

FRANCESCA CECI – ALEKSANDRA KRAUZE-KOŁODZIEJ

Χαῖρε Ὀρφεῦ! PERCEPTION OF A MYSTERY: THE IMAGES OF THE MYTH OF ORPHEUS ON ANCIENT COINS

Summary: The myth of Orpheus experienced a great popularity in ancient world, covering the path from a mythical legend to a complex and sophisticated mystic cult. There were many various features of Orpheus that characterized the Thracian singer, being the result of his different adventures: from the quest of the Argonauts and the pathetic story of love of Eurydice, to his journey to the underworld.

The myth of Orpheus was highly represented in iconography. The most frequent representations are those showing Orpheus as a singer surrounded by the beasts and, in smaller amount, in the scene representing the story of descent to the underworld in search of Eurydice. Numerous images connected with the legend of Orpheus, dating from the Classical times to Christian era, are the proof of a wide influence of the mystery cult of Orpheus on ancient and late antique culture.

This paper aims to present an overview of ancient coinage iconography representing Orpheus. Various motives considering the story of Orpheus appear on one of the most powerful means of propaganda – the coins, particularly from the Roman provinces, that were easily able to reach a wide audience. In the limited space of coins, the engravers could highlight effectively the most important and popular events from the story of Orpheus.

Key words: Orpheus, Eurydice, coins, coinage, Orphism, iconography

“Χαῖρε Ὀρφεῦ!”: Orpheus is greeted in this way on a black-figure Athenian *oinochoe* (jug), while ascending two steps dressed in Greek clothing and with the lyre on his knees. Climbing up, he raises his clothing as if to enter a place, a hall or a stage where he will sing his wonderful song.¹ On the clay *oinochoe*, of the unknown origin but intended for a symposium and then perhaps for the tomb, there are two of the main features of the mythical character of Orpheus: the power of an enchanting music and his journey to the beyond (fig. 1). The exemplary and famous story of Orpheus is,

¹ Attic black-figure *oinochoe*, 2nd half of the 6th century BC. National Etruscan Museum in Villa Giulia, Castellani Collection n. inv. 50627; cf. BEAZLEY, J. D.: *Attic Black-Figure-Vase-Painters*. Oxford 1956, 423, n. cat. 4.

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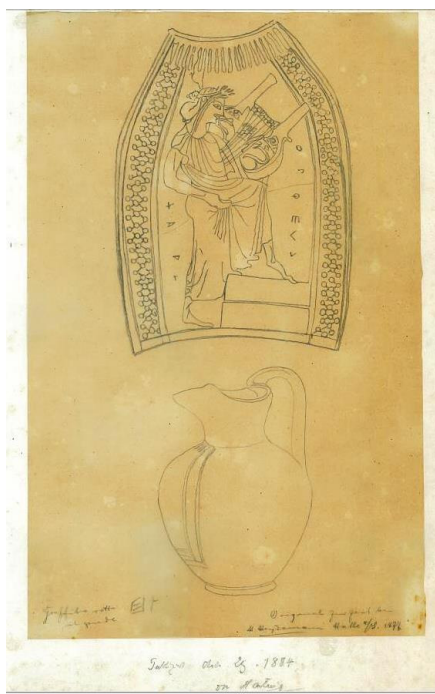


Fig. 1. Attic black-figure *oinochoe* with a musician who goes up the footrest, inscription Χαίρε Ορφευ. Rome, National Etruscan Museum in Villa Giulia, M534 (drawing by BEAZLEY, J. D.: *Attic Black-Figures Vase Painters*. Oxford 1956, cat. n. 432.4)

in fact, characterized by a complex narrative which, from a mythical and adventurous legend was gradually transformed into an elaborate and refined worship of a salvatory and initiatory – if not magical – character that was widely developed in ancient cultural tradition.

The path that connects the story of life and death of Thracian singer begins with his birth – not exactly mortal – and then continues with the adventure of Jason and the Argonauts² when with his art he resolves some difficulties which occurred during the voyage.³ The path continues with the journey to the Underworld taken out of love for his bride Eurydice,⁴ and then with the founding of a new religion, which in the

² Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* I 25, 27. In anonymous *Argonautica Orphica*, which dates back to the 5th century AD, it is explicitly stated that Orpheus has already made the journey to the Underworld (v. 90) and because of this, Jason asks him to participate in his expedition. In fact the chronological sequence between the adventure of the Argonauts and the descent to the Underworld, apart from the last text, is not defined. In VALVERDE SANCHEZ, M.: Orfeo en la leyenda argonautica. *Estudios clásicos* t. 35, no. 104 (1993) 7–16, the emphasis is on the role of Orpheus as a priest for the group of the Argonauts.

³ “And came the citharist, the father of the songs for Apollo’s virtue, very praised Orpheus”: Pindar *Pyth.* IV 176–177. See IANNUCCI, A.: Il citaredo degli Argonauti. Orfeo cantore e la poetica dell’incanto. In ANDRISANO, A. M. – FABBRI, P. (ed.): *La Favola di Orfeo. Lettura, immagine performance*. Ferrara 2009, 12–13.

⁴ Verg. *Georg.* IV 453–558; Ovid. *Metam.* X 1–63, XI 1–66.

modern age will be defined with the term Orphism. His life was concluded with violent end, from which, however, survives the prophetic head of Orpheus. Finally, his soul reaches the Elysian Fields, rejoining his beloved Eurydice⁵ (figs 2a–b).

Orpheus is also a theologian and an expert in initiatory rituals,⁶ and with his outstanding and mysterious singing skill he can dominate nature or even inanimate nature, and all the living creatures, from animals to the gods including Sirens,⁷ Centaurs⁸ and Sphinxes⁹ (fig. 3).

⁵ Orpheus, mentioned for the first time in the fragment by Ibykos of Rhegion, which dates back to the half of the 6th century BC ("Orpheus famous of-name", fr. *PMG* 306 [T2 Kern = 864 T Bernabè]), is the subject of the vast bibliography; for the general summary see ROSCHER W. H. (Hrsg.): *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Bd. III. Leipzig 1897–1902, 1059–1207; GRAF, F.: Orpheus. A Poet among Men. In BRENNER, J. (ed.): *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*. Titowa, NJ 1986, 80–106; M.-X. GAREZOU in *LIMC* VII 1–2 (1994) 81–105 and 57–77 s.v. Orpheus; RIEDWEG, CH.: Orfeo. In SETTIS, S. (ed.): *I Greci. Storia, cultura, arte, società*. Vol. II 1. Torino 1996, 1251–1280; ROESSLI, J.-M.: Orpheus. Orphismus und Orphiker. In ERLER, M. – GRAESER, A. (Hrsg.): *Philosophen des Altertums. Von der Frühzeit bis zur Klassik. Eine Einführung*. Darmstadt 2000, 10–35; BERNABÉ, A.: La tradizione orfica della Grecia classica al Neoplatonismo. In SFAMENI GASPARRO, G. (ed.): *Modi di comunicazione tra il divino e l'umano*. Cosenza 2005, 107–150; BRISSON, L.: Orphée, orphisme et littérature orphique. In GOULET, R. (ed.): *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques*. Vol. 4. Paris 2005, 843–858; BERNABÉ, A. – CASADEUS, F.: *Orfeo y la tradición órfica, un reencuentro*. Vol. 1–2. Madrid 2008; IANNUCCI, A.: Il citaredo degli Argonauti. Orfeo cantore e la poetica dell'incanto. In ANDRISANO, A. M. – FABBRI, P. (edd): *La Favola di Orfeo. Lettura, immagine performance*. Ferrara 2009, 11–22; SANTAMARIA ÁLVAREZ, M. A.: Orfeo y el orfismo. Actualización bibliográfica (2004–2012). *Ilu. Revista de Ciencia de las Religiones* 17 (2012) 211–252.

⁶ Diod. Sic. *Bibl.* IV 3.

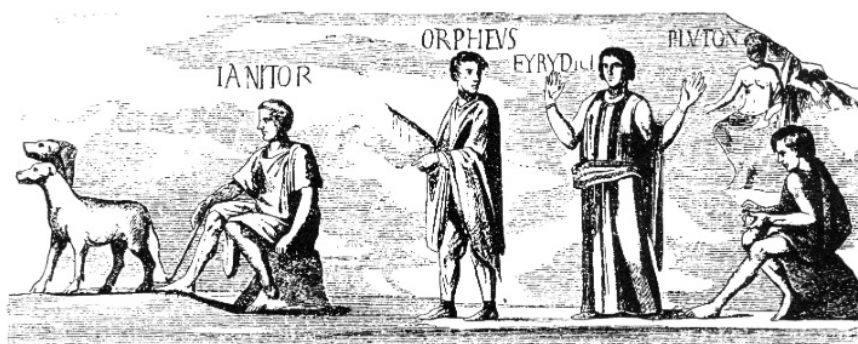
⁷ The meeting of the Argonauts, Orpheus and the Sirens is present in Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* IV 891–919. An imposing sculpture in polychrome terracotta which comes from Taranto and dates back to 350–300 BC is preserved at the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles-Malibu. It represents a sitting singer, probably Orpheus but one can also think of a young deceased male dressed as Orpheus, with two Sirens (about 1,40 m high) in melancholic pose: it could be recognized as a funeral memorial (<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/7303/unknown-maker-sculptural-group-of-a-seated-poet-and-sirens-2-with-unjoined-fragmentary-curls-304-greek-tarantine-350-300-bc/>).

⁸ The centaur occurs among animals enchanted by Orpheus in the ceramic cup from Cologne (3rd–4th century AD: NAUMANN-STECKNER, F.: 3. Orpheusschale. In STIEGEMANN, CH. [Hrsg.]: *Caritas. Nächstliebe von den frühen Christen bis zur Gegenwart. Katalog zur Ausstellung im Erzbischöflichen Diözesanmuseum Paderborn*. Petersberg 2015, 375–37) and on the fragment of late antique Egyptian cloth preserved in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks in Georgetown (Washington, USA, inv. 74.124.19.). In the ivory *pyxis* from the Museum of the Abbey of San Colombano in Bobbio (Piacenza), dated to the end of the 4th–5th century AD, with Orpheus who enchants the animals, appear also a Centaur and Pan (http://bbcc.ibr.regione.emilia-romagna.it/pater/loadcard.do?id_card=154442). It is similar to the decoration of the *pyxis*, preserved in the National Museum of Bargello in Florence, which dates back to the 4th or the beginning of the 5th century AD (inv. 22 C): the image is available in www.culturaitalia.it/opencms/museid/article.jsp?language=it&article=/it/contenuti/eventi/_Costantino_313_d_C_1_editto_che_cambio_1_impero.html&tematica=theme&selected=5).

A Centaur, Pan, a Siren and a Griffin appear among animals surrounding Orpheus on the funeral mosaic from around the first half of the 6th century AD, which comes from Jerusalem. Today the mosaic is preserved in the National Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (inv. 1642), cf. OLSZEWSKI, M.T.: The Orpheus Funerary Mosaic from Jerusalem in the Archaeological Museum at Istanbul. In *11. International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics. October 16–20 2009, Bursa Turkey*. Istanbul 2011, 655–664.

⁹ A Sphinx appears in the marble sculpture from Aegina depicting Orpheus that enchants the animals which dates to the 4th century BC (Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens: www.byzantinemuseum.gr/en/collections/sculptures/?bxm=1).

On the matrix from the Constantinian period found in a workshop in Trier, Germany, intended for the production of fine tableware, appears Orpheus among the animals, where there is a Centaur, a Sphinx, a Griffin and a Phoenix (The Rheinische Landesmuseum in Trier, inv. ST 14720 e ST 14967).



1. Orpheus und Eurydike, anwesend: Kerberos, Ianitor Orci, Pluton, Grabgemälde aus Ostia (nach M&A, www.majcar.com)

Fig. 2a–b. Ostia, Necropolis of via Laurentina, colombarium of Decimus Follus Mela, half of 2nd century AD. Orpheus and Eurydice in the Underworld, with Cerberus and Hades. Vatican City, Vatican Museums, The Gregoriano Profano Museum (from *L'età dell'angoscia. Da Commodo a Diocleziano. 108–305 d.C.* [catalogue of the exhibition]. Roma 2015, 321; drawing in ROSCHER, W. H.: *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*. Bd. III. 1884)

This varied journey between life, death and extraordinary events, led to the birth of a genuine cult with sacred texts ascribed to Orpheus,¹⁰ in which Dionysian and Apollonian, as well as magical and Thracian shamanic elements, converge. This religion, along with a very specific lifestyle aimed at purification, would have assured the initiate a privileged position in the Underworld. The element of the soul, the divine nature and basic component of man, was central and new in Orphism, in comparison to other similar cults.

¹⁰ On the Orphic fragments, see REALE, G. (a cura di): *Orfici. Testimonianze e frammenti nell'edizione di Otto Kern. Testi originali a fronte*. Milano 2011; HERRERO DE JÁUREGUI, M. ET AL.: *Tracing Orpheus. Studies of Orphic Fragments*. Berlin 2011.



Fig. 3. Jerusalem, fragment of the Orpheus Mosaic from a funerary chapel, Necropolis at Damascus Gate, 6th century AD. Istanbul, Archaeological Museum (from OLSZEWSKI [n. 8])

BIRTHPLACE OF ORPHEUS

It is traditionally said that Orpheus was born in Pimpleia in the region of Pieria.¹¹ He was the son of Thracian King Oeagrus (son of a nymph) or even Apollo, and a Musa, usually Calliope.¹² This origin is reflected in the “Phrygian” clothing in which Orpheus

¹¹ Pimpleia: Strab. *Geogr.* VII 330, fr. 18, cf. GUTHRIE, W. K. C.: *Orpheus and Greek Religion*. London 1952.

¹² Apollod. *Bibl.* I 3–2, vv. 14–15; Hyg. *De Astron.* II 7, *Lyra*. An isolated source indicates Polymnia as his mother: *Scolii ad Apollonio Rodio* I. 23.

is often represented,¹³ while preparing to play his music and while singing his song,¹⁴ which also persists after his death through his miraculously surviving head.¹⁵ It should be remembered that Thrace is also the homeland to other mythical singers, such as Thamyras, Eumolpos, and Musaeus, considered in the various traditions to be the son, disciple or master of Orpheus,¹⁶ closely linked to the very origin of music.¹⁷

ORPHEAN ICONOGRAPHY

It is easy to imagine, given the significance of the story of Orpheus and because of the broad scope of Orphism,¹⁸ that the legendary tale (myth for us, real story of a heroic figure for ancient culture¹⁹) became a widely circulating iconographic theme from the 6th century BC onwards.²⁰ It can be found on coins, pottery, sculpture, mosaics and

¹³ The cloth of Orpheus was divided into “Phrygian” and “Greek” types: STERN, H.: La Mosaique d’Orphée de Blanzky-les-Fismes. *Gallia* 13 (1955) 41–77, esp. 55. In I. J. JESNICK (*The Image of Orpheus in Roman Mosaic. An Exploration of the Figure of Orpheus in Graeco-Roman Art and Culture with Special Reference to Its Expression in the Medium of Mosaic in Late Antiquity* [BAR int. Series 671]. Oxford 1997, 70–72) there is a third category of clothing, the “Thracian type”. See also SALVADORI, M.: Orfeo tra gli animali: l’utilizzo dell’immagine in ambito ufficiale. In COLPO, I. – FAVARETTO, I. – GHE-DINI, F. (a cura di): *Iconografia 2001. Studi sull’Immagine. Atti del Convegno, Padova, 30 maggio-1 giugno 2001*. Roma 2002, 345–354, esp. 346 n. 13.

¹⁴ According to the mythographer Conon, Orpheus is a magician capable of enchanting the infernal gods: *Enarrationes*, 45. 2.

¹⁵ As on Attic red-figure *hydria* attributed to the group of Polygnotus painter which dates to around 440 BC and is preserved in the Basel Museum of Ancient Art and Ludwig Collection (Switzerland, inv. Basel BS481). BURGESS WATSON, S.: Muses of Lesbos or (Aeschylean) Muses of Pieria? Orpheus’ Head on a Fifth-century *Hydria*. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 53 (2013) 441–460. The consultation of the “prophetic” head of Orpheus is represented on a red-figure Attic cup which comes from Naples, 410 BC. Painter of Ruvo 1346. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. The head of Orpheus, alone among the gods, appears on some Etruscan mirrors: COOK, B.: *Zeus: A Study in Ancient Religion. Vol. 3.1: Zeus God of the Dark Sky (earthquake, clouds, wind, dew, rain, meteorites)*. Cambridge 1940, pl. 17.

¹⁶ Thracian origins of Musaeus, as well as these of Orpheus, Thamiris and Eumolpos, are in Strab. *Geogr.* X 3. 17; the relationship with Orpheus is present in Diod. Sic. *Bibl.* IV 25. 1 (Musaeus as the son of Orpheus), Tatian, *Or. ad Graecos* 41 (Musaeus as the disciple of Orpheus) and Clem. *Strom.* I 21. 131. 1 (Musaeus as the master of Orpheus).

¹⁷ Strab. *Geogr.* X 3. 16. DE CESARE, M.: Orfeo o Tamiri? Cantori traci in Sicilia *MYTHOS* 3 (2009) 33–53; see also SCHIRRIPIA, P.: Culti di ninfe tracie. *Culti e miti greci in aree periferiche. Aristonothos. Scritti per il Mediterraneo antico* 6 (2012) 13–48, esp. 22. In the Delphi’s *Nekyia* described by Pausanias X 30. 6–8. Orpheus, dressed “alla greca”, is mentioned in the company of other unlucky musicians, such as Thamiris and Marsyas.

¹⁸ The concept of “Orphism” is a modern 19th century creation and the actual presence of a true structured religion. Named in this way it does not find agreement among scholars: see ROESSLI (n. 5) 10–36, esp. 11–12.

¹⁹ For the genealogy of Orpheus and the question of his real existence, already discussed in the classical age, see among others: ROESSLI, J.-M.: Orphée. Médiateur des sagesse grecques et barbares. In MÉLA, CH. – MOERI, F. (dir.): *Alexandrie la Divine*. Genève 2014, 596–610, esp. 598.

²⁰ RINUY, P. L.: L’imagerie d’Orphée dans l’antiquité. *Revue d’archéologie moderne et d’archéologie générale* 4 (1986) 297–314; JESNICK (n. 13) with the graphic reproduction handled by the author of numerous images which are otherwise difficult to read; PALA, E.: La mousiké téchne nel mito greco. ‘Sentire’ la musica attraverso le immagini. In *Medea* I 1 (2015) DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.13125/medea-1817>; LISSARRAGUE, F.: Images grecques d’Orphée. In CAMBOULIVES, C. – LAVALLÉE, M. (éd.): *Les*



Fig. 4. Turris Libonis (Porto Torres, Sardinia. Archaeological Parc Antiquarium Turritano).
Domus of Orpheus, 1st century AD, mosaic pavement with Orpheus among the animals
(www.comune.porto-torres.ss.it/Comunicazione/Argomenti/Porto-Torres-Turismo/Da-visitare)

frescoes, on sarcophagi, lamps, mirrors, gems, glasses and also other works of art. Orpheus appears either as a singer, with the Argonauts, in the Underworld, as protector of the deceased, with his bride Eurydice, at the moment of his death, or just his prophetic head with a lyre.²¹

Among all these examples, the most popular image is the magical enchantment that, with music and words, affects the whole world,²² particularly the animals,²³ a theme that spread with extraordinary success from the Hellenistic period through to the 6th century AD (fig. 4).

Métamorphoses d'Orphée. Tourcoing, Musée des Beaux-Arts. Strasbourg 1995, 18–24. Useful is the review of pictures and drawings on Orpheus in www.maicar.com/GML/000Iconography/Orpheus/slides/RIII.1-1182b.html, and the materials in the on line version of *LIMC* under the headword *Orpheus*: www.limc-france.fr.

²¹ On the meaning given to the lyre and the head after the death of Orpheus: ANDERSON, W. D.: *Music and Musicians in Ancient Greece*. Ithaca–London 1994, 27; FARAONE, C. A.: Orpheus' Final Performance: Necromancy and a Singing Head on Lesbos. *SIFC* 97 (2004) 5–27; BURGESS WATSON, S.: Muses of Lesbos and (Aeschylean) Muses of Pieria? Orpheus' Head on a Fifth-century Hydria. *GRBS* 53 (2013) 441–460. On similar Etruscan prophetic heads: THOMSON DE GRUMMOND, N.: A Barbarian Myth? The Case of the Talking Head. In BONFANTE, L. (ed.): *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe*. Cambridge 2011, 313–346.

²² VENDRIES, C.: Orphée charmant les animaux. Attitudes et gestuelle du musicien et de son bestiaire dans la mosaïque romaine d'époque impériale. In BODIOLU, L. – FRÈRE, D. – MEHL, V. (éds): *L'expression des corps. Gestes, attitudes, regards dans l'iconographie antique*. Rennes 2006, 233–252.

²³ STERN, H.: Les débuts de l'iconographie d'Orphée charmant les animaux. In *Mélanges de Numismatique, d'Archéologie et d'Histoire offerts à Jean Lafaurie*. Paris 1980, 157–164; SALVADORI (n. 13) 345–354; TOSO, S.: *Fabulae graecae: miti greci nelle gemme romane del I secolo a.C.* Roma 2007, 108–111.

In early Christian period, the figures of Orpheus and Christ tend to converge, according to the allegorical parallel between the song that charms the heathens and the Word of Christ the Redeemer, that saves the believers.²⁴

ORPHEUS ON COINS

We will now focus on one type of artistic medium which depicts Orpheus: coinage. Many works have been written on Orphean Greco-Roman coin types, starting with the article of Behrendt Pick from 1898²⁵ up to the recent studies on the iconography of Orpheus, which also deal with the numismatic evidence.²⁶ We will analyze these Orphean coins in chronological order, also considering the uncertain specimens that have been attributed to him.²⁷

1. The Head of Orpheus?: Lesbos, 6–5th century BC. It has been dubiously interpreted that the male head wearing a Thracian headdress on a coin type of Lesbos, dated to 550–440²⁸ or 479²⁹ BC, is Orpheus, with lion's head in an incuse square on the reverse. However, to give credence to this attribution, one can look to the rather contemporaneous Attic vases from c. 420 BC that also depict Orpheus' oracular head.³⁰

2. Orpheus wearing “Phrygian clothing”, alone: Lampsacus, 4th century BC. There is definitely more certainty for the type represented on gold staters struck around 350/40 BC in Lampsacus (Mysia). The winged protome of Pegasus is represented on the reverse. Orpheus is seen on the obverse, sitting on a rock with his chin

²⁴ Among numerous studies on the subject, see VIEILLEFON, L.: *La figure d'Orphée dans l'antiquité tardive: les mutations d'un mythe, du héros païen au chanteur chrétien*. Paris 2003; ROESSLI, J.-M.: *Imágenes de Orfeo en el arte judío y cristiano*. In BERNABÉ, A. – CASADESÚS, F. (eds): *Orfeo y la tradición órfica. Un reencuentro*. Madrid 2009, 179–226; DI PILLA, A.: *Orfeo nella cultura cristiana tardoantica: spunti dalla bibliografia recente*. *Zetesis* (2015) 6–20.

²⁵ PICK, B.: *Thrakische Münzbilder*. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 13 (1898) 134–140, Taf. 10.

²⁶ PANYAGUA, E. R.: Catálogo de representaciones de Orfeo en el arte antiguo. Parte II. Gemas, Bronces, Monedas y “Terra Sigillata”. *Helmantica* 70 (1972) 93–416, in part. 404–408; JURUKOVA, J.: *Der Mythos des Orpheus in der Münzprägung thrakischer Städte*. *Numismatica* 16.3 (1982) 5–12 (in Bulgarian); GUTHRIE (n. 11) 21; STERN: *La Mosaïque* (n. 13) esp. 58–59; JESNICK (n. 13) 10 n. 5, 14–15, 69.

²⁷ We thank Victoria Györi for her valuable suggestions and advice on this topic.

²⁸ WROTH, W. W.: *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*. London 1894, LXXVIII 155, pl. XXXI, 3.

²⁹ GROSE, S. W.: *Catalogue of the MacClean Collection of Greek Coins, Fitzwilliam Museum III*. Cambridge 1929, Lesbos, n. 7964, pl. 275, 9; JESNICK (n. 13) 10 n. 15. See coin in: www.mfa.org/collections/object/coin-with-head-of-orpheus-574252.

³⁰ See note 15 and JESNICK (n. 13) 168, fig. 5 n. 15. The head of Orpheus, with other characters, appears on some Etruscan mirrors of the IV century BC: AMBROSINI, L.: *Le raffigurazioni di operatori del culto sugli specchi etruschi*. In ROCCHI, M. – XELLA, P. – ZAMORA, J. A. (a cura di): *Gli operatori culturali. Atti del II incontro di studio organizzato dal Gruppo di contatto per lo studio delle religioni mediterranee*, Roma 2005. Verona 2006, 197–233, esp. 207–209.



Figs 5 a–b. Golden stater from Lampsacus (Mysia), 350–340 BC.

Obverse: Orpheus in Thracian clothing and Phrygian cap, is sitting on the right on a rock. He supports his chin with his right hand put on the knee and with the right hand he holds the lyre with long branched arms, from which hangs a band.

Reverse: the winged protome of the Pegasus horse (Berlin, Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: www.smb.museum/ikmk/object.php?id=18215944)

resting on his right hand. He wears a Phrygian cap, a cloak, and – as it seems – high waist trousers and boots. In his left hand he holds a large lyre with branch-like arms (maybe deer horns?) placed on his left leg, from which hangs a strap (figs 5 a–b). The figure on this stater was first interpreted as Apollo, but the clothing, rock (not an *omphalos*!), and lack of a laurel branch all point instead to the identity of Orpheus.³¹ Orpheus' thoughtful attitude captures a moment of his life, perhaps while thinking about his musical inspiration or after the loss of his bride, when the mysterious and philosophical-religious aspect of his personality becomes significant.

3. Orpheus in “Greek clothing” surrounded by animals: Alexandria, Antonius Pius, Lucius Verus, Marcus Aurelius. The numismatic depiction of Orpheus charming animals is found for the first time on the bronze drachmas struck at Alexandria in Egypt on behalf of Antonius Pius³² (142/3 Year 5 and 144/5 AD Year 7), Lucius

³¹ The example comes from the treasure of Avola in Sicily: LÖBBECKE, A.: Münzfund bei Avola. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 17 (1890) 170, Nr. 9 Taf. 5. The character is described as dressed in *chitone* and *himation*, but the description was perhaps about a figure in lightweight tall waist boots with naked bust, a cloak, boots and Phrygian cap. The example from the Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, n. 18215944 (www.smb.museum/ikmk/object.php?id=18215944; *Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards [IGCH]* 2124). On staters from Lampsakos with Orpheus: BALDWIN, A.: *The Electrum Coinage of Lampsakos*. New York 1924, 20, 45, pl. I 6–7.

³² In *Monete Imperiali Greche. Numi Aug. Alexandrini. Catalogo della Collezione G. Dattari, compilato dal proprietario*. Vol. I–II. Cairo 1901, 195, no. 2996, tav. XXXVI, anno V (141–142), is described in this way: “Orpheus nel mezzo di una selva, laur., l’himation in giro al corpo, seduto a s. su delle rocce: circondato da una quantità di animali e cioè: scimmia seduta a s.; cicogna a s., pantera in piede a d.; cavallo pascolando a d.; bove a riposo a s.; antilope? in piede a d.; leone a riposo a s.; lepre? a d.; capra in piede a s.; ippopotamo? A riposo a s.; gazzella in piede a s.; ischneumon? (mangusta) a s. In campo [L] Z”. In *Roman Provincial Coinage Online*. Vol. IV, nos 15276, 15679, 15287, 16273.



Fig. 6. Alexandria. Bronze drachma of Antoninus Pius, 141–142 AD.

Obverse: AVT K T AIA AAP ANTΩNINOC EVCEB. Bust of the Emperor.

Reverse: L E (year V), Orpheus among animals (from the collection David Simpson Ex Finarte, 26 November 1996, lot 940; www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=16475#)

Verus,³³ and Marcus Aurelius³⁴ (both of them 163/4 AD Year 4), where Orpheus, bareheaded and only wearing a *hymation*, plays the lyre surrounded by animals attending in various positions (fig. 6). The presence of some exotic animals such as a monkey, a stork, perhaps a hippopotamus, a jackal, and a mongoose, invokes the typical fauna of Egypt.³⁵ The scene is definitely inspired by the naturalism of the art of Alexandria and the minting of the coin has an excellent style, characterized by a prospective search for composition related to the landscape genre.³⁶ The presence of Orpheus on coinage of Alexandria in the Antonine age was appropriately linked to the tradition of the trip of Orpheus to Egypt, where he “became the greatest among the Greeks in the field of theology and in the rites of initiation, of poems and songs”.³⁷ The fame of Orpheus as the master of rhetoric (linked to his ability to fascinate) and the herald of concord occurs in the *Letters* of Fronto to Marcus Aurelius, where the author compares the young emperor to Orpheus, who knows how to reconcile the opposite natures by speaking and acting.³⁸ The image that is present on Alexandrian coinage has been linked to marble precedents dating back to Hadrian’s time³⁹ or to

³³ POOLE, R. ST.: *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes*. London 1892, pl. XI, no. 1373. The animals are recognized as: above – a fox, in the front – a stork, a goose, a monkey, an owl?, a jackal, a mutton, a goat; behind a raven, a deer, a horse, an ox, a pig, a lion.

³⁴ *Roman Provincial Coinage Online*, IV no. 15129.

³⁵ In JESNICK (n. 13) 15 and n. 60, it is mentioned with regard to the coinage of the Antonine era with Orpheus of Alexandria and to the tradition of the Ptolemaic “parade of animals”. See also JENNISON, G.: *Animal for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome*. Manchester 1937, 29–30.

³⁶ CHEILIK, M.: Numismatic and Pictorial Landscapes. *GRBS* 6 (1965) 215–225, esp. 224.

³⁷ Orpheus in Egypt: Diod. Sic. *Bibl.* 4. 25. 3, where Orpheus is defined as “Greek”; see ROESSLI: *Orphée* (n. 19), with bibliography.

³⁸ Fronto *Epist.* IV 1: the fragment is full of blanks and the name of Orpheus does not appear but the comparison with the Thracian singer is evident from the context.

³⁹ For the classicizing trends of Hadrian which were then followed by the Antonines: STERN, H.: Un relief d’Orphée au Musée du Louvre. *Bulletin de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France* (1973) 330–341; STERN: *Les débuts* (n. 23) 161; SALVADORI (n. 13) 350.

a sculpture of Alexandria,⁴⁰ or perhaps also to some other pictorial representation. Martial recalls a fountain in Rome on the Esquiline Hill, called *Lacus Orphei* and decorated with Orpheus' statues with animals.⁴¹

4. Orpheus in “Phrygian clothing” surrounded by animals: Orpheus appears as “national hero” on Severan coins from Philippopolis, Traianopolis, and later in Hadrianopolis (with Gordianus III) in Thrace, considered the homeland of Orpheus.⁴²

Philippopolis (Thrace): Geta. On bronze coins minted for Geta (209–212 AD) from Philippopolis,⁴³ Orpheus plays the lyre sitting on a rock, surrounded by eight domestic and wild animals facing him, identified (with reserve and various attributions by different editors) as (from right to left): a bull, a lion, an ibis, a duck, a wolf, a dog, a stork, and a boar (figs 7a–c). This composition differs from the Orphean coins from Alexandria in relation to Orpheus' clothing and in his pose among the animals. It also lacks the aspect of naturalism that characterizes the coins from the Antonine period. The animals are also different (there is no monkey and hippopotamus which are typical of Egyptian wildlife) and they stand in a line, a peculiarity that can be also found in mosaic⁴⁴ and pottery⁴⁵ compositions, perhaps to resemble the unpreserved statuary and/or figurative precedents (fig. 8).

5. Orpheus in “Phrygian clothing” alone: Philippopolis (Thrace): Septimius Severus, Caracalla. On the bronze coins minted on behalf of Septimius Severus⁴⁶ and Caracalla,⁴⁷ Orpheus faces front, with his head looking slightly to the left. He is

⁴⁰ PANYAGUA (n. 26) 405–406.

⁴¹ Martialis *Epigr.* X 20. 6–9; Toso (n. 23) 110. This kind of composition is also found in “sanguinary” contexts such as the scenes created in the arenas for the spectacular execution of those condemned to death: Martialis (*De spect.* 7. 21) talks about the staging of the myth of Orpheus among the animals in the arena with moving rocks. The “spectacle” ended with the scene where a bear tore a condemned apart.

⁴² On the Severan coins minted in Thrace appeared also Eumolpos (Philippolis): PETER, U.: *Religious-Cultural Identity in Thrace and Moesia Inferior*. In HOWGEGO, C. – HEUCHERT, V. – BURNETT, A. (eds): *Coinage and Identity in the Provinces*. Oxford 2005, 107–114, esp. 108–109.

⁴³ MOUSHMOV, N.: *Ancient Coins of the Balkan Peninsula*. Sofia 1912, no. 5383; VARBANOV, I.: *Greek Imperial Coins and Their Values. The Local Coinage of the Roman Empire*. Vol. III. Burgas 2002 (in Bulgarian), 550, no. 1422. The Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin online (<http://ww2.smb.museum/ikmk/object.php?id=18200873&lang=en>).

⁴⁴ See, for instance, the mosaic pavement from Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo, 3rd century AD, in the Archaeological Museum Antonio Salinas in Palermo (https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:0355_-_Palermo,_Museo_archeologico_-_Mosaico_di_Orfeo_-_Foto_Giovanni_Dall'Orto,_23-Oct-2006.jpg), the mosaic from the private bath dating back to the 4th century AD that comes from Uthina in Tunisia, preserved in the Bardo National Museum in Tunis (<http://media.gettyimages.com/photos/orpheus-charming-the-animals-with-his-lyre-mosaic-by-masurus-from-picture-id567934123>) and the mosaic in fig. 8, found in Thanaea in Tunis, first preserved in the Sfax Archaeological Museum and then lost during an air strike in 1944 (www.limc-france.fr/objet/2413).

⁴⁵ Like the cup in terra sigillata, 301–400 AD, found in Cologne in a grave context and preserved in the Roman-Germanic Museum in Cologne, inv. Ton 166, see n. 8.

⁴⁶ Septimius Severus: VARBANOV (n. 43) no. 1147 (www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-30261) or in www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=749717.

⁴⁷ Caracalla: PICK (n. 25) 137, nos 3–4 (www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pos=-30300).



Figs 7 a–c. Philippopolis, bronze, 209–211 AD. Obverse: AVT K II CE-ITITETAC. Bust of Geta with a crown and laurel, with armor and mantle, face to the right. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. Orpheus sitting on a rock with the lyre in hand, surrounded by pig, stork, wolf, duck, dog, marten, lion, hare (Berlin, Münzkabinett of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, IKMK 18200873; www.smb.museum/ikmk/object.php?id=18215944; drawing from the reverse by Fiammetta Sforza)

sitting alone on a rock and holding a *plectrum* raised in his right hand and a lyre in his left hand, a gesture that indicates the beginning or the end of a song (fig. 9). This position can be also found in Roman mosaics and early Christian frescoes.⁴⁸

6. Orpheus with a Phrygian cap and a bird, naked?: Traianopolis (Thrace), Iulia Domna (fig. 10). On the coins of Iulia Domna,⁴⁹ which are difficult to see and interpret because of their state of preservation, Orpheus is sitting on a rock, perhaps naked, wearing a Phrygian cap, and holding a cithara on his right leg; in front of him, above, there is only one bird. The same image – but with a dressed Orpheus – is seen on

⁴⁸ STERN: La mosaïque (n. 13) 58–59; the gesture is commonly found on mosaics, see for example the central hexagon with the Orpheus mosaic from the Domus del Chirurgo in Rimini, 2nd century AD (www.archeobo.arti.beniculturali.it/rimini/domus_chirurgo/eutyches_chirurgo.htm).

⁴⁹ Traianopolis, Iulia Domna: VARBANOV, I.: *Greek Imperial Coins*. Vol. III: *Thrace, Chersonesos Thraciae, Insulae Thraciae, Macedonia*. Burgas 2007, no. 2748; PICK (n. 25) 137–138.

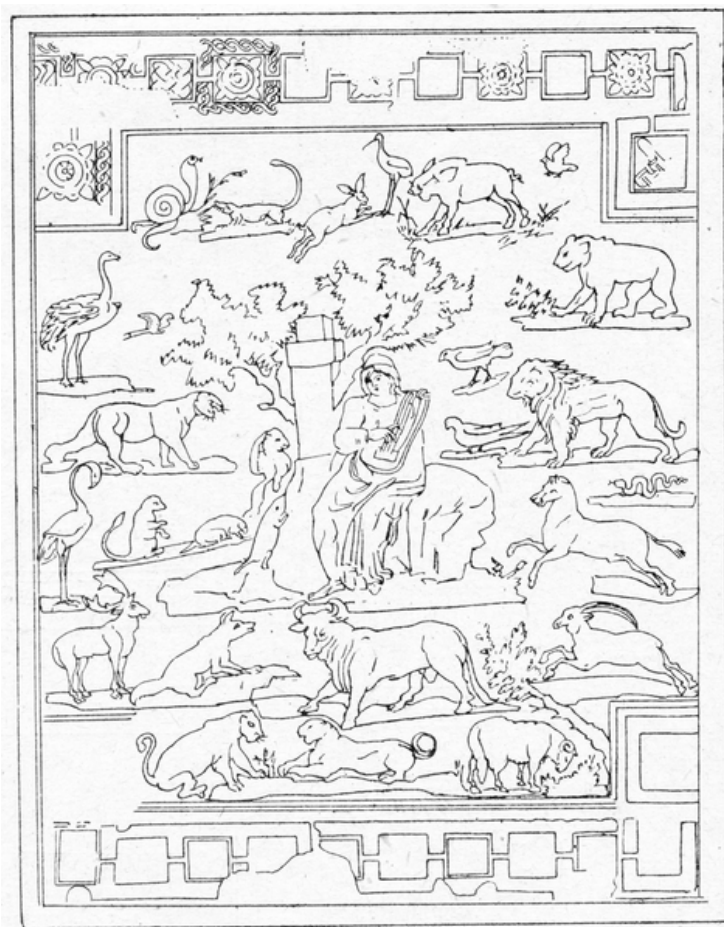


Fig. 8. Drawing of the mosaic of Orpheus among the animals, from the Roman villa in Thanaea in Tunis, 2nd–4th century AD, preserved in the Sfax Archaeological Museum and lost during an air strike in 1944 (from REINACH, S.: *Répertoire des peintures grecques et romaines*. Paris 1922, 202, n. 2; www.limc-france.fr/objet/2413)

a Tunisian mosaic now in Budapest,⁵⁰ where the anonymous artist, probably inspired by nature, wanted to depict the colorful plumage of the bee-eater, with a yellow neck, reddish head and wings (fig. 11). A similar depiction then appears on the ceiling of the catacombs of San Callisto in Rome on the *Via Appia Antica* in the so-called “Orpheus cubicle”, dating back to the first half of the 3rd century AD, where in the center of the room Orpheus is seen singing with a bird at his side.⁵¹

⁵⁰ The Orpheus mosaic from Tunis, 200–250 AD. Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, Hungary (http://antik.szepmuveszeti.hu/antik_gyujtemeny/evszak_mutargya/evszak_en.php?id=634).

⁵¹ BISCONTI, F.: 4. Dekenfresco mit Orpheusdarstellung aus der Calixtuskatakomb. In STIEGEMANN (n. 8) 376–377.



Fig. 9. Philippopolis (Thracia). Bronze coin of Septimius Severus. Obverse: ΑΥΤ Κ Α CE CEYΕΡΟC. Bust of the Emperor. Reverse: ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΕΞΕΡΓΕ ΤΩΝ. Orpheus, sitting on a rock, holds the lyre with his left hand and a *plectrum* with his right hand
(www.forumancientcoins.com/gallery/displayimage.php?pid=30261&fullsize=1)



Fig. 10. Traianopolis, Thracia. Bronze coin of Iulia Domna (Augusta, 193–217), magistrate (*hegemon*) Statilius Barbarus. Obverse: ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ CCB. Bust of the Empress. Reverse: ΗΓ CTA BAPBAPOV ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ. Orpheus with a Phrygian cap sitting on a rock, face to the left, with his right hand holding the lyre leaning on his right knee. In the top left a bird
(www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=1445&lot=410)

7. Orpheus, Eurydice, Hermes: Hadrianopolis (Thrace), Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius. Another famous moment from the life of Orpheus is the one connected with the “double death” of his beloved wife, the nymph Eurydice. Orpheus had one opportunity to take her out of the Underworld, but he lost his chance after having turned back to look at her – thereby violating an order by the lords of the Underworld.⁵² Not even the strength of his magical singing, which could conquer Hades and

⁵² The research on the significance of the fatal “distraction” of Orpheus is present in BETTINI, M.: L’errore di Orfeo. In *Claudio Monteverdi: L’Orfeo*. Rinaldo Alessandrini/Teatro alla Scala. Milano 2010, 64–79. On *katabasis*, the travels of the living to the Underworld, see BERNABÉ, A.: What is a *Katábasis*? The Descent into the Netherworld in Greece and the Ancient Near East. *Les Études Classiques* 83 (2015) 15–34.



Fig. 11. Mosaic with Orpheus and a bird, Tunisia, 200–250 AD.
 Museum of Applied Arts in Budapest, Hungary
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/5/58/Orpheus_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg

Proserpina, was able to overcome the inevitability of death. This episode illustrates the impossibility of the return of the dead to the world of the living, an act that would constitute a dangerous and unthinkable subversion of the laws of the Fate which have to be obeyed also by the gods of Olympus.⁵³

This scene was probably depicted on some bronze coins of Gordianus III (238–244 AD), struck at Hadrianopolis in Thrace. On these coins there are two naked men and, in the center, a dressed and veiled woman with three small personifications of rivers, arranged on either side and in the exergue (figs 12a–b). Since the provenance of this issue is a Thracian city, the scene was interpreted as Eurydice flanked to the left by Orpheus, looking at her, and to the right by Hermes, who, as a *psycho pompos*,

⁵³ In the fresco which dates to the 1st century AD, found in the House of Orpheus (*Domus di Orfeo*) in Turris Libisonis (Porto Torres, Sardinia), from which also comes the mosaic of Orpheus, here in fig. 4, there is a representation of a fully-dressed man with a sort of a Phrygian cap and a cloaked woman. Both characters look melancholic. Perhaps this scene can be interpreted as the scene of the return of Eurydice after the turn of Orpheus (in twitter.com/museoarcheopt/status/745526901402275842). A similar representation is on the fragment of high relief from the Lateran Museum in Rome: BENNDORF, O. – SCHÖNE, R.: *Die antiken Bildwerke des Lateranischen Museum*. Leipzig 1867, 343, no. 484; PANYAGUA, E.: *Catálogo de representaciones de Orfeo en el arte antiguo*. Vol. III. Salamanca 1973, 462.



Figs 12a–b. Hadrianopolis, Thracia.
Bronze coin of Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius, 238–244 AD.

Obverse: AV K M ANT ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC AV Bust of Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius.

Reverse: ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, three characters identified as Orpheus, Eurydice and Hermes. Three small personifications of rivers (www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/gordian_III/_hadrianopolis_AE34_Jurukova_450.jpg; drawing by GUTHRIE [n. 11] 21)

brings her back to the Underworld by touching her arm. The identification as Eurydice is also supported by the position of her body, with her right foot moving backwards as if to retreat. This position suggests a definite return to the beyond. Orpheus and Hermes are seen standing in the same pose. In fact, the turning of the foot back could well refer to Orpheus, who turns to look at his bride, and also to Hermes, who goes back to Hades with her. Thus, for all of them, the simple foot position would allude to their hopeless return to the state provoked by the “first” death of the nymph Eurydice: Orpheus returns to his solitude, his bride to the Underworld, and Hermes takes back that which cannot be returned.

On account of the nakedness of male characters, who only have a *chlamys* on their arms (just like the Dioscuri⁵⁴), and the lack of recognizable attributes such as

⁵⁴ The scene on the coin, in its first edition, was recognized as Helen among her brothers, the Dioscuri, or Helen with Theseus and Pirithous: SESTINI, D.: *Lettere e dissertazione numismatiche sopra alcune medaglie rare*. Berlino 1806, 9, 12, quoted in PICK (n. 25) 139.

a *petasus*, a Phrygian cap or a lyre, the identification of the figures as Orpheus and Hermes is uncertain, although it seems very likely. In fact, the man on the left has in his right hand an object that could be recognized as a *plectrum*, the attribute of Orpheus. The man on the right seems to have a hat on his back that resembles a *petasus*, the headgear of Hermes. The three small river gods who appear in the exergue and on the sides could be seen as personifications of local rivers, flowing from Hadrianopolis along the shore of the Ebro, at the junction of two rivers Tungia and Arda. These rivers may also refer, given the context of the Underworld, to three of the five rivers flowing into the Hades. The comparison with two famous marble reliefs preserved at the Louvre⁵⁵ and at the Archaeological Museum in Naples⁵⁶ contributes to the interpretation of the scene as the final farewell between Orpheus and Eurydice in the presence of Hermes (fig. 13).

8. Eurydice and Hermes?: Seleucia ad Calycadnum (Cilicia) Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius. In order to complete the review of the iconography of Orpheus on coins, even with those that are not certain, we should also consider the coin type also of Gordianus III, where an enigmatic couple appears. The reverse shows Hermes, with a *petasus* and a *caduceus*, who is about to grab the shoulder of a woman wearing a richly long draped dress, who, while escaping, turns towards him and raises her arm, as if she was either asking for help or was shouting. The scene was tentatively described as Eurydice reconquered by Hermes and destined without any hope to the Underworld (fig. 14); it was also linked to another coin type issued on the occasion of the Emperor's wedding with Furia Sabina Tranquillina in 241 AD.⁵⁷ Although intriguing, this hypothesis remains only a suggestion, as Eurydice is generally portrayed as resigned and less active than how she appears on this coin. One might suppose, but only incidentally, that here the die-engraver, whether he designed his own variation of this type or employed some statuary models we do not know about, wanted to depict the nymph while she was shouting the last desperate goodbye to her beloved, as narrated by Virgil: "And now farewell: Girt with enormous night I am borne away, Outstretching toward thee, thine, alas! no more, These helpless hands" (*Georgica* IV 495–498, transl. J. Rhodes).

⁵⁵ Pentelic marble relief dating back to around 50 BC, a copy of a Greek original of the end of the 5th century BC: Paris, Louvre Museum (image available in www.ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=5604). Another fragment of a similar relief with traces of polychromy is preserved at the University of Mississippi Museum, 77.3 (image available in <https://orpheusrelief.wordpress.com/about-the-fragment/>).

⁵⁶ Naples, National Archaeological Museum (inv. 6727). Marble relief with Orpheus, Eurydice and Hermes. The copy dating back to the times of Augustus, of the Greek original from the end of the 5th century BC, found in a Roman villa in Torre del Greco (www.museoarcheologiconapoli.it/it/sale-e-sezioni-espositive/sculture-della-campania-romana/).

⁵⁷ Cilicia, Seleucia ad Calycadnum, Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius, 238–244 AD: sold of the 12 January 2004, CNG, Lot. 789. (www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=43598). In *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum* [The Levante Collection, Suppl.]. Bern 1993, 208, and in BLOESH, H.: *Griechische Münzen in Winterthur*. Winterthur 1987, G4639, the woman is defined as "Artemis?" (Levante) and "Nymph" (Winterthur).



Fig. 13. Torre del Greco, Contrada Sora, Roman villa.
 Drawing of a marble relief with Orpheus, Eurydice and Hermes.
 The copy dating back to the times of Augustus, of the Greek original
 from the end of the 5th century BC, Phidias's school.
 Naples, National Archaeological Museum
 (from MEOLA, G. V.: *Alcuni monumenti del Museo Carafa*.
 Napoli 1778, tav. XIV)

After definitively having left Eurydice in the Underworld, Orpheus moved away from love for other women and, following various circumstances (given the different literary traditions), was killed by the ferocious fury of the Thracian women and/or by Maenads, who tore his body apart. His head and lyre, thrown into the Ebro, reached the sea and from there they landed at Methymna, on the island of Lesbos, preserving the talent of prophesy. The islanders praised them as objects of worship, making the island the homeland of poetry.⁵⁸ In the end – and this time rightly so – in the Under-

⁵⁸ Verg. *Georg.* IV 520–527; Ovid. *Metam.* XI 50–60; BERNABÉ, A.: *Poetae epici graeci*. Vol. II.1–2. Munich–Leipzig 2004–2005, 1004T, 1038T, 1054T.



Fig. 14. Cilicia, Seleucia ad Calycadnum.
Bronze coin of Marcus Antonius Gordianus Pius, 238–244 AD.

Obverse: MAP ANTΩNIOC ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟΣ CEB Bust of the Emperor.

Reverse: CEΛEV KEΩ [N KAAIKAAΩNΩ] EΛEVΘ EPAC. A running woman wearing a draped dress, raising her right hand, chased by Hermes who grabs her shoulder (courtesy of Münzkabinett Winterthur, G 4639, cast)

world, after his death, Orpheus was finally able to meet Eurydice and share with her the blessed destiny reserved to his own cultic practices.⁵⁹

CONCLUSION

Comparing the image of Orpheus on coins and other types of artefacts, the great popularity and the immediate recognition that existed of the Thracian singer as an enchanting musician and saviour is evident. This image also had a strong influence on the early Christian world.⁶⁰ On account of this, it should be noted that, in the context of late antique religious syncretism, Orpheus may have worn a halo, as on a mosaic dating to the 4th–5th century AD found in a Roman villa in Ptolemais in Libya,⁶¹ which associates him with Christian images. On a mosaic dating to the 508/9 AD, found in a synagogue in Gaza, King David is depicted, clearly identified by his name written in Hebrew, playing the harp surrounded by the animals. This image evidently refers to the typical model of Orpheus among the animals.⁶²

The image of Orpheus on coins as well as in other artistic media in the Classical world and then in early Christian period, demonstrates the importance of this

⁵⁹ Ovid. *Metam.* XI 50–66. Riedweg (n. 5) 1252–1263. In the modern age one can find a “happy end” of the story, with a joyfully concluded redemption of Eurydice: ROESSLI, J.-M.: La catabase d’Orphée dans la poésie portugaise de la Renaissance. *Les Études classiques* 83 (2015) 427–444, esp. 427–428, with bibliography.

⁶⁰ HERRERO DE JAUREGUI, M.: *Orphism and Christianity in Late Antiquity*. Berlin 2012.

⁶¹ HARRISON, R. M.: An Orpheus Mosaic at Ptolemais in Cyrenaica. *JRS* 52 (1962) 13–18 (image available in <http://amphi-theatrum.de/1509.html>).

⁶² KESTENBAUM GREEN, C.: King David’s Head from Gaza Synagogue Restored. *Biblical Archaeology Review Magazine* 20 (Mar/Apr 1994) 2, 58.

savior-figure to the men of classical and Late Antiquity. People of the late antiquity were heirs of the past represented by the mysteries of Orpheus, which were destined to save them from the oblivion of the Underworld; on the other hand, they are concentrated on the future through their vision of Christ the Redeemer of humanity, the singer of triumphant Christianity and the reassuring prospect of eternal life.⁶³

Francesca Ceci
Capitoline Museums, Rome
Italy
francesca.ceci@comune.roma.it

Aleksandra Krauze-Kołodziej
The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
Poland
o.krauze@wp.pl

⁶³ Eusebius Pamphili, *De laudibus Constantini* 14. 5, Orpheus depicts Christ as embodied *Logos*. VIEILLEFON (n. 24).