arising from his poverty (= πονηρία).⁵ If the addressee⁶ does not furnish him with the barley required for this drink, the speaker threatens suicide (line 1). Since there are several other fragments in Hipponax relating to a speaker's alleged poverty (see frs. 42, 43, 44, 47),⁷ critics assume that this fragment too involves a similar topos, and it is therefore usually grouped with these.⁸ This is the most straightforward reading of the fragment; the speaker is poor, hungry and miserable, and the *kykeon* will relieve him of this condition. But the *kykeon* was also known in antiquity for its medicinal qualities, making it all the more appropriate that it be referred to as a φάρμακον, a *drug* in the literal sense.⁹ The "polisemia" of the phrase, to use Degani's term, is thereby enhanced, since πονηρία can now also refer specifically to a physical condition. The phrase can mean, then, "a drug against my illness."

Masson, in his commentary, hints at another possible reading of φάρμακον πονηρίας when he suggests that it can also be translated as a "remède contre la méchanceté."¹⁰ Unfortunately, he does not elaborate upon this, but we must assume that he means here that the *kykeon* will be a φάρμακον against the (moral) πονηρία of *others*, i.e., against "evil/wickedness."¹¹ Here again, the ambiguity of the fragment is heightened, but Masson does not explain the logic of his reading. It is

⁵See W. H. Roscher, "Der *kykeon* des Hipponax," *Jahrb. für Klass. Phil.* 34 (1888) 523. On the etymological connection between πονηρία and πένια, see H. Frisk, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1970) 504–506, s.v. πένομαι.

⁶The addressee is unnamed, and impossible to identify. It has been suggested (e.g., Degani *LG* 61) that the speaker prays to a god, as in Hipponax 47 Dg.

⁷Note that fr. 43 Dg. uses the expression φάρμακον ῥίγρος, which assures us of at least one possible reading of φάρμακον πονηρίας. The topos of the "impoverished poet" seems to have been current in antiquity, as it is today; cf. e.g., Aristophanes, *Av.* 931–48.

⁸As Roscher (n. 5 above) 523.

⁹The *kykeon* as a specifically therapeutic drink occurs 22 times in the Hippocratic corpus, its composition varying according to the affliction for which it is intended. See Delatte, 28–29 and Richardson, 344–45. Note that in Aristophanes, *Pax* 712 Hermes recommends that Trygaeus drink a *kykeon* (flavored with pennyroyal, γληχών, on which see n. 29 below) to cure indigestion.

¹⁰O. Masson, *Les fragments du poète Hipponax* (Paris 1962) 128.

¹¹The moral sense of πονηρία and its adjective πονηρός appears as early as Hesiod frs. 302.20, 248, and 249 M-W. Cf. also Aeschylus fr. 316 Mette. Plato uses forms of πονηρ- predominantly with a moral purport. Cf. e.g., *Apol.* 26c6; *Euthyd.* 12c1; and *Soph.* 228b8; Aristophanes uses πονηρός / πονηρία almost exclusively of negative character traits. Cf. e.g., *Ach.* 698, 850, 853; *Equ.* 337, 1283; *Nub.* 1066. The only other occurrence of πονηρός in Hipponax, 67 Dg., is too uncertain to tell us anything.

easy enough to see how a *kykeon* in its nutritive-medicinal sense could relieve 'subjective' πονηρία (one's "wretchedness"), but how would it ward off the wickedness of others? The answer to this question, becomes clear when we consider the other prominent function of the *kykeon* in antiquity, namely as a ritual drink in the Eleusinian mysteries of Demeter. Commentators in the past, of course, have dutifully acknowledged this aspect of the *kykeon*, but only as one example of other archaic occurrences of the word that have no immediate relevance to the fragment. No one, to my knowledge, has suggested that the *kykeon* as a ritual drink may also help us to understand the various ways in which the *kykeon* is a φάρμακον πονηρίας.¹²

The earliest and most complete aetiological account of the role of the *kykeon* in Eleusinian ritual occurs in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter (= *Dem.*). When Demeter, grieving for her abducted daughter, arrives at the home of Celeus, the king of Eleusis, the servant Iambe tries in vain to console her. The following scene occurs:

δὴρὸν δ' ἄφθογγος τετιμμένη ἦστ' ἐπὶ δῖφρου,
οὐδὲ τιν' οὐτ' ἔπει προσπύσσετο οὔτε τι ἔργω,
ἀλλ' ἀγέλαστος ἀπαστος ἐδητύος ἡδὲ ποτήτος
ἦστο πόθω μινύθουσα βαθυζώνιοι θυγατρός,
πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ χλεύης μιν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα
πολλὰ παρὰ σκώπτουσι ἑτρέψατο πότνια ἀνγὴν
μειδῆσαι γελάσαι τε καὶ ἴλαον σχεῖν θυμόν.
ἦ δὴ οἱ καὶ ἔπειτα μεθύστερον εὖαδεν ὀργαῖς.
τῇ δὲ δέπας Μετάνειρα δίδου μελιηδέος οἴνου
πλήσας, ἡ δ' ἀνένευς· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν οἱ ἔφασκε
πίνειν οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, ἄνωγε δ' ἄρ' ἄλφι καὶ ὕδωρ
δοῦναι μίξασαν πιέμεν γληχῶνι τερείνῃ.
ἦ δὲ κυκεῶ τεύξασα θεᾷ πόρεν ὥς ἐκέλευε·
δεξαμένη δ' ὅσῃς ἔνεκεν πολυπότνια Διῶ . . .

(198–211)

¹²Recently A. P. Burnett (*Three Archaic Poets* [Cambridge, MA 1983] 99, n. 5.) has remarked *en passant* that Hipponax mocks the Eleusinian mysteries in this fragment, and she paraphrases: "I'll hand myself over to the damned if you don't send me some barley for a *kykeon*." Presumably, she takes the word κακοῖσι as a technical term, as a contrast to the notion of initiates as ἐσθλοὶ or ὀλβιοί, as in Pindar *O.* 2.62–63 and fr. 131a (on which cf. p. 421 below). Although this is intriguing, taking κακοῖσι as masculine seems less natural than taking it as neuter, especially in view of such similar expressions as Alcaeus fr. 335 LP (οὐ χρὴ κάκοισι θῦμον ἐπιτρέπην . . .). (For others see Degani, *Hipp.* ad loc. 69.) Still, a double-entendre may not be impossible here.

This scene contains the *aition* for three central features of the preliminary rites prescribed for Eleusinian initiates: fasting, *aischrologia*, and the drinking of the *kykeon*.¹³ Richardson has shown that the hymn itself emphasizes by verbal parallelism and repetition the fact that these three elements reflect actual cultic practices.¹⁴ The appearance of these elements in Eleusinian ritual is well documented in his commentary, although it remains uncertain precisely when in the ritual the initiate engaged in each one. Richardson suggests that the initiate drank the *kykeon* in order to break the ritual fast and thus to reenact how Demeter broke her fast in *Dem.* 47ff. At some point in the proceedings, the initiates engaged in ritual *aischrologia*.¹⁵ Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.21.2) mentions a mystic formula or 'password' (σύνθημα) which confirmed that the initiate had undergone the preliminary purification rites.¹⁶ It begins, he says: ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα . . . , and doubtless reflects an archaic stage of the ritual in which the *kykeon* was imbibed sometime after a period of fasting. In *Dem.* the drinking of the *kykeon* follows Iambe's *aischrologia* (208–11), so perhaps this was the order originally represented in actual ritual: fasting, *aischrologia*, *kykeon*.¹⁷

¹³Cf. Richardson, 22–23; also L. Deubner, *Attische Feste* (Berlin 1932) 79–82.

¹⁴Richardson, 211; note also lines 205, 211 of the hymn, which refer explicitly to the institutionalization of the various incidents of the story.

¹⁵See Richardson, 211–17 (*ad* lines 192–211). It is unclear exactly when *aischrologia* occurred, although it is well documented as an important part of the preliminary rites (Richardson, 213ff [*s.v.* Iambe]). The procession to Eleusis evidently included ritual abuse at some point. Strabo 9.1.24 describes the *gephyrismos* where masked men (or women) standing on the bridge over the river Cephisos would ridicule the initiates as they passed (cf. Hesychius, *s.v.* γεφυρίς). At Aristophanes *Ra.* 372–439 (the end of the *parodos*) the chorus may be reenacting the ritual *aischrologia* of the *gephyrismos* (τῆς σῆς ἐορτῆς ἀξίως παῖσαντα καὶ σκώψαντα, 393), on which see Richardson, 214 and F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin/New York 1974) 40–50. The nighttime dancing upon arrival at Eleusis—the παννυχίς—may also have included *aischrologia* (cf. Richardson, 215), and was followed by the breaking of the fast. Note Aristophanes *Vesp.* 1362, which refers, it seems, to *aischrologia* before the mysteries; (see J. S. Rusten, “*Wasps* 1360–69: Philocleon's ΤΩΘΑΣΜΟΣ” *HSCP* 81 [1977] 157–61).

¹⁶See Delatte, 12–23; G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961) 294–305, and W. Burkert, *Homo Necans* (Berkeley 1983) 269–70.

¹⁷Cf. Callimachus fr. 21.8–10 Pf., which, in spite of an uncertain text, seems quite securely to connect *aischrologia* with fasting at Demeter's festival. Note the χλεῦσαι of Iambe at *Dem.* 202, and on Demeter's fasting cf. *Dem.* 49–50, 200.

Richardson assembles the other versions of the Demeter-Iambe story, which establish an intimate connection between the drinking of the *kykeon* and *aischrologia*.¹⁸ Ritual *aischrologia* was originally associated with the iambic meter, and it is clear that Iambe's mockery of Demeter in *Dem.* provides the *aition* for this connection.¹⁹ This episode, in turn, became an *aition* for the poetic *iambos*—Hipponax' chosen genre—which, of course, was known for its predilection for *aischrologia*.²⁰ The fact that it is a figure named *Iambe* who engages in *aischrologia* towards the goddess clearly implies that the poetic *iambos* is seen in the hymn as taking its name from her, and that she validates, by a kind of religious sanction, all iambographic *aischrologia*.²¹

In view of these associations, it does seem likely that the *kykeon* of Hipponax fr. 48 Dg. is intended to suggest the Eleusinian ritual drink. The predicament of the speaker of the fragment is suggestive in itself. To begin with, he is without food, just as Demeter is described at *Dem.* 200. Second, he demands the material to fix himself a *kykeon*; Demeter too orders such a drink (208, 210). The speaker will, that is, break his "fast" with the same nourishment as Demeter.²² If, then, he is actually reenacting on one level the Demeter-Iambe scene of *Dem.*, he is saying essentially: "like Demeter, I am wretched through grief/fasting (= πονηρίη); the *kykeon* which she drank is symbolic of a release from this condition; my own πονηρίη will be relieved by participation in this sym-

¹⁸Richardson, 215f. For a full presentation of the testimonia concerning ritual *aischrologia* and the festivals of Demeter, see H. Fluck, *Skurrile Riten in griechischen Kulte* (Endingen 1931) 11–33.

¹⁹Aristotle says that the forerunners of comedy πρώτων ψόγους ποιοῦντες (*Poet.* 1448b27), then uses the verb ἰαμβίζω to describe their activity. ἰαμβίζειν, in other words, by Aristotle's time, meant to engage in a ψόγος. Cf. J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven 1975) 18 (with n. 18).

²⁰See Henderson (n. 19 above) 17–23, and M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin/New York 1974) 22–25. While not all *iamboi* were invective, there is little doubt that *iambos* was applied to the genre because of a relationship to cultic invective. It is probably not mere coincidence that the word *iambos* first occurs in Archilochus (215W) and that his grandfather (along with the priestess Cleoboea) was said to have brought the rites of Demeter to Thasos from Paros (Pausanias 10.28.3). Paros is named at *Dem.* 491 after Eleusis as a cult site of the goddess (cf. F. Bilabel, *Ionische Kolonisation, Philologus Suppl.* 14, vol. 1 [1920] 186–87). On Archilochus' connection with the Demeter cult, see West, 24, and Burnett (n. 12 above) 24–25.

²¹For the ancient testimonia linking the *iambos* with the Iambe-Demeter story, see Fluck (n. 18 above) 24–25.

²²Although Demeter's drink included fresh pennyroyal (γληχών), Hipponax's term φάρμακον may allude to this; see p. 423 below.

bolic act.” But if, on this reading, the *kykeon* is a ritual drink rather than a strictly nutritive one, what will it “relieve” for the speaker? In other words, what exactly does his *πονηρία* consist of? If it is *only* hunger, why would a *ritual* drink be necessary to relieve it?

One simple answer, of course, can be found in Eleusinian dogma: initiation into the rites will lead to a blessed after-life, free from *πόννοι*. Pindar *O.* 2.62–63 says that the *ἑσλοί* will have an *ἄπον ἑστέρον . . . βιοτόν*, while at fr. 131a he speaks of *λυσιπόνων τελετῶν*.²³ It is likely, therefore, that Hipponax’ desire for a “drug against” *πονηρία* refers to this promised release from *πόννοι*. But several considerations make it likely that *πονηρία* here has, in addition, a more particular significance.

In *Dem.*, the *kykeon* follows directly after the *χλεῦσαι* of Iambe, and these two elements, as we noted above, became closely connected in their ritual reenactment. I suggest that in Hipponax fr. 48 Dg. the mention of the *kykeon* would automatically evoke the *aischrologia* of Iambe that immediately precedes Demeter’s drinking of the *kykeon*. Demeter suffered from *πονηρία* in two senses, which we might call subjective and objective: the extreme grief she felt over the loss of her daughter, and the momentary abuse she received from Iambe. This abuse, however, has the effect of cheering her (203–204), and the act which confirms this is her drinking of the *kykeon*. In view of the connection between the *kykeon* and ritual abuse in actual Eleusinian practice, it is easy to see how the *πονηρία* of Hipponax’ speaker can refer to abuse from his enemies, akin to the abuse originally suffered (albeit in jest) by Demeter, and by initiates every year in her rites at Eleusis. Hipponax’ *kykeon*, according to this interpretation, inspires the speaker with iambographic *aischrologia*, allowing him to attack his *ἔχθροί* with invective sanctioned by the myth of Iambe and Demeter. It is true, of course, that the situations of Demeter in the hymn and Hipponax’ speaker are not perfectly parallel. The *kykeon* effects Demeter’s recovery from grief and from Iambe’s abuse, but does not inspire her with the spirit of invective. Hipponax’ speaker, on the other hand, on this reading, plays the role both of Demeter (as drinker of the *kykeon*) and of Iambe (as “*aischrologist*”). But he is able to play this latter role precisely because of the significance the *kykeon* acquired in the Eleusinian ritual. Ultimately it is the iambos itself, as evoked by the mention of the ritual *kykeon*, that

²³On these passages cf. Graf (n. 15 above) 83–87.

becomes the φάρμακον against, as Masson puts it, “la méchanceté,” i.e., objective, moral πονηρία.²⁴

The references to the *kykeon* in the Homeric epics also suggest that Hipponax' *kykeon* has ritual overtones. The noun κυκεών occurs in three places in Homer: *Il.* 11.624; *Od.* 10.290, 316. At *Od.* 10.234, the process of making the *kykeon* is implied by both the verb κυκάω and the contents of the mixture: ἐν δέ σφιν τυρόν τε καὶ ἄλφιτα καὶ μέλι χλωρόν / οἴνῳ Πραμνεῖω ἐκύκα (234–35). This passage, where Circe first encounters Odysseus and his men, is most striking for our purposes, because the *kykeon* she prepares for them contains magical φάρμακα: ἀνέμισγε δὲ σίτῳ φάρμακα λύγρ, ἵνα πάγχυ λαθοῖατο πατρίδος αἰῆς (235–36). The drink here will intoxicate Odysseus' men, making them forgetful of their fatherland, so that Circe will be able to transform them, at 238, into pigs. At 290, Hermes relates to Odysseus that Circe will also try to work magic on him, and there describes her potion as a *kykeon* containing φάρμακα: τεύξει τοι κυκεῶ, βαλέει δ' ἐν φάρμακα σίτῳ; (cf. also 316). *Il.* 11.624–41, describes how Hecamede prepares the drink for Nestor and the wounded Machaon (τεύχε κυκειῶ). Richardson echoes the standard view when he concludes from these passages that “in Homer [the *kykeon*] is used as a means of refreshment, and as a simple form of hospitality.”²⁵ While it is true that, at least by classical times, the *kykeon* could be a simple, secular food/drink,²⁶ C. Watkins has shown that the Homeric references to the *kykeon* — even *Il.* 11.624–41, which appears to be secular — reflect an inherited pre-Greek religious ritual.²⁷ He points out the striking formulaic and thematic correspondences between these Homeric passages and the references in the *Rig-Veda* to the ritual drinking of Soma, which also contains barley.²⁸

²⁴For Hipponax' alleged encounter with Iambe, after whom he is said to have named the meter cf. Degani *Hipp.* testimonia 21–21d, 10–11). It is possible that Hipponax composed a poem in which he claimed to have met Iambe, whose behavior, in turn, inspired him to compose iamboi.

²⁵Richardson, 344.

²⁶See Delatte, 27–30. But its religious associations were also valid in the fifth century. Cf. Eupolis *Demoi* fr. 3.80–90 Austin (apparently involving an Epidaurian who has sacrilegiously drunk the Eleusinian *kykeon*).

²⁷C. Watkins, “Let Us Now Praise Famous Grains,” (*PAPS* vol. 122, no. 1 [1978] esp. pp. 14–16. Concerning *Iliad* 11.624–41, note also Plato *Ion* 538b7–d5, where Socrates implies that Hecamede prepares a *kykeon* for Machaon specifically for its medicinal/pharmacological properties.

²⁸“Soma is a ritual potion which is *drunk* . . . it is intoxicant or *hallucinogenic* . . . it is a *mixed potion* . . . combining the pressed juice of a *plant* (soma) . . . the source of the hallucinogenic agent, with *water* . . . milk vessel and its preparation in-

Indeed the central characteristic of both potions, as Watkins demonstrates, is that they were each originally psychotropic. Soma derives its name from the hallucinogenic plant that is mixed in with milk, honey, and barley. In the case of the Homeric *kykeon*, as we have seen, the epic passages speak of mind/mood-altering φάρμακα, while *Dem.* speaks of a *kykeon* containing the known hallucinogen γληχών (pennyroyal), (μίξασαν . . . γληχῶνι τερεῖνῃ, 209).²⁹ The fragment of Hipponax does not, of course, explicitly mention the addition of anything that would render the *kykeon* hallucinogenic. But since, as we have noted above, the diction of the fragment is distinctly Homeric, the Homeric *kykeon*-passages, including Circe's φάρμακα-laced potion, are easily called to mind. While Hipponax' *kykeon* may not, therefore, be literally psychotropic, its originally ritual and psychotropic properties are nevertheless affirmed by its Homeric background. In this light, Hipponax' φάρμακον really is a drug, not just a metaphor of "relief."

If we are right to see *Dem.* as the background for the Hipponax fragment, then his *kykeon*, like Circe's potion, belongs to the world of magic and religion. As Watkins has shown, the *kykeon* of religious ritual invariably intoxicates and alters one's psychological state. It is this aspect of the drink, therefore, to which Hipponax also refers when he calls it a φάρμακον. That is, as in the case of the Homeric *kykeon*, the medicinal and psychotropic properties of the potion here too coalesce. Thus the apparent ambiguity of the πονηρίη as both spiritual and physical discomfort is confirmed.

Spiritual and physical happiness is, as we noted above, the promise of Eleusinian initiation, and the ritual background of Hipponax' *kykeon* clarifies this idea as well. Our sources stress not only that the initi-

volves the use of various *artifacts* and *implements*. . . . We know . . . that the participants were *seated*" (p. 14). Watkins compares the italicized details of this description with the details of Circe's preparation of the *kykeon* in *Od.* 10.233-36 and 316. As Watkins says, "the exact correspondence . . . must be more than accidental."

²⁹As Watkins states (n. 27 above) 15, "the fact that *mentha pulegium* [i.e., the γληχών] is only a quite mild hallucinogen is immaterial; what is significant is that it does belong to that class of plants." Even if the *kykeon* was not a *bona fide drug* in the Eleusinian ritual during Hipponax' time, its original mind-altering properties were not wholly forgotten. The medicinal uses of the *kykeon* must reflect ancient recognition that the drink can affect the human physiology in some way. On the controversy over whether the *kykeon* in historical times was in fact a psychotropic drug, see Richardson, 345 (who is skeptical), and Kerenyi, *Eleusis* (New York 1967) Appendix I, 177-80. There is also Ruck's essay in R. G. Wasson, C.A.P. Ruck, A. Hofmann, *The Road to Eleusis* (New York 1978) 75-123, on which see M. Jameson's review in *CW* (1979) 197-98. See also W. Burkert *Greek Religion* (Cambridge, Ma. 1985) 277 with n. 10, 289.

ate will be eternally happy in the afterworld,³⁰ but that he will also be happy and prosperous in this life. At the climax of the ceremony, the initiates, now assembled at the central altar (the *Anaktoron*) of the *Telesterion*, witnessed what was held to be the vision of Kore, called forth by the hierophant from the underworld.³¹ At this point the hierophant shouted out (as related by the Christian commentator Hippolytus): ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον, βριμῷ βριμόν, ('The Mistress has given birth to a sacred boy, Brimo to Brimos,' i.e., as Hippolytus glosses it, ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν, 'the strong to the strong').³² The identity of this child and his mother was unclear probably even to the initiates themselves,³³ but Hesiod *Theog.* 969–74 and Aristophanes *Thesmo.* 296 suggest that Ploutos, son of Demeter, is meant. Indeed, at the end of *Dem.*, Ploutos is mentioned as a gift of the gods, linking earthly prosperity to the worship of Demeter (*Dem.* 488–89).³⁴ Ploutos is found, moreover, on a number of fourth-century vases, typically holding a cornucopia in the company of the Eleusinian divinities.³⁵ The iconography thus affirms that Eleusinian initiation offered the hope of agricultural fecundity in particular, and material prosperity in general. It is this aspect of the mysteries that Hipponax fr. 48 Dg. must evoke if the *kykeon* is understood as the Eleusinian drink. As we noted earlier, the speaker of the fragment, on one level, is poor and hungry, and asks for a *kykeon* to cure him of this condition. In the past, scholars have assumed that he will use the *kykeon* simply as food. But as a *ritual* drink it becomes, rather, symbolic of the speaker's desire for initiation into the mysteries. This, in turn, will bring him the blessings of Ploutos, a theme which is in fact broached by Hipponax in fr. 44 Dg. With this reading we return to the meaning of πονηρίη = 'poverty' against which the *kykeon* becomes

³⁰Cf. *Dem.* 280–82; Pindar fr. 137a; Sophocles fr. 837; Radt; and Graf (n. 15 above) 94–125.

³¹This stage of the *myesis* is often considered the *epopteia*. The details of this part of the ceremony are extremely uncertain; cf. Deubner (n. 13 above) 83–87, Burkert (n. 16 above) 275, n. 3.

³²Hippolytus *Ref.* 5.8.40; cf. Burkert (n. 16 above) 288–89; Deubner (n. 13 above) 85–86. On the authenticity of Hippolytus' quotation, cf. Richardson 27, who cites Eur. *Suppl.* 54.

³³Richardson, 27; Burkert (n. 16 above) 289.

³⁴Cf. Richardson, 318 and Skolion 885 Page.

³⁵On the iconography of the Eleusinian Ploutos, see H. Metzger, *Recherches sur l'imagerie athenienne* (Paris 1965) 34, 37 and plates 14.2, 16.2; also Burkert (n. 16 above) 289 n. 73; Richardson, 318–19; Graf (n. 15 above) 63–64. For the specific connection between Ploutos and *Hunger* see Richardson, 317. Cf. also Plutarch *Mor.* 693f. which describes a ritual at Chaeronea in which citizens would beat a slave and send him out of the house with the shout ἔσω Βούλιμον, ἔσω δὲ Πλούτον καὶ Ὑγιαν.

α φάρμακον in that it represents an attempt at religious piety which, he hopes, will bring him wealth.

Our study of Hipponax fr. 48 Dg. has covered several interpretations of the last line, which we may now summarize: 1) The *kykeon* is a drug in the medicinal sense, against physical affliction; 2) The *kykeon* is a food to ward off hunger (φάρμακον here used as in fr. 43 Dg., a “remedy/protection against”); 3) The *kykeon* recalls Demeter’s drink in *Dem.*, and evokes the ritual activities associated with her rites, including fasting, imbibing the *kykeon*, and ritual *aischrologia*.³⁶ Clearly con-

³⁶The question of whether fr. 48 Dg. alludes specifically to the Homeric Hymn is more difficult to answer. Several factors, however, suggest that it does. The fragment is certainly mock-heroic, and distinctly parodies Homeric diction, particularly in the first two lines. See Degani *Hipp.* 69, and *LG* 62. The MS reading ἀλφίτων (line 3), moreover, also provides a distinct Homeric coloring. Although this word has been emended to ἀλφίτων by most editors since Bergk, Degani retains the singular and takes it as the first of two accusatives governed by ποιήσωμαι, i.e. “so that I might make barley-meal into a *kykeon*” (citing a similar usage in Eupolis 179K). Degani points out that the singular occurs in Homer (e.g., *Il.* 11.631; *Od.* 2.355, 14.429), while the expression ἀλφίτων κυκεῶνα is dubious. It does seem natural that a Homeric formation (the form ἀλφίτων, for the more “correct” ἄλφι) should occur in a context that elsewhere displays Homeric diction. Finally, the much disputed word πίνων of line 4 is more easily emended to πίνειν (= expressing purpose, as first suggested by Ahrens) by analogy with the similar construction of the same verb in *Dem.* 209 referring to the *kykeon*. If we are right to connect the Hipponactean *kykeon* to the *kykeon* of Eleusinian ritual, the fact that the diction of this fragment, like that of the hymn (cf. Richardson, 5, 30–65) is indisputably Homeric makes it likely that Hipponax alludes specifically to the hymn, and would expect his audience, by virtue of their familiarity with it, to appreciate the subtleties of this allusion. This allusion to the hymn, incidentally, would be the earliest we know of (see Richardson, 68ff).

It should not surprise us, of course, that an Ionian poet would allude to a poem that concerns rites localized in the mainland town of Eleusis. While *Dem.* was probably composed for an Attic audience (cf. Richardson, 5–6, 52–56; R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns* [Cambridge 1982] 181–83), the rites of Eleusinian Demeter were by no means limited to Eleusis itself, and in fact were especially popular in Ionian cities (cf. Herodotus 9.97.3 and Strabo 633, for the tradition that in the Mycenaean period the Ionians took the rites of Eleusinian Demeter to Asia Minor). On the role of religion in Greek colonization, see A. J. Graham, “Religion, Women, and Greek Colonization,” *Atti XI* (N.S. 1) (1980–81) 293–314, esp. 310–13. For other frr. showing Hipponax’ interest in religious ritual cf. frr. 6.2, 27, 28.2, 29, 30.2, 95.4, 107.49 Dg. On the increased interest in Eleusis at Athens under Pisistratus during the period in which we would place the Hipponax fragment (c. 550–40 B.C.), cf. Mylonas (n. 16 above) 77–105; Richardson, 9–10, and J. Boardman, “Herakles, Peisistratos and Eleusis,” *JHS* 95 (1975) 3–5. This period of Athenian control over the Mysteries is usually considered a *terminus ante quem* in dating the hymn, (see Janko, 182; Richardson, 5–11), and whether or not the hymn played any role in the actual ceremonies, its subject matter would certainly have been relevant to, and appreciated by, an Ionian audience.

nected with this, and reinforcing it is 4) the *kykeon* as an ancient, magical potion associated explicitly in Homer with psychotropic φάρμακα. When the *kykeon* is understood in senses 3) and 4), it calls to mind participation in a religious ritual that included invective, and it thus inspires iambic *aischrologia*. The speaker (no doubt the poet's *persona*) will be able to fortify himself for his poetic attacks by reenacting this ritual, and, therefore, at the same time, he will be able to relieve the πονηρίη both of his enemies and of himself, i.e., the malevolence of his enemies and the wretchedness that this malevolence has caused him. Finally, 5) when the *kykeon* is properly understood to be Eleusinian, it anticipates one of the goals of initiation—temporal happiness and wealth—and thus reminds us that the word πονηρίη also means 'poverty'.

I can see no reason why the fragment as it stands now, lamentably bereft of a context, cannot operate simultaneously on all the levels described above. Indeed, the sophistication of these lines, as we have seen, may lie precisely in the manifold associations of the *kykeon* and the cryptic expression φάρμακον πονηρίης. In view of the ambiguities we have isolated in the fragment, and Hipponax' well-known fondness for punning and *double-entendre*,³⁷ it seems unlikely that, even if we had the complete context, we would be forced to adopt a single interpretation.

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³⁷See, e.g., frs. 4a/b; 51.2; 53.2; 69 Dg.