Orpheus or the Soteriological Reform of the Dionysian Mysteries

Yidy Páez Casadiegos

Department of History and Social Sciences, Universidad del Norte, Barranquilla, Colombia

Abstract

In this paper, I present Orphism as a written reform of the myth of Dionysus and its ritual manifestations, perhaps initiated and influenced by Onomacritos, who acted as interpreter and editor, in the context of, and under the influence of, Attic synoecism; this last refers not only to a process of administrative unification mythically inspired by the figure and deeds of Theseus, but also to the political will to maintain the loyalty of the rural dēmoi to the urban oikos, with all the challenges and vicissitudes of life and conflict at the margins of society, during the tyranny, the democratic regime and the dissolution of the autonomy of the polis and the conflicts in the relations linking the centre and the periphery during the Hellenistic period. In support of the working hypothesis, a hermeneutic methodology is applied, reading ancient sources and making ad hoc use of Greek etymology in those cases where the reading suggests possible alternative interpretations. The final outcome of this hermeneutic exercise shows possible links between the Orphic ritual and the political and editorial activities of Pisistratus and Onomacritos. The conclusion reached is that, the principal characteristic of the Orphic reform of the Dionysian myth and ritual seems to be its soteriological content.

Keywords

Synoecism, Soteriology, Orphism, Mysteries

Who knows if life be death and death life!

Euripides

1. Introduction

The figure of Orpheus emerges from its own narrative, marked not only by the ambivalence and dialectics of Dionysus and other deities of mystery (Demeter, Persephone), but also as guardian of a reputation in constant conflict with religion, literature and history.

In classical sources, he earns praise as a god and cultural hero, but at the same time, he is shown against a sordid shadow, a sad reflection of the gifts and superior qualities attributed to him by his apologists. For some, he is the greatest poet, creator of music and founder of all the mysteries, while for others, he is a vulgar zitherist,

* Corresponding author:
ypaez@uninorte.edu.co (Yidy Páez Casadiegos)
Published online at http://journal.sapub.org/sociology
Copyright © 2012 Scientific & Academic Publishing. All Rights Reserved

---

2 Polydus, Fr. 638. Cited by Plato Gorgias 492e Burnet
3 See Aristophanes The Frogs 1033-4 F.W. Hall (T 90 K): “… revealed the mysteries and taught us to reject bloody sacrifices”; see also Diodorus of Sicily 5, 64, 4 Dinford-Vogel. Some authors even consider him the founder of Greek theology. See Thomas Taylor, The mystical hymns of Orpheus (London, 1824) viii.
4 Plato Symposium 179D Burnet. See John Makowski, “Bisexual Orpheus: Pederasty and parody in Ovid,” The Classical Journal 1 (1.996): 25-38.
5 Cf. M. Owen Lee, “Orpheus and Eurydice: Some modern versions,” The Classical Journal 56 (1.961): 307.
would seem prudent to remember the position of Aristotle who habitually put scare quotes around the name of Orpheus and everything regarding his possible influence on the mysteries and on Greek philosophy.

In what follows, I will present a brief excursus, based on classical sources and recent research, on the myth of Orpheus, the basic doctrine attributed to him and the aetiology or possible socio-political components of it.

2. Mythos

The narrative of the Orpheus myth unfolds in four basic mythemes:

6 Aristotle On the Generatio of Animals 734a 16 Ross, prudently speaks of “the so-called poems of Orpheus.”

7 For the mythos, doctrine and related aspects, I follow the classical sources: Pindar fr. 139, 11-12 T 56 Kern, Pythians, IV, 176-177 T 58 Kern; Olympians, 2,56-72 J. Sandys; Simonides fr. 384 Tb47 Kern; Aeschylus Agamemnon 1629-1630 Page; Herodotus 2,53,3 Godley; Euripides Alcestis 357-362, 962-972, The Bacchae, 562 G. Murray, Iphigenia at Aulis 1211s, Cretans fr. 3 Cantarella, Hippolytus 952-954, Cyclops 646-648 G. Murray, Hysipyle fr. 1,3,8-14 T 78 Kern, fr. 64, 2,93-102, fr. 57, 20-25; Diodorus of Sicily I,96; III, 65; IV, 25; V, 77 Dindorf-Vogel; Aristophanes: The Birds 693-702; The Frogs 1032-1033 Hall; Plato: The Apology of Socrates 41 a-b; Euthyphro 5 c-6 b; Ion 536b; Protagoras 315 a-b, 316d; Phaedo 70c; Cratylus, 402b-c; Gorgias 49ab, 493a, 524a; Phaedrus 248c-d, 249 a; Philebus 66c; Timaeus 40d-41a, 46d-41a; Laws 669d, , 715e-716a, ,809 d, 829 d-c; Meno 81abc Burnet; Isocrates 11,8; Clement of Alexandria Stromata 5,8,49,3 F 33 Kern; Callimachus fr. 643 Pfeiffer; Apollonius of Rhodes Argonautica 1,494-511 Seaton.; Strabo 7, fr. 18 Jones.

8 Hermann’s version apparently contains the primary sources known up till that date. See G. Hermann and J. Hibbert, trans., The Book of Orphic Hymns, Together with the Principal Fragments of Other Hymns Also Attributed to Orpheus (1827). For revisions (based on the complete Greek texts), see: Giorgio Colli, La sabiduría griega (Madrid: Trotta, 1998); R. Parker, “Early orphism,” in The Greek World, ed., Anton Powell (London: Routledge, 1,995), 483-510; Alberto Bernabè, Poetae Epici Graeci: Testimonia et Fragmenta Pars II Fascs. I-II (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); Ana Isabel Jiménez San Cristóbal, Rituales órficos (Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2006); Bernabè, “Orfeo...” in Bernabè y F. Casadesús, Orfeo y la tradición orfica: un recencuento (Madrid: Akal, 2005), 61 ff. For a thematic review of sources: Marco Antonio Santamaría Alvarez, “Orfeo y el orfismo. Actualización bibliográfica (1,992-2003),” Revista de Ciencia de las religiones 8 (2003): 225-264. I use the term ‘mytheme’ in the sense given to it by Lévi-Strauss: “[the mythemes] “Nous savons qu’elles ne sont assimilables ni aux phonèmes, ni aux morphèmes, ni aux sémantèmes, mais se situent à un niveau plus élevé (…) Il faudra donc les chercher au niveau de la phrase. (…) ne sont pas les relations isolées, mais des paquets de relations…” Claude Lévi-Strauss, Anthropologie a. Cultural hero

Born as son of Apollo (or, according to some versions, of Oiagros the river god) and the Muse Calliope, Orpheus inherits a magic ability for music, singing and communication with the mysterious forces of nature. This is why his art makes all creatures experience great delight and quietens the forces of nature. The iconography shows him strumming a lyre, nearly always in a rural setting, surrounded by animals – including big cats – who listen to him attentively, as portrayed by the sculptor Luca Della Robbia on the bell tower in Florence, or by the composition of a 3rd century AD mosaic from Tarsus in Turkey, now found in the Archaeological Museum in Palermo, Sicily.

b. Argonaut

In the classical catalogues, Orpheus appears third in the list of the Argos’s crew, after Jason and Tiphys. As we know from the two stories by Apollonius of Rhodes and Apollodorus, the Argos sails for Colchis in search of the Golden Fleece. Orpheus’s participation in this maritime expedition is essential.

His magic powers in music and communication with the sacred determine his role as priest-magician on the expedition.

On the voyage, Orpheus has three roles: 1) to set the beat for the oarsmen with his music; 2) in his priestly role, to hold a ritual for the crew of the ship; 3) as musician-magician, during stormy weather, to harmonize

Structurale, trans, Claire Jacobson (New York: Basic Books, 1963), 211.

9 See Pindar Pythians, 4, 176-177 T 58 Kern; Euripides Alcestis, 357-362 Murray. Other sources: Ibycus fr. 17 Diehl, fr.265 Page, Simonides fr. 384 Page; however, his genealogy makes him a cult figure not as a god but as a cultural hero. See William K. Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement (Princeton University Press, 1993), 41. It has even been claimed that Orpheus not only inspired the “author of the Iliad” but revealed its contents to him. See L. de Sept-Chênes, The religion of the ancient Greeks (London, 1788), 71.

10 See Pseudo-Euripides.Rhesos, 943-947 Murray; Apollodorus i.3.2 Frazer. He is also credited with the invention of writing. See Alkidasamas Ulysses 24 T 123 K; Clement of Alexandria Stromata 1, 21, 134, 4 T 87 Kern.

11 The Orpheus myth could be considered as a great aition of music, in the etymological sense, which as μουσική (mousikē) included dance. In this sense, his sphere of influence would include three topos: the world of the gods, nature and the human world. See Francisco Molina, “Orfeo musico,” Cuadernos de filología clásica: Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos 7 (1997): 288.

12 Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica Seaton; Apollodorus, The Library, trans., James George Frazer (London: William Heinemann, 1921).

13 Euripides, Hysipyle fr. 1, 3, 8-14 T 78 Kern.

14 The voyage of the argonauts has been interpreted as aition of a rite of passage; the young Jason would be undergoing initiation. See Mar Llorea García, “Mítologia e iniciações: el problema de los Argonautas,” Gerión 5 (1.987): 15-42.
the forces of nature and calm the fears of the heroes on the ship, above all to protect them, with the sounds of his marvellous lyre, from the fatal seduction of the sirens who are consummate singers.

c. Katabasis

But the most famous of Orpheus’s scenes, for many reasons, is his descent into Hades in search of his wife Eurydice, which began to acquire its iconographic status with the vivid and moving description by Vergil in the fourth book of the Georgics, and later by Ovid in his Metamorphosis.

Eurydice was a nymph or daughter of Apollo. In one scene, which is reminiscent of other similar ones in Greek mythology, she is walking on the banks of a river in Thrace when she is assailed by Aristaeus (doctor, seer, beekeeper and also son of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene) who attempts to rape her. Fleeing, Eurydice is bitten by a snake and dies: “While the newly wedded bride was walking through the grass, with a crowd of naiads as her companions, she was killed, by a bite on her ankle, from a snake, sheltering there.”

Orpheus, unable to accept the death of his wife, conceives a bold plan to enter and descend into Hades to bring her back, trusting to his magical-priestly powers. Thus, he bewitches Charon, Cerberus and all the creatures of the underworld, including Hades himself and his wife Persephone who grant his wish to recover Eurydice, on condition that he not look back at her during the ascent, but only on coming out into the light, beyond the shadows of Hades. Orpheus does as they bid, but, when he looks back thinking that he is already beyond the bounds of the labyrinthine underworld, his loved one disappears forever into the kingdom of death.

d. The death of Orpheus

This is one of the most confused mythemes because of the many differing versions of it. The oldest is from Aeschylus in his Bassarids. In his suffering, Orpheus shuts himself away to practise mysteries based on his knowledge (gnosis) of Hades, mysteries to which only men are permitted access. In another version, he appears as a priest of Apollo. The Thracian women – Maenads for some authors – offended by his devotion to the memory of Eurydice and his obstinate rejection of femining society, by his presiding over a cult open only to men, or, even, for devoting himself to pederasty, tore him apart and threw his remains into the sea (or the river Hebrus in some versions). His head, carried away by the current, sang and prophesied, until it arrived at the island of Lesbos (or Lemnos, in another version) where it was retrieved and made into a cult object while Orpheus himself became the patron of lyric poetry. Another version holds that, when Dionysus appeared in Thrace, Orpheus rejected the presence of the god, asserted the supremacy of Apollo and condemned the Dionysian sacrifices and the “licentious” behaviour of the Maenads. As a result, Dionysus filled the Maenads with destructive passion so that they would tear Orpheus apart. Yet another version has him die under a thunderbolt from Zeus for having taught in his mysteries secret knowledge about Hades.

---

19 “... the vixens [Bassarids] tore him to pieces and strewed his limbs on either side. But the Muses appeared, gathered his scattered limbs and buried them in a city called Libethra.”

20 “In fact, it is said that, due to his ill luck with his wife, he came to detest all the female sex...” Conon fr. 45 Jacoby.

21 This type of exclusion was common, especially in Asia Minor. See Jan N. Bremmer, The Early Greek Concept of the Soul (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 42.

22 John Makowski, “Bisexual Orpheus: Pederasty and parody in Ovid,” The Classical Journal 1 (1.996): 25According Phanocles, Orpheus invented pederasty. Phanocles fr. 1 Powell.

23 The Hebrus is the largest river in Thrace. It may have taken its name from the Thracian, Hebrus, a son of Cassandra who drowned in its waters. See John Lemprière, A classical dictionary: containing a full account of all the proper names mentioned in ancient authors, with tables of coins, weights and measures in use among the Greeks and Romans, to which is now prefixed, a chronological table (New York, 1827), 238.

24 This can be seen in the Attic figures of Polignotus (440-430 BCE) which are in the Antikenmuseum Basel.

25 Diogenes Laertius Proem. According to Strabo 7 fr. 13 “... believing himself worthy of greater things, he amassed a multitude of followers and great power”. But Phaedrus (Plato, Symposium 179d) gives a less favourable version of the image of Orpheus: “But Orpheus, son of Oiagros, was cast out of Hades dissatisfied, shown a phantom of the women he had gone to seek, but without giving her to him in person, because, as he played the lyre, he seemed to them to be a weak man without the courage to die for love, like Alcestis, but interested only in being able to enter Hades alive. For that very reason, they condemned him and had him killed by women.”
3. Theological-soteriological Ekdosis

The so-called Orphic ‘religion’, or the Orphic ‘mysteries’, seems to set itself apart from its foundational (Eleusinian-Dionysian) narratives through an act of writing-edition. In ekdotic spirit, it sets out a new order of the pantheon but, above all, it passes the epiphanic-entheogenic experiences of the Greek mysteries through the weft of writing. Formally bound by the epic form, it aims to introduce into the intimacy of an esoteric brotherhood the formalism of public religion, pure image and poetic word, yet separated from the mystery; the latter was associated with the epopteia, the theophanies which perturbed sensory perception, leading the mystēs to renew the fertility aitial (causes) and agricultural festivals until he became an epoptēs, someone who has ‘contemplated.’ In this way, the psyche, through mystic or entheogenic experience, rooted in the sōma, kept the body of the oikos bound to a topos, a chthonic space ancestrally – and naturalistically!- linked to the germinal and sustaining powers of the ‘earth.’

But the ekdotic will of Orphism aims to convey the experience of the ‘mystery’ through poetic syntax and morphology26, an (ekdotic) editorial act to be read, memorized and from whose understanding to derive the guarantee of knowledge, truth, a ‘revelation’ about death, the miasmas inherited from an archetypal atrocity and

---

26 ἔκδοσις, ekdosis, giving forth, the action of giving, the action of giving (daughters) in marriage; to let; as a loan. ἡκ, advb meaning outside, and δοσίς, the action of giving, bequeathing or handing over. Here, I use the word in the technical sense of edition or publication of thought, in the manner of Aristotle, who appeared before his audience with a ‘written’ text, which presupposed (unlike the Socratic-Platonic dialogue) that the author had already replied – in the text – to the possible questions from the audience, because the ‘editorial’ act presupposed that the author-editor is the audience. See Hector D’Agostino, Onomacrítì. Testimonìa et fragmenta (Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2007) XXIV.

27 Entheogenic, literally en (within) theos (god) gen-, (root from gennaō, to originate and genos, origin); thus, “god within” or “the divine made manifest within”, following the technical sense attributed by Robert Gordon Wasson, Albert Hofmann and Carl A. P. Ruck, in The Road to Eleusis: Unveiling the Secrets of the Mysteries, (Berkeley, California: North Atlantic Books, 2008) 139. Hofmann, who coined the term on discovering the LSD-25 ring, applies the term ‘entheogenic’ to all psychoactive substances which produce feelings of ecstasy.

28 Note the dialectic relation between Sophists and Orphics, the latter appealing to the popular scope of rationalist logos and the former to the enormous prestige of a hieros logos of Magna Graecia. See M.A. Santamaría, “Sabiduría alternativa para la polis: Órficos y Sofistas en la Atenas de Sócrates y Platón” (paper presented at the Inaugural Conference of “The International Association for Presocratic Studies, Provo (Utah), June 23-27, 2008.

29 As we can see in the Eleusinian and Dionysian cults.

30 See Bernabé, “Tendencias actuales,” 23 y Jiménez, “Rituales,” 6, 393, 421, 592.

31 See note 45.

32 In the sense of ἐπόρπητος. See Bernabé, “El silencio entre los órficos,” Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones XIX (2007): 61.

33 A sect subject to the tensions of self/other, “us” / “them” binarism: the Orphics versus the “universalism” of the polis, its political-military strength and its identification with the civic oikos. See W. Burkert, “Craft Versus Sect: the problem of Orphics and Pythagoreans” in B. F. Meyer and E. P. Sanders (eds.), Jewish and Christian Self-Definition III: Self-Definition in the Graeco-Roman World (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1982), 12-13.

34 Classical sources: Plato Phaedo 62b, 70c; Cratylus 400c; Gorgias 493a, 524a; Phaedrus 248c-d; Republic 364e -365a, 620b, 620e – 621b; Seventh epistle 335a; The Laws 701a-c, 782 c-d; Aristotle Protreptic fr. 10b; Theophrastus The Characters 16,11-13 Diels.
This is the central mytheme. Hera, jealous of the boy Dionysus, son of Zeus and Semele, incites the Titans to put the divine infant to death. 38 They manage to attract his attention by showing him a mirror; 39 they give him some toys 40, take him by surprise, kill him and cut him to pieces. Then they cook his flesh in a pot over a tripod 41, and after roasting it on a spit, eat it in a theophagic banquet. But the heart (or phallus) of the boy-god is rescued by the goddess Rhea (or Athena, according to a different version), who puts his limbs together again, after which he resuscitates. 42 Seeing this horrible spectacle, Zeus strikes the Titans with a thunderbolt. From their ashes is born the human race. 43

Human nature, then, is essentially evil, due to its titanic content, but it contains a divine spark because the remains of Dionysus were amongst the ashes. This anthropogenetic event forms the basis for the account of a dualistic doctrine which conceives of the human being as composed of two realities: the body (sōma) and the soul (psyche) 44. The soul is of Dionysian origin, divine. But the body is titanic, earthly, perishable and impure. 45 In this morphlogy, the psyche is locked in the body like a prison or tomb (sēma), from which it must escape and save itself. Plato says: "... in the present, we are dead and the body is for us a tomb (σημα)..." 46 But the same etymon, sōma (σωμα) also difficult to identify. Despite the fame of so-called ‘Orphism’ or of the ‘orphicoi’ as a religious or philosophical movement, the theoretical corpus of a coherent and stable organization is nowhere to be found among the currently available epigraphic evidence. 35 Nonetheless, the doctrinal elements which it has been possible clearly to identify are of the utmost importance for sociology and religious history. Their themes seem to pertain to a re-reading of the myth of Dionysus and its mystery practices, a reordering of Hesiod’s Theogony and, at a later date, explanations and interpretations taken from pre-Socratic philosophy. 36 This doctrinal base can be appreciated in the myththeme of the suffering and death of Dionysus. 37

---

35 See Alberto Bernabe, Textos orficos...."; 13; and A. Henrichs, “‘Hieroi Logoi’ ” and ‘Hierai Bibloi’: The (Un) Written Margins of the Sacred in Ancient Greece,” Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 101 (2003): 213-216.

36 Pythagoras: a first similarity comes from Herodotus II, 81, in relation to the taboo on the use of wool in temples, and in II, 123, to the doctrine of metempsychosis, of Egyptian origin, according to him. Anaximander and Empedocles, by reason of the concept of Ananke and Dike: “penalty and retribution ... in accordance with the ordering of time” (Simplicius Phys. 24 [Anaximander]) and the theory of the four elements (fire, air, earth, water) which are mixed by Love and separated by Discord (Simplicius, Phys 25 [Empedocles]); Heraclitus ...Immortal world/mortal world = truth by Love and separated by Discord (Simplicius Phys. 24 [Anaximander]).

37 See Pausanias VIII, 37, 5 H. L. Jones; Christian writers: Firmicus Maternus The Error of Pagan Religions VI.5 Forbes; Clement of Alexandria Protreptic II, 17, 2 F 34 Kern; Arnobius Adversus gentes V, 19. Edmonds’s excellent, erudite refutation of the Zagreus myth as a discursively constructed Protestant Christian religious model, developed by late 19th Century scholars, does not, in my view, invalidate my hypothesis as to a soteriological reform of Dionysism in the context of the political and psychological needs of Attic synoecism, but rather the contrary. See Radcliffe Edmonds, “Tearing apart the Zagreus myth: A few disparaging remarks on Orphism and original sin,” Classical Antiquity 19 (1999), 35-73. This could also be interpreted in terms of Greek ideas preceding and coinciding with Christian doctrine and which may have been politically and propagandistically important for the latter’s diffusion in Hellas; it might be relevant to consider Jaeger’s text on his notion of Hellenism, which deals with Greek influence on Christianity, not the reverse. See W. Jaeger, Early Christianity and Greek Paideia (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 5-6, footnote 6. On the idea of an Orphic cult (not “church”), based on the idea of “a prior sin” and “a promise of salvation”, see Ana Isabel Jimenez San Cristobal, Rituales orficos 2, 23, 65, 90 note 315 and Jimenez San Cristobal, “Los libros del ritual orfico,” Estudios Clásicos 121 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1.961), 5 -6, footnote 6. On Pausanias VIII, 37, 5. For Eliade, the theophagic action of the Titans represents the survival of shamanic initiations: “they ‘kill’ the novice so that he may be ‘reborn’ to a higher world of existence.” Mirce Eliade, Historia de las creencias y de las ideas religiosas. I. De la prehistoria a los Misterios de Eleusis (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1.978), 387.

38 See Pausanias VIII, 37, 5. For Eliade, the theophagic action of the Titans represents the survival of shamanic initiations: “they ‘kill’ the novice so that he may be ‘reborn’ to a higher world of existence.” Mirce Eliade, Historia de las creencias y de las ideas religiosas. I. De la prehistoria a los Misterios de Eleusis (Madrid: Cristiandad, 1.978), 387.

39 The mirror is symbol of illusion and knowledge; of illusion because it is not a real image and of knowledge because, on seeing oneself in it, one obtains knowledge of one’s own image. See Giorgio Colli. La sabiduria griega. Texto bilingue Griego-Espanol (Madrid: Trotta, 1.998), 47. Nonnus describes it thus: “... with infernal sword the Titans did [him] violence, while he contemplated his false image in the deforming mirror”. Nonnus of Panopolis, Dionysiaca 6, 172-173.

40 “the knucklebones, the ball, the top, the apples, the hoop, the mirror, the fleece”; Clement of Alexandria Protreptic 2, 17-18 F 34 Kern.

41 See Callimachus, fr. 643.

42 Euphorion, fr. 16 F 36 Kern.

43 See “To the Titans”, Orphic Hymns, XXXVII 4-6.

44 See Pindar, fr. 131b.

45 The human race is “wretched”. See Malalas, Cronografía 4, 91. Plato in Gorgias 493*. On the etymology, see Francesc J. Casadesús Bordoy, “Nueva interpretación del ‘Crátilo’ platonico a partir de las aportaciones del papiro de Derveni,” Emerita: Revista de lingüística y filología clásica 68 (2000): 65 and J.M. Linforth, The Arts of Orpheus (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 147.
The doctrine, then, becomes clearer. The soul is united to the body as a consequence of a prior murder, a grave sin against the divinity: a son of Zeus (Διός, in the genitive). It has been stained by the stigma of the death of a god. But the soul can be saved through a telete, a ritual in which, after a number of lustral practices of purification, it relives the passion and death of the god.

Thus, a doctrine of salvation (soteriology) for the soul is construed, which requires first a cathartic process, purifying of the ‘sinning matter’, and above all, an initiation into the Dionysian mysteries; a knowledge which was acquired by the living person, to be used as password and cartography in Hades.

The telete, then, implied a promise of salvation. The initiate thus entered a mystic brotherhood with secret knowledge and hoped, on his death, not to wander through the shadows of Hades, but to have an eternally blissful existence in the Fortunate Isles, alongside Orpheus and all the great heroes, as seems to be the wish – or irony – of Socrates: “... What would any of you give to be with Orpheus, Mousaios, Hesiod and Homer? I am prepared to die many times over, if this be true.”

But purification obtained through cult 'technē' had to be maintained with orphikos bios, which meant a pure life, with very clear taboos against anything which could stain the soul. This implied puritan conduct, watchful against bodily appetites. In particular, this prescription is reflected in diet which is not only vegetarian but has specific restrictions within that regime. The rejection of meat can be understood as a consequence of the central mytheme: its consumption is a kind of anthropophagy, titanic conduct. But the restrictions within the regime are harder to explain, such as the taboo on eating broad beans, for example.

He was a purifying god and the true saviour of Dionysus...”

Olympiodorus. Commentary on Plato’s Phædo 67c F 220 Kern.

The prior sin was committed by the Titans. See Papyrus Gurôb, col. I line 5; Lamellae Thuriis, fr. 490 B (F. 32 c Kern).

A complete study of the ‘miasma’ or stain can be found in Robert Parker, Miasma: pollution and purification in early Greek religion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

See Jiménez San Cristóbal, Rituales... 11-41.

See Pindar fr. 131; Isocrates 11, 8 T 60 Kern. It should be remembered that soteriological events come from the mytheme of the sōter, the saviour: Dionysus is ‘saved’ by Zeus and Apollo; and although Orpheus is ‘saved’ by the Muses, he, in his turn, becomes a sōter when he descends into Hades and saves the souls of the dead. See Isocrates 11.8. The evidence for ‘salvation’, which I have taken from the sources, is not literal, in the sense that it is necessarily derived from the word sōter; I have also taken into consideration words which, in context, suggest a similar idea to that of ‘salvation’ denoted by sōter. σώισιν με βριμώ με [γάλη, Papyrus Gurôb (fr. 578 B; 31 K.), col. Line 5 Smyly and Eībuou] [λυσιπόνων, see lines 22a- 22b /23a. In fragment 131 of Pindar, the word λυσιπόνων has the sense of ‘liberate’; similarly, Isocrates 11.8 [T60 Kern]: “to resuscitate” the dead implies the idea of ‘salvation’, although the word used is neither ἀλήθη nor sōter. It should also be remembered that the word sōter sometimes has a naturalistic denotation with no soteriological connotations, as in Diodorus of Sicily 4. 43. 1.

Passwords: “like a sheep I fell into milk”, Lamella Thurii I fr. 487 B. (F 32 Kern); “Andricepedotisro, Andricepedotisro, Brimo, Brimo,” Lamella Thessalian fr. 493 B. Chrysostomou, See Jimenez San Cristobal, Rituales..., 659; cartography: Lamella Eleuterna fr. 482 B. See Jimenez San Cristobal, 654, and Lamella Petelia fr. 476 (F 32a Kern). Some of this esoteric, soteriological and cartographic information could be considered to be “mnemonic tools”. See Fritz Graf and Sarah Iles Johnston, Ritual Texts for the Afterlife: Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets (London: Routledge, 2007), 97.

“Because Dionysus, when he saw his image reflected in the mirror, began to pursue it and so was torn to pieces. But Apollo put [Dionysus] back together and brought him back to life because
In synthesis, it can be said that so-called “Orphism” is a doctrine of salvation, with cult practices, for some, ‘mysteries’, in which lustrations and secret liturgy were performed.

4. Aetiology

For the purposes of this paper, I will use aetiology in the sense of what is referred to as “cause”, or the conditions which enable us to understand an image, an event or a cult practice. When a condition has a clearly causal meaning in the explanation, in our case, of an element of the mythos or of the ritual or of a political practice, it can be called aitio.

Using this hermeneutic resource, I shall attempt to show the aitio within the mythic narration itself, the information obtained from primary sources about the Orphic teletē and the psychosocial and political context in which this religious reform took place. The notion of aitia may be useful, methodologically, for establishing possible links between the vicissitudes of power in the polis and daily forms of worship. In the case of the ‘Orphic’ religion, this resource will be particularly helpful, since it represents a radical reform of mystery practices through a teleological discourse which distances it from polytheism and brings it close to henotheism (due to the centrality of Zeus and his role as liberator, sōtēr), thus creating a very propitious ethos for the arrival of the first monotheism in the Mediterranean (in a descriptive, not evaluative, sense).

a. Orpheus.

Like his alter ego Dionysus, Orpheus is a foreign god, coming perhaps from Thrace. Some sources mention his passing through Egypt where he would have come into contact with the Osirian mysteries and their funeral rites. There are also evident similarities to near-eastern deities, for example, the river-god, or the doctor-god Zalmoxis, from Thrace itself.

His very name is noteworthy. Although the etymology is

65 Orphao (archaic), lacking, yearning (orphan?); orphe, darkness; Robert Graves, Los mitos griegos. I (Madrid: Alianza, 1,987), 138 suggests ophrhoætis., “on the river bank” relating it to the “funeral pipes made from the bark of elders” which grew on the banks of the Pineios and other rivers. A stranger etymology links it to ‘chthonic darkness’ (οὐχόνην): Maass, 1895, cited by J.L. Harrison, Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903), 453. For Guthrie, 68 the ending ‘-eus’ suggests a pre-Greek origin. See William K. Ch. Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement (Princeton University Presss, 1,993), 68

66 Indeed, Thrace may well be one of the points of entry of shamanism into Greece. See Pedro Lain, La curación por la palabra en la antigüedad clásica (Barcelona: Anthropos, 2005), 75. However, the discussion of Greek shamanism (and that of Orpheus, in particular) is still valid, despite the skepticism of Fritz Graf, “Orpheus: A poet among men,” in J. Bremmer, ed., Interpretations of Greek Mythology (London-Sydney: Routledge, 1,987), 80-106. On shamanism in relation to Pythagoreans and Orphics See Walter Burkert, Lore and Science in Ancient Pytagoremism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972) 9, 133, 163, 165. For a comprehensive review on the subject see Jan N. Bremmer, The Rise and Fall of the after life. (London: Routledge, 2002), 27-42. In favor of the shamanic hypothesis see Eric R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1,951), 135-156; Mircea Eliade, Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy (London: Routledge, 1,964), 391; Eliade, Historia de las creencias, Vol. 1 (Madrid: Ediciones Cristiandad, 1,978), 290 ss; Martin L. West, The Orphics Poems (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1,983), 6, 146 ff.

67 See Eliade, M. Shamanism…, 391, note 66

68 Plato describes something similar in Phaedrus 248 c-d.

69 See David R. Slavitt and Palmer Bovie, eds., Euripides. The Cyclops (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1,998),
name, according to classical sources, appears in historical narratives which go no further back than the VI century BCE, since he is not mentioned by Homer or Hesiod.

b. Philosophical-religious syncretism.

The Derveni Papyrus, discovered in 1962 in a funeral pyre near Thessalonica, is the oldest and most complete source of its length on the subject of the cosmogony considered Orphic and makes the legitimizing move to a philosophical discourse on it. Through the use of the written medium, the events of the creation and the divine genealogies canonically established by Hesiod are modified.

The first point is the reorganization of the pantheon so that Zeus not only governs from on high, but, through his son Dionysus as his successor, his power remains safe and intact, while the ‘phenomenology’ of the other deities is radically reduced, leading to a kind of henotheism not to say monotheism. Zeus savior, ‘saviour’, is subtly insinuating himself through the suffering, the passion of his son Dionysus.

This soteriological desire for salvation may be explained with reference to the pre-Socratic notion of logos. In order to sustain the body-soul dualism, it appeals to Heraclitean oppositions: ‘... immortals, mortals; mortals, immortals ... former living the latter’s death and the latter dying the former’s life’, in support of its curious mytheme of a Zeus who has devoured his grandfather Uranus’ phallus, on the advice of his father Chronos, and has thus become pregnant with the world, being now – for that aitia – he who contains all, it uses arguments based on functional and dynamic ideas taken from Empedocles, and stoichiological considerations, of finite parts united according to the assumptions of the atomists. As we follow the philosophical arguments of the exegete about the different mythemes, we sometimes see Parmenides appear, sometimes Anaximenes and Anaxagoras and more often Pythagoras.

Kern: “Orpheus presents four kingdoms: Heaven, Chronos, Zeus and Dionysus.”

76 Derveni Papyrus, T123 col. XII Bernabe, trans., Textos órficos, 169.
77 Cf. Alberto Bernabe, 151.
78 “… first born from the king’s phallus, and in him all / all the immortals were conceived: happy gods and goddesses, / rivers, gentle springs and all the rest / everything which had then come to he, so he came to be the only one, and now is king of everything and always will be.” Derveni Papyrus, T 127, col. XVI. Bernabe, 173. “Zeus was born first and last, he of the blazing thunderbolt.” T 128, col. XVII. Bernabe, 174.
79 This dimension as ‘saviour’ was not clearly evident in either the Eleusinian or the Dionysian mysteries. As Kerenyi correctly states: “… the Greeks lacked the salvation complex”, Karl Kerenyi, La religion antigua (Barcelona: Herder, 1.999), 202.
80 Hippolytus fr. 62 Kirk 242.
81 The idea of how the infinite generates the finite and how the latter is contained in the former comes from the same Dionysus-cosmocrator mytheme: “… it is said that Hephaestus made a mirror for Dionysus and that the god, seeing himself in it and contemplating his own image, decided to create all plurality.” Proclus Commentary on Plato’s Timeaus 33b, also 29a-b. Diels I 336,29 – 337, I.
82 See Simplicius, De caelo 587, 20 Diels 1, 147, 1.
83 As the theologian-exegete of the Derveni Papyrus is at pains to prove. See Bernabe, 171.
84 Derveni Papyrus T135 col. XXIV Bernabe, 171.
85 Derveni papyrus T 125 col. XIV Bernabe, 170.
86 According to ion of Chios, 36B2 Diels. Pythagoras wrote under the name of Orpheus. For an extended review of Orphism’s relations with pre-Socratic philosophy, see William K. Chambers Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement (Princeton University Press, 1.993), 216-246. For a
Even today, philologists have not reached agreement on the relations between what is known as ‘Orphism’ and philosophy. But it is perhaps not going too far to think that, among these relations, that of Orphic written exegesis is the one which has drunk most deeply from the fountains of the philosophical knowledge of its time.  

Among aetiological considerations, synoecism has a special place, as a hypothesis, in the hermeneutics of the mysteries which I am carrying out in a cycle of lectures about ancient Greek religiosity. I wish here only to make brief mention of the fact that the word synoecism refers to the complex process of unification of Attica which began mythically with Theseus and historically from the VII and VI centuries BCE. I have attempted to relate this major socio-historical process with the configuration of cult practices, above all those of the mysteries, to see whether their morphology and function reflect the internal and external political needs of the polis.

In this regard also, ‘Orphism’ shows great complexity.

Regardless of whether or not we accept the foundational roles of Orpheus, or even the existence of an Orphic movement, it is clear from the primary sources, that the literature known as ‘Orphic’ contains a profound reform of the Dionysian mysteries – and perhaps of the Greek mysteries in general.

In the second half of the VI century, the tyrant Pisistratus conceived the project of editing the poetry of Homer and Hesiod and the oracles of Mousaios who, as we know, appears in the mythography as friend and follower of Orpheus and who is, moreover, son of the bard, Eumolpos. It seems that the person responsible for this ekdotic editorial work was Onomacritos.

After Pisistratus’s death, around 527 BCE, power passed to his sons Hippias and Hipparchus. Onomacritos continued to work in the service of Hipparchus.

Pisistratus, a cultivated man, son of a philosopher and

Plato, Aristophanes, and the ‘Orphic’ Gold Tablets (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 37.

89 Paros Marble, fr. 14 FGrH 29 A Jacoby; FGrH 239 A 12 y 13

87 With the exception of Plato’s use of Orphic mythography in his doctrine of the soul; for some, Plato accepted not only Orphism’s theory of the soul but Orphism as such. Cf. W. E. Inge, “The place of myth in philosophy,” Philosophy 42 (1936): 143. Although Plato does not hesitate to scold the agurati kai manteis, charlatans and fortune-tellers. Republic 363c5-365a3, J.B. McMinn, “Plato does not hesitate to scold the charlatans and fortune-tellers.”

86 See note 56.

85 For Colli, 38, he was a “reorganizer of the traditions”. This is partially vouched for by Aristotle: “... since this epic poem does not seem to be by Orpheus, as Aristotle himself says in his treatise on philosophy: the ideas are his, but the one who put them into verse – he says – was Onomacritos.” Aristotle, On philosophy, fr. 7; Pausanias is more explicit: “And Onomacritos, having taken the names of the Titans from Homer, founded the secret rites of Dionysus and presented the Titans as authors of Dionysus’s sufferings, Pausanias 8, 37, 5. The figure of Onomacritos is highly polemical, so much so that some authors doubt his historicity. See I.M. Linforth, Arts of Orpheus (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 353. A more balanced position, with a complete translation of the primary sources and commentary is H. D’Agostino, Onomacriti, XXIII.

84 Strabo, IX, 394, 10 cited by Samuel Hart, “Pisistratus and his edition of Homer,” Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences 19 (1908): 491. Supposedly it was also Pisistratus who organized the Panathenians, see Maria Eugenia de la Nuez Perez, “Las Panateneas: topografía de una fiesta,” Gerion 1 (2004):103. D’Agostino le llama: “editore rapsodico di Omero”.

83 Paros Marble, fr. 14 FGrH 29 A Jacoby; FGrH 239 A 12 y 13

82 For example, the Derveni Papyrus T 116 col. V Bernabe, 160. The contents of the Thurii gold tablets, fr. 490 B. (fr. 32 e K.), Jimenez San Cristobal, 657; discovered in 1879; show what seem to be the fundamental elements of an Orphic religion or movement. See Radcliffe G. Edmonds, Myths of the Underworld Journey:...
educator, victorious polemarch in the famous confrontation with Megara, in which the political and commercial influence of Athens over Eleusis and Salamis was in dispute, clearly understood the political necessity of controlling social tensions in the dêmos, building many temples and the first theatres for Dionysian performances. The practice of the mysteries was intended to bring the demos closer to power through participation in festivals, which in the civic-public or national religion, were attended mostly by the aristoi and the urban dêmoi – the elite of the polis. From the strictly political point of view, the rural dêmos was kept on the periphery, so that it would not converge with the city oikos and create social tension (except in major civic-religious festivals). This, apparently, was Pisistratus’s strategy: to favour agriculture (for example, by reducing taxation and making loans, as Aristotle states), so that the peripheral dêmos would not interfere in political affairs, and to regulate the mystery cults (above all those of Eleusis), which had its first historical regulations in Attica to be known from epigraphic sources.

As I have shown elsewhere, with this political strategy, the cult centre is displaced to the periphery where the mysteries are performed, introducing into the Eleusinian ritual the power of Zeus (in the figure of Dionysus) who represents the power of the elite; at the same time, on the date established by the civic religious calendar, the king archon and his wife publicly inaugurate the mystery festivals of Demeter-Persephone, in the Eleusinion in Athens, and the (public) festivals of Dionysus; the Basilia (queen), appears in a solemn procession with her venerable college of Gerarai (old women) to carry out the hierogamy, her sacred marriage to a god, in the Boukelion (stables) of the Basileus (king), next to the Pritaneion.

The division established by the taxon: public religiosity / private religiosity defined by different dates (and places) in the official calendar, which, in its turn, corresponds to the spring-autumn-winter seasonal cycle, is resolved by an implicit third element, originating perhaps in private ritual and legitimized in the publicly known mythos in agrarian festivals. This third element is Dionysus, both in the Eleusinian mysteries and in the Dionysian mysteries themselves. In the civic processions in spring, he appears as Iacchus, and in the privacy of the cult, as the son of Persephone. At this private level, Dionysus-Iacchus is the hypostatic reality of Zeus, representing the hegemony of a ‘solar’ dimension over the dark, chthonic forces of the lunar deities of the earth. He is the patriarchal authority (‘solar’) over the polis introduced into (private) mystic experience in order, from there, to exercise symbolic control over the social margins. In the Dionysian festivals, above all in the Choes, Dionysus appears as a god of wine which has matured, of the vine which has been ‘cooked’ by underground fermentation and opens huge pithoi (of wine) for the consumption exclusively of the men.

Pisistratus kept nearly all the regulations concerning religious matters going and made them official. But before this, during his first ten-year exile, he became rich as a trader in the gold and silver mines of Thrace. There he must have learnt about the shamanic practices of Zalmoxis and, on its home territory, about the Orphic religion.

With the knowledge of Onomacritos and his possible political interests as well as the psycho-social conditions of the polis at that time, the reform of Dionysism begins to take shape, textually; one reform which leads perhaps to a

---

97 Principally the rural demoi.
98 See Louis Dyer, Studies of the gods in Greece at certain sanctuaries recently excavated: Being eight lectures given in 1890 at the Lowell Institute (Macmillan and Co, 1891), 121, 123-4. On the epigraphic sources, see P. J Rhodes and Robin Osborne, Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Some authors prefer to sidestep the dêmos/aristoi conflict and dissipate the division by proposing an internal conflict within the elite, in which the dêmos was not involved. Robin Osborne, Greece in the Making, 1200-479 BC. (London: Routledge, 1996), 283ff presents an interesting analysis of this position in comparison with the image of Pisistratus and his political strategies in Herodotus and Aristotle. However, an alternative approach might locate the aristoi’s conflict within the demos, since this was where the former held their wealth. See Julián Gállego, Campesinos en la ciudad: Bases agrarias de la pólis griega y la Infantería Hoplita (B. Aires: Ediciones del Signo, 2005), 108.
99 The Athenian Constitution, 13-17 F.G. Kenyon (J. Barnes 2348).
100 See James P. Sickinger, Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens (Chapel Hill, NC, USA: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 53.
101 Lecture given during a Forum on Europe, 2007 and 2008, as part of a cycle on ancient Greek religiosity. See note 1.
102 As son of Zeus and Demeter.
103 See Callimachus fr. 43 Pfeiffer.
104 It should be remembered that the teletai of the major Demeter-Persephone mysteries were held in the city of Eleusis (on the periphery of Athens), at night, by torchlight. And the Dionysian orgies were held in the mountains (periphery) during the winter (dark, ‘lunar’). But, mutatis mutandis, the public component of these mysteries was held showily and noisily in Athens, perhaps since the time of Solon, at least as far as its regulation is concerned, but possibly earlier, associated with or produced during the process of Attic synoecism.
105 We know that VI century Athens was dominated by Pisistratus and his sons, although there is no epigraphic evidence for the making of laws in this period. This may be due to a stasis in the legislative activity of the Ekklesia. However, an inscription from the end of the century relates to regulation of the Eleusinian mysteries. It should be remembered that Hippias, son of Pisistratus, was expelled from Athens between 511 and 510 BCE. See Sickinger, 53; De la Nuez Pérez, 103.
106 According to Herodotus 4, 94 A.D. Godley, the Thracians believed that they did not die, but that “the dead went to the god Zalmoxis”, who may have been the bear-god of a secret brotherhood. See Loisy, 35.
conservative line for the dēmos (and also the aristoi). This is a personal, liturgical line, subject now to the discourse of a theology which is neither epiphanic nor orgiastic and lacks the political-emotional influences of the bacchanalia.

This line became a kind of itinerant priesthood, the Orphoeotelestes, which, as had happened with the Eleusinian hierophants and the clergy of the Dionysian celebrations and liturgies, gradually degenerated into explicit forms of exploitation and profane handling of the access to the priesthood and the lustral activities they offered, especially to the oikos of the elite, to purify them of their wicked actions and give them passwords or ‘indulgences’ for a better stay in Hades, in exchange for ample monetary remuneration. Plato, in the Republic, seems to refer to these so-called Orphoeotelest (priests of Dionysus) who threatened terrible suffering to those who did not heed them.

Comparatively speaking, this is not a mystery religion or cult, like the Eleusinian or Dionysian mysteries, characterized by the liminality of rites of passage which do not set up a dialectic of exclusion with respect to epiphany and public festivals; it is rather a new form of political ethos, based on the closed dialectic of an exclusive binary opposition, taking the ideological form of a brotherhood or group which has privileged access to secret, written revelations; it lacks the ‘therapeutic’ option of a third element (as in the Eleusinian mysteries, in which Dionysus is that third element which offers a way out of the binary dialectic of exclusion between the public and private spheres) being the only ‘good’ choice possible, with Zeus as the supreme deity who governs through his son Dionysus and his invocations. Apparently, it is here no longer a matter of a mystery ritual which turns to writing to validate its truth as mythos, but the textual legitimization of an Apollonian-tyrannical power, a logos politicos, disseminated as mythos, as soteriological reform perhaps, through the ekdotic-administrative functions of Onomacritos during the tyranny of Pisistratus and his sons. This religious reform represents a new form of “economy of salvation”, made more radical by its distance from the naturalistic dimensions of the mysteries and more subtle when read as a binary grammar which situates it despotically amongst the necessities of an imperial vocation of the polis. This Orphic Zeus is a true tyrant, not so much in the popular sense of Zeus as all-powerful, but rather having the power of Uranus.

5. Conclusions

The information which today we know as “Orphism”...
suggests a soteriological reform of the Dionysian mysteries and, perhaps, of the Greek mysteries in general, possibly initiated under the influence of Attic synoecism.

It is a reform which shows a shift or transition in the historical ethos of classical culture (based on valuing and caring for the soma or body, which allowed expansion and orgiastic pleasure in the psyche, as its prolongation or epiphenomenon most famously exemplified in Dionysian mania) towards caring for the soul, which demanded condemning the body and its desires, for the sake of the promise of a perfect form of pleasure, purified pleasure, in the hereafter.

From the myth of Dionysus, comes the mytheme of his suffering in the various urban epidemics in which he is seen to be rejected or persecuted, his dreadful death at the hands of the Titans and his resurrection thanks to divine will. The suffering and death of Orpheus are akin to those of his alter ego, Dionysus. The knowledge of life and death which he has acquired is not transmitted through the experience of the Dionysian orgy, but through the text-word, in the sense of divine ‘revelation.’

This word, as logos of a mythos, conserves its ‘mysterious’ character. But part of the mystery is understood through ‘textual’ interpretation. The central mytheme states that the wrongdoing of the Titans against the deity has been passed on to humans. But also a part of Dionysus. We find a precedent of guilt along with hope of the deity has been passed on to humans. But also a part of Dionysus. We find a precedent of guilt along with hope of salvation. Guilt requires expiation through a ‘good life’ Salvation requires ‘revelation,’ encrypted in the word, the key to avoiding wandering and getting lost in the afterlife.

It could be the path towards a personal god, who was at the same time the only god, who ruled over the others. A god for tyranny? A god for the dēmos? A god for democracy?

“ης ατης , ατης ύης”

REFERENCES

1. Abel, Eugenius, Scholia in Pindari Epinicia. Budapestini et Beroline, 1.891.
2. Barnes, Jonathan, ed., The Complete Works of Aristotle, II Vols., Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1.995.
3. Benn, Alfred, “The ethical value of Hellenism”, International Journal of Ethics 3 (1.902): 273-300.
4. Bernabé, Alberto, Textos órficos y filosofía presocrática. Materiales para una comparación. Madrid: Editorial Trotta, 2004.
5. Bremmer, Jan N, The Rise and Fall of the after life. London: Routledge, 2002.
6. Bremmer, Jan N, The early Greek concept of the soul.

Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
7. Betegh, Gábor, The Derveni Papyrus: Cosmology, Theology, and Interpretation. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
8. Burnet, Ioannes, ed., Platonis Opera. Oxford: Oxford Classical Texts, 1.903.
9. Cantarella, R, trans., Euripide. I Cretesi. Testo e commento. Milano: Instituto Editoriale Italiano, 1.964.
10. Casadesús, Bordoy., Francesc J, “Nueva interpretación del ‘Crátolo’ platónico a partir de las aportaciones del papiro de Derveni”, Emerita: Revista de lingüistica y filologia clásica 68 (2000): 53-72.
11. Colli, Giorgio, La sabiduria griega. Madrid: Trotta, 1.998.
12. D’Agostino, Hector, Onomacriti. Testimonia et fragmenta. Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, 2007.
13. Davidson, J.A, “Literature and Literacy in Ancient Greece”, Phoenix 3 (1.962): 141-156.
14. De la Nuez Perez, Maria Eugenia, “Las Panateneas: topografía de una fiesta”, Gerion 1 (2004):101-120.
15. Dent, J.M, trans., Thucydidès. The Peloponnesian War. London: E. P. Dutton, 1910.
16. Diels, Hermann., W. Kranz, eds., Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, 6ª ed. Zurich, 1968.
17. Diggle, James, ed., Theophrastus. Characters. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
18. D’Agostino, Hector, Trans., John Malalas. Chronographia. Bonn, 1.831.
19. D’Agostino, Hector, Friedrich Vogel, eds., Diodori Bibliotheca historica. Lipsiai: B.G. Teubneri, 1.906.
20. Dubois, Laurent, Inscriptions grecques dialectales de Grande Grèce I. Genève, 1995.
21. Dyer, Louis, Studies of the gods in Greece at certain sanctuaries recently excavated: Being eight lectures given in 1890 at the Lowell Institute. Macmillan and Co, 1891.
22. Edmonds, Radcliffe, “Tearing apart the Zagreus myth: A few disparaging remarks on Orphism and original sin”, Classical Antiquity 19 (1999): 35-73.
23. Edmonds, Radcliffe, Myths of the Underworld Journey: Plato, Aristophanes, and the ‘Orphic’ Gold Tablets. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
24. Eliade, Mircea, Shamanism: Archaic Techniques of Ecstasy. London: Routledge, 1.964.
25. Forbes A, Clarence, trans., Firmicus Maternus. The Error of Pagan Religions. New York: Paulist Press, 1.970.
26. Frazer, James George, trans., Apollodorus, The Library. London: William Heinemann, 1921.
27. Gállego, Julián. Campesinos en la ciudad: Bases agrarias de la pólis griega y la Infantería Hoplita. Buenos Aires: Ediciones del Signo, 2005.

116 “Hyēs attes hyēs!” Demosthenes, On the crown 18, 259-260.
Yidy Páez Casadiegos: Orpheus or the Soteriological Reform of the Dionysian Mysteries 50

[28] Godley, A.D, trans., Herodotus. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1920.
[29] Graf, Fritz., Iles Johnston Sarah, Ritual Texts for the Afterlife: Orpheus and the Bacchic Gold Tablets. London: Routledge, 2007.
[30] Graves, Robert, Los mitos griegos. I. Madrid: Alianza, 1.987.
[31] Guthrie, W.K.Ch, Orpheus and Greek Religion: A Study of the Orphic Movement. Princeton University Press, 1.993.
[32] Hall, F.W., W.M. Geldart, eds., Aristophanes Comoediae, vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907.
[33] Harrison, Jane Ellen, Prolegomena to the study of Greek religion. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1903.
[34] Hermann, Gottfried., Julian Hibbert, eds., The Book of Orphic Hymns, Together with the Principal Fragments of Other Hymns Also Attributed to Orpheus, 1827.
[35] Hart, Samuel, “Pisistratus and his edition of Homer”, Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. 19 (1908): 491-510.
[36] Hernández, David, “Elementos órficos en el Canto VI de las Dionisiacas”, Revista de Ciencia de las Religiones 7 (2002): 19-50.
[37] Humphreys, Sarah C, The Strangeness of Gods: Historical Perspectives on the Interpretation of Athenian Religion. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
[38] Inge, W. E, “The place of myth in philosophy”, Philosophy 42 (1936): 131-145
[39] Jacoby, F, ed., Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Leiden, 1.954.
[40] Jaeger, Werner, Early Christianity and Greek Paideia. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1.961.
[41] Jaeger, Werner. Paideia The Ideals of Greek Culture, 2 Vols. trans. Gilbert Highet. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
[42] Jiménez San Cristóbal, Ana Isabel, “Los libros del ritual órfico”, Estudios Clásicos 121 (2002): 109-123.
[43] Jiménez San Cristóbal, Ana Isabel, Rituales órficos. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2006.
[44] Jones, W. H. S, trans., Pausanias. Description of Greece. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1918.
[45] Jones, H.L, ed., The Geography of Strabo, vol. 8. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1924.
[46] Kerenyi, Karl, Dionysos: archetypal image of indestructible life. Princeton University Press, 1996.
[47] Kerenyi, Karl, Los dioses de los griegos. Caracas: Monte Ávila, 1.999.
[48] Kerenyi, Karl, La religión antigua. Barcelona: Herder, 1.999.
[49] Kern, Otto, trans., Orphicorum fragmenta Berolini, 1.922.
[50] Kirk, G.S, J.E. Raven and Schofield, M, The Pre-Socratic Philosophers. A Critical History with a Selection of Texts. England: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
[51] Kouromenos, Theokritos, George M . Parássoglou and Kyriakos Tsantasoglou, eds., Derveni papyrus. Firenze: L.S. Olschki, 2006.
[52] Lain Entralgo, Pedro, La curación por la palabra en la antigüedad clásica. Barcelona: Anthropos, 2005.
[53] Lang, Andrew, Myth, Ritual and Religion. New York and Bombay. Longmans, Green, and Co, 1901.
[54] Leprière, John, A classical dictionary: containing a full account of all the proper names mentioned in ancient authors, with tables of coins, weights and measures in use among the Greeks and Romans, to which is now prefixed, a chronological table. New York: E. Duychinck, Collin & co, 1827.
[55] Loisy, Alfred, Los misterios paganos y el misterio cristiano. Barcelona: Paidos, 1.990.
[56] Ludwig, Arthur, trans., Nonni Panopolitani Dionysiaca. Leipzig: Teubner, 1909.
[57] Llenares García, Mar, “Mitología e iniciaciones: el problema de los Argonautas”, Geron 5 (1.987): 15-42.
[58] McMinn, J.B, “Plato as a philosophical theologian”, Phronesis 5 (1.960): 23-31.
[59] Makowski, John, “Bisexual Orpheus: Pederasty and parody in Ovid”, The Classical Journal 92 (1.996): 25-38.
[60] Malalae, Ioannis, Chronographia. Impensis Ed. WEBERI, 1831.
[61] Molina, Francisco, “Orfeo músico”, Cuadernos de filología clásica: Estudios griegos e indoeuropeos 7 (1.997): 287-308.
[62] More, Brookes, trans., Ovid. Metamorphoses. Boston: Cornhill Publishing Co, 1922.
[63] Murray, Gilbert, ed., Euripidis Fabulae I, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1902.
[64] Murray, Gilbert, ed., Euripides. Euripidis Fabulae, vol. 3. Oxford: Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913.
[65] Finckh, C.E, Olympiodori philosophi scholia in Platonis Phaedonem, 1847.
[66] Osborne, Robin, Greece in the Making, 1200-479 BC. London: Routledge. 1996.
[67] Otto, Walter, Los dioses de Grecia. Madrid: Siruela, 1.993.
[68] Owen Lee, M, “Orpheus and Eurydice: Some modern versions”, The Classical Journal 7 (1.961): 307-313.
[69] Page, D, Aeschyli Septem quae Supersunt Tragœdias, Oxford, 1972.
[70] Parker, Robert, Miasma: pollution and purification in early Greek religion. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
[71] Pfleiffer, Rudolf, ed., Callimachus, Fragmenta, Vol. I. Oxford, 1949.
[72] Planinc, Zdravko, Politics. philosophy, writing: Plato’s art of caring for souls. Columbia, MO, USA: University of Missouri Press, 2001.
[73] Powell, J.U, trans, *Collectanea alexandrina: reliquiae minorum poëtarum graecorum aetatis ptolemaicae*, 323-146 A.C., epicerorum, elegiacorum, lyricorum, ethicorum. Oxonii, e Typographeo clarendoniano, 1925.

[74] Rhodes P. J., Robin Osborne, *Greek Historical Inscriptions, 404-323 BC*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

[75] Robert, Alexander, ed., *Arnobius. Adversus gentes*. Edinburgh: T & Clark, 1.871.

[76] Ross, W.D, *The Works of Aristotle*, Vol. V. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1.949.

[77] Rous, W.H.D, trans., *Nonnus of Panopolis. Dionysiaca*. vol. 1. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1.940.

[78] Sandys, John, *Pindar. The Odes of Pindar including the Principal Fragments*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London, William Heinemann Ltd, 1.937.

[79] Santamaría Álvarez, Marco Antonio, “Orfeo y el orfismo. Actualización bibliográfica (1.992-2003)”, *Revista de Ciencia de las religiones* 8 (2003): 225-264.

[80] Santamaría Álvarez, Marco Antonio, “Sabiduría alternativa para la polis: Órficos y Sofistas en la Atenas de Sócrates y Platón”. Paper presented at the Inaugural Conference of The International Association for Presocratic Studies, Provo (Utah), June 23-27, 2008.

[81] Seaford, Richard, “Sophocles and the mysteries”, *Hermes* 3 (1994) : 275-288.

[82] Seaton, R.C, trans., *Apollonius Rhodius. Argonautica*. London: William Heinemann, 1919.

[83] Sickinger, James, *Public Records and Archives in Classical Athens*. Chapel Hill, NC, USA: University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

[84] Smyly, J. G, trans., *Greek Papyri from Gurob*. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, 1921.

[85] Stephens, Wade, “Descent to the Underworld in Ovid’s Metamorphoses”, *The Classical Journal* 4 (1958): 177-183.

[86] Taylor, Thomas, trans., *The Hymns of Orpheus. With the life and theology of Orpheus*. London: Whittingham College House, 1.972.

[87] Valdez, Miriam, “El culto de Apolo Patroos en las fratrias”, *Gerión* 12 (1994): 45-61.

[88] Valdez, Miriam, “El proceso del sinecismo en el Ática: cultos, mitos y rituales en la ‘primera polis’ de Atenas”, *Gerion* 19 (2001): 127-198.

[89] Valdez, Miriam. *La reorganización religiosa en la Atenas del S. VI a.C*. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2006.

[90] Vanderpool, Eugene, *Studies in Attic epigraphy, history, and topography*: ASCSA: 1982.

[91] VerSteeg, Russ, and Nina Barclay, “Rhetoric and law in Ovid’s Orpheus”, *Law and Literature* 3 (2003): 472-482.

[92] Vince, C.A, trans., *Demosthenes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926.

[93] Vlastos, Gregory, “Theology and Philosophy in early Greek thought”, *The Philosophical Quarterly* 7 (1952): 97-123.

[94] Yarza, Florencio S, *Diccionario Griego-Español*. Barcelona: Sopena, 1.964.

[95] Zeitlin, F, *Nothing to do with Dionysus?: Athenian drama in its social context*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.

---

1 Lecture given during a Forum on Europe, 2009, as part of a cycle on ancient Greek religiosity.