

THE RAPE OF PERSEPHONE IN A BERLIN PAPYRUS *

1. Introduction

For the last century, scholars have discussed the existence of one or more Orphic poems about the rape and rescue of Persephone¹. Today, the Berlin Papyrus *BKT* 5. 1, p. 7-18 n° I 2, dated to the 2nd-1st BCE, is commonly recognized to have traces of an ancient Orphic poem, which we know from various references². The papyrus contains a prose account in which there are some quotations of a poem attributed to Orpheus, but very similar to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (*h. Cer.*)³. For this reason the *h. Cer.* has traditionally served as the main reference for the reconstruction, analysis and study of this poem. Yet, the paraphrase of the poem relates a version of the rape which differs in many aspects from the *h. Cer.*, so many questions have arisen about the relationship between these texts. Two main positions have been taken: either the Berlin Papyrus contains verses of a

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1. Following L. MALTEN (1909b), O. KERN (1922, p. 115-116) distinguishes four poems: (1) a very ancient poem, of which no fragments remain, but that would have been the source for Eur., *Hel.*, 1301-1367; (2) a Sicilian poem preserved in a gold tablet from Thurii (*OF* 492); (3) a review of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (*h. Cer.*) transmitted by the Berlin Papyrus and (4) a later poem, known by Pausanias (I, 14, 3) and Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.*, II, 17, 1 & f.). A good *status quaestionis* on the discussion can be found in A. BERNABÉ (2008, p. 407-409), who argues that O. KERN’s proposal can no longer be applied because Euripides’ chorus does not appear to contain Orphic features (cf. F. GRAF [1974, p. 155 and n. 24], R. KANNICHT [1969, p. 343]), the gold tablet from Thurios is not a poem (cf. A. BERNABÉ, Ana Isabel JIMÉNEZ SAN CRISTÓBAL [2008, p. 137-150]) and the passages of Pausanias and Clement could have the same source than the text of the Berlin Papyrus.

2. See N. J. RICHARDSON (1974, p. 77-86) and A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 310-335 (*OF* 379-402).

3. *H. Cer.*, 8-12 (col. 4, 12-17), 17-18 (col. 5, 1-3), 33-36 (col. 5, 3-7), 54-56 (col. 7, 2-5), 248-249 (col. 6, 12), 256-262 (col. 6, 15), 268 (col. 7, 2) 418 (col. 2, 7-8), 420-423 (col. 2, 8-13), cf. F. BUECHLER (1907), p. 16-17; T. W. ALLEN (1907), p. 99-100; O. KERN (1922), p. 124-125; B. CURRIE (2012), p. 186.

poem attributed to Orpheus and distinct from the *h. Cer.*⁴, or the author of the papyrus quotes verses from the *h. Cer.* in a poem under Orpheus' name⁵. B. Currie has convincingly argued that the verses cited in the papyrus derive from a poem distinct from the *h. Cer.* He rejects the idea that the author of the papyrus is directly and exclusively drawing on the *h. Cer.*, although he admits that he might have adapted some of its verses⁶. My aim is to examine other traditions about the rape of Persephone that might be directly or indirectly reflected in the Berlin Papyrus. For this purpose, I will compare the episode of the rape with other similar accounts within and outside the Orphic tradition. But before this comparison, I would like to recall some data about the papyrus and the text contained therein.

2. The Berlin Papyrus: data and editions

The Berlin Papyrus was part of a roll of papyrus coming from a mummy cartonnage found in an excavation at Abusir el-Melek, near Heracleopolis, but it might have been originated in Alexandria⁷. The papyrus is currently preserved in the Egyptian papyri collection of the Berlin Museum, and included with photographs in its database as *Papyrus Berolinensis* 13044⁸.

The papyrus is opistograph. The *rectus* (P. Berol. inv. 13044 R) includes fragments of an Alexandrian novel, *Alexander and the Gymnosophists*, and extracts of the so-called *Laterculi Alexandrini* (lists of legislators, painters, sculptors, engineers, etc.). The writing corresponds to the 2nd-1st centuries BCE. The *versus* (P. Berol. inv. 13044 V) contains the fragmentary text about the rape of Persephone. Its handwriting points to the 1st century BCE. Unfortunately, the papyrus is badly damaged. The *versus* has traces of seven columns; each of them might have originally consisted of about 20 lines. The top is well preserved, although part of columns 3 and 5 is missing. On the contrary, the bottom is very damaged, and only the end of columns 6 and 7 is relatively well kept. The photographs of the Berlin Museum display a clear handwriting in the extant parts.

4. F. BUECHELER (1907), p. 16-17; O. KERN (1922), p. 124-125; G. COLLI (1995), p. 419-420; A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 311.

5. A. KRÜGER (1938), p. 352; M. L. WEST (1983), p. 24 and n. 63.

6. B. CURRIE (2012), p. 186-189. Later (p. 190-209), he applies methods of neoanalysis, trying to demonstrate that *h. Cer.* presupposes and alludes to earlier Attic hexametric poetry about the rape of Persephone to which the Berlin Papyrus gives direct or indirect access.

7. U. WILCKEN (1923), p. 160; Erja SALMENKIVI (2002), p. 42-44.

8. <http://ww2.smb.museum/berlpap/index.php/00469/>

The *versus* of the papyrus was first edited by F. Buecheler in 1907, in the collection *Berliner Klassikertexte*⁹. Some of the proposed readings are now illegible. In the same year, H. Diels published parts of this text in an enlarged edition of the Presocratic fragments¹⁰. In 1919, A. Ludwich published his remarkable edition, including multiple reviews and suggestions for the parts that were damaged or lost¹¹. The text figures also in the editions of Orphic fragments by O. Kern, G. Colli and A. Bernabé¹². F. Buecheler, O. Kern and G. Colli edit the text column by column. A. Bernabé, on the contrary, tries to reconstruct the ancient Orphic poem, so he places each of the fragments of the papyrus according to the position they might have within the poem and he combines them with other testimonies¹³.

3. The Berlin Papyrus: text and *loci similes*

The *versus* of the papyrus recounts that Orpheus, inspired by Apollo, composed some poems about rituals and mysteries that were then written by Musaeus. Demeter is the leading role in one of the poems. Her daughter Persephone is raped by Hades while she is picking flowers in the company of the Oceanid Nymphs, Artemis and Athena. These two try to avoid the rape. When Demeter finds out what happened, she wanders around the earth, lamenting the loss of her daughter. Then, the goddess is taken to Baubo's house, in which she takes care of her child but, when she tries to make the child immortal, Baubo discovers her. Irritated by the folly of men, Demeter leaves the child to die and reveals her identity.

The myth of Persephone was very popular in Antiquity. Among the different sources¹⁴, we can foreground Euripides' *Helen*, Apollodorus' account¹⁵, the versions of Pausanias and Clement of Alexandria, both attrib-

9. F. BUECHELER (1907), p. 7-18, n° I 2. Edition available online: <http://cpp.arts.kuleuven.be/index.php?page=closeup&id=0106>.

10. H. DIELS (1907), Orpheus Fragment 15a, p. 478-479.

11. A. LUDWICH (1919), p. 1000-1008.

12. O. KERN (1922), p. 119-125; G. COLLI (1995), p. 224-229, 419-420 (*fr.* 4 [B 21]); A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 313-330 (*OF* 383, 387-389 I-II, 392 I-II, 393, 396-397 II).

13. The correspondence between the columns and the fragments in A. Bernabé's edition is as follows: col. I: *OF* 383; col. II: *OF* 387; col. III 1-2: *OF* 388 II; col. III 2-13: *OF* 389 I; col. III 14-18: *OF* 392 I; col. IV 1-9: *OF* 393; col. IV 9-17: *OF* 388 I; col. V 1-7: *OF* 389 II; col. V 7-12: *OF* 392 II; col. VI: *OF* 396; col. VII 1-18: *OF* 396; col. VII 18-20: *OF* 397 II.

14. See N. J. RICHARDSON (1974, p. 74-86) for the list of sources and references. For the Orphic sources, see A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 310-335 (*OF* 379-402).

15. Eur., *Hel.*, 1301-1367; Apoll., I, 5.

uted to Orpheus¹⁶, and the so-called Sicilian versions, traces of which can be found in the tragic Carcinus, in Diodorus Siculus – whose source is probably the Sicilian historian Timaeus of Tauromenium (4th-3rd centuries BCE) –, as well as in Cicero, Ovid and Claudian¹⁷. Pindar might already have known a Sicilian version of the rape because in *N.*, 1, 13 and schol. *ad loc.*, he designates Persephone sovereign of the island, emphasizing the fertility of the land¹⁸.

In this paper, I will focus on the analysis of the rape and descent into Hades, cited in columns 2-5 and 7. I will analyze: (1) Persephone's companions at the time of the rape, (2) the flower-picking and its ritual connotations, (3) the appearance of Hades, (4) the intervention of Artemis and Athena and (5) the places of rape and descent into Hades. The analysis and comparison of a single episode of the myth will provide a limited but useful picture to determine which aspects correspond to the tradition of the *h. Cer.*, which ones are related to the Sicilian and which ones are only found in the Orphic.

The text of the columns that I will comment relies on Bernabé's edition with slight variations:¹⁹

COLUMN II

- 01 [ό `Ο]ρφεύς [δέ] Διὸς[ς] ἀδελ[φ]ήν {ῆ} διαδεδωκεν,
 02 οἱ δὲ μητέρα· ὦν ὀτιοῦ[ν] τῶν εὐ[σ]εβούν-
 03 των εἰς ἐπίμησιν <πε>ποιήται· ἔ[χ]ει γὰρ ἔ[κ]
 04 Διὸς καὶ Δήμητρ[ος] θυγατρ[ός] ἀρχὴν Φερ-
 05 σεφόνη[ς] ἴα πλ[ε]κού[σ]η[ς] συνπαρουσῶν
 06 τῶν [᾽Ωκεα]νοῦ θυγατέρ[ω]ν, ὧν ὀνόματα
 07 τα[ῦτα ἐκ τῶν] ᾽Ορφέως ἐπῶν· «Λευ[κ]ίππη
 08 Φανερή [τε] καὶ Ἥλέκτρα {ι} καὶ Ἰάν[θ]η {ι} Μηλό-
 09 βοσί[ς] τε Τύχη τε <καὶ> ᾽Ωκυρόη καλυκῶπ[ις]
 10 Χρ[υσηῖς] τ' Ἰάνε]ιρά τ' Ἀκάστη τ' Ἀδμή[τη] τε]
 11 καὶ ᾽Ρ[οδόπη] Πλουτώ τε καὶ ἱμερό]εσσα Κ[α-]
 12 [λυψώ καὶ Στῶξ Ο]υρανίη τε Γαλαξ[ι]αύρη τ']
 13 ἐρ[ατεινή]»] λμερ. . τ. ν δε[. . .]
 14 . . [. . . ?]
 15 λε[. . . ?]

16. Paus., I, 14, 3; I, 38, 5; IX, 31, 9; Clem. Al., *Prot.*, II, 17, 1; II, 20-21. Cf. F. GRAF (1974), p. 158-166; Giulia SFAMENI GASPARRO (1986), p. 169-175.

17. Carcinus, fr. 5; Timaeus, *FGH* 566, 164; Diod. Sic., V, 2-5; Cic., *Verr.*, IV, 106-108; Ovid., *Fast.*, IV, 417-620, *Met.* V, 337-591; Claud., *Rapt.*, *passim*. The expression Sicilian versions was coined by Paloma CABRERA, A. BERNABÉ (2007).

18. Cf. G. ZUNTZ (1971), p. 71; N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 76, n. 1

19. A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 313-330; see n. 12 and 13. The variations will be indicated.

16 θυγα[τ. . . ?]
 17 γγης[. . . ?]
 18

Orpheus spread about that she was the sister of Zeus, others that she was her mother; but any of these versions is addressed to the memory of the pious. Everything begins with the daughter of Zeus and Demeter, Persephone, who twines violets in the presence of the daughters of Ocean, whose names are these, according to Orpheus' poems: Leucippe and Phanera, and Electra and Ianthe, Melobosis and Tyche, as well as Ocyrhoe, with eyes like buds, and Chryseis and Ianeira, and Acaste and Admete, and Rhodope and Pluto and captivating Calipso, and Styx and Urania and lovely Galaxaura²⁰.

COLUMN III

01 ναρκίς[σο]υ, [ἐφ' ὄν ἡ κόρη θ]αμβήσασα ἐπέδρα-
 02 μεν· καὶ [δὴ ταύτης τα]ῖς χερσὶν βουλομένης
 03 ἀνασπάσα[σθαι αὐτόν, τότε] λέγεται τὴν γῆ[ν]
 04 χα[ν]εῖν καὶ [ἐκ γῆς] τὸν Ἄιδωνέα ἀναβ[άν]τα
 05 ἐφ' ἄρμ[ατος] τ[ε]θρ[ί]πων συναρπά[σ]αντα
 06 τὴν κ[ό]ρην ἀπαγαγεῖν· τὸν δὲ διὰ βροντᾶς
 07 καὶ ἀ[σ]τρ[α]πᾶ[ς] ἵπποις ἐπαξονεῖν μελαιναί[ας],
 08 [αἱ] δ[ι]ιδονται ὡς νομαὶ Ἀρτέμιδος τοξεύ[αι],
 09 Ἀθηνᾶς . . . [.] χορείας μίας· ὧν
 10 τ[ε]λ[ου]μένων ἐπικατέστη βραβευτῆς δύσ-
 11 [θυμος ἡ δὲ κόρη ἐ]πί[αχεν] ἐπὶ τῆ<v> τύ[χη]
 12 υ. νος [κ]αὶ
 13 [τῶν σ]υν[παι]ουσῶν καταγελασθείη· [ἐπει-]
 14 [δὴ] δὲ [ἡ]κου[σ]ε[ι] τῆς γεγωννίας ἡ Δημήτηρ,
 15 [ἐκ] Σ[ικ]ελίας ἐξελοῦσα ἐπλανᾶτο κατὰ
 16 [βάσα δ]ὲ πε[ρὶ] τ[ῆ]ν πόλιν ἀφανῆς γέγονεν
 17 οὐτι ενκ. ελ. ακ
 18 ειης σε ε
 19

The narcissus, upon which the Maiden ran in amazement. And when she intended to pull it up with her own hands, it is said that then the earth opened, Aidoneus arose from it, he raped the Maiden and carried her on his four-horse chariot. And thanks to thunderbolts and lightnings, he yokes black mares to the axle, mares that serve as grazing for Artemis' bow, Athena, [...] of a dance. And when everything was over, she nominated herself as the judge and the disheartened Maiden cried for her bad luck [...] and she might be teased by her playmates. But when Demeter heard what had happened,

20. In lin. 1, {ῆ} διαδέδωκεν is a correction of A. LUDWICH (1919, p. 1000) to the ῆ διαδέδωκεν of F. BUECHLER (1907, p. 8). A. BERNABÉ (2004, p. 315) and other editors read παραδέδωκεν, but the photos make preferable the reading διαδέδωκεν. In lin. 2, I propose ὀπιού[v] instead of οὐθὲν conjectured by all the editors, because it gives more sense. The quotation of lin. 7-13 follows *h. Cer.*, 418-423 (transl. by M. L. WEST [2003], p. 65).

departing from Sicily, she wandered until she became invisible when she got to the limits of the city²¹.

COLUMN IV

- 01 ειν τ[ῆν] συμφοράζουσαν στενάχειν ὑπὲρ
 02 τῆς θυγατρὸς· Καλλιόπης δὲ καὶ Κλ[ε]ι[σι]σι<δί>κης
 03 καὶ Δαμ[ω]ν[ά]σσης μετὰ τῆς βασιλίσσης [ἔ]φ' ὑ-
 04 δρεῖαν ἐλθουσῶν πυθάνεσθαι τῆ[ς] Δήμη-
 05 τρος ὡς θνητῆς τινος, χρείας δ' ἔν[εκ]α
 06 τίνος αὐτῆ[ς] παραγένονεν· δ[ι]ὸ Μ[ι]ουσα[ῖ]ο[ς]
 07 διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν αὐτοῦ λέγων ἔστιν· [πᾶ]σαν ἐν
 08 μὲν [τ]ο[ῖ]ς λ[ό]γοις δεῖ τὴν αἰτίαν αἰτεῖ[ν] μετ' εὐ-
 09 εργεσίαν θ[ε]ῶν τά[τ]ομεν ἐρα[σθ]έ[ν]τι δ' ἐν ταινία<ι>
 10 κρόκον ἢ<δ'> ὑάκ[ι]νθον <κ>α<ι> κ[ά]λυκ]ας εὐτερπέ[ι]ας
 11 γὰρ ἐπεὶ πλεκ[τ]έον χει<ρ>ε[σ]σ' ἐ[ρ]όεντα πρὸς αὐτο[ῖ]ς
 12 «[ναρκίσσου] ἄ[νθ]η [ἄ]φῦσε <δόλον> καλυ]κώπ[ι]δι κ[ο]ύρη<ι>
 13 [Γαῖα Διὸς βουλ[ῆ]σι χαρίζομέ]να [Πολυδέ-]
 14 κ[τ]ηι, θ]αυμαστὸν [γ]αγ[ό]ντα, σέβας τ]ότε πᾶ-
 15 [σι]ν ἰδ[έ]σθαι ἀθ[α]ν[ά]τοις τε [θεοῖς ἢ δὲ θ]νητοῖς
 16 [ἀνθ]ρώποις, [τοῦ] καὶ ἀπὸ ρί[ζ]ης ἑκατὸν κάρα ἐξε-]
 17 [πεφύκει]»

And wailing she cried about her daughter. But Calliope, Kleisidike and Damonassa, who had come with the queen to draw water, interrogated Demeter, as if she were a mortal, and approached her in case she had any need, as Musaeus tells in his poems. For, in the accounts we must find the origin, with the benevolence of the gods. In the desired band we put saffron, hyacinth, and refined calyx. As far it is necessary to twine with the hands the lovely flowers of “narcissus that Earth put forth as a snare for the maiden with eyes like buds by the will of Zeus, as a favor to the Hospitable One. It shone wondrously, an awe-inspiring thing to see both for the immortal gods and for mortal men. From its root a hundred heads grew out”²².

COLUMN V

- 01 «Νύσ[ιον] ἄμ πεδίον τ[ῆ]ι ὄρουσεν ἄναξ πολυδέ-]
 02 γμων ἵπποις ἀθανάτα[ισι Κρόνου πολυώνυ-]
 03 μος υἱός· ὄφρα μὲν οὐ[ν] γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν]
 04 ἀστερόεντα λεῦσσε θεὰ [καὶ πόντον] ἀγά[ρ-]
 05 ρουν ἰχθυό[ε]ντα αὐγά[ς] τ' ἠελίου, ἔτι ἦλ[πε-]
 06 [το μητ]έρα [κε]δνήν [δ]ψεσθαι καὶ φῦλα θε[ῶ]ν]
 07 αἰεγ[ενετάων]» ἔτι κ[αὶ] ἡ Δημήτηρ ὑπὸ
 08 τ[ῆ]ς Ἐ[.] ἠ]ρωτήθη, ἔφη[. . .]
 09 σ[η] . . . [.]σ[ι]θη . νη[.]

21. On the reading variations on line 5, 6, 7 and 9, see § 4.3 and 4.4. In line 10-11, I proposed the reading δύσθυμος because Persephone is disheartened in *h. Cer.* (19, 30, 37, 72, 81, 344, 432-433).

22. This quotation follows *h. Cer.*, 8-12 (transl. by M. L. WEST [2003], p. 33).

- 10 πα[. . . ?]
 11 αι[. . . ?]
 12 [ε]τοιμη[. . . ?]
 traces

“On the plain of Nysa, and the Hospitable Lord rushed forth with his immortal steeds, Kronos’ son whose names are many. Now as long as the goddess could still see the earth and the starry sky and the strong-flowing fishy sea and the light of the sun, and yet expected to see her good mother again and the families of gods who are for ever²³.”

And Demeter [...] being asked answered.

COLUMN VII

- 01 και ἀποκτείνει [κ]αι ὁ[ρθ]ῶς αὐτὴν δια[καλύπτει]
 02 λέγει γάρ· «εἰμι δὲ Δη[μ]ήτηρ ὠρηφόρος ἀγλαό-
 03 δωρος. τίς θεὸς οὐράνιος ἢ ἐθνη[τῶ]ν ἀνθρώ-
 04 πων ἤρπασε Φερσεφ[ό]νην καὶ [εἶ]δὼν φίλον ἦπα-
 05 φε θυμόν;» τοῦ δὲ Κ[ε]λεῦ[ος] εἰς [τὴν πόλιν ἀνα-
 06 βάντος ἐξ ἀγροῦ τ[.] . . . α[.]
 07 ε . ε μὲν ἀφεικότος [.]
 08 τὴν μητέρα, τίς ἢ ξέ[νη]]
 09 τὴν θυγατέρα ζη[τ] εἰ-
 10 πόντος τῆι μ[η]τρί]
 11 ἢ δὲ Δημήτηρ [. ὑπερ]
 12 βασ[ί]ης εἶπεν [.]
 13 κύρ[ιον τῶ]ν πάν[των] λει-
 14 π[ο]μένου φωνῆς [.]
 15 εἰ[δεν] τὰ[ς] μ[ε]λαίνα[ς] ἵππους]
 16 χ[ί]μῃ . τι θεὸς α[. μυ-
 17 στήριου χοίρα εν[. ὁ κυκεῶν]
 18 πέποται ἕως τῶν [.]
 19 πρὸς Τριπ[τό]λεμον[.]
 20 ὅθεν ἀθοδος λέγ[ε]ται τῆς κόρης αὐτῆ[ς].

And she kills him and immediately she reveals her identity. So she says: “I am Demeter, bringer of resplendent gifts in season, who heavenly god or who of mortal men has seized Persephone and tricked her dear heart?²⁴” And when Celeus went up to the city from the field [...] he had left [...] to the mother; who is the foreigner? [...] to the daughter [...] saying to the mother [...] but Demeter [...] of the transgression to say [...] to the lord of everyone [...] of the voice left [...] he saw the black mares [...] god [...] mystery [...] sow [...] kykeon [...] he/she drank until [...] to Triptolemus [...] therefore it is called the descent of the Maiden.

23. This quotation follows *h. Cer.*, 17-18, 33-36 (transl. by M. L. WEST [2003], p. 33, 35).

24. This quotation follows M. L. WEST (2003, p. 37 *ad h. Cer.*, 54-56) with slight variations: the text in the papyrus is not identical to the *h. Cer.* On these verses, see B. CURRIE (2012), p. 194-195.

4. The Rape of Persephone

4.1. *Persephone's companions at the time of the rape*

Column 2 includes the rape of Persephone when she is in the company of the Oceanids. The catalogue of these nymphs is parallel to the list of the *h. Cer.*, but with slight variations²⁵. Probably for this reason, the author emphasizes that their names come from the poems of Orpheus. The papyrus quotes Phanera, who appears as Phaeno in the *h. Cer.*, but it omits Melite, Iache, Rhodeia and Callirhoe, all mentioned in *h. Cer.* 419. This divergence could be explained by the involuntary omission of a verse in the transmission, but also Pausanias skips the names of these four nymphs when quoting Homer²⁶. Curiously, he only mentions seven Oceanids, but his list coincides with the papyrus. This fact suggests that Pausanias knew another version, similar to the tale in the papyrus, so it is possible that both had another source, alternative to the *h. Cer.*

In the Sicilian accounts, the Oceanids are replaced by the Sicilian nymphs of springs and streams, the Naiads of Enna²⁷. Ovid, knowledgeable of both traditions, speaks of “the usual young girls” (*consuetae puellae*).

In addition to the Oceanids, Artemis and Athena accompany Persephone in the *h. Cer.* In the papyrus (col. 3, 8-9), these two goddesses appear later, helping Persephone against Hades. Thus, we could think that they are also witnesses to the rape in this version. As we shall see, they also appear in Euripides, Diodorus and Claudian.

The text of column 5 appears within the framework of an apparent Homeric quotation but introduces another divergence, as it omits, perhaps deliberately, the verses corresponding to *h. Cer.* 19-32, in which Hecate and Helios witness the rape²⁸.

25. *H. Cer.* 5-6, 418-423. The coincidences are: 418 = col. II 7-8; 420-423 = col. II 8-13. The *h. Cer.* names 21 Oceanids and the papyrus 17. See T. W. ALLEN (1907), p. 100; T. W. ALLEN, W. R. HALLIDAY, E. E. SIKES (1936), p. 128, 175; N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 140, 287-290; F. CASSOLA (1975), p. 467, 483; Helene P. FOLEY (1993), p. 33-34; B. CURRIE (2012), p. 202. In Hes., *Th.*, 349-361, the catalog of Oceanids is much more extensive, although it omits Leucippe, Phanera and Rhodepe (who are cited in the Berlin Papyrus), but Rhodeia is certainly included.

26. Paus., IV, 30, 4. T. W. ALLEN (1907, p. 100) ascribes the omission of the line to *homoeomeson*, but N. J. RICHARDSON (1974, p. 68, 75, 288) postulates the existence of different versions.

27. Stat., *Ach.*, I, 824-826; Ovid., *Fast.*, IV, 425; Claud., *Rapt.*, II, 55-62, cf. Paloma CABRERA, A. BERNABÉ (2007), p. 69. In other tales Persephone is accompanied by the Sirens: Ap. Rhod., IV, 895-898; Hyg., *Fab.*, CXLI; Ovid., *Met.*, V, 554-556; Claud., *Rapt.*, III, 190, 205.

28. Col. V 1-7. Cf. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 152. On the Homeric quotes, see *infra* § 4. 5.

4. 2. *Flower-picking and its ritual connotations*

Hades abducts Persephone while she is picking flowers, so the catalog of flowers becomes an outstanding aspect in the various versions of the tale²⁹, particularly the narcissus and violets of the Homeric and Sicilian traditions, respectively. In col. 2, 5, in a prose section, A. Ludwich reconstructs³⁰:

Φερσεφόνη[ς ἴα πλ]εκού[σ]η[ς]

Persephone who twines violets.

With the reconstruction of πλ]εκού[σ]η[ς], the only reading that seems to fit in the gap is ἴα. Violets are supported by the *h. Cer.* and, specially, by the Sicilian versions, which give prominence to this flower. According to Diodorus, violets and other flowers bloom all the year, and their aroma turns the place of the rape into a *locus amoenus*³¹. In the papyrus, twining violets is obviously a metonymy for twining garlands of violets, but the expression πλέκειν ἴα is rare, only used by Athenaeus³². Since there are no more references to violets in the remaining part, this reading has been constantly reviewed. In the *editio princeps* F. Buecheler had proposed [θρωι]σκού[σ]η[ς], from the verb θρώσκω, “to jump” or “to rush”³³. T. W. Allen, for his part, suggested [οὐχι] ἐκού[σ]η[ς], “against her will”, as a parallel to ἀέκουσαν, expressing Persephone’s resistance during the rape (*h. Cer.* 19, 72) and her unwillingness to ingest pomegranates (*h. Cer.* 413)³⁴, but this reading does not seem to be appropriate to the meaning of the phrase in the papyrus. Also, considering the term ἄθυρμα of the *h. Cer.* 16, Schmidt suggested [ἄθυρι]σκού[σ]η[ς], from a hypothetical ἄθυρσκα

29. The anthology appears in cols. II 5, III 1-3, IV 11-14 of the papyrus. The flower-picking is described in detail in *h. Cer.*, 5-10, 426-428; Ovid., *Fast.*, IV, 437-440, *Met.* V, 390-394; Claud., *Rapt.*, II, 128-132. It is also referred in Pamphos (*apud* Paus., IX, 31, 9); Nic., fr. 74.60; Diod. Sic., V, 3, 2-3; Plut., *Quaest. Nat.*, 917 F; Ps. Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 836b; Orph., *Arg.*, 1192. On the catalog of flowers, see T. W. ALLEN, W. R. HALLIDAY, E. E. SIKES (1936), p. 128-131; Giulia PICCALUGA (1966), p. 232-253; N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 140-142; F. CASSOLA (1974), p. 467-468; Helene P. FOLEY (1993), p. 34.

30. A. LUDWICH (1919), p. 1000-1001.

31. Diod. Sic., V, 3, 2-3. Cf. A. LUDWICH (1919), p. 1001. Ovid (*Met.*, V, 390-395) mentions lilies and violets, although he expands the catalogue in the *Fasti*, IV, 437-442, see *infra* n. 41. Violets are also privileged in other tales of the Sicilian accounts: Nic., fr. 74, 60; Ps. Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 836b 13-19; Plut., *Quaest. Nat.*, 917, cf. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 143. Already Bacchylides (III, 1-3) celebrated Demeter, as the queen of Sicily, and Persephone, crowned with violets.

32. Ath., XV, 22, 36.

33. F. BUECHELER (1907), p. 9.

34. T. W. ALLEN (1907), p. 97.

– iterative from ἀθύρω, “to play” – which is not attested in Greek³⁵. In my view, A. Ludwich’s conjecture is still the most successful reading. If his hypothesis were correct, the presence of violets at the beginning of the tale would imply the prominence of this flower over the narcissus, in such a way that the account of the papyrus would be closer to the Sicilian versions than to the *h. Cer.*

In the *Hymn*’s catalog (5-8), the narcissus is certainly the most important flower, as it is used by Gea to sprout as lure for the Maiden³⁶. Also Pausanias, invoking a story by Pamphos, underlines that Persephone was tricked with the narcissus and not with violets³⁷. In the papyrus, F. Buecheler transcribed without doubts νάρκισ[σο]ν in col. 3, 1, a reading that has been followed by the rest of the editors with case variations³⁸. Unfortunately, the four first lines of the left side of this column are currently lost, but old images show clear traces of a κ preceded by other letters that could be ν, α and ρ. We can, therefore, assume that this reading is correct and accept F. Buecheler’s reconstruction that partly depends on the *h. Cer.*:

νάρκισ[σο]ν, [ἐφ’ ὄν ἡ Κόρη θ]αμβήσασα ἐπέδραμεν³⁹

the narcissus, upon which the Maiden ran in amazement

Yet, the presence of the narcissus in col. 3 does not necessarily imply that this flower has a prominent role. According to the logical sequence of the mythic pattern, we would expect the catalog of flowers to be placed immediately after the Oceanids, but the end of col. 2 is lost, so it is not possible to reconstruct the names of other flowers hypothetically listed in this section.

Narcissus is also proposed in col. 4, 12, in the gap of a damaged part, corresponding to the verses reconstructed from *h. Cer.*, 8-12⁴⁰. Given the worn state of the papyrus, we can only say that the narcissus is always supposed from Homeric quotes and that its relevance runs in parallel to them.

35. K. Fr. W. SCHMIDT (1908), p. 282, n. 3.

36. *H. Cer.*, 8-9, in which roses, saffron, violets, iris and hyacinth are also cited.

37. Paus., IX, 31, 9. According to Soph., *OC*, 681-685 the narcissus is the ancient garland of the great goddesses. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974, p. 143-144) suggests that the flower would be a kind of “Open Sesame”, a common motif in folk-stories, revealing the Underworld. Claudian (*Rapt.*, II, 128-132) seems to highlight the narcissus as well, see *infra*, n. 42.

38. F. BUECHELER (1907), p. 9.

39. See O. KERN (1922), *OF* 49 and *comm. ad. loc.* for the correction of νάρκισ[σο]ν as νάρκισ[σο]ν. Cf. *h. Cer.*, 15-16: ἡ δ’ ἄρα θαμβήσασ’ ὠρέξατο χερσὶν ἄμ’ ἄμφο / καλὸν ἄθυρμα λαβεῖν.

40. Compare col. 4, 12-17 with *h. Cer.*, 8-12.

In col. 4, 10, the readings κρόκον “saffron”, ὑάκινθον “hyacinth” and κάλυκας “calyx” have also been suggested. This selection appears in the *h. Cer.*, as well as in Ovid’s *Fasti*, which curiously contains a profuse description of plants and names all the flowers except for the narcissus⁴¹. Saffron, hyacinth and calyx are also cited by Claudian⁴², who differs from the Sicilian versions, for he includes the narcissus and does not give the leading role to violets. Apart from the narcissus and violets, the differences of flower catalogs are not really significant.

The author of the papyrus points out the ritual use of saffron, hyacinth and calyx. This suggests that the version he knows might have a ritual function, and that this version could be more than just a bookish text. Flowers had a prominent role in the worships in Sicily and Eleusis, two places connected to the scene of the rape⁴³. In the *Frogs*, Aristophanes describes the flowery meadows and groves dedicated to the goddesses, where the initiates gathered, and also Clement of Alexandria might be thinking on the rites of Eleusis when he spoke about the Pherephatta’s flower-picking⁴⁴. In Sicily, an ἀνθεςφόρια was celebrated in honor of Kore⁴⁵.

Comments on these flowers help to create an idyllic scene, so the author seems to have more interest in them than in the description of the moment of the rape, which is only outlined.

4.3. Hades’ appearance

In col. 3, 2-6, when Persephone runs to pick up the flowers, the earth opens up, and Aidoneus arises, abducting and carrying her in his horse chariot. The expression τὴν γῆ[ν] χα[v]εῖν (col. 3, 3) is very similar to the χάνε δὲ χθών εὐρύαγυια, used in the *h. Cer.*, with reference to the chasm in the earth through which Hades arises⁴⁶. In the Sicilian tradition, Diodorus also describes a large cave with a gap (χάσμα) going in depth into the earth, from which Pluto rises up to rape Kore⁴⁷. Similarly, Cicero and Claudian

41. *H. Cer.*, 6-8, 426-428; Ovid., *Fast.*, IV, 437-442 mentions marigolds, violets, poppies, hyacinth, amaranth, thyme, rosemary, melilot, roses, saffron, lilies and some unnamed flowers.

42. Claudian (*Rapt.*, II, 128-132) mentions lilies, violets, marjoram, roses, privets, hyacinth and narcissus. He briefly alludes to the tragic myths of the last two flowers.

43. Cf. T. W. ALLEN, W. R. HALLIDAY, E. E. SIKES (1936), p. 129; Giulia PICCALUGA (1966), p. 233-236; F. CASSOLA (1974), p. 468; N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 141.

44. Ar., *Ran.*, 373-374, 442, 448-449; Clem. Al., *Protr.*, II, 17, 1. See also Philodam., *Paen.*, 29-30.

45. Pollux, I, 37; Strab., VI, 1, 5.

46. *H. Cer.*, 16. On the chasm see T. W. ALLEN, W. R. HALLIDAY, E. E. SIKES (1936), p. 131; N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 147-148.

47. Diod. Sic., V, 3, 3, see also Ps. Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 836b; Carcinus., *fr.* 5.

describe a cave of immense depth and a huge gap, respectively⁴⁸. Clement, for his part, speaks of σχίσμα τῆς γῆς, a chasm into the earth, through which Hades and Persephone go down immediately after the rape, dragging the pigs of Eubuleus⁴⁹. Thus, with the exception of Ovid, who omits this aspect in his account, the motif of the chasm is common to the various versions of the myth.

The mares⁵⁰, especially dark, and the chariot are also recurrent. The chariot appears under different names: ὄχος in the *h. Cer.*, ἄρμα in Diodorus, *currus* in its Latin form⁵¹. Several versions offer similar descriptions, insisting on the dark mares⁵², and this is why some editors have proposed the reading ἐφ' ἀρ[μάτων] κ[υάν]ιππων in col. 3, 5, instead of ἐφ' ἄρμ[ατος] κ[αὶ ἐφ'] ἵππων, from the *editio princeps*⁵³. The problem is that κυανίππος is not attested in Greek. Yet, the form τεθρίππων, 'of four-horse', could be more suitable for this passage: this term is widely documented with ἄρμα and has the parallel τετρώροις ἵπποισιν ἤγαγεσ in the *Orphic Hymn to Pluto*⁵⁴.

4.4. *The intervention of Artemis and Athena*

The following lines (col. 3, 6-9) entail a few problems. Here, the papyrus mentions Artemis and, probably, Athena. The two goddesses are supposed to help Persephone by avoiding the rape, but they are dissuaded by Zeus' thunderbolts and lightnings, which would protect the black mares of Hades' chariot. The mares are, in turn, the target of Artemis' bow⁵⁵. According to N. J. Richardson, the thunderbolt would open the way for the Hades'

48. Cic., *Verr.*, IV, 107, 8 (*spelunca infinita altitudine*); Claud., *Rapt.*, II, 187 (*inmensa hiatus*). Similar descriptions appear in other tales from the Sicilian tradition: Sil. Ital., XIV, 239; Solin., V, 15; Arnob., *Nat.*, V, 24.

49. Clem. Al., *Prot.*, II, 17, 1, see *infra* § 4. 5 and n. 94.

50. The mares are mentioned in *h. Cer.* 18, 32; Ovid., *Fast.*, IV, 446, *Met.*, V, 403; Sil. Ital., XIV, 247; Orph., *H.*, XVIII, 14; Orph., *Arg.*, 1194; Claud., *Rapt.*, II, 224. On the horse as a symbol of the death as well as of the earth, see N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 151.

51. *H. Cer.*, 19; Diod. Sic., V, 3, 3; Cic., *Verr.*, IV, 107, 9; Ovid., *Met.*, V, 402; Claud., *Rapt.*, II, 204.

52. Orph. *A.*, 1194: κυανότριχας ἵππους; Ovid., *Fast.*, IV, 446: *caeruleis equis*. In Ovid., *Met.*, V, 404, the reins are blackened by soot, whereas Claud., *Rapt.*, II, 227 describes a dark chariot.

53. See K. Fr. W. SCHMIDT's conjecture (1908, p. 283), followed by A. KRÜGER (1938, p. 353) and A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 317 (*OF* 389 I).

54. Orph. *H.*, XVIII, 12-15, see also *quadrigae* in Hyg., *Fab.*, CXLVI, 2 and Claud., *Rapt.*, II, 217.

55. Cf. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 79-80, 290-291; A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 317 (*OF* 389); B. CURRIE (2012), p. 200-201.

descent; although it may be a logical consequence, it is not mentioned here explicitly⁵⁶.

As shown on new and old photographs, the end of line 6 is broken. Here I suggest reading διὰ as a preposition instead of the name Δία, and βρονταῖς and ἀ[στρ]απαῖ[ς] in the place of the dative βρονταῖς and ἀ[στρ]απαῖ[ς], proposed by F. Buecheler and accepted by successive editors⁵⁷. This change implies that Hades yokes the mares and that Zeus only participates indirectly by means of his weapons. In line 7, I follow the reading ἵππου]ς ἐπαζονεῖν μελαίνα[ς], a proposal from K. Fr. W. Schmidt and G. Colli⁵⁸, instead of ὄ]ς of the *editio princeps*⁵⁹. A. Krüger and A. Bernabé conjectured ἵπποι]ς ἐπαρηγεῖν μελαίνα[ις⁶⁰, but ἐπαζονεῖν can be easily read in the papyrus. In line 9, the *editor princeps* read χοίρας μιᾶς, but χοίρα corresponds to a hypothetical feminine noun of χοῖρος, which is not attested in Greek. Besides, it seems difficult to relate the presence of pigs with the intervention of the goddesses⁶¹. I suggest that χοίρας μιᾶς could be an erratum instead of χορείας μιᾶς “from a same dance”, with reference to the fact that Persephone was dancing when Artemis and Athena aided her at the moment of the rape, as attested by Euripides⁶².

In the *h. Cer.* and in Diodorus, Artemis and Athena accompany Persephone and the Oceanids in the flower-picking, but they do not help the maiden⁶³. In Euripides’ *Helen*, the two goddesses help Demeter in her

56. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 290-291. For a different moment for the descent, see *infra* § 4. 5.

57. Considering the absence of diacritics in his edition, F. BUECHELER (1907, p. 9) reads βρονταῖς without apparent difficulty. Nevertheless, the papyrus is really damaged in this part. See A. LUDWICH (1919), p. 1002; O. KERN (1922), p. 120; G. COLLI (1995), p. 226; A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 317 (*OF* 389 I).

58. K. Fr. W. SCHMIDT (1908), p. 283 and n. 2; G. COLLI (1995), p. 226.

59. F. BUECHELER (1907), p. 10.

60. A. KRÜGER (1938), p. 353; A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 317 (*OF* 389 I). I suggest that ἐπαζονεῖν could be a mistake for ἐπιζεγγυνεῖν, cf. Orph., *Arg.*, 1193-1194 (κυανότριχας ἵππους ζευξάμενος).

61. Only Clem. Al., *Prot.*, II, 17, 1 and Schol. Luc., *D. meretr.*, II, 1, mentions that the pigs fell down through the open chasm. On this episode, see *infra* § 4. 5 as well as n. 93 and n. 94.

62. Eur., *Hel.*, 1312-1314: τὰν ἄρπασθειῶσαν κυκλίων χορῶν παρθενίων (“snatched away from circular girlish dances”).

63. *H. Cer.*, 424; Diod. Sic., V, 3, 4. See also Paus., VIII, 31, 2; Val. Flac., V, 343-349. Cf. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 138-139, 290-291.

search, but Zeus brought to pass a different fate⁶⁴. It has been discussed whether in Euripides the goddesses witness the rape and try to restrain Hades⁶⁵. Artemis and Athena are here fully armed with bow and spear, as if they were ready to battle. Also, the mention of *παρθένιοι χόροι* suggests that the goddesses could be present during the flower-picking. Finally, the expression *ἀνυγάζων δ' ἐξ οὐρανόων* (in Eur., *Hel.*, 1318) refers to Zeus, who watches the scene from the heavens, although this image could be interpreted as a metaphoric reference to his thunderbolt⁶⁶. Several Apulian vases from the 4th century BCE contain motifs of Athena and Artemis' intervention as well as of Zeus hurling thunderbolts. This is the case of a hydria from Bari, painted by the Painter of Baltimore⁶⁷, and of a Campanian *λεκάνη*⁶⁸, in which Zeus tries to stop the two goddesses with his lightning while he opens the way to Hades. In Claudian, Diana and Pallas also fight Pluto, Pallas hitting the horses when trying to escape. Finally, Jupiter discourages them peacefully, as he hurls a thunderbolt with which he recognizes himself as the father-in-law⁶⁹.

According to Diodorus, Artemis and Athena were picking flowers with Persephone while preparing the peplum⁷⁰. The remaining part of the papyrus does not mention the peplum, but there is an Orphic poem entitled

64. Eur., *Hel.*, 1308-1320. See the commentaries of L. MALTEN (1909b), p. 421-423; F. R. WALTON (1952), p. 107, n. 7; A. M. DALE (1967), p. 147-152; R. KANNICHT (1969), p. 327-344; N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 290-291; Giulia SFAMENI GASPARRO (1978), p. 1148-1154; G. CERRI (1983), p. 155-157, 179-183; Paloma CABRERA, A. BERNABÉ (2007), p. 64-65; W. ALLEN (2008), p. 292-302.

65. Their presence during the rape is defended by A. M. DALE (1967), p. 152; N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 290; W. ALLEN (2008), p. 301. See, on the contrary, R. KANNICHT (1969), p. 342; Paloma CABRERA, A. BERNABÉ (2007), p. 64.

66. According to P. MASS (1933, p. 146), R. KANNICHT (1969, p. 344) and Paloma CABRERA, A. BERNABÉ (2007, p. 64-65), Zeus' thunderbolt is intended to end Demeter's pilgrimage. In an *Epidaurian Hymn* to the Mother of the Gods (*IG IV 1²*, 131; *PMG* 935), probably identified with Demeter, she is wandering through valleys and mountains until Zeus throws a thunderbolt and splits the rocks in order to stop the goddess. On this hymn, see P. MASS (1933), p. 134 & f.; A. M. DALE (1967, p. 147); R. KANNICHT (1969), p. 330; M. L. WEST (1970), p. 212-215; N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 290; Giulia SFAMENI GASPARRO (1978), p. 1171-1173; R. WAGMAN (1995), p. 105-146; K. T. WITCZACK (2001), p. 23-33 (with previous bibliography). W. D. FURLEY (2012, p. 233-251) interprets the text in a different way: the anger of the Mother would be motivated by the fact that she was raped by her son, Zeus.

67. *LIMC* IV 1988, s.v. Hades, nr. 113.

68. *LIMC* IV 1988, s.v. Hades, nr. 91. In an Apulian *loutrophoros* in the National Archeological Museum from Madrid and in a Apulian Krater in the Universität of Münster, also painted by the Painter of Baltimore, Artemis and Athena attempt to thwart the ravisher, but Zeus' thunderbolts are missing, cf. Paloma CABRERA, A. BERNABÉ (2007), p. 58-65.

69. Claud., *Rapt.*, II, 204-208, 224-231, cf. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 73.

70. Diod. Sic., V, 3, 4.

“Peplum”, attributed to the Pythagorean School, in which land vegetation is compared to a peplum embroidered by Persephone. In this poem circulating in Southern Italy, Hades rapes the girl when she is embroidering a scorpion⁷¹. In the same vein, Claudian uses the peplum motif, but he introduces some variations: Kore is embroidering the windings of Ocean in a peplum when Venus, Pallas and Diana knock at her door and lead her to the

meadow⁷². Later, during the rape, Pallas and Diana decide to confront Pluto and the Delian goddess uses her arrows to protect the girl⁷³. The papyrus mentions the bow in line 8, so the episode in our poem could be similar to this version.

On the other hand, it seems that the papyrus has no traces of the version transmitted by the *Orphic Argonautica*, according to which Persephone was deceived by her sisters⁷⁴. As we know by Claudian, it probably referred to Aphrodite, Artemis and Athena. In this version, Jupiter asks Venus to deceive Persephone and it is her nursemaid who denounces the sister’s divine alliance as the ruin of the house⁷⁵.

To sum up, in the Berlin Papyrus, as well as in the versions of Euripides and Claudian, Athena and Artemis help Persephone confronting Hades in a direct or indirect way. Only Claudian and the papyrus make reference to Zeus’ thunderbolts and lightnings, an element that can only be hypothesized in the case of Euripides. At this point, the papyrus is significantly close to Euripides and Claudian, suggesting that all of them could have been inspired by a common source, clearly different from the *h. Cer.*

4. 5. *Places of rape and descent*

In the papyrus, the location of rape and descent is dark. As we observed in col. 3, there is no mention of the precise place in which Hades arises and goes down with Persephone. The myth was originally attached to Nysa at the edges of Ocean (*h. Cer.*), but people tended progressively to locate it in their own neighborhoods⁷⁶. N. J. Richardson lists the multiple locations of the rape and descent mentioned in each of the different versions. The most

71. *OF* 286-290, cf. A. BERNABÉ (2008), p. 395-396, 412.

72. *Claud., Rapt.*, I, 246-275, cf. M. L. WEST (1983), p. 257, n. 68. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974, p. 83-84), underlines the contact between the Sicilian and the Orphic version in certain elements, such as the peplum.

73. *Claud., Rapt.*, II, 206-207.

74. *Orph., Arg.*, 1192-1193.

75. *Claud., Rapt.*, I, 220-224; III, 198-201, respectively.

76. G. ZUNTZ (1971), p. 79.

popular places are Nisa, Sicily, and Eleusis, exactly the three locations that seem to appear in the papyrus⁷⁷.

In the *h. Cer.*, the rape occurs in the plain of Nysa, a semi-mythical place⁷⁸ that, whether it is a mountain or a region, has been placed in the Arabian Peninsula, Thrace, Euboea or Lydia⁷⁹. Its various locations suggest a remote position, on the edge of the world⁸⁰, as well as the presence of Oceanids suggests a setting by Ocean. Nysa is mentioned in col. 5, 1 of the papyrus, a quite damaged part that quotes the ancient poem. The reconstruction of the first three lines of this column relies on *h. Cer.* 17-18. At this point, the author seems to continue a long quotation of a poem, which is similar to *h. Cer.* 8-18, 33-36. The citation begins in col. 4, 12 and continues, we suppose, in the missing part of this column, until the first seven lines of col. 5⁸¹. The author had already mentioned the rape in col. 3, and he discussed the flowers used in ritual in col. 4, so we could understand that the Nysa of the quote does not necessarily indicate the scene of the rape in the papyrus.

Unanimously, Sicily is the setting of the rape and descent in the Sicilian accounts. Carcinus the younger places the episode near the slopes of Etna⁸². Diodorus places it in Enna, in the center of the island, and describes the scene as a meadow, close to the sacred groves and surrounded by marshy flats and a huge grotto⁸³. Cicero, Ovid, Valerius Flaccus and Claudian give the same location and similar descriptions⁸⁴. In the papyrus (col. 3, 14-16),

77. Cf. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 148-150. See also Helene P. FOLEY (1993), p. 36.

78. *H. Cer.*, 15-18.

79. Cf. W. F. OTTO (1997) [1948²], p. 49-52; H. JEANMAIRE (1951), p. 349-351. Nysa is linked to the birth of Dionysus, as well as to his nurture by the Nymphs, cf. A. BERNABÉ (2013), p. 61; M. HERRERO DE JÁUREGUI (2013), p. 93-96; Raquel MARTÍN HERNÁNDEZ (2013), p. 200. The relationship with this god, of great importance in Eleusis, may have been significant in the choice of location, as noted by N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 149.

80. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 149.

81. The quotation can be summarized as follows: col. 4, 12-17 (and probably 18-20) = *h. Cer.*, 8-12 (and possibly 13-16); col. 5, 1-2 = *h. Cer.*, 17-18; col. 5, 3-7 = *h. Cer.*, 33-36. On the omission of *h. Cer.*, 19-32, see § 4. 1. B. CURRIE (2012, p. 189-209) tries to demonstrate that *h. Cer.* is alluding to the poem commented in the Berlin Papyrus or to another poem, many of whose features are echoed in the poem of the Berlin Papyrus.

82. Carcinus, fr. 5. See also Hyg., *Fab.*, CXLVI; Plut., *Quaest. Nat.*, 917 F.

83. Diod. Sic., V, 3, 2-4. The same location can be read in Ps. Arist., *Mir. Ausc.*, 836b 13-19.

84. Cic., *Verr.*, IV, 106; Ovid., *Met.*, V, 385-396; *Fast.*, IV, 417-446; Val. Flac., V, 343-349; Claud., *Rapt.*, II, 112-117, 170-173, 186-188. See also Arnob., *Nat.*, V, 24; schol. Hes., *Op.*, 32ter 9-15 (schol. Tzetes); schol. Aristid., *Panath.*, 105, 11 p. 53 Dindorf.

Demeter discovers the incident and departs from Sicily in search of her daughter. Normally, Demeter is not an eyewitness of the rape, except for a late version and some later iconographic representations⁸⁵, but this does not necessarily imply that mother and daughter were in very distant places. In fact, only Claudian places Demeter in Phrygia at the time of the rape in Sicily⁸⁶. As for the descent, most of the Sicilian stories place it in Sicily, in particular near Syracuse. This indicates that Hades and Persephone travel a long distance from the center of the island to the southwest coast. There, Pluto opens a gap through which they descend into the Underworld⁸⁷. Later, a fountain or a lake sprang up, and the Syracusans celebrate a notable and festive gathering in there⁸⁸.

After the analysis of these data, the question is why the papyrus mentions a place like Sicily, which is typical of the Sicilian tales. Considering the importance of this tradition, it is possible that the author of the papyrus was also familiar with it⁸⁹. He might have cited Sicily as one of the stages in the wanderings of Demeter. In that case, we could ask ourselves what did the goddess do there, or for what reason the author only mentions the island. Perhaps he simply wanted to locate the rape in Sicily⁹⁰. Then, mother and daughter would be on the island, but not necessarily together, not even in its center.

Some accounts linked to the Orphic tradition mark Eleusis as the place where the captor goes down into Hades with his victim. Yet, none of the accounts, within or outside the Orphic tradition, specifies that the rape happened in Eleusis⁹¹. Pausanias locates the descent in the area of Eleusis,

85. Firmicus (*Mat. Err. prof. Rel.*, VII, 3) narrates how Demeter, warned by one of the companions of her daughter, runs in her search and manages to sight Pluto by plunging with his victim into the waters of Lake Pergusa, near Enna. On the commentaries to this version and on the iconographic representations, see N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 138-139, 290.

86. Claud., *Rapt.*, I, 179-181.

87. Diod. Sic., IV, 4, 2; Cic., *Verr.*, IV, 107; Ovid., *Met.*, V, 402-411, 423-424. The site of the descent is not specified in Ovid., *Fast.*, IV, 445-449; Claud., *Rapt.*, II, 246-249, 307 and Arnob., *Nat.*, V, 24. In Ovid, the story seems to occur rapidly and Demeter sees the traces of Persephone in Sicily (*Fast.*, IV, 463-464). Arnobius says that Hades rapes Persephone and carries her away (*raptam uirginem secum uehit*), which implies a trip.

88. Diod. Sic., IV, 4, 2; Cic., *Verr.*, IV, 107; Ovid., *Met.*, V, 423-424.

89. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 77.

90. K. KERÉNYI (1994 [1951], p. 201 and n. 785) argues that the rape occurred in Sicily. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974, p. 80) accepts the possible influence of the Sicilian version, foregrounding that the rape was not necessarily there.

91. Phanodemus (*FGH* 325 F 27) locates the descent at the Attica, whereas schol. Soph. (*OC*, 1590, 1593), places both rape and descent inside a grotto in Colonus.

in a place called Erineos⁹². In another passage that mentions Orpheus as a source, he says that Demeter conferred the gift of sowing to the Eleusinian Eubuleus and his brother Triptolemus because they gave her information about her daughter⁹³. We can assume that the two of them had witnessed what happened there because, according to Clement of Alexandria, when Aidoneus made the earth open, the pigs of Eubuleus were swallowed along with the goddess⁹⁴. The tale, he says, is the *αἴτιον* for the ritual of throwing pigs into underground *μέγαρον* at the *Thesmophoria*⁹⁵. In the *Orphic Hymn to Pluto*, Persephone is abducted and taken across the sea to an Attic cave in Eleusis, where the gates of Hades are⁹⁶.

Focusing on the papyrus, in col. 3, 15-16, Demeter wanders in search of her daughter. Here she comes to a city, whose name is not stated, but that could be interpreted as Eleusis, particularly because other sources have placed in this location the events narrated later in the papyrus⁹⁷. Also, at the end of the papyrus (col. 7, 19-20), we read the name Triptolemus, followed by the expression “therefore it is called the descent” (ὅθεν κάθοδος λέγ[ε]τ[αι]). According to this, it is possible that the poem was called *Κάθοδος*⁹⁸ because the descent of Hades with Persephone took place in

92. Paus., I, 38, 5.

93. Paus., I, 14, 3. See also Myth Vat., II, 118; schol. Hes., *Op.*, 32ter 10-15 (schol. Tzetes); sch. Ar., *Eq.*, 698; schol. Aristid., *Panath.*, *Or.*, I, 36 (*Panath.*, 105, 11, ed. Dindorf III, p. 53, cf. O. KERN [1922], p. 125); schol. Luc., *D. meretr.*, II, 1.

94. Clem. Al., *Prot.*, II, 17, 1. He also says (XX, 2, 2) that the swineherd lived in Eleusis. Ovid (*Fast.*, IV, 465-466) indirectly alludes to the tracks of the pigs, but this time in Sicily. On this episode, see L. MALTEN (1909b), p. 428-430; N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 81-82; F. GRAF (1974), p. 165-166. According to Giulia SFAMENI GASPARRO (1986, p. 166-169), Demeter rewards the information about the rape with the gift of agriculture, which would be a special feature of the Orphic tradition.

95. The *aition* is also attested in schol. Luc., *D. meretr.*, II, 1, cf. W. BURKERT (1983), p. 256-264; Giulia SFAMENI GASPARRO (1986), p. 169-175. On the *Thesmophoria*, cf. R. PARKER (2007), p. 270-283; A. CHANIOTIS (2011, p. 160-164), with bibliography.

96. Orph. *H.*, 18, 12-15, cf. Gabriella RICCIARDELLI (2000), p. 312-313.

97. These events are the welcoming of Demeter by Calliope, Kleisidike and Damonasa (col. 4), the *xenia* at Baubo's house and the nursing of Baubo's child (col. 6). Demeter's arrival to Eleusis is narrated by multiple sources with various differences in terms of the general scheme and of the single episodes: *h. Cer.*, 90-304; Apoll., I, 5, 1-2; Diod. Sic., V, 4, 4; Cic., *Verr.*, IV, 108; Hyg., *Fab.*, CXLVII; Ovid., *Fast.*, IV, 502-562; Clem. Al., *Prot.*, II, 20, 2-3; Aristid., *Or.*, I, 36 (*Panath.*, 105, 11 & f. Dindorf I, p. 167) and schol. *ad loc* (ed. Dindorf III, p. 53); Arnob., *Nat.*, V, 25; Orph. *H.*, 41, 3-8; Claud., *Rapt.*, III, 48-54 (see also I, 10-14).

98. It is commonly agreed that the term *κάθοδος* refers to the title of the poem, cf. F. BUECHELER (1907), p. 15; N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 81; G. COLLI (1995), p. 419; A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 330. See, on the contrary, B. CURRIE (2012, p. 199), who takes this as a reference to Demeter's descent into the Underworld in search of Persephone, only attested by later allusions: Orph. *H.*, 41, 5-7; Hyg., *Fab.*, CCLI.

Eleusis and Triptolemus witnessed it ⁹⁹. In fact, some editors have proposed the phrase εἶ[δεν] τὰ[ς] μ]ελαίνα[ς] ἵππους (“he saw the black mares”) just before the mention of the hero, in a very damaged part of the papyrus ¹⁰⁰. This way, the story would be parallel to the tales of Pausanias, Clement and the *Orphic Hymn*, which rely on the Orphic tradition.

In the light of these data, we might suppose that the Berlin Papyrus places the rape in one location – perhaps Sicily –, and the descent in another one – perhaps Eleusis. This assumption is compatible with the Sicilian tradition, which locates the rape and the descent in different places of the island; but also with the Orphic versions, as they locate the descent in Eleusis, without implying that this was also the setting for the rape. On the contrary, an scholion to Aristides’ *Panathenaicus* places the rape in Sicily, but it is in Attica where Triptolemus and Celeus inform Demeter about the incident, probably because they had witnessed the descent there ¹⁰¹. Some Orphic tales presuppose a trip by sea. In the above-mentioned *Orphic Hymn to Pluto*, Persephone is taken to Eleusis across the sea. Also, the Orphic *Argonautica* narrates that Hades, after seizing Persephone, “was carrying her” (ἔφερεν, in durative imperfect) through the waves ¹⁰². Thus, in the papyrus, the hypothesis of locating the rape in Sicily and the descent in Eleusis would be also compatible with the sea trip.

The interval between rape and descent could also be suggested in the *h. Cer.*, in which we read that Hades “was taking her” (v. 20 ἦγ’ again in the imperfect tense). Then, it relates Persephone’s hopes of seeing again her relatives as long as she still looks at the earth, the sky, the sun and the sea, with special emphasis on the epithets of the sea ¹⁰³.

Thus, in the version known by the author of the papyrus, a possible reconstruction would be as follows: Hades arises in Sicily. There, he rapes Persephone and carries her across the sea to Eleusis, where they descend into Hades, as told by several Orphic texts and indicated by the expression κάθοδος of the papyrus.

99. N. J. RICHARDSON (1974), p. 81; Giulia SFAMENI GASPARRO (1986), p. 169; B. CURRIE (2012), p. 193, 198.

100. F. BUECHELER (1907, p. 14) reconstructed μ]ελαίνα[ς] and G. COLLI (1995, p. 234) added ἵππους. See also A. BERNABÉ (2004), p. 329.

101. Schol. Aristid., *Panath. Or.*, I, 36 (*Panath.*, 105, 11, ed. Dindorf III, p. 53), cf. Giulia SFAMENI GASPARRO (1986), p. 167.

102. Orph., *Arg.*, 1196 (*OF* 389 IV): διὰ κύματος ἀτρογέτω; Orph., *H.*, 18, 12-15 (13: διὰ πόντου). According to sch. Hes., *Th.*, 914 (*OF* 389 III), Orpheus locates the rape near the Ocean, but this setting could simply be pointing to a remote location on the edge of the world, evoking the fate of Persephone.

103. *H. Cer.*, 33-36. These four verses are quoted in col. 5, 3-7.

5. Conclusions

A thorough analysis of the episode of the rape shows that the contact points between the Berlin Papyrus and the *h. Cer.* are not conclusive. The catalogue of Oceanids contained in the papyrus differs from the *h. Cer.* in some names, but it coincides with the partial list offered by Pausanias. Thus, we may conclude that there were various versions circulating and that the papyrus and Pausanias might have a different source than the *h. Cer.* Hecate and Helios, the witness of the rape in the *h. Cer.*, also seem to be absent in the papyrus.

Concerning the catalogue of flowers, it is possible to conjecture the presence of violets at the beginning of the tale. In that case, the version of the papyrus would be closer to the Sicilian tradition, as opposed to the importance of the narcissus in the *h. Cer.* Moreover, in the papyrus, the narcissus flower is always presupposed from Homeric quotes. In any case, the catalogue of flowers and the description of the chasm are recurring elements, very similar in each of the different versions of the myth, so they are not decisive factors.

As for the intervention of Artemis and Athena, the papyrus agrees with the tales of Euripides and Claudian, in which the goddesses, unlike the versions of the *h. Cer.* and Diodorus, offer direct or indirect help to Persephone confronting Hades. Another divergence with the *h. Cer.* is the reference to Zeus' thunderbolts and lightings. At this point, the papyrus fully agrees with Claudian, and partially with Euripides.

The mention of Sicily might indicate that the rape occurred on the island, as well as in the Sicilian versions of the myth. Furthermore, if we consider the motif of the peplum embroidered by Persephone, Artemis and Athena, the distances between the Sicilian and the Orphic versions would be shortened, as this element is mentioned by Diodorus but is completely absent in the *h. Cer.* The Berlin Papyrus does not mention the peplum either, but we know of an Orphic poem entitled "Peplum" that circulated in Southern Italy.

Carcinus might represent the link between Euripides and the Sicilian versions. He seems to be inspired by the chorus of the Euripides' *Helen*, a text embedded with cultic connotations, such as the noise of the castanets, recalling the typical instruments of the rites dedicated to the Mother of the Gods¹⁰⁴. Considering the interest of the commentator about the rite, it is not surprising that he knew these versions and was attracted to them.

104. G. CERRI (1983), p. 157 and n. 5, 158, 179, 182.

Additionally, it is commonly accepted that the paraphrase of the Berlin Papyrus provides evidence of the traditional Attic myth of the rape¹⁰⁵. This version was also alluded to by Pausanias and in the concise tale of Clement of Alexandria, probably inspired by the Orphic tradition. In this vein, we have seen the remarkable similarities between this evidence and the papyrus. The word *κάθοδος* at the end of the text as well as the story of Baubo seem to suggest that the descent into Hades is placed in Eleusis. It is clear that both the Sicilian and Orphic traditions locate the rape and the descent in different places, the latter documenting a sea journey. The peculiarity of the papyrus is that it combines elements from each tradition, the Attic, the Sicilian and the Euripidean one. This suggests that the author had access to different versions. In fact, it is possible that, just like Clement and Claudian, who also mixed elements from different traditions, he had converged in Alexandria, with its Library and its huge collection¹⁰⁶.

Finally, I argue that the Berlin Papyrus could contain an Orphic version of the rape of Persephone that concurs with the Homeric account in the same points in which other versions also agree. On the contrary, the sections of the papyrus that coincide with the Sicilian tradition certainly differ from the Homeric.

Ana Isabel JIMÉNEZ SAN CRISTÓBAL
Universidad Complutense de Madrid
asancristobal@filol.ucm.es

105. B. CURRIE (2012), p. 191, with references.

106. See M. HERRERO DE JÁUREGUI (2007).

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