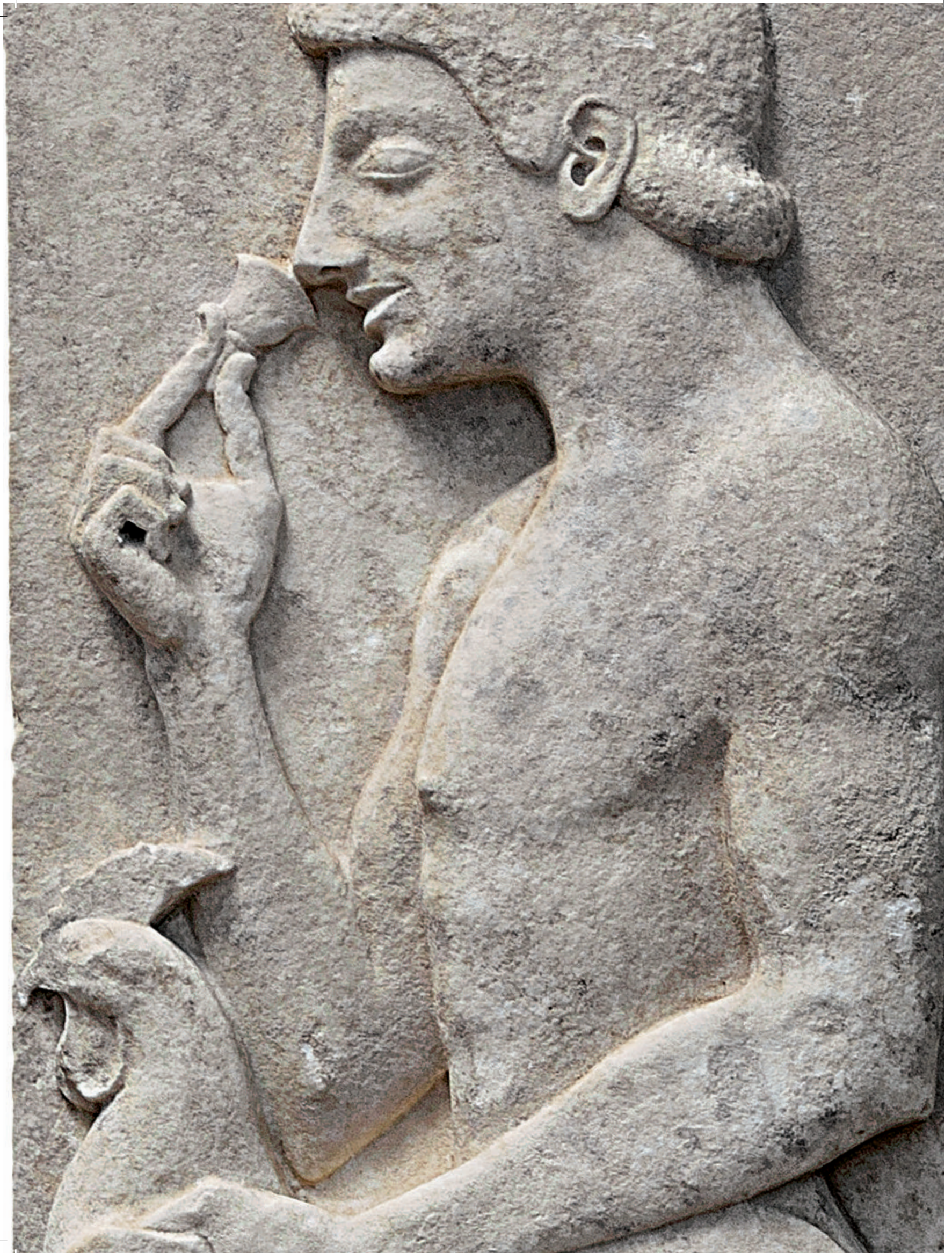


BEYOND

Death and Afterlife in Ancient Greece



BEYOND
Death and Afterlife in Ancient Greece



BEYOND

Death and Afterlife in Ancient Greece

Edited by Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis
Stavroula Oikonomou



HELLENIC REPUBLIC
Ministry of Culture and Sports

The catalogue is issued in conjunction with the exhibition *Beyond: Death and Afterlife in Ancient Greece*, organized by the Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, and the Onassis Foundation, in collaboration with the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

EXHIBITION

Curators

Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis
Stavroula Oikonomou

Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens

Exhibition Designer, Dimitrios Koutsojiannis
Graphic Designer, BEND
Lighting Designer, Dimitrios Koutsojiannis
Italian Liaison, Mariangela Ielo

CATALOGUE

Editors

Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis
Stavroula Oikonomou

Text Editor, Barbara Burn

Translators from Greek, Lilia Psarrou, Valerie Nunn
Translator from Italian, French, and German, Stavroula Oikonomou
Proofreading, Marina Thomatos

Designer, Sophia Geronimus
Image Editing, Yannis Stavrinos
Color Separation, Yannis Stavrinos
Printed by Register

Published by the Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens
In collaboration with the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation

Copyright

© 2014 Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, Athens, Greece
© 2014 Nicholas & Dolly Goulandris Foundation, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens, Greece

All rights reserved. This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part,
including illustrations, in any form without written permission from the publisher.

Front cover: detail of cat. no. 83
Back cover: cat. no. 53
Page 2: detail of cat. no. 43

ISBN 978-0-9906142-0-3

CONTENTS

- 9 Foreword
Lina Mendoni
General Secretary of Culture, Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports
- 11 Foreword
Anthony S. Papadimitriou
President, Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation
- 13 Foreword
Sandra Marinopoulou
President, Nicholas and Dolly Goulandris Foundation – Museum of Cycladic Art
- 15 Preface
Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis
Stavroula Oikonomou

ESSAYS

CATALOGUE

-
- | | | | |
|----|--|-----|---|
| 18 | THE MOMENT OF DEATH
Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis | 53 | THE MOMENT OF DEATH
Entries 1–9 |
| 26 | HOMERIC UNDERWORLD
Sarah Iles Johnston | 65 | BURIAL CUSTOMS
Prothesis and Mourning
Entries 10–21 |
| 34 | THE BACCHIC-ORPHIC HADES
Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos | 79 | Ekphora and Interment
Entries 22–31 |
| 42 | PLATONIC UNDERWORLDS
Fritz Graf | 93 | Special Grave Goods
Entries 32–39 |
| | | 105 | The Grave Marker and the Custom of Visiting the Grave
Entries 40–53 |
| | | 123 | Fallen Warriors and Other ‘Special Dead’
Entries 54–64 |
| | | 139 | HOMERIC HADES
Entries 65–83 |
| | | 169 | THE BACCHIC-ORPHIC HADES
Entries 84–108 |
| | | 197 | THE PLATONIC HADES
Entries 109–110 |
| | | 202 | GLOSSARY OF TERMS |
| | | 205 | INDEX OF MYTHICAL FIGURES |
| | | 210 | ABBREVIATIONS |
| | | 210 | BIBLIOGRAPHY |

Lenders to the Exhibition

GREECE

Athens, Benaki Museum
Athens, Epigraphical Museum
Athens, Kerameikos Archaeological Museum
Athens, Museum of Cycladic Art
Athens, National Archaeological Museum
Athens, The Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum,
1st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities
Athens, 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities
Edessa, 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities
Katerini, 27th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities
Larissa, Diachronic Museum, 15th Ephorate of Prehistoric and
Classical Antiquities
Olympia, Archaeological Museum, 7th Ephorate of Prehistoric
and Classical Antiquities
Peiraius, Archaeological Museum, 26th Ephorate of Prehistoric
and Classical Antiquities
Rethymnon, 25th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities
Theba, Archaeological Museum, 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric
and Classical Antiquities
Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum

FRANCE

Boulogne-sur-Mer, Musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

ITALY

Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

SWITZERLAND

Basel, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig

UNITED KINGDOM

London, The Trustees of the British Museum

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Contributors to the Catalogue

- Polyxeni Adam-Veleni, *Director, Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki*
- Christina Avronidaki, *Curator, Vase and Minor Objects Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Matthaios Bessios, *Archaeologist, 27th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Katerini*
- Leonidas Bournias, *Archaeologist, 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Athens*
- Polyxeni Bouyia, *Curator, Bronzes Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Alexandra Charami, *Superintendent, 9th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Theba*
- Maria Chidiroglou, *Curator, Vase and Minor Objects Collection/ Photo Archives, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Stella Chryssoulaki, *Superintendent, 26th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Peiraius*
- Cécile Colonna, *Curator, Collection d'Antiques, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris*
- Gaëlle Etesse, *Curator, Service des collections, Musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer*
- Anastasia Gadolou, *Curator, Vase and Minor Objects Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Ioannes Graekos, *Archaeologist, 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Edessa*
- Fritz Graf, *Professor of Greek and Latin, Director of Epigraphy, The Ohio State University, Columbus*
- Fiorenza Grasso, *Archaeologist, Associate of Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici, Napoli*
- Peter Higgs, *Curator, Department of Greece and Rome, The British Museum, London*
- Sarah Iles Johnston, *Arts and Humanities Distinguished Professor of Religion and Professor of Classics, The Ohio State University, Columbus*
- Despina Ignatiadou, *Curator of Metalwork, Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki*
- Kyriaki Karoglou, *Assistant Curator, Department of Greek and Roman Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*
- Stella Katakouta, *Curator, Diachronic Museum, Larissa*
- Kleopatra Kathariou, *Archaeologist, Marie Curie Research Fellow, Friedrich Schiller University, Jena*
- Triantafillia Kattoula, *Archaeologist, 26th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Peiraius*
- George Kavvadias, *Curator, Vase and Minor Objects Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Katerina Kostanti, *Curator, Collection of Prehistoric Antiquities, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Evridiki Leka, *Curator, Sculpture Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Christos Matzanas, *Archaeologist, 7th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Olympia*
- Stavroula Oikonomou, *Curator, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens*
- Nomiki Palaiokrassa, *Curator, Metallurgy Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Irini Papageorgiou, *Curator, Department of Prehistoric, Ancient Greek, and Roman Art, Benaki Museum, Athens*
- Angeliki Poulou, *Archaeologist, 26th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Peiraius*
- Phoebe Segal, *Mary Bryce Comstock Assistant Curator, Greek and Roman Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*
- Maria Salta, *Curator, Sculpture Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Eleni Servetopoulou, *Archaeologist, 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Athens*
- Vera Slehofer, *Curator, Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Basel*
- Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis, *Professor of Classical Archaeology, University of Crete, and Director, Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens*
- Charalambos Tsougaris, *Archaeologist, 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Edessa*
- Chrysanthi Tsouli, *Curator, Sculpture Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos, *Professor of Classical Philology and Epigraphy, Aristotle University, Thessaloniki*
- Alexandra Villing, *Curator, Department of Greece and Rome, The British Museum, London*
- Evangelos Vivliodetis, *Curator, Vase and Minor Objects Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Elena Vlachogianni, *Curator, Sculpture Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*
- Angelos Zarkadas, *Curator, The Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, Athens*
- Eleni Zavvou, *Curator, Epigraphical Museum, Athens*
- Eleni Zosi, *Curator, Vase and Minor Objects Collection, National Archaeological Museum, Athens*



THE BACCHIC-ORPHIC HADES

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos

Death and man's transition from life to death have always and in every civilization been marked by specific rites.¹ The agony and fear of death (Plato, *Republic* 330d–331a) and of what comes after death have attended man since his first appearance on earth and have constituted a topic of constant reflection, particularly in ancient Greece. Depending on human needs (Plato, *Republic* 364b–365a), there appear two contradictory perceptions of death and how to confront it, both of which are found in the literature of the Archaic Greek world and mainly involve Hades/Pluton, Demeter and Kore/Persephone, and Dionysos. On the one hand, the eschatological notion of Hades, as described by Homer, Hesiod, and the lyric, choral, and dramatic poets, persists (see the Johnston essay in this volume), whereas, on the other hand, mystery cults propose a diametrically opposite eschatological view of the afterlife, to which the literary texts allude, only to reject it. The latter perception attempts to eliminate the fear of death by proclaiming that it offers the possibility of a new beginning. The *mystes* (initiate) hopes that in death he is reborn, raised to the status of a hero/god, and lives thereafter eternally as blessed (*makar*, *olbios*, and *eudaimon*) in a specific part of Hades, endowed with the characteristics of Hesiod's golden and silver races. The assurance of this sort of immortality, which in life is unattainable since only the gods are immortal, becomes the primary concern of the mortal initiate, while his passport to achieving this goal is his personal and less "public" initiation into the mystery cults of Dionysos (but also of Demeter and Kore).

These mystery cults were essentially similar, and indeed it is difficult to delimit overlaps or mutual influences between them (fig. 1).² Initiation was open and tolerant except for those who committed murder. Without discrimination for gender, age, religious convictions, and social or economic status, the *mystes* could decide at will to be initiated, in the hope of life after death. Evidence for the actual procedure of the initiation is scant, even totally absent, except that it involved things to be said (*legomena*), things to be performed (*dromena*), and things to be shown (*deiknymena*).³ In many mysteries, secrecy of the *arrheta* and *aporrheta* (things not to be said and not to be made public) was enforced, whereas teaching concentrated on an oral and apparently also written sacred text (*hieros logos*).⁴ The only certain thing is that the initiates (*mystai*)—those who through initiation acquired a personal experience of communication with the divine—are presented as having been reborn, with their previous views transformed, particularly on matters of life and death, and are referred to as *olbios*, *eudaimon*, *makar*, and *hosios*,⁵ epithets that denote perfect and absolute bliss and are usually employed to describe the "life" of the gods and heroes in literary texts.

These two opposite views on eschatology, expressed directly or indirectly in literary texts, appear to be followed in burial practices. For the first view, which stresses life and the things above the earth (epitaphic), the funerary stelai, altars, sarcophagi, inscriptions, and other earthly and consequently public grave markers constitute the tangible evidence.

Fig. 1.
Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusina. The Eleusinian mysteries, among the most sacred and best-known mysteries of ancient Greece, took place here. Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund, 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, photographer Kalliopé Papaggeli



For the second and more pleasing view of the afterlife, whose interest is focused on the beyond and on life after death, archaeological research has added a unique category of forty-six objects published so far: the “Bacchic-Orphic” incised gold (and one silver) lamellae (*epistomia*), with which some initiates were buried.⁶ The choice of eternal, incorruptible, and immortal gold (and silver, in a single instance in Paestum, Italy) as the most suitable material for these *epistomia* is anything but fortuitous, because it symbolizes the golden and silver races of Hesiod, which the initiates believed were not at all bygone but still attainable through initiation, even in the underworld.

These paper-thin *epistomia*, in a rectangular or mouthlike shape or in the form of an olive, myrtle, or ivy leaf,⁷ were entaphic (fig. 2a, b); they accompanied the initiate after death into the underworld and were not intended for the general public; otherwise their texts would have been inscribed on grave stelai in the manner of epigrams. The precise findspot of all the *epistomia* inside the graves is not known: they were used literally as mouth bands over or inside the deceased’s mouth, probably for practical as well as other reasons, as is still done today, or they were placed on the chest or in one of the hands. The text incised on them was in essence the words that the deceased addressed to the rulers of the underworld, mainly to Persephone, either in person or through an intermediary who would read the message on behalf of the deceased.⁸



Fig. 2. (a) Gold rectangular lamella and (b) myrtle- or laurel-leaf gold lamella. Cat. nos. 94, 107

Fig. 3. Orpheus’s head with a muse and the poet Terpan-dros. Detail of cat. no. 84

The small corpus of these forty-six *epistomia* (all incised except four) presents a ritual and a *hieros logos*—*in parte* or *in toto*—but exactly what kind of ritual and sacred text is still a matter of debate. The *opinio communis* concurs in only one thing: these texts relate to a ritual and/or mystery cult whose emphasis is on the afterlife. Despite scrutiny, the origin and context of the texts remain elusive, because of the nature of the evidence. Interpretations abound, however, and the study of these texts has generated arguments relating the engraved *epistomia* to *Orphica*, *Pythagorica*, *Eleusiniaca*, *Bacchica*, and even *Orphicodionysiaca*.⁹ Although few scholars, if any, today would maintain the exclusively Eleusinian or Pythagorean character of these texts, consensus is, expectedly, not within reach. These texts are consistently referred to—for lack of a better word—as Orphic or Bacchic with Pythagorean influences (often in quotation marks or with the qualification “so-called”), despite facts that seem to militate against these epithets: Orpheus is found nowhere in these texts; the deceased’s regeneration does not necessarily entail *metempsychosis* (at least the *metempsychosis* Pythagoras and Empedocles meant)¹⁰; evidence for Orphic rites depends more or less on the *epistomia*’s texts, which thus portray Orphism as interested primarily if not exclusively in eschatology.

Even so, the forty-six texts incised on the gold *epistomia*, sixteen of which are presented in this catalogue (cat. nos. 93–103, 105–108), constitute different versions of a mystery cult with a specific set of views and perceptions of the afterlife, a mystery cult of Bacchic Dionysos.¹¹ The relationship between Orpheus and Dionysos is not easy to trace in the literary and other sources, and designating practices and texts collectively as “Orphic” does not promote, or can even obscure, a better understanding of them. More specifically, the *hieros logos* of the “Orphic” mysteries, if ever there were such mysteries, proclaimed Orpheus as a symbolic leader, founder, and organizer of rites whose death reflected that of the god Dionysos-Zagreus. The surviving material relating to Orpheus and his teachings is contradictory, although it is not certain whether or not Orpheus was an historical figure (fig. 3). In any case, since Orpheus is associated with both Apollon and Dionysos, he is not fully



identified with either of these two opposite (at least superficially) divinities. According to the sources about the Orphics,¹² Orpheus, son of Oïagros and Kalliope or another Muse, was a formidable musician, diviner, and poet who reformed among other things the Dionysiac rites and cult in Thrace, an act that caused his dreadful death, although accounts about it vary. This “strange” relationship of Orpheus and Dionysos is also extended to the *personae*/masks the two shared: Dionysos the *bacchos*, the *mantis* and prophet, the *telestes* and poet, the initiator of rituals and poetics, the transformer of humans after death into heroes and gods (fig. 4). These are but a few of the many *personae* of Dionysos, at least as many as Orpheus had: Orpheus the Argonaut, the foreigner, the singer, the magician, the initiator/*telestes*, the husband of Eurydike.¹³



Fig. 4. Bronze volute funerary krater found in Derveni, Thessaloniki, ca. 340 B.C. The image shows Dionysos with his panther and Mainadai dancing around him; the shoulder of the vase shows cast-bronze figures of Dionysos and a mainada. Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund, Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki

And yet even if the texts on these lamellae are labeled as Bacchic with Orphic and Pythagorean influences, and are thus securely placed within this religious-philosophical-literary context, it is by no means certain that all of those interred with the lamellae and epistomia (engraved or not) shared all or some of the views expressed in the Bacchic ritual, the “Orphic” rites, and the Pythagorean teachings. Moreover, the forty-six gold epistomia are synoptic in character, and in order to achieve their goal, they employ symbols (*symbola*), a part of the more general and more detailed whole, since even the one-word self-introduction of the deceased (cat. nos. 103, 105–108) is more than enough for the initiate to be recognized by those privy to the mysteries. The choice of text to be engraved was probably left up to the initiate or the person responsible for the burial, without any clear and specific criteria, except for the general rule that whatever was easily understood by the initiates and the addressees of the texts could be omitted as self-evident.

According to the choice of text, the forty-six gold epistomia, which date from about the sixth century B.C. to the second century A.D., present both similarities and differences and are classified in seven groups.¹⁴ Group A comprises five, the so-called purity texts, because purity is singled out; this does not imply in any way, however, that the other *mystai* buried with an incised or un-incised lamella or epistomion were not “pure.” Group B includes thirteen, the so-called *mnemosyne*, or underworld topography texts (cat. nos. 93–98). Group C has one, the so-called Orphic text, but this group should perhaps also include all related texts: the Olbia bone tablets, Bacchic inscriptions from Olbia, *PGurob*, the Edict of Ptolemy IV Philopator; and also *PDerveni*, *PAntinoopolis* I 18 (= MP³ 2466), *PChicago Pack*² 1620; a few of Poseidippos’s epigrams; the *Orphic Hymns*, and other related *Orphica*, among which are the epigrams of *mystai*. Group D involves five texts, in which Dionysos and/or Persephone (and/or Demeter) or other deities are present by name or by epithet (cat. no. 99). Group E consists of five texts, in which the *chaire*-formula is employed or implied in addressing the underworld deities, either Plouton or Persephone, by name or epithet, or both (cat. nos. 100–102). Group F comprises the thirteen remaining epistomia with brief texts, such as the deceased’s name, the word *mystes*, or a combination thereof (cat. nos. 103, 105–108). And, finally, Group G consists of four un-incised epistomia, so called by the excavators who suggested that they may have had a text written on in ink or other perishable material; for all intents and purposes, these served as tokens of initiates for the underworld, just as the engraved ones did; this group should perhaps also include epistomia that may have had no text at all, if the deceased thought that the placement of the gold lamella on his mouth, breast, or hand would just as well serve the purpose of symbolizing his initiation—an example of *symbolic* epigraphy par excellence.

Be that as it may, it cannot be stressed enough that these categories should not be understood as airtight,¹⁵ as their texts are interrelated and complement one another. The above classification constitutes one important objective in the study of these texts,

which is based primarily on their strong similarities (the stemmatological approach). Another objective, equally worth the effort, is to shift the emphasis from similarities to divergences and, instead of focusing on one central document behind these texts, to entertain the possibility that within the same Bacchic-Orphic discourse on afterlife and even within the same group of texts existed simultaneously “dominant” and “peripheral” ideas and texts, for which local, or even individual, cultic and religious considerations may be accountable. Of the sixteen epistomia in the catalogue, numbers 93 through 98 are *mnemosyne*—or underworld—topography texts; numbers 100 and 102 are an example of the texts that address the lords of the underworld with the *chaire*-formula (fig. 5); and numbers 103 and 105 through 108 are single-word texts. Nevertheless, even the initiates who followed a specific burial practice differ in details: for example, text number 98 deviates from that of numbers 93 through 97, and numbers 105 and 106 are incised in a different medium than the text of numbers 103, 107, and 108, whatever the implications are for these initiates’ ideology on the afterlife.



Fig. 5. View of Queen Eurydike’s tomb at Aigai (Vergina), showing the marble throne with painted decoration of Hades and Persephone on their chariot. Eurydike, wife of Amyntas III and mother of Philip II, died in 344/343 B.C. Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund, 17th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities

Not all the initiates, however, chose for incision a succinct and abbreviated form of text. In Crete (cat. nos. 93–98), Thessaly (cat. no. 99), and Italy engraved gold epistomia have come to light whose texts vary in length from four to twenty-one lines and provide answers for the cryptic or abbreviated texts. These texts, some brief and some more elaborated, which fall into four groups (A, B, C, D), advise and instruct the deceased initiate, or mystes, in the following¹⁶: how to make his way to Hades, which spring or lake to drink from, what to watch out for, how to answer the questions that the guardians of the spring or lake will put to him before allowing him to drink, how to address the gods, and probably how to answer Persephone’s questions. The important similarities between these extensive texts from Crete, Thessaly, and Italy presuppose that their composers or engravers, who may or may not have been the initiates themselves, draw on a common tradition, which did not, however, lay down specific prescriptions, at least as regards the choice of the epistomion’s shape and the text to be incised on it. This choice seems to have been left entirely up to each initiate or to the person in charge of the burial and to the personal ideology the initiate had developed from his contact with the divine during and after initiation.

The twenty-three long texts of groups A, B, and D, most of them composed in dactylic hexameter and some in alternating dactylic hexameter and rhythmic prose, are crucial for an understanding of the mystery cult into which these deceased had been initiated, including those who had gold epistomia incised with a synoptic or abbreviated text. These long texts make clear that the deceased buried with an epistomion belong to initiates of Bacchic/chthonic Dionysos, and that, consequently, all the incised gold epistomia constitute the corpus of Bacchic-Orphic texts.

More specifically, in these texts the initiate is portrayed as reborn and is greeted as a *makar/olbios* or as a *bacchos* (i.e., Dionysos) or a god or a hero (i.e., she or he is deified or heroized), and henceforth she or he will be ruling among other heroes or dwelling in the seats of the pure or the holy meadows or groves of Persephone, all different names for the place in the underworld set aside for other divinities and initiates.



However, in order to gain access to this special place, which is the final destination of the journey, the *mystes* must successfully overcome a number of trials once inside the underworld (*katabasis*).¹⁷ The *mnemosyne*- or underworld-topography texts of group B provide a number of details of the initiate's dramatic condition inside the underworld, with emphasis on the initiate's memory (*mnemosyne*) and on topographical markers. In these texts (cat. nos. 93–98), the deceased is portrayed as parched with thirst that perishes her or him—a motif not unique to these texts¹⁸—and she or he must quench it by drinking from a specific, revitalizing spring or lake, whose location appears to be an important factor, because of the recognition scene that takes place there.

When in the underworld, the deceased will reach a certain place where she or he is confronted by guardians. In order to grant access to the water, the guardians ask the customary questions of recognition: “Who are you? Where are you from?,” and the deceased must answer with one of the following passwords (*symbola*): “I am the son of Earth and starry Sky”; “My generation is from heaven”; “I claim to be of your blessed (*olbios*) race”; “My name is Starry (*Asterios*)”; “I have this everlasting gift of Mnemosyne”; “Man-and-child-*thyrsos*” (*andrikepaidothyrsos*), *Brimo*; “I possess the mystic rituals and rites of....”¹⁹ This dramatic exchange seals the initiate's fate in the underworld, as she or he is allowed to quench the deadly thirst and be reborn. This is aptly illustrated by the text from Thessaly (cat. no. 99), where statements, passwords, and the fate of the *mystes* in the hereafter are conceived as taking place in the present, at the moment of death (fig. 6): “Now you have died and now you have been born, thrice blessed one, on this very day. Say to Persephone that Bacchios himself freed you. A bull you rushed to milk. Quickly, you rushed to milk. A ram you fell into milk. You have wine as your fortunate honor. And you go beneath the earth, celebrating rites just like the other blessed ones.”



Fig. 6. Gold ivy-leaf lamella. Cat. no. 99a

The divergent passwords through which the deceased is identified as an initiated *mystes* should not create any serious obstacles in understanding the gist of what was intended. They may present different choices of text for incision on the epistomia of the kind we encounter in Macedonia, Thessaly, the Peloponnese, and Rome, where only the name, or the word *mystes*, or a few words are chosen to be incised.

This may very well be the reason for the divergent and conflicting (even if only in details) topographical scenery of the underworld presented by the texts of group B, which has always been a puzzle. The description of the two constantly recurring topographical elements—the ever-flowing cold water and the nearby tree—which the *mystes* must recognize, is not uniform. Thus, in some texts the cold water is running from an ever-flowing spring to the right of a cypress tree or the cypress is simply nearby. Or the spring is to the left of the cypress. Or, instead of cypress, it is a black poplar spring. In other texts the spring is to the right and nearby there is a white/bright cypress not to be approached, because that is where the souls of the deceased plunge to become cold²⁰—whether or not this plunging also implies drinking is not certain—and so the deceased is advised to move ahead in order to find the “lake of memory (*mnemosyne*),” whose cold water, after the recognition scene, the *mystes* will have to drink for her or his rebirth. In yet other texts, the spring and the white cypress near it are to the left, whereas the direction toward the second spring is vague. Or the tree is not a cypress but a black or white poplar.

All this strongly suggests that cold water with a nearby tree are connected and seem to serve as nothing more than marks or signs for the *mystes* in her or his way through the underworld. The choice of the cypress (not a chthonic tree in literature), its epithet white/bright (*leuké*),²¹ and the location of the spring to the left- or right-hand side are of special importance in this underworld topography. The cypress appears to be invested with what may be a new and distinct symbolism that becomes one of the central themes and trademarks of these texts: a tree in the underworld and intimately connected with the motif of thirst, it symbolizes the choice the *mystes* faces, and it is literally the limen not just of the underworld, but of the special place within the confines of the underworld, reserved for the *mystai*.²²

The divergences in the details of the underworld topography illustrated in the texts remain elusive and in some cases impossible to reconcile, unless the texts are emended in order to conform to an “original” Bacchic-Orphic doctrine of underworld topography, which prescribed specifically how the underworld journey should be accomplished and how the promised life after death should come true. But such a doctrine is nonexistent, except in broad outlines, and perhaps these divergences in details may have been influenced by local or personal considerations. The texts on the lamellae and epistomia provide some of the dialogue and the action, but what kind of performance and what was shown to the initiates is anybody's guess. The drama,

reenacted constantly for each initiation and supposedly with minimal changes, must have also included some kind of scenery for the underworld journey.²³ Some persons (the priest?), would have acted out the roles of the guardians of the spring or lake, and perhaps also the roles of Dionysos, Demeter/Mater Oreia/Persephone, Hades, and perhaps Hermes. The whole ritual performance should have been so impressive as to be inculcated into the initiate, who thus would have no trouble during the “actual” journey recognizing the tree and the spring and remembering the passwords for the recognition scene. What may be astonishing, provided this is a plausible scenario, is that actual springs and the surrounding scenery may have been used as props during the deceased’s initiation. If so, this may also account for the “wrong” directions of the spring/lake.

The tree, be it (black) poplar or cypress, and the cold water spring are mythic stock elements, which, as Radcliffe Edmonds has argued,²⁴ do not illustrate a clear-cut operative dichotomy of left and right, but they can simply signify different things in particular texts. During initiation, a kind of underworld scenery and atmosphere must have been created for the reenactment and performance of the ritual, which may indeed sound far-fetched but is not unprecedented, as Merkelbach has documented the small ritual acts performed during the initiation ritual into the cult of Isis and Sarapis.²⁵ This “stage” for the performance of the ritual had to be plausible enough and had to represent as closely as possible the underworld scenery as imagined by the “priesthood,” for which sometimes real props, ready at hand, would have had to be employed, and which from one place to the other would expectedly be tinted with a local or even personal coloring.²⁶ Thus, the underworld illustrated in the texts of the gold lamellae and epistomia may be a unique combination, not only of stock mythic elements but also of “real” ones, which may account for the divergent topographical hints in these texts. The world above, more familiar and less dangerous, lends to the world below some real objects—a cypress or a black-poplar and a spring nearby—in order to render it less threatening, and thus more easily attainable.

Within the small Bacchic-Orphic corpus of the forty-six epistomia, there is evident differentiation. Different mystai felt differently and expressed their beliefs and attitudes in differing, perhaps more individual ways, as the shapes of the epistomia, the burial-coin practice, and the choice of the words to be incised amply illustrate. Some incise only their name, others a salutation to Persephone and Hades, others their particular association with Bacchios Dionysos, others longer texts, others nothing at all; still others, possibly the majority, declare their status as mystai with material evidence that has not withstood the passage of time. Taken together, the apparent similarities and differences between these texts, be they only in details, complement each other and the fragmentary picture of the Bacchic mysteries and the initiates of Dionysos.

Dionysos, however, has not one but many masks. The pleasing and optimistic perception of the afterlife and immortality of his initiates is but one face of the coin, the “entaphic” and consequently the less “public” and more personal one. The other, the “epitaphic” and consequently “public” one, is represented by a group of about seventy-five inscribed grave stelai.²⁷ These were placed on the graves of Dionysiac initiates (none of them containing an incised epistomion), they come from Macedonia, Thessaly, Boeotia, the Peloponnese, Rhodes, Asia Minor, Thrace, and Rome, and date from the third century B.C. to the third century A.D. The epitaphs of these Bacchic initiates present the expected conventional Dionysiac motifs: the vine, the wine, and the symposium; or they echo the common motifs of funerary epigrams—children dying young and parents at a loss by the death of their children; people despairing at the prospect of death. The initiates in these inscriptions expect Dionysus to help them survive and save them now, while they are alive on earth and not after death, and there are examples in which they even cynically criticize the god for having failed to protect their children or themselves from untimely or unfair death.

Between these two opposing perceptions of Dionysiac followers about the here-and-now earthly matters and the beyond and afterlife—or perhaps besides and beyond these perceptions—certainly more examples exist whose eschatological ramifications or connotations may possibly seem inevitable, even if the afterlife beliefs and ideology of the particular deceased are not easily detectable, except perhaps when a grave’s context reveals a Dionysiac outlook (fig. 7). All these constitute characteristic examples not of uniformity, as one might expect of initiates of the same or similar mystery cult, but of an individual ideology about the beyond.



Fig. 7. A mainada, follower of Dionysos. Cat. no. 104

All these different answers—entaphic, epitaphic, and other—to death and the afterlife underline the fact that religious attitudes and ideologies not only within a polis but also within a specific group of *mystai* need not, or could not always, conform to identical practices. The evidence reveals an interpretative tension and dynamic interaction between local and Panhellenic, central and peripheral rituals and mystery cults, burial practices and ideologies, and discourses on the afterlife. And it certainly should be no wonder if each deceased, even when she or he belonged to a group of initiates of specific eschatological beliefs and ideology, faced in a personal, sometimes idiosyncratic, way—the most significant moment in her or his life, the transition from life to death.

- ¹ This contribution is adapted from Tzifopoulos 2012. See also Graf and Johnston 2007; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008; and the essays in Edmonds (ed.) 2011.
- ² Burkert 1987.
- ³ Henrichs 1998 and 2000, where he demonstrates that in rituals the *dromena* are more prominent than the *legomena*, whereas in tragedies the latter are more prominent than the former. See also Graf and Johnston 2007, 94–164; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 227–40; Riedweg 2011; Faraone 2011; Calame 2011; and Obbink 2011.
- ⁴ For *hieroi logoi*, see Graf 2011; Dousa 2011; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2011; Edmonds 2011c; Riedweg 2011; Faraone 2011. Baumgarten (1998) has presented an important contribution to the study of religious texts, such as oracles, “orphic” literature, *hieroi logoi* in mystery cults, the two *hieroi logoi* supposedly by Pythagoras, and “egyptianizing” sacred writings. This is a disparate miscellany, but it underscores the variety in form and objectives of what we might call religious texts. As Robert Parker (2000) and Albert Henrichs (2003a and 2003b) have argued, the terms *hieros logos*, *hiera anagraphé*, *hieros chresmos*, sacred writ, and the like are not identical, just as the theogonies, hymns, cult regulations, oracles, and a number of other texts are different entities. They all, however, constitute what we would call a corpus of religious texts.
- ⁵ For these epithets, see De Heer 1969 and McDonald 1978, 10–36. On views of death and the afterlife around the Mediterranean, see the essays in Bremer, Hout, and Peters 1994.
- ⁶ For publications of epistomia, see Zuntz 1971; Bernabé 2005; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008; Graf and Johnston 2007; Tzifopoulos 2010; Edmonds 2011b.
- ⁷ For the term *epistomion* and its shape, see Δεσποίνη 1998; Dickie 1995, 84–86; and Tzifopoulos 2010, 67–76.
- ⁸ Burkert 1985, 276–304; Burkert 1987, *passim*; the essays in Cosmopoulos (ed.) 2003; and Johnston 2004.
- ⁹ The best concise and cogent exposition on this is Parker 1995, 483–510, with earlier bibliography; and Bremmer 1994, 84–97. See also Graf 1993; Brisson 1995; Burkert 1993, 1998, and 2004; Bernabé 2005; Riedweg 2011; Cole 1980, 1993, 2003; Bremmer 1991, and 2002, 11–26; Sorel 2002; Edmonds 2004; Parker and Stamatopoulou 2004; Ferrari 2007, 115–65; Graf and Johnston 2007; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008; Drew Griffith 2008, 77–93; Calame 2009, 177–228, and 2011; Tzifopoulos 2010; Graf 2011; Dousa 2011; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2011; Edmonds 2011a and 2011c.
- ¹⁰ For Pythagoras, see Kahn 2001 and Riedweg 2005 with previous bibliography.
- ¹¹ See the important discussions in Segal 1990; Graf 1993; Cole 1993; Burkert 1987; Burkert 1993; Burkert 2004, 71–124; Bremmer 2002; Detienne 2003; Edmonds 2004; Cosmopoulos (ed.) 2003 (esp. the essays by S. G. Cole and N. D. Robertson); Graf and Johnston 2007; and the essays in Edmonds (ed.) 2011.
- ¹² Παπαχατζής 1986; Guthrie 1993; Γκάρτζιου-Τάπη 1999, and the bibliography at n. 31; Graf and Johnston 2007, 165–84.
- ¹³ Graf and Johnston 2007, 165–74.
- ¹⁴ For the classification see Tzifopoulos 2010, 93–101; and Graf 2011.
- ¹⁵ Graf 1993, 250–51.
- ¹⁶ See Tzifopoulos 2010, 101–15.
- ¹⁷ Graf’s and Johnston’s 2007, 137–64; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 9–178 and 2011; Riedweg 2011.
- ¹⁸ Emily Vermeule (1979, 57) has aptly put it: “the dead in many cultures are rumored to be thirsty, and our communication with them is more commonly by toast and libation than by food.”
- ¹⁹ Herrero de Jáuregui 2011. For the extraordinary statement and its anthropological dimension, see Betz 2011; according to Bremmer (1999, 81), this is “traditionally an impossible statement for a human,” which he relates to “probably the final stage of the process of reincarnation.”
- ²⁰ Dieterich 1969, 95–100; Guthrie 1993, 177–78; Nagy 1979, 167–71; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 29–35.
- ²¹ Verbruggen (1981, 90–91) also suggested that the cypress and the spring may have originated in Crete. Comparetti (1910, 34) understood the *leyké* cypress as identical to the white poplar (in Greek *leúke*), but Guthrie (1993, 182 and 192 n. 16) was skeptical. Pugliese Carratelli 2001, 57–58; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 25–28; Graf and Johnston 2007, 108–9.
- ²² This distinct symbolism may have influenced the later or contemporary practice of making coffins of cypress wood (a practice Thucydides noted in Athens 2.34.3: *larnakas kyparissinas*). For such a larnax covered with silver-plates from Macedonia, see Τιμπιδίου-Αυλωνίτη 2000. Plato (*Laws* 741c-d) proposes to write down in detail laws and regulations for the priestesses’ future reference to the “memories of cypress” (*kyparittinas mnemas*); and compare the comments in *FGrHist* IV A 3 F22 (1026: Hermippos of Smyrna), 249–52, on the symbolism of cypress and its “Pythagorean” associations.
- ²³ For the ritual(s) behind the texts on lamellae and *epistomia* and their eschatology, see above notes 3, 4, 9, and 17.
- ²⁴ Edmonds 2004, 46–55.
- ²⁵ Merkelbach 1995, 147–81, 328–31, 343–46; the small ritual acts include impersonation of gods by priests, theatrical devices, machines, etc.
- ²⁶ Graf and Johnston (2007, 109–11) explain the topographical divergence as a probable innovation by an *orpheotelestes*, claiming that his is the correct knowledge of the underworld topography; this need not exclude a local context for the incised text.
- ²⁷ See the discussion in Cole 1993.



93. **Lamella with Bacchic-Orphic Text**

Third–first century B.C.

Gold

H. 1 cm, w. 5.6 cm, th. < 1 mm. LH 0.6–1.5 mm, wt. 0.3 gr.

From a grave in the extended cemeteries north of Eleutherna Crete, near Lagká and Alphá and the sites Mnemata and Agia Elessa

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 633-11040

Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund

Rectangular paper-thin lamella/epistomion preserved in excellent condition with few wrinkles. There are no creases to indicate any previous folding or rolling.

ΔΙΨΑΙΑΥΟΣΕΓΩΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΥΜΑΙΑΛΛΑΠΙΘΜΟΙ
ΚΡΑΝΑΣΑΙΕΙΡΩΕΠΙΔΕΞΙΑΤΗΚΥΦΑΡΙΖΟΣ

3 ΤΙΣΔΕΖΙΠΩΔΕΖΙΓΑΣΥΙΟΣΗΜΙΚΑΙΩΡΑΝΩ
ΑΣΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΟΣ

δίψαι αἶος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ πιέ<μ> μοι
κράνας αἰειρῶ ἐπὶ δεξιά· τῆ, κυφάριζος.

3 τίς δ' ἐξί; πῶ δ' ἐξί; Γᾶς υἱός ἡμι καὶ Ὠρανῶ
ἄστερόεντος.

I am parched with thirst and I am perishing; but (give) me to drink | from the ever-flowing spring to the right; there! the cypress. | “Who are you?” “Where are you from?” “I am the son of Earth | and starry Sky.”

The letters are carefully incised. The engraver has tried to cover the entire surface of the *epistomion* (mouthpiece) respecting word divisions and indenting the last word in line four, making the text approximately centered.

The text is composed of two dactylic hexameters (lines 1 and 2), two palimbacchiacs or rhythmical prose (the two questions in the beginning of line 3), and of dactylic rhythm (lines 2 and 3).

The very small and very thin incised gold foils were placed on the mouth, on the chest, and in the hand of the deceased, or they were folded or rolled up and placed inside the mouth, in order to convey the appropriate words to the underworld deities. By this token, the deceased was identified as a *mystes* and thus gained access to the special place in the underworld promised to the *mystai* during their ritual initiation while alive.

This is text B₃, according to the classification of the small Bacchic-Orphic corpus of forty-six texts published so far, and it is the short version of the thirteen texts that make up group B (see also cat. nos. 94–98). It conveys the deceased's condition and a brief *stichomythy* (dialogue) of recognition between the *mystai* and underworld divinities. This enigmatic text becomes comprehensible if placed within the context of the longer texts of this group (B_{1–2} and B_{10–11}), whose synopsis it appears to be. The longer texts include additional details such as instructions to the *mystai* about underworld topography and the *mystai*'s fate after the brief dialogue of recognition. Apparently, the entire *hieros logos* (sacred text) could be thought of as easily understood, and it was not always necessary to incise everything on the small gold foil, in order to effect the action, in this case the entrance of the *mystai* into the paradisiac afterlife.

Selected Bibliography

Pugliese Carratelli 2001, 78–79, no. 1B1; Bernabé 2004, 2005, fr. 478; Graf and Johnston 2007, 20–21, no. 10; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 253, no. L5a; Tzifopoulos 2010, 9–11, no. 1; Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 25.

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos



94. **Lamella with Bacchic-Orphic Text**

Third–first century B.C.

Gold

H. 1.3 cm, w. 6.2 cm, th. < 0.1 mm. LH. 1–1.5 mm,
wt. 0.4 gr.

From a grave in the extended cemeteries north of
Eleutherna Crete, near Lagká and Alphá and the sites
Mnemata and Agia Elessa

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 632-11039

Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological
Receipts Fund

Rectangular paper-thin lamella/epistomion preserved in excellent condi-
tion with minor wrinkles. At least two creases show that it was folded.

ΔΙΨΑΙΑΥΟΣΕΓΩΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΥΜΑΜΑΙΑΛΛΑΠΙΕΜΟΙ
ΚΡΑΝΑΣΑΙΕΙΡΩΕΠΙΔΕΞΙΑΤΗΚΥΦΑΡΙΣΟΣ

3 ΤΙΣΔΕΣΠΙΩΔΕΣΙΓΑΣΥΙΟΣΗΜΙΚΑΙΩΡΑΝΩ
ΑΣΤΕΡΟΣΝΤΟΣ

δίψαι αὔρος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμα{μα}ι· ἀλλὰ πιέ<μ> μοι
κράνας αἰειρῶ ἐπὶ δεξιὰ· τῆ, κυφάριζος.

3 τίς δ' ἐξί; πῶ δ' ἐξί; Γᾶς υἱός ἡμι καὶ Ὠρανῶ
ἄστερό<ε>ντος.

I am parched with thirst and I am perishing; but (give)
me to drink | from the ever-flowing spring to the right;
there! the cypress. | “Who are you?” “Where are you
from?” “I am the son of Earth | and starry Sky.”

The letters are carefully incised, and the engraver has covered
the surface of the epistomion, respecting word divisions and
indenting the last word in line four in order to center the text.

For the use of the lamella, see cat. no. 93. This text is identical
to cat. no. 93 and cat. nos. 95–97 and similar to cat. no. 98. It is
text B₄, according to the classification of the small Bacchic-Orphic
corpus of forty-six texts published so far.

Selected Bibliography

Pugliese Carratelli 2001, 80, no. 1B₂; Bernabé 2004, 2005, fr. 479;
Graf and Johnston 2007, 20–21, no. 11; Bernabé and Jiménez
San Cristóbal 2008, 254, no. L5b; Tzifopoulos 2010, 12–13, no. 2;
Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 26.

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos



95. **Lamella with Bacchic-Orphic Text**

Third–first century B.C.

Gold

H. 0.75 cm, w. 5.4 cm, th. < 1 mm. L H. 0.7–1 mm,
wt. 0.3 gr.

From a grave in the extended cemeteries north of
Eleutherna Crete, near Lagká and Alphá and the sites
Mnemata and Agia Elessa

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 634-11041

Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological
Receipts Fund

Rectangular paper-thin lamella/epistomion preserved in excellent condition, except for wrinkles and minor tears on top and bottom. At least two creases show that it was folded.

ΔΙΨΑΙΑΥΟΣΑΑΥΟΣΕΓΩΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΥΜΑΙΑΛΛΑΠΙΕΜΜΟΥ
ΚΡΑΝΑΣΛΙΕΝΑΩΕΠΙΔΕ[.]ΙΑΤΗΚΥΦΑΡΙΣΣΟΣ

3 ΤΙΣΔΕΣΠΙΩΔΕΣΙΓΑΣΥΙΟΣΗΜΚΑΙΩΡΑΝΩ
ΑΣΤΕΡΟΕΝΤ[.]Σ

δίψαι αὔος {ααυος} ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ πιέμ μου
κράνας <α>ϊενάω ἐπὶ δε[ξί]ιά· τῆ, κυφάρισζος.

3 τίς δ' ἐζί; πῶ δ' ἐζί; Γᾶς υἱός ἤμ<ι> καὶ Ὠρανῶ
ἄστερόεντ[ο]ς.

I am parched with thirst and I am perishing; but (give)
me to drink | from the ever-flowing spring to the right;
there! the cypress. | “Who are you?” “Where are you
from?” “I am the son of Earth | and starry Sky.”

The lettering is sloppy, and the engraver has made a few mistakes or omissions. He has tried to cover the surface of the epistomion, respecting word divisions and indenting lines 3 and 4 by two letter spaces.

For the use of the lamella, see cat. no. 93. This text is identical to cat. nos. 93–94 and cat. nos. 96–97 and similar to cat. no. 98. It is text B5, according to the classification of the small Bacchic-Orphic corpus of forty-six texts published so far.

Selected Bibliography

Pugliese Carratelli 2001, 81, no. 1B3; Bernabé 2004, 2005, fr. 480;
Graf and Johnston 2007, 22–23, no. 12; Bernabé and Jiménez
San Cristóbal 2008, 254, no. 15c; Tzifopoulos 2010, 13–15, no. 3;
Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 27.

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos



96. **Lamella with Bacchic-Orphic Text**

Third–first century B.C.

Gold

H. 1.2 cm, w. 4.8 cm, th. < 1 mm. LH. 1–2 mm, wt. 0.6 gr.

From a grave in the extended cemeteries north of Eleutherna Crete, near Lagká and Alphá and the sites Mnemata and Agia Elessa

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Stathatos Collection, 292

Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund

Rectangular paper-thin lamella/epistomion preserved in excellent condition, except for minor tears on top and bottom. Many creases indicate that it was rolled up.

ΔΙΨΑΙΑΥΟΣΕΓΩΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΛΥΜΑΙΑΛΑΠΙΕΜΕΜΟΙ
ΚΡΑΝΑΙΠΡΩΕΠΙΔΕΞΙΑΤΗΚΥΦΑΡΙΖΟΣ

3 ΤΙΣΔΕΔΕΖΙΠΩΔΕΖΙΓΑΣΥΙΟΣΗΜΙΚΑΡΑΝΩ
ΑΣΤΕΡΟΕΝΤΟΣ

δίψαι αὔος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλ-λ-ὰ πιέμι {ε} μοι
κράνα<ς α>ί<ε>ιρ<ό>ω ἐπ<ι> δεξιά· τῆ, κυφάριζος.

3 τίς δ' ἐ {δε}ζ<ι>; πῶ δ' ἐζί; Γᾶς υἱός ἤμι κα<ι> Ὠ>ρανῶ
ἀστερόεντος.

I am parched with thirst and I am perishing; but (give) me to drink | from the ever-flowing spring to the right; there! the cypress. | “Who are you?” “Where are you from?” “I am the son of Earth | and starry Sky.”

The lettering is carefully done, and the text covers only the upper two-thirds of the epistomion. The engraver has made a few mistakes or omissions and respects word divisions.

For the use of the lamella, see cat. no. 93. This text is identical to cat. nos. 93–95 and cat. no. 97 and similar to cat. no. 98. It is text B7, according to the classification of the small Bacchic-Orphic corpus of forty-six texts published so far.

Selected Bibliography

Pugliese Carratelli 2001, 84, no. 1B5; Bernabé 2004, 2005, fr. 482; Graf and Johnston 2007, 22–23, no. 13; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 255, no. L5e; Tzifopoulos 2010, 17–19, no. 5; Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 28.

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos



97. **Lamella with Bacchic-Orphic Text**

Third–first century B.C.

Gold

H. 1.2 cm, w. 4.8 cm, th. < 1 mm. LH. 1–2 mm, wt. 0.8 gr.

From a grave in the extended cemeteries north of Eleutherna Crete, near Lagká and Alphá and the sites Mnemata and Agia Elessa

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Stathatos Collection, 293

Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund

Rectangular paper-thin lamella/epistomion in two joining pieces, preserved in excellent condition, except for minor tears and wrinkles. Many creases indicate that it was rolled up.

ΔΙΨΑΑΑΥΟΣΕΓΩΚΑΙΑΠΟΛΥΜΑΙΑΛΛ
 ΛΑΠΕΜΜΟΚΡΑΝΑΣΑΙΕΝΑΩΕΠΙΔ
 3 ΕΙΑΤΗΚΥΦΑΡΙΖΟΣΤΙΣΔΕΖΙΠΩ
 ΔΖΙΓΑΣΥΙΟΣΙΜΙΚΑΙΩΡΑΝΩΑΣΤΕΡΟ
 ΕΝΤΟΣΣ

δίψα {α} αἶος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλ-<λ>υμαι· ἀλ-
 λά π<ι>έμ μο<ι> κράνας αἰενάω ἐπὶ δ-
 3 <ε>ξιά· τῆ, κυφάριζος. τίς δ' ἐξί; πῶ
 δ' <ε>ξί; Γᾶς υἱός ἴμι καὶ Ὠρανῶ ἀστερό-
 εντος {σ}.

I am parched with thirst and I am perishing; but (give) me to drink | from the ever-flowing spring to the right; there! the cypress. | “Who are you?” “Where are you from?” “I am the son of Earth | and starry Sky.”

The lettering is sloppy and the lines are not straight; some of the letters' strokes cross over or are joined to the next character, giving the impression of a handwritten style. There are a few

mistakes or omissions. The engraver covers the surface of the lamella but does not seem to respect word divisions (lines 2 and 3). In the beginning of lines 3 and 4, one letter-space appears to have been left vacant.

For the use of the lamella, see cat. no. 93. This text is identical to cat. nos. 93–96 and similar to cat. no. 98. It is text B8, according to the classification of the small Bacchic-Orphic corpus of forty-six texts published so far.

Selected Bibliography

Pugliese Carratelli 2001, 85, no. 1B6; Bernabé 2004, 2005, fr. 483; Graf and Johnston 2007, 24–25, no. 14; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 255, no. L5f; Tzifopoulos 2010, 19–21, no. 6; Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 28.

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos



98. **Lamella with Bacchic-Orphic Text**

Third–first century B.C.

Gold

H. 1.45 cm, w. 2.35 cm, th. < 1 mm. LH. 2–3 mm,
wt. 0.1 gr.

From a grave in the extended cemeteries north of
Eleutherna Crete, near Lagká and Alphá and the sites
Mnemata and Agia Elessa

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Xρ1651

Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological
Receipts Fund

For the use of the lamella, see cat. no. 93. The text is similar to cat. nos. 93–97, and it is a new text to be added to group B as B₁₃, according to the classification of the small Bacchic-Orphic corpus of forty-six texts published so far. It appears to be yet another abbreviation of the shorter texts (B_{3–9} and B₁₂) of group B.

Owing to space constraints, this is a preliminary publication of the new text.

Selected Bibliography

Tzifopoulos 2010; Edmonds (ed.) 2011.

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos

Rectangular paper-thin lamella/epistomion preserved in excellent condition, only the upper left corner is missing. It was discovered among the other lamellae/epistomia from Crete in the National Archaeological Museum (see cat. nos. 93–98), when the latter were reexamined.

ΔΙΨΑΙΤΩΙΕ
ΙΤΟΣΠΑΡΑ
3 ΠΟΛΛΥΤΑΙ
ΑΛΔΠΙΕΝΕ
ΚΡΑΝΑΣΑΨΙΩ.

δίψαι τοσις Ε
ΙΤΟΣ παρα-
3 πόλλυται.
ἀλ<λ>ὰ πιένε (πιέν<αι> vel πιέν ἐ(μοὶ))
κράνας ἄπο?

Because of thirst you are (or surely s/he is or surely I am) . . . | . . . s/he is | perishing. But (give) (me) to drink | from the spring.

The lettering is sloppy, and the engraver has tried to cover the surface of the epistomion.



100. **Lamella with Bacchic-Orphic Text**

Third–first century B.C.

Gold

H. 1.1 cm, w. 4 cm, th. < 1 mm, letter h. 1.5–2 mm,
wt. 0.3 gr.

From a grave in the extended cemeteries north of
Eleutherna Crete, near Lagká and Alphá and the sites
Mnemata and Agia Elessa

Athens, National Archaeological Museum, 635-11042

Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports –
Archaeological Receipts Fund

Selected Bibliography

Pugliese Carratelli 2001, 121–22; Bernabé 2004, 2005, fr. 495;
Graf and Johnston 2007, 24–25, no. 15; Bernabé and Jiménez
San Cristóbal 2008, 267, no. L15; Tzifopoulos 2010, 21–23, no. 7;
Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 39.

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos

Rectangular paper-thin lamella/epistomion. The left third is missing. Preserved in excellent condition, except for minor tears on top and bottom and wrinkles. There are no creases to indicate any folding or rolling.

Τ Ω Ν Ι Κ Α Ι Φ
Ο Π Ι Ο Ν Ε Ι Χ Α Ι Ρ Ε Ν

[Πλού]τωνι καὶ Φ-
[ερσ]πόνει χαίρειν.

Greetings to Plouton and | Persephone.

The lettering is very carefully done. For the text's alignment in the center, as can be surmised from the right edge where at least one letter space is left vacant, the engraver does not respect word divisions.

For the use of the lamella, see cat. no. 93. According to the classification of the small Bacchic-Orphic corpus of forty-six texts published so far, this is text E2 and belongs to the fifth group, which comprises five short texts, each of them a greetings formula. The short text, in which the deceased greets (*chairein*) Hades and Persephone, becomes comprehensible if placed within the context of the longer texts of group A and probably group B, where the greetings formula with the verb *chairein* also appears. The incision of only the greetings formula was thought sufficient enough for this deceased's recognition as a *mystes* by the underworld deities (see also cat. no. 102).



103. **Lamella with Bacchic-Orphic Text**

325–300 B.C.

Gold

H. 0.6 cm, w. 4.2 cm, th. < 1 mm. LH. 1.5–3 mm

From a grave in the cemetery at the Palaiokatachas site, modern Methone in Pieria

Katerini, 27th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities – Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Πν 52

Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund

Selected Bibliography

ΑΔ 41 (1986) Χρονικά 142–43 [Μ. Μπέσιος]; *SEG* 40.541; *SEG* 45.777; Χατζόπουλος 2001, 161 and n. 11, 13–15; Bernabé 2004, 2005, fr. 496h; Graf and Johnston 2007, 44–45, no. 35; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 267–69, no. L16h; Tzifopoulos 2010, 34–35, no. 15; Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 39.

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos

Rectangular paper-thin lamella/epistomion preserved in excellent condition, except for minor tears and wrinkles.

Βουλομάγα or Φυλομάγα.

Boulomaga or Phylomaga (= Phylomachê).

The lettering is carefully done, and the letters are spread out to cover the surface of the epistomion. The engraver appears to have incised either a *beta*, followed by a small *omicron* which he later turned into a *phi*, or vice versa.

The lamella was found on the chest of the deceased female. For the tomb, see cat. no. 104. For the use of the lamella, see cat. no. 93. According to the classification of the small Bacchic-Orphic corpus of forty-six texts published so far, this is text F3 and belongs to the sixth group, which comprises the names of the deceased or the word *mystes* or a combination thereof. These one-line texts (see also cat. nos. 107 and 108) become comprehensible if associated with the texts in group E (see cat. nos. 100–102), whose abbreviations they appear to be, since they omit from incision the greetings formula with the verb *chairein* as easily understood. The greetings formula also appears in the longer texts of group A and probably of group B.



105. Coin with Bacchic-Orphic Text

348–328 B.C.

Gold

D. 1 cm, letter h. 1–2 mm.

From pit-grave no. 8 in the south cemetery of Pydna in the plot of K. Chrysochoidis, at the site of modern Alykes, Kitros in Pieria

Katerini, 27th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities – Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Πυ 778

Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund

Coin/epistomion preserved in excellent condition. The surface of the coin has been slightly smoothed in order to accommodate the incision of the deceased's name (in two lines) on both sides. The smoothness is visible in the upper half of the reverse, where the first four letters of the coin's legend are still visible (Φιλίππου), on top of which the name of the deceased was incised.

Obverse Ἄνδ-
ρων.

Reverse Ἄνδ-
ρων.

Andron.

The lettering is neat, especially in line 1. The gold coin is a *trihemiobol* (an eighth) of a stater of Philip II. The incision of the name cannot technically be understood as a graffito on the coin or as an overstrike.

It was found in the cranium area of the deceased male. This text is similar to cat. no. 103, and it is text F8, according to the classification of the small Bacchic-Orphic corpus of forty-six texts published so far. This and the following (cat. no. 106) are so far unique cases (incision on coins is an extremely rare

practice), in that the gold coin incised with the name of the deceased simultaneously meets two of the deceased's needs, the burial-coin practice and that of the incised epistomion.

Selected Bibliography

Μ. Μπέσιος, *ΑΔ* 41 (1986) Χρονικά 142–43; *SEG* 40.541; *SEG* 45.777; Bernabé 2004, 2005, fr. 496h; Graf and Johnston 2007, 28, no. 18; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 270, no. 53a; Tzifopoulos 2010, 32–33, no. 13; Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 39.

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos



106. Coin with Bacchic-Orphic Text

348–328 B.C.

Gold

D. 1.1 cm, letter h. 1.2–2.8 mm

From cist-grave no. 29 in the south cemetery of Pydna in the plot of K. Chrysochoidis, at the site of modern Alykes, Kitros in Pieria

Katerini, 27th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities – Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Πυ 779

Photo © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports – Archaeological Receipts Fund

Selected Bibliography

Μπέσιος 1992, 247; *SEG* 45.803; Bernabé 2004, 2005, fr. 496h; Graf and Johnston 2007, 28, no. 18; Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 270, no. 53b; Tzifopoulos 2010, 32–34, no. 14; Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 39.

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos

Coin/epistomion preserved in excellent condition. The coin was smoothed so much that its obverse and reverse are barely visible; the name of the deceased is incised in two lines on the lower two thirds of the obverse; in line 2 the lower half of the right vertical of the eta is missing owing to lack of space.

Obverse Ξενα-
ρίστη.

Xenariste.

The lettering is similar to that of cat. no. 105. The gold coin is a trihemionbol of a stater of Philip II. For the incision, see cat. no. 105.

It was found in the cranium area of the deceased female. This text also is similar to cat. no. 103, and it is text F9, according to the classification of the small Bacchic-Orphic corpus of forty-six texts published so far.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
ABSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
ABV	J. D. Beazley. <i>Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford, 1956.
Add ²	T. Carpenter, T. Mannackn and M. Mendonça. <i>Beazley Addenda. Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena</i> . Oxford, 1989.
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
Anatolia	<i>Anatolia. Revue annuelle de l'Institut d'archéologie de l'Université d'Ankara</i>
AntK	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
ARV ²	J. D. Beazley. <i>Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters</i> . Oxford, 1963.
AthMitt	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Athenische Abteilung</i>
BABesch	<i>Bulletin Antieke Beschaving</i>
BAPD	<i>Beazley Archive Pottery Database</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BMCR	<i>Bryn Maur Classical Review</i>
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York</i>
CAVI	<i>Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions</i>
CIA	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CIB	<i>The Classical Bulletin</i>
CVA	<i>Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum</i>
GrRByzSt	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
IC	<i>Inscriptiones Creticae</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
HarStClPh	<i>Harvard Studies of Classical Philology</i>
HdArch	<i>Handbuch der Archäologie</i>
Hesperia	<i>Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
JBerlMus	<i>Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen</i>
JdI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
MetMusBul	<i>The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin</i>
MetMusSt	<i>Metropolitan Museum Studies</i>
ÖJh	<i>Jahreshefte des Österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien</i>
Para	J. D. Beazley. <i>Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> . Oxford, 1971.
RAArtLouvain	<i>Revue des archéologues et historiens d'art de Louvain</i>
RömMitt	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung</i>
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
ThesCRA	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ΑΔ	<i>Αρχαιολογικό Δελτίο</i>
ΑΕ	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίδα</i>
ΑΕΜΘ	<i>Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη</i>
Αρχαιολογία	<i>Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες</i>
ΠΑΕ	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>
Το Μουσείον	<i>Το Μουσείον. Περιοδική Έκδοση του Κέντρου Μουσειακών Ερευνών του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών</i>

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Agelarakis 2005: N. P. Agelarakis. *The Anthropology of Tomb A1K1 of Orthi Petra in Eleutherna: A narrative of the bones: Aspects of the human condition in Geometric-Archaic Eleutherna*. Athens, 2005.
- Agora XXVI: J. H. Kroll. *The Greek Coins. The Athenian Agora XXVI*. Princeton, 1993.
- Ahlberg 1971: G. Ahlberg. *Prothesis and Ekphora in Greek Geometric Art*. SIMA 32I. Göteborg, 1971.
- Ahlberg-Cornell 1992: G. Ahlberg-Cornell. *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art, Representation and Interpretation*. Jonsered, 1992.
- Aktseli 1996: D. Aktseli. *Altäre in der archaischen und klassischen Kunst. Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Ikonographie*. Espelkamp, 1996.
- Alberti 2003: M. E. Alberti. "Weighting and Dying between East and West. Weighting materials from Late Bronze Age Aegean funerary contexts." In METRON. *Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 9th International Aegean Conference (New Haven, Yale University, 18–21 April 2002)*, ed. K. P. Foster and R. Laffineur, 277–84. Aegaeum 24. New Haven, 2003.
- Amandry 1953: P. Amandry. *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, vol. 1: *Les Bijoux Antiques*. Strasbourg, 1953.
- Amandry 1971: P. Amandry. "Collection P. Canellopoulos I: Armes et lèbès de bronze." *BCH* 95 (1971): 585–626.
- Andreiomenou 2000: A. Andreiomenou. "Zur Werkstatt des Endoios und Philourgos." *AthMitt* 115 (2000): 83–113.
- Andreiomenou 2006: A. Andreiomenou. "Notes de sculpture et d'épigraphie en Béotie. I. La stèle de Mnasithéios, oeuvre de Philourgos: étude stylistique." *BCH* 130 (2006): 39–61.
- Andronikos 1968: M. Andronikos. *Totenkult*. Archaeologia Homerica, vol. 3. Göttingen, 1968.
- Antichità di Ercolano: Antichità di Ercolano esposte con qualche spiegazione*. 8 vols. Naples, 1757–92.
- Aurenhammer 1980: M. Aurenhammer. "Figürliche griechische Basisreliefs." Ph.D. diss. Vienna, 1980.
- Austin and Bastianini (eds.) 2002: C. Austin and G. Bastianini, eds. *Posidippi Pellaei quae supersunt omnia*. Milan, 2002.
- Bakir 1981: G. Bakir. *Sophilos. Ein Beitrag zu seinem Stil*. Mainz, 1981.
- Barr-Sharrar 2000: B. Barr-Sharrar. "Observations on the Derveni tomb A bronze volute krater." In *Μύρτος. Μνήμη Ιουλίας Βοκοποπούλου*, ed. Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη, 159–78. Thessaloniki, 2000.
- Baumgarten 1998: R. Baumgarten. *Heiliges Wort und Heilige Schrift bei den Griechen. Hieroi Logoi und verwandte Erscheinungen*. ScriptOralia 110. Tübingen, 1998.
- Beaumont 2003: L. A. Beaumont. "The Changing Face of Childhood." In *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*, ed. J. Neils and J. H. Oakley, 111–50. New Haven, 2003.
- Beazley 1932: J. D. Beazley. "Battle-Loutrophoros." *The Museum Journal, University of Pennsylvania* 23 (1932): 5–22.

- Beazley 1986:** J. D. Beazley. *The Development of Attic Black-Figure*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1986.
- Bérard 1974:** C. Bérard. *ANODOI. Essai sur l'imagerie des passages chthoniens*. Rome, 1974.
- Bérard 1984:** C. Bérard. "L'ordre des femmes." In *La cité des images. Religion et société en Grèce antique*, 85–104. Paris, 1984.
- Bergemann 1996:** J. Bergemann. "Die sogenannte Lutrophoros: Grabmal für unverheiratete Tote?" *AthMitt* 111 (1996): 149–90.
- Bergemann 1997:** J. Bergemann. *Demos und Thanatos. Untersuchungen zum Wertsystem der Polis im Spiegel der attischen Grabreliefs des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und zur Funktion der gleichzeitigen Grabbauten*. Munich, 1997.
- Bernabé 2004, 2005:** A. Bernabé. *Poetae epici graeci testimonia et fragmenta*, part 2: *Orphicorum et orphicis similibus testimonia et fragmenta*, fasc. 1–2. Monachii-Lipsiae 2004, 2005.
- Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008:** A. Bernabé and A. I. Jiménez San Cristóbal. *Instructions for the Netherworld: The Orphic Gold Tablets*. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 162. Leiden, 2008.
- Bernabé and Jiménez San Cristóbal 2011:** A. Bernabé and A. I. Jiménez San Cristóbal. "Are the Orphic Gold Leaves Orphic?" In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 68–101.
- Bethe 1890:** E. Bethe. "Aktaeon." *AthMitt* (1890): 240–42.
- Betz 2011:** H. D. Betz. "A Child of Earth Am I and Of Starry Heaven: Concerning the Anthropology of Man in the Orphic Gold Tablets." In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 102–19.
- Bivar 1985:** A. D. H. Bivar. "Achaemenid Coins, Weights and Measures." In *The Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 2: The Median and Achaemenian Periods*, ed. I. Gershevitch, 610–39. Cambridge, 1985.
- Blech 1982:** M. Blech. *Studien zum Kranz bei den Griechen*. Berlin, New York, 1982.
- Blok 1995:** J. H. Blok. *The Early Amazons: Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*. Leiden, 1995.
- Boardman 1955:** J. Boardman. "Painted funerary plaques and some remarks on prothesis." *ABSA* 50 (1955): 51–66.
- Boardman 1974:** J. Boardman. *Athenian Black Figure Vases*. London, 1974.
- Boardman 1988:** J. Boardman. "Sex Differentiation in Grave Vases." *Archaeologia e Storia Antica* 10 (1988): 171–79.
- Boardman 1989:** J. Boardman. *Athenian Red Figure Vases. The Classical Period*. London, 1989.
- Boardman 2001:** J. Boardman. *The History of Greek Vases: Potters, Painters and Pictures*. London, 2001.
- Böhr 1982:** E. Böhr. *Der Schaukelmaler*. Mainz am Rhein, 1982.
- Bol 1998:** R. Bol. *Amazones volneratae. Untersuchungen zu den Ephesischen Amazonenstatuen*. Mainz am Rhein, 1998.
- Bothmer 1957:** D. von Bothmer. *Amazons in Greek Art*. Oxford, 1957.
- Bothmer 1958:** D. von Bothmer. "Greek Marble Sculptures." *MetMusBul* 16, no. 6 (1958): 187–92.
- Boulter 1963:** C. G. Boulter. "Graves in Lenormant Street, Athens." *Hesperia* 32 (1963): 113–37.
- Boyd-Hawes 1922:** H. Boyd-Hawes. "The 'Ludovisi Throne' and the Boston Relief." *AJA* 26, no. 3 (1922): 278–306.
- Bremer, Hout, and Peters (eds.) 1994:** J. M. Bremer, T. P. J. van den Hout, and R. Peters, eds. *Hidden Futures. Death and Immortality in Ancient Egypt, Anatolia, the Classical, Biblical, and Arabic-Islamic World*. Amsterdam, 1994.
- Bremmer 1983:** J. N. Bremmer. *The early Greek concept of the soul*. Princeton, 1983.
- Bremmer 1991:** J. N. Bremmer. "Orpheus: from Guru to Gay." In *Orphisme et Orphée en l'honneur de Jean Rudhardt*, ed. P. Borgeaud, 13–30. Recherches et Rencontres, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Genève 3. Geneva, 1991.
- Bremmer 1994:** J. N. Bremmer. *Greek Religion*. Greece & Rome New Surveys in the Classics 24. Oxford, 1994.
- Bremmer 1999:** J. N. Bremmer. "Rationalization and Disenchantment in Ancient Greece: Max Weber among the Pythagoreans and Orphics?" In *From Myth to Reason? Studies in the Development of Greek Thought*, ed. R. Buxton, 71–83. Oxford, 1999.
- Bremmer 2001:** J. N. Bremmer. *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife*. London, 2001.
- Bremmer 2002:** J. N. Bremmer. *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife*. The 1995 Read-Tuckwell Lectures at the University of Bristol. London, 2002.
- Brinkmann 2013:** V. Brinkmann. "Zurück zur Klassik." In *Zurück zur Klassik: Ein neuer Blick auf das alte Griechenland*, ed. V. Brinkmann, 27–28. Frankfurt am Main, 2013.
- Brisson 1982:** L. Brisson. *Platon. Les Mots et les Mythes*. Paris, 1982.
- Brisson 1995:** L. Brisson. *Orphée et l'Orphisme dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine*. Aldershot, 1995.
- Brouskari 1985:** M. Brouskari. *The Paul and Alexandra Canelloopoulos Museum*. Athens, 1985.
- Brouskari 2004:** M. Brouskari. *The Paul and Alexandra Canelloopoulos Museum*. Athens, 2004.
- Brückner 1910:** A. Brückner. "Kerameikos-Studien." *AthMitt* 35 (1910): 183–234.
- Burkert 1972:** W. Burkert. *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*. Cambridge, Mass., 1972.
- Burkert 1985:** W. Burkert. *Greek Religion*, trans. John Raffan. Cambridge, Mass., 1985.
- Burkert 1987:** W. Burkert. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Cambridge, Mass., 1987.
- Burkert 1993:** W. Burkert. "Bacchic Teletai in the Hellenistic Age." In Carpenter and Faraone (eds.) 1993, 259–75.
- Burkert 1998:** W. Burkert. *The Orientalizing Revolution. Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, trans. M. E. Pinder and W. Burkert. Revealing Antiquity 5. Cambridge, Mass., and London, 1998.

- Burkert 2004:** W. Burkert. *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis. Eastern Contexts of Greek Culture*. Cambridge, Mass., 2004.
- Buxton 2009:** R. Buxton. *Forms of Astonishment: Greek Myths of Metamorphosis*. Oxford, 2009.
- Calame 2009:** C. Calame. *Poetic and Performative Memory in Ancient Greece: Heroic Reference and Ritual Gestures in Time and Space*. Center for Hellenic Studies, Hellenic Series 18. Washington, D.C., and Cambridge, Mass., 2009.
- Calame 2011:** C. Calame. "Funerary Gold Lamellae and Orphic Papyrus Commentaries: Same Use, Different Purpose." In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 203–18.
- Carpenter 1991:** T. H. Carpenter. *Art and Myth in Ancient Greece*. London, 1991.
- Carpenter and Faraone (eds.) 1993:** T. H. Carpenter and C. A. Faraone, eds. *Masks of Dionysus*. (Myth and Poetics). Ithaca, N.Y., 1993.
- Caskey 1918:** L. D. Caskey. "The Ludovisi Relief and Its Companion Piece in Boston." *AJA* 22, no. 2 (1918): 101–45.
- Caskey and Beazley 1963:** L. D. Caskey and J. D. Beazley. *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Part III*. Boston, 1963.
- Ceccarelli 1998:** P. Ceccarelli. *La pirrica nell'antichità greco romana. Studi sulla danza armata*. Pisa and Rome, 1998.
- de Cesare 1997:** M. de Cesare. *Le statue in immagine, Studi sulle raffigurazioni di statue nella pittura vascolare greca*. Rome, 1997.
- Cesnola 1903:** L. P. di Cesnola. *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*, vol. 3. New York, 1903.
- Chamay 1984:** J. Chamay. "Le châtimeut d'Ixion." *AntK* 27 (1984): 146–50.
- Chaniotis 2009:** A. Chaniotis. "Ritual performances of divine justice: the epigraphy of confession, atonement and exaltation in Roman Asia Minor." In *From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, ed. H. M. Cotton, R. G. Hoyland, J. J. Price and D. J. Wasserstein, 115–53. Cambridge, 2009.
- Choremi-Spetsieri and Zarkadas (eds.) 2006:** A. Choremi-Spetsieri and A. Zarkadas, eds. *The Paul and Alexandra Canellopoulos Museum, Ancient Art*. Athens, 2006.
- Clairmont 1983:** C. W. Clairmont. *Patrios Nomos: Public Burial in Athens during the Fifth the Fourth Centuries B.C. The archaeological, epigraphic-literary and historical evidence*. Oxford, 1983.
- Clairmont 1993:** C. W. Clairmont. *Classical Attic Tombstones*. Kilchberg, 1993.
- Closterman 2007:** W. E. Closterman. "The Sappho Painter's Loutrophoros Amphora." *CIB* 83.1 (2007): 49–64.
- Cohen 2010:** A. Cohen. *Art in the Age of Alexander the Great*. Cambridge, 2010.
- Coldstream 2003:** N. Coldstream. *Geometric Greece: 900–700 B.C.* London and New York, 2003.
- Coldstream 2008:** N. Coldstream. *Greek Geometric Pottery. A Survey of ten local Styles and their Chronology*. London, 2008.
- Cole 1980:** S. G. Cole. "New Evidence for the Mysteries of Dionysus." *GrRByzSt* 21 (1980): 223–38.
- Cole 1993:** S. G. Cole. "Voices from Beyond the Grave: Dionysus and the Dead." In Carpenter and Faraone (eds.) 1993, 276–95.
- Cole 2003:** S. G. Cole. "Landscapes of Dionysos and Elysian Fields." In Cosmopoulos (ed.) 2003, 193–217.
- Collezioni Museo 1989:** *Le collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. La scultura greco-romana*, vol. 1, ed. Archivio fotografico Pedicini. Rome, 1989.
- Collignon 1878:** M. Collignon. *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes*. Paris, 1878.
- Collignon 1911:** M. Collignon. *Les statues funéraires dans l'art grec*. Paris, 1911.
- Collignon and Couve 1902:** M. Collignon and L. Couve. *Catalogue des Vases Peints du Musée National d'Athènes*. Paris, 1902.
- Comparetti 1910:** D. Comparetti. *Laminette orfice, edite et illustrata*. Florence, 1910.
- Connelly 1996:** J. B. Connelly. "Parthenon and Parthenoi: A Mythological Interpretation of the Parthenon Frieze." *AJA* 100 (1996): 53–80.
- Connor 1984:** P. J. Connor. "The dead hero and the sleeping giant by the Nikosthenes painter. At the beginnings of a motif." *AA* (1984): 387–94.
- Conze 1900:** A. Conze. *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, vol. 2. Berlin, 1900.
- Cook 1947:** J. M. Cook. "Athenian Workshops around 700." *ABSA* 42 (1947): 150.
- Corinth XIII:** C. Blegen, H. Palmer, and R. Young. *Corinth XIII. The North Cemetery*. Princeton, 1964.
- Cosmopoulos (ed.) 2003:** M. B. Cosmopoulos, ed. *Greek Mysteries. The Archaeology and Ritual of Ancient Greek Secret Cults*. London, 2003.
- Coulianou 1991:** I. P. Coulianou. *Out of This World: Otherworldly Journeys from Gilgamesh to Albert Einstein*. Boston and London, 1991.
- Crouwel 1992:** J. H. Crouwel. *Chariots and other Wheeled Vehicles in Iron Age Greece*. Amsterdam, 1992.
- Cumont 1927–28:** F. Cumont. "Nuovi epitafi col simbolo della preghiera al dio vindice." *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia* 5 (1927–28): 69–78.
- Davidson and Oliver 1984:** P. Davidson and A. Oliver. *Ancient Greek and Roman Jewelry in the Brooklyn Museum*. New York, 1984.
- Davies 1971:** J. K. Davies. *Athenian Propertied Families 600–300, B.C.* Oxford, 1971.
- Davison 1968:** J. M. Davison. *Attic Geometric Workshops*. Rome, 1968.
- Daux 1961:** G. Daux. "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1960." *BCH* 85 (1961): 601–954.
- De Caro 1994:** S. De Caro. *Il museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli*. Naples, 1994.

- De Caro 2001:** S. De Caro. *Ercole: l'eroe, il mito*. Milan, 2001.
- De Heer 1969:** C. De Heer. *Μάκαρ, εὐδαιμόν, ὄλβιος, εὐτυχής. A Study of the Semantic Field Denoting Happiness in Ancient Greek to the End of the 5th Century B.C.* Amsterdam, 1969.
- Delavaud-Roux 1993:** M.-H. Delavaud-Roux. *Les danses armées en Grèce antique*. Aix-en-Provence, 1993.
- Delavaud-Roux 1994:** M.-H. Delavaud-Roux. *Les danses pacifiques en Grèce antique*. Aix-en-Provence, 1994.
- Delivorrias 1997:** A. Delivorrias. "Divine Voyagers and the appeal of the Orient in 4th Century B.C. Plastic Vases." *Anadolu (Anatolia)* 23 (1984–97): 271–81.
- Denoyelle and Iozzo 2009:** M. Denoyelle and M. Iozzo. *La céramique grecque d'Italie méridionale et de Sicile: productions coloniales et apparentées du VIIIe au IIIe siècle av. J.-C.* Paris, 2009.
- De Ridder 1902:** A. De Ridder. *Catalogue des vases peints de la Bibliothèque nationale*. Paris, 1902.
- Descamps-Lequime (ed.) 2011:** S. Descamps-Lequime, ed. *Au Royaume d'Alexandre le Grand. La Macédoine antique*. Paris, 2011.
- Detienne 2003:** M. Detienne. *The Writing of Orpheus. Greek Myth in Cultural Contact*, trans. J. Lloyd. Baltimore, 2003.
- Dickie 1995:** M. W. Dickie. "The Dionysiac Mysteries in Pella." *ZPE* 109 (1995): 81–86.
- Diepolder 1931:** H. Diepolder. *Die attischen Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Berlin, 1931.
- Dieterich 1969:** A. Dieterich. *Nekyia. Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalyptose*. Leipzig, 1969.
- Dignas 2004:** B. Dignas. "Posidippus and the Mysteries: Epitymbia read by the Ancient Historian." In *Labored in Papyrus Leaves: Perspectives on an Epigram Collection Attributed to Posidippus*, ed. B. Acosta-Hughes, E. Kosmetatou, and M. Baumbach, 177–86. Cambridge, 2004.
- Dodds 1996:** E. R. Dodds. *Οι Έλληνες και το παράλογο*, trans. Γ. Γιατρομανωλάκης. Athens, 1996.
- Dohrn 1957:** T. Dohrn. *Attische Plastik vom Tode des Phidias bis zum Wirken der grossen Meister des IV. Jhs. v. Chr.* Krefeld, 1957.
- Dousa 2011:** T. M. Dousa. "Common Motifs in the "Orphic" B Tablets and Egyptian Funerary Texts: Continuity or Convergence?" In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 120–64.
- Drew Griffith 2008:** R. Drew Griffith. *Mummy Wheat: Egyptian Influence on the Homeric View of the Afterlife and the Eleusinian Mysteries*. Lanham, Md., 2008.
- Edmonds 2004:** R. G. Edmonds. *Myths of the Underworld Journey. Plato, Aristophanes, and the 'Orphic' Gold Tablets*. Cambridge, 2004.
- Edmonds 2011a:** R. G. Edmonds. "Who Are You? A Brief History of Scholarship." In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, Cambridge, 3–14.
- Edmonds 2011b:** R. G. Edmonds. "Texts and Translations of the Gold Tablets, with Critical Apparatus and Tables." In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 16–50.
- Edmonds 2011c:** R. G. Edmonds. "Sacred Scripture or Oracles for the Dead? The Semiotic Situation of the "Orphic" Gold Tablets." In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 257–70.
- Edmonds (ed.) 2011:** R. G. Edmonds, ed. *The 'Orphic' Gold Tablets and Greek Religion: Further Along the Path*. Cambridge, 2011.
- Eisenberg 1997:** J. M. Eisenberg. "The Ludovisi and Boston Thrones and their 19th century Sources." In *Il Trono Ludovisi e il Trono di Boston*, 19–33.
- Fabricius 2004:** J. Fabricius. "Τα μαρμάρινα αγγεία του Μουσείου Μπενάκη: Μία ερμηνεία." In Βλίζος (ed.) 2004, 151–61.
- Fairbanks 1907:** A. Fairbanks. *White Lekythoi*. New York, 1907.
- Faraone 1991:** C. A. Faraone. "Binding and burying the forces of evil. The defensive use of 'voodoo' dolls in ancient Greece." *CIA* 10 (1991): 165–205.
- Faraone 2011:** C. A. Faraone. "Rushing Into Milk: New Perspectives on the Gold Tablets." In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 310–30.
- Felten 1975:** W. Felten. *Attische Unterweltdarstellungen des 6. und 5. Jhs. v. Chr.* Münchener archäologische Studien 6. Munich, 1975.
- Ferrari 2007:** F. Ferrari. *La fonte del cipresso bianco. Racconto e sapienza dall'Odissea alle lamine misteriche*. Turin, 2007.
- Figueira 1986:** T. J. Figueira. "Population patterns in Late Archaic and Classical Sparta." *TAPA* 116 (1986): 165–213.
- Finati 1817–23:** G. Finati. *Il Regal Museo Borbonico*, vols. 1–3. Naples, 1817–23.
- Fittschen 1969:** K. Fittschen. *Untersuchungen zum Beginn der Sagen Darstellungen bei den Griechen*. Berlin, 1969.
- Franciscis 1963:** A. de Franciscis. *Guida del Museo Archeologico nazionale di Napoli*. Naples, 1963.
- Fraser and Matthews (eds.) 1987:** P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 1: *Aegean Islands, Cyprus and Cyrenaica*. Oxford, 1987.
- Fraser and Matthews (eds.) 1997:** P. M. Fraser, and E. Matthews, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 3A: *Western Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia*. Oxford, 1997.
- Fraser and Matthews (eds.) 2000:** P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 3B: *Central Greece: from Megarid to Thessaly*. Oxford, 2000.
- Fraser and Matthews (eds.) 2005:** P. M. Fraser and E. Matthews, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol. 4: *Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea*. Oxford, 2005.
- Frel 1969:** J. Frel. *Les sculpteurs attiques anonymes*. Prague, 1969.
- Friis Johansen 1951:** K. Friis Johansen. *The Attic Grave-Reliefs of the Classical Period*. Copenhagen, 1951.
- Furtwängler and Reichhold 1932:** A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold. *Griechische Vasenmalerei: Auswahl hervorragender Vasenbilder*, vol. 3. Munich, 1932.
- Garland 1989:** R. Garland. "The well-ordered corpse: an investigation into the motives behind Greek funerary legislation." *BICS* 36 (1989): 1–15.

- Garland 2001:** R. Garland. *The Greek Way of Death*. Ithaca and New York, 2001.
- Gebauer 2002:** J. Gebauer. *Pompe und Thysia, attische Tieropferdarstellungen auf schwarz- und rotfigurigen Vasen*. Münster, 2002.
- Gex 1993:** K. Gex. *Eretria. Ausgrabungen und Forschungen 9. Rotfigurige und weissgrundige Keramik*. Lausanne, 1993.
- Gjerstad 1948:** E. Gjerstad. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. 4, part 2. *The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro Archaic, and Cypro-Classical Periods*. Stockholm, 1948.
- Goette 2009:** H. R. Goette. "Images in the Athenian 'Demosion Sema'." In *Art in Athens during the Peloponnesian War*, ed. O. Palagia, 188–206. Cambridge, 2009.
- Grabow 1998:** E. Grabow. *Schlangenbilder in der griechischen schwarzfigurigen Vasenkunst*. Münster, 1998.
- Graf 1993:** F. Graf. "Dionysiac and Orphic Eschatology: New Texts and Old Questions." In Carpenter and Faraone (eds.) 1993, 239–58.
- Graf 2007:** F. Graf. "Untimely death, witchcraft, and divine vengeance. A reasoned epigraphical catalog." *ZPE* 162 (2007): 139–50.
- Graf 2011:** F. Graf. "Text and Ritual: The Corpus Eschatologicum of the Orphics." In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 53–67.
- Graf and Iles Johnston 2007:** F. Graf and S. Iles Johnston. *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife: Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets*. London and New York, 2007.
- Graf and Iles Johnston 2013:** F. Graf and S. Iles Johnston. *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife: Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets*. London, 2013.
- Greci in Occidente 1996:** *I Greci in Occidente. La Magna Grecia nelle collezioni del Museo Archeologico di Napoli*. Naples, 1996.
- Green and Handley 1995:** J. R. Green and E. Handley. *Images of the Greek Theatre*. London, 1995.
- Greifenhagen 1959:** A. Greifenhagen. "Tityos." *JBerlMus* 1 (1959): 5–32.
- Grmek and Gourevitch 1998:** M. D. Grmek and D. Gourevitch. *Les maladies dans l'art antique*. Paris, 1998.
- Guthrie 1993:** W. K. C. Guthrie. *Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement*. Princeton, 1993.
- Hall and Bothmer (eds.) 1984:** E. S. Hall and B. V. Bothmer, eds. *Ancient Greek and Roman Gold Jewellery in the Brooklyn Museum*. Brooklyn, N.Y., 1984.
- Hannah 2010:** P. Hannah. "The warrior loutrophoroi of fifth-century Athens." In *War, Democracy and Culture in Classical Athens*, ed. D. M. Pritchard, 266–302. Cambridge, 2010.
- Harrison 1964:** E. Harrison. "Hesperides and Heroes: A Note on the Three-Figure Reliefs." *Hesperia* 33 (1964): 76–82.
- Hart 2010:** M. L. Hart. *The Art of Ancient Greek Theatre*. Los Angeles, 2010.
- Hatzivassiliou 2001:** E. Hatzivassiliou. "The Attic Phormiskos: Problems of Origin and Function." *BICS* 45 (2001): 113–48.
- Haspels 1936:** C. Haspels. *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*. Paris, 1936.
- Hedreen 2001:** G. Hedreen. *Capturing Troy: The Narrative Functions of Landscape in Archaic and Early Classical Greek Art*. Ann Arbor, 2001.
- Henrichs 1998:** A. Henrichs. "Dromena und Legomena. Zum rituellen Selbstverständnis der Griechen." In *Ansichten griechischer Rituale. Geburtstags-Symposium für Walter Burkert (Castelen bei Basel 15. bis 18. März 1996)*, ed. F. Graf, 33–71. Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998.
- Henrichs 2000:** A. Henrichs. "Drama and Dromena: Bloodshed, Violence, and Sacrificial Metaphor in Euripides." *HarStClPh* 100 (2000): 173–88.
- Henrichs 2003a:** A. Henrichs. "Hieroi Logoi and Hierai Bibloi: The (Un)written Margins of the Sacred in Ancient Greece." *HarStClPh* 88 (2003): 205–40.
- Henrichs 2003b:** A. Henrichs. "Writing Religion: Inscribed Texts, Ritual Authority, and the Religious Discourse of the Polis." In *Written Texts and the Rise of Literate Culture in Ancient Greece*, ed. H. Yunis, 38–58. Cambridge and New York, 2003.
- Heracles to Alexander 2011:** *Heracles to Alexander the Great: Treasures from the Royal Capital of Macedon, a Hellenic Kingdom in the Age of Democracy*, Exhibition catalogue, Ashmolean Museum. Oxford, 2011.
- Herrero de Jáuregui 2011:** M. Herrero de Jáuregui. "Dialogues of Immortality from the *Iliad* to the Golden Leaves." In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 271–90.
- Herrmann 1997:** J. J. Herrmann. "The authenticity of the Boston Throne: a view from Boston." In *Il Trono Ludovisi e il Trono di Boston*, 13–17.
- Heydemann 1872:** H. Heydemann. *Die Vasensammlungen des Museo nazionale zu Neapel*. Berlin, 1872.
- Higgins 1986:** R. Higgins. *Tanagra and the Figurines*. London, 1986.
- Himmelmann 1990:** N. Himmelmann. *Ideale Nacktheit in der griechischen Kunst* [Jdl–Ergh. 26]. Berlin and New York, 1990.
- Himmelmann 1999:** N. Himmelmann. *Attische Grabreliefs*. Wiesbaden, 1999.
- Hirsch-Dyckel 1983:** O. Hirsch-Dyckel. *Les représentations des enfants sur les stèles funéraires attiques*, *Universitas Jagellonica Acta Scientiarum Litterarumque* 666. Schedae Archaeologicae, Fasc. 34. Krakow, 1983.
- Hölscher 1973:** T. Hölscher. *Griechische Historienbilder des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Würzburg, 1973.
- Hoffmann 1985–86:** H. Hoffmann. "From Charos to Charon: Some Notes on the Human Encounter with Death in Attic Red-figured Vase-Painting." *Visible Religion* 4–5 (1985–86): 173–204.
- Hofkes-Brukker 1966:** C. Hofkes-Brukker. "Die Liebe von Antiope und Theseus." *BABesch* 41 (1966): 14–27.
- Holloway 1979:** R. R. Holloway. "Figure corazzate ed alate nell'Italia preromana." In *Φιλία Χάρις. Miscellanea di studi classici in onore de Eugenio Manni*, vol. 6, 1937–43. Rome, 1979.
- Huber 2001:** I. Huber. *Die Ikonographie der Trauer in der griechischen Kunst*. Mannheim-Möhnesee, 2001.

- Human Figure 1988:** J. Sweeney, T. Curry, and Y. Tzedakis, eds. *The Human Figure in Early Greek Art*. Exhibition catalogue. Athens and Washington, D.C., 1988.
- Ignatiadou (forthcoming):** D. Ignatiadou. "The symbolic crater." In *Le cratère à volutes, Destinations d'un vase de prestige entre Grecs et non Grecs, Colloque International (Paris, 26–27 October 2012)*.
- Il Trono Ludovisi e il Trono di Boston: Il Trono Ludovisi e il Trono di Boston. Quaderni di Palazzo Grassi (Venezia 12 Settebre 1996).** Venice, 1997.
- Immerwahr 1990:** H. R. Immerwahr. *Attic Script: A Survey*. Oxford, 1990.
- Inwood 2009:** M. Inwood. "Plato's eschatological myths." In *Plato's Myths*, ed. Catalin Partenie. Cambridge, 2009.
- Isler 1997:** H. P. Isler. "It Trono Ludovisi e li Trono di Boston." In *Il Trono Ludovisi e il Trono di Boston*, 55–61.
- Isler-Kerenyi 2001:** C. Isler-Kerenyi. *Dionysos nella Grecia arcaica. Il contributo delle immagini*. Pisa, 2001.
- Jacobsthal 1934–36:** P. Jacobsthal. "The Nekyia Krater in New York." *MetMusSt* 5 (1934–36): 117–45.
- Jacov and Voutiras 2005:** D. Jacov and E. Voutiras. "Gebet, Gebärden und Handlungen des Gebetes." *ThesCRA III* (2005): 104–41.
- Jeammet (ed.) 2004:** V. Jeammet, ed. *Tanagra. Mythe et archeology*. Paris, 2004.
- Johnston 1999:** S. I. Johnston. *Restless Dead: Encounter between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*. Berkeley, 1999.
- Johnston 2004:** S. I. Johnston. "Mysteries." In *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, ed. S. I. Johnston, 98–111. Cambridge, Mass., 2004.
- Jordan 1988:** D. R. Jordan. "New Archaeological Evidence for the Practice of Magic in Classical Athens." In *Πρακτικά του XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας (Αθήνα 4–10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1983)*, τόμος Δ', 273–77. Athens, 1988.
- Jordan and Curbera 2008:** D. R. Jordan and J. Curbera. "A lead curse tablet in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens." *ZPE* 166 (2008): 135–50.
- Kahn 2001:** C. H. Kahn. *Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans. A Brief History*. Indianapolis, 2001.
- Kallipolitis-Feytmans 1984:** D. Kallipolitis-Feytmans. "Céramique de la petite nécropole de Vari." *BCH* 108 (1984): 27–36.
- Karageorghis 2000:** V. Karageorghis. *Ancient Art from Cyprus. The Cesnola Collection*. New York, 2000.
- Karo 1930–33:** G. Karo. *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai*. Munich, 1930–33.
- Karo 1934:** G. Karo. "Archäologische Funde vom Juli 1933 bis Juli 1934, Griechenland und Dodekanes." *AA* (1934): 123–96.
- Karouzou 1968:** S. Karouzou. *Musée Archéologique National. Collection des Sculptures*. Athens, 1968.
- Kefalidou 2004:** E. Kefalidou. "On Phormiskoi Again." *BICS* 47 (2004): 23–44.
- Keller 1908:** O. Keller. "Zur Geschichte der Katze im Altertum." *RömMitt* 23 (1908): 40–70.
- Kerameikos VI.2:** K. Kübler. *Die Nekropole des späten 8. bis frühen 6. Jahrhunderts*, Kerameikos, vol. 6, part 2. Berlin, 1970.
- Kerameikos XV.1:** B. Vierneisel-Schlörb. *Die figürlichen Terrakotten*. Vol. 1: *Spätmykenisch bis späthellenistisch*. Kerameikos 15, part 1. Munich, 1997.
- Kleiner 1976:** F. S. Kleiner. "The Agora excavations and the Athenian bronze coinage, 200–86 B.C." *Hesperia* 45 (1976): 1–40.
- Knittlmayer 1997:** B. Knittlmayer. *Die Attische Demokratie und ihre Helden, Darstellungen des trojanischen Sagenkreises im 6. und frühen 5. Jhr. v. Chr.* Heidelberg, 1997.
- Koch and Sictermann 1982:** G. Koch and H. Sictermann. *Römische Sarkophage, Handbuch der Archäologie*. Munich, 1982.
- Kokula 1984:** G. Kokula. *Marmorlutrophoren 2. AthMitt Bh* 10. Berlin, 1984.
- Kontoleon 1969:** N. M. Kontoleon. "Die frugriechische Reliefkunst." *AE* (1969): 215–36.
- Kondoleon, Grossmann et al. 2008:** C. Kondoleon and R. Grossmann et al. *MFA Highlights: Classical Art*. Boston, 2008.
- Kosmopoulou 1998:** A. Kosmopoulou. "A Funerary Base from Kallithea: New Light on Fifth-Century Eschatology." *AJA* 102 (1998): 531–45.
- Kosmopoulou 2002:** A. Kosmopoulou. *The Iconography of Sculptured Statue Bases in the Archaic and Classical Periods*. Madison, Wisc., 2002.
- Kottaridi 2011:** A. Kottaridi. "Queens, princesses and high priestesses: the role of women at the Macedonian court" and "Burial customs and beliefs in the royal necropolis of Aigai." In *Heracles to Alexander* 2011, 93–126, 131–52.
- Kurtz 1975:** D. C. Kurtz. *Athenian White Lekythoi: Patterns and Painters*. Oxford, 1975.
- Kurtz and Boardman 1971:** D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman. *Greek burial customs*. London, 1971.
- Kurtz and Boardman 1994:** D. C. Kurtz and J. Boardman. *Έθιμα ταφής στον αρχαίο Ελληνικό κόσμο*. Athens, 1994.
- Kyrieleis 1969:** H. Kyrieleis. *Throne und Klinen. JdI Erghanzungsheft* 24. Berlin, 1969.
- Laffineur 1980:** P. Laffineur. "Collection P. Canellopoulos bijoux en or." *BCH* 104 (1980): 345–57.
- Langdon 2008:** S. Langdon. *Art and Identity in Dark Age Greece 1000–700 B.C.* Cambridge, 2008.
- Latacz et al. 2008:** J. Latacz, Th. Greub, P. Blome, and A. Wiczorek. *Homer: Der Mythos von Troia in Dichtung und Kunst*. Munich, 2008.
- Laxander 2000:** H. Laxander. *Individuum und Gemeinschaft im Fest. Untersuchungen zu attischen Darstellungen von Festgeschehen im 6. und frühen 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* Münster, 2000.
- Lesky 2000:** M. Lesky. *Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie und Bedeutung antiker Waffentänze in Griechenland und Etrurien*. Munich, 2000.

- Levi 1926: A. Levi. *Le terrecotte figurate del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*. Florence, 1926.
- Lindner 1984: R. Lindner. *Der Raub der Persephone in der antiken Kunst*. Würzburg, 1984.
- Lippold 1950: G. Lippold. *Die Griechische Plastik [HdArch III.1]*. Munich, 1950.
- Lissarrague 1980–90: F. Lissarrague. *Fiches manuscrites d'étude de la collection de vases grecs, italiotes et étrusques du Château-Musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer*. Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1980–90.
- Lissarrague 1990: F. Lissarrague. *L'autre guerrier. Archers, peltastes, cavaliers dans l'imagerie attique*. Paris and Rome, 1990.
- Lissarrague 2009: F. Lissarrague. "Réflexions sur l'image dans la céramique de Grande Grèce." In *Vasi, immagini, collezionismo*, ed. G. Sena Chiesa, 209–28. Milan, 2009.
- Loewy 1886: E. Loewy. "Grabrelief aus Korinth." *AthMitt* 11 (1886): 150–61.
- Loroux 2002: N. Loroux. *Οι εμπειρίες του Τειρεσία. Το θηλυκό στοιχείο και ο άντρας στην αρχαία Ελλάδα*. Athens, 2002.
- Lorimer 1947: H. L. Lorimer. "The Hoplite Phalanx with special reference to the poems of Archilochus and Tyrtaeus." *ABSA* 42 (1947): 87–88.
- Lullies 1946–47: R. Lullies. "Attisch-swartzfigurige Keramik aus dem Kerameikos." *Jdl* 61–62 (1946–47): 55–75.
- Lullies 1982: R. Lullies. "Abermals: Zur Bedeutung des Kranzes von Armento." *Jdl* 97 (1982): 91–117.
- Mackay 2010: E. A. Mackay. *Tradition and Originality: A Study of Exekias*. BAR 2092. Oxford, 2010.
- Marangou 1969: L. Marangou. *Lakonische Elfenbein- und Beinschnitzereien*. Tübingen, 1969.
- Marangou 1996: L. I. Marangou. *Ancient Greek Art: The N. P. Goulandris Collection*. Athens, 1996.
- Marchiandi 2007: D. Marchiandi. "Kallippos di Aixone, un Ateniese Tiranno di Siracusa e la tomba della sua famiglia al Pireo." In *Atene e l'Occidente. I grandi temi. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Atene 25–27 maggio 2006)*, ed. E. Greco and M. Lombardo, 481–514. Athens, 2007.
- Marek 2000: C. Marek. "Der höchste, beste, größte, allmächtige Gott. Inschriften aus Nordkleinasien." *Epigraphica Anatolica* 32 (2000): 129–46.
- Mattusch 1996: C. C. Mattusch. *Classical Bronzes: The Art and Craft of Greek and Roman Statuary*. Ithaca, N.Y., 1996.
- McDonald 1978: M. McDonald. *Terms for Happiness in Euripides*. Hypomnemata 54. Göttingen, 1978.
- McMahon 1905: R. C. McMahon. "Ἐνεπιγραφος λήκυθος." *AE* (1905): 37–54.
- Melville Jones 1986: J. Melville Jones. *A Dictionary of Ancient Greek Coins*. London, 1986.
- Menichetti 1998: M. Menichetti. "La pyrriche degli eroi: a proposito di un'anfora del pittore dell'eptacordo." *Ostraka* 7 (1998): 71–84.
- Menichetti 2006: M. Menichetti. "Lo specchio di Hera e gli specchi di Atena su un vaso del Pittore di Dolone." In *L'image antique et son interprétation*, 261–75. Rome, 2006.
- Merkelbach 1995: R. Merkelbach. *Isis Regina Zeus Sarapis. Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt*. Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1995.
- Mertens 2010: J. R. Mertens. *How to Read Greek Vases*. New York, 2010.
- Mertens-Horn 1986: M. Mertens-Horn. "Studien zu griechischen Löwenbildern." *RömMitt* 93 (1986): 1–61.
- Mertens-Horn 1997: M. Mertens-Horn. "Rappresentazioni di scene." In *Il Trono Ludovisi e il Trono di Boston*, 95–106.
- Merthen 2005: C. Merthen. *Beobachtungen zur Ikonographie von Klage und Trauer. Griechische Sepulkralkeramik vom 8. bis 5. Jh. v. Chr.* Ph.D. diss. Würzburg, 2005.
- Michailidou 2008: A. Michailidou. *Weight and value in pre-coinage societies*, vol. 2. *Sidelights on measurement from the Aegean and the Orient*. Meletemata 61. Athens, 2008.
- Mitsos 1953: M. Th. Mitsos. "Inscriptions from Athens, IV." In *Studies Presented to David Moore Robinson on His Seventieth Birthday*, vol. 2, ed. G. E. Mylonas and D. Raymond, 349–52. St. Louis, 1953.
- Möbius 1968: H. Möbius. *Die Ornamente der griechischen Grabstelen klassischer und nachklassischer Zeit*. Munich, 1968.
- Mösch 2009: V. Mösch. *La villa dei Papiri*. Milan, 2009.
- Mösch-Klinge 2006: R. Mösch-Klinge. *Die Loutrophoros im Hochzeits- und Begräbnisritual des 5. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Athen*. Bern, 2006.
- Moltesen 1990: M. Moltesen. "Una Nota sul Trono Ludovisi e sul Trono di Boston: La 'connection' danese." *Bollettino d'Arte* 64 (1990): 27–46.
- Mommsen 1997: H. Mommsen. *Exekias I. Die Grabtafeln*. Mainz am Rhein, 1997.
- Moret 1978: J.-M. Moret. "Le jugement de Paris en Grande-Grèce." *AntK* 21 (1978): 76–98.
- Mugione 2000: E. Mugione. *Miti della ceramica attica in Occidente. Problemi di trasmissioni iconografiche nelle produzioni italiote*. Tarente, 2000.
- Nagy 1979: G. Nagy. *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Poetry*. Baltimore, 1980.
- Naumann 1980: F. Naumann. *Antiker Schmuck Vollständiger Katalog der Sammlung und der Sonderausstellung vom 31.5 bis 31.8.80*. Kassel, 1980.
- Neumann 1965: G. Neumann. *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst*. Berlin, 1965.
- Oakley 1997: J. H. Oakley. *The Achilles Painter*. Mainz, 1997.

- Oakley 2002:** J. H. Oakley. "A New Black-Figure Sarpedon." In *Essays in Honor of Dietrich von Bothmer*, ed. J. Clark and J. Gaunt, 245–48. Amsterdam, 2002.
- Oakley 2004:** J. H. Oakley. *Picturing Death in Classical Athens: The Evidence of the White Lekythoi*. Cambridge, 2004.
- Oakley 2005:** J. H. Oakley. "Bail Oinochoai." In *Periklean Athens and Its Legacy*, ed. J. M. Barringer and J. M. Hurwit, 13–21. Austin, 2005.
- Oakley 2009:** J. H. Oakley. "Οι γυναίκες στις αθηναϊκές τελετουργίες και την ταφική τέχνη." In Καλτσάς and Shapiro (eds.) 2009, 335–41.
- Obbink 2011:** D. Obbink. "Poetry and Performance in the Orphic Gold Leaves." In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 291–309.
- Ohly 1953:** D. Ohly. *Griechische Goldbleche des 8 Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Berlin, 1953.
- Osborne and Byrne (eds.) 1994:** M. J. Osborne and S. G. Byrne, eds. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. vol. 2: *Attica*. Oxford, 1994.
- Palagia 2008:** O. Palagia. "The Marble of the Penelope from Persepolis and Its Historical Implications." In *1st International Conference "Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters" (Athens 11–13 November 2006)*, 223–37. Athens, 2008.
- Palagia 2011:** O. Palagia. "Limestone reliefs with raised hands from Messene." In *Sailing to Classical Greece. Papers on Greek Art, Archaeology and Epigraphy Presented to Petros Themelis*, ed. O. Palagia, H. R. Goette, 62–69. Oxford and Oakville, 2011.
- Papadimitriou (ed.) 2007:** N. Papadimitriou, ed. *Museum of Cycladic Art. A Brief Guide*. Athens, 2007.
- Papapostolou 2011:** M. Papapostolou. "'Honourable death': the honours paid in ancient Sparta to dead war-heroes and mothers dying in child-birth." In *Honoring the Dead in the Peloponnese. Proceedings of the conference held at Sparta 23–25 April 2009*, ed. H. Cavanagh, W. Cavanagh, and J. Roy, 493–500. CSPA Online Publications 2 (www.nottingham.ac.uk/cspc/open-source/honoring-the-dead.aspx).
- Papazoglou-Manioudaki, Nafplioti, Musgrave, and Prag 2010:** L. Papazoglou-Manioudaki, A. Nafplioti, J. H. Musgrave, and A. J. N. Prag. "Mycenae Revisted, Part 3. The Human Remains from Grave Circle A at Mycenae. Behind the Masks: A Study of the Bones of Study Graves I–V." *ABSA* 105 (2010): 157–224.
- Parker 1983:** R. Parker. *Miasma. Pollution and Purification in Ancient Greek Religion*. Oxford, 1983.
- Parker 1995:** R. Parker. "Early Orphism." In *The Greek World*, ed. A. Powell, 483–510. London, 1995.
- Parker 2000:** R. Parker. "Review of Roland Baumgarten, Heiliges Wort und Heilige Schrift bei den Griechen. Heroi Logoi und verwandte Erscheinungen. *ScriptOralia* 110. Tübingen: Gunther Narr 1998." *BMCR* (2000).
- Parker and Stamatopoulou 2004:** R. Parker and M. Stamatopoulou. "A New Funerary Gold Leaf from Pherai." *AE* 143 (2004): 1–32.
- Pedrina 2001:** M. Pedrina. *I gesti del dolore nella ceramica attica (VI–V secolo a.C.). Per un'analisi della comunicazione non verbale nel mondo greco*. Venice, 2001.
- Peek 1942:** W. Peek. "Attische Inschriften." *AthMitt* 67 (1942): 1–217.
- Peifer 1989:** E. Peifer. *Eidola und andere mit dem Sterben verbundene Flügelwesen in der attischen Vasenmalerei in späarchaischer und klassischer Zeit*. Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, Paris, 1989.
- Peschlow-Bindokat 1972:** A. Peschlow-Bindokat. "Demeter und Persephone in der attischen Kunst des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts." *JdI* 87 (1972): 60–157.
- Picón et al. 2007:** C. A. Picón et al. *Art of the Classical World in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New York, 2007.
- Platz-Horster 2001:** G. Platz-Horster. *Altes Museum. Antiker Goldschmuck. Eine Auswahl der ausgestellten Werke*. Mainz am Rhein, 2001.
- Polojiorghi 2002:** M. Polojiorghi. "Neue Untersuchungen zu einem Grabmal des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr." *AthMitt* 117 (2002): 91–114.
- Polojiorghi 2004:** M. Polojiorghi. "Stiere und Löwen in der attischen Grabkunst." *AthMitt* 119 (2004): 239–59.
- Posamentir 2006:** R. Posamentir. *Bemalte attische Grabstelen klassischer Zeit*. Munich, 2006.
- Poursat 1968:** J.-C. Poursat. "Les représentations de danse armée dans la céramique attique." *BCH* 92 (1968): 550–615.
- Pritchett 1985:** W. K. Pritchett. *The Greek State at War*, part 4. Berkeley, 1985.
- Pugliese Carratelli 2001:** G. Pugliese Carratelli. *Le lamine d'oro orfiche: Istruzioni per il viaggio oltremontano degli iniziati greci*. Biblioteca Adelphi 419. Milan, 2001.
- Recke 2002:** M. Recke. *Gewalt und Leid: Das Bild des Krieges bei den Athenern im 6. und 5. Jhr. v. Chr.* Istanbul, 2002.
- Reeder et al. 1995:** E. D. Reeder et al. *Pandora: Women in Classical Greece*. Baltimore, 1995.
- Reilly 1989:** J. Reilly. "Many Brides: Mistress and Maid on Athenian Lekythoi." *Hesperia* 58 (1989): 411–44.
- Reinsberg 2004:** C. Reinsberg. "Der Polyxena-Sarkophag von Çanakkale." In *Sepulkral- und Votivdenkmäler östlicher Mittelmeergebiete (7. Jhs. v. Chr. – 1. Jhs. n. Chr.). Akten des internationalen Symposiums Mainz 2001*, ed. R. Bol, D. Kreikenbom, 199–217. Möhnensee, 2004.
- Reuterswärd 1980:** P. Reuterswärd. *Studien zur Polychromie der Plastik*. Stockholm, 1980.
- Richter 1904–5:** G. M. A. Richter. "The Distribution of Attic Vases." *ABSA* 11 (1904–5): 224–42.
- Richter 1931:** G. M. A. Richter. "An Athenian Vase with the Return of Persephone." *BMMA* 26, no. 10 (1931): 245–48.
- Richter 1941:** G. M. A. Richter. "A Fifth Century Greek Relief." *MetMusBul* 36, no. 3 (1941): 67–70.
- Richter 1950:** G. M. A. Richter. *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*. New Haven, 1950.
- Richter 1953:** G. M. A. Richter. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Greek Collection*. Cambridge, 1953.

- Richter 1954:** G. M. A. Richter. *Catalogue of Greek Sculptures*. Cambridge, Mass., 1954.
- Richter 1961:** G. M. A. Richter. *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica*. London, 1961.
- Richter 1968:** G. M. A. Richter. *Korai: Archaic Greek Maidens*. London, 1968.
- Richter and Hall 1936:** G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall. *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*. New Haven and London, 1936.
- Riedweg 2005:** C. Riedweg. *Pythagoras. His Life, Teaching, and Influence*, trans. S. Rendall with C. Riedweg and A. Schatzmann. Ithaca, N.Y., 2005.
- Riedweg 2011:** C. Riedweg. "Initiation – Death – Underworld: Narrative and Ritual in the Gold Leaves." In Edmonds (ed.) 2011, 219–56.
- Riemann 1937:** H. Riemann. "Archäologische Funde." *AA* (1937): 86–184.
- Robert 1936:** L. Robert. *Collection Froehner*, vol 1: *Inscriptions grecques*. Paris, 1936.
- Roberts 1978:** S. R. Roberts. *The Attic Pyxis*. Chicago, 1978.
- Robertson 1992:** C. M. Robertson. *The Art of Vase-Painting in Classical Athens*. Cambridge, 1992.
- Robinson 1942:** D. M. Robinson. *Excavations at Olynthus XI. Necrolythia. A Study in Greek Burial Customs and Anthropology*. Baltimore, 1942.
- Roller 1981:** L. E. Roller. "Funeral Games in Greek Art." *AJA* 85 (1981): 107–19.
- Rolley 1963:** C. Rolley. "Autres figurines de terre cuite." In *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, vol. 3: *Objects antiques et byzantines*, ed. P. Amandry, 115–26. Strasbourg, 1963.
- Rombos 1988:** Th. Rombos. *The Iconography of Attic Late Geometric II Pottery*. Jonsered, 1988.
- Ruesch 1911:** A. Ruesch. *Guida illustrata al Museo Nazionale di Napoli*. Naples, 1911.
- Sabetai 2009:** V. Sabetai. "Marker Vase or Burnt Offering? The Clay Loutrophoros in Context." In *Shapes and Uses of Greek Vases (7th–4th centuries B.C.). Proceedings of the Symposium held at the Université libre de Bruxelles (27–29 April 2006)*, ed. A. Tsigarida, 291–306. Brussels, 2009.
- Sabetai 2011:** V. Sabetai. "Eros Reigns Supreme: Dionysos' Wedding on a New Krater by the Dinos Painter." In *A Different God? Dionysos and Ancient Polytheism*, ed. R. Schlesier, 137–60. Berlin and Boston, 2011.
- Salapata 2006:** G. Salapata. "The Tripling Serpent in the Art of Laconia and Beyond." *Hesperia* 75 (2006): 547–49.
- Salta 1991:** M. Salta. *Attische Grabstelen mit Inschriften. Beiträge zur Topographie und Prosopographie der Nekropolen von Athen, Attika und Salamis vom Peloponnesischen Krieg bis zur Mitte des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* Ph.D. diss. Tübingen, 1991.
- Salvo 2012:** I. Salvo. "Sweet revenge. Emotional factors in "prayers for justice." In *Unveiling emotions. Sources and methods for the study of emotions in the Greek world*, ed. A. Chaniotis, 235–66. Heidelberg: althistorische Beiträge und epigraphische Studien 52. Stuttgart, 2012.
- Sauvage 1898:** E. Sauvage. *Guide des musées municipaux de Boulogne-sur-Mer*. Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1898.
- Scatozza Hörich 1985:** L. A. Scatozza Hörich. "Ville nel territorio ercolanese." *Cronache Ercolanesi. Bollettino del centro internazionale per lo studio dei papiri ercolanesi* 15 (1985): 131–65.
- Schauenburg 1958:** K. Schauenburg. "Die Totengötter in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei." *Jdl* 73 (1958): 48–78.
- Scheffer 1987:** Ch. Scheffer. *Roman Cinerary Urns in Stockholm Collections*. Stockholm, 1987.
- Schefold 1978:** K. Schefold. *Götter- und Heldensagen der Griechen in der spätarchaischen Kunst*. Munich, 1978.
- Schefold 1981:** K. Schefold. *Die Göttersage in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*. Munich, 1981.
- Schefold and Jung 1989:** K. Schefold and F. Jung. *Die Sagen von den Argonauten von Theben und Troia in der klassischen und hellenistischen Kunst*. Munich, 1989.
- Schild-Xenidou 2008:** V. Schild-Xenidou. *Corpus der boiotischen Grab- und Weihreliefs des 6. bis 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Mainz am Rhein 2008.
- Schliemann 1880:** H. Schliemann. *Mycenae. A narrative of researches and discoveries at Mycenae and Tiryns*. New York, 1880.
- Schmaltz 1970:** B. Schmaltz. *Untersuchungen zu den attischen Marmorlekythen*. Berlin, 1970.
- Schmaltz 1978:** B. Schmaltz. "Zu einer attischen Grabmalbasis des vierten Jahrhunderts v. Chr." *AthMitt* 93 (1978): 83–97.
- Scholl 1996:** A. Scholl. *Die attischen Bildfeldstelen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr. Untersuchungen zu den kleinformatischen Grabreliefs im spätklassischen Athen*. MDAI(A), 17. Beiheft. Berlin, 1996.
- Scholl 2007:** A. Scholl. "Hades und Elysion—Bilder des Jenseits in der Grabkunst des klassischen Athen." *Jdl* 122 (2007): 51–79.
- Schürmann 1989:** W. Schürmann. *Katalog der antiken Terrakotten im badischen Landesmuseum Karlsruhe*. Göteborg, 1989.
- Schulze 1998:** H. Schulze. *Ammen und Pädagogen. Sklavinnen und Sklaven als Erzieher in der antiken Kunst und Gesellschaft*. Mainz, 1998.
- Schwarzmaier 2011:** A. Schwarzmaier. "Grabmonument und Ritualgefäß. Zur Kriegerloutrophore Schliemann in Berlin und Athen." In *Keraunia, Beiträge zu Mythos, Kult und Heiligtum in der Antike*, ed. O. Pilz and M. Vonderstein, 115–30. Berlin, 2011.
- Schweitzer 1969:** B. Schweitzer. *Die geometrische Kunst Griechenlands*. Cologne, 1969.
- Seaford 2003:** R. Seaford. *Ανταπόδοση και τελετουργία*, trans. B. Λιάπης. Athens, 2003.
- Segal 1990:** C. Segal. "Dionysos and the Gold Tablets from Pelinna." *GrRByzSt* 31 (1990): 411–19.

- Sevinç 1996: N. Sevinç. "A new Sarcophagus of Polyxena from the Salvage Excavations at Gümüşçay." *Studia Troica* 6 (1996): 251–64.
- Shapiro 1989: H. A. Shapiro. *Art and Cult under the Tyrants in Athens*. Mainz 1989.
- Shapiro 1991: H. A. Shapiro. "The Iconography of Mourning in Athenian Art." *AJA* 95 (1991): 629–56.
- Shapiro 1993: H. A. Shapiro. *Personifications in Greek Art: The Representation of Abstract Concepts 600–400 BC*. Zurich, 1993.
- Shapiro 1994: H. A. Shapiro. *Myth into Art, Poet and Painter in Classical Athens*. London, 1994.
- Shapiro 2000: H. A. Shapiro. "Modest athletes and liberated women." In *Not the Classical Ideal: Athens and the Construction of the Other in Greek Art*, ed. B. Cohen, 313–37. Leiden, 2000.
- Simon 1955: E. Simon. "Ixion und die Schlangen." *ÖJh* 42 (1955): 5–16.
- Sinn 1987: F. Sinn. *Stadtroemische Marmorurnen*. Mainz, 1987.
- Sinn 1991: F. Sinn. *Die Grabdenkmäler. 1. Reliefs altäre Urnen*. Mainz am Rhein, 1991.
- Smith 1896: C. H. Smith. *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, vol. 3: *Vases of the Finest Period*. London, 1896.
- Sophocle "Ajax" 1842: *Tragédies de Sophocle, traduites du grec par M. Artaud*. Paris, 1842.
- Sorel 2002: R. Sorel. *Ορφέας και Ορφισμός*, trans. H. Νικολοῦδης. Athens, 2002.
- Sourvinou-Inwood 1974: C. Sourvinou-Inwood. "The Boston Relief and the Religion of Locri Epizephyrii." *JHS* 94 (1974): 126–37.
- Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: C. Sourvinou-Inwood. "Reading" *Greek Death to the End of the Classical Period*. Oxford, 1995.
- Spivey 1991: N. Spivey. "Greek vases in Etruria." In *Looking at Greek Vases*, ed. N. Spivey and T. Rasmussen, 131–50. Cambridge, 1991.
- Stampolidis 1996: N. Chr. Stampolidis. *Eleutherna III.3 Reprisals. Contribution to the study of the customs of the Geometric-Archaic period in Greece*. Rethymnon, 1996.
- Stampolidis (ed.) 2004: N. Chr. Stampolidis, ed. *Eleutherna: Polis, Acropolis, Necropolis*. Athens, 2004.
- Stampolidis 2008: N. Chr. Stampolidis. *Ancient Eleutherna: West Sector*. Athens, 2008.
- Stevens 1991: S. T. Stevens. "Charon's Obol and Other Coins in Ancient Funerary Practice." *Phoenix* 45 (1991): 215–29.
- Straten 1995: F. T. van Straten. *Hiera Kala: Images of Animal Sacrifice in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Leiden, 1995.
- Studniczka 1915: F. Studniczka. *Die griechische Kunst an Kriegergräbern*. Leipzig and Berlin, 1915.
- Stupperich 1977: R. Stupperich. *Staatsbegräbnis und Privatgrabmal im klassischen Athen*. Ph.D. diss. Münster, 1977.
- Szabó 1994: M. Szabó. *Archaic Terracottas of Boeotia*. Rome, 1994.
- Taplin 2007: O. Taplin. *Pots & Plays. Interactions between Tragedy and Greek Vase-painting in the Fourth Century B.C*. Los Angeles, 2007.
- Taylor (ed.) 2010: J. H. Taylor, ed. *Journey through the Afterlife. Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*. London, 2010.
- The National Museum 1972: *Treasured Masterpieces of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, an exhibition held at the Tokyo National Museum, 10 Aug.–1 Oct., 1972 and the Kyoto Municipal Museum, 8 Oct.–26 Nov. 1972*. Tokyo, 1972.
- Todisco 1993: L. Todisco. *Scultura greca del IV secolo*. Milan, 1993.
- Topper 2010: K. Topper. "Maidens, fillies and the death of Medusa on a seventh-century pithos." *JHS* 130 (2010): 109–19.
- Touchefeu-Meynier 1968: O. Touchefeu-Meynier. *Thèmes odysseens dans l'art antique*. Paris, 1968.
- Trendall 1967: A. D. Trendall. *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily*. Oxford, 1967.
- Trendall 1970–83: A. D. Trendall. *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily Supplement*. London, 1970–83.
- Trendall 1974: A. D. Trendall. *Early South Italian Vase Painting*. Mainz, 1974.
- Trendall and Cambitoglou 1978: A. D. Trendall and A. Cambitoglou. *Red-figured Vases of Apulia*, vol. 1. Oxford, 1978.
- Triantafyllou and Bessios 2005: S. Triantafyllou and M. Bessios. "A mass burial at fourth century BC Pydna, Macedonia, Greece: evidence for slavery?" *Antiquity* 79 (2005) (<http://antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/triantaphyllou/>).
- Trumpf-Lyritzaki 1969: M. Trumpf-Lyritzaki. *Griechische Figurenvasen des Reichen Stils und der späten Klassik*. Bonn, 1969.
- Tsantsanoglou and Parássoglou 1987: K. Tsantsanoglou and G. M. Parássoglou. "Two gold lamellae from Thessaly." *Ελληνικά* 38, no. 1 (1987): 3–16.
- Tsigarida 2010: B. Tsigarida. "A new gold myrtle wreath from Central Macedonia in the Collection of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki." *ABSA* 105 (2010): 305–15.
- Tzifopoulos 2010: Y. Tzifopoulos. "Paradise Earned": *The Bacchic-Orphic Gold Lamellae of Crete*. Center for Hellenic Studies, Hellenic Series 23. Washington, D.C., and Cambridge, Mass., 2010.
- Van den Driessche 1973: B. Van den Driessche. "Fragments d'un loutrophore à figures rouges illustrant une Amazonomachie." *RAArtLouvain* 6 (1973): 19–37.
- Vanderpool 1957: E. Vanderpool. "News Letter from Greece." *AJA* 61 (1957): 281–85.
- Vanderpool 1969: E. Vanderpool. "Three prize vases." *AI* 24 Μελέτες (1969): 1–5.
- Vaquerizo and Noguera 1997: D. Vaquerizo and J. M. Noguera. *La decoración escultórica de la villa romana de El Ruedo (Almedinilla, Córdoba): decoración escultórica e interpretación*. Murcia, 1997.
- Vedder 1985: U. Vedder. *Untersuchungen zur plastischen Ausstattung attischer Grabanlagen des 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* Frankfurt am Main, New York, Lang, 1985.

- Verbruggen 1981:** H. Verbruggen. *Le Zeus Crétois*. Collection d'Études Mythologiques. Paris, 1981.
- Vermeule 1968:** C. C. Vermeule. "The Basel Dog: A Vindication." *AJA* 72 (1968): 95–101.
- Vermeule 1972:** C. C. Vermeule. "Greek Funerary Animals, 450–300 BC." *AJA* 76 (1972): 49–59.
- Vermeule 1979:** E. Vermeule. *Aspects of Death in Early Greek Art and Poetry*. Sather Classical Lectures 46. Berkeley and London, 1979.
- Vierneisel-Schlörb 1988:** B. Vierneisel-Schlörb. *Glyptothek München. Katalog der Skulpturen*, vol. 3: *Klassische Grabdenkmäler und Votivreliefs*. Munich, 1988.
- Vlachou 2012:** V. Vlachou. "Death and Burial in the Greek World." In *ThesCRA VIII* (2012): 364–84.
- Vorster 1983:** C. Vorster. *Griechische Kinderstatuen*. Cologne, 1983.
- von Sybel 1881:** L. von Sybel. *Katalog der Skulpturen zu Athen*. Marburg, 1881.
- Walter-Karydi 2008:** E. Walter-Karydi. "Bronzes pariens et imagerie cycladique du Haut archaïsme." *BCH Suppl.* 48 (2008): 21–54.
- Walters 1893:** H. B. Walters. *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, vol. 2: *Black-figured Vases*. London, 1893.
- Walters 1896:** H. B. Walters. *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, vol. 4: *Vases of the Latest Period*. London, 1896.
- Walters 1899:** H. B. Walters. *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum*. London, 1899.
- Weisshäupl 1890:** R. Weisshäupl. "Attische Grablekythos." *AthMitt* 15 (1890): 40–63.
- Wegener 1985:** S. Wegener. *Funktion und Bedeutung landschaftlicher Elemente in der griechischen Reliefkunst archaischer bis hellenistischer Zeit*. Frankfurt am Main, Bern, New York, 1985.
- Werth 2006:** N. Werth. *Hekate. Untersuchungen zur dreigestaltigen Göttin*. Hamburg, 2006.
- Willemsen 1959:** F. Willemsen. *Die Löwenkopf-Wasserspeier vom Dach des Zeustempels*, Olympische Forschungen IV. Berlin, 1959.
- Willemsen 1977:** F. Willemsen. "Zu den Lakedämoniergräbern im Kerameikos." *AthMitt* 92 (1977): 115–57.
- Williams Reeder 1978:** E. Williams Reeder. "Figurine Vases from the Athenian Agora." *Hesperia* 47 (1978): 356–401.
- Winkler 1999:** H. Winkler. *Lutrophorie. Ein Hochzeitskult auf attischen Vasenbildern*. Freiburg, 1999.
- Winter 1903:** F. Winter. *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, vols. 1 and 2. Berlin and Stuttgart, 1903.
- Wolters 1896:** P. Wolters. "Ein griechischer Bestattungsbrauch." *AthMitt* 21 (1896): 367–71.
- Woodford 1980:** S. Woodford. *Exemplum Virtutis: A Study of Herakles in Athens in the second half of the fifth century B.C.* Ph.D. diss. Ann Arbor, 1980.
- Woodford 1994:** S. Woodford. "Palamedes seeks revenge." *JHS* 114 (1994): 164–69.
- Woodford 2003:** S. Woodford. *Images of Myths in Classical Antiquity*. London, 2003.
- Woysch-Méautis 1982:** D. Woysch-Méautis. *La représentation des animaux et des êtres fabuleux sur les monuments funéraires grecs de l'époque archaïque à la fin du IV^e siècle av. J.-C.* Cahiers d'archéologie romande 21. Lausanne, 1982.
- Xagorari 1996:** M. Xagorari. *Untersuchungen zu frühgriechischen Grabsitten, figürliche plastische Beigaben aus geschlossenen Grabfunden Attikas und Euböas des 10. bis 7. Jhs. v. Chr.* Mainz, 1996.
- Zahn 1929:** R. Zahn. *Sammlung Baurat Schiller, Berlin: Werke antiker Kleinkunst, Goldschmuck, Gläser, Tonfiguren, Tongefässe*. Berlin, 1929.
- Zanker 1965:** P. Zanker. *Wandel der Hermesgestalt in der attischen Vasenmalerei*. Bonn, 1965.
- Züchner 1942:** W. Züchner. *Griechische Klappspiegel: Untersuchungen zu Typologie und Stil*. JdI-Ergh. 14. Berlin, 1942.
- Zuntz 1971:** G. Zuntz. *Persephone. Three Essays on Religion and Thought in Magna Graecia*. Oxford, 1971.
- Ανδρειωμένου 2000:** Α. Ανδρειωμένου. «Η εξ Ακραιφίας στήλη Μνασθείου, έργον Φιλούργου—Το επίγραμμα.» *ΑΕ* 138 (2000): 81–127.
- Ανδρειωμένου 2012:** Α. Ανδρειωμένου. «Η εξ Ακραιφίας στήλη Μνασθείου, έργον Φιλούργου. Σύγκριση με άλλα σύγχρονα της Αττικής έργα.» In *Athenaia* 3, *Neue Funde archaischer Plastik aus griechischen Heiligtümern und Nekropolen, Internationales Symposium, Athen, 2.–3. November 2007*, ed. G. Kokkorou-Alevras, W.-D. Niemeier, 229–43. Munich, 2012.
- Ανδρόνικος 1960:** Μ. Ανδρόνικος. «Ηορτο vacui ή ο καλλιτεχνικός λόγος.» *ΑΔ* 16 (1960): 46–59.
- Ανδρόνικος 1962:** Μ. Ανδρόνικος. «Ομηρικά και μυκηναϊκά έθιμα ταφής.» *Ελληνικά* 17 (1962): 40–64.
- Αρχαία Μακεδονία 1988:** *Αρχαία Μακεδονία/Ancient Macedonia*. Αθήνα/ Athens, 1988.
- Βασιλικού 1995:** Ντ. Βασιλικού. *Ο Μυκηναϊκός πολιτισμός*, [Βιβλιοθήκη της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας, αρ.152]. Αθήνα, 1995.
- Βελισσαροπούλου 1984:** Γ. Βελισσαροπούλου. «Η ποιμή του θανάτου.» *Αρχαιολογία* 11 (1984): 42–44.
- Βλίζος (ed.) 2004:** Στ. Βλίζος, ed. *Ελληνική και Ρωμαϊκή Γλυπτική από τις συλλογές του Μουσείου Μπενάκη*. Αθήνα, 2004.
- Βοκοτοπούλου (ed.) 1993:** Ι. Βοκοτοπούλου, ed. *Ελληνικός Πολιτισμός. Μακεδονία το βασίλειο του Μεγάλου Αλεξάνδρου*. Αθήνα, 1993.
- Βοκοτοπούλου 1997:** Ι. Βοκοτοπούλου. *Αργυρά και Χάλκινα Έργα Τέχνης στην αρχαιότητα*. Αθήνα, 1997.
- Γιαλούρη 1972:** Α. Γιαλούρη. «Ουτίς με τυφλοί βλέφαρον.» *ΑΕ* 111 (1972): 127–32.

- Δαβάρας 1985:** Κ. Δαβάρας. «Ρωμαϊκό νεκροταφείο Αγίου Νικολάου.» *AE* 124 (1985): 130–216.
- Δεληβορριάς 2007:** Α. Δεληβορριάς. «Τα τρίμορφα ανάγλυφα για μια ακόμη φορά.» In *Αιώνια Έργα. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Βασίλη Κ. Λαμπρινουδάκη*, ed. Ε. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά, Α. Α. Λαμιού, Α. Γ. Μενδώνη, and Ν. Κούρου, 375–88. Αθήνα, 2007.
- Δεληβορριάς and Φωτόπουλος 1997:** Α. Δεληβορριάς and Δ. Φωτόπουλος. *Η Ελλάδα του Μουσείου Μπενάκη*. Αθήνα, 1997.
- Δεσποίνη 1985:** Αικ. Δεσποίνη. *Σίνδος. Κατάλογος της έκθεσης*. Αθήνα, 1985.
- Δεσποίνη 1987:** Αικ. Δεσποίνη. «Παράσταση πλοίου σε χρυσό έλασμα από τη Σίνδο.» In *2nd International Symposium on ship construction in antiquity, Proceedings*, ed. Η. Tzalas, 135–40. Delphi, 1987.
- Δεσποίνη 1996:** Αικ. Δεσποίνη. *Ελληνική Τέχνη. Αρχαία χρυσά κοσμήματα*. Αθήνα, 1996.
- Δεσποίνη 1998:** Αικ. Δεσποίνη. «Χρυσά Επιστόμια.» In *Μνείας Χάριν. Τόμος στη Μνήμη Μαίρης Σιγανίδου*, ed. Μ. Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη, Κ. Τσακάλου-Τζαναβάρη, 65–80. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1998.
- Γκάρτζιου-Τάττη 1999:** Α. Γκάρτζιου-Τάττη. «Θάνατος και ταφή του Ορφέα στη Μακεδονία και τη Θράκη.» In *Ancient Macedonia VI. Papers read at the Sixth International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, (October 15–19, 1996)*, τόμος 1, [Institute for Balkan Studies 272], 439–51. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1999.
- Ζαφειρόπουλος 1953/54:** Ν. Ζαφειρόπουλος. «Μαρμάρινη λήκυθος μετ' επιτυμβίου παραστάσεως.» *AE* 92–93B (1953/54): 237–46.
- Ζώση 2002–3:** Ε. Ζώση. «Πήλινα ομοιώματα ροδιών από το Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο.» *Το Μουσείον* 3 (2002–3): 73–82.
- Θέμελης 1994:** Π. Θέμελης. «Ο Τάφος της ηλείας Φιλημήνας.» In *Γ' Επιστημονική Συνάντηση για την Ελληνιστική κεραμική. Χρονολογημένα Σύνολα – Εργαστήρια (24–27 Σεπτεμβρίου 1991)*, 146–58. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1994.
- Θέμελης and Τουράτσογλου 1997:** Π.Γ. Θέμελης and Γ.Π. Τουράτσογλου. *Οι τάφοι του Δερβενίου*. Αθήνα, 1997.
- Θεοφανείδης 1939–41:** Β.Δ. Θεοφανείδης. «Νέα προσκτήματα του Εθνικού Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου κατά τα έτη 1930, 1931 και 1932.» *AE* 78 (1939–41): 1–23.
- Ιγνατιάδου 2011:** Δ. Ιγνατιάδου. «Ο κρατήρ του Διονύσου και του επέκεινα/Il cratere di Dioniso e di aldilà/The krater of Dionysos and the great beyond.» In *To δώρο του Διονύσου/Il dono di Dioniso/The gift of Dionysos*, ed. Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη, Ε. Κεφαλίδου, and Ε. Στεφανή, 146–51 and 244. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2011.
- Καββαδίας 1889:** Π. Καββαδίας. «Είσαγωγή άρχαίων έν τοις Μουσείοις 1. Έθνικόν Μουσείον.» *ΑΔ* (1889): 74–83.
- Καββαδίας 1890–92:** Π. Καββαδίας. *Γλυπτά του Εθνικού Μουσείου. Κατάλογος Περιγραφικός*. Αθήνα, 1890–92.
- Καββαδίας 2000:** Γ.Γ. Καββαδίας. *Ο Ζωγράφος του Sabouroff*. Ph.D. diss. Αθήνα, 2000.
- Καββαδίας 2010:** Γ.Γ. Καββαδίας. «Άθλα επί Πατρόκλω. Έπος και αττική εικονογραφία.» In *Μύθοι, κείμενα, εικόνες. Ομηρικά έπη και αρχαία ελληνική τέχνη, Πρακτικά του ΙΑ' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου για την Οδύσσεια, (Ιθάκη, 15–19 Σεπτεμβρίου 2009)*, ed. Ε. Walter-Καρύδη, 153–87. Ιθάκη, 2010.
- Κακριδής (ed.) 1986:** Ι. Θ. Κακριδής, ed. *Ελληνική Μυθολογία. Τόμος 2: Οι θεοί*. Αθήνα, 1986.
- Καλτσάς 1998:** Ν. Ε. Καλτσάς. *Άκανθος Ι. Η ανασκαφή στο νεκροταφείο κατά το 1979*. Αθήνα, 1998.
- Καλτσάς 2001:** Ν. Καλτσάς. *Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο. Τα Γλυπτά*. Αθήνα, 2001.
- Καλτσάς 2002:** Ν. Καλτσάς. *Τα Γλυπτά. Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο. Κατάλογος*. Αθήνα, 2002.
- Καλτσάς and Shapiro (eds.) 2009:** Ν. Καλτσάς, Α. Shapiro, eds. *Γυναϊκόν λατρείες. Τελετουργίες και καθημερινότητα στην κλασική Αθήνα*. Αθήνα, 2009.
- Καραπάνου and Κατακούτα 2004:** Σ. Καραπάνου and Στ. Κατακούτα. «Ευρήματα από τα νεκροταφεία του Πελλινναίου.» In *Πρακτικά της ΣΤ' Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης για την Ελληνιστική Κεραμική (17–23 Απριλίου 2000)*, 111–26. Βόλος, 2004.
- Καρούζου 1964:** Σ. Καρούζου. «Ηρωες αγνοί» σ' έναν αττικό κρατήρα.» *ΑΔ* 19 Μελέτες (1964): 1–16.
- Καρούζου 1967:** Σ. Καρούζου. *Εθνικόν Αρχαιολογικόν Μουσείον. Συλλογή Γλυπτών. Περιγραφικός Κατάλογος*. Αθήνα, 1967.
- Καστριώτης 1924/25:** Π. Καστριώτης. «Νέα Προσκτήματα Εθνικού Μουσείου από του 1923–1925.» *ΑΔ* 9, Παράρτημα 31 (1924/25): 18–35.
- Καστριώτης 1926:** Π. Καστριώτης. «Νέα Προσκτήματα του Εθνικού Μουσείου.» *ΑΔ* 10, Παράρτημα (1926): 1–7.
- Κεραμόπουλλος 1923:** Α.Δ. Κεραμόπουλλος. *Ο αποτυμπανισμός. Συμβολή αρχαιολογική εις την ιστορίαν του ποινικού δικαίου και την λαογραφίαν*. Αθήνα, 1923.
- Κοτταρίδου 1989:** Α. Κοτταρίδου. «Βεργίνα 1989. Ανασκαφή στο νεκροταφείο στα βορειοδυτικά της αρχαίας πόλης.» *ΑΕΜΘ* 3 (1989): 1–11.
- Κούρου 1987:** Ν. Κούρου. «Ρόα γλυκεία.» In *Ειλαπίνη. Τόμος τιμητικός για τον Καθηγητή Νικόλαο Πλάτωνα*, 101–16. Ηράκλειο, 1987.
- Κουρουνιώτης 1906:** Κ. Κουρουνιώτης. «Δύο λευκαί λήκυθοι έξ Έρετριάς.» *AE* (1906): 1–22.
- Λεμπέση 1976:** Α. Λεμπέση. *Οι στήλες του Πριναί*. Αθήνα, 1976.
- Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη 1989:** Μ. Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη. «Από τα νεκροταφεία της Πέλλας.» *ΑΕΜΘ* 3 (1989): 91–101.
- Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη 1989–91:** Μ. Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη. «Ανατολικό νεκροταφείο Πέλλας. Ανασκαφή 1989.» *ΑΔ* 44–46 Μελέτες (1989–91): 73–152.
- Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη 1992:** Μ. Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη. «Από την τοπογραφία και τα νεκροταφεία της Πέλλας.» *ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992): 127–35.
- Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη, Ακαμάτης, Χρυσοστόμου, and Χρυσοστόμου 2001:** Μ. Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη, Ι. Μ. Ακαμάτης, Α. Χρυσοστόμου and Π. Χρυσοστόμου. *Το αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Πέλλας*. Αθήνα, 2001.
- Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη and Ακαμάτης (eds.) 2003:** Μ. Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη, Ι. Μ. Ακαμάτης, eds. *Η Πέλλα και η περιοχή της – Pella and its environs*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2003.
- Μακεδονία 1988:** *Η Μακεδονία από τα Μυκηναϊκά χρόνια ως τον Μέγα Αλέξανδρο*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1988.

- Μανακίδου 2005:** Ε. Μανακίδου. «Συγγενείς εξ αίματος και συγγενείς εξ αγχιστείας στις αττικές μελανόμορφες σκηνές πρόθεσης.» *Αρχαιολογία* 13.1 (2005): 89–103.
- Μανακίδου 2010:** Ε. Μανακίδου. «Ομοιώματα και παραστάσεις αμαζών στα αρχαϊκά και κλασικά χρόνια: Χρήσεις και συμβολισμοί.» In *Άλογα και Άμαξες στον Αρχαίο Κόσμο. Πρακτικά Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης (Ορεστιάδα 30 Σεπτεμβρίου 2006)*, ed. Δ. Τριαντάφυλλος, Δ. Τερζοπούλου, 177–92. Ορεστιάδα, 2010.
- Μάντης 1990:** Α. Μάντης. *Προβλήματα της εικονογραφίας των ιερών και των ιερών στην αρχαία ελληνική τέχνη*. Αθήνα, 1990.
- Μαστροκόστας 1966:** Ε. Μαστροκόστας. «Επιστήματα εκ Μυρρινούντος», στο *Χαριστήριον εις Αναστάσιον Ορλάνδον*, τόμος 3, 281–99. Αθήνα, 1966.
- Μπέσιος 1989:** Μ. Μπέσιος. «Βόρειο νεκροταφείο Πύδνας.» *ΑΕΜΘ* 3 (1989): 155–63.
- Μπέσιος 1990:** Μ. Μπέσιος. «Ανασκαφή κλασικών τάφων στη Μεθώνη.» In *Οι αρχαιολόγοι μιλούν για την Πιερία. Καλοκαίρι 1986*, ed. Δ. Τσίρου, 67–83. ΝΕΛΕ Πιερίας, 1990.
- Μπέσιος 1992:** Μ. Μπέσιος. «Ανασκαφές στη Βόρεια Πιερία, 1992.» *ΑΕΜΘ* 6 (1992): 245–48.
- Μπέσιος 2001:** Μ. Μπέσιος. «Νότιο νεκροταφείο Πύδνας.» *ΑΕΜΘ* 15 (2001): 371–77.
- Μπέσιος 2010:** Μ. Μπέσιος. *Πιερίδων Στέφανος. Πύδνα, Μεθώνη και οι αρχαιότητες της βόρειας Πιερίας*. Κατερίνη, 2010.
- Μπουρνιάς 2013:** Λ. Μπουρνιάς. «Όστρακα δύο νέων μελανόμορφων πινάκων από τον Κεραμεικό και την άμεση περιοχή του.» In *Αρχαιολογικές Συμβολές Τόμος Β: Αττική, Α' και Γ' ΕΠΚΑ*, ed. Σ. Οικονόμου, Μ. Δόγκα-Τόλη, 355–68. Αθήνα, 2013.
- Μπρούσκαρη 2002:** Μ. Μπρούσκαρη. *Το Μουσείο Παύλου και Αλεξάνδρας Κανελλοπούλου*. Αθήνα, 2002.
- Ναλπάντης 2003:** Δ. Ναλπάντης. *Ανασκαφή στο οικόπεδο του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού στη Θεσσαλονίκη*. Αθήνα, 2003.
- Οικονομίδου 1996:** Μ. Οικονομίδου. *Ελληνική Τέχνη. Αρχαία Νομίσματα*. Αθήνα, 1996.
- Οικονόμου 2004:** Σ. Οικονόμου. «Νεκρικά Κοσμήματα: Τα ελάσματα κάλυψης του στόματος.» *Ευλιμένη* 5 (2004): 91–133.
- Παναγιώτου 1986:** Α. Παναγιώτου. «Γλωσσικές παρατηρήσεις σε μακεδονικές επιγραφές.» In *Αρχαία Μακεδονία IV. Ανακοινώσεις κατά το τέταρτο Διεθνές Συμπόσιο, (Θεσσαλονίκη 21–25 Σεπτεμβρίου 1983)*, 413–29. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1986.
- Παναγιώτου 1997:** Α. Παναγιώτου. «Γλωσσολογικές και φιλολογικές μελέτες για τη γλώσσα των αρχαίων Μακεδόνων. Η νεότερη έρευνα.» In *Μνήμη Μανόλη Ανδρόνικου*, [Μακεδονικά Παράρτημα 6], 199–206. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1997.
- Παπαποστόλου 1977:** Ι.Α. Παπαποστόλου. «Ελληνιστικοί Τάφοι της Πάτρας I.» *ΑΔ* 32 Μελέται (1977): 281–343.
- Παπαχατζής 1986:** Ν.Δ. Παπαχατζής. «Ορφείας.» In *Ελληνική Μυθολογία, Τόμος 3: Οι ήρωες*, ed. Ι. Θ. Κακριδής, 293–99. Αθήνα, 1986.
- Παπουτσάκη-Σερμπέτη 1983:** Ε. Παπουτσάκη-Σερμπέτη. *Ο Ζωγράφος της Providence*. Αθήνα, 1983.
- Παρλαμά and Σταμπολίδης (eds.) 2000:** Λ. Παρλαμά and Ν. Σταμπολίδης, eds. *Η πόλη κάτω από την πόλη. Ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφές του Μητροπολιτικού Σιδηροδρόμου Αθηνών*. Αθήνα, 2000.
- Πελεκίδης 1916:** Σ. Πελεκίδης. «Ανασκαφαί Φαλήρου.» *ΑΔ* 2 (1916): 13–64.
- Πέτσας 1969:** Φ. Πέτσας. «Χρονικά Αρχαιολογικά 1966–1967.» *Μακεδονικά Θ'* (1969): 102–223.
- Πωλογιώργη 2009:** Μ. Ι. Πωλογιώργη. «Επιτύμβια μνημεία με κυνηγόσκυλα από τη Σαλαμίνα.» *ΑΕ* 148 (2009): 121–36.
- Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά 1988:** Ε. Σημαντώνη-Μπουρνιά. *Αττικά κλασικά επιτύμβια ανάγλυφα*. Αθήνα, 1988.
- Σισμανίδης 1997:** Κ. Σισμανίδης. *Κλίνες και κλινοειδείς κατασκευές των Μακεδονικών τάφων*. Αθήνα, 1997.
- Σκιλάρντι 1975:** Δ. Σκιλάρντι. «Ανασκαφή παρά τα Μακρά Τείχη και η οινόχρη του Ταύρου.» *ΑΕ* 114 (1975): 66–149.
- Σταϊνχάουερ 2001:** Γ. Σταϊνχάουερ. *Το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Πειραιώς*. Αθήνα, 2001.
- Σταμπολίδης 2012:** Ν.Χρ. Σταμπολίδης. «Πρωτοαρχαϊκή πλαστική από την Ελεύθερνα της Κρήτης. Προκαταρκτική προσπάθεια συνολικότερης προσέγγισης.» In *Neue Funde archaischer Plastik aus griechischen Heiligtümern und Nekropolen, Internationales Symposium, Athen 2–3 November 2007*, [Athenaia 3], ed. G. Kokkorou-Aleuras, W.-D. Niemeier, 1–17. Munich, 2012.
- Σταμπολίδης and Κουτσογιάννης 2012:** Ν.Χρ. Σταμπολίδης and Δ. Κουτσογιάννης. «Questiones Daedalicæ' Αποκατάσταση δύο μνημείων του 7^{ου} αιώνα στη νεκρόπολη της «Ορθής Πέτρας» της αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας στην Κρήτη.» In *Kreta in der geometrischen und archaischen Zeit. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums am Deutschen Archäologischen Institut, Abteilung Athen 27.–29. Januar 2006*, ed. W.-D. Niemeier, O. Pilz, I. Kaiser, 221–32. Munich, 2012.
- Σταμπολίδης and Κουτσογιάννης (forthcoming):** Ν.Χρ. Σταμπολίδης and Δ. Κουτσογιάννης. «Αποκατάσταση μνημείων στη νεκρόπολη της «Ορθής Πέτρας» της αρχαίας Ελεύθερνας στην Κρήτη.» In *2^ο Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Αναστηλώσεων, Αθήνα Μουσείο Μπενάκη, 21–24 Μαΐου 2009*.
- Σταμπολίδης and Τασούλας (eds.) 2014:** Ν.Χρ. Σταμπολίδης, Γ. Τασούλας, eds. *Τασις: Υγεία, Νόσος, Θεραπεία από τον Όμηρο στον Γαληνό*. Αθήνα, 2014.
- Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή 1989:** Ο. Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή. «Αθηναϊκή λευκή λήκυθος από τον αρχαίο Ωρωπό.» In *ΦΙΛΙΑ ΕΠΗ εις Γεώργιον Ε. Μυλωνάν*, τόμος Γ', 83–107. Αθήνα, 1989.
- Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή 1998:** Ο. Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή. *Λευκές λήκυθοι του Ζωγράφου του Αχιλλέως στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο*. Αθήνα, 1998.
- Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή 2007:** Ο. Τζάχου-Αλεξανδρή. «Πέντε αθηναϊκές λήκυθοι της πρώιμης κλασικής περιόδου.» In *ΕΠΑΘΑΟΝ. Αρχαιολογικό Συνέδριο προς τιμήν του Αδώνιδος Κ. Κύρου (Πόρος, 7–9 Ιουνίου 2002)*, ed. Ε. Κονσολάκη-Γιαννοπούλου, τόμος Α', 413–74. Αθήνα, 2007.
- Τζεδάκις (ed.) 1995:** Γ. Τζεδάκις, ed. *Από τη Μήδεια στη Σαφώ. Ανυπότακτες γυναίκες στην αρχαία Ελλάδα, Κατάλογος της έκθεσης στο Εθνικό Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο (20 Μαρτίου–10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995)*. Αθήνα, 1995.
- Τζιφόπουλος 2002:** Γ.Ζ. Τζιφόπουλος. «Λατρείες στην Κρήτη: η περίπτωση των διονυσιακών–ορφικών ελασμάτων.» In *Λατρείες στην*

«περιφέρεια» του αρχαίου ελληνικού κόσμου (Απρίλιος–Μάιος 2002), ed. A. Αβαγιανού, 147–71. Αθήνα, 2002.

Τζιφόπουλος 2012: Γ.Ζ. Τζιφόπουλος. «Από το σύνταγμα των επιγραφών της βορείου Πιερίας: οι μεταθανάτιες δοξασίες στη Μακεδονία και τα βακχικά–ορφικά ελάσματα.» In *Θρεπτήρια. Μελέτες για την αρχαία Μακεδονία*, ed. M. Τιβέριος, Π. Νίγδελης, and Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη, 540–58. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2012.

Τιβέριος 1989: M. Τιβέριος. *Περικλεία Παναθήναια. Ένας κρατήρας του Ζωγράφου του Μονάχου 2335*. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1989.

Τιβέριος 1996: M. Τιβέριος. *Ελληνική Τέχνη: Αρχαία Αγγεία*. Αθήνα, 1996.

Τσιγαρίδα 1987: M. Τσιγαρίδα. «Χρυσό στεφάνι μυρτιάς από τη Βεργίνα.» In *Αμητός. Τιμητικός Τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Μανόλη Ανδρόνικο*, ed. M. Τιβέριος, Σ. Δρούγου, and Χρ. Σαατσόγλου-Παλιαδέλη, Μέρος Δεύτερο, 907–16. Θεσσαλονίκη, 1987.

Τσιμπιδου-Αυλωνίτη 2000: M. Τσιμπιδου-Αυλωνίτη. «‘...λάρακ’ ἐς ἀργυρέην...’ (Ιλ. Σ, 413).» In *Μύρτος. Μνήμη Ιουλίας Βοκοτοπούλου*, ed. Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη, 543–75. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2000.

Τσιμπιδου-Αυλωνίτη 2009: M. Τσιμπιδου-Αυλωνίτη. «Φοίνικας 2005. Η μαρτυρία του κιβωτιώσιχμου τάφου 4.» In *Κεράμια Φιλίας. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Ιωάννη Τουράτσουλο*, τόμος Β’, 251–69. Αθήνα, 2009.

Φιλίππη 1969: B. Φιλίππη. «Αττικά λευκά λήκυθοι.» *AAA* 2 (1969): 290–309.

Χαριτωνίδης 1960: Σ. Χαριτωνίδης. «Πήλινη γεωμετρική ροιά.» *AE* 99 (1960): 155–64.

Χατζή 2008: Γ. Χατζή. *Το Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Ολυμπίας*. Αθήνα, 2008.

Χατζηδάκης 2003: Π.Ι. Χατζηδάκης. *Δήλος*. Αθήνα, 2003.

Χατζόπουλος 2001: M.B. Χατζόπουλος. «Η έκδοση των επιγραφών της τρίτης μακεδονικής μερίδος: παρελθόν και μέλλον.» In *Α’ Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Επιγραφικής στην μνήμη Δημητρίου Κανατσούλη (Θεσσαλονίκη, 22–23 Οκτωβρίου 1999)*, 157–70. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2001.

Χατζόπουλος 2008: M.B. Χατζόπουλος. «Οι επιγραφές της Ηράκλειας της Μυγδονικής (Άγιος Αθανάσιος—Γέφυρα) μεταξύ αρχαιολογίας και αρχαιοκαπηλείας.» In *Β’ Πανελλήνιο Συνέδριο Επιγραφικής (Θεσσαλονίκη 2001)*, ed. H. Σβέρκος, 237–53. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2008.

Χρυσοστόμου 2009: E. Χρυσοστόμου. «Σιδερένια ομοιώματα αγροτικών αμαξών σε αρχαϊκούς τάφους του Δυτικού νεκροταφείου Αρχοντικού Πέλλας.» In *ΣΙΔΗΡΟΣ, Ημερίδα συντήρησης ΑΜΘ 2008*, ed. Δ. Ιγνατιάδου, 115–24. Θεσσαλονίκη, 2009.

Χωρέμη-Σπετσιέρη and Ζαρκάδας (eds.) 2006: Α. Χωρέμη-Σπετσιέρη and Α. Ζαρκάδας, eds. *Το Μουσείο Παύλου και Αλεξάνδρας Κανελλοπούλου, Αρχαία Τέχνη*. Αθήνα, 2006.

PHOTOGRAPHY CREDITS FOR ENTRIES

The copyright for all photographs reproduced in the catalogue section of this book are held by the institutions that supplied the photographs, as indicated in the catalogue entries.

Additional credits are listed below:

Philippe Beurtheret (cat. no. 5)

Zambela Chroni (cat. no. 61)

Eleutherna excavations photo archive (cat. no. 60: Λ3876)

George Fafalis (cat. nos. 26 round view image, 87)

Ilias Iliades (cat. no. 60: Λ806, Λ957, Λ966, Λ3173)

Sokrates Mavromates (cat. nos. 13, 21, 43)

Irene Miari (cat. nos. 7, 10–12, 14, 15, 17–20, 22, 26, 30–33, 41, 42, 47–54, 56, 57, 59, 62, 63, 67, 72, 73, 75, 80, 83, 85, 86, 88, 93–95, 100)

Yannis Patrikianos (cat. no. 55)

Luigi Spina (cat. nos. 90, 110)

Vassilis Stamatopoulos (cat. no. 44)

Yannis Z. Tzifopoulos (cat. nos. 96, 97, 103, 105, 106)

Andreas F. Voegelin (cat. nos. 3, 84)

TRANSLATION CREDITS

Apostolos N. Athanassakis and Benjamin M. Wolkow, *The Orphic Hymns*, pp. 66–67. © 2013 Apostolos N. Athanassakis and Benjamin M. Wolkow. Reprinted with permission of Johns Hopkins University Press.

C. P. Cavafy, *C. P. Cavafy, Collected Poems*. “The Horses of Achilles.” Edited by George Savidis, translated by Edmund Keeley and Phillip Sherrard. © Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard. Reproduced by permission of Princeton University Press and Random House Group Ltd.

Dialogues of Plato, translated by Jowett (1892); 1,025 words from pp. 43, 260–61, 332, 334, 343, 380. Used by permission of Oxford University Press.

“Funeral Games for Patroclus” from *The Iliad* by Homer, translated by Robert Fagles. Translation copyright © 1990 by Robert Fagles. Used by permission of Viking Penguin, a division of Penguin Group (USA) LLC. With special thanks to the Fagles Estate.

George Seferis, *George Seferis: Collected Poems*. “Mythistorema” p. 19. Edited and translated by Edmund Keeley and Philip Sherrard. © 1967, 1995 Princeton University Press. Reproduced by permission of Princeton University Press.

The Odyssey by Homer, translated by Robert Fagles. Translation copyright © 1996 by Robert Fagles. Used by permission of Viking Penguin, a division of Penguin Group (USA) LLC. With special thanks to the Fagles Estate.

The Works of Lucian of Samosata: On Mourning, vol. 3, translated by Fowler and Fowler (1905); 105 words from p. 214. Used by permission of Oxford University Press.



ISBN 978-0-9906142-0-3



9 780990 614203