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*Miguel Herrero de Jáuregui,
Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal,
Marco Antonio Santamaria et al. (Eds.)*

TRACING ORPHEUS

STUDIES OF ORPHIC FRAGMENTS

Tracing Orpheus

Sozomena

Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts

Edited

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by

Alessandro Barchiesi, Robert Fowler,
Dirk Obbink and Nigel Wilson

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Tracing Orpheus

Studies of Orphic Fragments

In Honour of Alberto Bernabé

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Series Editor's Forward

DIRK OBBINK

It is a pleasure to issue a volume of this series in honour of a distinguished classical scholar who has done perhaps more than anyone in the history of the study of ancient Greek religion to promote and develop the editing and study of fragmentary texts. 'Sozomena: Studies in the Recovery of Ancient Texts' was established as a monographic series by the Friends of Herculaneum Society to publish research on the recovery and preservation of texts from Greek or Roman antiquity. The primary intention of the series is to edit and interpret texts. Methods of transmission, recovery, and preservation are also discussed in its volumes (Greek 'sozomena' meaning 'saved'), so that *Sozomena* comprises different types of books: editions of texts, commentaries, monographs and collections.

The focus of the present volume on a particular area, namely Orphism and the texts collected by Professor Bernabé in his Teubner volumes of *PEG*, is a salutary development. In the last two centuries, except during relatively short periods (Formalism, New Criticism, Structuralism) literary studies have never been devoid of some sort of attempt to recover lost texts: philology, literary history, source criticism, the study of influences and allusions have all aimed in this direction. Professor Bernabé's editorial work on the Orphic tradition, on the other hand, does not attempt to establish a single original Orphic text by retrieving its original purity: on the contrary, it shows over and over again the destabilizing effect on the Orphic text by confronting it with the previous stages of its development. His editions have the effect of mapping out the writing events and reconstructing the process of invention of the Orphic tradition. It does not pretend to uncover the forgotten essential truth of the text but it points out a wealth of unperceived agreements and disparities teeming under the glaze of its finish.

In this respect, and in his style and standards of editing the Orphic fragments, Professor Bernabé has set the bar competitively high. He has both inspired the contributors of the present volume to aim for it, as well as acting in his teaching as in his research as a model for generations to come.

Editors' Preface

Orphism has always raised much interest and controversy among classical scholars and historians of religion. After the fiery debates of the first two thirds of the 20th century about its existence and nature, the startling discoveries of the last decades – the Derveni Papyrus, new funerary gold leaves (from Hipponion, Pelinna, Pherae, Macedonia and Crete), bone tablets from Olbia attesting for the first time an Orphic thiasos in classical times – have confirmed the undeniable presence of Orphism in Greek religion, philosophy and literature. Alberto Bernabé has integrated the new testimonies with the previously known material in his Teubner edition of the *Orphicorum Fragmenta* in three volumes (2004, 2005 and 2007), which takes up two centuries of scholarship and sets the grounds for future research. He has also published extensively on various Orphic matters, and co-edited along with Francesc Casadesús the two-volume *Orfeo y la tradición órfica. Un reencuentro* (Madrid, 2008), to date the most comprehensive work on the topic.

The present volume collects several brief studies on different Orphic texts with the intention of advancing further from the basis set by Bernabé's edition. The contributions are short commentaries from different perspectives on one or various specific Orphic fragments, including the gold tablets, the Derveni Papyrus, the *Orphic Hymns*, references to Orpheus, and a fragment of Linus. The variety of scholars, academic traditions, and approaches represented in this collection is not casual. Orphism is intertwined with different dimensions of ancient culture, and is interesting for scholars from multiple angles. In this volume there are studies on the theogonies, katabasis, hymnic poetry, myths, rites, and beliefs; questions of textual criticism, translation, interpretation, and reception are addressed; methods from linguistics, comparative religion, literature, and philosophy have been applied; five languages and many academic institutions are represented. The juxtaposition of these diverse – and sometimes opposed – approaches should not bring confusion, but a clear portrait of the richness of nuances of ancient Orphism and its modern scholarly study. In the 1st century BC Philodemus said, «the Orphics dwell on these things intensively» (οἱ Ὀρφικοὶ καὶ παντάπασιν ἐνδιατρίβουσιν). Perhaps the intensity of the discussion is due not only to the fragmentary state of the preserved evidence, but is also inherent to Orphism, in which dogmas were absent while books and writings under the prestigious name of Orpheus grew up in numerous directions.

This collection of modern *diatribae* intends to contribute with further rings to these secular chains of discussions.

The six editors, disciples of Alberto Bernabé at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid, came up with the idea of this volume as a way to celebrate his 65th birthday with a collection of 65 Orphic *symbola* – signs that showed the participation in the mysteries and the link of the initiates, and also objects interchanged by friends as material expression of their agreement and gratitude. Only the Orphic dimension of Alberto Bernabé's prolific scholarship – as shown by his bibliography on these topics collected at the beginning of the volume – is thus paid due tribute. He has also cultivated with the same rigour and enthusiasm other fields like Greek and Indo-European linguistics, Mycenaean studies and Hittitology, and has published numerous other works on textual criticism and Greek mythology, religion, philosophy and literature. And last but not least, Bernabé has skilfully translated many works of classical literature from Greek into Spanish.

Beyond his widely known research activity, he has proven to be an inspiring teacher, a helpful advisor and supervisor, and a generous colleague for 40 years. He has transmitted skills, knowledge and enthusiasm to his many disciples and students while encouraging their independent thought. All the scholars from Spain and other countries who contribute to this volume have great admiration for his work, beyond occasional scholarly disagreements, and in many cases are linked to him by bonds of friendship.

37. *Ad OF 496**

YANNIS Z. TZIFOPOULOS
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In his seminal *Orphicorum et Orphicis similibus testimonia et fragmenta*, fasc. 2, Alberto Bernabé is cautious and does not include in *OF 496 a–n* – the group of *epistomia* with short texts – the three names incised on coins and a gold disc, all from Pieria. He does mention, however, the names *Andron* and *Xenariste* at the endnote, among other texts suspect of being ‘Orphic’.¹ In what follows, it is argued that, even if these incised objects exhibit an anomaly in comparison to the other *epistomia* on which one or a few words were incised, nevertheless, these three names deserve inclusion in *OF 496*, because the incised two coins and pseudo-coin were employed so as to accomplish for all intents and purposes the same results as the other incised *epistomia*.

The two names *Andron* and *Xenariste* are incised on two gold coins of Philip II, which were discovered in two, almost identical in their decoration, graves at Pydna, Pieria as Matthaios Bessios has reported;² and the name *Epigenes* was incised with dotted letters on a small gold disc, probably a pseudo-coin, discovered in Macedonian Grave V in Dion, Pieria and published by Dimitrios Pantermalis.³ These three incised objects are not the expected ones, because all the *epistomia* are incised on gold paper-thin, very small lamellae or bands, which are cut in various shapes so as to approximate the shape of the mouth.⁴ Coins on which personal names are incised are extremely rare, and so far these three names incised on two coins and a pseudo-coin from Pydna and Dion in Pieria respectively present unique cases.

* It is my honor to offer this small contribution, based on Tzifopoulos (2010), as a token of appreciation and gratitude to Alberto Bernabé.

1 Bernabé (2005: 75–79, mention of the names in 78); likewise, Graf – Johnston (2007: 28) refer to the coins without printing the names; cf. Tzifopoulos (2010: 274–279) and Edmonds (2011). For *OF 496 1L* (= *epistomion E5*) see Hatzopoulos (2008); Tzifopoulos (2010: 270–273) and Edmonds (2011).

2 Bessios in Tzifopoulos (2010: 32–34).

3 Pantermalis (1999: 271) (*SEG* 49: 703).

4 Tzifopoulos (2010: 67–76) with the bibliography.

A key issue related to the *epistomia*, and apparently a matter of importance to those buried with an *epistomion*, was the placement of the *epistomion* inside the grave.⁵ Some are found near the cranium or the mouth (A4, C1, E4, F7, F3, F8, F9),⁶ others on the chest (B10, D2AB, D3?, D4), or, less often, close to hand (A1–3, F3). What is striking is that the so-called Charon's obol or *danake* or burial-coin was placed inside the mouth, at least from the second half of the fifth century BC onwards,⁷ but it was also placed in the hand, on the chest, or simply anywhere inside the grave, a practice that Margarita Guarducci associated with the incised *epistomia*.⁸ Not all graves, however, contained a coin, and not all graves with an *epistomion* contained coins – these two facts imply a differentiation in burial practices and funerary ideology. The number of coins recovered from graves eclipses the number of incised lamellae unearthed, and in turn, the occurrences of graves with coins are far outnumbered by instances of graves excavated with no coins at all. Placing a coin in a grave is not a widespread phenomenon within the ancient Greek necropoleis. This practice should therefore not be associated exclusively with Charon's Greek myth, because it does not fit entirely well with this myth, and because it is also attested in other cultures where the Charon myth does not exist.

The first evidence of this practice, so it appears, comes from the famous scenes of Aristophanes' *Frogs* between Dionysus, Xanthias, and Heracles (lines 139–140), and between Dionysus, Xanthias, and Charon (lines 170–270). The ferryman transports the dead for a fee to the Underworld, where, in addition to the fee paid, Dionysus is also forced to pay in kind, “working” as an oarsman, a theme that will be later developed and expanded. There is no doubt that this was an actual practice at the time of Aristophanes – otherwise the scene's jokes and hilarity would be pointless – but this does not confirm how widespread it was, nor does it answer why only a rather small group of people practiced it. Although she does not discuss the issue of the burial-coin practice, Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood has argued convincingly that Charon the ferryman and Hermes Chthonios emerge as *psychopompoi* in art already by *ca.* 500 BC.⁹ This indicates shifting attitudes and ideologies in the archaic period as new needs arose, either from a development of a more individualistic attitude towards and concern for death,

5 Tzifopoulos (2010: 76–82).

6 For the classification of these texts into letter-groups see Tzifopoulos (2010: 93–101, 255–284).

7 For the use of burial-coins in graves of Macedonia see also Chryssanthaki-Nagle (2006).

8 Guarducci (1974: 8–18).

9 Sourvinou-Inwood (1995: 303–361, esp. 353–356), Vermeule (1979: 4–5, 211–212) and Seaford (2004: 162–165).

the afterlife, and its rituals, or from the emergence of a polis system which looked to control burial practices as well as funerary rituals and ideology.

Keld Grinder-Hansen (1991) proposed to replace expressions like “Charon’s/Charonian obol/fee/coin” with the less ideologically-charged “death/burial-coin” or the like, whereas Susan Stevens rightly stressed that references or allusions to “Charon’s obol” in a variety of texts are guided by different aims, all of which imply a connection between poverty and death, as the obol is the cheapest denominator. Thus, this expression is employed for humor or an ironic look at the vanity of conventional views on the afterlife, but it also signals the replacement of alimentary goods in the grave in exchange for the nourishment of the soul as it begins its journey. When the coin is placed inside the mouth immediately after death, it may especially denote “a rite of passage rather than burial practice.”¹⁰ This interpretative variety is also exhibited in the archaeological record and, according to Stevens, it comes from a belief rooted in the religious-magical significance and intrinsic value of coins on account of their ‘invisible’ power. This burial practice or rite of passage was “a way for the living to communicate with the dead, to promote life among the dead, while the door to the other world was still open.”¹¹ Renata Cantilena has correctly remarked that change in terminology provides a more accurate description of the facts, but does not solve the essential problem of explaining the funerary ideology, if any, behind this burial practice.¹² Placing a coin in a grave has indeed been explained in many different ways: it may or may not indicate the affluence of the deceased and his or her social status as another burial offering; it may constitute a symbolic payment or recompense facilitating the passage from life to death; it may also have been used as a talisman to protect the dead or as an amulet for protection of the living against the dead; or even, as Rohde had proposed,¹³ as a *pars pro toto*, symbolizing the transference of the dead’s wealth to the living members of his family.¹⁴

These explanations, alongside with others that account for economic, political, and social circumstances, need not account for every coin in every grave. They simply bring to the fore some of the ideas and symbolism that people may or may not have had in relation to the burial-coin practice. Sourvinou-Inwood’s recommendation of “more complex and ambivalent categories” to replace a “dichotomy belief/not belief of the Greeks in the myth of Charon” which is “culturally determined and misleading”¹⁵ is applicable *mutatis mutandis* to the practice of the burial-coin, and arguably to

10 Stevens (1991: 221).

11 Stevens (1991: 223–227 and 229).

12 Cantilena (1995: 165–166), and the contributions in Cantilena (1995).

13 Rohde (1987: 306–307).

14 Grinder-Hansen (1991: 215), Stevens (1991: 227–228) and Cantilena (1995).

15 Sourvinou-Inwood (1995: 355).

the use of the gold *epistomia* as well. In particular, there are cases (D2AB, D4, E4, F2, F4, F5, F7, F8, F9, F12?, G1) where both an *epistomion* and a coin or pseudo-coin accompany the deceased, but there are cases where only an *epistomion* is found. In the latter cases, the *epistomion*, when it functions also as what the word means literally ‘mouth-band’, apparently takes over the coin’s duties altogether.

Guarducci was the first to realize the similarities between the custom of placing a coin in the mouth and the customs seemingly surrounding some of the *epistomia*.¹⁶ Accordingly, Guarducci postulated a practical explanation. On account of its shape and the fact that it is not folded, the Cretan *epistomion* B6 was probably placed at the right hand, as the Thurii lamellae (A1–3), whereas the Cretan *epistomia* B3–5, on account of their being folded, were probably placed inside the mouth, the safest place of the body. Guarducci’s suggestion encountered Günther Zuntz’s scepticism,¹⁷ because *epistomia* B3–5 were not unearthed during systematic excavations. Puzzled, however, by the fact that some lamellae were found folded or rolled up, so as to “become coins” and fit into the mouth in order to “put the right words on the tongue”, Zuntz allowed for the possibility that some of these may have been later employed as amulets.¹⁸ There is, however, no substantial evidence whatsoever that these were put inside cases, except for the curious case of the Petelia *epistomion* B1, and for the reports of the Eleutherna sellers for *epistomia* B7–8. In like manner, Petros Themelis (1994) suggested for the gold myrtle leaf incised with the female deceased’s name *Philemena* (F7) that, since no coin was found inside the grave and the leaf was discovered under the cranium, the incised myrtle leaf may have also served as a *danake*.

Guarducci’s and Themelis’ cautious suggestions are corroborated by the three unique (thus far) examples in Macedonia, which bring together the use of the burial-coin practice with the mystic *symbola*.¹⁹ At present, there is no plausible explanation for the placement inside the grave of an incised coin or pseudo-coin, an extremely rare phenomenon either way, except the obvious one: either because of a lack of a gold foil, or lack of time, or for some other reason, the relatives(?) of *Andron*, *Xenariste*, and perhaps *Epigenes* employed as tokens two gold coins and a small gold disc or pseudo-coin on which they engraved the deceased’s names. These three examples appear to combine (in a manner so far unique) the burial-coin with the gold *epistomion* practices, although both have distinct funerary ideologies. Apparently, the three deceased and (?) their relatives felt strongly both about the burial-coin practice

16 Guarducci (1939), *IC* II: 314–315; and especially Guarducci (1974: 8–18).

17 Zuntz (1971: 335–336, n. 2).

18 For the “magical” aspect of the *epistomia* see Tzifopoulos (2010: 93–101).

19 This may also be case for the unincised *epistomia* of group G, for which see Tzifopoulos (2010: 99–100, 280).

and about the incised gold *epistomion*. Even though the ambiguity between the burial-coin practice and the mystic *symbola* lingers and the three examples from Pydna and Dion in Pieria only increase the difficulty in approaching a solution to the problem, nonetheless, there is no reason to exclude these three names from OF 496. Consequently, *Andron*, *Xenariste*, and *Epigenes* should be assigned their numbers – o, p, and q respectively – in OF 496.

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