

ΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΩΝ

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# ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

ΦΙΛΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟΝ  
ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟΝ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΜΜΑ

ΤΟΜΟΣ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΣΤΟΣ ΟΓΔΟΣ  
(1987)



ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ

ΣΥΝΤΑΞΙΣ: ΕΘΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΜΥΝΗΣ 4

## TWO GOLD LAMELLAE FROM THESSALY

The two gold leaves<sup>1</sup> published below were found in December 1985 during a salvage excavation conducted three kilometres NE of the village Petrópolis (older name: Palaiogardíki), some eighteen kilometres east of Trikala (ancient Triikka). The locality had already been identified as being the site of ancient Pelinna or Pelinnaion of Hestiaiotis. The grave in which the gold leaves were discovered had been only slightly disturbed when the archaeologist, Mr Ath. Tzafalias<sup>2</sup>, reached it. Inside a marble sarcophagus there were found the skeleton of a woman, a few offerings, mostly earthen, and a bronze kados containing the cremated remains of a child. Upon the lips of the woman a gold danake had been placed, showing a facing

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1. The literature on the gold leaves is enormous. G. Zuntz, *Persephone. Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia*, Oxford 1971, 275-393, is the starting point of all recent discussions. On the extremely important discovery at Hipponion, not known to Zuntz, see G. Pugliese Carratelli and G. Foti, Un sepolcro di Hipponion e un nuovo testo orfico, *PP* 29 (1974) 91-126; M. L. West, Zum neuen Goldplättchen aus Hipponion, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 229-236; G. Zuntz, Die Goldlamelle von Hipponion, *WS* 89 (1976) 129-151; S. C. Cole, New Evidence for the Mysteries of Dionysos, *GRBS* 21 (1980) 223-238; M. Guarducci, Nuove riflessioni sulla laminetta 'orfica' di Hipponion, *RFIC* 113 (1985) 385-397. On the new Thessalian lamella in the Paul Getty Museum see J. Breslin, *A Greek Prayer*, Pasadena Cal. (not available to us); cf. R. Merkelbach, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 276. On the equally important find of the bone plates at Olbia see A. S. Rusajeva, Orfizim i kult Dionisa v Olvii, *VDI* 143 (1978) 87-104; F. Tinnefeld, *ZPE* 38 (1980) 67-71; M. L. West, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 17-29. For a more general recent discussion see especially W. Burkert, Le laminette auree: da Orfeo a Lampono, in *Orfismo in Magna Grecia*, Atti del quattordicesimo convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia, Napoli 1975, 87-104; *id.*, Orphism and Bacchic Mysteries: New Evidence and Old Problems of Interpretation, *Protocol of the 28th Colloquy of the Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture* (ed. W. Wuellner), Berkeley 1977; *id.*, Craft Versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans, in *Jewish and Christian Self-Definition* (ed. B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders), London 1982, III, 1-22 and 183-189; A. Henrichs, Changing Dionysiac Identities, *op. cit.* III, 137-160 and 213-236; M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems*, Oxford 1983; R. Seaford, Immortality, Salvation, and the Elements, *HSCP* 90 (1986) 1-26.

2. We should like here to express our warmest thanks to Mr Tzafalias, who kindly allowed us to publish the gold leaves from the grave he excavated at Petrópolis. He also provided us with useful information about the find and with excellent photographs. For their invaluable assistance with reference to specific questions we should also like to thank our colleagues J. Akamatis, D. Jakob, A. Kontoyannis, and M. Tiverios.

head of Gorgon, similar to a mid-fourth century coin of Skiathos. Another coin, a bronze one of the early years of the reign of Antigonos Gonatas, was also found inside the sarcophagus<sup>3</sup>. On the outside and close to the sarcophagus, two terracotta statuettes were discovered, one of them representing a maenad, the other too shattered to enable identification. According to the archaeologists, some of the clay vases may confidently be dated to the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., while others to the first quarter of the third or later. It seems that the latter, along with the Antigonos coin, belong to the second burial, that of the cremated child.

The two lamellae (hereafter distinguished as *a* and *b*) had been placed symmetrically upon the chest of the deceased lady<sup>4</sup>. They are paper-thin and quite small, *a* measuring 40×31 mm. and *b* 35×30 mm. What is remarkable and unique, at least to date, about them is their shape. Unlike the other sixteen 'Orphic gold leaves' (as they are traditionally called) which are known thus far<sup>5</sup>, these gold foils are not rectangular but have been cut in the shape of actual cordate leaves, almost certainly ivy leaves. Foil *b* is quite wrinkled at the tip and shows two vertical creases. It must have been folded in antiquity, either deliberately or unintentionally; when found, however, it was open and quite flat, and so was *a*, which shows but a few wrinkles at the tip.

Both leaves were inscribed with minute letters by what appears to be the same hand and contain the same text, although *b* is less carefully (or rather more carelessly) written. Being smaller in size and having letters slightly larger than those in *a*, *b* contains a shorter text characterized by internal omissions of letters and phrases and ending short of where *a* does. Even in *a*, however, the text is neither flawless nor complete, as only a portion of the penultimate verse is preserved.

As mentioned above, the burial must date from the end of the fourth century B.C. Such a date accords very well with the style of the writing of the lamellae. The letters, engraved by a sharply pointed instrument, are of the angular type with some traces of cursiveness<sup>6</sup>. Of particular importance for the dating are the lunate sigma,

3. For the gold danake cf. E. Rogers, *The Copper Coinage of Thessaly*, London 1932, 185, fig. 327. For the bronze coin cf. *SNG*, Grèce, coll. Evelpidis, Athènes II, 1975, no. 1436.

4. The gold leaf of Hipponion was also placed upon the chest of a dead woman; G. Foti, *op. cit.* 97, 103.

5. Seven of them are illustrated in G. Zuntz, *Persephone*, pl. 26-29: they are (in the notation used by Zuntz) leaves A1-5, B1, and C; leaf B2 is illustrated in N. M. Verdélis, *AE* 89-90 (1950-51) 99; B3-5 and 6 in M. Guarducci, *Inscr. Cret.* II, 168 and 314; B7-8 in *Collection Stathatos*, III, 256; the Hipponion leaf in G. Pugliese Carratelli, *op. cit.* 110. We have seen no illustration of the lamella in the Paul Getty Museum. Only B6 has its bottom side slightly curved.

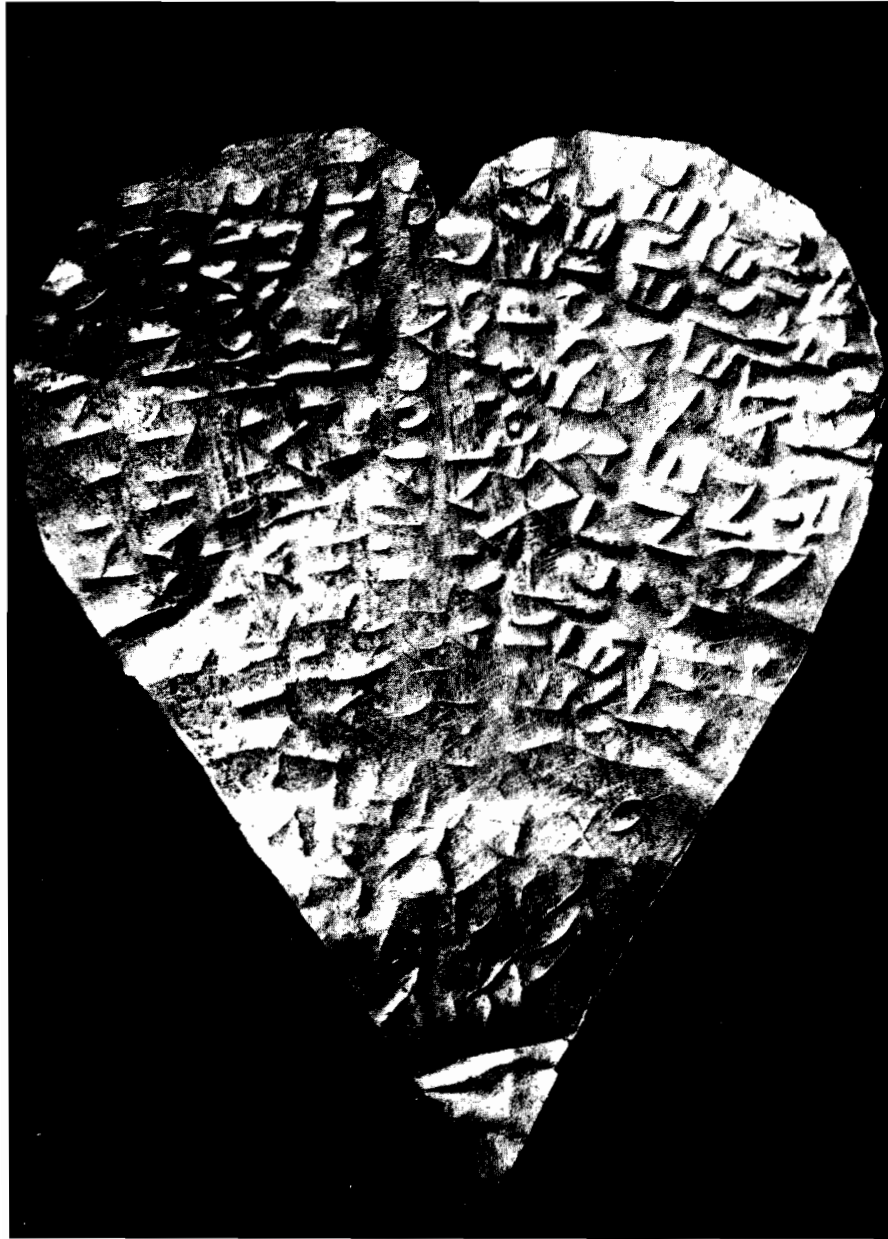
6. The script is similar to that of the Artemisia papyrus; for a plate see M. Norsa, *La scrittura letteraria greca dal secolo IV a.C. all'VIII d.C.*, Firenze 1939, pl. 1B.

usually a flat angular hook occasionally taking the shape of a single angle or a single curve;  $\Omega$  (appearing only once, on *a*), very short and flat, with its left base line either omitted or merging into the horizontal of the T preceding (an unexpected curve under the opening of omega gives it a peculiar shape); M, the saddle of which is formed in one stroke and is often placed very low; and Y, which is formed in two movements, a usually curved top joined to the vertical. Of the remaining letters A is angular, bold and wide, with a straight horizontal occasionally placed very low (once, in *a*, joining the foot of the left diagonal with the middle of the right one); E is wide and square, with the upright and the base often formed in one movement and the top horizontal occasionally longer than the bottom; K is formed in three movements; N has the diagonal often placed very low and the second leg raised; of  $\Pi$  the first hasta is taller than the second, while the horizontal starts a bit lower than the top of the first hasta;  $\Phi$  is a tall vertical crossed by two horizontals which may or may not join at one or both ends; the circles of O and  $\Theta$  (the latter formed with a central dot which is occasionally missing) are formed by two semicircles the ends of which may either not join at all or intersect each other; B displays a large upper circle, the lower one being either assimilated into it or simply omitted, giving the letter the appearance of a P or a D.

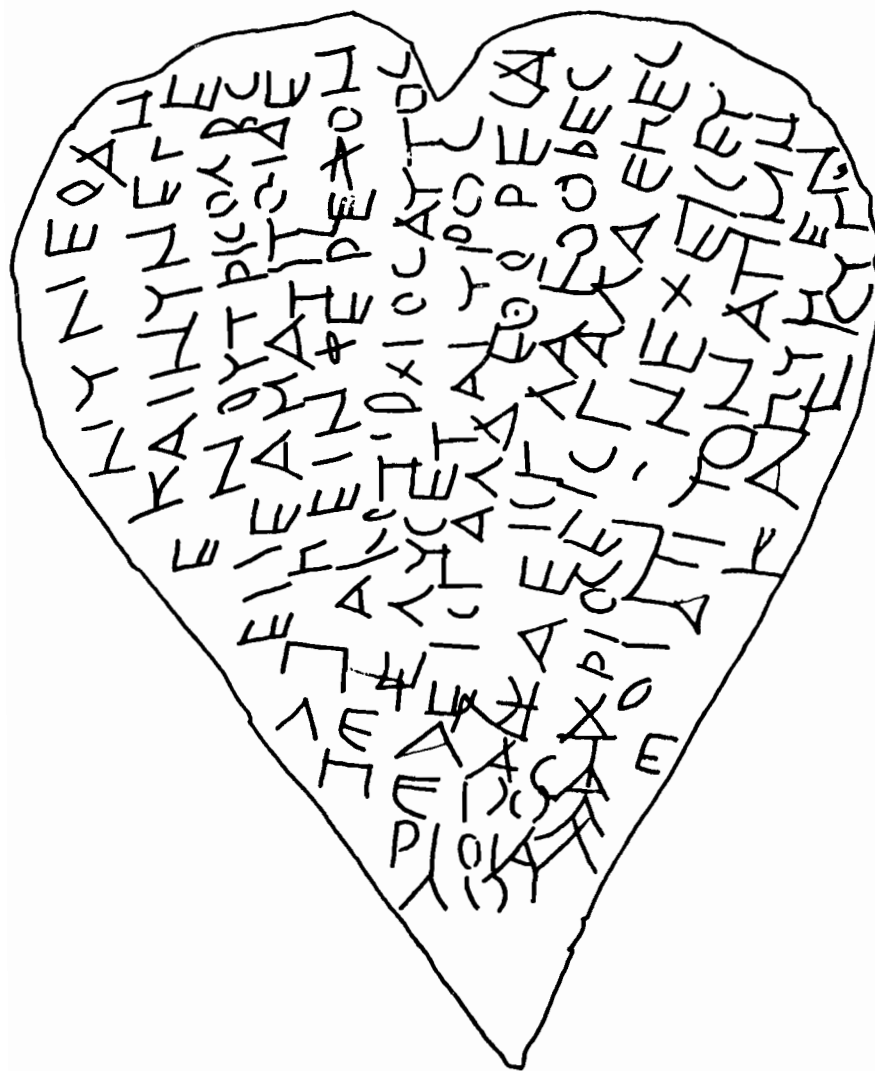
Largely due to the peculiar shape of the leaves and their tiny size, the layout of the text is rather orderless. During the process of incising, the etcher must have held the leaf steady by pressing a fingertip firmly to its sharp end, thus leaving that area unwritten. He filled first the free area of the leaf by writing in a direction more or less parallel to its axis (the first and the last lines follow the long curved edges) and then turned the leaf upwards to fill the unwritten area by incising transversally. The lines of the text are often crooked, while individual letters are dissimilar in size and their ductus changes irrationally.

The text cannot be assigned to any of the groups defined by Zuntz, although its contents are more akin to those of group A: mention is made of rebirth, perhaps in god-form; the deity addressed is Persephone; reference is made to deliverance from an unspecified bond; the  $\xi\rho\iota\varphi\omicron\varsigma$ -formula appears, although in startling variations. It is worth noting that of the other two lamellae found in Thessaly, the one from Pharsala (B2 Zuntz) belongs to the lengthier version of group B, while the one in the Paul Getty Museum is almost identical with the shorter version of the same group attested from Cretan gold leaves (B3-8 Zuntz). One more, still unpublished, discovered in Pherae by Mr Paul Chrysostomou, presents, to our knowledge, no resemblance whatsoever to any of the leaves known thus far. On the other hand, the explicit Bacchic associations of the new leaves (which obviously justify the ivy-shape of the lamellae)<sup>7</sup> will no doubt revive the fruitful debate which the

7. A. Henrichs, *op. cit.* 157. M. L. West, *ZPE* 18 (1975) 230-232, suggests that Hipp. 1



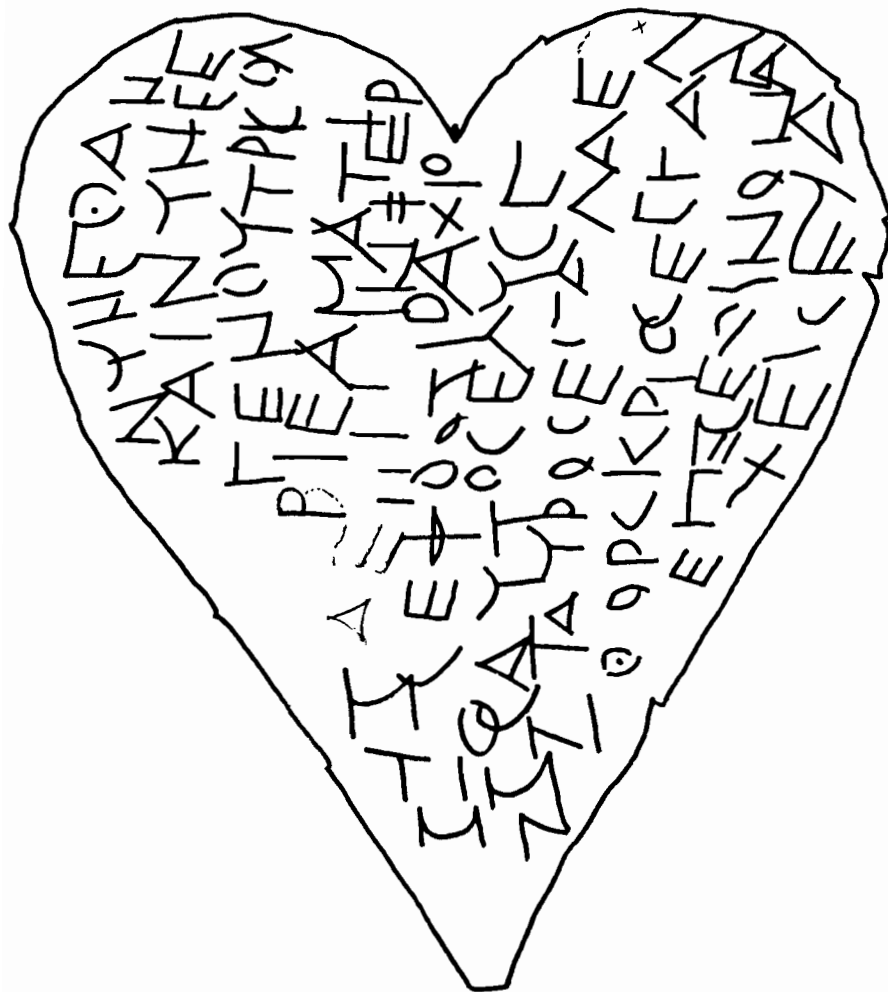
Gold lamella *a*



Gold lamella *a*



Gold lamella *b*



Gold lamella *b*



publication of the Hipponion foil opened; that foil, the earliest and most important representative of group B, mentions *μύσται καὶ βάκχοι* as recipients of the divine bliss in a blessed community. Thus the new Thessalian text appears to link groups A and B and allows us to rename the 'Orphic' lamellae 'Bacchic', though Orphic and Bacchic funerary habits were equated at least since Herodotus (2.81).

## a

- 1 νῦν ἔθανες | καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρικόλβ|ιε, ἄματι τῶιδε. |  
 2 εἰπεῖν Φερ' ε' ἐφόν|αι ρ' ὅτι Β<ά>χιοις αὐτόε | ἔλυσε.  
 3 τα{ι}ῦρος | εἰς γάλ(α) ἔθορες.  
 4 αἰ|ψα εἰς γ<ά>λα ἔθορες. |  
 5 (κ)ριόε εἰς γάλα ἔπεε<ε>. |  
 6 οἶνον ἔχειε εὐ|δ<α>ιμονατιμν|  
 7 κάπ(ι)μέν|ει ρ' ὑπὸ | γῆν τέ|λεα ἄ<ε>α|περ ὄλ|βιοι ἄλ|λοι.

3 γάλ(α): γάλδ 5 (κ)ριόε: χριοι 7 κάπ(ι)μένει: καπυμενει

## b

- 1 νῦν ἔθανε<ε> | καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρικόλβ|ιε, ἄματι | <τῶι>δξ.  
 2 <ε>ίπεῖν Φερ|εφόν<ναι ρ' > ὅτι Βά<κ>χιο|ε αὐτόε ἔλυσε.  
 3 ταῦρος εἰ<ε> γάλα ἔ|θορ<ε>ε.  
 4 κριοι εἰς γάλ<α> | ἔπεε<ε>.  
 5 οἶνον ἔ|χειε εὐδαι|μον|τιμ|μν

a1=b1

Although grammatically sound and giving perfect sense, the verse is unmetrical. The difficulty is apparently caused by the presence of *τρικόλβιε*<sup>8</sup>, which seems to have replaced a shorter word of one long syllable or two short ones. Such a word might have been, e.g., *μάκαρ*. The phraseology of some cognate gold leaves suggests

Μναμοσύνα: τόδε EPION, B1.12 ]νγς τόδε.[, and A5.3 Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον originate from an archetypal Μνημοσύνης τόδε θρῖον = 'this is the leaf of Mnem.' (On the religious and mantic use of θρῖα see M. Tiverios, *Μία 'κρίσις τῶν ὀπλῶν' τοῦ ζωγράφου τοῦ Συλέα*, Athens 1985, 49 ff., where reference is made also to the ivy leaf with the name of Sisyphos written on it, shown in a vase-painting by the Sisyphos painter on a crater in Munich, Museum antiker Kleinkunst no. 3268.) See, however, M. Guarducci, *RFIC* 113 (1985) 386 ff., who prefers ἔργον.

8. Otherwise fully satisfactory, since the adjective was regularly used for the blessed dead; e.g. Soph. fr. 837; ὄλβιοι in this sense is quite common. See N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Oxford 1974, on lines 480-482, and, generally, C. de Heer, *Μάκαρ, εὐδαιμων, ὄλβιος, εὐτυχής*, Amsterdam 1969.

that it might have been θεός: A1.8 ἔλβιε καὶ μακαριτέ, θεός δ' ἔσθι ἀντὶ βροτοῦ; A4.4 θεός ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου; cf. A5.4 διὰ γεγῶσα<sup>9</sup>. The juxtaposition, however, of νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου points to a belief in a profound unity of death and life<sup>10</sup>, and ἐγένου should not be taken in our text as a copula; θεός, if it is the displaced word, should be considered predicate substantive (as, e.g., in Empedocles fr. 146.3 DK ἔνθεν ἀναβλαστοῦσι θεοί). The defunct has not 'become a god' but has rather 'been born as (in the form of) a god'. In any case, whatever the original reading of the verse at this point, the meaning is rather clear: death for the initiate does not mean complete annihilation but a change, via (re)birth, into another condition<sup>11</sup>.

### a2=b2

εἰπεῖν: The same infinitive of command, but introducing direct speech, occurs also in B1.6 and B2.8; cf. εἶπον (imperative) in Hipp. 10.

Φερσεφόνα: She obviously acts as the χθονίων βασιλεια and hers is the final decision about the lot of the deceased; cf. Pindar fr. 133 Sn. In A1-3, 5 the soul addresses its remarks to other deities as well (Eukles, Eubouleus and 'the other immortal gods'), but Persephone's supreme authority and absolute preeminence is obvious throughout (cf. A1.7, A2.6, A3.6, A4.6). Cf. also below, note on ἔλυσε.

Βάχχιος: The word is mutilated in both leaves but the reading and restoration appear certain. Βάχχιος in *b* was perhaps intended to represent Βάχχιος (cf. Hipp. 16 βάχχοι and see Mayser-Schmoll, 186, for the process κχ→χχ→χ, especially in forms of Βακχ-). Dionysus (the son of Zeus and Persephone according to the Orphic theogony, cf. Kern, *OF* 58, 153, 303) makes at last his incontestable appearance on a gold lamella after the way had been prepared by the βάχχοι of the Hipponion plate.

αὐτός: Cf. Pl. *Phd.* 67a ἔως ὁ θεός αὐτός ἀπολύσει ἡμᾶς.

9. Cf. Ps.-Pyth. *Carm. aur.* 67-71 Young: ἀλλ' εἴργου βρωτῶν ὧν εἶπομεν ἐν τε Καθαρμοῖς | ἐν τε Λύσει ψυχῆς, κρίνων καὶ φράζου ἕκαστα | ἡνίοχον γνώμη στήσασ καθύπερθεν ἀρίστην, | ἦν δ' ἀπολείψας οἶμα ἐς αἰθέρ' ἐλεύθερον ἔλθῃς | ἔσσεαι ἀθάνατος θεός ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός.

10. Cf. the words of Pindar on the initiate in the Eleusinian mysteries (fr. 137 Sn.) ἔλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κείν' εἶε: ὑπὸ χθόν'· οἶδε μὲν βίου τελευτάν, | οἶδεν δὲ διόδοτον ἀρχάν. Cf. also the legend βίος θάνατος βίος on one of the bone plates found at Olbia (and εἰρήνη πόλεμος, ἀλήθεια ψεῦδος on another): see West, *The Orphic Poems*, 17-19 and pl. 1.

11. If the original reading was θεός, the unmetrical adaptation perhaps aimed at mitigating the notion of outright deification. (Pindar, fr. 129 + 131a, most probably (Wilamowitz, *Pindaros*, 499) distinguishes between the road to Heaven, taken by Heracles, and that which leads to the εὐσεβῶν χῶρος.) If μάκαρ, the adaptor may have attempted to form a text applicable to dead persons of both sexes, as the compound τρικόλβιος is regularly an adjective of two endings.

ἔλυσε: 'Released', 'delivered', apparently through the proper sacrifices and rites. Cf. Pl. *R.* 364e-365a πείθοντες (sc. ἀγύρται καὶ μάντιες) οὐ μόνον ιδιώτας ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις, ὡς ἄρα λύσεις τε καὶ καθαρμοὶ ἀδικημάτων διὰ θυσίων καὶ παιδιᾶς ἡδονῶν εἰς μὲν ἔτι ζῶειν, εἰς δὲ καὶ τελευτήσασιν, ἃς δὴ τελετὰς καλοῦσιν, αἱ τῶν ἐκεῖ (= ἐν "Αἰδοῦ) κακῶν ἀπολύουσιν ἡμᾶς, μὴ θύσαντας δὲ δεινὰ περιμένει (cf. *Phd.* 82d λύσει τε καὶ καθαρμῶι and Schol. on *Ar. Ra.* 1032). The original cathartic nature of Dionysiac ritual has been observed by many<sup>12</sup>. Dionysus is one of the λύσιοι θεοί and is called Λύσιος, Λύσειος, Λυσεύς and Λυαῖος (which may simply mean 'deliverer from curse or sin' (LSJ<sup>9</sup>), although other interpretations as well have been proposed since antiquity), and his teletai were called λύσιοι<sup>13</sup>. In the Rhapsodic Theogony ascribed to Orpheus it is said of Dionysus (Kern, *OF* 232 = 'Olympiodorus' Β' ια', p. 87 Norvin): ἄνθρωποι δὲ τελέεσσα ἐκατόμβας | πέμψουσιν πάσῃσιν ἐν ὥραις ἀμφιέτησιν | ὄργια τ' ἐκτελέουσι λύσειν προγόνων ἀθεμίτων | μαίόμενοι· εὐ δὲ τοῖσιν ἔχων κράτος, οὗς κ' ἐθέλησθα, | λύσεις ἔκ τε πόνων χαλεπῶν καὶ ἀπείρονος οἴστρου, which, according to the commentator, is why Dionysus is called Λυσεύς, for ὁ Διόνυσος λύσεως ἔστιν αἴτιος. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 27, p. 68d τῶι Λυαίωι λύνοντι τὸ τῶν 'δυεφόρων χοινίον μεριμνᾶν', κατὰ Πίνδαρον (fr. 248 Sn.). The ultimate result of such a release is apparently the liberation (λύσει) of the soul from the bonds of the body; cf. Kern, *OF* 229 (= Proclus on Pl. *Ti.* 42c-d) πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὴν εὐδαίμονα περιάγουσα ζῶν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν γένεσιν πλάνης, ἧς καὶ οἱ παρ' Ὀρφεῖ τῶι Διονύσῳ καὶ τῇ Κόρηι τελοῦμενοι τυχεῖν εὖχονται· 'κύκλου τ' ἂν λήξαι καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι κακότητος'; *OF* 230 (Simplicius on Arist. *Cael.* 284a14) ἐνδεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν πᾶσιν ἀφορίζοντος δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῶι τῆς εἰμαρμένης τε καὶ γενέσεως τροχῶι, οὐπερ ἀδύνατον ἀπαλλαγῆναι κατὰ τὸν Ὀρφέα μὴ τοῦς θεοὺς ἐκείνοισι (= Dionysus and Persephone?) ἰλεωσάμενον· οἷς ἐπέταξεν ὁ Ζεὺς 'κύκλου τ' ἀλλήξαι καὶ ἀναψῶξαι κακότητος' τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ψυχάς. Cf. A1.5 κύκλου δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο (with Zuntz, *Persephone*, 320-322) and Plato's contention in *Phd.* 67a-d that the ultimate κάθαρσις is the λύσει καὶ χωρισμῶς ψυχῆς ἀπὸ σώματος. No doubt the deceased lady on whose chest the two gold leaves had been placed aimed at convincing Persephone that she had undergone the proper Bacchic rites which secured the required and wished for λύσει and that thus λελυμένη, καθαρὰ ἐκ καθαρῶν in the words of A1-3 and the much later A5, has obtained the right to a place among the other ὄλβιοι (cf. line 7).

12. Cf., e.g., E. R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 76 ff.

13. Phot. *Lex.* = Suid. λ 867 Adler (λύσιοι τελεταί· αἱ Διονύσου etc.), cf. Hes. λ 1440. See also Pind. fr. 131a on the pious dead: ὄλβιοι δ' ἅπαντες αἰεὶ λυσιπόνων τελετᾶν. Cf. Dodds, *op. cit.* 279 n. 19; Höfer, 'Lysius' in Roscher's *Lexikon* 2.2, 2212; Kruse, 'Lysios', *RE* 14.1, 41-42.

*a3-5=b3-4*

Three totally unexpected and quite amazing variations of the formula ἔριφος ἐς γάλα(α) ἔπετον or ἔπετεc found in A1.9 and A4.4, variations which complicate rather than solve things<sup>14</sup>. The triple repetition of the formula (the omission of the second variation in *b* is probably due to homoioteleuton) perhaps echoes ritual utterings during some kind of service. All variations (including the ἔριφος one) are cast in the same metrical form, two cretics, but the hiatus after ἀΐψα rules out the possibility of having proper verses. The text is apparently prose, whether rhythmic or not<sup>15</sup>. The interchange of ἔπετεc and ἔθορεc leaves no doubt but that the animals ‘rush to’ and not ‘fall into’ the milk; that much is clear now —though what they will do after they have reached it is not as obvious. The picture of a soul rushing, like a new-born kid, to suck the milk of bliss is rather felicitous after the idea expressed in the words νῦν ἔθανεc καὶ νῦν ἐγένου<sup>16</sup>, but what are we to make with ταῦροc and κριόc? Bulls and rams do not rush to milk —it is not *their* idea of bliss. Are the new formulas hyperbolic and grotesque variations of an original ἔριφος-phrase? In such a case, do they allude to the conduct of the defunct who, in his mature age and after his symbolic rebirth, behaves like a new-born animal? Or should we rather posit the possibility that deification involves a mystic union with a theriomorphic god, Dionysus in particular? Based on the Hesychius gloss “Ἐριφος· ὁ Διόνυκος and a few subsidiary pieces of evidence, scholars have attempted to approach the ἔριφος-formula from such a direction<sup>17</sup>. The new ταῦροc-formula may be thought of as supporting this view, since the appearance of Dionysus in bull form was a main element in the god’s cult<sup>18</sup>. In any case, it should be pointed out that in A1 the phrase ἔριφος ἐς γάλα ἔπετον occurs immediately after the phrase θεόc δ’ ἔcηι ἀντὶ βροτοῖο, and in A4 we encounter again the two ideas closely connected: θεόc ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου· ἔριφος ἐc γάλα ἔπετεc. Similarly, the three formulas in the new leaves must be related to the introductory statement νῦν ἔθανεc καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, especially if the word following ἐγένου was θεόc, as we suggested above. But what are we to make of the κριόc-formula? To our knowledge, there is no evidence suggesting that Dionysus ever appeared in a ram form.

14. For a summary of the older views, together with a new suggestion, see Zuntz, *Persephone*, 323-327.

15. See Zuntz, *op. cit.* 340-343, and cf. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 27 n. 1.

16. Cf. also A1.7 δεcποίνεc δ’ ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδου χθονίεc βαcιλίεc; see Zuntz, *op. cit.* 319.

17. See Zuntz, *op. cit.* 323 f.

18. E.g., *PMG* 871 Page ἐλθεῖν ἦρω Διόνυκε [...] ἄξει ταῦρε, ἄξει ταῦρε; most of the evidence is collected in L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 5 (1909), 284 f. n. 34.

In *a4* αἰψα is clear, hence not αἶξ or δίψαι (dative), though the latter could have easily been the original reading. For the idea cf. A1.6-7 ἡμερτοῦ δ' ἐπέβαν στεφάνου ποσὶ καρπαλίμοις<sup>19</sup>.

*a6=b5*

Apparently a mutilated hexameter, only the beginning of which can be distinguished with certainty. οἶνον ἔχεις comes as a surprise after so much milk, but it is not out of place in a text connected with death and Bacchus. It may refer to the funeral libations offered to the deceased; or to the wine that the initiate had had during her lifetime as a participant in the Dionysiac mysteries; or to the wine she expects to enjoy in afterlife, for a komos and a state of eternal intoxication were rewards promised to an 'Orphic' as well as to a 'Dionysiac' initiate: cf. Pl. *R.* 363c, Plut. *Luc.* 44.2, Ar. *Ra.* 85, fr. 504.8, Pherecr. fr. 108 K.

What follows οἶνον ἔχεις may be an accusative εὐδαίμονα qualifying a noun which originally stood either before or after it; or, more likely, a vocative εὐδαιμον (cf. τρωόλβιε in line 1)<sup>20</sup>.

ατιμν (*a*) and τιμμν (*b*) are quite problematical. If α belongs to εὐδαίμονα, or to another word, τιμ(μ)ν may stand for τιμάν or τιμᾶν, words proper in the context; if ατιμ(μ)ν is one word, then perhaps it stands for ἄτιμον, qualifying οἶνον (with a violation of Hermann's bridge). If so, ἄτιμος οἶνος here may mean wine 'without payment', 'free of charge' (cf. *Od.* 16.431) or 'cheap' (cf. Xen. *Vect.* 4.10). Cheapness (and hence abundance) of goods in Hades was proverbial; cf. Call. fr. 191.1-2, Pher. fr. 81 K., Photius ὀβολοῦ χίμαιρα ἐν "Αἰδου, and new Photius ἐπτα τοῦ ὀβολοῦ χίμαιρα: ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν "Αἰδου ἐρημίας<sup>21</sup>; cf. *Hell. Ep.* 1192 (= Call. *Ep.* 13.6) with the note of Gow and Page. Given its mutilated state, however, it is not quite obvious whether the verse states what the soul expects to find in afterlife (isn't this what the *following* verse contains?) or what it already has. Is there, perhaps, a tacit comparison between the ἄτιμος οἶνος which the soul has already received (as a wine offering during the funeral rite?) and the τέλεα (next verse) expected in the future? But ατιμ(μ)ν may not be connected at all with οἶνον.

*a7*

A difficult verse, the precise meaning and interpretation of which is not

19. αἶψα is used, though in a different context, in B1.8.

20. For the adjective cf. Ar. fr. 504.11, Eur. fr. 65.17 Aust., al., and see C. de Heer, *op. cit.* (note 8).

21. Chr. Theodoridis, *ZPE* 67 (1987) 5 ff. For ἐρημίας read, perhaps, εὐτελείας, εὐωνίας, or εὐθηγίας.

certain. At the beginning we read *καπυμενεις* which, we suggest, stands for *κάπιμένεις* *c'* (rather than for *κάπομένεις* *c'*; the Thessalian etcher may have been influenced by the local *ἀπὺ* = *ἀπό*, but *ἀπομένω* does not appear to be classical and we do not see how it could be relevant in the context). For *μένω* or *ἐπιμένω* cf. Heracl. fr. 74 M. (27 DK) *ἀνθρώπους μένει ἀποθανόντας ἄσσα οὐκ ἔλπονται οὐδὲ δοκέουσι*; Eur. *Supp.* 623-5 *τίς ποτ' αἴσα, τίς ἄρα πότμος | ἐπιμένει τὸν ἄλκιμον | τᾶδε γὰρ ἄρχοντα*; Pl. *R.* 361d *οἷος ἐκάτερον βίος ἐπιμένει*; cf. 365a *μὴ θύσαντας δὲ δεινὰ περιμένει* (cf. 614a and Soph. *Ant.* 1296).

What follows is more difficult palaeographically. After a clear Y there follows what appears to be a Γ or Π (if we assume that its second hasta coincides with the first hasta of the N above it); inside the N there appears a small cavity, which we take to be a minute O. We suggest *ὕπὸ γῆν*, which makes good sense in the context. Alternatively, an infinitive depending on *κάπιμένεις* *c'* may be hidden under these letters, but if so we cannot disinter it.

*τέλεα ἄ<c>απερ ὄλβιοι ἄλλοι* is palaeographically certain. *τέλεα* may refer to 'goals' or 'prizes', literally or metaphorically, as often in Pindar (*N.* 7.55 ff., *O.* 10.67, *P.* 9.118, *I.* 1.27, 4.32) and Bacchylides (5.45, 10.6). Or it may mean 'offices', 'dignities', 'honours' (as in Pi. *N.* 11.9, Aesch. *Th.* 1025, Soph. *Aj.* 1352, *Ph.* 385, *Ant.* 67, Thuc. 5.47.9, Schwyzer, *DGE*, 409.3, etc.). On the honours in store for the *εὐσεβεῖς* and the *μεμνημένοι* in Hades see E. Rhode, *Psyche*, Freiburg i.B. 21898, I, 310 ff. They will be *πάρεδροι* to the rulers of the Underworld (Pi. *O.* 2.76, Eur. *Alc.* 746, Isocr. 9.15; cf. Ar. *Ra.* 163, 775) or they will enjoy the *προεδρία* (Diog. Laert. 6.39). In the golden leaves they are promised either a godlike status (A1.8, A4.4) or a kinglike one among the other heroes (B1.11 *καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἄ[λλοις μεθ'] ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[c]*). Alternatively, *τέλεα* may refer to a consecration rite which will take place in Hades. In the Hipponion leaf, when the soul supplicates the guardians of the spring to be allowed to drink water from the lake of Mnemosyne, it is assured *καὶ δὴ τοὶ ἐλεοῦσιν ὑπὸ χθονίῳ βασιλῆϊ* (line 13), usually rendered 'and they feel pity for you by order of the infernal king'. Of the many emendations proposed in order to make sense of this clumsy verse, M. L. West's (*ZPE* 18, 1975, 233) is, in our view, preferable: *καὶ δὴ τοὶ τελεύουσι c' ὑποχθονίῳ βασιλείῳ*, 'and they will consecrate you to the infernal queen'<sup>22</sup>. The emendation may be improved if we (a) write *καὶ δὴ τοί* (demonstrative pronoun), and (b) retain *ὑποχθονίῳ βασιλῆϊ*, for the lord of the Underworld, whatever name may be attached to him (Persephone has not yet appeared in the B group of the gold leaves). The consecration is effected by the drinking of the water running forth from the lake of Mnemosyne: *καὶ {δὴ τοὶ} δώσουσι πιεῖν τᾶς Μναμοσύνας ἀπ[ὸ]*

22. Cf. Pi. *I.* 1.68 *ψυχὰν Ἀΐδαι τελέων*.

λίμνας (line 14). If this is so, then the τέλεα in store for the soul may perhaps refer to such a consecration to the infernal god(s). Depending on the meaning we attach to the word τέλεα, the missing verb of which ὄλβιοι ἄλλοι is the subject may have been ἔχουσι (from ἔχεις in line 6?), or τελοῦνται or ἐτελέεθσαν. Finally, one should not altogether discard the possibility that the sense was completed in another verse, which the scribe had no room to incise.

Another line of approach would be to read κάπιμένεις or κάπιμενεῖς ὑπὸ γῆν, though it is difficult to see how this could be construed as a blissful state, unless it be a promise that the soul will remain underground and will not be subjected again to rebirth in another mortal body. This is possible, especially in view of ἔλυσε in line 2, but it would necessitate reading τελέ(ς)ας or τελέ(ς)ας ἄπερ ὄλβιοι ἄλλοι, 'having performed the rites which the other ὄλβιοι had performed'.

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