Kyriaki A. Ioannidou

PSI XV 1480: A PERFORMED HYMN TO CYBELE IN MENANDER'S *THEOPHOROUMENĒ* (?)

≈

ABSTRACT: *PSI* xv 1480 presents a ritual scene with two hymns dedicated to the goddess Cybele. Notably, between lines 41 and 42, there are two interlinear lines of prose which appear to be stage directions. This article delves into the attribution of *PSI* 1480 to Menander's *Theophoroumenē* and its placement within the broader plot, considering the rich iconographic tradition of the play. The iconography predominantly portrays a musical scene, showcasing actors engaging in dance and playing Cybele's instruments. Through an examination of vocabulary, metrical composition, and intertextual and intervisual connections, this article elucidates how this scene intertwines elements of ritual and drama. Additionally, the article scrutinizes the content, significance, and positioning of the two interlinear lines within the text. It posits that these lines serve as instructions for an actor performing the hymn to Cybele. Should this papyrus indeed derive from *Theophoroumenē*, it preserves a remarkable scene in Menander's oeuvre, offering a rare instance of singing in extant Menander and a notable portrayal of a female character assuming the significant role of singing and embodying a maenad-like persona.

*P**SI* 1480 is a fragment first published by Bartoletti in 1965 and attributed to *Theophoroumenē* by Handley in 1969 (*PSI* xv 1480; *LDAB* 2725; *MP³* 1309.1). The papyrus, dated to the 1st c. BC–1st c. AD,[1] preserves 28 lines of text (31–57) from the right-hand part of a column and

---

1. The text is written in an informal round hand. Bartoletti (1965) dated this fragment to the 1st c. AD, but Turner suggested to Handley (1969, 96) a dating of 1st c. BC–1st c. AD. McNamee (2007, 300) dates the papyrus even later, i.e. to the 1st–2nd c AD; for the

scant traces of another column. Although the first half of each verse is lost, in the second half, we can recognize a ritual scene: a character is dancing and singing a hymn to the goddess Cybele.[2] Between lines 41 and 42, there are two lines of partly abbreviated text in smaller, more cursive script, which seem to comprise instructions for the actor, indicating that this might be a practitioner's copy.

This article will examine the multi-dimensional significance of this unique Menandrean fragment:

(*a*) it preserves the most famous scene depicted in the iconographic tradition of Menandrean plays: the music scene with actors playing the *tympanon* and the cymbals, and the main figure singing the hymn to Cybele and dancing the Corybantic tune;

(*b*) the sung hymn to Cybele is the longest of very few examples of singing in extant Menander;

(*c*) this is one of the few plays in which a female character has a role as important as singing (?) the hymn to Cybele and acting like a maenad;

(*d*) the vocabulary and metrical composition of the hymn intertextually and intervisually connect this scene to ritual and dramatic scenes;

(*e*) the interlinear stage directions differ significantly from others in tragic and comic papyri.

In the first part of the article, I discuss the attribution of *PSI* 1480 to *Theophoroumenē* and its position within the broader plot.

SUMMARY OF THE PLAY

Before it is examined, *PSI* 1480, will be contextualized in a summary of the play. *PSI* xii 1280 preserves the first scene of *Theophoroumenē*, featuring two young men, Lysias (8, 23, 29) and Kleinias (14?). One of them, possibly Lysias, reports an argument between Theophoroumenē ("The

_____

characteristics of the writing styles of the first centuries BC and AD which can be identified in our papyrus, see Cavallo–Maehler (2008) 16–17.

2.   This fragment has been discussed in detail by Bartoletti (1965) 9–15; Pavese (1966) 63–69; Handley (1969) 95–99; Bastianini (2004) 205–214 and (2008) 101–106. For a new edition and a full commentary on *Theophoroumenē*, see Ioannidou (forthcoming). The most recent editions of the text can be found in Arnott (1996) 64–69, Austin (2013) 37–39, and *PCG* vol. VI 1, p. 213–214.

Girl Possessed") and someone who seems to be abusing her (16–23a). The reported dialogue must have happened outside the girl's house, either on the road or in another location like the inn of line 29[3], since the girl is accused of walking outside her house (21 ἔξω περιπατεῖς). In the quoted dialogue, the god-possessed girl argues anxiously with an angry, probably male, interlocutor about some gifts (17–18). The interlocutor's irate tone and the girl's anxiety indicate that the gifts are either lost, or have caused the girl some damage.[4] Lysias and Kleinias discuss the mental condition of the girl, who is supposed by her interlocutor to be mad (22–23a). Lysias assumes that she is pretending to be god-possessed, possibly to avoid a prearranged marriage. Kleinias believes that she is genuinely possessed. Lysias proposes an intrigue (24–26). Knowing that people possessed by Cybele respond to the sound of her music by frenzied dancing,[5] Lysias orders the *aulos*-player to play the Corybantic tune (28 αὔλει) to determine the girl's true state (27–28).[6] Kleinias enthusiastically approves the plan (29–30), but the papyrus breaks off before it can proceed.

The typical five-act structure of Menandrean plots and the Mytilene mosaic's depiction of the play's music scene both suggest that Lysias' plan was carried out during the second act.[7] Lysias' plan is believed to be preserved on *PSI* 1480: this papyrus fragment presents a character, possibly entering after the piper is ordered to play the Corybantic tune (27–28), singing a hymn to Cybele and calling those present to join in sacrifices to the Mother of the Gods.

---

3. In this play, one of the three doors of the *skene* represents an inn, as *PSI* 1280 attests, when Lysias tells Kleinias to stand "by the door of the inn" (28-29 πρὸς τὰς θύρας / τοῦ πανδοκείου).

4. If it is the loss of the gifts, or the destruction these gifts caused, it depends on the reading of the words εξειλοντοδε (18). For a detailed discussion on the reading of these words see Ioannidou (forth.) on line 18.

5. See Ustinova (2017) and (1992–1998) 503–520 on mania and altered states of consciousness with further bibliography.

6. See Dodds (1951, 79 with n.102) on the corybantic tune and its diagnostic purpose.

7. According to "Handley's Law" a new development is introduced towards the end of the second act, which is often brought by the arrival of a new character (e.g., Act 1 in *Samia*, Act 2 in *Epitrepontes*; Handley 1970, 11; Zagagi 1994, 77–81). For the five-act structure of Menander's comedies, see Hunter (1985) 35–42; Blanchard (2007) 139–149, (1983) 3–64, and (1970) 38–51; cf. Blume (2014) 121–129; Scafuro (2014) 221–222; Webster (1974) 70–79; For the act number inscribed on the *Theophoroumenē* mosaic in Mytilene see Ioannidou (2015) 29–35.

THE ATTRIBUTION OF *PSI* 1480 TO *THEOPHOROUMENĒ*

Handley's attribution of this fragment to *Theophoroumenē*[8] remains uncertain. No lines cited elsewhere identify the fragment, nor does it explicitly refer to the god-possessed girl or any other known character from the play, as *PSI* 1280 does (*Theoph.* 8, 14, 22, 25, 29). When the fragment was first published by Bartoletti, it was identified as a "Hymn to Cybele" derived either from a collection of poems or a religious book. Pavese called it a "mime".[9] Both Bartoletti and Pavese, however, also considered the possibility that *PSI* 1480 derives from a drama. On the basis of a *scholion* on Eur. *Andromache* 103 which refers to the "sung parts" of *Theophoroumenē* (τὰ ἐν Θεοφορουμένῃ ᾀδόμενα), Pavese suggested that *PSI* 1480 could derive from that Menandrean comedy.[10] However, he rejected this possibility because of the text's varied metrical composition and the presence of possible stage directions, which, for him, all suggested mime rather than New Comedy. Pavese was right that stage directions (*Theoph.* 41a-b) are common in mime papyri, but examples also occur in comic papyri.[11] Last, Pavese's remark about a *scholion* to Euripides' *Andromache*, on the heroine's elegiac lament beginning at v. 103, provides compelling reason to attribute this text to *Theophoroumenē*. The scholiast compares Andromache's lament to a part of *Theophoroumenē* which he claims was sung by a speaker but were not "a monody", since these parts of Menander's plays did not involve lamentation:

> μονῳδία ἐστὶν ᾠδὴ ἑνὸς προσώπου θρηνοῦντος· ὥστ᾽ οὔτε τὸ ῾Ασιάτιδος γῆς σχῆμα᾽ μονῳδία ἐστί· τραγῳδεῖ γὰρ καὶ οὐκ ᾄδει· οὔτε τὰ ἐν Θεοφορουμένῃ ᾀδόμενα· οὐ θρηνεῖ γάρ

> "A *monōdia* is the song of one character lamenting; thus neither is "pride of the Asiatic land" a *monōdia*, because Andromache is declaiming in tragic

---

8. Handley (1969, 97) accepts Pavese's "strong point" that the presentation is "dramatic", and this is the reason the contrasting metres and dialects (see below) are fused together in this hymn.

9. Bartoletti (1965) 10; Pavese (1966) 66–69.

10. Bartoletti (1965) 9 n.2.

11. E.g., *Dysk.* 879/880: αὐλεῖ; *Perik.* 15: εξέρχε(ται) Δωρίς (cf. the discussion on the Interlinear Stage Directions below). See also the discussion in Gammacurta (2006) and especially pages 111–119, where a Menandrean papyrus with an abbreviated stage direction (*XNX*) is discussed (*P.Hamb.* II 120).

fashion and not singing, nor is the part sung in *Theophoroumenē*, because the character is not mourning"

<div align="right">(transl. Mastronarde 2017: 111–112)</div>

It seems likely that someone, perhaps in the Hellenistic period, believed that at least one section of *Theophoroumenē* was intended for singing. Alongside this Euripidean *scholion*, additional evidence supports the belief that *Theophoroumenē* included a music scene connected with Cybele and the Corybantes, whom this hymn seems to honour:[12]

i)   The text of *PSI* 1280 preserves the announcement of a music scene with a speaker singing or speaking a Hymn to Cybele, and the aulete playing the Corybantic tune (cf. lines 27 αὔλει and 47 αὔλει),[13]

ii) The play's rich iconographic tradition, which depicts primarily this music scene, with actors dancing and playing Cybele's musical instruments: the *aulos*, the cymbals and the *tympanon*, all of which are mentioned in this hymn: 41, 47, 51; see also lines 27–30.[14]

There are rare examples of Menander's comic characters singing. Apart from the music scene in *Theophoroumenē*, four other Menandrean comedies feature characters singing (*Leukadia* 11–16, fr. 2 and test. I, *Phasma* test. 7, *P. Oxy.* 3966 = Fab. Inc. 9[15]), or dancing (*Dyskolos* 880–958).[16] The last scene of *Dyskolos* had a continuous musical accompaniment (αὐλεῖ. τί μοι προσαυλεῖς, ἄθλι' οὗτος, 879–880), with verses in trochaic tetrameters recited, not sung, by the dancing actors (χόρευε δὴ σύ, 957).[17] Of these five music scenes, only the six-line song in *Leukadia* resembles the song

---

12. Cf. Handley (1965) on *Dyskolos* 230–232.

13. Cf. Gomme–Sandbach (1973) 404–405.

14. On the rich iconographic tradition of Menander see: Csapo (2014) 116–126; (2010) 140–167; (1999) 154–188; (1997) 165–182; Nervegna (2010) and (2013) esp. 120–200; Green (2010) 93–102 and (2008) 218–238 for full bibliography; Green–Handley (1995) 71–85; Webster (1995); Charitonidis et al. (1970); Bieber (1961) 87–107.

15. Handley (1992) 51–59 and (1990) 138–143; Arnott (2000) 599–605; cf. Petrides (2021: 172) who argues that the *Leukadia* anapaestic dimeters are recited rather than sung.

16. Dancing is also attested in an off–stage scene in *Epitrepontes* 1120 and it is implied in the participation of the girls in the festivals, e.g., *Georgos*, *Samia*, *Phasma*; for Menandrean heroines dancing in the festivals see Bathrellou (2012) 176 with n. 127.

17. Arnott (1979) 339–340 ad loc.; cf. West (1982) 77–78; for the dancing in this scene see O'Bryhim (2001) 96–111.

in *Theophoroumenē*. The last two lines of the *Leukadia* song, in which the female servant asks for silence (15 *εὐφημείσθω*, the characteristic call for silence before a hymn, prayer or sacrifice), suggest that a cult hymn followed in a lost part of the play. A music scene (*Leuk.* fr. 2) with a ritual hymn would parallel *PSI* 1480. Both songs were probably sung by female characters (the temple servant in *Leukadia* and the god-possessed girl in *Theophoroumenē*); both scenes belong to a religious context, since the servant in *Leukadia* seems to be going for water for a ritual cleaning; and both are accompanied by an *aulos*-player (see *Leuk.* fr. 2).

Even if Menander had never composed another music scene or ritual hymn, that should not keep us from assigning *PSI* 1480 to *Theophoroumenē*. As Handley rightly argues in his discussion of the music scene in *Dyskolos* (880–958n.): "until this play came to light, Menander was not known to have written in this metre [trochaic tetrameter]."[18]

THE TEXT

] καὶ τὸ χρυσίον	] and the gold(en)
εἰς] θάλατταν ἐκχέον	] pouring out [into the] sea
τοῦ]το προσφιλὲς	this]dear to [
τοῖ]ς παροῦσι δ' ἅμα λέγω	] at the same time, I tell those present
πά]ντες ἐπολολύξατε. 35	] everyone utter the ritual cry of the ololygmos
] βασίλεια μεγίστα,	] Greatest queen
] ἐμοὶ καὶ σεισικάρηνοι	] to me and those with shaking heads
Κ]ορύβαντές θ' ἁδυπρόσωποι	] and the sweet-faced Corybantes
θυ]σίαν κλειτάν θ' ἑκατόμβαν	] sacrifice and an illustrious hecatomb
] θεά, Φρυγία βασίλεια, 40	] goddess, Phrygian queen
τὰ σ]ὰ τύμπανα, μᾶτερ ὀρ[εία.	your] tympana, Mountain Mother
στέφανο(ν) ἐχέτω μ(ε)τ(ὰ) πλακιτῶ(ν)	Let (her) have a garland together with flat cakes
π]αρὰ χεῖρα θαλλού[ς	boughs at (her) hand.
] θορυβοῦντες οὔτ' ἐ[γὼ	] nor I raising a cry …
]ους σαυτῷ ποίε[ι	… you should now prepare (…) for yourself.

---

18. Barrett on Euripides' *Hippolytus* (58–60) shares the same view, arguing that the *argumentum e silentio* is not a strong one against the assignment of an unprecedented scene to a playwright's work.

κ]ατὰ χώραν, λαβὲ		staying in your place, you should take …
τὴν λιβανωτ]όν, ἐπιτίθει τε πῦρ	45	] and ignite the fire.
τὴν θ]εὸν γὰρ βούλομαι		… for I want to (…) the goddess
πάν]τες. αὔλει δὴ σύ μοι		every]one. Play your flute for me.
εὐμ]ενὴς γίνοιο δέ,		may you be well-disposed …
]μενοις αἰεί.		… always …
χ]αῖρ᾽, Ἄγγδιστι	50	] hail, Angdistis
μ]ετὰ κυμβάλων		] with cymbals
]..ρ ὀλολυγμῶν		] loud joyful cries
] μῆτερ θεῶν		] Mother of the Gods
Ἄγγ]διστι Φρυγία Κρησία		] Angdistis, Phrygian, Cretan
δ]εῦρο κυρία	55	] come here mistress
] νάπας βασίλεια		] queen of the wooden valley
] α Λυδίους		] Lydians

According to the text, the speaker enters to worship the goddess Cybele (35, 36–41, 47, 50–57) and prepares a sacrifice to her (41, 45), ordering "every-one present" (34) to raise a ritual cry (35) before she sings the first hymn to Cybele (36–41). After this hymn, the speaker asks for silence, an essential part of preparations for a sacrifice (42 θορυβοῦντες οὔτ᾽). The speaker then instructs someone to ignite what may be incense (45) and orders the *aulos*-player to accompany him/her singing the second part of the hymn to Cybele (47). The hymn to Cybele, the ritual instructions and prayers suggest a mimesis of ritual action staged in drama.[19]

There are two brief snatches of hymns to Cybele, the second of which may be addressed to Cybele and another deity, recalling the hymn to Dionysus and Cybele in Euripides' *Bacchae* (64–169). The text has four sections, all possibly performed by a single voice: instructions spoken in iambic trimeters (31–35), a hymn sung in the Doric dialect and in dactylic hexameters (36–41), another passage of ritual instructions spoken in iambic trimeter (42–49), and the second part of the hymn sung in mixed metres (50–57). Imperative expressions, such as δεῦρο indicate a *cletic* hymn, appropriate to

---

19. Bastianini (2008, 104) already considered this scene as probably linked to a cultic ceremony (real or imagined) due to the interlinear verses (41a-b), which refer to the garland, the clothes, and the foliage and the hymn in hexameters. On ritual drama in Greece from late Archaic to Hellenistic times see Nielsen (2002) esp. 81–88 and 260–274 (Cybele).

a context of sacrifice, accompanied by characteristic details like the goddess' genealogy, her place of cult, her powers and responsibilities.[20]

METRE AND VOCABULARY

The text of *PSI* 1480 is a composition in mixed metres. All editors agree that the spoken parts (31–35 and 42–49) are in iambic trimeters, and that the first sung hymn is in dactylic hexameters (36–41).[21] The second part of the hymn (50–57) appears to be in a more complex combination of lyric metres. It features the only uses of dactylic hexameters, glyconics and pherecrateans in extant Menander. However, this should not discourage us from assigning these hymns to him. We do not possess enough of the playwright's work to confidently determine whether he consistently used any metre other than the standard ones (iambic trimeter and tetrameter, trochaic tetrameter). Although iambic trimeter is ubiquitous as a dialogue-metre, several Menandrean scenes incorporate other metres. The trochaic tetrameter appears occasionally (*Dysk.* 708–783, *Perik.* 267–353, *Sa.* 421–615, 670–737, *Sik.* 110–149).[22] Anapaestic dimeters are used in *Kolax* (fr. 5) and in the above-mentioned *Leukadia* song, while ithyphallics are found in *Phasma* (test. 7). These examples demonstrate the use of non-standard metres where there is a dramatic need for a change in the tone and style of a scene. Following the same pattern, *PSI* 1480 could be listed alongside the few instances in which Menander uses metres not found elsewhere in his extant corpus, precisely because of the play's incorporation of a ritual music scene.

---

20. See examples in Furley – Bremer (2001b) e.g., 1.1, 2.4; cf. Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 61–71n.
21. The dactylic hexameter is a metre used in Greek hymns most of the time in combination with other metres: Furley – Bremer (2001b); Dale (1968) 25–46; West (1982) 128–132; cf. West (1987) 63–65; The parodos of Euripides' *Bacchae* (64–169), a hymn to Dionysus that also refers to Cybele and her cult, is also composed in a mixture of metres including the dactylic hexameter (see Dodds on *Bacchae* 64–169).
22. For the metre in Menander see Handley on *Dyskolos* (1965) 56–73; Gomme–Sandbach (1973) 36–39; Sommerstein on *Samia* (2013) 46–48 and 233; Furley on *Epitrepontes* (2009) 24–26 and on *Perikeiromenē* (2015b) 22–24.

The dactylic hexameters of the first part of the hymn are found in tragedy[23] and in cultic hymns of the 4th century,[24] including ritual songs preserved on stone,[25] composed either fully or partially in hexameters. Dactylic hexameter is common in magical hymns as well.[26] The hexameter does not appear frequently in cult-hymns to Cybele — either "actual" (like the Epidaurus hymn in stichic tellesilleans) or "theatrical" (Soph. *Phil.* 391–402; Eur. *Hel.* 1301–1368). However, they are found in the very brief *Homeric Hymn* 14, and in two post-Menandrean hymns: the *Orphic hymn* 27 to the Mother of the Gods (2nd–3rd c. AD), and a cult hymn to Cybele in dactylic metre from the 1st century AD and preserved on a papyrus found recently in Berenike (see below).

The metrical composition of the second part of the hymn has been controversial.[27] My reconstruction mainly follows Pavese's, except for lines 51 and 52. Line 50 is probably anapaestic dimeter (iambic trimeter is also

---

23. Barris (2011) 56–58 with notes; Furley (2007a) 65 with n.17; West (1982) 128. Aristophanes also uses dactylic metre in pastiches like the parody of high lyric in *Clouds* (275–290 and 299–313), the metrical parody in *Frogs* (1264–1277, 1284–1295, 1331–1363), the paratragic dactylic lament in *Peace* 1114ff and the probable tragic burlesque in the same play (789–816; cf. Parker 1997, 48–55).

24. E.g., the *Paian to Asklepios* (Furley – Bremer 2001a, 211–214 and Furley – Bremer 2001b, 161–167); a hymn by Isyllus of Epidaurus (Powell 1925, 132–135) and a hymn to Demeter (Powell 1925, 186–187); cf. Pavese (1966) 64.

25. E.g., a mourning-song for Asklepios and the second hymn to Telesphoros (Furley – Bremer 2001a, 267–271 and Furley – Bremer 2001b, 234–239); for dactylic hexameters with other metres, see e.g. the Hymn to All the Gods (Furley – Bremer 2001a, 244–245 and Furley – Bremer 2001b, 202–205); see also the 4th c. BC musical fragment of an Epidaurian cult hymn written also in hexameters (West 1986, 39–46). It is worthy to mention the Orphic (2nd–3rd c. AD) and *Magical Hymns* (2nd c. BC–5th c. AD), which, although post-Menandrean were written in hexameters.

26. In the *Magical Hymns* we find not only hexameters, which is the frequent metre of these hymns, but also iambic trimeters: the fact that the texts of these hymns purport to be instructions for monodic performance of rituals and spells allude to Cybele's hymn in *Theophoroumenē* and to the Greek hymnic tradition; on magical papyri see Petrovic (2015) 244–267 and Gordon (2012) 145–180 with further bibliography.

27. Handley (1969, 97), Arnott (1996), Bastianini (2008), and Austin (2013) argue that lines 51, 53–55 and 57 are sung iambic trimeters (with infringement of Porson's law in 51, 54 and 57) and lines 52 and 56 in dactylic hexameter (50 is a spondeiazon). Bartoletti (1965) identified the text of *PSI* 1480 as two hymnic passages forming part of a collection of hymns, and suggested that lines 42–57 of the second hymn were written in dochmiac and ionic cola. Pavese (1966) argued that lines 51, 53–55 and probably 57 are composed in sung iambic trimeters (with infringement of Porson's law at 51, 54 and 57), but suggested that line 50 was written in anapaestic dimeter and lines 52 and 56 in anapaestic dimeter catalectic. Lloyd-Jones suggested to Pavese (1966, 69 Addendum) an aeolic composition in glyconics and pherecrateans.

possible); 51 is a glyconic or telesillean; 52 a pherecratean (but anapaestic dimeter catalectic is also possible); 53–55 are iambic trimeters; 56 a pherecreatean; and 57 an iambic trimeter. Although the loss of the first half of line 51 makes verification impossible, it may be a telesillean rather than a glyconic.

The first part of the hymn has a strong Doric colouring (36 μεγίστα, 38 ἀδυπρόσωποι, 39 κλειτάν, ἑκατόμβαν, 41 Μᾶτερ), imitating the Doric[28] α of sung hexameters and hymns in tragedy[29] (Eur. *Hipp.* 58–71 σεμνοτάτα, κόρα, καλλίστα) and of the real and theatrical hymns to Cybele. The second part seems to be composed in Attic (53).[30] Besides this variation in dialect and meters (iambics, dactylic hexameters, and mixed meters), the texts of both hymns are distinctly poetic. The first hymn's invocation to Cybele consists of rare poetic compound epithets (38 ἀδυπρόσωποι) and new words (37 σεισικά-ρηνοι).[31] Menander does not employ these compounds in a parodic manner, as Aristophanes does (e.g., Ar. *Av.* 1392–1400, *Nu.* 316–318, 333), but rather to craft a hymn to a goddess with elevated language and heightened diction.

Both hymns also share a religious context, created by references to a sacrifice (39, 45), Cybele (36, 40–41, 53–54), her followers (37–38, 57?), and the musical instruments typical of her cult (41, 47, 51), which occur in both the songs and their surrounding text.

THE IDENTITY OF THE SPEAKER

The identity of the speaker is uncertain, since the papyrus is missing its left side, and therefore preserves no speaker names. Editors and commentators have generally accepted the god-possessed girl as the most plausible speaker, since the end of *PSI* 1280 (*Theoph.* 25–30) suggests that she will enter

---

28. "Lyric α", according to Handley (1969) 97; cf. Bartoletti (1965) 9–10 who notes that the Doric forms of some words (see e.g. ll. 36, 38, 39, 41) are normal in choral poetry.

29. Cf. West (1982) 77 and 128; Menander uses the Doric dialect again in his *Aspis* (439–464), where the fake doctor speaks in Doric, the dialect of famous medical centres such as Sicily and Kos, in order to be more convincing (cf. Gomme–Sandbach [1973] on *Aspis* 465–490 with Willi [2014] 182–183).

30. E.g., the epigraphic hymn to the Mother from Epidaurus, where the lyric *koine* is combined with some Doricisms: 2 ὠρανῷ, 3 Ματέρα. The latter is of course common in choral songs in tragedy (e.g. Soph. *Phil.* 393: μᾶτερ, Eur. *Hel.* 1340 ματρὸς; *Hel.* 1302 μάτηρ θεῶν; Eur. *Ba.* μεγάλας ματρὸς 78–79, 91, 128 (Rhea), 131).

31. The compound epithets point to the style of Homeric and "dithyrambic" choral poetry, and constitute one of the main features of the language of the "New Music" in late Classical dithyrambs (see LeVen 2014, 150–188).

when she hears the Corybantic tune. The absence of the god-possessed girl from most of the images of *Theophoroumenē*'s music scene —if one accepts that the Antioch mosaic represents the young girl— might argue against locating her here.[32] However, the varied representations of the music scene on the Antioch and Kissamos mosaics prove that the Mytilene and Dioskourides mosaics feature only one of many depictions of *Theophoroumenē*'s music scene. Possibly, the artist of those mosaics represented the beginning of the music scene, with characters playing music and dancing before taking their positions to see the girl emerge and sing the hymn (*Theoph.* 28–30).[33]

Consequently, there are three possibilities regarding the speaker of this hymn, each with arguments for and against them. The speaker(s) could be: (a) the group of musicians depicted in the iconographic tradition; (b) a character instructed by Kleinias and Lysias to see whether the girl responds to the tune by emerging on stage and dancing; or (c) the god-possessed girl herself. In the first two possibilities, the girl could therefore emerge on stage after hearing the Corybantic tune, but without singing it. In fact, in Rohde's description of the Dionysiac cult's Bacchic dance, to which Cybele's cult was related, "we hear nothing about singing: the violence of the dance left no breath for regular songs".[34] Nevertheless, a possessed character in a dramatic text could dance and sing simultaneously, like the maenads in Euripides' *Bacchae*, or Cassandra in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Trojan Women*. In addition, in dramatic contexts and real life, hymns were often sung by choruses — of women and not men as depicted on the mosaics (e.g., in Eur. *Helen* 1301–1368 and *Bacchae* 64–169), since, as Furley – Bremer note, "in the Hellenistic period the role of the solo voice in cult poetry may have become so dominant as to reduce the choral responses to single lines".[35] Aristophanes' representations of ritual scenes also depict a single character, not the chorus, performing a hymn or a prayer (e.g., Ar. *Av.* 846–1057; *Vesp.* 860–890; *Pax* 937–1125).

---

32. Gutzwiller–Çelik (2012) 608–610; on the iconographic tradition of *Theophoroumenē*, see page 164, n.14 above.

33. On the Mytilene mosaic see Charitonidis et al. (1970) 46–49, pl. 6,1 and 20,2; see also Webster (1995) vol. I, p.95, XZ 40 and vol. ii, p. 470 6DM 2.5; Pöhlmann 2022: 118-121; Gutzwiller–Çelik (2012) 608–610, Nervegna (2010) 28–29; on the Dioskourides mosaic see Simon (1938) 157–160; Webster (1995) vol.i, p.94, XZ 39 and vol.ii, p.186, 3DM 2; Pickard–Cambridge (1946) 223–225 with nn.; Bieber (1961) 96 with n.38; Charitonidis et al. (1970) pl.6.2.

34. Rohde (1982) 257 n.14.

35. Furley – Bremer (2001a) 20–28; see the instances of melic hexameters from tragedy and comedy, which West provides (1982, 128), noting that "in most cases lyrics are sung by single voices".

Consequently, we cannot rule out the third possibility: that of the girl singing the hymn to Cybele — even if she is in frenzy. Pindar (*Pyth.* 3.78) attests that young girls would visit a sanctuary dedicated to Cybele to sing in honour of Cybele and Pan. The girl could also fake divine possession, like Odysseus in Sophocles' *Odysseus Mainomenos* (fr. 462),[36] in order to achieve her goal, probably to avoid an arranged marriage, or to marry the man she loves and of whom her father would probably not approve.[37] She would therefore sing and dance in a —feigned— frenzy, achieving comic effect, to persuade people that she is genuinely possessed.

If the girl performs these lines, the scene is exceptional in New Comedy. Women are rarely given important speaking parts in Menander. The orders the speaker gives (35, 44–45) could address characters on stage (Lysias and Kleinias),[38] the audience (e.g., *Dysk.* 522, 643, 666; *Epitr.* 419 and 878), or a group of Corybantes,[39] who could have been mute characters, like the Lycian captives in the opening scene of *Aspis* (140–141) or the group of people accompanying Sostratos' mother in *Dyskolos* (431–432, 439–441). They could even address people who exist only in the mad girl's mind, which might prompt laughter or a quiver of fear for her mental state.

INTERTEXTUALITY AND INTERVISUALITY[40]
WITH ACTUAL CULT AND THEATRICAL HYMNS

Hymns[41] (or "sung prayers", as Bremer (1981, 193) defines them) are an integral part of Greek drama. They occur frequently in the *parodoi* of tragedy

---

36. Odysseus feigned madness in order to avoid the participation in the Trojan expedition, but Palamedes exposed his plan (e.g. Apollodoros *Epit.* 3.7; Lucian *De Domo* 30). On the genuine or feigned possession of the girl, see Ioannidou (forthcoming).

37. Cf. e.g., Daos' plan in *Aspis*, which is meant to prevent a marriage, or Gorgias' plan in *Dyskolos*, which aims at obtaining the girl's father's approval for the wedding.

38. Arnott (1996) 67; This suggestion is difficult to follow since the young men are hidden at the end of *PSI* 1280 (*Theoph.* 28–30) and the girl might not be able to see them.

39. This group of people could be mixed girls and boys, since the references to ὀλολυγμός and to τύμπανα seem to point to a group of women as the main protagonists of this real or imaginary ritual, but there are also masculine words (35 πά]ντες ἐπολολύξατε, 42 θορυβοῦντες) and references to Corybantes, who normally are men (38 Κορύβαντες ἀδυπρόσωποι).

40. The term "intervisuality" refers to the interrelationship between *opsis* and the performance of the scenes. For the term as a "referentiality of the visual" in Menander, see Petrides (2014) esp. pp. 84–155.

41. For the nature of Greek hymns, cult songs, performance, music etc., see Furley – Bremer (2001a) 1–64 with bibliography; Furley – Bremer (2001a) collect a number of Greek

and in the *parabases* of Aristophanes, as well as in depictions of sacrifices, feasting, celebration, prayer, or collective terror. These "theatrical hymns", which, to quote Furley – Bremer, "purport to be examples of the former type [actual cult hymns] but are in fact part of the dramatic illusion", constitute a "literary imitation" of actual cult–hymns.[42] The text of *PSI* 1480 provides a "theatrical hymn" to Cybele which (like the theatrical hymns to the goddess in Eur. *Hel.* 1301–1368 and *Bacchae* 64–169) seems to imitate authentic hymns to the Mother of the Gods in the tradition of cult hymns and lyric poetry.[43] The text of *PSI* 1480 resembles traditional hymns in content, style, and metre.

1. The *Homeric Hymn* 14 (7th c. BC) is a brief hymnic address to the Mother of the Gods written in the epic style (dactylic hexameter and epic dialect), probably used as a prelude to longer epic recitations.[44] The hymn invokes and praises the Mother with a short description of some of her cult characteristics, such as her love for *tympana* and *auloi* (3; cf. *Theoph.* 28, 41). Notably, the hymns of *PSI* 1480, though written for a comedy, use a Homeric formula (39 κλειτὰν ἑκατόμβαν).

2. The *Orphic Hymn* 27 (2nd–3rd c. AD) invites the frenzy-loving (13 φίλοιστρε) Cybele who delights in the tympana (11 τυμπανοτερπής) to join the prayers of her worshippers with her chariot (2–3).[45] She is depicted as the queen of the sky (5–8), the earth, the sea (*Theoph.* 32) and the rivers (see *Theoph.* 31).

3. The epigraphic hymn from Epidaurus is found in an inscription containing several hymns at Epidaurus and dating probably to the 4th/3rd c. BC.

---

hymns sung either by a chorus or a solo singer (or a combination of the two) within the context of both real and fictional religious cult from Homer down to the Hellenistic period; cf. Bremer (1981) 193–215; Furley (2007b) 117–131, (1995) 29–46, (1993) 21–41.

42. Furley – Bremer (2001a) 14 ("[...] literary imitations of 'authentic' cult songs which are numerous in tragedy and comedy"), 17, and 273–279. For a full account of hymns in Greek tragedy, see Furley – Bremer (2001a) 37; 273–336 (esp. 278) with commentary in Furley – Bremer (2001b) 241–329 and bibliography; cf. Calame (2015, 179–193), on hymnic forms in tragedy, and Swift (2010), on choral lyric parts in tragedy. For (cult) hymns in Euripidean tragedy, see Furley (1995) 37–41 with n.44 and Bremer (1981) 213. For hymns in Aristophanes, see Furley – Bremer (2001a) 337–368 and (2001b) 331–371; Parker (1997); Furley (2000) 183–197.

43. For a detailed discussion and bibliography on actual cult hymns see Furley – Bremer (2001a) 214–224, esp. 219–220.

44. On the *Homeric Hymns* see Rayor (2014); Faulkner (2011).

45. See Morand (2015) 209–223 and Jáuregui (2015) 224–243.

The hymn itself is believed to be "much older".[46] Its language is similar to our hymn: the lyric *koinē* is combined with some Doricisms (e.g., 2 ὠρανῷ, 3 Ματέρα). The text begins by inviting the Muses (2 δεῦρ' ἔλθετ'), much like, in *PSI* 1480 (55 δεῦρο) Cybele is called, but in the "cletic" style, to "come", probably to help the girl in her sacrifice.

4. The papyrus recently found in Berenike preserves a fragmentary cult hymn to Cybele, which seems to refer to the rites of the Mother of the Gods[47]: the first, best preserved column describes the worshippers tossing their heads and cymbals clashing, accompanied by the Phrygian flute (fr. a, col. 1.7–12).

On-stage representations of rituals like the scene in *PSI* 1480 are also found in tragedies. In *Hippolytus* (58-71), the eponymous hero enters with a group (κῶμος) of servants to worship the goddess Artemis by singing a hymn (τιμῶν θεὰν ὕμνοισιν), as Aphrodite informs us in the prologue (51–56).[48] Hippolytus alone sings the first three lines, calling the servants to join in his hymn (58–60). In the short hymn which follows (61–71), Hippolytus asks those present to join him in singing (61–71), just as the god-possessed girl does (*Theoph.* 34–35). The hymns in both plays also feature the same poetic language (e.g., 61 πότνια σεμνοτάτα, 64 καλλίστα) and Doric colouring (63 ὦ κόρα). A scene that could potentially parallel the god-possessed girl's entrance is Cassandra's entrance in Euripides' *Trojan Women* (308–341). Cassandra, in a frenzy and holding her wedding torches, sings a lyric song to Hymenaeus and Hecate (322–323) and calls those present to dance and sing with her (325, 335, 338–41; cf. *Theophoroumenē* 27–28, 35). A less precise parallel to *PSI* 1480, which nonetheless shows a divine ritual incorporated within dramatic action, appears in Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* (1234–1282). There, the chorus sings a hymn to Pythian Apollo to accompany Iphigeneia, Orestes and Pylades on their sacrificial procession towards Artemis' sanctuary.[49]

---

46. Furley – Bremer (2001a) 214–224 and Furley – Bremer (2001b) 167–175.

47. The text is recognized by the first editors (Ast–Lougovaya 2015, 654–678) as a dramatic work or collection of songs. Despite the similarities with *Theophoroumenē*'s hymns to Cybele in metre, subject (and possibly language: doric ἀμετέρους, column 1 line 8), Ast–Lougovaya (2015, 662–664), who considered *Theophoroumenē* as the play from which the Berenikē hymn derives from, do not attribute it to this play.

48. Barrett on Eur. *Hipp.* 58–71 with a reference to a parallel scene in *Phaethon* (fr. 781 14–31), where the secondary chorus of girls coming on stage with Merope to sing the wedding song.

49. Furley (1995) 37–39; Furley – Bremer (2001a) 329–336 and Furley – Bremer (2001b) 322–329.

The *Bacchae* parodos in particular exhibits parallels with *PSI* 1480, both in performance and content (with the hymn to Dionysus and Cybele modelled on actual cult hymns).[50] The bacchants emerge accompanied by the piper (*Ba.* 128–129, 160; cf. *Theoph.* 28), wearing ivy crowns (*Ba.* 81, 106; *Theoph.* 21), and equipped with the *tympanon* (*Ba.* 58–59, 156, 120–134).[51] The *Bacchae*'s music scene with the dancing and singing god–possessed women might have provided a poetic (and non-paratragic) model for our music scene in *Theophoroumenē*. Thus, the latter can be seen as a "serious" hymn, echoing these and other lyric and choral songs from tragedy (particularly Euripides) along with scenes of sacrifice or feasting in Aristophanes.[52] Specifically, the girl's orders to "those present" (35, 42, 45, 47) interlaced with the two hymns, resemble a pattern of "ordering worshippers and singing a hymn" found in Aristophanic comedies, where slaves take orders to prepare a sacrifice or a feast, sometimes followed by a hymn to the gods.[53] In addition, a scene in *Thesmophoriazusae* depicts a chorus of women dancing and singing a hymn to the gods (947–1000) in the same manner as the god-possessed girl here.

INTERLINEAR STAGE DIRECTIONS

After the first hymn to Cybele (36–41) and before the spoken iambics which seem to be instructions for the preparation of a sacrifice (42–49), there are two interlinear lines of prose. They read:

---

50. Dodds on *Bacchae* 64–169.
51. Cf. *Theophoroumenē*'s Mosaics with the garlanded actor-figures playing the pipe, the cymbals and the *tympanon*.
52. See Porter (1999–2000, 157 nn.1–2) for ancient sources and modern authors on the relationship between Menander and Euripides; on Menander and Tragedy see Katsouris (1975a) and (1975b); Hurst (2015) 73–103 and (1990) 93–122; Gutzwiller (2000) 102–137; Cusset (2003); Blanchard (2007) 63–70; Furley (2009) 2–8 with nn.; Sommerstein (2013) 36–40.
53. E.g., in *Birds* we have a parody of sacrifice, hymn-singing and prayer (848–903; Parker 1997, 322–323); in *Acharnians*, Dicaiopolis orders his basket-bearer and his slave to prepare the sacrifice (241–244, 253–262), prays to Dionysus (247–252), sings a (mock ritual) hymn to Phales (263–279), and calls the group of servants to join him (1231–1235; Cf. *Av.* 848–850, 1720, 1755–1758, *Pl.* 1209). In *Thesmophoriazusae* (101–129), the cult hymn to Apollo, Artemis and Leto is a dialogue between a celebrant, who gives instructions, and a chorus of female worshippers, who obey eagerly (Austin – Olson ad loc.; cf. 947–948; Parker 1997, 403); additionally, the cletic hymn to the gods (312–330) is preceded by Critylla's orders for ritual silence (295–311).

στέφανο(ν) ἐχέτω μ(ε)τ(ὰ) πλακιτῶ(ν) / π]αρὰ χεῖρα θαλλού[ς

Let (her) have a garland together with flat cakes / boughs at (her) hand

The text is written in smaller, more cursive letters, partly in abbreviated form, which seem to have been written by the same hand that copied the main text of the papyrus.[54] The reference to the garland (στέφανο(ν)) is important, given the significant role garlands seem to have in this play. The girl appears to wear a garland, as *PSI* 1280 suggests (*Theoph.* 21 ἢ σὺ τί λαβοῦσα στέφανον ἔξω περιπατεῖς), possibly because she is about to participate in a religious ceremony or prepare a sacrifice to Cybele.[55] Similar ritual scenes, in which characters put on garlands either for a sacrifice, or to honor the god by adorning their sanctuary or statue, are found in tragedy, comedy, and Menander (e.g., Eur. *Hipp.* 73–74, Men. *Perik.* 999, *Geo.* 8, *Dysk.* 51; *Sa.* 74 with Arnott [2000] 26–29 with n.17 and Sommerstein [2013] ad loc). The speaker must take a garland (στέφαν(ον) ἐχέτω) to "perform the priestly function" in the sacrifice by giving orders to those present to keep silent (42 θορυβοῦντες οὔτ'), to light the altar fire or burn incense (45 ἐπιτίθει τε πῦρ), and to play the *aulos* (47 αὔλει). The word ἐχέτω together with π]αρὰ χεῖρα resembles the depiction of attendants in the iconographic tradition of Cybele's mystery rites. There, the ritual implements, like torches and purification vessels, appear frequently in the hands of young attendants depicted on Cybele's reliefs.[56]

The ritual context is completed by the "branches" (θαλλὸὺ[ς) and "flat cakes" (πλακιτῶ(ν) — if Austin's supplement is correct), which seem to be brought on stage together as befits a ritual scene. In a similar scene from Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (743), "Neighbour" instructs his slaves to arrange everything for the procession: "put the olive-branches next to the honeycombs" (742–743: τὰ κηρία κόμιζε· τοὺς θαλλοὺς καθίστη πλησίον: Sommerstein on *Eccl.* 743 mentions the Panathenaic procession, during which a group of old men (the *thallophoroi*) carried olive-branches). Athenaeus quotes a passage from Eratosthenes which mentions a branch bearer in a festival (τὸν φέροντα τοὺς θαλλούς; 7.276b). This word could also

54. Bastianini (2008, 102) shares the same view.
55. Gomme – Sandbach on *Theoph.* 21n.; see Eur. *Bacchae* 81, 177 with the garlanded maenads singing a hymn to Dionysus.
56. Roller (1999) 149 with n.19; figs. 41, 42.

describe young olive branches as the material of which the garland is made (e.g., Aeschin. *In Ctesiph.* 187.8 ἔπειτα κελεύει στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον).

Much has been written about these interlinear lines. They have been variously identified as:

(1.a) stage directions (*parepigraphē*) incorporated in the text describing the speaker's actions before she begins to sing.[57]

(1.b) "intrusive" stage directions originally written in the margins of the archetype, but inserted into the main text by a scribe who considered them part of the play, as happens in several manuscripts;[58]

(2) two dactylic hexameters which the scribe tried to restore in an inadequate space, having found them omitted;[59]

(3) part of the text, but prose.

Views 1b and 2 seem unlikely. The gap between lines 11 and 12 is bigger than all the other gaps between lines on the papyrus. This shows that the gap was left on purpose, to add lines important to the performance, but not part of the actual text, explaining the smaller script. If the scribe intended to copy them as part of the text, he would not have written them in an abbreviated form, in the center of the line, and in small script. In addition, Handley himself notes that "it would be adventurous, having ascribed lyric hexameters to Menander, to credit him with prose also, but one remembers that Aristophanes was sometimes capable of it, for example at *Thesm.* 295ff. in the context of a bidding prayer at the Thesmophoria".[60] Perhaps there is no reason to ascribe prose to Menander (view no. 3). But there is also no reason for the speaker of the hymn, who anyhow instructs those present, to switch from giving instructions in dactylic hexameter or iambic trimeter to prose. Nor is there reason for the speaker's instructions to switch from the 2nd person plural to the 3rd person singular.

---

57. Bastianini (2004, 209–212) believes that these instructions were intended for the better understanding of the text by the readers. It is noteworthy that when Bartoletti first published the text, as part of a collection of hymns preserved on papyri, he considered the interlinear lines as instructions for ritual separating the two hymns to Cybele (Bartoletti 1965, 11 with n.1); Arnott (1996a) 67 n.3, McNamee (2007) 314.

58. Examples of this trend can be found in Taplin (1977) 121–132, and Page (1934) 113–115; cf. Dawe (1978) 129–130.

59. See Handley (1969) 98 with n.34 and 35; Arnott (1996, 67 n.3) gives this view as a less probable solution to the problem.

60. Handley (1969) 98.

Consequently, the first explanation (1a) seems the most plausible. The two interlinear lines seem to be stage directions, written between two lines of the main text (e.g., Men. *Dysk.* 879 αὐλεῖ, P. Bodmer 4, 3rd c. AD; Aesch. *Dictyulci* 802 ποππυσμός, *P.Oxy.* 2161, 2nd c. AD; Soph. *Ichneutai* 2 ῥοῖβδος, B. M. Pap. 2068, later ii AD; the two last examples are written interlinear and centered, but not in a smaller script).[61] Marginal stage directions that "intrude" into the main text were not uncommon in ancient dramatic manuscripts, according to Austin–Olson (on *Thesm.* 99): "[…] some ancient commentators or editors argued that a stage direction (παρεπιγραφή) μινυρισμός (cf. 100n.) ought to be inserted in the text 'between the two verses'."

The directions of *PSI* 1480, however, are different from the marginal or interlinear stage directions on tragic and comic papyri, most of which can be easily deduced from the main text.[62] For example, Aesch. *Eum.* 117, 120: μυγμός and 123, 126: ὠγμός (moaning), Eur. *Cyclops* 487: ᾠδὴ ἔνδοθεν (song from within), Soph. *Phil.* 787 προσέρπει,[63] Ar. *Ra.* 311/12: αὐλεῖ τις ἔνδοθεν (*aulos* music from within), *Ra.* 1263/4 διαύλειον προσαυλεῖ τις (someone plays the double-*aulos*), *Av.* 222/3 αὐλεῖ (*aulos* music), *Ach.* 113/4 ἀνανεύει (he nods in denial) and 114/5 ἐπινεύει (he nods with approval). Unlike the above–mentioned directions, certain directions cannot be easily inferred from the primary text: Aesch. *Eum.* 119: μυγμὸς διπλοῦς ὀξύς (shrill moaning twice) and *Diktyoulkoi* 803: ποππυσμός (clucking), Ar. *Thesm.* 129/130: ὀλολύζει ὁ γέρων (the old man makes a noise) and 276/277: ὀλολύζουσιν (they make a noise). Menander's texts also preserve stage directions of both kinds. Some can be easily deduced from the text (Men. *Dysk.* 879/880: αὐλεῖ,

---

61. It is worth referring to the Tbilisi hymn to Dionysus (*P.Ross.Georg.* 1.1), a 3rd c. AD narrative hymn in hexameters which belongs to the tradition of *Homeric Hymns* and tells the story of Lycurgus, who was driven mad and killed by Dionysus, after he enraged the god. After the last verse of the hymn, five lines are written vertically in the space between the third column and the edge of the papyrus. The text is not very well preserved, but its editors have suggested that the first two lines are metrical and thus part of the hymn, while the last three are notes-instructions for the performance of the hymn (62–64: τὰ πρὸ τούτων [.... / ἵνα τὸ ποίημ[α... / .... λε̣ως [....; Furley 2007a, esp. 71 and 79–80). This papyrus' content does not derive from a dramatic play, yet the ritual instructions resemble the directions given in *PSI* 1480. For the Tbilisi hymn to Dionysus see Furley (2015a) 121–138 and Furley (2007a) 63–84.

62. Revermann (2006) 320–325, Taplin (1977) 121–132 with bibliography; on "explicit" and "implicit" stage directions in ancient drama see Poe (2003) 420–448 and Chancellor (1979) 133–152. Cf. Turner (1987) 13.

63. This word has been generally accepted as an intrusive stage direction (see Dawe 1978, 129), but Ussher *ad loc.* disagrees with this view noting that the repetition is made deliberately.

plays the *aulos*),[64] and some help the reader to better understand the staging (*Perik.* 15: εξέρχε(ται) *Δωρίς*, 28: εἰσέρχε(εται) [*Πολέμων* (*interlinear*), 37: *Πάταιχ*(ος) (*interlinear*), 49: *Πολέ*(μων) *εἰσ*(ε)ισι, *Πάταιχ*(ος) (*interlinear*). Men. *Aspis* 93 and 467 ἡσυχῇ (words to be spoken aside)[65], *Misoumenos* 269: εισιον[τ]ι (they go in).

Previous discussions of these two lines overlooked two significant elements: first, the bigger gap between lines 41–42 mentioned above, and second, the 3rd-person singular imperative ἐχέτω, which seems to instruct the character or the actor. By contrast, tragic and comic stage directions were written mostly in the indicative mood, marked by nouns, adverbs, or verbs in the 3rd person singular (e.g., ἡσυχῇ, αὐλεῖ (or αὔλει), ποππυσμός), as if describing the characters' movements to help readers to understand the scene (e.g., Aesch. *Sept.* 84/85, 89/90; Soph. *Phil.* 787/788; Cf. Σ Soph. *Aj.* 839–842: [...] ὑποβληθέντα πρὸς σαφήνειαν τῶν λεγομένων). These examples and those from tragic and comic papyri reveal that the "traditional stage directions" aim to contextualize utterances or call for inarticulate sounds on — or off-stage.

PSI 1480 clearly describes the movements of a character, through the use of the 3rd–person singular imperative (ἐχέτω), which seems to provide instructions for the actor performing the ritual ("let the actor [...]").[66] Furthermore, the text provides explicit stage directions for the other characters present (e.g., 35 πάντες ἐπολολύξατε, 42 θορυβοῦντες οὔτε, 44 λαβέ, 45 ἐπιτίθει τε πῦρ, 47 αὔλει δὴ σύ μοι), obviating the need for (marginal) stage directions. The speaker's actions, however, are not indicated by the text, demanding an interlinear stage direction. The wider space and smaller script in which the two lines were written suggest that they were intended as notes for the actor. Going one step further, one may suggest that these stage directions were written for performance purposes by a practitioner, not for clarification purposes by a scholar. Due to the papyrus' bad state, the left-hand margins of the papyrus —where any dramatic sigla would have been— are lost and therefore, it cannot be ascertained whether it is an actors' rehearsal copy.[67] Consequently, *PSI* 1480 might have been owned by

---

64. Handley on *Dysk.* 879 and p. 48 with n. 2.
65. See Gomme–Sandbach on *Aspis* 93–96 and on 467. Arnott on 93 and 467 notes that the two words refer presumably to the tone of the actors' delivery.
66. Cf. Parsons (2014 on *P.Oxy.* 5189) also argues that the second–person imperatives and even the first–person singular verbs that are preserved on *P.Oxy.* 5189 are both stage directions.
67. On actors' / directors' papyri see Finglass (2015) 277–278, Nervegna (2013) 239–242

an actor, a director, or a prompter,[68] into which directions for the actor's movements were incorporated.[69]

If this papyrus derives from *Theophoroumenē*, it is unique among Hellenistic poetry and Menander's oeuvre. It preserves the most famous scene in the iconographic tradition of Menandrean comedies; it is connected intertextually and intervisually with ritual and theatrical hymns; it is a rare example of singing in extant Menander; it is one of the few times Menander gives a female character a role as important as acting like a maenad; and it contains a unique example of this particular format of stage directions.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arnott, W. G. (1979), *Menander*, vol. i, Cambridge Mass. – London.

Arnott, W. G. (1996), *Menander*, vol. ii, Cambridge Mass. – London.

Arnott, W. G. (2000), *Menander*, vol. iii, Cambridge Mass. – London.

Austin, C. (2013), *Menander: Eleven Plays,* Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, suppl. Vol. 37, Cambridge.

Austin, C. – Olson, D. S. (2004), *Thesmophoriazusae*. Oxford – New York.

Ast, R. – Lougovaya, J. (2015), "Cybele on the Red Sea: New Verses from Berenike", *GRBS* 55, 654–678.

---

with further bibliography and Turner (1963) 126–128. Reference to the existence of practitioners' or actors' copies: e.g. *P.Oxy.* 4546 (Eur. *Alcestis*: only the actor's parts, Admetus' parts); Finglass (2015), Hamilton (1974), Marshall (2004) and (2006); Revermann (2006) 88–90. See also Nervegna (2007) 14–42 and *P.Oxy.* 2458 (full script of a play; Marshall 2004).

68. Evidence for the existence of prompters appears only in the mid-2nd century AD (Page 1934, 98–100); Page (1934, 1–14, cf. 43) has also shown that written copies of tragedies suffered from actors' interpolations from the second half of the fifth century, which booksellers sometimes incorporated in the actual text, especially from 400–200 BC (Gentili 1979, 17–18 with nn.).

69. This view has already been rejected by Bastianini (2004, 209–212), who argues that these lines are more likely to represent an endeavour to enhance the understanding of the scene rather than to be used in an actual production. Gammacurta (2006, 248–250), however, argues that stage directions, which could derive from papyri written for performances, show the intentions of the scribe or director and are not part of the manuscript *paradosis* of a play, contrary to Taplin's view (1977, 121–122) that most of these directions are additions made by readers.

Barris, S. J. (2011), *Metre and Rhythm in Greek Verse*, Wiener Studien Beiheft 35, Wien.

Bartoletti, V. (1965), "Inni a Cibele", *Dai papiri della Società Italiana: Omaggio all'XI Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, Milano 2–8 settembre 1965, 9–15.

Bastianini, G. (2004), "Osservazioni su *PSI* XV 1480 (*Theophoroumene*?)", in G. Bastianini, – A. Casanova (eds.), *Menandro: Cent'anni di papiri. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi*, Firenze, 12–13 Giugno 2003, *Studi e Testi di Papirologia* 5, Florence, 205–214.

Bastianini, G. (2008), "1480: Menandro (?), *Theophoroumene* (?)", *Papiri Greci e Latini* 15, 101–106.

Bathrellou, E. (2012), "Menander's *Epitrepontes* and the Festival of the Tauropolia", *Classical Antiquity*, 31.2, 151–92.

Bieber, M (1961), *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, 2nd edition, Princeton.

Blanchard, A. (1970), "Recherches sur la composition des comédies de Ménandre", *REG* 83, 38–51.

Blanchard, A. (1983), *Essai sur la composition des comédies de Ménandre*, Paris.

Blanchard, A. (2007), *La comédie de Ménandre: Politique, éthique, esthétique*, Paris.

Blume, H–D. (2014), "The Development of the Five-Act-Structure", in A. Casanova (ed.), *Menandro e l'evoluzione della commedia greca. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi in memoria di Adelmo Barigazzi*, Firenze, 121–129.

Bremer, J. M. (1981), "Greek Hymns", in H. S. Versnel (ed.), *Faith, Hope and Worship: Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World*, Leiden, 193–215.

Calame, C. (2015), *Qu'est-ce que la mythologie grecque?*, Paris.

Cavallo, G. – Maehler, H. (2008), *Hellenistic Bookhands*, Berlin.

Chancellor, G. (1979), "Implicit Stage Directions in Ancient Greek Drama: Critical Assumptions and the Reading Public", *Arethusa* 12, 133–52.

Charitonidis, S. – Kahil, L. – Ginouvès, R. (1970), *Les Mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre a Mytilène*, Antike Kunst Beiheft 6, Bern.

Csapo, E. (1997), "Mise en scène théâtrale, scène de théâtre artisanale: les mosaïques de Ménandre à Mytilène, leur contexte social et leur tradition iconographique", in B. Le Guen (ed.), *De la scène aux gradins, Pallas* 47, 165–182.

Csapo, E. (1999), "Performance and Iconographic Tradition in the Illustrations of Menander", in J. Porter – E. Csapo – C. W. Marshall – R. C. Cetterer (eds.), *Crossing the Stages: The Production, Performance and Reception of Ancient Theatre: Selected Papers Presented at a Conference Held in Saskatoon, Saskarchewan on 22-25 Oct. 1997, Syllectica Classica* 10, 154–188.

Csapo, E. (2010), *Actors and Icons of the Ancient Theatre*, Chichester.

Csapo, E. (2014), "The Iconography of Comedy", in M. Revermann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy*, Cambridge, 95–127.

Cusset, C. (2003), *Ménandre ou La comédie tragique*, Paris.

Dale, A. M. (1968), *The Lyric Metres of Greek Drama*, Cambridge.

Dawe, D. R. (1978), *Studies on the Text of Sophocles, vol. iii: Women of Trachis – Antigone – Philoctetes – Oedipus at Colonus*, Leiden.

Dodds, E. R. (1951), *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London.

Faulkner, A. (2011), *The Homeric Hymns: Interpretative Essays*, Oxford.

Finglass, P. J. (2015), "Reperformances and the Transmission of Texts", *Trends in Classics*, 7, 259–276.

Furley, W. D. (1993), "Types of Greek Hymns", *Eos* lxxxi, 21–41.

Furley, W. D. (1995), "Praise and Persuasion in Greek Hymns", *JHS* 115, 29–46.

Furley, W. D. (2000), "Hymns in Euripidean Tragedy", in M. Cropp – K. Lee – D. Sansone (eds.), *Euripides and Tragic Theater in the Late Fifth Century*, *Illinois Classical Studies* vols. 24–25, Champaign, 183–197.

Furley, W. D. (2007a), "A Lesson to All: Lykurgos' Fate in the Tbilisi Hymn (P.Ross. Georg. I.11)", *ZPE* 162, 63–84.

Furley, W. D. (2007b), "Prayers and Hymns", in D. Ogden (ed.), *A Companion to Greek Religion*, Oxford, 117–131.

Furley, W. D. (2009), *Menander: Epitrepontes*, *BICS* Supplement 106, London.

Furley, W. D. (2015a), "Narrative in a Late Hymn to Dionysus (P. Ross. Georg. I.ii)", in A. Faulkner – O. Hodkinson (eds.), *Hymnic Narrative and the Narratology of Greek Hymns*, Leiden – Boston, 121–138.

Furley, W. D. (2015b), *Menander Perikeiromene or The Shorn Head*, London.

Furley, W. D. – Bremer, J. M. (2001a), *Greek Hymns: Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period*, vol. i: *The Texts in Translation*, Tübingen.

Furley, W. D. – Bremer, J. M. (2001b), *Greek Hymns: Selected Cult Songs from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period*, vol. ii: *Greek Texts and Commentary*, Tübingen.

Gammacurta, T. (2006), *Papyrologica scaenica: I copioni teatrali nella tradizione papiracea*, Alessandria.

Gentili, B. (1979), *Theatrical Performances in the Ancient World: Hellenistic and Early Roman Theatre*, Amsterdam – Uithoorn.

Gomme, A. W. – Sandbach, F. H. (1973), *Menander: A Commentary*, Oxford.

Gordon, R. (2012), "Memory and Authority in the Magical Papyri", in B. Dignas – R. R. R. Smith (eds.), *Historical and Religious Memory in the Ancient World*, Oxford, 145–180.

Green, J. R. (2008), "Theater Production: 1996–2006", *Lustrum* 50, 7–302.

Green, J. R. (2010), "The Material Evidence", in G. W. Dobrov (ed.), *Brill's Companion to the Study of Greek Comedy*, Leiden, 71–102.

Green, R. – Handley, E. (1995), *Images of the Greek Theatre*, London.

Gutzwiller, K. (2000), "The Tragic Mask of Comedy: Metatheatricality in Menander", *ClAnt* 19. 1, 102–137.

Gutzwiller, K. – Çelik, Ö. (2012), "New Menander Mosaics from Antioch", *AJA* 116.4, 573–623.

Hamilton, R. (1974), "Objective Evidence for Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy", *GRBS* 15, 387–402.

Handley, E.W. (1965), *The Dyskolos of Menander*, London.

Handley, E.W. (1969), "Notes on the *Theophoroumene* of Menander", *BICS* 16, 88–101.

Handley, E.W. (1970), "The Conventions of the Comic Stage and their Exploitation by Menander", *Fondation Hardt Entretiens* 16, 3–42.

Handley, E.W. (1990), "The Bodmer Menander and the Comic Fragments", in E. W. Handley – A. Hurst (eds.), *Relire Ménandre*, Genève, 123–148.

Handley, E. W. (1992), "3966. Menander, *Karchedonios*, *Phasma* or Another Play", *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri LIX*, 51–59.

Hunter, R. L. (1985), *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome*, Cambridge.

Hurst, A. (1990), "Ménandre et la tragédie", in E. W. Handley – A. Hurst (eds.), *Relire Ménandre*, Genève, 93–122.

Hurst, A. (2015), *Dans les marges de Ménandre*, Genève.

Ioannidou, K. (forthcoming), *Menander's Hēros and Theophoroumenē: Edition – Translation – Commentary*, Berlin.

Ioannidou, K. (2015), "The Act Number Inscribed on the Mytilene Mosaic of Menander's *Theophoroumene*: An Old Problem Revisited", *ZPE* 194, 29–35.

Jáuregui, de M. H. (2015), "The Poet and His Addressees in Orphic Hymns", in A. Faulkner – O. Hodkinson (eds.), *Hymnic Narrative and the Narratology of Greek Hymns*, Leiden – Boston, 224–243.

Katsouris, A. G. (1975a), *Tragic Patterns in Menander,* Athens.

Katsouris, A. G. (1975b), *Linguistic and Stylistic Characterization. Tragedy and Menander*, Ioannina.

LeVen, P. A. (2014), *The Many-Headed Muse: Tradition and Innovation in Late Classical Greek Lyric Poetry*, Cambridge.

Marshall, C. W. (2004), "Alcestis and the Ancient Rehearsal Process (*P.Oxy.* 4546)", *Arion* 11, 27–45.

Marshall, C. W. (2006), *The Stagecraft and Performance of Roman Comedy*, Cambridge.

Mastronarde, J. D. (2017), *Preliminary Studies on the Scholia to Euripides*, Berkeley.

McNamee, K. (2007), *Annotations in Greek and Latin Text from Egypt*, Oxford.

Morand, A. – F. (2015), "The Narrative Technique of the Orphic Hymns", in A. Faulkner – O. Hodkinson (eds.), *Hymnic Narrative and the Narratology of Greek Hymns*, Leiden – Boston, 209–223.

Nervegna, S. (2007), "Staging Scenes or Plays? Theatrical Revivals of 'Old' Greek Drama in Antiquity", *ZPE* 162, 14–42.

Nervegna, S. (2010), "Menander's *Theophoroumene* between Greece and Rome", *AJPh* 131, 23–68.

Nervegna, S. (2013), *Menander in Antiquity: The Contexts of Reception*, Cambridge.

Nielsen, I. (2002), *Cultic Theatres and Ritual Drama: A Study in Regional Development and Religious Interchange between East and West in Antiquity*, Aarhus–Oxford.

O'Bryhim, S. (2001), "'Dance, Old Man, Dance!': The Torture of Knemon in Menander's *Dyskolos*", in S. O'Bryhim (ed.), *Greek and Roman Comedy: Translations and Interpretations of Four Representative Plays*, Austin, 96–111.

Page, D. L. (1934), *Actors' Interpolations in Greek Tragedy*, Oxford.

Parker, L. P. E. (1997), *The Songs of Aristophanes*, Oxford.

Parsons, P.J. (2014), "P.Oxy. 5189", *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, LXXIX (Nos. 5183-5218)*. Edited with Translations and Notes by W. B. Henry, P. J. Parsons and others, London.

Pavese, C. (1966), "Un frammento di Mimo in un nuovo papiro fiorentino", *SIFC* 38, 63–69.

PCG = Kassel, R., & Schröder, S. (2022), *Poetae Comici Graeci: (PCG). Menander: Dyscolus et fabulae quarum fragmenta in papyris membranisque servata sunt*, Berlin.

Petrides, A. K. (2014), *Menander, New Comedy and the Visual*, Cambridge.

Petrides, A. K. (2021), "Menander's *Leukadia*: A Re-Examination of the Fragments and a New Chapter in the Play's Modern Reception", in V. Mastellari (ed.) *Fragments in Context – Frammenti e dintorni*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 163–187.

Petrovic, I. (2015), "Hymns in the *Papyri Graecae Magicae*", in A. Faulkner – O. Hodkinson (eds.), *Hymnic Narrative and the Narratology of Greek Hymns*, Leiden – Boston, 244–267.

Pickard-Cambridge, A. W. (1946), *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens,* Oxford.

Poe, J. P. (2003), "Word and Deed: On 'Stage–Directions' in Greek Tragedy", *Mnemosyne* 56, 420–48.

Pöhlmann, E. (2022), "Menander, *Theophorumenē*: A Song to Kybele on the Comic Stage", *Greek and Roman Musical Studies* 10, 114-135.

Porter, J. R. (1999-2000), "Euripides and Menander: *Epitrepontes*, Act IV", *Illinois Classical Studies* 24/25, 157–73.

Powell, J. U. (1925), *Collectanea Alexandrina. Reliquiae minores poetarum Graecorum aetatis Ptolemaicae 323–146 a.C. epicorum, elegiacorum, lyricorum, ethicorum*, Oxford (repr. Chicago 1981).

Rayor, D. J. (2014), *The Homeric Hymns: A Translation, with Introduction and Notes*, 2nd updated edition (1st edition 2004), Berkeley – Los Angeles – London.

Revermann, M. (2006), *Comic Business: Theatricality, Dramatic Technique, and Performance Contexts of Aristophanic Comedy*, Oxford.

Rohde, E. (1982), *Psyche: The Cult of Souls and Belief in Immortality among the Greeks*, vol. i-ii (transl. from German Hillis W. B.), London – New York.

Roller, L. E. (1999), *In Search of God the Mother: The Cult of Anatolian Cybele*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London.

Scafuro, A. C. (2014), "Menander", in M. Fontaine – A. C. Scafuro (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy*, Cambridge, 218–238.

Simon, A. K. H. (1938), *Comicae tabellae*, Emsdetten.

Sommerstein, A. H. (2013), *Menander Samia: The Woman from Samos*, Cambridge.

Swift, L. A. (2010), *The Hidden Chorus: Echoes of Genre in Tragic Lyric*, Oxford.

Taplin, O. (1977), "Did Greek Dramatists Write Stage Instructions?", *PCPhS* 203, n.s. 23, 121–132.

Turner, E. G. (1963), "Dramatic Representations in Graeco-Roman Egypt: How Long do they Continue?", *L'antiquité classique* 32, fasc.1, 120–128.

Turner, E. G. (1987), *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World*, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged by P. J. Parsons, London.

Ustinova, Y. (1992–1998), "Corybantism: The Nature and Role of an Ecstatic Cult in the Greek Polis", *Horos* 10–12, 503–520.

Ustinova, Y. (2017), *Divine Mania: Alteration of Consciousness in Ancient Greece* (1st ed.), London.

Webster, T. B. L. (1974), *An Introduction to Menander,* Manchester – New York.

Webster, T. B. L. (1995), *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, 3rd edition, vol. i & ii (Catalogue), revised and enlarged by R. J. Green – A. Seeberg, *BICS* supplement 50, London.

West, L. M. (1982), *Greek Metre*, Oxford.

West, L. M. (1986), "The Singing of Hexameters: Evidence from Epidaurus", *ZPE* 63, 39–46.

West, L. M. (1987), *Introduction to Greek Metre*, Oxford.

Willi, A. (2014), "The Language(s) of Comedy", in M. Revermann (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy*, Cambridge, 168–185.

Zagagi, N. (1994), *The Comedy of Menander*: *Convention, Variation and Originality*, London.

CYPRUS DEPUTY MINISTRY OF CULTURE

kyriaki.ioannidou.7@gmail.com