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DIVINITIES IN THE ORPHIC GOLD LEAVES:
EUKLÊS, EUBOULEUS, BRIMO, KYBELE, KORE AND PERSEPHONE

The most important divinity of the Gold Tablets undoubtedly is Persephone, and it is understandable that she provided the title for a weighty book on the Gold Leaves and related issues.¹ Yet she was not the only divinity appearing in the Leaves. Until now, the main interest has been in the myths and rituals behind the Leaves, but the gods and goddesses named in the Leaves have not yet been studied in any detail. It is of course impossible to fill that lacuna in a single paper, but it may be worthwhile to present some notes on the majority of the divinities named in the Leaves. I will start with Euklêś, Eubouleus, Brimo and Kybele (§ 1) and conclude with Persephone and Kore (§ 2).

1. *Euklêś, Eubouleus, Brimo and Kybele*

In the oldest Gold Leaf from Thurii (*OF* 488 = *GJ* 5),² the deceased assures the Queen of the Chthonian ones, Euklêś and Eubouleus and ‘the other immortal gods’ that she comes ‘pure from the pure’:

1 Ἔρχομαι ἐκ κοθαρῶ(ν) κοθαρὰ, χθονί(ων) βασίλεια,
2 Εὐκλήης Εὐβο(υ)λεύς τε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι.

I come pure from the pure, Queen of the Chthonian ones,
Euklêś, Eubouleus and the other immortal gods.

The line with Euklêś and Eubouleus also occurs in three other Leaves (*OF* 489–91 = *GJ* 6, 7, 9), if in varying forms, and their prominence raises the question of their nature and origin. Who were these gods and where did they come from? Why did the author of the Leaves select these two names in particular? One reason may have been that the names of Euklêś and Eubouleus contributed to the solemn atmosphere of the tablets with their spondaic beginning. More importantly perhaps, they may well have been chosen for their reassuring character, as they both begin with εὐ. Whoever these gods were, they could not be a danger on the road to Persephone!

The first thing we note about Euklêś is that he is an extremely rare divinity. It is only in Hesychius (ε 6926 Latte) that we find the lemma Εὐκλήης: ὁ Ἄιδης. καὶ ὀνομαστός. καὶ εὐειδής. In fact, our only other parallel is found on a mid-third-century BC Oscan inscription, the so-called ‘Tavola di Agnone’ (*Vetter* 147.A3, 25, B4), which contains a series of stations for sacrifices during some unidentifiable ritual. Here Euklêś is clearly to be recognised in the Samnite god *Evklus*, as was already noted by Günther Zuntz, who refers to the work by Franz Bücheler on the Tavola.³ Yet neither Zuntz himself nor other contemporary students of the Leaves have kept up with subsequent developments. The most interesting mention of the Samnite god is at the beginning of the Tavola:

3 *evklúi..statif.kerrí statif/*

4 *futrei.kerríai..statif/*

The station of Euklus, the station of Ceres.

The station of the daughter of Ceres.

¹ G. Zuntz, *Persephone* (Oxford, 1971).

² I will quote the Leaves from the following authoritative editions:

OF = A. Bernabé, *Poetae epici Graeci II: Orphicorum et Orphicis similibus testimonia et fragmenta, fasc. 1, 2* (Munich and Leipzig, 2004–05), updated in A. Bernabé and A. I. Jiménez San Cristóbal, *Instructions for the Netherworld. The Orphic Gold Tablets* (Leiden, 2008) 241–71.

GJ = F. Graf and S. I. Johnston, *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife*, second edition (London and New York, 2013).

The Gold Leaves are also edited by Y. Tzifopoulos, ‘Paradise’ Earned. *The Bacchic-Orphic Gold Lamellae of Crete* (Cambridge Mass. and London, 2010) 255–84 and R. Edmonds III, The “Orphic” Gold Tablets: Texts and Translations, with critical apparatus and tables, in *idem* (ed.), *The “Orphic” Gold Tablets and Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 2011) 15–50. For a useful concordance of all editions, see *GJ* 48–9.

³ Zuntz, *Persephone*, 309–10; F. Bücheler, *Kleine Schriften*, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1915–30) 2.412–3, 475.

After the identification of Oscan *futír* as ‘daughter’ in 1932,⁴ it would be until the early 1970s before Angelo Brelich noted the association of ‘Euklus’, ‘Ceres’ and ‘Daughter’ or, in other words, the Eleusinian triad Plouton, Demeter and Kore. His identification and the fact that the inscription contains several Graecisms clearly suggest that Euklus must have been a local or regional euphemism for Hades in one of his manifestations in Magna Graecia.⁵ But where did the author of the Gold Leaf find this triad?

The name Euklê is commonly compared with that of Klymenos,⁶ which Pausanias (2.35.9) and other later authors interpreted as Hades.⁷ Given Euklê’s connection with ‘Ceres’ and ‘Daughter’, as we just saw, we cannot fail to note that Klymenos figures in the context of Demeter and Kore in Argive Hermione.⁸ Our oldest testimony is a fragment of Lasus from Hermione: Δάματρα μέλπω Κόραν τε Κλυμένοι’ ἄλοχον (702 PMG = fr. 1 Privitera). Lasus clearly refers to the local cult, which was still seen functioning by Pausanias (2.35.4–8).⁹ The cult is also in the background of a passage in Apollodorus in which the people of Hermione informed Demeter about the whereabouts of Persephone, a role occupied in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* by the Sun and by others in several cities of Greece that had appropriated the myth too.¹⁰ Lasus’ beginning was alluded to by Callimachus (fr. 285 Pfeiffer) in his *Hecale*: Δηώ τε Κλυμένου τε πολυξείνιο δάματρα (= *Hecale* fr. 100 Hollis), which probably also refers to Hermione.¹¹ As some fragments of Callimachus’ poem most likely mentioned the Eleusinian kykeon (fr. 74.5 Hollis), the well Kallichoron (fr. 172 Hollis) and Demeter’s search for Persephone (fr. 173–4 with Hollis *ad loc.*), it may well be that *Hecale*’s reception of Theseus was inspired by the Orphic version of the Demeter myth, which we will discuss presently, in which the goddess was received by the poor peasants Dysaules and Baubo and not by the royal couple Keleos and Metaneira.¹²

In the case of Lasus there is already a reference to a connection with the underworld, but this is much more obvious in Philicus’ choriambic *Hymn to Demeter*, which starts with Τῆ χθονίη μυστικῶς Δήμητρί τε καὶ Φερσεφόνῃ καὶ Κλυμένῳ τὰ δῶρα (fr. 676 Lloyd-Jones/Parsons) and which is probably also influenced by Callimachus’ *Hecale*.¹³ Here Demeter receives the epithet Χθονίη, Kore is called Persephone, and Klymenos has acquired equal status with the two goddesses, as is indeed the case in the inscriptions of Hermione, which regularly mention the triad Demeter, Kore and Klymenos; Klymenos even had his

⁴ R. Thurneysen, *Italisches*, *Glotta* 21 (1932) 1–8 at 7–8 (‘Oskisch futír “Tochter”’); P. Kretschmer, *Zu osk. futír*, *ibidem*, 100.

⁵ A. Brelich, *Lo Iuppiter della Tavola di Agnone, Abruzzo* 12 (1974) 151–60; L. Del Tutto Palma, *Tavola di Agnone. L’iter delle interpretazioni: 1848–1993*, in *eadem* (ed.), *La Tavola di Agnone nel contesto italico* (Florence, 1996) 271–411 at 376–7 (on Brelich and Graecisms); A. L. Prosdocimi, *La Tavola di Agnone. Una interpretazione*, *ibidem*, 435–630 at 523–31. Unfortunately, Brelich has been overlooked in the useful study of the tablet by P. A. Johnston, *The Mystery Cults and Vergil’s Georgics*, in G. Casadio and P. A. Johnston (eds), *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia* (Austin, 2009) 251–73 at 267–71.

⁶ See, e.g., Zuntz, *Persephone*, 310. The reason why Hades is called Klymenos remains obscure, but note his epithet ‘of the famous steeds’, *Il.* V.654, XI.445, XVI.625.

⁷ Cornutus 74; Hsch. π 1736 Hansen: Περικλύμ(εν)ος: ὁ Πλούτων; *Et. Gud.* k 329 Sturz; *Et. Magnum* s.v.; Suda κ 1843; Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 285.

⁸ For the cults of Hermione and their archaeological remains, see now G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Misteri e culti mistici di Demetra* (Rome, 1986) 217–21; P. Perlman, *City and Sanctuary in Ancient Greece. The Theorodokia in the Peloponnese* (Göttingen, 2000) 162–6; M. Jameson, *Mapping Greek Cults*, in F. Kolb (ed.), *Chora und Polis* (Munich, 2004) 147–83 at 178–83, who discusses Demeter Chthonia’s sanctuary at 154 and 181; S. I. Johnston, *Demeter in Hermione: Sacrifice and the Polyvalence of Ritual*, *Arethusa* 45 (2012) 211–41; *eadem*, in *GJ* 200–04.

⁹ See also Eur. *HF* 615; Ar. *F* 89 KA; Aristocles, fr. 206 Lloyd-Jones/Parsons; Ael. *NA* 11.4; for the role of the old women in the ritual, see J. N. Bremmer, *The Old Women of Ancient Greece*, in J. Blok and P. Mason (eds), *Sexual Asymmetry. Studies in Ancient Society* (Amsterdam, 1987) 191–215 at 199.

¹⁰ Apollod. 1.6.1, quoted, as Frazer observed in his notes *ad loc.*, by Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 782 and Zenobius, *Cent.* 1.7. Note also Argos (Paus. 1.14.2: see below), Paros (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πάρος) and Pheneos (Conon *FGrH* 26 F 15).

¹¹ As do Call. fr. 277–8 Pf. = *Hecale* fr. 99, 102 Hollis.

¹² As is persuasively suggested by A. Ambühl, *Kinder und junge Helden. Innovative Aspekte des Umgangs mit der literarischen Tradition bei Kallimachos* (Leuven, 2005) 92.

¹³ See now the new edition and analysis by W. Furley, *Philikos’ Hymn to Demeter, Paideia* 64 (2009) 483–507; A. S. Hollis, *Callimachus: Hecale* (Oxford, 1990) 26–7. For Philicus’ interest in mysteries, see M. Dickie, *Poets as Initiates in the Mysteries: Euphorion, Philicus, and Posidippus*, *A&A* 44 (1998) 65–76.

own priest.¹⁴ On the other hand, we do have a dedication in 479 BC by the Hermionians in Delphi to Φερσεφόνοα, and Demeter Chthonia is also well attested in inscriptions.¹⁵ These differences may well point to diverging opinions about the cult.

Now the Hermionian cult had a supra-local status, as we find Demeter Chthonia also in Callatis,¹⁶ and, if more important, in Sparta. The Spartan cult was related to Hermione by Pausanias, but the Spartans themselves, as he tells us, credited Orpheus with its foundation (3.14.5). This information suggests a connection between Demeter Chthonia and the Orphics, which is now substantiated by the more recent publication of a new Gold Leaf in Pherae with the mention of Demeter Chthonia.¹⁷ A garbled notice in Hesychius seems to indicate also an influence from Hermione on Syracuse, perhaps due to colonists from the Argolid.¹⁸ Do we have to look here for the eventual origin of Euklês as a variant of Klymenos? Unfortunately, our data does not enable us to give a positive answer.

Let us now turn our attention to Eubouleus. Given the content of *OF* 488 = *GJ* 5, we would expect a Chthonic interpretation for Eubouleus. But where was such an Eubouleus on offer? At first sight he should not be difficult to find, as Erwin Rohde already stated lapidarily ‘so verehrte man den unterirdischen Zeus an vielen Orten unter dem Namen des Zeus Eubuleus, Buleus’.¹⁹ However, in his time Chthonic cults were much easier to find than today where the concept has become rather problematic;²⁰ moreover, Rohde did not distinguish the cults either geographically or chronologically. Yet it is clear that Zeus Eubouleus originally belonged to a very limited part of Greece, the Cyclades,²¹ from where he was perhaps exported to a few other places.²² Zeus Eubouleus (Z.E) was particularly popular on Delos where his cult is attested from the middle of the third century BC onwards, mainly in the context of the Thesmophoria. Usually, he is worshipped together with Demeter (D) and Kore (K), but sometimes only with Demeter. However, he has no separate temple or priest; neither does he figure independently in any Delian dedication: his existence clearly depends totally on that of Demeter and Kore.²³

The oldest dedications to Demeter, Kore and Zeus Eubouleus, though, come from fourth-century BC Amorgos and contemporary Naxos. In Amorgos we have dedications to Demeter, Kore and (Zeus) Eubouleus in a context that suggests a typically female cult.²⁴ On Naxos two dedications were found of the

¹⁴ For the triad see *IG* IV.686–91, 715 (priest), 1609; M. Jameson, *Hesperia* 22 (1953) 150, nos 3–4.

¹⁵ Delphi: *SIG*³ 32 = *Fouilles de Delphes* III 4, 147. Demeter Chthonia: *IG* IV.679, 683–4, 692, *SEG* 11.378f.

¹⁶ A. Avram, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure, III, Callatis et son territoire* (Bucarest and Paris, 1999) nos 40 (1st century BC), 48b (4th century BC but uncertain supplement). It may be relevant that in Callatis a(n Orphic?) papyrus roll was found next to the hand of a skeleton, cf. M. Schmidt *et al.*, *Eine Gruppe apulischer Grabvasen in Basel* (Basel, 1976) 33.

¹⁷ *OF* 493a = *GJ* 28 = *SEG* 55.612, cf. R. Parker and M. Stamatopoulou, A New Funerary Gold Leaf from Pherai, *Arch. Ephem.* 2004 [2007], 1–31. The best discussion is now A. Henrichs, *Mystika, Orphika, Dionysiaka: Esoterische Gruppenbildungen, Glaubensinhalte und Verhaltensweisen in der griechischen Religion*, in A. Bierl and W. Braungart (eds), *Gewalt und Opfer* (Berlin and New York, 2010) 87–114 at 96–8, which has been overlooked by Graf in his discussion of the text of this Leaf (*GJ* 205–07).

¹⁸ Hsch. ε 5957 Latte: ‘Ερμιόνη· καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ καὶ ἡ Κόρη ἐν Συρακούσαις, καὶ πόλις ἐν Ἄργει, cf. V. Hinz, *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien und in der Magna Graecia* (Wiesbaden, 1998) 96.

¹⁹ E. Rohde, *Psyche*, 2 vols (Leipzig and Tübingen, 1898³) 1.207.

²⁰ See now the studies in R. Hägg (ed.), *Greek Sacrificial Ritual: Olympian and Chthonian* (Stockholm, 2005); R. Parker, *On Greek Religion* (Ithaca and London, 2011) 80–4.

²¹ My analysis builds upon and updates those by H. Schwabl, *RE* 10 A (1972) 311; F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin, 1974) 172 note 72 and Sfameni Gasparro, *Misteri*, 169–75. Quite a few inscriptions were already adduced by Frazer on Paus. 1.14.3.

²² The exact relationship between the triad and Zeus Eubouleus in Cyrene (Hes. ε 6720 Latte) is unclear.

²³ *IG* XI 2.287 A.69 = C. Prêtre, *Nouveaux choix d’inscriptions de Délos* (Athens, 2002) 90 (D+K+Z.E); *I. Délos*, 290.88 (D+Z.E), 91 (D+Z.E), 291 B 24 (Z.E), 316.122 (Z.E), 338 Aa 59 (D+K+Z.E), 372 A.104–05 (D+K+Z.E), 416.3 (Z.E), 440 A.37 (D+K+Z.E), cf. Ph. Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l’époque hellénistique et à l’époque impériale* (Paris, 1970) 282, 286–7, who also (p. 285) makes a case for a possible representation of the Delian triad.

²⁴ *IG* XII 7.76–7 (4th and 3rd centuries BC), cf. J. Delamarre, *Décrets religieux d’Arkesine (Amorgos)*, *REG* 16 (1903) 165–72.

triad, one with and one without Baubo,²⁵ the latter near the local Thesmophorion.²⁶ From first-century BC Paros we have a dedication by the priestess to Demeter Thesmophoros, Kore, Zeus Eubouleus and Baubo (*IG XII 5.227*). From Paros, the cult had apparently been exported to Thasos, as we hear of a priestess of ‘Zeus Eubouleus at the altars for Demeter’ at the turn of our era.²⁷ On Mykonos we find a Zeus Bouleus in the company of Demeter and Kore in a women’s festival that looks very much like the Thesmophoria.²⁸ Finally, on an epitaph from Syros we find Eubouleus and ‘his wife Phersephone’ (*IG XII 5.677*), and in Corinth a Zeus Bouleus was also worshipped in the company of Demeter.²⁹ Given the close connection between Demeter and Zeus Eubouleus, it is hardly surprising that, according to later evidence, Demeter had a son called Eubouleus in Crete (*Diod. Sic. 5.76.3*).

What Fritz Graf already suggested nearly forty years ago,³⁰ we can now say with even more certainty: the Delian, Naxian, Mykonian and Parian evidence shows that the triad was closely connected with the Thesmophoria. Now the Orphic poem that was closely connected to Eleusis included an ἄρτιον of the Thesmophoria, as appears from a passage of Clement of Alexandria and a scholion on Lucian’s *Dialogues of the Courtesans*, both of which go back to the same source.³¹ As the latter is slightly more detailed, we will present its version: ‘(The Thesmophoria) was performed according to the more mythical account because when Kore was carried off by Plouton while picking flowers one Eubouleus, a swineherd, was pasturing pigs on that spot, and they were swallowed up in the pit of Kore. So in honour of Eubouleus the piglets are thrown into the pits of Demeter and Kore.’ It perfectly fits the connection with the Thesmophoria that Sextus Empiricus calls Demeter and Kore θεοὶ θεσμοφόροι in the context of his summary of, probably, the same Orphic poem.³²

The source of this ἄρτιον was an Attic antiquarian, as appears both from the mention of the Attic Skirophoria and Arrhetophoria in the scholion and Clement as well as from Clement calling Kore (the name in Lucian’s scholion) Pherephatta, the Attic version of her name as we will see presently (§ 2).³³ Clement therefore has preserved the older, if more abbreviated layer; presumably, he also derived his observation on the term μεγαρίζειν from this Attic antiquarian. Clement enumerated the mysteries in alphabetical order, which indicates that his source does not predate the third century BC when Alexandrian philologists introduced this way of enumeration.³⁴ The source may well have taken his information, if perhaps indirectly, from Philochorus, as his interest in the Attic Orphic Hymns is well attested.³⁵ He was also the author of a book *On the Mysteries in Athens* and was clearly very interested in the mysteries in general, as is also wit-

²⁵ For Baubo, see most recently F. Graf, Baubo, in *Der Neue Pauly* II (1997) 499 (with previous bibliography); B. Reichardt, Anasyrma und Liebeswerbung – Ein attisch schwarzfiguriger Skyphos vom Taxiarchis-Hügel in Didyma, in R. Einicke *et al.* (eds), *Zurück zum Gegenstand. Festschrift für Andreas E. Furtwängler*, 2 vols (Langenweissbach, 2009) 1.235–43; V. Dasen, Une “Baubo” sur une gemme magique, in L. Bodiou *et al.* (eds), *Chemin faisant. Mythes, cultes et société en Grèce ancienne. Mélanges en l’honneur de Pierre Brulé* (Rennes, 2009) 271–84.

²⁶ *IG XII Suppl.* 196; *SEG* 16.478 (with Baubo), 48.1123, cf. A. P. Matthaiou, Εἰς *IG XII Suppl.*, σ. 104, ὁρ. 196, *Horos* 10–2 (1992–8) 419–22.

²⁷ *SEG* 18.343.31, cf. F. Salviat, Décrets pour Épié, fille de Dionysios: déesses et sanctuaires thasiens, *BCH* 83 (1959) 362–97, who at 385 notes the Cycladic character of the cult of Zeus Eubouleus.

²⁸ *SIG*³ 1024, cf. M. P. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1906) 328.

²⁹ *SEG* 11.188; note also Zeus Bouleus in *SEG* 26.402.

³⁰ Graf, *Eleusis*, 173.

³¹ Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.17.1; Schol. Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 2.1 Rabe, cf. Graf, *Eleusis*, 165 note 36 and, especially, N. J. Lowe, Thesmophoria and Haloa: Myth, Physics and Mysteries, in S. Blundell and M. Williamson (eds), *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece* (London and New York, 1998) 149–73; J. N. Bremmer, Demeter in Megara, in A. Mastrocinque and C. G. Scibona (eds), *Demeter, Isis, Vesta, and Cybele. Studies in Greek and Roman Religion in Honour of Giulia Sfameni Gasparro* (Stuttgart, 2012) 23–36 at 25–6.

³² Sext. Emp. *Adv. math.* 2.31–2, cf. Graf, *Eleusis*, 161.

³³ C. Riedweg, *Mysterienterminologie bei Platon, Philon und Klemens von Alexandrien* (Berlin and New York, 1987) 119.

³⁴ Riedweg, *ibidem*.

³⁵ D. Obbink, A Quotation of the Derveni Papyrus in Philodemus’ *On Piety*, *Cron. Erc.* 24 (1994) 111–35.

nessed by his books *On Purifications* and *On (Ritual) Passwords* (Περὶ συμβόλων).³⁶ The latter title could conceivably refer to the Pythagorean σύμβολα, but we find the term also on the Gold Leaf of Entella (*OF* 475 ii.19 = GJ 8), the first Leaf of Pherae (*OF* 493 = GJ 27) and the mid-third-century BC Orphic Gurōb Papyrus (*OF* 578 i.23).³⁷ Of course, other authors of books *On Mysteries* also remain possible.³⁸

In any case, the source of the Hellenistic author must have reached back at least to the fourth century BC, as Graf has ingeniously concluded from the competing Argive version, where we find the brothers Triptolemos and Eubouleus, but understandably not Eumolpos, who in the Clementine version is adduced to explain the role of the Eumolpids.³⁹ It is interesting that in Clement all brothers have a different profession (Triptolemos cowherd, Eumolpos shepherd and Eubouleus swineherd), an illustration of the specialisation among brothers that we sometimes find in antiquity.⁴⁰ We may even wonder if there is a connection between this Argive version and the more recently published Hellenistic boundary marker of a sanctuary of Zeus Eubouleus in Argos (*SEG* 49.353).

However this may be, it remains unclear how much further back we can reach with our source. Graf has made a good, if not undisputed, case for a date between Sophocles' *Triptolemos* of 468 and Aristophanes' *Frogs* of 406 BC.⁴¹ However, unlike Graf but with Robert Parker,⁴² I would not separate Eubouleus from the Eubolos in the famous Athenian First Fruits decree of 422/1 BC, where he is combined with Theos and Thea (*IG*³ 78.39), as the names Theos and Thea have been reasonably explained as the Eleusinian equivalents of Hades and Persephone.⁴³ Moreover, we can narrow down the time of the Orphic poem to the third quarter of the fifth century, when the influence of Prodicus with his culture theories became visible.⁴⁴ Now the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* contains the figure of Iambe, but not her Orphic alternate Baubo. It seems therefore plausible to surmise that Baubo and Eubouleus were first 'imported' from the Cyclades into the Attic Orphic poem of that period, from which Eubouleus was subsequently incorporated into Eleusis.⁴⁵ His connection with Theos and Thea, a triad also attested in later times,⁴⁶ clearly shows his Chthonic nature.

From the Attic Orphic poem that is closely connected to Eleusis, Eubouleus must have moved on, as we find him also in the Gurōb Papyrus. Here he is invoked without any connection to Zeus or Dionysos (*OF* 578 i.18, 22?). Even in some of the *Orphic Hymns* Eubouleus still keeps his closeness to Plouton,⁴⁷ although in several other ones he becomes called Dionysos, as he is in Plutarch.⁴⁸ The later development should not

³⁶ Philochoros *FGrH* 328 T 1.

³⁷ For the σύμβολα of the mysteries see Bernabé *ad OF* 493.1. For the later development of the term, see A. Merkt, *Symbolum. Historische Bedeutung und patristische Deutung des Bekenntnisnamens*, *Römische Quartalschrift* 96 (2001) 1–36; L. Westra, How Did Symbolum Come to Mean 'Creed?', *Studia Patristica* 45 (2010) 85–91; *idem*, Cyprian, the Mystery Religions and the Apostles' Creed – an Unexpected Link, in H. Bakker *et al.* (eds), *Cyprian of Carthage. Studies in His Life, Language, and Thought* (Leuven, 2010) 115–25.

³⁸ M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* 2 (Munich, 1961²) 102, overlooked by W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1983) 250 note 9, who enumerates the following authors with a similar title: Melanthis *FGrH* 326 F 2–4; Theodorus *FGrH* 346 F 1, and Hikesios in Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 5.64.5; add the Athenian philosopher Sotades: Suda σ 872.

³⁹ Paus. 1.14.2, cf. Graf, *Eleusis*, 160.

⁴⁰ Cf. J. N. Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture, the Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Leiden, 2008) 67–8.

⁴¹ Graf, *Eleusis*, 179–80, but note the doubts of R. Parker, *Athenian Religion* (Oxford, 1996) 100–01.

⁴² *Contra* Graf, *Eleusis*, 173, cf. R. Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens* (Oxford, 2005) 337.

⁴³ K. Clinton, *Myth and Cult* (Stockholm, 1992) 60; Parker, *Polytheism*, 337.

⁴⁴ A. Henrichs, The Sophists and Hellenistic Religion: Prodicus as the Spiritual Father of the Isis Aretologies, *HSCP* 88 (1984) 139–58.

⁴⁵ Similarly, Graf, *Eleusis*, 174.

⁴⁶ *IG* II² 4701 = *I. Eleusis* 239; Clinton, *Myth and Cult*, 56 note 152 (= *SEG* 42.194), 134–6; Parker, *Polytheism*, 337–9; note also the dedication to Eubouleus in *IG* II² 4615 = *I. Eleusis* 88.

⁴⁷ A.-F. Morand, *Études sur les Hymnes Orphiques* (Leiden, 2001) 165–8, who notes that the *Hymns* use the forms Eubouleus and Euboulos indifferently, and that Eubouleus, next to being close to Dionysos, is also very close to Plouton (18.12, 41.8, 72.3).

⁴⁸ Plut. *Symp.* 714C; *Orphic Hymns* 29.8, 30.6, 52.4, 56.3; Macr. *Sat.* 1.18.17.

be retrojected, though, to texts from several centuries earlier. After all, we know that the Orphic movement was flexible, and it is not surprising that in Roman times a somewhat obscure Greek divinity was mapped onto a much better known god.⁴⁹

As the case of Eubouleus shows, the closeness of the Orphic movement in Athens to Eleusis in the last decades of the fifth century BC had facilitated the ‘transfer’ of Eubouleus into Eleusinian cult.⁵⁰ Given this closeness we need not be surprised to find another example as well. Around AD 200 the Roman bishop Hippolytus, if it was him,⁵¹ quoted a Gnostic text that had revised a pagan *Vorlage*. According to his source, at the *moment suprême* of the Eleusinian Mysteries the hierophant calls out at the top of his voice ‘the reverend goddess has given birth to a sacred child, Brimo to Brimos, that is the strong one has born a strong child’.⁵² Now Brimo has unexpectedly turned up in the first fourth-century BC Orphic Leaf from Pherae (*OF* 493 = *GJ* 27 = *SEG* 45.646):

Σύμβολα: Ἄν(δ)ρικεπαιδόθυρσον. Ἄνδρικεπαιδόθυρσον. Βριμῶ.

Βριμῶ. εἴσιθ(ι) ἱερὸν λειμῶνα. ἄποινος γὰρ ὁ μύστης.

Passwords. Andrikepaidothyrsos. Andrikepaidothyrsos.⁵³

Brimo Brimo. Enter the holy meadow. For the initiate has paid the price.

This raises the question of priority: was Brimo transferred from Eleusis into the Orphic *imaginaire* or was it the other way round?⁵⁴ The question is not easy to answer, but we can say that Brimo already figured in the Attic *Vorlage* of Clement, which tells that Demeter derived the name Brimo from her grudge, μήνις, against Zeus for having sex with her,⁵⁵ and it is noteworthy that the author of the Derveni Papyrus (col. 22.12–3) explains the name Deio for Demeter ‘because she was cut (ἐδηιώθη) during sexual intercourse’.⁵⁶ Admittedly, the reader of Clement’s abbreviated version remains a bit puzzled regarding the exact relation between Demeter’s grudge and the name Brimo, but this becomes clear when we note Hesychius’ lemma β 1160 Latte: βριμαίνεται· θυμαίνεται, ὀργίζεται.⁵⁷ Clement’s information, then, firmly establishes that Brimo belonged in an early Orphic context. Moreover, Hesychius β 1161 Latte explains βριμη as ἀπειλή καὶ γυναικεία ὀρρητοποιία, which seems to point once again into the direction of the Thesmophoria where

⁴⁹ *Contra*, e.g., A. Bernabé and A. I. Jiménez San Cristóbal, *Instructions for the Netherworld* (Leiden, 2008) 104–05.

⁵⁰ For this closeness see Graf, *Eleusis*, 158–81; W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften III: Mystica, Orphica, Pythagorica*, ed. F. Graf (Göttingen, 2006) 34–7.

⁵¹ For the debated nature of the authorship see J. A. Cerrato, *Hippolytus between East and West. The Commentaries and the Provenance of the Corpus* (Oxford, 2002).

⁵² Hippolytus, *Haer.* 5.8.39–41 Marcovich, cf. Burkert, *Homo necans*, 288–90; Parker, *Polytheism*, 357–8; J. N. Bremmer, *Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries: a ‘Thin’ Description*, in C. H. Bull *et al.* (eds), *Mystery and Secrecy in the Nag Hammadi Collection and Other Ancient Literature: Ideas and Practices. Festschrift for Einar Thomassen* (Leiden, 2011) 375–97 at 387–8. For the last part of this passage, which is probably a comment by Hippolytus, compare also Hsch. β 1166 Latte: Βριμῶ ἰσχυρά, where Latte *ad loc.* wrongly compares ‘Clem. Al. protr. 2,15,1’.

⁵³ The word contains the Dionysiac symbol of the thyrsos and the Orphic Erikepaios, whom we find in the Gurób Papyrus (i.22), *TAM* V.2, 1256.1 (Hierokaisareia); *OF* 139 (late Orphic texts); Morand, *Études*, 189–94; for various interpretations of the name, none that convincing, see G. Stroumsa, *The Afterlife of Orphism: Jewish, Gnostic and Christian Perspectives*, *Historia Religionum* 4 (2012) 139–57 at 147–9. For the Anatolian origin and etymology of thyrsos, see B. Vine, *On “Cowgill’s Law” in Greek*, in H. Eichner and H. Luschützky (eds), *Compositiones Indogermanicae in Memoriam Jochem Schindler* (Prague, 1999) 555–600 at 571; V. Ivanov, *Notes on the New Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian*, *Indo-European Studies Bulletin* 10.1 (2002) 1–17 at 12, both to be added to the bibliography in R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols (Leiden, 2010) 1.566.

⁵⁴ For a different discussion of Brimo, see now Johnston in *GJ* 196–200.

⁵⁵ Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.15.1 = Arnobius 5.20 (but more detailed than Clement).

⁵⁶ For the older spelling Deio instead of the later Deo, see Burkert, *Kleine Schriften III*, 116 note 28; J. N. Bremmer, *Rescuing Deio in Sophocles and Euripides*, *ZPE* 158 (2007) 127.

⁵⁷ Note also Hsch. β 1165 Latte: βριμοῦσθαι· θυμοῦσθαι, ὀργίζεσθαι; similarly *Et. Magn.* s.v. Βριμαίνω: Σημαίνει τὸ ὀργίζεσθαι παρὰ τὸ BPI, τὸ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς βαρύνεσθαι. Λέγεται καὶ βριμῶ, ὅθεν καὶ βριμοῦσθαι καὶ βριμησαι. Καὶ μοι δοκεῖ παρὰ τοῦτο τὸ βριμῶ παρῆλθαι τὸ βριμαίνω, τὸ θυμοῦμαι. Καὶ βριμένη, ὀργιζομένη.

sexual banter was part of the ritual.⁵⁸ From the Orphic poem, then, Brimo seems to have been incorporated into the Eleusinian ritual, without us being able to say at which moment in time. Yet it is clear from the first Pherae Leaf that she also became quickly incorporated into the Orphic σύμβολα for the underworld. Here she will have been interpreted as Persephone, since the Gurōb Papyrus has the line ‘save me Brimo’ (i.5), and the next goddess invoked is Demeter (i.6). And indeed, the probably only slightly later Apollonius of Rhodes (3.861–2, 1211) calls Brimo ‘queen of the dead’ and equates her with Hecate,⁵⁹ as did Lycophron (1176). As Apollonius almost certainly used an Orphic *Argonautica* in writing his own *Argonautica*, perhaps the one by ‘Orpheus from Croton’,⁶⁰ I would guess that he took Brimo from there.

It is even possible that this Orphic source also ‘borrowed’ the etymology of the ‘Eleusinian’ Orphic poem, as late scholia mention that Persephone acquired her name Brimo because of her anger against Hermes, who attempted to rape her during a hunt.⁶¹ As this story was already known to Propertius (2.2.12: the only passage in Latin literature in which Brimo occurs), it will go back to Hellenistic Greek literature, perhaps even the early Orphic *Argonautica*. It is not surprising, then, that in Lucian’s *Menippus* (20), Brimo is associated with Cerberus and once again clearly a ‘hellish’ figure. And finally, like Eubouleus, Brimo was eventually drawn into the Dionysiac orbit in the Orphic *Argonautica* (17, 429), which is around the same time that she is invoked in the magical papyri.⁶² In this respect, it is noteworthy that the σύμβολον ‘Brimo Brimo’ also occurs twice on a curse tablet from Antioch dating to about AD 500, and it may be significant that in the second case ‘Brimo Brimo’ is preceded by δαδοῦχε, an Eleusinian function.⁶³

Eleusinian influence on other mysteries must have been an early process, which we can probably already observe around 500 BC. Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.22.2) has preserved a fragment with some context, in which Heraclitus (B 14 DK = 87 Marcovich) threatens specific groups of people: ‘nightwanderers, (Persian) μάγοι, male followers of Dionysos (βάκχοι), maenads (λήναι), μύσται’, and ‘for what men believe to be (holy) mysteries (μυστήρια) are impious rites’. The authenticity of the passage has been disputed,⁶⁴ but the Derveni Papyrus, as we will see presently, supports it, and there seems to be no reason not to accept that this is the first passage in Greek literature where we find the term μυστήρια.

At the same time, the passage is also the first one to mention μάγοι, who belong to groups of people who practised nightly, presumably private, ecstatic religious rites. Apparently, some of the priestly caste of the Medes had wandered from their homeland to other parts of the Persian Empire where they could earn money as ‘technologists of the sacred’.⁶⁵ The combination of μάγοι and μύσται in Heraclitus’ fragment

⁵⁸ For such mockings, see Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture*, 263–5; S. Halliwell, *Greek Laughter* (Cambridge, 2008) 160–206; note also Hsch. β 1157 Latte: βριμάζειν ὄργᾳ εἰς συνουσίαν. Κύπριοι.

⁵⁹ Cf. *Et. Magn.* s.v. Βριμῶ: Ἡ Φερσεφόνη. Ἡ δὲ αὐτὴ λέγεται καὶ Ἐκάτη.

⁶⁰ Suda ο 657 = *OF* 1104, cf. D. Nelis, *The Reading of Orpheus: The Orphic Argonautica and the Epic Tradition*, in M. Paschalis (ed.), *Roman and Greek Imperial Epic* (Rethymnon, 2005) 169–89.

⁶¹ *Et. Magn.* s.v. Βριμῶ νυκτίπολον χθονίην ἐνέροισιν ἄνασσαν. Ἐρμῆν ἐρασθέντα ἐπὶ κυνηγεσίαν ἐξιοῦση θελήσαι βιαίως μιχθῆναι, ἢ δὲ ἐνεβριμήσατο αὐτῷ ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ἀπετράπη. Καὶ ἐντεῦθεν Βριμῶ προσηγορεύθη; similarly, scholia on Lycophron 698, 1176.

⁶² *PGM* IV.2270, 2291, 2611, 2964; VII.692; LXX.20.

⁶³ *SEG* 53.1786.18–19, 34, cf. A. Hollmann, *A Curse Tablet from the Circus at Antioch*, *ZPE* 145 (2003) 67–82. Note also the occurrence of Baubo in this text (25, 40).

⁶⁴ As do more recently, e.g., G. E. R. Lloyd, *Magic, Reason and Experience* (Cambridge, 1979) 12 note 18; A. Henrichs, *Namenlosigkeit und Euphemismus: Zur Ambivalenz der chthonischen Mächte im attischen Drama*, in H. Hofmann and A. Harder (eds), *Fragmenta dramatica* (Göttingen, 1991) 161–201 at 190–1. Its authenticity is accepted by Ch. Kahn, *The Art and Thought of Heraclitus* (Cambridge, 1979) 262 (with some qualms); M. Conche, *Héraclite. Fragments* (Paris, 1986) 167–70; T. Robinson, *Heraclitus. Fragments* (Toronto, 1987) 85–6; Graf, *Magic*, 21; J.-F. Pradeau, *Héraclite, Fragments* (Paris, 2002) 320–1 (with some qualifications); G. Betegh, *The Derveni Papyrus* (Cambridge, 2004) 81; W. Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* III, 58; L. Gemelli Marciano, *A chi profetizza Eraclito di Efeso? Eraclito “specialista del sacro” fra Oriente e Occidente*, in C. Riedweg (ed.), *Grecia Maggiore: intrecci culturali con l’Asia nel periodo arcaico* (Basel, 2009) 99–122 at 104–09; Graf in *GJ* 145.

⁶⁵ For the Persian μάγοι, see E. J. Bickerman, *Religions and Politics in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Como, 1985) 619–41; A. de Jong, *Traditions of the Magi* (Leiden, 1997) 387–403; *idem*, *The Contribution of the Magi*, in V. S. Curtis and S. Stewart (eds), *Birth of the Persian Empire* (London and New York, 2005) 85–99. For their early history in Greece, see J. N. Bremmer, *The Birth of the Term “Magic”*, *ZPE* 126 (1999) 1–12, updated in Bremmer, *Greek Religion and Culture*, 235–48;

is also found in the Derveni Papyrus, where the commentator mentions that μάγοι perform certain ritual practices, such as libations of milk and water, and that μύσται bring a preliminary sacrifice to the Eumenides according to the rites of the μάγοι.⁶⁶

Although Heraclitus mentions both male and female followers of Dionysos (βάκχοι and λήναι), μύσται and μυστήρια, Ephesus does not seem to have had public mysteries comparable to those of Eleusis or Samothrace. This means that around 500 BC we already find private mysteries of Dionysos Bakchios, the Dionysos whose epithet points to ecstatic rituals wherever we have more detailed information.⁶⁷ The mystery terminology was most likely derived from Eleusis, as it is already widely attested in fifth-century BC Athenian literature; the Samothracian mysteries and those of Hecate on Aegina are other early examples of the Eleusinian success.⁶⁸ Heraclitus would have probably worried less about these categories had they belonged to the lowest classes of the city. The status of these worshippers, then, will have corresponded with the middle- to upper-class orientation of Orphism as witnessed by their graves, bronze urns and use of gold.⁶⁹

After Ephesus, we find the combination of μύσται and βάκχοι also in Euripides' *Cretans* (F 472.9–19 Kannicht = OF 567), which may have been performed in the 430s BC.⁷⁰ Admittedly, the chorus are initiates of Zeus Idaios and refer to Zagreus and the Kouretes, but that is the necessary *couleur locale*. Yet the description of the rites is totally Dionysiac, even including the ὠμοφαγία. For us it is interesting to see that the chorus tells that they were first a μύστης, then a βούτης, presumably the same as a βουκόλος, and then a βάκχος.⁷¹ From later sources it is clear that the βουκόλος was indeed a kind of mid-range Bacchic initiate,⁷² and the well known dictum 'many are ναρθηκοφόροι, but the βάκχοι are few', which was already known to Plato (*Phd.* 69c = OF 576 F), proves that the βάκχοι were indeed the highest stage reachable in the Bacchic mysteries. We find the combination 'μύσται and βάκχοι' also in the Gold Leaf from Hipponion (OF 474 = GJ 1), where it presumably means all the initiates, whatever their stage of initiation; the combination may well have been inspired by the two Eleusinian degrees of μύσται and ἐπόπται.⁷³ Subsequent Leaves just have the terms 'μύστης' or 'μύσται', not only in both fourth-century BC Leaves from Pherae, but also in a series of later, small Gold Leaves with often only the name of the deceased.⁷⁴ Apparently, the travelling initiators had made life easier and had dropped the rank of βάκχοι in the course of the fourth century BC.

W. Burkert, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis* (Cambridge Mass. and London, 2004) 98–124; F. Ferrari, Rites without Frontiers: Magi and Mystae in the Derveni Papyrus, *ZPE* 179 (2011) 71–83.

⁶⁶ Th. Kouremenos *et al.*, *The Derveni Papyrus* (Florence, 2006) col. 6.4–9.

⁶⁷ F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 285–91; A. Jiménez San Cristóbal, The Meaning of *bakchos* and *bakcheuein* in Orphism, in Casadio and Johnston, *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia*, 46–60.

⁶⁸ Eleusis: Sophocles F 804 Radt; *Eur. Suppl.* 173, 470; *Ar. Ra.* 159, 887; *Thuc.* 6.28.1 and 53.2; note also the title *Mystai* of one of Phrynichus' comedies and the title *Mystis* of comedies by Philemon, Antiphanes and Philippides. Samothrace: *Hdt.* 2.51; *Ar. Pax* 277–8. Hecate: *Suda* κ 822 (Kinesias mocks the mysteries of Hecate, presumably those on Aegina: *Paus.* 2.30.2; see also Jacoby on Eudoxus *FGrH* 79 F 5 and Agatharchides *FGrH* 284 F 3); Origen, *Cels.* 6.22.

⁶⁹ J. N. Bremmer, *The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London and New York, 2002) 17–8; Parker and Stamatopoulou, A New Funerary Gold Leaf from Pherai, with an excellent discussion of the archaeological finds.

⁷⁰ For our purpose, see G. Casadio, I *Cretesi* di Euripide a l'ascensi orfica, *Didattica del Classico* 2 (1990) 278–310. A. Bernabé, Un fragmento de *Los Cretenses* de Eurípides, in J. López Férez (ed.), *La tragedia griega en sus textos* (Madrid, 2004) 257–86.

⁷¹ For the βουκόλος, see also *Eur. Antiope* F 203 with Kannicht *ad loc.*; Cratinus, *Boukoloi* F 17–22 Kassel/Austin.

⁷² *Orphic Hymns* 1.10, 31.7; A.-F. Jaccottet, *Choisir Dionysos. Les associations dionysiaques ou la face cachée du dionysisme*, 2 vols (Zürich, 2003) 2.182–90.

⁷³ K. Dowden, Grades in the Eleusinian Mysteries, *RHR* 197 (1980) 409–27; K. Clinton, Stages of Initiation in the Eleusinian and Samothracian Mysteries, in Cosmopoulos, *Greek Mysteries*, 50–78; Bremmer, Initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries, 382–3.

⁷⁴ OF 493, 493a = GJ 27–8; OF 496b–e = GJ 31.

The Cretan initiate also informs us about his lifestyle: 'In clothing all of white I shun the birth of mortals and do not approach tombs.⁷⁵ And I have guarded myself against eating food that comes from living creatures' (F 472.16–19 Kannicht). In other words, he is a typical Orphic, whose vegetarianism is well known,⁷⁶ and whose preoccupation with purity is well attested in the Gold Leaves, where several older Leaves begin with 'pure I (he/she) come from the pure' (OF 488–91 = GJ 5–7, 9), as we have already seen.⁷⁷ Finally, he is dressed in white. Now the excavator of the main tomb of the Timpone Grande in Thurii found *un bianchissimo lenzuolo* over the cremated remains of the deceased woman (§ 2), but the 'snow-white sheet' immediately 'disintegrated when touched by the excavators'.⁷⁸ Herodotus (2.81.2) already mentions that the participants of the Orphic and Bacchic customs wanted to be buried in linen. It is probably a safe presumption that the white shroud was the one that the deceased had worn during her rituals.⁷⁹

Finally, in addition to these 'Orphic' deities, we find an enumeration of names of gods and *voces mysticae* in the Gold Leaf that was found in Thurii in 1897, which has now been well re-edited by Bernabé.⁸⁰ It would exceed the scope of our investigation to analyse all the divinities mentioned, and we will therefore limit ourselves to the first line:

Πρωτογόνω(ι) ΘΗΜΑΙΤΙΕΤΗ Γᾶι Μαρτί ΕΠΑ Κυβελεία(ι) Κόρρα(ι) ΟΣΕΝΤΑΙΗ Δήμητρος ΗΤ

Protagonos needs no illustration, as he is a familiar Orphic figure.⁸¹ 'Mother' is taken as an epithet of Ge by Bernabé (*ad loc.*), but as Meter occurs as an independent goddess in the Derveni Papyrus col. 22.7–10, I also capitalise Μαρτί; moreover, the juxtaposition of Ge and Meter points to Demeter, whose name was widely derived from Ge and Meter.⁸² Yet the surprising divinity is really Kybele, and in this respect it is significant that the most recently published Leaf from Pherae mentions the combination of Demeter Chthonia and Meter Oureia.⁸³ On the other hand, the combination is not totally surprising, as a *rapprochement* of Demeter and Kybele is already visible in the fifth century in Pindar (*I.* 7.3–5), Melanippides (*PMG* 764 Page) and Euripides (*Hel.* 1301–68).⁸⁴ Yet in the same century Kybele had come much closer to Dionysos. This development had already struck Strabo (10.3.12–7), who, probably via Apollodorus,⁸⁵ provides us with important testimonies for this development, which, epigraphically, already becomes visible in sixth-century Olbia (*SEG* 48.1020), but in literature really takes off only in the later Euripides, after fleeting appearances in Aeschylus (F 57 Radt) and Pindar (fr. 70b.8–11 Maehler).⁸⁶ It is this development and the Dionysiac *Substrat* of the Orphic ritual that probably explains Kybele's name here.

2. Persephone and Kore

Let us conclude our *tour de horizon* with Persephone/Kore, undoubtedly the most important divinity of the Gold Leaves. Now where should an analysis of her role in the Gold Leaves start? It is perhaps justifiable to begin with a most interesting development regarding her etymology, which has recently received a

⁷⁵ For this combined pollution, see R. Parker, *Miasma* (Oxford, 1983) 33 note 2.

⁷⁶ Parker, *Miasma*, 299–302.

⁷⁷ OF 488 = GJ 3; OF 489 = GJ 7; OF 491 = GJ 9.

⁷⁸ Zuntz, *Persephone*, 290.

⁷⁹ Note the prohibition on wearing black clothes in the 'Orphic' *I. Smyrna* 728.10 (= OF 528).

⁸⁰ OF 492 = GJ 4, which completely supersedes Zuntz, *Persephone*, 344–54 (= Zuntz C), except for a full description of the Leaf.

⁸¹ M. L. West, *The Orphic Poems* (Oxford, 1983) 203–07.

⁸² Obbink, Quotation of the Derveni Papyrus, 121–3; Bernabé on OF 399.

⁸³ Parker and Stamatopoulou, A New Funerary Gold Leaf from Pherai.

⁸⁴ Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 1301–68; S. Lavecchia, *Pindari dithyramborum fragmenta* (Rome, 2000) 140–1.

⁸⁵ E. Schwartz, *RE* I.2 (1894) 2869; Obbink, Quotation of the Derveni Papyrus, 116–7.

⁸⁶ See Kannicht on Eur. *Hel.* 1301–68; Dodds, Roux and Seaford on Eur. *Ba.* 78–9; Parker, *Athenian Religion*, 189 note 134; Fedeli on Prop. 3.17.35–6; Lavecchia, *Pindari dithyramborum fragmenta*, 141–4; W. Allan, Religious Syncretism: the New Gods of Greek Tragedy, *HSCP* 102 (2004) 112–55 at 143–7 (Kybele, Demeter and Dionysos); Henrichs, *Mystika, Orphika, Dionysiaka*, 98.

new explanation by Rudolf Wachter.⁸⁷ For us, two results are important. First, Wachter has noted that Attic fifth-century vases much more often attest a form of her name with an omega/omicron (Φερρῶφαττα and the like) than with an epsilon,⁸⁸ a phenomenon that otherwise occurs only twice on Roman Crete – in fact, on one of the Orphic tablets from Eleutherna – and once on Sicily (below).⁸⁹ Consequently, he has reconstructed a first part of her name *Περσο- that he relates to a word from the Indo-European *Dichtersprache* meaning ‘corn sheaf’ or, perhaps better, ‘ear’, which still survived in the *RigVeda* (10.48.7) and the *Avesta* (*Yt.* 13.71), even if as a *hapax legomenon*. The second part, the clearly extremely old -φαττα, derives from a root *g^{wh}en, which also occurs in the just mentioned passages and which must mean ‘to beat, to kill’. In other words, Persephone literally means ‘she who beats the ears of corn’, a word which well fits the activity of girls in many less developed areas. Beating the ears does not yet make her into a Frazerian Corn Maiden, whatever that would have been, but it surely comes rather close!⁹⁰

A second conclusion Wachter draws is that the original Attic form Περσῶφαττα is older than Homeric Περσεφόνηα or Hesiodic Περσεφόνη, although these go back to a time before the composition of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The Attic form, as he suggests, most likely goes back to a Mycenaean form and what we should await is a Linear-B tablet with the form *pe-so-qa-sa!

What tentative conclusions can we draw from Wachter’s considerations? First, etymologies can never replace the meaning of words in current parlance. In other words, even if Wachter is right, this cannot help us in understanding the role of Persephone in the Orphic tablets. It does suggest, though, that the form Persephone is a later development than Attic Pherephatta and can hardly be separated from her role as queen of the underworld. In fact, one cannot escape the impression that this role is fairly late. It presupposes the rule of Hades, but this rule in turn presupposes the division of the world between Hades, Poseidon and Zeus, which, as Burkert has argued, derives from the *Atrahasis* and cannot predate Homer by much.⁹¹ I would guess that, after the division, Hades received as a wife the available divine girl, as being a permanent male bachelor was not an acceptable status in ancient Greece. Hades’ etymology as ‘Mr. Invisible’ and his lack of a firm persona in Homer hardly point to an old and established divinity.⁹²

The spelling of the goddess’ name was certainly not uniform. In Athens alone, we find a number of variations. Whereas in inscriptions, comedy and other non-tragic literature we mainly find variations of Pherephatta,⁹³ in tragedy the spelling is P(h)ersephassa,⁹⁴ which antiquity already identified as the more poetical form.⁹⁵ Outside Athens we find this spelling only in a first-century Egyptian grave epigram,⁹⁶ and in the name of the festival of Kore in Cyzicus, which used to be called Soteria, but was changed into P(h)ersephassia in the first century BC; the reasons are not clear, but Eleusinian influence is clearly visible

⁸⁷ R. Wachter, *Kratos* 51 (2006) 136–44, whose etymology is accepted by Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary*, 2.1179–80. I am most grateful to Rudolf Wachter for letting me see his manuscript in advance.

⁸⁸ L. Threatte, *The Grammar of Attic Inscriptions*, 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1980–96) I.450–1, II.750, to which Wachter adds H. Immerwahr, *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions: a Preliminary Edition* (1998: book is available only in select libraries, an electronic edition is currently prepared at Basel), 2731, 3371, 3425, 3442, 4501, 5288, 5651; *IG III App* 101.

⁸⁹ *IC* 2.XII.31bis (= *OF* 495) and 2.XVI.10.

⁹⁰ For Frazer’s ideas, see J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*³, vol. V, 2 vols (London, 1912). For girls threshing, see Google Images.

⁹¹ W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge Mass., 1992) 92–3 and *idem*, *Babylon, Memphis, Persepolis*, 35–7, cf. M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997) 147 note 20 (reservations); R. Janko on *Iliad* XIV.200–07 (convinced).

⁹² For Hades, see most recently J. N. Bremmer, Hades, in *Der Neue Pauly* V (1998) 51–3; for his etymology, C. J. Ruijgh, *Scripta minora* I (Amsterdam, 1991) 575–6; R. Beekes, Hades and Elysion, in J. Jasanoff *et al.* (eds), *Mír curad: Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins* (Innsbruck, 1998) 17–28 at 17–9 and his *Etymological Dictionary*, 1.34.

⁹³ Note 88; *Ar. Thesm.* 287, *Ra.* 671; the place is called Pherephattion (*Dem.* 54.8; *Hsch.* φ 316 Hansen–Cunningham).

⁹⁴ Persephassa: *Aesch. Cho.* 490; *Eur. Or.* 964 (corrupt), *Phoen.* 684; *Archemachus FGtH* 424 F 6; *SEG* 53.1786.27. Pherephassa: *Aesch. F(dub.)* 451s.70 Radt; *Soph. Ant.* 894; *Eur. Hel.* 175.

⁹⁵ Thomas Magister, *Ecl.* φ 378.

⁹⁶ *GVI* 1875.2 = E. Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques de l’Égypte gréco-romaine* (Paris, 1969) no. 46.2.

in Kore's later cult.⁹⁷ The virtual absence of the Attic form of the name outside Attica makes the mention of a city quarter (λαύρα) of Περγάος and Φερσσοφάσσα, which is probably a reference to a sanctuary, in a contract from Sicilian Camarina in the second half of the fourth century BC, the more remarkable.⁹⁸ In this connection we cannot fail to observe that the *Suda* (ο 658 = *OF* 870) mentions an Orpheus from Camarina, the author of a *Descent into the Underworld*. According to Martin West, he is a fictitious person,⁹⁹ which is undoubtedly true. Yet the mention is remarkable and can hardly be based on nothing. Can there have been an Orphic poem by an inhabitant from Camarina, who had ties with Athens?¹⁰⁰

An undated lead tablet from unknown Sicilian provenance even mentions: Σῶσις καὶ Ἐπ[ί]δαμος καὶ Φερσσοφάσσα Πασικ[ρ]άτεος δαυτίς. At first sight, Phersephassa looks very much like a personal name, and that is also the interpretation of its first editor, although the tablet has also been interpreted later as a defixio.¹⁰¹ It is true, as Robert Parker has recently reminded us, that 'no mortal is named for Kore/Persephone, great goddess though she was, for the Eumenides, for Hades, or for Plouton',¹⁰² but, if anywhere, this rule was somewhat laxer in Sicily. It is here that we find the names Eumenidês,¹⁰³ Eumenidas (Cic. *Verr.* II.5.15) and Eumenidotos (*IGDS* 50), as well as the name Koreios (*SEG* 42.846, no. 129). Admittedly, these latter names have been mediated through the Sicilian months Eumenideios and Koreios,¹⁰⁴ but they do show that the relevant divinities were not perceived with the same horror as elsewhere in the Greek world.¹⁰⁵ A Phersephassa, then, is perhaps imaginable on Sicily.

However this may be, our starting point was the observation that Phersephatta was the Attic form of Persephone. This has helped us to identify Orphic information from Clement about the Thesmophoria as coming from an Attic handbook. We now also note that Tatian (*Or.* 10.1 = *OF* 89 F) uses the form Phersephassa in an enumeration of divine metamorphoses, when saying that 'Zeus became a serpent because of Persephone'. Consequently, this is a clear indication of an ultimate origin from an Attic poetic Orphic source.

Hesiod (F 280.20 MW) already calls Persephone 'Phersephone daughter of Demeter', and 'Daughter' (Κόρη) is often her name. In cult she is usually worshipped with her mother, but Kore did have a separate sanctuary in Attic Teithras and Korydallos, Sicilian Akrai, Thasos and Locri Epizephyrii, and Pausanias saw her sanctuaries in Aigion (7.24.2), Megalopolis (8.31.8) and Sparta (3.13.2).¹⁰⁶ We would also expect one in Smyrna, where they celebrated her mysteries (*I. Smyrna* 653 [probably], 726),¹⁰⁷ and in Cyzicus, where Kore Soteira was the most important divinity of the city, and where a cult building of Kore is indeed

⁹⁷ For all testimonia, see L. Robert, Documents d'Asie Mineure, *BCH* 102 (1978) 395–543 at 466–7; F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985) 281–2; K. Martin, Zum Kult der Kore Soteira im kaiserzeitlichen Kyzikos, in E. Schwertheim and E. Winter (eds), *Religion und Region. Götter und Kulte aus dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum* (Bonn, 2003) 115–58; Burkert, *Kleine Schriften* III, 34.

⁹⁸ *SEG* 34.940, cf. 49.1301 (= *IGDS* 124); D. Hennig, Straßen und Stadtviertel in der griechischen Polis, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 585–615 at 592–3. The omicron in Phersephassa has to be added to the evidence collected by Wachter (note 88).

⁹⁹ West, *Orphic Poems*, 10 note 17.

¹⁰⁰ For the close ties of Camarina with Athens, see F. Cordano, Camarina città democratica?, *PP* 59 (2004) 283–92; see also S. Hornblower, *Thucydides and Pindar* (Oxford, 2004) 190–2.

¹⁰¹ *SEG* 47.1469, cf. L. Dubois, *Bull. Ep.* 1999, no. 642 on pp. 710–1.

¹⁰² R. Parker, Theophoric Names and Greek Religion, in S. Hornblower and E. Matthews (eds), *Greek Personal Names* (Oxford, 2000) 53–79 at 54–5.

¹⁰³ R. Arena, *Iscrizioni greche arcaiche di Sicilia e Magna Grecia*, vol. I (Pisa, 1996) no. 50 (Selinous: ca. 550 BC).

¹⁰⁴ As noted by J. Curbera, Chthonians in Sicily, *GRBS* 38 (1997) 397–408 at 405–08.

¹⁰⁵ For the nature of the Sicilian Eumenides and Zeus Eumenes see M. Jameson, D. Jordan and R. Kotansky, *A Lex Sacra from Selinous* (Durham NC, 1993) 77–81.

¹⁰⁶ Teithras: *SEG* 34.151.21, 153.8. Korydallos: Ammon. *Adfin. voc. diff.* 279 (Kore Soteira). Akrai: *IG* XIV.213, 217, cf. Hinz, *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien*, 119. Thasos: *SEG* 49.1173. Locri: Hinz, *ibidem*, 203–09.

¹⁰⁷ The dedications of breasts to Kore (*I. Smyrna* 746–8) may derive from a different sanctuary, cf. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 71 and Petzl on *I. Smyrna* 746, but breasts were very popular in the cult of Demeter and Kore on Sicily, cf. Hinz, *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien*, index s.v. Brüste.

clearly visible on local coins.¹⁰⁸ Her independence from Demeter also appears from her regular sacrificial animal, the ram, which seems to have been a preferred victim for pre-civilised and underworld gods as well as in mysteries.¹⁰⁹

Finally, the already mentioned Gold Leaf *OF* 492 = GJ 4 of Thuri writes the name of Demeter's daughter in three different dialects. In line 8 we read Attic Κόρη, in line 9 Ionian Κούρη, and in line 1 Κόρρα, which seems to belong to the Megarian dialect, and might be influence from Megara's Sicilian colonies.¹¹⁰ Apparently, to exclude any misunderstanding about which 'Daughter' is meant, Κόρη is called Χθονία in line 8, a combination that is unique, to my knowledge, as the 'Daughter' is always called Persephone in her Chthonic persona.

As Kore becomes associated with Plouton in Asia Minor and defixiones only quite late,¹¹¹ it is not surprising that in the Gold Leaves Persephone is the most important divinity. That does not mean to say that she is always mentioned by name. On the contrary, in the Hipponion Leaf (*OF* 474.13 = GJ 1) she is just called 'ὑποχθονίω βασιλεί(αι)',¹¹² as is the case in the related Entella Leaf (*OF* 475 ii = GJ 8); in Thuri (*OF* 488.1 = GJ 5) she is called χθονί(ων) βασίλεια. In other words, in the oldest Leaves Persephone is not mentioned by name. The avoidance of her proper name is probably best explained by the 'soft' taboo on the name of this ἄρρητος κόρη and other underworld powers.¹¹³ In the *Cratylus* (404cd) Plato had already noted that 'many people' are in awe of the name of Pherephatta, and the Eleusinian Theos and Thea surely derive their names from this awe, just as the mention of Thea in an earlier fifth-century BC Selinuntine defixio.¹¹⁴

Yet the taboo gradually wore off in the course of time. This becomes clear in the later Leaves where Persephone is often mentioned, usually at the end of the line, as is virtually always the case in Homer; the exception are the Pelinna Leaves (*OF* 485–6 = GJ 26 a,b), which are also exceptional in other ways. We can trace this development also in the *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca* of Hansen. Whereas his first volume, which runs from the eighth to the fifth century, contains the name of Persephone only once, she is present nine times in the volume on the fourth century.¹¹⁵

What else can be said about Persephone in the Gold Leaves? Not surprisingly, in two of the Thuri Leaves (*OF* 489–90 = GJ 7, 6) she is called ἀγνή, 'demanding respect', which is already said of her in the *Odyssey* (11.386) and which is a recurring epithet of the goddess.¹¹⁶ It perhaps helps to mark the distance with the female deceased who comes here as a 'suppliant' to Persephone, who has to send the initiate 'kindly to the seats of the pure (ἔδρας ἐς εὐάγέων)' (*OF* 490.7 = GJ 6). This becomes also clear from the Pelinna Leaves which prescribe to the deceased: 'Tell Persephone that Bakchios himself released you' (*OF*

¹⁰⁸ For the temple, see Martin, *Kult der Kore Soteira*, 137–46.

¹⁰⁹ Burkert, *Homo necans*, 283, 311; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 282; add now *SEG* 40.146.247–8 (Athens, Persephone), 43.630 A 17 (Selinous, Z. Meilichios), 50.168 A II.44 (Eleusis, Kore).

¹¹⁰ J. Méndez Dosuna, *Contactos silábicos y procesos de geminación en griego antiguo. A propósito de las variantes dialectales oppos (át. ὄπος) y Koppa (át. Κόρη)*, *Die Sprache* 36 (1994) 102–27.

¹¹¹ Asia Minor: see B. H. McLean, *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Konya Archaeological Museum* (Ankara, 2002) no. 14 *ad loc.* (= *RECAM* IV.37). Defixiones: *SEG* 40.858, 48.1770D.

¹¹² The reading is disputed (GJ prefer to read 'king', which seems less appropriate in these texts). Note also a second-century BC dedication from Mylasa to [X]θονία Βασιλαία (*SEG* 44.910).

¹¹³ For the expression, see Eur. *Hel.* 1306–07 with Kannicht *ad loc.* and F 63 Kannicht; Carcinus *TrGF* 70 F 5.1; Henrichs, *Namenlosigkeit*, 178–81. For other underworld powers, note *Il.* XIV.274; Hes. *Th.* 767; Soph. *Ajax* 571, *El.* 292, *OC* 1548; Eur. *Or.* 37, probably parodied by Euboulos F 64 KA; [Eur.] *Rh.* 963.

¹¹⁴ Parker, *Polytheism*, 335; L. Bettarini, *Corpus delle defixiones di Selinunte* (Alessandria, 2005) 1–7. Does the mention of Tycha in *OF* 492.3 = GJ 4 perhaps also derive from a usage in defixiones? Cf. Bettarini, *ibidem*, 4 note 11 on Tycha in *SEG* 49.1292.

¹¹⁵ P. A. Hansen, *Carmina Epigraphica Graeca*, 2 vols (Berlin and New York, 1983–89) 1.301 (conjecture!), 2.489, 510–1, 513, 571, 575, 592–3, 603.

¹¹⁶ Zuntz, *Persephone*, 317; Richardson on *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* 337; for its meaning, A. Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1911) 95; Parker, *Miasma*, 147–51.

485–6 = GJ 26a,b). It is interesting that both ‘pure’, εὐαγής, and Dionysos Bakchios occur on the Leaf from a late fourth- or early third-century BC sarcophagus of a woman from Amphipolis.¹¹⁷

The final destination is described as the ‘sacred meadows and groves of Persephone’ (OF 487.6 = GJ 3). The combination of (flowery) meadow(s) and (shadowy) grove(s) is typical of the ancient *locus amoenus*,¹¹⁸ and Euripides (IA 1544) perversely uses the topos when he situates the sacrifice of Iphigeneia in the ‘grove and flowery meadows’ of Artemis. However, as one of the σύμβολα of the first Pherae Leaf says ‘enter the holy meadow’ (OF 493.3–4 = GJ 27), a reference to the meadow as the well known ‘seats of the pure’ in the Orphic underworld is certainly present too.¹¹⁹

Yet the most fascinating line in connection with Persephone is undoubtedly to be found in one of the Thurii Leaves (OF 488 = GJ 5), where the text of the Leaf reads as follows:

7 δεσποίνας δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας

I dived under the *kolpos* of the Lady, the Chthonian Queen.

First, we note that δέσποινα is a normal cult title for Persephone,¹²⁰ which stresses her power, as does the expression ‘queen of the underworld’. It is this power that literally frames the striking image of the initiate seeking protection in the κόλπος of the goddess. Aristocratic Greek women wore a πέπλος of which the *kolpos* is the part that covers the chest. Trojan women are said to be βαθύκολπος (II. XVIII.122, 339; XXIV.215), which shows that their garment was thought of as hanging down over their belt in a deep fold. There must have been plenty of space underneath the κόλπος, as Hera hid Aphrodite’s magical strap ‘in her κόλπος’ (XIV.219, 223); in the *Odyssey* (15.469) a Phoenician woman concealed three stolen cups ‘under her κόλπος’, and according to Herodotus (6.125) Alcmaeon stuffed his ‘deep κόλπος’ with as much gold of Croesus as he could.¹²¹ It is not surprising, then, that Dionysos ‘in fear’ was received under Thetis’ κόλπος (II. VI.135–7), as she did with Hephaestus (XVIII.398). In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (187, 231, 238, 286), too, children are held in the κόλπος, and when in Callimachus’ *Hymn to Artemis* (70–1) Hermes plays boogeyman to an unruly divine child, ‘she straightaway dives into the κόλποι of her mother covering her eyes with her hands’. It is this image, then, of a mother protecting her child that is evoked with these words. Surely, there could hardly be a more intimate and unusual metaphor for the close relationship between Persephone and her initiates.¹²²

Finally, Zuntz in his discussion of this line and elsewhere takes it that the initiate is male.¹²³ However, is it really imaginable in the Greek value system that an adult man would be pictured in such a ‘childish’ manner?¹²⁴ And indeed, the Gold Leaves of the Timpone Piccolo of Thurii (OF 488–90 = GJ 5–7) all use the feminine form of ‘pure’,¹²⁵ the one from Rome (OF 491 = GJ 9) mentions Caecilia Secundina,¹²⁶ the

¹¹⁷ OF 496n = GJ 30 (= SEG 51.788, where A. Chaniotis *ad loc.* wrongly notes: ‘this is the first attestation of εὐαγής in the Dionysiac-Orphic texts’; compare also εὐαγέωσιν in OF 340).

¹¹⁸ Aesch. *Suppl.* 558; Timaeus *FGrH* 566 F 164.31; Plut. *Numa* 4.1; Arrian *Ind.* 43.13. Flowery meadows: II. II.467; *Od.* 12.159; Hes. *Th.* 279; Sappho F 2.9 Voigt; Ar. *Ra.* 449; Moschus 63; Schol. II. XII.407. Shadow of groves: *Od.* 20.278; Stes. F S17 Davies; Pind. *O.* 8.9; Eur. *IT* 1246.

¹¹⁹ Graf, *Eleusis*, 90–2; Bernabé on OF 61.

¹²⁰ A. Henrichs, Despoina Kybele: ein Beitrag zur religiösen Namenkunde, *HSCP* 80 (1976) 253–86 at 260.

¹²¹ For the κόλπος, see especially H. van Wees, Clothes, Class and Gender in Homer, in D. Cairns (ed.), *Body Language in the Greek and Roman World* (Swansea, 2005) 1–36 at 7; M. Lee, Problems in Greek Dress Terminology: Kolpos and Apotygmata, *ZPE* 150 (2005) 221–4.

¹²² For all kinds of other, unconvincing explanations, see Bernabé *ad loc.*

¹²³ Zuntz, *Persephone*, 306 etc.

¹²⁴ Even though in II. VIII.271–2 Teucer dived, ‘like a child under his mother’, towards Ajax, who covered him with his shield.

¹²⁵ The best defence of the female forms as referring to a deceased being female instead of to the soul is R. Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets I* (Opladen, 1994) 109–10.

¹²⁶ She is not a relation of Pliny the younger, as suggested by Kotansky, *ibidem*, 112. Pliny was childless and, moreover, both names are much too common for a specific identification, cf. B. Lörincz, *Onomasticon provinciarum Europae Latinarum IV* (Vienna, 2002) 58 for Secundina, which rather points to a Germanic-Gallic context (Werner Eck, email 25 April 2006).

one from Petelia (*OF* 476 = GJ 2) uses a female form, and the owner of the Leaf from Cretan Mylopotamos calls herself a 'daughter of Earth and starry Sky' (*OF* 481.3 = GJ 16). The Leaves of Hipponion (*OF* 474 = GJ 1), Pelinna (*OF* 485–6 = GJ 26a,b), Pherae (*OF* 493a = GJ 28) and Amphipolis (*OF* 496n = GJ 30) were found on a woman, and about half of the simple Leaves are also from women (*OF* 496 = GJ 32, 34–5, 37). This is not really surprising, since we know that women were also followers of Sabazius and Cybele, and until the conversion of Constantine they seem to have constituted the majority of early Christians. This interest in cults outside the established civic religion fits a larger pattern in Western religiosity, where women always have been interested in those cults and movements that would allow them more scope in self-expression, such as the Cathars, Anabaptists, Mormons and contemporary New Age followers. In this respect it is highly interesting that Plato (*Meno* 81a) also mentions Orphic 'priestesses'.¹²⁷ Given that upper-class Greek women were hardly free to wander around on the streets, other females could best satisfy their religious interests.¹²⁸ At the same time, the gold of the Leaves suggests that these women belonged to the richer layers of Greek society. This may surprise us, but there is enough evidence to show that Archaic and Classical Greece counted a number of women who were both rich and literate.¹²⁹ In other words, nothing prevents us from thinking that the female owners of these Leaves could also read them.¹³⁰

It is time to come to a close. We have seen that the Orphics mostly took their divinities from rituals associated with Demeter and Kore. Persephone, however, was their most important divinity in the afterlife. Whatever her prehistory as a Corn Maiden, in the afterlife she ruled supreme. Yet she was not the frightening queen of the traditional views of the underworld. On the contrary, the relationship between the initiated and Persephone was of an intimacy virtually unparalleled in other cults. The world of the Orphic Gold Leaves still has much to offer to the historian of Greek religion.¹³¹

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¹²⁷ The passage was not incorporated by O. Kern, *Orphicorum fragmenta* (Berlin, 1922), but is rightly accepted as an Orphic fragment by Bernabé (= *OF* 424).

¹²⁸ We may compare early Christianity, where a Syrian Church Order stipulated that a bishop sometimes did better to choose a deaconess as his assistant because she had better access to houses in which both Christians and non-Christians lived: *Constitutiones Apostolicae* 3.16.1, cf. J. N. Bremmer, Why Did Early Christianity Attract Upper-Class Women?, in A. A. R. Bastiaansen et al. (eds), *Fructus centesimus. Mélanges G. J. M. Bartelink* (Steenbrugge and Dordrecht, 1989) 37–47 (also for Sabazius and Cybele).

¹²⁹ M. Steinhart, Literate and Wealthy Women in Archaic Greece: The Case of the 'Telesstas Hydria', in E. Csapo and M. Miller (eds), *Poetry, Theory, Praxis. The Social Life of Myth, Word and Image in Ancient Greece. FS W. J. Slater* (Oxford, 2003) 204–31.

¹³⁰ I have adapted and updated this paragraph from Bremmer, *Rise and Fall*, 18.

¹³¹ This is the annotated and elaborated version of my contribution to *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife: a Gold Tablets Conference* in Columbus, Ohio, April 2006. I am most grateful to Robert Parker for showing me the article on the Pherae Gold Leaf (note 17) in advance, to Annemarie Ambühl, Ken Dowden, Mirjam Engert, Bob Fowler, Jürgen Hammerstaedt and Richard Seaford for helpful comments, to Werner Eck for information, and to Kristina Meinking for the correction of my English.