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An “Orphic-Dionysiac” Gold Epistomion from Sfakaki near Rethymno

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The new inscribed gold *epistomion*, presented here, is one of four gold lamellae, the other three uninscribed, which were found during rescue excavations in the property of Markos Polioudakis in the region of Sfakaki, some 8 km east of Rethymno¹. The excavations, undertaken by the 25th Ephoreia and the archaeologist Irimi Gavrilaki from December 1988 to June 1989, revealed 26 graves of a Roman cemetery². In 1995-96 another rescue excavation was carried out by the 25th Ephoreia and the archaeologists Stella Kalogeraki and Niki Tsatsaki, who in the property of Michael Pyrgarousis, immediately to the east of the property of Markos Polioudakis, revealed 30 more graves of the same Roman cemetery, among them, in Tile-grave I a fifth gold lamella inscribed with a longer text³. The region of Sfakaki is in close proximity to the archaeologically better known sites of Stavromenos and Chamalevri, where thanks to the excavations by the 25th Ephoreia extensive settlement(s) are gradually coming to light⁴. Unfortu-

1 We are grateful to Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki in charge of the 25th Ephoreia for permission to publish the *epistomion*, the staff in the Rethymno Museum for facilitating our study, Ms. Amanda Kelly for the drawing of the *epistomion*, and to S. Alexandrou and A. Christoforakis for the photographs. For their invaluable suggestions, comments and criticisms we are indebted to Professors P. Themelis, N. Chr. Stampolidis, A. Chaniotis, S. A. Frangoulidis, and to the editor G. Touchais and the referees D. Viviers and D. Jordan.

2 For preliminary reports see: I. GAVRILAKI, *AD* 43 (1988), B'2, p. 557-558; *ead.*, “Σφακάκι Παγκαλοχωρίου”, *Κρητική Εστία* 4 (1991-93), p. 239-241 with plates; and *ead.*, *AD* 44 (1989), B'2, p. 457-460. For some of the glass objects from the graves see: *ead.*, “Γυάλινα αγγεία των Ρωμαϊκών χρόνων από νεκροταφεία του Νομού Ρεθύμνης”, *Πρακτικά του Β' Συνεδρίου Μαργαριτών Ν. Ρεθύμνης*, 26-28 Σεπτεμβρίου 1997, (forthcoming). Rescue excavations in three different properties of the same region have also revealed three Hellenistic graves, 44 Hellenistic and Roman rock-cut graves, and a number of rooms,

dated later than the Roman cemetery, for which see M. ANDREADAKI-VLAZAKI, *AD* 36 (1981), B'2, p. 404; and *ead.*, “Σφακάκι Παγκαλοχωρίου”, *Κρητική Εστία* 5 (1994-96), p. 251.

3 We are grateful to Stella Kalogeraki and Niki Tsatsaki for sharing information in advance of publication. This fifth inscribed gold lamella belongs to the category of the Orphic-Dionysiac lamellae with longer texts and therefore will be published separately.

4 Thus far, the evidence indicates settlements of four periods: 2000-1900, 1400, 1200-1100 B.C. and the fourth century A.D.; for a recent overview of the ongoing excavations in this area with references to earlier bibliography see: M. ANDREADAKI-VLAZAKI, *Κρητολογικά Γράμματα* 11 (1995), p. 369-379; and *ead.* and E. PAPAPOULOU, “LMIII A1: Pottery, Chronology and Terminology”, *Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens* 1 (1997), p. 111-155. Eva Tegou of the 25th Ephoreia, to whom we are grateful, kindly informs us that her ongoing excavations in Chamalevri are now revealing buildings of the late Classical - early Hellenistic period as well.

nately, evidence from Sfakaki is still too inconclusive to support its identification with any known ancient settlement, but possibilities are Pantomatrion or Allaria, with which Stavromenos and Chamalevri, respectively, are tentatively identified⁵.

Context and Chronology

The part of the Roman cemetery at Sfakaki, excavated by Iriini Gavrilaki, comprised 26 unlooted cist- and pit-graves and one pithos-burial, which were cut into a strip of land *ca* 7 m in width in an east-west direction, only *ca* 30 m from the shore. Cist-grave 1 was constructed by rectangular slabs probably in second use as one of the covering slabs indicates, and it is preserved in a good condition, although earth had fallen inside, probably because the western slab had slid eastwards. The skeleton was found in an extended supine position with the head to the east and leaning to the north towards the sea, and Chryssoula Bourbou's study of the remains has shown that the deceased was a young adult 25-35 years old, probably male⁶. In addition to the *epistomion*, the few other grave-goods, gathered in the west-southwest part of Cist-grave 1 (fig. 1), consisted of: a clay (Π 5198) and a bronze (M 938) prochous, a clay unguentarium (Π 6624) and an aryballos-shaped lekythion (Π 22561), two glass phialai (Υ 120, Υ 217), a bronze strigil (M 919)⁷, an obsidian flake (Α 685), and a bronze coin found on the skeleton's chest (N 665).

5 For the topographical identifications see the recent summaries with earlier bibliography by: M. ANDREADAKI-VLAZAKI, (above, n. 4), p. 367-369; and P. J. PERLMAN, "Πόλις Ὑπήκοος. The Dependent Polis and Crete", in M. H. HANSEN (ed.), *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis. Symposium August 23-26, 1995. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 3. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskaberne Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser* 74 (1996), p. 233-287, esp. 282-285.

6 We are grateful to the anthropologist Ms. C. Bourbou for the examination of the skeletal remains and for her report: The fragmentary state of the skeleton and its poor preservation do not allow secure identification of sex, since the pelvis and the cranium are missing, but the few fragments of the cranium preserved point to a male (?). The age is determined by the dental attrition of the teeth's surface of the mandible and also by the ossified epiphyses, which indicate a young adult 25-35 years old. The burial conditions and especially the composition of the soil were mainly responsible for the erosion on the surface of the bones.

Taphonomic Observations: erosion on the surface of the bones.

Summary of Pathological Conditions: Schmorl's nodes; osteoarthritis of the spine; dental (enamel) hypoplasia.

Skeletal Remains of: Skull (Mandible Head left, Mandible Ramus left, Mandible Body a right fragment); Vertebrae (C1 a small left fragment; C2 left fragmentary; C3 left, C4 left C5 left; L1 left, L2 left, L3 left, L4 left, L5 left); Clavicle (proximal end left and right); Humerus (midshaft left and right); Carpals (scafoid left and right); Metacarpals (three shafts

unidentified; 2nd right; 4th right with head missing), Phalanges (six); Femur (proximal end left epiphyses, right fragmentary; midshaft left and right); Tibia (proximal end left fragmentary; midshaft left and right).

Age: 1. Epiphyseal union (D. R. BROTHWELL, *Digging up Bones: the Excavation, Treatment, and Study of Human Skeletal Remains* [1981]) complete. 2. Dental eruption and development (*id.*, *ibid.*) complete. 3. Dental attrition (*id.*, *ibid.*) 25-35.

Adult Sex: Male? Cranium (Menton Male, Mastoid process Male).

Dentition: Permanent (Zsigmond system): Maxilla left 5 4 3 1, right 1 3 4 5; Mandible left 8 7 3 (enamel hypoplasia three lines), right 2 3 6 7 8. Total Number of Loose Teeth: a root.

Spinal Joint Disease: osteophytes and porosity T1 and T2 (superior body), T3 and T4 (superior and inferior body), T6 (inferior body); porosity T6 (superior body); osteophytes and Schmorl's nodes T7 (superior body); Schmorl's nodes T11 (superior body), L2 (inferior body), L3 (superior body), L4 (inferior body), L5 (superior body).

7 Strigils are very common as grave-goods, although they are not certain indicators for the sex or the 'athletic' status of the deceased: D. KURTZ, J. BOARDMAN, *Greek Burial Customs* (1971), p. 208, rightly caution, for example, that "some women might wash or exercise and use strigils" (p. 209); see also P. G. THEMELIS and J. P. TOURATSOGLU, *Οι τάφοι του Δερβενίου* (1997), p. 166-167 and n. 165-166 for strigils found in graves of females.

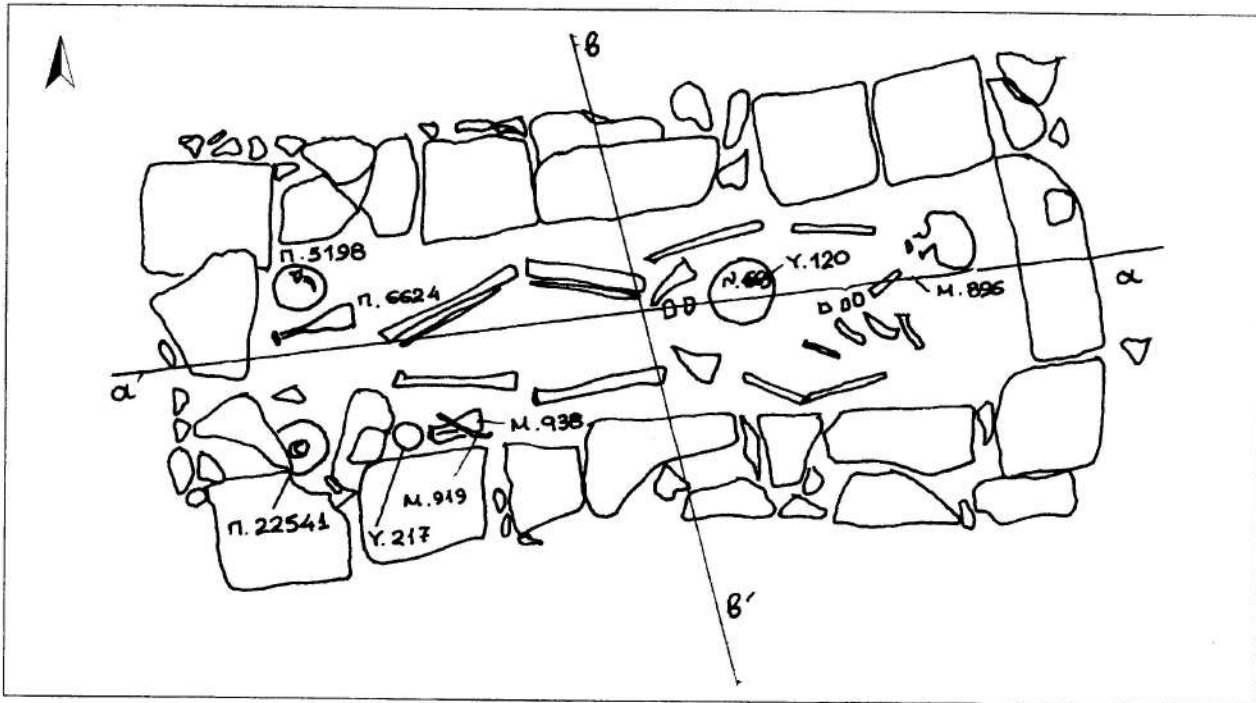


Fig. 1. Plan of Grave 1 open. Scale: 1:20 (drawing by I. Gavrilaki).



Fig. 2. Clay prochous, Π 5198 (photo by S. Alexandrou).



Fig. 4. Clay unguentarium, Π 6624 (photo by S. Alexandrou).



Fig. 3. Bronze strigil, M 919 (photo by S. Alexandrou).



Fig. 5. Glass phiale, Y 120 (photo by A. Christoforakis).

The bronze coin discovered on the chest of the skeleton, as well as the typology of the cemetery and the other grave-goods give Grave 1 a secure date in the last quarter of the first century B.C. and the first half of the first century A.D. The coin, a bronze diobolon of Augustus issued by the Alexandria mint in 30-28 B.C., is a rare issue, the numismatic epilogue of the Ptolemies immediately after the formal incorporation of Egypt into the Roman Empire, and an even rarer appearance in Crete. Its state of preservation indicates that it was used for a few decades before it was placed in Grave 1 as a charonian obol⁸.

Likewise, the excavated part of the cemetery and its typology reveal similarities with the cemetery of Roman times excavated in Agios Nikolaos⁹, and the grave-goods of Grave 1 that are preserved intact corroborate the date suggested by the coin. In particular, parallels from Tarsos and Paphos suggest a date in the first century A.D. for the clay prochous (fig. 2)¹⁰, while a similar one, but with narrower lip, from Ordoña is dated between 100-30/20 B.C.¹¹; the strigil (fig. 3) reveals similarities with a Siphnian one, dated in the first century A.D.¹²; the type of the unguentarium (fig. 4) appears in Cyprus from the first century B.C. to the middle of the first century A.D., whereas a similar one from the Athenian Agora is dated in the first half of the first century A.D.¹³; finally, the type of the glass phiale Y 120 (fig. 5) appears to have been in use from the late first century B.C. to the first half of the first century A.D., as its parallels in the Toledo Museum and in Turkey indicate¹⁴, while a parallel from Knossos narrows its date further from the age of Augustus to A.D. 50¹⁵.

The inscribed gold lamella (fig. 6) was discovered at the base of the skull. Both its shape, not rectangular, but ellipsoid in the shape of the mouth, and its findspot, at the base of the head where it had fallen, indicate that it was used as an *epistomion*, lip-band¹⁶. As can be surmised from the right edge, there were no holes through which would pass a string for fastening¹⁷. Perhaps its position on the lips of the deceased and its subsequent fall, as well as the earth that had fallen inside the grave, have caused the minor damages and the many wrinkles and rending on the surface and at the edges that the lamella has suffered, especially at its left edge where the upper part is missing.

8 The coins from this cemetery are being studied by Kleanthes Sidiropoulos to whom we are grateful for sharing in advance of publication the results of his study.

9 K. DAVARAS, "Ρωμαϊκό νεκροταφείο Αγίου Νικολάου", *AE* 1985, p. 130-216.

10 H. GOLDMAN, *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus I* (1950), p. 184-185, 251, n° 536, pl. 195; J. W. HAYES, *Paphos III: The Hellenistic and Roman Pottery* (1991), p. 149, 151, n° 28, pl. 54.

11 G. DE BOE, M. VANDERHOVEN, "Un lot de céramique du troisième quart du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C.", in J. MERTENS (ed.), *Ordoña VI* (1979), p. 120, n° 53, pl. 28.

12 G. MACKWORTH YOUNG, "The Roman Graves of the First Century A.D.", *ABSA* 44 (1949), p. 92, n° 24 (5), pl. 37, n° 11.

13 C. ABADIE-REYNAL, "Céramique romaine", in V. KARAGEORGHIS, O. PICARD, C. TYTGAT (eds), *La nécropole d'Amathonte, Tombes 113-367, II. Céramiques non chypriotes, Études Chypriotes VIII* (1987), p. 50, n° T 347/39, pl. 33, n° 4; E. LIPPOLIS (ed.), *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale Archeo-*

logico di Taranto III.1: Taranto. La Necropoli: aspetti e problemi della documentazione archeologica tra VII e I sec. A.C. (1995), p. 260, pl. 194, n° G, and p. 230; H. S. ROBINSON, *The Athenian Agora V: Pottery of the Roman Period, Chronology* (1959), p. 31, n° G, p. 97, pl. 5.

14 D. F. GROSE, *The Toledo Museum of Art, Early Ancient Glass* (1989), p. 330, n° 560; C. S. LIGHTFOOT, "Some Examples of Ancient Cast and Ribbed Bowls in Turkey", *JGS* 35 (1993), p. 22-37.

15 L. H. SACKETT, *Knossos from Greek City to Roman Colony, ABSA Suppl. 21* (1992), p. 441, n° 51, pl. 338.

16 For the shapes of these lamellae and what they were meant to represent see the useful discussion of M. W. DICKIE, "The Dionysiac Mysteries in Pella", *ZPE* 109 (1995), p. 84-86; and also below, n. 32.

17 See the drawing in A. VON SALIS, "Antiker Bestattungsbrauch", *MH* 14 (1957), p. 89-99, 98, Abb. 8; and also R. GARLAND, *The Greek Way of Death* (1985), p. 23-24, 138; and D. KURTZ, J. BOARDMAN (above, n. 7), p. 210-213. For survivals of the custom of *epistomia* made out of clay see:



Fig. 6. Gold *epistomion*, enlarged (photo by S. Alexandrou).



Fig. 7. Gold *epistomion* (drawing by A. Kelly).

Inscription (fig. 7)

Rethymno Museum (M 896).

H. 0.012 (left)-0.018 (center), W. 0.075, Th. less than 0.001, L.H. 0.002-0.004, Weight: 0,4 gr.
25 B.C. - A.D. 40

Πλούτωνι...
Φερσεφώνη

The letters on the *epistomion* give the impression that they have been pressed, although especially towards the end of each line the strokes seem to have been incised. They do not follow a straight line: in line 1 the *pi* and *lambda* lean to the left, and in line 2 the first two letters are cut considerably lower than the rest which are aligned with the upper part of *rho*. In both lines between the second and third letter there is left vacant (?) half a letter-space.

The letters are carefully inscribed, but their forms, especially the rectangular *epsilon* and the four-bar *sigma*, are not cursive, as one would expect at this period and as is the case in the other Cretan lamellae, which perhaps should be dated later than third/second century B.C. (*IC* II. xii [Eleutherna].31, 31bis; xxx [Loci Incerti].4; and below, n. 53).

I. KANONIDIS, "Σωστική ανασκαφή στο χώρο της πλατείας Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών (Διοικητηρίου)", *AEMΘ* 4 (1990), p. 262-263 for the 13th century A.D.; and M. GIANNOPOULOU, S. DEMESTICHA, *Τσκαλαριά. Τα εργαστήρια αγγειοπλαστικής της περιοχής Μανταμάδου Λέσβου* (1998), p. 74-75 (with photograph) for the modern period; as Ms. Betty

Psaropoulou, to whom we are indebted, informs us, in Mandamados on Lesbos and other parts of Greece, on the clay *epistomion*, usually from a tile, but also from any clay object of the house, a cross or the symbol I(ησοῦς) Χρ(ιστός) Νικῶ is incised or painted, and then it is placed on the mouth of the deceased just before inhumation.

The names of the two deities appear to have been inscribed symmetrically in the middle part of the *epistomion* (see also *IC II. XII [Eleutherna].31bis*). After the *iota* in line 1, it is very difficult to decide if the traces on the lamella are letter-strokes of the conjunction *καί*, or simply creases.

In the second line the spelling of Persephone's name with two aspirates, *Φερσεφόνη*, is not unusual¹⁸, and in Crete the rare form *Φερσοπόνη* with deaspiration of the second aspirate also occurs (restored by M. Guarducci in *IC II. XII.31bis* from Eleutherna on the basis of *IC II. XVI.10* from Lappa).

Commentary

The gold *epistomion* from Sfakaki brings to the fore two issues, especially relevant to the inscribed gold lamellae in general: 1) its laconic form and 2) its address in the dative case first to Plouton and then to Persephone, the latter of whom appears more frequently than the former in the gold lamellae.

In addition to the so-called Orphic-Dionysiac lamellae whose texts are considerably longer¹⁹, eleven gold lamellae with one or two words have been published so far²⁰, all dated in

18 In pre-Roman Attic inscriptions it is the normal spelling together with the Attic form *Φερρέφαττα* for which see L. THREATTE, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions 1: Phonology* (1980), p. 449-451; for the epic *Περσεφόνη* see N. J. RICHARDSON, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (1974), p. 170.

19 The older lamellae are collected and extensively discussed by G. ZUNTZ, *Persephone. Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia* (1971). For the publications of the recent discoveries see: G. FOTI, G. PUGLIESE CARRATELLI, "Un sepolcro di Hipponion e un nuovo testo orfico", *PP* 29 (1974), p. 91-126, the Hipponion lamella; J. BRESLIN, *A Greek Prayer* (1977), the Getty Museum lamella from Thessaly; K. TSANTANOGLOU, G. M. PARASSOGLU, "Two Gold Lamellae from Thessaly", *Hellenika* 38 (1987), p. 3-16, the lamella from Pelinna in Thessaly; and the new lamella from Pheres P. CHRYSOSTOMOU, "Εν(ν)οδία, Ενοδία Εκάτη, Εκάτη Ενοδία", in *Θεσσαλία, δεκαπέντε χρόνια αρχαιολογικής έρευνας, 1975-1990: αποτελέσματα και προοπτικές* (1994), p. 339-346, 344 (photograph); and publication *id.*, *Η Θεσσαλική θεά Εν(ν)οδία ή Φεραία θεά*, Ph.D. Diss. University of Thessalonike (1991), p. 375-397, (and *Bull.* 1997, 285). The bibliography on these texts is quite extensive; we found most profitable: R. JANKO, "Forgetfulness in the Golden Tablets of Memory", *CQ* 34 (1984), p. 89-100; F. GRAF, "Dionysiac and Orphic Eschatology: New Texts and Old Questions", in T. H. CARPENTER, C. A. FARAONE (eds), *Masks of Dionysus* (1993), p. 239-258; W. BURKERT, "Bacchic *Teletai* in the Hellenistic Age", *ibid.*, p. 259-275; S. G. COLE, "Voices from Beyond the Grave: Dionysus and the Dead", *ibid.*, p. 276-295. The recent bibliography may be found under the lemmata "Orphics" and "Orphism", in A. CHANIOTIS, "Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion (EBGR)",

Kernos 4 (1991), p. 287-311; 5 (1992), p. 265-306; 6 (1993), p. 309-342; 7 (1994), p. 287-354; 8 (1995), p. 205-266; 9 (1996), p. 347-400; 10 (1997), p. 249-314; 11 (1998), p. 265-369.

20 The number is not definitive as more lamellae, inscribed with long or short texts are reported to have been discovered in Pella (A. PARIENTE, *BCH* 14 [1990], p. 787); in Sourada Lesbos among other grave-goods "an inscribed gold sheet with an Orphic text" has been discovered in a Hellenistic cist-grave (*AR* 1988-89, p. 93); in Agios Athanasios, near Thessalonike, in a looted tomb a few objects, among them a gold lamella, carelessly inscribed, were reported by Ph. PET-SAS, *AD* 22 (1967), B'2, p. 399-400, fig. 21 = "Χρονικά Αρχαιολογικά 1966-1967", *Μακεδονικά* 9 (1969), p. 167-168, pl. 75 b; and in Lissos, Crete, N. PLATON, "Χρονικά", *KretChron* 12 (1958), p. 466 reported the discovery of an inscribed gold leaf, which U. BULTRIGHINI, "Divinità della salute nella Creta ellenistica e romana. Ricerche preliminari", *RCCM* 35 (1993), p. 49-118, 107 and n. 137 describes as "una lamina orfica d'oro d'epoca ellenistica, con un'iscrizione dedicatoria ad Asclepio: una curiosa comistione di elementi funerari e culto di salute (Museo di Chania, n. inv. M 264)", and which he compares to the other ones from Eleutherna (below, n. 31). We are indebted to Eleutherios Platon and Maria Andreadaki-Vlazaki for their kind permission to examine the text on this gold lamella, and to Anna Mylona and the staff in the Chania Museum for facilitating our study. The text, as its publication will show, is not Orphic, but a dedicatory inscription to Asclepios, and, therefore, it should not be associated with the Eleutherna lamellae. Uninscribed gold lamellae are reported in: *Ancient Macedonia: Catalogue of the Exhibition in Australia* (1988), p. 196, n° 130, 201, n° 139, 269, n° 218;

the fourth and third centuries B.C. Six of them have only the name of the deceased²¹: Εὐξένα²² and Φιλημήνα²³ from ancient Elis, Φυλομάγα from Methone²⁴, Φιλοξένα²⁵ and Ἥγησισκα²⁶ from Pella, Βοττακός from Paionia²⁷. Three lamellae from Aigion are inscribed: μύστης²⁸, Δεξιλαος μύστας, and Φίλων μύστας²⁹, and one from Pella reads³⁰:

Φερσεφώνη
Ποσειδίππος μύστης
εὐσεβής

Finally, a lamella from Eleutherna, perhaps from one of the graves where the 'Orphic' lamellae were found³¹, reads as restored by M. Guarducci (*IC* II. XII.31bis = Zuntz n^o [B9]):

K. LAZARIDOU, "Νομός Χαλκιδικής. Πολύγυρος: Νεκροταφείο στο Καστρί", *AD* 43 (1988), B'2, p. 361, pl. 213β; P. CHRYSOSTOMOU, "Ο Μακεδονικός τάφος Β' της Πέλλας", *AEMΘ* 6 (1992), p. 141-142, 149, n^o 10; M. TSIMBIDOU-AVLONITI, "Ταφικός τύμβος στον Αγ. Αθανάσιο Θεσσαλονίκης: νέα ανασκαφικά στοιχεία", *AEMΘ* 6 (1992), p. 373, 379, n^o 5; *ead.*, "Ταφικός τύμβος στον Αγ. Αθανάσιο Θεσσαλονίκης: η ολοκλήρωση της έρευνας", *AEMΘ* 7 (1993), p. 252; Th. ΣΑΝΝΟΥΡΟΥΛΟΥ, "Επαρχία Κιλκίς-Αξιτοχώρι", *AD* 47 (1992), B'2, p. 390-391; and V. NINIΟΥ-KINDELI, "Κιβωτιόσχημος τάφος της Ρωμαϊοκρατίας στο Επανοχώρι Σελίνου", *Κρητική Εστία* 1 (1987), p. 20-21, pl. 3: the uninscribed gold *epistomion* (?) of the Roman period, larger than lifesize, was found in Epanochori-Selinou, in the wider area of ancient Elyros, but, as Niniou-Kindeli herself suggested, it may have been the middle part of a diadem for the forehead of the deceased, since two longer gold bands were found near the cranium, which were fitted together, as is indicated by the holes they bear.

21 M. BESIOS, "Ανασκαφές στη βόρεια Πιερία, 1992", *AEMΘ* 6 (1992), p. 247, reports that in Alykes Kitros of northern Pieria two gold coins of Philip II were discovered inside two identically decorated graves in the mouths of a female and a male, inscribed with the names: Ξεναρίστη and Ἄνδρων. It is possible that the deceased in these graves were also initiates who, either for lack of a gold lamella or some other reason, employed two gold coins on which they inscribed their names, a case which would combine in a unique way Charon's coin and the gold 'mystic' lamella. For recent graffiti on coins see *Bull.* 1992, 126, 192; and in general M. R. ALFÖLDI, *Antike Numismatik I: Theorie und Praxis* (1978), p. 37-38, 228. For their numismatic assistance we are indebted to Angelos Chaniotis and Katerini Liampi.

22 G. A. PΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *AD* 24 (1969), B'1, p. 153, pl. 153β; a color photograph in N. YALOURIS, *Αρχαία Ἡλις. Το λίκνο των Ολυμπιακών αγώνων* (1996), p. 128-129.

23 P. THEMELIS, "Ο τάφος τῆς Ἡλείας Φιλημήνας", in *Γ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική. Χρονολογημένα Σύνολα - Εργαστήρια, 24-27 Σεπτεμβρίου 1991, Θεσσαλονίκη* (1994), p. 146-158, pl. 75-88, esp. p. 148, 154, pl. 82b: the name, with letter-shapes of the third century B.C., was inscribed on a gold myrtle-leaf with stem, which was employed as "danake",

since no coin was found and the leaf was discovered under the cranium. Themelis appropriately calls attention to the function of the inscribed leaf as a token of recognition by the Underworld deities, whereas the funerary stelai address the passers-by (p. 154).

24 M. BESIOS, *AD* 41 (1986), B', p. 142-143.

25 M. LILIMBAKI-AKAMATI, "Από τα νεκροταφεία της Πέλλας", *AEMΘ* 3 (1989), p. 95.

26 *Ead.*, "Από την τοπογραφία και τα νεκροταφεία της Πέλλας", *AEMΘ* 6 (1992), p. 127-128.

27 Th. ΣΑΝΝΟΥΡΟΥΛΟΥ, "Ο Β' ταφικός τύμβος της Τούμπας Παιονίας", *AEMΘ* 6 (1992), p. 425-431.

28 I. A. PΑΡΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΥ, *AD* 32 (1977), B'1, p. 94, pl. 63β.

29 L. PΑΡΑΚΟΣΤΑΣ, *AD* 42 (1987), B'1, p. 153.

30 M. LILIMBAKI-AKAMATI (above, n. 25), p. 95, and the recent discussions of M. W. DICKIE (above, n. 16), p. 81-86; *id.*, "Which Poseidippos?", *GRBS* 35 (1994), p. 373-383; and L. ROSSI, "Il testamento di Posidippo e le laminette auree di Pella", *ZPE* 112 (1996), p. 59-65.

31 Although H. VERBRUGGEN, *Le Zeus Crétois* (1981), p. 89 and n. 94 has suggested that "[i]a petite lamelle en or de la grotte de l'Ida (*IC* I.xii.8) et une quatrième lamelle d'Eleutherna (*IC* II.xii.31bis) n'appartiennent pas non plus à cette série", i.e. the longer 'Orphic' lamellae. The exact location of the seven Cretan lamellae, six of which have almost identical inscriptions, is not known. M. Guarducci, drawing on F. Halbherr's notes, includes four lamellae among the inscriptions from Eleutherna, because they were found (*IC* II. xii.31, p. 168): "non longe ab Eleutherna et quid loco *Alphá* (ita Halbherr, in schedis; qui de hoc a nonnullis loci illius incolis se certiorum factum esse adfirmat), in sepulcreto aliquo..." (see also *IC* II.xii.31 bis, p. 170). The lamella in the Herakleion Museum was published by Guarducci among the inscriptions of *Loci Incerti* (*IC* II.xxx.4, p. 314), because: "in Cretae regione *Mylopótamos* appellata reperta est (e quo potissimum loco prodierit non constat)..." although chances are this lamella came also from the same cemetery as the other ones: not only the text of this lamella is identical with the other three, but Eleutherna and/or *Alphá* are located in the lower *Mylopótamos* (GRAF'S reference [above, n. 19, p. 255, 258] to the lamella from *Mylopetra* in Crete [B6] must be a typographical error for *Mylopótamos*). Two more Cretan lamellae in the collection of H. Stathatos were found folded, according to the seller, "in graves near Eleutherna" (N. M. VERDELIS, "Ορφικά ελάσματα εκ Κρήτης", *AE*

[Πλού]τωνι καὶ Φ-
[ερσ]οπόνει χαίρεν.

Clearly, the text on the lamella from Sfakaki is almost identical with the one from Eleutherna, except for the spelling and the infinitive χαίρεν, and both these concise Cretan texts address Persephone in the dative, as does the Poseidippos lamella from Pella.

That all these abbreviated texts on gold lamellae form a special group within the Orphic-Dionysiac series of longer texts is more than evident³². In his recent discussion of the Poseidippos lamella³³, M. W. Dickie has argued convincingly that all these short texts on gold leaves should be understood as carrying essentially the same message as the longer Orphic-Dionysiac ones — those with just the name of the deceased being the most abbreviated form of this message. According to Dickie, the Pelinna lamella's first two lines are crucial for the interpretation of this group of texts, because line 2 offers a parallel: Persephone in the dative and the infinitive εἰπεῖν³⁴:

νῦν ἔθανες καὶ νῦν ἐγένου, τρισόλβιε, ἄματι τῶιδε
εἰπεῖν Φερσεφόνα σ' ὅτι Βά[κ]χιος αὐτὸς ἔλυσε.

Therefore, Persephone's name in the dative in Poseidippos' lamella must "mean something like 'Tell Persephone', or 'This is for Persephone's attention'"³⁵. The Cretan lamella's text corroborates this interpretation as the intended message of these abbreviated texts and offers an additional, slightly different alternative with the presence of the infinitive χαίρειν³⁶. Employed either as an infinitive of command or as object of an understood λέγω, χαίρειν must mean something like 'greetings (or I say greetings) to Persephone', the most natural form of address by the deceased upon meeting the Queen of the Dead³⁷. Moreover, as the standard opening of a

1953-54/II, p. 56). Although no systematic excavations have been undertaken and therefore the evidence is lacking, Eva Tegou of the 25th Ephoreia, to whom we are grateful, informs us that the Roman cemetery in the areas known as *Mnemata* and *Agia Elea* of the modern village Alphá is quite extensive, and therefore it appears to be the most likely candidate for the provenance of the Cretan lamellae. N. Chr. STAMPOLIDIS (*Ελευθέρνα. Τομέας III: 1. Γεωμετρικά – αρχαϊκά χρόνια και Οδηγός στην Έκθεση "Το γεωμετρικό-αρχαϊκό νεκροταφείο της Ορθής Πέτρας"* [1993], p. 21-23, 29-31; *id.*, *Ελευθέρνα. Από τη γεωμετρική και αρχαϊκή νεκρόπολη. Ταφικές πυρές και ομηρικά έπη* [1994], p. 142-147) has convincingly argued that these graves to the east and west of the river Geropotamos, into which flow the two streams of Eleutherna, are placed at Eleutherna's natural passages from the north: Alphá is some 4 km north of Eleutherna and is approximately half way between Eleutherna and Panormos on the north shore. For a recent rescue excavation that revealed a Roman bath in Alphá see: E. S. ΒΑΝΟΥ, *Κρητική Εστία* 5 (1994-96), p. 290-291.

32 One should also bear in mind that (olive- and/or ivy- leaves inscribed with just a name were used as "mantic votes/lots", as the narrative on the krater by the Sisyphos painter in München indicates, for which see M. TIVERIOS, *Μία "Κρίσις τῶν ὄπλων" τοῦ ζωγράφου τοῦ Συλέα* (1985), p. 49-56, pl. 5-6.

33 M. W. DICKIE (above, n. 16), p. 82-83.

34 K. TSANTSANOGLOU, G. M. PARÁSSOGLOU [above, n. 19], p. 10.

35 M. W. DICKIE (above, n. 16), p. 82.

36 C. SOURVINOU-INWOOD, *Reading Greek Death to the End of the Classical Period* (1996), p. 180-216, has convincingly argued that *chaire* is employed in addresses only to 'the living', i.e. living humans, the gods and the heroes, and when addressed to the deceased, especially before the fourth century B.C., these are heroized/deified dead, because *chaire* "was felt to include the wish 'be well/rejoice'" (p. 207); for the use of *chaire* in an 'Orphic' text (ZUNTZ'S tablet A4) see her discussion in p. 195-197. For addresses in Greek prose in general see E. DICKEY, *Greek Forms of Address from Herodotus to Lucian* (1996).

37 As proposed by M. GUARDUCCI, "Nuove riflessioni sulla laminetta orfica di Hipponion", *RFIC* 93 (1985), p. 385-397. C. GALLAVOTTI, "Revisione di testi epigrafici", *BollClass* 9 (1988), p. 28-31, has argued instead that this brief text is not a salute to the gods of the Underworld, but an exhortation to the deceased to "rejoice in Plouton and Persephone," a plausible, but unlikely interpretation, in light of the longer texts which present a dialogue between the deceased and the Underworld deities. We presume that the expression "Greetings" also includes a wish for 'joy and well-being', as C. SOURVINOU-INWOOD (above, n. 36), p. 207-216 has demonstrated.

letter consisted of the sender in the nominative + the addressee in the dative + the infinitive *χαίρειν*³⁸, these inscribed gold leaves may have been imitations of the typical beginning of an *'epistula'*, in this case delivered in person by the deceased or his/her pleader, whose message, perhaps being easily understood, need not be spelled out in detail. In the cases in which these gold lamellae were used as *epistomia*, the mouth of the deceased was, as it were, 'uttering' on his/her behalf the appropriate words, as Dickie aptly put it (above, n. 16, p. 83). Some were found on the chest or near the arm of the deceased³⁹, in which case they probably performed the duty of an *'epistula'* to be read in the presence of the deceased either by the Underworld power, or perhaps by an intercessor.

These few words must have been most probably the beginning of the dialogue upon encountering the divinity below. Both Cretan lamellae, that of Poseidippos, and by implication the other brief ones as well, seem to belong to the dramatic/narrative situation, well-known from the longer Orphic-Dionysiac texts⁴⁰, in which the deceased or his/her guide/advocate is engaged in dialogue with an Underworld power. There is, however, one essential difference: the eleven short texts are 'innocent', i.e. they do not reveal anything of the secrets the longer texts do, wherein may lie further justification for their brevity. As has been stressed more than once concerning the longer texts, these inscribed lamellae were never meant to be read by other humans, certainly not by the uninitiated⁴¹. Their inscriptions in the narrative form of advice, acclamation, order, and of the words to be uttered were for the *exclusive* use of the deceased alone in his Underworld journey. All the more so, since, as S. G. Cole has demonstrated, the message the gold lamellae with the longer texts convey is very different from the "public evidence for Bacchic beliefs about death and existence after death"⁴², and what initiation in the Dionysiac mysteries meant.

38 LSJ s.v. "χαίρω III1c": "inf[initive] alone at the beginning of letters, Κύρος Κουαζάρη χαίρειν (sc. λέγω)". For this epistolary formula see: G. A. GERHARD, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des griechischen Briefes, I. Die Formel ὁ δεῖνα τῷ δεῖνι χαίρειν", *Philologus* 65 (1905), p. 27-65; and the examples from a variety of epistolary papyri of the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. (familiar, business and official letters, petitions, complaints, applications) collected by: F. X. J. EXLER, *The Form of the Ancient Greek Letter of the Epistolary Papyri (3rd c. B.C.-3rd c. A.D.). A Study in Greek Epistolography* (1923, rpt. 1976), p. 23-68; for the origins of the *chaire* salutation see R. WACHTER, "Griechisch χαίρει: Vorgeschichte eines Grusswortes", *MH* 55 (1998), p. 65-75.

39 Unfortunately the excavators' preliminary reports seldom give details as to the exact findspot of these gold lamellae. For the longer texts see F. GRAF (above, n. 19), p. 257-258. Another related problem, raised by D. Jordan *per litteras* to whom we are also grateful for the bibliographical references, is that there is no archaeological evidence as to whether inscribed *epistomia* were placed with the inscription facing the mourner or the mouth of the deceased. Although the expected position of the *epistomion* would be the inscription facing the mourner/Underworld deity, lead, bronze and clay lids of funerary urns have been found in Arta and Ambrakia, inscribed with single names on the inside of the lid, as if

meant to be read by the deceased inside the urn, for which see: G. MILIADIS, "Ἀμβρακίας τάφοι", *AD* 10 (1926), p. 63-77; *BCH* 79 (1955), p. 267; I. K. TSIRIVAKOS, "Ἀνασκαφή ἐν Ἀμβρακίᾳ", *AD* 20 (1965), B'2, p. 355-360, pl. 423. These curious instances may or may not be connected with the gold tablets on which single names are inscribed, but they emphasize the inadequacy of our evidence. A similar case is presented by a gold rectangular tablet with an inscription addressing Serapis, found inside a skull in a cinerary urn in Columbarium III at Rome; although not Orphic, this phylactery with its address to Serapis presents a curious case of either a Charonian obol, or a mystic symbola as D. R. JORDAN, "The Inscribed Gold Tablet from the Vigna Codini", *AJA* 89 (1985), p. 162-167 has argued.

40 F. GRAF (above, n. 19), p. 251; C. SEGAL, "Dionysus and the Gold Tablets from Pelinna", *GRBS* 31 (1990), p. 411-419, 414.

41 W. BURKERT, *Greek Religion*, trans. by J. RAFFAN (1985), p. 290-295; R. JANKO (above, n. 19), p. 89-91, 97-98 with earlier bibliography; and W. BURKERT, *Ancient Mystery Cults* (1987), *passim*.

42 S. G. COLE (above, n. 19), p. 277, and 276-295. Interestingly, so far there is no evidence of an initiate's grave with both an inscribed gold lamella and an inscribed funerary stele.

The secrecy, so successfully guarded in antiquity, may very well have been responsible for the 'innocence', i.e. the brevity, of the texts on the twelve gold lamellae, and must have presented a number of practical problems having to do with the acquisition and preparation of these gold, paper-thin foils: 1) When were they procured and prepared? Upon initiation? Some time later, but in advance of the initiate's death? 2) Who was entrusted with the actual inscribing of the longer *secret* texts, if an initiate scribe or itinerant priest was not available? 3) And how was it done? By being copied from a preexisting text? From memory? 4) All family-members need not have been initiates, and could not have been excluded from the burial ceremony. At present, the ramifications of these practical problems can only be surmised. However inexpensive these gold foils were, some money was needed, especially if the lamella was inscribed by an expert; and although it is generally agreed that the long texts show signs of oral transmission of the mystic doctrine⁴³, and therefore the inscribing was done from memory, nevertheless the inscribing itself required some level of literacy, especially if we assume that the lamellae with the longer texts whose lettering is clumsy and careless may have been inscribed by an amateur scribe, privy to the mysteries⁴⁴. These and other practical problems may explain the abbreviated form of the texts on the twelve gold lamellae, which do not reveal any secrets⁴⁵. They may further imply that all the uninscribed gold lamellae in the shape of the mouth, rhombus, oblong, or the leaves of ivy, myrtle, olive etc., whose presence in a grave cannot be explained in any other way, e.g. as dress-ornaments, and which were found near the cranium and therefore were used as *epistomia*, were in fact employed as tokens for the Underworld deities to recognize the *mystai*, but were left uninscribed for reasons of secrecy or practical problems. After all, gold, even in paper-thin foils, was a precious metal and a symbol for eternity and life after death⁴⁶. This at least appears to be the case in the Sfakaki cemetery, where of the 56 burials excavated only five graves contained gold *epistomia*, all of them found near the cranium and three of them uninscribed: the inscribed *epistomion* in Cist-grave 1, one similar in shape in Cist-grave 9 (M 2887), and two more, rectangular in shape with a net-pattern in Cist-graves 4 (M 897) and 20 (M 964); and a fifth lamella inscribed with a longer text in Tile-grave I⁴⁷. Of these five graves only two also contained Charon's coins, Cist-graves 1 and 20, in which case the *epistomia* in Graves 9 and 4 apparently functioned as Charon's fee as well. Moreover, the grave-goods of these five graves, not among the richest, albeit richer than the pit-graves, indicate the moderate means of the deceased and present noteworthy chronological and typological analogies⁴⁸. Although Grave 4 is immediately to the west of Grave 1, and Graves 9 and 20 are in relative proximity, Grave 1 is in some distance, and, at present, it does not appear that a special place was set aside for *mystai* and *bacchoi* within the exca-

43 M. W. DICKIE (above, n. 16), p. 82; and C. SEGAL (above, n. 40), p. 413.

44 For the importance and use of books in mystery cults see W. BURKERT (above, n. 41), p. 286-301, 296-297.

45 This may have prompted the inscribing of the names of the deceased on the two gold coins of Philip II in Methone (above, n. 21).

46 G. ZUNTZ (above, n. 19), p. 285-286.

47 For the second gold lamella, inscribed with a longer text, from this cemetery see above, n. 3.

48 In these cist-graves there were also found: in Grave 4 a kylix of the Knidos-type, a clay prochous, a glass phiale, two nails, heads of nails, four clay unguentaria, a lead pyxis, and a bronze mirror (the last three perhaps an indication that the

vated part of the Roman cemetery, as in the one in Kyme⁴⁹. Perhaps, as D. Viviers suggested *per litteras*, the proximity of these graves and their resemblance in funerary practices may indicate familial relations of the deceased.

Finally, Plouton's prominence in the two gold lamellae from Crete is unique, as Persephone predominates in the Orphic-Dionysiac lamellae and Plouton's role is only assumed. M. Guarducci (*IC* II. XII.31bis, p. 171) suggested that Plouton's presence may be due to a conflation of Orphic beliefs, as expounded in the gold leaves with the long texts, with some local cult in Eleutherna. G. Zuntz (above, n. 19, p. 384) accepted this explanation with the slight modification that the conflation of Orphic beliefs was not with a local, but with a general tradition, whereas more recently F. Graf (above, n. 19, p. 250-251) drew attention to this inscription as one of the "signals that the classification [sc. of the lamellae into Zuntz's Groups A and B] was not watertight" (p. 250). That Plouton's role is kept in the background in the long texts is undeniable, as must, at the same time, be his implied presence as the husband of Persephone and Lord of the Underworld. A recently published Apulian volute-krater from Toledo with unique narrative scenes, attributed to the workshop of the Darius painter, which Graf briefly mentioned in an Addendum as further evidence of "Dionysos interceding with the powers beyond on behalf of his initiate"⁵⁰, sheds further light on and justifies Plouton's prominent role in the Cretan lamellae: it supports Zuntz's modification of Guarducci's suggestion, that the conflation of 'Orphic beliefs' was with a general tradition and not a local one, and consequently justifies Graf's recent cautious insistence that the classification of the Orphic-Dionysiac lamellae is not incontrovertible. A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou's description of the two main narrative scenes on this krater deserves to be quoted in full, as these scenes come very close to a visual representation of the male initiate's burial in Sfakaki⁵¹:

a) Hades (HAIΔΑΣ) and Persephone (ΠΕΡΣΕΦΩΝΑ) in their Underworld palace; the former seated upon a throne, with a sceptre in his l. hand, the latter standing, with a cross-bar torch held in both hands. To the l. above is a maenad (ΠΕΡΣΙΣ) and a seated nude youth (ΟΙΝΟΣ), with a drinking-horn in his r. hand and a torch in his l. beneath him is Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ) wearing an elaborately patterned chiton and holding a narthex in his l. hand, while he grasps the r. hand of Hades with the other; to l. below, a maenad (ΑΧΕΤΑ) with thyrsus and tambourine, running off to l. To r. above is Aktaion (ΑΚΤΑΙΩΝ), with white

deceased was a female); in Grave 9 there were found: a clay prochous, three glass cups, a glass phiale, a bronze lekythion, a bronze strigil, and a silver and a bronze coin; and in Grave 20 two clay prochoi, two clay unguentaria, a clay cup, a glass phiale, and a bronze nail. For the moderate means of the Orphics, suggested by the grave-goods see: P. G. THEMELIS, J. P. TOURATSOGLU (above, n. 7), p. 148-149.

49 This is implied by an inscription from Kyme which prohibits burial of uninitiates in a special area, for which see F. SOKOLOWSKI, *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément* (1962), p. 202-203, n° 120; and more recently the comments of M. W. DICKIE (above, n. 16), p. 86 and n. 20.

50 F. GRAF (above, n. 19), p. 256. The krater was found in Tomb 33 at Timmari (Basilicata) and subsequently was

acquired by the Toledo Museum of Art (1994.19), where it has been studied and published with an excellent photograph by S. I. JOHNSTON and T. J. MCNIVEN, "Dionysos and the Underworld in Toledo", *MH* 53 (1996), p. 25-36, pl. 1.

51 A. D. TRENDALL, A. CAMBITOGLU, *Second Supplement to the Red-Figured Vases of Apulia III: Post-Script*, *BICS* 60 (1992), p. 508, n° 41 a1, without a photograph; see now the detailed and compelling discussion of the narrative scene by S. I. JOHNSTON, T. J. MCNIVEN (above, n. 50), p. 25-30. For a similar interaction with and/or influence of Orphic-Dionysiac beliefs on a fresco in a Roman catacomb see: M. CHICOTEAU, "The 'Orphic' Tablets Depicted in a Roman Catacomb (c. 250 AD?)", *ZPE* 119 (1997), p. 81-83.

stag horns, seated with a strigil in his r. hand and a stick in his l.; bending forward in front of him is Pentheus (ΠΕΝΘΕΥΣ); below Hermes (ΗΕΡΜΗΣ), with caduceus in l. hand, rests his r. arm against one of the columns of the palace; to r. leaning on a laver is Agave (ΑΓΑΥΗ). In front of the palace a Paniskos with a tambourine approaches Cerberus.

(b) R.f. nude youth, with stick, phiale and drapery over l. arm in a naiskos; to l., seated youth with branch and fillet, woman coming up with bunch of grapes and phiale; to r., seated woman with fan and cista, nude youth running up with wreath and phiale.

The narrative scene with Dionysos and company in the palace of Hades and Persephone, where Dionysos himself is the intercessor on behalf of his initiate, portrayed on the obverse, is indeed unique. The connection with Euripides' *Bacchae*, noted by Trendall and Cambitoglou (above, n. 51, p. 508), and its eschatology are evident enough⁵². It is striking that the krater provides a visual narration of what the two Cretan lamellae only hint at. It would not be iconographically incongruous for the young adult initiate's grave at Sfakaki to have had such narrative scenes. Apart from the depiction of a strigil and phialai, which are also among the grave-goods of Grave 1, the krater's narrative offers testimony for Plouton's dominant role, a motif which is now found outside Crete as well. This need not imply a tradition parallel to the one in which Persephone was the key figure. It may simply illustrate a next stage of the initiate's Underworld journey, in which final approval and consent depended ultimately on the Lord of the Dead. Dionysos' intercession on behalf of his initiate may imply that it was the god himself that served as the initiate's guide to the place reserved for the *mystai*, and especially as the advocate that actually uttered the deceased's words inscribed on the gold lamellae.

The new lamella, addressed as it is to Plouton and Persephone, is only the second one in which the Lord of the Underworld is mentioned. The other, from Eleutherna, is at least two centuries older⁵³. Was there a continuity of cult? If so, this cult should probably be associated, if not actually identified, with the mystery cult in the nearby Idaean Cave of Zeus, traditionally thought of as having Orphic/Pythagorean inspiration, although the inspiration and influence may have worked in the other direction — whence the quotation marks for the Cretan lamellae. For, although in terms of their use all these inscribed gold lamellae from Macedonia, Thessaly, Elis, Crete, Magna Graecia, the periphery, we may say, of the Hellenic world, where customs and beliefs have a more lasting life, show correspondences too remarkable to be merely coincidental, nevertheless the present evidence is lacking as regards the inspiration, influence, appropriation or redefinition of 'Orphic-Dionysiac' elements in the local cults⁵⁴. As A. Chaniotis has demon-

⁵² S. I. JOHNSTON, T. J. MCNIVEN (above, n. 50), p. 30-36.

⁵³ On palaeographical grounds M. GUARDUCCI, *IC* II. XII.31 has suggested the second century B.C., and N. M. VERDELIS (above, n. 31), p. 60 the mid third century B.C. as a *terminus ante quem* for the 'Eleutherna' lamellae; see also above, n. 31.

⁵⁴ A. CHANIOTIS, "Μια άγνωστη πηγή για τη λατρεία στο Ίδαίο Άντρο στην ύστατη άρχαιότητα", in *Πεπραγμένα του ΣΤ Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου*, A'2 (1990),

p. 398-399 and n. 30. It should also be pointed out that the Hymn to the Greatest Kouros from the Dictaeon Cave, which is dated in the second or third century A.D., but whose composition goes back, according to the *opinio communis*, to the late fourth or third century B.C., has been considered an 'orphyic' document, albeit with little acceptance. As P. J. PERLMAN, "Invocatio and Imprecatio: the Hymn to the Greatest Kouros from Palaikastro and the Oath in Ancient Crete", *JHS* 115 (1995), p. 161-167, esp. 162 and n. 10-

strated⁵⁵, the latest testimony for Zeus' mystery cult in the Idaean Cave is the mid fourth century A.D., and its persistence must have been one of the reasons for the establishment of the Eleutherna bishopric and for the construction of the basilica, consecrated to St. Michael, the psychopomp in the Christian tradition, in the first decades of the fifth century A.D.⁵⁶.

Be that as it may, the two laconic "Orphic-Dionysiac" lamellae from Crete and the narrative scenes on the Toledo Apulian volute-krater strongly suggest that Plouton's presence is not inconsistent with the longer Orphic-Dionysiac texts; furthermore, their abbreviated form, as well as that of the other similar lamellae, should not be an obstacle to appending these texts to the same Orphic-Dionysiac tradition as yet another narrative form, conditioned by the rules of secrecy.

12 has suggested, the text of the Hymn and the Pelinna leafs present "intriguing comparanda for the use of *θρόσκω εις* in a ritual matrix which does not stress fertility" (p. 162, n. 11).

55 A. CHANIOTIS (above, n. 54), p. 393-401; and *id.*, "Ploutarchos, praeses insularum (Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire I Plutarchus 4)", *ZPE* 68 (1987), p. 227-231. For the association of the Cretan lamellae with the mysteries in the Idaean Cave see the important discussion of H. VERBRUGGEN (above, n. 31), p. 75-99, esp. 88-91. For probable associations between Eleutherna and the Idaean Cave in earlier times see N. Chr. STAMPOLIDIS,

"Εισαγωγή, 11ος - 6ος αι. π.Χ.", in N. Chr. STAMPOLIDIS and A. KARETSOU (eds), *Ανατολική Μεσόγειος: Κύπρος - Δωδεκάνησα - Κρήτη. 16ος-6ος αι. π.Χ. Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ηρακλείου, Μάρτιος-Ιούνιος 1998* (1998), p. 101-134, esp. 128.

56 P. THEMELIS, "Αρχαιολογικές ειδήσεις 1992-94. Νομός Ρεθύμνης, Επαρχία Μυλοποτάμου, Ελεούθερνα", *Κρητική Εστία* 5 (1994-96), p. 273. According to P. THEMELIS (p. 281-282), the three beheaded and mutilated herms together with other excavated objects and the consecration of the basilica to St. Michael probably indicate a cult of Hermes and Aphrodite.