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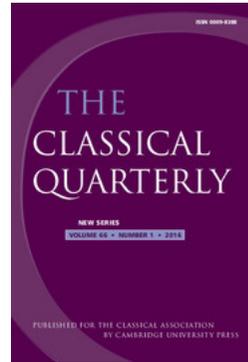
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## GOING BEYOND MULTITEXTS: THE ARCHETYPE OF THE ORPHIC GOLD LEAVES

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## GOING BEYOND MULTITEXTS: THE ARCHETYPE OF THE ORPHIC GOLD LEAVES\*

### §1. WHY WE NEED TEXTUAL CRITICISM—AND THE SUBLITERAL ASTERISK

In his magisterial work *Persephone*,<sup>1</sup> Zuntz drew a basic distinction between two sets of Orphic<sup>2</sup> gold leaves—those known from the elaborate tumuli at Thurii, which he called Group A, and a more widely scattered series, Group B, then represented by two longer texts from Petelia in southern Italy and Pharsalus in Thessaly, and, in a shortened form, by a series of six (now seven)<sup>3</sup> short texts from the environs of Eleutherna in Crete (his Group C). Three further finds have reinforced Zuntz's distinctions: first, a tablet from Hipponium, the colony of Epizephyrian Locri in southern Italy, published by Foti and Pugliese Carratelli,<sup>4</sup> then a lamella said to be from Thessaly but now in Malibu and published by Breslin,<sup>5</sup> and finally a tablet said to be from Entella in Sicily and recently in Geneva, which was published in a bad transcription by Frel<sup>6</sup> and much clarified by Riedweg.<sup>7</sup> The first and third belong to Zuntz's Group B, while the second is

\* An earlier version of this article was presented at a conference on the Orphic gold leaves at The Ohio State University in April 2006, the proceedings of which were never published. I thank Fritz Graf and Sarah Iles Johnston for inviting me to that event, the members of the audience who contributed valuable comments, this journal's anonymous reviewers and the experts on Orphism, especially Alberto Bernabé, Jan Bremmer and the late Walter Burkert, for friendly discussions over many years.

<sup>1</sup> G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971), 277–383.

<sup>2</sup> I use the term 'Orphic' without hesitation: for a *résumé* of the arguments for the Orphic origin of these tablets, see A. Bernabé and A.I. Jiménez San Cristóbal, *Instructions for the Netherworld: The Orphic Gold Tablets* (trans. M. Chase) (Leiden and Boston, 2008), 178–205. However, this article will leave to others the religious interpretation of the archetype that it reconstructs.

<sup>3</sup> The latest, found at Sfakaki near modern Rethymnon and still within the territory of ancient Eleutherna, is published in Y.Z. Tzifopoulos, *Paradise Earned: the Orphic-Bacchic Gold Lamellae of Crete (Hellenic Studies 23)* (Washington, DC, 2010), and is included as fr. 484a in A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci Pars II. Orphicorum et Orphicis Similium Testimonia et Fragmenta* (Munich and Leipzig, 2004–2005). Although it is longer than the other Cretan ones, its length is caused by a repetition of the beginning at the end, and it belongs with the short version; this affiliation is confirmed by its origin and date. Two further unpublished leaves from Eleutherna are numbered B13 and B14 in the collection of texts in R.G. Edmonds III (ed.), *The Orphic Gold Tablets and Greek Religion: Further along the Path* (Cambridge, 2011), 15–50, at 34.

<sup>4</sup> G. Foti and G. Pugliese Carratelli, 'Un sepolcro di Hipponion e un nuovo testo orfico', *PP* 29 (1974), 91–126.

<sup>5</sup> J. Breslin, *A Greek Prayer: The Translation and Account of a Short Burial Prayer Engraved by an Ancient People on a Tiny Sheet of Gold and Found among the Ashes in a Cinerary Urn* (Pasadena, 1977), repr. in *Colloquy* 28 (1977), 10.

<sup>6</sup> J. Frel, 'Una nuova laminella "orfica"', *Eirene* 30 (1994), 183–4. Jiří K. Frel (1923–2006) was a controversial curator of ancient art at the J. Paul Getty Museum, who acquired for the Museum many artefacts of doubtful provenance and authenticity. This object, however, seems still to be in a private collection.

<sup>7</sup> C. Riedweg, 'Initiation — Tod — Unterwelt. Beobachtungen zur Kommunikationssituation und narrativen Technik der orphisch-bakchischen Goldblättchen', in F. Graf (ed.), *Ansichten griechischer*

close to his Group C. Pugliese Carratelli has published an exceptionally fine set of photographs of all the texts except those from Petelia and Entella.<sup>8</sup> My restudy of the leaf from Petelia has led to some improved readings.<sup>9</sup> Not even a drawing exists of the Entellan leaf, which no scholar except its first editor has ever seen. This fact prompted a reviewer of this article to wonder about its authenticity. In the absence of the object itself, such doubts can only be allayed if its text consistently contributes to improving our understanding of the archetype from which it is derived. One of the aims of this article is to show that it does indeed do so.

We now have many editions of all the relevant materials, including a highly scholarly and dependable set of texts by Bernabé, an equally splendid but more accessible monograph by Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal,<sup>10</sup> since translated into English with many changes,<sup>11</sup> and a revised edition in French of the Italian edition of Pugliese Carratelli,<sup>12</sup> not to mention the careful rereading of the Hipponium text by Sacco<sup>13</sup> or the popularizing editions and translations by Tortorelli Ghidini,<sup>14</sup> Graf and Iles Johnston (now in two editions),<sup>15</sup> and Edmonds,<sup>16</sup> as well as a monograph by Tzifopoulos devoted to the Cretan finds.<sup>17</sup> The texts with which we are concerned are listed in Table 1. These editions present each of the gold leaves separately, as is appropriate to their purpose. Unfortunately, however, the extraordinary proliferation of texts, numbering-systems and editorial conventions has made matters far more confusing than they need be, in a truly Orphic ὄμαδος βίβλων.

Above all, these editions are all ‘multitexts’ which reproduce, with variable degrees of accuracy, each version of what are essentially the same archetypes or hyparchetypes; we will see below that we need to advance beyond the notion of a fluid ‘multitext’, in which every minor variant or indeed error of transmission is important, if we are to

*Rituale. Geburtstagssymposium für Walter Burkert* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998), 359–98, with an English version in Edmonds (n. 3), 219–56.

<sup>8</sup> G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Les Lamelles d'or orphiques: instructions pour le voyage d'outre-tombe des initiés grecs* (Paris, 2003); at 59 he reproduces an enlarged but not wholly reliable tracing of the highly accurate drawing of the lamella from Petelia made by Cecil Smith and published by D. Comparetti, ‘The Petelia gold tablet’, *JHS* 3 (1882), 111–18, at 112–13; the leaf has since lost some tiny pieces at its right edge. It was first published by G. Franz, ‘Epigrafe greca sopra lamina d'oro spettante al sig. Millingen’, *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica [sic]* (1836), 149–50, and further studied by C.W. Goettling, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen aus dem classischen Alterthume* i (Halle, 1851), 157–9, and G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* (Berlin and Frankfurt am Main, 1879), no. 1037.

<sup>9</sup> I thank Alex Truscott and Judith Swaddling for facilitating my study of it under high magnification and with powerful lighting at the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum in August 2006.

<sup>10</sup> A. Bernabé and A.I. Jiménez San Cristóbal, *Instrucciones para el Más Allá: Las laminillas órficas de oro* (Madrid, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal (n. 2), 241–56, who provide very accurate editions and also a concordance; for the present these should be the editions of reference.

<sup>12</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (n. 8).

<sup>13</sup> G. Sacco, ‘ΓΗΣ ΠΑΙΣ ΕΙΜΙ. Sul v. 10 della laminetta di Hipponion’, *ZPE* 137 (2001), 27–33.

<sup>14</sup> M. Tortorelli Ghidini, *Figli della Terra e del Cielo stellato. Testi orfici con traduzione e commento* (Naples, 2006).

<sup>15</sup> F. Graf and S.I. Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife: Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets* (London and New York, 2008), 1–49; the texts are arranged by find-spot, so as not to have to construct an archetype. The second edition of 2013 is almost unchanged, save that their indispensable concordance is unaccountably omitted.

<sup>16</sup> Edmonds (n. 3), 15–50.

<sup>17</sup> Tzifopoulos (n. 3).

Table 1. Concordance of editions of the 'Orphic' gold leaves.

Version, Siglum	Origin	Date B.C. (approx.)	No. of		Riedweg/ Tzifopoulos/ Edmonds	Bernabé <i>Orph.</i>	Pugliese Carratelli	Bernabé-Jiménez	Graf & Johnston	Tortorelli Ghidini
			vv. or ll.	Zuntz						
<i>Long</i>										
E	Entella	iv or iii	19 vv.	—	B 11	fr. 475	I A 4	L 2	8	13
H	Hipponium	c.400	16 vv.	—	B 10	fr. 474	I A 1	L 1	1	1
P	Petelia	iv	14 vv.	B 1	B 1	fr. 476	I A 2	L 3	2	2
Φ	Pharsalus	c.300	11 vv.	B 2	B 2	fr. 477	I A 3	L 4	25	8
<i>Intermediate</i>										
M	'Thessaly'	iv	6 ll.	—	B 9	fr. 484	I C 7	L 6	29	9
<i>Short</i>										
K <sup>1</sup>	Eleutherna	ii-i	4 ll.	B 3	B 3	fr. 478	I C 1	L 5a	10	14
K <sup>2</sup>	Eleutherna	ii-i	4 ll.	B 4	B 4	fr. 479	I C 2	L 5b	11	15
K <sup>3</sup>	Eleutherna	ii-i	4 ll.	B 5	B 5	fr. 480	I C 3	L 5c	12	16
K <sup>4</sup>	Eleutherna	ii	4 ll.	B 6	B 6	fr. 481	I C 4	L 5d	16	17
K <sup>5</sup>	Eleutherna	ii-i	4 ll.	B 7	B 7	fr. 482	I C 5	L 5e	13	18
K <sup>6</sup>	Eleutherna	ii-i	4 ll.	B 8	B 8	fr. 483	I C 6	L 5f	14	19
K <sup>7</sup>	Eleutherna	ii-i	7 ll.	—	B 12	fr. 484a	—	L 6a	18	21
K <sup>8</sup>	Eleutherna	?	?	—	B 13	—	—	—	—	—
K <sup>9</sup>	Eleutherna	?	?	—	B 14	—	—	—	—	—

establish what the author of the underlying text meant to say. But four subsidiary causes, which I will discuss first, augment the confusion:

- (i) The inscriptions use different epichoric alphabets and divergent orthographic conventions; some editors retain  $\bar{\epsilon}$  for  $\eta$ ,  $\bar{o}$  for  $\omicron$  or  $\omega$  and  $h$  for the *spiritus asper*, whereas most normalize.
- (ii) Editors report interpretations of spelling conventions, for example  $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\mu\omicron\iota$  for  $\pi\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu$   $\mu\omicron\iota$ , as if these are variant readings, or silently normalize such *sandhi* phenomena.
- (iii) Some editors pile up lists of which scholars support particular readings or supplements without stating who first originated them; the muddle is then passed on to subsequent editions, some of which are full of errors in the attribution of conjectures.
- (iv) Editors' conventions diverge in various ways from the standard Leiden convention, which was established precisely in order to forestall this kind of chaos. Some, claiming that such conventions are too intimidating for modern readers, have even abandoned the use of letters with subliterate dots, for example  $\alpha$ , to indicate a letter that can be read as another,<sup>18</sup> but print such letters undotted as if they are securely read. There is a major problem with letters that have been deliberately altered by an editor, as often happens in these very corrupt texts. To indicate such cases, some editors employ dotted letters, which is highly inappropriate, while others use letters between angle-brackets, for example  $\langle\alpha\rangle$ , which should denote a letter supplied by an editor where there is nothing in the original.<sup>19</sup> Others again employ underlining, for example  $\underline{\alpha}$ , which is normally used to indicate which parts of an inscription are preserved only in a potentially unreliable apograph. Still others print altered letters with no warning at all, unless perhaps in the apparatus criticus. If such a warning is given, this practice conforms to the Leiden convention, and is indeed standard practice. However, it too is deficient, since the reader deserves to be alerted by some sign *within the word itself* that what is printed has been altered relative to its source. Some such signal is especially important in very garbled texts when, as in this case or in that of the Herculeum papyri, the apparatus criticus necessarily becomes very large.

The variety of solutions to the problem of altered letters at least proves that some convention for indicating altered letters is indispensable in editing such texts. Here the subliterate asterisk, for example  $\alpha^*$ , will be used for this purpose; this is to adapt a convention that was introduced by Reinhold Merkelbach for editing texts such as the Herculeum papyri, where it warns the reader that an editor has corrected the reading of a potentially inaccurate drawing in a passage where the papyrus itself is now lacunose. The subliterate asterisk is aptly used to signal alterations to Frel's apograph of the tablet from Entella, which can be proved to be highly inaccurate. But it needs to be extended to ancient exemplars too, where editors deliberately change, or, as one hopes, correct the paradosis. This important innovation has already been introduced in Bernabé's edition, but he provided no explicit justification for it.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup> A dotted letter must not be used to indicate a letter that is damaged but cannot be anything else, even though many scholars mistakenly employ it for the latter purpose.

<sup>19</sup> So, regrettably, even Sacco (n. 13).

<sup>20</sup> He glosses it 'littera a viris doctis correcta' (Bernabé [n. 3], lxxxiv).

The paramount problem, however, is that none of the recent editions has investigated the essence of these texts, i.e. their archetype and hyparchetypes. This failure is owed to their authors' refusal, unconscious or conscious, to go beyond multitexts. Even such early editors as Zuntz,<sup>21</sup> Marcovich<sup>22</sup> and Pugliese Carratelli<sup>23</sup> explicitly rejected any attempt to reconstruct an archetype. In his new edition the latter has repeated his view that the texts are too different from each other to justify any attempt to reconstruct one:

... les variations que l'on relève ... remontent, mais pas directement, à un archétype unique; celui-ci a vraisemblablement été rédigé (comme le suggère la présence des formes ioniennes) en grec ionien d'Asie. A ce propos, il ne faut pas négliger le témoignage de Ion de Chios (DK 36 B 2) selon lequel certains des Ὀρφικά auraient été composés par Pythagore et attribués par lui à Orphée. Chercher à reconstituer le texte original paraît, cependant, étant donné les divergences de leçons et la diversité des modes possibles de transmission, une entreprise d'efficacité douteuse; il convient donc de tenir séparés les cinq textes, tout en ayant conscience de leur origine commune.<sup>24</sup>

Similarly Bernabé, while accepting that the intermediate and short versions are based on the long ones, believes that the latter reflect a much freer state of affairs than do the shorter texts, which is presumably why he does not reconstruct an archetype for them:

En nuestra opinión las laminillas cretenses y la tesalia del museo de Malibu son el resultado de plasmar en un modelo más esquemático y formalizado la antigua libertad de las laminillas más largas.<sup>25</sup>

However, if we wish to understand these texts, the reconstruction of an archetype is a heuristic procedure that is both legitimate and essential; nor is it hard to apply philological and linguistic methods to the task. The homogeneity of the verses, in both their wording and their sequence, precludes coincidence, especially now that we have four different witnesses to the long text. We shall see that the resulting archetype is not merely a random collection of verses that were gathered together at different times and places; rather, Richard Bentley's *ratio et res ipsa* will make clear which, among what may initially seem a bewildering set of variants, actually offers the superior and in fact the original reading.

The notion of a 'multitext' has value in editing texts that are orally derived. However, once a text has been written down and thereby transmitted in writing, it ineluctably becomes subject to the principles of textual criticism that scholars have developed from long experience.<sup>26</sup> The study of 'multitexts' is no substitute for these principles; indeed, textual criticism was developed in order to spare ourselves from having to read through 'multitexts', which may, in a case like Homer's *Iliad*, amount to thousands of verses in thousands of sources. Homeric studies have for years been bedevilled by some scholars' rejection of the idea of an authoritative archetype, even for this oral dictated text, in favour of a multitextual chimera.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Zuntz (n. 1), 376–82, and id., 'Die Goldlamelle von Hipponion', *WSr* 10 (1976), 129–51.

<sup>22</sup> M. Marcovich, 'The gold leaf from Hipponion', *ZPE* 23 (1976), 221–4, at 222.

<sup>23</sup> G. Pugliese Carratelli, 'Sulla lamina orfica di Hipponion', *PP* 30 (1975), 226–31, at 228–9.

<sup>24</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (n. 8), 16.

<sup>25</sup> Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal (n. 10), 84 (cf. eid. [n. 2], 58).

<sup>26</sup> For the best summary of these principles, see M.L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart, 1973).

<sup>27</sup> For an excellent exposition of the problem, see M. Finkelberg, 'The *Cypria*, the *Iliad*, and the problem of multiformity in oral and written tradition', *CPh* 95 (2000), 1–6.

Here, too, it has impeded progress. The texts on the gold leaves were certainly subject to oral transmission, since, being a secret that was transmitted during rites of initiation, they were meant to be memorized and put back into writing from memory; this is the direct implication of the preamble (verses 1–3) that will be reconstructed in §2. The initiates would not willingly have written them down except for the ritual purpose of providing the dead with instructions about what to do in Hades, in order to attain the blessed status of hero that they had been promised. However, these texts certainly were written down as well, just as we all have to write down the endlessly proliferating digital passwords that we are supposed to memorize. The diminutive lamellae are an eloquent testimony to the difficulty of writing accurately on tiny surfaces of very expensive material. This article aims to show that the principles of textual criticism can and indeed must be applied to these texts too.

It is surprising, if not, frankly, astonishing, that this argument needs to be made, since it seems obvious and has been made before. Zuntz's claim that the longer texts were elaborations of the very short texts from Crete was rebutted long ago; his theory was a priori implausible, given their wording and the fact that the Cretan texts are later than the others.<sup>28</sup> Meanwhile, Lloyd-Jones<sup>29</sup> and West<sup>30</sup> argued that an archetype for the longer texts could be reconstructed. Also, it was already suggested that many divergences among the texts depend upon memorized transmission by initiates who were not allowed to divulge the texts.<sup>31</sup> Given the new text from Entella and the advances in deciphering these tiny and hardly legible texts, it is high time to re-examine this question. In fact, with the progress in reading these texts and the increase in their number, their archetype can now rest on a much firmer basis.

In reconstructing an archetype, some preliminary questions must always be answered. Is an archetype really necessary? In this instance it is, because the extent of the agreement between the sources precludes coincidence. Indeed, in this case positing an archetype is invaluable as a heuristic device for determining the best reading;<sup>32</sup> but the evident hermeneutic value of this procedure also implies that an archetype did once exist. What form did it take? By definition it had a fixed form, but it does not necessarily follow from this that the archetype was in writing. Such a short piece could conceivably have been composed and memorized in the mind of its author, and taught by him orally to his disciples and successors. However, whatever form it took, the text was fixed, and once it was fixed it became subject to the principles of textual criticism as well as to the divagations of memorized transmission. Scholars have disagreed as to how corrupt the copies are. Many do not hesitate to posit corruption to account for irregular scansion or impossible semantics, but others will alter nothing. They may well be right to do so, when the copies are in question; but in reconstructing the archetype we will assume that it made sense and was in the best possible Greek. Examining the copies will confirm these assumptions, in a familiar hermeneutic circle.

Was the original in hexameters? Although Gallavotti denied this, suggesting that H is in a strange variety of metres,<sup>33</sup> the unanimity of the versions of the long text confirms

<sup>28</sup> R. Janko, 'Forgetfulness in the golden tablets of memory', *CQ* 34 (1984), 89–100, at 89–91.

<sup>29</sup> H. Lloyd-Jones, 'On the Orphic tablet from Hipponion', *PP* 30 (1975), 225–6.

<sup>30</sup> M.L. West, 'Zum neuen Goldblättchen aus Hipponion', *ZPE* 18 (1975), 229–36, at 229–30.

<sup>31</sup> Janko (n. 28), 97–8.

<sup>32</sup> I thank one of this journal's reviewers for insisting on this point.

<sup>33</sup> C. Gallavotti, 'Il documento orfico di Hipponion e altri testi affini', *Museum Criticum* 13–14 (1978–1979), 337–59, at 349–50.

it. If so, was it composed in the Doric which appears in the Hipponium text, or in Homeric dialect? Apart from H, all the long texts are in Homeric diction; this is powerfully confirmed by the new text said to be from Entella, itself in Dorian Sicily. Even H, despite its Doric veneer, contains many Ionic forms. We should not assume that it was in an arbitrarily mixed dialect when other witnesses oppose such an assumption. Such was the position of Gallavotti, who deemed it a deliberate mixture of Doric and Attic;<sup>34</sup> but all his alleged Atticisms have disappeared with our progress in reading the text. West was right to assume that any archetype should have been in Homeric diction.<sup>35</sup>

The new text from Entella is decisive for these questions. Even though half of each line is lost, and for the rest we depend on an unreliable transcription, Riedweg was able to use the evidence of the other long texts to restore most of the verses, and even to confirm Ebert's conjecture Ἄϊδος κρότος ὀφρηέντος in the text from Hipponium.<sup>36</sup> The lamella from Entella was, so far as we know, entirely in Homeric dialect, and its verses are undoubtedly hexametric. Unfortunately it is hard to establish, without a photograph or even a drawing, how many letters are lost at the start of each line, but one must at least impose on oneself the discipline of making approximately consistent restorations, since these texts were usually folded vertically and then tended to break along those folds. Doing so will lead to useful results, as will shortly appear.

As is at once evident from the fourth column of [Table 1](#), we are dealing with texts of very different length. The Thessalian and especially the Cretan versions are much shorter; they are no longer in proper hexameters, and in fact it is hard to say exactly into how many lines these texts are meant to be divided. However, the shorter versions will not be my topic here.<sup>37</sup> The long texts vary in different ways:

- (i) The version from Hipponium (H), which has attracted much attention because of its greater length and antiquity (c.400 B.C.), will not turn out to be the most accurate version, even though it seems to be the oldest copy. First, it has modified the originally Ionic diction of the epic archetype in favour of an inconsistently applied Doric; secondly, it has often corrupted the sense of the archetype, and even includes nonsense in places, like εὐἔρέαιε instead of εὐρήσειε.
- (ii) Although more than half of the version from Entella (E) is broken away, it seems to have been very accurate indeed. So similar is it to the archetype I first attempted to reconstruct in 1984 that an anonymous reviewer of this article even suggested that it might be a forgery based on that reconstruction. However, as we have seen, Riedweg used E to confirm Ebert's conjecture in H, which I had not adopted; this surely proves its authenticity. Its transcriber, Frel, made too many elementary errors to have been capable of divining such a difficult reading. Its dating is quite possibly incorrect; it could well be earlier than the third century B.C., or else be based on a very early copy. Until we see it, there is no way to be sure.
- (iii) The version from Petelia (P) is accurate, but is rather abridged and has put the initial three-line preamble at the end, as if adding it only when it was clear that there was enough room. The fact that it uses the four-bar sigma Σ alongside epigraphic Ω suggests a date within the fourth century B.C.

<sup>34</sup> Gallavotti (n. 33), 351–2.

<sup>35</sup> West (n. 30).

<sup>36</sup> See on v. 11 below. Also, E's reading φυλακοί is confirmed by a hitherto unnoticed variant in the text from Pharsalus (see on v. 9 below).

<sup>37</sup> Their interrelations were determined by West (n. 30); cf. the stemma in Janko (n. 28), 100. However, the place of the rather divergent K<sup>7</sup> within the stemma remains to be established.

- (iv) The version from Pharsalus ( $\Phi$ ) is the most divergent; it has recomposed one and a half verses, omits the three-line preamble entirely and lapses into prose at the end. Its use of lunate sigmas (but of  $\Sigma$  for a double sigma!) alongside epigraphic E and a form transitioning away from epigraphic  $\Omega$  to  $\omega$  in  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\kappa\omega$  dates it to c.300 B.C. The degree to which the text from Pharsalus differs from the rest can be explained by the fact that, unlike the other three texts, it is from Thessaly rather than from Sicily or Magna Graecia.
- (v) The text in Malibu (M) is the ‘missing link’ between the long texts and the short ones. It is allegedly from the same region, but its script, so similar to that of the Derveni papyrus, belongs to the fourth century B.C. Like the short versions from Crete ( $K^{1-7}$ ), it has largely corrupted or abandoned the excellent hexameters in which the archetype was composed.

## §2. ON RECONSTRUCTING THE ARCHETYPE

In the discussion that follows, the text of each apograph of the long version (followed by derivative verses in the shorter hyparchetypes) is given in the order of the verses in the archetype, so that the different versions of each line can readily be compared. In the separate texts, verse-numbers and not line-numbers are used, since parts of two verses sometimes appear in the same line. There follows in each case a discussion of the variants; a reconstruction of the whole archetype is given in §3.<sup>38</sup> For the different sources for the text, and the sigla for them, see Table 1. The following conventions are used (for the use of the subliterate asterisk see above, §1):

$\alpha$	a doubtful letter that can be read as another
$\overset{\sim}{\alpha}$	a letter added by the scribe above the line
[[ $\alpha$ ]]	a letter deleted by the scribe
( $\alpha$ )	a letter written by the scribe in a full spelling, i.e. an elided vowel
[ $\alpha$ ]	a letter supplied by an editor in a gap
$\alpha$	a letter supplied from a parallel source by an editor in a gap
{ $\alpha$ }	a letter deleted by an editor
< $\alpha$ >	a letter inserted by an editor
$\alpha^*$	a letter altered by an editor

The beginning of the text presents the most severe problems for the reconstruction of the archetype. These verses are numbered 1–3, since their location in H and E suggests that they originally formed a preamble to the rest of the text, which could be included if space permitted but sometimes seemed dispensable, as in  $\Phi$ , or was transposed to the end, as in P. We shall see that this conclusion is confirmed by their content, once it has been reconstructed.

1	$M\nu\alpha\mu\omicron\upsilon\alpha\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\ \xi\rho\gamma\omicron\nu\cdot\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\ \tilde{\alpha}\mu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\alpha\nu\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \{\iota\}$	(H 1)
	$LM\nu\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\delta(\epsilon)\ \xi\rho\lambda\gamma\omicron\nu\cdot\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\ \tilde{\alpha}\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\eta\iota\varsigma\iota\ \theta\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\varsigma\theta\alpha\lambda\iota$	(P 12)
	$LM\nu\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\delta\epsilon\ \xi\rho\gamma\omicron\nu\cdot\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\ \tilde{\alpha}\nu\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\eta\iota\varsigma\iota\{v\}\ \theta\alpha\nu\{\iota\}\tilde{\epsilon}\varsigma\theta\alpha\iota$	(E 1)

<sup>38</sup> For information about which scholars were responsible for particular supplements, readings or conjectures in the apographs, where their authors are not indicated, the reader is referred to Bernabé (n. 3) and Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal (n. 2).

Riedweg proposed Μνημοσύνης τόδε in E. Following him, Bernabé suggested Doric Μναμοσύνας τόδε, as in H; however, nothing else is Doric in E. An anonymous author supplied ΛΜνημοσύνης in P.<sup>39</sup> The corrupt word in H is clearly legible in the photographs as EPION. In P only the upright of ρ survives before the break (with no trace of the loop of ρ or of the horizontals of a second ε). However, more was read in the past; a tiny piece of gold must have fallen off at the edge, perhaps when the object was encased in the perspex block inside which it is now conserved. It has been felt that we need a word for the object itself ('leaf', 'tablet') or for the verses that are engraved upon it ('charm', 'incantation', 'song', 'oracle', 'inscription', 'secret'). But no such word exists.<sup>40</sup> The late leaf from Rome, which is related to our series only in its opening phrase, has Μνημοσύνης τόδε δῶρον ἀοιδίμων ἀνθρώποισι.<sup>41</sup> But it is hard to see how such a straightforward word could have been corrupted or misremembered; δῶρον has replaced something else, and this fact indicates at least that the word was difficult and subject to replacement. Palaeographically the most plausible restoration is ἔργον, which in H involves adding only a horizontal stroke; the word seemed difficult in the sense that, once the digamma was forgotten, it appeared to be preceded by an illegitimate hiatus. This solution was suggested by Burkert,<sup>42</sup> followed by Gil<sup>43</sup> and Ebert,<sup>44</sup> and Guarducci subsequently made the same proposal in P.<sup>45</sup> We must accept ἔργον, and translate it 'task'. The same phrase occurs at the verse-end six times in Homer; compare τόδε Φέργον at the verse-end in *CEG* 1.380,5.

The restoration of E implies that this lamella has lost 30.5 letter-widths at the left, which is far more than in subsequent lines, where c.21 letters are lost; since no image of E has been published, we cannot state that this width is incorrect. ἐπεὶ ἄν was restored there by Bernabé after Riedweg and Frel's ἐπεὶ ἄμ. In H ἐπεὶ ἄν is not contracted to ἐπὶν, as West and Marcovich proposed that it should be. Contracted ἐπὶν is almost universal in the manuscripts of Homer but can often be resolved into ἐπεὶ ἄν, which is attested at *Il.* 6.412 (ἔσται θαλπωρή, ἐπεὶ ἄν κύ γε πότμον ἐτίπτῃς). P and E are lacunose, and Merkelbach restored ἐπεὶ ἄν μέλλῃσι in P.

Riedweg restored μέλλῃσι{v} in E from Frel's transcript μελλῃσιον [*sic*]. The metre indicates that we should accept θανεῖσθαι from P, even though, as Gallavotti observed,<sup>46</sup> H may have θανεσθαί (*pace* Pugliese Carratelli), either by a dittography of the first θαν or because the gold leaf has been reused and traces of the palimpsest remain.<sup>47</sup> Frel reported that E has θανιῖσθαι [*sic*], which Pleket interpreted as a mere misprint for θανεῖσθαι; P reads θανεισθα[ with the final α.<sup>48</sup> θανεῖσθαι is a

<sup>39</sup> In F.H. Marshall (ed.), *Catalogue of Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* (London, 1911), 380–1.

<sup>40</sup> For a survey of proposals, see Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal (n. 2), 13–14.

<sup>41</sup> i.e. no. A5 in Zuntz (n. 1), Riedweg (n. 7) and Edmonds (n. 3), = fr. 491 Bernabé (n. 3), = 23 Tortorelli Ghidini (n. 14), = 9 Graf and Johnston (n. 15), = I.B.2 Pugliese Carratelli (n. 8).

<sup>42</sup> In Pugliese Carratelli (n. 23), 227.

<sup>43</sup> J. Gil, 'Epigraphica III', *CFC* 14 (1978), 83–120, at 83–4.

<sup>44</sup> In W. Luppe, 'Abermals das Goldblättchen von Hipponion', *ZPE* 30 (1978), 23–6, at 24. The conjecture was approved by Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal (n. 10), followed by Graf and Johnston (n. 15).

<sup>45</sup> M. Guarducci, 'Nuove riflessioni sulla laminetta "orfica" di Hipponion', *RFIC* 113 (1985), 385–97, at 388.

<sup>46</sup> Gallavotti (n. 33), 338.

<sup>47</sup> Sacco (n. 13), 32 reads θανεσθαί, but her fine photograph (Taf. XII) seems to contradict this.

<sup>48</sup> H.W. Pleket, *SEG* 44 (1994), 225–6 (no. 750). The rest of the word in P was supplied by Smith in Comparetti (n. 8), and not by Kaibel (n. 8), *pace* Bernabé (n. 3).

post-Homeric form; Homer always has (οἰόμενος) θανέεσθαι (3×). For the verb in the same *locus*, compare μέλλουσιν ὀπάζειν at *Od.* 18.19.

2	- - -	]	τόδε γραψ[ - - -	(P 13)
	- - -		μ]εμνημέ(ν)ος ἦρωσ	(E 2)

The first part of verse 2 is known only from P (where I saw the T, though it is small, and Smith also read it in his drawing of 1882),<sup>49</sup> and its end is only in E. West had proposed *exempli gratia* [ἐν πίνακι χρυσεῖω] τόδε γραψ[άτω ἡδὲ φορεῖτω],<sup>50</sup> but the line-ending in E disproves γραψάτω. Hence we need a different trisyllabic form of the verb: I suggest [ - - - ] τόδε γραψ[άσθω μ]εμνημέ(ν)ος ἦρωσ.<sup>51</sup> The complete verse might run [ἀτρεκέως] τόδε γραψ[άσθω μ]εμνημέ(ν)ος ἦρωσ, ‘let the hero get this written down accurately from memory’, or, with Guarducci’s suggestion for the start of the line,<sup>52</sup> [ἐν χρυσεῖω] τόδε γρα[ψάσθω μ]εμνημέ(ν)ος ἦρωσ ‘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 almost adverbial use of μεμνημένος to mean ‘mindful’ appears in Hesiod at *Op.* 728. ἦρωσ is often placed at the end of the hexameter.

3	- - -	]	ΠΟΓΛΩΣΥΠΑ[.]ω σκότος ἀμφικαλύψα	(P 14)
	- - -		] σκότος ἀμφικαλύψαι	(E 3)

Verse 3 must somewhere have contained a conjunction indicating that the inscription must be made ‘before’ the darkness of death surrounds the hero, presumably annihilating him if he does not follow its instructions. P’s readings in the first part of the verse, which is written in the right margin, have remained totally obscure. Pugliese Carratelli prints ΤΤΟΓΛΩΣΕΙΠΑ. However, since 1882 the leaf has lost a tiny sliver of gold from the right edge; according to Smith’s drawing,<sup>53</sup> this bore the letters μοι from the main part of line 6 overwritten with the letters ΩΣΣΚΟΤ from line 14, which is engraved sideways over the end of line 6. Smith’s drawing supports ]ΚΟΓΛΩΣΣΙΠΑ ω, and on the original I read ]ΠΟΓΛΩΣΥΠΑ[; Smith’s final ]Ω has disappeared with the damage to the right edge. This suggests that the first half of the verse contained the good epic adverb ἐκπᾶγλωσ ‘terribly’, which is common enough in this *locus* in Homer; no other Greek word ends in -γλωσ, and the only other place where this series of letters occurs is in the word γλωσσα, which will not fit here. A verb ought to follow, for example [μῆ τόν γ’ ἐκ]πᾶγλωσ υπά[γ]ο[ι].<sup>54</sup> If this was also the reading in E, it implies the loss of 22 letter-widths, which is comparable to the loss of 21.5 in verse 4. Unfortunately, given that Frel transcribed ἀμφικαλύψαι at the verse-end in E, it is not certain that we should accept Riedweg’s emendation ἀμφικαλύψαϝ,<sup>55</sup> since πρὶν could have preceded or E could have read ἀμφικαλύψαϝ, but Frel’s transcript is

<sup>49</sup> In Comparetti (n. 8), 112–13.

<sup>50</sup> West (n. 30), 232.

<sup>51</sup> My proposal, advanced in 2006 at the conference at Ohio State, was adopted by Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal (n. 2), 55, 249.

<sup>52</sup> Guarducci (n. 45), 392.

<sup>53</sup> In Comparetti (n. 8), 112–13; Pugliese Carratelli’s tracing of this ([n. 8], 59) is not accurate here.

<sup>54</sup> My suggestion was adopted by Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal (n. 2), but in its earlier form with μὶν instead, which seems too wide.

<sup>55</sup> Graf and Johnston (n. 15), 16 wrongly print ἀμφικαλύψαϝ in E, without restoring the first half of the verse.

profoundly unreliable. The verse-ending is a modification of τὸν δὲ κκότος ὄσσε κάλυπεν (12× II.).

Hence the preamble should be reconstructed as follows:

- 1 Μνημοσύνης τόδε ἔργον· ἐπεὶ ἂν μέλλῃσι θανεῖσθαι,  
[ἐν χρυσίῳ] τόδε γραψ[άσθω μ]εμνημέ(ν)ος ἦρωσ,  
3 [μὴ τὸν γ' ἐκ]π[ά]γλωσ ὑπά[γ]ο[ι] κκότος ἀμφικαλύψα.

These verses are clearly instructions to the initiates on what they must do to prepare to overcome death, explaining how to deploy the mystery-text which the practitioners of the cult had taught them. These instructions have been postponed in P, as being less important than the directions in Hades, and are omitted entirely in  $\Phi$  and the short texts. An anonymous reviewer suggests that they could have been composed separately from the main text and added later. However, this is not a necessary hypothesis and therefore contravenes Occam's razor. In addition, the fact that the initiate is called a hero shows that this preamble is fully in accord with the theology of the main text, where the promise is made that he will rule among 'the other heroes' (verse 20). We may contrast Zuntz's A series, where the deceased becomes a θεός, which sounds like a much higher status. The phrase [μ]εμνημέ(ν)ος ἦρωσ supports the view that the text was meant to be transmitted by being memorized by the initiate.<sup>56</sup>

The rest of the text is much less problematic. The readings of E confirm most of the archetype as it was first reconstructed.<sup>57</sup> The new evidence further supports the theory that the variations are owed to transmission via both memorization and miscopying, together with the reconstruction of an intermediate hyparchetype from which M is taken and on which the further hyparchetype of the short Cretan version is based. A detailed analysis of the diction in terms of formulaic composition will make all this clear.

- 4 εἶς Ἀίδαο δόμοσ εὐερέασ· ἔστ' ἐπὶ δ(ε)ξιᾶ κρένα {τν} (H 2)  
εὐρήσ{c}εἰσ δ' Ἀίδαο δόμων ἐπ' ἀριτερά κρήνην (P 1)  
εὐρήσ{c}εἰσ Ἀίδαο δόμοισ ἐνδέξια κρήνην ( $\Phi$  1)  
Leύρήσεισ Ἀίδαο δόμων ἐπὶ δεξιά λιμνην (E 4)  
κράνας αἰειρώ ἐπὶ δεξιά (K<sup>1</sup>, K<sup>2</sup>, M 2)  
κράνας αἰειρώ ἐπὶ δεξιά (K<sup>4</sup>)  
κράνας(α)ιειρ(ό)ω ἐπ(ί) δεξιά (K<sup>5</sup>)  
κράνας αἰ(ε)ιρ(ό)ου ἐπ' {α} ἀρι(c)τερά (K<sup>7</sup>)  
κράνας αἰενάω ἐπὶ δεξιά (K<sup>3</sup>)  
κ'ράνας αἰενάω ἐπὶ δ(ε)ξιᾶ (K<sup>6</sup>)

E was restored by Riedweg, save that Frel already suggested ἐπὶ (c.21.5 letter-widths would be lost); Bernabé proposed δόμοισ instead. P has δ' in the first line of the text when nothing has preceded, whereas  $\Phi$  and H have an asyndeton, even though H has part of the preamble; this confirms that P has suppressed the preamble, but the asyndeton is surely superior.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, for lack of any photograph or drawing, the exact number of letters lost in E cannot be verified, since this would clarify whether the asyndeton is original here.

<sup>56</sup> Janko (n. 28), 97–8.

<sup>57</sup> Janko (n. 28), 99.

<sup>58</sup> Edmonds (n. 3) prints {δ'} in P, but surely meant {δ'}.

The only form of the future of εὐρίσκω in the early epos, εὐρήσω at *Hymn. Hom. Merc.* 302, appears in the same *locus* here. As West<sup>59</sup> and Lloyd-Jones<sup>60</sup> saw, H has garbled εὐρήσειε at the beginning of the verse, adapting the familiar epic formula εἰς Αἶδαο δόμοις (4× *Od.*, always at the start of the verse), and adding the epithet εὐήρεα.<sup>61</sup> This epithet, a compound of εὖ and ἀραρίσκω meaning ‘well-fitted, suitable’, is completely inept: in Homer it is applied only to oars, in the formulae εὐήρεε ἐρετιμόν and εὐήρε’ ἐρετιμά (6× *Od.*),<sup>62</sup> while it is used to mean ‘appropriate’ in Hippocrates and Nicander. Perhaps the composer of H was influenced by formulae like δόμοις εὖ ναιετόντα. The recomposition has entailed an asyndeton after ἔστ’ and the change of the spring from accusative to nominative; this is shown to be an innovation by the fact that it made the next verse unmetrical, as we shall see.

It has not been noted that Φ replicates P’s error εὐρήσ{c}εἰε, since, as Bernabé saw,<sup>63</sup> Φ reads ΕΥΡΗΣΕΙC with a four-bar rather than a lunate sigma in this position; as in the Cretan lamellae (see below on verse 5), Σ is being used for geminate -cc-. The only other place in Φ where this form of sigma is used is in ΤΗΣ in Φ 10, where it again indicates gemination (see below on verse 15).

The phrase Αἶδαο δόμοις occurs in this *locus* at *Od.* 24.204; otherwise, it appears as Αἶδαο δόμοισιν at the verse-end (4× *Il.*, 4× *Od.*). Αἶδαο δόμων is therefore a formulaic modification by declension,<sup>64</sup> but is not clearly inferior in sense to the dative-locative; rather, the dative would have replaced the genitive after the introduction of ἐνδέξια.<sup>65</sup> As in εἰς Αἶδαο ἰέναι δόμον εὐρώεντα (*Od.* 10.512), the accusative δόμοις in H ensued from the initial εἰς. E has wrongly replaced the ‘spring’ with a ‘pool’, but its text does support the view that the first water-source is on the right rather than on the left, where all the other sources except P and K<sup>7</sup> locate it. In Φ ἐνδέξια means ‘rightwards’ and is therefore an error; the short texts M and K<sup>1-6</sup> confirm ἐπὶ δεξιά. We may assume that E, which was evidently a carefully written text in general, is correct. Accordingly, the archetype should have been εὐρήσειε δ’ Αἶδαο δόμων ἐπὶ δεξιά κρήνην. The unintelligible letters at the end of this verse and the next in H are the remnants of a previous inscription on the lamella, which must have been flattened and reused. Lastly, instead of αἰερώω, which is shown to be earlier by its presence in M, a later hyparchetype of some of the Cretan lamellae had αἰενάω; however, ΑΙΓΙΔΔΩ in K<sup>4</sup> is a mangled version of the former, with Γ for E and PO miscopied as ΔΔ.<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, K<sup>7</sup>, read by Tzifopoulos<sup>67</sup> as ⟨C⟩αύρου after the name of a local spring, has V rather than the normal Υ as its second letter, and so should probably be read αἰ(ε)ἰρ(ό)ου; hence it is a version of the older text αἰερώω.

5	πᾶρ δ’ αὐτὰν ἔστακυ(ῖ)α λευκὰ κυπάρικ(ς)οc	{αο}	(H 3)
	πᾶρ δ’ αὐτῆι λευκὴν ἔστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσων		(P 2)
	πᾶρ δ’ αὐτῆι λευκὴν ἔστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσων		(Φ 2)

<sup>59</sup> West (n. 30), 232.

<sup>60</sup> Lloyd-Jones (n. 29), 225–6.

<sup>61</sup> The Dorian writer of H may have understood εἰς as εἶς ‘you will go’ (Foti and Pugliese Carratelli [n. 4], 112).

<sup>62</sup> Its ineptitude was already noted by Zuntz (n. 21 [1976]), 136–7.

<sup>63</sup> Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal (n. 10), 252.

<sup>64</sup> For these terms, see J.B. Hainsworth, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford, 1968).

<sup>65</sup> So Zuntz (n. 1), 369.

<sup>66</sup> Gallavotti (n. 33), 356 n. 20 wished to read αἰετινάω, while nearly all other editors advocate a miscopying of αἰερώω; Tzifopoulos (n. 3) leaves it unemended.

<sup>67</sup> Tzifopoulos (n. 3), 27.

Ἰπάρ δ' αὐτῆι λευκὴν ἔστηκυ(ι)αγ κυάρισσον	(E 5)
λευκὴ κυάρισσος	(M 3)
τῆ κυάρισσος	(K <sup>4</sup> )
τῆ κυάρισσος	(K <sup>1-2</sup> , K <sup>5-6</sup> )
τῆ κυάρι{c}σσος	(K <sup>3</sup> )
τὰς κυφα{c}ρίσσω	(K <sup>7</sup> )

In verse 5 H is garbled again, by both putting the cypress into the nominative case to the detriment of the metre, and transposing the final nu to πὰρ δ' αὐτὰν, where a dative is essential to the sense. The other three sources consistently support πὰρ δ' αὐτῆι λευκὴν ἔστηκυῖαν κυάρισσον. E is restored by Riedweg, with 18.5 letter-widths lost;<sup>68</sup> Frel read ἔστηκυῖα. The Cretan sources (K<sup>1</sup>–K<sup>7</sup>) write ΚΥΦΑΡΙΣΟΣ or ΚΥΦΑΡΙΖΟΣ and ΕΣΙ or ΕΖΙ in line 10b, but these are merely the local spellings of κυάρισσος and ἐκκί. For these texts distinguish sigma, written as C, from zeta, written with its early form I in K<sup>4</sup>, as Z in K<sup>5-7</sup>, and as Σ in the remaining apographs, and they consistently use the latter form in place of -cc-, just as the Pharsalian lamella does.<sup>69</sup> Hence I transcribe Z and Σ as cc in these texts.

6 ἔνθα καταρχόμεναι ψ[χκ] ἄι νεκῶν ψύχονται	(H 4)
Ἐνθα καταρχόμεναι ψυχαῖ νεκῶν ψύχονται	(E 6)

E is restored by Frel (18.5 letter-widths would be lost). There is no disagreement over the archetype of verse 6. Its closest formulaic parallel is *Od.* 10.529–30, ἔνθα δὲ πολλὰι | ψυχαῖ ἐλεύονται νεκῶν κατατεθνειώτων,<sup>70</sup> together with ψυχαῖ νεκῶν κατατεθνειώτων at *Od.* 11.541; the same formula is found separated at *Od.* 11.37, ψυχαῖ ὑπὲξ ἐρέβευς νεκῶν κατατεθνειώτων. The verb κατέρχομαι appears at the verse-end in the formula ψυχή δ' Αἰδοσθε κατῆλθε (2× *Od.*), which is modified into the plural at *Il.* 7.330. Thus this verse uses the resources of the epic diction in an accomplished manner.<sup>71</sup>

7 ταύτας τᾶς κρίνας μεδὲ χεδὸν ἐγγύθεν ἔλθεις	(H 5)
ταύτης τῆς κρίνης μηδὲ χεδὸν ἐμπελάσεια	(P 3)
ταύτης τῆς κρίνης μηδὲ χεδόθεν πελάσεια	(Φ 3)
Ἰταύτης τῆς κρίνης μηδὲ χεδὸν ἐ(μ)πελά(α)σθαι	(E 7)

Frel restored E (18 letter-widths would be lost),<sup>72</sup> save that Riedweg repaired the infinitive. The phrase ταύτης τῆς κρίνης is of late origin, since the only place in the epos where the definite article stands between any case of οὗτος and its noun is at *Od.* 18.114, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνακτον. The collocation μηδὲ χεδὸν is unparalleled. At the end of the verse either E or P could be right; the less attractive variant χεδόθεν in Φ reflects the sound while redividing the words. The redundant phrasing χεδὸν ἐγγύθεν shows that H again has an inferior and misremembered variant, even though it tends to preserve the same sounds.<sup>73</sup> West evidently understood the inferiority of the forms in -θεν when he conjectured that the archetype had χεδὸν ἐμπελάσεια.

<sup>68</sup> Graf and Johnston (n. 15), 16 print παρ' αὐτῆι, which is unmetrical.

<sup>69</sup> Tzifopoulos (n. 3), 11, with my discussion of v. 4 above. True ζ appears in neither the Cretan nor the Thessalian texts.

<sup>70</sup> I owe this point to Richard Martin (*per litt.*).

<sup>71</sup> H wrote ψχκαῖ before correction (cf. Sacco [n. 13], 32).

<sup>72</sup> His errors of spelling are corrected.

<sup>73</sup> Gallavotti (n. 33), 343 considered it the original and the other versions later adaptations.

P's optative ἐμπελάσεια is impossible.<sup>74</sup> The use of the infinitive for imperative in 12 supports E's infinitive ἐ(μ)πελάσ(α)σθαι here rather than ἐμπελάσεισθαι.<sup>75</sup> Thus the archetype had ταύτης τῆς κρήνης μηδὲ χχεδὸν ἐμπελάσασθαι. The verb is paralleled in the epos only at [Hes.] Sc. 109. H substitutes the more familiar verb ἔλθει, which even so preserves the -θ- of the archetype.

8	πρόσθεν δ' ἡεὐρέσει τὰς Μνημοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνας	(H 6)
	εὐρήσει δ' ἑτέραν τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης	(P 4)
	πρόσσω δ' εὐρήσει τὸ Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης	(Φ 4)
	Ἰπρόσθεν δ' εὐρήσει τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης	(E 8)

E is restored by Frel, but with *scriptio plena* of δέ. It is better to assume that δέ was elided, because in the latter case 18.5 letter-widths would be lost. Since H and Φ have πρόσθεν or πρόσσω at the start of the verse, one of these forms must be original. Bernabé suggested πρόσσω, but πρόσθεν is far more frequent than πρόσσω in Homeric diction, and we have seen that Φ is less reliable than other sources. Hence πρόσθεν is preferable.<sup>76</sup> P has neither adverb, wrongly replacing it with the Attic or local Doric<sup>77</sup> form ἑτέραν;<sup>78</sup> this vocalism is out of place in P and results from a misremembering. πρόσθεν is supported by the fact that P replaces ἐπύπερθεν with ἐπίπροσθεν in the next verse,<sup>79</sup> influenced by a recollection of the correct text of the previous line. P has substituted τό for τῆς, introducing an utterly unepic separation of a definite article from its noun ὕδωρ in the next verse; even the article τῆς in agreement with Μνημοσύνης is a recent combination.

9	ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φύλακες δ(ἐ) ἐπύπερθεν ἔασι	(H 7)
	ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φύλακες δ' ἐπίπροσθ' ε'ν ἔασι	(P 5)
	ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προ(ρέον)· φύλακ[ ο] {ι}εσ δ' [ ε] ἐπύπερθεν ἔασι	(Φ 5)
	Ἰψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον, φυλακοὶ θ' ἐπύπε(ρ)θ(εν ἔ)ασι	(E 9)

The start of E is restored by Frel (18 letter-widths are lost), the rest by Cassio and Riedweg:<sup>80</sup> Frel had read θυποπεσθαι. Φ is supplied by Zuntz, since Verdelis had printed προ(ρρέον). ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ is a common noun-epithet combination in the epos, but never occurs there without formulaic modification. At *Od.* 9.374 it is reversed and declined into the dative case (εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῶι). At *Od.* 19.387–8 the epithet is separated from the noun over the line-end (ὕδωρ ἐνεχεύατο πολλόν, | ψυχρόν); so too at *Theog.* 985–6 (ὕδωρ | ψυχρόν). At *Od.* 17.209 the formula is separated by a verb (κατὰ δὲ ψυχρὸν ῥέειν ὕδωρ). Here the composer seems to have preserved a genuine epic formula which he knew from poetry now lost to us. Similarly, προρέω is common in various forms in the epos; for the word in this *locus*, compare *Il.* 11.365–6, ζέει δ' ὕδωρ | οὐδ' ἔθελε προρέειν, and Hesiod, fr. inc. 339, ὦς ἀκαλὰ προρέων (of a river).

<sup>74</sup> Zuntz (n. 1), 369.

<sup>75</sup> The latter has been considered to be the archetype (Janko [n. 28], 99).

<sup>76</sup> So already West (n. 30), 232–3, and Lloyd-Jones (n. 29), 225–6.

<sup>77</sup> So A.C. Cassio, 'Πιέννα e il modello ionico della laminetta di Hipponion', in A.C. Cassio and P. Poccetti (edd.), *Forme di religiosità e tradizioni sapienziali in Magna Grecia (Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli XVI)* (Pisa and Rome, 1994), 182–205, at 184, 198.

<sup>78</sup> This was emended by West (n. 30) to ἑτέρα, but even if this were right it ought to be ἑτέρη.

<sup>79</sup> So already West (n. 30), 233, followed by Gallavotti (n. 33), 344.

<sup>80</sup> Riedweg (n. 7) proposed emending to φύλακες, incorrectly.

One novel result of the accession of E is that φυλακοί now emerges as the original reading rather than the *lectio facillior* φύλακεc. Pugliese Carratelli's drawing of  $\Phi$  suggests that the previously puzzling reading φυλακεcι is actually φύλακεc written over φυλακοί.<sup>81</sup> The unnoticed existence of this variant in  $\Phi$  confirms the *bona fides* of E. A 'correction' need not necessarily be the better reading, but in this case is a *lectio facillior*. This Ionic word for 'guard' should be ascribed to the archetype; it occurs once in the epos (*Il.* 24.566), more rarely than φύλαξ, as well as in *CEG* 1.415,2 (an epigram from Thasos, c.500 B.C.), and often in Herodotus. There is, however, no reason to accept E's θ' instead of δ', since the other three sources oppose it.<sup>82</sup>

According to Frel, E has υποπεθαciv, which Riedweg and Cassio emended to ἐπύπε(ρ)-θ(εν)ἔαciv. ἐπύπερθεν has a notable Ionic psilosis for ἐφόπερθεν, which is frequent in the epos. Parallels for this psilosis exist in some papyri containing early epic poetry, for example [κα]τύπερθεν in *P.Oxy.* 2510,18 (probably from the epic cycle).<sup>83</sup> This form suggests that the verses were composed in an East Ionic milieu that was, unlike the texts of Homer, Hesiod and the *Homeric Hymns*, free of the Euboean or Attic influence that led to the restoration of most aspirates. As we saw, P has replaced ἐπύπερθεν with ἐπίπροθεν derived from πρόcθεν in the preceding verse 8, where this version had omitted it in error (a mistake highly suggestive of memorization); it is surely not by chance that this adverb, never found in the epos, is not attested until Euripides. Thus the sources other than P confirm that the archetype was ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φυλακοί δ' ἐπύπερθεν ἔαciv. H, in accord with its Doric veneer, drops the νῦ ἐφέλκυστικόν that is normal at the end of the line in epic verse; it is right to restore it in the archetype, with West and Marcovich, but not in H itself.

<b>10</b>	οἱ δὲ c(ε) εἰρέcονται ἐν(ι) φραcί πευκαλίμιαcι	(H 8)
	Loī dh̄ c(ε) εἰρήcονται ἐνιφ φραcί πευκαλίμη(ι)civ	(E 10)
<b>10a</b>	οἱ δὲ c' εἰρήcονται ὄ τι χρέoc εἰσαφικάνειc	( $\Phi$ 6)
<b>11a</b>	τοῖc δὲ cὺ εὐ μάλα πάcαν ἀληθειήν καταλέξει {c'ι}	( $\Phi$ 7)
<b>10b</b>	τίc δ' ἐcί; πῶ δ' ἐcί;	(M 4)
	τίc δ' ἐccί; πῶ δ' ἐccί;	(K <sup>1-4</sup> )
	τίc {δε} δ' ἐcc(ι); πῶ δ' ἐccί;	(K <sup>5</sup> )
	τίc δ' ἐccί; πῶ δ' (ἐ)ccί;	(K <sup>6</sup> )
	τιc δ' εἰ; {η} πῶ δ' εἰ;	(K <sup>7</sup> )

At the start of verse 10 neither *hoi* nor Doric τοῖ should be read in either H or E.<sup>84</sup> Gallavotti<sup>85</sup> was the first to read οἱ in H with no initial letter and ὄττι rather than *hōtτι* in verse 11, noting that these lines, like H 12–16, are written ἐν εἰcθέcει. The image shows that, because of what must have been a pre-existing indentation on the left edge of the leaf, the scribe of H has indented by the width of one letter both this verse and all those that follow (this excludes Luppe's restorations [τ]οἱ at the start of line 10 and [π]ὸτ <τ>ί at the start of line 11). However, E was restored by Riedweg and Pleket with initial τοῖ δὲ cε.<sup>86</sup> My proposal οἱ δὴ c(ε) yields 17 letter-widths lost,

<sup>81</sup> The enlarged drawing on display in the Archaeological Museum of Volos shows the reading before correction as φυλακαcι.

<sup>82</sup> Riedweg (n. 7) proposes δ̄; Bernabé (n. 3) wrongly prints δ' without a sublitteral asterisk, while Graf and Johnston (n. 15), 16 wrongly give E's reading as δ' ἐπυπε(ρ)θ(εν ἔ)αciv.

<sup>83</sup> B. Bravo assigns it to the *Ilias Parva* ('Un frammento della *Piccola Iliade* (*P.Oxy.* 2510)', *QUCC* 67 [2001], 49–114).

<sup>84</sup> Graf and Johnston (n. 15), 16, restore τοῖ in E.

<sup>85</sup> Gallavotti (n. 33), 338, 344.

<sup>86</sup> Frel (n. 6) suggested οἱ δὲ cε [*sic*], apparently intending οἱ δὲ cε.

which is one fewer than in E 9 and E 12. Perhaps some other additional letter was inserted in E by a scribal error. The archetype is likely to have had οί, as  $\Phi$  does, since in our manuscripts of the early epos οί and αί are always preferred to τοί and ταί at the line-beginning except in [Hes.] Sc., which was composed by a pro-Theban poet who was probably from a place in central Greece, where these forms were in his vernacular dialect.<sup>87</sup>

Merkelbach correctly interpreted οἶδε in H 8 as οἶ δέ c', i.e. οἶ δὴ c', not οἶδε ce or οἶ δέ ce;<sup>88</sup> the latter interpretations cause an unwanted hiatus, since εἰρήκονται never had an initial digamma.<sup>89</sup> It does not belong to the paradigm of the verb εἶρω 'say', which did originally have an initial digamma (it is from \*Φεῖρω, with future \*Φερέω). Rather, εἰρήκονται is the future of ἐρέω ~ εἶρωμαι 'ask', which is cognate with ἐρωτάω and never had an initial digamma; for ἐρέω was originally ἐρέFω—ἐρFομαι, which explains why its future appears in Ionic as εἰρήκομαι but in Attic as ἐρήκομαι.<sup>90</sup> Accordingly, it is incorrect to introduce the effect of a lost digamma by reading δέ c(ε) εἰρήκονται in verse 10a, as editors of  $\Phi$  have done,<sup>91</sup> rather than Merkelbach's δέ c(ε) εἰρήκονται, with a *scriptio plena* of elided ce.<sup>92</sup> The writing of δὴ as δε in  $\Phi$ , which uses η everywhere else, must be ascribed to the influence of a hyparchetype, like the Hipponium text, in which the letter η was not used for ε̄. Perhaps the copyist took δέ c(ε) as δέ ce with an illicit hiatus.

The metrical correction ἐν(ι) is owed to Zuntz,<sup>93</sup> Merkelbach<sup>94</sup> and Lloyd-Jones.<sup>95</sup> φρασί is the correct archaic form of the dative plural of φρήν, but is not attested in what we have of Ionic epic, where the standardized φρεσί is preferred. φρασί is common in Doric, for example in Pindar. But φρασί is more widespread than one expects, for example in Attic epigrams (*CEG* 1.28,1) and Halicarnassian inscriptions.<sup>96</sup> Since it is alien to standard epic diction, one might suspect that H has introduced this archaism from his own Doric speech, but the testimony of E shows that the archetype had φρασί. The formula ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμητιν is found at *Il.* 8.366. West claimed that it 'hat keinen Sinn',<sup>97</sup> but Gallavotti rightly replied that it means that the guardians know the answer to their question even without asking it.<sup>98</sup>

Verses 10a–11a in  $\Phi$  comprise the only case in the long archetype of a genuine variant with proficient recomposition of the verse. However, 10a lacks good parallels in the early epos.  $\Phi$  has suppressed the redundant formula ἐνὶ φρεσὶ πευκαλίμητιν in favour of a familiar epic tag that replaces the sense of the archetype's verse 11. However,  $\Phi$  then

<sup>87</sup> R. Janko, *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns: Diachronic Development in Epic Diction* (Cambridge, 1982), 118 n. 3; id. 'The *Shield of Heracles* and the legend of Cycnus', *CQ* 36 (1986), 38–59, especially 43 n. 33.

<sup>88</sup> οἶδε is printed in  $\Phi$  6 by Graf and Johnston (n. 15), 34; Frel (n. 6) had proposed οἶ δέ in E [*sic*].

<sup>89</sup> *Pace* Gallavotti (n. 33), 350.

<sup>90</sup> P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque* (Paris, 1968–1980), i.325–6, 370; id., *Grammaire homérique*<sup>2</sup> (Paris, 1973), i.136, 163, 341 n. 2.

<sup>91</sup> Including West (n. 30), Janko (n. 28), 94, 99, Bernabé (n. 3), Graf and Johnston (n. 15), 4, who print τοῖ δέ ce in H 8, and Edmonds (n. 3).

<sup>92</sup> R. Merkelbach, 'Bakchisches Goldtäfelchen aus Hipponion', *ZPE* 17 (1975), 9. Lloyd-Jones (n. 29) conjectured c' ἐ(π)εἰρήκονται.

<sup>93</sup> In Pugliese Carratelli (n. 23), 227.

<sup>94</sup> Merkelbach (n. 92), 8–9, at 9.

<sup>95</sup> Lloyd-Jones (n. 29), 225–6.

<sup>96</sup> Foti and Pugliese Carratelli (n. 4), 112.

<sup>97</sup> West (n. 30), 233; likewise Zuntz (n. 21 [1976]), 140. If there were a problem, Luppe's suggestion of a parenthesis ἄιε(ι)ν φρασί πευκαλίμητιν (Luppe [n. 44], 23–5) would not remedy it.

<sup>98</sup> Gallavotti (n. 33), 345, comparing P 7 (τὸ δέ {δ} ἔτε καὶ αὐτοί).

undoes this economical move by adding the redundant verse **11a**.<sup>99</sup> Verse **11a** is not entirely competent, since τοῖς δὲ κύ εὔ μάλα πᾶσαν contains an unwelcome hiatus after κύ. The phrase εὔ μάλα πᾶσαν is paralleled at *Od.* 24.123 and *Hymn. Hom. Del. Ap.* 171, while πᾶσαν ἀλήθειν καταλέξει is paralleled at *Il.* 24.407 and *Od.* 17.122. No doubt its composer had in mind the (correct) etymology of ἀλήθεια, which evokes the spring of Mnemosyne and water of Lethe.<sup>100</sup> Lloyd-Jones believed  $\Phi$ 's variant **10a–11a** to be secondary. His view is supported by the fact that the even shorter recensions M and K<sup>1–7</sup> replace the entire couplet with verse **10b**, i.e. the questions τίς δ' ἔσσι; πῶ δ' ἔσσι; or a variant thereof (K<sup>7</sup> has τις for τίς). In the Cretan lamellae (K<sup>1–7</sup>) that use Σ for -cc-, Σ is transcribed cc, as above in verse **5**.

**11**      <h>ότ(τ)ι δὲ ἐξερῆεις Ἄιδος κκότος ὄρφ(ν)ῆεντος      (H 9)  
 Λότ(τ)ι δὴ ἐξερῆ(ε)ις Ἄιδος <c>κότοJ\* ὄρφ{o}νήντα      (E 11)

Frel transcribed E as [ - - - κκότος] μου φονηεντά [*sic*]. By comparing H, Riedweg restored ὅτι δὴ ἐξερῆεις Ἄιδος κκότος. Since his restoration entails the loss of 21 letter-widths, where only 18 are expected, I have posited that three geminate letters were lost by separate haplographies. ὅτι δὴ is not paralleled anywhere in the epos, although ἐξερῆω falls in this *locus* in its two occurrences in Homer (*Od.* 4.337 = 17.128, κνημοὺς ἐξερῆει καὶ ἄγκρα ποιήεντα).

E has seemed to confirm Ebert's palmary restoration of H as ὄρφ(ν)ῆεντος.<sup>101</sup> But Frel's transcription of E as Jμουφονηεντα is more readily explained if the verse did not end in the same way as H, but instead as JκκότοJ\* ὄρφ{o}νήντα, with the masculine rather than the neuter declension of κκότος. This reconstruction entails less alteration to the transcript and uses the same masculine declension of κκότος as in verse **3** above, which there is no reason to ascribe to a different composer; also, it is easier to suppose that M is a misreading of N than of Σ or C. Early epic uses only the epithet ὄρφνοῖος to describe night;<sup>102</sup> ὄρφνήεις next appears in Manetho 4.57, the astrologer probably of the fourth century A.D., and his contemporary Quintus of Smyrna, again as an epithet of darkness (νῦξ ... ὄρφνήεσσα, 3.657). Thus E emerges as not just a reliable witness, but indeed a more reliable one than H, which has been influenced by the normal Homeric formula for the darkness of Hades in this *locus*, namely Ἄιδος κκότος εὐρώεντος, and so attributes to Hades an epithet that properly belongs to darkness.

**12**      εἶπον· Γῆς παί(c) εἴμι καὶ Ὀρανῶ ἀτερόεντος      (H 10)  
 εἶπειν· Γῆς παῖς εἴμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀτερόεντο'c'      (P 6)  
 εἶπειν· Γῆς παῖς εἴμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀτ(ερόεντος)      (Φ 8)  
 λείπειν· Γῆς παῖς εἴμι καὶ J Οὐρανοῦ ἀτερόεντος      (E 12)  
 Γᾶς υἱός εἴμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀτερόεντος      (M 4–5)  
 Γᾶς υἱός ἦμι καὶ Ωρανῶ ἀτερόεντος      (K<sup>1</sup>)  
 Γᾶς υἱός ἦμι καὶ Ωρανῶ ἀτερόεντος      (K<sup>2</sup>)  
 Γᾶς υἱός ἦμι καὶ(ι) Ωρανῶ ἀτερόεντος      (K<sup>3</sup>)  
 Γᾶς υἱός ἦμ(ι) καὶ Ωρανῶ ἀτερόεντ{o}c      (K<sup>3</sup>)  
 Γᾶς υἱός ἦμι καὶ Ωρανῶ ἀτερόεντος{c}      (K<sup>6</sup>)

<sup>99</sup> So Zuntz (n. 1), 370. I was wrong to ascribe this verse to the archetype (Janko [n. 28], 95, 99).

<sup>100</sup> I owe this point to Alberto Bernabé (*per litt.*).

<sup>101</sup> In Luppe (n. 44), 25. The reading ὄρφ{o}νήντο{c} in E was proposed by Riedweg (n. 7), 397, and accepted by A. Bernabé, 'La lamella orfica di Entella', in M.I. Gulletta (ed.), *Sicilia Epigrafica, Atti del Convegno di Studi Erice* (Pisa, 1999), i.53–63, at 54–5.

<sup>102</sup> *Il.* 10.83; cf. *Ap. Rhod.* 2.670.



The existence of verse 13 in P (where West rightly read τὸ δὲ {δ}),<sup>110</sup> as well as further down in E, confirms that H omitted this verse for some reason. Presumably he was anxious to arrive at verse 14 about thirst, which was so essential that even the shortest hyparchetype had it. For the beginning, which Frel restored in E, compare αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γενεή at *Il.* 21.157, and with γένος οὐράνιον compare γένος οὐρανίωνες at *Hes. fr.* 43.53.

In the second hemistich Riedweg supplied τόδε δ' ἴτε καὶ αὐτοὶ in E: compare καὶ δ' αὐτοὶ τόδε ἴτε in the first hemistich of *Hom. Od.* 21.110. However, the archetype surely had τὸ δὲ rather than τόδε δ', as West suggested; the reading τόδε δ', which goes back to Franz's *editio princeps* of P, is contrary to epic usage.<sup>111</sup> For the observance of initial digamma in \*Fίctε, compare that in τόδε ἔργον in verse 1.

Zuntz<sup>112</sup> deemed verse 13 incompatible with verse 12. But it is methodologically better to reconstruct the text first, and to attempt to interpret it only once it is properly reconstructed. As Guthrie saw,<sup>113</sup> αὐτὰρ can be strongly adversative, so that the initiate is saying that he is of mixed descent, but that the heavenly element in his make-up predominates. The intermediate recension in M preserves only the first hemistich, which disappears entirely in the short Cretan version.  $\Phi$  has Ἀκτέριος ὄνομα instead. This is presumably based on ἀκτερόεντος at the end of verse 12. In the light of  $\Phi$ 's divergent version, Griffiths proposed to emend αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος to αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γ' ὄνομα;<sup>114</sup> one may compare *CEG* 1.18.5, αὐτὰρ ἔμοιγ' ὄνομα' ἐτί (Egypt, v B.C.). However, we have repeatedly seen that  $\Phi$  is, with H, the least reliable of our four sources for the reconstruction of the long archetype.

14	δίψαι δ' ἔμ' αἶος καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλ(λ)ὰ δότ' ὄκκα	(H 11)
	δίψηι δ' εἰμ(ι) αἶη καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλά δότ' αἶψα	(P 8)
	Λδίψηι δ' εἰμ' αἶη καὶ ἀπόλ(λ)υμαι· ἀλλά δότε μοι	(E 13)
	δίψηι δ' εἰμ' αἶος [κ] (αὶ ἀπόλλυμαι)· ἀλλά δότε μοι	( $\Phi$ 10)
	δίψα(ι) δ' ἦμ' αἶος καὶ ἀπόλ(λ)ομαι· ἀλ(λ)ὰ πιέν μοι	(K <sup>4</sup> )
	δίψα(ι) {α} αἶος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλ(λ)υμαι· ἀλλά π(ι)έμ μο(ι)	(K <sup>6</sup> )
	δίψαι αἶος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλά πιέ(μ) μοι	(K <sup>1</sup> )
	δίψαι αἶος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυ{μα}μαι· ἀλλά πιέ(μ) μοι	(K <sup>2</sup> )
	δίψαι αἶος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλ(λ)ὰ πιέμ {ε}μοι	(K <sup>2</sup> )
	δίψαι αἶος ἐγὼ κ(αὶ) ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλά πιέ(μ) μου	(M 1)
	δίψαι αἶος {α}αρος; ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλά πιέμ μου	(K <sup>3</sup> )
	δίψαι {τοι} {α} ὄος παρ(α)π(ό)λλυται· {α} ἀλλ(ἀ) π{α}ιέν μοι	(K <sup>7</sup> , a)
	δίψαι τοιαυτοῖωτοσπαρατρηνη	(K <sup>7</sup> , b)

H 11 was restored by Pugliese Carratelli (with ὄκκα confirmed by Sacco), and E 13 by Riedweg, with αἶος. However, his restoration of E implies the loss of 20 letter-widths, which is too long by two; hence I have supplied αἶη, as Bernabé proposed, rather than αἶος, and posited the haplography of a geminate letter. Riedweg also restored the Doric form δίψαι,<sup>115</sup> which must be replaced by the Ionic form δίψηι, since E has no other

<sup>110</sup> This correction is not recorded by Edmonds (n. 3).

<sup>111</sup> West (n. 30), 233, who also suggested τὸ δὲ τ', but this involves changing the paradosis; Franz (n. 8).

<sup>112</sup> Zuntz (n. 1), 366.

<sup>113</sup> W.K.C. Guthrie, *Orpheus and Greek Religion* (London, 1952<sup>2</sup>), 173.

<sup>114</sup> A.H. Griffiths, 'The chiton under the pallium: two Greek jokes in Roman comedies', in A.H. Griffiths (ed.), *Stage Directions: Essays in Ancient Drama in Honour of Eric Handley (BICS Suppl. 66)* (London, 1995), 133–8, at 138.

<sup>115</sup> He is followed by Graf and Johnston (n. 15), 16.

Doric vocalisms. The opening phrase δῖψηι δ' εἰμ' αῖος is not paralleled in the early epos; ἀπόλλυται appears there twice, each time in the same *locus*. The intermediate and short versions (M and K<sup>1-7</sup>, except for K<sup>4</sup>) lack the connective particle δ', as one would expect, because they have transposed this verse to the beginning of their text; hence we should not expect to find it in K<sup>6</sup>, where Graf and Johnston read it, and indeed it is not there.<sup>116</sup> Φ's omission of καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι was deliberate, because the scribe realized that he was running out of space; as the drawing in Pugliese Carratelli<sup>117</sup> reveals, he wrote the α of ἀλλά over the κ of κ(αὶ ἀπόλλυμαι).

The end of 14 is a problem, since the scansion δότῃ (μ)μοι in E and Φ is very unwelcome before this enclitic. μοι is surely a later replacement for an adverb like ὄκα or αἶψα as seen in H and P, since it is natural for the initiate to focus on his or her own desperate need for water rather than on the mere necessity that he be given the water quickly. Hence μοι is a replacement; the fact that it prevails in all the shorter versions supports this assumption.<sup>118</sup> But it is not certain whether the archetype had ὄκα (H) or αἶψα (P); P seems generally more reliable, even though it is less complete. K<sup>7</sup> inserts τοι but is otherwise again fairly close to K<sup>4</sup>, since both have πῆν rather than πῆμ (but with παραπόλλυται ousting original καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι), repeats this verse at the end of the tablet (K<sup>7</sup>, b), but mostly as nonsense; the scribe seems to have been concerned to fill up the space on the leaf.<sup>119</sup>

15	ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ π[ ]έναι τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμ(ν)ῆς	(H 12)
	ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης	(P 9)
	Λψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πέναι τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης	(E 14)
	πῆν' ἀπὸ τῆς κρήνης	(Φ 11)

For ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ, see above on verse 9. The palmary reading πέναι τῆς in H, which divides πέναι either side of a gap around what must have been a pre-existing hole in the leaf, replacing the earlier reading πῆν οὐτῆς, is owed to Pugliese Carratelli.<sup>120</sup> E probably had the same, since προρέον is two letters too long for the space; Riedweg restored πέναι τῆς (with 19 letter-widths posited), Frel the rest. Φ's πῆν may reflect elided πέναι.<sup>121</sup> P replaces this peculiar infinitive, which will be discussed in §4 below, with the more familiar word προρέον from verse 9, where ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ preceded; again this suggests the misremembering of a memorized text. The end of H 12 was read by Sacco.

E transposes verse 13, 'but my race is of heaven, as you know yourselves', to follow 15, but it certainly belongs earlier, as we saw on 13. The initiate or the scribe (if they are not the same person) remembered it just in time, so that he could at least include it within the speech of the hero. Again, presumably, it was displaced because the writer had been anxious to get to the crucial line about thirst.

<sup>116</sup> Their reading δ' αῖος is disproved by the image in Tzifopoulos (n. 3), 19.

<sup>117</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (n. 8), 67. I confirmed this by inspecting the original in the Archaeological Museum of Volos.

<sup>118</sup> It is further replaced by μοι in M 1 and K<sup>3</sup>. Graf and Johnston (n. 15) read μοι in K<sup>3</sup> and K<sup>4</sup>, but Tzifopoulos' images (n. 3) show that these are misprints.

<sup>119</sup> I read ω rather than Tzifopoulos' γ because once again the scribe has written a V. The reading of these letters is very doubtful.

<sup>120</sup> G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Le lamina d'oro 'orfiche'* (Milan, 1993), 20.

<sup>121</sup> So A.C. Cassio, 'Da Elea a Hipponion e Leontinoi: lingua di Parmenide e testi epigrafici', *ZPE* 113 (1996), 14–20, at 16, followed by Bernabé (n. 3); Graf and Johnston (n. 15), 34 spell it πῆν [sic].

The use of the different sigmas in  $\Phi$ 's text  $\Theta\Xi\text{KPHNH}\text{C}$  has not been understood. As we saw on verse 4 above,  $\Phi$  employs the form  $\Sigma$  to denote the double sibilant -cc-, as in the Cretan lamellae. Hence its scribe intended  $\tau\eta\text{cc } \kappa\rho\eta\eta\gamma\kappa$ . This graph is not a mistake, except in our eyes, but a reflection of the two possible divisions of syllables ending in sigma: since these could be articulated as either  $\tau\eta\text{c} | \kappa\rho\eta | \nu\eta\text{c}$  or  $\tau\eta | \text{c}\kappa\rho\eta | \nu\eta\text{c}$ , ancient texts often double the sigma in this phonetic environment.<sup>122</sup>

- 16     καὶ δὲ τοὶ ἐρέδων  $\text{ἡ}\text{υ}\text{π}\text{ο}\text{χ}\text{θ}\text{ο}\text{ν}\text{ῖ}\text{ο}\text{ι}$  βασιλῆϊ                     (H 13)  
        καὶ τοὶ δῆ  $\text{ἑ}\text{ρ}\text{έ}\text{ρ}\text{ε}\text{ο}\text{υ}\text{σ}\text{ιν}$  ὑποχθόνιω βασιλῆϊ                 (E 16)

In E Bernabé conjectured  $\text{καὶ τοὶ δῆ}$  (or, too drastically,  $\text{καὶ τότ}\text{᾽}(\text{ε}) \text{δῆ}$ )<sup>123</sup> to replace Frel's original transcription  $\text{καὶ τοὶ ᾶν}$ . However, in both sources  $\text{τοὶ}$  is better taken as the third person pronoun 'they' rather than the enclitic particle  $\text{τοὶ}$ . The nexus  $\text{δὲ τοὶ}$  in H is superior to E's reading  $\text{τοὶ δῆ}$ , because the sequence  $\text{τοὶ δῆ}$  never occurs in the early epic. The correct restoration  $\text{ἐρέουσιν}$ , replacing the earlier misreading  $\text{ἐλεδῶν}$  which has the wrong tense, is owed to Lazzarini.<sup>124</sup> The hiatus before  $\text{ἐρέουσιν}$  is caused by the trace of an initial digamma, which is well attested in the verb  $\text{ἐρέω}$ .<sup>125</sup> The epithet  $\text{ὑποχθόνιος}$  occurs only once in the extant early epos, in Hesiod, *Op.* 141, in the verse  $\text{τοὶ μὲν ὑποχθόνιοι μάκαρες θνητοὶ καλέονται}$ , but this shows that it is a perfectly acceptable word. The upright before it is presumably a half-written aspirate  $\text{ἱ}$ -. The restoration of  $\text{ἐρέουσιν}$  implies that a dative is needed in the second hemistich; we can interpret this as either  $\text{ἡ}\text{υ}\text{π}\text{ο}\text{χ}\text{θ}\text{ο}\text{ν}\text{ῖ}\text{ο}\text{ι}$   $\text{βασιλῆϊ}$  with Merkelbach,<sup>126</sup> or  $\text{ἡ}\text{υ}\text{π}\text{ο}\text{χ}\text{θ}\text{ο}\text{ν}\text{ῖ}\text{ο}\text{ι}$   $\text{βασιλεί}\langle\text{αι}\rangle$  with West.<sup>127</sup> However, although Bernabé prefers the latter, since it means that Persephone rather than Hades is in charge of the decision regarding the initiate, West's suggestion involves inserting two letters and is therefore less likely, whereas it is easy to interpret the letters that are actually present in H as  $\text{ὑποχθόνιω βασιλῆϊ}$ , particularly since a blank space follows.<sup>128</sup> The restoration of E is by Pugliese Carratelli (but with  $\text{ὑπὸ χθονίω}$  for some reason).

- 17     καὶ δὲ τοὶ δόδοι  $\text{πιῆν τᾶς Μναμοσύνας ἄπο λίμ}\text{'νας}$              (H 14)  
         $\text{καὶ τῶ}\langle\text{ί}\text{ο}\text{ι}\rangle \text{δ᾽ ὄ}\langle\text{ουσι}\rangle \text{πιεῖν θείης ἄπ}\langle\text{ὸ}\rangle \text{λίμ}\langle\text{ι}\rangle\langle\text{γ}\eta\text{c}\rangle$                  (P 10)  
        καὶ τότε  $\text{τ}\langle\text{ο}\text{ι}\rangle \text{δ᾽ ὄ}\langle\text{ουσι}\rangle \text{πιεῖν θείης ἄπο λίμ}\langle\text{ι}\rangle\langle\text{γ}\eta\text{c}\rangle$                  (E 17)

The start of 17 in H,  $\text{καὶ δὲ τοὶ}$ , is a mistaken reprise of the previous verse.<sup>129</sup> The repetition in H of  $\text{τᾶς Μναμοσύνας ἄπο λίμ}\langle\text{ι}\rangle\langle\text{γ}\eta\text{c}\rangle$  derives from verses 8 (Doricized) and 15 (Ionic); it resembles P's reprise at 15 of  $\text{προρέον}$  from 7.<sup>130</sup> The result is monstrously hypermetric, unless we were to follow Gallavotti in deleting  $\text{δὲ τοὶ}$  as a repetition of the

<sup>122</sup> For further examples of this gemination, and pertinent comments by ancient grammarians, see R. Janko, 'The hexametric incantations against witchcraft in the Getty Museum: from archetype to exemplar', in C.A. Faraone and D. Obbink, *The Getty Hexameters: Poetry, Magic and Mystery in Ancient Greek Selinous* (Oxford, 2013), 31–56, at 39 n. 35.

<sup>123</sup> Unfortunately he prints  $\text{δῆ}$  without subliterate asterisks.

<sup>124</sup> M.L. Lazzarini, 'Sulla laminetta di Hipponion', *Annali della Scuola Normale di Pisa* ser. 3, 17 (1987), 329–32, at 331.

<sup>125</sup> See above on verse 10.

<sup>126</sup> Merkelbach (n. 92), 9.

<sup>127</sup> West (n. 30), 233.

<sup>128</sup> G. Pugliese Carratelli, 'Ancora sulla lamina orfica di Hipponion', *PP* 31 (1976), 458–66, at 462.

<sup>129</sup> Some such confusion was suggested by Lloyd-Jones (n. 29), 225–6, and Gallavotti ([n. 33], 348) expelled  $\text{δῆ τοὶ}$  here.

<sup>130</sup> Bernabé (n. 3) reads  $\text{ἀπ}\langle\text{ὸ}\rangle$  in H 14, but Sacco's plate (n. 13) shows at least the left half of the o, and she does not even dot the letter.

previous verse. It is surely another error, which should not be imported into E, since P likewise has three syllables before δώουσι.<sup>131</sup> Accordingly, E's version καὶ τότε τ[οι] is preferable; compare Hom. *Od.* 4.480, καὶ τότε τοι δώουσι. Alternatively, Bernabé conjectured καὶ <δῆ> τ[οι], believing that P has fewer letters lost;<sup>132</sup> but since a rounded letter, lunate sigma or omicron, is also present, he could have proposed καὶ <δῆ> τοι. In the latter case the archetype would have been καὶ δῆ τοι. The enclitic τοι should be taken as 'to you'. Since it was not readily understood to mean σοι, and is easily open to misinterpretation as the pronoun τοί 'they', P may have remodelled the opening phrase to introduce, at the price of the crasis καὶτ[οι] (restored by Kaibel and found 3× in Homer), the more familiar form [c]οι (restored by Kaibel); if P had [τ]οι rather than [c]οι, the repetition entailed by the phrase καὶτ[οι] τ[οι] would be even more inept.

As for the rest of 17, the restoration of E is mine; from H, Riedweg had supplied δώουσι πιεῖν τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης, which is hypermetric just as in H, and Frel δώουσι τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης, which is ungrammatical. As we saw, the hypermetric insertion of Mnemosyne in H surely derives from 15 above. It is better to follow Franz's restoration of P, θεῖης ἀπ[ὸ] λίμ[ν]ης, and a supplement of this kind is supported by Φ, which is lapsing into prose, as its use of the article shows. The spelling πιειν in P for πιεν in H shows that the latter should be taken as πιεῖν rather than as elided πέν(αι) or πέν. Goettling's supplement in P, θεῖης ἀπὸ κρήνης, would reflect the syllabification of the composer's vernacular: in the early epic the group κρ- in the word κρήνη always makes position (21×). Hence θεῖης ἀπὸ λίμνης is preferable.<sup>133</sup>

18 καὶ δὲ καὶ εὐ πῖδν ἠοδὸν ἔρχεα(ι) ἡάν τε καὶ ἄλλοι (H 15)  
 19 μύ[ ]εται καὶ βάρχοι ἠεράν κτεῖχοι κλεε[ι]γοί (H 16)

The palmary reading εὐ πῖδν in H instead of the original transcription ευχνον was achieved independently by Gil,<sup>134</sup> Luppe<sup>135</sup> and Gallavotti,<sup>136</sup> and confirmed on the original. The phrase ὄδον ἔρχεα is paralleled only in the third person at *Hymn. Hom. Pyth. Ap.* 233, and the collocation ὄδον ... κτεῖχειν at *CEG* 1.28,1 (Attic epigram, vi B.C.), but the line-ending ἦν τε καὶ ἄλλοι is often paralleled in other cases in Homer. The enjambement ὄδον ... ἠεράν runs beyond verse 18 deep into verse 19, and is paralleled rarely, if at all, in the early epos.

The rest of 19 is paralleled only in general terms; note the hiatus after βάρχοι at the main caesura. Sacco's photograph shows that her reading κλε(ε)ιγοί is not the sole one possible, since there is a creased and broken area in the gold between the ε and the γ, with enough room even for κλεε[ν]γοί to be read.<sup>137</sup> However, the latter form would be unwelcome here, since κλεεινός is Aeolic and lyric. Neither form occurs in the early epic, but κλεεινός is a variant of κλεινός correctly formed according to the rules of Ionic dialect from \*κλεε[ν]ός. The paean in hexameters (and therefore evidently in

<sup>131</sup> It is so imported by Graf and Johnston (n. 15), 16.

<sup>132</sup> Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal (n. 2), 251.

<sup>133</sup> Franz (n. 8), 150; Goettling (n. 8). Edmonds (n. 3) incorrectly credits Riedweg (n. 7) with δώουσι.

<sup>134</sup> Gil (n. 43), 85.

<sup>135</sup> Luppe (n. 44), 25–6.

<sup>136</sup> Gallavotti (n. 33), 348.

<sup>137</sup> It was proposed by W. Burkert, 'Die neuen orphischen Texte: Fragmente, Varianten, Sitz im Leben', in W. Burkert, L. Gemelli Marciano, E. Matelli and L. Orelli (edd.), *Fragmentsammlungen philosophischer Texte der Antike* (Göttingen, 1998), 387–400, at 392, repr. in his *Kleine Schriften III* (Göttingen, 2006), 47–61.

the epic *Kunstsprache*)<sup>138</sup> that was supposedly composed by Socrates while he waited in prison for the Salaminia to return from its sacred voyage to Delos contains κλεινός. Diogenes Laertius quotes the start of this poem:

παιῶνα κατά τινος ἐποίησεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή  
Δήλι' Ἀπολλων χαίρει, καὶ Ἄρτεμι, παῖδε κλεινός.<sup>139</sup>

This is therefore a parallel contemporary with H.

**20** καὶ τ' ὅτ' ἔπειτ' ἄ[λλοισι μεθ'] ἠρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[ε] (P 11)  
καὶ τότε δ[ὴ πάντεσσι μεθ'] ἠρώεσσιν ἀνάξει (E 18)

The composition of **20** is perfectly acceptable as restored in P. καὶ τὸτ' ἔπειτ(α) occurs 6× in Homer, and ἀνάεω is common there in the sense 'rule'. Edmonds proposed [τέλη κύθ] ἠρώεσσιν ἀνάξει[ε], taking the verb as the future of ἀνάγω 'celebrate (a ritual)'.<sup>140</sup> This is implausible, since it is not an epic usage. He objects to the traditional translation on the ground that there is no parallel for heroes ruling in Hades. However, three heroes judge in Hades, namely Mίνος, Rhadamanthys and Aeacus; presumably they were thought to judge the other heroes, as well as the ordinary dead, and judging was in antiquity a major aspect of ruling. It is not clear whether E had a version of **18–19** or of **20**. Riedweg restored δ[ὴ] and proposed supplements based on each, but the start of the verse seems more likely to correspond to **20**; hence my supplement above.

West argued that the ending offered a choice between H's distich **18–19** and P's one-verse conclusion **20**. The version of H seems earlier and more interesting, and is followed by enough empty space to add at least one more line, although this would have had to be copied around two holes in the leaf. But it seems perfectly possible that **20** reflects the final state of the hero after he has travelled along the road that other initiates and *bacchoi* have previously trodden; in these texts, the general tendency is to abbreviate rather than to lengthen. If so, all three verses were in the archetype; abbreviation at the end is only to be expected—gold is an expensive material.

*i* κύμβολα φ[ (E 17)  
*ii* καὶ φε[ (E 18)  
*iii* εεν[ (E 19)

There follow at the end of E three lines that were quite possibly in prose, and do not form part of the versified directions to the initiate. Instead, they begin with κύμβολα and were presumably a list of magical passwords,<sup>141</sup> perhaps including a form of

<sup>138</sup> Cf. the hexametric paeon from Selinus, also in epic *Kunstsprache*, presently in the Getty Museum, first published by D.R. Jordan and R. Kotansky, 'Ritual hexameters in the Getty Museum: preliminary edition', *ZPE* 178 (2011), 54–62. See further Faraone and Obbink (n. 122); R. Janko, 'The hexametric paeon in the Getty Museum: reconstituting the archetype', *ZPE* 193 (2015), 1–10.

<sup>139</sup> Diog. Laert. 2.42. The form κλεινός is also known to Herodian, Theognostus and Eustathius, but apparently nowhere else.

<sup>140</sup> R.G. Edmonds III, 'Festivals in the afterlife: a new reading of the Petelia Tablet (*OF* 476.11)', in M. Herrero de Jáuregui, A. Jiménez San Cristóbal, E. Luján Martínez, R. Hernández, M. Santamaría Álvarez and S. Torallas Tovar (edd.), *Tracing Orpheus: Studies of Orphic Fragments* (Berlin and New York, 2011), 185–8. His integration is not adopted in Graf and Johnston's second edition (n. 15), 6.

<sup>141</sup> Bernabé (n. 3) well compares the lamella from Pherae, his fr. 493, which begins κύμβολα.

Table 2

1	Μνημοσύνης τόδε ἔργον· ἐπεὶ ἄν μέλλῃσι θανείσθαι, [ἐν χρυαῖσι] τόδε γραψ[άσθω μ]εμνημέ(ν)ος ἦρασ, [μὴ τόν γ' ἐκ]πύργλωσ ὑπά[γ]ο[ι] κότος ἀμφικαλύψας. εὐρήσεις Αἶδαο δόμων ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ κρήνην,
5	πάρ δ' αὐτῆι λευκῆν ἔστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσον, ἔνθα καταρχόμενα ψυχὰι νεκύων ψύχονται. ταύτης τῆς κρήνης μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἐμπελάσασθαι. πρόσθεν δ' εὐρήσεις τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φυλακοὶ δ' ἐτύπερθεν ἕασιν, οἱ δὴ ε' εἰρήσονται ἐν(ι) φρασί πευκαλίμησιν 10 οἷ τ(ι) δὴ ἐξερέεις Αἶδος σκότου ὀρφνήεντα. 11 {οἱ δὴ ε' εἰρήσονται ὅ τι χρέος εἰσαφικάνεις· 10a τοῖς δὲ εὐδ' μάλα πάσαν ἀληθείην καταλέξαι.} 11a τοῖς δὲ εὐδ' μάλα πάσαν ἀληθείην καταλέξαι.} 12 εἰπεῖν· “Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος, αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον· τὸ δὲ {δ} ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί. δίψῃ δ' εἰμ' αὐὸς καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἴψα 15 ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ πίνειαι τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης.” καὶ δὴ τοὶ ἐρέουσιν ὑποχθονίω βασιλῆι, καὶ τότε τοὶ δάουσι πιεῖν θείης ἀπὸ λίμνης. καὶ δὴ καὶ εὐδ' πίων ὄδον ἔρχεα(ι), ἦν τε καὶ ἄλλοι μύεται καὶ βάκχοι ἱερῆν στείχουσι κλεξι[ι]νοί, 20 καὶ τότε ἔπειτ' ἄ[λλοισι μεθ'] ἠρώεσσι ἀνάξει[ε].

fontes: lamellae E(ntellae), H(ipponii), P(eteliae), Φ (Pharsali): 1 E 1, H 1, P 12; 2 E 2, P 13; 3 E 3, P 14; 4 E 4, H 2, P 1, Φ 1; 5 E 5, H 3, P 2, Φ 2; 6 E 6, H 4; 7 E 7, H 5, P 3, Φ 3; 8 E 8, H 6, P 4, Φ 4; 9 E 9, H 7, P 5, Φ 5; 10 E 10, H 8; 11 E 11, H 9; 10a–11a Φ 6–7; 12 E 12, H 10, P 6, Φ 8; 13 E 15, P 7, Φ 9 (rescriptum); 14 E 13, H 11, P 8, Φ 10; 15 E 14, H 12, P 9; 16 E 16, H 13; 17 E 17, H 14, P 10, Φ 11; 18 H 15; 19 H 16; 20 E 18, P 11

\* = haec editio; [E] vel [P] = deest E vel P

1 Μνημοσύνης anon. in Brit. Mus. cat. ap. P: Μναμοσύνας H: [E] τόδε ἔργον Burkert ap. H: τοδεεργον H: τόδ(ε) ἔργλον Guarducci ap. P (τοδεν[ leg. Kaibel, τοδεργ[ vel τοδεργ[ Smith, sed nunc τοδε[ tantum legi): [E] ἐπεὶ ἄν Merkelbach: ἐπεὶ ἄμ H: ἐπὶν West: [EP] μέλλῃσι H: μέλλῃσι{ν} Riedweg ap. E (ἡνιον leg. Frel): [P] θανείσθαι Riedweg et Pleket ap. E (θαν[ἔ]σθαι Frel): θανέσθαι H: θανείσθαι Smith ap. P 2 ἐν χρυαῖσι Guarducci in lac. x litt. ap. P: ἐν δέλτοι Gallavotti: [E] γραψ[άσθω \*: γραψ[α Gallavotti: [E] μ[ε]μνημέ(ν)ος Riedweg ap. E: [P] 3 in initio desunt haud minores iv litt. ap. P, sed plures veri simillimum est hic deesse: [E] μὴ τόν γ' ἐκ]πύργλωσ ὑπά[γ]ο[ι] \* e P: [π]ογλωστυα[ legi (ο potius quam α): [π]ογλωστυα ω legit Smith a. 1882 (τ vel π; Σ] potius quam E]; ω vel ο, ubi spat. litt. ii nunc perit): [E] ἀμφικαλύψας H: ἀμφικαλύψαι ap. E leg. Frel: ἀμφικαλύψας Riedweg ap. E 4 εὐρήσ{c}εις δ' Franz ap. P: εὐρήσ{c}εις \* ap. Φ (sc. ΕΥΡΗΣΕΙC): εἰς H (εἰς 'ibis' intellexit Merkelbach, εἰς Pugliese Carratelli): [E] δόμων P: δόμοισ Φ: δόμοσ εὐρέας H: [E] ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ \*: ἔστ' ἐπὶ δ(ε)ξιᾷ Pugliese Carratelli ap. H: ἐνδέξια Φ: ἐπ' ἀριστερά P: ]δεξια E κρήνην PΦ: κρένα H: λίμνην E 5 αὐτῆι λευκῆν ἔστηκυῖαν PΦ: ἔστηκυ(ι)α Riedweg ap. E (ἔστη]κυῖα Frel): αὐτῶν ἑστακυ(ι)α λευκᾷ Marcovich ap. H κυπάρισσον EPΦ: κυπάρι(c)ος Pugliese Carratelli ap. H 6 ψκχα H<sup>ac</sup> νεκύων H 7 ταύτης τῆς κρήνης PΦ: ταύτας τᾶς κράνας Sacco ap. H (-ρκρ- lamella): [E] μηδὲ PΦ: μεδὲ H: ]δε E σχεδὸν ἐ(μ)πελάσ(α)σθαι Riedweg ap. E: σχεδὸν ἐμπελάσας P: σχεδὸθεν πελάσασθαι Φ: σχεδὸν ἐνγύθεν ἔλθεῖς H 8 πρόσθεν δ' ἡερέσεις H: πρόσσω δ' εὐρήσεις Φ: εὐρήσεις δ' ἑτέραν P: [E] τῆς P: τὰς H: τὸ Φ: [E] Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης EPΦ: Μναμοσύνας ἀπὸ λίμνας H 9 προρέον HP: προ(ρέον) Zuntz post Verdellis in Φ: [E] φυλακοὶ EΦ<sup>ac</sup>: φύλακες HPΦ<sup>ac</sup> δ' vel δ(ε)

(continued on next page)

- 1 This is the task of Memory. When a hero faces death,  
[let him] recall and get this graved [on gold],  
[lest] the murk cover [him] and lead [him] down in dread.  
On the right you'll find in Hades' halls a spring,  
5 and standing by it a white cypress-tree,  
where the dead souls descending cool themselves.  
Do not even come near to this spring.  
Further on you'll find cool water flowing  
from Memory's pool, but over it stand guards.  
10 They will ask of you with piercing mind  
11 what is your quest in Hades' gloomy murk.  
10a {They will ask of you why you have come;  
11a recount to them the whole truth well and good.}  
12 Tell them: "the child I am of earth and starry sky,  
but skyborn is my race; this you know yourselves.  
I'm parched with thirst and perishing; but give me fast  
15 cool water from the pool of Memory to drink."  
So they will ask the subterranean king;  
they then will let you drink out of the pool divine.  
So having drunk go on the sacred way  
that other glorious initiates and bacchants tread.  
20 Then after that you'll rule [among the other] heroes.

HPΦ: θ' E ἐπύπερθεν HΦ: ἐπύπε(ρ)θ(εν) Riedweg et Cassio ap. E (υποπεθ leg. Frel): ἐπίπροθ' ε'ν P ἔασιν PΦ: <ἔ>ασιν Riedweg et Cassio ap. E: ἔασι H 10 οἱ Zuntz ap. H (οἱ Merkelbach et Marcovich): [E] δῆ c' Merkelbach et Marcovich (cf. 10a): δε ce H, sc. δε c(ε): δε ce Pugliese Carratelli: [E] ἐν(ι) Merkelbach et Lloyd-Jones: ἐν H: [E] πευκαλίμη(ι)νιν Frel ap. E: πευκαλίμιαι H 11 ὄτ(τ)ι Guarducci post Pugliese Carratelli ap. H: [E] δέ Zuntz ap. H (δέ Pugliese Carratelli): [E] κότο]γ \* ap. E: ]μ leg. Frel ap. E: κτότος H: κτότο]c Riedweg ap. E ὄρφ{ο}νῆεντα \* ap. E (ουφονηεντα leg. Frel): ὄρφ{ο}νῆεντο(c) Riedweg ap. E: ὄρφ(ν)ἔεντο(c) Ebert ap. H 10a-11a vv. quos pro 10-11 finxit Φ ex archetypo omisi 10a οἱ δέ c' \* (cf. 10): οἱ δέ c' Merkelbach: οἱ δέ c' Zuntz: οἱ δέ c(ε) West: οἱ δέ c(ε) Bernabé: οἶδε c' Verdélis 11a τοῖς δέ Zuntz: τοῖςδε Verdélis 12 εἰπέιν PΦ: εἶπον H: [E] Γῆς παῖς εἰμι PΦ (παῖς Gallavotti, fort. recte): Γῆς παῖ(c) ἔμι Sacco ap. H: [E] Οὐρανοῦ EPΦ: Ὀρανό H ἀπερόεντος EHP: αετ~ Φ 13 versum hic praebet P: post 15 collocat E: om. H αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ γένος οὐράνιον P: αὐτὰρ ε[ E: Ἀετῆριος ὄνομα Φ τὸ δέ {δ} ἴτε καὶ αὐτοῖ P: om. Φ: [E] τὸ δέ {δ} West: τότε δ' Franz 14 δῖνηι PΦ: δῖνηα H: [E] εἰμ' Φ: ἔμ' H: εἰμ(ι) P: [E] αἶδος HΦ: αἶη P, ut fort. E propter spatium: [E] καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι HP: [κ] Φ: ]μα E ἀλλὰ EPΦ: ἀλ(λ)ὰ Pugliese Carratelli ap. H δότ' αἶψα P: δότ' ὄκκα Pugliese Carratelli ap. H: δότε μμοι E: δότε μοι Φ 15 πῆνα H, ut fort. E propter spatium: προρόεν P: [E] τῆς P: τῆς H: [E] λίμνης EP: λίμ(ν)ῆς Pugliese Carratelli ap. H 16 δῆ τοι \*: δέ τοι Pugliese Carratelli ap. H: τοὶ δῆ Riedweg post τοὶ δῆ Bernabé ap. E (τοι ἂν leg. Frel) ἐρέδιν Lazzarini ap. H: [E] ἠποχθονίῳ \* ap. H (τυπο-): [E] βασιλεῖτ Merkelbach ap. H: βασιλεί(α) West: [E] 17 καὶ τότε τῷ Bernabé ap. E (cf. Hom. Od. 4.480): καὶ δέ τοι H (δέ τοι deleverit Gallavotti): κοῦτῷ c]οι Kaibel ap. P (litt. Jo primus legi, sed ut ]c[ intellexit Bernabé, post quem καὶ (δῆ) τοι coniecerim): om. Φ δ' ὄκουσι πῆνιν P: δόδοσι πῆν H: πῆν Φ (πῆν Verdélis, πῆν' Cassio collato H 12): [E] θείης P: τὰς Μναμοσύνας H contra metrum: om. Φ: [E] ὀπὸ H: ὀπλό Franz ap. P: ὀπὸ τῆς{c} \* ap. Φ (sc. THΣ) contra metrum λίμνης Franz ap. P: λίμ' vac' H: κρήνης Φ: κρήνη Goettling ap. P 18-19 versum om. E 18 δέ cὺ πῶν H ἔρχεα(ι) Pugliese Carratelli ἦν \*: ἠάν H 19 βάχχοι H ἱερῆν \*: ἱεράν H κτείχῃ H κλεε[ι]γοι \* ap. H: κλε(ε)γοί Burkert et Merkelbach 20 versum om. H τὸτ' ἔπειτ' P: τότε δῆ Riedweg ap. E ἄ[λλοις Kaibel ap. P (τέλη Edmonds): [E] μεθ' suppl. Franz ap. P: [E] ἀνόξει[c Franz ap. P: [E] post 20 E 19-21 ex archetypo om. \*

Persephone's name that was particular to the rites.<sup>142</sup> They were probably not in the archetype.

### §3. THE ARCHETYPE AS RECONSTRUCTED

The analysis in §2 above results in the normalized archetype that is offered in Table 2, to which a verse translation is appended. In applying the subliterate asterisk to letters changed by an editor, I have not marked letters where the orthography has simply been adjusted to that of the Ionic alphabet or phenomena of *sandhi* have been removed: thus I print βάκχοι for βάχχοι, πίων for πιὸν, κτείχουσι for κτείχῳσι, and ἄν μ- for ἄμ μ-. The apparatus always gives the original orthography.

### §4. CONCLUSION

What can we learn about the author of the archetype of this poem, which is carefully composed and unified in outlook and diction? The original dialect is clearly that of Ionic epic, but it has certain distinctive forms. The most significant is the psilosis in ἐτύπερθεν, which shows that there is no Attic or Euboean influence; the dialect is psilotic Ionic. The use of νῦ ἐφέλκυτικόν at the verse-end, even before verses beginning with consonants, is consistent with an Ionic composer. The form φρακίν for φρεκίς is an archaism rather than a specifically Doric form.<sup>143</sup>

Alongside the standard East Ionic aorist infinitive πειν before a consonant in verse 17 stands a unique infinitive of πίνω, namely πέναι in verse 15. It is not clear whether this is an artificial formation or an inherited archaism. The only literary parallel for πέναι is πελέναι, which occurs twice in Parmenides, who was from the Phocaeen colony of Elea: B 8.11 DK, οὕτως ἢ πάμπαν πελέναι χρεῶν (read χρεῶν?) ἐστιν ἢ οὐκί, and B 8.45 DK, οὔτε τι βαιότερον πελέναι χρεῶν (read χρεῶν?) ἐστι τῆι ἢ τῆι. Until recently everyone had regarded πελέναι as an artificial form, based perhaps on ἔμμεναι. Cassio has now adduced a new inscription on a *skypbos* from the district of Leontini in Sicily, published by Manganaro.<sup>144</sup> This dates from c.500–475, and contains the present infinitive κλεπτέναι. It is thus exactly parallel to πελέναι, since this too is a thematic verb. Cassio suggested that it was created by analogy with the pair τιθέναι — τιθεῖν, which, as he noted, occurs only in West Ionic (Euboean). He argues that Parmenides took this form from his vernacular, and explained it as a feature of a dialect where a West Ionic dialect has been mixed with East Ionic. If πέναι was an artificial creation, it is open to the same explanation, and points towards Southern Italy and Sicily as the place where the archetype was created, even though it was in East Ionic dialect.<sup>145</sup>

However, πέναι may in fact be an old East Greek form, since the infinitive of athematic verbs in -ναι is actually the outcome of -εναί. Compare Cypriot δοφέναι for δοῦναι and the presence of -ε- in ιέναι. Thus εἶναι is contracted from an original form \*esenai.<sup>146</sup> πίνω was originally a -μι verb ending with the Indo-European

<sup>142</sup> Bernabé (n. 3) proposed Φε[ρσεφόνη(τ)], Chaniotis Φε[ρσεφάσα [sic] (A. Chaniotis and J. Mylonopoulos, 'Epigraphic bulletin for Greek religion 1997', *Kernos* 13 [2000], 127–237, at 172).

<sup>143</sup> It is in *CEG* 28 (epigram, Attica, vi B.C.).

<sup>144</sup> G. Manganaro, 'Sikelika I', *QUCC* 49 (1995), 93–109.

<sup>145</sup> Cassio (n. 121).

<sup>146</sup> H. Rix, *Historische Grammatik des Griechischen* (Darmstadt, 1976), 238.

*o*-coloured laryngeal \**H*<sub>3</sub>, seen in Vedic *pibati* with root-aorist *ápāt*. It can be reconstructed as original \**peyH*<sub>3</sub>-*mi*, which was then metathesized to \**peH*<sub>3</sub>*y-mi*,<sup>147</sup> which would in turn have developed into †*πῶμι*, had not analogical pressures led to its replacement by *πίνω* with a nasal suffix. Traces of the athematic verb survive in two imperative forms, *πῖθι*<sup>148</sup> and Lesbian *πῶθι*. The infinitive *πιέναι*, originally \**piH*<sub>3</sub>-*enai*, probably derives from the original aorist \**epieH*<sub>3</sub>-*m*, which, without the operation of analogy, would have become \**ἐπίων* (cf. *πῶθι* and *ἐβίων*). However, with Cassio one may ask why, if it is an archaism, it is not attested in Homer alongside the metrically similar Aeolism *πιέμεν*.<sup>149</sup>

In *Φ*'s truncated version of verse 15 *πιέναι* seems to turn into *πιεν*, which I interpret as its elided form, i.e. *πιέν' ἀπὸ τῆς {c} κρήνης*. The hyparchetype of the intermediate and short texts further condenses this into *πιέν μοι* to form the end of verse 14; since *πιέν* precedes a consonant, it can no longer be elided *πιέναι*. However, *πιέν* is a form familiar from inscriptions in Arcadian, a number of Doric dialects, including Heracleian, Argolic, Cretan, Theraean, Cyrenean and Coan, and possibly Cypriot. The fact that all the apographs of the shortest version come from Crete might seem to suggest that *πιέν* is originally a Cretan form, but this does not explain why the Thessalian text M has it. Also, Parmenides too uses *μιγέν* for the present infinitive of *μείγνυμι*.<sup>150</sup> Although Stein emended this to *μιγῆν*, and everyone accepts his emendation, this does not explain why Simplicius has *μιγέν*; indeed, the form *μιγῆν* is linguistically unacceptable.

Cassio may well be right that, despite its East Ionic dialect, the archetype derived from the West. This is plausible simply on the grounds that three of the four long texts come from there, whether or not *πιέναι* is an inherited archaism. Other linguistic arguments for the origin of the archetype are hard to find. The poet's readiness to maintain the metrical effects of initial prevocalic digamma is perhaps another indication that he was familiar with some kind of West Greek.

As for the date of composition, the author's use of the article, for example in *ταύτης τῆς κρήνης* (6) or *τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης* (8), is fully compatible with a date in the late sixth or fifth century, but helps us little. All we can say about his diction is that this use of the article seems later than that in most of the *Homeric Hymns*, but less innovative than that of Parmenides.

In conclusion, the archetype of this poem was the work of a skilful poet well versed in the epic tradition. There is little sign of the formulae and phrasing of post-Hesiodic composers like those of most of the *Homeric Hymns*, although we have seen a couple of parallels with the *Hymn to Apollo*, the Pythian part of which dates from the 580s B.C., whereas the composite poem was created by Cynaethus of Chios in 522/521 B.C. (Cynaethus later migrated to Sicily, where he died).<sup>151</sup> However, our poet is largely drawing on the texts of the eighth-century poems of Homer and Hesiod, which had a large diffusion in Magna Graecia by this time (rhapsodic contests were instituted at

<sup>147</sup> I thank my colleague Benjamin Fortson IV for information about laryngeal metathesis.

<sup>148</sup> Ar. *Vesp.* 1489.

<sup>149</sup> Cassio (n. 77), 187.

<sup>150</sup> 28 B 12.5 DK.

<sup>151</sup> W. Burkert, 'Kynaithos, Polycrates and the Homeric Hymn to Apollo', in G.W. Bowersock, W. Burkert and M.C.J. Putnam (edd.), *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies Presented to B.M.W. Knox* (Berlin, 1979), 53–62, repr. in his *Kleine Schriften I* (Göttingen, 2001), 189–97; Janko (n. 87), 112–15.

Syracuse in 504 B.C.).<sup>152</sup> However, he applied a large measure of his own creative use of the tradition. He was probably an East Ionian who migrated to southern Italy and promulgated his doctrine there, very probably in Orphic-Pythagorean circles. If we must put a name to him, one wonders whether he was actually Pythagoras of Samos. If such a proposal seems surprising in an article which has eschewed flights of fancy, we should recall that Pythagoras is a figure for whose existence the historical evidence is no weaker than it is for that of Socrates, since Pythagoras' contemporary Xenophanes refers to him.<sup>153</sup> As Pugliese Carratelli noted, whoever the author was, he may well have passed his verses off as the work of a legendary predecessor like Orpheus, to whom, according to Ion of Chios, Pythagoras attributed some of his own writings.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2.1, citing Hippostratus (*FGrHist* 568 F 5).

<sup>153</sup> DK 21 B 7.

<sup>154</sup> Pugliese Carratelli (n. 8) 16, cited above at n. 24, with 36 B 2 DK: Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χῖος ἐν τοῖς Τριαγμοῖς φησὶν αὐτὸν [*sc.* Pythagoras] ἔνια ποιήσαντα ἀνενεγκεῖν εἰς Ὀρφέα (Diog. Laert. 8.8); Ἴων δὲ ὁ Χῖος ἐν τοῖς Τριαγμοῖς καὶ Πυθαγόραν φησὶν εἰς Ὀρφέα ἀνενεγκεῖν τινα ἱστορεῖ (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.131).