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# Cultural Plurality in Ancient Magical Texts and Practices

Graeco-Egyptian Handbooks and Related Traditions

Edited by

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# Magic and Mystery at Selinus: Another Look at the Getty Hexameters

WILLIAM D. FURLEY

## 1. Introduction

What have we done this year to ward off evil in our own lives? Most of us will have kept up multiple insurance policies, foremost among them health insurance in case we fall ill, house insurance lest lightning or flooding wreck our homes, travel insurance lest disaster strikes while we are abroad, and a number of others. A fair number of us will be taking some prophylactic medication, such as anti-hypertension drugs, statins or aspirin, as medical opinion has it that these reduce the risk of heart attack, diabetes, dementia etc. When choosing our lunch we are likely to consider the relation between what is on our plate and its possible adverse or positive effects on our long term health. Many of these measures approach the status of magical rites, as they are built on faith in expert opinion, the belief that scientists must know what they are talking about, even if we certainly do not.

This situation is closely analogous to ancient Greek apotropaic rites, whether they fall into our categories of religious rites or magical practices. The seer, μάντις, was responsible for several branches of apotropaic special knowledge: augury in its various forms, extispicy (the examination of animal livers), divination by celestial phenomena, body twitches ('palmomancy'), fire ('empyra') etc. Oracles dispensed privileged knowledge to private and public inquirers, all designed either to ward off future ills or to provide remedies for existing crises. Greek literature from Homer to the historians is full of incidents in which individuals consult oracles and seers in the hope of averting danger. The Greek magical papyri show us the kind of advice and remedies which magicians in Roman Egypt offered to ὁ δαίμων, some client or other, when consulted about a personal problem. The important point here is that, amid uncertainty about the future, we humans turn to a source of authority which, by general consent, offers means to shore up our fragility against 'a sea of troubles'.<sup>1</sup>

The composition in rough Homeric hexameters known as the Getty hexameters (because of where it is kept in the J.F. Getty Villa in Malibu, California), falls into the

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<sup>1</sup> In these introductory words I avoid issues of scientific effectiveness in the comparison of ancient with modern; in a way ancient divination and apotropaic ritual was just as 'empirical' as modern medicine: if one thing didn't work, one tried another; if one expert gave ineffective advice, one went to another. Some recent general treatments are: ANNUS (ed.), *Divination*; JOHNSTON/STRUCK (eds.), *Mantikê*; JOHNSTON, *Greek Divination*; FLOWER, *Seer*.

class of apotropaic incantations against evil.<sup>2</sup> Its interest and considerable importance lies in the fact that it is a sizeable text (some fifty lines long), largely legible, of early date (fifth century BCE),<sup>3</sup> containing some very interesting formulations of apotropaic magic. It was written on thin lead sheeting (called ‘tin’ in the inscription), was then folded up and laid to rest in a ‘stone building’ (3 λαός ἐν οἴκῳ).<sup>4</sup> Its purpose is unequivocally stated in the opening lines: ‘who writes these letters in tin and places them in a house of stone will be protected against all the dangers found on land or sea’. A divinity called Paieon is addressed four times, who is said to provide ἀλέξιμα φάρμακα for all eventualities: ‘apotropaic remedies’ is a literal translation of this phrase. The central section of the text concerns remedies when Death (Κήρ is BURKERT’s supplement) draws near in wartime, peace, at sea, threatening humans and livestock and human enterprise generally. This section concludes with the observation: ‘Paieon, you are remedy-bringing in everything, and good’. The final section contains further magical formulae and concludes that ‘no one will be able to harm [you], even if he comes with much magic’.

The text has been known since 1981 when it was given to the Getty Museum as one among five lead tablets, one almost certainly coming from Selinus in Sicily, and three other curse tablets probably also of Selinuntine origin. The text received its *editio princeps* in 2011 by DAVID JORDAN and ROY KOTANSKY (henceforth JK) in *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*; in 2013 there followed the volume of conference papers edited by CHRISTOPHER FARAONE and DIRK OBBINK (FO), in which contributions to a conference convened in Malibu in 2012 were published.<sup>5</sup> The volume comes with a Greek text at the beginning, but without *apparatus*, and with a contribution by RICHARD JANKO in which he tries to reconstruct the archetype of the text in lead and provides valuable commentary on dialectical questions.<sup>6</sup> He also promises a full text and critical *apparatus* to appear from Oxford in 2014, but inquiries about this have so far gone unanswered. The first editors and the contributors to the conference volume concur in the opinion that the text dates to the later fifth century BCE, and probably comes from Selinus.<sup>7</sup>

That much seems to be agreed. Beyond that there is a considerable degree of disagreement as to the status and the significance of the text. The first editors confidently,

<sup>2</sup> First publication: JORDAN/KOTANSKY, *Ritual Hexameters*. In this both JORDAN and KOTANSKY promise independent full treatments of this important text, which we still await. For a text with some new readings and supplements see the end of this chapter.

<sup>3</sup> *Edd. pr.* assign the text to approximately 425–375 BCE.

<sup>4</sup> W. BURKERT’s proposed emendation of λαός in the inscription to ἀλοῖ (3<sup>rd</sup> person indicative or subjunctive of ἠλόω, ‘nail’) can be safely rejected as it results in an ugly *hiatus* with preceding κεκολλημένα; moreover, the tablet was not nailed anyway (no nail hole) and anyway one does not nail γράμματα (which is the object of the sentence) but the tablet on which they stand: BURKERT, *Genagelter Zauber*.

<sup>5</sup> FARAONE/OBBINK (eds.), *Getty Hexameters*.

<sup>6</sup> JANKO, *Hexametric Incantations*.

<sup>7</sup> A number of scholars, including *edd. pr.*, point to the sack of Selinus by Hannibal in 409, suggesting that the tablet probably antedates this event; however, GORDON, *Review of FARAONE/OBBINK (eds.)* says that Selinus was not ‘destroyed’ then, but a community continued there, so Hannibal’s conquering of the town is not necessarily *terminus ante quem* for the tablet.



but without explanation, assert that the text contains ‘traditional *legomena* of a rite of initiation into the worship of Demeter and Kore’.<sup>8</sup> DIRK OBBINK in FO similarly maintains that the text is the kind of poetry which is likely to have been produced in the context of mystery cults. Without concrete evidence he points in the direction of both Eleusinian and Dionysiac mysteries as context.<sup>9</sup> Others have picked up the repeated apostrophe of Paieon; RUTHERFORD in particular in FO has argued that the text is a kind of embryonic paean, but in hexameters. As such he thinks rather in the direction of Apolline ritual poetry, which later, of course, became typified by the ἱὴ Παιᾶν epiphthegma.<sup>10</sup> In a second chapter of FO, FARAONE considers the possibility that the text is, in fact, a kind of compendium of magical formulae and recipes, assembled in the way that the magical papyri similarly consist of collections of recipes and spells.<sup>11</sup> Whilst the majority of contributions to FO only consider Hellenic contexts, SARAH ILES JOHNSTON has investigated the possibility that the central myth of the text, involving a mystic goat with an unending flow of milk, might derive from Egyptian *historiolae*, with affinities in particular to the goddess Hathor.<sup>12</sup>

How to make progress in this relatively uncharted terrain? Perhaps I might start by saying some of the things which the text is not. First, it is not an amulet offering protection to an individual. As we will see, the speaker’s addressees are a community of people with an interest in civic affairs – warfare, seafaring, manufacturing. They are to be protected from real tangible dangers – anything the sea or land may throw at them, as well as Death itself. The tablet is to be hidden in a ‘house of stone’ – perhaps pointing to a significant building such as a temple, rather than to a private house. Second, the text deviates significantly from a conventional hymn in structure and content. There is no opening *epiklesis* of a god or gods in combination with epithets and relative predication; true, there are repeated appeals to a god called Paieon, who is said to provide all possible remedies. But these occur more in the nature of a refrain than in sustained invocation at the beginning. Nor is there a prayer at the end, only the rather bald statement that no one will be able to destroy the power of the spell recorded in lead. Most significantly there is no sustained praise of a divinity in the form of myth or aretalogy; true, there is the intriguing narrative of the female goat in the first section (to which we will return), but this does not relate to Paieon’s power, but is rather the ‘immortal words’ which he himself speaks. At one point the speaker (or hierophant) may refer to his text as a *hymnos*, possibly one sung (line 24), but as a whole the composition is unlike anything we know of Greek hymns. It is, for example, quite different to the hymns found dispersed through the magical papyri, which contain pure invocation and praise of certain deities.<sup>13</sup> In the first line the hierophant refers to his perfor-

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<sup>8</sup> JK, 54.

<sup>9</sup> OBBINK, Poetry.

<sup>10</sup> RUTHERFORD, Immortal Words.

<sup>11</sup> FARAONE, *Magical Verses*. His main point of comparison is with the Phalasarna text (SEG 42.818, third century BCE?), for which see FARAONE/OBBINK (eds.), *Getty Hexameters*, 185–7.

<sup>12</sup> JOHNSTON, *Myth*. GORDON, *Review of FARAONE/OBBINK (eds.)*, gives further summaries of the interpretations given, with some critical remarks.

<sup>13</sup> On these see now BORTOLANI, *Magical Hymns*, whose emphasis is on the nature of divinity in these compositions, whether Greek or Egyptian.

mance as ἐπαείδω, incant, rather than ἀείδω, the normal verb for hymn singing.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the best description of the text, then, is as a sustained *phylakterion* or protective spell, such as were first collected by HEIM (*Incantamenta*) in 1892.<sup>15</sup> In particular, we must consider the affinity of the present text with other ‘lamella’-texts found in considerable numbers in Sicily and other parts of Greece from this period: these include other inscribed texts with *epōdai* and the so-called Orphic-Bacchic lamellae with their hexameters for the afterlife.<sup>16</sup>

What can we reconstruct about speakers and recipients from the text itself? In the first line an ‘I’ announces that he is in a position to recite effective and – if my supplements are close to the mark – salutary words to a congregation of initiates, μύσταις. Of course, much hangs on this last word, which is only a conjecture.<sup>17</sup> Then the speaker promises that ‘whosoever write these letters on tin’ will be protected from anything land or sea can produce. FARAONE in FO has commented on the boasts about ritual efficacy in the text.<sup>18</sup> These lines give instructions, as it were, for producing the very text now held in the Getty Museum. Then comes the first appeal to Paieon, who is said to know efficacious remedies for everything and to have uttered an *hieros logos*. Thus we have a double reenforcement of the authority of the written words.<sup>19</sup> First a hierophant, if we may call him that, utters ‘beneficial and effective words’, then he calls on the authority of Paieon for the story he is about to tell.

The situation is picked up in the second section of the text, following the mythical narration (to which we will return). In this there is a 2<sup>nd</sup> person address to Paieon to listen (κατάκουε), probably to the present beseechment (γλυκὺν ὕμνον, last word a supplement).<sup>20</sup> Then either the ‘I’ or ‘You’ (ἄνωγα or ἄνωγας at line end)<sup>21</sup> is said to have instructed mortals to speak a certain formula when death or danger (κῆρ, supplemented) draws near, whether in wartime or at sea, to humans, animals and human handicrafts (τέχναισιν βροτεΐαις); the formula should be spoken both by night and day. Conjecturally, I reconstruct the formula (line 30) as

‘φθόγγον]ν ἔχων ἥσιον {σιον} στόματος θυ[έεσει μετῆλθον.]’

‘Having pure words in my mouth I have participated in the sacrificial rites.’<sup>22</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Eur. *IA* 1211 εἰ μὲν τὸν Ὀρφέως εἶχον, ὃ πάτερ, λόγον, πείθειν ἐπάιδουσ’, ‘if only, father, I could persuade by incanting the word of Orpheus’.

<sup>15</sup> HEIM, *Incantamenta*. Further examples: KOTANSKY, *Incantations*; FARAONE, *Hexametrical Incantations*. Phylactery is JOHNSTON’s term at JOHNSTON, *Myth*, 129; it comes from Greek *phylakterion*, protective charm.

<sup>16</sup> After ZUNTZ, *Persephone*, see more recently GRAF/JOHNSTON, *Ritual Texts*; TZIFOPOULOS, *Paradise Earned*; BREMMER, *Divinities*; EDMONDS III (ed.), ‘Orphic’ *Gold Tablets*.

<sup>17</sup> See end of chapter for text and commentary.

<sup>18</sup> FARAONE, *Spoken and Written Boasts*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. JOHNSTON, *Myth*, 128.

<sup>20</sup> Already in FO and JANKO, *Hexametric Incantations*; on the tablet one only sees a rough breathing before putative upsilon.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. RUTHERFORD, *Immortal Words*, 159.

<sup>22</sup> JANKO, *Hexametric Incantations*, 42 for comparison: χρησμὸ]ν ἔχων ὄσιον στόματος θυ[ρέτροισιν ἐν αὐτοῖς], ‘keeping holy your [oracle in] the doors of your mouth’. The metaphor of στόματος θυρέτροισιν seems, to my mind, a little fanciful for this workaday text.

This action, it is said, is better for the *city* (πόλει), and that is the best part of government (31).<sup>23</sup> This second section, then, is distinctly civic. We hear of a congregation of people and their flocks threatened by danger; of a city and its government. The unpolluted participation in some rites is said to ensure the safety of the community. Here we are a long way from private magic with its individual concerns. The target audience is clearly some community. If μύσταις is right in the first line, it is a community of initiates, with civic responsibility. The remainder of this side of the lamella contains magical formulae partially overlapping those found on other texts with magical incantations from e.g. Himera, Epizephyrian Lokroi and Phalasarna in Crete.<sup>24</sup> The third column, written on the reverse side of the tablet, is only partially legible, but we can make out an admonition to remember (μνήσαι) certain deities: a new supplement shows Herakles using his bow against ill-doers, and we hear of Hekatos, who must be Apollo, possibly Artemis, and another mention of Herakles' arrows which slew the Lernaean Hydra. The last line of the text says that no one will be able to work evil against the spell, even if they come equipped with much magic. The last section, then, contains an appeal to a number of protective deities who help to ward off evil.

Now we return to the mysterious narrative of the she-goat with her unending supply of milk. If we could identify a context for the goat itself and the other deities mentioned in the narrative, we would be better placed to understand the origin and nature of the whole text. In the opening lines Amphitrite is mentioned, but it seems only by metonymy, meaning the sea. In the course of the narrative, however, which constitutes the *ἀθάνατα ἔπεα* of Paieon, several deities are mentioned. The she-goat is said to be led out of Persephone's Garden by a Voice (reading ὄσσα, divine voice, as subject of the sentence);<sup>25</sup> she is described as a 'four-legged child (reading παῖδ)', holy companion of Demeter', her udder heavy with an 'unending supply of nourishing milk'. Then Einodia Hekate enters, probably in the nominative, calling out with a 'barbaric voice' and leading another deity (θεὰ θεῶι ἡγεμονεύει).<sup>26</sup> She, in turn, announces divine will (θεόφραστα) in connection with a daimon said to be ἀγλα[ο- something, ἀγλαοκάρπου perhaps, as JK suggest. These names and descriptions were enough to point the first editors in the direction of mysteries of Demeter and Kore, the deities of the Eleusinian Mysteries, particularly as Hekate is important in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter. But

<sup>23</sup> For the construction τὰ γὰρ κτλ. cf. Hom. *Il.* 19.161 τὸ γὰρ μένος ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλκή, 'for that (eating) is (the source of) strength and courage'.

<sup>24</sup> SEG 50.1001, 49.1360 and 42.818 respectively; see JORDAN/KOTANSKY, *Ritual Hexameters*, 54 n. 3, for full references. JANKO, *Hexametric Incantations*, 32 makes the point that the geographical *distribution* of these texts (as well as the Orphic-Bacchic lamellae) corresponds with the main trade route East-West in the Mediterranean then; i.e. knowledge of religious rites travelled with traders.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Hes. *Th.* 9–10 (the Helikonian Muses) κεκαλυμμένοι ἥρι πολλῆι, / ἐννόχαι στείχον περικαλλέα ὄσσαν ἰεῖσαι, 'veiled in thick mist, they appeared by night, emitting a wonderfully sweet voice'. Note the voice in Leonidas' epigram (*AP* 9.99) which comes from the ground (ἔπος ἐκ γαίης) and addresses the goat eating the vine-stock, saying it will still produce enough wine for the libation at the goat's sacrifice. For further discussion of this textual point see appendix to this chapter.

<sup>26</sup> For Hekate's 'barbaric voice' cf. PGM IV 2531: δεινὴν ἐξ ἀτόνων πέμπεις ὄφειαν ἰωὴν, φρικτὸν ἀναυδήσασα θεὰ τρισσοῖς στομάτεσσι, 'you emit a dire, draconian voice of tuneless character, goddess uttering a terrifying sound through triple mouths'.

the goat with its unending stream of milk was unaccounted for. SARAH JOHNSTON, who has written the first detailed study of this story, which she identifies as an *historiola*, has sought to connect the gist of the story with Egyptian Isis/Hathor and the milk of a gazelle, which plays a role there. Without ruling out possible intercultural links here, I think we should first scour the Greek record.<sup>27</sup>

The only goat in Greek mythology which remotely fits the bill is, as at least two contributors to FO suggest, Amalthea, the Cretan nanny-goat who suckles baby Zeus when he is hidden away from Kronos and nurtured in the Diktaian Cave, surrounded by armed Kouretes.<sup>28</sup> But there is no indication in the Getty hexameters that the infant Zeus is intended here; above all, the Underworld scenography tells against this identification. We hear first of the ‘shadowy mountains in a dark-lit place’, then of Persephone’s Garden, which reminds one of the Groves of Persephone in the gold lamellae, clearly situated in the Underworld.<sup>29</sup> Then Hekate, an Underworld deity, appears out of her halls (reading *μεγάρων*). All these pointers indicate without a shadow of doubt that the scene is infernal. This does not suit Zeus’s birth story, unless we wish to identify the Diktaian Cave with the Underworld. Nor can it be said that Amalthea is normally a ‘companion of Demeter’.

A first point to make is that the goat narrative in the Getty text appears to be an expansion of a recurring formula in this and other magical incantations. The expression ‘goat from the garden’ or ‘drive the goat from the garden’ recurs in line 34 of this text (*αἶγα βίαι ἐκ κ[ή]που*), line 6 (verse 11) of the Phalasarna text (*αἶγα βίαι ἐκ κήπου*) *ἐλαύνετε*),<sup>30</sup> line 3 of the Himera text (*οὐδ[.]πα ἐκ κ[.]ο ἐλαύ[νετε]*) as reconstructed by DAVID JORDAN;<sup>31</sup> a gap at the appropriate place in the comparable text from Lokroi Epizephyrioi may also have contained the formula.<sup>32</sup> These expressions all seem to concern a goat of unspecified gender which is led forcibly from the garden. In the expanded narrative in column 1 of the Getty text, it is obviously a very special goat: female, blessed with an unending supply of milk and on intimate terms with Demeter, no less. The expansion of the motif ‘goat from the garden’ may be parallel to other expansions in the narrative, concerning the ‘shadowy mountains’ (*κατὰ σκιαρῶν ὀρέων*), for example. BERNABÉ argues in FO that the *Grammata Ephesia*, which occur in line 33 of this text, are, in fact, a condensed and garbled version of original meaningful hexameters;<sup>33</sup> OBBINK in the same volume suggests that the converse might just

<sup>27</sup> JOHNSTON believes the *historiola* she identifies in the goat story is essentially un-Greek, representing a Greek adaptation of an Egyptian phenomenon; among other things, the Egyptian gazelle becomes a goat in its new Sicilian context. But her argument begs the question: is the goat narrative an *historiola* at all? As JOHNSTON herself concedes, there is no clear one-to-one analogy between mythical narrative and quotidian situation, which she says is typical of other *historiolae*.

<sup>28</sup> As JOHNSTON, *Myth*, 143, n. 62, says, Amalthea is sometimes the name of the goat in the sources, sometimes a nymph who herds it.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. JOHNSTON, *Myth*, 150–51.

<sup>30</sup> SEG 42.818. For this text see now Appendix in FARAONE/OBBINK (eds.), *Getty Hexameters*, 185–7.

<sup>31</sup> SEG 50.1001; JORDAN, *Ephesia Grammata*.

<sup>32</sup> SEG 49.1360; JORDAN, *Three Texts*, no. 2.

<sup>33</sup> BERNABÉ, *The Ephesia Grammata*.

as well be true. The narrative might be a meaningful expansion of originally meaningless *voces magicae*.<sup>34</sup> Whichever theory is true, it is important to realise that the mythical narrative of column 1 stands in some relation of expansion to a core element of magical spells: ‘goat by force from the garden’.

But there is another goat-like figure who regularly makes his appearance in this group of texts. Although the reading is doubtful, lines 34–35 of the Getty text seem to say that a *goat*, whose name is Tetragos or Trax, leads the nanny-goat from the garden. In JANKO’s reconstruction: αἰξ αἶγα βίαι ἐκ κάπου ἐλαύνει· τῶι δ’ ὄνομα Τετραγος· σοὶ δ’ ὄνομα Τραξ. Line 3 (verse 5) of the Phalasarna text (SEG 42.818) has a male goat (read either as τε τράγος or Τετραγος) dragging something (ἔλκει) but what or where is lost in the unintelligible following letters. This combination of names then becomes a standard element of the *voces magicae*: Τραξ Τετραξ Τετραγος in line 41 of the Getty text, line 8 (verse 15) of Phalasarna, line 4 of the Lokroi text (SEG 49.1360, in JORDAN’s text Τραχ Τετραχ Τετραγος). The name Trax, and the whole sequence, would seem at first sight inevitably to recall τράγος, the billy-goat, although τέτραξ is, perhaps coincidentally, the name of a bird. The *auxesis syllabarum* might be seen as analogous to another Dionysiac sequence iambos-thriambos-dithyrambos, or the magical sequence Δαμνώ, Δαμνομένεια· Δαμασάνδρα· Δαμνοδαμία in an address to Hekate at PGM IV 2846–7. Goats and goat-like figures, then, populate these magical texts; we might make out both a female goat, as she appears in the Getty myth, and a male goat who seems to lurk behind the name Tetragos. But where are these goats at home in Greek religion?

At this point a methodological proviso seems in order. The evidence we can muster to reconstruct the content of Greek mysteries is necessarily deficient.<sup>35</sup> Classical authors keep quiet about *aporrhēta* out of respect; later Christian apologists scornfully expose pagan mysteries, but not out of a spirit of rational inquiry, but rather vitriolic bluster; their evidence is that of biased witnesses. Then there is the problem of late and geographically scattered sources. Arguing from the fifth century CE to practices a thousand years earlier is, frankly, perilous. But there is no alternative. To dismiss what evidence we have, to minimise the importance of Orphic-Bacchic mysteries, for example, because the evidence for them is elusive, fragmentary, not always consistent, is to err in the wrong direction. It is not that there *were* not such mysteries, or that they were not important, simply because our evidence would not stand up in a court of law; rather, we have to use the snippets of evidence we do have to make informed, but cautious, guesses.<sup>36</sup>

We are looking, then, for a context in which a person claiming privileged knowledge could address a community of initiates in Selinus and promise that, through the divine authority of Paieon, he was in a position to protect occupants of a ‘house of stone’ by a mystical narrative about a she-goat and magical spells. My hypothesis will be that the speaker was one of the ‘magicians’ or ‘seers’ mentioned by Plato who

<sup>34</sup> OBBINK, *Poetry*, 182 with n. 20.

<sup>35</sup> See JAN BREMMER’s new book (BREMMER, *Initiation*), with BOWDEN, *Review of BREMMER*.

<sup>36</sup> I am thinking, for example, of the overly sceptical approach of EDMONDS III, *Ephesia Grammatata*.

promise, with the assistance of a ‘hubhub of books by Orpheus and Mousaios’, that they can rid people of pollution by cleansing spells (*katharmoi*) and perform other magical acts, for a price (*Resp.* 364).<sup>37</sup> The word *Orpheotelestai*, ‘Initiators into Orpheus’ mysteries’, is known from Theophrastos’ portrait of the superstitious man, Philodemus and Plutarch.<sup>38</sup> Their initiations were, as we now know more securely from the Orphic-Bacchic gold lamellae, most closely associated with Dionysos-Bakchos, but also with Demeter-Kore and the Mother of the Gods. This triad of mystery cults should be our prime suspect in considering the Getty hexameters.<sup>39</sup>

The association of a goat-sacrifice with Dionysos’ cult is a well-investigated topic. It led WALTER BURKERT to his ground-breaking article on the connection of tragedy itself with the ‘Bocksgesang’, song for the *tragos*, that is, for a goat sacrificed to Dionysos.<sup>40</sup> In Euripides’ *Bacchae*, 138–9, for example, the choric description of Bakchos’ ecstatic cult includes the ‘hunt for the goat’s blood, the joy of raw meat’ (*ἀγρεύων αἶμα τραγοκτόνον, ὠμοφάγον χάριν*). Confirmation comes from the interesting fragmentary text known as the Gurōb papyrus, now in Trinity College Dublin and recently re-edited by HORDERN, Notes.<sup>41</sup> Gurōb is a place in Egypt and the text, according to HORDERN, is ‘a curious mixture of invocations and prayers and what appear to be instructions for a ritual based around the death (and rebirth?) of the infant Dionysos, which had important ritual and initiatory significance’ (p. 131). Dionysos himself appears in the text by name in line 23 and with cult names Eubouleus (18), Irikēpaios in 22. There is, however, also mention of deities associated with the Eleusinian Mysteries (Brimo and Demeter), Rhea and the Kouretes, and Sabazios. We see here, then, the typical cluster of mystery deities, rather than Dionysos exclusively. A ram, κριός, and male goat, τράγος, are mentioned in lines 10 and 13, and there is talk of ‘eating the remaining meat’ (14 τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ κρέα ἐσθιέτω); clearly the rite involved the sacrifice of a goat and ram. The fragmentary hexameter in line 4 with ‘atonement for [lawless] ancestors’ (*ποινάς πατέ[ρων ἀθεμίστων*), combined with the mention of Kouretes in line 7, is a clear reference to the Orphic myth of Dionysos’ birth. Firmicus Maternus and Diodorus give us details of this, well discussed by SARAH ILES JOHNSTON in a chapter of *Ritual Texts for the Afterlife*.<sup>42</sup>

But recent discussions of the Dionysiac mysteries have missed what I think is an interesting addition to our testimonies. Herodas’ Eighth Mime, datable to third century

<sup>37</sup> I mean, generally speaking, the same group as referred to by RICHARD JANKO (*JANKO*, *Hexametric Incantations*, 32) as ‘wandering seers and oracle-mongers such as we see most vividly in *Ar. Eq.* and *Av.*, disreputable people who peddled hexametric spells and oracles of various kinds’, whereby I would assign the word ‘disreputable’ more to our take on them. See BURKERT, *Itinerant Diviners*.

<sup>38</sup> Theophr. *Char.* 16.12; Philod. *Περὶ ποιημάτων* 1.181; Ps.-Plu. *Apophth. Lac.* 224e, respectively. BERNABÉ, *Derveni Papyrus*, 78, comments that the term *Orpheotelestes* is not used within Orphic sources, but seems rather to have been a depiction used by those outside the magic circle.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. GRAF/JOHNSTON, *Ritual Texts*.

<sup>40</sup> BURKERT, *Greek Tragedy*.

<sup>41</sup> See further discussion of this text in FRITZ GRAF’s chapter on Dionysiac Mysteries in GRAF/JOHNSTON, *Ritual Texts*; ROBERTSON, *Orphic Mysteries*; MERKELBACH, *Hirten des Dionysos*; NILSSON, *Dionysiac Mysteries*; SEAFORD, *Dionysiac Drama*.

<sup>42</sup> GRAF/JOHNSTON, *Ritual Texts*.

BCE Alexandria, is called *Enhyption* or The Dream. Unfortunately, the papyrus, which I have been able to examine in the British Library, is very lacunose, meaning that we can only follow the story intermittently, like listening to a radio station with very poor reception.<sup>43</sup> In the jesting tone typical of the *Mimiambi* of this author, Herodas explains that he had a dream last night which he will tell to Annas, his manservant, whose mind is not dim (νήπιος); this last point is important, as Herodas clearly means Annas to grasp the deeper significance of what he is about to tell him. Herodas proceeds to relate how he dreamt that he was dragging a goat through, or out of, a ravine in his dream. He met some men in the country who sacrificed the goat and fell upon its (raw) flesh. Then appeared a young man dressed like Dionysos in a fawn skin and with typical high boots. There followed horse-play with the skin of the goat, which editors have identified as the *askoliasmos*, or dancing on a blown up wine skin (i.e. goat skin) known from Dionysos' rural cult. At one point a complete line says that the play corresponded to 'the way we conduct initiations in the choruses of Dionysos' (40 ὡσπερ τελεῦμεν ἐν χοροῖς Διονύσου). An old man appears to challenge, or fight with, Herodas, who appeals to the Dionysos-like youth to arbitrate; he seems to rule that both should get the prize. At the end of the piece Herodas explains that his experience in his dream corresponds to his literary fate: he has been given a gift by Dionysos – the goat which he led 'out of the ravine' (67 αἶγα τῆς φ[άραγγος] ἐξείλκον) – but critics have set upon his handsome gift and ripped it apart (69 αἰπόλοι μιν ἐκ βίης [ἐδ]ειτρεῦντο) and, like a ritual initiation, have devoured its flesh (70 τ]ᾶ ἐνθεα τελεῦντες καὶ κρεῶ[v] ἐδαίνυντο).

Scholarly treatments of the Eighth Mime have not hesitated to identify the young man in the piece as a Dionysos-like figure, and to recognise Dionysiac rites in the rending of the goat and the jumping around on a wine-skin; but they have not made the connection with Dionysiac *mysteriēs*, preferring to point to rural festivals of Dionysos, Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἀγροῖς.<sup>44</sup> I believe the further connection with Bacchic mysteries, however, is justified. First there is the key word τελεῦμεν in line 40; true, this can mean simply 'perform', 'do', but the word is also *terminus technicus* for 'initiate', with its cognate τελεταί, mystery initiations. Scholars may have thought that the atmosphere of ribald play told against the solemnity of mysteries. But Plato specifically mentions the παιδιά, fun and games, associated with Orphic initiations.<sup>45</sup> In particular, I think the

<sup>43</sup> See KNOX, *Dream of Herodas*; apart from the standard works by I.C. CUNNINGHAM, *Herodas* (editions 1971 and 1987), see now ZANKER (ed.), *Herodas*.

<sup>44</sup> See KNOX, *Dream of Herodas*; I.C. CUNNINGHAM, *Herodas* (edn 1971); ZANKER (ed.), *Herodas ad loc.*

<sup>45</sup> Pl. *Resp.* 364e3–365a3: βιβλων δὲ ὅμαδον παρέχονται Μουσαίου καὶ Ὀρφέως, Σελήνης τε καὶ Μουσῶν ἐκγόνων, ὡς φασι, καθ' ὅς θυηπολοῦσιν, πείθοντες οὐ μόνον ιδιώτας ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεις, ὡς ἄρα λύσεις τε καὶ καθαρμοὶ ἀδικημάτων διὰ θυσίων καὶ παιδιᾶς ἡδονῶν εἰσι μὲν ἐτι ζῶσιν, εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τελευτήσασιν, ὡς δὴ τελετὰς καλοῦσιν, αἱ τῶν ἐκεῖ κακῶν ἀπολύουσιν ἡμᾶς, μὴ θύσαντας δὲ δεινὰ περιμένει, 'And they provide a whole hubbub of books by Mousaios and Orpheus, Selene and the children of the Muses, as they claim, according to which they conduct their magical rites, exercising persuasion not only over private individuals but also cities, that there are remissions and cleansings from the stain of guilt by means of sacrifices and the pleasures of revelry both for the living and

hint at the beginning that Annas will understand what is meant, being ‘not dim’, points to a significance of the dream lurking below the surface.<sup>46</sup> Herodas could not, of course, say directly ‘last night I dreamt I took part in Bacchic mysteries’ as that would be equivalent to divulging them. What he does, in my opinion, is hint strongly that his dream experience was like an encounter with Dionysos and his entourage during Bacchic rites. If this is not too bold, the repeated statement that he dreamed he was ‘dragging a goat from a ravine’ may be connected with the byword of magical spells we are seeking to place: ‘goat from the garden’ or ‘I dragged the goat from the garden’. Herodas talks about a valley, or ravine, φάραγξ, while the magical texts have κήπος, garden. But the action of ‘dragging from the valley/ravine’ τῆς φ[άραγγος] ἐξέιλκον in 67 and τράγον τιν’ ἔλκειν [διὰ or ἐξ] φάραγγος ὠήθη[ν (16)]<sup>47</sup> is quite specific, paralleled by Selinus 34 and Phalasarna (SEG 42.818) line 6 (verse 11) [αἶξ] αἶγα βίαι ἐκ κήπου ἐλαύνει. I suggest that Herodas’ insistence on this detail of his dream would alert readers to the catch phrase of Dionysiac mysteries, ‘goat from the garden’, and thus set up an ingenious parallel between Herodas’ initiation into the Dionysiac art of mime and readers’ own experience of Bacchic rites.

So we have little difficulty in arguing that the sacrifice and eating of a billy-goat played a central part in Dionysiac mystery ritual. This is still a considerable step from the she-goat with its unquenchable supply of milk in the Getty narrative. Again we need to step back somewhat before confronting the text directly. According to Clement of Alexandria (and others) the sacred tale attached to the Orphic-Bacchic mysteries involved a curious reduplication of Zeus’s birth story.<sup>48</sup> SARAH ILES JOHNSTON has called the narrative a ‘bricolage’ of various elements drawn both from conventional and arcane myth-making.<sup>49</sup> Whilst mainstream theogony – e.g. Hesiod – culminated in Zeus’s reign on earth, the Orphics postulated a son of Zeus, Dionysos, by Persephone, his own daughter. This baby son was also given to the Kouretes for protection, like his father before him. We are not told whether he was suckled by the goat Amalthea or a descendant of hers. While still a baby, however, and destined to inherit the earth, the Titans lured him away from his minders with toys, killed him and chopped him up in preparation for a meal. However, Athena managed to save his still palpitating heart, and Apollo takes this and the other body parts to Delphi, where he reassembles and revives Dionysos.<sup>50</sup> This myth underlies the so-called Bacchic mysteries, as attested by various creditable authors, such as Plutarch and Diodorus, not to mention more obscure ones such as Firmicus Maternus.<sup>51</sup> As we have seen, the Gurôb papyrus picks up a number of key points – the main goddesses concerned, the Kouretes – and combines

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for the dead, which they call “initiations”, which release us from sufferings in the thereafter, but that terrible things await those who fail to sacrifice’.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. ROSEN, *Mixing of Genres*.

<sup>47</sup> ZANKER prefers ἐξ here in line with 67.

<sup>48</sup> Clem.Al. *Protr.* 2.17–18.

<sup>49</sup> In her chapter *The myth of Dionysos* in GRAF/JOHNSTON, *Ritual Texts*. See further BERNABÉ/JIMÉNEZ SAN CRISTÓBAL/SANTAMARÍA (eds.), *Dioniso*.

<sup>50</sup> For alternative versions of Dionysos’ revival see JOHNSTON’s chapter in GRAF/JOHNSTON, *Ritual Texts*.

<sup>51</sup> See above n. 41 for some basic works.



these with allusion to a sacrifice of a ram and a goat, and the eating of meat. The sacred meal in ritual is likely to mirror the Titans' meal of Dionysos – a point which is confirmed indirectly by Clement who lambasts the participants in Bacchic ritual for their obscene meat-eating ritual.<sup>52</sup>

I suggest, then, finally, that the Getty narrative is nothing other than the sacred narrative of Dionysos' birth. Let us examine the relevant points. First, the two goddesses mentioned – Persephone in her garden and Demeter – are the relevant ones in the 'Orphic' myth of Dionysos' birth. Persephone is the mother, Demeter *her* mother. I suggest that the goat with milk is coerced into suckling the young god in a parallel action to that of his father before him, Zeus. Whether the goat herself is to be identified as Amalthea again, is doubtful. Then Hekate appears, the goddess usually connected with the Underworld and mysteries, leading a god (θεὰ θεῶι ἡγεμονεύει); she announces that she has come to announce to the world the advent of a god whose name is not given, but the first half of whose descriptive epithet ἀγλα- might be Dionysiac ἀγλαοκάρπου. The next line doubtless contained news of what the new god will bring to the world (see my e.g. reconstruction of the line). The Underworld setting of the scene is an aspect singled out by Clement in his polemic against Bacchic mysteries.<sup>53</sup> Finally, the authority of Paieon fits this account well; in one version of the Orphic-Bacchic myth, it is Apollo who saves and restores Dionysos to life after he has been mangled by the Titans. By the fifth century Paian as a cult title was most closely associated with Apollo. Our author, an *Orpheotelestēs* I surmise, appeals to Apollo Paian as the divine healer, who, according to myth, had even saved Dionysos as a child.<sup>54</sup> The appeal to Paieon by no means makes the Getty text a paean, as RUTHERFORD has argued in FO; rather, this is 'Orphic' Apollo, the magical healer, who also plays a conspicuous role in the later Greek magical papyri.

I suggest, then, that the key element 'goat from the garden by force' in magical spells in Crete and Magna Graecia of this period, refers to the birth-myth of Dionysos-Bakchos. The goat comes from Persephone's garden – that is, from Dionysos' mother Persephone – with an unending supply of milk for the divine child. With the god, come the Bacchic mysteries for humans. For, associated with the god's advent as a child, there is the story of the Titans' original sin. *Mystai* in Dionysos' cult felt they were expiating this original sin of their 'lawless fathers'; they take part in a sacramental meal: the goat sacrifice and its meat were probably meant to 'imitate' the sacrifice of Dionysos by the Titans and their intended meal of the god.<sup>55</sup> That a male goat took this part matches the mytheme I have been arguing for, that a female goat, companion of Demeter and from Persephone's garden, had nourished the young god.

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<sup>52</sup> Clem.Al. *Protr.* 2.12.2 Διόνυσσον μαινόλην ὀργιάζουσι Βάκχοι ὄμοφαγία τὴν ἱερομανίαν ἄγοντες καὶ τελίσκουσι τὰς κρεονομίας τῶν φόνων ἀνεστημένοι τοῖς ὄφρασι, ἐπολολύζοντες Εὐάν, 'the Bakchoi celebrate mystery rites for raving Dionysos with *ōmophagia* in a state of religious ecstasy and they perform the distribution of meat from the killing wreathed with snakes, uttering the sacred wail "Eua"'.  
<sup>53</sup> Clem.Al. *Protr.* 2.13.2 ὁμῶν δεδόξασται τὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτυμβίῳ τιμῇ, 'your mystery rites are characterized by funereal honours'.

<sup>54</sup> In some versions; in others it is Rhea or Demeter who reassembles Dionysos.  
<sup>55</sup> See GRAF in GRAF/JOHNSTON, *Ritual Texts*, 151–5.

If this is right, the goat narrative in the Getty text is not a *historiola* in the sense of an apotropaic spell, such as we find in the Philinna Papyrus, for example, but rather a mythical narrative illustrating the power of Paieon, who is invoked now to ward off evil from all those dwelling in this ‘house of stone’. In magico-medical *historiolae* humans and animals perform various actions (such as the wolf fleeing) which promote a desired effect in the real world (such as a headache fleeing) by analogy, or ‘sympathetic magic’. The story in the Getty text, however, concerns the advent of a god, announced by Hekate and met by an *alma mater* in the form of a goat. This is more like typical hymnic narrative, which commonly tells of a god’s birth and wondrous deeds as a way of heightening his or her *numen*.<sup>56</sup>

This hypothesis may connect up with the group of contemporary texts from Sicily and other places known as the gold funeral lamellae. These have been the subject of a number of recent book-length treatments, notably GRAF/JOHNSTON, *Ritual Texts*; EDMONDS III (ed.), ‘Orphic’ Gold Tablets; TZIFOPOULOS, *Paradise Earned*; BERNABÉ/JIMÉNEZ SAN CRISTÓBAL, *Instructions*. There is now general agreement that the eschatology underpinning these texts relates in particular to Dionysos-Bakchos. Bliss in the afterlife is predicated on participation in Dionysos’ rites: ‘Bakchos himself liberated me’, as one text puts it.<sup>57</sup> A common feature of these texts is the curious formula involving milk. Some animal is said to have ‘fallen into (or onto) the milk’: a kid, ram or bull. By way of example: κριὸς ἔπετες εἰς γάλα, ‘as a ram you fell into the milk’. There has been considerable discussion of this formula, beginning with GÜNTHER ZUNTZ, who believed it was metaphorical in sense: falling into milk was seen as analogous to landing in paradise.<sup>58</sup> Recently CHRIS FARAONE has advanced a twofold new hypothesis. The ‘falling’ into milk, he argues, points to two aspects of Bacchic ritual: the ecstatic leap of the dance, and the jumping into white foam of the sea (metaphorical milk), which Dionysos himself did when escaping from Lykourgos in the *Iliad*.<sup>59</sup> But Greek πίπτειν ἐς γάλα can also mean ‘falling *on* the milk’, not falling into a pool or sea of milk, and refer to the way young animals fall upon their mothers’ udders to suckle. Anyone who has seen young farm animals doing this may feel sorry for the mothers: their young literally ‘fall upon’ them in their greed. The reader will see where this thought is leading. I suggest that the ritual ‘falling on milk’ in the Bacchic leaves refers to the original mythic action of young Dionysos being suckled by the goat with its unending stream of milk. The ritual passport to paradise in the afterlife, falling on milk, refers to the *aition* of ritual, Dionysos’ birth story. When the souls of the departed tell Persephone, ‘as a goat (or, as a ram) I have fallen on milk’ they mean to say: we have taken part in Dionysos’ initiatory rite, a kind of communion, but with milk rather than wine.

Direct evidence that initiates into Dionysos’ mysteries drank milk is slight but not negligible. Euripides’ *Bacchae* mentions the flow of milk, wine and nectar from the

<sup>56</sup> Plentiful examples in FURLEY/BREMER, *Greek Hymns*.

<sup>57</sup> GRAF/JOHNSTON, *Ritual Texts*, no. 26 a, b Pelinna, line 2.

<sup>58</sup> See JOHNSTON, *Myth*, 140–42.

<sup>59</sup> FARAONE, *Rushing*.

ground enjoyed by the Bacchants.<sup>60</sup> Plato in the *Ion* says that Bacchants draw ‘milk and honey’ from the rivers when they are possessed by the god.<sup>61</sup> An official known as a ‘Milk-Bearer’, γαλακτοφόρος, in Dionysos’ cult in Thessaly is recorded.<sup>62</sup> A late reference to initiation into Attis’ cult says that the initiate was fed milk ‘like a newborn’.<sup>63</sup> SARAH ILES JOHNSTON comments:<sup>64</sup> ‘It is difficult, to say the least, to extrapolate from these pieces of evidence back to the earlier, Bacchic Gold Tablets.’ If my suggestion for the Bacchic context of the goat myth in the Getty text finds favour, it becomes much easier to make the connection between the ritual consumption of milk and the code phrase of the Bacchic gold leaves, ‘as animal x I have fallen on milk’. It is interesting, to say the least, that TZIFOPOULOS’s gold lamella no. 4 from Eleutherna in Crete makes the connection between ‘drinking from the spring’ with a name which seems to be connected with ‘goat’: ἀλλὰ πιέν μοι / κράνας ΑΙΓΙΔΔΩ ἐπὶ / δεξιά. The word Αἰγιῶδω is unexplained; GALLAVOTTI suggested Αἶδαο; VERBRUGGEN αἰγι{δ}ρω (i.e. αἰγίερος black poplar).<sup>65</sup> It seems to me an etymological connection with αἶξ should not be ruled out. One might imagine a spring in the eschatology of the gold leaves being named after the mythical goat with unending milk.

A piece of pictorial evidence should be mentioned here. A pedestal in the Vatican Museum first published by NOGARA shows a number of Dionysian scenes, including a scene of Dionysos’ arrival, a fawn being removed from its mother, perhaps for the ritual *ōmophagia*, and, most significantly for my purpose, a goat being milked by an elderly man, while a female figure holds its head.<sup>66</sup> KARL KERÉNYI, who illustrated the pedestal in his book on Dionysos, believes that the goat’s milk was used for boiling a kid in a ritual imitating the Titans’ original mishandling of Dionysos.<sup>67</sup> That seems fanciful. Much more credible would be the ritual consumption of goat’s milk by initiates in Dionysos’ mysteries, in memory of the god-child’s first meal. Ritual consumption of the *kykeōn* was important in the Eleusinian Mysteries; drinking goat’s milk in Bacchic initiations would be well within the typical compass of ancient mysteries. A

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<sup>60</sup> Eur. *Bacch.* 142–3 ρεῖ δὲ γάλακτι πέδον, ρεῖ δ’ οἴνωι, ρεῖ δὲ μελισσᾶν νέκταρι, ‘the ground flows with milk, with honey, with the nectar of bees’.

<sup>61</sup> *Ion* 534a: ὥσπερ αἱ βάκχαι ἀρύνονται ἐκ τῶν ποταμῶν μέλι καὶ γάλα κατεχόμεναι, ‘just as the Bakchai draw from the rivers milk and honey when they are possessed’.

<sup>62</sup> IG X.2.1, 65 (PICARD/AVEZOU, *Inscriptions*, 97 no. 7 = *Orph. fr.* 664 in BERNABÉ, *Orphicorum*).

<sup>63</sup> Sallust. *De diis* 4.10: ἐπὶ τούτοις γάλακτος τροφή ὥσπερ ἀναγεννωμένων· ἐφ’ οἷς ἰλαρία καὶ στέφανοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Θεοὺς οἶον ἐπάνοδος, ‘And for these the nourishment is milk, as if they were reborn. Accompanying which there is merriment and crowns and an ascent, as it were, to the gods’.

<sup>64</sup> JOHNSTON, *Myth*, 141, n. 56.

<sup>65</sup> References in TZIFOPOULOS, *Paradise Earned*, *ad loc.*

<sup>66</sup> NOGARA, *Base istoriata*. NOGARA describes the obscure provenance of the pedestal (from excavations on the Esquiline Hill in Rome) in the eighteenth century; he opines that the pedestal probably served for the display of a votive object or statuary, probably for Dionysos/Bakchos; the reliefs are of ‘Hellenistic inspiration’. The scene shows on the right a goddess on a pedestal, whom NOGARA identifies as Elpis, Hope. Cf. KERÉNYI, *Dionysos*, 159: ‘Auf den beiden Schmalseiten der gleichen Basis sieht man jene Szenen, die ihre Perspektiven erst erhalten, wenn man begreift, dass sie das dionysische Opfer vorbereiten.’

<sup>67</sup> KERÉNYI, *Dionysos*, 159.

final piece of the jigsaw might also fit here; in the Gurōb papyrus, a plausible supplement of col. 1, line 25 would be αἰγ]εῖον ἔπιον, with γάλα standing somewhere before it in the lacuna: ‘I drank goat’s milk’, as one of the *symbola* listed from line 22. HORDERN himself wonders about οἰ]νον but the third letter from last does not look like *nu*.<sup>68</sup> My suggestion αἰγεῖον must remain tentative but ἔπιον indicates that something was drunk in a ritual fashion. Finally, one should not forget that the miraculous suckling of infants in myth by surrogate animal mothers is a well-established principle. One need only think of Romulus and Remus and the she-wolf. In Pausanias (10.16) we read that the people of Elyrus dedicated at Delphi a bronze goat suckling the infants Phylakis and Phylandros, who were children of Apollo by Akakallis.<sup>69</sup>

## 2. Revised text

The text printed here combines supplements from JK (*edd. pr.*), FO and RICHARD JANKO’s contribution to the latter volume, with my own suggestions based on examination of photographs of the tablet. In the *apparatus* I cannot properly accredit some supplements in FO, as the text there lacks an *apparatus*.

Col. 1

[μύσ]ταις [ε]ὔ[αίωνα] καὶ οὐκ ἀτέλεστ’ ἐπαεῖδω·	
ὄστις τῶνδ’ ἱερῶν ἐπέων ἀρίσημα κολάσας	
γράμματα κασσιτέρωι κοκολαμμένα λαῶς ἐν οἴκωι	
οὐ νιμ πημανέουσιν ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθῶν	
οὐδ’ ὅσα πόντωι βόσκει ἀγάζονος Ἀμφιτρίτη.	5
Παιήων, σὺ δὲ παντὸς ἀλέξιμα φάρμακα πέμπεις	
καὶ τάδ’ ἐφώνησας ῥῆπε’ ἀθάνατα θνητοῖσιν·	
{h}ῶσσα κατὰ σκιαρῶν ὀρέων μελαναυγεί χῶρωι	
Φερσεφόνης ἐγ κήπου ἄγει πρὸς ἀμολγὸν ἀνάγκηι	
τὴν τετραβήμονα παῖδ’ ἀγνήν Δήμητρος ὀπηδόν,	10
αἶγ’ ἀκαμαντορόα νασμοῦ θαλεροῖο γάλακτος	
βριθομένην· ἠέπειτα θεαῖς ῥεῖ[α] θ<έ>ουσα φαειναῖς	
[λ]αμπάδας· [E]ινοδία δ’ ἠ<ε>κάτη φρικώδει φωνῆι	
[βάρ]βαρο[v] ἐκκλάζουσα θεὰ θεῶι ἡγεμονεύ[ει·]	
[ἔρχομα]ι αὐτοκέλευστος ἐγὼ διὰ νύκτα β[αθεῖαν]	15
[ἐγ μεγάρω]ν προμολοῦσα· λέγω [θ]εόφρασ[τα κέλευθα]	
[ἀνθρώποις] θνητῶσι δὲ δαίμο[v]ος ἀγλα[οκάρπου,]	
[εὔχεται] ὅς τελέ[ε]ιν χά[ριν] ὦ[ι] κε θ[έ]λησιν ἄπειρον.]’	
[.....]ικα.[	
[.....]ταδ[	20

*Apparatus:* (unattributed supplements are from *edd. pr.*)

1 FURLEY: [3–4]ταις[.]. [c. 3–4] *edd. pr.*      2 κολασας L: καλύπτει vel καλύψας vel καλύψει *edd.*  
7 vel τάδε φωνήσας *edd. pr.*      8 {h}ῶσσα FURLEY: hoσσα L: ἔσκε, εὔτε, ἠὲς κε *edd.*: Ὅσσα (nom.)

<sup>68</sup> BERNABÉ/JIMÉNEZ SAN CRISTÓBAL, ‘Orphic’ Gold Leaves, 83, blandly assert the reading ‘I have drunk wine’, citing HORDERN, Notes; but HORDERN only considers οἶνον as a possibility.

<sup>69</sup> More examples given by JOHNSTON, *Myth*, 143.

propr.) dubit. JANKO 9 ἄγει edd.: αγαι L 10 παῖδ' FURLEY: παις L hoπηδον L ἀγνήν  
 vel ἀγίην edd. pr.: ιαγιην L 12 FURLEY: θεαις ρει[.]θουσα L, ρεπιθοῦσα leg. edd. pr.: πεπιθοῦσα  
 JANKO, FO (<δὲ> ante θεαῖς ins.) 13 [E]ινοδῖαι δ' <h>Εκάτει L corr. edd. 15 [ἔρχομα]ι edd. pr.:  
 [ἦλυθο]ν JANKO 16 προμολεῖσα L corr. edd. fin. JANKO 17 suppl. edd. pr. 18 ὡς κε  
 θάνωσιν edd. pr.: ὦι κε θελήσις JANKO, al. FURLEY

## Col. 2, Frr. 5+6, front

[ —c. 13— ]δε[  
 [ἀγγέλλ]ων τ' ἀνόμων θ[υέ]ων ἀπο χει[ρ]ας ἔχεσθαι.]  
 [Παιήων,] σὺ γὰρ αὐτὸς {h} ἀ[λ]έξιμα φάρμακ[α πέμπεις,]  
 [μυστοδό]κου κατάκουε φ<ρ>ασίν γλυκὸν ἠ[ύμνον ἀοιδῆς,]  
 [πᾶσιν δ' ἀ]νθρώποισιν ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι ἄν[ωγα] 25  
 [κᾶν πολέμ]ωι κᾶνευ πολέμω<ν> καὶ ναυσίν, ὅτα[ν Κήρ]  
 [θνητοῖς ἀ]νθρώποις θανατηφόρος ἐγγύ[ς ἐπέλθῃ]  
 αὐτῶν τ]ε προβάτοις καὶ ἐν τέχναισιν βροτ[είαις,]  
 αἰὲν ἐπιφ]θέγγεσθαι ἐ[ν] ἐμφρόνηι ἠδὲ κατ' ἤ[μαρ,]  
 'φθόγγον] ἔχων ἡῶσιον {σιον} στόματος θυ[έεσσι μετήλθον.'] 30  
 λώιον ἐ]σσι πόλει, τὰ γὰρ ἀ[ρ]χῆς ἐστιν ἄριστα.  
 Παιήων, σὺ δ]ε παντὸς ἀκεσφόρος ἐσσι καὶ ἐσθ[λός,]  
 ]κι κατασκι αα[.]α ασια ενδασ.[  
 ]δε αμολγον [.] αἶγα βία ἐκ κή[που ἔλαυνε]  
 τῶιδ' ὄνομ[α τ]ετραγος ἠ[ηδ. c. 9] 35  
 τετροανα]ρ ἄγετε τραγ[ c. 5 ἀνε-]  
 μώλιος ἀ[κ]τῆ ἠύδάτων ιο[  
 ὄλβ[ι]ος ὦι [κε] τᾶδε σκεδαθ[ῆ]ι κατ' ἄμε-]  
 ξα[τὸν] αω [καί] φρασίν αὐτ[ῶς ἔχει]  
 [μακάρων κατ' ἄμ]εξατὸν ἀυδῆν' 40  
 [Τραξ Τετραξ Τ]ετραγο[ς Δαμναμενεῦ,]  
 [δάμασον δὲ κακῶς ἀ]έ[κοντας ἀνάγκη.]

22 edd. pr.: ἀνθρώπ]ων τ' ἀνόμων ο[ί]κων ἄπο χει[ρ]ας ἐρύκοις JANKO

24 in. FURLEY (]k leg.): ]μ vel ]λ rotius quam ]γ edd. pr.: κληθμοῦ JANKO

25 in. JANKO

26 in. edd. pr.: ὡς δῆμ]ωι κᾶν εὐπολέμωι JANKO: λα]ῶι κᾶν εὐπολέμωι FARAONE p. 60 FO fin.  
 BURKERT

27 in. edd. pr.: ἄφω ἐπ' JANKO fin. FURLEY: ἐγγύθεν ἔλθῃ edd. pr.

28 in. FURLEY: ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ JANKO: ἠδὲ τ' ἐπὶ edd. pr.

29 in. FURLEY: οὕτω δῆ JANKO: κάπιφθ- edd. pr.

30 in. et fin. FURLEY: χρῆσμον JANKO, tum fin. θυρέτροισιν ἐν αὐτοῖς

31 in. FURLEY: βέλτιον JANKO

## Col. 3, frr. 4+3+2+1, back

[ c. 9 ]κηι θν[ητ  
 [ c. 9 ]οκελε[  
 [ c. 9 ]φσεικ[1-2]ον[ 45  
 [Ἡρακλέης] Διὸς υἱὸς [ὀ]ιστεῦ[σ]α[ς] κακο[εργούς  
 [Ἀρτέμιδὸς τ]ε Διὸς μνήσαι δ' Ἐκάτοιο <τε> Φ[οίβου]  
 [ἠδ' Ἡρακλῆ]ος τόξων καὶ ἠύδρης πολυ[κρήνου.]

[Παι]ήων, ἡ[ὅ] γὰρ αὐτὸς ἀλέξιμα φάρμακα πέ[μπει]  
 [οὔ]κ ἂν δειλήσαιτ' {οὔδεις} οὐδ' αἱ πολυφάρ[μακος ἦκοι.] 50

44 ]ο κέλεσθε[ JANKO 46 in. Ἡρακλέης edd. pr, al. FURLEY 47 in. Ἀρτέμιδος FURLEY, al. edd. pr.: Ἰδμων (?) ἡός τε edd. pr.: υἱὸν]ός τε JANKO (litt. ]νοc e Locr. coll.) tum fin. φ[αεινῶν] 48 edd. pr.: οἷς παίεις τόξων καὶ ὕδρης πολύδειρα κάρηνα JANKO 49 edd. pr. 50 edd. pr.: οὔδεις πολυφάρμακος ἄλλος JANKO

*Prose translation*

For initiates I incant effective words of salvation. Whoever inscribes in clear letters these sacred words on tin (= lead) and hides (?) them in a building of stone, him neither land creatures will harm nor any which loud-sounding Amphitrite nurtures in the sea. Paieon, you provide protective remedies for everything and you spoke the following divine words to mortals. A voice from down the shadowy mountains in the dark-lit place calls from Persephone's garden irresistibly to milking the four-legged child, holy companion of Demeter, a goat heavy with an unceasing flow of nourishing milk; it follows the goddesses, running easily, with their shining torches. Einodia Hekate cries out wildly with eerie voice as she, a goddess, leads the god. 'I come of my own accord through the [depths] of night, leaving my residence. I announce to human [beings the ways] ordained by god of the [bountiful] deity, who [promises] to reward whomsoever he [pleases, without limit.]' [...approximately 3 lines missing ...] instructing [them?] to refrain from unlawful sacrifices(?). [Paieon,] since you [provide] protective remedies in person, listen in your heart to the sweet [incantation of one initiated in the mysteries]. You instructed [all] humans to sound the refrain, whether [in war] or free of war, on their ships, whenever death-bringing Fate draws near to human beings or to [their] flocks, or during human crafts, always to sound the refrain by night and by [day]: 'With pure [voice] in my throat [I have participated in] the sacrificial rites(?).' It is [better] for the city; that is the best thing for government. [Paieon, you] are remedy-bringing in everything, and good. ASKI KATASKI AA[.]A ASIA ENDASIA. [To] milking [..] [drive] a goat by force from the garden. His name is Tetragos [...] [TETROANA]R lead the goat(?) [...] windy shore of waters [...] Happy he for whom is scattered along his way 'io!'(?) and who in his heart holds along his path the voice of the blessed: [TRAX TETRAX] TETRAGOS [DAMNAMENEUS], [subjugate by force the wickedly] unwilling! [...approximately 3 lines missing...] Herakles, son of Zeus, who shoots down the ill-doers with arrows, and recall to mind [Artemis], daughter of Zeus, and [Phoibos] Far-Shooter, and the bow [of Herakles] and the Hydra of many [heads.] No one will do any harm, even if he comes with much magic!

*Select notes on new readings*

These notes are intended to clarify new points in the text only; they are based on inspection of good photographs of the fragments of lead tablet.

1. [μύσ]ταις [ε]ὔ[αίωνα] καὶ οὐκ ἀτέλεστ' ἐπαείδω·  
 In. [3–4]ταις[.].[c. 4] ed. pr., JANKO

μύσταις would be a reasonable guess for the first word, since this section of the text introduces the *hieros logos* of mystery rites. Following that we are allowed approximately six letters for a word of metrical shape - ∪ ∪ - ∪ or - - - ∪ (or, possibly, - ∪ ∪ -) and syntactically parallel to ἀτέλεστα, εὐαίωνα, ‘blessed’ (7 letters), fits quite well, paralleled by e.g. Eur. *Ion* 126, in a monodic paean song, and Eur. *Bacch.* 426. BREMMER has pointed to other Euripidean elements in this magical text.<sup>70</sup> If the space is not sufficient for εὐαίωνα one might consider the variant form εὐαίω (also ntr. pl.), but the contraction is unparalleled for this word, though common in other -v- stems, of course (βελτίω etc.);<sup>71</sup> καὶ is probably short before οὐκ, but might keep its natural metrical length. The sense of the first line thus reconstructed, then, would be to announce the fortune-bringing, efficacious, nature of the Paieon’s holy words.

2 κολάψας. The tablet clearly has this reading, from κολάπτω, ‘engrave’. Then in the next line we hear of ‘letters engraved in tin’ γράμματα κασσιτέρωι κοκολαμμένα (*sic*), and, at the end of the line, λαός ἐν οἴκωι, ‘in a house of stone’. It seems that the scribe may have written κολάψας in 2 by mistaken analogy with κεκολαμμένα; previous editors suspect that a form of καλύπτω, ‘conceal’, should be restored: καλύπτει (JK), καλύψει (FO, JANKO). The sentence certainly needs a finite verb by the standards of correct grammar, but in this subliterary text perhaps καλύψας would also be defensible, with an understood ἔχει or ἔχη, meaning ‘whoever has concealed’. Certainly λαός ἐν οἴκωι makes better sense with ‘conceal’, rather than ‘engrave’, because we are told that the engraving is to be done ‘on tin’. Moreover the folded lead tablet was clearly meant to be hidden somewhere rather than displayed for reading, so a form of καλύπτω suits the context.

8 {h}ῶσσα κατὰ σκιαρῶν ὀρέων μελαναυγεί χῶρωι  
In. †hόσσα† ed. pr.: {h}ῶσσα JANKO

Clearly legible ῶσσα at the beginning of line 8 has given considerable trouble. Suggestions to date have been ἔσκε (JORDAN), εὔτε (JANKO), hῶς κε (WALLACE) (see *apparatus* to *ed. pr.*). In FO p. 40 JANKO wonders whether Ossa is not the name of the child (παῖς) in 10. Ossa is known as the name of a mountain in Thessaly, but it does not convince as a name of the παῖς either in form or in position (widely separated from παῖς). OBBINK’s defence of ῶσσα = ὄσσα = ὄς in epic<sup>72</sup> will not do either as ὄσσα in Homer is never directly equivalent to ὄς but always has the meaning ‘as much/many as’;<sup>73</sup> as these lines run, ὄσσα would have ῥεπε’ ἀθάνατα in the previous line as antecedent, which does not make sense: it is not Paieon’s immortal words which led the goat from Persephone’s garden.<sup>74</sup> I suggest changing παῖς in line 10 to παῖδ’ and keep-

<sup>70</sup> BREMMER, *Getty Hexameters*.

<sup>71</sup> Note the apocop. accusative singular of αἰών, αἰῶ, restored in Aesch. *Cho.* 350.

<sup>72</sup> FARAONE/OBBINK (eds.), *Getty Hexameters*, 182 with n. 19.

<sup>73</sup> I have checked all instances.

<sup>74</sup> I suppose, conceivably, ὄσσα = ὄσα could be an accusative of respect, referring back to ῥεπε’ ἀθάνατα: ‘with reference to which many’ = ‘as regards which’, but it would be an extraordinary usage.

ing ὄσσα = ‘voice’. That is, a ‘voice from down the mountains’ leads the goat by magical necessity; an unseen voice here makes better sense than a child leading the goat ἀνάγκη: the voice has a mysterious and irresistible power, whereas the picture of a child leading a goat ‘by force’ is almost comic. Homeric scholia gloss ὄσσα as θεία κληδών, ‘divine voice’. *H.Hom.* 4.443 talks of a ‘wondrous new sound’ (sc. of the lyre): θαυμασίην γὰρ τήνδε νεήφατον ὄσσαν ἀκούω. The best parallel would be the divine voice (περικαλλέα ὄσσαν) of the Helikonian Muses, unseen, according to Hes. *Th.* 10, because they themselves are shrouded in mist. This is just the kind of mysteriously compelling voice apparently emanating from nowhere which I think is meant in this magical text. Moreover, taking the text like this gives better sense to κατὰ σκιαρῶν ὄρέων: the voice comes wafting down from the shadowy mountains and reaches the goat’s ears where it is standing in Persephone’s garden. If we take παῖς as subject of the sentence we get the less satisfactory sense that he/she leads the goat ‘down the shadowy mountains’ and, apparently, ‘out from Persephone’s garden’, which seems something of a contradiction. ὄσσα clearly has a rough breathing in L (i.e. ὄσσα), but the aspirate is placed wrongly at other points in the text as well (line 10 ἠόπηδόν, 23 ἠάλέξιμα). For magical voices in combination with goats one might also point to the epigram by Leonidas in which a voice from the ground tells a goat nibbling at a vinestock that enough of the root will survive to produce wine for a libation when the goat is sacrificed! (see above n. 25).

10 τὴν τετραβήμονα παῖδ’ ἀγνὴν Δήμητρος ὀπηδόν  
 παιαγιατὴν L: παῖς ιαγίην edd. pr.: ἀγνὴν vel ἀγίην JANKO

In the previous note on line 8 I suggested reading παῖδ’ here as object of ἄγει (subject ὄσσα). If we keep L’s clear reading παις, we are left wondering what ὄσσα in 8 can be. In order to solve the *conundrum* I advocate keeping ὄσσα (smooth breathing) and emending to παῖδ’, going with τὴν τετραβήμονα: the four-footed child, that is, the goat. Moreover if we wish to keep παῖς we are left with most abrupt syntax, as τετραβήμονα is an adjective, requiring a noun. If we want to read on until ὀπηδόν, the attribute and noun object are divided jarringly by the *subject* παῖς. I would go as far as to say that τὴν τετραβήμονα παῖς ἀγνὴν (or ἀγίην) Δήμητρος ὀπηδόν is intolerable Greek.

ἀγνὴν. The first editors read ιαγίην, but the first descender might be part of a partially degraded aspirate. JANKO discusses the relative merits of ἀγίην and ἀγνὴν here. As the text stands the goat is described as the ‘holy attendant’ of Demeter.

12 βριθομένην· ἠέπεται θεαῖς ρεῖ[α] θέουσα φαειναῖς  
 ἠέπεται δὲ θεαῖς ῥεπιθοῦσα† ed. pr.  
 ἔπεται δὲ θεαῖς πεπιθοῦσα φαειναις JANKO.

The context here is the goat being led by the voice to milking. The first editors wonder in their *apparatus* whether what they read as ρεπιθοῦσα might be taken as παρα- or περι-. FO and JANKO adopt the reading πεπιθοῦσα, ‘trusting’ or ‘obeying’, the goddesses (θεαῖς), with δὲ inserted before θεαῖς to fill out the metre. This gives the sense ‘the goat follows the goddesses, trusting in them’. However the first letter of the word here is unquestionably *rho*, followed by *epsilon*, then a vertical line which could be the



left bar of *pi*, but which I take to be *iota*. ρεῖ[α], ‘easily’, ‘without resistance’, is a satisfactory supplement, followed by θεῶν, ‘running’. The goat ‘follows the goddesses, running easily’. Here we only need to assume that an *epsilon* has fallen out of θεῶν and there is no need to insert <δὲ>. The reading has the advantage of making sense of the clear palaeographic reading ρεῖ[. One might also explain the missing epsilon in θεῶν with recourse to θεαῖς just before, which has to be scanned as θῆαῖς. The scribe might have been conscious of that fact as he wrote θουσα by mistake in the following word. The sense is also better, as the goat is more likely to ‘skip along lightly’ than ‘trust’ the goddesses (trusting is too human an emotion). Also we avoid the contradiction involved in the juxtaposition of ἀνάγκη and πεπιθοῦσα; if the goat is forced along, she does not need to trust. In my reconstruction, ἀνάγκη applies to the mysterious voice calling the goat, whilst in 12 she is tripping along (ῥεῖα θεῶν) on the heels of goddesses now (Hekate and her torch-bearing attendants).<sup>75</sup>

18 [-c. 10-] ὃς τελέ[ε]ιν χά[ρι]ν ᾧ[ι] κε θ[ε]λήσει  
 ὡς vel ἕως κε θάνωσι edd. pr. (in *app.*)  
 τέλεσον χάριν ᾧ κε θελήσεις JANKO.

At the beginning of the line the first editors allow for about ten missing letters, but the writing is bigger in this section; if the missing letters were the same size as the rest of the letters in this line, I count space for approximately seven letters only. One might be looking for a finite verb (εὔχεται?) going with an infinitive τελεῖν, or perhaps a genitive plural noun picked up by ᾧ later in the line (χρηστών?). But much uncertainty surrounds beginning and end of this line. A relative predication with ὃς, referring to the δαίμων announced in the previous line, however, seems a reasonable guess. JANKO already suggested χάριν, but I would suggest a different construction around it. One might try ἄπειρον at line end, going with χάριν. Possibilities for supplementing a form of τελέω are limited: τέλεσον (JANKO), τέλεσεν or τελέειν.

24 [μυστοδό]κου, if correct, makes it clear whose song this is: one initiated in the Mysteries. The reading clearly accords with [μύσ]ταις in the first line. *Kappa* as first trace after the break is legible, but others have read the trace differently (see *apparatus*).

31 λώιον ἐ[σ]στι πόλει, τὰ γὰρ ἀ[ρ]χῆς ἐστιν ἄριστα.  
 In. βέλτιον JANKO.

*Edd. pr.* allow for five letters before ἐσσι. λώιον (5 letters) might be thought to be a better epic word than βέλτιον (7 letters) here; e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.229, Hom. *Od.* 2.169. Epic comparative is βέλτερον rather than βέλτιον (JANKO).

46 [Ἡρακλῆς] Διὸς υἱὸς [ὀ]ιστεῦ[σ]α[ς] κακο[έ]ργους  
 [Ἡρακλῆς] Διὸς υἱὸς [.]ιστε[ c. 9 (*sic*)] πάγκακ[ον] ἡμαρ edd. pr.  
 [Ἡρακλῆς] Διὸς υἱός, [.]ιστε[.]π]αγκακ[ JANKO

<sup>75</sup> See now JOHNSTON, *Goddesses*.

Both *edd. pr.* and JANKO suggest a form of Herakles at line beginning; he is a son of Zeus, and his killing of the Lernaean Hydra with poisoned arrows features in line 48. After  $\delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$   $\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$  there is only space for one letter before clearly legible  $\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ , followed by a gap of two letters at most, then  $\alpha.\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron$ [. To date no supplement has been suggested for the middle position after  $\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ . *Ed. pr.* has what must be a misprint where it is indicated that a gap of 'c. 9' letters follows  $\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ . Possibilities are very limited for [.] $\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ ], as a short syllable must intervene between  $\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$  (-u) and - $\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$ -. I can only think of a form of  $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\omega$  e.g.  $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$ , having shot an arrow or shooting an arrow, which, of course, goes well with Herakles. No form of  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omega}$  or  $\acute{\alpha}\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$  can be made to fit, nor does a sheep  $\delta\iota\varsigma$  seem appropriate. Callimachus also has  $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma$  (Doric perhaps  $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ ) which might be an alternative; the Iliadic  $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  (4.196 and 206; 8.269), however, seems to give a better precedent. At line end  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ , mischief-makers, malefactors, seems a reasonable guess, but there are no doubt other possibilities, e.g.  $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omicron\nu\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha$  *vel sim.* *Ed. pr.* read ] $\pi\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\kappa$ [ but  $\pi i$  is not visible at all in the photographs I have; JANKO correctly reads  $\pi$ ]  $\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\kappa$ [ (but here the *gamma* is over confident!). It seems to me the traces of the left arc of *omikron* after  $\kappa\alpha\kappa$ - can be seen.