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Memory and Performance: Strategies of Identity in the Orphic-Bacchic Lamellae

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Memory and Performance:
Strategies of Identity in the Orphic-Bacchic Lamellae

By

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Abstract

Memory and Performance: Strategies of Identity in the Orphic-Bacchic Lamellae

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This dissertation is a treatment of the Orphic-Bacchic lamellae, a collection of small gold tablets that were deposited in the graves of Dionysiac mystery initiates, mostly during the 4th/3rd c. BCE. So far, thirty-eight of these have been discovered, from various sites in Sicily, Magna Graecia, Northern Greece, Crete, and the Peloponnese. The tablets were deposited in the graves of both men and women, and they are inscribed with short poetic texts, mostly in hexameters, that offer promises of postmortem happiness. Scholarship on these objects has traditionally focused on the sacral and eschatological language of the texts and their underlying doctrinal structure. Past interpretations, and discussions of "Orphism" more generally, have relied on propositional definitions of "religion" that are centered on belief and on the scriptural authority of sacred texts rather than ritual or sensory experience. Following recent critiques of these models in general (and of their application to Orphic phenomena in particular), I consider the gold leaves in their social context as objects produced, handled, and disseminated by ritual performers. Far from constituting a "proto-Protestant" tendency toward personal faith and salvation within Greek religion as many scholars have assumed, the Orphic-Bacchic cults of the Late Classical period can be understood as a collective performance genre that interacted and competed with other familiar cultural practices in its management of memory, gender, and social identity.

The first chapter addresses the theme of memory in the gold leaves. Several of the tablets relate the soul's journey to obtain a drink from the chthonic water of memory (*mnêmosynê*), and others reference themselves as objects of memory or emphasize the initiate's need to remember instructions at the moment of death. In contrast with past interpretations (notably the work of Jean-Pierre Vernant), which have explained Memory in the lamellae as a specifically Orphic-Pythagorean divinity connected with release from a cycle of rebirths, I argue that the vocabulary of memory signals a range of complex connections with Greek poetry and religion. Focusing particularly on two recently discovered tablets and analyzing them alongside a range of literary parallels, I argue that cognitive, affective/pathogenic, and objective (social) conceptions of memory all played a complex role in Bacchic mystery experience. Drawing comparisons with Hesiod, Sappho, and Pindar, I argue that private mysteries drew on existing themes of poetic memory to articulate an idea of mystical immortality. References to *mnêmosynê* in the tablets serve two functions: first, to connect the deceased with an ideal cult community; and second, to situate him/her in a temporal dynamic whereby immortality is linked both with past ritual experience and with an idealized future community in the Underworld.

Finally, I suggest that the gold leaves themselves can be interpreted in modern theoretical terms as an expression of "collective memory" in the context of mortuary practice.

The second chapter develops an analogy between the social functions of the lamellae and Late Classical epitaphs. Drawing on recent studies of inscribed epigrams by Joseph Day and Christos Tsagalis, I argue that the lamellae envision the initiate's exceptional postmortem status in ways that are stylistically comparable to conventional funeral epigraphy. The initiates' declarations of purity (*katharos, euagês*), blessedness (*olbios*), mystic identity (*mystai kai bakkhoi*), and lineage (*genos*) in the lamellae echo rhetorical strategies of funerary epigrams and speeches (*epitaphios logos*), which assure postmortem preservation by establishing a bond with an abiding social structure and identifying the deceased with a special community of exceptional dead (*andres agathoi, olbioi*). Of special importance is the formula *taphos anti gamou* ("tomb instead of marriage") that appears on graves of young women from the Archaic and Classical periods, reflecting the language of ritual lament. This expression is analogous, I argue, to the antitheses that appear in the lamellae (*theos anti brotoio, theos ex anthrôpou*). Lamellae and epigrams use similar linguistic strategies to portray their own ritual group – whether the *polis*, *oikos*, or a community of *mystai* – as capable of successfully managing the process of "exchange" by which the deceased attains immortality.

The final chapter turns from the comparative inquiries of the first two chapters to examine the gold leaves more closely in their own performance context. In particular, I consider the lamellae against the background of ritual hexameters or incantations (*epôidai*), a submerged Greek verse genre in which the power of the voice interacted especially closely with material objects. The corpus of Late Classical inscribed *epôidai* that have come to light in S. Italy, Sicily, and Crete (including the recently published "Getty Hexameters") suggest that the gold leaves belong to a more prevalent (but hitherto largely unrecognized) tradition of writing employed to capture the effect of oral performance in a tangible medium that emerged and developed through the interaction of oral practices and local epigraphic habits. Oral and written hexameters also served as devices of self-presentation for ritual experts, including the itinerant Orphic initiators who presided over Bacchic cults. I suggest that the vocal and material aspects of the gold leaves both contributed to the authority of these ritual craftsmen.

Throughout this dissertation run two overarching arguments: first, that the lamellae represent a response to threats against personal identity for their owners; and second, that their cults are both *social* and *communal* in their self-conception. While continuing to reject discredited ideas of Orphic and Dionysiac "communities" constructed in 19th-c. scholarship, I argue that the gold leaves articulated an *ideology* of mystic community that was central for cultic participants. The communal character of the gold leaves and their cults offered participants new possibilities of self-presentation and new opportunities for the creative re-imagining of personal identity.

In Memoriam
Mary B. McClay

ἀλλὰ δέχεσθε
Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν

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Introduction

§I. Summary

The Orphic-Bacchic lamellae are a collection of small inscribed gold leaves that were deposited in the graves of Dionysiac mystery initiates during the 4th/3rd c. BCE.[1] So far, thirty-eight of these objects have come to light, from various sites in Sicily, Magna Graecia, Thessaly/Macedonia, Crete, and the Peloponnese. The tablets were left in the graves of both men and women, and they are inscribed with poetic texts, mostly in hexameters (and several of them near-duplicates of one another), that promise postmortem happiness in the Underworld.[2] Scholarship on these objects has traditionally focused on the sacral and eschatological language of the texts and their underlying doctrinal structure. Past interpretations, and discussions of "Orphism" more generally, have also relied especially on propositional definitions of "religion" that are centered on belief and on the "scriptural" authority of sacred texts rather than ritual or sensory experience. Following recent critiques of these models in general[3] and their application to Orphic phenomena in particular,[4] and drawing on new theoretical models that emphasize the embodied and sensory character of religious experience,[5] I consider the gold leaves with attention to their materiality and performance contexts. When they are viewed in connection with three areas in particular of Classical Greek performance culture – poetic commemoration, funerary epigrams, and hexameter incantations – the lamellae can be recognized as products of a creative cross-fertilization of initiatory ritual with both traditional oral song culture and contemporary epigraphic experimentation. This approach to the gold leaves also highlights their complex embeddedness in 5th/4th-c. Greek society, including their value as a practice available to women and other marginalized groups (potentially both elites and non-elites). Far from constituting a "proto-Protestant" tendency toward personal faith and salvation within Greek religion as many scholars have assumed, the Orphic-Bacchic cults of the Late Classical period can be understood as a collective performance genre that interacted and competed with other practices in its management of memory, gender, and social identity.

§II. Scholarship and Definitions

In 1879-1880, Domenico Comparetti placed the lamellae from Thurii (A1-4) and Petelia (B1) in the religious context of "Orphism" and "Orphics."[6] For Comparetti, Orphism was

[1] Throughout this study I will use the terms "lamella," "tablet," "plate," and "leaf" interchangeably in reference to the gold leaves. The term "leaf" is used conventionally in reference to the tablets' thinness rather than their shape, although a number of leaf-shaped tablets have been discovered in recent years from Thessaly and Macedonia.

[2] The standard critical edition is *OF* 474-496 (Bernabé); see also editions of BJ (with translation and commentary), GJ 1-49 (with translation), and Tzifopoulos (2010) (on the Cretan tablets, with detailed epigraphic discussion), and textual discussions of Janko (1984) and (2016a) (though see reservations below). To these collections may now also be added a short Cretan text, similar to those already known, recently published in Tzifopoulos (2014); see also *SEG* LXII 644. Zuntz (1971), though his collection and argument have been superseded by subsequent finds, remains valuable as an epigraphically accurate edition of A1-5, C, and B1-8. Data for the lamellae with documented archaeological contexts is reviewed in Edmonds (2011a) 40-48.

[3] Smith (1990), Asad (1993), King (2003), Nongbri (2013), and Barton & Boyarin (2016).

[4] Edmonds (1999), (2008b), and (2013a).

[5] E.g. Meyer (2009) and Morgan (2010); see Ch. 3 below.

[6] Comparetti (1879), (1880); also Comparetti & Smith (1882) and Comparetti (1910). The Petelia tablet had been known since 1836 but was not properly contextualized until Comparetti's work. For a historical review of the early scholarship surrounding Orphism and the gold leaves, see GJ 50-65, Edmonds (2011a) 3-14, and (2013a) 11-70 (with more extensive treatment of ancient and late antique antecedents of "Orphism").

understood as a religious tendency built around a core collection of myths, doctrines, and sacred texts. At its center was the anthropogonic myth of Dionysos Zagreus and a universal doctrine of inherited guilt.[7] Orphics were adherents of a distinctive lifestyle who performed propitiatory rituals for Dionysos and his mother Persephone to gain a better afterlife and release from a cycle of reincarnation. These myths, doctrines, and promises were thought to be related in written poems or *hieroi logoi* attributed to Orpheus. All of these elements, Comparetti and his successors claimed, were reflected in the texts of the gold leaves. This description of Orphism found both adherents and detractors, but his view by the mid-20th c. had become more or less orthodox in scholarship – notwithstanding the continuing skepticism of several prominent philologists and historians of ancient religion. Wilamowitz, Ivan Linforth, and E.R. Dodds all doubted that the "Orphic church" imagined in some scholarship had any basis in historical reality.[8] There were also doubts as to whether the gold leaves themselves supported Comparetti's model. Linforth rejected the lamellae entirely as evidence for Orphic cults because they do not mention the name of Orpheus, while Günther Zuntz in his *Persephone* (1971) argued that the lamellae came from a Pythagorean and non-Dionysiac (and therefore non-Orphic) background.

Some components of Comparetti's model have been vindicated by subsequent finds, especially the implicit and/or explicit role of Dionysos in the tablets. A leaf excavated from Hipponion in 1974 mentioned "initiates and bacchants" (B10), and further lamellae in the shape of ivy leaves from Pelinna, and another from Amphipolis declaring that the deceased is "sacred to (or a priestess of?) Dionysos *Bakkhios*," have confirmed the connection with Dionysiac cult.[9] On the matter of Comparettian "Orphism" more generally, however, the current picture is more ambivalent. The 5th-c. bone plates discovered in Olbia indicate a cultic link between Orpheus and Dionysos, but their presence in a sanctuary of Apollo suggests a complex local cultic picture.[10] The Derveni Papyrus, a carbonized 4th-c. scroll containing a 5th-c. commentary on a

[7] According to this story, Dionysos was the son of Zeus and Persephone. He was meant to succeed Zeus as ruler of the cosmos, but the Titans (perhaps with the encouragement of a jealous Hera) lured the infant Dionysos away from his guardians, killed and dismembered him, and devoured his flesh. In anger, Zeus incinerated the Titans with his thunderbolt. From the ashes of the Titans arose humanity. Dionysos was in some way reconstituted or revived. As a consequence of their origins, the human race bears inherited guilt for the Titans' murder of Dionysos, as well as some inherited divinity from the flesh of Dionysos ingested by the Titans. The chief source is the late Neoplatonist commentator Olympiodoros (*In Plat. Phaedr*. 1.3 (41 W.) = *OF* 320 I = F220 Kern); other possible sources include Pi. fr. 133 S.-M. (= Pl. *Men.* 81b-c), Pl. *Leg*. 3.701b-c, Xenocr. fr. 219 Parente (= Damasc. *In Phaed.* 1.2), Euph. fr. 33 Scheidweiler (= fr. 36 Powell), Paus. 8.37.5, Plut. *de Esu Carn.* 1.996b-c (see collected fragments in *OF* 34-39, 57-59, 301-333). For a full discussion of the myth and its sources, see Edmonds (1999), (2013a) 296-391, Bernabé (2002a), Henrichs (2011), and GJ 66-93.

[8] Of particular consequence were Hermann Diels' inclusion of Orpheus (including the gold leaves) in his *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (1906), which was retained in subsequent revised editions by Walter Kranz, and Otto Kern's use of Comparetti's model as an organizational principle in his *Orphicorum Fragmenta* (1922): see Edmonds (1999) 39 n. 11, (2011a) 7, and GJ 56-57. Comparetti's model was taken up and developed by (*inter alios*) Rohde (1925), J. Harrison (1922), and Guthrie (1952) (though with significant flexibility in his treatment of the evidence). At the extreme, the now-discredited study of Macchioro (1930) painted a picture of Orphism as a quasi-ecclesial movement in Greek religion, and even argued for the historical dependency of early Christianity on Orphic doctrines. Distinguished critics of the Comparettian model include Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1931-1932) II 195-201, Linforth (1941), and Dodds (1951) 147-149 (acknowledging Linforth's influence), Zuntz (1971). Linforth's study admits as evidence only texts and testimonia that refer to Orpheus by name, and for this reason excludes the gold leaves altogether.

[9] B10.16 (Hipponion); see also plates from Pelinna (D1-2) and Amphipolis (D4). On the Dionysiac background of the gold leaves, see also the discussions of S. Cole (1980) and Graf (1993).

[10] See West (1982) and (1983) 17-19: on the cult background at Olbia, see Lévêque (2000) and Ferrari (2016). The case of Delphi is a notable instance where Apolline and Dionysiac cults are conjoined at the same site: see Burkert (1985) 224-225. Aeschylus' *Lykourgeia* tetralogy seems to have dramatized a mythical clash and ultimate fusion

6th-c. Orphic theogony, offers direct insight into the use of Orphic poetry in private ritual contexts during the same time period as the gold leaves. Neither the poem nor the commentator mentions Dionysos in the surviving text, and the author's interest in Pre-Socratic physics and allegorical exegesis again suggests a complex engagement with his cultural surround.[11] Thus, while new evidence has rendered untenable the extreme skepticism previously voiced by Wilamowitz and Zuntz, it has still not wholly confirmed the picture of "Orphism" that was painted by Comparetti and many of his intellectual successors.

In addition to new evidence, Walter Burkert's essay "Craft versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans" (1982) marked a key interpretive turn. Here Burkert addressed the confusion in our early testimonia between Orphic and Pythagorean phenomena and the problem of disentangling them. Burkert observed that while there is evidence for early Pythagorean communities and individuals who assumed a Pythagorean identity, the authority of Orpheus is typically linked with the activities of competing itinerant ritual experts – healers, magicians, diviners, and initiators – who offered their services to clients on an individual basis.[12] "Orphism" could thus still be circumscribed as an historical phenomenon that shared significant affinities with early Pythagoreanism, but the ritual authority of Orpheus was now recognized as part of a "craft" or *tekhnê* exercised by specialists competing for clients rather than the marker of a religious community with self-identified adherents.[13]

Burkert's "craft-sect" distinction has found wide acceptance, but its implications continue to be debated. Many scholars, including Burkert himself, have espoused a more modest version of Comparettian "Orphism" – what I will call a "neo-orthodox" perspective – that still insists on the centrality of the Zagreus myth but dispenses with the discredited idea of an Orphic "church."[14] Some of these scholars have also emphasized the element of mythological and cultural *bricolage* in the activities of competing itinerant initiators.[15] In particular, Fritz Graf and Sarah Iles Johnston interpret the Zagreus myth itself as a bricolagic development and rearrangement of existing themes in Greek mythology.[16] The neo-orthodox view labels the gold leaves as "Orphic" because their texts are thought to reflect the anthropogonic Zagreus myth in more or less the way theorized by Comparetti. Meanwhile, the suggestion that Orphism should be understood as an identity-forming religious disposition has receded, and scholars increasingly avoid referring to "Orphics."[17]

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between a cult of Dionysos and a quasi-Pythagorean worship of Apollo-Helios in connection with both Orpheus and Delphi: see West (1990) and Seaford (2005b).

[11] The most current text is Kotwick (2017); see also textual discussions in Janko (2002), (2016b), and KPT. The Derveni cosmogony is often described as a "hymn to Zeus," though it is possible that the damaged final column may refer to an Orphic myth in which Persephone is the daughter of Zeus and Rhea-Demeter (suggesting that the birth of Dionysos from Zeus and Persephone came later in the poem – though even this need not have been followed by the Titanic dismemberment: see West (1983) 93-101). For discussions of the commentary and its intellectual context, see Betegh (2004), Edmonds (2013a) 124-135, and Papadopoulou & Muellner (2014).

[12] Burkert (1982). On the role of itinerant experts in Greek religion and medicine during the Classical period and their possible development from earlier traditions, see more generally R. Parker (1983) 207-234, (2005) 116-135, Dickie (2001), and Bremmer (2010); cf. Wee (2016) on traveling physicians in Hippocratic medicine.

[13] Cf. Burkert (1998b) 393: "Die Realität, die hinter diesen Texten steht, läßt sich mit hinlänglicher Sicherheit fassen. Nichts spricht für eine bakchische oder orphische 'Kirche' mit Klerus und Dogma. Es handelt sich um wandernde Reinigungspriester, καθαρταί, τελεσταί, die ihren Klienten durch Weihehrituale 'Lösung' aus allerlei Not und Ängsten bieten, einschließlich der Angst vor dem Tod und vor Jenseitsstrafen."

[14] See e.g. Burkert (1985) 290-304, (1998b), and n. 17 below.

[15] E.g. GJ and Ferrari (2011).

[16] GJ 66-136 (and *passim*).

[17] E.g. Herrero (2010) 29-30; cf. Burkert (1982) 4 ("[T]here is no incontrovertible attestation of [the word] 'Orphics' in the sense used in modern scholarship, 'members of a community founded on the authority of Orpheus."), West (1983) 3 ("We must never say that 'the Orphics' believed this or did that, and anyone who does say it must be asked

Radcliffe Edmonds has developed Burkert's argument in a radically new direction. Edmonds, too, emphasizes the dynamic of *bricolage* in Orphic practices, but the reality of competing ritual experts leads Edmonds to paint a picture of Orphism that is heterogeneous and unsystematic. While accepting the Dionysiac background of the gold leaves, Edmonds rejects the assumption that they depend on the anthropogonic Zagreus myth, even arguing that this myth itself is an invention of 19th-c. scholarship.[18] More fundamentally, Edmonds has challenged the orthodox model itself as an invalid framework for interpreting ancient evidence. As he has pointed out, not only did early 20th-century accounts of Orphism rely heavily on the highly systematized accounts of Neoplatonist commentators, but they were also shaped by religious polemics between Protestant and Catholic Christians.[19] The tendency to describe "Orphism" in propositional terms, as a religion built around a narrative of a god who dies and is resurrected, based on sacred scriptures, and with doctrines of original sin and postmortem punishment, consisting of "Orphics" united by distinctive beliefs and lifestyles, reflects a move among 19th- and early 20th-century classical scholars to construct an exceptional "Proto-Protestant" movement of reform within early Greek religion. The virtue of the Comparettian model is its elegant unification of so much fragmentary material, but Edmonds makes a persuasive case that the pleasing coherency of orthodox "Orphism" in fact derives from the model constructed for the evidence rather than from the evidence itself.[20]

In place of the Comparettian model, Edmonds proposes an entirely new approach and definition of Orphism. The authority of Orpheus, he argues, functions in ancient evidence as a marker of the "extra-ordinary"[21] – that is, of exceptional or excessive purity, strange theogonic myths, or unusual eschatological ideas. Edmonds' approach is meant to counter what he terms the "Orphic Exception," or the tendency in scholarship to overstress the difference between Orphic phenomena and the mainstream of Greek religion. For Edmonds, the *bricolage* of Orphic cult represents an extension and creative development of concerns, myths, and rituals that are already common in Greek religion. Edmonds discards the Zagreus myth as the defining feature of "Orphism" and instead puts forward a polythetic definitional scheme. According to this definition, "Orphism" does not refer to any specific myths or doctrines, but rather tends to

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sharply '*Which* Orphics?' … It is legitimate to talk about … Olbian or Tarantine Orphics, or any other specific group of Orphics that we can identify, but not to talk about 'the Orphics' in general.") The oft-cited supplement ΟΡΦΙΚ[ΟΙ] on one of the Olbia bone plates is not secure, and the reading ΟΡΦΙΚ[ΟΝ] may be stronger: see Bremmer (2010) 28, Graf (2011), and Ferrari (2016).

[18] The debate over the authenticity of the Zagreus myth has displaced the older question of Dionysiac background: see critical assessments of Brisson (1992), Edmonds (1999), (2013a) 296-391, with defenses of the neo-orthodox view by Bernabé (2004), Henrichs (2011), and GJ 187-194.

[19] See Edmonds (1999) 57-66, (2008), and (2013a). The Proto-Protestant construction of ancient and world religions has been documented and critiqued by Smith (1990), Asad (1993), King (2003), Nongbri (2013), and Barton & Boyarin (2016). On the methodological problems involved in constructing religious "belief," see also Bell (1992).

[20] See Edmonds (2013a) 395: "There are several reasons why the hypothesis of the Zagreus myth and the attendant idea of a coherent Orphic religion might have been appealing to the scholars at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries who first put it forth. Orphism, as reconstructed on the basis of the Zagreus myth, not only provides a simple, elegant, and coherent explanation of the evidence, but the model that it assumes of a doctrinally-based religion, focused on salvation from sin and relying on the authority of sacred texts, is familiar to modern scholars of religion who come from a Judaeo-Christian background. The very coherence of the model that the Zagreus myth assumes, therefore, comes not from the ancient evidence but from the familiarity of the religious model. However, such a model, forged in the debates between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism and shaped by the ideas of the Enlightenment as well as the Reformation, cannot be applied to ancient religion without anachronism. Such a model is scarcely applicable to early Christianity, much less to Greek religion." Cf. Edmonds (1999) 57-66 and (2008b).

[21] Edmonds (2008b), (2013a).

designate exceptional purity, sanctity, antiquity, or strangeness.[22] This Wittgensteinian "family resemblance" definition also allows for phenomena that are not explicitly attributed to Orpheus, including the gold leaves, to be understood as "Orphic" without presupposing any central myth or doctrine. Following Marcel Detienne, Edmonds also understands Orphism as a device of protest or *chemin de déviance* available to women and members of other socially marginalized groups.[23] Edmonds has also challenged the suitability of propositional definition of "religion" to Orphic phenomena, instead adopting anthropologist Harvey Whitehouse's dichotomy between "doctrinal" religious practices, which are based on instruction and the learning of specific communicable teachings, and "imagistic" modes of religion, that are built around infrequent and extraordinary experiences that are not necessarily verbally expressible. Edmonds argues persuasively that the place of Orphism is in the latter category, alongside other ancient mystery phenomena.[24]

As a consequence of this history of scholarship, the terms "Orphism" and "Orphic" can carry at least four simultaneous meanings with different connotations that need to be disambiguated:

(1) *Comparetti's "Orthodox" Orphism*: Orphism is a Dionysiac mystery cult based on the Zagreus myth (i.e. the "orthodox" or "neo-orthodox" views discussed above) and with a cluster of core doctrines related in Orphic texts.[25] Orphism in this sense is often defined in reference to Pythagoreanism, with debates over the historical priority of Orphism vis-à-vis Pythagoreanism.[26]

(2) *Linforth's "Arts of Orpheus"*: Orphism is the habit of attributing poems and rituals to the name and authority of Orpheus. Within this definition, no specifically "Orphic" doctrine or cultic emphasis is assumed, and nothing can be securely identified as "Orphic" that is not "sealed with the name of Orpheus."[27]

(3) *Edmonds' "Polythetic" Orphism*: The name of Orpheus is a marker of the "extra-ordinary" in Greek religion and myth, but does not designate a connection with the Zagreus myth or any common set of doctrines. By this definition, a religious practice may be "Orphic" either by being attributed explicitly to Orpheus or by possessing shared traits with other such practices (purity, sanctity, antiquity, or strangeness). Orphism in this sense can be additionally interpreted

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[22] Edmonds (2013a) 77-82.

[23] Detienne (2002), Edmonds (2004) and (2013a); cf. Redfield (1991).

[24] Whitehouse (2004), with applications to Orphism by Edmonds (2013a) 69-70, 246-247, and 395-399. Whitehouse's paradigm has been applied to other Graeco-Roman mystery cults by Gragg (2004), Martin & Pachis (2009), Bowden (2010) 16, and Ustinova (2013b) 110-111.

[25] Major proponents of this perspective include ("Orthodox") Comparetti & Smith (1882), Comparetti (1910), J. Harrison (1922), Macchioro (1930), Guthrie (1952) (though his approach to the evidence is more sophisticated than is usually acknowledged); ("Neo-Orthodox") R. Parker (1995), BJ, and GJ.

[26] This raises the thorny question of the definition of "Pythagoreanism" relative to "Orphism," which is beyond the scope of this dissertation to discuss in detail. See Burkert (1972) 125: "Scholars' conceptions of Pythagoreanism and of Orphism are inevitably as interdependent as the pans of a balance. A 'minimalist' attitude to the Orphic tradition rapidly raises the importance of Pythagoreanism, while hypercriticism toward Pythagoreanism peoples Greece with *Orpheotelestai*." Overlap between Orphic and Pythagorean phenomena is evident already in the earliest sources (e.g. Hdt. 2.81.2, Ion of Khios fr. 116 Leurini, A. *Lykourgeia* (frr. 57-62, 23-24, 146-146b, 124 Radt): see collected testimonia in *OF* 506-509, 650 with discussions by Kingsley (1995), Casadesús Bordoy (2013), and Betegh (2014), as well as West (1990) and Seaford (2005b) on Aeschylus.

[27] See Linforth (1941) (who excluded the gold leaves entirely on these methodological grounds from his discussion of "Orphism"), West (1983) 3 ("As for 'Orphism,' the only definite meaning that can be given to the term is 'the fashion for claiming Orpheus as an authority.' The history of Orphism is the history of that fashion."), and Schlesier (2001) and (2003). For two different recent discussions of this criterion and its inadequacy for the gold leaves, see both GJ 193-194 and Edmonds (2013a) 71-94.

as a device of protest or individual expression available to women and others with restricted roles in Greek society.[28]

(4) *Burkert's Orphic "Craft"*: By this definition, the label "Orphic" is a marker of itinerant and individual ritual expertise (τέχνη) that is to be distinguished from the social coherence of Pythagorean "sect." Orphism thus defined is not a community- or identity-forming phenomenon: there do not seem to have been any "Orphics" in the sense that there were ancient "Pythagoreans."[29]

These definitions are not all necessarily mutually exclusive, and they overlap each other more often than this schematic presentation may suggest. For instance, Burkert's "craftsmanship" paradigm (4) has been accommodated and adapted variously within definitions (1), (2), and (3). The notion of Orphism as a form of cultural *bricolage* has also been taken up and developed in different ways within both (1) and (3).[30]

Whether the gold leaves are considered "Orphic" depends significantly on which definition is operative. According to (1), characterizing the gold leaves as Orphic presumes that they refer to the Zagreus myth and may imply that they are non-Pythagorean. The gold leaves cannot be considered "Orphic" according to definition (2), since their texts never refer to Orpheus. Edmonds' polythetic definition (3), on the other hand, designates the gold leaves as "Orphic" because they fall within a sphere of "extra-ordinary" religious phenomena that are characteristically linked to the authority of Orpheus.[31] Finally, the gold leaves can also be recognized as "Orphic" within definition (4), but this is not because of their doctrinal content but rather because they belong to the world of ritual expertise that is marked as "Orphic" in ancient sources.

§III. "Centrifugal" vs. "Centripetal" Approaches to the Gold Leaves

Before articulating my own position against this background, some reframing of the issues is in order. In the history of scholarship on the gold leaves and "Orphism," we can distinguish roughly between two orientations that I shall term *centripetal* and *centrifugal*. Those scholars who approach the gold leaves "centripetally" have focused on the shared features of the lamellae and posited a more-or-less coherent context for the scattered tablets. This has been the dominant tendency in the history of scholarship, and it is especially pronounced among scholars working within the Comparettian model, for whom the significance of the gold leaves is to be found by synthesizing them into a textual unity. Thus, for instance, M. L. West and Richard Janko have both applied stemmatic theory to reconstruct the single "archetype" of the B-lamellae, while Christoph Riedweg has influentially interpreted all of the gold leaves as segments from a single master *hieros logos* that can be reconstructed by arranging the tablets in the correct narrative order.[32]

While methods of this type are necessary and instructive in treating fragmentary source materials, there is obviously much that is lost when objects like the gold leaves are synthesized

[28] Redfield (1991), Detienne (2002), Edmonds (2004) & (2013a). On the social functions of ecstatic Bacchic cults as vehicle of agency for women and other marginal groups, see also Detienne (1975), (1979), Bremmer (1984), and Goff (2004).

[29] The term "Orphics" (Ὀρφικοί) in ancient sources designates the authors of Orphic poems rather than followers of Orpheus: see Burkert (1982) 3-4 and Graf (2011). On the doubtful reading ΟΡΦΙΚ[ΟΙ] on one of the bone tablets from Olbia, see n. 17 above.

[30] See e.g. GJ 66-93, Edmonds (2004), Ferrari (2011).

[31] See Edmonds (2013a) 86-88.

[32] Stemma/Archetype: West (1975a), Janko (1984) and (2016a). *Hieros Logos*: Riedweg (2011, originally published as separate articles in 1998 and 2002). See critique in §III below.

in this way – that is, when they are stripped of their particularity as texts and locally-situated material objects. In recent decades, a corrective shift toward a more "centrifugal" perspective has been underway. The steady appearance of new lamellae from Western Greece, Thessaly, Macedonia, Crete, and the Peloponnese has shown potentially significant patterns of variation and enabled scholars increasingly to situate the clusters of gold leaves within their local religious contexts.[33] Fritz Graf and Sarah Iles Johnston in their recent study of the gold leaves adhere to the neo-orthodox model of Orphism, but emphasize the dispersed and bricolagic character of the evidence. Their edition even groups the tablets for the first time geographically rather than by text-type – a presentation that impresses on the reader the local character of the lamellae.[34] The centralizing tendency of philological scholarship has come under scrutiny as well. Franco Ferrari questions the possibility of constructing a textual "archetype" for the gold leaves, pointing to the methodological problems involved in applying stemmatic theory to poetic texts that are shaped within ongoing oral performance practices. The textual variants of the lamellae, unlike the errors in a manuscript tradition, are likely to reflect local adaptations and variants in cultic practice and thus offer evidence of ongoing *bricolage* and adaptation within the lamellae tradition.[35] Edmonds, too, has argued persuasively that the tablets do not belong to a comprehensive *hieros logos* but instead represent different iterations of a recurring narrative pattern with variable content that was adapted to different contexts.[36] Edmonds has argued on similar grounds that the fragmentary testimonia for the "Zagreus myth" are better understood within their own individual contexts rather than as parts of a single mythical narrative.[37] It is precisely those aspects of the gold leaves that situate them in the realm of ritual practice – their textual variation, narrative form, and materiality – that tend to be smoothed out and omitted by the centripetal approaches of scholarship. The material form of the tablets has also disclosed a good deal about the social and ritual background of Orphic-Bacchic cults, and shows affinities with practices of contemporary healers and magicians.[38] The better-documented archaeological contexts of newer finds have also shown that many, if not most, owners of the lamellae were women, and suggests that these mystery cults were a gendered practice in some contexts.[39]

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[33] The unfortunate lack of archaeological context for many of the lamellae and the unevenness of written evidence outside of Athens and Attica makes such local histories provisional in various degrees. Western Greece has received the most attention: see Zuntz (1971), Kingsley (1995), Casadio (1994), Redfield (2003), Musti (2005), Casadio & Johnston (2009). Recent examinations of the gold leaves and Bacchic cults in Thessaly and Macedonia include Dickie (1995), Parker & Stamatopoulou (2004), GJ 195-207, Faraone (2009), Mili (2015) 259-299, and Malama & Tzifopoulos (2016). The corpus of Hellenistic Cretan lamellae are perhaps the most promising archive for a site-specific study, though the uncertain date and their chronological distance from the main corpora pose significant obstacles: see Tzifopoulos (2010) and (2011).

[34] GJ 3: "A geographically determined arrangement … makes manifest the local groupings and idiosyncrasies of these texts: after all, they sometimes belonged to local groups and always attest to the activities of a local *orpheotelestēs*."

[35] See Ferrari (2011) and Tzifopoulos (2011) 179; on the methodological complications with reconstructing texts that have been shaped through interaction with ongoing oral performance practices, see further Nagy (1996). I do acknowledge that Janko's reconstructed archetype has significant value for its provisional restorations of damaged portions of existing texts, but I share Ferrari's doubts that a true archetype for any of the several text-groups of the lamellae can be reconstructed even in principle, and I believe that multi-text editions remain indispensable. See further discussion in Ch. 1 and §III below.

[36] Edmonds (2004); cf. Petridou (2016) 256-263, who stresses the traditional "emplotment" of the mystic encounters with the gods in the gold leaves.

[37] Edmonds (1999), (2013a) 296-391.

[38] See discussion in Ch. 3.

[39] For an overview of tablets and their archaeological contexts, see Edmonds (2011a) 40-48. For discussions of both personal and grammatical gender in the gold leaves, see Graf (1993) 255-256, Edmonds (2004) 65-67, and Bremmer (2013) 47-48 as well as in Ch. 1-2 of this study.

This centrifugal move – that is, this increased focus on the scattered geographic, social, and material sites where religion is embodied – has been a productive turn in the study of Orphism. This is not to disregard the continuing value of the centripetal orientation. The centripetal and centrifugal orientations are naturally in tension, but they are also both necessary and mutually corrective. This dissertation makes use of both perspectives. I concur with the judgment of Fritz Graf that "[c]onscientious reconstruction in order to find an explanatory context for data is … a fundamental task of historical scholarship when confronted with fragments; to refuse this task runs the risk of reducing history to antiquarian data collection."[40] There is no thinking without categories, and any discussion of fragmentary sources for religious phenomena must rely to some degree on centripetal categories like "Orphism" to make any sense of the evidence. I also acknowledge the heuristic value of Richard Janko's prototype of the B-texts, and I have drawn on his recent work at several points in this study to elucidate damaged portions of the lamellae texts. At the same time, Edmonds' critiques have highlighted a genuine methodological weakness in the conventional definition, construction, and discussion of "Orphism" in classical scholarship since Comparetti. While I do not follow Edmonds' total rejection of the Zagreus myth, I nevertheless concur with him that much of the evidence that has been understood in terms of this myth and a system of Orphic "doctrines" (such as metempsychosis) can be more convincingly interpreted in other ways. The emphasis on the Zagreus myth in particular has exerted a significant centripetal tug in the study of the gold leaves that has foreclosed other interpretations. More fundamentally, the very model of "Orphism" as a propositional belief system has exerted a powerful centripetal influence on the treatment of the gold leaves and other sources by classical scholars. Not only has this model tended to deemphasize local differences within the lamellae tradition, it has drawn attention toward an abstract belief structure and away from the *realia* of religious practice – the "words and things, gestures and powers, sounds, and silences, perceptions and affects, causes and effects" in which religion is embodied and centrifugally dispersed, expressed, and performed.[41]

In this dissertation, therefore, I employ a definition of Orphism that hews close to (3) from the list above, with some adjustments, and I regard the gold leaves as "Orphic" primarily in the senses implied by (3) and (4). This is not to suggest that I entirely reject the neo-orthodox view or accept the new proposals of Edmonds in all particulars. Most significantly, I agree with (1) that the Zagreus myth is in the intellectual mix and that at least some of the gold leaves refer to it, though I think that it is less central to the lamellae than many neo-orthodox scholars insist.[42] Those scholars who are committed to a definition of "Orphism" that includes the Zagreus myth will find, I think, that my conclusions and observations in the following chapters are largely compatible with most versions of "neo-orthodox" Orphism. Nevertheless, I share Edmonds' methodological concerns with the Comparettian model and the Protestantizing assumptions that it imposes on the gold leaves. I have tried as far as possible to remain neutral on the question of the Zagreus myth, and for that reason I have not allowed the myth to serve a load-bearing function in any the arguments that follow. The somewhat noncommittal characterization of the gold leaves as "Orphic-Bacchic" in the title of this dissertation is intended to acknowledge their Dionysiac background while suspending judgment on this question. In any case, it is not primarily with belief systems that I am interested in this study. The fact of the matter is that even the maximalist Comparettian model leaves much residue in its account of the gold leaves, and it is with precisely this residue – the poetic, ritual, material, and performance-related aspects of the

[40] GJ 193 (offered in criticism of Edmonds and Brisson).
[41] De Vries (2008) 5; see discussion of "Material Religion" in Ch. 3 of this study.
[42] I think the Zagreus myth is likely alluded to in A1-3 and D1-2, as well as in some early testimonial evidence (e.g. Pi. fr. 133): see Lloyd-Jones (1990), Henrichs (2011), GJ 66-93, and R. Parker (2014).

lamellae – that this dissertation is chiefly concerned. Because the gold leaves are my primary focus and these objects do not feature the name of Orpheus, definition (2) is also ruled out for the present study.[43]

This dissertation, it should be stressed, is a study of the gold leaves, not "Orphism" in general. My objective has been to examine the lamellae as a practice without assigning them to any special belief system, be it "Orphic," "Pythagorean," or "Orphic-Pythagorean," that would leave the lamellae as an isolated genre and foreclose potentially fruitful avenues of comparison. I am interested in situating the lamellae more securely in their centrifugal contexts – that is, within the concrete realm of practices, experiences, expressions, and embodiments where religion in its most important sense really "happens." My working definition of "Orphism" as sketched above is intended to recognize their place among the marginal religious phenomena found in the Late Classical period without imposing on them an entire presumed belief system.

Just as importantly, I have also opted for a definitional framework that does not impose a firm line between "Orphic" phenomena and broader cultural practices. This study thus follows Edmonds' challenge to the "Orphic Exception" by emphasizing and exploring the continuities between "Orphic" phenomena and broader currents of Greek culture. To characterize "Orphism" as a practice of *bricolage*, as even some neo-orthodox scholars have increasingly done, or even as a mode of protest or *chemin de déviance*, as Detienne and Edmonds have suggested, is to recognize a complex push-and-pull interrelation between "Orphic" phenomena and Classical Greek culture more broadly. Far from being a strange or foreign phenomenon – *ein fremder Blutstropfen* in the Hellenic circulatory system, as Rohde described it[44] – "Orphism" in fact denotes a veritable stew of themes, ideas, and practices drawn from various forms of cultural activity (religion, poetry, music, magic, ritual, epigraphy) that are being creatively reworked and redeployed in innovative ways for new audiences. The present study addresses the place of the gold leaves within this process of *bricolage*.

At the same time, a cluster of shared themes, concerns, narrative scenarios, and modes of expression can be recognized across the corpus of lamellae. The coherency of the tradition, however, still does not amount to a doctrinal or religious "system," and the components of this background need not be traced back to any one common myth or core of common doctrines. The importance of Dionysos in the tablets is now securely established, though he is often absent from their texts; and the prominence of other divinities, especially Persephone, and the apparent influence of local cults on some groups of lamellae suggests that the tablets' mythological background is complex. Nearly all of the tablets describe or allude to an encounter with one or more divinities of the Underworld, perhaps including an exchange of passwords or *symbola*. A large number of tablets express an idea of the initiate's shared kinship with the gods. Several tablets emphasize ritual purity and initiation as the mechanisms by which this kinship relation is activated. The tablets of all groups are generally concerned with securing an exceptional or

[43] I agree with Edmonds (2013a) 71-93 that based on polythetic "family resemblance" criteria the lamellae can be classified as "Orphic," but since none of the tablets refer to Orpheus or mention his name, they cannot be taken as evidence for this habit of attribution without circular reasoning. This larger attributive habit is nevertheless an important and underexamined topic, and I intend to take it up in a future study that is not focused on the gold leaves.

[44] Rohde (1895) 27; cf. Rohde (1925) 253-334. Rohde espoused the one-time consensus view that Dionysiac cult was a historic intrusion into the Greek world from Thrace during the Iron Age or early Archaic period, but the evidence of Linear B tablets has shown that Dionysos already belonged to Mycenaean cult. The larger question of non-Greek origins for certain aspects of Orphism and elements from the Gold Leaves is one that largely falls beyond the scope of this study. Though this dissertation will necessarily touch on such questions at times (e.g. the possible Egyptian-Phoenician antecedents of the Gold Leaves, which are discussed briefly in Ch. 3), my scope will be largely restricted to the reception and adaptation of these practices within classical Greek society rather than their possible prehistories in the broader Mediterranean world.

differentiated condition for the deceased in the afterlife. These themes are all developments of concerns from mainstream Greek religion, and the images and emphases with which they are expressed vary considerably among the different text-groups of the lamellae.[45] But these central concerns are also persistent enough to justify treating the lamellae themselves as a coherent practice. The distinctive physical form of the gold leaves encourages this approach as well.[46]

The orientation of this dissertation toward the gold leaves is therefore at once centrifugal and centripetal in different respects. It is centrifugal insofar as it is concerned with tracing the dispersive interactions between the lamellae as a practice and various areas of the broader Greek culture, ranging from poetry to epigraphy to ancient medicine. One of this study's key aims is to counter the view of the gold leaves and "Orphic" phenomena as a closed archive in Classical Greece by stressing its dense involvement and parallelisms with other cultural activities. The following chapters especially stress the place of the gold leaves in performance contexts (e.g. poetry, burial, and ritual expertise) where their involvement in various modes of communication and ritual interaction is more foregrounded. On the other hand, this study adopts a centripetal orientation insofar as it treats the lamellae themselves as a coherent practice, even across their geographic and cultural dispersal. Thus, while this dissertation draws on the work of scholars who have examined the sub-groups of the gold leaves in local or regional religious contexts, its focus is still synoptic, and its ambition is to treat the lamellae tradition as a coherent whole without making presuppositions about the underlying doctrines or doctrinal consistency of their cults. The key intended contribution of this study to existing scholarship is to underline that the meanings generated within the lamellae tradition – and by implication in other "Orphic" phenomena – lie largely in their complex interactions with broader social and material practices.

§IV. Contents and Overall Argument

This dissertation's first chapter ("Memory and Remembering in the Gold Leaves") examines the vocabulary of memory in the lamellae. Several of the leaves relate the soul's journey to obtain a drink from the chthonic water of memory (μνημοσύνη), and others reference themselves as objects of memory or emphasize the initiate's need to remember instructions at the moment of death. Focusing particularly on two recently discovered tablets and analyzing them in relation to a range of literary parallels, I argue that both subjective (cognitive) and objective (social) memory played a complex role in Bacchic mystery experience. The lamellae texts borrow didactic formulae in which an addressee is exhorted to be "mindful" (μεμνημένος) or "retentive/watchful" (πεφυλαγμένος) in keeping the teacher's wisdom: they thus transpose the didactic poet-addressee interaction into the context of mystery cult, where memory is concerned with retaining the effects of initiation in preparation for death. At the same time, the vocabulary of fame (κλεεινοί), song (ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν), and heroic identity (ἥρως/ἥρωες) in the gold leaves links the immortality of Bacchic initiates with the ideology of Archaic song culture, where memory was a benefit conferred on the individual through the poet's attention and through future re-performance. By examining parallels in Hesiod, Sappho, and Pindar, I argue that Bacchic mystery cults drew on diverse tropes of poetic memory to construct a complex and adaptable ideology of personal immortality that would appeal to a diverse 4th-c. clientele. My proposal is that the gold leaves can themselves be understood in modern theoretical terms as a socially managed process of memory or the postmortem management of identity. I also suggest

[45] Encounter: Edmonds (2004), Petridou (2016) (esp. 252-271). Kinship: A. Long (2015) 51-87 and Ch. 2 below. Afterlife & Purity: R. Parker (1983) 281-307 (cf. 207-234), Edmonds (2013a) 195-391.
[46] See Ch. 3.

that the complexity of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves was itself a productive feature that offered wide scope for interpretation by competing ritual experts in local contexts.

The second chapter ("The Gold Leaves and Funeral Epigraphy") develops an analogy between the social functions of the lamellae and Late Classical epitaphs. Drawing on recent studies of inscribed epigrams by J. Day and C. Tsagalis, I argue that the lamellae envision the initiate's exceptional postmortem status in ways that are stylistically comparable to conventional funeral epigraphy. The initiates' declarations of purity (καθαρός, εὐαγής), blessedness (ὄλβιος), mystic identity (μύσται καὶ βάχχοι), and lineage (γένος) in the lamellae echo verbal strategies of funerary epigrams and speeches that assure postmortem preservation by establishing a bond with an abiding social structure and identifying the deceased with a special community of exceptional dead (ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, ὄλβιοι). Of special importance is the formula τάφος ἀντὶ γάμου ("tomb instead of marriage") that appears on graves of young women from the Archaic and Classical periods, reflecting the language of ritual lament. This expression is analogous, I argue, to the antitheses that appear in the lamellae (θεὸς … ἀντὶ βροτοῖο, θεὸς … ἐξ ἀνθρώπου). Both lamellae and epigrams use parallel strategies to portray a particular ritual group – whether the *polis*, *oikos*, or a community of *mystai* – as capable of successfully managing the process of "exchange" by which the deceased attains immortality. Like epitaphs, the lamellae served as media for the promulgation of an ideologically-shaped postmortem identity.

The final chapter ("Material Religion and the Gold Leaves") turns from the comparative inquiries of the first two chapters to examine the gold leaves more closely in the context of itinerant ritual performance. In particular, I consider the lamellae against the background of ritual hexameters or incantations (ἐπωιδαί), a submerged Greek verse genre in which the power of the voice interacted especially closely with material objects. The corpus of Late Classical inscribed ἐπωιδαί that have come to light in S. Italy, Sicily, and Crete (including the recently published "Getty Hexameters") suggest that the gold leaves belong to a more prevalent (but hitherto largely unrecognized) tradition of writing employed to capture the effect of oral performance in a tangible medium – a special instance of Rosalind Thomas's "non-rational" use of writing – that emerged and developed through the interaction of oral practices and local epigraphic habits in both Magna Graecia, Northern Greece, and Crete. Oral and written hexameters also served as devices of self-presentation for ritual experts, including the itinerant initiators who presided over Bacchic cults. I suggest that both the vocal and the material aspects of the gold leaves contributed to the authority of these ritual craftsmen.

Throughout this dissertation run two overarching arguments. First, the lamellae represent a mode of self-presentation and response to threats against personal identity for their owners.[47] As I argue, the lamellae imitate and borrow from a wide range of elite cultural practices, including poetry, music, and funerary epigram, to construct an imaginative framework in which the initiate's personal identity can be preserved and recognized after death. Following from this is my second and more consequential claim that the gold leaves belong to a religious practice that is in important respects both *social* and *communal*. This claim is not an attempt to reinstate either the chimerical "Orphic Church" or the Romantic image of the Dionysiac *thiasos* as a dissolution of the *principium individuationis*, nor do I question the current consensus that there were few if any self-described "Orphics" in antiquity. Instead, I contend that the gold leaves themselves point toward an altogether different and recognizable *ideology* of mystic community that was of central importance to marginal experts of the type who disseminated the lamellae as

[47] On "risk" as a social context for ancient magical phenomena, see Eidinow (2007). Petridou (2016) also situates the Gold Leaves within the narrative tradition of divine epiphanies, where the appearance of a god often serves the function of allowing a solution to a crisis (see esp. 316).

well as to their clients. The expressions of this mystic communal ideology are not to be interpreted positivistically as evidence for the existence of Orphic-Bacchic "communities," but the material and ritual context of the gold leaves indicates that such communities were not purely fictional either. The lamellae can be seen as miniature examples of what Benedict Anderson termed "imagined communities" that developed and became popular in certain corners of the Classical world – notably at the margins of *polis*-religion, and perhaps as an alternative or supplement to the modes of community articulated in the public cults and ideologies of Greek *poleis*. The bricolagic interactions of the lamellae all belong to the construction of this complex alternative.

The title of this dissertation – "Memory and Performance: Strategies of Identity in the Orphic-Bacchic Lamellae" – expresses this twofold argument in terms that will recur throughout the chapters that follow. I treat "memory" as an organizing theme for the lamellae partly because of their own use of poetic memory vocabulary, which signals interaction between the lamellae tradition and Greek commemorative culture (both song and mortuary ritual). In addition to this, however, I propose describing the gold leaves themselves as a practice of memory in a modern theoretical sense, insofar as the lamellae themselves belong to a social process of imagination that reshapes the subject's personal identity in the context(s) of initiation and/or mortuary ritual. With the word "Performance," I mean to signify not only the ritual enactment or promulgation of the subject's new mystic identity in the contexts of initiation and burial, but also the dynamics of interaction between ritual expert and client. This dynamic of "performance" is implicit in Burkert's craftsmanship model of Orphism, and it is the persistent self-presentation of itinerant ritual experts for clients that provides the context for the complex and innovative *bricolage* between the gold leaves and broader currents of Greek culture. The terms "Memory" and "Performance" designate in complementary ways the social character of the lamellae and their cult environment.

* * *

The numeration of the tablets in this dissertation follows the A, B, and C text-groups first proposed by Günther Zuntz and subsequently expanded to include groups D, E, and F by Christoph Riedweg, Yannis Tzifopoulos, and Radcliffe Edmonds to accommodate new finds.[48] The Greek texts mostly follow the now-standard edition of Alberto Bernabé, although I have preferred to use epigraphically accurate typography (e.g. for B10.13, I print ἐρέ͞οσιν rather than ἐρέουσιν). In some instances I have quietly removed some of Bernabé's and other editors' interventions in the texts (e.g. at the end of the same line I retain βασιλε͞ϊ over βασιλεί⟨αι⟩, as in Graf's and Johnston's text) and I have indicated certain points where the reading is uncertain or where different possibilities should be entertained. All English translations are my own unless otherwise indicated. I have generally opted to quote the Greek words in Greek script rather than in transliteration, although some words are so frequently used (*mnêmosynê, mystai*) or have a sufficiently quasi-English meaning (*logos, oikos, polis*) that I have found it preferable to render them in Latin script to avoid an unattractive cut-and-paste "ransom-note" effect. For transliteration, I have preferred to render Greek words and names in a Hellenic rather than a Latinized form (i.e. Empedokles and Dionysos rather than Empedocles and Dionysus), though I have permitted myself occasional inconsistencies for certain familiar Latinized proper names (Aeschylus, Plutarch, Piraeus, etc.) or where strict letter-by-letter transliteration might seem mannered or distracting for readers. For ancient authors, I have followed the abbreviations in the LSJ (9th edition).

[48] Zuntz (1971), Riedweg (1998), Tzifopoulos (2010), and Edmonds (2011a). Different systems of enumeration are used both in Alberto Bernabé's edition of the Orphic fragments (where the lamellae appear as *OF* 474-496) and in the geographic grouping of Fritz Graf and Sarah Iles Johnston (GJ 1-47).

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Finally, I thank my parents Bill and Julie, my sister Barbara, and my extended family for their steadfast encouragement. This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my grandmother, Mary Bear "Gumbo" McClay: I boast that I, too, am of your blessed lineage.

Ch. 1: Memory and Remembering in the Gold Leaves

§I. Introduction

> Mnémosyne a deux visages, l'un tourné vers le passé, l'autre vers l'avenir…
>
> Michèle Simondon[1]

> Religious ritual, and indeed religion in general, attempts to control the power of what is unknown. The unknown power that mystic initiation attempts to control is the power of death. And so it pre-enacts, in the controlled form of ritual, the process of death. It stages the anxiety of death that leads to the bliss of the next world. And so because death is an unpredictable rupture of personal identity, mystic initiation must abolish the fundamental categories that constitute personal identity.
>
> Richard Seaford[2]

* * *

The oldest of the gold leaves that can be securely dated (B10) was found inside a woman's cist grave in Hipponion (in Calabria near Lokri Epizephyrii) and is dated by context to ca. 400 BCE. The text reads as follows:

μναμοσύνας τόδε †ἔρίον†. ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλῃσι θανεῖσθαι,
εἶς Ἀΐδαο δόμῶς εὐέρεας· ἔστ᾽ ἐπὶ δ⟨ε⟩ξιὰ κρένα,
πὰρ δ᾽ αὐτὰν ἑστακῦα λευκὰ κυπάρισος·
ἔνθα κατερχόμεναι ψυχαὶ νεκύων ψύχονται.
ταύτας τᾶς κράνας μεδὲ σχεδὸν ἐνγύθεν ἔλθῃς.
πρόσθεν δὲ *h*ευρέσεις τᾶς μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνας
ψυχρὸν ὕδῶρ προρέον· φύλακες δὲ ἐπύπερθεν ἔασι.
τοὶ δέ σε εἰρέσονται ἐν φρασὶ πευκαλίμαισι
ὅ τι δὲ ἐξερέεις Ἄϊδος σκότος ὀρφέεντος.
εἶπον· ὑὸς Γᾶς ἔμι καὶ ᾽Ōρανῶ ἀστερόεντος.
δίψαι δ᾽ ἔμ᾽ αὖος καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλὰ δότ᾽ ὄ[κα]
ψυχρὸν ὕδῶρ πιέναι τᾶς μνēμοσύνēς ἀπὸ λίμν[α]ς.
καὶ δή τοι ἐρέōσιν *h*υποχθονίōι βασιλεῖϊ·
καὶ δέ τοι δόσōσι πιεῖν τῆς μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνα[ς].
καὶ δὲ καὶ σὺ πιὸν ὁδὸν ἔρχεα⟨ι⟩, *h*άν τε καὶ ἄλλοι
μύσται καὶ βάχχοι *h*ιερὰν στείχōσι κλεινοί.

1. †ἔρίον† : EPION lam. ἠρίον PC[1], ἔρ⟨γ⟩ον Burkert, ⟨ἰε⟩ρόν PC[2], ⟨θ⟩ρῖον West 2. εἶς E: εἰς GJ
13. βασιλεῖϊ : ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙ lam., βασιλεί⟨αι⟩ edd.

> This is the tomb(?) of memory. When you are about to die, you will go into the well-built house of Hades. There is a spring on the right, and beside it stands a white cypress. There the souls of the dead come down and refresh themselves. Do not even go near that stream. Further on, you will find cool water flowing forth from the lake of memory; but there are guardians above it. And they will question

[1] M. Simondon (1982) 122 (in a discussion of Pindar and epinician, but with broader applications: see §IV below).
[2] Seaford (2005a) 75. See also discussions of mystery experience in Burkert (1987b) and Ustinova (2013b).

> you with prudent wisdom, asking what you seek in the gloomy darkness of Hades. Say: "I am a child of Earth and starry Heaven, and I am parched with thirst and dying. But grant for me quickly to drink cool water from the lake of memory." And they will announce you to the king(?) of the Underworld, and they will grant you to drink from the lake of memory; and when you have drunk, you also shall go along the sacred road which the other famed initiates and *bakkhoi* tread.

In this leaf, as in all the longer B-texts, memory (μνημοσύνη/μναμοσύνα) is central.[3] This text guides the soul's postmortem journey through Hades, warning it to avoid the unnamed stream of oblivion (sc. λήθη) and quench its thirst from the waters of memory. A drink from this spring enables the deceased to enter the happy company of his or her fellow initiates. Yet despite the centrality of *mnêmosynê*, its precise meaning and function here remain elusive. In what sense does the tablet announce itself as an object of memory – possibly a "tomb" (ἠρίον), "work" (ἔργον), "rite/offering" (ἱερόν), or "leaf" (θρῖον), depending on the disputed reading of the first line? And why does the initiate seek the waters of memory? The effect of the waters and the cause of the soul's desire for it are frustratingly inexplicit.[4] For that matter, it is not even clear whether *mnêmosynê* here to be understood as an abstract noun, denoting the cognitive faculty of memory, or as the mythical mother of the Muses. In either case, is memory here an end in itself or a means to something else? What exactly is to be "remembered," by whom, and why?

* * *

These key questions about *mnêmosynê* in the lamellae have only infrequently been directly treated in the history of scholarship, though many scholars have addressed some of them in passing.[5] The most systematic description is Jean-Pierre Vernant's 1959 structuralist study "Aspects mythiques de la mémoire en Grèce," which contrasted the well-known mythical roles of Mnêmosynê and the Muses in Archaic Greek song culture with the chthonian divinity supposedly found in the gold leaves and in other "Orphic-Pythagorean" innovations of the Classical period. Vernant's interpretation was based on the leaves from Petelia and Pharsalos, the only tablets known at the time from the B-group that mentioned *mnêmosynê* by name. It provided the framework for the treatment of the gold leaves in Michèle Simondon's monograph *La mémoire et l'oubli dans la pensée grecque* (1982), and it is accepted in Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli's commentary (*Le lamine d'oro orfiche*, 2001) and the now-standard edition and commentary of Alberto Bernabé and Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal (*Instructions for the Netherworld*, 2008).[6] While Vernant draws significantly on the Comparettian model, his structural analysis also replicates patterns of interpretation that are common to both maximalist

[3] The other extended B-texts are B1 (Petelia, 4th c.), B2 (Pharsalos, 4th c.), and B11 (Entella?, 4th/3rd c.). In this chapter, I will mostly be concerned with the lamellae of the B-group and the A5 tablet: when I speak here of "the gold leaves" or "the lamellae," I have in mind especially the subset of tablets that emphasize or thematize memory. It will be apparent, however, that the reading that I advance in this chapter is applicable in varying degrees to the larger corpus of tablets outside the B-group. On the implicit reference to memory in A4 (Thurii), see §III below. I have as much as possible left *mnêmosynê* uncapitalized in this chapter so as not to prejudice the word's interpretation: whenever I refer unambiguously to the divinity, however, the capitalized name is given without italics (Mnêmosynê). For ease of reference, I refer throughout the chapter to *mnêmosynê* in its Ionic form rather than the Doric *mnâmosynâ* printed in some of the B-texts.

[4] E.g. Edmonds (2005) 229: "Why the deceased wants this water, apart from quenching her thirst, is never made clear in the tablet texts…"

[5] Significant discussions include Zuntz (1971) 378-382, Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 117-119, Bañuls Oller (1997), PC 10-20, BJ 15-19, 29-35 (with an overview of previous scholarship), and Bernabé & Jiménez (2011) 75-78.

[6] Simondon (1982) (though this study does not acknowledge the Hipponion tablet and subsequent studies that refer to it); see citations of Vernant in BJ 15 n. 22, 17 n. 33, 33 n. 105, PC 49.

and skeptical scholars.[7] Pugliese Carratelli, for instance, hews close to Vernant in characterizing the B-texts as "Mnemosynial" and linking them to a Pythagorean background while characterizing the remaining texts as properly "Orphic."[8] Because Vernant's articulation of the place of the gold leaves within early Greek concepts and discourses of memory has been so influential, his analysis ia a useful starting-point for considering the interpretive habits that continue to govern discussions of *mnêmosynê* in the lamellae.

Vernant's study expresses two assumptions that are common in the scholarship on the lamellae: first, that *mnêmosynê* in the B-texts is to be understood as a proper name designating a divine figure specific to "Orphic" or "Orphic-Pythagorean" eschatology;[9] and second, that the function of this mythical Mnêmosynê is to liberate the soul from a punitive cycle of rebirths. This second point may be explained either in terms of Comparettian Orphic doctrine, in which an escape from corporeal existence was connected with the inherited guilt from the dismemberment of Dionysos, or with Pythagorean legends, according to which adherents undertook special disciplines of memory and sought to recollect their previous incarnations and purify the soul.[10] It is argued that the souls of non-initiates in the B-texts drink from the waters of Oblivion (*lêthê*) and lose knowledge of their present life as they are sent into a new incarnation, while the Orphic initiate who partakes of Mnêmosynê will retain his/her self-knowledge, be granted release from the cycle of rebirth, and be allowed to remain in Hades.[11] For Vernant, Mnêmosynê enables mortal souls to attain immortality by transcending the realm of temporal becoming.

Given the exiguous and fragmentary state of the evidence, the possibility cannot be excluded that at least some owners of the gold leaves understood them in this way. However, as we shall see, the assumptions articulated above – that *mnêmosynê* denotes a mythical personality rather than abstract entity, and that she is connected with an Orphic-Pythagorean doctrine of metempsychosis – rest on shaky foundations. There is no evidence outside of the lamellae for a chthonic divinity of the type assumed by Vernant and others, and in fact the evidence of Orphic theogonies suggests that mythical Mnêmosynê did not play an especially prominent or important role in the poetry used by Orphic initiators.[12] None of the B-texts contain any clear reference to a

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[7] The skeptical Zuntz (1971) 378-382, while not citing or demonstrating any obvious debt to Vernant, shares Vernant's view that *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves reflects a Pythagorean background and is connected with the memory of past lives; likewise Edmonds (2004) 52-55.

[8] PC 10-20; see Bernabé & Jiménez (2011) 68-69.

[9] Proper Noun: Vernant (2006 [1965]) 123 (and *passim*); see also e.g. Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 118, BJ 15-16 ("none other than a personification of memory"); *contra* Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1931-1932) II 200 n. 2. Some scholars stress the importance of Orpheus and his genealogical relationship with mythical Mnêmosynê as son of the Muse Kalliope: e.g. J. Harrison (1922 [1903]) 578 (for whom the relation emphasized is geographic rather than genealogical), BJ 15 ("In the domain of myth, Mnemosyne is related to Orpheus – concretely, she is his grandmother – since her daughter, the Muse Calliope, was Orpheus' mother. Like the mythic bard, she is a native of Pieria…").

[10] Orphism and punitive metempsychosis: see full articulation of this view in BJ 32-34 (cf. 65-66, 117-121); cf. critical view of Edmonds (1999), (2004), and (2013a). On the alleged role of memory in this scheme, see BJ 18 ("Contempt for temporal existence can be deduced from the central role that Mnemosyne occupies in eschatological myths, since she represents the power to leave time behind and return to the divine… Mnemosyne is a religious power that guarantees the initiate's soul, after its death, the remembrance of its original condition, which means the possibility of not living once again, thereby removing itself from the dimension of time and becoming…"). Pythagoreanism and Recollection of Past Lives: see Dieterich (1893) 90-91, Zuntz (1971) 380-381, Simondon (1982) 156-160, Edmonds (2004) 52-55, and BJ 16.

[11] BJ 16-17, 31-34. Plato's myth of Er (*Rep*. 10.614a-621d) is often cited as a parallel on this point; but see objections in §II below.

[12] Mnêmosynê's role in Orphic theogonies seems not to have differed markedly from her position among the primordial feminine divinities in Hesiod. She belongs to the generation of Titans in both the Orphic *Rhapsodies* and the Eudemian *Theogony*: see West (1983) 122 and 126-127. She also appears in the Eleusinian *Eumolpia* attributed

doctrine of rebirths. Finally, attempts to construct a context for this interpretation of *mnêmosynê* requires a questionable treatment of possible parallels. Vernant's study compares the gold leaves with the chthonian waters of Ἀμέλης in Plato's "Myth of Er," the paired waters of Memory and Oblivion at the Boeotian oracle of Trophonios, and the late Orphic *Hymn to Mnêmosynê* – all three of which have been cited repeatedly in the literature on the lamellae since the late 19th century. Yet, as we shall see, none of these represents a secure parallel for the gold leaves, and taken together they do not add up to or support the interpretive picture outlined above. Vernant's study exemplifies one significant problem in the history of scholarship on this question, which is that the interpretive frameworks constructed in the late 19th century have remained influential even after they have been superseded by new evidence and methodological advances. The view of *mnêmosynê* outlined above took its basic shape within a few decades of Domenico Comparetti's inaugural work on the Petelia leaf (B1) in 1879. Much new evidence has since appeared, and the consensus about "Orphism" has shifted a great deal since the late 19th c.: but rather than prompting revision of the older interpretation, as discoveries have done for our understanding of other Orphic phenomena, newer evidence regarding *mnêmosynê* has largely been slotted into the existing interpretive framework.

To the two explanations assigned to *mnêmosynê* that have been discussed above (divinity and metempsychosis), we may add a third that is not emphasized by Vernant but which has been influential in subsequent studies: namely, the idea that the mythic Mnêmosynê in the lamellae performs a *cognitive role*, helping the initiate to retain knowledge that will help him or her obtain a happy afterlife.[13] In this interpretation, Mnêmosynê aids the initiate by preserving his memory of initiatory passwords (σύμβολα) after death.[14] Some scholars have taken this claim a step further and suggested that the inscribed tablets themselves were thought of as "mnemonic" aids that reminded the deceased where to go and what to say in the Underworld – a specific claim that I address critically in Ch. 3.[15] As I argue below (§III), *mnêmosynê* does in fact allude to a cognitive function in some of the gold leaves, but I suggest that this function has been understood by some scholars in narrowly propositional terms – perhaps due to the lingering influence of Comparetti's construction of Orphism as a Proto-Protestant religious movement.[16] In the first place, it cannot be assumed that a coherent body of doctrine lay beneath the gold leaves, and even when the language of memory is deployed in similar ways we cannot assume that it was understood the same way by different practitioners in different contexts. In the competitive context of individual ritual expertise, the very vagueness of the lamellae texts and the multivalency of "memory" in Greek thought would have encouraged a variety of intepretations.

In the second place, it is important not to identify even the cognitive aspect of *mnêmosynê* with a narrowly propositional conception of religion. Quite to the contrary, memory in Greek myth and religious discourse designates a broad range of affections and imaginative activites beyond the retention of information. While I think it is possible that the language of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves reflects the influence of contemporary Late Classical pedagogical discourse, I also argue that its poetic resonances are strongly foregrounded. I am reluctant to conclude that the various expressions of memory and the functions assigned to it (or her?) in the

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to Mousaios (fr. 86 Bernabé = DK 2 B15) in her familiar role as consort of Zeus and mother of the "younger" Muses (this poem assigned an earlier generation of Muses to the time of Kronos); see West (*op. cit.*) 42-43.

[13] Cf. Vernant (2006) 115-138; see also 139-153 and Vernant's discussion of philosophical *askêsis* in connection with memory and the Myth of Er in Plato's *Republic*.

[14] BJ 16-19, Bernabé & Jiménez (2011) 75-77.

[15] GJ 94-136 (esp. 94-95, 133-136).

[16] See e.g. Bernabé & Jiménez (2011) 75-76, who link *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves specifically with the retention of Orphic doctrines derived from quasi-scriptural texts.

gold leaves can be reduced to a single common denominator: the imagined role of *mnêmosynê* in the lamellae may simply be one of the "inconsistencies" that are so important to the practice of ancient religion.[17] As I shall argue, however, the language of "memory" in the lamellae is generally *communicative* rather than doctrinal, and the texts of the gold leaves can be seen as gesturing, at least conceptually, toward three different modes of communication, self-presentation, and self-fashioning: the interaction of poet and addressee in hexameter poetry, the dynamics of praise in Archaic lyric, and the imagined realm and society of the dead in the Underworld in popular belief and funerary ritual.

My overall argument in this chapter, like the divine Mnêmosynê in Simondon's description above, has two aspects. On the one hand, I argue from a close examination of the poetic vocabulary of memory and fame in the lamellae texts (§III-IV) that the producers and consumers of the gold leaves were engaged in a complex bricolagic appropriation of tropes of wisdom and immortality characteristically expressed in poetry. Thus, far from undertaking the radical transformation and rejection of Archaic *mnêmosynê* that Vernant's structural reading suggests, the poets of the lamellae texts seem to have operated in creative continuity with traditional poetic ideas of immortalization. In other words, the lamellae texts were intelligible in *emic* terms to their ancient cult audiences as a development of a familiar poetic vocabulary that equated memory with personal immortality. In addition to this claim, I propose further that the gold leaves and their eschatology can be productively examined as a social practice of "memory" in the sense articulated by modern memory studies (§V). When Simondon points to the Janus-faced character of poetic Mnêmosynê, she is speaking specifically of the social or objective memory generated by the praise of poets, in which the glorification of past deeds authorizes their future preservation in song. The same temporal ambivalence is also evident in subjective forms of memory, as we shall see later. Yet while memory represents a relation of past and future, the act of remembering itself always takes place in the present. It is a basic insight of contemporary "memory studies" that memory involves a reshaping of both past and future in terms of our present environment. This quality of memory finds an especially forceful expression in "presentist" models of temporality, according to which our entire experience of past and future are "built out" from a "specious present": while the past is real, our experience of it is necessarily inseparable from the present.[18] The practices of initiation and mortuary ritual both involve similar temporal dynamics. In Richard Seaford's description, mystery cult articulates for the initiate a definite relation to a world after death, when some part of his or her identity will be carried forward into the future. This point has been amplified in recent "neo-ritualist" approaches to the gold leaves that have emphasized the ritual setting of their texts. As Claude Calame observes, the Pelinna lamella refers to three "phases" in three different tenses that correspond to past performance of ritual, present honors at the grave, and future happiness in the afterlife: "the text … places the speaker between a time past and an imminent future."[19] Christoph Riedweg similarly observes that the lamellae texts allude to three distinct phases of the iniatiate's life and articulate a temporal relationship among them: initiation, death, and the journey to the Underworld.[20] The eschatological future is prefigured and to some degree even prepared for or

[17] See Versnel (1990a), (1990b), and (2011). On conceptual inconsistencies in other aspects of the gold leaves, see also Betz (2011) 116 (the underlying anthropology of the B-texts) and Herrero (2011) 273 (the interaction with Homeric speech-forms).

[18] Memory Studies: Halbwachs (1992) is foundational, with theoretical developments by Nora (1989), Assmann & Czaplicka (1995), and Ricoeur (2004); A. Whitehead (2009) and the contributors to Nikulin (2015) offer overviews of intellectual history and current debates. "Specious Present": Mead (1929), a sociologist in the American pragmatist tradition, offers the classic formulation of this view.

[19] Calame (2011) 208 and 210 (quote).

[20] Riedweg (1998), (2002), and (2011) (esp. 238-239)

rehearsed through ritual experience and simulation of death. The initiate thus is able to look back on the decisive performance of ritual as well as forward to the transformation that will only be realized in a future life beyond death and earthly identities. This future, I suggest, is comprehensible to the initiate as an operation of *mnêmosynê*, a carrying forward of experiential knowledge and a ritually-performed identity from a this-worldly past into an other-worldly future.

Individual experience is central to Seaford's description, but initiation and burial are both also by nature social processes that presuppose the spectating gaze of a larger group. Robert Hertz, a student of Durkheim, observed that death is also a social problem that requires a ritual solution, and posited that death rituals served socially as a mode of "collective representation" by which groups manage the rupture caused by the death of one of its members. Hertz's anthropological model described mortuary ritual as a process of transition – what Arnold van Gennep, under Hertz' influence, would term a *rite de passage* – in which social structure, myths of afterlife, and ritual operate as components of a complex whole. This anthropological model of mortuary ritual has been profoundly influential.[21] Hertz's central insight was that these three processes – the disentanglement of the deceased from his or her social surroundings, the physical disintegration of the corpse, and the imagined journey of the soul to its proper place in the world beyond – were all interlocking parts of a ritual system by which a group manages the loss of one of its members and reincorporates the deceased back into itself in a newer and more durable form.[22] The group accomplishes this both by physical means (reduction of the corpse to stable physical elements) and through eschatology (shared imagining of the soul's journey to the world of the dead or the home of ancestors). The postmortem fate of the individual, especially in the context of burial, is thus a matter of interest for all members of the group. The "controlling" function of ritual (as Seaford describes it) must operate differently in the observance of a funeral than in a ritual of initiation.[23] The prospective experience of "our" own death is staged in ritual and imagination, but our experience of another's death is an uncontrolled (or at best partially controlled) corporeal fact – an "unpredictable rupture of personal identity," as Seaford calls it – to which ritual must necessarily be a second-order response. Death – and the remains of the body in particular[24] – is a fact around which any understanding of human life must in some way justify and make sense of itself. The rituals of initiation and burial are not only structurally homologous, but functionally analogous in their basic objective: the management of identity at risk of loss and damage.

This management of identity is perforce a social process, and this social ritual frame should be kept in mind when considering the gold leaves. Though the texts of the lamellae express an interaction with the deceased, it is worth stressing that *the only people we can say with certainty ever handled the gold leaves are those who participated in the burial and deposition of grave goods*. Hugh Bowden has gone as far as to suggest the gold leaves may not even have been used by initiates or initiators at all: these objects, he suggests, may simply have

[21] Hertz (1960), developed by van Gennep (1960). (Hertz's work was a basis for that of van Gennep and not *vice versa*, as is often assumed.) Theoretical developments of van Gennep include Turner (1969), Bourdieu (1991) 117-126, and Metcalf & Huntington (1991) (the last of which reviews and addresses criticisms of Hertz's model). Among the many applications of this model to specific death rituals, the anthropological studies of Danforth & Tsiaras (1982) (in rural Greece) and Metcalf (1983) (among the Berawan of Indonesia) deserve special mention. For applications in Greek antiquity, see Johnston (1999) 3-35 and Albinus (2000) 27-42 (with emphasis on Homeric material).

[22] Cf. Habinek (2016) on portrayals of cremation in Roman literature (with implications for Greek materials as well).

[23] On ritual as a form of control, see e.g. J.Z. Smith (1982) 53-65; though cf. the critical view of Handelman (2004).

[24] Recent studies on the cultural history of mortal remains with modern European emphases, but with theoretical implications for the study of ancient death practices, include R. Harrison (2003) and Laqueur (2015).

been produced by metalsmiths as trinkets for mourners who wanted to give the deceased a special send-off.[25] This contrarian interpretation is hard to reconcile with the initiatory vocabulary and first-person language in so many of the leaves, and is therefore difficult ultimately to accept. But it does point to an important ambiguity that is too often overlooked by scholars who deemphasize the materiality of the gold leaves: the tablets embody a tension between their own textual images of immortality and the *realia* of corpse and tomb. This tension is not obvious from the texts alone, which do not articulate the interconnection between the living ritual performers and the deceased with the explicitness found (e.g.) in lead curse tablets. But it is undoubtedly present at the level of ritual action, and it is impossible to ignore when the tablets are considered fully as objects in their material and ritual context. The tablets of memory, in both their texts and physicality, represent a specific form of attention to death by the group who performed burial. Although it is often assumed within the Comparettian model that "Orphism" involved a renunciation or devaluing of the physical body, it should be plain that the gold leaves were part of a ritual response to death in which the body was treated with no less care and intentionality than in ordinary Greek burials.[26]

Another assumption of this chapter is that the culturally-specific Greek vocabulary and diction of memory are indispensable for the interpretation of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves. After over a half-century in which both the *individual* and *collective* aspects of memory have benefitted from intense critical attention, we are attuned both to the ways our conceptions of memory are shaped by historical context and the degree to which our habits of remembering are conditioned by social influences. Memory is always both individual and social. Memory is also a "medial" phenomenon, and conceptions of memory are articulated through physical metaphors that depend on historical circumstances. In our contemporary world, the language of memory may (in two different but related senses) describe the hard disks in our computers and the neural circuits of our brains; at different times and places in antiquity, "memory" might denote mythic mother of the Muses, a mental storeroom of imaginary space, or Caesar's coinage.[27] The vocabulary of memory (μνῆμα, μιμνήσκειν, μνήμων) figured prominently within numerous processes of social interconnection in the Greek world: epigraphy, education, and above all music and song – all of which will figure to some degree in the argument of this chapter. Then as now, individual and social memory equally implicate individuals in their cultural-historical

[25] Bowden (2010) 153-155. Bowden's observation about the probable involvement of metalsmiths in the manufacture of the tablets is instructive, however.

[26] The supposedly "Orphic" σῶμα-σῆμα identification, though much-repeated, rests on a misreading of Pl. *Crat.* 400c. The rejections of this interpretation by Linforth (1941) 147-148 and Dodds (1951) 169 n. 87 remain valid, despite the defense of the orthodox reading in Bernabé (1995a). The same etymology appears also in Pl. *Grg*. 493a3 and Philolaos DK 44 B14 (though this fragment, preserved by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 3.17.1), is rejected as inauthentic by Burkert (1972) 248 and Huffman (1993) 402-406), and the more general idea that the body is a form of imprisonment or punishment for the soul appears in Gorgias LM P31 (= Stob. 4.51.28 ≠ DK), Empedokles DK 31 B15 and B118, and a fragment of Arist. *Protr*. pp. 42-44 Hutchinson & Johnson (http://www.protrepticus.info/, version of 20 Sept. 2017; = fr. 106-107 Düring = fr. 10 Rose = Iambl. *Protr.* 8), and Athen. 4.157c (where the idea is attributed to a certain Euxitheos the Pythagorean, as reported by the 4th-c. Peripatetic Klearkhos). The idea had currency in the 4th c., especially in mystic circles, and its appeal to Plato is clear: but it cannot be accepted on this evidence that there was a uniform "Orphic" doctrine that identified the body with a tomb or made use of the σῶμα-σῆμα etymology.

[27] The English word "money" derives from Latin *moneta*, a translation of *mnêmosynê* (based on a popular but false etymological link with *moneo*): the association with metal currency comes from the Roman temple of Juno Moneta, where coinage may have been stamped in the time of the Republic (see *OLD* s.v. "Moneta" §2-4). The historical location of the Republican Roman mint is uncertain. Our main sources are Livy 6.20.13 and *Suda* s.v. Μονήτα: see discussions of Ziolkowski (1993), Meadows & Williams (2001), and Tucci (2005).

contexts, and the physical media and verbal forms through which people remember both reflect and shape social identity.

As I shall argue in this chapter, the language of memory in the lamellae points toward similar interrelated processes of individual and collective group identity-formation comparable to those articulated in early Greek poetry and funerary ritual. There is neither the need nor any secure basis for positing a uniform or self-consistent doctrinal system to explain the significance of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves. The idea of memory in the lamellae is better understood as part of the creative development by which ritual *bricoleurs* appropriated practices and motifs available to them from the broader currents of Archaic and Classical Greek poetry and intellectual culture to suit the needs and concerns of their clients.[28]

§II. Review of Scholarship: Texts and Contexts

Before undertaking a positive account of *mnêmosynê* in the lamellae, however, it will be necessary to backtrack somewhat and review the intellectual history that has shaped interpretations of memory in the gold leaves. The history of scholarship may for our purposes be divided into two periods. The first begins with the early work of Domenico Comparetti in 1879 and extends through the publication of Günther Zuntz's *Persephone* in 1971. During most of this time the Petelia leaf (B1) and the late Rome tablet (A5), published in 1836 and 1903 respectively, were the only lamellae texts that mentioned *mnêmosynê*. They were joined in 1951 by the Pharsalos leaf (B2). The cluster of short lamellae from Hellenistic Crete (B3-8) mention the stream without naming it. It was during this period and based on this evidence that what I have called the "orthodox" interpretation of *mnêmosynê* in the lamellae took shape. In this section, I will first review the evidence and arguments for this view and suggest that these ultimately are inadequate to support the received view of *mnêmosynê* in the lamellae. I will then turn to the second period of scholarship, which begins with the discovery of the Hipponion tablet (B10) in 1974, followed by leaves from Pelinna (D1-2), Pherai (D4), and Entella (B11). This period sees not only the appearance of new tablets and the gradual reception of the Derveni Papyrus (discovered in 1962 but not officially published until 2006), but also an important reevaluation of evidence for ancient Orphism more generally by Burkert and Edmonds.[29] Both the expansion of available evidence and the reassessment of the theoretical underpinnings of "Orphism" in recent decades have significant unrealized implications for the interpretation of *mnêmosynê* in the lamellae.

IIa. Early Scholarship: Interpretations and Parallels

Not surprisingly, Domenico Comparetti was the first to try to articulate the role of *mnêmosynê* in Orphism and the lamellae. I have already expressed reservations about many aspects of his overall interpretation and its subsequent developments, and significant aspects of the interpretations of *mnêmosynê* advanced by later scholars such as Vernant and Bernabé derive ultimately from Comparetti's Proto-Protestant model of "Orphism." Comparetti's early work on the gold leaves nevertheless shows great attentiveness to differences between texts and text-groups. Although he identified a reference to metempsychosis in the "heavy, grievous circle" (κύκλō … βαρυπενθέος ἀργαλέοιο) of the Thurii A1 leaf, he appears initially not to have construed the chthonic stream of *mnêmosynê* in the Petelia leaf in this way. In an 1882 summary

[28] Cf. Edmonds (2004), (2013a), Herrero (2011), and (2013).
[29] Burkert (1982), Edmonds (1999), (2004), (2008b), and (2013a); see also Introduction to this study.

of his work during the previous three years, he suggested only that "memory" must refer to the soul's postmortem consciousness of her own divinity:

> The spring whose name is not mentioned is evidently the Lethe of the common belief. The soul of the initiated must avoid this spring, leaving it, as I understand, to the crowd of souls who *lived and must live in oblivion of their divine nature*. But there is another spring kept by watching guards and reserved for the privileged souls of the initiated. These obtain admission to it by pronouncing the prescribed words. In opposition to the other, this infernal spring peculiar to the Orphic doctrine (and mentioned here for the first time) is called the spring of Memory, I think because *it renders the soul fully conscious of her divine nature*, and opens to her the blessings of immortal existence.[30]

Decades later, Comparetti would connect the streams of memory and forgetting with a cycle of rebirths;[31] but in his initial work he stressed the link between the utterance of the "prescribed words" ("I am a child of Earth and starry Heaven," etc.) and the drink from the waters of memory. This link was to be supported by subsequent finds, especially the abbreviated B-tablets from Crete (B3-8, 12-13) and Thessaly (B9) that contain only the declaration of divinity conjoined with the request for a drink.

In 1903, Comparetti published an additional leaf from Rome (A5).[32] This tablet dates from the 2nd/3rd c. CE, but it has verbal formulae in common with the 4th-c. BCE tablets and appears to have been made in imitation of earlier S. Italian examples:

ἔρχεται ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρά, | χθονίων βασίλεια
Εὔκλεες Εὐβουλεῦ τε, Διὸς τέκος, ἀλλὰ δέχε⟨σ⟩θε
Μνημο|σύνης τόδε δῶρον ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν.
Καικιλία Σεκουνδεῖνα, νόμωι ἴθι δῖα γεγῶσα.

2 ἀλλὰ δέχε⟨σ⟩θε West : ΑΓΛΑΑΕΧΩΔΕ lam., ἀγλαά· ἔχω δὲ Diels, ἀπα⟨λ⟩ὰ ἔχω δὲ Comparetti, ὅπλα δ' ἔχ' ὧδε Harrison

> She comes pure from the pure, queen of those below the earth, Eukleës and Eubouleus, a child of Zeus: but receive[33] this gift of Memory, sung among mortals. Caecilia Secundina, come, having become divine according to law.

The deictic formula Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον ("This gift of Memory") seems to refer either to the tablet or to the poem inscribed on it.[34] Though Comparetti recognized obvious resonances between this text and the Petelia tablet, he did not conflate the Mnêmosynê of the Rome lamella with the waters of memory from a different eschatological scenario:[35] he argued instead that

[30] Comparetti & Smith (1882) 117 (my italics); cf. Comparetti (1879) 160 and (1910) 35.
[31] Comparetti (1903) 167 and (1910) 35.
[32] Comparetti (1903); see commentary in *GMA* #27.
[33] Here I translate West's widely-accepted reading ἀλλὰ δέχε⟨σ⟩θε rather than Comparetti's ἀπα⟨λ⟩ὰ ἔχω δὲ.
[34] Similar formulae appear on the leaves from Petelia and Hipponion: but the former is damaged, and the reading of the latter is uncertain: see discussion of the Hipponion leaf in §IIb and Ch. 2.
[35] Comparetti (1903) 167: "Ma qui la domanda: possiamo veramente credere che a questa fonte infernale di Mnemosyne si rifersca quel Μνημοσύνης δῶρον? Riesce un po'duro il pensare che la defunta, contrariamente a quanto si fa nelle altre laminette, parli di quella fonte senza nominarla come fonte, e ne parli come se già ne avesse bevuto e provato gli effetti. … E di più c'è da osservare che l'essere essa καθαρά tanto da meritare la beatitudine

Μνημοσύνης here is a genitive of material rather than a subjective or possessive genitive,[36] and suggested that the entire line was a periphrasis for the goddess' power in enabling Caecilia Secundina to retain initiatory precepts.[37] He also attached particular importance to νόμωι in the final line, suggesting that this alluded to a collection of special precepts and practices in exchange for which the initiate would be deified.[38] The interpretation suggests that Mnêmosynê's activity was earthly as well as chthonic, and that the goddess' vital assistance comes to the initiate in life as well as *post mortem*. Comparetti did not remark on the epic-sounding expression ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν, which seems to place the goddess' gift before a larger "audience." The Rome leaf's late date obviously limits its evidentiary value for the earlier tradition. As I shall argue later in this chapter, however, much of what seems "late" about it finds parallels in the early leaves from Hipponion and Entella that would be published in the last decades of the twentieth century.

Comparetti's early observations are worth revisiting for two main reasons: firstly, because in connecting *mnêmosynê* with the soul's identity-statement rather than with a doctrine of metempsychosis he was (in my view) largely on the right track; and secondly, because his observations predate the hardening of the interpretative orthodoxy reviewed above. It is to the development of this orthodoxy that I will now turn. The most widely accepted interpretation of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves since the 19th century has largely relied on four frequently cited parallels: Orphic-Pythagorean metempsychosis and recollection of past lives, as witnessed especially in accounts of Pythagoras and the poetry of Empedokles; the myth of Er from Plato's *Republic*; the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia, as related by Pausanias; and the late Orphic *Hymn to Mnêmosynê*. It will be seen that each of these sources taken by itself is at best only a partial parallel for the gold leaves, and that taken together they do not support the common interpretive model.

IIa (i): Pythagoras, Metempsychosis, and Past Lives

A connection between the waters of *mnêmosynê* in the B-tablets and the recollection of past lives in Pythagorean tradition has been widely accepted in discussions of the gold leaves since the late 19th century and is especially central to the structural interpretation of Vernant. There are, however, several difficulties in this reading of the evidence. Nothing in the B-texts

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eterna in grembo a Persephone, non è un effetto della bevuta acqua di Mnemosyne dopo morte, ma bensì, com' essa stessa dichiara, della vita religiosa e osservante da essa menata."

[36] A parallel expression appears in Pl. *Tht.* 191e, when Socrates sums up his "wax tablet" image of memory: "We say that that it is a gift of Memory, mother of the Muses" (δῶρον τοίνυν αὐτὸ φῶμεν εἶναι τῆς τῶν Μουσῶν μητρὸς Μνημοσύνης): see §IIIb above. An interesting epigraphic parallel for this use of the genitive appears in an Athenian dedication from the late 5th c. BCE: here an Athenian woman Xenokratia has taken a founding role in the establishment of the sanctuary and offers a dedication to the river god Kephisos. The inscription refers to itself as "This gift of instruction" (διδασκαλίας τόδε δῶρον), which has been plausibly interpreted by Voutiras (2011) as an offering of thanks to the god for his "help" in the child's education (*IG* I^3 987 = *SEG* LXI 73 = *EBGR* 2012, No. 205: Ξενοκράτεια Κηφισῶ ἱερ|ὸν ἱδρύσατο καὶ ἀνέθηκεν | ξυμβώμοις τε θεοῖς διδασκαλ|ίας τόδε δῶρον, Ξενιάδο θυγάτ|ηρ καὶ μήτηρ ἐκ Χολλειδῶν, | θύεν τῶι βουλομένωι ἐπὶ | τελεστῶν ἀγαθῶν); Paus. 1.37.2 mentions votives in Athens of a young man cutting his hair as an offering to Kephisos. For discussion of the sanctuary and site, see Williams (2014).

[37] As a parallel, Comparetti cites the Orphic *Hymn to Mnêmosynê* (*OH* 77): see discussion below.

[38] Note in this connection Plato's disapproving reference (*Phd.* 108a) to "sacrifices and rites (νομίμων)" that are practiced with a view toward the pursuit of certain paths in the Underworld; it is worth keeping the Caecilia Secundina tablet (and its use of νόμος) in mind when reading the comment of Guthrie (1952) 176 on this passage: "[I]t is certainly probable that Plato had heard of the practice which our discoveries illustrate [i.e. the Petelia leaf]. On the other hand, νόμιμα – *customary, established,* does not seem an appropriate word for the practices of the Orphics, which were far from being established or universal…"

suggests belief in metempsychosis,[39] and it is not even certain that this idea was expounded in early Orphic poetry at all.[40] The most plausible evidence for a doctrine of reincarnation in the lamellae appears outside the B-group, in the Thurii A1 leaf, where there is no mention of memory and in a line that admits of other interpretations.[41] The possibility of belief in reincarnation as part of the B-tradition cannot be positively ruled out, but in the absence of clear textual confirmation it cannot be taken as a given.

Nor does the recollection of past lives in Pythagorean tradition offer a clear analogy for the role of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves. The pre-Platonic tradition contains stories about Pythagoras and his ability to remember his previous incarnations.[42] Empedokles in his own poetry imitated Pythagoras in recounting his own past lives as a boy, a girl, a bird, a bush, and a fish, though he also explains his repeated incarnations as a punishment for past misdeeds.[43] Both

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[39] Tortorelli Ghidini (1992) argued that ψύχονται in the Hipponion leaf (describing the souls who "refresh" themselves at the first stream) may be a pun on ψυχή referring to the soul's rebirth. She further suggested that this word could metrically and epigraphically be read as ψυχοῦνται (from ψυχόω, "to give life") as a reference to reincarnation: but this seems like a stretch, especially since the corresponding line of the Entella tablet (B11.6) unambiguously reads ψύχονται. (Tortorelli Ghidini seems to have abandoned this suggestion in subsequent work, e.g. *ibid* [2006], though BJ 33 still misleadingly references this argument as "textual confirmation" of a doctrine of metempsychosis in the B-group.) The idea that the special heroic dead receive a reviving "refreshment" in their new abode appears already in Homer (*Od.* 4.568): Proteus tells Menelaos that while the Isles of the Blessed lack snow or storms, the Okeanos always sends gusts of the West Wind "to cool mortals" (ἀναψύχειν ἀνθρώπους). Nagy (1999) 167 §28n2 takes this to mean that "death had somehow preceded the ultimate state of immortality," and cites the Hipponion text as a parallel.

[40] The earliest possible allusion is an unattributed doctrine of metempsychosis mentioned in Pl. *Phd.* 70c, which the Neoplatonist commentators Olympiodoros (*In Plat. Phaed.* 10, 6) and Damascius (*In Plat. Phaed.* 1, 203) identify as "Orphic and Pythagorean" (*OF* 428). Proklos (*In Pl. Remp.* 2.338) and Olympiodoros (*In Plat. Phaed.* 10, 3) both quote a fragment from the later Orphic *Rhapsodies* that describe the soul's migration between human and animal bodies (*OF* 338): see discussion of Simondon (1982) 164-169. On the lack of direct evidence for metempsychosis in early Orphic poetry, see H. Long (1948) 89-92, Burkert (1972) 126 n. 32, Albinus (2000) 118. The evidence of the Derveni Papyrus, of course, suggests that allegoresis was important in the reading of Orphic poetry in ritual contexts, and it is known that early Greek sources (Pherekydes of Athens, Ion of Khios, Epigenes) linked Orphic poems with Pythagoras and Pythagorean authorship: see Linforth (1941) 109-119 and West (1983) 7-15. The sequence βίος θάνατος βίος inscribed on 5th-c. Olbia bone chips seem to refer to a new "life" attained by the initiate after death, but do not necessarily imply metempsychosis: see also Graf (1993) 242-243, Burkert (1998b) 395-396 (both of whom point to a parallel with the Pelinna tablets).

[41] See Edmonds (2004) 52-55, 95-99 (who argues against metempsychosis in the Thurii leaf, but still accepts it in connection with the B-leaves); cf. BJ 32-34 (on the B-tablets), 117-121 (on A1) and GJ 127 (on A1).

[42] See discussions of evidence in Burkert (1972) 136-141, Simondon (1982) 154-160. According to Herakleides of Pontos, Pythagoras claimed to have once been Aithalides, the mortal son of Hermes in the time of the Argonautica (D.L. 8.4-5 = fr. 89 Wehrli = DK 14 A8 = LM P37). Though Hermes could not confer immortality on his son, he nonetheless granted him the ability to retain his memory through successive lives. His soul went on to live as the minor Trojan hero Euphorbos (who struck the first blow to kill Patroklos: *Il.* 16.849-850), and then subsequently as Hermotimos and Pyrrhos of Delos before being reborn as Pythagoras. The tradition of Aithalides' memory evidently existed independently of the Pythagoras legend: see Pherekydes of Athens *FGrH* 3 F 109, A.R. 1.644-7, with discussion in Burkert (*op. cit.*) 138 n. 102. Herakleides seems also to have been aware of versions of the legend reported by Dikaiarkhos (fr. 36) and Klearkhos (fr. 10), according to Gellius (4.11.14): *Pythagoram vero ipsum sicuti celebre est Euphorbum primo fuisse dictasse, ita haec remotiora sunt his, quae Clearchus et Dicaearchus memoriae tradiderunt, fuisse eum postea Pyrrum, deinde Aethaliden, deinde feminam pulcra facie meretricem, cui nomen fuerat Alco.* Empedokles attributed to Pythagoras the power to see beyond "ten or twenty human lifetimes" (DK 31 B129 = Porphyr. *VP* 30 = LM D38) and Xenophanes satirized Pythagoras as recognizing a friend's voice in the whimpering of a dog being beaten (DK 21 B7). On the question of whether Empedokles is referring here to Pythagoras, see H. Long (1948) 17-21 and Burkert (1972) 137-138.

[43] DK 31 B115, B117; see Simondon (1982) 160-164. This is not to say that Pythagorean metempsychosis lacked any moral or ethical dimension, however. See discussions of H. Long (1948) 26-28, Simondon (1982) 161-2, and A. Long (2015) 51-87.

Pythagoras and Empedokles connect awareness of past lives with a more general doctrine of metempsychosis. At the same time, the feat of personal recollection clearly served as a device of self-presentation by which these exceptional charismatic figures and their doxographers dramatized their authority. In the case of Empedokles, it is not certain that his memory of past lives is connected with a doctrine of metephsychosis that would have applied uniformly to all mortals.[44] We are also told in later tradition that Epimenides of Crete, another "shaman-like" figure of early Greek legend, claimed once to have been Aiakos and to have lived many times.[45] This story is not connected with any general doctrine or ethical teaching, but, as with Pythagoras and Empedokles, it is one of several exceptional feats that marks Epimenides as exceptional and ratifies his authority in the doxographic tradition.[46] In any case, the pre-Platonic evidence does not suggest that Pythagoreans tried to remember their past lives in imitation of the man himself. In early sources, Pythagoras remembers his own former lives and tells other people of theirs, but this seems to be a sign of his unique charismatic authority, not a general practice that he bequeaths to his followers.[47] No associate of Pythagoras claims to remember his or her own past lives without the master's help. In later Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic traditions, Pythagoreans are said to undergo a special discipline of memory-training, but this is usually not connected with a cycle of rebirths.[48] It also is difficult to see any connection or parallel between

[44] Sedley (2009) 49-52 suggests that while Empedokles identifies himself as one of the "long-lived *daimones*" (δαίμονες … μακραίωνος … βίοιο) who undergo punitive rebirths (DK 31 B115.5 & 13), he seems to differentiate himself and others like him from the ordinary run of mortals who may not undergo the same process (DK 31 B113; cf. B146, B147). According to Sedley's reading of the Strasbourg Papyrus, Empedokles and those like him are generated by Love and undergo reincarnation, while ordinary mortals are created by Strife and reproduce sexually. Sedley (*op. cit.* 51) thus understands the disputed reference to the "twofold race of mortals" (ἀ[νθρώ]πων δίδυμον φύμα LM D73.296) in the Strasbourg fragment as the reflection of a twofold anthropogony that is matched to the two primal forces of Empedokles' cosmogony. The twofold race could also be interpreted as a variant on the Hesiodic idea of men and women belonging to different *genê* (cf. Hes. *Erg.* 47-105, Pl. *Tim.* 42a1-2; cf. Lucr. 2.1082, where Empedokles' δίδυμον φύμα is evidently translated as *hominum geminam prolem*), but Sedley notes that on this interpretation it would still need to be explained "why Empedocles should have given mankind, uniquely among present-day species, a double origin" (50).

[45] DK 3 A1 (= D.L. 1.114: λέγεται δὲ ὡς καὶ πρῶτος αὐτὸν Αἰακὸν λέγοι … προσποιηθῆναί τε πολλάκις ἀναβεβιωκέναι): see also next note. The term "shaman" has been a point of intense debate since Meuli (1935) and Dodds (1951) applied it to Greek religious history. Bremmer (2002) 27-40 convincingly rejects the arguments for a connection between Siberian shamanism and Greek religion via Scythian intermediaries (postulated by Meuli and Dodds). Nonetheless, the term remains useful, with appropriate qualifications, as a descriptive category for a cluster of both legendary and historical figures in the early Greek world: in addition to Epimenides, Pythagoras, and Empedokles, this label may with different degrees of justification applied to Orpheus, Zalmoxis, Hermotimos of Klazomenai, and Aristeas of Prokonessos. In addition to Bremmer (*op. cit.*), see applications and critical discussions by Burkert (1972) 162-165, Graf (1987), and Kingsley (1995).

[46] It is highly plausible, as Bremmer (2001) 37 suggests, that a feature of Pythagorean legend has been transferred to Epimenides and grafted onto the older incubation story: see also Dodds (1951) 141-142 and Burkert (1972) 151-152 ("There is never any mention of a metempsychosis doctrine of Epimenides, only the unique character of the initiate. The explanation [i.e. of Epimenides' memory of past lives] is rather to be found in a parallel development from common origins: Pythagoras, too, as the legend says, sought initiation in the cave on Ida." Cf. Porphyr. *VP* 17, D.L. 8.3.). His memory in either case relates to the retention of knowledge across boundaries of sleep and death: here there is a resemblance with the role of memory in the Lebadeia ritual and incubation cults (to be discussed further below). Cf. Simondon (1982) 152: "Le lien entre ces deux privileges a peut-être été établi tardivement autour du personage d'Épiménide; il n'en manifeste pas moins la parenté qui a pu être tôt ressentie entre les deux phénomènes, séparation provisoire de l'âme et du corps et passage de l'âme d'un corps dans un autre corps."

[47] E.g. Xenoph. DK 11 B7. In the Neoplatonist tradition, Iambl. *VP* 63 & 143 reports that Pythagoras told others of their past lives.

[48] See Simondon (1982) 158 & n. 34. Proclus (*In Tim*. I 124) remarks vaguely and in passing on a doctrine (*logos*) of the Pythagoreans which prepares souls to recollect their past lives (δοκεῖ δ᾽ ἔμοιγε καὶ ὁ τῶν Πυθαγορείων λόγος μιμεῖσθαι τὴν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τοιαύτην ἱστορίαν, ὁ παρασκευάζων τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τῶν προτέρων

the lamellae texts and the roles assigned to Mnêmosynê and the Muses in later Pythagorean cosmology.[49] In summary, then, it is difficult to see in Pythagoreanism any clear parallel for the role of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves. Nothing in the B-texts suggests a doctrine of metempsychosis. Where memory of past lives appears in early Greek tradition, it is a feat performed by unusual charismatic figures – Pythagoras, Empedokles, and Epimenides – rather than a model for initiatory salvation.

IIa (ii): Plato's "Myth of Er" and the Oracle of Trophonios

Two sources offer potential analogies for the chthonian waters of memory and forgetting in the B-lamellae. One of these is the "Myth of Er" that concludes Plato's *Republic*, which is often cited as a parallel for the operations of memory and forgetting in the gold leaves.[50] In this scenario, souls in the Underworld undergo punishment or reward prior to choosing their next incarnation. After making this choice, the souls enter the plain of Lêthê and are made to drink from the waters of Amelês ("Heedless"), which cause the soul to forget all that it has experienced in the afterlife and in its previous existence.[51]

The myth of *Republic* 10 shows some telling correspondences to the gold leaves and other "Orphic" afterlife stories, such as Pindar's *Ol.* 2: the scene of postmortem judgment, the separation of souls along right- and left-hand paths, and the drinking of chthonian water of forgetting.[52] But while it is possible that Plato derived some of these eschatological motifs from

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ἀναμιμνήσκεσθαι βίων – noted by BJ 16 n. 28). Elsewhere, however, this Pythagorean memory discipline seems to be unconnected with the recollection of past lives. Cic. *de Sen.* 38 places in Varro's mouth the claim that he followed a Pythagorean practice of recalling each day's events every evening to train his memory while writing his *Antiquitates* (*Pythagoriorumque more, exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim audierim egerim commemoro vesperi.*). But this is an exercise for improving mental acuity: Varro's motives and the benefits he claims to derive from this *mos Pythagoriorum* sound like those of someone in today who takes up Zen meditation or crossword puzzles, not an adherent to a belief system aimed at transcending the cycle of rebirths. (Interestingly, Pliny *HN* 35.160 also relates that Varro was buried "in Pythagorean style," in an earthenware coffin, with myrtle, olive, and poplar leaves: *quin et defunctos sese multi fictilibus soliis condi maluere, sicut M. Varro, Pythagorio modo in myrti et oleae atque populi nigrae foliis.*) The Pythagorean *Golden Verses*, whose date is uncertain but which likely come from roughly this same period, contain a similar prescription with a slightly more ethical coloring (*GV* 40-44). Estimates on the date of this poem vary widely, but the *communis opinio* places it between the late Hellenistic and early Imperial periods. Thom (1995) 35-58 argues for a very early date (350-300 BCE), but this is untenable: see critique of Van der Horst (1996). The Neoplatonists Porphyry (*VP* 40) and Iamblichus (*VP* 164-166) describe Pythagorean disciplines of memory that require recalling each evening or morning the events of the previous day, but this practice is not connected with metempsychosis: rather, it is framed either as an examination of conscience or a means of improving one's ability to learn and remember what s/he has been taught. It doubtful in any case whether this material can be traced to the pre-Platonic tradition. Diels included this passage among those thought to contain material from Aristoxenos (DK 58 D1), but there is reason for skepticsm here: see Zhmud (2011) 246. Burkert (1972) 213-15 mentions the later *askêsis* tradition in his discussion of earlier material, but believes that Pythagorean memory concerns were probably originally religious in nature rather than pedagogical.

[49] *Pace* Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 117.

[50] Pl. *Rep.* 10.614b-621d. See e.g. discussions of Guthrie (1952) 177, Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 117-118, BJ 30, and GJ 94-108.

[51] Vernant (2006) 139-153 connects the name Ἀμέλης with the discipline (μελέτη) of memory and mental training undertaken within Pythagorean and Platonic philosophical schools. On Platonic appropriation of mystery imagery in the "Myth of Er," see also next note.

[52] For discussion of Pindar, see §IV below. On Plato's interest in Orphic-Pythagorean lore, see Kingsley (1995) 71-111 (with special attention to the *Phaedo*). Sarah Iles Johnston in GJ 100-105 has persuasively argued that Plato had in mind an "Orphic" eschatological scheme similar to that in the gold leaves: instead of making a choice between two different streams, however, the soul must have the presence of mind to drink only a moderate amount and so not completely lose connection with its experience in the Underworld. In Plato's scheme (Johnston suggests), the philosopher's concern for justice takes on the salvific role played by initiatory knowledge in the gold leaves.

Orphic and Pythagorean lore, he has also adapted them to his own narrative purposes. The function of the soul's drink is quite different in the *Republic* than in the gold leaves. The Platonic Underworld has only one spring, which the souls have no ability to avoid. In contrast with the Comparettian interpretation of the gold leaves, there is no suggestion in the *Republic* that any souls will escape the cycle of rebirths. As Stephen Halliwell observes, the waters of Ἀμέλης in Plato's narrative seem not so much to disconnect the soul from its previous life as to prepare it for its *next* life by severing it from its more recent experience in the Underworld.[53] Finally, some of the correspondences between the Platonic myth and the gold leaves may simply reflect an adaptation of popular beliefs with no particular "Orphic" or Pythagorean background: both narratives draw on the twinned ideas of the thirst and the forgetfulness of the dead that are extremely commonplace in the Greek eschatological imagination.[54] In short, it seems that Plato has creatively recombined several eschatological elements, some of which (metempsychosis, left and right paths, a sharply differentiated afterlife) derive from Orphic-Pythagorean sources and others of which (streams, forgetfulness, thirst of the soul) are simply conventional. Those elements that are not present in the gold leaves cannot be read back into them from this myth.

Another source cited alongside *Republic* 10 as a parallel for the waters of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves is the oracle of Trophonios at Lebadeia in Boeotia.[55] The oracle itself was a well-established institution in the late Archaic and Classical periods, but Pliny the Elder is the earliest source to mention twin springs of memory and forgetting in connection with the site.[56] Pausanias describes in detail the ritual by which the oracle was consulted in his day (and which Pausanias himself claimed to have undergone).[57] Before his descent into the underground *manteion*, the visitor would be led by the priests to two streams named Lêthê and Mnêmosynê:

> There he must drink the so-called water of Lêthê, so that he may forget everything that he had in mind up to that point, and after this in turn he must drink the water of Mnêmosynê: from this he remembers what he has seen on his descent. [58]

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[53] τὸν δὲ ἀεὶ πιόντα πάντων ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι (621b1); see Halliwell (2007) 462. It is worth comparing this with the detail from the *Gorgias* myth that in order to undergo postmortem judgment, humans had to be deprived of their earlier foreknowledge of death (*Grg.* 523d5-e1).

[54] See §V below.

[55] The Petelia text was initially interpreted as an oracle of Trophonios: see Göttling (1843) and Edmonds (2011b). See further references to this parallel in discussions of the gold leaves by Dieterich (1893) 90, J. Harrison (1922) 578-579 (for whom this oracle was important for its supposed proximity to northern "Orphic" influence), Guthrie (1952) 177-178, Vernant (2006) 122-123, and Bonnecherre (2003a) & (2003b). Skeptics of the comparison include Nilsson (*GGR* II 469-470), Zuntz (1971) 378-379, Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 118, and Simondon (1982) 145-146.

[56] Hdt. 8.134 mentions the oracle in the context of Archaic Greek history, and several references to the site appear in 5th-c. Attic comedy: see Ar. *Nu.* 507-508; plays titled *Trophonios* were also composed by Kratinos (fr. 233-239 K.-A.) and Kephisodoros (fr. 3-5 K.-A., *Suda* κ 1565). The 4th-c. peripatetic Dikaiarkhos dedicated an entire work to it (fr. 13a-22 Wehrli). Pliny *HN* 31.11 mentions the twin streams and their effects, though he says nothing about their use in ritual (*In Boeotia ad Trophonium deum iuxta flumen Hercynnume duobus fontibus alter memoriam alter oblivionem adfert, inde nominibus inventis.*). Sources regarding the ritual for consulting the oracle are collected and discussed in Bonnecherre (2003a) and (2003b) (although I am unpersuaded by his argument that many ritual details in Pausanias, including the two streams, can be dated back to the 5th c. BCE).

[57] Paus. 9.39.5-14.

[58] Paus. 9.39.8: ἐνταῦθα δὴ χρὴ πιεῖν αὐτὸν Λήθης τε ὕδωρ καλούμενον, ἵνα λήθη γένηταί οἱ πάντων ἃ τέως ἐφρόντιζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄλλο αὖθις ὕδωρ πίνειν Μνημοσύνης· ἀπὸ τούτου τε μνημονεύει τὰ ὀφθέντα οἱ καταβάντι.

After the visitor's return from the underground chamber, the priests take him and place him on a "seat of Memory" (ἐπὶ θρόνον Μνημοσύνης … καλούμενον) and there inquire of him what he saw and learned during the consultation.[59]

This is the only instance outside of the B-lamellae of paired streams of memory and forgetting in a Greek ritual or quasi-mythic narrative. For that reason, it has served as a key *comparandum* in the structural studies of Vernant and Detienne.[60] Yet once again, despite superficial correspondences of detail, the function of the streams within the ritual has little in common with the scenario of either the gold leaves or Plato's "Myth of Er." The visitor in the Lebadeia ritual must drink from *both* streams, and their effect is to enable him to bring his new knowledge securely back to the surface after consulting the oracle. Though there is much about the ritual described by Pausanias that is evocative of mystery cults and their ritualized pre-rehearsal of death and mortuary ritual, the oracle is not actually a telestic cult, and there is no suggestion of any belief in metempsychosis. The chronological gap between sources is a problem as well.[61] It is more likely, as Zuntz surmised, that the topographical motif was appropriated in the Hellenistic or early Imperial period from the gold leaves, or from a common or intermediate source. In fact, as Zuntz and other scholars have observed, the attention to memory in the Trophonios ritual actually has its closest analogy in incubation cults, where emphasis is on the retention of knowledge acquired in dreams. Zuntz dismissed the oracle as a "useless analogy" for the B-tablets, and he was likely correct.[62]

Ultimately, these three cases – the B-lamellae, Plato's myth of Er, and the oracle of Trophonios – are more telling in their differences than for their similarities. While they draw on a common repertoire of images, the motif of the Underworld stream is in each case explained differently and plays a different function in the context in which it is used. Edmonds cites these three sources as instances of the "arbitrariness of the sign" in myths and rituals: "Plato, the tablets and the tradition of the oracle all make use of the image [of the stream] in a way that has meaning in that particular context."[63] Despite superficial correspondences of detail, Plato and Pausanias belong to different contexts from the gold leaves. They cannot satisfactorily explain the role or significance of *mnêmosynê* within the texts and cults of the gold leaves.

IIa (iii): The Orphic *Hymn to Mnêmosynê*

[59] Paus. 9.39.13. Zuntz (1971) 379 notes that Theseus was supposed to have been tied in Hades to a Throne of Lêthê (Apollod. *Ep.* 1.24).

[60] Vernant (2006) 122-123 and Detienne (1996) 63-64.

[61] Bonnecherre (2003a) and (2003b) has argued that nearly all the ritual elements mentioned in Pausanias in the 2nd c. CE can be dated back to the 5th c. BCE, but this is a difficult position to sustain for the twin streams given the late date of these specific testimonia (Pliny, Pausanias): in particular, the argument that the trope of memory/forgetting in Ar. *Nub.* 627-631, 785-90, 852-855, etc. allude to the Lebadeia ritual rather than to 5th-c. pedagogical discourse strains credulity.

[62] Zuntz (1971) 379; cf. the similarly skeptical view of Edmonds (2004) 106-108. Zuntz *op. cit.* and Simondon (1982) 145-6 both point to similarities with cults of Asklepios and Amphiaraos, and Detienne (1996) 63-64 discusses the Lebadeia oracle under the typology of incubation. Von Ehrenheim (2015) 16 stresses that the Trophonios oracle was not itself an incubation cult, while Renberg (2017) 567-574 describes the Trophonion as "hybrid" site that incorporated elements of an incubation sanctuary. Pausanias himself remarks on the Lebadeia ritual's resemblance to the cult of Asclepius (9.39.6). I do, however, think the conception of memory in the Trophonios ritual – i.e., a means by which a quasi-initiatory knowledge from the realm below is conveyed across the symbolic boundary between the life and death – has some relevance for the lamellae, as we shall see further in §III below.

[63] Edmonds (2005) 229-230.

Another parallel frequently referenced in discussions of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves comes from the late *Orphic Hymns*.[64] This collection of eighty-seven hexameter hymns to a large number of divinities was most likely written or compiled in the late 2nd or early 3rd c. CE for a cult community in Asia Minor, and reflects a ritual environment quite different from the Greek world in the central Mediterranean during the 5th/4th c. BCE.[65] Among them is a brief hymn to Mnêmosynê (*OH* 77) that is worth quoting in full:

> Μνημοσύνην καλέω, Ζηνὸς σύλλεκτρον, ἄνασσαν,
> ἣ Μούσας τέκνωσ᾽ ἱερᾶς, ὁσίας, λιγυφώνους,
> ἐκτὸς ἐοῦσα κακῆς λήθης βλαψίφρονος αἰεί,
> πάντα νόον συνέχουσα βροτῶν ψυχαῖσι σύνοικον,
> εὐδύνατον κρατερὸν θνητῶν αὔξουσα λογισμόν, 5
> ἡδυτάτη, φιλάγρυπνος ὑπομνήσκουσά τε πάντα,
> ὧν ἂν ἕκαστος ἀεὶ στέρνοις γνώμην κατ⟨ά⟩θηται,
> οὔτι παρεκβαίνουσ᾽, ἐπεγείρουσα φρένα πᾶσιν.
> ἀλλά, μάκαιρα θεά, μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε
> εὐιέρου τελετῆς, λήθην δ᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν⟨δ᾽⟩ ἀπόπεμπε. 10
>
> I call upon Mnêmosynê, consort of Zeus, lady, who bore the sacred, holy, clear-voiced Muses, who is herself always separate from evil oblivion that hurts the mind; who preserves intact the whole mind that makes its dwelling with the souls of mortals; who augments and strengthens the intelligence of mortals; sweetest, wakeful, and reminding us of everything, whatever judgment each man at any time stores in his breast, not straying from the path, and stirring the mind of all. But, blessed goddess, stir for initiates the memory of the sacred initiation rite, and send away forgetfulness from them.

Here it is the mythic Mnêmosynê who is invoked, but she is not a uniquely "Orphic" or even an exclusively initiatory divinity. There is no hint of an eschatological orientation.[66] Even leaving aside the difficulties of context and chronology, this short hymn only indicates that Mnêmosynê has a pedagogical and mystagogic role. The emphasis on mind and intellect (νόον 4 ... λογισμόν 5 ... γνώμην 7 ... φρένα 8) bears a stronger resemblance to philosophical sources, such as Anaxagoras, the Derveni commentator, or even Plato, than to the eschatology of the gold leaves. The closest early analogy to Mnêmosynê's portrayal in this hymn is in early Greek pedagogical discourse, where a quick and retentive memory is especially recognized as an asset, rather than in Orphic-Pythagorean mysticism or concern with recollection of past incarnations. Insofar as this hymn offers evidence for the role of mythical Mnêmosynê in the mysteries, it suggests that personified Memory plays a role similar to her cognitive functions in other areas of early Greek culture. (I will return to this point in §III below.)

* * *

[64] See Dieterich (1893) 90, Comparetti (1903) 168, J. Harrison (1922) 581, Guthrie (1952) 177-178, S. Cole (1980) 238, and BJ 16.

[65] The date and exact provenance of the collection are notoriously difficult, and estimates have ranged from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity: see Linforth (1941) 178-189, West (1983) 28-29, Ricciardelli (2000), and the overview of Fayant (2015) xxix-xxxiii. These *Hymns* should not be confused with the *Hymnoi* assigned to Orpheus in the Derveni Papyrus (P.Derv. xxii 12), though Rudhardt (2002) and GJ 79 argue in general for continuity between the later *Hymns* and earlier Orphic material; see also Linforth (1941) 187.

[66] *Contra* Graf (2009) 176 & n. 12.

The evidence reviewed above has been frequently cited since the 19th c. as *comparanda* for the eschatology and role of memory in the gold leaves. Taken singly, however, none of them offers more than a superficial parallel with the gold leaves; and taken together, they do not support the interpretive model to which they are assigned. Rather, as with other aspects of the gold leaves, the interpretation has taken on a life of its own and tends to dictate the shape into which evidence is arranged. The result is a "teepee argument" – a self-standing structure that owes its overall integrity to the instability of its several components. This can partly be attributed to the changing state of evidence over time. From 1879 until the publication of the Pharsalos tablet (B2) in 1950-1, the Petelia leaf (B1) was the only text featuring the two paired streams of memory and forgetting. The Pharsalos leaf, together with the shorter tablets from Crete (B3-8) that came to light beginning in 1893, showed that the B-tradition had a wide geographic distribution beyond Magna Graecia, but shed little further light on the role of *mnêmosynê* beyond what could be inferred from the Petelia leaf and the various "parallels" just discussed. The Rome lamella (A5) mentioned *mnêmosynê*, but its late date and unusual text have limited its value as a source. This evidence – the Petelia leaf (later supplemented by the tablets from Crete and Pharsalos) and the few partial parallels discussed above – formed the basis for all of the major discussions of the gold leaves and their eschatology during this period: Dieterich's *Nekyia* (1893), Erwin Rohde's *Psyche* (1897-8), Jane Harrison's *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (1903) and *Themis* (1912), and W.K.C. Guthrie's *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (1935). With relative stability of available evidence prior to the appearance of the Hipponion lamella in 1974, habits of inference and interpretation surrounding *mnêmosynê* gradually hardened. Jean-Pierre Vernant's structural study offers the fullest articulation of what had by then become an implicit orthodoxy. Even skeptical scholars, such as Zuntz, who rejected the overall Comparettian construction of "Orphism," have accepted elements of his interpretation of *mnêmosynê*.[67]

IIb. Discoveries and Complications: Hipponion (B10) and Entella (B11)

In 1974, however, the evidentiary situation shifted dramatically with the publication of the leaf from Hipponion cited at the beginning of this chapter (B10). By this time, the earlier Comparettian picture of ancient Orphism had already been destabilized by the discovery of the Derveni Papyrus in 1962 (though the implications of this text were slow to be realized due to the delayed appearance of an *editio princeps*). The Hipponion leaf was the longest lamella text to date, and it contained details that had not been seen in any previously known text. Most significantly, it provided the first decisive evidence of a Dionysiac cult background with its reference to Underworld "initiates and *bakkhoi*" (μύσται καὶ βάχχοι) – a link that was confirmed in 1987 by the appearance of two clearly Dionysiac leaves from Pelinna in Thessaly.[68] The Hipponion text also described the initiate's reward after drinking from the stream in different terms from the Petelia leaf, suggesting the potential for epichoric variation in the lamellae tradition and their eschatology.[69]

This text was also an important new source for the role of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves, as Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli remarked in his first edition.[70] The first three words of the text printed in that edition were Μναμοσύνας τόδε ἠρίον ("This is the tomb of Mnêmosynê"). The

[67] See Zuntz (1971) 380 and discussion in §V below.
[68] See discussions of S. Cole (1980) and Graf (1993).
[69] See Ferrari (2011).
[70] Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 117: "Uno dei piú importanti contributi di questa lamina è il rilievo che viene súbito dato a Mnemosyne."

reading ἠρίον is unmetrical and has been corrected by most subsequent editors – including Pugliese Carratelli himself in his later work – but is most likely what the local inscriber intended to write.[71] This deictic formula already had partial parallels in the damaged portion of the Petelia leaf ([μνημοσύ]νης τόδε ̣[…] B1.12) and in the late Rome lamella (μνημο|σύνης τόδε δῶρον A5.3). The formula on the Hipponion leaf, though, bears an obvious resemblance to the conventional *incipit* of Archaic funerary epigrams (δεῖνος τόδε μνῆμα/σῆμα).[72] Pugliese Carratelli was correct, in my view, in imagining a deeper interaction between the mysticism of the Hipponion leaf and the cluster of Archaic burial concerns implied by ἠρίον.[73] The final word of the Hipponion text (κλεινοί), as Domenico Musti observed a few years later,[74] implies a further interaction with Greek song-culture and the poetic value of κλέος: it also recalled the epicizing expression Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν ("this gift of *Mnêmosynê*, sung among mortals") from the Caecilia Secundina leaf, which could not now be so easily dismissed as an aberration or corruption of the earlier tradition. (See further discussion of both these points in §IV below.)

Another lamella with an extended text was published in 1994.[75] This tablet (B11) is believed to come from Entella, Sicily, and tentatively dated to the 3rd c. BCE, though neither its date or context is secure. This text in two columns is our longest by lines (21), though the tablet is badly damaged and only the inner half of each column is preserved. The tablet still awaits adequate publication, though a textual study by Richard Janko has at least made clear that its text is close to the hypothetical "archetype" he had previously sought to reconstruct for the B-texts.[76] The remains of the first three lines introduced an unexpected complication for our understanding of memory and its role in the B-group:

[ἐπεὶ ἄμ μέλ]λησι θανεῖσθαι

[71] PC 39-40; see discussion in Ch. 2.

[72] The rare word ἠρίον is not the usual term for tomb in epitaphs and has a closer relation to Homeric poetry, where it is used – only once, but prominently – to describe the burial mound of Patroklos (*Il.* 23.125-126: ἔνθ' ἄρ' Ἀχιλλεὺς / φράσσατο Πατρόκλῳ μέγα ἠρίον ἠδὲ οἷ αὐτῷ). The meaning and uses of ἠρίον are discussed in Immerwahr (1967) 262 n. 19 and Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 125-126, both of whom argue against the primary or exclusive sense of "mound." One appearance of ἠρίον in the epigraphic record is a 6th-c. epitaph from Delphi of Selinuntine Arkhedamos (*Syll.*[3] 11 = Schwyzer 165 = *IG* XII 1 168); see Sourvinou-Inwood (*op. cit.*) 152-158. Funeral *agônes* may also have been described in the 6th/5th c. as ἠρία, although the evidence is inconclusive. The expressions Τελεσάρχο ἐκ τõ ἐρίο and ἐχ τõν ἐρίον εἰ⟨μ⟩ί appear on two inscribed funerary *diskoi* from Attica (Jacobsthal 18 n. 2, 19/20 n. 4; *SEG* X 396-398): Roller (1981) 3-5 and Stupperich (1990) 73-75 both suggest that these were prizes in private funerary contests. Finally, a terra cotta ball from Attica (ca. 500 BCE) depicts a young man with the words *h*ος ἔοικεν ἀπὸ τõν ἐρίον ἔναι{αι}: Immerwahr (1967) 262-265 suggests that the phrase ἀπὸ τῶν ἠρίων refers to the boy's participation in funerary *agônes*, but Guarducci (1980) 17 disputes the connection with the athletic scene and interprets the inscription as an insulting reference to the young man's "ghostly" appearance.

[73] See further discussion in §III below and in Ch. 2. Pugliese Carratelli's analysis in Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) was nevertheless weakened by a reliance on traditional assumptions about Orphism: he relies, for instance, on the same set of Pythagorean comparanda reviewed above, including the Platonic myth of Er; he conflates the early and later Pythagorean memory-tradition (118-119); and he assesses evidence in terms of presupposed Orphic *dottrina* (e.g. the desire for attachment from earthly existence) that derive from an essentializing or doctrinal definition of Orphism. He does, however, reject comparison with the Lebadeia ritual (118). I think he is correct to reference mythic Mnêmosynê's connections with prophecy and learning, but there is no reason to connect these activities narrowly with (mostly very late) Pythagorean tradition to the exclusion of more mainstream currents in early Greek culture.

[74] Musti (1984) 73-75 and (2005) 195-196.

[75] The inadequate edition of Frel (1994) is so far the only text by an editor who has seen the tablet. According to Janko (2016) 100 n. 6, the tablet belongs to a private collector; no photograph or drawing has been published.

[76] Janko (2016), building on Janko (1984): but see discussion in Introduction.

[μ]εμνημέ⟨ν⟩ος ἥρως
[ ] σκότος ἀμφικαλύψας

[When he is *or* you are] about to die […] hero remembering[77] […] darkness wrapped around

The "hero remembering" (μεμνημένος ἥρως) here must be the deceased: we have a parallel passage near the end of the Petelia leaf in which the initiate in the Underworld is promised that she will "conduct rites among the heroes" ([τέλη σὺ μεθ᾽] ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[ς], with the supplement suggested by Edmonds).[78] The fragmentary lines 1 and 3 of the Entella leaf correspond to text from the Hipponion and Petelia leaves, and Janko has plausibly used these three texts to construct a three-line "preamble" that must have been attached consistently to the longer narrative of the B-texts:

Μνημοσύνης τόδε ἔργον· ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλησι θανεῖσθαι,
[ἐν χρυσίωι][79] τόδε γραψ[άσθω μ]εμνημέ⟨ν⟩ος ἥρως,
[μὴ τόν γ᾽ ἐκ]πᾰ́γλως ὑπά[γ]ο̣[ι] σκότος ἀμφικαλύψας.[80]

This is the work of memory: When he is about to die, let the hero remember and write this [in gold?], [so that] the darkness when it has enveloped [him will not lead him down] in terror.

The second line is of greatest interest to us and is the most difficult to reconstruct.[81] Janko arrives at his reading by joining the mid-line]τόδε γραψ[from the Petelia leaf with the line-end preserved on the Entella tablet. Both leaves are marred by physical damage, but the consistency of the surrounding lines between B1, B10, and B11 indicate that something close to this three-line *incipit* was a stable part of the B-tradition. Not only did the expression μεμνημένος ἥρως in the Entella leaf suggest further generic interactions between the gold leaves and epic poetry (to which I will return in §III below), but it also indicated for the first time a conceptual link between the act of memory and the assertion/recognition of the deceased's heroic identity (which I will revisit in §IV).

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[77] Judging from epic and didactic parallels, the participle is almost certainly circumstantial rather than attributive, contrary to the rendering of most translators: see discussion in §III below.

[78] Edmonds (2010).

[79] The *exempli gratia* supplement to the beginning of the line is entirely uncertain and for our purposes fairly inconsequential: [ἐν χρυσίωι] was first proposed by Guarducci (1985) 392, and apparently assumes either a shortened upsilon or a consonantal iota. On the choice of the diminutive χρυσίον rather than χρυσός, Guarducci remarks: "Il termine χρυσίον può significare o l'oggetto d'oro (in questo caso, la laminetta) o semplicemente il prezioso metallo, raccomandabile per la sua incorruttibilità e per l'efficicacia profilattica che gli si attribuiva."

[80] Janko (2016) 111 (my translation). On the comparatively recent editorial convention of the subliteral asterisk (used where the editor has deliberately changed an inaccurate rendering by a previous editor/artist or an inaccurate paradosis in an ancient exemplar), see Janko (*op. cit.*) 101-103.

[81] See Janko (2016) 107-110; cf. earlier reconstruction of this line in the Petelia leaf by West (1975a) 232 (based on comparison with magical texts). Janko (2016) 109 describes the metrical considerations in reconstructing this line as follows (citing Guarducci (1985) and West *op. cit.*: "West had proposed *exempli gratia* [ἐν πίνακι χρυcέωι] τόδε γραψ[άτω ἠδὲ φορείτω], but the line-ending in E [i.e. the Entella text] disproves γραψάτω. Hence we need a different trisyllabic form of the verb: I suggest [- - -] τόδε γραψ[άcθω μ]εμνημέ⟨ν⟩oc ἥρωc. The complete verse might run [ἀτρεκέωc] τόδε γραψ[άcθω μ]εμνημέ⟨ν⟩oc ἥρωc, 'let the hero get this written down accurately from memory', or, with Guarducci's suggestion for the start of the line, [ἐν χρυcίωι] τόδε γρα[ψάcθω μ]εμνημέ⟨ν⟩oc ἥρωc 'let the hero get this written down on a gold leaf from memory.' Both restorations demand a main caesura in the fourth foot, which is not a problem, and both imply the loss of c. 21 letter-widths at the left in E."

The newer evidence suggests possible interpretations of *mnêmosynê* in the lamellae that are very different from those that were developed in the 19th c. and remain prevalent in contemporary discussions of the gold leaves. My main contention is that the theme of memory in the lamellae, far from being an especially "Orphic" phenomenon, is a bricolagic development that draws broadly on elements from Classical Greek religion, poetry, and intellectual culture. The remainder of this chapter will examine three such areas of interaction: the role of memory in didactic poetry (§III); the function of memory and poetic κλέος in the construction of a social identity, with special reference to *epinikia* (§IV); and the place of eschatology in the burial and remembrance of the dead (§V).

To be clear, my purpose in what follows is *not* to sort through the possibilities in order to determine what memory "really" means in the gold leaves. Rather, I suggest that *mnêmosynê* is better understood in more flexible terms as a creative adaptation of familiar ideas and modes of expression. Thus *mnêmosynê* might from different perspectives and in different contexts signify an act performed by the initiate before death (or after death), or a part of a quasi-pedagogical process, or a trope of poetic performance, or an act of imagination performed by the ritual group on the deceased's behalf. I do not think any of these can be excluded, and all are in different ways hinted at in the multivalent language and practice of the gold leaves. In any event, the very allusiveness and semantic non-specificity of *mnêmosynê* in the lamellae texts would likely have encouraged a range of possible explanations by the itinerant initiators who produced and disseminated the gold leaves. At the same time, I suggest that the various possible meanings of *mnêmosynê* in the lamellae tradition all point in different ways toward the idea of a connection between the individual initiate and a cult group. The lamellae testify to a culturally creative and intellectually flexible ritual tradition that afforded its practitioners a mode of socially managed individual and group identity.

§III. *Memnêmenos Hêrôs*: Memory and Initiation

The source of the poetic texts inscribed on the lamellae remains a matter of dispute. The two most likely possibilities are that they derive from a didactic Orphic *katabasis* poem or a written verse oracle.[82] Either genre would be consistent with the protreptic function of the B-texts. Their addressee is not yet deceased, and the anonymous narrator speaks to the initiate throughout in the future tense and in commands, telling her where she will go, what she will see, and what she must say at crucial points of her Underworld journey. Perhaps two tablets (following the reconstructions of West and Janko) record instructions for the tablet's physical inscription – a notable inclusion given the economy of space imposed by the gold foil and the lack of any obvious benefit for the soul of the deceased.[83] The eschatology of the texts is thus

[82] The possibility of an Orphic poem was suggested by Comparetti (1880) 158-159, Comparetti & Smith (1882) 116. Regarding evidence for an Orphic *katabasis* tradition, see Clark (1979) 95-124. Edmonds (2011a) and (2016) is critical of this view and suggests other possible backgrounds, including written verse oracles. My argument in this subsection does not depend on the assumption that the B-texts derive from a didactic *katabasis* poem, though it is certainly consistent with this view.

[83] West (1975a) 232 (who based his restoration on comparison with magical texts), Janko (1984) 92 and (2016) 107-110; see §IIb above. Note West *op. cit.* (commenting on the last lines of the Petelia leaf): "Aber was soll denn das auf dem Blättchen selbst? Man darf annehmen, dass die Leute, welche sich solche Talismane verfertigten, dies eben nach Rezepten taten, die sie in Papyrusbüchern vorfanden. Dort war die Überschrift am Platz. *Sie sollte eigentlich nicht abgeschrieben werden*; aber einige wollten wenigstens den Titel einsetzen, und der Schreiber von P [i.e the Petelia leaf], wenn meine Vermutung über den Inhalt des zweiten Verses etwas auf sich hat, hat sich dazu verleiten lassen, die die Verfertigung und Gebrauchsweise betreffende Vorschrift hinzuzufügen" (my italics). The assumption that the preamble was not "supposed" to be inscribed is problematic, however, even within West's hypothetical

nested within a framing scenario of instruction: the narrative of soul's journey is itself an object to be remembered by the initiate in this life – the "hero remembering" (μεμνημένος ἥρως) in the Entella leaf (B11.2).

It is with the instructional frame that I will be concerned in this section. As we shall see, the gold leaves offer lexical and dictional parallels with expressions of memory in didactic contexts of early Greek poetry. My use of the word "didactic" here is not meant to designate a poetic genre so much as a mode of poetic advice-giving that is characteristic of hexameter epic, didactic, and oracular poetry. I do not presuppose that the tablets' texts derive from an Orphic *katabasis* poem, and I do not foreclose the possibility that they may derive from a verse oracle. My focus in any case is less on the origins of the lamellae texts than how they may have been used and understood by cult participants. The degree of the tablets' intertextual engagement with other genres of hexameter poetry has been increasingly documented: it is worth seeing what implications this half-line from the Entella text may carry for the semiotics of memory in the lamellae tradition. At the same time, as we shall see, at least one of the gold leaves seems to allude to affective conceptions of the soul and memory that emerged and developed in the Late Classical period. The *bricolage* of the lamellae tradition thus involves a creative cross-fertilization between very different poetic and affective conceptions of memory, which in different ways articulate a connection between the initiate and an imagined mystic community, and which also are used to express the deceased's place in temporal dynamics of initiation and death ritual.

IIIa. Didactic Memory in the B-Texts (B1-2, B10-11) and Thurii Leaf (A4)

The phrase μεμνημένος ἥρως from the Entella leaf (B11) is not extant in earlier Greek poetry, but the individual words are both common in hexameter poetry, often in the same metrical positions.[84] Twice in the *Odyssey* the line-end formula "remembering me all of your days" (ἐμέθεν μεμνημένος ἤματα πάντα) is used to describe the connection produced by gift exchange – a durable bond of *xenia* that is remembered to be reactivated in the future.[85] The most significant epic parallels with the participle μεμνημένος from the Entella text, however, appear in advisory or didactic contexts. In an exchange from *Iliad* 5, the charioteer Sthenelos suggests that Diomedes should withdraw before the charging chariot of Aineias and Lykaon. Diomedes's response moves into an advice-giving idiom that is common in Homeric poetry and shares a good deal with didactic epic. He immediately rejects his charioteer's advice, then he adds that if he should kill them both, Sthenelos should remember to press after Aineias' divine horses (Αἰνείαο δ' ἐπαΐξαι μεμνημένος ἵππων) to win them as well.[86] This second instruction is prefaced with a formulaic line: "Another thing I will tell you, and you put it in your mind" (ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν).[87] This emphatic assertion of a polarity between speaker (ἐρέω) and addressee (τοι…σὺ) and the exhortation to remember (μεμνημένος) what is instructed is highly characteristic also of the poet's *persona* in didactic poetry, to which

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scenario: see further discussion in Ch. 3. Compare now also with the similar instructions for inscription in the "Getty Hexameters" from 5th/4th-c. Selinous: see Faraone & Obbink (2013).

[84] Μεμνημένος: *Il.* 5.263; Hes. *Th.* 562, *Erg.* 616, 641. Ἥρως in the final position is especially common: *Il.* 2.844, 5.308, 6.61, 7.120, 8.268, 10.154, 10.179, 10.416, 11.483, 11.819, 11.838, 12.95, 13.164, 13.788, 23.824, 23.896; *Od.* 3.415, 4.312, 4.617, 15.117, 15.131, 18.423; Hes. *Scut.* 37; *Kypria* fr. 15.4 Bernabé (= fr. 16.4 West), *Thebaid* (?) fr. 4.1 Bernabé (= fr. 8.1 West); cf. Theogn. 711.

[85] *Od.* 4.592, 8.431.

[86] *Il.* 5.251-264.

[87] *Il.* 5.259; cf. *Il.* 1.297, 4.39, 9.611, 16.444, 16.851, 21.94; *Od.* 11.454, 16.281, 16.299, 17.548, 19.236, 19.495, 19.570; *h.Apoll.* 261; Hes. *Erg.* 107.

we turn presently. The example from Homer should serve as a reminder, however, that these formal conventions are widely available in other genres of hexameter poetry.

The closest parallels with μεμνημένος in the Entella tablet are found in Hesiod's *Erga*, where the verb μιμνήσκω appears only as a perfect participle.[88] These invocations of memory often have little more than adverbial force,[89] but in each instance they serve to underscore the communicative relation between the speaker and addressee by gesturing toward the addressee's future deployment of the poet's advice.[90] Remembering in Hesiod is often done in the second person, and reinforces the characteristic polarity between the poet who imparts wisdom and the recipient who must hear and use it.[91] "Remembering" a command or obligation in epic diction is often equivalent to carrying it out, and the exhortation to remember in the future is sometimes part of the command itself.[92]

A twofold emphasis falls on both memory's *durability* and its timely future *application*. The link between memory and timely action (ὥρια ἔργα) is especially marked in Hesiod.[93] Hesiod's addressee must remain "ever mindful" (μεμνημένον εἶναι)[94] of what is being taught, but must also recognize the future moment for appropriate or timely (ὡραῖος) action. Hesiod warns Perses that if he should wish to set sail in the stormy winter months, at that moment (τότε) he should remember and do just as his brother is presently telling him (ὥς σε κελεύω).[95] Similar expressions appear in advice-giving contexts elsewhere in Archaic poetry. Solon says that the fifth hebdomad of a man's life is the proper moment (ὥριον) for him to remember (μεμνημένος εἶναι) his marriage (i.e. to marry) and produce children.[96] In the longer Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*, Aphrodite warns Ankhises in similar formulaic language not to reveal her as the true mother of their son Aineias: if anyone asks, he should remember to tell a different story (σὺ μυθεῖσθαι μεμνημένος), per the goddess' instructions, and say that the boy is the child of a nymph.[97] The participle μεμνημένος in instructional scenarios is readily paired with temporal clauses with the same effect. Just the addressee of the B-texts is told to employ his memory "when he is (or you are) about to die" (ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλησι θανεῖσθαι), Hesiod urges his addressee to be mindful (τότ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ … μεμνημένος) of ploughing season as soon as the constellations of Pleiades and Hyades and Orion set (αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν δὴ … δύνωσιν), and (in one of his odder prescriptions) urges his listener to be mindful (μεμνημένος) and not urinate while facing the sun, but to do so when it has set (αὐτὰρ ἐπεί κε δύῃ).[98] In each case, the exercise of memory is the future performance of an action prescribed in the past. Memory encodes an implied καιρός, an

[88] Hes. *Erg.* 298, 422, 616, 623, 641, 711, and 728.
[89] Noted by Janko (2016) 109 (citing Hes. *Erg.* 728; see also *Il.* 19.154).
[90] Simondon (1982) 39-46.
[91] See *Erg.* 298 (ἀλλὰ σύ γ᾽ ἡμετέρης μεμνημένος αἰὲν ἐφετμῆς / ἐργάζευ, Πέρση…), 623 (γῆν δ᾽ ἐργάζεσθαι μεμνημένος ὥς σε κελεύω), 641 (τύνη δ᾽, ὦ Πέρση, ἔργων μεμνημένος εἶναι / ὡραίων πάντων…). On the personalities of poet and addressee in Hesiod, see Griffith (1983), Nagy (1990b) 36-82, and Martin (1992).
[92] Simondon (1982) 39-55, 94-95, Bakker (2002), and (2005) 136-153: see e.g. *Il.* 1.495-6 (Θέτις δ᾽ οὐ λήθετ᾽ ἐφετμέων / παιδὸς ἑοῦ), 2.33-4 (ἀλλὰ σὺ σῇσιν ἔχε φρεσί, μηδέ σε λήθη / αἱρείτω εὖτ᾽ ἄν σε μελίφρων ὕπνος ἀνήῃ), etc.
[93] Hes. *Erg.*: ὑποτομεῖν μεμνημένος, ὥρια ἔργα (422), τότε ἔπειτ᾽ ἀρότου μεμνημένος εἶναι / ὡραίου (616), τότε … μεμνημένος (622-3), ἔργων μεμνημένος εἶναι / ὡραίων πάντων (641).
[94] Hes. *Erg.* 298; cf. ἀεὶ τῶνδ᾽ ἐπέων μεμνημένος (Theogn. 755). Compare similar expressions in other types of communicative scenarios at *Od.* 1.343 (ποθέω μεμνημένη αἰεί, Penelope telling Phemios of her unending longing for the absent Odysseus), *Th.* 562 (χόλου μεμνημένος αἰεὶ, describing the wrath of Zeus toward Prometheus following the deception at Mekone).
[95] Hes. *Erg.* 623 (καὶ τότε μηκέτι νῆα ἔχειν ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ, / γῆν δ᾽ ἐργάζεσθαι μεμνημένος ὥς σε κελεύω).
[96] Solon fr. 27.9: πέμπτηι δ᾽ ὥριον ἄνδρα γάμου μεμνημένον εἶναι / καὶ παίδων ζητεῖν εἰσοπίσω γενεήν.
[97] *h.Ven.* 5.281-5 (ἢν δέ τις εἴρηταί σε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων / ἤ τις σοὶ φίλον υἱὸν ὑπὸ ζώνῃ θέτο μήτηρ, / τῷ δὲ σὺ μυθεῖσθαι μεμνημένος ὥς σε κελεύω…)
[98] *Erg*. 614-16, 727-9. On purity taboos in Hesiod, see Parker (1983) 291-4.

opportune moment for future action. Memory as a communicative process in epic diction especially shows its twofold visage, looking both backward and forward. For the addressee, memory holds a past admonition in tension with the crucial moment in the future when that knowledge will find its realization.

A related epicism in the gold leaves appears outside the B-group, in a lamella from the Timpone Grande in Thurii (A4). The first three lines of the text read as follows:

> ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόταμ ψυχὴ προλίπηι φάος ἀελίοιο, |
> δεξιὸν Ε.ΘΙΑΣ δ᾽ ἐξιέναι πεφυλαγμένον | εὖ μάλα πάντα·
> χαῖρε παθὼν τὸ πάθημα τὸ δ᾽ οὔπω πρόσθε ἐπέπονθεις.
>
> 2. Ε.ΘΙΑΣ lam. : εὐθείας Pugliese Carratelli, ἐς θιάσ⟨ον⟩ Santamaría Álvarez
>
> But when a soul leaves behind the light of the sun,
> To the right side (?) … go, having kept watch on all things very well.
> *Khaire*! You have undergone the experience that you had never experienced before.

Here again the line of greatest interest to us is also the most corrupt. The first part of the second line is impossible to render with certainty, but the point of "going to the right side" is at least clear.[99] Three lines later, the soul is urged again to "keep along the right-hand road" (δεξιὰν ὁδοιπόρ[ει]) toward the groves and meadows of Persephone. The reiterated emphasis on the "right side" recalls the scenario of the B-texts and the Platonic myth of Er, where the soul's happy postmortem existence is connected with its journey along a right-hand path in the Underworld. It is therefore likely that the second line represents an abridged version of the instructions that appear at length in B-group.[100]

The second half of the line has received less attention than it deserves, especially since the appearance of the Entella text. As Zuntz noted, the verb φυλάσσω in hexameter poetry in the middle voice with an accusative object means "keep watch over" or (especially) "bear in mind."[101] In Hesiod, the middle φυλάσσομαι in fact operates in a way very similar to the uses of μιμνήσκω just seen. In particular, the same medio-passive perfect participle πεφυλαγμένος in the Thurii leaf is also often used similarly to μεμνημένος.[102] The poet exhorts his addressee to "bear in mind" (πεφύλαξο δὲ θυμῷ) the appropriate and inauspicious days for sowing,[103] to "keep" (πεφυλαγμένος εἶναι) or "keep well" (πεφυλαγμένος εὖ) and appropriately (κατὰ μοῖραν) the wisdom surrounding both divine justice and the proper days for farm labor.[104] As with verbs of remembering, the language of "guarding" wisdom in one's consciousness is connected with the idea of its opportune future use, as expressed in the ideas of καιρός, μοῖρα,

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[99] For the text and interpretation of this line, see Zuntz (1973) 330-331. Santamaría Álvarez's suggestion in Bernabé & Jiménez San Cristóbal (2011) 85 that the unintelligible Ε.ΘΙΑΣ be construed as ἐς θιάσ⟨ον⟩ is extremely attractive: the Underworld *thiasos* would correspond with the μύσται καὶ βάχχοι from Hipponion (B10) and the μυστῶ⟨ν⟩ θιάσους from Pherai (D5) as iterations of the "Mystic Chorus." On this point, see further discussion in §IV below.

[100] Thus Zuntz (1971) 331, BJ 96, and GJ 99-100.

[101] Zuntz (1971) 330.

[102] Hes. *Erg.* 263, 706, 765; cf. Hom. *Il.* 23.338-48 (ἀλλὰ φίλος φρονέων πεφυλαγμένος εἶναι, in Nestor's speech of advice to Antilokhos in the chariot-race.). The near-equivalence between πεφυλαγμένον in A4 and μεμνημένος in B11 is noted already in passing by Bernabé & Jiménez (2011) 76 and Riedweg (2011) 237.

[103] Hes. *Erg.* 797-9.

[104] Hes. *Erg.* 706, 764-6 (see West *ad loc*: "In both lines it [sc. πεφυλαγμένος] is fortified by εὖ, which here makes a phrase with κατὰ μοῖραν ('appropriately'), as in Homer with κατὰ κόσμον."

and ὡραῖα ἔργα. "Keep in mind measures (μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι)," Hesiod says, for "in all things right timing is best (καιρὸς δ᾽ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος)," and at the proper age (ὡραῖος) a man should take a wife and make for himself a timely marriage (γάμος δέ τοι ὥριος οὗτος).[105]

The exhortation to "keep in mind" (πεφυλαγμένος εἶναι) in all these instances is almost indistinguishable from the imperative to "remember" (μεμνημένος εἶναι). This near-identity emerges most clearly in the passage that also represents the closest epic parallel to πεφυλαγμένον εὖ μάλα πάντα in the Thurii leaf. Hesiod concludes his advice for ploughing with a final warning against forgetfulness:

> Keep all things well (εὖ πάντα φυλάσσεο) in your mind and forget (σε λήθοι) neither the bright spring when it comes nor the rain-storms in their season (ὥριος ὄμβρος).[106]

Here "keeping all things well" in mind (εὖ πάντα φυλάσσεο) is the alternative to "forgetting" (σε λήθοι) about the seasonal rains (ὥριος ὄμβρος). The conceptual opposition between φυλακή and λήθη is evident earlier in the poem, in Hesiod's exhortation to corrupt kings:

> Bear these things in mind (ταῦτα φυλασσόμενοι), kings: set straight your speech, you bribe-gobblers, and forget (λάθεσθε) entirely your crooked judgments![107]

The exhortation to "bear in mind" one set of actions and "forget" another is again equivalent to the language of remembering and forgetting that we have seen in other contexts: the polarity is somewhat accentuated by the postponement of the verb. Just as "remembering an action" in epic diction is equivalent to doing it, so "keeping in mind" one set of instructions while "forgetting" one's present actions signifies a change of mentality.[108] The semantic pairing of φυλάσσεσθαι and μεμνῆσθαι as an exhortation during moments of didactic instruction persists in Classical usages: the Danaid chorus of Aeschylus' *Suppliants* promise their father that they will "take care to remember" (φυλάξομαι … μεμνῆσθαι) his advice to them as suppliants, and Demosthenes twice exhorts his juridical audiences to "mark and remember" (φυλάττετε καὶ μέμνησθε) – almost a pleonasm for "observe closely" or "remember well."[109]

The Entella and Thurii texts both draw on an epic conception of memory that is fundamentally *communicative* and embedded in the relationship between poet and addressee. Even though the Thurii tablet does not use the word μνημοσύνη or its cognates, it nevertheless alludes at the level of diction to the same epic processes of memory as the Entella tablet and

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[105] Hes. *Erg.* 692-7. Cf. Thgn. 401-402 (καιρὸς δ᾽ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος / ἔργμασιν ἀνθρώπων), Bacchyl. 14.16-18 (ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστῳ / [καιρὸς] ἀνδρῶν ἔργματι κάλ-/λιστος), Pi. *Ol.* 13.47-8 (ἕπεται δ᾽ ἐν ἑκάστῳ / μέτρον· νοῆσαι δὲ καιρὸς ἄριστος).

[106] Hes. *Erg.* 491-2: ἐν θυμῷ δ᾽ εὖ πάντα φυλάσσεο· μηδέ σε λήθοι / μήτ᾽ ἔαρ γινόμενον πολιὸν μήθ᾽ ὥριος ὄμβρος.

[107] Hes. *Erg.* 263-4: ταῦτα φυλασσόμενοι, βασιλῆς, ἰθύνετε μύθους, / δωροφάγοι, σκολιέων δὲ δικέων ἐπὶ πάγχυ λάθεσθε.

[108] The effect of this pairing recalls the famous descriptions of the cathartic effects of epic in the *Theogony* (53-55, 98-103): the daughters of Mnêmosynê are identified with "forgetting of troubles and a rest from cares" (λησμοσύνην τε κακῶν ἄμπαυμά τε μερμηράων), and the performance of a bard who is inspired by the Muses (Μουσάων θεράπων) causes a grieving listener immediately to forget his sorrows (αἶψ᾽ ὅ γε δυσφροσυνέων ἐπιλήθεται) and remember none of his cares (οὐδέ τι κηδέων μέμνηται). See discussions by Vernant (2006) and Simondon (1982) 128 ("La divinité Mémoire est, en quelque sorte, maîtresse d'oubli, du'un certain oubli…").

[109] A. *Supp.* 204-205, Dem. 20.163 and 23.215 (on the active φυλάσσειν with the sense "regard" or "observe," see LSJ *s.v.* φυλάσσω §D3).

larger B-tradition. The uses of the expressions μεμνημένος ἥρως and πεφυλαγμένον εὖ μάλα πάντα are also consistent with the supposition that the texts were meant to be learned and memorized by initiates, or at least were represented in this way.[110] Both expressions point ahead toward an implied ὡραῖον ἔργον at the moment of death when the initiate's knowledge is to be applied: this is made explicit by the temporal clause of the B-texts ("when you are about to die"). Memory situates the initiate temporally between a past initiation and a future death – and, beyond that, a future eschatology – in exactly the way that Seaford's temporal model of mystic experience would suggest. In fact, the B-texts seem to allude to two different ὡραῖα ἔργα in moments of danger to the initiate: the act of inscribing the leaf (to be done just before death – and evidently to play a part in burial) and the journey to the waters of memory in the afterlife (to be accomplished shortly after death). The fact that the Petelia leaf (B1) was reused and worn as an amulet in late antiquity may suggest (as Christopher Faraone has argued) that the temporal clause ("When you are about to die…") could also be understood as an instruction to inscribe and wear the text any time when death seemed to be threatening: e.g. in battle or serious illness.[111] In either case, memory operates in an analogous way to the instructional pattern of didactic/oracular poetry and implies a connectivity of experience: not only subjectively, between the initiate's earthly and eschatological selves, but also as part of a circuit of communication in which the voice of the poet, the officiating *orpheotelestai*, and the various *mystai* are imagined to participate.

IIIb. Memory and *Pathos* in the Thurii Leaf (A4)

I have argued that in the longer gold leaves of the B-group from Hipponion (B10), Petelia (B1), Pharsalos (B2) and Entella (B11), as well as one of the A-tablets from Thurii (A4), expressions of memory that are familiar from epic and didactic poetry have been transposed into initiatory contexts. The tablets do not all develop this epic-didactic conception of memory in the same way, however. The text from Thurii seems to articulate the deceased's successful act of retentive memory (πεφυλαγμένον εὖ μάλα πάντα) not only in terms of following the right-hand path (δεξιὸν … ἐξιέναι), but also in experiential terms: "You experienced the experience that you never experienced before" (παθὼν τὸ πάθημα τὸ δ᾽ οὔπω πρόσθε ἐπέπονθεις). The text here is clumsy. As Zuntz showed, the line is almost certainly a non-hexameter acclamation that has been awkwardly shoehorned into a hexameter rhythm.[112] This line and its threefold polyptoton (παθὼν… πάθημα… ἐπέπονθεις) are difficult to translate: I have just now rendered these παθ-words neutrally in terms of initiatory "experience," although the sense of "suffer" is also audible in a funerary context.

The idea here of initiation as a πάθος finds an interesting parallel in Aristotle's description of the mysteries (in a fragment preserved by Synesios):

> Aristotle deems that those who are initiated are not supposed to learn anything (οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖν), but rather experience (παθεῖν) and be put in a certain disposition (διατεθῆναι) – that is, to become fit for the purpose [i.e. of initiation].[113]

[110] Janko (2016) 110 makes this observation in connection with the Entella text; cf. Janko (1984) 97-98. Of course, this cannot be taken positivistically as evidence for how the texts were actually used.
[111] Faraone (2009) and (2011a): see also discussion in Ch. 3.
[112] Zuntz (1971) 331.
[113] Arist. fr. 15 Rose (= Synesius *Dio* 10 p. 271 Krab.): καθάπερ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀξιοῖ τοὺς τελουμένους οὐ μαθεῖν τι δεῖν ἀλλὰ παθεῖν καὶ διατεθῆναι, δηλονότι γενομένους ἐπιτηδείους. Rose and other editors assign this

The contrast here between learning (μάθειν) and experience (πάθειν) may seem strange to modern students of Athenian tragedy who are accustomed to the Aeschylean idea of "learning through suffering" (πάθει μάθος), but it can be understood in the context of a Late Classical debate among ritual practitioners regarding whether mystery initiation is properly understood as an emotional experience or a cognitive practice.[114] The diction of the Thurii text indicates a convergence between these two conceptions of initiation.

As Phillip Horky has shown, the language of πάθος in the Thurii leaf also indicates the influence of a larger trend of 5th/4th-c. intellectual speculation that imagined the soul and its nature in affective terms.[115] Horky traces the metaphor of the psychosomatic "imprint" across several discursive contexts. Gorgias of Leontini is the earliest surviving source to employ this metaphor. In his *Helen*, a playful rhetorical exercise in defense of Helen of Troy, Gorgias declares that persuasion "stamps upon the soul whatever it wishes" (ἐτυπώσατο ὅπως ἐβούλετο) and likens the influence of *logos* on the soul to that of drugs on the body. Gorgias describes the effects of sight in similar terms, saying that "by sight the soul is shaped (τυποῦται) in its ways" and that vision "inscribes (ἐνέγραψεν) in thought" the image of things seen with the eyes. In Gorgias' metaphorical vocabulary, the soul is imagined as a kind of plastic substance shaped passively by the παθήματα stamped upon it by *logos* and sense experience.[116]

Whether or not Gorgias was the inventor of this "imprint" metaphor, he likely played a role in popularizing affective descriptions of the ψυχή across a range of discursive contexts in Classical Greece.[117] Horky observes that two of Plato's myths of postmortem judgment, those that conclude the *Republic* and the *Gorgias*, rely on imagery of psychosomatic affection to describe both the condition of the soul after death and its experience in the Underworld.[118] In the *Gorgias*, the souls of the unjust are judged by the disfiguring wounds and scars left upon them as a result of their mortal conduct, and they undergo further appropriate punishments (τὰ προσήκοντα πάθη) after judgment.[119] In the myth of judgment at the end of the *Republic*, just

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fragment to Aristotle's *On Philosophy,* but Hutchinson and Johnson offer a plausible case for assigning it to one of the speakers of the *Protrepticus*: see http://www.protrepticus.info/ (version of 20 Sept. 2017, pg. 81). On Aristotle's more general views regarding mystery cults and their context, see discussion of Bernabé (2016).

[114] See P.Derv. xx. Graf (2011) 15-16 argues that the two different versons of the opening line to the Orphic theogony (*OF* 1a-b) already reflect this disagreement. On the aesthetic impact of mystery religion more generally, discussions of Burkert (1989) and Ustinova (2013b) 108-109. Cf. also Dio Chrys. *Or*. 12.33, where the idea of mystic experience is applied both to Eleusis and Korybantic *thronôsis*.

[115] Horky (2006).

[116] Gorg. *Hel.* 13-15, 17; see discussions of Porter (1993) 287-289 (stressing the metaphorical imprecision of Gorgias' image in context) and A. Long (2015) 88-124. On both the concrete and metaphorical uses of the verb τυπόω, see Segal (1962) 142 n. 44. On Gorgias's possible relation with the world of Orphic-Pythagorean cults in Sicily and Magna Graecia, it is worth noting that the doxographic tradition made him a student of Empedokles: see DK 68 A3 (= D.L. 8.58-59) and A10 (= Olymp. *In Gorg*. Prooem. 9). Diogenes (*op. cit.*) also relates a testimonium of the Hellenistic biographer Satyros that Gorgias joined Empedokles when he practiced magic (ὡς αὐτὸς παρείη τῷ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γοητεύοντι).

[117] On Gorgias's eclectic interest in contemporary physical and ontological philosophical theories, see Segal (1962) 101-102. Porter (1993) 272, 285-9 argues persuasively that the quasi-physical effects of both *logos* and vision on the soul in the *Helen* are metaphors rather than psychological ideas to which Gorgias is committed and that his main use of these images is to circumscribe the domain of *logos* within sensory perception.

[118] Images of the soul as a plastic substance also appear twice in the *Republic* (though not in the myth of Er): see *Rep.* 7.519a8-b1 (the soul could be "hammered straight" if it were unburdened of the ethical "weights" imposed on it by the body), 10.611b-612a (the soul is like the sea-monster Glaukos – whose name suggests an identity with Socrates' interlocutor Glaukon – who has lost limbs and become encrusted with debris in the ocean currents: this also serves narratively as a lead-in to the myth of Er). See discussion of Horky (2006) 392-393.

[119] Pl. *Grg.* 523a1-525a7 (esp. 524d2-525a7). On the question of Plato's sources for the myth, Dodds (1959) 372-376 is rightly skeptical of a coherent "Orphic" or Orphic-Pythagorean background, and ultimately regards both the

and unjust souls are differentiated by signs (σημεῖα) affixed to them by judges that prescribe their punishment or reward. At the end of their postmortem sojourn, the souls of the unjust recount their sufferings (ὅσα τε καὶ οἷα πάθοιεν) while those of the unjust returning from heaven tell of their fine experiences (εὐπαθείας) before both groups choose their next incarnation.[120]

Horky suggests that the gold leaves reflect the influence of the "imprint" metaphor and this affective image of the soul, although they make use of this image in complex and inconsistent ways. For Horky, the lamellae represent a "confusion of *topoi*" between the ideas of psychosomatic affection found in the Platonic afterlife myths, since the παθήματα of the soul seem to serve at once as a basis for postmortem judgment and as a kind of punishment that the soul must undergo or escape. The lamellae themselves as engraved metal objects even seem to model the metaphor of psychosomatic affection. Horky's conclusions deserve to be quoted at length:

> The initiate's soul, which, having already endured sufferings, descends to the underworld as a defendant, is promised release from this *pathēma* provided s/he recite the proper terms, which have been inscribed on the gold tablets themselves. The metaphor of molding/imprinting has transgressed the bounds of metaphysics and become manifestly physical in the "Orphic" gold tablets: the tablets themselves are molded, imprinted metal, and they are the instruments of persuasion that produce release for the soul during judgment in the underworld… Like σημεῖα described in the myth of Er, which testified to the souls' status, these inscribed plates may have been placed on the chest of the deceased as a mark of the soul and its legitimate merit in the blessed places of the underworld. We are left to wonder, then, whether or not the "Orphic" gold plates signified the initiate's soul, inscribed and molded by the *pathēmata* of life and imprinted with the *symbola* that s/he should recall upon departure from the earthly world. The "Orphic" gold tablets, on this reading, would literalize the system of affection espoused by Gorgias: persuasive *logoi* would have left a material imprint on the initiate's soul and, once s/he has reached her final judgment, effect joy.[121]

Horky's observations here, though obviously conjectural, give a good sense of the complex intellectual pressures that have shaped Orphic cults and the lamellae as both an imaginative and a material practice. Importantly for our purposes, Horky makes a strong case that the cults of the lamellae, like the Platonic myths of judgement, relied on the metaphor of psychosomatic imprint to articulate the soul's postmortem destiny and the effects of mystery ritual.

If this argument is accepted, it has implications for our understanding of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves. The same "imprint" metaphor that is influential in the eschatological imagery of the lamellae and Platonic myths also becomes prominent in philosophical theorizations of

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myth and its exegesis as a thorough mixture of traditional elements, a few Orphic-Pythagorean ideas, and images of Plato's invention; cf. Annas (1982) 122.

[120] Pl. *Rep.* 614c1-d1, 615e6-615a5. See Horky (2006) 394: in the *Republic*, "the judges control the souls' presentation by assigning them appropriate meanings, and it presumed that the souls cannot escape these markings, because each then departs for its allotted destination." Horky also notes the verbal resonances between the σημεῖα of this passage and the "wax tablet" image from *Tht.* 191d4-81, where sensation "makes an imprint [on the memory], just as we make stamp impressions (σημεῖα ἐνσημαινομένους) with signet rings."

[121] Horky (2006) 396-7. For further discussion of the lamellae as physical objects, see Ch. 3.

memory during the same time period.[122] Gorgias says little about memory but implies that it is to be understood as a kind of psychosomatic affection.[123] Socrates in Plato's *Theaetetus* likens memory to the imprint left when sensory perception is pressed (ἀποτυποῦσθαι) into the waxy material of the soul, just like the seal left by a signet ring (ὥσπερ δακτυλίων σημεῖα ἐνσημαινομένους), echoing the "imprint" metaphor of Gorgias's *Encomium*.[124] Aristotle employs the same image almost verbatim in his *de Anima* and *de Memoria et Reminiscentia*.[125]

These late-Classical philosophical treatments of memory as a πάθος are only a more theoretically developed expression of the same habit of imagination that Horky traces through Gorgias, the Platonic afterlife myths, and the Thurii leaf. Different authors and texts use these images to different effects. In Plato's eschatological myths, the soul's πάθη may be part of its self-presentation in a scene of judgment (as in the *Gorgias*) or may be the result of its postmortem punishment and/or reward (as in the *Republic*). In the *Theaetetus* and Aristotelian psychology, on the other hand, the imprint metaphor expresses a complexity in the subject's relation to sensory experience. As Anne Whitehead notes, the image of memory in the *Theaetetus* is at once active and passive: it "seems to be uncertainly suspended between that which we wish to retain, making a conscious effort to do so, and that which impresses itself upon us so that it is more passively experienced or undergone." In contrast with the image of ἀνάμνησις put forward in the *Meno* and *Phaedo*, the material image of memory in the *Theaetetus* significantly stresses the subject's relation to knowledge gained through the senses rather than extra-sensory knowledge, since the point of the image is to articulate a relation between the thinking subject and the sensible world.[126] For Aristotle, the metaphor of the impression in wax articulates the thinking subject's continuity with his/her past experience. Memory for Aristotle is closely related to the imagination (φαντασία), but is distinguished from it by its connection with past experience. He describes memory as affection accompanied by duration and notes in passing that one cannot remember without being *aware* that one is remembering. His understanding of memory and recollection thus approaches the Cartesian and post-Enlightenment identity between cognition or memory and the subjective self.[127] The image

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[122] Horky (2006) 392 n. 26 briefly mentions philosophical discussion of memory in connection with the Gorgianic "imprint" metaphor, but he never connects this with the use of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves. Physical explanations of memory predate the popularity of the "imprint" image: were being articulated as early as Alkmaion of Kroton (6th/5th c.), who theorized a relation between thought and sense perception that was mediated through the brain, and Diogenes of Apollonia (5th c.), who identified the causes of memory and forgetting in the material principles of dry and wet. Alkmaion is the probable source of the theory alluded to in Pl. *Phd.* 96d linking memory with sense perception. Diogenes: DK 64 A19 (= Theophr. *de Sensu* 45 = LM D44); cf. Kritias fr. 6.10-13 (= Athen. 10.432d-33b). See discussions of Simondon (1982) 172-175, 178-179.

[123] In particular, Gorgias's claim that false *logos* owes its efficacy to the failure and unreliability of memory (*Hel.* 11) would seem to imply a conception of memory as a πάθος in the soul.

[124] Pl. *Th.* 191c-e. On the inconsistencies among the various models of memory that appear in Plato's dialogues, see Horky (2006) 391 n. 24 (on the relation between soul and body in Plato) and Cambiano (2007).

[125] *de Mem. et Rem.* 450a28-b1: δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ νοῆσαι τοιοῦτον τὸ γινόμενον διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τῷ μορίῳ τοῦ σώματος τῷ ἔχοντι αὐτήν, οἷον ζωγράφημά τι τὸ πάθος, οὗ φαμὲν τὴν ἕξιν μνήμην εἶναι· ἡ γὰρ γινομένη κίνησις ἐνσημαίνεται οἷον τύπον τινὰ τοῦ αἰσθήματος, καθάπερ οἱ σφραγιζόμενοι τοῖς δακτυλίοις. Cf. *de Anima* 412b4-8 (with a more general account of psychosomatic affection in *de Anima* 403a3-19).

[126] See A. Whitehead (2009) 16-19; cf. Ricoeur (2004) 50-51. It is worth noting, along with Horky (2006) 394 n. 31, that the description of the wax tablets as a "gift of Memory, mother of the Muses" (δῶρον … τῆς τῶν Μουσῶν μητρὸς Μνημοσύνης) has a close parallel in the Caecilia Secundina tablet, which declares itself "this gift of Memory" (Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον).

[127] Arist. *de Mem. et Rem.* 450b11-451a1 (continuity), 451a25 (duration), 452b26-27 (awareness of remembering). See Nikulin (2015) 65: "[W]hen I remember, I cannot fail to notice *that* I remember. Remembering, therefore, is reflexive in its very act, in which respect it is similar to thinking. If one could further interpret this claim as suggesting that I equally cannot fail to notice that it is I who remembers, then memory becomes constitutive of self-

of memory as a quasi-material πάθος in the soul, whether it is taken only as an illustrative metaphor (as in the *Theaetetus*) or as part of a coherent psychological theory (as in Aristotle), can represent an aesthetic formation of the "self" as well as the subjective retention and recollection of information.

In the domain of memory, then, the Thurii leaf seems to involve a further confusion of *topoi* in addition to that recognized by Horky. The gold tablet alludes in its diction to both epic-didactic conceptions of memory as retention of instruction (πεφυλαγμένον εὖ μάλα πάντα) and the image of initiation/death as an affective stamp (παθὼν τὸ πάθημα τὸ δ᾽ οὔπω πρόσθε ἐπέπονθεις) on the initiate's soul. Thus the tablet seems to allow for the possibility of an affective or pathogenic conception of memory that is concerned not only (or at all) with retaining information, but with expressing the initiate's new postmortem identity. The soul's affections seem also to represent the enduring imprint of the ritual of initiation that it has undergone and which it has now repeated in the experience of death. If the Thurii tablet reflects the influence of the psychosomatic "imprint" analogy, as Horky has suggested, then it may also evoke a more pathogenic conception of "memory" that regards the soul as being molded by affective experience. This is in fact precisely what we would expect from the heavily aesthetic emphasis of ancient mystery cults, which (following Harvey Whitehouse's cognitive terminology) involved a predominantly "imagistic" and sensory rather than "doctrinal" mode of religiosity.[128] To my knowledge, Yulia Ustinova is the only scholar who has explicitly connected the theme of memory in the gold leaves with Whitehouse's cognitive theories of religion: "[T]he impact of mystery initiation was lost if the initiated forgot the sensation and the resulting illumination. Several Bacchic tablets refer to the work or gift of memory when one is about to die, and to the request to drink from the lake of memory when one arrives in the netherworld: *the marvel of initiation was to be remembered forever.*"[129]

* * *

We should not assign any single consistent underlying theory of memory to the entire corpus of gold leaves. An affective or pathogenic idea is only suggested in the Thurii leaf, where it appears alongside didactic language of remembering. But the idea of the psychosomatic "imprint" was one intellectual option available to the producers of the gold leaves, especially in Southern Italy and Sicily during the 5th/4th c. BCE. At the same time, the πάθημα of the soul serves as a criterion for the initiate's postmortem fate – a function that parallels the role of psychosomatic affections in the Platonic myths of judgment, where the markings on the soul are offered to the spectatorship of Underworld judges as criteria to determine their postmortem punishment or reward. Socrates' remark in the *Gorgias* that the judges are ignorant of the earthly identities of the souls before them (524d8-e7) implies that these hidden "imprints" on the soul may constitute the basis of a new identity that potentially subverts earthly prerogatives and hierarchies. Something similar, I suggest, is at work in the affections of the soul in the Thurii tablet, which serves as a credential for its owner's postmortem transformation from a human to a god (θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου).

I have argued in this section that the diction of the gold leaves alludes to two different conceptions of memory that are present to greater and lesser degrees in the extended B-texts (B1, B2, B10, B11) and one tablet from Thurii (A4). Firstly, the tablets evoke an epic-didactic idea of

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identity, rather than just being *my* memory…" Cf. also Kosman (1975) (on Aristotle's understanding of self-awareness in perception more generally) and Sorabji (1999).

[128] The terminology is from Whitehouse (2004); applications to mystery cults by Gragg (2004), Martin & Pachis (2009), Bowden (2010) 16, and Ustinova (2013b) 110-111.

[129] Ustinova (2013b) 110-111 (my italics). On the memory-forming effects of orgiastic music, see also Ustinova (2013a).

memory as the addressee's retention and timely use of the poet's authoritative instructions. I have also suggested that the Thurii lamella blends this traditional idea of poetic memory with a more contemporary idea of memory as an affection or πάθος in the soul: this represents both the deceased's memory of his/her sensory experience from initiation ritual, but also becomes the basis for a new postmortem identity that can be recognized by others.

§IV. *Bakkhoi Kleinoi*: Identity and Anonymity in the Gold Leaves

In the Platonic afterlife myths, as (perhaps) in the Thurii leaf, the affections of the soul are signs of the "self" presented for postmortem judgment: the affected soul is in a sense not just a subject, but an *object* intended for an imaginative or ritual "spectatorship." It is to this neglected question of "objective" memory in the gold leaves that we now turn.

* * *

καὶ δέ̋ τοι δόσōσι πιεῖν τῆς Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνα[ς].
καὶ δὲ̀ καὶ σὺ πιὸν ὁδὸν ἔρχεα⟨ι⟩, *h*άν τε καὶ ἄλλοι
μύσται καὶ βάχχοι *h*ιερὰν στείχōσι κλεινοί.

…And they will grant you to drink from the lake of Memory, and when you have drunk, you also shall go along the sacred road which the other famed initiates and *bakkhoi* tread.

B10.15-16 (Hipponion, ca. 400 BCE)

…ἀλλὰ δέχε⟨σ⟩θε
Μνημο|σύνης τόδε δῶρον ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν,
Καικιλία Σεκουνδεῖνα, νόμωι ἴθι δῖα γεγῶσα.

…But receive this gift of Memory, sung of among mortals: Caecilia Secundina, come(?), having by a law become divine.

A5.3-5 (Rome, ca. 200-300 CE)

As the structural studies of Vernant and Detienne emphasize, mythic Mnêmosynê is above all a patroness of poetic inspiration. The Muses, the daughters of Memory, put the poet in mind of his song and cause the song's object (as well as its singer) to be "remembered" by those who hear it.[130] The words κλεινός (from κλέος, "glory"/"fame") and ἀοίδιμος (from ἀοιδή, "song") that are connected with the benefit of memory (μνημοσύνη) in the Hipponion and Rome lamellae are both native to Archaic song culture. In the late A5 text, the gift of memory represented (or instantiated?) by the tablet is "sung among mortals" (ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν). In *Iliad* 6, when Hektor encounters Helen and Paris within the city walls of Troy, Helen remarks (in a moment of metapoetic foresight) that Zeus has imposed a great misfortune upon them and that they will be "subjects of song (ἀοίδιμοι) for mortals to come (ἀνθρώποισι … ἐσσομένοισι)."[131] The Phaiakian king Alkinoos, when he observes the disguised Odysseus weeping at Demodokos' song of the Trojan horse, asks his guest why he laments the fate of the Argives and the city of Troy, since their misfortune was designed by the gods to be a "subject of song (ἀοιδή) for those

[130] See Vernant (2006) 115-132, Detienne (1996) 39-52, Nagy (1999) 17-18, and P. Murray (1981). See also the arguments of Bakker (2005) and (2008) for the role of cognitive memory in epic performance.

[131] *Il.* 6.354-358: ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε νῦν εἴσελθε καὶ ἕζεο τῷδ᾽ ἐπὶ δίφρῳ / δᾶερ, ἐπεί σε μάλιστα πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν / εἵνεκ᾽ ἐμεῖο κυνὸς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἕνεκ᾽ ἄτης, / οἷσιν ἐπὶ Ζεὺς θῆκε κακὸν μόρον, ὡς καὶ ὀπίσσω / ἀνθρώποισι πελώμεθ᾽ ἀοίδιμοι ἐσσομένοισι.

to come (ἐσσομένοισιν)."[132] In Homeric poetry, the formulaic diction refers to the future performance of the story carried forward by epic tradition and (as Gregory Nagy observes) invokes grief and lament as foils for the glory conferred by epic.[133] In the Pythian half of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*, the poet similarly describes the building of the temple on top of its newly-laid foundations: "Countless tribes of mortals (φῦλ᾽ ἀνθρώπων) established the temple around [the floor] with stones set in place, to be an object of song forever (ἀοίδιμον ἔμμεναι αἰεί)."[134] The Rome text's self-description as a "gift of memory" (Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον) is also reminiscent of the "glorious gifts of the Muses" (ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα) that Theognis promises his addressee Kyrnos.[135] The adjective κλεινός that appears at the end of the Hipponion leaf is not attested in Homer, but in Pindar it commonly marks the nexus of poetic praise by which the victor brings κλέος to his household and his city: e.g. significant places, people, heroic or ancestral exploits, or the poet's own song and the occasion of a Panhellenic festival.[136] Zuntz dismissed the epicism ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν in the Rome leaf as "a pale and vague reflection of a tragic Homeric concept"[137] with nothing more than a superficial similarity of wording and probably representing only a late corruption of the earlier tradition. But the mention of βάχχοι … κλεινοί in the Hipponion leaf suggests that this connection with poetic themes was important already in the early 4th c. BCE.[138] The image of athletic victory that is twice iterated in one of the Thurii leaves – "I came to the desired crown with swift feet" (ἱμερτῶ δ᾽ ἐπέβαν στεφάνω ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι) – should also be mentioned in this context.[139] To what effect, then, do the lamellae seem to situate themselves against this background and ideology?

One possible answer to this question, I think, lies in our understanding of *mnêmosynê*. It is perhaps not coincidental that in both the Hipponion and Rome lamellae the vocabulary of song and κλέος appear in contexts where memory's role is foregrounded. It is in the context of Archaic poetry – particularly the poet's own self-representations in Hesiod, Sappho, and Pindar – that the mythic relation between Memory and Forgetting finds its most direct articulations in early Greek thought.[140] Further, the theme of immortalization through memory is central in

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[132] *Od.* 8.577-580. See Nagy (1999) 100-101.

[133] See Nagy (1999) 94-117.

[134] *h.Apoll.* 294-299: ὣς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμείλια Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων / εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διηνεκές· αὐτὰρ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς / λάϊνον οὐδὸν ἔθηκε Τροφώνιος ἠδ᾽ Ἀγαμήδης / υἱέες Ἐργίνου, φίλοι ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν· / ἀμφὶ δὲ νηὸν ἔνασσαν ἀθέσφατα φῦλ᾽ ἀνθρώπων / κτιστοῖσιν λάεσσιν ἀοίδιμον ἔμμεναι αἰεί. See also Richardson (2010) *ad loc*: "[T]he universal character of Apollo's sanctuary is extended here to future generations, encompassing the poet's own song itself."

[135] Theogn. 249-252 (ἀλλά σε πέμψει / ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα ἰοστεφάνων· / πᾶσι δ᾽ ὅσοισι μέμηλε καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀοιδὴ / ἔσσῃ ὁμῶς, ὅφρ᾽ ἂν γῆ τε καὶ ἠέλιος…); see further discussion of this poem below.

[136] On the importance of household and city in epinician, see Kurke (1991). Places: *Ol.* 3.2 (κλεινὰν Ἀκράγαντα), 6.6-7 (συνοικιστήρ τε τᾶν κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν), 7.81 (κλεινᾷ τ᾽ ἐν Ἰσθμῷ τετράκις εὐτυχέων), 9.14 (κλεινᾶς ἐξ Ὀπόεντος); *P.* 4.280 (τὸ κλεεννότατον μέγαρον Βάττου), 9.15 (Πίνδου κλεενναῖς ἐν πτυχαῖς), 9.70 (καλλίσταν πόλιν … κλεινάν τ᾽ ἀέθλοις); *N.* 1.2 (κλεινᾶν Συρακοσσᾶν); *Is.* 2.19 (κλειναῖς <τ᾽> Ἐρεχθειδᾶν χαρίτεσσιν), 9.1 (κλεινὸς Αἰακοῦ λόγος, κλεινὰ δὲ καὶ ναυσικλυτὸς Αἴγινα); *Dith.* fr. 76 (ὦ ταὶ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ ἀοίδιμοι, Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθᾶναι); cf. Stesich. fr. 7 *PMG*, Solon fr. 19.3. People: *P.* 1.31 (κλεινὸς οἰκιστὴρ), *Is.* 9.1 (κλεινὸς Αἰακοῦ λόγος, κλεινὰ δὲ καὶ ναυσικλυτὸς Αἴγινα); cf. Alc. fr. 1.44 *PMG*. Exploits: *P.* 8.23 (ἀρεταῖς κλεινα῀σιν Αἰακιδᾶν). Poet's song: *P.* 3.114 (κλεινα῀ς ἀοιδα῀ς), *P.* 5.20 (κλεεννᾶς … παρὰ Πυθιάδος).

[137] Zuntz (1971) 335.

[138] I have referred to the Rome (A5) lamella in this context only to make the point that the set of values suggested in that text by the invocation of Mnêmosynê and song culture are in fact elements already present in the early tradition. Beyond such points of demonstrable continuity, however, the late Caecilia Secundina leaf is uncertain evidence, and I want to stress that my central argument in this chapter does not depend on it.

[139] A1.6 & 8.

[140] Hes. *Th.* 54-55, 98-103; Sapph. fr. 55, 193; Pi. *Ol.* 8.72-80, 10.1-8, *N.* 6.17-24, 7.12-17, *P.* 11.13, *Is*. 7.16-19. See further discussion below.

Classical funerary discourse: it is improbable that none of the authors, disseminators, inscribers, or owners of the lamellae texts understood their actions in relation to such normative concerns. The gift of memory promised in early Greek poetry represents an objective form of immortality rather than a continuation of individual consciousness. This is also a point of emphasis in the structural study of Vernant.[141] Yet, as we shall see, Sappho and Pindar themselves conflate these two forms of immortality, and I suggest that the lamellae situate themselves in a semantically ambiguous area where social and individual memory seem to overlap and interact. I will begin by looking at two key passages from Theognis and Sappho and considering their treatments of poetic memory, with special view to three themes: the poet's use of eschatology, the preservation or suppression of the proper name (ὄνομα), and the poem's involvement in a real or imagined context of ongoing or repeated performance. I will then turn to consider selected passages of Pindar in which objective and affective conceptions of immortality are interwoven in ways that suggest continuity with the tradition of the gold leaves.

* * *

In Greek literature's earliest programmatic description of κλέος as a gift bestowed by the poet on a recipient, Theognis boasts of giving "wings" to the ungrateful Kyrnos. Not only will the boy's fame be carried far and wide in song, but even after death his name will not be forgotten (243-7):

> … καὶ ὅταν δνοφερῆς ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης
> βῆς πολυκωκύτους εἰς Ἀΐδαο δόμους,
> οὐδέποτ᾽ οὐδὲ θανὼν ἀπολεῖς κλέος, ἀλλὰ μελήσεις
> ἄφθιτον ἀνθρώποις αἰὲν ἔχων ὄνομα,
> Κύρνε …
>
> … And when you go beneath the hollows of the murky earth into the much-lamented halls of Hades, never, not even in death, will you lose your fame, but you will possess forever a name unperishing among human beings, Kyrnos …

The interjection of the addressee's proper name (Κύρνε) immediately following ὄνομα in the preceding line – almost as though the two were in grammatical apposition (though ὄνομα here is accusative rather than vocative) – stresses the point. This name will roam abroad (στρωφώμενος) over the Greek mainland and islands and across the sea, propelled by the poet's song (ἀοιδή) and the "glorious gifts of the Muses" (ἀγλαὰ Μουσάων δῶρα), for all future mortals.[142] This passage brings together several characteristic tropes of poetic immortality: the poet's song carries fame across both spatial and temporal distance; this benefit continues after the recipient has died; and the benefits of κλέος accrue to the poet himself as well as to his object of praise.[143] The "dark" world of Hades stands in contrast with the lively sympotic contexts of song and feasting in which Kyrnos will be remembered after his death. This contrast between the

[141] Vernant (2006).

[142] Theogn. 247-251. On the motif of "turning" in early Greek song, see Nagy (1996) 37-38.

[143] This last point is explicit in Ibykos 282a.47 (καὶ σύ, Πολύκρατες, κλέος ἄφθιτον ἕξεις / ὡς κατ᾽ ἀοιδὰν καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος) and Bakkhylides 3.96-98 (σὺν δ᾽ ἀλαθ[είαι] καλῶν / καὶ μελιγλώσσου τις ὑμνήσει χάριν Κηίας ἀηδόνος); see also Griffith (1983) 40-42. Of course, Theognis's concluding rebuke of Kyrnos for ingratitude (253-254) in an obvious way deconstructs or at least recolors the earlier theme of κλέος and the claim to have preserved Kyrnos' "name." The poem has in fact made Kyrnos famous as a negative paradigm: the poet effectively praises himself and his own poetic gifts (and asserting the immortality of his own poetry) in *contrast* with his addressee's ingratitude.

eschatological obscurity of existence after death and the benefits of commemoration will become an important polarity in Classical funerary epigrams (to be explored further in Ch. 2).

A negative version of the same paradigm appears in Sappho, who in one fragment[144] addresses an "uneducated" or "uncultured" woman[145] – someone who (like Theognis's Kyrnos) has held the poet's gift in contempt, but who (unlike Kyrnos) will not benefit from the poet's Muse-inspired memorialization:

> κατθάνοισα δὲ κείσῃ οὐδέ ποτα μναμοσύνα σέθεν
> ἔσσετ᾽ οὐδὲ πόθα εἰς ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχῃς βρόδων
> τὼν ἐκ Πιερίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφάνης κἀν Ἀίδα δόμῳ
> φοιτάσῃς πεδ᾽ ἀμαύρων νεκύων ἐκπεποταμένα.
>
> But when you die you shall lie dead, nor shall there ever be any memory of you in later time; for you have no share of the roses of Pieria, but instead you shall wander to and fro unseen even in the house of Hades with the shadowy dead, once you have fluttered away.

Sappho gives special prominence to the benefits of memory (μναμοσύνα), which though unpersonified is still explicitly tied with the Muses. For Theognis, it is the voice, experienced in occasions of song and music, that is the faculty of immortality; in Sappho's telling, the addressee's descent into oblivion is marked by a loss of visibility. A popular etymology in antiquity took the name of Hades (in the form Ἀΐδης, as in this fragment) to mean "The Invisble One" – and perhaps he is understood by association as one who renders the unsung dead invisible.[146] Without the memorializing benefit of song, the woman – who, unlike the onymous Kyrnos, is nameless in our fragment – will not enjoy any continued prominence among the living, but will become obscure (ἀφάνης), assimilated without distinction to the other shadowy dead (πεδ᾽ ἀμαύρων νεκύων).[147] The anonymous woman's unproductive motion to and fro in Hades (φοιτάσῃς) contrasts with the expansive movement (στρωφώμενος) of Kyrnos' undying name in the world of the living. Sappho's addressee offers a negative paradigm that (implicitly) accentuates the special benefits of memory that are within the poet's ability to give or withhold.

The gold leaves draw in certain ways on the shared repertoire of poetic images to imagine a differentiated afterlife for their owners. Darkness and visual obscurity in the B-leaves are markers of undifferentiated existence in Hades. The moment of death is an enveloping in darkness (σκότος ἀμφικαλύψας B1.14), and the guardians of the Hipponion tablet challenge the soul by asking what it seeks in the gloomy darkness of Hades (ὅ τι δὲ ἐξερέεις Ἄϊδος σκότος ὀρφέεντος B10.9).[148] In the Thurii A4 leaf the soul must make its way after it departs from the "light of the sun" (ὁπόταμ ψυχὴ προλίπηι φάος ἀελίοιο). Darkness signals indirection as the soul encounters different Underworld paths. It is after the soul's successful confrontation with the guardians that it gains admission to the glorious (κλεινοί) company of initiates and *bakkhoi*:

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[144] Sappho fr. 55 LP.

[145] Stobaios and Plutarch describe the addressee differently: πρὸς ἀπαίδευτον γυναῖκα (Stob. 3.4.12), πρός τινα πλουσίαν (Plut. *Mor.* 145f), πρός τινα τῶν ἀμούσων καὶ ἀμαθῶν γυναικῶν (Plut. *Mor.* 646e). See discussion of Hardie (2005) 17-20.

[146] Cornutus *de Nat. Deor.* 5.147-148 (καλεῖται δὲ Ἅιδης … ὅτι καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ἀόρατός ἐστιν, ὅθεν καὶ διαιροῦντες Ἀΐδην αὐτὸν ὀνομάζομεν); cf. Pl. *Phd.* 81c (τοῦ ἀιδοῦς τε καὶ Ἅιδου): see discussion of Mazon (1928) 141 n. 1, Gernet (1981) 130. The true etymology of the name is obscure: see Chantraine s.v. Ἅιδης.

[147] Cf. Hes. *Erg.* 152-155, where the Bronze race of mortals go "nameless" (νώνυμνοι) into the house of Hades and "leave behind the shining light of the sun" (λαμπρὸν δ᾽ ἔλιπον φάος ἠελίοιο).

[148] Enveloping darkness: B1.14, B11.3. Guardians: B10.9, cf. B11.11.

there is no explicit mention of light in the initiate's new home, although the idea of light for initiates in the Underworld is common in mystery cults.[149] But a contrast between light and darkness is surely implicit, and there is a homology with the gift of κλέος and the poet's ability to preserve his/her subject from obscurity.[150] The lamellae texts recall the promises of the Eleusinian mysteries in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, where the man who has witnessed the sacred rites is blessed after death, those who have not will possess a lot of "dank gloom" (ὑπὸ ζόφωι εὐρώεντι).[151] Akhilleus in the cyclic *Aithiopis* was also translated to a blessed existence on an Elysium-like-island called Λευκή ("Whiteness" – a cognate with the Latin *lux*).[152]

In both Theognis and Sappho, however, the ideology of poetic immortality includes the idea that the poet connects the object of song with a nexus of ongoing performance. Through the Muses' gifts, Kyrnos is plugged into a divinely assured circuit of song, music, and festivity among the living that grants him immortality after his death. The gifts of the Muses promise to connect the recipient with what philosopher Samuel Scheffler terms the "collective afterlife" – that is, the ongoing social activity that he anticipates will continue after his own death.[153] No word for memory appears in the Theognis' poem, but it is clear that the "imperishable name" (ἄφθιτον … ὄνομα) will exist by being remembered in song by future singers and audiences. In Sappho's case, however, two different types of immortality are overlaid, and both are connected with performance contexts. Alex Hardie has shown that Sappho's concern with mortality in several poems – especially in a recently published Cologne papyrus fragment in which she seems to envision posthumous honors that include continued musical activity in the Underworld – reflects a fusion of poetic immortality with a conception of eschatological survival comparable to that of mystery cults.[154] In particular, Hardie argues that Sappho's thematic devotion to the Muses and her portrayal of herself and her group as members of a chorus feed into later associations of Muse-cult with eschatological preservation and the image, most prominently developed in Athenian drama, of mystic initiation through *khoreia*.[155] The language of memory in Sappho is often connected with membership in her circle, as André Lardinois has shown. The benefit of memory accrues to Sappho's named addressees not only because of her own poetry,

[149] On σκότος as a "disorienting principle" in epic, see Nagy (1999) 345. The disorientation caused by a multiplicity of Underworld paths appears in a number of sources: e.g. Pl. *Phd*. 107d-108c, *Grg.* 524a, and *Rep.* 614c. For a general study of this topic, see Edmonds (2004). On "mystic light" in the Underworld, see Cole (2003) 197-199, Seaford (2005b) and (2010).

[150] Cf. A. *Ch.* 320-322 (spoken by Orestes over the grave of Agamemnon): σκότῳ φάος ἀντίμοιρον, χάριτες δ' ὁμοίως / κέκληνται γόος εὐκλεὴς / προσθοδόμοις Ἀτρείδαις. Here the same light-darkness polarity is connected with "lament that brings κλέος" (γόος εὐκλεὴς); Kurke (1991) 67 notes parallels between this passage and Pi. *Ol.* 8.70-84 (see discussion below). On the use of lament and πένθος/ἄχος as a foil for epic κλέος, see also Nagy (1999) 94-117. There is no reason to follow Albinus (2000) 143-144 in identifying the light-darkness polarity in the B-lamellae as a specifically "Orphic" notion.

[151] *h.Cer.* 480-482: ὄλβιος ὃς τάδ' ὄπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων· / ὃς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὔ ποθ' ὁμοίων / αἶσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφωι εὐρώεντι. Albinus (2000) 172 n. 20 observes in general that traditional language of darkness and/or invisibility is applied to Hades elsewhere in the *Hymn* in contexts where the mother's mourning perspective and separation from her daughter are especially foregrounded: e.g. 68, 80, 338-339, 349-350, 402-403, 446, 464(?).

[152] Procl. *Chrest.* (p. 112 West): see Nagy (1999) 172.

[153] Scheffler (2013).

[154] Hardie (2005). The text (P.Köln 21351) was first published by Gronewald & Daniel (2004a) and (2004b): see also West (2005), and Lardinois (2008) 89-9.

[155] Hardie (2005) 14-20. Muse-Cult: see Boyancé (1937). Initiation: see also Hardie (2004) and Seaford (2013).

but because of their participation in past musical performances, which the poet hopes will be remembered in the future.[156]

This is not to disregard the obvious generic differences among the musical-poetic activities of epic, Theognis, and Sappho, or the even more obvious differences between all of these and the gold leaves. My present concern here is less with the real-life practices of epic or lyric than with the *ideology* of poetic immortality. The images of ongoing future reperformances in Theognis and Sappho are not documentary snapshots of symposia or other real-life performance practices. Rather, these all represent in different ways an ideology that emphasized ongoing performance as a context for immortalization. If the images of poetic immortality articulated in Theognis, Sappho, and other Archaic poets emphasize the nexus of future song within a privileged group, it is worth observing that the motif of continuing or repeated performance is a recurring feature of the gold leaves and their picture of mystic immortality. Of course, *symposia* and the choral or monodic genres to which Archaic lyric belongs are obviously not simply identical to the ritual performances of the gold leaves. At the ideological level, however, the parallel between Archaic song culture and Late Classical initiation ritual is a strong one: just as the poet's portrayal of imagined future performances must be understood as the presentation of a poetic ideology rather than a positivistic portrayal of early Greek song culture, the ritual performances imagined in the gold leaves are best understood as the presentation of an ideology. As with Archaic song culture, the mystic ideology is not identical with the actual practices of cults, but it is also not wholly fictional or divorced from real-life practice.

Several of the gold leaves, including some outside of the B-group, suggest that the initiate will resume cult activities in the Underworld. In the Hipponion leaf, the deceased is reunited on a sacred road with the "other … initiates and *bakkhoi*" (ἄλλοι / μύσται καὶ βάχχοι).[157] In the longer Pelinna tablet (D1), according to the now-accepted reading, the initiate possesses wine in the afterlife and is promised that for her "there await below the earth the same rites as for the other blessed ones" (κἀπιμένει σ᾽ ὑπὸ γῆν τέλεα ἄσσαπερ ὄλβιοι ἄλλοι).[158] The damaged lower portion of the Petelia leaf may contain a similar promise (following Edmonds' proposed restoration): the initiate is told that she "will conduct rites(?) with the heroes" ([τέλη σὺ μεθ᾽] ἡρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[ς]).[159] In a late 4th-c. leaf from Pherai (D5), the deceased asks to be united with cult groups of initiates (μυστῶ⟨ν⟩ θιάσους) in the Underworld.[160] This recurring motif not only corresponds to the nexus of ongoing poetic performance invoked by Theognis (though Kyrnos is not imagined as present, even when he is still alive) and the ambiguous eschatology of Sappho, but also corresponds very closely with what Richard Seaford has termed the "mystic chorus" – an image of mystery cult (often with specifically Dionysiac resonance) that seems to combine an idea of processional display with telestic secrecy.[161] The description of the initiates and *bakkhoi* processing (στείχōσι) along a sacred road (ὁδὸν… *h*ιεράν) cannot help but recall the Eleusinian Iakkhos procession, both in its historical reality and in its theatrical transposition

[156] Lardinois (2008). I broadly adhere to the ritual/institutional model of Sappho's "circle" articulated by Calame (1996) and Lardinois (1996); for debates surrounding this question, see H. Parker (1993), Bennett (1994), Lardinois (1994), and Ferrari (2010).
[157] B10.15-16.
[158] D1.6-7, according to the reading of this line accepted by most editors.
[159] On this reading, ἀνάξει[ς] derives from ἀνάγω rather than ἀνάσσω: see discussion in Edmonds (2010).
[160] D5.1 (πέμπε με πρὸς μυστῶ⟨ν⟩ θιάσους). Santamaría Álvarez in Bernabé & Jiménez (2011) also suggests that the corrupt reading Ε.ΘΙΑΣ in A4.2 should be corrected to ἐ̣ς θ̣ιάσ̣⟨ον⟩. See also Jiménez San Cristóbal (2015).
[161] Seaford (2013). Seaford's theory of mystic initiation is clearly informed by the lamellae, but his analysis of the "mystic chorus" is based more on the evidence of drama: in the article cited, he mentions the gold leaves only once (269 n. 42 – in reference to the role of *mnêmosynê*).

into the Underworld in Aristophanes' *Frogs.*[162] The mystic chorus is, in Seaford's analysis, a symbol of solidarity closely connected with the pre-enactment of death and rebirth: in its non-public aspect, it especially serves as a proleptic image of mystic community in the Underworld. (I will return to this point momentarily.) A well-known passage from Demosthenes suggests that processions belonged to the practices of smaller and less prestigious private initiation cults as well.[163] We can infer little from such poetic portrayals about the real-life practices of private initiation cults: what is worth stressing, though, is that an *idea* of ongoing future performance is important in their imaginative picture of the initiate's postmortem immortality.

One point of difference between the gold leaves and the poetic examples of Theognis and Sappho, as well as the funerary inscriptions to which we will turn in the next chapter, is the role of the proper name. None of the earliest tablets include the name of the deceased as part of the formula of identity (although some text-groups, especially in Northern Greece, begin to record proper names by the late 4th c.).[164] The link in Archaic poetics between κλέος and the preservation of the ὄνομα is entirely absent from the earliest lamellae: quite to the contrary, obtaining memory and escaping from the darkness of Hades (e.g. Ἄϊδος σκότος ὀρφέεντος B10.9) in the B-lamellae both seem, if anything, to involve a *suppression* of the initiate's proper name. The speaker of the Pharsalos leaf declares, "My name is Starry (Ἀστέριος)," but this is almost certainly a "mystic name," suggesting an assimilation of the individual with his/her lineage from "Earth and starry Sky" (Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστ(ερόεντος)) rather than a real-life name.[165] As Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal put it, "[w]ith these declarations, the initiate waives his personal name, a symbol of wordly living, and eliminates any doubts about the heavenly origin of the soul."[166] There is perhaps a parallel in the practice of hieronymy for certain high officials of the Eleusinian Mysteries, who suppressed their proper names in favor of a combination of sacred titles, patronymics, and demotics (though this practice is not well documented until the late Hellenistic period).[167] This point about the proper name in the gold leaves will be revisited at the end of this section. Adequate consideration of all the questions raised so far first requires consideration of several important passages from Pindar in which conceptions of memory and forgetting are especially thematic, and in which personal and poetic immortality are again interwoven in complex and sophisticated ways.

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[162] Ar. *Ran.* 316-459; see also Hdt. 8.65, Plut. *Them.* 258. For a review of sources and past discussion, see R. Parker (2005) 347-350 and Bremmer (2014) 5-7. Seaford (2013) 263-264 discusses the procession in relation to the theme of the "mystic chorus."

[163] Dem. 18.259-260.

[164] D4 (Thessaly, late 4th c.) includes both a proper name (Arkheboulê) and the name of either the deceased's father or her husband: see Malama & Tzifopoulos (2015). See also E4 (Pieria, late 4th c.). By contrast, the proper name is central in the shorter Hellenistic tablets: E3, 4, 6; F1, 3-13 (though some of these leaves also mention or emphasize initiate status as well: e.g. F2 features only the word μύστης).

[165] See Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 117-119, and Musti (1983) 74-75. A son of Neleus named Ἀστέριος appears in Hesiod's *Aiolidai* (fr. 33a.10 M.-W.), but this is not attested as a non-mythological proper name prior to the Imperial period (see *LGPN* s.v. Ἀστέριος). There is a place in Thessaly near Pharsalos called Ἀστέριον, but as Zuntz (1971) 367 n. 3 observes, its inhabitants are known as Ἀστεριεῖς or Ἀστεριῶται (*Il.* 2.735, Strab. 9.5.18) rather than Ἀστέριοι. Decourt (1995) 130-131 suggests that the choice of name may be connected to some degree with local tradition: though even if this is so, the choice to emphasize the name is clearly motivated by the word ἀστ(ερόεντος) in the lamellae tradition and represents an effort to assimilate the deceased to the identity-statement in the B-tradition.

[166] Bernabé & Jiménez (2011) 77.

[167] See Clinton (1974) 9-10, 22. The earliest instance of hieronymy for the Eleusinian hierophant appears in *IG* II^2 1934 (Athens, end of 4th c. BCE), though this does not yet appear to be a strictly observed practice. By the Graeco-Roman period, however, revealing the names of hieronymous officials was an act of *asebeia* akin to a violation of the Mysteries themselves: see e.g. Lucian *Lex*. 10.

Pindar in his victory odes thematizes the polarity between memory and forgetting more explicitly than any early Greek poet other than Hesiod.[168] Pindar most explicitly links the poet's Muse-inspired accuracy – that is, the poet in his role as *maître de vérité* – with the poem's memorial efficacy.[169] The victory provides the poet an occasion to remind "forgetful mortals"[170] of mythical exempla and to rescue the past achievements of the victor's family from "oblivion"[171] by "awakening their memory"[172] in human consciousness. In *Nemean* 7,[173] the poet invokes the memorializing function of his song as a *consolatio mortis*: "rich and poor both journey to the tomb of death"[174] and the "flood of Hades (κῦμ᾽ Ἀίδα) comes alike (κοινόν) upon obscure and famous,"[175] but "honor comes about for those whose fine story a god amplifies (αὔξει) after they have died."[176] Death is democratic, but memory differentiates. Indeed, it is the *only* possibility of differentiation even for exceptional individuals: even those who perform great deeds will fall into dark obscurity (σκότον πολύν) without Mnêmosynê and the Muses:[177] songs that bring κλέος (κλειναῖς ἀοιδαῖς)[178] render mortal achievements durable. These are all traditional ideas: the connection of memory and immortality articulated in *Nemean* 7 and other *epinikia* is only a more forceful development of an idea already present in Homer and given programmatic expression by Sappho and Theognis. The gnomic insistence that death is common to all, and the truism that memorialization is the only form of differentiated or exceptional postmortem existence available to mortals, are both commonplaces of mortuary language later

[168] See generally Simondon (1982) 119-127.

[169] E.g. *Ol.* 10.4-7 (where the poet begins with an acknowledgment that his poem is late): ὦ Μοῖσ᾽, ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ θυγάτηρ / Ἀλάθεια Διός, ὀρθᾷ χερί / ἐρύκετον ψευδέων / ἐνιπὰν ἀλιτόξενον. Note Simondon (1982) 127: "Pindare est le seul à avoir explicitement uni les deux visages de la Muse qui révèle et qui glorifie, car il n'y a de revelation que du vrai et le discours vrai est la condition même de toute perpétuation."

[170] *Is.* 7.17: ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γάρ / εὖδει χάρις, ἀμνάμονες δὲ βροτοί, / ὅ τι μὴ σοφίας ἄωτον ἄκρον / κλυταῖς ἐπέων ῥοαῖσιν ἐξίκηται ζυγέν…

[171] *N.* 6.17-24: κεῖνος γὰρ Ὀλυμπιόνικος ἐὼν Αἰακίδαις / ἔρνεα πρῶτος <ἔνεικεν> ἀπ᾽ Ἀλφεοῦ, / καὶ πεντάκις Ἰσθμοῖ στεφανωσάμενος, / Νεμέᾳ δὲ τρεῖς, ἔπαυσε λάθαν / Σαοκλείδα᾽, ὃς ὑπέρτατος / Ἀγησιμάχοι᾽ ὑέων γένετο· / ἐπεί οἱ τρεῖς ἀεθλοφόροι πρὸς ἄκρον ἀρετᾶς / ἦλθον, οἵ τε πόνων ἐγεύσαντο. Cf. *P.* 11.13: χάριν ἀγῶνί τε Κίρρας, / ἐν τῷ Θρασυδᾶος ἔμνασεν ἑστίαν / τρίτον ἔπι στέφανον πατρῴαν βαλών, / ἐν ἀφνεαῖς ἀρούραισι Πυλάδα / νικῶν ξένου Λάκωνος Ὀρέστα. See Simondon (1982) 120: "L'exploit du vainqueur ou le chant de poète ravivent donc un mérite oublié, le remittent en mémoire."

[172] Pi. *Ol.* 8.72-80: ἀλλ᾽ ἐμὲ χρὴ μναμοσύναν ἀνεγείροντα φράσαι / χειρῶν ἄωτον Βλεψιάδαις ἐπίνικον, / ἔκτος οἷς ἤδη στέφανος περίκειται / φυλλοφόρων ἀπ᾽ ἀγώνων. See Simondon (1982) 123.

[173] It is beyond my scope to deal with the textual and interpretive difficulties of this ode, which in any case have little bearing on the passage in question: see discussions by Segal (1967) and Carey (1981).

[174] *N.* 7.20-21: ἀφνεὸς πενιχρός τε θανάτου παρά / σᾶμα νέονται.

[175] *N.* 7.30-31: ἀλλὰ κοινὸν γὰρ ἔρχεται / κῦμ᾽ Ἀίδα, πέσε δ᾽ ἀδόκητον / ἐν καὶ δοκέοντα... (The words ἀδόκητον and δοκέοντα may equally be translated "the unexpecting" and "the expecting," but this ambiguity does not have much bearing on the present point.) The word κῦμα is especially common in Homer and may additionally suggest the hateful anonymity of a death at sea: cf. e.g. *Od.* 23.233-238, where Odysseus is compared after his mutual recognition with Penelope to the few surviving sailors of a shipwreck who have found their way to shore and escaped (ἐξέφυγον) from the stormy and grey swell (κύματι πηγῷ).

[176] *N.* 7.31-32: …τιμὰ δὲ γίνεται / ὧν θεὸς ἁβρὸν αὔξει λόγον τεθνακότων. It is worth noting that in the context of the ode Pindar has just claimed that Homer's poetic skill produced an exaggerated account of Odysseus' sufferings (πλέον᾽ … λόγον Ὀδυσσέος ἢ πάθαν 20-21) and that Ajax was too great a warrior to have killed himself on account of Akhilleus' armor: the poet's ability to "amplify" the *logos* of his subject is also implicitly a cause for competition among different poets' *logoi*, as Pindar himself perhaps suggests immediately following this passage, when he announces that he will perform this service (βοαθοῶν) for Neoptolemos at Delphi (33-34).

[177] Pi. *N.* 7.12-17: εἰ δὲ τύχῃ τις ἔρδων, μελίφρον᾽ αἰτίαν / ῥοαῖσι Μοισᾶν ἐνέβαλε· ταὶ μεγάλαι γὰρ ἀλκαί / σκότον πολὺν ὕμνων ἔχοντι δεόμεναι· / ἔργοις δὲ καλοῖς ἔσοπτρον ἴσαμεν ἑνὶ σὺν τρόπῳ, / εἰ Μναμοσύνας ἔκατι λιπαράμπυκος / εὕρηται ἄποινα μόχθων / κλυταῖς ἐπέων ἀοιδαῖς. See Simondon (1982) 122-123.

[178] Pi. *P.* 3.114; cf. *N.* 7.17 (κλυταῖς ἐπέων ἀοιδαῖς). See Simondon (1982) 123 & n. 107.

reflected in inscribed epitaphs.[179] At the same time, the wide range of overlapping criteria that Pindar typically invokes in memorialization – not only the victor's individual accomplishments in a given contest, but also his family, ancestors, wealth, divine favor, the myths associated with his home city, etc. – suggest that his poetics of memory is flexible enough to accommodate several mechanisms of immortality at once.[180]

Images of triumph and funeral are densely interwoven in Pindaric *epinikia*.[181] The poet's praise is frequently likened to a libation, which is ambiguously associated with either the occasion of the symposium or with ritual offerings at the grave.[182] The poet declares in *Nemean* 8 that, although he cannot restore the victor's dead father to life, he can leave behind his song as if it were a commemorative inscription or tombstone – a "resounding stone of the Muses" (λάβρον … λίθον Μοισαῖον)[183] – that will preserve memory of the family's distinguished athletic history. The poet's ultimate object of praise is the entire *oikos* of the victor,[184] and he is frequently keen to bring news of the athlete's triumph into the Underworld so his deceased relations may share in their kinsman's glory.[185] In *Olympian* 8, the poet says that the athlete's victory has breathed new strength (μένος) into his grandfather, and he declares that a man "indeed forgets Hades" (Ἀίδα τοι λάθεται) who has performed fitting deeds – a gnomic inversion of the popular image of Hades as the realm of oblivion.[186] The lines of communication activated by the poet thus include a special connection between the living and the dead. The κλέος of the living victor is frequently shared by relations in the Underworld, and the victor benefits from the remembered κλέος of his ancestors. As Charles Segal has observed, the performance itself is one in which the deceased are themselves imagined to participate with enjoyment.[187]

Pindar invokes more animated conceptions of the soul and individual afterlife on several occasions – not only in his θρῆνοι, where such emphasis might be expected,[188] but in several *epinikia* as well. *Isthmian* 6 was one of three odes (with *Nemean* 5 and *Isthmian* 5) written for two sons of Lampon from Aigina. In the closing lines (74-75), the poet seems (as Christopher

[179] See further discussion in Ch. 2.

[180] Thus Simondon (1982) 123: "Les sources de la gloire sont multiples: dues aux bienfaits des dieux et au mérite de l'homme, ce sont la richesse, l'honneur, la naissance et l'origine, la ville faisant la gloire du héros et le héros celle de la ville, la race, qui prédispose à la gloire ou qui retrouve, grâce à l'un de ses descendants un prestige oublié, ce sont surtout les exploits individuels et particulièrement les victoires au jeux. La gloire agonistique, ἀγώνιον εὖχος, constitue la matière privilégiée des hymnes qui lui assurent vie et durée."

[181] See discussion of Segal (1985).

[182] See Segal (1985) 202-203, 208; Kurke (1991) 62-82 discusses the ambivalence of the libation as a symbol of renewal of the household in both funeral (revival of the κλέος of ancestors) and new birth of an heir (the victor's achievement and survival of the *oikos*) – noting also the structural analogy with symbolic "rebirth" in initiation ritual (71). On the oikocentric character of post-burial obligations and ritual maintenance of the tomb, see R. Parker (2005) 23-36.

[183] *N.* 8.44-48. See Kurke (1991) 45-46.

[184] See Kurke (1991) 15-34 (and *passim*).

[185] Examples include *Ol.* 8.77-84, 14.20-22; *P.* 5.94-103; *Is.* 6.62-66. The theme has been studied by Segal (1985), with important further observations by Faraone (2002). An obvious comparison is the passage from the Homeric *nekyia* where Akhilleus asks Odysseus for news of his son Neoptolemos (*Od.* 11.492-540).

[186] *Ol.* 8.72-73. See Kurke (1991) 65.

[187] E.g. *Ol.* 8.74-84; see Segal (1985) 208 (and *passim*), Kurke (1991) 65-67. Compare the 5th-c. Attic *skolion* addressed to the deceased Harmodios and promising him a heroic afterlife in the Isles of the Blessed (*PMG* 894); Alexiou (2002) 105 calls this "an excellent illustration of how a song may be sympotic, with a political theme, and at the same time an address to the dead."

[188] E.g. Pi. frr. 129, 130, 131a S.-M. (all from the same dirge), with discussion by Livrea (2011). For more general discussions of Pindaric *thrênoi* and the lament tradition, see Reiner (1938) 83-99 and Fera (1990). It is uncertain whether fr. 133 (the "Orphic" scheme of reincarnation and recompense to Persephone) or fr. 137 (an Eleusinian *makarismos*) come from a *thrênos*, though this is assumed by most commentators.

Faraone has persuasively argued)[189] to allude to the lamellae tradition by offering the father of the victorious athlete a drink from the sacred water (ἁγνὸν ὕδωρ) of Dirke, which the "deep-girdled daughters of golden-robed Memory" (βαθύζωνοι κόραι χρυσοπέπλου Μναμοσύνας) cause to surge outside the gates of Thebes. Pindar frequently likens his poetry in its immortalizing function to a stream or spring – an image that reappears in Classical funeral epigraphy.[190] Here he seems to have combined this characteristic image with the mystic waters of Mnêmosynê that appear in the lamellae. Faraone sees this as an extension of the well-attested motif of the father's happiness on the occasion of the son's victory: on this interpretation, the waters of Memory signify both the poetic immortality granted to the family by the poet through his song and the memory that Lampon will retain of his son's victory in the afterlife.

Pindar's *Olympian* 2 was written (together with *Olympian* 3) in celebration of the tyrant Theron of Akragas' victory in the chariot race in 476.[191] The central portion of the ode (56-77) describes an eschatological arrangement that anticipates aspects of the gold leaves and Plato's myth of Er.[192] The poet has praised Theron for his appropriate use and display of wealth (53-56).[193] But there is an additional benefit for any man who possesses such wealth and also knows what is to come (i.e. after death): souls of those who die immediately pay a penalty and suffer for their wrongdoings – or, if they are righteous, are rewarded with a pleasant and toil-free life (56-67). A third group, who have lived "three times on either side" (ἐστρίς ἑκατέρωθι – i.e. on Earth and in Hades)[194] while keeping their souls entirely free from injustice, proceed along the road of Zeus to the "tower of Kronos," where they enjoy an idyllic existence on the Island of the Blessed. Pindar describes this last destination at greatest length.[195]

This last pair of images – the Isle(s) of the Blessed and Kronos – are familiar motifs from the epic tradition (though the "tower" of Kronos is otherwise unattested), but they appear here in connection with a mystical scheme reminiscent of the gold leaves. The third group of souls, comparable to the mystic initiates of the lamellae or the just souls of Plato's myth, obtain a special benefit beyond the ordinary dispensation of punishment and reward that had by now become a conventional element of Greek eschatology.[196] Hugh Lloyd-Jones noted that Pindar's special afterlife seems to fuse an Orphic-Pythagorean belief in metempsychosis and an exceptional afterlife with the Homeric and Hesiodic image of the Isles of the Blessed as the postmortem abode of legendary heroes. Even the special afterlife and scheme of reincarnation, as Lloyd-Jones points out, are "couched in heroic terms."[197] The specialized three-part eschatology is framed within the ode by the praise of Theron's wealth and generosity: the poet implies (with an indirectness characteristic of potentially excessive claims) that his subject may win a happy

[189] Faraone (2006); the resemblance was observed in passing by Simondon (1982) 123-4. A possible allusion to the lamellae tradition in *Is.* 6 is not incompatible with Pindar's characteristic habit of referring to landmarks from his native Thebes: see Berman (2015) 58-59.
[190] See Simondon (1982) 123: "Les images de la source qui abreuve ou du monument impérissable traduisent bien la caractère durable de la gloire et la fonction d'immortalisation." Cf. *CEG* 548.6 (ἄφθονον εὐλογίας πηγήν, 4th c. Attica), with discussion by Tsagalis (2008) 145-146, 162-163 and below in Ch. 2.
[191] Lloyd-Jones (1990) convincingly interprets *Ol.* 2 in terms of an Orphic background similar to the gold leaves.
[192] See Graf & Johnston (2013) 100-105.
[193] A conventional epinician theme: e.g. Pi. *P.* 2.52-61, 5.1-4, 6.47-49; Bakkhylides 3. See Kurke (1991) 163-224.
[194] It is impossible from the text to determine whether the individual spends three lifetimes each on Earth and in Hades (for a total of six), or whether s/he goes from Earth to Hades to Earth (for a total of three lives): see discussion of Lloyd-Jones (1990) 94 n. 37.
[195] Cf. similar description of the afterlife in fr. 129 (thought to come from a *thrênos*).
[196] See GJ 100, who characterize the ode's tripartite eschatology in terms of "bad," "good," and "good-plus."
[197] Lloyd-Jones (1990) 102; see 101-103. Cf. Burkert (1985) 301: "Pindar is in a position to propound the doctrine of transmigration according to the predilections of his Sicilian patrons without infringing upon the traditional, aristocratic system."

place in the afterlife – presumably in the heroic realm with Kadmos, Peleus, and Akhilleus – as an extension of the κλέος that he enjoys from his present victory, his acceptable use of wealth, and the poet's song.

This fusion of individual and objective immortality in *Olympian* 2 is worth noting. As we have already seen, it is characteristic of Pindaric victory odes that the praise of the *laudandus* is often overdetermined: for this reason alone, it is unsurprising that Pindar, especially when writing for Western Greek patrons, is able to interweave eschatological motifs of an Orphic-Pythagorean inflection with more conventional epinician tropes (such as the praise of wealth) and epic hero-imagery (the Isles of the Blessed). Yet the examples of the Hipponion leaf, *Olympian* 2, and *Isthmian* 6 should all warn us against naturalizing such categories as "individual" and "social" immortality. The evidence of Pindar certainly indicates that elites of the sort who competed in Panhellenic contests and commissioned *epinikia* also saw value in being publicly associated with eschatological myths of immortality: if poetic praise can bring about immortality, so immortality can be a reason for praise. There is no reason, then, to assume that adherents of eschatological cults eschewed conventional poetic conceptions of immortality. Concern with one's continued existence after death is a characteristically elite preoccupation, and private mystery cults seem to have appealed most strongly to elite concerns, ideologies, and sensibilities.[198] Adeimantos's description of Orphic initiators in the *Republic* makes it clear that such specialists sought their clientele among the wealthy.[199] The genre of *epinikia* had largely died out by the time of the earliest gold leaves, but there is no reason to believe that a ritual practice in which the deceased affirmed kinship with the gods and assumed a new heroic *persona* in the afterlife would not have appealed to the same elite mentality. As Edmonds remarks about private initiations in general, "The traditional ways to obtain a favored afterlife, heroic deeds or divine parentage, are, of course, not feasible options for most people, but these *teletai* offer a way to create this special connection with the gods that only mythic heroes could otherwise obtain."[200] The evidence of the gold leaves and the poetic *comparanda* reviewed in this section suggest that individual and social conceptions of immortality in the late Archaic and Classical periods could appeal to similar segments of society and that their values and vocabulary were mutually intelligible and ultimately even mutually reinforcing.[201]

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[198] Noted by Graf (1993) 255-256; *contra* the comment of Burkert (1985) 302 that "Orphism, like other sects, probably appealed to the class of the small man most of all." On personal immortality as a charactersitically elite concern, see also Redfield (1991) and (Edmonds (2011b), as well as the comparative discussion of Assmann (2005) 389-406. The appeals to elite and wealthy clients among private initiators are to be contrasted with the relative egalitarianism of the sanctuary-based mysteries of Eleusis and Samothrace, which were open to women and to all social classes, including non-citizens and even slaves.

[199] *Rep*. 2.364b-365a.

[200] Edmonds (2013a) 214; see also Redfield (1991), Edmonds (2010a), and Herrero (2011).

[201] One additional piece of evidence from the ritual realm deserves mention here. A fragment of Ephoros (mid-4th c. BCE) preserved in Strabo's *Geography* (*FrGH* 70 F 149 = Strab. 10.4.16-22) describes pederastic rituals of Crete that include the mock-abduction of a boy by an older lover. The boy and his captor remain in the wilderness for up to two months ("eating and hunting"), after which they return to the city and the boy is released. Their return is marked by sacrifice and exchanges of gifts, including fine clothes that the boy may continue wearing into adulthood: "Even after they have become full-grown (τέλειοι γενόμενοι), they wear distinctive dress, from which each one will be recognized (γνωσθήσεται) as *kleinos* (κλεινὸς γενόμενος): for they call the boy *kleinos*, and the lover *philêtôr*." Just how ancient or widespread this custom was in Ephoros's time is uncertain. The very idea of "becoming τέλειος/ κλεινός" assumes a ritual framework, and the ritual described by Ephoros follows a familiar initiatory pattern of liminal separation followed by reintegration. For our purposes, it is worth noting that the word κλεινός is used to designate a public recognition of the boy's initiatory status (the effects of which are literally worn as a garment). A conceptually similar kind of "recognition" within the cult group, I argue, is implied by the word κλεινοί in the Hipponion tablet: see further in §V below. See discussions of the Ephoros fragment by Willetts (1965) 115-118,

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We return now to the problem of the proper name and its apparent suppression in the early gold leaves. Why are these initiates mostly anonymous? And what do *mnêmosynê* and *kleos* accomplish for the deceased, if not the preservation of his or her name? These questions were addressed by both Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli and Domenico Musti in studies that have been cited above (§II). In his first edition of the Hipponion tablet, Pugliese Carratelli read the word ἠρίον ("tomb") and detected an allusion to the traditional epitaphic *incipit* in the opening phrase of the text (μναμοσύνας τόδε ἐρίον). A proper funerary inscription would include the name of the deceased, but the proper name does not appear in any of the early A- or B- lamellae, and (as noted above) the Pharsalos leaf even makes a point of replacing the deceased's name with the mystic name Ἀστέριος ("Starry").[202] Musti, too, noted the suppression of the proper name, and drew a contrast with the inclusion of the name in the much later Caecilia Secundina leaf.[203] Pugliese Carratelli suggested that this anonymity might be significant for the opening phrase of the Hipponion leaf: "Μναμοσύνας τόδε ἠρίον sounds like an announcement of the consecration of the *mystês* (for whom the name that marked him on earth no longer matters, and which in [the Pharsalos tablet] is substituted with the name "Celestial," Ἀστέριος) to the goddess…"[204] Although Pugliese Carratelli understood *mnêmosynê* in terms of Pythagorean metempsychosis, his observation about the apparent "consecration" of the initiate through renaming or anonymization remains valid for my interpretation and has significant implications for understanding the social process represented by the lamellae. The suppression of the proper name – rather than preserving the name in social memory, as an ordinary funeral μνῆμα would seek to do – recalls the more conventional ways in which burial (and especially the deposition of grave goods) often functioned as a new promulgation of social identity that could reinforce, transform, or elide aspects of the deceased's identity that would have been important in life.[205] This is especially observable in the case of gender: as archaeologists have developed the ability to determine the biological sex of skeletal remains with increasing accuracy from the bones themselves rather than inferring this from grave goods, it is increasingly noticeable that gender differentiation may be either suppressed or accentuated in burial according to local or group practice.[206]

Musti, writing a few years after the publication of the Hipponion lamella, followed Pugliese Carratelli in noting the significance of the new tablet for the interpretation of memory in the gold leaves.[207] Musti still allowed that *mnêmosynê* first and foremost designated an active individual faculty and the retention of initiatory precepts. But memory further seemed to involve

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Dover (1978) 189-190, and Bremmer (1980) 283-287; on the possible historical links between puberty initiation and mystery cults, see also Seaford (1981). (I thank Mark Griffith for bringing this fragment to my attention.)

[202] Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 118, Musti (1984) 75 and (2005) 196.

[203] Musti (1984) 74-75.

[204] Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 118: "Μναμοσύνας τόδε ἠρίον suona come annunzio della consacrazione del *mystes* (del quale non più importa il nome che in terra lo distingueva, e che in *Ph* [i.e. the Pharsalos leaf] viene sostituito dal nome "celeste" Ἀστέριος) alla dea che gli assicura la perennità di quel vitale sapere che l'ha affrancato dall'iterarsi di nascita e morte, dal destino comune agli altri mortali…"

[205] The phrase "promulgation of identity" is borrowed from Shepherd (2013) 547.

[206] Shepherd (2013) 548. For a discussion of these issues in the archaeology of gender, see Arnold & Wicker (2001), Parker Pearson (2003) 95-102, Arnold (2006), Brumfiel (2006) 38-40, and Shepherd (*op. cit.*). Unfortunately, none of the specific areas where the lamellae have been found has benefitted from the large-scale quantitative analyses of local burials that would allow examination of the lamellae against the local mortuary record more generally: see e.g. Redfield (2003) 203-227 on the state of archaeological exploration at Lokri Epizephyrii. The studies of the Hellenistic Cretan tablets by Tzifopoulos (2010) and (2011) gives some suggestion of the insights that might be gained if such a study of the Italian and Northern Greek tablets were feasible.

[207] Musti (1984) 73-75, (2005) 195-196.

a *passive* attachment between the deceased and a larger community of initiates. This community in turn has two aspects: one appears in the eschatological realm, with the *mystai* whose company the deceased joins; and the other is the surviving ritual community among whom the individual's memory is preserved. (The Caecilia Secundina tablet seems to have expressed this last aspect in more conventional form than the earlier lamellae by recording the deceased's name: the adjective ἀοίδιμος and the tablet's self-designation as a "gift of Mnêmosynê" thus refer ambiguously to Caecilia's postmortem apotheosis or preservation of earthly identity – or perhaps suggest a form of apotheosis in which her earthly identity is maintained.[208]) Vocabulary such as κλεινός must reflect the perspective of the living ritual performers – indeed, it seems to be this ritual community that experiences κλέος from the initiate's heroization in the Underworld.[209] Thus *mnêmosynê*, as in Archaic poetry, implicates the deceased in an ongoing nexus of performance: it connects the ritual of initiation performed in the initiate's lifetime, the ritual community of the "mystic chorus" in the Underworld, and the real-life ritual group that affirms the deceased's ritual identity in burial.

The suppression of gender and the anonymization of the initiate in the gold leaves can thus be understood, like other forms of mortuary ritual, as a process for the management of identity.[210] The ritual assertion of mystic identity in death finds an analogue in the myth of Plato's *Gorgias*, where the Underworld judges confronting the souls of the deceased have no knowledge of their earthly identities but differentiate them by the criteria of their psychic affections. Since a large percentage of the tablets, perhaps a majority, seem to have been buried in women's graves, the consistent suppression of the name and the frequent suppression of gender may serve an important strategic function in enabling female initiates to adopt more readily a revision of identity in heroic and epic terms.[211] It is also clear that this revision of identity is a process managed by the ritual group that "consecrates" the initiate after her death. It is worth stressing that the suppression of the name varies among the sub-groups of the lamellae, some of which (as noted above) begin to record the deceased's name and gender in the later 4th c. BCE. Thus the treatment of both the name and gender of the deceased varies according to the interests of local groups and *orpheotelestai*. Like other forms of socially managed identity, the gold leaves and their eschatology are the result of a process of selection and amplification of the deceased's traits to emphasize his/her credentials for immortality.

Once again, the temporal dynamics of mystic initiation identified by Seaford find a parallel in the processes of poetic memory that produce κλέος for the epinician victor, his ancestors, and his community. In epinician, *mnêmosynê* places the *laudandus* at a temporal crossroads between past excellence and future glory.[212] The victor's immortality is conferred through both the continuing circuit of poetic performance and through the revived glory of the *oikos*. Glory redounds to the poet himself as well, insofar as his fame is bound up

[208] Musti (1984) 74-75.

[209] A further analogy with epinician can be sketched out: if we accept that the basic function of *epinikia* was to reintegrate the victor into the social world of his home town (per Kurke [1991]) so that both his city and family could share in the κλέος of his victory, we can also see that the deceased initiate's reception in the mystic chorus serves as a kind of "reintegration" into the ritual community and brings glory to the living community insofar as it allows them to represent the value of their own cult activities.

[210] On gender distinction in the gold leaves, see Graf (1993) 255, Edmonds (2004) 65-69, and BJ 59, 99.

[211] See similar observation by Edmonds (2004) 53-54. It is beyond the scope of this chapter to wade into the debates surrounding the role of women in Western Greek society and its possible contrast with the status of women in Athens (for which we have the most evidence): Shepherd (2012) offers an overview of the issue and its evidentiary difficulties.

[212] Simondon (1982) 122: "Mnémosyne a deux visage, l'un tourné vers le passé, l'autre vers l'avenir; la même figure mythique préside aussi bien à la consécration de la gloire future qu'à la revelation des anciens exploits" (in part quoted above at the head of this chapter).

with that of the *laudandus* and he is privileged to bring the benefits of *mnêmosynê* on the object of his song. I suggest that the language of the gold leaves alludes to an analogous dynamic, though the real-life practice of mystery initiation obviously differs in significant respects from the performance of epinician and other lyric genres. Despite these practical differences, the lamellae texts at an ideological level recognize the deceased at the center of a process of memory that structurally resembles the circuits of praise imagined in Archaic poetry. In poetic utterance, the initiate's credentials – ancestry, connection with the cult group, and affinity with the mystic chorus – are all expressed and asserted. The deceased is presented to a "spectatorship" that can recognize one of its members as κλεινός (or ἥρως) and grant him/her a place in the mystical community that is the imaginary counterpart of the real-life cult group. As we saw in the case of the Entella leaf, the act of remembering is verbally connected with the deceased's heroic identity (μεμνημένος ἥρως): in other words, it is in his or her own act of "memory" in the Underworld that the deceased asserts an identity that is "memorable" to the cult group. The power and excellence of the cult is enhanced as well in this process, since it is the group that performs and ratifies the immortality of the deceased by selecting and emphasizing traits deserving of immortality. "Memory" in this extended sense is not just an act of the individual, but also a benefit conferred on the deceased by the group: in the Rome lamella, it is the "gift of memory" bestowed on the deceased that is called ἀοίδιμον ἀνθρώποισιν.[213]

§V. Memory and Forgetting in Death-Ritual

"Eschatology" – the imagining of what happens to the individual consciousness after death, and of the world inhabited by whatever remains of the personalities of those who have died – is by definition concerned with the limits and extremes (ἔσχατα) of mortal experience.[214] Because these limits are only approached from "our" side, all imagined postmortem worlds necessarily reflect our own in their shape, content, and detail. Yet this relation between the real world and the imaginary beyond will manifest itself differently in different contexts – whether to replicate, reinforce, or challenge the real-world society in which it is imagined.[215] Eschatology as a habit of imagination thus also has a social character: it relies on a more-or-less shared stock of imagery, and it is guided by the shared values and concerns of those social groups who do the imagining. In these respects, eschatology operates much like memory, and I want to suggest in the final section of this chapter that eschatology of the kind found in the gold leaves can be productively approached as a type of memory-process of the kind examined in contemporary Memory Studies.

In poetry and in popular belief, the soul exists to be *visualized*. In epic, the souls of the dead are often presented as objects of real or imaginative vision.[216] Emily Vermeule observed

[213] On group self-represenation in the gold leaves, see further discussion in Ch. 2.

[214] See Albinus (2000) 9. The term "eschatology" seems to be derived from the "four last things" of Roman Catholic theology: in the theological discourse of the major monotheistic religions, it is used primarily in reference to beliefs about the fate of the cosmic order (i.e. the last judgment, etc.) rather than the postmortem fate of the individual.

[215] See Edmonds (2004) 4-24.

[216] Akhilleus marvels at the "soul and image" (ψυχὴ καὶ εἴδωλον) of Patroklos that appears to him in a dream (*Il.* 23.97-104), Theoklymenos proleptically sees the souls (εἰδώλων) of the suitors shortly before they are killed (*Od.* 20.351-357), and Proklos relates that the εἴδωλον of Akhilleus appeared (ἐπιφανέν) to the Akhaians in the cyclic *Nostoi* (*Chrest.* 293 Severyns). The contrast between the soul's visibility and its insubstantial nature is important in both Akhilleus' interaction with Patroklos (above) and Odysseus' encounter with his mother Antikleia (he attempts and fail to grasp the visible εἴδωλα of the deceased: *Od.* 11.204-214). The postmortem bilocation of Herakles (11.601-629), whose εἴδωλον is present in Hades while he himself (αὐτός) is with the gods on Olympos, is similarly consistent with the idea that the soul in Hades is at least potentially an object of vision and memory. He appears in the guise of a hunter, and notably recounts to Odysseus his labor of retrieving Kerberos from Hades – a

that the mythical Hades, though he presided over the world of the dead, was never an agent of death in the Greek artistic and literary imagination but rather a "king of remembered images."[217] The Underworld in Greek thought can be understood as a kind of visual archive for poetic or commemorative memory. Homer and Pindar, as we have seen, both in different ways draw upon this archive. Lars Albinus claims that the Homeric ψυχή serves as a kind of imaginative memory-object – an "invisible" or eschatological counterpart to the visible funeral mound – but the visuality of the ψυχή in Greek thought is a complex matter.[218] Socrates in Plato's *Phaedo* alludes to a conventional understanding of the "visible" soul when he speaks of the excessive "corporeality" of those souls that are thought to haunt tombs and grave markers:

> And you must suppose, my friend, that this corporeal element is weighty and heavy, earthy and visible. Indeed such a soul that has this is weighed down and dragged back to the visible world (εἰς τὸν ὁρατὸν) by fear of both the invisible (τοῦ ἀιδοῦς) and Hades (Ἅιδου), so it's said, circling aimlessly among the tombstones and graves, among which indeed some shadowy apparitions (σκιοειδῆ φαντάσματα) of souls have actually been seen (δὴ καὶ ὤφθη), the kind of images (εἴδωλα) that such souls produce that have not been released in a pure state, but having a share in the visible (τοῦ ὁρατοῦ μετέχουσαι) can thus be seen.[219]

The pairing of the "somatic" soul with the grave memorials (τὰ μνήματά τε καὶ τοὺς τάφους) suggests not only that the soul is an object to be "seen," but also that it is generically linked (like tombstones) with the body, and that it participates in the processes of memory and commemoration that belong to the world of the tomb. To this set of images Socrates adds the popular etymology of Hades as the region of "unseeing" (τοῦ ἀιδοῦς … Ἅιδου). Pindar, as we have seen, uses the Underworld as a repository of the familial κλέος that can be renewed and illuminated by the poet under the authorization of the Muses. The visual aspect of the soul in Greek eschatology reflects this same element of "spectatorship" inherent in social processes of memory, especially in mortuary contexts. Even a mortuary practice that is not intended for a public audience, such as the inscription and deposition of the gold leaves, must involve some degree of spectatorship within the smaller social groups that perform rituals of initiation and burial.

The relational character of eschatology is partly expressed through its connections with mortuary ritual. Details of eschatology in popular belief – including some motifs that appear in the gold leaves, such as the soul's forgetfulness and thirst in the Underworld – often correspond to concrete actions of graveside ritual. The soul's thirst, as found in the gold leaves and in Plato's

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"memorializing" summary of his conventional earthly exploits without any allusion to his divine or heroic aspect (*Od.* 11.601-627).

[217] Vermeule (1979) 37.

[218] Albinus (2000) 60, 66-89 (esp. 79-82) – though Albinus elsewhere (148-149) draws too sharp a distinction between the respective functions of the ψυχή in Homeric and Orphic "discourses" when he assumes that the soul in "Orphic" contexts is not a "memory-image." Of course, because the *Iliad* is a poem in which soul and tomb both are entirely textual entities, the soul of Patroklus is no less "visible" to Homer's audience than the tomb. On the non-physical character of epic ψυχαί, see Johnston (1999) 141-142 (and *passim*).

[219] Pl. *Phd.* 81c-d (trans. Emlyn-Jones & Preddy, slightly adapted): ἐμβριθὲς δέ γε, ὦ φίλε, τοῦτο οἴεσθαι χρὴ εἶναι καὶ βαρὺ καὶ γεῶδες καὶ ὁρατόν· ὃ δὴ καὶ ἔχουσα ἡ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ βαρύνεταί τε καὶ ἕλκεται πάλιν εἰς τὸν ὁρατὸν τόπον φόβῳ τοῦ ἀιδοῦς τε καὶ Ἅιδου, ὥσπερ λέγεται, περὶ τὰ μνήματά τε καὶ τοὺς τάφους κυλινδουμένη, περὶ ἃ δὴ καὶ ὤφθη ἄττα ψυχῶν σκιοειδῆ φαντάσματα, οἷα παρέχονται αἱ τοιαῦται ψυχαὶ εἴδωλα, αἱ μὴ καθαρῶς ἀπολυθεῖσαι ἀλλὰ τοῦ ὁρατοῦ μετέχουσαι, διὸ καὶ ὁρῶνται. On ghosts in Greek popular belief, see Bremmer (1983) 108-123, Burkert (1985) 195, and Johnston (1999) 27-28 (and *passim*).

Myth of Er, is a widespread Mediterranean idea, and as a liquid image echoes the libations poured at the grave at regular intervals.[220] We have already seen that Pindar tends to assimilate the ritual of funerary libation with the gift of memory conferred by the poet.[221] The declaration in the Pelinna tablets that the deceased has wine as her fortunate honor (τιμή) may allude to a practice of graveside libation, as Fritz Graf and other scholars have suggested.[222] The image of Hades as a realm of oblivion in the lamellae, which appears already in the Homeric Land of the Dead, similarly has roots in ritual norms.[223] There was significant ambiguity in popular belief during the Classical period as to whether the ordinary dead are aware of or responsive to the attentions of the living: but in general the forgetfulness of the souls in Hades seems to symbolize a loosening of the connection with their former life and the world of the living – a basic concern of mortuary ritual, as Hertz showed.[224] Even poetic and artistic depictions of Hades, such as those of Homer and Polygnotos, often appear within a ritual frame.[225] The importance of lament – the γόος performed by female relations of the deceased as well as the θρῆνος sung by professional male mourners – as a performance context for the expression and development of eschatological concepts in popular belief should not be overlooked.[226] It is notable that several of our most vivid portrayals of the afterlife, including some seemingly marginal or "Orphic" ideas, appear in composed θρῆνοι and other choral songs of Pindar.[227] The lamellae texts themselves were certainly intended for oral performance, and it is a reasonable supposition that some of their eschatological imagery found expression in the context of burial.[228]

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[220] Pl. *Rep.* 10.621a. On the motif in the ancient Mediterranean, see Deonna (1939), Zuntz (1971) 370-371, Vermeule (1979) 57-58, Díez de Velasco (1995) 135, Most (1997) 132-134 (in reference to heat and the role of the sun in the Derveni Papyrus), and Assmann (2005) (with attention to Egyptian materials). See A. *Ch.* 483-493, Eur. *Hec.* 535-541 (the deceased is called to come drink the libation); also Luc. *Luct.* 9 and *Char.* 22, *AP* 11.8. On ritual graveside obligations and offerings, see Parker (2005) 23-36 and Vlachou (2012) 366-7 (burial), 371 (post-burial). For parallels between the B-texts and the water offered by Osiris to the souls of the dead in Egyptian funerary texts, see Zuntz (*op. cit.*) 370-376 and Douza (2011): though note, per Assmann (*op. cit.*) 355-362, the specific association of water with Osiris in Egyptian death ritual.

[221] E.g. *N.* 3.6-7 (διψῇ δὲ πρᾶγος ἄλλο μὲν ἄλλου, / ἀεθλονικία δὲ μάλιστ᾽ ἀοιδὰν φιλεῖ), *P.* 5.98-100 (μεγαλᾶν δ᾽ ἀρετᾶν / δρόσῳ μαλθακᾷ / ῥανθεισᾶν κώμων ὑπὸ χεύμασιν), 9.103-104 (ἐμὲ δ᾽ οὖν τις ἀοιδᾶν / δίψαν ἀκειόμενον πράσσει χρέος). See Segal (1985) 202-203, 208, Kurke (1991) 62-82.

[222] Graf (1993) 247-250, Riedweg (2011) 228-230, and Bernabé & Jiménez (2011) 83-84.

[223] *Od.* 11, Thgn. 704-705, Ar. *Ran.* 186; literary references (esp. in epigrams) are frequent from the Hellenistic period on. See Rohde (1925 [1898]) 249 n. 21 ("Of course, this ingenious fancy was eminently suitable for use by adherents of the doctrine of metempsychosis; but there is nothing to show that it had been actually *invented* for the special benefit of this doctrine, i.e. by Orphics or Pythagoreans – as many have supposed. It is probable that it was nothing more originally but an attempt to explain symbolically the unconscious condition of the ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα."), Simondon (1982) 146. A named "Fountain of Lêthê" is not attested prior to the Hellenistic period: Rohde (*op. cit.*), Nilsson (1960) III 88 n. 12, and (Zuntz (1971) 381.

[224] See R. Parker (2005) 363-368 (note esp. 364: "A snappy title for a study of Greek afterlife beliefs would be *If*: for expressions of the form 'if there is any awareness among the dead of events here' or 'if there is any reward in Hades for the pious' are so common that they evidently embody not the doubts of individual speakers but a cliché of the culture."). On popular beliefs surrounding reward/punishment, see Dover (1974) 261-267.

[225] *Od.* 11, Paus. 10.25-31 (Polygnotos' *nekyia* painting at the Knidian *lesche* in Delphi). On the necromantic ritual background of Odysseus' consultation of Teiresias in Homer, see Clark (1979) 37-38, 53-55, Ogden (2001) 163-190. Albinus (2000) 82-86 suggests that much-noted differences between the *nekyia* of *Od.* 11 and the *deuteronekyia* of *Od.* 24 correspond in large measure to a difference interactive framing – Albinus implies that much of the difference is due to the context of ritual consultation in *Od.* 11 and the absence of such a context in *Od.* 24. For a discussion and reconstruction of Polygnotos' painting, see Stansbury-O'Donnell (1990).

[226] On the genres of γόος and θρῆνος and their development in antiquity, see Alexiou (2002) 12-13. Alexiou (*op. cit.*) 185-205 discusses images of the Underworld in the Byzantine and later Greek lament tradition, some of which (water, tree, road) seem to recapitulate images that appear in the gold leaves.

[227] See discussion in §IV above. On "Orphic" eschatology in Pindar, see Lloyd-Jones (1990).

[228] On elements of the "liturgical" (rather than literary) style in the lamellae texts, see Porta (1999) 322-343.

The Underworld spring of *mnêmosynê* only appears in the B-lamellae and seems to represent an innovation on the popular view of Hades as a realm of forgetting.[229] Wilamowitz believed that the spring of memory in the Petelia leaf had no further significance beyond allowing the deceased to maintain this connection with her worldly life.[230] Zuntz discerned a similar dynamic at work:

> Why, then, is the dead expected to long for a drink of 'Remembering' and is warned [*sic*] against 'Forgetting'? Death is Forgetting. The dead enter another world beyond our comprehension and beyond our reach; they forget – forget us, and all. This is true with Homer and Plato and a thousand others; because, simply, it is true. Cutting the connection between us and them – wherever, howsoever, they may be; however much we may remember them – death is, in essence, forgetting; their forgetting. And not-forgetting would be not-death. To seek the drink of 'Memory' is to seek Life.[231]

Wilamowitz and Zuntz were both right, I think, insofar as they saw that the theme of memory and forgetting in the gold leaves should to be understood against the background of popular beliefs and practices. Neither of them, however, observed or stressed the ritual significance of this idea. The deceased's "forgetting" of his or her past life is parallel to the social disentanglement of the mourners and the deceased that (according to Hertz) is a basic goal of funerary ritual.[232]

It is worth considering whether *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves has a similar ritual implication, in addition to the other semantic resonances that have been explored in this chapter. Zuntz's remarks suggest that there is a perspective encoded in postmortem forgetting: it is always "us" and "our" world that are to be remembered or forgotten. Eschatology is necessarily relational. The Underworld is by nature a *Gegenwelt*, and the landscape of the ancient afterlife, with its hazards, obstacles, and rewards, is a mapping of live emotions and desires.[233] Even if death is understood in Hertzian terms as a process of transition, it differs from marriage or mystery initiation in that the individual's new state can only be realized through an act of imagination. Eschatology thus facilitates ritual. Victor Turner showed in a development of Hertz and van Gennep that the "liminal" stage of rituals of transition, which is often extended and given prominence in funeral rites, offers a space of *communitas* in which ordinary social distinctions, and even divisions between the living and the dead, are temporarily suspended.[234] In Turner's formulation, the liminal stage can serve as an "anti-structure" against which social

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[229] Harrison (1922 [1903]) 574 ("The notion that in death we forget, forget the sorrows of this troublesome world, forget the toilsome journey to the next, is not Orphic, not even specially Greek; it is elemental, human, and may occur anywhere…"), BJ 29. Lincoln (1984) 22-24 also suggests that the twin streams in the B-lamellae reflect an Indo-European tradition.

[230] Wilamowitz (1935) II 200 n. 2: "Also wollten diese Leute im Hades die Erinnerung bewahren, während die Lethe den meisten erwünscht war, das irdische Leben zu vergessen. Die Mutter der Musen hat hier natürlich nichts zu tun."

[231] Zuntz (1971) 380. Unlike Wilamowitz, however, Zuntz posited a further connection between *mnêmosynê* and Pythagorean metempsychosis: see §IIa above.

[232] See also J. Harrison (1922) 575.

[233] The term *Gegenwelt* is from Hölscher (2000), and is applied to the ancient Underworld by Chaniotis (2000); see also Assmann (2005) 1-22 (and *passim*), who addresses similar issues in connection with Ancient Egyptian funeral ideology. On the emotions as a category in ancient religion, see also Chaniotis (*op. cit.*), (2006), (2011), and (2012).

[234] The extension of the liminal phase of funeral rites is noted already by van Gennep (1960 [1909]) 146; see also Turner (1967) 93-111, (1969) 94-130, and Metcalf & Huntington (1991) 32-37. On *communitas* as a feature of transitional rituals, see Turner (1969) 94-130.

norms that are stressed at the beginning and end of the ritual may define themselves by a productive contrast.[235] The soul in the gold leaves, especially those of the B-group, is situated in a liminal interval between its bodily death and its final reception in the Underworld among the other initiates and heroes. The gold leaves of all groups pay comparatively little attention to the results obtained and instead focus on the intervening period of liminal narrative tension and uncertainty.[236] As Turner points out, it is characteristic of this liminal ritual phase to place participants in a temporary condition of anonymity, social equality, and a minimization or rearticulation of gender distinction – just as we find in the texts of the gold leaves and images of the mystic chorus.[237] The waters of memory in the gold leaves allude to themes rooted in funerary discourse, and that these in turn imply a ritual connection between the deceased and the living mourners.

§VI. Conclusion

I have argued in this chapter that the idea of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves brings with it a complex set of resonances and associations. Just as the deceased's soul "remembers" her true identity and divine ancestry in the Underworld, so the mourner in burial remembers the mystic identity of the deceased. Specifically, the mourner "remembers" that the deceased has undergone the crucial rites of initiation and/or *katharsis* that ensure postmortem happiness. The drink from *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves is so closely tied to the declaration of identity ("I am a child of Earth and starry Sky") that the two seem to be part of the same act. When the deceased speaks these "cardinal words,"[238] it is equally the mourner who utters the formula – both on behalf of the deceased and in his or her own voice. If the mourner has submitted to the same rites of initiation as the deceased, then burial is an occasion for the mourner also to remember or recapitulate his/her own initiatory experience – not only through repetition of the statement of identity, but by retracing the Underworld itinerary to the waters of *mnêmosynê*. In doing so, the mourner recalls or affirms his/her own mystic identity in tandem with that of the deceased. Mystic eschatology dictates the forms under which the mourner "remembers" or "commemorates" the deceased: not in terms of social rank, name, or gender, but in terms of ritual status. Selective emphasis is thus a property of mystic memory as well as poetic and cultural memory, as was noted at the beginning of the chapter (§I): the poet and mourner both isolate and amplify those aspects of the deceased that guarantee preservation.

The eschatology of the individual in the gold leaves is in a certain sense non-mimetic: the point is not to capture the deceased in her perceptible reality or to record any details of her biography, but to stress her initiation and relation to Dionysos and Persephone and to fix her memory in these terms.[239] To remember this detail is paradoxically to forget all else. As in poetic commemoration, epigrams, lament, and *epitaphios logos*, the process of "memory" is one of selection and simplification, in which certain collectively shared values are affirmed at the expense of others so that the social remnants of the deceased can be plugged into a structure of meaning that persists beyond death. Within the frame of funerary ritual, we may recognize a parallel between this memorial simplification and the physical process by which the corpse is

[235] Turner (1969) 97, 129.
[236] See Edmonds (2004) 24.
[237] Turner (1969) 102-108; see also Seaford (2013) 269-273.
[238] As Zuntz (1971) 364-367 called them.
[239] Cf. Bremmer (2016) on the category of "individual eschatology" as applied to the gold leaves.

reduced (either really or symbolically) to a stable material object (bones, tomb) that can be assigned a definite social significance.[240]

The effacement of the mortal self and blurring of distinctions between life and death is one of the basic goals of mystery cult as well as a potential effect of funerary ritual. This is true at the group level as well as for the individual mourner. The imagining of the deceased as part of a continuing cult group in the Underworld is also an act of self-imagining by the living ritual group. Identification between the living and the dead belongs to a discursive space beyond the temporal irreversibility of death.[241] The soul in the Underworld is paradoxically both utterly distant from human life and the fullest expression of the group's ultimate values. The possibility of ritual involvement in memory signals a hope that those values may be retrieved and reactivated for the benefit of the group – that the soul which bears the stamp of its cult group may "in one form or another" (as Hertz puts it)[242] remains somehow accessible within the archive of memory. The Underworld itself is an expression of the living self's investment in the deceased other. Edmonds identifies this dynamic in his narrative-based analysis of the gold leaves.[243] In a range of mortuary contexts, effective commemoration inevitably (and not accidentally) serves to augment the social unit that praises or remembers the individual: the *oikos* (in the case of epinician[244] or Classical epitaphs[245]), the *polis* (in the case of Athenian *epitaphios logos*), the poet's circle (as, possibly, in the case of Sappho), or the poet him/herself. Similarly, the real-life ritual community of the gold leaves is always in the background, or written into the texts in an eschatological guise, as the implied witness to the individual's happy postmortem condition. The appeals to a mystic community that emerge so strongly in certain lamellae texts may be understood as a kind of mystic "ideology" or a form of imaginative self-understanding – an instance of what theologian Theodore Jennings has termed "ritual knowledge," or an action by which participants experience and disclose their identity as a group.[246] The memory-process of eschatology enabled ritual groups to mirror themselves in an idealized form, and to experience their own solidarity – in connection with the deceased, in association with each other, and in identification with the mystic community of the Underworld.

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In this chapter, I have argued that interpretations of the "Waters of Mnêmosynê" in the B-tradition, formulated in the 19th c. and still prevalent in current scholarship, are inadequate to the existing evidence. I have suggested instead that the language and diction of memory in the lamellae interacts closely with early Greek poetic conceptions of memory and immortality, and that in these areas of interaction – didactic, affective, poetic, and eschatological memory – *mnêmosynê* designates a relation between the individual and a ritual community. Considered within the frame of funerary ritual, the *mnêmosynê*-effect becomes especially multi-layered, but

[240] See also Habinek (2016).
[241] Culler (2001) 166. Cf. Berlant (2006) 22: "Of course psychologically speaking, all intersubjectivity is impossible. But it isn't impossible rhetorically."
[242] Hertz (1960) 78: "Because it believes in itself a healthy society cannot admit that an individual who was part of its own substance, and on whom it has set its mark, shall be lost for ever. The last word must remain with life: the deceased will rise from the grip of death and will return, in one form or another, to the peace of human association."
[243] Edmonds (2004) 34: "By making the deceased the protagonist of the narrative, the community defines itself through its representative, the deceased. The narrative of the journey to the other world thus serves as a means of self-definition for the members of the group in that it sets forth the special qualifications and privileges that set them apart from others."
[244] See Kurke (1991).
[245] See discussion in Ch. 2.
[246] Jennings (1982). Note theoretical developments in Schilbrack (2004) and critiques by Bell (1992) 47-54 and Williams & Boyd (1993) 61-82. On the ideology of "community" in the lamellae tradition, see also the Introduction, Ch. 2, and Conclusion of this dissertation.

all of them in different ways situate the initiate within the temporal dynamics of mystery initiation and funerary ritual that were outlined at the beginning of this chapter. The B-texts portray an action of memory for the soul in the Underworld, but are themselves tokens of memory for the living initiate and his or her cult group. The initiatory experience of the gold leaves is to be *remembered* by the initiate; but in the context of burial, these formulae also constitute a *memorialization* of the deceased – a remembrance of specific details that both affirms the deceased's newly realized divinity and asserts her connection with the ritual group, while also expressing an identification among the mourners, the deceased, and the "mystic chorus" of the Underworld. The activity of *mnêmosynê* in the gold leaves is best understood not in terms of an "Orphic" divinity or doctrine, but as something close to the other habits of memory in the Greek world – as a mode of communication, interconnection, self-presentation, and performance.

Ch. 2: The Gold Leaves and Funeral Epigraphy

§I. Preliminaries

A comparison between the gold lamellae and inscribed epitaphs might at first glance seem like an unpromising prospect. After all, what is there to compare? It is in fact a commonplace in recent scholarship to draw a typological *contrast* between the lamellae and epitaphs, since the latter were set up on visible display for a future readership, while the gold leaves were sealed *inside* graves, never to be viewed after burial.[1] Hans Dieter Betz, for instance, while acknowledging "revealing similarities" between the texts of the lamellae and epitaphs, contrasts the *exoteric* inscription of an epitaph, which is displayed and meant to be read by passers-by, with the *esoteric* writing of a gold leaf, whose only "reader" is the deceased.[2] Archaic and Classical epitaphs also typically put forward a "bleak" eschatology that is contrasted with the "lively" afterlife of the gold leaves.[3] Even scholars with sharply divergent perspectives on the nature and definition of "Orphism" and the ritual background of the gold leaves tend to agree in treating epitaphs as a disanalogy for the lamellae.

The obvious differences of practice between epitaphs and the lamellae can be readily conceded. To compare is not to equate, however, and a recognition of the basic generic differences between epitaphs and lamellae – display, readership, eschatological emphasis – can allow the parallels in their ritual use and ideologies to be more fully appreciated. My present interest is with the "revealing similarities" between the two genres and what they actually "reveal" about the gold leaves and their social environment. I suggest that the epitaphic resonances in the lamellae deserve to be taken more seriously than the main currents of scholarship have tended to do. In the first place, as we shall see, the lamellae texts themselves frequently echo the poetic vocabulary and verbal formulae employed in epitaphs. In the second place, recent studies by Claire Taylor, Esther Eidinow, and Merle Langdon have shown the social value of non-monumental epigraphic practices such as curses, letters, and rural rock-cut graffiti, which would have had either no readership at all or a very restricted one. Thus, although recent scholarship has emphasized the importance of reading aloud and the oral "reperformance" of epigrams, we should also recognize the social value of epigraphic practices where the act of writing matters at least as much as, if not more than, the possibility of reading.[4]

In a funerary context, the very opposition between the hidden interior and public exterior of the grave is somewhat misleading, since the choice and arrangement of burial objects can contribute to a promulgation of identity no less socially significant than the words inscribed and displayed on a funerary *stêlê*. Grave goods and monuments may thus be understood as complementary aspects of one commemorative process rather than radically opposed practices,

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[1] Observations of this sort include Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 117-9, Scalera McClintock (1984), Bernabé (1991) 223-4, Bañuls Oller (1997), Edmonds (2004) 33-4, BJ 12-3, Betz (2011) 102-3, Herrero (2011) 289-90, and Wypustek (2013) 7 n. 6.

[2] Betz (2011) 103; cf. 105, where Betz observes that the formula of self-representation in the gold leaves "must represent a carefully formatted self-definition of the initiate – reminding us again of certain grave epigrams – which also entails claims of a philosophical nature. The exact opposite would be grave inscriptions which seem to have been influenced by the doctrines of pessimism and Epicureanism." These pessimistic inscriptions are much later, however: see Lattimore (1941) 74-78. On the problems involved in treating the deceased as the "reader" of the lamellae, see further discussion in Ch. 3 §IIc.

[3] See Obryk (2013) and Wypustek (2013), both of whom focus on the eschatological themes found in later Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman grave inscriptions.

[4] See e.g. Eidinow (2007), Eidinow & Taylor (2010), Taylor (2010) and (2015), and Langdon (2015); see also Thomas (1992) 74-100 on the "non-rational" uses of Greek writing. Reading is emphasized especially in studies of ancient inscriptions by Svenbro (1993) and Day (2010).

even if these practices are not presented to exactly the same audience.[5] In sum, the generic difference between the gold leaves and epitaphs is less radical than much scholarship has assumed.

A further reason for the popularity of this contrast between lamellae and epitaphs in scholarship may also be that it reinforces certain conceptual assumptions about "Orphism" and the gold leaves. Within the Comparettian model, "Orphics" are seen as rejecting the body and the corporeal existence represented by the tomb. From this point of view, the disanalogy between grave monuments and the lamellae is an attractive one, notwithstanding the fact that the gold leaves are clearly grave goods and early sources connect "Orphic" phenomena with special burial practices.[6] If one begins by defining "Orphism" as a quasi-Protestant form of personal faith and belief, such concerns as a desire for social recognition, self-presentation, and the prestige of one's group, all of which are easily recognizable elsewhere in Greek epigraphy and commemorative practices, would seem to have no conceptual place in such an "interiorized" religious practice.[7] A too-sharply-drawn distinction between the lamellae and epitaphs can, like other suppositions regarding "Orphism," become a self-fulfilling prophecy, and arguments risk circularity when they are based on *a priori* assumptions about the gold leaves and their belief system. Miguel Herrero and Radcliffe Edmonds have both shown that the lamellae of all text-groups reflect poetic forms of self-presentation and concerns about social status that are familiar in other areas of Greek culture.[8] More generally, it is problematic to take the lamellae at face value as expressions of the deceased's personal beliefs rather than as the promulgation of a *social* identity by the deceased's cult group. Much like the highly formalized diction of epitaphs, the formulaic and repetitive character of the lamellae inscriptions should in any case suggest that the texts were barely customized at all to reflect the peculiar sentiments or feelings of the individual initiate.[9]

In some respects, this chapter is an extension of the previous chapter's argument about the theme of memory in the gold leaves. I have already argued that this motif in the lamellae tradition reflects and seems to express (among other possibilities) a link with broader Greek commemorative culture. Allowing for the functional differences between grave markers and the gold leaves, it is still evident that both genres draw on a common conceptual vocabulary that identifies memory (μνημοσύνη) with a kind of privileged life after death and oblivion (λήθη) with postmortem dangers. I have also claimed that the motif of memory in the lamellae signifies a kind of interconnection between the deceased and his/her ritual surroundings. In this chapter, I press this claim further by suggesting that the lamellae and epitaphs belong to similar social processes of memory that glorify the living group who claim the deceased as a member. An epitaph is less "expressive" of the deceased than of the group of survivors who bury him or her: this, I suggest, is no less true of the lamellae, though it is harder to recognize than with epitaphs. One key claim of the present chapter is that the gold leaves served as a form of "collective representation" for private cults that was analogous to the ideological portrayals of the elite household in private epitaphs of the late Classical period. The "revealing similarities" between lamellae and epitaphs noted by Betz prove on close inspection no less telling than their more obvious generic differences.

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[5] The expression "promulgation of identity" is borrowed from Shepherd (2013) 547: see also Morris (1992) 103-108 and discussion in Ch. 1 §IV-V.

[6] See e.g. BJ 13 and Edmonds (2004) 33-4.

[7] Hence a recent monograph by two leading epigraphists classifies the gold leaves as expressions of "inner purity" based on "Orphic beliefs": see Petrovic & Petrovic (2016) 249-262.

[8] Edmonds (2010) and Herrero (2011): see §III below.

[9] For comparable problems in identifying "personal" sentiments and beliefs in epitaphs, see discussions of Chaniotis (2006), (2011), (2012), and Wypustek (2013) 5-28.

What, then, do these similarities "reveal"? First of all, as will soon become clear, they show that the lamellae have far more in common with epitaphs and conventional Greek mortuary concerns than is allowed by the Comparettian model of "Orphism." They show that the lamellae responded to certain social risks comparable to those addressed by epitaphs. Like epitaphs, the lamellae are concerned with the management of identity and its reception after death, and they place great emphasis on communicative speech-forms that express the identity of the deceased for a given group and/or audience. As with epitaphs, the lamellae show significant concern with a certain kind of social status, and they try to assimilate the deceased to categories of praiseworthiness that are culturally recognized and valuable. The individual's death also poses a danger to the group, and both epitaphs and lamellae attempt to forestall this harm by asserting the deceased's abiding connection with a surviving society that can guarantee his or her immortality.

Secondly, as we shall see, comparison with epitaphs can help us widen our focus to include the social context of the tablets rather than situating them narrowly within a structure of "Orphic" doctrines. The gold leaves and epitaphs feature very different eschatological emphases, and it is easy to draw a contrast between the "bleak" image of the Underworld in Archaic and Classical epitaphs and the "lively" afterlife in the lamellae. Yet the "lively" afterlife of the gold leaves is a development of existing motifs in traditional eschatology, not a radical innovation, just as the bleak afterlife of epitaphs draws selectively on themes within the tradition that appear already in the Homeric epics.[10] What is of interest in this chapter is not the specific eschatological ideas or images used in each genre, but the ways in which such images are used. As I argue in the following pages, epitaphs and the lamellae make surprisingly similar uses of their quite different eschatological materials to construct and articulate special ideologies of immortality that apply to the individual deceased. As we shall see, they also use quite similar verbal strategies to articulate these ideologies and to claim an exceptional postmortem status for the deceased. In other words, part of the point of comparing the lamellae with epitaphs is to move beyond an essentializing view of Orphic eschatology and point toward the ways in which eschatological motifs are actually deployed in ritual scenarios. The comparison is thus in line with recent "neo-ritualist" approaches to the gold leaves by Fritz Graf, Claude Calame, Christoph Riedweg, and others, that focuses on the interactive speech-forms of the tablet texts to reconstruct their ritual scenario(s).[11] It also suggests a way of thinking about the images of "community" in the lamellae that neither disregards them nor accepts them positivistically.

The remainder of this chapter will consider the comparable features of epitaphs and the lamellae. The following section (§II) will consider both points where past scholarship has foreclosed this comparison and review the lexical and formal parallels between the gold leaves and epitaphs. In the next section (§III), I will turn to the characteristic forms of self-presentation in both genres. Classical epitaphs claim immortality through an appeal to lineage and by portraying the deceased's connection with a living nexus of attention that will rescue him or her from obscurity. I suggest that the first-person statements of the lamellae rely on similar forms of appeal, transposed into the context and value structure of Bacchic mystery cult, to ensure the initiate's happy condition in the Underworld. The final section (§IV) considers the devices of antithesis and direct address to the deceased used in both genres. Both of these features in epitaphs derive from ritual lament, where they articulate a connection between the household and

[10] See Edmonds (2013a) 248-295.

[11] Graf (1993), Calame (2009), (2011), Riedweg (1998), (2002), and (2011); see also Segal (1990) (whose analysis of the Pelinna tablets in some ways inaugurated this approach), Martin (2007), Edmonds (2011), Obbink (2011), and Faraone (2011), who coins the term "neo-ritualist" to draw both a connection and contrast with the approach to the tablets a century ago by the "Cambridge Ritualist" school.

its deceased member. I suggest that these speech-forms serve a comparable function in the lamellae to articulate the deceased's connection with the "ideal community" of initiates. Far from representing an essentially "personal" or "private" religious mentality, the tablets model an ideology of group solidarity that resembles portrayals of the elite household in Classical epitaphs.

Discussion of epitaphs in this chapter will focus on the corpus of 4th-c. Attic private funerary epigrams, which have recently benefited from Christos Tsagalis' detailed study.[12] The comparison is an analogy rather than a claim of direct influence, although the latter possibility cannot be ruled out. Between the end of the Peloponnesian War in 404 and the sumptuary legislation of Demetrios of Phaleron in 317, Attic grave epigrams underwent two significant interrelated developments. First, there is an overall growth in both the quantity and quality of Attic funerary epigrams. Attic epigrams in the 4th c. were already beginning to develop into a mature literary sub-genre that can be seen as an intermediary between the laconic style of Archaic epigrams and the literary epigrams of the Hellenistic period.[13] The circulation of written collections of inscribed epigrams, first securely attested during the later 4th c. but likely as early as the late 5th c., suggests that epigrams written during this period had begun to attract the attention of ancient scholars and that they might have found a readership beyond Attica.[14]

Second, the epigraphic and archaeological record testifies to a shift in Attica during the 4th c. from public *polyandria* toward the erection of private monuments.[15] A number of stylistic developments accompanied this shift, the most important of which is the growth in inscribed monuments for women and a tendency to transfer traditionally male vocabulary of praise (ἀρετή, δικαιοσύνη, κλέος) to women and the domestic sphere.[16] Equally important is a heightened emphasis on the deceased's bonds with the surviving members of the *oikos*.[17] Such emphasis is already a common feature of funeral inscriptions in the Archaic and early Classical periods, where the erector of the stone is often mentioned by name as a benefactor to the deceased.[18] Familial bonds are most extensively articulated in inscriptions of the later Classical period, where the connections of the deceased are often emphasized and multiplied (husband, wife, siblings, parents, grandparents, children, grandchildren).[19] The physical arrangement of grave monuments and motifs of funerary art reinforce, spatially and visually, the epigrammatic portrayal of familial interconnection. The same period sees an increased use of *periboloi* or family plots in Athens, with inscriptions that link two or three generations.[20] Like the painted

[12] Tsagalis (2008). Inscriptions falling outside this corpus are referenced to illustrate more prevalent stylistic features of early Greek epitaphs.

[13] Tsagalis (2008) 215-216 (and *passim*).

[14] A possible conduit of influence during this time period would be written anthologies of inscribed epigrams: see Sider (2007) and Tsagalis (2008) 53-55. On the "delapidarization" of inscribed epigrams during the 5th c. BCE, see also Baumbach, Petrovic, & Petrovic (2010) 17-19.

[15] Tsagalis (2008) 5-7, 183-198.

[16] Tsagalis (2008) 185-192, 210-213. There is some evidence for this epitaphic trend outside of Attica as well: see e.g. *CEG* 662a (Sicily, mid-4th to early 3rd c.).

[17] In this chapter, I use *oikos* to indicate bonds of kinship and close social familiarity (particularly insofar as these bonds entail obligations for the performance of funerary ritual and tomb-cult), not the household as a legal or economic entity. See R. Parker (2005) 9-13 (and more generally 9-49) on the definitional issues as they pertain to religious practice.

[18] Trümpy (2010) 174-175 observes a formal parallel between the dedicator in dedicatory inscriptions and the role of the erector of the tomb in funerary epigrams. *CEG* 533 (Attica, "ante ca. 350?") mentions performance of burial for one's mother, perhaps referring to the dedicator of the stele: see interpretation of Tsagalis (2008) 164-7.

[19] See tables in Tsagalis (2008) 186 (for women), 193 (for men).

[20] R. Parker (2005) 23-27 and Closterman (2007); Garland (2001) 106-107 notes that *peribolos* tombs in practice rarely extend beyond three generations.

lekythoi of the 5th c. that depict scenes of tomb cult performed by family members, Classical funerary sculpture portrays the deceased as part of a larger social structure through multi-figured scenes and the popular *dexiosis* or handshake motif.[21]

Eschatological imagery in verse epitaphs also underwent stylistic changes during the 4th c., the most notable of which is Persephone's increasing prominence. Persephone is entirely absent from extant funerary epigrams through the 5th c., but she becomes prominent in Attic verse epitaphs during the 4th c. The deceased of both sexes are frequently said to have gone to the "chambers of Persephone" (Φερσεφόνης θάλαμοι).[22] The use of Persephone in Attic inscriptions during this period may reflect Eleusinian influence,[23] but can be understood additionally as a result of the more fundamental shift from public to private funerary monuments, especially with the growth in inscribed grave markers for women.[24] Familiar narratives relate of Persephone's abduction by Hades, the grief of her mother, and the final dispensation that allows her to spend part of the year as queen of the Underworld and part above ground. The myth of Persephone occupied a particularly important place in the assimilation of marriage and funeral imagery in the Greek imagination: young women who died unmarried might be described as "brides of Hades," and θάλαμος could stand ambiguously for bridal chamber and death chamber. Persephone also alludes to widespread concerns regarding death and the commemoration of the dead. Demeter's intervention ameliorates somewhat the barrier between the living and the dead, and the myth would have had obvious appeal to aristocratic families who wished to memorialize their dead, linking the preservation of their memory in the ongoing life of their household. The overall aim of the funerary monument is not just to portray the individual deceased, but more generally to make clear his/her membership in the familial structure that has built and maintained the tomb. Attic private funerary monuments of this period have been aptly characterized as representations of the *oikos* itself as much as the individual.[25]

These epigraphic fashions can be seen as a temporary reassertion of private elite prerogatives in postwar Athens (see further §IIIc below). Our evidence suggests that Orphic-Bacchic cults catered to an elite clientele, or at least to people for whom such ideologies were attractive, and I suggest that part of their appeal could have come from offering their clients a means of buying into markers of elite status that were not available to them on more conventional terms.[26] These cults seem to have had special appeal to women, and the prominence of Persephone would have suggested the same myth of death and new life that contributed to her popularity on private epitaphs of the 4th c.[27] The "ideal community" portrayed in the lamellae

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[21] On *dexiosis* and Attic funerary art, see further Davies (1985), Pemberton (1989), Shapiro (1991), Bergemann (1997) (esp. 61-62), and Younger (2002).

[22] See Tsagalis (2008) 86-134.

[23] Funerary epigrams do not, however, seem to have been a favored mode of expression for self-conscious members of telestic cults until the Hellenistic period. Even in Attica, no inscription alludes to the deceased's participation in the mysteries: see R. Parker (2005) 363-8. The earliest statement of initiation in an epitaph appears only in the later Hellenistic period (uncertain provenance, 2nd/1st c. BCE), and refers to initiation at both Samothrace and Eleusis; see Karadima-Matsa & Dimitrova (2003) and *SEG* LV 723.

[24] Tsagalis (2008) 91.

[25] See Tsagalis (2008) 183-198 (e.g. 192: "The multimembered *stele* in the 4th century reflects the unity and continuity of the *oikos*, just as the multiple members of the family mentioned in the majority of epitaphs (as recipients of the pain caused by the loss of a dear one, especially a woman) aim at stressing that the *oikos*, despite the departure of a member, remains unbroken.").

[26] See Redfield (1991).

[27] See Obbink (2011) 299-300. This is not to say that the Persephone in the tablets is not or cannot be identified as the "Orphic" Persephone (i.e., mother of Dionysos), only that her cultic resonances are complex. On the kourotrophic role of Persephone in Lokri and other Western Greek cultic contexts (a very likely influence on the imagery of the A-tablets), see also Sourvinou-Inwood (1991) 147-188 and Eisenfeldt (2016).

(mystic chorus, *thiasos*, etc.) serves a comparable imaginative function to that of the elite *oikos* in Late Classical funerary epigrams, as the special group that guarantees the deceased a differentiated afterlife. Of course, the cult group in the lamellae and the *oikos* in epitaphs are ideological portrayals rather than snapshots of everyday life: at the end of the chapter, I will turn to consider the degree to which these ideologies of community mapped onto real-life practices.

§II. The "Tomb" of Memory?

The lamella from Hipponion (B10) was excavated from a woman's cist grave in Hipponion and has been dated from its context to ca. 400 BCE. Although it contains our best-preserved continuous text, the opening line contains a textual crux that has troubled editors since its first publication in 1974 and which we have noted in the previous chapter. The first three words of the text seem to say, "This is the tomb of memory" (μναμοσύνας τόδε ἠρίον). The first editor, Giovanni Pugliese Carratelli, observed that this opening line echoed the familiar dactylic epitaphic *incipit* (τοῦ δεῖνος τόδε σῆμα/μνῆμα) and printed the reading ἠρίον ("tomb"), construing it as a peculiar adaptation of the conventional epitaphic formula.[28] This reading, however, presents both metrical and semantic difficulties and has attracted a swarm of proposed emendations. Pugliese Carratelli later reversed himself and opted for the reading ⟨ἰε⟩ρὸν.[29] The most widely accepted reading is the emendation ἔρ⟨γ⟩ον ("work," "task"), first suggested by Walter Burkert. This is how the text is often printed, translated, and cited in secondary literature, sometimes without any clear indication (such as angled brackets or a subliteral asterisk) that it is an emendation.

Yet, despite the difficulties with ἠρίον, the case for emendation is not airtight. Two other leaves feature similar formulae (B1.12, A5.3), but neither offers a secure basis for emending ἠρίον to a different word. Nor is a correction of the text necessarily justified on metrical grounds. Metrical irregularities are common in the lamellae, often resulting from the apparent insertion of ritual language into an existing framework of hexameters. There is also a need to distinguish between the reading on the one hand of the original hexameter poem from which the Hipponion text is derived, which scholars have sought to reconstruct by applying stemmatic theory to the B-texts, and the likelihood on the other hand that the text was altered and adapted in local contexts. While it is very unlikely that ἠρίον stood in the first line of the poem as originally written, the reading may still be a legitimate one in the context of the Hipponion inscription. The possibility cannot be ruled out that the engraver could have intentionally inscribed an unmetrical reading in a text of this kind.[30] Arguments for emendation on interpretive grounds – the

[28] Pugliese Carratelli & Foti (1974) 117-9; see also discussion in Ch. 1 §IV above. Inscriptions of this type are collected in *GVI* (pp. 21-9): the opening formula is used alone *pars pro toto* already in the Archaic period (see FH 163a-c: "This widespread formula is an abridgment of the hexametric type … not a survival of a primitive form."). Archaic and classical verse inscriptions do not refer to themselves as ἠρία (though the word appears *extra metrum* in *Syll*.[3] 11, a 6th-c. epitaph from Delphi). It is worth noting that in some late classical uses ἠρίον refers specifically to the writing on the monument: e.g. Lyc. *In Leocr.* 109 (following Wurm's emendation), Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 55.3 (a description of the Athenian *dokimasia*).

[29] Emendations: West (1975) 231 rejected ἠρίον as "unmetrisch und widersinnig." The critical history of this line is reviewed by Pugliese Carratelli (2003) 39-41 and Ferrari (2011) 206-8 (esp. 207 n. 5), who argues for retaining ἠρίον as an epichoric variant. Bernabé (*OF* 474) and Janko (2016) both print ἔργον but mark the gamma with a subliteral asterisk to denote a deliberate editorial change to the apparent reading of the inscription. For Pugliese Carratelli's revised text and commentary on the line, see PC 39-40.

[30] See e.g. Kingsley (1995) 311 n. 73: the reading ἠρίον was "almost certainly intended by the writer ... in spite of the fact that ... here it makes no sense." Other deliberate metrical irregularities in the Gold Leaves: GJ 137-9 suggest that the unmetrical first lines of the two Pelinna lamellae (D1-2) reflects the substitution of τρισόλβιε for metrical μάκαρ. Zuntz (1971) 331, commenting on A4.3, similarly describes the hexameter line as "a prose formula,

suggestion, for instance, that epitaphic language is simply inappropriate for the "private" writing of the lamellae, or that the tablets' underlying belief system rejects the grave and the body – are even more problematic, since their reasoning is circular and presupposes an entire underlying framework of Orphic doctrines.[31] Our understanding of the gold leaves and their religious background is too provisional to serve as a basis for emending the plain readings of actual lamellae texts. For these reasons, the reading ἠρίον has found a number of defenders who see it as an allusion to funerary practice. Guiliana Scalera McClintock and (more recently) Franco Ferrari have argued for the intelligibility of ἠρίον by interpreting the first line of the text as an ironic (if semantically strained) reversal of the epitaphic formula: the "tomb of memory" is effectively an oxymoron, a "tomb" that represents the negation of death through memory.[32]

Nor is the opening line of the Hipponion lamella unique among the A- and B-texts in its apparent use of burial language. The short text inscribed on the gold leaf of Arkheboule from Amphipolis (D4) – which mentions her proper name and even invokes her familial connections by calling her "wife (or daughter?) of Antidoros" – could almost pass for the text of an epitaph if we did not know its material context.[33] Other lamellae are not as strikingly epitaphic, but tablets from all text-groups allude with varying degrees of explicitness to epitaphic vocabulary, formulae, themes, rhetorical tropes, and even spatio-temporal pragmatics. To begin with, we can note five different poetic features, terms, and/or formulae that are shared in common by epitaphs and the extant lamellae texts: (a) the deictic self-reference with τόδε, (b) the use of χαῖρε in address to the deceased, (c) the formula "Moira overpowered me" (με Μοῖρα ἐδάμασε), (d) the description of the soul leaving behind (προλίπηι) the light of the sun (φάος ἀελίοιο), and (e) the description of the deceased "beneath the bosom" of Persephone (δεσσποίνας δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας). The use of deixis (a) and the greeting χαῖρε (b) are directly paralleled in epigrams. Features (c), (d), and (e) are adapted from hexameter epic, and indicate that the gold leaves and epitaphs drew on epic tradition in similar ways. The evidence for these five areas of similarity may be briefly reviewed:

(a) Μναμοσύνας τόδε †ἔρίον† (B10.1); cf. [Μνημοσύ]νης τόδε […] (B1.12), Μνημο|σύνης τόδε δῶρον (A5.3). This expression and its resemblance to the conventional epitaphic *incipit* have been discussed above and in Ch. 1.

(b) χαῖρε (A4.3), χαῖρ⟨ε⟩, χαῖρε (A4.5); cf. [Πλού]τωνι καὶ Φ[ερσ]οπόνει χαίρεν (E2), Φιλίστη Φερσεφόνηι χαίρειν (E3), Φιλωτήρα τῶι Δεσπ⟨ό⟩τε⟨ι⟩{α} χέρε⟨ν⟩ (E6). As Riedweg remarks regarding A4, "the threefold repetition of χαῖρε hints at the funeral" as a performance context.[34] The use of χαῖρε in address to the deceased appears already in Homer but is not used this way in epitaphs until the Classical period, as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has shown.

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awkwardly and ineffectually disguised." Word-substitutions contribute in a similar way to metrical irregularities in inscribed epigrams: see Tsagalis (2008) 297-9 and Tzifopoulos (2011) 180.

[31] These objections are put forward by Bernabé (1991) 223-224 and BJ 13. On rejection of the body, see discussion and references above in Ch. 1 n. 72.

[32] Scalera McClintock (1984) and Ferrari (2011) 206-8 ("The nominal phrase 'this (is) the tomb of Memory' *does* make sense (Mnemosyne may be imagined as buried inside the leaf inasmuch as the leaf itself is the repository of the goddess' instructions) and the wording seems to have been carefully formulated..."); both, however, assume a basically essentializing and doctrinal view of "Orphism." If "Memory" here is understood as a divinity, then the *incipit* may also suggest that the goddess Mnêmosynê presides over the burial of the initiate and assures the continuation of her initiate status even in death – although there is no reason to assume that it was necessarily understood in precisely this way by all users. On the question of personification, see Ch. 1.

[33] See recent edition by Malama & Tzifopoulos (2016). The editors also observe correspondences between Arkheboule's epithets (εὐαγής, ἱερά) and epitaphic language: "[n]either epithet … seems to belong exclusively to the category of catchwords [i.e. terminology specific to the mysteries] … since they are also employed in funerary epigrams" (61).

[34] Riedweg (2011) 238.

Sourvinou-Inwood includes the A4 lamella from the Thurii Timpone Grande in her historical survey of the greeting χαῖρε in inscribed epitaphs, remarking that it is among the earliest uses of χαῖρε as an address to the deceased.[35] In three shorter Hellenistic tablets from Crete (E2), and Thessaly/Macedonia (E3, E6), the greeting χαῖρε is used in address to Persephone and Plouton.

(c) με Μο⟨ῖ⟩ρα ἐδάμασε (A1.4a); cf. εἴτε με Μο⟨ῖ⟩ρα ἐδαμά⟨σ⟩σατο (A2.5), τ⟨ε⟩ με Μοῖρα ⟨ἐδάμασ᾽⟩ (A3.5). The three leaves from the Thurii Timpone Piccolo all reference Moira as agent of death. Personified Moira ("limit, portion") can be connected in early Greek thought with the conception of death as an ultimate boundary: epigrams and lament refer to both Moira and Tykhê interchangeably as causes or representations of death.[36] The declaration "Moira overpowered me" is an epic formula that also appears in funerary epigrams: one 4th-c. epitaph from Euboea (*CEG* 627.4-5) says "overpowered by *moira*, you died" (μοίραι δαμασθεὶς / θνήισκεις), and the identification of Moira with death is common in the epigraphic record.[37]

(d) ἀλλ᾽ ὁπόταμ ψυχὴ προλίπηι φάος ἀελίοιο (A4.1). The poetic association between "light" and "life" has Indo-European origins. The expression "looking upon the light" with the sense of "being alive" is widely attested across different genres of Greek poetry and drama.[38] The description of death as "leaving behind the light" appears in epic and is common in Classical epitaphs.[39] The language of death as "leaving behind" has parallels in epic and likely reflects traditional lament.[40] The compound προλείπειν in particular reflects the lexical preferences of Classical epigrams,[41] in which the deceased "leaves behind" life itself (the light of the sun, the breath of life, youth, the body, or their relatives), or else (in a different but related sense) "leaves behind" grief (πένθος, λύπας/λύπην), longing (πόθον), lament (γόον), or a memory of virtues (μνήμην/μνημεῖον).[42]

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[35] See *Il.* 23.19, 179; cf. E. *Alc.* 436, 626, 743. Use in epitaphs: see Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 180-216 (who also remarks that the A4 lamella "may conceivably be the second earliest text to address the deceased by means of *chaire*" [195]).

[36] On *Moira* in general, see Greene (1944), Dietrich (1965), Burkert (2011) 203-204, and Eidinow (2011) 25-52. On *Moira* in funerary epigrams, see Mayer (1927) 8-12 and *passim* and Lattimore (1941) 149-151. Cf. discussion in Alexiou (2002) 110-128 of *moirologi* in Greek lament and other forms of communal song.

[37] Epic: cf. ἀλλά ἑ μοῖρα δάμασσε καὶ ἀργαλέος χόλος Ἥρης (*Il.* 18.119). Epigrams: cf. [λείπ]ẹις οἰκ⟨τ⟩ρὰ παθὼν Μοίρας ὕπο, δαίμονος ἐχρθοῦ (*CEG* 495.2), μοιριδίωι θανάτωι (*CEG* 543), νῦν δὲ ἀπὸ μαστοῦ μητρὸς ἀφείλετο Μοῖρα σὺν Ἄιδηι (*CEG* 629.3; Euboea, 4th c.).

[38] Létoublon (2010) 185-6 offers a concise discussion of this motif and its use in different genres. West (1988) 154 cites parallels in the Rig Veda.

[39] Epigraphic examples: ἔλιπες … ἠελίο λαμπρὸμ φῶς (*CEG* 511), φῶς δ᾽ ἔλιπ᾽ (*CEG* 566), λίπον ἡλίου αὐγάς (*CEG* 590.3), λιποῦσα φάος (*CEG* 543). In *Il.* 5.155-158, Diomedes kills Xanthos and Thoön, "leaving behind" to their father lament and sorrow (πατέρι δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ / λεῖπ᾽), and Andromakhe twice laments that the slain Hektor has gone to Hades and left behind grief and lamentation (αὐτὰρ ἐμὲ στυγερῷ ἐνὶ πένθεϊ λείπεις / χήρην ἐν μεγάροισι 22.483-484; ἀρητὸν δὲ τοκεῦσι γόον καὶ πένθος ἔθηκας / Ἕκτορ· ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα λελείψεται ἄλγεα λυγρά 24.741-742). See Tsagalis (2008) 63-86, with further discussion of epitaphs against an epic background.

[40] Alexiou (2002) 183.

[41] See Tsagalis (2008) 108-114; Létoublon (2010) 186 observes that tragedy typically refers to death as "not looking upon" the light (οὐ βλέπων/λεύσσων) rather than "leaving [it] behind."

[42] The inscriptions cited here are all from 4th-c. Attica unless otherwise noted: Body (?): ψυχὴ δὲ προλιποῦσα τὸ σόν [… σῶμα] (*CEG* 548.2). Breath: πνεῦμα λιποῦσα [βίο]υ (*CEG* 646), πνεῦμ᾽ ἔ[λ]ιπεν βιότου (*CEG* 662a). Relatives: προὔλιπες, ὦ Κορία, τὴν μητέρα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν / τούς τε φίλους σαυτῆς καὶ ὃν σὺ μάλισστα ἐφίλεις (*SEG* LIX 279.3-4). Grief: τῆι τε κασιγνήτηι πένθεα πλεῖστα λιπών (*CEG* 485.7), σὺ δὲ πένθος / οἰ|κτρὸν ⟨ἔ⟩χ⟨ειν⟩ ἔλιπες, Παυσιμάχη, προγόνοις (*CEG* 518.1-2), πένθος κοριδίωι τε πόσει καὶ μητρὶ λιποῦσα |/ καὶ πατρὶ *CEG* 529), πένθος μητρὶ λιποῦσα κασιγνή|τωι τε πόσει τε / παιδί τ᾽ ἐμῶι | θνήισκω (*CEG* 543.7-8), σοῖς δὲ φίλοις καὶ μητρὶ κασιγνήταις τε λέλοιπας|/ πένθος ἀείμνηστον σῆς φιλίας φθίμενος (*CEG* 593.8-9), ὦ μεγάλην λύπην σὺ λιπῶσα (*CEG* 515.1), ὥστε θανὼν ἔλιπον λύπας προγόνοισι φίλοις τε (*CEG* 585). Longing: γνωτοῖσιν πᾶσι λιπῶσα πόθον (*CEG* 104; Athens, ca. 400), καὶ νῦν | [λ]είπεις σοῖσι φίλοισι μέγαν πόθον (*CEG*

(e) δεσσποί|νας δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονί|ας βασιλείας (A1.7). The Thurii initiate's declaration ("I went beneath the breast of the lady, the chthonian queen") is strangely worded and its interpretation is a matter of dispute. Christopher Faraone has connected this line with the Homeric story of Dionysos and the Thracian king Lykourgos (*Il.* 6.130-139), in which the young god flees persecution by plunging (δύσεθ') into the sea, where he is received beneath the breast of Thetis (ὑπεδέξατο κόλπῳ). Faraone suggests that the Thurii initiate's statement may reflect some form of ritual *mimêsis* of the god Dionysos.[43] Without either disputing or endorsing this conjecture, I offer the complementary suggestion that the language of the A1 leaf in the context of burial rites could also have alluded to epitaphic language. Classical funerary epigrams (again following epic) frequently declare that deceased has gone beneath the earth's κόλπος or κόλποι (e.g. ἦ μάλα δή σε φίλως ὑπεδέξατο γαῖα ὑπὸ κόλπους).[44] Even if this was not the sole or primary meaning of the Thurii text, such epitaphic expressions would have been audible if the text was spoken aloud in the context of a funerary ritual, especially given chthonic emphasis of the surrounding text (χθονί|ας βασιλείας).[45]

In addition to the cumulative argument of lexical and stylistic similarities, epigrams and the gold leaves resemble each other in their use of interactive speech-forms. Like Classical epigrams, the lamellae texts consist mainly of performative utterances and represent a variety of specific speaking voices, addressees, and speech-scenarios. Here it is worth noting a parallel between recent trends in the study of inscribed epigrams led by Jesper Svenbro and Joseph Day, which have emphasized the importance of performative language and interaction between the reader and monument, and the "neo-ritualist" tendency in current scholarship on the gold leaves that emphasizes performance contexts and the communicative scenario of the texts.[46] The speech-acts in the lamellae are identical with the repertoire of interactions in funerary epigrams: first-person statements by the deceased, direct address and apostrophe to the deceased, commands, and dialogue. The A-tablets from the Thurii Timpone Piccolo (A1-3) and the B-tablets from Crete (B3-8, 12) and Thessaly (B9) all speak primarily or exclusively in the person of the deceased. The longer B-leaves (B1-2, B10-11) are written in direct address to the dead. The A4 lamella from the Thurii Timpone Grande greets the deceased with an epitaphic χαῖρε (noted above), and the two Pelinna leaves (D1-2) speak in apostrophe to the deceased.

The disclosure of identity through dialogue is a common feature of lamellae and epitaphs. The device of dialogue is common in funerary inscriptions, though it appears in some dedications as well.[47] In epigrams, the idea that the deceased's statement of identity is a response to a question appears already in inscriptions of the Archaic period, and remains common in the

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543.3), ἡλικίας δὲ πόθον νεαρᾶς ... λιποῦσα (*CEG* 577.3); cf. focalizing use of ποθεινός with dative: *CEG* 469.1-2, 483.4, 485.1, 501, 511.5, 512.2-3, 527.4, 539.2, 564.4, 569.4, 683.3-4 (Samos, 4th c.). Lament: πατρὶ δὲ σῶι καὶ μητρὶ | γόον καὶ κήδεα λείπεις (*CEG* 704); cf. κεῖσαι πατρὶ γόον δούς *CEG* 95.1 (Attica, ca. late 5th c.). Memory/Memorial: σῆς δ' ⟨ἀ⟩ρετῆς μνήμην σοῖσι φίλοις ἔλιπες (*CEG* 551.2), μνήμην τε λιποῦσα | σωφροσύνης (*CEG* 577.3-4).

[43] Faraone (2011b).

[44] *CEG* 633 (Boeotia, late 4th c.); cf. [σ]ῶμα μὲν ἐν κόλποισι κατὰ χθὼν ἥδε καλ[ύπτει] (*CEG* 611; 4th c.), σῶμα σὸν ἐγ κόλποις κρύψαν ἀποφθίμενον (*CEG* 606.9), σῶμα σὸν ἐν κόλποις, Καλλιστοῖ, γαῖα καλύπτει (*CEG* 551.1).

[45] *Pace* Kingsley (1995) 268 n. 60. The parallel with epitaphic language was noted already by Farnell (1921) 378.

[46] Svenbro (1993), Day (1989), (1994), (2004), (2007), and (2010); see also Tsagalis (2008), and Baumbach, Petrovic, & Petrovic (2010). For the "neo-ritualist" tendency in current scholarship on the Gold Leaves, see contributions to Edmonds (2011a).

[47] Dialogue in Epigrams: See Tsagalis (2008) 252-261 (with emphasis on 4th-c. Attica), Schmitz (2010) 25-29, and Tueller (2010) (esp. 54-57). Epitaphs: *CEG* 28 (Attica, ca. 540-30?), *CEG* 108 (Eretria, ca. 450?) *CEG* 146 (Corcyra, ca. 575-550?). Dedications: *CEG* 286 (ca. 490-80?, Athenian Acropolis), *CEG* 429 (Halikarnassos, ca. 475?); see also Simonides frr. 31, 50 (ed. Campbell) with discussion of Tueller (*op. cit.*) 56-7.

Classical period and beyond. The 4th-c. epitaph of Theogeiton (*CEG* 545.3-4, Athens) discloses the deceased's name, birthplace, and father as though to satisfy the reader's curiosity: "If you're looking for my name (εἰ δὲ ὄνομα ζητεῖς): Theogeiton, child of Thymokhos (Θεογείτων Θυμόχου παῖς), a Theban by lineage (Θηβαῖος γενεάν), I lie here in famed Athens." As in the lamellae, the deceased declares his lineage in response to the imagined interrogation of an interested interlocutor. In the gold leaves, the deceased discloses his or her identity in an encounter with divine powers of the Underworld. Two leaves refer to an exchange of verbal *symbola* or recognition tokens (D3, B11).[48] In the longer B-tablets from Petelia (B1), Pharsalos (B2), Hipponion (B10), and Entella (B11), initiate's Underworld dialogue with the guardians of Memory is framed within an anonymous narrator's address to the initiate. The short B-leaves (B3-9, 12) preserve the same fiction of dialogue removed from the surrounding narrative frame: in these texts, the guardians ask, "Who are you? Where are you from?" (τίς δ' ἐσ⟨σ⟩ί; πῶ δ' ἐσ⟨σ⟩ί;), and the initiate responds, "I am a child of Earth and starry Heaven; but my lineage is heavenly" (Γᾶς υἱός εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος· αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον B9.3-4). Whereas the "dialogue" of inscribed epigrams represents an appeal to the attention of passers-by, the imagined interaction in the lamellae articulates the deceased's claim to a privileged place in the society of the dead.

These shared fictions of speech, address, and dialogue, as well as similarities of poetic style and vocabulary, justify at least a limited generic comparison between these two forms of sepulchral writing. Once again, this is not to dismiss the generic differences between epitaphs and lamellae as discussed above (§I), but rather to observe that within these differences of presentation the lamellae and epitaphs still draw on a common repertoire of images, tropes, and speech-forms. As I argue in this chapter, the lamellae and epitaphs attempt to imagine and construct a mode of communication that can achieve a privileged postmortem status for the deceased and affirm his or her ongoing connection with a larger group. In the Classical period, both genres also try to articulate the special virtues of the social groups who produce them and for whom the individual deceased serves to some degree as a representative. Though the fact of public readership is important for our interpretation of the epitaphs and the ways in which they perform these functions, it should be stressed that the idea of "reperformance" is not wholly dependent on display or identical with reading. Even though the gold leaves were never intended to mark the location of the body or to facilitate oral "reperformance" of ritual by future passers-by, as Joseph Day has argued for inscribed epigrams, they nevertheless in their own ritual context represent both a special practice of attention to the body and a material extension of the words uttered during initiation and burial.

There are some material analogies that illustrate the interpretation I am suggesting for the gold leaves. A recently published lead tablet from Selinous records a short, epitaph-like inscription (οἴμοι ὃ̣ | Σέλινι | Φιλίνō), and was likely deposited inside a grave with the ashes of the deceased.[49] The text here seems to be modeled after Selinuntine epitaphs, which are in turn patterned after oral lament; but the inscription evidently was used to intensify or express the lament in a durable medium rather than to serve as a prompt for future readership. We can think of the Selinous tablet as a kind of "esotaph," a marker that serves some of the material-performative function of an inscribed epitaph – physical permanence, proximity to the body,

[48] On the originally social function of material and verbal *symbola*, see Gauthier (1972), Herman (1987) 62-63, and Struck (2004) 78-84.

[49] Rocca (2009) 1-7 (= *SEG* LVII 890; the tablet is dated after the end of the 5th c. BCE). The inscription reflects Selinuntine epitaphic conventions, as Rocca (*op. cit.*) 1-7 observes: cf. Dubois *IGDS* I 25, 63-69 (all 6th/5th c.). Rocca draws comparison with a similar "epitaphic" inscription on a lead tablet from Carthage (undated): see Jordan (1996) no. 1. On the interaction between archaic epitaphs and ritual lament, see especially Day (1989).

language of lament and mourning – but is not intended for any spectators beyond the group who buried the deceased. To extend Day's interpretive model of Archaic epigram somewhat, we might say that the tablet by its physical presence in the grave signifies for its inscriber(s) a continual "reperformance" of lament without presupposing any future readership.

I suggest that the lamellae and their texts can be seen as performing an analogous function of material "reperformance" within the temporal ritual dynamics of initiation and burial. The precise ritual context of the gold leaves is debated, though it is generally accepted that their texts would have been spoken aloud in an initiation, a funeral, or some combination of the two (e.g. a burial rite that reiterated ritual language from initiation).[50] This last possibility is especially appealing, especially in light of the temporal dynamics of initiation ritual discussed in Ch. 1. The gold leaves themselves are unambiguously funerary objects, but their use in a funerary context might have expressed the immortality that was promised in mystery initiation: e.g., "Happy and blessed, you will be a god instead of a mortal" (ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ' ἔσ|ηι ἀντὶ βροτοῖο A1.9), "Now you have died and now you have come into being, thrice-blessed one, on this very day" (νῦν ἔθανες | καὶ νῦν ἐγ|ένου, τρισόλβ|ιε, ἄματι τῶιδε D1.1; cf. D2.1).

The special association of Orphic religious phenomena with burial practice in ancient sources has been noted above.[51] It should be noted as well that in Magna Graecia, where the earliest gold leaves appear, there is evidence for specialized burial practice associated with mysteries in the Classical period. A late 6th-c. burial inscription from Kyme seems to refer to the deceased as a Dionysiac initiate (ληνός), and a 5th-c. funerary interdiction from the same city forbids the burial of non-initiates in a certain plot.[52] These are public advertisements of initiate identity and solidarity that are meant to be read and recognized by those outside the group. Such inscriptions may have been functional or conceptual counterpart to family *peribolos* tombs of Classical Athens.[53] Corresponding to these public displays in each case, however, are rituals and processes of memory that are not inscribed on stone or presented to an outside spectatorship. The Kyme interdiction advertises an *ideology* of cultic coherence and solidarity, much like the presentation of the elite household in Classical funerary art and inscriptions. I suggest that the gold leaves represent an internal and non-public expression of a comparable cultic ideology, even though they were not used to advertise this ideology to non-initiates but rather to promulgate it within the group itself. The relation, however, between ideology and lived experience is inevitably complex, and I will return at the end of the chapter to consider the larger question of whether and to what extent the images of mystic solidarity in the gold leaves corresponded with social realities. Following the analogy with epigrams, then, the lamellae testify to an interaction between the "vertical" axis of piety and ritual interaction with the gods and a "horizontal" axis of social communication. [54]

Effective statement of the deceased's identity is also central to both epitaphs and lamellae. As I have argued in Ch. 1, the gold leaves can be seen as a commemorative practice that highlights certain traits (initiation, heroic identity) that then serve as credentials for immortality. In this respect, the lamellae share one of the key functions of epitaphs. As Claire

[50] See GJ 140 and 238 n. 13 (with summary of earlier discussion); see also especially Graf (1993) and Riedweg (2011).
[51] See Ch. 1 §V.
[52] Interdiction: οὐ θέμις ἐν|τοῦθα κεῖσθ|αι ἰ μὲ τὸν βε|βαχχευμένον (*LSAG*² 240, 12 = *IGDGG* I 19). *h*υπὺ τẽι κλίνẽι τούτẽι λẽνὸς *h*ύπυ (*LSAG*² 240, 7 = *IG* XIV 871 = *IGASMG* III 12; see also *SEG* LIX 1143, 60.1027). See discussions of Turcan (1986), Casadio (2009), and Ferrari (2015).
[53] *Periboloi*: see R. Parker (2005) 23-27 and Closterman (2007). The existence of burial associations (*homotaphoi*) in Athens is a matter of dispute: see discussions of Jones (1999) 316-317 and Arnaoutoglou (2003) 55-56.
[54] On these "axes" in epigrams, see discussions of Tsagalis (2008) 135-215 and Day (2010) 181-231.

Taylor remarks, "[i]nscribed grave stêlai do not simply indicate who was deceased, but present them in ways that more often than not highlight – and very often seek to enhance – their social status … These are not clear-cut reproductions of the deceased's place within the world; they are representations of it, with all the selectivity that this implies."[55] Epitaphs perform this function not only through the information they convey about the deceased, but also through a repertoire of performative speech-forms and through various verbal strategies of self-presentation. I suggest that with the lamellae, as with epitaphs, part of their "memorializing" function is to imagine a circuit of communication in which the deceased participates and is recognized as deserving of exceptional immortality. The presentation of identity is to some extent instrumental to this end.

In what follows, I consider in comparative perspective two shared features of epigrams and lamellae: the language of individual identity and the images of transition and exchange. In both lamellae and epigrams, these correspond loosely with the speech-forms of first-person prosopopoieia and second-person address, and I will categorize them broadly as "first-person" and "second-person" utterances. These designations are meant here not so much as linguistic categories, but rather as modes of *communication* and *display*: what I term "first-person" utterances are concerned with the presentation of the self and disclosure of identity, and what I am calling "second-person" expressions involve the recognition of the deceased by an implied or ideal spectator. Both modes of expression contribute in different ways to an understanding of the lamellae as objects connected with a cult community. By highlighting the social embeddedness of the gold leaves, the comparison can also help move beyond essentializing and doctrinal definitions of "Orphism" to consider the lamellae and other "Orphic" phenomena more thoroughly in their social contexts.

§III. "First-Person" Statements: Self-Presentation in Lamellae and Epigrams

Eighteen of the longer lamellae texts, including the entire B-group and the majority of the Thurii A-texts, feature first-person declarations of identity by the deceased.[56] In the three A1-3 lamellae, found together in a tumulus in Thurii, the initiate declares before Persephone and an assembly of Underworld divinities (A1.1-3; cf. A2.1-3, A3.1-3):

> ἔρχομαι ἐκ κοθαρῶ⟨ν⟩ κοθαρά, χθονί⟨ων⟩ βα|σίλεια,
> Εὐκλῆς, Εὐβōλεύς τε καὶ ἀ|θάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι.
> καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν | ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὔχομαι | εἶμεν.
>
> I come pure from the pure, queen of those below the earth, Eukles, Eubouleus, and other immortal gods. For I declare that I, too, am of your blessed lineage.

The speakers of A2-3 also declare themselves suppliants (νῦν δ' ἱκέτ⟨ις⟩ ἥκω A2.6, νῦν ⟨ἱ⟩κ⟨έτις⟩ ἥκω A3.6) to Persephone.

The initiates of the B-lamellae make a similar statement of identity before the guardians of the lake of Memory. The Hipponion lamella scripts the initiate's statement as follows (B10.10-12):

> εἶπον· ὑὸς Γᾶς ἐμι καὶ ᾽Ōρανō ἀστερόεντος. 10
> δίψαι δ' ἐμ᾽ αὖος καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλὰ δότ᾽ ὄ[κα
> ψυχρὸν ὕδōρ πιέναι τῆς μνēμοσύνēς ἀπὸ λίμν[α]ς.

[55] C. Taylor (2015) 106; see also applications of E. Meyer (1993) and Tsagalis (2008).
[56] A1-3, B1-13, and D4-5.

> Say: "I am a child of Earth and starry Heaven, and I am parched with thirst and dying. But quickly grant for me to drink cool water from the lake of Memory."

All of the B-leaves feature this identity formula with only slight variations. In the Hipponion text, as well as in the longer lamellae from Petelia (B1), Pharsalos (B2), and Sicily (B11), the initiate's statement is in *oratio recta* framed within a second-person address. The leaf from Petelia echoes the appeal to Persephone's γένος ὄλβιον in the A-lamellae with the additional statement, "But my lineage is heavenly" (αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον B1.7). Shorter leaves from Thessaly (B9), and Crete (B3-8, B12-14) contain an abridged form of this narrative, preserving the same identity-formula without the surrounding narrative and in a slightly different arrangement (B3):

> δίψαι αὖος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ πιέ⟨ν⟩ μοι |
> κράνας αἰειρόω ἐπὶ δεξιά, τῆ{ς} κυφάριζος. |
> τίς δ᾽ ἐζί; πῶ δ᾽ ἐζί; Γᾶς υἱός ἠμι καὶ Ὠρανῶ | ἀστερόεντος.
>
> I am parched with thirst and dying; but grant me to drink from the ever-flowing stream on the right, by the cypress. "Who are you? Where are you from?" I am a son of Earth and starry Heaven.

The statement of identity ("I am a child of Earth and starry Heaven") here is a response to the interjected questions of the Guardians ("Who are you? Where are you from?"). A similar leaf from Thessaly also (like B2) includes the statement, "But my lineage is heavenly" (αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον B9.4). One Cretan lamella from the Hellenistic period also declares, "Earth is my mother" (Γᾶς ἠμ{ο}ὶ μάτηρ B13).

In epitaphs, the deceased are often identified as the "son/daughter/child of so-and-so," often (though not always) in first-person statements. The language of identity in epitaphs is, however, not as closely connected with the first-person speech-form as is the case in the lamellae, and the first-person statement by the deceased should be approached as a special instance of a larger pattern of identity-performance.[57] As in the lamellae, mentions of the deceased's familial connections are common, especially in monuments of the later Classical period. Mention of γένος is less common than a patronymic, and is used especially on inscribed cenotaphs or in contexts where the deceased has been buried in non-native soil as a specific

[57] First-person statements by the deceased commonly use verbs other than εἰμί, especially prior to the 4th c.: κεῖμαι is especially commo: *CEG* 80 (Aigina, ca. 475-450?), 171.3 (Egypt, ca. 475-400?), 480 (Athenian Kerameikos, ca. beginning of 4th c.?), 492 (Thorikos, beginning of 4th c.?), 501 (Attica, "post ca. 350?"), 512 (Piraeus, ca. 390-365), 537 (Piraeus, "ante ca. 350?"), 545 (Athens, ca. 350?), 552 (Attica, ca. 350?), 556? (Attica, ca. 350?), 634? (Boeotia, 4th c.?), 711? (Cyprus, beginning 4th c.), 715 (Cyprus, 4th/3rd c.), 720 (Macedonia, ca. 400-350?), 738 (Black Sea [Taman Peninsula], 4th c.?). Note also two uses of κεῖμαι in *oggetti parlanti*: *CEG* 153 (Amorgos, ca. 450?), 162 (Thasos, ca. 500-490?). Through the 5th c., the first-person εἰμί is normally used by the monument itself is speaking as an *oggetto parlanto*: *CEG* 47 (Attica, ca. 525-500?), 49 (Attica, ca. 525-500?), 72 (Attica, ca. 500-480?), 118 (Thessaly, ca. 475-450?), 146 (Kerkyra, ca. 575-550?), 147a (= 663; Megara Hyblaea, ca. 500-485), 162 (Thasos, ca. 500-490?), 173? (Olbia, 490-480?), 174 (Sinope, ca. 475-450), 699 (Peraea Rhodia, 4th/3rd c.), 712 (Cyprus, after ca. 325). Εἰμί spoken by the deceased is more common from the 4th c. on: *CEG* 482.3 (Athens, early 4th c.?), 543.7-10 (Piraeus, ca. 350?), 572 (Attica, ca. 350?), 592 (Athens, ca. 350-317), 671 (Amorgos, 4th/3rd c.?); cf. *CEG* 595.6-7 (Athens, ca. 335/4 BCE). Tueller (2010) 259 suggests that the prosopopoeia of graves inscriptions was a later application of the older practice of first-person inscriptions that were written for anthropomorphic dedicatory statues.

reference to the deceased's native country.[58] This sense of γένος also appears in literary sources when travelers, exiles, and suppliants disclose their identity to an unfamiliar interlocutor. In such contexts, γένος refers specifically to the speaker's land of origin, as in epigrams.[59] The A- and B-lamellae similarly imagine the soul as a traveler and/or suppliant,[60] and its statement of γένος may echo the declarations of origin or birthplace that appear in both Greek literary sources and in epigrams. But while lamellae and epitaphs both refer back to shared conventions of elite self-identification, they reflect different aspects of this tradition and adapt it in different ways to their respective genres. In both lamellae and epigrams, the deceased's self-presentation highlights a range of significant social and kinship relations. However, we have already observed one significant difference between epitaphs and lamellae: whereas epitaphs always record the deceased's proper name, this detail is omitted or suppressed in the longer lamellae texts.[61]

More generally, the first-person statements of the lamellae show a close formal relation to epic conventions. As Miguel Herrero has shown, the formula "I boast that I am" (εὔχομαι εἶναι/εἶμεν) in A1-3 shows parallels with Homeric character-speeches, and the initiate's self-presentation in terms of supplication (ἱκέτ⟨ις⟩ ἥκω A2-3) echoes Homeric supplication scenes.[62] Terms of supplication and the εὔχομαι-formula derived from epic are not characteristic of Archaic or Classical funerary inscriptions, although some exceptions can be noted.[63] The identity-statements of inscribed epigrams operate within an overall framework that is comparable to that of the lamellae, but which reflects adaptation to a different ritual context and writing practice. Because the presentation of individual identity operates by different means in the gold leaves and epitaphs – and because both draw in different ways on common norms of poetic self-representation – the two must briefly be treated separately before their overall linguistic structures can be viewed in direct comparison.

IIIa. Boasts of Lineage in the Lamellae

The A- and B-lamellae texts are all built around first-person statements of identity: "I am a son of Earth and Starry Heaven" (ὑὸς Γᾶς ἔμι καὶ Ὀρανῶ ἀστερόεντος B10.10), and "I boast that I, too, am of your blessed race" (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὔχομαι εἶμεν A1.3). These statements are most plausibly interpreted as assertions of a divine or semi-divine status

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[58] Cenotaph: *CEG* 143.2 (Kerkyra, ca. 625-600?). Foreign burial: *CEG* 545 (Theban in Athens), 606.4 (Khian in Athens), 628 (Delphian *mantis* buried in Euboea).

[59] This is especially the case when parents and *genos* are mentioned together: e.g. ἐξ Ἰθάκης γένος εἰμί, πατὴρ δέ μοί ἐστιν Ὀδυσσεύς (*Od.* 15.267), ἐγὼ γένος μέν εἰμι Κρὴς ἀρχέστατον (A. *Pen.* fr. 187 Radt), ἐγὼ γένος μέν εἰμι τῆς περιρρύτου / Σκύρου … αὐδῶμαι δὲ παῖς / Ἀχιλλέως, Νεοπτόλεμος (S. *Phil.* 239-41), εἰμὶ δὲ γένος μὲν Κῴη, θυγάτηρ δὲ Ἡγητορίδεω τοῦ Ἀνταγόρεω (Hdt. 9.76.14); cf. Theog.1209-10 (exile), A. *Eum.* 453-6 (suppliant, discussed below).

[60] See Herrero (2013).

[61] See Ch. 1 (§IV). Herrero (2011) 279-280 & n. 25, however, observes that the proper name in agonistic Homeric character speeches, while not suppressed, is still subordinated to the claim of lineage: see further discussion below.

[62] See respectively Herrero (2011) and (2013) 33-40.

[63] Forms of εὔχομαι in Archaic and Classical inscriptions appear mainly in dedications in reference to vows made by the dedicator: *CEG* 214 (Attica, 510-500?), 280 (Attica, ca. 440?), *CEG* 759 (Attica, 4th c.), 838 (Delos, 4th c.), 843 (Paros, 4th c.), 878.2 (Macedonia, 4th c.), etc.) There are exceptions, however: *CEG* 413 (Paros, ca. 525-500) declares as an *oggetto parlanto* τõ Παρίο ποίημα Κριτωνίδεω εὔχομαι ἔναι, while the dedication *CEG* 270 (= *IG* I^3 833bis; ca. 480-470?) declares that the dedicator "dedicated this boundary-stone after making a vow; and he claims that he has won with the most choruses in competition for a tripod throughout the tribes of men" (τόνδ᾽ ἀνέθε[κ]εν *h*όρον / [εὐχσ]άμενο[ς· π]λείστοις δὲ [χ]οροῖς ἔχσο κατὰ φῦ[λα] / [ἀνδ]ρῶν νι[κε͂]σαί φεσὶ π[ερ]ὶ τρίποδος). The verb εὔχομαι here has the sense of "vow," but the agonistic boast that follows may make its competitive Homeric overtones audible: see discussion of this inscription by Biles (2011).

through a shared kinship with the gods.[64] The Hesiodic *Theogony*, in a line that is often cited as a comparison for the identity-statements in the B-lamellae, describes the entire race of gods as descendants of Earth and Heaven (οἳ Γῆς ἐξεγένοντο καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος 106). The Hesiodic wisdom tradition imagines a close early relation between gods and human beings prior to the parting of ways marked by the settlement at Mekone and the crimes of Prometheus (*Th.* 535-616). Hesiod's *Works and Days*, as Johnston observes, alludes to a common descent for gods and humans (ὡς ὁμόθεν γεγάασι θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι 108),[65] and the Hesiodic ages of mankind feature two different races of mortals – the golden age (109-126) and the age of heroes (156-173) – in which human beings are thought to enjoy special relation with the gods. The mortals of the golden age under the rule of Kronos are said to have "lived like gods" (ὥστε θεοὶ δ' ἔζωον 112) in a life free of toil, while the race of heroes are a "godlike race of men-heroes" (ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος 159) and are known as "half-gods" (οἳ καλέονται / ἡμίθεοι 159-160). The motif of common lineage appears also in Pindar (ἕν ἀνδρῶν, ἓν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μιᾶς δὲ πνέομεν / ματρὸς ἀμφότεροι), and the Neoplatonist Porphyry attributes to Euripides the idea that Heaven and Earth are common parents of all living things.[66]

A.A. Long has argued persuasively for a connection between early notions of the divine origin of human beings, such as first appear in Hesiod, and the conceptions of the immortality of the soul in the later Archaic and early Classical periods.[67] Hesiod's *Theogony* declares that the gods themselves are subject to punishment for violation of oaths: they are deprived of divine ambrosia and nectar and condemned to lie down for a year, "deprived of breath and voiceless" (ἀνάπνευστος καὶ ἄναυδος 797), then excluded from the company of gods for an additional nine years (*Th.* 782-806). As Long observes, the fate of such gods resembles that of the feeble mortal ψυχαί that appear in the Homeric Underworld.[68] The paired ideas of human kinship with the gods and the possibility that divinity has been lost as punishment for injustice emerge as important motifs in early notions of the immortality of the soul. Oath-breaking, already important in Hesiod, reappears as a marker of separation between gods and mortals. Empedokles seems to have presented himself as an immortal who once lost this status by committing bloodshed and breaking an oath, but also declared that exceptional souls could become *manteis*, singers, physicians, and ultimately regain divinity and fellowship with the gods.[69]

The idea that human souls (or at least certain exceptional souls) can be restored to a divine condition is common to Pythagoreanism and Empedokles. Both posit that the soul's condition can be improved through purifying it of injustices and pollutions (connected, among other things, with the killing of animals and the consumption of meat). Pindar's second *Olympian* ode, written for the Sicilian tyrant Theron of Akragas and thought to reflect Western Pythagorean or "Orphic" influences, articulates a contrast between the fate of those souls on the one hand who "paid penalties" (ποινὰς ἔτεισαν 58) after death and endure hardship (πόνον 68)

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[64] See Edmonds (2010) and GJ 115-116. The meaning of these statements has been hotly debated. Since Comparetti, the orthodox interpretation has been that the initiate is referring to the Zagreus myth and declaring his/her descent from the Titans: see BJ 40-44 for review of this argument. While this interpretation is not entirely impossible, it is also not the only or the most plausible one. Lineage in the lamellae is the decisive credential for the soul's immortality and its favorable reception in the Underworld, not a source of ancestral guilt. In the context of an attempt to supplicate and appeal to Persephone and other Underworld divinities, it would make little sense for the soul to remind them of its relation with her son's killers: see discussion of Zuntz (1971) 312 and GJ *op. cit*.

[65] GJ 116.

[66] Pi. *N*. 6.1-2, E. fr. 1004 Kannicht (= Porphyry, *De Abst.* 3.25.33-7): …παντάπασιν ἂν οἰκεῖον εἴη καὶ συγγενὲς ἡμῖν τὸ τῶν λοιπῶν ζῴων γένος. καὶ γὰρ τροφαὶ αἱ αὐταὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ πνεύματα, ὡς Εὐριπίδης, καὶ "φοινίους ἔχει ῥοὰς τὰ ζῷα πάντα," καὶ κοινοὺς ἁπάντων δείκνυσι γονεῖς οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν.

[67] A. Long (2015) 51-85.

[68] A. Long (2015) 65-66.

[69] DK 21 B 112.4, 115, 146, 147 (= 1.4, 11, 136, 137 Inwood). See A. Long (2015) 77.

for wrongdoing, and on the other hand the souls of those who kept their oaths (εὐορκίαις 66), who enjoy an easy existence (ἀπονέστερον ... βίοτον 62-63) alongside the gods (παρὰ μὲν τιμίοις θεῶν 65-66). Pindar goes on to refer allusively to the additional possibility that mortal souls may by avoiding unjust deeds through successive cycles of metempsychosis gain entrance to the "tower of Kronos" (παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν 70-71). Pindar does not in this ode refer to a common origin for gods and mortals, but the toil-less existence imagined for those who achieve immortality and the (otherwise unattested) tower of Kronos both suggest the quasi-divinity that characterized human existence in Hesiod's golden age.[70]

The first-person identity-statements of the gold lamellae can be understood within this field of ideas and concerns. The emphasis on ancestry and γένος in the B-texts echoes Hesiod's description of the genesis of the primordial gods and seems to assert a claim on divine ancestry in a manner consistent with the motif of heroization that appears in some leaves (B1.11, cf. B11.2). The paired claims of lineage and purity in A1-3 are also consistent with the idea that the soul's original divinity has been restored through a process of ritual purification. Two of the Thurii leaves even declare that the soul has become or will become a god.[71] Just as important, this interpretation fits well with the specific communicative contexts of the A- and B-lamellae. Appeals to γένος and parentage can be understood – along with appeals to *hiketeia* in A2-3 – within a larger strategy of self-presentation that is designed to win the initiate a favorable reception by Persephone and other chthonic divinities. The initiate's claim of a special kinship relation is central to this strategy and represents a basic structural correspondence between the identity-statements of the lamellae and the presentation of the deceased in funerary epigrams, as we shall see further below.

The language in which the speakers of A1-3 declare their relation with Persephone and the other gods – "I boast that I am of your blessed lineage" (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν | ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὔχομαι | εἶμεν A1.3) – derives from epic and has drawn instructive comparison with Homeric character-speeches.[72] In Homer, the formula εὔχομαι εἶναι is used in battlefield confrontations or other contexts when the speaker is identifying himself to a stranger. Such statements often include assertions of γένος and ancestry.[73] In these speeches, however, what is at issue is often the assertion of status as much as the disclosure of identity. When Diomedes confronts the Trojan Glaukos (*Il.* 6.119-143) on the battlefield, he first asks him to identify himself (τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε, καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων; 6.123): he wants to ensure that Glaukos is not one of the immortal gods (128-129, 141), but declares that if he is of mortal stock (εἰ δέ τις ἐσσι βροτῶν 142) he will assuredly meet his destruction. Glaukos responds with his famous speech likening the generations of men (φύλλων γενεή 146) to the generations of falling leaves (ἀνδρῶν γενεή 149), and then relates his own descent (γενεήν 151) from Bellerophon. He concludes his narrative with a declaration that resembles that of the A1-3 lamellae: "I boast to you that I am of this lineage and blood" (ταύτης τοι γενεῆς τε καὶ αἵματος εὔχομαι εἶναι 6.211).[74]

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[70] On the religious and intellectual background of *Ol.* 2, see Lloyd-Jones (1990) 80-83, GJ 100, and A. Long (2015) 71-74. On the positive aspect assigned to the "age of Kronos" in Greek myth and cult, see Versnel (1990b) 90-135 (esp. 122-126). See also discussion of *Ol.* 2 in Ch. 1 (§IV) of this study.

[71] θεὸς δ' ἔσ|ηι ἀντὶ βροτοῖο A1.9, θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου A4.4; cf. Empedokles' assertion (in the first person) ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος οὐκέτι θνητός (DK 21 B 112.4 = 1.4 Inwood). On the differences between the verb tenses of the *makarismoi* in the two Thurii leaves (ἔσηι A1, ἐγένου A4) and its possible significance for the ritual performance context, see Riedweg (2011) 237-238.

[72] Herrero (2011) and (2013); cf. BJ 105.

[73] Statements of introduction: *Il.* 6.211, 20.240-1, 21.187; *Od.* 1.180, 14.199-204.

[74] The same line appears again in *Il.* 20.241, this time in the mouth of Aineias when he confronts Akhilleus on the battlefield and declares his descent from Aphrodite and Ankhises.

The theme of lineage in Glaukos' speech responds to two different aspects of Diomedes' challenge. Glaukos asserts that he is not one of the immortal gods and can therefore meet Diomedes in battle. Yet the very mortality that separates humans from gods, as expressed in the famous simile of falling leaves (and implied in context by risk of death threatened by Diomedes), also links Homeric mortals through generations of ancestors to a vital structure of heroic lineage. Glaukos' statement about the generations of mortal men serves as a preface for an extended narrative of his own ancestry, punctuated by a formulaic boast.[75] Glaukos accepts Diomedes' challenge while affirming his own heroic credentials. He is not himself immortal, but can claim a place of secure standing within the heroic worlds of divine and semi-divine social relations. His status is beneath that of the gods, but he is also able to preserve face in the encounter and can credibly meet Diomedes in battle from a position of at least rough social parity. Glaukos' appeal is in fact more effective than intended: not only does his ancestry succeed in winning him standing in relation to Diomedes, its unintended effect is to disclose a bond of *xenia* between the two heroes that obviates the need for a battlefield confrontation.[76] This outcome does not diminish the essentially agonistic character of Glaukos' speech, which (like other battlefield declarations of the εὔχομαι-type) affirms the speaker's heroic status against the challenge of an opponent.[77]

Appeals to γένος also come in contexts where identity is not at issue at all, and the speaker is purely concerned with making his status recognized. In *Iliad* 14, the wounded Akhaian chiefs meet to discuss their plans after significant losses to the Trojans. Diomedes speaks last: he begins by acknowledging that he is the youngest in the group and expressing deference to his elders (110-12). Nevertheless, he asserts his lineage as a son of Tydeus (113-4):

> πατρὸς δ' ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἐγὼ γένος εὔχομαι εἶναι
> Τυδέος, ὃν Θήβῃσι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει.
>
> But I boast that I, too, am by lineage from a noble father: Tydeus, whom in Thebes heaped-up earth covers over.

Diomedes then argues for a limited re-entry into battle; his suggestion is met with approval and adopted by the others. Here the appeal to γένος serves to negotiate and establish the speaker's right of participation in a contest of opinions and to assert the validity of his judgment in competition with others. The allusion to his father's burial (ὃν Θήβῃσι χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει – an expression that is later echoed in Classical epigrams) reinforces his family connection. As an argumentative maneouvre, the assertion of γένος performs a comparable function in the society of the gods as among the deliberations of Homeric heroes.[78] When Zeus

[75] Cf. Herrero (2011) 288: "The epic heroes show that the life of the individual matters less in itself, than as a necessary piece to keep the *genos* alive and glorious through the generations … The successful comparison made by Glaucos (*Il.* 6.146-149) about the ephemeral human *genea* – just before telling the long history of his *genos*, where he himself is just one step more – could be interpreted in the same way." Note that Glaukos explicitly mentions the decline of Bellerophon (6.200-202) and the demise of other branches of his family at the hands of Ares and Artemis (6.203-205) as a contrast with the survival of his own father Hippolokhos.

[76] On the interconnection between *xenia* ("guest-friendship") and kinship, see Herman (1987) 16-29.

[77] Cf. *Il.* 20.241 (Aineias to Akhilleus; = 6.211 above); *Il.* 21.186-7 (φῆσθα σὺ μὲν ποταμοῦ γένος ἔμμεναι εὐρὺ ῥέοντος / αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γενεὴν μεγάλου Διὸς εὔχομαι εἶναι: Akhilleus to slain Asteropaios).

[78] Similarly, a "boast" may designate a claim of unmerited status, as in the *Iliad* when the disguised Poseidon complains that Hektor "boasts that he is a child of mighty Zeus" (Ἕκτωρ, ὃς Διὸς εὔχετ' ἐρισθενέος πάϊς εἶναι 13.54) and Thamyris imprudently boasts that he could defeat the Muses in a musical competition (εὐχόμενος νικησέμεν 2.597). Nagy (1999) 148-149 places the first passage in the context of an antagonism between Athena (a *true* child of Zeus) and Hektor. On the second passage, see also Biles (2011) 197-198.

complains of his reluctance to see Troy destroyed, Hera rebukes him with the assertion of her equal divinity: "For I too am a god, and my lineage is from the same source as yours" (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ θεός εἰμι, γένος δέ μοι ἔνθεν ὅθεν σοί, *Il.* 4.58). Hera's statement is meant to establish her wishes and judgments in a relation of parity with those of Zeus. In all of these passages, assertions of lineage serve as a strategy whereby the speaker asserts a claim to participation in certain heroic (or divine) prerogatives. The assertion of lineage in these contexts evokes a nexus of social associations – including both aristocratic *xenia* and (in the Homeric world) kinship-relations with the gods and ἡμίθεοι – that entitles the speaker to claim a position of parity or superiority with his/her interlocutors.

Such concern with self-presentation and "face-work" seems to be at issue in the first-person identity-statements of the lamellae.[79] Miguel Herrero connects the boasts of γένος in A1-3 with the battlefield vaunts of Homeric warriors, and observes that the formulaic use of εὔχομαι in the A-lamellae in an address to Persephone and other divinities reflects a sense of "asserting one's right" as well as "boasting" and "praying."[80] The A-initiates are able through purification to claim rights of kinship before Persephone on arrival in Hades. Their wish is that she send them favorably (πρόφρων A2.7, A3.7) to their rightful place in the "seats of the pure" (ἕδρας ἐς εὐαγέ{ι}ων A2.7; cf. A3.7). Similar concerns are operative in the internal dialogue of the B-tablets. In the shorter leaves, the guardians ask, "Who are you? Where are you from?" (e.g. τίς δ' ἐσί; πῶ δ' ἐσί; B9.3), and the initiate responds, "I am a child of Earth and starry Sky." In the longer B-lamellae, however, the terms in which the soul is confronted and asked to identify itself are more confrontational and potentially threatening. In the leaves from Petelia (B1) and Entella (B11), the guardians' questions are not recorded. In the Hipponion lamella, the guardians ask the soul, "What are you looking for in the gloom of Hades?" (ὅ τι δὲ ἐξερέεις Ἄϊδος σκότος ὀρφέεντος B10.9). In the leaf from Pharsalos, the guardians ask, "On what business do you come?" (ὅ τι χρέος εἰσαφικάνεις B2.6). The word χρέος in this second example (ambiguously "matter," "need," or "necessity") perhaps echoes epitaphic language that refers metonymically to death as τὸ χρεών ("necessity"). In the Pharsalos leaf, χρέος is frequently taken in this latter meaning: but the broader sense of χρέος as "business," "affair," or "need" is at least audible, and in fact makes good sense in its communicative context.[81] The question concerns the soul's desire to drink from the lake of memory, not the necessity (i.e. death) that has brought it to Hades in the first place. At issue is the soul's right of access to the waters of Memory, since the guardians' questions in B2 and B10 imply a challenge to the soul's status in the Underworld.

In the Petelia leaf, the soul's identity-statement includes an additional line (B1.7): "But my lineage is heavenly: and you yourselves know this" (αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον· τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί). It is ambiguous whether the verb ἴστε is imperative or indicative. The same line may also have appeared in a tablet from Sicily (B11.15, though damage to the leaf makes the

[79] "Face-Work" derives from Goffman (1956) and (1967); see theoretical developments by Brown & Levinson (1987) and Bourdieu (1991). For applications of Goffman's theories of symbolic social interaction to Homeric poetry, see especially Scodel (2008).

[80] Herrero (2011) 275-278, drawing on the studies of this formula by Perpillou (1972) and Muellner (1976); see also Biles (2011). On the agonistic subtext of εὔχομαι in Homeric poetry, see also Nagy (1999) 44-45 ("these words are used by or of a hero to express his superiority in a given area of endeavor… Once the Homeric narrative quotes a hero as he actually **eúkhetai** 'boasts,' the factor of comparison and even rivalry with other heroes becomes apparent.").

[81] "Necessity" (GJ, BJ); "need" (Edmonds); closer to the mark (per my reading) is Pugliese Carratelli's "pourquoi tu es venu là" (PC 68). Three Attic verse epitaphs referring to death as τὸ χρεών are roughly contemporary with the Pharsalos leaf: ψυχὴν μὲν ἔχει τὸ χρεών (*CEG* 542, ca. 350?), οὗ τὸ χ⟨ρ⟩εὼν εἵμ⟨α⟩ρται, ὅρα | τέλος ἡμέτερον νῦν (*CEG* 544, ca. 350?), [ε]ὐξυνέτου Μοίρας εἰς τὸ χρεὼν δίδοται (*CEG* 586.7, after ca. 350). See also Kurke (1991) 85-107 on the specifically transactional sense of χρέος in epinician poetry.

reading uncertain), and the statement "My lineage is heavenly" is also attested in a shorter leaf from Thessaly (B9.4). This expression, "But my race is heavenly," with the strong adversative αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ, follows awkwardly from the preceding line, and was condemned by Zuntz as a late addition to an older archetype.[82] The line is, however, attested in B9 as belonging already in the 4th c. to the ritual practice that produced the B-leaves, and it makes sense within the interactive scenario of the B-texts. The appeal to γένος echoes the first-person εὔχομαι-statements of A1-3, and the second-person appeal to the guardians, "You yourselves know this" (τόδε δ᾽ ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί), resembles the language of direct address in the A-leaves (e.g. ὑμῶν γένος A1.3; cf. A2.3, 3.3). The statement also echoes the language of Homeric character-interactions in instructive ways. In *Iliad* 1, when Thetis asks her son Akhilleus the reason for his grief, he responds to her: "You know (οἶσθα)! Why should I relate this to you when you know it all already (ἰδυίῃ πάντ᾽)?" (1.365). The point of the exchange in either case is to forcefully articulate the special connection between speaker and addressee. In the case of the Thurii leaves, it expresses this connection in a context where the connection itself is precarious and the soul is at risk of misrecognition. As Miguel Herrero observes, the statement also conveys "a touch of pride" that echoes the agonistic boasts of Homeric heroes.[83] This is especially true if ἴστε is taken as an imperative, in which case it seems to carry an indignant or confrontational tone. It is consistent with the interpretation set out above that the soul's response is meant to overcome a potential challenge to its status in the Underworld by asserting its place in a set of privileged social relations.

IIIb. Arrival and Supplication in the Lamellae

The soul's supplicatory appeals before Persephone in A2-3 complement its appeal to γένος. The A-initiates present themselves as new arrivals in quasi-performative language: "I come (ἔρχομαι) pure from the pure," and "I have come as a suppliant" (ἱκέτ⟨ις⟩ ἥκω A2.6, cf. A3.6). The scenario of the B-texts similarly imagines the soul as a new arrival in the unfamiliar landscape of Hades. Both narratives signal the risk of an unfavorable or unsuccessful reception. The initiate of the B-lamellae is warned to avoid the stream where ordinary souls drink: in encountering this stream, the soul risks assimilation with the undifferentiated ψυχαί of the ordinary dead (ψυχαὶ νεκύων B10.4). As in the Homeric world, the traveler's arrival is marked as an occasion where the performance of identity is consequential. Mistaken identity or fraudulent self-presentation is a special risk for new arrivals and their hosts.[84]

The soul's appeal to *hiketeia* in A2-3 underscores its vulnerability as a new arrival in the Underworld.[85] The importance of Homeric background for these scenes has again been demonstrated by Herrero, who identifies instructive parallels among the Thurii texts, Homeric

[82] Zuntz (1971) 366 calls the second half of the line "empty verbiage serving to fill the verse," while Janko (1984) 95-96 defends the line.

[83] Herrero (2011) 279.

[84] See Herrero (2011) 287. In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus and Athena both use conventional declarations of lineage and standing to present themselves and interact under false identities when they arrive as travelers at Ithaka and Pylos: Μέντης Ἀγχιάλοιο δαΐφρονος εὔχομαι εἶναι / υἱός (*Od.* 1.180-181 Athena to Telemakhos), ἐκ μὲν Κρητάων γένος εὔχομαι εὐρειάων, / ἀνέρος ἀφνειοῖο πάϊς … Κάστωρ Ὑλακίδης, τοῦ ἐγὼ γένος εὔχομαι εἶναι (*Od.* 14.199-204, Odysseus to Eumaios). Cf. οἷος γὰρ μετὰ τοῖσι γεραίτερος εὔχομαι εἶναι (*Od.* 3.362, Athena to Nestor).

[85] Cf. Herrero (2013) 38: "[T]he soul in the gold leaves acknowledges that she depends on the benevolence of the Queen, with the formula ὥς με πρόφρων πέμψηι. The construction with ὥς followed by subjunctive leaves open the possibility that Persephone may reject the soul." On rejection of suppliants, see R. Parker (1983) 180-182 and Naiden (2006) 3-28, 105-170.

supplication scenes, and the wanderings of Empedokles' *daimôn*.[86] John Gould interpreted supplication as a ritual of social incorporation that produced a bond of *xenia* between the suppliant and the supplicated party. F.S. Naiden has rightly questioned whether Gould's view can stand as a normative description of ancient supplication, but the formalized Homeric supplication scenes (which are the most important *comparanda* for the Thurii leaves) still conform well to Gould's interpretation.[87] It is at least clear that supplication belongs to the same family of ritualized social bonds as *xenia*, and that it is structurally similar to a *rite de passage* as a ritual mechanism by which an outsider may attach himself to a structure of social relations to which he does not already belong and within which he does not already enjoy a secure relation.[88]

The vulnerability of the suppliant is an important characteristic of supplication scenes across ancient evidence. As Naiden demonstrates, claims of supplication may in practice be accepted or refused by the supplicated party. Appeals to *hiketeia* therefore must often bolstered by other claims of elite standing, especially appeals to shared familial ties with the supplicated party. [89] Such statements may satisfy a practical need for self-identification, but may additionally serve to situate the speaker in a structure of social relations that will help him/her to secure a favorable reception in a new context. The motif of supplication is used as a supplementary rhetorical device in the two short Thurii tablets (A2-3) to bolster the underlying appeal to kinship that is uniform across the entire corpus. At the same time, the appeal to supplication sounds a note of emotional distress at the risk to the deceased in the Underworld scenario. The institution of *hiketeia*, with its simultaneous suggestion of both parity and hierarchy, helps to express the soul's ambiguous position. The text attempts to strike a balance between a potentially excessive claim of equality with the gods and the initiate's dependency on their favor.

IIIc. Differentiation and Ideal Communities in Epitaphs and Lamellae

Both lamellae and inscribed epitaphs are concerned with differentiating the deceased from the common run of mortals. In epitaphs, too, the universality of death is a frequent theme that provides a background against which the exceptional or differentiating virtues of the deceased can be made to stand out. Although it is rare for funerary epigrams of this period to deny outright the possibility of an individual afterlife, the language of many private verse epitaphs of the Archaic and Classical periods tends to minimize this possibility.[90] In some epitaphs, the maxim that death is "common to all" not only serves a consolatory role, but also sets a conceptual frame within which the deceased's mortal virtues can be memorialized. The

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[86] Herrero (2013).

[87] Gould (1973), Naiden (2006) 3-28, 129-160. Naiden points especially to the freedom of the supplicated party to reject suppliants. He also argues that, while successful supplication does establish certain ties between the suppliant and the supplicated party, the nature of these bonds in ancient evidence varies widely according to literary genre and cultural context, and does not always take the form of *xenia* or full social incorporation, and such ties as are created by supplication are often weak and temporary in practice: this is already acknowledged by Herman (1987) 54-58. This historical perspective, however, does not negate Gould's interpretation regarding the portrayals of *hiketeia* in Homeric poetry. In addition, an idea of social incorporation seems to have been important to Greek supplication even its more routine forms, even if this idea belonged more to the realm of ideology than to real practice. As Gould (*op. cit.*) 101 observes, even in the 4th c. the formalized vocabulary of supplication is applied predominantly in circumstances (e.g. diplomatic scenarios) where some traversal of sociopolitical boundaries is being recognized.

[88] Herman (1987) 41-72 situates *hiketeia* in a larger set of ritualized means by which strangers may become *xenoi*. See also Vernant (2006) 173, Gould (1973) 97-100, and Naiden (2006) 116-117.

[89] Naiden (2006) 3-28, 86-88, 105-170; cf. Herrero (2013) 36.

[90] An exceptional outright denial is *CEG* 482.2 (Athens, early 4th c.?). Inscriptions that provocatively deny the possibility of an individual afterlife under the influence of Epicureanism appear in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and become more common in late antiquity: see Lattimore (1941) 75-78 and Wypustek (2013) 18-19.

democratic character attributed to death in inscriptions and funeral orations – what Nicole Loraux calls death's "supreme *isonomia*" – is also an important limiting framework for the re-assertion of the virtues and traits that differentiate the exceptional from the ordinary dead.[91] For private burials, commemoration in an inscribed epigram is already in itself a mark of exceptionality: death is common to all, but inscribed grave *stêlai* are not.

The inscription *CEG* 487 (Piraeus, beginning of 4th c.?) is accompanied by a relief of two standing figures, one male (presumably the deceased) and another female (perhaps identified with his mother in the inscription):

> πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμος ἐ|στὶ κοινὸς τὸ ἀποθανῆν. : |
> ἐνθάδε κεῖται Θεοίτης παῖς | Τελέσωνος Τεγεάτας Τεγε|άτο ⋮
> καὶ μητρὸς Νικαρέτης | χρηστῆς γε γυναικός. :
> χαίρε|τε οἱ παρι‹ό›ντες, ἐγὼ δέ γε τὰ|μὰ φυ‹λά›ττω.
>
> It is the common law of all human beings to die. Here lies Theoites of Tegea, son of Teleson of Tegea and of his mother Nikarete, a faithful wife. Farewell, passers-by! But for my part, I guard what is mine.

The image of death as a "common law" (νόμος … κοινός) finds many echoes in other Classical funerary inscriptions: death is "our common end" (τέλος ἡμέτερον) or "the common portion of all" (τὴν πάντων κοινὴν μοῖραν), and Persephone's chamber is "all receiving" (πάνδεκτον) and "common to all" (κοινὸν … πᾶσιν).[92] Though less elaborately developed than the theme of *memento mori* that appears in later inscriptions, such gnomic statements still serve to assimilate the condition of the living reader with that of the deceased, and represent a claim on the reader's attention.[93] Theoites' epitaph opens with the gnomic statement and closes with a farewell to its anonymous readers (to whom it refers as "passers-by"). These generalizing statements offer a contrastive frame for the special representation of the deceased Theoites and his familial connections.[94] The final shift into a first-person speaking voice (ἐγὼ ... τὰ|μὰ φυ‹λά›ττω) makes explicit the already implied contrast between the undifferentiated fate of "all mortals" (πάντων ἀνθρώπων) and the indeterminate "passers-by" (οἱ παρι‹ό›ντες) on the one hand and the special benefit of memorialization that this monument offers to those from a specific household (τὰ|μὰ).

The repetition Τεγεάτας Τεγε|άτο ("Tegean, son of a Tegean") in *CEG* 487 points to the deceased's native origins in Tegea, functioning in much the same way as a traveler's declaration of γένος. It also recalls the repetition of stems in other conventional epitaphic formulae, particularly the expression παῖδες παίδων ("children of children") to refer to grandchildren.[95] Such expressions gesture toward the normative idea of the *oikos* as a structure of continuity between successive generations – even though, in the case of *CEG* 487, that continuity has been disrupted by the death of a son. Two 4th-c. Attic inscriptions (*CEG* 484, 562) suggest a similar continuity by referring to the deceased with the expression ἐξ ἀγαθῶν

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[91] Loraux (2006) 165; see Tsagalis (2008) 38-9, 121-7.

[92] Examples: πάντων ἀνθρώπων νόμος ἐ|στὶ κοινὸς τὸ ἀποθανῆν (*CEG* 487.1), ἦλθ' ἐπ[ὶ] πάνδεκτον Φερσεφόνης θάλ‹α›μον (*CEG* 489.4), ὅρα | τέλος ἡμέτερον νῦν (*CEG* 544.2), καὶ τὸν ἀνάνκης | / κοινὸν Φερσεφόνης πᾶσιν ἔχεις θάλαμον (*CEG* 593.3-4), τὴν πάντων κοινὴν μοῖραν (*CEG* 601.5).

[93] For *memento mori* in later funerary inscriptions, see Lattimore (1941) 250-258.

[94] Observed by Tsagalis (2008) 252.

[95] Tsagalis (2008) 195; see *CEG* 524, 570, 574, 601, *ΣΕΜΑ* 821. Similar expressions are common in poetry outside of epigram: e.g. ἄρσεν' ἀρσένων (E. *Aeol.* fr. 15 Kannicht). On the stylistic use of assonance in classical funerary epigram more generally, see Tsagalis (2008) 50, 281-284.

ἀγαθός (though in both cases the reading is uncertain).[96] Both inscriptions invite comparison with ἐκ καθαρῶν καθαρά in A1-3: Hansen suggested that a version of the text attested in the Thurii lamellae may have influenced the composition of one or both of these inscriptions.[97] It seems more likely that the authors of the lamellae texts simply employed a stylistic device that is common in verse epitaphs and that the resemblance is coincidental. In either case, the *oikos* itself as an intergenerational structure – and particularly of the deceased's place within that structure – is a key point of emphasis in Classical funerary monuments.

In this context, the epitaphic vocabulary of memory and memorialization itself takes on a social-familial character. Funerary inscriptions of the late Classical period continue to refer to themselves both as σήματα ("markers") and μνήματα ("memorials"), but the language of memorialization also increasingly alludes to social processes of memory that are not identical with the stone. As Christos Tsagalis has demonstrated, the words μνήμη and μνημεῖον as used in 4th-c. grave epigrams most often to refer to the memory of the deceased's virtues and friendship rather than to the inscription itself.[98] The language of "leaving behind" (προλείπειν) in epitaphs and lament has already been discussed in relation to the A4 lamella (see §II above): just as the dead may "leave behind" the light of the sun, the breath of life, or their relatives, they may also (in a different but complementary sense) be said to "leave behind" to their surviving relations a memory of their virtues and friendship. "Memory" in this second sense stands for a larger social process of memorialization set in motion by the departure of the deceased. The idea that an individual's "immortal memory" (ἀθάνατος μνήμη) persists after death among the living is common in funerary discourse, and in the later Classical period comes to be adopted in private monuments.[99] Inscribed monuments testify to the household's capability and willingness to construct a physical memorial (μνῆμα, μνημόσυνον) and actively to preserve the memory (μνήμη, μνημεῖον) of the deceased's virtues and characteristics. Inscriptions also focalize the death of the individual through its effect on living members of the household: the dead leave behind grief (πένθος/λύπη) and longing (πόθος), and other narrative conventions gesture toward the grief and memory of the living.[100] In the epitaph of Hygilla (*CEG* 590; Athens, ca. 360-350?), the deceased relates her name and the age at which she died, but tells the reader to learn more about her from her husband, who "knows best how to talk about those things" (οἶδεν ἄριστ᾽ εἰπεῖν περὶ τούτων). The benefit of remembrance accrues to the deceased through his/her abiding connection with the still-living social structure of the *oikos*. The gravestone testifies to this larger process.

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[96] [ἐκ δ᾽ ἀγ]α̣θ̣ῶν ἀγαθὸς προγ|[όνων γεγαὼς ἀ]νεφάνθης (*CEG* 484.4: this is from the epitaph of Kallias Skambonides, thought to have served as archon in 412/11, and on this basis is dated to the early 4th c.); ἐξ ἀγαθῶν [⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–]θη (*CEG* 562.1; Attica, ca. 350).

[97] See *CEG* 562 comm. *ad loc.*: the second line of the inscription is ὑὸν Μειδ[⏑⏑–(⏑⏑)–⏑⏑–⏑⏑–(–)], and Hansen points to a family epitaph (*CEG* 473 = *CEG* 99a) that includes a *mantis* named Μειδοτέλης. The uncertain relative chronology of the lamellae and these inscriptions leaves uncertain from which direction influence might have been exerted: the possibility cannot be ruled out that the inscriptions (especially the epitaph of a prominent official such as *CEG* 484) could have influenced the composition of the lamellae texts rather than *vice versa*. (Though I still find the hypothesis of a coincidental use of similar turn of phrase most plausible.)

[98] Tsagalis (2008) 150-158.

[99] See Tsagalis (2008) 135. Immortal memory: cf. Hdt. 4.144; Lys. 2.6 & 81; Pl. *Sym.* 208d5; Is. 2.37, 4.84, 8.94, 9.3 & 71 (passages collected in Tsagalis *op. cit.*).

[100] See, e.g., Tsagalis (2008) 234-6 on the use of ὥστε-causes in classical funerary epigrams (see *CEG* 570, 585, 604; cf. 724): "[T]heir role as narrative expansion devices is rather to emphasize the link between the dead person and his family members in the future, i.e. to underscore the fact that the family will, through mourning and grief, retain the same unity it had in the past, that the death of a beloved one was actually a touchstone for the continuation of its cohesion…"

Gnomic statements about the universality of death also serve as a background against which certain qualities of the deceased may be highlighted as exceptional or particularly deserving of mourning, praise, and remembrance. Certain circumstances of death are often emphasized. Grave markers of young men and unmarried women who predecease their parents are common in both the Archaic and Classical periods.[101] Beginning in the later Classical period, women who die at an old age and have seen the birth of their grandchildren are said to die a "good death" (εὐθανατῶς).[102] The individual may also also be portrayed as a specific instance of a gnomically defined category of praiseworthiness.[103] The deceased of one grave declares, "If there is such a thing as a noble death, Tykhê granted this to me as well (κἀμοί)" (*CEG* 595.1; Athens, ca. 335/4). The anonymous speaker of another epigram, addressing the deceased, says: "If there is any gratitude (χάρις) with Persephone for piety, Tykhê granted a portion of this to you also (καί σοι) when you died" (*CEG* 603; Attica, 4th c.?).[104] Against the universal background of human mortality, certain goods could be hoped for: to see the flourishing of one's descendants, to live to a happy old age, and finally to enjoy the attenuated form of post-mortem existence that could be achieved in social memory. The death of the individual is "put into perspective" as either a good death or one in which the deceased is fortunate against the background of possible human experience.[105]

A common device of epigrams (shared with funeral oration) is to assimilate the deceased to widely recognized categories of praiseworthiness using qualitative adjectives.[106] The deceased is frequently called χρηστός or χρηστή ("good"/"faithful") or ποθεινός ("longed-for") in reference to his/her friends and family, while an honorand whose life and circumstances of death are particularly fortunate is marked as εὐδαίμων ("happy") or ζηλωτός ("enviable").[107] The adjective ὄλβιος appears in funerary epigrams to characterize those who have died εὐθανάτως – i.e. after living to an advanced age, seeing their grandchildren, and without succumbing to painful disease.[108] At times these categories may be pluralized into ideal communities of the happy and virtuous: the deceased may thus be numbered among the χρηστοί and the εὐδαίμονες.[109] The most significant such community in Attic funerary inscriptions is that of the ἀγαθοί, already mentioned above in discussion of *CEG* 484.4 and 562.1.[110] The highly gendered praise of the ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί is deeply rooted in Athenian male citizen identity, and its popularity in later Classical epitaphs parallels its importance in Attic funeral oration and honorific decrees

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[101] Sourvinou-Inwood (1995) 179-190 and Tsagalis (2008) 198-204. (Discussed further in §IVb below.)

[102] E.g. *CEG* 477, 531, 554, 557, 579, 592, 597, 601, 633, *ΣΕΜΑ* 821. This theme appears to be a 4th-c. Attic innovation: see Tsagalis (2008) 207-208 ("This new phenomenon must be seen as a 'reflex' to the 'negatively' colored motif of youth that is unsparingly used in fourth-century Attic epitaphs."), and Breuer (1995) 48.

[103] See Tsagalis (2008) 10-61 (gnomic statements), 31 (particles).

[104] See further discussion of this inscription in §IVa below.

[105] Tsagalis (2008) 31.

[106] See Tsagalis (2008) 26-27 (in general), 209-10, 316 (in connection with profession).

[107] Χρηστός/Χρηστή: *CEG* 487, 491, 526.1 (*extra metrum*), 530.1 & 3, 547, 571, 626, 683. Ποθεινός/Ποθεινή: *CEG* 469.1-2, 483.4, 485.1, 501, 511.5, 512.2-3, 527.4, 539.2, 564.4, 569.4, 683.3-4 (Samos, 4th c.). Εὐδαίμων: *CEG* 577, 477, 524, 566.4. Ζηλωτός/Ζηλωτή: *CEG* 592.

[108] Ὄλβιος: *CEG* 579, 601, 633.

[109] E.g. [π]άντων ὧν θέμις ἐστὶ τυχεῖν εὐδαίμοσι θνητοῖς (*CEG* 577), εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν (*CEG* 571.6), ψυχὴ δὲ εὐσεβέων | οἴχεται εἰς θάλαμον (*CEG* 545). Cf. ὦ φίλοι ἡμέτεροι, χρηστ⟨ο⟩ὶ πιστ⟨ο⟩ὶ διὰ παντός, |/ χαίρετε (*CEG* 520.4-5: addressed to the living rather than the dead), χρηστὸς καὶ χρηστῶ[ν] (*CEG* 547, supplement uncertain). Note also ἀείμναστοι (possibly combined with hero-language) in the fragmentary *CEG* 634 (Boeotia, 4th c.?), and οἱ δὲ καλῶς ἥρωες […] in the damaged *CEG* 578.3 (Attica, "post ca. 350?").

[110] E.g. τὸς ἀγαθὸς ἔστερξεν Ἄρης, ἐφίλησε δ' ἔπαινος (*CEG* 489.1), ὀθεὶς μόχθος ἔπαινον ἐπ᾽ ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν | / ζητεῖν (*CEG* 593.1), εἴ τις τῶν ἀγαθῶν μνείαν ἔχει ἐν δορὸς ἀλκεῖ (*CEG* 594.1), ὤλε[σσεν] φθονερὰ τ[οῖς ἀ]γαθοῖσι Τύχ[η] (*CEG* 635.4; Boeotia, 4th c.?); see also *CEG* 484 & 562 (discussed above).

beginning in the 5th c. BCE.[111] As seen in the expression ἐξ ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθός (*CEG* 484.4, 562.1; cf. χρηστὸς καὶ χρηστῶ[ν] *CEG* 547, supplement likely but uncertain), the language of community in epitaphs also tends to assimilate statements of descent with claims of virtue.

Similarly, in the lamellae an "ideal community" of initiates takes a prominent place in addition to the appeal to lineage.[112] Some communities are defined by qualitative adjectives: those deserving of immortality are called the καθαραί ("the purified"; A1.1, A2.1, A3.1), the εὐαγεῖς ("the pure"; A2.6, A3.6), and (as in epigrams) the ὄλβιοι ("the blessed", D1.7). Others are articulated as collective nouns or groups of initiates. The speaker of a tablet from Pherai says (to Persephone?), "Send me to the bands of initiates" (πέμπε με πρὸς μυστῶ⟨ν⟩ θιάσους D5.1), and two of the Thurii initiates ask to be sent "to the seats of the pure" (πέμψη⟨ι⟩ | ἕδρας ἐς εὐαγέ{ι}ων A2.7; cf. A3.7). In several leaves, the initiate's Underworld reception is constructed as an assimilation of individual to group in a manner that echoes the style of epitaphs. The Hipponion initiate is told: "You also (καὶ δὴ καὶ σὺ) shall go along the sacred road which the other famed initiates and *bakkhoi* (ἄλλοι … μύσται καὶ βάχχοι) tread" (15-6). The forceful use of particles (καὶ δὴ καὶ) highlights the experience of the individual (σὺ) even while assimilating her to the destiny of a broader community (ἄλλοι) of Dionysiac initiates.[113] The deceased of the Pelinna D1 leaf is addressed as "thrice-blessed" (τρισόλβιε) and told that "for you too (κἀπιμένει σ') there await the same rites below the earth as the other blessed ones" (ἄσσαπερ ὄλβιοι ἄλλοι).[114] A similar device of focalization, with the individual marked by particle καί assimilated to a group of "others" (ἄλλοι), appears in the lamellae from Thurii (A1-3), in which the initiate addresses the "other immortal gods" (ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι) and boasts that "I, too (καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν) am of your blessed race (ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον)."[115] The declaration, "But my lineage is heavenly" (αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον) in the first-person identity statements of two B-lamellae (B1.7, B9.4) can similarly be read as a spotlighting of the individual (ἐμοὶ) with the adversative or progressive αὐτάρ.[116] The language of communal identity operates in concert with appeals to γένος, parentage, and supplication as part of a verbal strategy to articulate the initiate's claim to special place in the Underworld.

It is also worth noting, in contrast with the strongly gendered praise strategies of epigrams, the gender-neutrality or gender-ambiguity of the identity-language in the lamellae.[117]

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[111] See Schäfer (1997). For a discussion of ἀνδραγαθία and its use in democratic Athenians, see also Loraux (2006) 145-171, D. Whitehead (1993) (esp. 43-47) and (2009).

[112] Observed by Bremmer (2014) 75.

[113] Denniston (1950) 255 documents the use of καὶ δὴ καὶ with the meaning "and in particular" connecting a specific instance with a general category or principal ("the generality of the preceding clause being often marked by ἄλλος, ἀεί, etc.") See e.g. Pl. *Prt.* 345e (οὐδεὶς τῶν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ἡγεῖται … καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Σιμωνίδης), *Phd.* 59d (ἀεί … καὶ δὴ καὶ τότε), *Rep.* 328e (χαίρω διαλεγόμενος τοῖς σφόδρα πρεσβύταις … καὶ δὴ καὶ σοῦ ἡδέως ἂν πυθοίμην), Dem. 8.26 (πάντες ὅσοι πώποτ᾽ ἐκπεπλεύκασι … χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν … καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τῷ Διοπείθει … δῆλον ὅτι δώσουσι χρήματα), etc.

[114] See Obbink (2011) 301 and Riedweg (2011) 231-232; the effect of ring composition was observed already by Segal (1990) 415. The reading of this line is uncertain, but the relation of the individual (τρισόλβιε) to a group of ὄλβιοι ἄλλοι is secure. Here I adopt the reading of Graf & Johnston (GJ #26a), which makes the best sense of the letters on the lamella: the reading adopted by Bernabé (*OF* 485) includes a similar use of the focalizing use of καί with a personal pronoun (καὶ σὺ μὲν εἶς ὑπὸ γῆν τελέσας ἅπερ ὄλβιοι ἄλλοι).

[115] The expression καὶ ἀ|θάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι (A1.2), along with the parallel expressions καὶ θεοὶ ⟨καὶ⟩ δαίμον|ε⟨ς⟩ ἄλλοι (A2.2) and καὶ θεοὶ ὅσοι δ⟨αί⟩μο|νες ἄλλοι (A3.2) from the other Thurii leaves, is usually taken as an address to the "other gods" besides Persephone, Eukles, and Eubouleus who are present at the moment of the deceased's arrival and address: but given the language of apotheosis in the tablets and similar uses of ἄλλοι in the leaves from Pelinna (D1) and Hipponion (B10), I do not think it is implausible to see the language of the "other immortal gods" in the Thurii leaves as the deceased's claim to belong to their company.

[116] See Denniston (1950) 55, §1-2.

[117] See Graf (1993) 255-256 and BJ 59.

The leaves themselves appear in the graves of men and women in roughly equal numbers, and they employ nearly identical language in reference to both sexes. The Thurii A1-3 leaves all refer to the initiate in the feminine: there is ambiguity, however, as to whether the Underworld speaker is the (possibly male) deceased or the (grammatically feminine) ψυχή.[118] Similar ambiguities appear in the B-lamellae. The Hipponion lamellae was buried in a woman's grave, but the speaker still declares himself/herself a son (υἱός) of Earth and Heaven and says that it s/he parched (αὖος) in the masculine. The Petelia initiate, by contrast, calls herself a child (παῖς) of Earth and Heaven, and says that she is parched (αὔη) in the feminine: the archaeological context of this leaf is lost, and these variations in the text may reflect either an adaptation to the sex of the deceased individual or an understanding of the ψυχή as the postmortem speaking voice. The speakers of the shorter B-lamellae similarly call themselves "son" (B3-5, B7-9), except for one leaf that says "daughter" (θυ⟨γ⟩άτηρ B6). The practice associated with the leaves seems to have been largely one-size-fits-all. Most often there seems to have been no interest in adapting the text to the sex of the deceased, and even where the individual's gender was reflected it was only through superficial tweaks made to a standard ritual text.

The broad structural similarity of the language of identity used in epigrams with that of the lamellae may now begin to come into focus. Both the lamellae and Classical verse epitaphs represent "memory," in different but related senses, as a special benefit for the deceased.[119] This benefit is conferred through, and is in some ways defined in terms of, membership in a special group. For the deceased of epitaphs, the end of death is inescapable, but the "exceptional" deceased may aspire to a differentiated status through public memorialization and the preservation of memory among family, friends, and intimates. Persons belonging to certain categories – the ὄλβιοι, the εὐδαίμονες, the χρηστοί/χρησταί, and above all the ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί – could claim membership in idealized communities with special claim to immortality through praise and memorialization. The verbal strategies of the lamellae are surprisingly similar in their overall contours. There are allusions to the processes of death that are also reflected in verse epitaphs: the ψυχή leaves the light of the sun (A4.1), mortals succumb to Moira (A1.3, A2.4, A3.4), go below the earth (ὑπὸ γῆν D1.7; cf. ὑπὸ κόλπον A1.7), and enter the darkness of Hades (B1.1, B2.1, B10.2 & 10, B11.11?). The B-initiate may encounter the ordinary mass of ψυχαί who refresh themselves from the fatal stream of Forgetting (B10.4, B11.6). Such allusions to ordinary mortal experience serve a function in the lamellae comparable to that of the inevitability of death in funerary epigram: that is, they present an undifferentiated background against which the soul's claim to immortality is more striking and exceptional. The initiate achieves immortality both through bonds of divine kinship that have been renewed and activated by rites of purification and through assimilation to a mystic community: ὄλβιοι, βάχχοι, μύσται, καθαροί/καθαραί, εὐαγεῖς, ἡρῶες, and θίασοι. In both the lamellae and verse epitaphs, the deceased's bonds with structures of kinship and membership in an imagined community both articulate a postmortem status that sets them apart from ordinary mortals. As I have suggested in the previous chapter, these first-person forms of self-presentation are also intended for an implied internal "spectatorship" of the cult group who are especially able to recognize and testify to those qualities of the deceased that earn him or her immortality.

§IV. "Second-Person" Statements: Address, Transition, and Exchange

I have referred to the mystics in the gold leaves as part of an "ideal" or "imagined" community, but this is not to imply that such communities were wholly fictional. While it is still

[118] See BJ 59, 99.
[119] See also discussion in Ch. 1.

appropriate to reject the "Orphic Church" constructed by some scholarship of the 19th and early 20th c., the communal ideas expressed in the gold leaves nevertheless remain to be accounted for. The theme of the deceased initiate's reception into the Underworld community suggests an idealized version of a cult group projected into the eschatological realm. Several of the lamellae suggest a resumption of cult practices in the world of the dead (e.g. D1.7), and the images of initiates walking a sacred Underworld road in the Hipponion lamella (B10.16) and the *thiasoi* of *mystai* in the leaf from Pherai (D5.1) both suggest that the same "society" of initiates includes both the living and the dead among its members.[120] At the same time, death itself is a boundary that must be carefully traversed and properly negotiated. Afterlife is not really a continuation of life, and the lamellae constantly suggest that the initiate's reception in the Underworld community of *mystai* entails a radical change of condition. The nature of this change and its significance for the cult groups associated with the lamellae deserve closer consideration.

To address this question, this section will consider the lamellae alongside two different types of private funerary epigrams: first, the small group that entertain the possibility of a postmortem afterlife for the deceased; and second, the more common type that emphasize the grief of the deceased's familial and social connections. Despite their basic thematic difference, these two groups of inscriptions both seek to articulate the social bond between living and deceased. As we shall see, the eschatological motifs of epitaphs are fundamentally *relational* and participate in a larger grammar of spatio-temporal pragmatics that articulates the abiding social connections of the deceased in spite of the distance and separation imposed by death. All of these observations have implications for the interpretation of the gold leaves. As we have already seen, the lamellae employ a similar underlying pragmatic language of "leaving behind" and arrival as in epitaphs. In certain respects, the lamellae actually more strongly resemble epitaphs that emphasize lament than those that allude to the soul's postmortem existence. Equally important for the purposes of this discussion, both lament and eschatology in epigram are "second-person" sentiments, often taking the form of an address to the dead. In this respect, too, I suggest that epigram offers an interpretive model for the statements of address in the gold lamellae that express and perform the connection between the ritual group and the deceased initiate. Differently put, both epitaphs and lamellae portray a specific real-life group (the elite *oikos*, the mystic *thiasos*) in idealized form as the context in which the deceased's immortality is realized.

IVa. Eschatological Pragmatics in Epitaphs and Lamellae

Eschatological motifs in Classical funerary epigram are ordinarily brief, allusive, and unelaborated. It is not until the Hellenistic period that the fate of the individual soul becomes a focus of epitaphs.[121] In Classical inscriptions, the distant abode of the deceased is invoked instead as a pragmatic counterpart to the immediate presence of the grave and the deceased's corporeal remains. Conventional eschatological motifs such as mentions of Hades and Persephone are often used to construct a pragmatic link for the reader between the immediate presence of the tomb and the radical absence of the deceased. The distant obscurity of Hades also serves as a contrastive background against which the actions of the living community may be more closely highlighted and represented. This is true even of the few 4th-c. inscriptions that suggest a happy fate for the soul, which often frame such sentiments within a soul-body

[120] As observed by Bremmer (2014) 75: "[T]he texts seem to suggest communal activities … [T]he initiates imagine themselves still as a group also in the afterlife."

[121] See discussions of Dover (1974) 261-268 and R. Parker (2005) 363-368. The inscriptions treated in Obryk (2013) and Wypustek (2013) are for the most part much later (the late Hellenistic and Roman periods) than the period under discussion here.

antithesis.[122] Several inscriptions of this kind suggest that the deceased's virtues and honors persist after death. Sometimes this continuity is a product of memorialization rather than an individual afterlife, but in several instances the deceased's continued existence is either ambiguously located or placed in the Underworld.[123] The deceased of *CEG* 577 (Salamis, ca. 350?) declares:

> [π]άντων ὧν θέμις ἐστὶ τυχεῖν εὐδαίμοσι θνητοῖς ⋮ |
> ζῶσά τε ἐκοινώνουν καὶ φθιμένη μετέχω. |
> ἡλικίας δὲ πόθον νεαρᾶς μνήμην τε λιποῦσα, |
> σωφροσύνης ἔθανον Λογχὶς ἐπωνυμίαν.
>
> Of all that is decreed for happy mortals to attain, I partook while alive; and I still have a share while dead. But having left behind desire for youth [or the longing of my age-mates?] and the memory of my moderation, I died, nicknamed Lonkhis.

The inscription makes no explicit mention of Hades, Persephone, or the Underworld. But the contrast between the benefits that the deceased currently enjoys (φθιμένη μετέχω) and the social memory left behind (μνήμην τε λιποῦσα) hints at a happy existence in the eschatological realm. The inscription presents the postmortem existence of the deceased not only as a replication of her past life (ζῶσά … φθιμένη), but also as a reality that exists in parallel to the processes of social memorialization. This tendency to imagine the social and eschatological existences of the deceased as parallel or mutually reflective is a common feature in the language of afterlife in Classical verse epitaphs, as will be seen in further examples.

The idea that the deceased's life extends into the Underworld appears in the epitaph of Gerys in *CEG* 595.2-5 (Attica, ca. 340-317):

> (ii) εἰ τὸ καλῶς ἔστι θανεῖν, κἀμοὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἀπένειμε Τύχη· |
> οὐδὲ φάος λεύσων ὅ γε δαίμοσιν ἦν ἀγέραστος, |
> πᾶσιν δ᾽ ἀνθρώποισι παρέσχον ἀνένκλητον ἐμαυτόν· |
> ἔντιμον χθονίοισι θεοῖς ὑπεδέξατο γαῖα. 5
>
> If it is possible to die well, Tykhê has granted this also to me. I was not without honor among divinities when I looked upon the light, and I showed myself to all

[122] Two epitaphs – the public inscription for the Athenian dead at Potidaia (*CEG* 10.6 = *IG* I³ 1179; Attica, 432 BCE) and a private 4th-c. epitaph from the Piraeus (*CEG* 535) – declare that the soul is consigned to the *aithêr*, and in both cases this idea belongs to an antithesis between soul and body: αἰθὲρ μὲμ φσυχὰς ὑπεδέχσατο, σόμ[ατα δὲ χθὸν] (*CEG* 10.6), ψυχὴν ... αἰθὴρ ὑγρός ἔχει (*CEG* 535). Now worth noting, however, is the much earlier evidence of an Attic white-ground *lekythos* (dated to ca. 465 BCE) that depicts a tombstone with a similar inscription: the legible portion of the "epitaph" as reconstructed by Papadopoulos and Matthaiou (*SEG* LVII 89) reads [τ]ῶνδ᾽ ἀρ[- - - c. 7-8 - - - ?ἄμ]εμπτος ἐν αἰθέρι, | [σ]ώματα [δ᾽ – ˘] [ἔ]κρυψεν γῆ νο͂<ι>ν | εἵνεκ[α? - - - c. 8 - - -]ας, which suggests that epitaphic formulae of this kind (including the soul-body antithesis) were familiar well before the Potidaia monument: see discussion of Tzachou-Alexandri (2007). On the possible intellectual background of *aithêr* in these inscriptions, see Mihai (2010), Obryk (2013) 14-17, and Wypustek (2013) 39-42. Similar statements in 5th/4th-c. literary sources include Epicharm. fr. 213 K.-A. (= 245 Kaibel), Ps.-Epicharm. fr. 254 K.-A. (= 265 Kaibel), E. *Suppl.* 531-4, *Hel.* 1014-6, fr. 971 Kannicht, and Alexis fr. 163 (= 158 Kock). The declaration that the deceased's soul now abides in Olympos in *CEG* 558 (Attica, ca. 350?) belongs to a similar soul-body antithesis: [–⏑⏑– ὑπὸ] γ[ῆι κ]εῖται, ψυχὴ δ᾽ ἐν Ὀλύμπ[ωι].

[123] The deceased of *CEG* 546 (Attica, ca. 350?) is told that she possessed greatest praise while alive (πλεῖστον ... ἔσχες ἔπαινον), and she still possesses it when dead (νῦν τε θανοῦσα ἔτ᾽ ἔχεις): this seems to refer to the benefits of memorialization rather than her individual existence in the Underworld.

human beings free of reproach. Earth has received me honored among the chthonian gods.

These lines come from a larger funerary monument commemorating two other people, including Gerys' wife Niko. The inscription is clumsily composed and its interpretive complexities have occasioned significant discussion:[124] for the present, it is sufficient to note the continuity between the character of Gerys' life as presented to the reader and the welcome he is imagined to receive in the Underworld. The honor in which he was held by both gods (οὐδὲ…δαίμοσιν ἦν ἀγέραστος) and human beings (πᾶσιν δ' ἀνθρώποισι … ἀνένκλητον) during his life parallel the state of honor in which he is received by the gods of the netherworld (ἔντιμον χθονίοισι θεοῖς).[125]

The deceased of *CEG* 577 emphasizes that she partakes of "everything that is right (θέμις) for happy mortals." The idea that an individual's postmortem condition is a reward for virtuous conduct is represented in other contemporary examples. In Attic inscriptions, such speculations about the condition of the dead are often framed within an "if"-clause.[126] The epitaph of Euphanes (*CEG* 559; Attica, ca. 350?) declares: "If there is any prize for justice below the earth, Euphanes, it is not difficult for you to take first place in this" (εἴ τι δικαιοσύ[ν]ης ἆθλον τίθεται κατὰ γαίας, / Εὔφανες, οὐ χαλεπὸν τοῦδέ σε πρῶτα λαβῆν). Similar suggestion of an eschatological reward for virtue appears in *CEG* 571 (Attica, "post ca. 350?" Hansen), in which a named mourner Hippostrate addresses her deceased nurse Melitta[127]:

(i) ⟦Μέλιττα⟧ Ἀπολλοδώρου | ἰσοτελοῦ θυγάτηρ | (ii) Μέλιττα | (iii) τίτθη
(iv) ἐνθάδε τὴν χρηστὴν τ̣ί̣[τθ]ην κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτ|ει
Ἱπποστράτης, καὶ νῦν π[ο]θ̣ε̣ῖ̣ σε.
καὶ ζῶσάν σ' ἐφίλ|ουν, τίτθη, καὶ νῦν σ' ἔτι τιμῶ
οὖσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆς, | καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ. 5
οἶδα δὲ σοὶ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ [γ]ῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν,
πρώτει σοι τ̣ι̣[μα]ί, τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφόνει Πλούτωνί τε κεῖνται.

(i) [[Melitta]] Daughter of Apollodoros the *isotelês*. Melitta. Nurse.
(iv) Here earth covers over the trusty nurse of Hippostrate, and now she longs for you. Indeed, I loved you when you were alive, and now as well I still honor you, though you are beneath the earth; and I shall honor you as long as I live. And I know that beneath the earth, if there is any reward for those who are faithful, honors are laid up for you first of all in the home of Persephone and Plouton.[128]

This inscription appears on a stele together with a relief sculpture of the two women: Hippostrate is apparently depicted as a young girl, presenting a small object (perhaps a doll or a flower) to the seated Melitta.[129] As in *CEG* 577 (above), this inscription configures the processes of memory and lament as continuations of certain aspects of the deceased's life and with the continuing life of the mourning household: the language of the epigram assimilates Hippostrate's

[124] See Tsagalis (2008) 70-4, with review of previous scholarship.
[125] Cf. Tsagalis (2008) 71 on the formal parallelisms of lines 2-3.
[126] The use of conditional clauses to qualify statements about death, afterlife, and the sentience of the dead is common in Attic oratory and epigraphy: see Dover (1974) 261-268 and R. Parker (2005) 363-368.
[127] The use of a named mourning voice is highly unusual: see Vestrheim (2010) 64-6.
[128] On the identification of Melitta as the nurse, see Tsagalis (2008) 101 n. 119 and Hansen *CEG* 571 *comm.,* both following Kaibel (1878) 48.
[129] The stele is now held in the British Museum, London (inv. 1909,0221.1).

affection for Melitta while she lived (ζῶσάν) with her continued affection for her in the present (νῦν σ᾽ ἔτι ... οὖσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆς). At the same time, the epigram links the remembered life of the deceased addressee (ζῶσάν σ᾽) with the continued life of the speaker (ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ). It should be noted that Melitta's membership in the household is according to profession rather than by birth, and that she is the daughter of an *isotelês* rather than an Athenian citizen[130]: the inscription accordingly expresses her connection with the *oikos* in terms of her profession and her affective bonds with Hippostrate. Her role as nurse (τίτθη) is mentioned three times, and the unusual use of a named mourning voice stresses her place in the household.[131]

The eschatological portion of the inscription (6-7) entertains the possibility of a postmortem reward for Melitta. The possibility is again conditional: "If there is any reward for those who are faithful..." Melitta is the "faithful nurse" (τὴν χρηστὴν τ̣ί̣[τθ]ην) of Hippostrate, and her chance for a happy existence in the Underworld is tied to the honor due to the faithful (εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν). Her claim to a postmortem reward is linked at once with her membership in an "ideal community" of the virtuous and with her service in a particular household. The principle of postmortem reward is uncertain, but within the epistemological limits of the if-clause Hippostrate is able to declare her knowledge (οἶδα) of the honors (τι̣[μα]ί) laid up for the deceased in the Underworld. This statement resembles the declaration in the two Pelinna lamellae, also made in direct address to a female deceased: "You have wine as your fortunate honor (τιμήν)" (D1.6, D2.5). It should be noted that both the reference to Plouton and the juxtaposition with Persephone in the Melitta epitaph are unique among Archaic and Classical funerary epigrams. The use of this title (rather than "Hades") likely reflects Eleusinian influence and underscores the emphasis on hopes of afterlife.[132] But the "individual" and "collective/social" afterlives are still explicitly connected, since Melitta's eschatological hopes are a product of her virtues within the household, and her postmortem τιμαί are echoed by Hippostrate's promise to honor her (τιμήσω σε) as long as she lives (ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ).

Persephone figures prominently in Attic verse epitaphs of the 4th c., both in her role as queen of the Underworld and (as in *CEG* 571 above) in connection with hopes of postmortem rewards for virtue. Another such hope appears in *CEG* 603.3-6 (Attica, 4th c.?), in which an anonymous mourning voice suggests a postmortem reward for the deceased's piety:

> (iii) σῆς ἀρετῆς, Νικοπτολέμη, χρόνος οὔποτε λ[ύ]σει |
> μνήμην ἀθάνατον, σῶι πόσει ἣν ἔλιπες·
> εἰ δέ τις εὐσεβίας παρὰ Φερσεφόνει χάρις ἐστίν,
> καὶ σοὶ τῆσδε μέρος δῶκε Τύχη φθιμένει.
>
> Time will never destroy the immortal memory of your virtue, Nikoptoleme, which you left to your husband. And if there is any favor in exchange for reverence in the house of Persephone, Tykhê has given a share of this to you also in death.

As in *CEG* 571, this epigram constructs a parallel between the immortality of social memory and the benefits that might accrue to the individual in the afterlife. Just as Nikoptoleme's death activates an "immortal memory" (μνήμην ἀθάνατον) of her virtue (σῆς ἀρετῆς) associated with

[130] Per Tsagalis (2008) 73, *isoteleis* are the only group of non-citizens to include their status on Athenian grave monuments: on the representation of foreigners in Athenian inscriptions, see also D. Whitehead (1977) 27-34 (esp. 33-34) and Ginestí Rosell (2012) 348-354.
[131] Hansen (*CEG* 571 *comm.*) suggests that the epigram was composed by Hippostrate herself, while Daux (1972) 534 and Ginestí Rosell (2012) 352 both suggest that it was meant to mimic a child's speaking voice.
[132] Tsagalis (2008) 101-2.

her still-living husband (σῶι πόσει), it is suggested that for her piety (εὐσεβίας) she has some claim to a special bond of gratitude (τις ... χάρις) in the realm of Persephone (παρὰ Φερσεφόνει).[133]

The epitaph of Dionysios of Kollytos from a *peribolos* tomb in the Athenian Kerameikos (*CEG* 593, ca. 346/5-338) will conclude our overview of positive eschatological motifs in 4th-c. funerary epigrams. Dionysios was an Athenian from a wealthy family, likely the cousin of the orator Hypereides.[134] He was a 4th-c. cleruch in Samos, and has been identified with the Dionysios Kollyteus who is named in an inscription as one of the treasurers (ταμίαι) of the Heraion at Samos in 346/5.[135] His epitaph is notable not only for its content, but also for its unusual length (11 lines in total) and for the imposing monument on which it appears: a *naiskos* topped with a large sculpture of a bull, with sculpted lions at either edge of the *peribolos.*[136] The monument was preserved *in situ* and must have been one of the most prominent in the ancient cemetery. The intercolumnar space of the *naiskos* featured a painting (visible to the original excavators in 1863, now lost) of two figures, one standing and the other seated, presumably representing the deceased. The first four lines of the epitaph are inscribed on the epistyle of the monument:

(i) ὀθεὶς μόχθος ἔπαινον ἐπ᾽ ἀνδράσι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν |
ζητεῖν, ηὕρηται δὲ ἄφθονος εὐλογία· |
ἧς σὺ τυχὼν ἔθανες, Διονύσιε, καὶ τὸν ἀνάνκης |
κοινὸν Φερσεφόνης πᾶσιν ἔχεις θάλαμον.

(i) There is no difficulty seeking words of praise for good men, but unstinting fair praise is always found. Having attained this, Dionysios, you died: and you inhabit the chamber of Persephone Anankê, common to all.

These lines invoke familiar epitaphic tropes: the praiseworthiness of the deceased is affirmed by membership in the ἄνδρες ἀγαθοί, and death is presented as the common necessity of all.[137] Nothing is said in these lines about Dionysios' existence in the Underworld: he won praise before his death (ἧς σὺ τυχὼν ἔθανες), and his postmortem claim to an exceptional status is identified with the "unstinting praise" (ἄφθονος εὐλογία) that the epigram affirms for him in the society of the living.

In the final lines of the inscription, written in elegant *stoikhêdon* style on the base of the monument, eschatological imagery comes into the foreground:

(iii) σῶμα μὲν ἐνθάδε σόν, Διονύσιε, γαῖα καλύπτει, | 6
ψυχὴν δὲ ἀθάνατον κοινὸς ἔχει ταμίας· |
σοῖς δὲ φίλοις καὶ μητρὶ κασιγνήταις τε λέλοιπας |
πένθος ἀείμνηστον σῆς φιλίας φθίμενος· |
δισσαὶ δ᾽ αὖ πατρίδες σ᾽ ἡ μὲν φύσει, ἡ δὲ νόμοισιν | 10

[133] Day (2010) 232-280 discusses the use of χάρις and related words (χαρίεις, χαίρω) in dedicatory epigram.
[134] See Clairmont (1993) II.496-7 (2.408b), Marchiandi (2011) 326-327, and (2013) 123-124.
[135] *IG* XII 6, 1, 261.2.
[136] The bull is on display in the Kerameikos Museum, and both lions are now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens (inv. 803 & 804). On the latter, see Clairmont (1993) I 6-7 (3a-b) and Kaltsas (2002) no. 411.
[137] The title "Persephone Anankê" is otherwise unattested, but was apparently coined on analogy with appositional cult titles such as Athena Nikê. The attempt by Tsagalis (2008) 124 to identify here with the "Orphic" Anankê, relying on the dated study of Maaß (1895) – and more generally his argument for an Orphic background to this monument – is unconvincing.

ἔστερξαν πολλῆς εἵνεκα σωφροσύνης.

(iii) Here earth covers your body, Dionysios; but a common dispenser holds your immortal soul. And to your dear ones, and to your mother and sisters, you left behind ever-remembered longing for your friendship when you died. And twin homelands loved you – one according to nature, another by laws – because of your great moderation.

As in the top half of the inscription, the realm of the dead is called "common" (κοινός), but here is identified with a "common dispenser" (κοινὸς … ταμίας) – most likely either Hades or Hermes (the title alludes to Dionysios' role as ταμίας in Samos)[138] – rather than Persephone. The language of "twin homelands" (δισσαὶ … πατρίδες) distinguished by birth (φύσει) and law (νόμοισιν) must also refer to his status as a cleruch.[139] At the same time, reference to cleruchy interacts with eschatology. The title of ταμίας – the role held by Dionysios in Samos – is assigned to the Underworld divinity who governs the souls of the dead. The sharp contrast between body and soul (σῶμα μὲν ... ψυχὴν δὲ) is a common feature of grave epigrams that employ afterlife motifs:[140] in this inscription, the dichotomy of soul and body is mapped onto the distinction between the "twin homelands" of birth and cleruchy. Once again, however, the eschatological afterlife is imagined as a mirror of social memory. The πατρίδες are linked as common subjects of ἔστερξαν and by shared interest in Dionysios' virtues (πολλῆς εἵνεκα σωφροσύνης). Different forms of immortality cluster around both body and soul: the multiplication of family and other social connections – mother, sisters, and "dear ones" (σοῖς ... φίλοις) – secures his position in the social order that has built the monument, and the "ever-remembered" (or "ever-remembering"?) lament (πένθος ἀείμνηστον) within the household parallels the immortal soul (ψυχὴν … ἀθάνατον) that abides in Hades. Gregory Nagy has shown that πένθος and lament appear in epic diction as foil for the κλέος produced by poetry: here, however, the household's grief and the soul's immortality not only reinforce each other but also contribute to the praise (εὐλογία) produced by the monument and its inscription.[141] The effect is not one of radical distance between the social and eschatological worlds but rather a kind of bilocational afterlife – a cleruchy of body and soul – manifested both in memorialization and through individual immortality.

The point that I have developed (and perhaps belabored) in the preceding examples is that the image of individual afterlife in Classical funerary epigrams appears alongside more conventional motifs of mourning, and that the deceased's fortunate existence in the Underworld can be imagined either as a reward for virtues displayed in life or as an eschatological counterpart to the processes of memory located in the social world. In either case, the intimate associates of the deceased have particular authority to testify to the deceased's happy postmortem condition or to present the deceased as worthy of such an afterlife. The afterlife itself is conceived as an eschatological extension of the special knowledge of the deceased preserved within the social memory of the *oikos.* Tsagalis has argued that the unusual

[138] *IG* XII 6, 1, 261.2. Tsagalis (2008) 127 discusses allusions to administrative vocabulary in the epitaph.
[139] See Tsagalis (2008) 126-7; at the same time, I find Tsagalis' argument for an "Orphic" background to this inscription unpersuasive.
[140] Soul & Body: ψυχὴν ... αἰθὴρ ὑγρὸς ἔχ|ει, σῶμα δὲ τύνβος | ὅδε (*CEG* 535; Piraeus, before ca. 350), [ψ]υχὴν [Ἀχ]έρων ὑπεδέξατο, σῶμα δὲ τύμβο[ς] (*CEG* 737; Pantikapaion, Crimea; ca. 300); cf. ψυχὴ ... προλιποῦσα τὸ σόν [⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ σῶμα?] (*CEG* 548.2; Attica, ca. 350). Note also the epigram attributed to Speusippos written for Plato's death: σῶμα μὲν ἐν κόλποις κατέχει τόδε γαῖα Πλάτωνος· / ψυχὴ δ' ἰσόθεον τάξιν ἔχει μακάρων (*AP* 16.31; cf. version preserved in DL 3.44 and *AP* 7.61.1-2).
[141] Nagy (1999) 94-102. For instances of "unforgetting grief" in epic, see *Il.* 24.105, *Od.* 1.342, 4.108, 24.423; cf. Hes. *Th.* 98-103.

eschatological emphasis in the Dionysios epitaph might reflect "Orphic" influence, but this interpretation is doubtful.[142] Rather, as I have argued in this section, eschatological themes are introduced in late Classical epitaphs in support of conventional commemorative forms. A vivid eschatology is a supplement to commemoration rather than an alternative to it. To use the terms of philosopher Samuel Scheffler, the categories of the "individual" and "collective" afterlife are tightly interconnected in the verbal strategies of epitaphs.[143] The Dionysios epitaph and the gold leaves can be placed alongside each other not as common expressions of a specifically "Orphic" eschatology, but rather as parallel experiments in epigraphic commemoration.

As seen in the examples above, the speech-form of direct address is most common in inscriptions of this type, and reinforces by its fiction of communication the connection between collective and individual afterlife. The eschatological statements in epigram correspond in certain respects with those of the lamellae. As noted above, affirmations of the initiate's postmortem reward in the gold leaves almost always appear in the form of address, and certain correspondences can be found between such assertions in the lamellae (especially the *makarismoi* of the Pelinna leaves) and the address-statements of epigram. In funerary monuments, such statements are tied to the intimate knowledge of the deceased preserved among close relations and social intimates. In the lamellae, as has been argued above, the initiate's blessed condition is similarly a product of group membership. The address to the deceased in the *makarismoi* of the lamellae suggests a communicative interest, comparable to that of epigram, in *testifying* to the initiate's condition and to the ongoing connection between initiate and cult community. Within this comparison, significant pragmatic differences between the lamellae and epigram must of course be acknowledged: the uncharacterized speaking voice of the address-statement lamellae does not allow for the same pragmatic polarity between speaker and addressee that is characteristic of both funerary epigram and the Greek tradition of lament.[144] And if the lamellae texts testify to the ongoing connection between the deceased and a cult community, their testimony is not necessarily intended for an audience beyond the ritual group itself. (Of course, the reality would likely have been more complex: one can easily imagine a scenario in which a deceased initiate was mourned by a "mixed" group, including some relatives or other associates who were not involved in Orphic cult practices.)

IVb. Exchange and Transition in Lamellae and Epitaphs

The lamellae and epitaphs make prominent use of antithesis and statements of transition. The leaves declare that the deceased has been reborn (D1.1, D2.1) or becomes a god (A1.9, A4.4) or a hero (B1.11; cf. B11.2?). The language of "falling/leaping into milk" often accompanies such statements of apotheosis (A1.10, A4.4) and rebirth (D1.3-5, D2.3-4). Such expressions of transition may be understood against the background of antithetical statements that are generically associated with funerary epigram and traditional lament.[145] As in the previous section, I will begin with an overview of what I take to be the salient features of epitaphic language of transition. This schematic review may then serve as a background against which to evaluate the transition-statements of the lamellae.

* * *

In Archaic and Classical verse epitaphs, the language of transition is most emphatically applied to the process of memory. Some epitaphs express a sense of tradeoff between life and

[142] Tsagalis (2008) 123-30.
[143] Scheffler (2013).
[144] See Alexiou (2002) 171-178 (who sees in epigram a reflection of this aspect of the lament tradition).
[145] Alexiou (2002) 150-160.

memorialization, since the praise that accompanies the dead in lament and commemoration in lament and funerary epigram is often imagined as compensation for the loss of the deceased. This has already been adumbrated in the discussion of formulaic "leaving behind" (προλείπειν) in Classical epigrams. The dead in funerary epigrams may "leave" the light of the sun or "leave behind" a memory of virtue to their loved ones, but the formulaic similarity masks an essential difference between these two kinds of "leaving." Unlike the "light of the sun," memory is itself a product of death, a complex signifier that maintains the social existence of the deceased even while compensating for his/her loss. This sense of memory as compensation appears, expressed in varying degrees of subtlety, in many funerary inscriptions. The epitaph of Dionysios from the Athenian Kerameikos (*CEG* 593; see above) declares that when the deceased had attained praise, he died (ἧς σὺ τυχὼν ἔθανες 3). The juxtaposition τυχὼν ἔθανες is abrupt and implicitly marks death as a change of state from earning praise to being praised. Other inscriptions articulate the process of exchange and displacement by representing the monument as a benefit conferred in exchange for the deceased's virtues in life: ἀντ᾽ ἀρετῆς | ἐδὲ σαοφροσύνες (*CEG* I 41.2; Attica, ca. 530-520?), ϝέργον ἀντ ἀγ[α]θῶν (*CEG* 139; Troizen, ca. 500?), ὀργῆς δ᾽ἀ|[ντ᾽] ἀγαθῆς (*CEG* I 167.3; Khios, ca. 400?).[146]

In a related epitaphic ἀντί-formula, the deceased individual is herself presented as the object of exchange. The earliest example appears in the well-known Archaic epitaph of Phrasikleia (*CEG* 24; Attica, ca. 540?):[147]

> σῆμα Φρασικλείας· | κόρε κεκλέσομαι | αἰεί,
> ἀντὶ γάμο | παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο | λαχοῦσ᾽ ὄνομα.
>
> The marker of Phrasikleia: I shall always be called *korê*, having received this name from the gods in place of a marriage.

This distich was inscribed on the base of a painted marble *korê* that is now displayed at the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. The ἀντί-formula likely reflects the influence of lament: it appears in epitaphs of young men and women who predecease their parents, and especially of young women who die unmarried.[148] This expression is most common in Attic inscriptions, but a marble stele-base from 5th-c. Amorgos similarly declares (*CEG* 153; ca. 450?):

> ἀντὶ γυναικὸς ἐγὼ Παρίο λίθο ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι |
> μνημοσύνον Βίττης, μητρὶ δακρυτὸν ἄχος.
>
> In a woman's place, I rest here, a memorial of Bitte made of Parian stone, a tearful grief to her mother.

Here the stone speaks as an *oggetto parlanto*. The sense of memorial-as-displacement would have been reinforced in cases such as this, or (as in the case of the Phrasikleia statue) where the

[146] Examples continue to appear through the 4th c.: *CEG* 673 (Tenos), 690 (Rhodes), 721 (Macedonia). On the use of ἀντί in classical epitaphs to mean "in return for," see Tsagalis (2008) 279-280.
[147] Important studies of this inscription and statue include Svenbro (1993) 8-25 and Stieber (1996).
[148] Tsagalis (2008) 200-204. Lament: Alexiou (2002) 155; cf. καί κέ τοι ἀντὶ γάμοιο πατὴρ τάφον ἀμφεπονεῖτο / ἐνθάδε (*Od.* 20.307-8).

speaking voice may be ambiguously associated with either the deceased or the anthropomorphic statue that marks her place.[149]

The ἀντί-construction is common in private inscriptions of the later Classical period, where it continues to reinforce the image of memory as displacement or exchange. In epitaphic expressions of departure, the prematurely dead often leave behind their youthful prime (ἄνθος, ἥβη, ἡλικία):[150] the epitaph of Dionysia (*CEG* 573.3-4; Attica, "post ca. 350?") similarly declares that her husband Antiphilos "adorns this tomb in place of your youth and prime" (ἀντὶ δὲ σῆς ἥβης, Διονυσία, ἡ⟨λ⟩ικίας τε / τόνδε τάφον κοσμεῖ σὸς πόσις Ἀντίφ[ιλος]). The deceased of the fragmentary *CEG* 584 (Attica, "post ca. 350?") possesses a "tomb instead of marriage" (τάφον ἀντὶ γάμου). The mourning voice of *CEG* 587.2-3 (Athenian Kerameikos, "post ca. 350?") laments that Hymnenaios attends the deceased not in a marriage ceremony, but in burial (οὔ σε γάμων πρόπολος, Πλαγγών, Ὑμέναιος ἐν οἴκοις | ὤλβισεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐδάκρυσε ἐκτὸς ἀποφθιμένην), and spotlights her mother's pouring of libation at the grave (σῶι δὲ πάθει μήτηρ καταλείβεται). The lengthy epitaph of Kleoptoleme from Brauron (*CEG* 591, ca. 350-325?) concludes with a poignant threefold antithesis, stressing that her mother, father, and surviving relations (ὁμαίμονες) will not witness her hoped-for marriage (11-12):

> οἳ γόον, οὐ θάλαμον τὸν σὸν προσορῶσι θανούσης |
> θρῆνόν τε ἀντ᾽ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τάφον ἀντὶ γάμου.
>
> [They] witness your dirge, not your bridal chamber, now that you are dead; and they witness a lament instead of a husband, and a tomb instead of a marriage.

For Kleoptoleme, the ritual apparatus of the funeral comes to occupy the place of the ritual of marriage: the "immortal memory" that she leaves behind to her family (μνή[μην? ?τε λελοί]πας / ἀθάνατον 7-8, following Hansen's reconstruction) is itself a consequence of her own mortality, and occupies the same social and memorial space as the funerary paraphernalia that have displaced her future marriage.[151] These epitaphic formulae stress the deceased's change of state, and the manner in which the practice of lament and artefacts of burial represent both a continuation of memory for and a displacement of the deceased. Expressions such as those in the inscriptions just reviewed are evoked when the Argive elders of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* lament that they must welcome home the urns and ashes of the Greeks who died at Troy "instead of the men" (ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν / τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς 434-5).[152] The epigram guides the reader to recognize the monument as an object of fatal exchange. If marriage represents both the fulfillment of the young woman's life and the realization of her social value to the *oikos*, then the monument's claim on the reader's attention comes from the fact that it exists ἀντὶ γάμου. The

[149] The possible assimilation of the deceased Phrasikleia to Persephone and/or the statue is a point of debate. Kontoleon (1970) 53-54, 90-91 (writing prior to the discovery of the statue) and Häusle (1989) 19-21 both argue for identification of the deceased *korê* with Persephone/*Korê*: cf. contrary arguments by Skiadas (1989) III.188-193, Hansen (1990) 302, Svenbro (1993) 18-19, Wachter (2010) 254-5. The suggestion of assimilation is nevertheless at least audible, even if a full-blown "hypostasierung" (Häuble *op. cit.* 19) is not the primary meaning. (Even Kontoleon is more circumspect than his critics acknowledge: "peut-être un exemple archaïque d'identification du mort à la divinité, *du moins sous forme d'allusion*" [*op. cit.* 53, emphasis added]). Stieber (1996), in her detailed artistic study of the monument, suggests that the theme of "death-instead-of-marriage" as expressed in the inscription is already implicit in the iconography of the statue itself (99).

[150] 5th c.: *CEG* 174 (Sinope); 4th c.: *CEG* 480, 575, 624 (all from Attica), 691 (Rhodes).

[151] Cf. *CEG* 486.1-2 (προλιπῶσα πόσιν καὶ μητ[έρα κεδνὴν] | [κ]αὶ κλέος ἀθάνατον σωφροσύνης [μεγάλης]).

[152] On the historical context of this passage as a reflection of burial practices for the 5th-c. Athenian war dead, see Arrington (2014) 34-35.

inscribed monument allows the family to signify both the death of one of its members (and the loss of the social capital represented in the possibility of marriage) by constructing an object of visible exchange-value in the social space vacated by her death.[153]

The same habit of thought is evident in many inscriptions that do not use ἀντί-formulae. The epitaph of Herakleia (*CEG* 575) entertains the possibility of a mortal woman becoming an immortal goddess through her conduct in life, but only within a contrafactual conditional:

> [εἰ θέμις ἦν] θνητὴν ἐναρίθμι|ο[ν – ⏑⏑ ο]υσαν
> ἀθανάταις | νο[μίσαι, σοὶ] τὸ γέρας τόδ᾽ ἂν | ἦν,
> Ἡράκλ[ει]α· σὺ γὰρ προλι|ποῦσ᾽ ἥβην [π]ολυανθῆ
> ὤιχ|ου ἀποφθιμ[έ]νη μητρὸς π|ρολιποῦσα μέ[λ]αθρον
> Σίμ|ου ἀνοικτίστω[ς] Φερσεφό|νης θαλάμου‹ς›.
>
> [If it were permitted] to consider a mortal woman numbered [...] with the immortal goddesses, this honor would be given to you, Herakleia: for you left behind the full bloom of youth, and when you died you left behind the halls of your mother Simo and went unwept to the chambers of Persephone.

The possibility of immortality as a reward for virtue is suggested only to be foreclosed at once: the unattainable γέρας of immortality is the rhetorical foil to the more conventional motifs of memory and departure. Emphasis falls on the social world Herakleia has left behind. The young woman leaves behind both "the bloom of youth" (προλι|ποῦσ᾽ ἥβην [π]ολυανθῆ) and the "hall of [her] mother Simo" (μητρὸς π|ρολιποῦσα μέ[λ]αθρον / Σίμ|ου ἀνοικτίστω[ς]) and enters Persephone's chambers (ὤιχ|ου ... Φερσεφό|νης θαλάμου‹ς›). Nothing is said of the nature of Herakleia's existence in Persephone's realm, only that she died "unwept" (ἀνοικτίστω[ς]) – another backward glance at the above-ground social world. Immortality, the inscription tells us, is not an option. The reader's attention is drawn instead toward the surviving familial bonds of the deceased, toward the distant realm of Persephone where Herakleia abides, and perhaps most importantly toward the monument itself, which by its very presence testifies to the efficacy of social memory conferred upon the deceased by the household.

The language of funerary epigram guides the reader toward recognition of the funerary monument as a product of a particularly complex, meaningful, and valuable form of exchange. We have already seen that the household and intimate social connections of the deceased find representation in funerary epigram as guarantors of postmortem memory. More fundamentally, the continuing social structure of the *oikos* is portrayed as the indispensable agent in the process of exchange. The immortal memory that accrues to the deceased is portrayed as a process

[153] Worth notice in passing here is Simonides fr. 531 *PMG* (preserved in D.S. 11.11.6), a fragment of a longer encomium written for the Spartan dead at Thermopylai. The performance context for which the ode was written is disputed, but it seems likely that is was written to be performed at a site other than the battlefield itself, most likely in Sparta: see Bowra (1933) and Podlecki (1968) 258-262, West (1975b) 309 (voicing skepticism on the idea of a Spartan performance venue), and full review of past discussion in Steiner (1999). The poem declares for the Spartan dead at Thermopylai "their tomb is an altar, in place of laments they have remembrance, and for pity they have praise" (βωμὸς δ᾽ ὁ τάφος, πρὸ γόων δὲ μνᾶστις, ὁ δ᾽ οἶκτος ἔπαινος 3). The antitheses recall the ἀντί-formulae of epitaphs, as Steiner (*op. cit.*) 393 observes, but here the verbal pattern stresses the commemorative power of the song culture over against the negative paradigm of the stone. Encomiastic poetry characteristically draws a contrast between the durability of song and the frailty of man-made structures: e.g. Pi. *P.* 6.7-17, *N.* 4.80-8, *N.* 5.1-5, *N.* 8.43-6, and Sim. fr. 581 *PMG* (on the ephemerality of Midas's inscribed epitaph) with discussion by Steiner (*op. cit.*) and Fearn (2013). (I thank Leslie Kurke for drawing my attention to the relevance of Sim. fr. 531 for the argument of this section.)

facilitated by the surviving social structure. The process of exchange allows the living members of the family not only to portray the continuity of their own social structure and to ensure the ritual activatability of their dead, but also to represent themselves as effective managers of complex process of memorial exchange. It should be noted that direct address is again the prevalent speech-form in inscriptions of this kind. The fiction of speech to the dead further reinforces the impression that the deceased's postmortem memorialization is a process actively and effectively managed by the living community.[154]

The lamellae share with early Greek epigram and lament a tendency to configure death in terms of transaction and exchange. Two Thurii initiates declare that they have "paid recompense in return (ποινὴν ἀνταπέτεισ᾽) for deeds not just" (A2.4, A3.4), though the exact meaning of this expression remains a matter of dispute.[155] Elsewhere, the process of exchange appears in a manner that is clearly reminiscent of epitaphic language. The longer Thurii tablet (A1) declares in a brief and abrupt apostrophe to the deceased: "Happy and blessed one, you shall be a god instead of a mortal" (ὄλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ᾽ ἔσηι ἀντὶ βροτοῖο A1.9): the expression at once recalls the ἀντί-formulae of inscribed epitaphs (ἀντί γάμου, ἀντί ἥβης) and Empedokles' declaration that he has become "a deathless god, no longer a mortal" (ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑμῖν θεὸς ἄμβροτος, οὐκέτι θνητός).[156] The Thurii A4 leaf similarly declares: "You became a god from a human being" (θεὸς ἐγένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου).[157] The two Pelinna leaves both open with another antithesis: "Now you have died and now you have come into being, thrice-blessed one, on this very day" (νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἄματι τῶιδε D1.1 = D2.1). In this context the cryptic antitheses of the inscribed Orphic bone plates from 5th-c. Olbia also deserve mention: one of these features the words "Life Death Life" and "Truth" (βίος θάνατος βίος / ἀλήθεια).[158]

The *makarismoi* of the lamellae recall in their form the antitheses of lament and funerary inscriptions, as seen above. They also echo, in varying degrees of explicitness, the trope of death-as-exchange that appears in grave epigrams. Both epitaphs and lamellae portray the deceased as a part of special group through which the individual may retain some continued existence after death. In both cases, this continued existence is made possible by a process of exchange. The deceased of epitaphs are, in a sense, replaced by the products of memory and the performance of lament. In this new memorialized form, individual identity is preserved among those with whom the deceased enjoys a special bond. The lamellae initiates are offered an analogous postmortem self-preservation through apotheosis and rebirth. By shedding their former identities and being assimilated to the mystic company that awaits them in the afterlife, their existence after death is assured. Notably, the idea of individual incorporation into a group is most prominent in the leaves that contain these *makarismoi*: the "thrice-blessed" (τρισόλβ|ιε) deceased of the Pelinna D1 tablet is sent to join the "other blessed ones" (ὄλ|βιοι ἄλ|λοι), while the deceased from Thurii who is "a god instead of a mortal" (θεὸς … ἀντὶ βροτοῖο A1.9) requests a place among the "other blessed gods" (ἀ|θάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι). The role of the *oikos* and ideal communities of the virtuous in epitaphs is taken over in the lamellae by the blessed community of divinities, heroes, and initiates.

* * *

[154] On norms of address in 4th-c. epigrams, see Tsagalis (2008) 252-253, 255-260, Vestrheim (2010) 67-71. On the role of address and ritual invocation in both traditional lament and funerary inscription, see Vermeule (1979) 14-17 and Alexiou (2002) 46, 109-110.

[155] See Edmonds (2013a) 304-326 with review of previous debates.

[156] DK 31 B 112.4 (= 1.4 Inwood).

[157] The language of apotheosis, sans antithesis, appears also in the late A5 leaf (2nd/3rd-c. CE): Caecilia Secundina, "become divine according to a law" (νόμωι … δῖα γεγῶσα A5).

[158] *SEG* XXVIII 659-661; see West (1982), (1983) 17-19, Lévêque (2000), and Ferrari (2016).

One question posed at the beginning of this section still remains to be considered: How "imaginary" is the mystic society portrayed in the lamellae? Is it an idealized portrait of an actual cult association, or is it simply a fictional community like the "church invisible" – a linguistic creation with no exact real-world counterpart?

One avenue of approach to this question is to consider the speech-forms taken by these statements of exchange and assimilation. The statements of transition in the gold leaves almost all appear in direct address to the deceased,[159] and all appear in the non-hexameter portions of the lamellae texts that have been most closely associated with oral ritual performance.[160] The A1 lamella even switches abruptly from a first- to second-person speaking voice when it makes the declaration of exchange (A1.9), and the striking shift from dactylic to cretic-paeonic rhythm underscores the change of speaking voice.[161] It should be noted that the longer B-texts, though they do not feature antitheses of the kind we just examined, also contain promises and affirmations about the initiate's new state in the Underworld, and thus imply some kind of exchange of state for the deceased.

The statements of address in the lamellae texts offer few clues as to their speaking voices, though some clearly reflect a perspective outside of the Underworld scenario.[162] The very indeterminacy of speaking voices would likely have made these texts suitable for use by different speakers and even in different ritual contexts (such as initiation and/or burial). The language of transition and antithesis in these statements resembles the invocations of traditional lament, with their polarity between the speaker and the deceased.[163] As in the exchange-statements of funerary epigrams, direct address serves in the lamellae as the favored mode of speech for expressions articulating the initiate's radical transition: from life to death (or from death to life), from mortal to god, from living human to dead hero. The emphasis on the initiate's changed state betrays an awareness of the tangible gap between speaker and addressee that is consistent with the use of invocation in funerary ritual. In other words, these acclamations sound very much like the voice of a living cult community, or perhaps an officiant acting as representative of such a community, speaking in apostrophe to the dead. The non-hexameter acclamations in the lamellae are commonly thought to reflect language from oral ritual performance. If this is this case, there is a basis for interpreting these acclamations as a form of collective ritual self-representation for a cult community that is not purely fictional, even if its portrayal in the lamellae is idealized and ideological.[164]

The non-hexameter acclamations in the lamellae are commonly thought to reflect language of oral ritual performance: if this is true, then there is good basis for interpreting these acclamations and other forms of address in the gold leaves as a form of collective self-

[159] The only exception is ἔριφος ἐς γάλ᾽ ἔπετον (A1.10): "milk"-statements in other lamellae appear only in the second person (A4.4, D1.3-5, D2.3-4).

[160] Oral Performance: Segal (1990), Graf (1993), Ferrari (2011) 211-215, and GJ 137-140.

[161] On change of speaking voice, see J. Harrison (1922) 588: The initiate of A1 "does not himself say, I am a god – that might be overbold …" On change of rhythm, see Zuntz (1971) 342: "[I]ndeed the transition from verse to prose [*sic*] is a uniquely effective means of conveying the significance of a uniquely important statement..." Zuntz goes on to liken these statements to acclamations that express the "sentiment or volition of a crowd or community" (342-343).

[162] BJ 95, commenting on the Thurii A4 leaf: "The perspective opted from v. 3 on is external, as if the soul's transit to Hades were seen from this world, and it were taken for granted that the initiate will have done what he should have done and achieved his objective." An external or pre-mortem point of view is also implied by the future tense verbs in the protreptic B-texts: e.g. ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλεισι θανεῖσθαι B10.1, [ἐπεὶ ἄμ μέλ]λησι θανεῖσθαι B11.1 (cf. […] | θανεῖσθ[αι B1.12-13). Note also the "externality" implied by ὁπόταμ ψυχὴ προλίπηι φάος ἀελίοιο (A4.1).

[163] Alexiou (2002) 165-178; cf. Tsagalis (2008) 49, 238-241 (on antithesis in classical epigram).

[164] The use of mortuary ritual as an occasion for group self-representation finds an obvious parallel at the level of the *polis* in the Athenian *epitaphios logos*: see Loraux (2006).

representation. This is especially true if the performance in question is that of a burial rite. The lamellae demonstrate at the very least that living initiates found value in envisioning themselves as part of a single community that (like the elite *oikos* of Classical Athens) could affirm and enact their own continued existence in spite of the death of an individual. Like the intergenerational *oikos* of epitaphs, the lamellae seem to portray a community that straddles life and death. The initiate bands processing through the Underworld suggest a group continuity that, at least in its own self-presentation, is able effectively to negotiate and give voice to the exchange of death. Belonging to such a group would be a source of value to the initiate both in life and in death. Confronting mortality, a *mystês* could count on performance of burial rites by some fellow initiates in this world, even while looking forward to a favorable reception by others in the next.

§V. Conclusions

I have sketched in this chapter an "ideology" of mystic solidarity that is expressed in the gold leaves and finds a parallel in late Classical Attic funerary inscriptions. The two forms of inscription reflect common habits of thought and expression. But what can be said about the socio-historical context for this ideology and its development? Here evidence is fragmentary, but allows for some limited conclusions. Several bits of early evidence in addition to the gold leaves suggest that Orphic-Bacchic cults in the Classical period took particular interest in burial practices. I have already noted the 5th-c. inscribed funerary interdiction from Kyme. Herodotos, who lived for a time in Thurii and may have had firsthand contact with Orphic-Bacchic cult practitioners, alludes somewhat cryptically to "so-called Orphic and Bacchic" (τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι) burial practices.[165] Any specialized burial practice presupposes some degree of group cohesion, since the deceased must rely on some cohort of survivors to cooperate in performing the ritual.[166] At the same time, it is now generally agreed that Dionysiac mysteries were propagated by itinerant ritual experts or *orpheotelestai* rather than in stable communities or religious sects.[167] This suggests that such Bacchic groups as existed, even if some (such as those known to Herodotos, as well as those that produced the gold leaves and the inscriptions from Kyme) were sufficiently stable at certain times and places to perform special burial rites, were still more likely to be transitory and variable in their local character.

The evidence thus suggests a tension between the communal ideology and social realities of Bacchic cults. The images of mystic community in the lamellae texts are obviously not positive documentary descriptions of their cults, but rather represent an idealized collective self-image, much as depictions of the elite *oikos* in Classical Attic grave monuments allowed aristocratic families to represent their own cohesion and permanence in response to the death of an individual. Just as there is an implicit tension between the *realia* of the grave and the ideologies of immortality expressed in both the lamellae and epitaphs, so in either case the representation of group solidarity is itself an active exercise in self-definition. Both lamellae and epitaphs bear witness to processes of imaginative self-understanding by which participants experienced and articulated their group identity. The eschatology of the gold tablets serves as a key part of this imaginative process. We have seen that both epitaphs and lamellae imagine death as a process of departure and arrival, but with a difference of focalization. Eschatological motifs in pre-Hellenistic epitaphs are minimal, with emphasis instead falling on the soul's *departure* and the mourners' bereavement. The lamellae instead focalize the moment of the soul's *arrival*

[165] Hdt. 2.81.
[166] Linforth (1941) 49 makes this point in connection with the Herodotos passage.
[167] See Burkert (1982), with developments by Edmonds (2004), (2008b), and GJ 66-94.

in the Underworld and its reception by those below. This, in a sense, is where the initiate group's "collective representation" is properly located. We have already examined the image of the "mystic chorus" in the lamellae and other ideological representations of ancient mystery cults.[168] I suggest that the eschatology of the lamellae, and especially the device of address and spoken interaction with the deceased, might have allowed real-life cult groups to mirror themselves in an idealized form, and to experience their own solidarity – in connection with the deceased, in association with each other, and in identification with the mystic community of the Underworld.

[168] See Ch. 1.

Ch. 3: The Gold Leaves and Material Religion

> Scholars of religion have generally been more comfortable with ideas than with things, more comfortable with what they thought others thought than with what they knew they did.
>
> Gregory Schopen[1]

> Words, things, gestures, and powers – like sounds, silences, smells, touches, shapes, colors, affects, and effects – […] are the visible and tangible, the living and enabling conditions of "the religious," just as they typify its supposed counterpart, "the secular," including all the varieties of modern experience in between.
>
> Hent de Vries[2]

§I. Introduction

What exactly *are* the gold leaves, and what should we make of their distinctive physical form? This chapter addresses the questions of materiality raised by the lamellae and proposes a new framework in which to consider these issues. In the next section (§II), I review past debates surrounding the gold leaves and their relation to ancient magic. I suggest that arguments over the applicability of magical vocabulary for describing the gold leaves are in effect a proxy for discussion of their materiality. As an alternative, I propose reframing the issue in terms of the theoretical tendency known as "Material Religion," in order to move beyond the polarity between "magical" materiality and "religious" belief. In what follows (§III), I apply this lens to the gold leaves by examining them against the background of oral and inscribed incantations (ἐπῳδαί) as well as inscribed curses (κατάδεσμοι). I argue that the gold leaves belong to a cluster of aesthetic habits – oral, ritual, and material – that contributed to the authorization of itinerant experts in interactions with their client audiences.

§II. The Materiality of the Gold Leaves

The materiality of the gold leaves has been a source of unease almost from the moment these objects first came to light. Comparetti acknowledged the questions raised by the physical form of the tablets:

> It is well-known how Orphism, as well as Pythagorism [*sic*], was dominant in Magna Graecia, not only amongst intellectual men, but also amongst the common people, and in its most superstitious form and usages. To this popular spread of Orphism belong these gold tablets, so incompletely and incorrectly written as sometimes to look like a kind of amulet sold by mystic charlatans.[3]

The word *amulet*, used here by Comparetti in his 1882 republication of the Petelia tablet (B1), would go on to become a nub of contention among scholars. In this section, I will focus on the debate around this question as a way of approaching the assumptions about materiality that have governed much discussion of the gold leaves and Orphic-Bacchic cults. As we have seen, the

[1] Schopen (1998) 256.
[2] De Vries (2008) 66; see §IIb below.
[3] Comparetti & Smith (1882) 117; cf. Comparetti (1910) 30.

idea of "Orphism" owes much to discursive constructions of religion that derive from polemics between Protestant and Catholic Christians on the one hand, and between secular and religious authorities on the other. Orphism in this context has been constructed as a "good" or Proto-Protestant movement within Greek religion – that is, as a system of belief built around personal faith and sacred scriptures.[4] Why, then, do our most important documents of this religious tendency take such a suspiciously material form – sloppy inscriptions on folded-up bits of precious metal deposited in tombs? What could these 4th-c. "Proto-Protestants" be up to, producing *amulets*?

IIa. Materiality and Magic: Are the Gold Leaves "Amulets"?

Comparetti, who established the interpretive framework within which the gold leaves are still understood by most scholars today, was also the first to acknowledge and wrestle with this apparent inconsistency. He would not be the last. The passage quoted above exemplifies certain key methodologies that influenced early scholarship on "Orphism" and the gold leaves. The dichotomy between "religion" and "magic" is presupposed, along with the assumption that "magical" phenomena are a degenerate or corrupt form of an original practice.[5] The emphasis on *belief* – true Orphism is to be found "amongst intellectual men" – similarly reflects a doctrinal or intellectualist conception of religion and religious life. In his 1880 publication of three new tablets from Thurii (A1-3), Comparetti was already shifting emphasis away from the common materiality of the gold leaves toward their underlying doctrinal system. The previously isolated Petelia tablet (B1) could be contextualized with the others, he said, "not only … by the form and by the material of its writing," but also – and primarily – because it expressed similar ideas about the divinity of the soul and alluded (so he argued) to the same anthropogonic myth of Dionysos' dismemberment by the Titans.[6]

Yet in the nearly fourteen decades since Comparetti's early studies, the material habit of the gold leaves has come to seem more and more distinctive, even as their doctrinal background and textual emphases seem increasingly heterogeneous. Indeed, as the corpus has expanded from the five leaves known in 1882 to the thirty-eight that have by now come to light, the *only* unvarying element across the lamellae tradition is the material of the tablets. None of the texts inscribed on lamellae has been found in any other medium, and no other material practice in Classical Greece offers a direct antecedent for the gold leaves, though many offer at least partial parallels.

My purpose in dwelling on Comparetti's work is not to attack a straw man, but rather to recognize that his remarks foreshadow a long history of discomfort with the materiality of the

[4] See Introduction. On the use of Protestant Christianity as an implicit norm for academic definitions of religion in the 19th and early 20th c., see Smith (1990) (who focuses especially on Protestant-Catholic polemics), Asad (1993), Nongbri (2013), Barton & Boyarin (2016). On the construction of Orphism under the influence of this this discursive model, see Edmonds (2008b) and (2013a).

[5] Both of these habits are redolent of Catholic-Protestant religious polemics. For a review of the definitional issues surrounding magic and religion, see Faraone & Obbink (1991), Versnel (1991), Graf (1995) and (1997), Braarvig (1999), Fowler (1995), Bremmer (1999), Gordon (1999). For instances in scholarship where "bad religion" (e.g. magic) is theorized as a degenerate form of original or "pristine" religious sentiments, see e.g. Barb (1963) 100-125, (1971), and den Boer (1973), with critique of Faraone (1995b) 324-325. Larger-scale historical and theoretical critiques of note include Smith (1990) and Styers (2004).

[6] Comparetti (1880) 160 (discussing the Petelia tablet in relation to the then-new discoveries from Thurii): "Come si vede, questa iscrizione si collega a quelle teste rinvenute, non solo per le circostanze di luogo e d'altro in cui fu trovata, *e per la forma e per la materia su cui è scritta*, ma anche perchè in essa ritroviamo l'idea della origine divina dell'anima, che anzi in essa è più esplicitamente dichiarata *titanica* poichè, come è ben noto, i figli di Uranos e di Gea sono appunto i Titani…" (my translation, first italics mine).

gold leaves. He also anticipates some of the basic argumentative maneouvres – the definition of religion in terms of belief and doctrine, the use of "magic" and "religion" as natural categories, and theorization of magic as a corrupt degeneration (and materialization) of genuine religious sentiment – that have had a powerful and long-lasting influence over the discussion of the gold leaves and their material form. The recurring debate over the word "amulet" and whether it should be applied to the tablets, to which I now turn, is implicitly a dispute over how to interpret the fact of their materiality.

* * *

Günther Zuntz was a major critic of the Comparettian orthodoxy, but nevertheless shared the same assumptions about their materiality. A vocal skeptic in the tradition of Wilamowitz and Linforth, Zuntz argued in his *Persephone* (1971) that the lamellae derived entirely from an Italian Pythagorean rather than a Dionysiac background. This claim was upended in 1974 by the appearance of a leaf from a woman's grave at Hipponion near Lokri Epizephyrii (B10) which referred to the initiates as βάχχοι, but it is his observations about the materiality of the gold leaves that deserve our present attention.[7] Examining the gold leaves alongside first lead *defixiones* and then gold and silver phylacteries, Zuntz found that neither offered a satisfactory parallel for the lamellae. Lead curses are found from the early 5th c. BCE through the Roman Imperial period, and thus overlap chronologically with the earliest gold leaves.[8] Their very different purpose, however, made them difficult as *comparanda* for the lamellae. Zuntz concluded that lead curses offered a formal disanalogy rather than a parallel for the gold leaves: "The analogy, then, to the gold leaves afforded by these tablets, though suggestive, is very much *e contrario* – the material being lead not gold; the wording, a curse not a blessing, aimed not at the dead in his grave but at some living person above."[9] He speculated that the gold leaves may have been "consciously devised as a positive counterpart to the traditional *defixiones*," though the early Greek world also knew a variety of other applications for writing on sheets of metal.[10]

Inscribed amulets were materially a much closer parallel to the gold leaves, as Zuntz noted, but their chronology and textual contents made it difficult to establish either a historical connection or a typological comparison. Objects of this kind date to the Roman Imperial period and feature texts of a very different type and drawn from different traditions than the formulae that appear on the gold leaves. These differences led Zuntz to express skepticism about the continuity between the two practices. For Zuntz, lead tablets and Late Antique amulets as *comparanda* for the lamellae were both temptations to be eschewed. He stressed "the very special, and indeed unique, character" of the lamellae, concluding that as objects they "appear to be *sui generis*."[11]

Zuntz's verdict rested on overlapping historical and definitional grounds. In Classical scholarship, "amulet" is sometimes a quasi-technical term specifically designating the corpus of phylacteries from the Roman Imperial period and Late Antiquity that are characterized by invocations of Egyptian, Jewish, and Babylonian spirits and divinities.[12] Zuntz rightly observed that the religious context, chronology, and textual content distinguish the gold leaves from the objects in this group – though, as we shall see below, new evidence has in recent decades

[7] Zuntz (1971) 278-286, 353-354.
[8] See discussion of sources in §IIIc below.
[9] Zuntz (1971) 279.
[10] Zuntz (1971) 278-279, 286.
[11] Zuntz (1971) 278, 285. On the chronological gap between the Gold Leaves and later metal phylacteries, see also Kotansky (1991) and López-Ruiz (2015).
[12] Kotansky (2005) offers a concise overview. The fundamental studies of the texts and objects are Bonner (1955) and Kotansky (1994); cf. also studies of inscribed gemstones by Michel (2001) and (2004).

complicated the picture and suggests some continuity between early and later practices.[13] Underlying the identification of this historical phenomenon within later Roman antiquity, however, is an implicit typological distinction between "religion" and "magic" that is more problematic, since the objects from later Roman antiquity are defined as "amulets" in part because they have been interpreted as a late material degeneration (or "syncretism") of earlier beliefs and practices.[14]

After drawing a sharp distinction between the later phylacteries and the gold leaves, however, Zuntz conceded that the lamellae are still to some degree typologically "amuletic." Like Comparetti before him and like several scholars since, Zuntz observed the carelessness with which so many of the lamellae were inscribed – especially the cluster of lamellae from Thurii, including the nearly illegible C-leaf that was found together with A4 in the Timpone Grande and continues to perplex scholars. Zuntz's remarks on this point converge with Comparetti's sentiments almost a century before:

> One cannot but conclude that these lamellae were articles of a local mass-production, objects of a beadles' trade like the pictures of the Madonna and of saints sold at Roman Catholic churches. This fact is significant enough, for it implies that they came to be appreciated as material objects rather than as carriers of the words inscribed on them. We have previously protested against the designation of the lamellae as 'amulets,' and shall continue to urge their essentially different character; but have here to admit that the facts just noted are evidence of the Gold Leaves gradually being accepted for just this.[15]

One could hardly conjure up a more blatantly Protestantizing attitude toward religious materiality than Zuntz's comparison of the gold leaves to a Roman Catholic "beadles' trade." The idea of magical phenomena as a material corruption of an original religious impulse becomes clearer in the concluding words to Zuntz's discussion of the A-group, where it is suggested that the act of inscription in gold set this new eschatological religion on a downward slope toward magical-material superstition:

> Viewed against this background [i.e. the "proper magical incantations and amulets" from later antiquity] the Gold Leaves retain their *primary religious character*, even though the clarity and profundity of the original conception appears now to be dimmed by a penumbra of superstition. Perhaps this eclipse began *when the words conveying a new vision of man and his destiny were first*

[13] See §IIIc below.

[14] E.g. Zuntz (1971) 284 comments that the later amulets were the "product and symptom of the oriental superstition that engulfed the collapsing Roman Empire." This conflation of the typology and historical category has also arisen in discussions of the Petelia leaf (B1), which is dated to the 4th c. but was reused and worn in the 2nd/3rd c. CE in a containing case as an "amulet." Some scholars therefore draw a sharp distinction between the earlier and later uses of the tablet. E.g. GJ 52: "In one sense, the Petelia tablet really was an amulet: the thin foil was found, tightly rolled, in an amulet case that was hanging on a golden chain: this amuletic necklace dates to perhaps the second century CE. But *this was its second, later use* by someone who thought the text so powerful that it would protect her against the evil powers of the Underworld; in order to fit into the case, its bottom part had been cut away when already rolled up" (my italics). But the fact of later "reuse" is not evidence either for or against continuity between early and later practice: see Kotansky (1991) 114-115 and 130-131 nn. 49-51, and Faraone (2009) 152-158 (esp. 155-157) and (2011a) 198-200.

[15] Zuntz (1971) 353. On the carelessness of the writing in the Gold Leaves, see also Janko (1984) 90 and Kingsley (1995) 309-10.

> *engraved on gold leaves* – carriers, before and after, of magical potencies to combat demonic antagonists.[16]

Despite their differences regarding "Orphism," Comparetti and Zuntz turned out to be strikingly close in their view of the tablets' materiality. Though themselves from quite different religious and cultural backgrounds – Comparetti was a liberal and anti-clerical Italian nationalist, while the German-born Zuntz came from a mixed Jewish-Protestant household and spent his professional life in Britain as an émigré scholar working primarily on the textual history of the New Testament – both reflect a common intellectual habit of defining religious phenomena in Western Protestant terms.[17] Both fall back on an assumption that the materiality of the gold leaves represents a corruption of a primary "religious" belief into a secondary "superstitious" or "magical" expression. Both also identify a transactionality in the gold leaves and the professional activities of those who produced them (Comparetti's "mystic charlatans," Zuntz's "beadles' trade") – another residue of religious polemics that have contrasted (Protestant) grace with a (Catholic) sacred economy of goods.[18] Even so, Comparetti and Zuntz both shrink from applying magical vocabulary to the gold leaves without heavy qualifications. They are called "lamellae," "tablets," or "leaves," not amulets; their texts are "prayers," not spells; their underlying impulse is "primarily religious," even if their physical form resembles that of a "magical" objects. Comparetti and Zuntz both took the physical tablets as a degenerate form of religious practice – if not a fully "magical" practice, at least a step in that direction. It was also possible, though less common, to place the gold leaves in a Frazerian developmental scheme that begins with magic and leads to religion. W.K.C. Guthrie conjectured in passing that the physical expression of the gold leaves was a "relic" of a more primitive form of devotion that Orphism had not (yet) superseded.[19] The model of magic as degenerate religion and the evolutionary scheme of religion as enlightened magic both represent discredited methodologies, but their influence lingers. In the case of the gold leaves, the categories of "magic" and "religion" established by these methodologies have tended to frame their materiality as a debate over whether they represent "magical" objects (i.e. amulets) or not.

Present-day specialists, even while acknowledging the peculiar materiality of the gold leaves, have still typically insisted on their essential difference from magical paraphernalia and tend to see the "magical" uses of the tablets as secondary.[20] In their 2008 edition and commentary, for instance, Alberto Bernabé and Ana Isobel Jiménez San Cristóbal dismiss the suggestion that the deictic τόδε in the Hipponion and Petelia leaves could refer to the object itself:

> [I]t would be fitting to accept that 'this' refers to the tablet itself if we were to believe that it served only as a kind of magical object, apotropaic and intended to divert any malevolent influence from the subject or else as a kind of passport or password, valid by itself, by its mere presentation. *Yet the text of the tablet does not point in the direction of this type of interpretation,* since it is focused on

[16] Zuntz (1971) 354 (my italics).
[17] Comparetti: see Ziolkowski in Comparetti (1997) xxvii. Zuntz: Hengel (1995), U. Maas (2010) (esp. n. 3).
[18] See Morgan (2015a) 71-104, with general theoretical overview in Morgan (2015b).
[19] Guthrie (1952) 172: "Magic was not alien to Orphism, and that *relic* of it which consists in believing that a god is more likely to do what you want if you yourself write down for him the way in which he is to act, *may have lingered in the minds* of these devout persons. The general level of the language suggests, however, that the main purpose of the addition [i.e. writing on gold foil] is more likely to have been the encouragement and solace of the soul itself on its journey" (my italics).
[20] E.g. BJ 238 and GJ 52.

> giving the deceased precise instructions for his journey through the world of the dead, where he must and must not go, who will come to meet him, and what he must say to them.[21]

As we have seen in the previous chapter, such autodeixis is an epigraphic convention with a wide range of applications in early Greece – not only in epitaphs and other inscriptions, but in magical and ritual contexts as well.[22] The implicit logocentrism of the commentators' interpretation here – which overlooks the possible interaction between the gold leaves and much more widespread epigraphic and material-cultural norms in the Greek world – is consistent with the privileging of the (religious) belief system contained in the text over its significance as a (magical) inscribed object. Even if the religious significance of the text were self-evidently and univocally clear – and, as I have argued in the previous chapters, I do not think it is – the positivistic assumption that a physical object's function and significance can be simply inferred from the text inscribed on it is unsound. Further, Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal contend that an "amuletic" use of the tablets "can only be demonstrated – at least as predominant – in the post-classical period," but they still acknowledge that the act of writing on precious metal must have some significance: it "cannot completely fail to acquire, in and of itself, an *effective value*, contributing to the *instructive* or *performative value* of the text … There is only a step from expressing desires for the deceased's happiness to the idea that it is the declaration itself that produces its effect automatically."[23] The distinction between "effective" and "instructive"/"performative" values points beyond the language of "religion" and "magic." Ultimately, however, the old dichotomy is reaffirmed, and a development is implied from an original prayerful impulse or informative use, in which the talismanic force of the tablets was not "predominant," to the "automatic" efficacy of magic. The distinction proposed recently by Sarah Iles Johnston between "mnemonic" and "proxy" tablets, which I will revisit later in this chapter, in some ways represents a continuation of the religion-magic paradigm by other theoretical means.[24]

A few scholars in recent decades have argued, against this consensus, that the gold leaves *should* in fact be described as amulets, or at least that they can be seen in continuity with the same "magical" traditions that produced phylacteries in the ancient world. Like the arguments reviewed above, the dissenting arguments are both historical and typological. There is some striking, if still inconclusive, evidence suggesting that the lamellae as a material practice may have emerged from cross-cultural interactions with magical practices of the Ancient Near East.[25] Moreover, as we shall see in the next section, new finds have shown that a type of inscribed amulets had grown out of the traditional oral hexameter incantations already in the later Classical period.[26] The term "amulet" now seems less historically restricted to the Roman examples of

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[21] BJ 14 (my italics).
[22] See Ch. 2; also West (1975) 232, Faraone (1996) 101-105, Ferrari (2011a).
[23] BJ 238 (my italics).
[24] See §IIc below.
[25] Evidence is gathered and synthesized in López-Ruiz (2015). In short, she suggests that the Gold Leaves reflect Egyptian eschatological motifs and a Northwest Semitic style of tomb-amulets that were combined and transmitted to the Greek communities of Sicily and Magna Graecia via Phoenician-Punic intermediaries. Particularly important as a possible "missing link" between the Egyptian material and the Gold Leaves are a collection of gold amulets found in Phoenician burials from the 7th-3rd c. BCE. Her conclusions substantiate a conjecture previously advanced by Barb (1971) 149-151, Kotansky (1991) 115, Kingsley (1994), and Burkert (2004) 87-88. For discussions of possible Egyptian elements in the Gold Leaves, see (in addition to López-Ruiz) Zuntz (1971) 370-376 and Dousa (2011). Near Eastern religious influence among Italiote and Sicilian Greek populations with implications for the study of the Gold Leaves during the same period is argued on separate grounds by Bremmer (2010) and Johnston (2013).
[26] See §IIIc below.

later antiquity, and the growing corpus of 4th-c. BCE amulets are much closer to the gold leaves – chronologically, geographically, and stylistically – than the previously known amulets from the 2nd c. CE and later. Christopher Faraone and Roy Kotansky have both shown persuasively that the gold leaves have significant parallels in Late Classical magical practices. I will review their arguments in detail below: for now, it is worth stressing that the gold leaves as objects within their cultural context seem less *sui generis* now than they did almost five decades ago when Zuntz made his influential pronouncement.

At the same time, the dichotomy between "magic" and "religion" has come under scrutiny – not only in classical scholarship, but also more generally in the fields of anthropology and religious studies. The term "magic" is often polemical, both as an emic term within religious contexts and as an etic classification of ancient ritual phenomena in classical scholarship. In both emic and etic uses, the term "magic" often designates whatever the speaker views as "bad religion": e.g. efforts to coerce favorable action from a divine power, a fixing of verbal formulae into rote repetition, the fashioning of objects (curse tablets, voodoo dolls, etc.) or verbal expressions (spells, incantations) with "automatic" effect over their intended object, or appeals to divine knowledge in ways that are secret, self-interested, and/or anti-social.[27] Yet scholars have repeatedly and convincingly shown that these categories cannot in practice be distinguished from religious habits with any consistency. Kotansky and H. S. Versnel both observe that the "coercive" spells of Greek magic follow essentially the same formal conventions as ordinary prayers, and Robert Fowler has pointed out that Frazerian forms of magical logic (contagion, sympathy) are observable in many ritual practices that are usually excluded from discussions of ancient "magic."[28] Peter Kingsley's study of Empedokles in the context of early Pythagorean tradition is one of several recent studies that has emphasized the absence of any differentiation among religion, science, philosophy, medicine, and magic in this period, especially in Orphic-Pythagorean contexts that influenced the gold leaves.[29] In treating the gold leaves, Kingsley stressed the "stupendous carelessness already exhibited in the inscribing of their texts: a laziness, a habit of repeating words or phrases in the wrong place, and a tendency to produce outright nonsense which cannot be explained only in terms of semi-illiteracy on the part of the scribe but which also indicate that any real understanding of the text – and of its 'profound meaning' – was at best of purely secondary importance." For Kingsley, the question of whether the gold leaves were amulets was succinctly answered: "To write a text on a paper-thin gold plate, then fold it (unless its shape is of special significance) and place it on the breast of a dead person, is to produce an amulet, a talisman, or a phylactery: the precise term is irrelevant."[30]

I agree with Kingsley that the lamellae as objects exhibit a typology that is close to what is described as "magical" in other contexts, and I think this fact is highly relevant to a proper understanding of them. Yet, as the discussion above shows, terminology is *not* irrelevant. The category of magic and much of its associated vocabulary – terms such as "amulet," "talisman," etc. – encode certain assumptions about materiality in religious experience. These definitional assumptions both come from developmental schemes, where magic is seen either as the primitive origin from which religion (and ultimately science) develops or else as the remnant of a once-

[27] See Fowler (1995), Bremmer (1999), and Braarvig (1999). I am persuaded by the arguments of scholars such as Fowler (*op. cit.*) and Edmonds (2008b) that the designation "magic" is best understood as a social category marking a relation to the divine that is recognized within a given context as "extraordinary," either positively or negatively – a framework that Edmonds applies to Orphic phenomena as well. On the use of "magic" as a marker of "bad religion" in scholarship on Orphism and the Gold Leaves, see also Edmonds (2004) 37-40.

[28] Kotansky (1991), Versnel (2002); Fowler (1995).

[29] Kingsley (1995); cf. Burkert (1972), KRS 7-74, Lloyd (1999).

[30] Kingsley (1995) 309-10, arguing especially against Zuntz (1971) 353-354. Cf. Janko (1984) 90 on likely visual copying errors in the A-texts.

genuine religious practice that has lost its sincerity and has become ritualized and mechanistic. In either case, the material is identified with the magical. Even for scholars from quite heterogeneous backgrounds and with quite different perspectives on Orphism and the gold leaves, ranging from Comparetti to Zuntz to Bernabé, it is assumed that a ritual practice that is more markedly material is perforce more magical, and *vice versa*.

In the Introduction, I have referred to the "centripetal" and "centrifugal" orientations of scholarship regarding the gold leaves – that is, an emphasis on the shared features of the lamellae tradition that posits a more-or-less coherent context in which the scattered leaves can be examined synoptically as a corpus, and on the other hand an attention to the differences among geographic regions, find-spots, and textual variants, as well as their interactions with local inscriptive practices, without presupposing too much uniformity. The main currents of scholarship on the lamellae have been primarily centripetal and have proceeded on the assumption that their true significance is to be found by freeing them of their materiality: by reconstructing their underlying myth and doctrine, arranging them into a single master *hieros logos*, or by discovering the "archetype" that underlies all of their individual texts through application of stemmatic theory.[31] I suggest that the vocabulary of magic running through the history of scholarship is yet another indicator of this tension, and that it points specifically toward the significance of the gold leaves *as material objects* in the first place. In the traditional "religion"-"magic" dichotomy, the centripetal orientation tends to pull in the direction of "religion," while the centrifugal tends to pull in the direction of the "magical" aspect. The term "magic," used with proper self-awareness and flexibility, remains indispensable as a tool of analysis and discussion; but one of its functions in Western intellectual history has been to keep "belief" as the sovereign criterion of "religion" and to enforce a conceptual opposition between (religious) belief and (magical) materiality.[32] This is not to deny belief any role or expression in connection with material practices such as the gold leaves. It is only to observe that the argument over the priority of the material versus the dogmatic aspects of religious life misrepresents both sides of the evidence. The category of "material," once it has been disentangled from the magic-religion dichotomy, can be deployed in a more neutral and less ideologically inflected way: on the one hand, materiality can be seen to point centrifugally toward the lived and embodied experience of religion, including the slippage between religious and non-religious aspects of material culture, while on the other hand it offers a centripetal organizing principle for the coherency of certain religious practices, such as the gold leaves.

The argument, then, over whether the gold leaves are or are not "amulets" is in essence a debate over their materiality and about the degree to which their owners valued or fetishized them as material objects. The vocabulary of magic thus also encodes a set of *aesthetic* values: paying attention to an object primarily for its inherent material efficacy (at least as attributed to it by its owner), especially when the object does not conform to standards of "high" artistic aesthetics, is typical of a "magical" relation to aspects of one's material surround.[33] If we take a broad view of ancient "aesthetics" as applying not simply "high" artistic genres, but more broadly to culturally shared habits of sensation and experience that are identifiable and traceable

[31] See Introduction, esp. §III.

[32] I concur, however, with Versnel (1991) and Hoffman (2002) that the idea of "magic," despite its limitations, remains a necessary tool for inquiry and discussion, so long as it is submitted to critique.

[33] It is worth noting in passing how often scholars of magic have apologized for the unattractiveness of their objects of study: e.g. Bonner (1955) vii in the preface to his foundational study of Graeco-Egyptian amulets ("Magical gems have little artistic value, and many of them are so crudely executed as to offend an eye accustomed to the fine work of the classical period; though one hears now and then of people who find a special charm in these bizarre designs…") and Jordan (1988b) 275 (makers of lead dolls deposited with curses were "sadly innocent of skill in the plastic arts").

in ancient evidence, we might usefully recast magical materiality as an aesthetic category, at least in some of its ancient manifestations.[34] In this case, we could also acknowledge that some of these aesthetic habits are shared with objects and material practices that are not typically termed "magical." Thus, rather than debating whether the gold leaves should be categorized as "amulets" or not, we may more productively consider how their place within a larger nexus of aesthetic habits that included but was not limited to "magical" objects.

IIb. Material Religion & Aesthetics

I suggest that it will be instructive to examine the gold leaves in terms of what has come to be called "Material Religion" – a discourse that has developed in the field of religious studies in recent decades under the influence of the so-called "Material Turn" and "New Materialism."[35] This arose as an internal critique within the study of religion that challenged the implicit idealism and logocentrism in definitions of religion, especially the construction of religion as a matter of "interior," personal belief – what I have been calling the "Proto-Protestant" construct of religion – by focusing on its external and physical embodiments. This critique has taken many forms, of which I only offer a representative sketch here. In a reaction against the prevailing discursive bias, Hent de Vries proposes a new theorization of religion as a relation with something "extra" that is experienced within the tangible world. Religion can therefore be approached, as it were, from the bottom up – not positing "belief" as a content of religion that is already known to the scholar, but by starting from sensory *realia* and exploring how their relation to that mysterious other realm is experienced and constructed. "Words, things, gestures, and powers – like sounds, silences, smells, touches, shapes, colors, affects, and effects – might be seen as instances of the 'everyday,' of the 'extraordinariness of the ordinary,' of the 'ordinariness of the extraordinary,' of the 'common,' 'the low' … They are *the visible and tangible, the living and enabling conditions of 'the religious,'* just as they typify its supposed counterpart, 'the secular,' including all the varieties of modern experience in between."[36] Such an approach to religion – De Vries calls it "deep pragmatism"[37] – does not disregard belief, but instead takes material constituents as given and uses them as a starting place for inquiry. Objects, spaces, and gestures are seen not as secondary expressions of primary, immanent beliefs, but rather as means through which the scholar can find his/her way to more elusive and intangible aspects of religious experience. De Vries's use of materiality to deconstruct the modern distinction between "sacred" and "secular" suggests that his pragmatism is especially applicable as an approach to religion in the ancient world, where such a distinction is entirely foreign to begin with.

Webb Keane outlines some of the key implications and requirements of this approach.[38] We must acknowledge that some kind of physical form is a precondition for any possible social existence of religious experiences and ideas. Even in modes of religion that are very "interior," personal, and cerebral, thoughts still cannot be communicated by telepathy and must find some outward expression in order to achieve a social existence. Thus they become objects of possible

[34] On this broad definition of "aesthetics," see Porter (2010) (esp. 44-47, 64-67, 355-357) and Butler & Purves (2013).
[35] For an overview of the "Material Turn" and its impact in religious studies, see Houtman & Meyer (2012) 1-23 and Hazard (2013). As with the exponents of the New Materialism, the intellectual agendas and interests among scholars of Material Religion are diverse: this chapter draws especially on Keane (2008a) and (2008b), Meyer (2009), Morgan (2010), Houtman & Meyer (2012), and Moser & Knust (2017).
[36] See De Vries (2008) 1-66 (quote from 66; my italics); see developments and clarifications in Houtman & Meyer (2012) 1-23.
[37] De Vries (2008) 4-7, 66-78.
[38] Keane (2008a) and the summary of (2008b).

study. Material forms are in turn subject to historical contingencies that inevitably affect the meaning of religious expressions. In the first place, material objects are "enmeshed in a world of *causes* and *effects*" as a consequence of their physical persistence, which may cause them to acquire functions or meanings beyond those assigned to them by their creators.[39] In the second place, because material conditions arise from underlying historical and cultural factors, the forms of religious expression in any context must also be understood at least in part as arising from engagement or interaction with the physical environment. As Keane observes, "[f]rom the materiality of religion, the irreducibly social and historical characteristics of religion follow."[40] Birgit Meyer, drawing on implications of Benedict Anderson's influential study of the modern nation-state, argues that the medial character of embodied religious experience can also form a basis for an "imagined" community (that is, a community of shared sentiments among persons who may never interact face-to-face) that can become compelling to believers in a given historical context.[41]

A further intellectual strand that feeds into Material Religion is what has become known as "Thing-Object Theory."[42] Bill Brown proposes a theoretical distinction between "object" and "thing" – a distinction marking a difference in one's relation with the material surround.[43] Whenever an object somehow unsettles the normal "codes" that govern our interactions with the furniture of our physical environment, it presents itself to us as a "thing": for instance, a car that refuses to start on a cold morning, or an autographed baseball that is protected under glass rather than used for playing catch.[44] A "thing" thus understood asserts itself in a certain way against the normative "anthropocentrism" in our relation with the material surround, and for this reason is worthy of attention in a way that an ordinary object is not. These codes of material relation – how things "*matter*," as some theorists punningly put it – offer insight into the socio-historical factors that produce such patterns of meaning in people's relation with their material surround.

Material Religion, then, involves tracking patterns by which things receive attention and come to be valued in religious contexts. These patterns reflect what Keane terms "semiotic ideologies," or the socially-formed significances attached to certain material practices.[45] It is in the context of such ideologies that specific rituals and uses of objects are legitimated or deemed inappropriate. Opprobrious labels such as "idol" and "fetish" are used in inter-religious polemics to designate what W.J.T. Mitchell has termed "bad objecthood."[46] One crucial insight of Material Religion has been to identify the ideological character of these and other such designations. David Morgan, for instance, has shown the discrepancy between the Protestant *ideology* of

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[39] Keane (2008b) 230 (italics in original).
[40] Keane (2008b) 231.
[41] Meyer (2009) 1-28, building on Anderson (2004). Anderson argues that the advent of printing mediated the growth of nationalism as a form of "imagined" community. The use of material media to construct imagined religious communities has an obvious relevance to the mystical communal ideology that I have examined in the Gold Leaves over the previous two chapters. The role of material media in shaping a sense of connection among geographically disparate cult practitioners and giving credibility to the idea of a mystic chorus or *thiasos* of initiates in the Underworld cannot be overlooked, though this specific point is not the focus of the present chapter. On the idea of "communities of emotion" in antiquity mediated by epigraphic practices, see Chaniotis (2011) and (2012).
[42] See Brown (2004), Miller (2005) and (2008); Appadurai (1988) is an antecedent of this approach, and Goldhill (2015) a notable application by a classical scholar (though this study deals with Victorian Britain). For a review of this approach's reception in religious studies, see Hazard (2013) 60-61 and 72 n. 15.
[43] Brown (2004) 4-5; see also Appadurai (1988). The category "thing" as Brown explores the term can also encompass non-physical entities that somehow elude comprehension or description, but this falls outside the scope of the present chapter.
[44] The first example is mentioned in Brown (2004) 4, the second is mine.
[45] Keane (2003) and (2007).
[46] See Mitchell (2005) 111-199.

dematerialization – a self-description that has emerged from polemics and has played a key role in the theorization of religion – and the actual *practice* of Protestant Christians, which is in fact every bit as embodied as the modes of religiosity with which it is characteristically contrasted.[47] In other words, the contrast is not between inherently *materialized* and *dematerialized* forms of religion, since all religion is necessarily embodied, but rather between different ideologies of materiality, including the ideologies of groups who imagine their own practices as interior and "dematerialized." It is in conflicts between two different "semiotic ideologies" – what Bruno Latour terms an "iconoclash" – that their essentially ideological character is most observable. In inter- and intra-religious controversies about the status of sacred images or in colonial and missionary contexts, for instance, the designation of a given practice as "idolatrous" is a linguistic effort to categorize a foreign material practice as illegitimate from the perspective of the speaker's ideology.[48]

These terms of analysis offer a useful way to reframe the question of materiality in the gold leaves. The material form of the lamellae is not only relevant for our interpretation of them: it is in fact a necessary starting point for understanding the mentalities of their owners. Rather than positing a self-contained "Orphic" belief system, we can acknowledge that the material expression of the gold leaves implicates them in a complex "world of causes and effects" in the broader context of Classical Greek material culture. For this reason, we should expect that the gold leaves are not reducible in their significance to a single univocal meaning or function – something we have already seen in their texts.[49]

Here the evidence of lead curse tablets offers a useful parallel. That the gold leaves may have been conceived *e contrario* as a disanalogy for lead curse tablets, as Zuntz imagined, is quite possible. Even so, this would have been only one among many possible explanations of their significance. The evidence of ancient curse tablets suggests that their function as a material practice was explained differently by different practitioners. Some lead curses use *similia similibus* formulae (e.g. "Just as this lead is cold and useless, so let [my enemies] be cold and useless…") to stress the material of the tablet as a sympathetic or "persuasive analogy" for the effect of cursing on the intended victim, but this is almost certainly a later explanation applied to an existing practice.[50] Many lead curses were deposited in graves in the expectation that the deceased would bring the tablet to the attention of chthonian powers, but just how the tablet was supposed to facilitate this communication is rarely spelled out. Was the deceased supposed to "read" the curse and report it to Hermes or Hekate? This seems plausible, and a few tablet texts hint ambiguously at such a possibility (as we shall shortly discuss).[51] Or was the deceased thought of as a courier, relaying the written message to its divine addressee? Again, some tablets suggest this explanation, including a number of Attic examples that seem to have been modeled on epistolary letters.[52] Various explanations of the practice were simultaneously available, any

[47] See especially Morgan (1999) with further applications in Houtman & Meyer (2012) 9-13.
[48] Latour (2002), Houtman & Meyer (2012) 7-17.
[49] E.g. the theme of "memory," as discussed in Ch. 1 of this study.
[50] E.g. DTW #105-107. See Faraone (1991) 7 (on the likely use of materials other than lead), Thomas (1992) 82 (arguing that lead was probably used in the first place because it was cheap, but notes that "its very cheapness probably had further metaphorical value for the curse"), Graf (1997) 132-134 ("The choice of material … is a secondary development, an *a posteriori* ritualization of a common practice of writing on lead; some of its properties were secondarily charged with an affective and symbolic value not intended in its original use"), and Gager (1999) 3-4 ("these formulas do not appear on the earliest tablets and probably represent a later stage of reflection").
[51] See §IIc below.
[52] See collection and discussion of sources by Eidinow & Taylor (2010).

one of which could be activated or highlighted at a given moment to suit the context.[53] These meanings were available precisely because the material practice of lead curses had antecedents in other epigraphic habits of the later Archaic and Classical periods – e.g. written letters on folded lead sheets and oracular questions such as those deposited in the sanctuary of Zeus at Dodona.[54] This applies to the gold leaves as well: in the competitive bricolagic context of private mystery cults, we should expect a proliferation of different, even inconsistent explanations for inscriptive and ritual practices like those of the lamellae. It is precisely because practices such as gold lamellae and lead κατάδεσμοι make sense within a larger aesthetic vocabulary – that is, within widely shared habits of inscription and verbal materialization that include not only magical objects but potentially the entire range of Archaic and Classical epigraphic practices – that they are intelligible and meaningful to their practitioners. Study of these material practices must begin by situating them within this complex aesthetic context, and our explanation of their significance must pay special attention to the rare but telling instances of second-order reflections on such practices in ancient sources themselves – a point to which I will return throughout this chapter.

Further, I suggest that Brown's "thing-object" paradigm and Keane's notion of "semiotic ideologies" together offer a useful theoretical prism in which to reconsider those aspects of the gold leaves' materiality that have previously been addressed somewhat reductively in terms of "magic." It will be obvious that "magic" in scholarly discourse has historically inhabited the semantic sphere of "bad objecthood," along with terms such as "idol," "totem," "fetish," and (in some contexts) "relic." To make something "magical" is to "thingify" it in some extraordinary way – that is, to treat it as worthy of special attention and to relate to it in a way that disrupts the norms of interaction between the human subject and the material surround. In other words, "magic" designates a potentially excessive sense of value invested in a material object. In scholarship on the gold leaves and Orphism, the vocabulary of "magic" and "amulets" can be readily understood in Latour's terms as a kind of "iconoclash" between the aesthetic habits of ancient mystery cults and the logocentric constructions of religion prevalent among scholars of religion during the 19th and early 20th c., especially as they have been encoded into the Protestantizing construction of "Orphism."

As I have said above, the vocabulary of magic carries a good deal of theoretical baggage, deriving as it does from evolutionary models of religious development, and is all too often weighted with assumptions about the proper role of materiality in religious life. Yet no less of a developmentalist than William Robertson Smith, a student of Frazer for whom the history of religion was the liberation of a spiritual truth from its material "husk," acknowledged that even in its most mature forms "[a] ritual system must always remain materialistic, even if its materialism is disguised under the cloak of mysticism."[55] The discussion may be advanced by shifting terms away from evaluating the gold leaves as potentially "magical" objects ("amulets," "talismans," etc.) and toward considering them instead as instances of a more prevalent *aesthetic habit* – that is, a mode of "thingification" with parallels in both magical and non-magical objects. Much about the gold leaves that scholars from Comparetti to Bernabé have tagged as "magical" and/or "amuletic" can be more productively examined in these aesthetic or medial terms.

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[53] Here I draw on the examinations of "inconsistency" in ancient religious belief in Versnel (1990a), (1990b), and (2011): see also Gager (1999) 21-23 and Eidinow (2007) 26-41 (and *passim*) on the question of ancient "belief" in the efficacy of curse tablets and related practices.

[54] Eidinow (2007) and Eidinow & Taylor (2010) have convincingly argued that all of these seemingly disparate practices are socially connected as responses to circumstances of risk.

[55] W. R. Smith (1894) 440; on Smith see also discussion of Bell (1997) 261-262, Naiden (2013) 4-9, T. Harrison (2015) 21-25.

IIc. Case Study: Writing in the Gold Leaves

To begin examining the gold leaves in terms of "Material Religion," I now turn to consider *writing* and its function in the tablets. To some extent, the degree to which scholars are likely to see the tablets as "magical" objects corresponds to the perception that the writing on the tablets serves a non-informative or "non-rational" purpose.[56] In this subsection, I will focus on one recent attempt to reframe this question – Sarah Iles Johnston's division of the gold leaves into categories of "mnemonic" and "proxy" tablets – and suggest that this division reimposes under a new nomenclature some of the same basic theoretical assumptions surrounding religion and materiality that have governed the older debate. I argue instead that the use of writing found in the gold leaves inscribes them (so to speak) in an identifiable cluster of medial and aesthetic habits that in turn tell us a good deal about the gold leaves and their ritual background.

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So then: what *is* the function of writing in the gold leaves? This question, basic though it seems, is still difficult to answer. Apart from the handful of scholars discussed above who argue that the gold leaves are in fact magical/amuletic objects, the majority of recent scholarship has tended to assume that the writing of the gold leaves is primarily informative in its intended function. The tablets, on this view, record bits of the ritual texts that are crucial for the initiate to remember and repeat *post mortem*: i.e. the directions through the Underworld in the longer B-texts, and the identity-statements in the A- and B-groups. The gold leaves are thus essentially conceived as *aides-mémoire* inscribed and deposited for the initiate's postmortem benefit – yet another possible variation on the theme of "memory" discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation.[57] According to this view, the longer tablets are analogous in function to Egyptian funerary literature that was deposited in tombs and offered postmortem guidance to the deceased.[58]

The most systematic elaboration of this view is put forward by Sarah Iles Johnston in a study of the gold leaves coauthored with Fritz Graf.[59] Johnston proposes a heuristic twofold sorting of the lamellae into the categories of "mnemonic" and "proxy" tablets. The longer texts are assigned to the mnemonic category, and the short later texts are grouped as proxies. The mnemonic texts are so called because they serve as *hypomnêmata* or written aids for the deceased's memory: the inhumed initiate is expected to "read" the tablets and receive postmortem guidance about where to go and what to say in the Underworld. Presumably the

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[56] The term is coined by Thomas (1992) 77-88 and used to describe lead curses and other "non-informative" epigraphic practices.

[57] See Ch. 1 (§I)

[58] Assmann (2005) 238 follows this view when he points to the Gold Leaves as an analogue to Egyptian funerary practice: "Egyptian mortuary literature is a unique phenomenon among the mortuary customs of the world. In other places, of course, there has been the custom of accompanying death by words, and in some cases subsequent processes as well, addressing a person even after his death and thereby keeping him present in the community of the living as the addressee of human speech. Even the practice of praying certain texts in the tomb for the benefit of the deceased is attested outside Egypt. Thus, for example, the tombs of members of Bacchic mystery cults contained gold tablets with instructions for their postmortem journey, the so-called mortuary passports, and a charred papyrus has even been found. But nowhere else has the use of speech and writing in connection with the cult of the dead assumed such forms as it did in Egypt." (For my critique of this analogy, see below in this section. The "charred papyrus" refers to the Derveni Papyrus, found in the remains of a funeral pyre atop a 4th-c. Thessalian/Macedonian tomb: its function in relation to the deceased and its role the practice of burial are uncertain, but was probably very different from that of the Gold Leaves.) The possibility of a direct or indirect connection between the Gold Leaves and Egyptian funerary literature is a point of dispute and remains irresolvable on existing evidence: see discussions of Zuntz (1971) 370-376, Merkelbach (1999), Dousa (2011), and López-Ruiz (2015).

[59] GJ 94-136 (esp. 96-98 and 133-136).

words inscribed on the tablets were taken from a longer liturgy or *hieros logos*, and the bits of text selected for inscription would have been whatever was thought most important for the initiate to remember during his/her Underworld journey. The shorter "proxy" tablets, by contrast, record only the deceased's name or a short greeting to Persephone and/or Ploutôn, and have an essentially different function. These objects serve not as aids to memory but rather as true *Totenpässe* or "toe-tags" for the initiate.[60]

The description of the "proxy" group seems entirely correct. These tablets do seem to represent a different practice from the earlier tablets with longer texts, and it makes sense to identify them as a distinct subgroup within the corpus.[61] It is with the "mnemonic" group that problems arise. For one thing, the texts assigned to this category contain much language with no obvious mnemonic value, and some important tablet texts – notably the two lamellae from Pelinna (D1-2) and the perplexing C-tablet from Thurii – do not fit into either category.[62] The complex thematic resonances of "memory" (μνημοσύνη) in the B-tradition should make us wary of describing the tablets as "mnemonic" in any mechanical way.[63]

The most serious problem with the "mnemonic-proxy" categorization, however, is that it downplays the material-performative significance of the "mnemonic" tablets by assuming that their main imagined function was to convey information.[64] In a 1985 essay, religious historian Sam Gill called for a turn of attention toward the materiality of sacred texts, and especially toward considering their place in broader oral and ritual contexts. Gill's complaint that the scholarship of religion tends to "interpret texts to discern systems of thought and belief, propositional or historical contents, messages communicated" and his call for a shift of attention toward the non-propositional functions of religious writing – that is, toward the role of texts in religion "as it is actualized, as it is lived" – chime well with the priorities and concerns of Material Religion we have been outlining in this section.[65] The privileging of the informative role of writing in the gold leaves smacks of the Proto-Protestant construction of Orphism as a religious system built around doctrines conveyed in sacred scriptures. Indeed, the "mnemonic-proxy" dichotomy can even be understood to some degree as an extension of the older polarity between "religion" and "magic" – that is, between the use of writing to convey information to a (real or imagined) reader, and the use of writing to fashion an "amuletic" material object.[66]

Gill proposed a twofold shift in emphasis for the study of sacred texts: first, toward considering the use and handling of sacred texts as material objects; and second, toward a greater focus on the role of religious writings within institutions of oral and ritual performance.[67] These prescriptions also converge significantly with the goals of Material Religion sketched above. The act of writing is also an act of *materialization*, and necessarily insinuates the text into a physical

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[60] GJ 94-96, 134-136.

[61] More could be made of the fact that they seem to represent an intersection between the lamellae tradition and local magical practices: see Faraone (2009) and Tzifopoulos (2011).

[62] GJ 134 admits that "the Pelinna tablets can scarcely be called mnemonic devices [in the same sense posited for the B-texts] … We might call it a 'remembrance' – a token that reminded the initiate of what she had learned without a clearly practical purpose."

[63] See Ch. 1.

[64] Gill (1985); for instructive applications to the ancient Mediterranean, see Frankfurter (2002) 169-170 and (2004). Johnston in fact cites Gill in connection with the mnemonic-proxy distinction (GJ 185-186), but for reasons that will become clear I believe her model ultimately comes into conflict with Gill's proposal.

[65] Gill (1985) 234. His stance also resonates with the "History of the Book" and its attention to paratextual aspects and "biographies" of physical texts: see recent overview in Howsam (2014).

[66] The fact that the proxy tablets are generally later in date would also lend itself to an assumption of a diachronic degeneration in practice from "mnemonic" to "proxy," which would parallel the older idea of degeneration from religion into magical superstition (though Johnston nowhere suggests this interpretive step).

[67] Gill (1985) 237-238.

environment where its significance will be determined by factors beyond the contents of the text and beyond the author's or inscriber's control. The "decision to write" is necessarily guided by contextual factors beyond the mere requirement of recording and conveying information.[68] There is no such thing as a purely informative text, and the act of writing in connection with a ritual context is bound to be heavily performative. To restate things in Gill's terms, it is not clear that any of the gold leaves or their texts had an "informative" function, but it is a safe assumption that *all* of them had a "performative" value. To examine a writing practice like that of the gold leaves through the lens of Material Religion, we should focus especially on the materializing effect of the "decision to write," and consider what broader technologies and norms this practice drew upon, emulated, or adapted. We should also consider what "semiotic ideology" has generated these inscribed objects and in what ways it finds them significant.

What, then, do we find if we evaluate the gold leaves in these terms? To begin with, I will address the question of whether the deceased was understood as the "reader" of the texts deposited in his/her grave. I will focus for now on only two significant *comparanda* that have figured in discussions and consider their implications from a Material Religious perspective: lead curses and Egyptian mortuary literature. Lead κατάδεσμοι were a common form of writing on metal tablets that were often deposited in graves, and they offer an instructive generic parallel for the gold leaves.[69] They also offer ambiguous testimony as to whether the deceased was meant (or even thought to be able) to "read" the words inscribed on the tablet.[70] Two near-identical juridical *defixiones* from the Hellenistic period address the dead man and actually remark on his inability to read the text: "Whenever you, O Pasianax, read these letters – but you will never read them (τὰ γράμ[μ]ατα ταῦτα ἀναγνῶς – ἀλὰ οὔτ[ε] ποτὲ σύ ταῦτα ἀ(να)γνώσει), nor ever will Akestor bring a lawsuit against Eratophanes, nor Timandridas either; but just as you lie here senseless and as nothing, so also may Akestor and Timandridas be senseless." The mechanism of the curse shifts mid-spell: at first it seems that the expectation is for the deceased to read and act on the spell, but after the anacolouthon the rationale of the spell abruptly changes and the corpse's feeble inability to read actually becomes the basis for a curse of the *similia similibus* type.[71] In other words, the text itself testifies to two different second-order reflections on an existing material practice. In the case of the gold leaves, we cannot assume that the role of the physical tablet and its writing was understood uniformly across different contexts, any more than that their texts would have been explained in the same way by different practitioners. Such

[68] I borrow the phrase in quotes from Eidinow & Taylor (2010).

[69] I will discuss this parallel further in §IIIc below.

[70] Regarding whether the deceased was the imagined recipient of the tablet, Johnston (1999) 72 remarks: "Without further information, it would seem safest to assume that the dead are imagined *only as messengers* between this world and the next, carrying the words of the tablets to deities in the underworld" (my italics). The epistolary formatting used in a small number of curse tablets suggests that this was a somewhat common assumption: see Graf (1997) 130-132, Eidinow & Taylor (2010). See also the following note.

[71] DTAud #43-44 (= Gager #43; uncertain provenance, 2nd/1st c. BCE): ὅταν σύ, ὦ Πασιάναξ, τὰ γράμ[μ]ατα ταῦτα ἀναγνῶς – ἀλὰ οὔτ[ε] ποτὲ σύ ταῦτα ἀ(να)γνώσει, οὔτ[ε] ποτὲ Ἀκέστωρ ἐπὶ Ἐρατ[ο]φα⟨ε⟩νεα δίκα[ν ἐ]ποισει [ο]ὐδὲ Τιμανδρίδας, ἀλ᾽ ὥσπερ σ[ὺ] ἐν[θ]αῦτα ἀλίθιος κεῖ[θ]ι κα[ὶ] οὐδὲν, οὕτως κ[α]ὶ Ἀ[κέ]στ[ωρ] καὶ Τιμανδρίδας ἀλ[ίθι]ο[ι γ]έν[οιντο]. The near-exact replication of the same curse on two tablets with different named targets indicates that this was a somewhat standard spell and suggests that the sentiment about the corpse's inability to read had a fairly broad currency. That Pasianax is the deceased rather than a chthonian divinity seems clear from the text: on the use of a euphemistic name in reference to the dead (Pasianax = "Lord of All"), see Voutiras (1999). One Hellenistic tablet from Attica (DTAud #52 = Gager #73) says that the curse will be effective "whenever they read it" (ὁπόταν οὗτοι ταῦτα ἀναγνῶσιν). The text is uncertain, but the οὗτοι and the plural verb suggest that the intended "reader" is not the corpse in whose grave the tablet was deposited but rather the spirits of the restless dead (τοῖς ἠϊθέοις) to whom the curse is addressed: see Johnston (1999) 76-77.

heterogeneity alone makes the idea of a mnemonic function problematic as an assumption across the whole corpus.[72]

The analogy between the gold leaves and Egyptian funerary literature similarly founders when we consider both of these as objects in their respective material contexts. As Jan Assmann points out, the *Books of the Dead* that were deposited in tombs replicate scribal conventions, as though their written eschatological lore was meant to be readily accessible to the deceased. Nothing in the material form or writing of the gold leaves suggests a similar intended function – rather, as we shall see in more detail below (§IIIb), various verbal and material cues (meter, oral background, material, handling, physical context, and often careless or illegible writing) all suggest an affinity with non-informative text-objects such as curse tablets and inscribed amulets.[73] In other words, the gold lamellae belong to a cluster of epigraphic practices where the act of writing was more significant than the possibility of reading.

These two examples – one of which comes from the same historical context as the gold leaves and therefore offers an important sidelight on the material significance of the practice, the other of which comes from a different cultural context but has been taken as an analogy for the practice of the gold leaves – both discourage us from taking the gold leaves as mnemonic objects. Indeed, I find no secure ground for taking even the longer texts as "informative" in the sense that is often assumed. This view of the function of the gold leaves owes more to our presuppositions about sacred texts and the ways in which they are used than to ancient evidence. An inquiry into the likely functions of writing in the gold leaves must approach them as *a material practice*: the question is not "What information do they convey?" but rather "What technologies, systems, and/or norms in Greek material culture do they draw upon, adapt, or model themselves after?" More fundamentally, we must ask what the significance of these material practices was in context and what "semiotic ideologies" they interacted with. In short, to borrow the punning terms favored by some theorists of Material Religion, we must ask: how did the gold leaves "matter" for 5th/4th-c. Greeks?

I turn in the next section (§III) to consider the gold leaves in the context of oral and inscribed incantations (ἐπῳδαί) and against the emerging forms of epigraphic experimentation that appear across the Greek world in the 5th/4th c. BCE. I contend that the gold leaves share important pragmatic and material-performative traits with objects such as lead curses and inscribed amulets. Like these "magical" objects, the lamellae are a mediatized form of an oral ritual practice in a context of individual expertise. The gold leaves belong to a cluster of synesthetic habits in the Classical Greek world that testify to the medial use of writing in connection with oral practices. To trace the contours of this habit in the 5th/4th c. BCE, I will begin by considering the meter of the gold leaves as evidence for their interaction with ritual hexameters and Late Classical inscribed amulets. As I will argue, both meter and material form situate the gold leaves in an identifiable aesthetic habit that emerges and develops in contexts of marginal ritual expertise during this period.

§III. Ritual Hexameters and the Gold Leaves

[72] On the issue of local variations among the tablets of the same text-groups, see e.g. Edmonds (2004) 79-80 and Ferrari (2011). The reality of competing interpretations among *Orpheotelestai* is particularly apparent from the Derveni Papyrus: see discussions of Obbink (1997) and Betegh (2004).

[73] See Assmann (2005) 237-259 (esp. 248-249).

Among the more substantial lamellae texts the use of hexameters and dactylic rhythms is the rule rather than the exception.[74] Many scholars have connected the meter with an epic or quasi-epic background and imagined that the texts were excerpted from an Orphic *katabasis* or *hieros logos*.[75] The hypothesis that the texts derive from a "literary" hexameter background is problematic, however. While the lamellae texts show frequent stylistic and formulaic affinities with epic, didactic, and oracular hexameter poetry, other aspects, such as their rough and uneven prosody, point toward a different background. Following Christopher Faraone, I approach the lamellae texts as instances of "ritual hexameters" – a hexameter genre that existed independently of epic, though with mutual influence between the two genres. Much recent scholarship has focused on the non-hexameter portions of the lamellae texts as evidence for their ritual background. I will argue that the use of hexameters also has crucial ritual significance and belongs to a cluster of aesthetic habits that signal the genre as well as the material and ritual embeddedness of the gold leaves.

IIIa. Ritual Hexameters (ἐπῳδαί)

Although we most often think of the hexameter as the meter of epic, it was also a characteristic meter used for several non-epic genres, such as hymns, oracles, and incantations.[76] The last of these verse genres – incantations or ἐπῳδαί – offers an important context for the gold leaves and will be the focus of the present section. This hexameter genre was excluded from the processes of written transmission that preserved more privileged poetic genres, but it is attested indirectly in both written sources and ancient epigraphic evidence. Oral and inscribed incantations are thus a case of what Luigi Enrico Rossi and his students have termed "submerged literature" – a class of oral "texts" did were not directly preserved in the written record, but whose influence on surviving genres allows them to be studied indirectly and partially reconstructed.[77]

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[74] A2-3, A5, the longer B-texts (B1-2, B10-11), and D5 are entirely in hexameters, with some corruptions and irregularities. The shorter B-tablets are excerpted from the longer hexameter texts, but their meter is very corrupt (B3-4, B12-13). A1 and A4 from Thurii and D1-2 from Pelinna feature a mixture of hexameter and non-hexameter elements, though hexameters and dactylic rhythms are predominant. The only tablets with substantial texts *not* in hexameters (or in any other meter) are the largely unintelligible C (Thurii), D3 (Pherai), and D4 (Amphipolis).

[75] Comparetti & Smith (1882) 117-118; in recent scholarship, see Parker (1995) and Riedweg (2011). More recently, Edmonds (2011c) and (2016) has questioned this consensus and argued instead on formal grounds that the lamellae texts more likely derive from written verse oracles: see also Tzifopoulos (2010) 131-150.

[76] A full study of the intergeneric relation between epic and non-epic hexameters is badly needed and falls outside the scope of this chapter: I am indebted to the discussions of Faraone (1996), (2004), and Maslov (2009). From a linguistic and historical-poetic examination of the word ἀοιδός (the simplex of which is thought to be a back-formation from compound forms), Maslov *op. cit.* tentatively identifies a threefold development in the archaic Greek conception of the "singer": (a) a divinely-inspired solo performer (perhaps originally marked as *θεσπιαοιδός), ultimately identified with mantic or oracular hexameters (χρησμῳδοί, χρησμολόγοι); (b) a term for professional musical performers, which is then appropriated by the rhapsodic performers of the emerging hexameter epic genre in the early archaic period; and (c) a compound form ἐπαοιδός which originally meant "singer" but later came to have a specialized meaning "singer of incantations." It is worth stressing that what Maslov terms the "aedic ideology" emerges in the early archaic period as a device of authority and self-presentation by performers of hexameter poetry: the prevalence of ἐπῳδαί as devices of ritual specialists in the Late Archaic and Classical periods might be described in terms of an "epaedic ideology," in which such specialists portrayed themselves as "singers" in continuity with broadly held Greek notions about the power of music and the spoken word. I intend to examine this interaction further in a future study.

[77] See Rossi (2000), Colesanti & Giordano (2014); Ferrari (2015) instructively examines the Orphic bone plates from Olbia within this theoretical framework.

Christopher Faraone has traced the ancient evidence for this submerged genre.[78] Faraone terms these "ritual" hexameters, and they were known as ἐπῳδαί in antiquity.[79] The contexts in which such hexameters were used include medicine, curses or aggressive magic, apotropaic or protective magic, purification, and mystery initiations, among others.[80] The earliest evidence of this genre comes with the very earliest written Greek hexameters, the 8th-c. "Nestor's Cup" inscription from Pithekoussai, which by Faraone's argument contains an erotic curse.[81] The inscription reads as follows:

> Νέστορός ε̣[ἰμ]ι̣ εὔποτ[ον] ποτέ̣ριον
> *h*ὸς δ' ἂν τόδε πίεσι ποτ̄ερί[ō], αὐτίκα κε̃νον
> *hí*μερος *h*αιρέ̣σει καλλιστε̣[φά]ν̣ō Ἀφροδίτε̄ς.
>
> I am Nestor's cup, good for drinking: and whoever drinks from this cup, desire for fair-crowned Aphrodite will seize him immediately.[82]

The last two lines (as printed above) are in rough hexameters. Some scholars have taken the inscription as an epic parody, but Faraone persuasively argues that it represents an incantation that would have been uttered over the cup itself in a quasi-sympotic context.[83] Faraone notes further that the conditional form (*h*ὸς δ' ἂν … πίεσι), vocabulary, and self-referential deixis (τόδε … ποτ̄ερί[ō]) of the hexameter couplet all bear a stylistic resemblance to later magical texts. Faraone suggests that Nestor's Cup and a roughly contemporary inscribed cup from Eretria were early examples of a somewhat isolated epigraphic experiment that failed to find wide acceptance in the 8th c.[84] Nestor's Cup illustrates two characteristic tendencies of hexameter ἐπῳδαί – their close connection with ritual paraphernalia and their transferability through inscription – that will reappear in later evidence.

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[78] The evidence has been gathered and synthesized in a series of articles: see Faraone (1992), (1995a), (1995b), (1996), (2001a), (2001b), (2004a), (2008), (2009), (2011a), (2013a). See also Kotansky (1991), Furley (1994), and Porta (1999).

[79] In what follows, I refer to ἐπῳδαί more or less interchangeably with "incantations," "charms," and "ritual hexameters" for the sake of variety. My focus on the term ἐπῳδή is mainly due to its strong connotation of hexameter rhythm and partly because of its complex relation to archaic song vocabulary (ἀοιδός, ἀείδω) – a connection that I plan to examine in a future study. Other Greek words of course fall into the same semantic orbit with different connotations, e.g. *goês/goêteia*, *magos/mageia, pharmakeus/pharmakeia* and their cognates: see discussions of Burkert (1962), Johnston (1999) 82-123, Bremmer (1999), Dickie (2001) 12-17, and Graf (2014).

[80] See overviews of Kotansky (1991), Furley (1994) (with emphasis on medicine), Faraone (2011a). Medicine and Healing: Hom. *Od.* 19.455-458, [Hp.] *de Morb. Sac.* 1.11 and 2.17, Pl. *Charm.* 155e-156a, E. *Alc.* 962-72; cf. *PGM* XX (the "Philinna Papyrus"), with discussion in Furley (*op. cit.*), Faraone (1995b), (2011a). Erotic Magic: Pi. *P.* 4.213-219. Curses and Apotropaic Magic: A. *Eum.* 331, Pl. *Rep.* 2.364b-d, *Leg.* 10.907d-909d, and the protective *Ephesia Grammata* (discussed in Kotansky [1991] 110-112 Bernabé [2013]). Purification and Initiation: in addition to sources just cited, see E. *Ba.* 234 (Pentheus describes the disguised Dionysos as a γόης ἐπῳδός), P.Derv. vi (*magoi* perform incantations), with discussions of Dickie (2001) 41-43, Betegh (2004) 78-83, and Graf (2014).

[81] Faraone (1996). The text cannot represent an epic parody, as Faraone convincingly argues, since the text of the Homeric poems had not yet been fixed in standard versions. On the state and development of the early epics in the 8th c. and beyond, see also Burkert (1987a), Nagy (1996) and (2012).

[82] The Greek text here follows Dubois (*IGDGG* I #2); see also *SEG* XIV 604 and *CEG* 454. For history of interpretation, see S. West (1994) and Lombardi (2003).

[83] Faraone (1996). A specific "intertextual" allusion to the Homeric poems is unlikely, since in the 8th c. BCE the local oral traditions that would form the basis of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had not yet begun to coalesce into standard narratives under the pressure of Panhellenic performance institutions. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that the inscription reflects influence of those 8th-c. oral traditions.

[84] On the Eretrian cup and its similarities with the kotyle from Pithekoussai, see Faraone (1996) 110-111.

Allusions to, depictions of, and even imitations of oral ἐπῳδαί appear in the Homeric epics and in Archaic poetry. Homer portrays the use of healing charms and imitates the kind of incantatory language that would have accompanied the use of herbal drugs, while in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter* the disguised goddess imitates the performance of an apotropaic incantation that might be performed by a skilled wet-nurse.[85] True to Gregory Nagy's observation about epic's internal portrayals of other genres such as lament and hymns, we find that Homeric epic consistently situates incantations in performance contexts that help to define their genre.[86] Thus, while epic remains generically distinct from ἐπῳδαί, it provides evidence for the ways in which ritual hexameters were imagined as a performance genre – that is, for the occasions and formal features that early Greek audiences would have considered appropriate for them. At the same time, epic not only exerted an influence on ritual hexameters, but would also have provided an important ideological and aetiological reference for the real-life performers of ἐπῳδαί in ritual contexts.[87] Faraone has also shown that many uses of hexameters in non-hexameter genres can be seen as allusions to ἐπῳδαί. A hexameter imprecation by Hipponax, seen by many scholars as an epic parody, is better understood as an allusion to a *pharmakos* ritual and conventional hexameter curse formulae used for expelling demonic presences into the sea.[88] A hexameter fragment from Aristophanes' *Amphiaraos* (fr. 29 K.-A.), once thought to be a parody of a verse oracle, is more convincingly explained as a parody of an erotic attraction spell.[89] The Doric comedian Epikharmos similarly used hexameters in portraying the Sirens' enchanting song, and a fragment from an unknown play of the New Comic poet Diphilos even has a *kathartês* onstage reciting hexameter ἐπῳδαί as part of a purification ritual.[90] In addition to these echoes of incantations in literary sources, we now also possess a growing corpus of Late Classical inscribed lead hexameter amulets that show important textual and stylistic continuities with both Archaic and Late Antique evidence and indicate the uses to which incantations were put in practice. (We will discuss these tablets in more detail in §IIIc below.)

Based on this evidence, Faraone traces a remarkably stable tradition of hexameter ἐπῳδαί across virtually the whole span of Greek antiquity, from Nestor's Cup and the Homeric epics through the Classical and Hellenistic periods and down into the late Graeco-Egyptian magical papyri. In his study of Nestor's Cup, Faraone acknowledges the profound implications of his argument for our picture of early hexameter poetry:

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[85] *Od.* 19.455-458, 4.220-226, *h.Cer.* 227-230: see Faraone (1996) 86-90, who goes so far as to suggest that Homeric lines used as spoken charms in early sources may reflect an independent tradition of incantations that influenced both Homeric epic and the magical tradition rather than a reappropriation of epic (such as we find in the later magical tradition). For discussions of the incantational content and style of these passages, see discussions of Furley (1994), Faraone (1996) 83-86, (2011a), (2013), and Provenza (2009).

[86] Nagy (1994) 12-13.

[87] Epic Influence on Incantations: Faraone (1996) and (2004a), O'Connell (2017). For the influence of epic on the Gold Leaves, see Nagy (1999) 167 §28 n. 2, Herrero (2011) and (2013), and Ch. 1 above. Aetiology: see Faraone (2011a) 192-193. We may also imagine that the portrayal of (for instance) a successful and effective healing incantation in *Od.* 19.455-458 would have bolstered the credibility of real-life healers.

[88] Hipponax fr. 128 W: see Faraone (2004a). As Faraone notes, the misinterpretation of this fragment as an epic parody dates back to Hellenistic scholarship: according to Athenaios, our source for the fragment, Polemon of Ilion (2nd c. BCE) identified Hipponax as the inventor of the genre of epic parody (Ath. 15.698b).

[89] Faraone (1992).

[90] Ar. fr. 29 K.-A., Epikharmos *Sirens* fr. 121 K.-A., Diphilos fr. 125 K.-A. (= Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 7.4.26.4.2); Meineke conjectures that the Diphilos fragment might belong to the *Helleborizomenoi* (see fr. 30 K.-A.). For the ancient representation of the Sirens as singers of ἐπῳδαί, see e.g. Xen. *Mem*. 2.6.10-11, 2.6.31; the story about the contest between Orpheus and the Sirens probably also reflects this background, especially since Orpheus is also an authority for oral ἐπῳδαί (E. *Alc.* 962-72, *IA* 1211-5, E. *Cyc.* 646-8). On the context and interpretation of the Aristophanes and Diphilos fragments, see discussions of Parker (1983) 207 and Faraone (1992) and (2004a) 233-234.

> Indeed, in the eighth century we must try to imagine a time when, outside of the genre of epic, poets composed hexameters orally for a number of non-narrative genres, including hymns, oracles and magical incantations – all of which are embedded in ritual contexts. We must, in short, leave open the possibility that traditional hymnic, oracular or incantatory forms could have been regularly borrowed or adapted by the narrative poets and not vice versa.[91]

As Faraone's examination of Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Graeco-Egyptian sources make clear, this complex interrelation among hexameter genres lasted well beyond the 8th c. BCE. What comes into view is a vast but hidden oral genre of ἐπῳδαί that was deeply embedded in Greek life and performance culture. It is also apparent that this genre developed alongside and in mutual interaction with the oral and performance traditions that produced the epics. In fact, one key consequence of Faraone's analyses is that the division between poetic and magical language becomes surprisingly porous: the Homeric poems already in places imitate the style and content of incantations, and magical/ritual texts often share formulae, vocabulary, and diction of "high" poetic genres.[92] At issue, then, in the study of ἐπῳδαί as a genre is also the different *uses* to which hexameters were put in Greek antiquity, including the contexts in which they were typically performed – or "embedded," as Faraone puts it. Thus, while acknowledging the significant mutual interaction between the two genres, we can still characterize them roughly in terms of a polarity between the *narrative*, *informative*, or *mimetic* uses of hexameter poetry on the one hand, and a primarily *ritual* or *performative* use on the other.[93]

To these two attributes, I will add a third: ritual hexameters are a highly *material* genre, and materiality is an important feature of their ritual and performative aspects.[94] As I shall argue in the next subsection, the genre of ἐπῳδαί in archaic and Classical Greece reflects an aesthetic interrelation between hexameter utterances and the material surround, and especially points toward a perceived entanglement between the spoken (or chanted/sung) word and the physical apparatus of ritual. Following Nagy's definition of poetic genre as a function of the occasion in which a type of song is authorized for performance, I suggest that the implicit materiality of ἐπῳδαί contributes to their definition and perception as a somewhat distinct hexameter genre.[95] I argue that ἐπῳδαί as a "synesthetic" oral-material poetic genre are an instructive background

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[91] Faraone (1996) 86.

[92] Faraone (1996), (2004a), O'Connell (2017); Faraone (1995a) also points to parallels between the use of the "Performative Future" and deictic strategies in Pindar and in magical texts; on the phenomenon of Greek poetry signaling or recreating its own "occasion" of performance, see Nagy (1994). Maslov (2009), following Faraone, has used historical linguistics to trace possible developments and points of interrelation among pre-literary hexameter genres.

[93] See Faraone (1996) 112: the distinction maps onto the proposal of Gill (1985) discussed in §IIc above. However, on the "mimetic" aspect of epic and rhapsodic performance, see Nagy (1996) 40-106 (and *passim*). It is worth noting, but beyond the scope of this chapter to study in detail, the degree to which monodic and especially choral lyric make use of dactylic rhythms and show generic interaction with epic: see e.g. West (1978), Haslam (1978), and Burkert (1987) on Stesikhoros (esp. the Lille Papyrus) and Spelman (2017) on Sappho fr. 44 L.-P. with references to earlier discussions.

[94] It could be noted that hexameter ἐπῳδαί are marked as "material" utterances not only by their interaction with their physical surround but also by their own linguistic "hardness" (repeated lines, words, phrases, and sounds) and their use of acoustic effects such as metrical symmetry, rhymes, jingles, and repetitive assonances that are typically avoided by epic and more "literary" Greek poetic styles. Some of these traits are discussed in outline by Porta (1999) 1-27, 293-349 (with special attention to the Gold Leaves at 322-343). On the formal characteristics of "magical" hexameters, see also Faraone (2011a) and (2013).

[95] Nagy (1994).

against which to understand the gold leaves. Indeed, central to my argument regarding the gold leaves is a recognition that their materiality is a large part of what locates them in their ritual performance context.[96]

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The word ἐπῳδή (uncontracted ἐπαοιδή) shows obvious debts to Archaic vocabulary of song (ἀοιδή) and singer (ἀοιδός). But what significance should we attach to the ἐπι- prefix? In fact, the simplex ἀοιδός has been found to be a back-formation from the compound form ἐπαοιδός, which in the Archaic period shifted from meaning "singer" to the more marked "singer of [hexameter] incantations," while the simplex ἀοιδός came specifically to designate a rhapsode or performer of narrative hexameter epic.[97] As their respective vocabularies diverged, the ἐπι-prefix would likely have contributed to the development of the semantics of incantation, though by the later Archaic and Classical periods it could simultaneously admit several different explanations.

Boris Maslov suggests three non-exclusive possibilities, all of which find some support in ancient evidence.[98] First, ἐπι- may have meant "after" or "in addition," and may have been thought to refer to the refrains that were characteristic of magical incantations or other verses that were repeated without variation or adaptation to context. Plato in the *Laws* says that children may be trained to associate pleasure and pain with virtue and vice respectively by repeatedly singing and hearing ἐπῳδαί: it is surely the repetitive character of traditional incantations that makes them an attractive metaphor.[99] Theokritos' *Pharmakeutria* is the most obvious literary representation of a magical spell with a refrain.[100] The hexameter *Ephesia Grammata* found on inscribed tablets from the 5th/4th c. seem similarly to have been repeated roughly *verbatim* regardless of context – another kind of "materialization" of language.[101]

Second, the compound ἐπῳδή might have been taken to denote a singing "at" or "over, upon" something or someone.[102] By way of comparison, the prefix κατα- is a near-equivalent to ἐπι- in some Classical compounds (κατεπαεῖδειν, καταυλεῖν) that indicate a physical relation between a musical sound and object affected by it.[103] This usage is especially apparent in the

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[96] On the definition and implications of "synaesthesia" for ancient aesthetics, see Butler & Purves (2013).

[97] See the linguistic and historical-poetic analysis of Maslov (2009), with references to earlier discussions. It is worth noting that while hexameter incantations of the Archaic and Classical periods were probably not sung and would not have been performed to instrumental accompaniment, the *idea* of musicality remained important to the cultural representations of ἐπῳδαί: see e.g. Segal (1974) on the generic slippage between incantation and lyric performance in the songs of Sappho.

[98] See Maslov (2009) 30.

[99] Pl. *Leg.* 659d4-e5: see McPherran (2004) 27-28.

[100] Theocr. 2. On refrains as a feature of magical (or "liturgical") poetry, see Porta (1999) 302-303 and *passim*.

[101] Bernabé (2013) collects sources of the incantation and discusses its variants. Furley (1994) 91-92 notes that most Greek incantations are quite short, in contrast with comparative evidence: this encourages the view that performance involved only a few lines repeated over and over.

[102] Lexical parallels include ἐπιλέγειν or ἐπεῖπειν (with the sense of "utter a spell") and the later Greek ἐπιλαλεῖν.

[103] Plato uses the double compound κατεπάδειν twice with the sense "subdue [someone] by incantation": see Pl. *Grg.* 483e6 (κατεπάδοντές τε καὶ γοητεύοντες) and *Men.* 80a3 (γοητεύεις με καὶ φαρμάττεις καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κατεπάδεις). As part of a discussion of the psychosomatic effects of music and dance in the *Laws* (7.790d-e), the Athenian stranger describes how a mother calms young children by rocking them in her arms and by crooning a song to them (τινα μελῳδίαν). She thereby soothes them as though "casting a spell upon" them (καταυλοῦσι). In other words, a mother's handling of a young child is a commonplace form of a phenomenon that finds more extreme expression in the orgiastic Korybantic and Bacchic rites – a connection that Plato highlights with the verb καταυλεῖν; cf. also uses of καταυλεῖν in *Rep.* 3.411a (another discussion of the ethical effects of music) and Eur. *HF* 871 (with metaphorical sense). (I thank Prof. Mark Griffith for drawing my attention to this parallel.) The compound ἐπαυλεῖν also appears once in a lyric passage of Euripides (*HF* 895), where it refers to the madness brought upon listeners by *aulos* music; cf. 879 (χορευθέντ' ἐναύλοις).

medical uses of ἐπῳδαί, where the incantation would have been performed over the affected patient's body and would often have been accompanied by an amulet that would be bound over the affected area.[104] Socrates in Plato's *Charmides* seems to play on this sense of ἐπι- when he mentions "a certain incantation" (ἐπῳδὴ…τις) to be used "in connection with a remedy" (ἐπὶ τῷ φαρμάκῳ).[105] Erotic incantations, though they may invoke the aid of divinities, are similarly directed at a given human recipient, and the utterance of the spell itself may be closely linked with the manipulation of ritual objects, as in Theokritos or the later magical papyri. A number of recipes in the magical handbooks specify that the spell is to be written or inscribed at the same time as it is being spoken aloud, as though the performer's voice were itself doing the writing and the object were thought of as an extension of the voice.[106] A choral lyric from Euripides' *Alkestis* mentions oral incantations and herbal remedies together as means by which mortals seek escape from death: "I have found nothing stronger than Necessity: neither any remedy (φάρμακον) in Thracian tablets (Θρήσσαις ἐν σανίσιν) that the voice of Orpheus inscribed (Ὀρφεία κατέγραψεν γῆρυς); nor in all the remedies (φάρμακα) that Phoibos cut (ἀντιτεμὼν) for the benefit of pain-racked mortals and gave to the sons of Asklepios." The chorus's juxtaposition of oral healing incantations with the remedies of the Asklepiadai not only represents "a setting of magical and Hippocratic medicine side by side," as Walter Burkert describes it, but also suggests the synaesthetic blend of vocality, script, and manual remedy that is characteristic of traditional medicine.[107] Finally, although most inscribed curses (though a few curious exceptions have come to light) are not written in hexameters, these seem nevertheless to embody a logic of ritual speech, writing, and materiality that is close to that of inscribed ἐπῳδαί – a point to which we will return later in the chapter.

A third possibility put forward by Maslov is that the prefix ἐπι- could have been taken to mean "associated with," and could point toward the occasion or context for which an ἐπῳδή might be performed. Here the prefix might have comparable force to that of τὰ ἐπινίκια, where the festivities are attached to the occasion of athletic victory. This explanation overlaps with the second possibility, insofar as it also suggests at least a conceptual proximity with the physical objects connected with the song. On this interpretation, an ἐπῳδή is "affixed" to a ritual occasion, and thus was mixed in with the larger assemblage of objects (physical, gestural, corporeal) that constituted the ritual performance. Parallel uses of κατα- are again instructive. Herodotus relates that the *magoi* accompanying Xerxes' fleet in 480 BCE tried to avert a storm at sea by "performing enchantment with charms" to the wind (καταείδοντες γόησι).[108] The title character of Euripides' *Iphigenia in Tauris* is said to "raise shouts and chant barbarian strains like a *magos*" (ἀνωλόλυξε καὶ κατῆιδε βάρβαρα / μέλη μαγεύουσ') during a mock-

[104] Dickie (2001) 24-25.
[105] Pl. *Charm.* 155e-156a.
[106] E.g. *PGM* IV 330 (καὶ λαβὼν πλάτυμμα μολυβοῦν γράψον τὸν λόγον τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ δίωκε), VII 225 (γράφε …καὶ δίωκε), VII 452-3 (γράφε τὸν λόγον τὸν Ὀρφαϊκόν, 'ασκει καὶ τασκει' λέγων): see discussion of Graf (1997) 131 ("The papyri have taught us that it was necessary to recite the text while engraving it on metal: not only was the spell recited, but also it was put in writing at the same moment. The writing thus has the goal of fixing the language spoken, of making it permanent. It is but natural that often the effects of the spell were conditioned by the physical survival of the written text…"). The last of the texts cited just above features a hexameter incantation known as the *Ephesia Grammata* that appears in several inscribed amulets contemporary with the gold leaves (though the designation of this spell as an "Orphic *logos*" probably reflects late conflation of this traditional incantation with magical lore attributed to Orpheus): see Edmonds (2013b).
[107] E. *Alc.* 962-972; see Burkert (1982) 5, Kotansky (1991) 107-110, Furley (2014) 84-85. Cf. Henrichs (2003a) 212 n. 13, who draws a connection with esoteric Orphic texts rather than medicine: "Nothing is known about the Orphic writing tablets (σανίδες, wooden tablets) envisaged by Euripides, but the juxtaposition of κατέγραψεν and γῆρυς effectively captures the tension between orality and writing that permeates esoteric religious traditions."
[108] Hdt. 7.191.

performance of a ritual purification.[109] The two verbal prefixes suggest a directional contrast between the two types of vocalization: her wailing directed upward (ἀνα-) toward her internal Taurian audience and her incantation downward (κατα-) toward the ritual apparatus of a mock purification.[110]

These three interpretations of the prefix in ἐπῳδή – "after," "over/upon," and "in conjunction with an occasion" – were all available to ancient performers and audiences. Any might have seemed an apt way of explaining the practice of incantation depending on context.[111] All three suggest, in different but complementary ways, a *materialization* of poetic language: either a hardening of the poetic expression itself into a rhythmic vocalization that could be decontextualized and repeated, or a form of vocal utterance that was understood to interact with the physical world. That our knowledge of these sub-literary hexameters is heavily mediated by material objects – ranging from Nestor's Cup to Late Classical amulets – is partly a consequence of attestation, but it is still not pure coincidence.[112] The gold leaves belong squarely in this family of ritual-aesthetic uses of hexameters, especially as it developed into an amuletic practice in the later Classical period (to which I will return in §IIIc below).

In this section, I argue for a thick interaction between the second and third senses of the ἐπι- prefix listed above. The entanglement between utterance and action is at least partly constitutive of the interaction between the ritual performer and the ritual audience. Here again Nagy's theorization of genre as a dynamic of authorization between the performer and his/her audience or "group" offers a useful interpretive framework for considering the context of oral ἐπῳδαί in the later Classical period.[113] It is precisely this perceived materiality of incantations as a performance genre – a perception shaped by shared cultural expectations and meant to be activated in socially recognized occasions – that helped enable individual ritual experts of the kind who perform ἐπῳδαί in our sources to find authorization in the eyes of their clientele. It is not just the sense of power in the utterance itself, but the specific synaesthesis among voice, body, and ritual apparatus that we find in ἐπῳδαί that contributes to the ritual performer's effective self-presentation. The genre-defining "occasion," in other words, is for ἐπῳδαί significantly shaped through their relation to the physical surround, since the material character of oral charms enmeshes them in an assemblage of ritual artefacts and props of performance.

I turn now to two case studies of hexameter incantations with special relevance for the gold leaves. The first of these, healing ἐπῳδαί, are not only well attested in ancient sources, but also offer insight into the dynamics of authorization that operated in cases of individual ritual expertise. Ritual healing and purification likely shared some performance elements in common with private mystery cults, and our sources suggest that these ritual services were frequently offered by the same types of people (if not in fact the very same people). As I argue, healing incantations are illustrative of aesthetic, medial, and interactive generic expectations surrounding

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[109] μαγεύουσ' is Reiske's emendation for ματεύσοθσ' in the MSS: see Kyriakou (2006) *ad loc*.

[110] E. *IT* 1337-1338. In view of Iphigenia's characterization as an Eastern *magos* (μαγεύουσ') in this passage, it is worth noting the argument of Bremmer (1999) that the use of the word *magoi* as a label for unauthorized or marginal private ritual in Late Archaic and Classical Greece stemmed from the habit among Persian *magoi* of whispering ritual language in a low voice: see also Graf (2011) 128 n. 31 and the response of Bremmer (2016) 248-249.

[111] Maslov (2009) 30 points to the parallel ἐφυμνεῖν, the prefix of which can similarly be construed as "at," "over," or "of."

[112] Of course, a great many "literary" hexameters are preserved on material objects as well (e.g. inscribed epigrams), and ultimately all forms of verbal expression from antiquity survive in material media. (Thanks to Prof. James Porter for this observation.) My suggestion in the remainder of this chapter, though, is that incantation is a circumscribable verse genre that involves genre-specific habits of mediation that distinguish them from other kinds of verbal materiality.

[113] Nagy (1994) and (1996).

ἐπῳδαί in other ritual contexts, including private mysteries. The second case study, inscribed Late Classical amulets, situates the gold leaves against a background of intersecting material practices and uses of hexameter incantations that emerged and developed in the Late Classical period.

IIIb. Case 1: ἐπῳδαί in Ritual Healing

Ritual healing is the best documented context for oral ἐπῳδαί in ancient evidence. The medical use of incantations is attested already in Homer, while Pindar includes "soothing incantations" (μαλακαῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς) among the tools available to the divine healer Asklepios, and allusions to medical incantations appear in 5th-c. Athenian tragedy.[114] The Hippocratic polemic *On the Sacred Disease* complains about ordinary physicians and purifiers who rely on ἐπῳδαί.[115] The rhetorician Gorgias of Leontini was the brother of a physician, and his discussion of ἐπῳδαί and their effects in the *Encomium to Helen* may have been informed by direct observation of 5th-c. Greek medicine.[116] Although ἐπῳδαί could be used for a wide variety of purposes outside of medicine, such as purification, curses, γοητεία, and erotic or apotropaic magic, their ritualized use for healing is in some ways paradigmatic, and their medical use persisted in Greek magical lore down to the later Graeco-Egyptian papyrus handbooks.[117]

We also have good basis for taking healing practices as a background for examining the uses of ritual hexameters in the gold leaves and Orphic-Bacchic cult. The crafts of healing and initiation occupied overlapping cultural space in the early Greek world, and evidence suggests that they were frequently in competition. Medicine and mysteries drew upon a shared repertoire of familiar rituals, including sacrifice, purification, and oral incantation, and the twin ideas of preservation from debilitating or deadly illness and the eschatological happiness and salvation of the soul were readily conflated.[118] Early Pythagorean tradition seems to have emphasized healing, and this tradition had a significant influence on the cult environment of the gold leaves.[119] Roy Kotansky and Christopher Faraone have both argued plausibly that at least some of the lamellae were likely worn as apotropaic amulets while their owners were still alive. Plato seems to regard Dionysiac mysteries at least in part as a form of healing practice, and Orpheus and Mousaios served as authorities for both healing ἐπῳδαί and mysteries.[120] Faraone

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[114] *Od.* 19.455-458, Pi. *P.* 3.47-54; A. *Eum.* 647-650 (ἀνδρὸς δ' ἐπειδὰν αἶμ' ἀνασπάσῃ κόνις / ἅπαξ θανόντος, οὔτις ἔστ' ἀνάστασις. / τούτων ἐπῳδὰς οὐκ ἐποίησεν πατὴρ / οὑμός …), S. *Ajax* 581-582 (οὐ πρὸς ἰατροῦ σοφοῦ / θρηνεῖν ἐπῳδὰς πρὸς τομῶντι πήματι).

[115] [Hp.] *de Morb. Sac.* 1-4.

[116] Pl. *Grg.* 456b1-5 (where Gorgias claims to have accompanied his brother on visits to the sick), Gorg. *Helen* §§10, 14. See Furley (1994) 85-87 and §IIIc below.

[117] See e.g. Kotansky (1991) 108-110. As we shall have occasion to see, many or all of these ritual forms would likely have been practiced by the same individuals depending on the requirements of clients: the association of hexameter incantations with a particular set of performers would clearly have encouraged a unified generic conception of ἐπῳδαί. On the continuity of early Greek ἐπῳδαί and healing practices with the later magical tradition, see e.g. Furley (1994), Faraone (2001b), (2009).

[118] Sacrifice & purification: e.g. Pl. *Rep.* 2.364b-365a, Dem. 18.259-260, P.Derv. vi. In considering the purification techniques used by healers and initiators in the Classical period, Parker (1983) 224-225 notes that there is "very extensive overlap … between the purifications practised in these different contexts. This overlap is an important factor in the appeal that cathartic medicine exercised. It worked not merely by assimilating disease to dirt, but also indirectly by *exploiting all the positive value assigned to purification as a form of action in a wholly religious context*" (my italics). Healing and Salvation: see Kotansky (1991) and Faraone (2009).

[119] See discussions of Kingsley (1995) and Faraone (1996) 90-91.

[120] Competition with Hippocratics: [Hp.] *de Morb. Sac.* §1-4; see Lloyd (1999) 39-45, Holmes (2004) 10-11, Eidinow (2007) 14-15. Plato: Pl. *Rep.* 2.364b-365a, *Phdr.* 244d-e. Orpheus & Mousaios: Ar. *Ran.* 1032-33, E. *Alc.*

has even argued that the unusual leaf-shaped tablets from Thessaly and Macedonia reflect a 4th-c. interaction between private Dionysiac mysteries and a regional Northern Greek leaf-amulet tradition derived from Thracian contacts.[121] The evidence of professional rivalry also points toward an overlap between medicine and mysteries, since the Hippocratic polemicist of *On the Sacred Disease* makes it clear that he is in competition with the craft of itinerant *magoi* and purifiers.[122] Both healers and initiators were typically itinerant and individual specialists who worked in competition with other specialists, reliant on their own talents, persuasive capabilities, and reputations to win a private clientele.[123] Both are also remarked upon in ancient sources for charging fees for their services.[124]

Healing and initiation can both also be seen in large part as genres of performance, where certain strategies of self-presentation by individual ritual experts confirmed their authority in the eyes of an intended audience. The *bricolage* operative in ritual healing and mystery cults – e.g. their use and adaptation of ritual practices such as purification (*katharsis*) and hexameter verses, as well as the conceptual blurring between the ideas of bodily healing and postmortem salvation – belong to this dynamic of interaction between specialist and client. We cannot rule out the possibility that the gold leaves were carried around and used as apotropaic charms by their owners while they were still alive, as Faraone and Kotansky have suggested. The expression "when you are about to die" (ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλησι θανεῖσθαι) in the B-texts could well have been construed by some practitioners as an exhortation to inscribe and carry the text whenever death threatened (e.g. during battle or in serious illness) as a way of warding off danger *ante mortem*.[125]

From the perspective of Material Religion, we must recognize that the physical, aesthetic, and corporeal aspects of ritual adapted from the larger culture are central to these processes of *bricolage* and authorization. In approaching common and widely-used ritual techniques such as ἐπῳδαί and κάθαρσις, we can recognize a common basis of sensory habits that underlies a number of otherwise different religious phenomena. Healing ἐπῳδαί offer evidence both for the real-life use of incantations and for the meaning(s) of incantations within the early Greek *imaginaire*: their proper occasions, effects, quasi-musical quality, and the social status of their performers. In other words, we may look to healing ἐπῳδαί not just as positive evidence of a particular technique reflected in the gold leaves, but also (and more importantly) as part of the broad aesthetic and performative background against which the itinerant *bricoleurs* of the gold lamellae developed their own ritual practice and sought to make it significant in the eyes of potential clients.

962-72, *IA* 1211-5; cf. E. *Cyc.* 646-8 (though this incantation is meant to harm rather than to heal). See Burkert (1982) 4-6, Faraone (2008) and (2009).

[121] Amuletic use: Kotansky (1991), Faraone (2011a). Leaf-amulets: Faraone (2009) pays special attention to the two 4th-c. ivy-leaf-shaped Bacchic tablets from Pelinna in Thessaly (D1-2), connecting them on the one hand with the Thracian leaf-charm from Plato's *Charmides* (155e-156a) and on the other hand with a magical recipe in the *Testament of Solomon* (18.37) that similarly requires the use of an ivy leaf and adapts the Dionysiac resistance myth of the Thracian King Lykourgos (cf. *Il.* 6.130-140) into a charm for a swollen throat. For an additional argument for a connection between the Lykourgos myth and the Pelinna tablets, see also Faraone (2011b).

[122] [Hp.] *de Morb. Sacr.* §1-4. See Edelstein (1967) 205-246, Eidinow (2007) 14-15.

[123] On the notion of ritual "craft" as applied to both Orphic phenomena and ritual healing, see Burkert (1982) with developments by Edmonds (2008), Ferrari (2011), and GJ 70-73.

[124] E.g. Pl. *Rep*. 2. 364b-365a, P.Derv. xx 7-9 (= §67 Kotwick). On the issue of physicians' fees in antiquity, see discussions of Nutton (1992), Marasco (2002), and Ecca (2016) (with references to earlier bibliography).

[125] See discussion of Faraone (2009) 152-158 (esp. 155-157) and (2011a) 198-200; cf. also Kotansky (1991) 114-115. Faraone (2009) observes that the conflation of bodily health and eschatological salvation is apparent in the *Charmides*, where the incantation is attributed to the priest-healers of Thracian Zalmoxis who are able to confer immortality as well as heal bodily ills (see *Charm.* 156d).

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The first mention of healing incantations appears in Homer's *Odyssey*. When Eurykleia bathes the disguised Odysseus, we learn of a boar-hunt during which the young hero received his tell-tale scar. His uncles employ an oral incantation in the treatment of his wound:

> τὸν μὲν ἄρ᾽ Αὐτολύκου παῖδες φίλοι ἀμφεπένοντο, 455
> ὠτειλὴν δ᾽ Ὀδυσῆος ἀμύμονος ἀντιθέοιο
> δῆσαν ἐπισταμένως, ἐπαοιδῇ δ᾽ αἷμα κελαινὸν
> ἔσχεθον, αἶψα δ᾽ ἵκοντο φίλου πρὸς δώματα πατρός.
>
> Then the dear sons of Autolycus tended to him, and artfully they bound up the wound of blameless godlike Odysseus, and they checked the flow of black blood with an incantation, and immediately they returned to the halls of their dear father.[126]

It is generally accepted that the passage here refers to a combination of physical remedy (ὠτειλὴν … δῆσαν) and spoken incantation (ἐπαοιδῇ … ἔσχεθον).[127] The incantation does not seek the favor of a god, and it is not performed by or on behalf of any larger community. Rather, it is performed by individual physicians in a context of specialization (signaled here by ἐπισταμένως) and intended to cure the ailment of an individual patient. In all of these respects, the ἐπαοιδή may be contrasted with the other significant moment of musical healing in Homeric narrative: the paean performed for Apollo in *Iliad* 1 to bring an end to the plague inflicted on the Akhaians after Agamemnon's refusal to return Khryses' daughter (1.472-474).[128] There, the paean is choral, communal, and hymnic (i.e. addressed to the god). Its efficacy in ending the plague depends on its favorable reception by the god rather than any automatic effect of the song itself.[129] In *Od.* 19, by contrast, Odysseus' injury has not been inflicted by a god, and the remedy

[126] *Od*. 19.455-458 (trans. Murray, slightly adapted).

[127] Pfister (1924) col. 325 suggested that δῆσαν also represented a verbal rather than manual act of "binding," but this view has been rejected by Renehan (1992) and Furley (1994) 80. Note that ἀμφιπένομαι is used elsewhere in Homer to refer to the medical treatment of a battle-wound: cf. *Il.* 4.220 (Menelaos) and 16.28 (Diomedes, Odysseus, Agamemnon, and Eurypylos).

[128] For a comparison of paeans and ἐπῳδαί as genres of poetic/musical healing, see West (2000) and Provenza (2009) (with emphasis on Homer) – though see also the discussion of Rutherford (2013) on the hexameter paean preserved alongside ἐπῳδαί in the Getty Hexameters, which should caution against drawing too sharp a distinction between the two genres. Other discussions of the two Homeric passages include Laín Entralgo (1970) 23 and Furley (1994) 102. It is beyond my scope to consider the generic questions surrounding paeans more generally: for discussions, see Käppel (1992) and Rutherford (2001); more recently, Rutherford (2013) revisits the issue in light of the hexameter paean in the "Getty Hexameters."

[129] The paean in *Il.* 1.472-474 is a form of supplicatory communication (ἰλάσκοντο) with a specific divinity, and it is effective insofar as the god receives it (ἀκούων) with favor (φρένα τέρπετ᾽). See Provenza (2009) 4: "[T]he benefits of music are not exerted directly on those people affected by the illness, but the musical performance is offered to a divinity whose anger has to be appeased, because it is the divinity that causes the evil and can rid people of it and, in virtue of this, the human intervention shows apotropaic aims. Thus *the recovery of the Achaeans affected by the plague is not due to the music in itself, but to the beneficent and persuasive effect that it has on the divinity* that, ritually sweetened by the musical form linked to him, brings about liberation from evil" (my italics). Of course, the paean's efficacy is also inseparable from its aesthetic effect on Apollo as he listens to the song and delights in the performance.

applied to him does not appear to seek the favor of any divine power. The charm has no obvious "addressee" other than (perhaps) the patient.[130]

Poetic portrayals of successful musical "therapy" would have served as an aetiology for real-life healing magic.[131] As Nagy observes, Homeric poetry regularly highlights the performative aspects of the songs that it quotes or represents, such as lament, while leaving its own performance context undefined. We may look to *Od*. 19, then, as a Homeric portrayal of ἐπῳδαί in their own generic context – that is, as a type of speech-act authorized within a group and connected with an occasion of performance.[132] The Homeric passage signals several generic traits of healing ἐπῳδαί: they are combined with physical action, spoken or sung over the body, and performed by an expert or group of experts in connection with an individual. As Nagy observes, the *mimêsis* of poetic genres within other types of literature – e.g. the presentation of lament in epic or tragedy – can serve as a model for performances of these genres in real life.[133] Thus, while it would be misguided to take a poetic narrative such as *Od.* 19 positivistically as a record of actual practices, we can still recognize in this passage a clear portrayal of generic expectations that accompanied ἐπῳδαί in connection with healing. These expectations include a direct relation between patient and physician(s), the direct efficacy of the spoken incantation over the affected part of the patient's body, and the combination of oral utterance and physical remedy. All of these traits find parallels in later sources.

The healing of Odysseus' wound in *Od.* 19 pairs an oral incantation with a manual binding of the wound. As Provenza observes, the two actions are not distinguished as separate forms of healing: "convergence in the same people of the two actions of bandaging the wound and intoning the ἐπῳδή … stresses the impossibility of distinguishing 'proper medical remedies' and 'magic' ones in the earliest sources."[134] As William Furley has shown, the combination of speech and action is a consistent feature of traditional Greek medicine.[135] Of course, there is no instance of speech that does to involve or constitute an action in some way, and incantations are not exceptional in this combining these two aspects: what is noteworthy is that the genre of healing incantations are a form of speech in which this link seems to have been explicitly recognized and theorized in antiquity. As we have seen, Pindar mentions incantations alongside drugs, salves, and surgeries as tools of healing available to Asklepios, while a lyric from Euripides' *Alkestis* pairs the spoken charms of Orpheus with the medical remedies of Asklepios as two sources from which ultimate deliverance from death is sought without success.[136] When the Hippocratic author of *On the Sacred Disease* inveighs against healers who use "purifications and incantations" (καθαρμοῖσί τε … καὶ ἐπαοιδῇσιν), he is at odds with a normal practice of Greek medicine. The conjunction of oral charm and physical remedy is even theorized by Gorgias in his *Encomium to Helen*: the ἐπῳδή, he suggests, operates on the soul in parallel with the physical treatment's effects on the body.[137]

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[130] As we shall see, however, there is no reason to draw a sharp contrast between "prayers" and "incantations," and evidence points toward a good deal of overlap in ancient thought between an effective prayer and an automatic incantation: see Kotansky (1991).
[131] Cf. Faraone (2011a) 192-193.
[132] Nagy (1994) 12-13. For the theoretical background of Nagy's description of genre, see also Todorov (1990).
[133] Nagy (1994), (1996).
[134] Provenza (2009) 10; see also: "[I]t is to be stressed that in the socio-cultural context relating to the episode the two moments [i.e. incantation and binding] *were not distinguished as two different methods that were combined*…" (my italics).
[135] Furley (1994); cf. Kotansky (1991) 108-110. Renehan (1992) points to parallels from Old Irish sources and suggests that the combination of utterance and action has Indo-European origins.
[136] Pi. *P*. 3.47-54, E. *Alc.* 966-970. See discussions of Kotansky (1991) 108-109, Furley (1994) 84-85.
[137] Gorg. *Helen* §14; see discussion of Furley (1994) 85-87.

The use of medical amulets is an area where vocal and material come into an especially close aesthetic/affective relation. At the beginning of Plato's *Charmides*, an early dialogue presumably composed near the beginning of the 4th c., Socrates tells of a Thracian headache remedy that requires a certain spoken charm (ἐπῳδὴ … τις) to be used in conjunction with the amuletic use of a certain leaf (φύλλον τι) that must be applied to the head. Socrates, who in the dialogue has just returned from the battle at Potidaia, claims to have learned this charm from the Thracian priests of Zalmoxis, who are also able to confer immortality on human beings. The priests' instructions make it clear that the oral and physical actions must be used in tandem or else they will be ineffective.[138] By the later Classical period, we begin to find amulets that are inscribed with the incantation that would have been spoken over them. As Kotansky observes, the production of written charms is a consolidation of the twofold practice of incantation and gesture:

> [T]he verbal incantation and the material gesture (e.g., the leaf applied to the head) seem, with the introduction of written language, to merge according to some natural law of economy. As a result, a new and more sophisticated type of amulet begins to appear, as the words of incantations, formerly only spoken, are now engraved directly onto the amulet itself.[139]

In other words, the mediatization of the voice in the form of an inscribed amulet is an extension of the material assemblage to which the spoken incantation already generically belonged.[140] Inscribed amulets are one instance of a more prevalent synesthetic habit that is apparent many early Greek uses of writing. Literacy and the alphabet in the early Greek world never supplanted the oral culture into which they had been introduced, and even in the Classical period many forms of writing can still be understood as medial extensions of oral practices.[141] Writing is culturally recognized as an interaction between the voice and the material surround. During the 6th-4th c. BCE, a specific habit of written mediatization is traceable in connection with individual ritual experts across the Greek world: namely, the inscription of oral ritual utterances on small bits of metal to render the effects of the ritual either durable, manipulable, effective, or reusable of their original performance context. About this habit, which includes not only curse tablets and amulets but also the gold leaves, I will have more to say in §IIIc below.

To sum up, we can characterize healing ἐπῳδαί as a characteristically synaesthetic genre. The habitual combination of spoken charm and physical action, whether in the form of surgery, drugs, or an amulet, suggests an entanglement between oral utterance and material surround. This entanglement may be underscored or mediated by the use of writing, as in the production of amulets during the Late Classical period. I will examine the evidence for ἐπῳδαί and inscribed ritual objects in more detail in the next section. For now, it should be stressed that the performance of incantations, the handling of ritual apparatus, and the inscription of the utterance on the ritual apparatus all mark a certain kind of expertise. The synesthetic character of ἐπῳδαί is always connected with the authority of the technician who presides over the total assemblage of ritual paraphernalia.

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[138] Pl. *Charm.* 155e-156a (incantation) and 156d (immortality). For discussions of this passage, see Brisson (2000), Murphy (2000), and Faraone (2009). On the inconsistencies within the dialogue about the charm and its role as an analogue for philosophy, see especially McPherran (2004).

[139] Kotansky (1991) 110; see similar observations by Bonner (1950) 4-5, Laín Entralgo (1970) 45, and Faraone (1991) 5.

[140] Of course, if the interpretation of Nestor's Cup by Faraone (1996) is accepted, the mediatization of ritual hexameters with alphabetic writing is as old as the Greek alphabet itself.

[141] See e.g. Thomas (1992), Svenbro (1993), Day (2010); cf. Porter (2010) 453-526.

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How medical incantations operated in the interaction between physician and patient is open to several non-exclusive interpretations.[142] Studies of Greek incantations have focused on their use of miniature mythical narratives (*historiolae*) that symbolically represented the patient's afflictions and offered a possibility of engagement with the process of healing.[143] At the same time, the testimonia for medical and cathartic ἐπῳδαί suggest that their importance for patients was not exclusively cognitive. Though some scholars have distinguished ἐπῳδαί from "music" proper, it is striking how often in ancient sources magical charms are described in musical or quasi-musical terms, and *vice versa*.[144] Our limited direct evidence for oral hexameter charms indicates that acoustical effects were a significant generic feature. Vocal devices such as assonance, repetition, and rhyme – all of which are less characteristic of "literary" hexameter style (when it is not imitating the style of ἐπῳδαί) – contribute to a distinctive sing-song aural effect in ritual hexameters.[145] These aural effects suggest that ἐπῳδαί had an aesthetic appeal as well as a cognitive one in the context of Greek medicine. The twofold appeal of incantations is strikingly evident in the newly published "Getty Hexameters," a large inscribed lead tablet from 5th/4th-c. Selinous that seems to derive from an otherwise unattested magical handbook.[146] This tablet features an early version of the *Ephesia Grammata* that demonstrates that this incantation originally contained a *historiola* in intelligible hexameters. Remarkably, though, the Selinous text also contains a second, unintelligible version of the incantation similar to those found in late sources. Already in the 5th/4th c., then, two different versions of the incantation – one a narrative in "proper" hexameters, the other an unintelligible jingle in a rough dactylic rhythm – were both in use among the same professionals.[147] Here again we find that the same traditional practice could be employed with variable inflections and was perhaps presented with different interpretations. Even when the intelligible version of the incantation was available, it was not the only tool in the healer's repertoire, and we should not assume that the symbolic legibility of the incantation was always its primary value.

A comment in the Homeric scholia attributed to the physician Diokles of Karystos (4th-c. BCE) suggests that an affective interaction between physician and patient was recognized already in antiquity as an important function of healing ἐπῳδαί in some ancient medicine. The fragment appears in a scholiast's comment on the binding of Odysseus' wound in *Od.* 19:

> Διοκλῆς ἐπαοιδὴν παρέδωκε τὴν παρηγορίαν. ἴσχαιμον γὰρ εἶναι ταύτην, ὅταν τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ τετρωμένου προσεχὲς ᾖ καὶ ὥσπερ προσηρτημένον τῷ παρηγοροῦντι…

[142] On the physician-patient relationship in ancient medicine more generally, see now Petridou & Thumiger (2016), though ἐπῳδαί are not among the topics discussed in that volume.
[143] See Furley (1994), Frankfurter (1995). Treatments of *historiolae* in specific Greek incantations include Faraone (1995b) on the late Hellenistic "Philinna Papyrus" (*PGM* XX) and Johnston (2013) on the Getty Hexameters.
[144] For a skeptical view of the "musicality" of ἐπῳδαί (especially compared with the *paean*), see West (2000) and Provenza (2009). For a discussion of the cultural and ideological interaction between musical poetic genres and ritual hexameters, see also Faraone (1996) and (2004a) and Maslov (2009).
[145] See Porta (1999), esp. 1-27, 303-311.
[146] Faraone (2013b): for further discussion of the *Ephesia Grammata*, see §IIIc below.
[147] Regarding the priority of the two versions, see Kotansky (1991) 126 n. 22 and Bernabé (2013) 84-85.

> Diokles [says]: [The poet] has presented assuagement as an incantation. For, he said, that incantation is hemostatic when the breath of the person who has been wounded is connected and, as it were, fixed to the person assuaging…[148]

The scholiast here characterizes the ἐπῳδή as a device of assuagement (τὴν παρηγορίαν) that operates through a connection between physician and patient. The role assigned to πνεῦμα is an interpretation of a traditional practice using Diokles' physiological vocabulary: but the underlying idea of a direct sympathetic physician-patient bond that is operative through ἐπῳδαί likely represents a more traditional view. Provenza suggests that the incantation's ultimate value in medical healing was "to produce a sort of 'anaesthetic' effect, preventing the mind of the sick person from concentrating on his or her physical feelings through a musical combination of rhythm and words that served to act on the evil itself."[149] Pindar, as we have noted, mentions "soothing incantations" (μαλακαῖς ἐπαοιδαῖς) among the traditional apparatus of Greek medicine, and Gorgias remarks in passing that incantations are used to "bring pleasure and remove pain" (αἱ γὰρ ἔνθεοι διὰ λόγων ἐπῳδαὶ ἐπαγωγοὶ ἡδονῆς, ἀπαγωγοὶ λύπης γίνονται).[150] Any analogy between incantations and modern anaesthetic has obvious limits, but the notion that healing ἐπῳδαί offered patients an analgesic benefit (or at least were sometimes understood in this way) finds support in early evidence.

Physicians and healers interested in enhancing their prestige would have benefitted from the popular idea of ἐπῳδαί as effective. In polemical sources, however, the interaction between healers and patients, including their use of ἐπῳδαί, is seen as a matter of deception. The Hippocratic author of *On the Sacred Disease* offers one of our most valuable descriptions of itinerant healers in Greek antiquity, even if his portrayal is relentlessly hostile. The author opens with a broadside against conventional healers who explain epilepsy as a divinely-sent affliction to be treated with purifications and incantations (καθαρμοῖσί τε ἰῶνται καὶ ἐπαοιδῇσιν): these experts "cloak themselves in and make a pretense of the divine" (παραμπεχόμενοι καὶ προβαλλόμενοι τὸ θεῖον) so that their real ignorance of the causes of the disease will not be apparent. He names certain familiar figures of his day (τοιοῦτοι … ἄνθρωποι οἷοι καὶ νῦν εἰσι) as the propagators of the false account for the disease, and he describes them in terms much like those used by Plato to characterize Orphic initiators. They are called *magoi* (μάγοι), purifiers (καθάρται), beggar-priests (ἀγύρται), and itinerant quacks (ἀλαζόνες), and they make an extreme pretense of piety and knowledge (προσποιέονται σφόδρα θεοσεβέες εἶναι καὶ πλέον τι εἰδέναι). Because they do not know the real cause of the disease, they offer the explanation that it is divine: thus, "having given convenient explanations, they established a method of treatment to secure their own authority, administering purifications and charms" (καὶ λόγους ἐπιλέξαντες ἐπιτηδείους τὴν ἴησιν κατεστήσαντο ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς σφίσιν αὐτοῖσι, καθαρμοὺς προσφέροντες καὶ ἐπαοιδάς) as well as other healing remedies.[151]

It is striking that the polemicist in this passage focuses on the *performance* aspect of ritual healing, and how eager he is to reduce the *personae*, knowledge, and activities of healers, including their ἐπῳδαί, to a deceptive and quasi-theatrical pretense of expertise. The

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[148] Fr. 150 Van der Eijk (= Σ *Od.* 18.457 Dindorf; trans. Van der Eijk, slightly adapted). There is some uncertainty whether the scholiast is referencing the physician Diokles of Karystos (4th-c. BCE) or grammarian Diokles (ca. 1st c. BCE) who is referenced elsewhere in the Homer scholia (Σ *Il.* 13.103c, 22.208b, *Od.* 14.132). The prominence of πνεῦμα points toward a connection with the physician, but van der Eijk classes the fragment as a *dubium* since it is unclear whether it records Diokles' own remark on the passage or (as seems more likely) an application of his theories by a later commentator: see van der Eijk (2000) II 285-286.

[149] Provenza (2009) 10.

[150] Pi. *P.* 3.47-54, Gorg. *Hel.* §10.

[151] [Hp.] *de Morb. Sac.* §2.10-13.

Hippocratic author is not alone in articulating this view toward incantations. A key passage in Plato's *Republic* offers an unflattering portrayal of itinerant purifiers who convince wealthy clients of their expertise by performing "sacrifices and incantations" (θυσίαις τε καὶ ἐπῳδαῖς) and justifying their craft in reference to poems of Homer and Hesiod and books of Orpheus and Mousaios.[152] A passing remark by the title character of Sophocles' *Ajax* that a skilled physician would not "wail incantations" at a wound that requires surgery (οὐ πρὸς ἰατροῦ σοφοῦ / θρηνεῖν ἐπῳδὰς πρὸς τομῶντι πήματι) may express a similar kind of skepticism about the effectiveness of traditional healing practices that are primarily for show: the verb "drone, wail" (θρηνεῖν), with suggestions of both choral performance and funerary lament, implies at once that such practices play superficially to the crowds and that their rate of success is not high.[153]

All of the *testimonia* reviewed in this section suggest, in different ways and for different reasons, that ἐπῳδαί had a significant interactive role in early Greek medicine. Different authors, reflecting on the use of ἐπῳδαί in different contexts and with different objectives, account for the practice of healing incantation in different ways. In the broad cultural-poetic imagination, incantations are paired with physical remedies and are portrayed as effective at healing and relieving pain. In this context, oral ἐπῳδαί also facilitate a complex interaction between physician and patient and offer a means for the suffering patient's involvement, whether through the symbolism of mythical *historiolae* or in the pleasing arrangement of sounds or the effect of hearing an incantatory jingle. At the same time, the efficacy of ἐπῳδαί as portrayed in poetic sources bolsters the prestige of real-life healers and purifiers and suggests a dynamic of authorization. Oral charms were part of an apparatus of professional self-presentation that inspired confidence among potential clients. For critics of healing practitioners, such as the Hippocratic author of *On the Sacred Disease*, the idea of incantational efficacy is rejected or radically downplayed and emphasis falls instead on the idea of incantations as "mere" performance to be contrasted with true knowledge. Given that most Hippocratic treatments would not have done much good – the dietetic regimen put forward in *On the Sacred Disease* would be no more effective as a treatment for seizures than the ritual hocus-pocus of rival *kathartai*, and probably afforded patients considerably less entertainment – healing ἐπῳδαί would have been attractive to patients, offering them at least a mild psychological analgesic and/or "placebo effect" as well as a certain degree of confidence in the authority of the physician – not unlike the apparatus of "external media" with which medical professionals today reassure patients in their own examination rooms (the clean white lab coat, the stethoscope suspended around the neck, or even soothing music played in a waiting room).[154] Both the normative understanding of ἐπῳδαί put forward in Homer (and given a theoretical spin by Diokles) and the polemical views in Plato and parts of the Hippocratic corpus testify to the important role of ἐπῳδαί in physician-patient interactions.

* * *

Two themes emerge from the foregoing discussion that are especially relevant to the ritual context of the gold leaves. Traditional medicine offers a paradigm for the aesthetics of ἐπῳδαί in ritual contexts. The material character of the ἐπῳδή is expressed in ritual healing as a conjunction between *Besprechung* and *Behandlung*, between oral utterance and physical (i.e.

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[152] Pl. *Rep.* 2.364b-365a.

[153] S. *Aj*. 581-582; cf. conceptual crossover between lament and (Persian? Pseudo-Persian?) magic in A. *Pers.* 686-688 (ὑμεῖς δὲ θρηνεῖτ' ἐγγὺς ἑστῶτες τάφου / καὶ ψυχαγωγοῖς ὀρθιάζοντες γόοις / οἰκτρῶς καλεῖσθέ μ'…), discussed by Dickie (2001) 30. On possible traces of Persian ritual materials in Greek sources, see Horky (2009).

[154] I borrow the distinction between "internal" and "external" media from Auslander (2008b) 115-117. On the self-presentation of the physician in ancient medicine, including the role of material media, see the essays in Petridou & Thumiger (2016), including Letts (2016) 99-101, Wee (2016) 155, Webster (2016) 168, 174-176, and especially Thumiger (2016).

manual, surgical, or pharmacological) remedy.[155] Traditional medicine did not distinguish the oral and physical aspects of healing: the synaesthetic character of ἐπῳδαί as a genre is manifest in healing contexts as an embeddedness of the voice in the material surround – upon and within the patient's body, in and through the actions of the physician, and in the physical paraphernalia of healing – ranging from the bandages applied to Odysseus' wounded leg to Socrates' Thracian leaf-amulet remedy for headache. The production of written phylacteries in the Late Classical period, where the spoken hexameter incantation is inscribed onto the amuletic object itself, is an expression of this synaesthesia through alphabetic writing. I will return to this material habit in more detail in the next section. In each case, the use of hexameters helps to signal the coherence of an overall ritual assemblage.

The hexameter textual framework and physical form of the gold leaves, as well as their provenance from a context of competitive ritual specialists, suggest that they reflect a similar set of aesthetic habits. And while the gold leaves and the inscribed *Ephesia Grammata* have never been linked to the same cult context, there is good reason to see them as parallel developments. The gold leaves and early inscribed amulets derive from several of the same areas of the Greek world (Sicily, Magna Graecia, Crete – with examples so far notably absent from Attica) and within roughly the same chronological timeframe (late 5th through 4th c. BCE).[156] Christopher Faraone has already placed the gold leaves within the practice of inscribed amulets that emerge during this period, and a number of scholars have observed that the gold leaves seem to represent a medial extension of an existing oral practice.[157] We have seen in the case of ritual healing that the hexameter incantation marks the coherency of a vocal-material ritual assemblage. Examining the gold leaves against this cultural background, I suggest that we be open to the possibility that the hexameters and ritual language of the lamellae sent a similar signal to their ritual audiences. I will return to the aesthetic parallel between the gold leaves and Late Classical amulets shortly.

Second, the case of ritual healing offers a paradigm for considering ἐπῳδαί and their aesthetics within the dynamics of individual ritual expertise more generally. The interaction between physician and patient in ancient medicine has only recently come into view as a significant area of study, and the same dynamic deserves consideration in the context of other marginal ritual phenomena.[158] Since Walter Burkert's influential 1982 essay "Craft versus Sect: The Problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans," it has been recognized that private initiations and Orphic cult phenomena existed in the context of competition among itinerant ritual experts.[159] Like ancient physicians who travelled from place to place – the title of the Hippocratic *Epidemics* is ambiguous as to whether it references the diseases or the physicians who come as visitors to local populations[160] – the *kathartai* and *telestai* who performed purifications, initiations, and other ritual services were reliant on complex strategies of self-presentation to make themselves credible to potential clients in different contexts.

The sources reviewed above all suggest that ἐπῳδαί played an important role in this dynamic. The depiction of incantations as *effective* in Homeric poetry and other poetic sources would have served an important aetiological function, boosting the prestige of real-life ritual

[155] This is in reference to the title of Furley (1994); see further in §IIIc below.
[156] For review of the known texts and their provenances, see Bernabé (2013). Magna Graecia: Jordan (2000a). Sicily: Jordan (2000b), Bremmer (2013). Crete: Maas (1942), Jordan (1992). Regarding the Western Greek background of the *Ephesia Grammata*, see the somewhat speculative treatment of Kingsley (1995) 233-277 (esp. 246-247 and 269-271).
[157] Faraone (2011a). On the oral background of the Gold Leaves, see also Janko (1984) and (2016) and Ferrari (2011).
[158] On patient-physician interactions in antiquity, see Petridou & Thumiger (2016).
[159] Burkert (1982); see developments by Edmonds (2008b), GJ 70-72, and Ferrari (2011).
[160] See Wee (2016) 139-140 with review of previous bibliography.

practitioners.[161] The idea that incantations could help alleviate pain, an idea alluded to by Gorgias and Diokles, is a further point of appeal for patients. On the other hand, in a polemical text such as the Hippocratic *On the Sacred Disease,* the performance element of ἐπῳδαί is deliberately foregrounded. The Hippocratic author wants to reduce ἐπῳδαί to the level of pure theatrics, stressing that they are a device of faux-impressive self-presentation and nothing more. In each case, it is recognized the ἐπῳδαί help to establish a bond between doctor and patient – though it is only belatedly, in the context of competition among different schools and authorities, that we find second-order reflections and competing accounts of the practice and its function from the likes of Gorgias, Diokles, and the Hippocratic author.

We can similarly understand private initiation as a genre of *performance*, and the ritual techniques used by *telestai*, including incantations, can be recognized as *implementa* of self-presentation in interaction with a client. The itinerant Orphic initiators in Plato's *Republic* are said to win over their clients by performing ἐπῳδαί and purifications. The *magoi* mentioned by the Hippocratic author recall the *magoi* from the Derveni Papyrus who offer gifts (or prayers?), sacrifices, and incantations (?) to protect initiates from hostile divinities (δω]ρεαὶ καὶ θυc[ί]αι μ[ειλ]ίccουcι τὰ[c ψυχάc.] ἐπ[αοιδὴ δ]ὲ ̔τ⟨ῶν⟩΄ μάγων δύν[α]ται δαίμονας ἐμ[ποδὼν] γ[ινομένου]c μεθιστάναι).[162] Incantations in private ritual contexts can be understood in part as a kind of role-playing device for the benefit of an audience, much as incantations helped to express and confirm the authority of traditional healers within the context of Greek medicine.

IIIc. Case 2: Amulets, Curses, & Inscribed ἐπῳδαί

This section will consider the gold lamellae against the background of lead curse tablets and lead protective amulets. We have already touched on the latter in the context of early Greek ἐπῳδαί and healing magic (§IIIa). In this section I will consider both types of objects as instances of a more prevalent aesthetic habit that includes the gold leaves: namely, the habit of inscribing ritually significant utterances, including ἐπῳδαί, on small sheets of soft metal that were meant to be placed in a significant location, usually hidden and not intended for public display. Both curses and amulets proliferate within a chronological and geographic range that overlaps significantly with the gold leaves, and I suggest that both in different ways offer insight into the material expressions that found popularity in private ritual contexts during the 5th-4th c. BCE. Like the gold leaves, both curses and amulets represent medial developments of oral ritual practices in which ritual hexameters figured prominently. I will begin by considering lead curse tablets and their implications for the gold leaves. In a departure from the approach of some scholars who have emphasized the generic *contrast* between lead curses and the gold lamellae, I take the material *similarity* of the two practices as a starting point for considering their possible interaction. I then turn to revisit Late Classical lead amulets as a material *comparandum* for the gold leaves. Here I follow Christopher Faraone in treating both the inscribed *Ephesia Grammata* and the gold leaves as characteristic medial forms used by itinerant ritual experts in the Classical period.

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The earliest lead curse tablets (Greek κατάδεσμοι, Latin *defixiones*) appear in Sicily at the end of the 6th c. BCE. The practice is prevalent in Attica during the 5th c., and by the end of

[161] See Faraone (2011a) 192-193.

[162] P.Derv. vi 1-2 (= §17 Kotwick). The text quoted is as printed in Kotwick: KTP read εὐ]χαὶ instead of δω]ρεαὶ. On the activities of the *magoi* in this passage, see Betegh (2004) 78-83 and Graf (2014) with references to earlier debates.

the 4th c. it has spread to the wider Greek world.[163] The gradual adoption of this practice coincided with a more general growth in concern about the souls of the dead, as Sarah Iles Johnston persuasively argues. This anxiety partly emerged as lament and other traditional elite funerary practices were curtailed, marginalized, or absorbed by the *polis*, and individuals increasingly turned to itinerant sorcerers (*goêtai*) to manage their interactions, obligations, and dangers regarding the spirits of the dead.[164] Like gold leaves, curse tablets are most often deposited in graves, and are frequently placed near the hand of the deceased. It is also characteristic of early curse tablets to enlist the corpse as a messenger to the chthonic divinities – most frequently Hekate, but also Hermes and Persephone – who are asked in turn to mobilize the souls of the unquiet dead against the intended victim.[165]

Leaden curses can be seen as establishing a material grammar of communication with the dead and the powers of the Underworld that was already influential at the time of the earliest lamellae at the end of the 5th c. BCE. To be sure, the gold leaves never articulate the specific communicative links among different enumerated parties (performer, corpse, recipient, divinities, and dead souls) with anything approaching the explicitness we find in curse tablets. Yet it will be clear from the preceding chapter that imagining and activating a circuit of communication with chthonic divinities, especially Hades and Persephone, is central to the texts of the gold leaves, especially those of the A- and D-groups. As Johnston remarks, the same historical pressures that boosted the popularity of curses and *goêteia* in the late Archaic and Classical periods likely also contributed to the growth of mystery cults. The Derveni Papyrus testifies to rituals that are meant to placate malicious souls and chthonic spirits that interfere with initiations (δαίμονες ἐμπο[δών), suggesting that the same dangers associated with the souls of the dead were evidently live concerns for participants in mysteries as well as for the performers of curses.[166] Plato even indicates that the same experts may have performed both functions.[167] For the *bricoleurs* who propagated ancient mystery cults and their clients, the gesture of inscribing a ritual text with eschatological content (especially one addressed to Persephone and Hermes) on a thin piece of metal, folding it, and depositing it in a grave (or other significant location), would in itself have been an action with recognizable significance against the background of inscribed curses. As was noted earlier, several scholars have speculated that the gold leaves were conceived as a material disanalogy for lead curse tablets.[168] This suggestion cannot be proven or falsified on existing evidence, but it seems highly likely that the practice of lead κατάδεσμοι provided an important antecedent for the emergence of the gold leaves within Greek culture during the 4th c. BCE – even if, as seems plausible, the lamellae were developed in contrast with the existing use of lead curses. From the perspective of Material Religion, the gold leaves are intelligible as an innovative development of an existing practice.

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[163] The main corpora of early curse tablets are Wünsch (DTW) and Audollent (DTAud), with significant additions in Jordan (1985) and (2004), and Bettarini (2005); see discussions and overviews in Graf (1997) 118-174, Gager (1999), Eidinow (2007), and Bremmer (2010) 16-22. For discussions of evidence in local contexts, see Willi (2008) 317-321 (Sicily), and Parker (2005) 116-135 and Curbera (2015) (Attica). I will not for the present be concerned with the question of Carthaginian or Eastern Mediterranean influences in the development of this practice: see Johnston (1999) 86-95 and Bremmer (*op. cit.*).

[164] Johnston (1999) 82-123; see also Dickie (2001) 27-43 on the early conflation of different terms for expertise.

[165] See Johnston (1999) 71-80.

[166] P.Derv. vi 2-3.

[167] Pl. *Rep.* 2.364b-365a; see Burkert (1982), Johnston (1999) 111-118.

[168] Zuntz (1971) 278-279, 286. We have seen that the practice of cursing already in the Late Classical period is beginning to be subject to second-order interpretations: the gold leaves as a material practice were likely subject to similar interpretations, though there is no reason for us to assume that they were interpreted by all users in the same way.

Lead curses also seem to represent the earliest instance of a synesthetic habit, linking writing, orality, and gesture, that will eventually include the gold leaves and inscribed amulets of the Late Classical period. It is difficult to determine how much the practice of oral cursing preceded their written form, but by the time of our sources the oral and written are clearly operating in tandem. The earliest inscribed curses from Sicily and Attica consist only of names, which suggests that other curse formulae were spoken aloud during the inscription of the tablets.[169] We may compare these Classical examples with several recipes in the later magical papyri that indicate that a spell should be inscribed and recited at the same time.[170] As Fritz Graf observes, writing here seems to be imagined as rendering an oral performance in a durable medium: "The [magical] papyri have taught us that it was necessary to recite the text while engraving it on the metal: not only was the spell recited, but also it was put in writing at the same moment. The writing thus has the goal of fixing the language spoken, of making it permanent."[171] Such materialization also rendered the utterance manipulable in a way that bare oral performance is not: an inscribed tablet can be buried in a grave, deposited in a sanctuary, or dropped into a well, where the deposited tablet could continue "speaking" the curse in an extension of the ritual.[172] The common placement of inscribed curses in graves suggests that their physical proximity to the dead was recognized as significant.[173] The author of a large 4th-c. erotic *defixio* from Pella declares that the curse will remain effective so long as it remains in the grave where she has deposited it: "and should I ever unroll and open and dig up these [words], then let Dionysophon marry, but no sooner" (καὶ ὁπόκα ἐγὼ ταῦτα διελέξαιμι καὶ ἀναγνοίην πάλιν ἀνορόξασα [τόκα] γᾶμαι Διονυσοφῶντα, πρότερον δὲ μή) – yet another sign of second-order reflection and interpretation of a material practice that had become well-established by the Late Classical period.

Some stylistic similarities can be noted between the gold leaves and inscribed curses. The initial appeal to Persephone (χθονίων βασίλεια) and Hades (euphemistically Εὐκλῆς) and other divinities in the A-tablets are not drastically different in content and style from the invocations of Underworld powers in many inscribed κατάδεσμοι during the same period: e.g. Ἑρμῆς χθόν⟨ν⟩ιος Γῆ κάτ[οχ]ος καὶ πρὸς τὴν Φρεσοφόνην κτλ. (DTW 101; Attica, ca. 380 BCE).[174] Gager notes an "order of preference" among divine addressees across the corpus of written *defixiones*: "Hermes is by far the most common; he is followed by Hekate, Kore and Persephone, Hades (also known as Pluto), Gê/Gaia, 'the holy goddess' (at Selinous in Sicily) and finally Demeter (often cited together with 'the gods with her')."[175] Slightly later curses refer to Mêtêr/Kybele.[176] Apart from Hekate, Hermes, and the local Selinuntine goddess, each of these

[169] Faraone (1991) 4-5.

[170] E.g.: καὶ λαβὼν πλάτυμμα μολυβοῦν γράψον τὸν λόγον τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ δίωκε (*PGM* IV 330), γράφε … καὶ δίωκε (VII 225), γράφε τὸν λόγον τὸν Ὀρφαϊκόν, 'ασκει καὶ τασκει' λέγων (VII 452-3). The last of these is a testimonium of a hexameter incantation that appears in Late Classical inscribed amulets.

[171] Graf (1997) 131.

[172] See Curbera (2014) 101 on instances of curse tablets as *oggetti parlanti*.

[173] E.g. Johnston (1999) 71 "[T]he great majority of tablets during the classical and Hellenistic periods were deposited in or near graves, suggesting that propinquity to the dead was in some way important to the enactment of their curses." See also Graf (1997) 127, Gager (1999) 18-19.

[174] On the identification Hades/Euklês, Bremmer (2013) 35-36 points to "Euklus," "Ceres," and "Daughter" on the Samnite "Tavola di Agnone" (3rd c. BCE) as an apparent local or regional equivalent of the Eleusinian triad of Plouton/Hades, Demeter, Persephone/Kore. On the Oscan inscription and its interpretation, see Brelich (1974), Del Tutto Palma (1996), Prosdocimi (1996), and P. Johnston (2009) 267-271.

[175] Gager (1999) 12-13; see also Johnston (1999) 74-75. For the divinities named in curse tablets, see Kagarow (1929) 67-75 and indices to the collections of Wünsch (DTW p. 74) and Audollent (DTAud pp. 461-464).

[176] DTAud #72 binds several targets in the presence of the "all the gods and the Mother of the gods" (πρὸς θεοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ Μ[η]τέρα θεῶν), among many other named divinities.

divinities appears in some form in one or another of the gold leaves. Indeed, apart from the special predominance of Persephone and the chthonian Dionysos, who together seem to displace Hermes in the lamellae tradition, even the order of preference among divinities does not differ greatly between the gold leaves and contemporary κατάδεσμοι. Persephone is by far the most common divinity in the gold leaves, being mentioned by name or title in at least fourteen texts belonging to all groups; Hades/Ploutôn is invoked in at least six tablets, including two shorter tablets in which he receives a greeting together with Persephone; Dionysos is named or alluded to in at least four and perhaps as many as eight tablets (depending on the identity of Eubouleus in A1-3 and A5).[177] Demeter *khthônia* and Gaia/Mêtêr/Kybele are mentioned once and twice respectively, and the elusive Thessalian Brimo invoked in one tablet from Pherai (D3) may be identified with Persephone or Demeter.[178] The absence of Hermes and Hekate is admittedly a significant point of contrast with curse tablets, and may reflect the relative prominence of chthonic Dionysos in the lamellae tradition as *psychopompos*.[179]

The communicative scenarios outlined in the texts of the gold leaves also find a number of parallels in contemporary lead curses. One particularly striking parallel appears in the Pella *defixio* mentioned above, which was written by a woman in danger of abandonment by her prospective husband.[180] In this remarkable text, the author curses a sexual rival along with any other women who may attract the attention of her intended husband. She entrusts the tablet to a corpse and the *daimones* of the Underworld (παρκαττίθεμαι Μάκρωνι καὶ [τοῖς] δαίμοσι) and closes the text with a poignant appeal to the divinities of the Underworld: "I am your suppliant … take pity on [me], favorable divinities, for I am bereft of all my dear ones and am alone" (ἱκέτις ὑμῶ⟨ν⟩ γίνο[μαι· . . .]αν οἰκτίρετε δαίμονες φίλ[ο]ι, δαπ̣(ε)ινὰ γάρ ἰμε φίλων πάντων καὶ ἐρήμα) and hints that she will direct aggressive magic against her sexual rival if the binding spell fails. The appeal to supplication (ἱκέτις ὑμῶ⟨ν⟩ γίνο[μαι) and to a bond of *philia* with the chthonian powers (δαίμονες φίλ[ο]ι … φίλων πάντων) both resemble, albeit in a different emotional register, the appeal to Persephone by the initiates of the Thurii leaves: in these texts, the deceased comes before Persephone "as a suppliant" (νῦν δ' ἱκέτις[181] ἥκω), asserts her bond of kindship with the divinities (ἐγὼν ὑμῶν γένος ὄλβιον εὔχομαι εἶμεν) and asks that the goddess favorably (πρόφρων) admit her to a blessed afterlife. Both the Thurii leaves and the Pella *defixio* draw on the familiar pattern of supplication and apply it in an appeal to the powers of the Underworld – though whereas the lamellae from Thurii stress the initiate's credentials and

[177] Persephone: A1-5, B10, B11?, D1-2, E2-5; cf. C (Κόρρα⟨ι⟩). Hades: A1-3, A5 (Εὐκλῆς), E2, E5; cf. B1-2, B10-11 ("House of Hades"). Dionysos: D1-2 (Βάκχιος), D4 (Διονύσου Βαχχίου); cf. B10 (μύσται καὶ βάχχοι). For the possible identification of Εὐβουλεύς in A1-3 and A5 as Dionysos, see GJ 123; but note also the opposing arguments of Zuntz (1971) 310-311 (arguing that the identification is inconclusive) and Bremmer (2013b) 37-40 (with a tentative case for Zeus Eubouleus).

[178] Demeter: D5 (Δήμητρος Χθονίας). Mêtêr/Kybele: D5 (Μητρὸς Ὀρεί[ας]); cf. C (Γᾶι Ματρί … Κυβελεία⟨ι⟩). Brimo: D3 (perhaps identifiable with Persephone or Demeter): see discussions of GJ 195-207 and Bremmer (2013) 40-41.

[179] Johnston (1999) 74-75, 99 argues that the activities of Hermes and Hekate in curses developed as an extension of their existing psychopompic role. On the role of the chthonian Dionysos in the Gold Leaves (and elsewhere), see Cole (1993), Graf (1993), and Burkert (2004) 71-98. In view of Hekate's absence from the lamellae, it is worth noting her significant (though unclear) role in the Getty Hexameters from 4th-c. Selinous (l. 13): see Faraone (2013a) 59-60 and Bernabé (2013) 105-106. Hekate is not prominent in ancient mystery cults, but she does seem to have had some role in the Eleusinian Mysteries (witness her appearance in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*) and she is honored in a mystery cult in Aegina (Paus. 2.30.2): see discussion by Brown (1991) 47-48 with review of earlier debate surrounding Hekate's role in Eleusis.

[180] *SEG* XLIII 434; see Dubois (1995).

[181] The reading ἱκέτις is suggested by Riedweg (2002) 481. The reading is based on two very corrupt versions of the same text: νῦν δ' ἱκέτ⟨ις⟩ ἥκω (A2.6), νῦν ⟨ἰ⟩κ⟨έτις⟩ ἥκω (A3.6). The reference to supplication is secure, but it is also possible that the original version of the text said ἱκέτης rather than ἱκέτις.

even potential equality with the gods, the Pella tablet appeals to the *daimones*' pity and stresses her extreme dependency on them.[182]

Finally, we may observe some contextual parallels between the gold leaves and lead curses. As Esther Eidinow has shown, lead curses can be understood (along with writing practices such as oracular consultation and letter-writing) as culturally specific responses in circumstances of *risk* – e.g. legal jeopardy, an athletic contest, a sexual or matrimonial rival, a case of professional competition, or a suspected magical attack from someone else.[183] Both the gold leaves and inscribed amulets are also in certain obvious ways responses to risk. Plato's testimony indicates that itinerant purifiers, magicians, and initiators offered services in response to their clients' immediate concerns – whether to harm a client's rival with a curse, to purify a client from inherited guilt, or to ensure a blessed condition in the afterlife by initiation into the mysteries.[184] The inscribed *Ephesia Grammata* (to which we shall turn shortly) are apotropaic. The "Getty Hexameters" from 4th-c. Selinous promise that the inscribed incantation will protect against the dangers of both land and sea.[185] Among the gold leaves, three of the B-texts indicate that the tablet and/or its text are meant to be used "when you are about to die" (ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλῃσι θανεῖσθαι) and some tablets may have included instructions for the timely inscription of the tablet.[186] I have argued in the previous chapters that the A- and B-texts are concerned with the postmortem recognition of the deceased's identity and elite status – a context of risk that is also analogous to that found in funerary epigrams. That the Thurii lamellae and the Pella *defixio* all use a gesture of supplication in their appeal to the Underworld powers suggests that the objects were conceived in response to circumstances of personal danger.

All this is to suggest that the practice of cursing by the Late Classical period helped to delineate an infrastructure of communication with the powers of the Underworld that could be exploited and modified in different ways. Not that all practitioners understood or rationalized the practice in the same way – indeed, the efficacy of tablets need not necessarily have been "explained" or rationalized at all. As Wittgenstein observed in his critique of Frazer, it is characteristic of magical acts that they are satisfying in themselves rather than because of any specific effect they are thought to exert on the external world.[187] To the extent that a client found emotional release in cursing an amatory rival, inscribing the curse on lead, and depositing it in a grave, no further explanation was needed. Hence the scope for interpretation: we have already noted different second-order accounts of the practice and its various aspects – the significance of lead, the placement in a grave, the deceased's ability to "read" the curse, the efficacy of the inscribed object – all of which point toward a range of possible functions that might well have been imagined differently under different circumstances. The corpus of Attic curse tablets shows the extent to which competing ritual experts in the 5th/4th-c. were keen to experiment with the

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[182] Per Naiden (2006) 7 n. 18, portrayals of a mortal's direct face-to-face supplication to a divinity in the context of a divine epiphany are very rare: apart from the Thurii tablets, the only literary example Naiden cites is Orestes' supplication of Athena in A. *Eum*. 397-489. In addition to the supplicatory language in the Pella *defixio*, a 4th-c. *lex sacra* from Kyrene (*SEG* IX 72 = *LSS* #115) deals with ghosts who have been sent as visitants (ἱκέσιος ἐπακτός) by malicious magic: see discussion of Parker (1983) 347-349 and Johnston (1999) 52-63. A curse tablet written on behalf of a slave owner from Amorgos (SGD 60 = Gager #75) inscribed between the 2nd c. BCE and 2nd c. CE also addresses Demeter as a suppliant.

[183] Eidinow (2007), Eidinow & Taylor (2010).

[184] Pl. *Rep.* 2.364b-365a; cf. Dem. 18.259-260. See Burkert (1982) (esp. 4-6).

[185] *GH* 4-5 (οὔ νιν πημανέουσιν ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών / οὐδ' ὅσα πόντωι βόσκει ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη).

[186] See also discussions of risk and Underworld reception in other contexts in Ch. 1 & 2.

[187] Wittgenstein (1979) 4e: "Burning in effigy. Kissing the picture of the loved one. This is obviously *not* based on a belief that it will have a definite effect on the object which the picture represents. It aims at some satisfaction and it achieves it. Or rather, it does not *aim* at anything; we act in this way and then feel satisfied" (italics in original). On the role of "belief" in connection with ancient curses, see also Gager (1999) and Eidinow (2007).

texts, materials, and medial forms of curses to appeal to potential clients.[188] The practice that developed in the Greek world through the late Archaic and Classical periods offered a flexible mode of interaction with the eschatological realm, and established a basis upon which ritual *bricoleurs* like those who produced the gold leaves could build.

This discussion of inscribed curses has admittedly led us some distance from ἐπῳδαί proper: early inscribed curses are not in verse, and the earliest curses feature only the names of the targets. We do, however, know of a significant tradition of oral curses in hexameters. The playful erotic curse of Nestor's Cup seems to belong to this tradition, and we find hexameter parodies of an expulsion curse in Hipponax and an erotic curse in Aristophanes.[189] Recently evidence has shown that hexameter curses at least occasionally found their way into lead tablets during the Classical period as well. A newly published curse tablet from the Piraeus Museum in Athens that has been securely dated to the early 4th c. BCE not only supports the idea that the oral background of lead κατάδεσμοι included hexameter incantations, but also indicates that such curses were being inscribed and handled in ways quite similar to the gold leaves and *Ephesia Grammata* at roughly the same time period.[190]

* * *

Turning to the early oral and inscribed *Ephesia Grammata*, we are squarely in the tradition of hexameter ἐπῳδαί. This charm is known from the Greek magical tradition and is first attested by name in later Classical literary and epigraphic sources.[191] The New Comic poet Anaxilas mentions a foppish character who carries around the "fair Ephesian letters" (Ἐφεσήια γράμματα καλά) stitched in leather as an amulet (ἐν σκυταρίοις ῥαπτοῖσι).[192] Perhaps we can hear in the vocabulary of this fragment a punning allusion to the rhapsode's art – the literal "stitching" of hexameters into a material form.[193] A fragment from Menander's *Paidion* mentions the apotropaic recitation of "Ephesian remedies" around a newly married bride and groom (Ἐφέσια τοῖς γαμοῦσιν οὗτος περιπατεῖ / λέγων ἀλεξιφάρμακα).[194] We do not know precisely what verbal form this incantation took in the 4th c., but in late sources the *Ephesia Grammata* are identified with an unintelligible incantation that interpreters took to be a sequence of divine names: ἄσκι κατάσκι λίξ τετράξ δαμναμενεὺς αἴσιον.[195]

A growing body of epigraphic finds from Crete, Sicily, and Magna Graecia has shown that this incantation was known and inscribed on lead amulets already in the 5th/4th c. BCE in a geographic range that overlapped with the gold leaves.[196] The most substantial example is the so-

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[188] See Curbera (2015).

[189] Hipponax fr. 128 West, Ar. *Amphiaraos* fr. 29 K.-A: see discussion in Faraone (1996) and (2004a).

[190] See Faraone (1992), (2004a). The new Piraeus tablet, edited and discussed by Lamont (2015) and O'Connell (2017), strongly supports Faraone's earlier conclusions. Cf. also the use of hexameters in DTW #108 (Attica, 3rd/2nd c.?), with discussion in Faraone (1995) 5 n. 20 and O'Connell (*op. cit.*) 42.

[191] For an overview of the literary and documentary evidence, see Rocca (2009) and Bernabé (2013). The title and contents of the charm as we know them from later sources both date to the 4th c. BCE, but are not explicitly linked together until the 2nd c. CE: Clem. Alex. *Strom.* V.8.45.2; cf. Hsch. s.v. Ἐφέσια γράμματα. The formula is referred to once in the magical papyri as "the Orphic *logos*" (*PGM* VII 450), but this reflects a later development in the magical tradition: see Edmonds (2013b). I do accept the conventional identification of the ἄσκι κατάσκι hexameter formula as the *Ephesia Grammata* already in the 4th c. BCE, but my argument in this section does not depend on this identification.

[192] Anaxilas fr. 18.6-7 K.-A..

[193] I thank Prof. James Porter for this attractive suggestion.

[194] Menander fr. 274 K.-A. (= Phot. s.v. ἀλεξιφάρμακα).

[195] This is the version given by Hesychius (*s.v.* Ἐφέσια γράμματα). For a review of ancient interpretations, see McCown (1923) and Bernabé (2013).

[196] Six amulets of this kind from the Classical period have been found, as well as an Egyptian example from the 2nd-4th c. CE. See review of texts and testimonia in Bernabé (2013).

called "Getty Hexameters," an inscribed lead tablet dated to the early 4th c. BCE and believed to come from Selinous in western Sicily.[197] The text was first published in 2011 and includes several components whose interrelationship is unclear. Among its contents are a hexameter *paean* and two different versions of the *Ephesia Grammata*. Faraone has suggested that the text may have derived from an anthology of different incantations that an inscriber somewhat carelessly combined into one amulet.[198]

The first version of the *Ephesia Grammata* incantation offers a narrative in clear and intelligible hexameters (8-13):

> ὅσσα κατὰ σκιαρῶν ὀρέων μελαναύγει χώρωι
> Φερσεφόνης ἐκ κήπου ἄγει πρὸς ἀμολγὸν ἀνάγκη[ι].
> τὴν τετραβήμονα παῖς ἁγίην Δήμητρος ὀπηδόν,
> αἶγ' ἀκαμαντορόα νασμοῦ θαλεροῖο γάλακτος
> βριθομένην· ἕπεται ⟨δὲ⟩ θεαῖς πεπιθοῦσα φαειναῖς
> [λ]αμπά⟨σιν⟩·
>
> As down the shady mountains in a dark-and-glittering land a child leads out of Persephone's garden by necessity for milking that four-footed holy attendant of Demeter, a she-goat with an untiring stream of rich milk laden; and she follows, trusting in the bright goddesses with their lamps.[199]

The contents of this narrative are intriguing and puzzling, but certain motifs – the garden of Persephone, the goat laden with milk, and the nighttime procession of torch-bearing goddesses – have led some scholars to suspect that the text emerged from a mystery context.[200] The second version of the incantation, however, is largely unintelligible and resembles the sequences of nonsense syllables found in Classical inscribed amulets and in later sources (33-36). The Selinous text shows that the *Ephesia Grammata* found in later sources are corrupted versions of an intelligible hexameter narrative.

Perhaps most importantly for comparison with the gold leaves, the Getty text offers internal evidence for the habit of inscribing ritual hexameters on small sheets of metal:

> [c.3]ṬẠḭΣ̣[c.2] . . . καὶ οὐκ ἀτέλεστ' ἐπ̣[α]ε̣ίδω̣·
> ὅστις τῶνδ' ἱερῶν ἐπέων ἀρίσημα καλ⟨ύ⟩ψ⟨ει⟩
> γράμματα κασσιτέρωι κεκολαμμένα λᾶος ἐν οἴκωι,
> οὔ νιν πημανέουσιν ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών
> οὐδ' ὅσα πόντωι βόσκει ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη.
>
> … And I sing incantations that are not without effect: whoever hides in a house of stone the notable letters of these sacred verses inscribed on tin, as many things as

[197] Jordan & Kotansky (2011), though the text was known to Jordan (1988a) 256, Kingsley (1995) 246-247, and Faraone (2011a) 198. See the more recent edition and translation of Faraone & Obbink (2013) 10-19 (with plates) and textual discussions of Janko (2013) and Bernabé (2013).
[198] See Faraone (2013b), who suggests a similar process for the production of the Phalasarna tablet.
[199] Text & trans. Faraone & Obbink (2013).
[200] See Kotansky (1991), Kingsley (1995) 270, Rocca (2009), Bernabé (2013) 90-94, and Obbink (2013); more skeptical are Johnston (2013) 139-144 and Edmonds (2013b).

broad Earth nourishes shall not harm him nor as many things as much-groaning Amphitrite rears in the sea.[201]

The text could hardly show more self-consciousness regarding the physicality of the inscription. It is not the sacred verses (τῶνδ᾽ ἱερῶν ἐπέων), but the lettering (γράμματα) and the hidden placement of the tablet that render the spell effective. The tablet is supposed to made of tin (κασσιτέρωι), a metal sometimes confused with lead in magical recipes, and hidden in a house of stone (λᾶος ἐν οἴκωι). The participle κεκολαμμένα is surprising, since κολάπτειν ("peck," "engrave") is almost unknown in early Greek poetry, and is used by scientific writers only to describe the behavior of birds.[202] By the late 4th century, the word appears in the epigraphic record as a technical term for inscriptions, but at the turn of the 5th/4th c. there is no reason to suppose that it has lost its primary tactile sense.[203] Faraone traces several features of these lines – the boast of the performer's ability, its conditional structure, and the "neither … nor" construction in lines 4-5 – to the oral tradition of incantations attested in earlier sources. As he remarks, however, the opening lines of the Getty text "claim that the efficacy of the incantation lies solely in its physical presence as a text, a point the author heavily emphasizes by devoting nearly all of the first two verses to a detailed description of the letters, the verses, the act of inscription and the specific medium of the tablet."[204] The Selinous tablet makes explicit a logic of inscription that is implied in other kinds of contemporary inscribed magical objects, such as curse tablets and the Late Classical hexameter amulets. At the same time, the spell's vocality remains stressed in the legible remains of the first verse (οὐκ ἀτέλεστ᾽ ἐπ[α]ε̣ίδω̣), with the boast of the singer's effectiveness seeming to operate in tandem with the declaration of the inscribed tablet's efficacy. In other words, the spell's efficacy is not really "solely" the result of the tablet's material presence: rather, the vocal and the material testify to different aspects of the same "performance."

The self-conscious materiality of the Selinous tablet has a possible parallel in three longer B-texts from Petelia (B1), Hipponion (B10), and Entella (B11).[205] According to the reconstruction of Richard Janko (building on earlier conjectures by M.L. West), the longer version of the hexameter B-text from which our *exempla* derive may originally have included instructions for inscription on a tablet:

μνημοσύνης τόδε ἔργ̣ον· ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλησι θανεῖσθαι,
[ἐν χρυσίωι] τόδε γραψ[άσθω μ]εμνημέ⟨ν⟩ος ἥρως,
[μὴ τόν γ᾽ ἐκ]πᾰ̣́γλως ὑ̣πά[γ]ο̣[ι] σκότος ἀμφικαλύψας.

[201] Trans. Faraone & Obbink (2013), slightly adapted.
[202] Poetry: The word may appear in Hipponax fr. 21 West with an obscene sense (τοῦ φάλεω κολάψαι), but the reading is not secure; Anaxilas fr. 18 K.-A. refers to the habits of a foppish man who "pecks at eggs" (ᾠὰ κολάπτων). (This is the same character who wears the *Ephesia Grammata* as an amulet.) Describing birds: [Hp.] *de Natura Pueri* 30.70-72 Littré, Ar. *Hist. An.* 609a36-b7.
[203] A decree from Nakone (4th/3rd c. BCE) concerned with resolution of civil strife concludes with the expression τὸ δὲ ἁλίασμα τόδε κολαψάμενοι οἱ ἄρχοντ⟨ε⟩ς ἐς χάλκωμα on (*IGDS* I 206; see *SEG* XXX 1119); cf. τὸ δὲ δόγμα τόδε κολαφθὲν εἰς στάλαν on an honorary degree from late Hellenistic Sicily (*IG* XIV 256 = *IGDS* I 161; see *SEG* LXII 648) and τὸ δὲ δόγμα τόδε κολάψαντας ἐς χαλκώματα δύο on a proxeny decree from Roman Akragas (*IG* XIV 952 = *IGDS* I 185). Cf. the informal use in *AP* 9.341, which refers to graffiti "scratched" on a tree-trunk (κατὰ φλοιοῦ γράμμ᾽ ἐκόλαψε).
[204] Faraone (2011a) 198 (quote), (2013a).
[205] I am indebted to Faraone (2011a) for the argument of this paragraph.

> This is the work (?) of memory: When he is about to die, let the hero remember and write this [in gold?], [so that] the darkness when it has enveloped [him] will [not] lead him down in terror (?).[206]

The second line of Janko's reconstruction combines fragments from the damaged tablets from Petelia (B1) and Entella (B11), neither of which preserves the line intact.[207] The instruction to write (τόδε γραψ[άσθω]) appears in the Petelia lamella, and the reference to the "hero remembering" ([μ]εμνημέ⟨ν⟩ος ἥρως) at the line-end comes from the Entella text. If Janko's joining of the two fragments is accepted, then the instruction to write is being framed in didactic language as a timely application of knowledge when death is imminent.[208] Even if some caution is warranted regarding the joining of the two fragments – it is possible, for instance, that the Entella tablet featured some variant of the second line that did not refer to the act of inscription – it is still clear from the surviving portion of the Petelia leaf that some instruction for writing on a tablet belonged to the B-tradition. As with the Getty tablet, the Petelia text seems to reflect a second-order reflection on the interaction between an oral and material practice. Faraone has argued that the Getty Hexameters and the B-leaves represent parallel developments of oral hexameter ritual texts being transferred through writing onto objects.[209] Though Faraone does not apply the vocabulary of aesthetics, this is clearly an aesthetic/affective phenomenon – that is, it is an emerging cultural habit of sensation and mediation, growing from the generic closeness of oral hexameters with their surrounding ritual apparatus.

The boast of expert knowledge and efficacy is a recurring generic feature of oral hexameter incantations. The Getty tablet stresses the expertise and identity of the speaker, and he 4th-c. inscribed amulet from Phalasarna in Crete similarly features a first-person speaker, though the text is damaged and difficult to reconstruct (τ]ῶνδε κελεύω / [φε]ύ̣γ[εμε]ν [ἡμ]ετέρων οἴκων 1-2).[210] Not all of the inscribed *Ephesia Grammata* feature a first-person speaker in this way, however. Nowhere in the lamellae is the external speaking voice identified in this way – e.g. the authoritative voice who guides the soul through the Underworld in the B-texts or who proclaims the blessed state of the newly deceased in the Pelinna leaves (D1-2).[211] We may see this "omission" in the gold leaves (and in many of the inscribed *Ephesia Grammata*) as a sign of the non-local character of the texts and their flexibility in being applied by different performers in different ritual contexts. It is curious that the inscribed lamellae texts omit any mention of the performer's expertise. But the Getty and Phalasarna tablets only express explicitly the dynamic of performative expertise is left implicit in other inscribed ἐπῳδαί – as well as in the gold leaves.[212]

§IV. Conclusion

[206] Janko (2016) 111; see discussion of this reconstruction in Ch. 1.
[207] The second and third lines are missing altogether from the Hipponion leaf (B10), where it is clear after the first line that at least one further line has been omitted: see Kingsley (1995) 310-311, Ferrari (2011) 207-210 (though he disputes Janko's reconstruction).
[208] See Ch. 1 §III.
[209] Faraone (2011a), (2013).
[210] Following the text of Jordan (1992), which is also reprinted as an appendix in Faraone & Obbink (2013) 185-187; see discussions of Kotansky (1991) 111-112 and Furley (1994) 96-99.
[211] On the boast as a feature of oral ἐπῳδαί, see Faraone (2013a).
[212] If, as many scholars contend, the words of some or all of the Gold Leaves are derived from Orphic poems, then the authority of Orpheus would also be understood by the tablets' owners as underwriting the promises and assurances of the texts in much the way that the Getty Hexameters purport to represent both the authorized effective performer and the words of Paiêôn/Apollo. However, while it is possible that some users of these tablets understood that their texts derived from Orpheus, I do not think this can be assumed across the corpus: see Introduction.

A cluster of aesthetic interconnections can be recognized among the various phenomena examined in this chapter. Medical ἐπῳδαί accompany physical remedies, and the power of the spoken charm is connected with the efficacy of the overall remedy, including the use of surgery, drugs, eating/drinking, and herbs. Lead curses and lead inscribed amulets gain currency in the Greek world during the Classical period as mediations of ritual practices that allow the effects of ritual to be manipulated and deployed beyond the original performance context. Curses can be deposited in graves or sanctuaries, and apotropaic amulets may be worn or (as in the case of the Selinous tablet) placed where their effect was most desired. Hexameters are the predominant verse form in early inscribed amulets, while oral hexameters were an important part of both curses and healing incantations. The ritual use of hexameters is thus part of the medial-aesthetic habit of inscriptive materialization that gives rise to amulets and forms a background for the production of the gold leaves and the performance of ἐπῳδαί in mystery cults.

In addition to their aesthetic profile, the gold leaves share at least two important contextual aspects with curse tablets and inscribed hexameter incantations. First, in line with Eidinow's observations about lead curses, we can also understand both Late Classical amulets and the gold leaves as responses to and devices for coping with specific forms of risk. Both lead phylacteries and gold lamellae offer protection from mortal dangers, and there is reason to suspect that some of the Orphic lamellae were used by their owners to avert danger while still alive. Second, all of the phenomena examined in this section belong to similar contexts of ritual expertise, if not in fact the *very same* contexts. In other words, the aesthetic habit shared by the gold leaves, hexameter ἐπῳδαί, and inscribed lead curses and amulets is consistently *in the service of ritual expertise*. The performance of oral incantations is part of the healer's interaction with the patient, and the ability to produce "amulets" or objects of special ritual significance is recognized by anthropologists as a marker of religious craftsmanship across different cultural contexts.[213] I return to the point stressed earlier in this chapter: the embeddedness of incantations in their material surround – one of the likely meanings of ἐπι- in ἐπῳδή – contributes crucially to their definition as a performance genre in the context of individual ritual expertise. The performance of an incantation, including its inscription in a tangible form, is part of a larger process of authorization for the specialist-performer. The oral and material aesthetics of ἐπῳδαί belong to a complex interactive dynamic between the ritual expert and his/her cultic audience.

[213] See Frankfurter (2002).

Conclusion

This study has been at once very narrow in its central evidentiary focus – the Orphic-Bacchic gold leaves of Late Classical private mystery cults – and wide-ranging in the implications it has considered for that evidence. My intention is that it will suggest a new line of approach to the gold leaves (and perhaps other ancient religious phenomena as well) – one that supplements the emphases of existing scholarship, but which also remains open to re-examining the gold leaves in their broader social, intellectual, and aesthetic contexts using different tools of analysis. I can briefly sketch a few directions in which the themes of "Memory" and "Performance" explored in this dissertation might be pursued further, and which I intend to take up in greater depth in future research.

In the preceding chapters, I have repeatedly referred to the dense interactions of the lamellae tradition with elite "ideologies" and practices of self-fashioning. There is clearly more to be said here. We might consider not only their connection with elite burial practices, but the social resonances in the image of the postmortem "symposium" that is associated with Orphic cults in various testimonia.[1] As I have argued, the theme of initiatory exclusivity borrows significantly from more prevalent aristocratic ideas of group exceptionality. It is all the more striking, then, that the lamellae seem to have been a female-gendered practice. I am not the first to suggest that the private cults that produced the gold leaves catered to women, but it is worth considering as well the degree to which these cults sought to repackage and adapt the ideas, values, and imagery of the male citizen elite (commemoration, the symposium, athletic victory, differentiation in the afterlife) in ways that would be accessible and compelling to groups that included women. The issue of gender in the gold leaves requires a more thorough treatment in view of newer discoveries, especially those with well-documented archaeological contexts; and the lamellae deserve to be considered more squarely within the growing body of scholarship on women's cults and women's rituals in Greek religion – including scholarship that has focused on the special role(s) of Dionysos and Persephone in women's religious lives.[2]

The ideology of "community" that I have traced in the gold leaves also needs to be considered further. Community as a feature of Greek religion has traditionally been considered primarily in terms of the civic "community" of the *polis*, although smaller private and semi-private associations have received increasing attention in recent years.[3] As I have emphasized, the images of community in the gold leaves should be read as expressions of an ideology, not as documentary snapshots of real life. But it is clear that the *idea* of community, and the notion that their activities made them part of an exceptional community set apart from others, was extremely important to the practitioners of these cults. More remains to be said about how such ideologies of "community" functioned among the larger array of options available in the religious marketplace of the 5th/4th c. BCE. In this respect, there could be much to be gained from integrating the gold leaves more concertedly with the recent turn toward non-*polis*-based forms of social organization (private associations, networks, and imagined communities) and non-civic religious practice ("personal" religion) in antiquity.[4] In this context, the gold leaves offer a

[1] Burial: e.g. Graf (1993). Symposium: Pl. *Rep.* 363c; cf. Casadio (1994) 85-86 on sympotic images in Dionysiac iconography in Magna Graecia.

[2] Significant recent studies in this area includes Dillon (2002), S. Cole (2004), Goff (2004), Parca & Tzanetou (2007), and Dillon, Eidinow, & Maurizio (2017).

[3] E.g. Jones (1999), Arnaoutoglou (2002), and Gabrielsen (2007).

[4] Networks: see Taylor & Vlassopoulos (2015). Imagined Communities: Anderson (2002) and Meyer (2009) offer a theoretical grounding, though neither deals specifically with Greek antiquity. Personal/Individual: see next note.

potentially invaluable insight into the religious agency of individuals that has become an increasing focus within the study of Greek religion in recent years.[5]

The question of ritual authority addressed in Ch. 3 merits further study as well. The whole topic of expertise and specialist-client interaction has in recent decades attracted increasing attention among scholars of Greek religion, magic, and ancient medicine.[6] Again, the gold leaves and Orphic cults offer an instructive case study for the ways in which religious authority was constructed, ratified, and contested in Greek society, especially by itinerant ritual entrepreneurs who could not rely on the prestige of an established shrine, sanctuary, or cult to attract a clientele and would have needed to offer a plausible claim of authority by other means. In this context, it is worth drawing attention to the mythical figure of Orpheus himself, who for methodological reasons has been largely excluded from this study.[7] Although Orpheus's connection with the gold leaves is uncertain, it is at least clear that his name and the poetry attributed to him played a crucial authorizing role across a whole range of ancient performance practices, including poetry, music, and healing, as well as rituals of initiation. Orpheus's authority must to be placed in the context of expert-client interaction – that is, it must be placed in a *performance* context. I have already argued that the authority of the ritual specialist in the lamellae operates in ways that are at least analogous to the dynamic of authority in rhapsodic or lyric performance. As I intend to show in a future study, there is a basic continuity between Orpheus's role in relation to competitive public musical performance (rhapsodes, kitharodes) and in less prestigious private ritual performance genres (purification, healing, initiation). The Derveni Papyrus offers an interesting testimony to the various competing ways in which Orpheus's authority could be invoked even within cult. A thorough consideration of Orpheus's role as a poetic and cultic authority would in fact prove consistent with my larger argument that these private mysteries served as performance contexts, in which both ritual experts and their cult audiences were afforded certain possibilities of imaginative self-presentation.

One other important issue that falls beyond the scope of this dissertation, but which I intend to include in further development of this study, is the significance of gold metal in the lamellae tradition, in ancient mystery cults, and in mortuary ritual. An association of metals, mysteries, amulets, and initiation ritual appears already in the myths linking mysteries and Orphic phenomena with legendary blacksmiths, such as the Idaian Daktyls and Telkhines of Crete.[8] Equally importantly, the use of gold designates the lamellae as part of a process of value-production that is functionally analogous to aspects of funerary ritual examined in Ch. 1. The chorus of Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* laments the Greek soldiers who return from Troy in metal containers: the house receives back "ashes and urns in place of the men" (ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν τεύχη καὶ σποδός 435-6), and Ares is "the gold-changer of bodies" (ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς … σωμάτων 437). The mortal remains of the war-dead belong to a process of exchange comparable to the *anti*-formulae of funerary epigrams and lament. The lamellae are all associated with the body and mortal remains – sometimes even with ashes and urns, the "metalization" of the body itself – and they are made from a material that conspicuously invites comparison with familiar forms of elite exchange, display, and funerary practice. The passage from Aeschylus also suggests a parallelism between the reduction of the body to stable elements (which Hertz identified as a basic cross-cultural concern of mortuary ritual, conceptually linked with the fate of the soul) and

[5] E.g. Eidinow (2007), Kindt (2012), (2015), and Rüpke (2013); Bremmer (2016) has already usefully examined the eschatology of the gold leaves in terms of "individual" religion.
[6] Dickie (2001), Flower (2008), Dignas & Trampedach (2008), and Petridou & Thumiger (2016)
[7] See Introduction.
[8] The comparative study of Greek and African technological myths in Blakely (2006) is especially instructive on this subject.

the monetary value represented by gold. This argument would also challenge the Comparettian view that "Orphics" were indifferent to the fate of the body as opposed to that of the soul, suggesting instead that the lamellae should be recognized as part of a ritual practice in which eschatological, social, and corporeal aspects of death were tightly interwoven.

This is only to list a few directions for possible future exploration of the issues addressed in this dissertation. The list is not exhaustive, and some readers will doubtless find other areas that might afford equally good or better prospects for future study. But I hope that the set of approaches I have adopted toward the gold leaves in this dissertation can provoke further reflections on the relation between the gold leaves and the larger intellectual currents and cultural complexities of Classical Greece.

* * *

These pages have undoubtedly raised more questions than they have answered. Perhaps it is appropriate that these expressive golden tokens produced and handled by initiates and initiators in the mysteries of Dionysos *Bakkhios* should persist, like the original adherents of the mysteries, in withholding their secrets from the "uninitiated." Yet, as I have argued in the preceding pages, the tablets do not simply conceal. We can also recognize them as devices of *performance* that are intended, at some level, for the appreciation of an audience. They were designed to express something about the initiates who used them and the initiators who produced and disseminated them. To the extent, then, that modern students of antiquity continue to find the lamellae intriguing, perhaps we are responding to a quality that is intrinsic to the objects themselves and reflects something important in their original meaning. They are showpieces of a kind, and the hazards of preservation have made us their unintended and unwitting "audience." I hope that this study will contribute to making us more appreciative spectators of their performance.

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Abbreviations:

BJ	Bernabé, A. & A. Jiménez San Cristóbal (2008) *Instructions for the Netherworld: The Orphic Gold Tablets*. Trans. M. Chase. Leiden.
CEG	Hansen, P., ed. (1983-9) *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca.* 2 vols. Berlin & New York.
DK	Diels, H. & W. Kranz, eds. (1952) *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker griechisch und deutsch*. 6th ed. Berlin.
DTAud	Audollent, A., ed. (1904) *Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt, tam in Graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticarum editas*. Paris.
DTW	Wünsch, R., ed. (1897) *Inscriptiones Graecae III. Appendix: Defixionum Tabellae*. Berlin.
FB	Furley, W.D. & J. Bremer, eds. (2001) *Greek Hymns*. 2 vols. Tübingen.
FH	Friedländer, P. & H.B. Hoffleit, eds. (1948) *Epigrammata: Greek Inscriptions in Verse: From the Beginnings to the Persian Wars.* Berkeley.
Gager	Gager, J. (1999) *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World*. Oxford.
GGR	Nilsson, M.P. (1955-1961) *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*. I. *Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft*. II. *Die hellenistische und römische Zeit*. 2nd ed. Munich.
GJ	Graf, F. & S.I. Johnston (2013) *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife: Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets*. 2nd ed. New York.
GMA	Kotansky, R., ed. (1994) *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae. Part I: Published Texts of Known Provenance. Papyrologica Coloniensia* 22.1. Opladen.
GMPT	Betz, H.D. (1992) *The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, including the Demotic Spells*. 2nd ed. Chicago.
GVI	Peek, W., ed. (1955) *Griechische Vers-Inschriften I: Grab-Epigramme*. Berlin.
IG	Various, eds. (1873-present) *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Berlin.
Kern	Kern, O., ed. (1922) *Orphicorum Fragmenta*. Berlin.
KPT	Kouremenos, T., G.M. Parássoglou, K. Tsantsanoglou, eds. (2006) *The Derveni Papyrus: Edited with Introduction and Commentary*. *Studi e testi per il "Corpus dei papiri filosofici greci e latini"* 13. Florence.
KRS	Kirk, G., J. Raven, & M. Schofield (1983) *The Presocratic Philosophers*. 2nd ed. Cambridge.
LGPN	Fraser, P. & E. Matthews (1983-) *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names.* 5 vols. Oxford.
LSAG	Jeffery, L. & A. Johnston (1990) *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*. 2nd ed. Oxford.
LSAM	Sokolowski, F. (1955) *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris.
LSCG	Sokolowski, F. (1969) *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. Paris.
LSS	Sokolowski, F. (1962) *Lois sacrées des cités grecques: Supplément*. Paris.
LM	Laks, A. & G. Most, eds. & trans. (2016) *Early Greek Philosophy*. 9 vols. Harvard.
NGSL	Lupu, E. (2005) *Greek Sacred Law: A Collection of New Documents. Religions*

in the Graeco-Roman World 152. Leiden.

OF Bernabé, A., ed. (2004-7) *Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta. Poetae Epici Graeci. Pars II, Fasc. 1-3.* Munich & Leipzig.

PC Pugliese Carratelli, G. (2003) *Les lamelles d'or orphiques: instructions pour le voyage d'outre-tombe des initiés grecs.* Paris.

PGM Preisendanz, K. & A. Henrichs, eds. (1974) *Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*. 2 vols. Stuttgart.

SEG Various, eds. (1923-present) *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden.

SGD Jordan, D.R. (1985) "A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora." *GRBS* 26.2: 151-197.

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