



CHAPTER 12

ORIGIN AND NATURE OF EARLY PYTHAGOREAN COSMOGONY

Comparative Study of Philosophical Beginnings

Things in this world come into being, change and pass away. And there are causes for this continual stream of alterations. Man is aware, however, amidst this flux and its concomitant causal nexus, of more and more permanent, or permanently recurring, features of reality. Changelessness, relative or absolute, moreover, is associated with increased and, consequently, more intensive and extensive causal power. The more exempt a being is from alteration and, thus, of intrinsic temporal limitation, the vaster its field of operation. Immensity is a mark of incorruptibility and heightened potency.

Seeing causality so markedly operative in the transient configurations of the world, Man by a natural projection feels its presence also in those mightly, more permanent elements, whose coming into being and passing away he does not observe. He, especially the Greek, asks for the primal beginnings, and searches after origins and principles from which the entire variety of the world is produced.

The basis for this feeling consists in the fact of the closed cosmic connectedness, whereby the world-constituents are thoroughly interrelated in nature, action and influence. What constitutively applies to a part, must apply to the whole. The underlying sense of overarching unity is confirmed and justified when Man thus conceives the systematic hierarchies of unalterable natural order totally on the pattern of graduated causal agency. Thus the articulate structure of the World is projected as a ramified system of deductive causality, and cosmology is found to be basically cosmogony.

As to the ways in which this universal causality, especially regarding the more general features of the World, is visualized, the concrete, that is, types and modes of cosmic derivation or production, three archetypes spontaneously present themselves through reflection on common experience, and among themselves exhaust the specifically recognizable possibilities: the model of organic birth (in animals and plants), that of physical modification or transformation, and that of artificial construction.

Now the world order is represented in a natural religion by the divine order. Gods are precisely permanent realities of Might, weaving and sustaining intact the fabric of the World, through unceasing production and destruction of the individual items. Cosmic power is the unmistakable sign of godhead.

In such a context, the causal structure of existence is expressed as a divine kinship system. Gods and Goddesses give birth through their unions (perverse, illicit or institutionalised) to others, and thus the articulated Law of the World is generated together with the necessary framework of their secrete influences and manifest workings in all particular cases. The divine system is the root and rule of everything - a fundamental, *primaeval* experience reproduced philosophically in the Neoplatonic *henads*. Thus just as cosmology presents itself as *cosmogony*; so *cosmogony* assumes the character of *theogony*.

In the order of time, *theogony* comes first and is the product of a religious feeling instinctively groping after systematic objective order and natural hierarchies. Things are engendered by the coition of two principles, one male, the other female. Various exceptions obey fundamentally the same biological pattern, which is well expressed with regard to the Orphic "first born", the androgynous *Phanes*, by *Lactantius*: *nisi forte existimabimus deum, sicut Orpheus putavit, et marem esse et feminam, quod aliter generare non quiverit nisi haberet vim sexus utriusque, quasi aut ipse secum coierit aut sine coitu non potuerit procreare*¹.

Natural phenomena and potencies, especially those of superlative significance, seen as radically divine, and endowed with sex, are arranged in genealogical trees converging on the first principles. By such a reduction a first pair is finally reached, the primal male-female couple, whose archetypal marriage sets the process of the formation of the World in movement. This aboriginal procreative conjunction

was regularly felt to be that of aethereal heaven and grave Earth.

Four main factors tend somehow to obscure this fact perhaps. There is first the necessity of reaching absolutely first principles, the Platonic ἀνυπόθετον, beginnings whose concrete content must be minimal. Then there is the deep conviction of the Greek mind that darkness comes before light, just as day beings with the setting of the Sun. Furthermore disorder and negative chthonicity require emphatically abnormal processes of generation and development. Fourthly, one felt that duality is not the ultimate datum of the Universe, and that, beyond it, an unspeakable unity must be presupposed. Such requirements created eventually an imposing superstructure above and beside Heaven and Earth, whose elements however conformed basically, in normal or aberrant ways, to the same biological model².

The fundamental experience that Heaven and Earth are the mediate or direct original parents of everything is already expressed in the Hesiodic Theogony³; it also played a major role in Orphic theogonies of all kinds⁴. It was deeply felt by the neighbouring barbarian soul⁵. The Samothracian Mysteries, we are told on competent authority, involved the recognition of its supreme importance⁶. It is furthermore emphatically preserved in tragedy and later poetry⁷. It was also part of the universal stock of common notions⁸. According to Proclus it was even reflected in cult by a significant ritual observance: in Athens marriages were pre-consecrated to Heaven and Earth⁹. As Aristotle remarked¹⁰, the cosmic Mother was always the Earth¹¹, the Female being that which becomes impregnated and bears fruit in itself, while the Male is that which impregnates and produces offspring in something else; Heaven or some other appropriate celestial power was seen as arch-Father, sometimes the Sun appearing in the place of Heaven (a philosophical expression of this notion probably occurring in Anaxagoras¹² and certainly working in Orphism), but more often Zeus playing the part of the celestial King, the God of Sky par excellence.

Thus at Dodona the priestesses sang a hymn of persuasive and eloquent simplicity¹³:

Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus will be; oh Great Zeus.
Earth sends up fruits; so invoke Mother Earth.

(Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστίν, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται· ὦ μέγαλε Ζεῦ.
Γᾶ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε ματέραν Γαίαν).

Zeus there bore the divine epithet *Náios* as presiding over fructifying saps. That he essentially constitutes the impregnating and spermatoc principle is unequivocally, if naively, expressed in the famous address of Pamphos to Zeus¹⁴:

Zeus most glorious, greatest of gods, involuted in dung
From sheep and horses and mules.
(Ζεὺς κύνδιστε μέγιστε θεῶν, εἰλυμένε κόπρω
μηλείη τε καὶ ἵππείη καὶ ἡμιονείη).

The Zagreus of the ancient *Alcmaeonis*¹⁵:

Awesome Earth, and Zegreus supremest of all gods
(Πότνια Γῆ, Ζεγρεῦ τε θεῶν πανυπέρτατε πάντων),

is another form of the ultimate masculine principle of generation, this time conceived in its mystic identity to the principle of destruction¹⁶.

The *θεολόγοι*, according to the relevant Aristotelian terminology, discovered in a primal pair of fertilizing and fertilized, of spermatoc and pregnant, of male and female, the principle and beginning of things. The second fecund conjunct was always Earth, the Great Mother; the former, Heaven, a celestial power, the King of the Sky, who by his seminal rain impregnates the other. The Ionian *φυσιολόγοι*, postulating a first substance definite or indeterminate, had recourse either to the model of semen in explaining the generation of the World by secretion from it, or to that of its physical transformation, normally by rarefaction and condensation¹⁷. Apparently also a combination of the two operations must be assumed, so that what begins by secretion or transformation can continue by transformation or conglomeration¹⁸.

Not that the principle of opposites was entirely alien to their mode of thinking: it already appears in Anaximander, according to whom the World was initially formed by the secretion out of the Indeterminate of seeds generative of (the basic) contraries (warm-cold, dry-wet)¹⁹. And this is significant. For around the middle of the

6th century we hear much talk about opposites in philosophical contexts. A little later Alcmaeon²⁰ seems to have recognized emphatically, if without order or interconnection, the universal working of contrariety²¹. We need not share Aristotle's hesitation as to whether he followed the Pythagorean conception or vice versa²². The time was ripe for an increased philosophical awareness of the importance of opposites, but two conceptions, remarkably similar au fond, clearly emerge above the rest by virtue of their thorough articulation and far-reaching significance: one, of Pythagoras and his circle; the other, and later, of Heraclitus.

We may discover the religious genesis of that philosophical awareness by observing what preceded or accompanied its fullblown Pythagorean climax. The Eleatic Monism had a cosmological inception, as Aristotle and Theophrastus diagnosed in the case of Xenophanes²³: it is the heavenly, aethereal sphere as the all-inclusive Universe which stands for the one, supreme, homogeneous God²⁴; against whom there is the immense all-productive and all-absorbing Earth²⁵, full of moisture, which equally permeates her at certain times and everything is dissolved in an undifferentiated mud (*πηλός*), out of which a new cosmic cycle commences²⁶. The latter conception is paralleled in the so called Orphic Theology according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus, where a slimy Ur-matter (*ιλύς* or *ύλη*) is compounded from Water and Earth, a couple which beget the terrible serpent Chronos, progenitor of the cosmic Egg²⁷. One may also compare the Anaximandrian doctrine of an original, general liquidness in Earth, out of which the first animals issued²⁸. In this connection, Water appears as the spermatic male principle, as Zeus *Náios* at Dodona²⁹, as Poseidon originally in Delphi by the side of Chthonie³⁰, or Poseidon as spouse of Demeter in Arcadia³¹. Mythically expressed, the very etymology of the god-of-fluidity's name connotes phallism and husbandhood³². Physically speaking, water possesses in relation to solidity the coagulating and cohesive faculty, while earth is essentially scatterable and dispersive³³.

The Xenophanic monism-cum-dualism reappears in Parmenides after a more consistent and clear-cut version. The divine aethereal One is sublated into Absolute Being³⁴, and there are left two opposite principles to explain appearances and human beliefs, the one more akin to Being in itself, the other very diverse: the aethereal fire of

flame, light and subtle, thoroughly homogeneous; the lightless darkness of Night, dense and heavy body³⁵. Two principles that correspond to Heaven and Earth, and are but their philosophico-mythical characterizations.

Pherecydes of Syros³⁶, the reputed teacher of Pythagoras³⁷, and the first author of a prose treatise *περὶ φύσεως*³⁸, is an obscure but crucial figure in the development of non-Ionian philosophy out of myth. Aristotle singles him out as a cardinal example of *μεμιγμένοι θεολόγοι*, mixed theologians, those, that is, who, as he puts it, do not express everything mythically, but also employ “physiological” conceptual apparatus and argumentation³⁹. Three ultimate principles stand according to him at the beginning of things: Chronos, Zas and Chthonie⁴⁰. The last is the divine mistress of the gloomy interior in the yet unformed Earth, of her compact body, the infernal dense and heavy darkness (thus closely resembling the Parmenidean second principle). The voice of *Χθονίη* that resounds from Earth’s bowels was heard at Delphi⁴¹; and *χθόνιος*, *χθονία* is an epithet of eminently underworld deities, or of divinities in a markedly subterranean aspect⁴². Zas for Zeus highlights even phonetically (according to the beloved practice of Pherecydes⁴³) the aethereal warmth and luminosity, the spiritual Breath, effervescent principle of light and life⁴⁴. Ioannes Lydus has merely taken a chief part for the whole, and a characteristic manifestation for the underlying principle, when he maintained the identity of the Sun and Zeus according to Pherecydes⁴⁵; it may be significant that Empedocles contrasts as the first pair of opposites in this dolorous World of tears *Ἡλιόπη* and *Χθονίη*, Sun’s Face and Chthonie⁴⁶. We see that in this antithesis of Zas and Chthonie we recover prefigured in mythical dress the Parmenidean arch-opposition.

Finally, whether or not Chronos, stems from the Middle East, as is very probable,⁴⁷ it could not for the archaic Greek mind be the deification of a mere time-abstraction; it must possess full-fledged substantial existence, in all likelihood as the cosmic firmament bounding the world, even if not yet distinctly as the vast reservoir beyond, encompassing the World, out of which necessary facts for the World are drawn⁴⁸. We may compare the notion in Anaximander that things are dissolved in that from which they come forward according to the order of time⁴⁹; time expressing the pulsating rhythm of coming

into being and passing away. We may also apply that notion to the world-formation at large. It then appears that the Law of Time according to which the worlds are eternally procreated and destroyed must be an inherent determination of the *Ἄπειρον* itself, as there is nothing else to which it may be ascribed⁵⁰. Thus Indefinite and Time come close together in Anaximander. And in fact we learn that in Pherecydes, Chronos fashioned from his own semen the three elements fire, spirit and water, which, distributed alone or in various mixtures in five recesses (*μυχολί*) of the preexisting World-Cave, gave rise to the numerous *πεντέμυχος* or *πεντέκοσμος* (of the five recesses or five-worldly) progeny of gods⁵¹.

Foremost and indeed primogenitus (*πρωτόγονος*) among this prolific issue would have been cosmogonic Eros⁵², maybe as principle of celestial fire. But it must have been Earth who, from her subterranean *μυχός*, Chthonie's Womb, fertilized by Chronos' seed, brought forth the terrible Ophioneus, leader of a rebellious host presiding over disorder and disunion, contender for the cosmic throne and challenger to universal sovereignty (a parallel to the Titans, Giants and Typhon on mainstream mythology)⁵³. A divine war ensues from which the side of Chronos emerges victorious, through the presumably crucial instrumentality of Zeus⁵⁴, who in the sequel "becomes Eros"⁵⁵ (being identified with him, maybe by swallowing him as in the Orphic theogonies⁵⁶ - and thus assuming his full capacities) and, inflamed by the ardent desire to procreation, proceeds to orderly coition. By being ritually conjugated to Chthonie, Zeus ceremoniously and archetypically institutionalises marriage, thus producing the orderly Cosmos we live in and know, as exhibited in the marriage gift: the veil (*πέπλος*)⁵⁷ of existence. When in the new stable lawfulness a violation of the cosmic order is committed (*ἐξέβρισις*) on the part of a divine natural power, the culprit is sent to the Tartarus⁵⁸.

Such was the milieu in which Pythagoras worked his own way.

Organic life is paradigm and pattern of all existence. Biological procreation is the irreducible reality of cosmogonical generation. The dynamism of the World is fundamentally erotic, venereal. Creation is a sexual act. Such was the essence into which Greek rationality distilled underlying religious experiences; the form in which it generalized their

content. Because the Hellenic mind was acutely sensitive to the specific characteristics of Being in its manifold unfolding; as well as extremely alert to the demands of vigorous overall cohesion; but without ever minimizing the natural foundation of thought. And so it combined the apperception of physical reality as living substance with a penetrating analysis of its workings conceived as a field of elemental and compound forces. It was, however, the former vision that guided the latter understanding. As it was undoubtedly in the firm sense of the organicity of things that Greek dualism took its roots.

We have seen thus emerging from “theology”, and widespread in “physiology”, the conception of a duality of first principles, one male, bright, subtle, aethereal; the other female, dark, dense, chthonic. It remained to formulate their contrariety in a more abstract and philosophical way. And in that, it was again the theological nomenclature and religious experience that provided the dominant notes; and observation of animal and plant propagation which offered crucial clues. For it was apprehended that the essential character of femineity was to conceive, bear and beget offspring; but malehood determined the specific nature of the issue. The sperm includes potentially the new being in advance; but it can not carry it into existence without the procreative power of the female. Conversely, the feminine possessed and produced everything necessary for generation; but, without semen, that was soon corrupted and its power to bear fruit cancelled; or if of transcendent fecundity, it might only give rise to monstrous births. It was thus evident that malehood consisted in the potency of form-imposition; while the capacity to bring forth and nurture offspring constituted femineity. The twin conception of a celestial royal Father and of an earthly Great Mother was the religious and pre-philosophical expression of this understanding.

In physical terms, one initially construed the primal, creative distinction as that between a light and a dark substance. But the essential character of the opposition was felt to reside on the complementarity of a moulding force and a sustaining power; of an (in-)formative and a productive principle: the former defines, while the latter provides with actual existence (conceives, bears and maintains) whatever is defined. At the root of the primordial, conjugal contrariety we discover determinateness versus indeterminacy. That to exist is to be fully well-defined; that coming into being is

determination; that, consequently, being proceeds out of the determinable indeterminate; and that this latter is no mere impotent passivity, but the teaming Unlimited, inexhaustible source of all reality necessary, actual or possible; these insights lie at the origin and core of Pythagoreanism. The doctrine focus thus consisted in the recognition of the fundamental antithesis between *Πέρασ* (limit, finiteness, determinateness) and *Ἄπειρον* (unlimited, infinite, indeterminate) as cosmic arch-polarity⁵⁹.

The explicit awareness and philosophical articulation of that idea facilitated, and in turn was promoted by, the appropriate comprehension of two groups of facts. Firstly, it was observed that many opposites followed the same pattern, one representing norm, while the other being susceptible of an indefinite variation⁶⁰. It may be true that fixed form and dynamic formlessness would be at first too readily enforced on pairs whose both sides apparently exhibited what Plato considered the indisputable mark of indefiniteness: the capacity to be more and less; or rather that the distinction between two kinds of contrarities, one of the Finite-Infinite type, the other of the Infinite-Infinite one, was not yet observed⁶¹.

But the whole question, the emphasis on that criterion and the ground for this distinction, could only emerge in the context of later, probably fourth-century, exclusively mathematizing developments of Pythagoreanism. Besides, and in any case, the problem was easily solvable in terms of the original Pythagorean conception, which was firmly rooted in the physico-religious presuppositions of its number-symbolism; for, fundamentally, in each and every natural opposition one pole is more intimately connected to Form and *Πέρασ* than the other, although both of its terms partake in both ultimate principles⁶².

Secondly, one was struck by the fact that as every specific nature, individual thing and particular situation consisted in a definite determination; and as delimitation was found to be constituted in crucial cases by some number of numerical relation⁶³; as, further, things and states in their essential attributes were seen to reflect properties of numbers; number from a prime example of bounding form was extrapolated as its invariable concomitant and intrinsic factor; which itself could also be paradigmatically derived by application of two principles, one limiting, the other limitless⁶⁴.

Yet it is clear that neither of these two kinds of facts could alone or in combination lead to the idea of an ultimate dualism, a cosmogonic antithesis of *Πέρας* and *Ἄπειρον*. It is rather because one has already somehow reached the understanding of such generative cosmic arch-contrariety that one notices and ascertains the bipolarity of standard and variation, of norm and divergence, in several oppositions; as it is certainly for the same reason that one may start to look systematically after quantificational measure and proportionality (whether scientific or symbolic) everywhere, and even to inquire concerning finitude and infinity in number, as its elements and principles. In this, we must certainly reverse Aristotle's genetic analysis of Pythagorean philosophy; in which, one may suggest, he overemphasized the tendencies and preoccupations of later Pythagoreans in the fifth and fourth centuries, and, primarily, their survival and renaissance in the Academy of his day. Pythagoreanism in its origin was a cosmogonic system like the rest of its cultural environment, and must be explained with reference to the same framework as they; something which Aristotle himself explicitly emphasized⁶⁵.

Ἄπειρον as the Archetypal Female, produces multiplicity and variety when acted upon by the male *Πέρας*. Out of one it gives birth to another⁶⁶. This fecund strength brought together early its theological and mathematical aspects. From the logico-mythical opposition of a heavenly Father and a terrestrial Mother there grew the antithesis between Limit and Infinity, capturing in conceptual terms the substance of that physiologico-religious experience of dualism. In the light of this development the structure of reality becomes clearer. For it now follows that the second principle is the source of otherness⁶⁷, expansion⁶⁸, movement⁶⁹, alteration⁷⁰, the indefinite more and less⁷¹; just as *Πέρας* imposes identity, circumscription, stability, changelessness, definite measure.

These ultimate principles are, moreover, no mere abstractions. Thus the *Ἄπειρον* in itself enjoys a material role and full physical existence. It encompasses the world⁷², like the Anaximandean *Ἄπειρον*⁷³, the surrounding vastness (*τὸ πολὺ περιέχον*) of Anaxagoras⁷⁴, and the Inert matter (*ἀργή ὕλη*) of Empedocles⁷⁵. We may understand it as limitless, unorganized extension, space without geometry; unmeasurable temporal distance without succession, time without *πρότερον* and *ἕστερον*; chaotic darkness, spirit in permanent

instability⁷⁶. Correspondingly *πέρας* must be concretized as a solitary dimensionless, immutable, unmoveable point at the pre-determined centre of what is to become orderly Universe, a static here and now, universal and eternal, of absolute solidity, invariably glowing⁷⁷.

Out of *Πέρας* in itself and *Ἄπειρον* in itself came a *Πρῶτον Ἐν*, an original One⁷⁸, the *πρῶτον ἄρμοσθέν*, the first fitting coalescence of *Πέρας* and *Ἄπειρον* in Philolaus⁷⁹. This was called *Ἔστια*⁸⁰, *Διὸς φυλακή*, *Ζηνὸς πύργος*, *Διὸς θρόνος*⁸¹ (Vesta, Zeus' Guardianship, Zeus' Tower, Zeus' Throne). It is clear from Aristotle⁸² that the Pythagoreans argued to the effect that as the centre of the Universe is the principal and most honourable place in it, it should be guarded by the primest and most valuable potency; and such was the central fire, the aboriginal One. Therefore Zeus was the *Πέρας* in itself, the uniquely privileged, central point, the absolute focal reference of all coordination and order⁸³.

Aristotle explicitly comments on what he sees as the Pythagorean difficulty to deduce the original One from *Πέρας* and *Ἄπειρον*⁸⁴. This One was elemental, pure fire, the nearest, as we know from Parmenides, to absolute Being. It was the first organized spatial extension, and the first subtle body. Aristotle⁸⁵ enumerates three ways according to which the Pythagoreans endeavoured to account for that generation: by planes, surfaces⁸⁶ or semen. The first evidently refers to the theory of the five regular geometrical solids, one of which, the elementary pyramid, was constitutive of fire; but this is clearly a later development of the classical period⁸⁷. The second must be construed somehow in this manner: the organization of space and the production of the first three-dimensional extended being is effected by surfaces as limits of solids; for it is its boundary that defines a separate spatial unity. This must be an earlier notion, but still presupposes a mathematization that could not be so prominent in the beginning⁸⁸.

But the seed version is very promising. It fits well with the biogenico-religious thinking of the age, as above adumbrated. We have also more definite pointers in the same direction. In the Pythagorean *Ἐρὸς Λόγος* the two first principles were called Proteus and Chaos⁸⁹. Chaos well characterises the Pythagorean *ἄπειρον*, as we saw. Protean transformability refers, in the symbolical manner characteristic of the Pythagoreans⁹⁰, to the power of the sperm to include potentially, or rather dynamically, and thus to effect, the entire development and full

perfection of the being that comes out of it. The Phanes in the Orphic theogony according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus⁹¹ exhibited in his head *δράκοντα πελώριον παντοδαπαῖς μορφαῖς θηρίων ἰνδαλλόμενον* (a monstrous enormity, a snake with varying spectral shapes of beasts). The multiplicity of animal heads in Phanes is also confirmed in the rhapsodic Orphic Theogony⁹². The power of sperm to prefigure and predetermine the perfect manifestation of the full being, is well illustrated by Apion⁹³, with reference to the cosmic Ovum, by the example of the peacock's egg, which, though exhibiting one colour, potentially possesses in itself the myriad marvellous hues of the future perfect animal. Similarly the cosmic Egg, full of spermatic marrow (*γονίμου μυελού*) presented under one substance and colour an infinitely variegated image⁹⁴. More philosophically, Pythagoras is reputed to have defined number as the extension and actuality of the spermatic essences comprised in the Monad⁹⁵. That the male principle secretes semen which by fertilizing the female infinite gives the first offspring, the original One, itself teeming with cosmic creative sperm, is a perfectly understandable notion in that context. The new and first born, acts now in its turn as *πέρας*, attracts, or draws in, the neighbouring infinite, informs it, and thus engenders a further determinate being⁹⁶. By the continuation of this process the harmonious ornamentation of the Universe, the real *Κόσμος*, is produced.

We further know what is introduced into the world from the *ἄπειρον* which lies outside, enveloping it. It is *Χρόνος* (Time) - *Κενόν* (Vacuum) - and *Πνεῦμα* (spirit)⁹⁷. *Κενόν* is the inarticulate space which, by assuming geometrical order, produces the discreet multiplicity of corporeal numbers and things⁹⁸. The disorganized temporal element that enters the world-realm, informed by *πέρας* through the power of the central fire, is transformed into orderly time consisting in the regular succession of day, night and seasons. Consonant with the basic Hellenic experience, the Pythagoreans always conceived concretely of even ultimate generalities and so they took the first foundation of orderly time-succession as Time itself: thus the celestial sphere was indeed Time⁹⁹, the outermost of the World in immediate proximity to the *Ἄπειρον*, co-substantial with it but regularized. We thus understand Philolaus' statement to the effect that the Dyad (i.e. the indefinite one or *ἄπειρον*) was the consort of *Κρό-*

νος, whom we must accept as *Χρόνος*¹⁰⁰. Rhea besides, connoting perpetual flux, may be aptly assimilated to the previously mentioned indefinite Dyad¹⁰¹. All this exhibits close relationships to the Pherecydean system.

The idea of Time being the extremest sphere is expressed in the tragedy Peirithus¹⁰², where the Pythagorean reference is unmistakable, since the Bears, winged and quickly moving, are there said to guard and take care of the celestial Pole, just as Pythagoras symbolically called the Bears “hands of Rhea”¹⁰³ - these hands of Saturn’s or Time’s consort causing no doubt the revolution of the heavenly sphere. Since *Χρόνος* is here described as begetting himself, we ought to correlate another fragment from the same tragedy¹⁰⁴, where the address is to the *αὐτοφύης*, the self-engendered one, who enveloped and implicated nature in one aetherial revolution; clearly Time as the boundary sphere of the World is meant.

Indefinite time and vacuum as principles of temporal and spatial multiplication, extrapolation and dimensionality, are complemented by spirit which also is breathed in from the *Ἄπειρον* by the organism of the Whole formed and ordered World¹⁰⁵. This is the principle of self-movement and alteration, disorderly in itself, which, however, being informed by finiteness yields rhythmical, harmonious and purposeful movement and change in accordance with measure and number; spirit is thus transformed into an ordered soul¹⁰⁶.

It is significant that in the Orphic Epics (the archetypal Rhapsodies) recorded by Aristotle, the soul proceeding from the Whole, that is the heavenly sphere, is carried to and fro by the winds, and enters by breathing into the animal¹⁰⁷. Theophrastus, it is true, comments that the mathematizing Academicians of his time exhaust their speculation in the derivation of numbers, planes, solids, and that beyond that mathematical world they rarely extend, except when they tangentially mention, for instance, that place and indeterminate vacuum come from the indefinite dyad, whereas soul and such things proceed from numbers and the One¹⁰⁸. But this last doctrine does not concern early Pythagoreanism. It clearly betrays the rationalizing tendency not to make a “good” thing (soul) proceed out of a “bad” (infinite). Besides, soul is ordered spirit.

To the Pythagorean process of world-formation out of a centre and in a sphere in the midst of *Ἄπειρον*, a close parallel is provided by the

Orphic cosmogony recorded by Apion¹⁰⁹. There is in the beginning an infinite depth of ensouled, unformed matter in unceasing undulation, in unmeasurable, disorderly flux, chaotically miscarrying in untimely births monstrous progeny, and soon reabsorbing them as imperfections. It so happened that at a certain moment, somewhere in this Ocean of Infinity, the chaotic clashing palpitation assumed an orderly movement, like that of a vortex, and brought together the best mixture of elements and combination of conditions, in a situation most apt to engender an animal. Such happy conformation attracted then the circumambient divine Spirit, and thus the cosmic Egg was formed out of which Phanes and the entire World proceeded. This¹¹⁰ is an almost Stoically elaborated version of an Orphic account which would initially greatly resemble the Pythagorean structure. It is not accidental that Apion goes on to interpret that version as the generation of the cosmic Egg from *Κρόνος* - *Χρόνος* and *Ρέα*, the couple representing symbolically in Pythagoreanism either the cosmic boundary as whirling eruption of the Infinite into the World, and "*Ἄπειρον* itself as eternal determinateless flowing; or the inner conjugation in "*Ἄπειρον* between unformed duration and chaotic flux¹¹¹. The indraught of Spirit is another cardinal point of connectedness; as in the embryological root and pattern of both conceptions. The difference lying in that for the Orphic version the principle of the seminal One (as androgynous Phanes), exactly corresponding to the "first harmonious adaptation of *πέρας* and *ἄπειρον*", is produced inside the Egg, deep into the womb of Infinity, without the collaboration of a purely Male principle of Finiteness. In this respect Orphism manifests its eloquent predilection to begin with one principle, and that of darkness. Significantly, however, there is ovoviviparous birth of the World in Orphism; but no real cosmic nativity in Pythagoreanism, only the life of a perfected embryo¹¹².

COMMENTARY

1. *Divinarum Institutionum* IV, 8, 4 (p. 296.2 Brandt). That, according to the *Orphica*, Phanes combined both sexes is stated by Proclus (in *Tim.* 31a (450 Diehl): *ὁ Φάνης μόνος τε πρόεισι* - without, that is, a conjugal partner - *καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνυμνεῖται θῆλυς καὶ γενέτωρ*). *Πρωτόγονος* or

Eros, albeit *Μονογενής*, was conceived as exhibiting a triadic form under the name *Φάνης*, *Ἡρικεπαῖος*, *Μῆτις*. Damascius, referring to the post-Iamblichean, Athenian Neoplatonists correspondances between Orphism and Platonic Theology, mentions as third intelligible triad according to one interpretation, precisely the *τρίμορφος θεός*; de primis principiis §123 (p. 317.6 Ruelle): ...τὴν δὲ τρίτην (sc. τριάδα) τὸν *Μῆτιν* <ὡς νοῦν>, τὸν *Ἡρικεπαῖον* ὡς δύναμιν, τὸν *Φάνητα* αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα; although he criticizes (I p. 317.4-6) and opposes that line of thought, stating his own view in I p. 318.6 sqq., and for the matter at hand, v. p. 319.4-5: ταύτης δὲ τῆς τρίτης τριάδος τὸν τρίτον θεὸν καὶ ἥδε ἡ θεολογία (sc. the Orphic one) *Πρωτόγονον* ἀνυμνεῖ etc. And this is indeed better, as the first manifested godhead was a bisexual unity comprising the sperm of all divinity, named variously according to its different aspects. V. Proclus *in Cratylum* 391d-e (p. 32.29 sqq. Pasquali) - in a context where the *αὐτοζῶον* and ultimate *παράδειγμα* with the *πρῶτα εἶδη* exhibiting the “intelligent nature of intelligibles” (ἡ νοερὰ τῶν νοητῶν φύσις) renders clear that the third intelligible triad is meant; which reveals also the but of Damascius’ criticism *supra, loc.cit.*: it is as so often Proclus, normally left unnamed - :

δαίμονα σεμνόν,
Μῆτιν σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν κλυτόν, ὃν τε *Φάνητα*
Πρωτόγονον μάκαρες κάλειον κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον
 (cf. Proclus *In Tim.* 31a (451,6 Diehl) = OF 85).

Ἄβρὸς Ἔρωσ, *Μῆτις* *Ἀτάσθαλος* and *Μέγας Δαίμων* is the same Godhead v. Proclus *in Alc.pr.* 103a (p. 376.10 Cous.2 = p. 66 Creuzer) (OF 83). Cf. Damascius *De Pr. Pr.* §111 (I p. 286,15 Ruelle): *Εἰ δὲ ὁ παρ’ Ὀρφεί* πρωτόγονος θεός, ὁ πάντων σπέρμα φέρων τῶν θεῶν etc.; with §53 (I p. 107.13 Ruelle): *Διὸ* καὶ τὸν *Μῆτιν* πρῶτον ὁ θεολόγος (sc. Ὀρφεὺς) ἀνυμνεῖ σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν etc.; and §98 (I p. 251.18 sqq. Ruelle): *Ἀλλὰ* καὶ Ὀρφεὺς τὸν πολυτίμητον τοῦτον θεὸν ἀνευφήμησε:

Μῆτιν σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν κλυτὸν *Ἡρικεπαῖον*,

καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ποιεῖ προϊούσαν ἅπασαν τὴν τῶν θεῶν γενεάν. Ὡς μὲν δὴ κατὰ πλάτος εἰπεῖν, ἐκεῖ πάντα προεἰληπται σποράδην, ὡς φησιν ὁ θεολόγος, κατὰ τὴν ἡνωμένην περίληψιν, ἣν σπέρμα πάντων ἐκάλεσε. Cf. also Proclus *in Tim.* 37b (I 450, 9 Diehl): εἰκότως ἄρα καὶ ὁ θεολόγος μόνον παράγει τὸν *Φάνητα* σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν κλυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κρυφίως ὄντος θεοῦ.

That the *Πρωτόγονος* is the self-same godhead as *Ἡρικεπαῖος* is also evident from the Orphic fragment (OF 167) apud Proclus *in Tim.* 29a (I 324 *ad fin.*):

ὥς τότε Πρωτογόνοιου χαδὼν μένος Ἡρικεπαίου

sc. Zeus, referring to the *κατάποσις* of Phanes. - After all see the *Orphic Hymn VI* to *Πρωτόγονος*: *Πρωτόγονον ... σπέρμα ... Ἡρικεπαῖον ... Φάνητα* (cf. LII, 6).

A late and popular source preserves learned and exact formulations respecting the more than triunic God; Malalas 74.1 sqq. Dindorff esp. 11 sqq.: *εἰπὼν ἐκεῖνο εἶναι τὸ φῶς τὸ ρῆξαν τὸν αἰθέρα τὸ προειρημένον, τὸ ὑπέρτατον πάντων, οὐ ὄνομα ὁ αὐτὸς Ὀρφεὺς ἀκούσας ἐκ τῆς μαντείας ἐξείπε, Μῆτιν, Φάνητα, Ἡρικεπαῖον· ὅπερ ἐρμηνεύεται τῇ κοινῇ γλῶσση βουλή, φῶς, ζωοδοτήρ· εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκθέσει τὰς αὐτὰς τρεῖς θείας τῶν ὀνομάτων δυνάμεις μίαν εἶναι δύναμιν καὶ κράτος τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ etc.* - Phanes is the Manifested One (*φαίνω*). *Μῆτις*, the wise counsel, the Deviser, the Insightful, Crafty One (cf. e.g. Homer, *Ilias*, H 324-5 specifically for the equivalence with *Βουλή*: *τοῖς ὀ γέρων πάμπρωτος ὑφαίνειν ἤρχετο μῆτιν, / Νέστωρ, οὐ καὶ πρόσθεν ἀρίστη φαίνοτο βουλή*). As to *Ἡρικεπαῖος* or *Ἡρικαπαῖος*, there existed a curious and lively controversy regarding its meaning with some of the renowned hypercritics declaring confidently with evident satisfaction the name incomprehensible or even totally un-Greek. (So e.g. Bentley *Epistola ad Millium* p. 682; 748 in Dindorf's edition of Malalas. And Lobeck, *Aglaophamus* p. 479 n. [m]).

But that mine of precious antiquarian information, Hesychius, informs us that *κάπος* is *ψυχή, πνεῦμα, καὶ ὁ τοῦ φοίνικος φλοῖδος ἐν ᾧ κέκρυπται ὁ καρπός. καὶ ἡ πρώτη ἔκφυσις*. The first signification (breath, spirit, soul) is testified in epic language: cf. X, 466 sqq.:

τὴν δὲ (sc. Ἀνδρομάχην) κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐρεβεννὴ νύξ ἐκάλυψεν.
ἤριπε δ' ἐξοπίσω, ἀπὸ δὲ ψυχὴν ἐκάπτυσσε.

.....

ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ἄμπνυτο καὶ εἰς φρένα θυμὸς ἀγέρθη,

etc.

She breathed forth her soul, she swooned, *ἔλιπε ψυχὴ* (E, 696) or *λιποθύμῃσιν*; afterwards she recovered, breathed in again (*ἄμπνυτο* = *ἀνέπνευσε*) and the *θυμὸς* was again “resurrected” in the *φρένες* (cf. Eustathius *ad loc.*; 1280.34 sqq.); she was erected, uprighted from her prostrate, collapsed

state; the reference being also specifically (as always with the ancients) to the corresponding physical condition, to the compression, and collapse of the body and in particular of the thorax upon the diagram. Quintus Smyrnaeus employs the same expression alone, without ἀπό, to signify death; *Posthomericonum* VI 522 sqq.:

ὃ δ' ἄρ' ἐν κονίησι ταυνοθεῖς
 ψυχὴν οὐ τι κάπυσσεν, ἐπεὶ νύ οἱ αἴσιμον ἦμαρ
 ἐν νόστῳ ἐτέτυκτο καφηρίσιν ἀμφὶ πέτρῃσι·
 καὶ ρά μιν ἀρπάξαντες ἀρηίφιλοι θεράποντες
 βαῖον ἔτ' ἐμπνεύοντα φέρον etc.

There is also the perfect participle *κεκαφηότα*. In E 696 sqq.:

τὸν δ' ἔλιπε ψυχὴ (sc. Sarpedon), κατὰ δ' ὀφθαλμῶν κέχυτ'
 ἀχλὺς·
 αὖτις δ' ἐμπνύνθη, περὶ δὲ πνοῇ Βορέας
 ζῶγρει ἐπιπνεύουσα κακῶς κεκαφηότα θυμόν.

The breeze from Boreus strengthened his badly pulsating spirit, providing for a regular intake of breath (cf. Moschopoulos s.v. κάπος· ἢ συνεχῆς ἀναπνοή). See Eustathius *ad loc.* 595.21 sqq.: τοῦ δὲ κεκαφηότα, ὃ ἐστὶν ἐκπεπνευκότα, ... κεκαφηώς, ὃ ἀντίθετόν ἐστι πρὸς τὸ ἀμπνύνθη. λέγει γὰρ ὡς ἐκπεπνευκῶς ὁ Σαρπηδῶν αὖτις ἀνέπνευσεν, εἴτ' οὖν ἐπανήλθεν εἰς τὸ πνεῖν ... ὅρα δὲ μὴ ποτε οὐκ ἀρκῆ πρὸς τὸ ἐκπνεύσαι τὸ κεκαφηότα μόνον δίχα τοῦ κακῶς ἐπιρρήματος. ἐστὶ γὰρ εἰπεῖν κεκαφηότα μὲν τὸν ἀπλῶς πνεύσαντα, κακῶς δὲ κεκαφηότα τὸν δυσπνοήσαντα, ὡς μικροῦ καὶ ἐκπνεῦσαι. In *Odyssey*, ε 468 the expression appears to mean, by implication, worn out, fatigued, weary - and this alone, as in the *Posthomerica*, not with a significative, supplementary preposition or adverb:

μὴ μ' ἄβυδὸς στίβη τε κακὴ καὶ θήλυς ἐέρση
 ἐξ ὀλιγηπελῆς δαμάσῃ κεκαφηότα θυμόν.

But careful examination discloses the true sense. Odysseus fears that because of his enfeebled state (ἐξ ὀλιγηπελῆς), the night frost and dew may conquer and extinguish his life spirit that needs the regular intake of breath for his preservation inside the man. His temporary faintness is explicitly registered in *ὀλιγηπελή;* *κεκαφηότα* emphasizes the rhythmical movement of external spirit, necessary for the existence of the internal spirit

(θυμός) - a movement threatened by the combination of dangerous environmental conditions with his general organic fatigue.

This particular passage may have provided the misunderstood example of the expression's use in the sense of worn out, weary. Cf. Oppianus *Cynegetica* IV, 206; *Hal.* III, 113; Nonnus *Dionysiaca* II, 539 (κεκαφηότα γυία); *Hal.* III, 672 (κεκαφηότι θυμῶ); δέμας κεκαφηότα λιμῶ (Nonnus *Dion.* XXVI, 108); δίψη καρχαλέη κεκαφηότας (*ibid.* XXIX, 299); ἄνδρα γυναικείη κεκαφηότα δημοτῆτι (*ibid.* XLVI, 93); κεκαφηότι ταρσῶ (Agathias *AP* 9.653). - One notices that such testimonies are late, and that the Alexandrines seem to have avoided the use of this and cognate expressions in any sense.

It is to the influence of such late examples and of grammatical works beginning with the first centuries AD onwards that we ought probably to ascribe the widespread explanation of the incomposite καπύω or κεκαηφώς as ἐκπνέω, ἐκπεπνευκώς to be met in the Lexicographers. So Hesychius s. vv. καπύσων, κεκαφηότα, ἐκάπυσεν (cf. also the gloss κέφηφε· τέθνηκε). And so Eustathius 1546.38 sqq., although he is fully aware of the problem: see the above quoted passage 595.21 sqq. (and cf. 1280, 34 sqq.). The *Etym. M.* leaves the matter undecided in 499.37: κεκαφηότα “κακῶς κεκαφηότα θυμόν” ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐκπεπνευκότα. But in 492.33 it sides with the rest: ἢ παρὰ τὸ κάπω τὸ πνέω, ἔνθεν καπύω· ἀφ’ οὗ τὸ ἐκάπυσεν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐξέπνευσεν. But passim it has κάπος· πνεῦμα, κάπω· πνέω; and in 489.42 correctly explains the Homeric composite ἀπό ... ἐκάπυσεν αὐτὸ ἐξέπνευσεν. In 482.5 sqq. it gives both an interesting variant on H, 312 and an interpretation that hits the mark. In place of the universally transmitted κεχαρηότα at the end of the *μονομαχία Αἴαντος καὶ Ἑκτορος*:

Αἴαντα,
εἰς Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον ἄγον κεχαρηότα νίκη,

it has κεκαφηότα, explaining: οἰοῖνε πνευστιῶντα, ἥτοι τῶ τοῦ πολεμικοῦ ἀγῶνος καμάτω ἢ τῇ ἀγερωχίᾳ τῆς νίκης, τῆς χαρᾶς αὐτῶ τοὺς ἀναπνευστικούς πόρους κατευρνώσεως καὶ πέρα τοῦ συνήθους ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα κατεπειγούσης· παρ’ ὃ δὴ καὶ τινες ἔλαθον τελείως ἐκπεπνευκότες, μὴ δυνήθentes τοσοῦτον τὸ ἐκτοσθεν ἐπισπᾶσθαι πνεῦμα, ὅσον ἐξήρκεσε τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς εὐρυχωρίαν πληρῶσαι. Ἡ ὅτι συναπέρχεται τῇ εὐρύτητι τοῦ συμπτώματος πᾶν τὸ ψυχικὸν πνεῦμα, ὡς ἀπὸ τινος παρὰ λόγον ἐκραγέντος στόματος ἀμέτρως ἐκχεόμενον. The second part of the disjunction should not be construed so much as a real alternative, but rather as a consequence of the former. The widening of the

πόροι and the general excitement necessitate the exchange of large quantities of air, which if the organism cannot manage to effect this properly, it loses its spirit in the gasping effort.

It is clear that the verb must mean breathing, and in particular inhaling, rather than exhaling - just as the substantive signifies breath, spirit. And after all we may thus connect *καπ-ύ-ω* or *κάπ-ω* etymologically with *κάπ-τ-ω* (the *-τ-* seems to suggest repetition as in *λάπ-τ-ω* from *λαμβάνω*) and *cap-i-o*. The basic ulterior sense in Greek would be intake; bifurcating itself with respect to the two fundamental organic intakes, breath and food (drink), nourishment respectively of the spirit and the body. Correspondingly *κάπος* is the very nourishment, air-spirit and food-blood. (For the second denotation, cf. *κάπη* = crib, manger, fodder; Hesychius s.v. *καπητόν*; and further *κάπηλος*, *καπηλεία*, *καπηλεύω*, *καπηλείον*; v. also Aelius Dionysius s.v. *παυσικάπη· μηχάνημα τροχῶ ἐμφορές, δι' οὗ τὸν τράχηλον διεῖον καὶ τῶν ὑποζυγίων ὥστε μὴ ἔσθιεν καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι τὰς χεῖρας τῷ στόματι προσάγειν* (H. Erbse, *Untersuchungen zu den Attizistischen Lexica*, p. 135.26-27, Fr. II 29; cf. Eustathius 1280.36 sqq.; Pollux VII 20 (cf. X, 112); Photius s.v.; Suda s.v.; Hesychius s.v. (truncated passage); Sch. Aristophanes *Pax* 14. The word occurs already in Aristophanes *Ἦρωες* Fr. XV Blaydes = 287 Dindorf, and is obviously a popular or comic construction; the proper name seems to have been *καρδοπεῖον*, Fr. XII Blaydes = 286 Dindorf).

Abundance of nourishment results in affluent growth: hence we understand *κῆπος* = garden, plantation (the change of \bar{u} into \bar{a} is nothing surprising). The connection of *κῆπος* with the root in question was emphatically recognised in antiquity, but it was thought to be effected through the former branch; see for a nice formulation, v. Eustathius 1193.18 ...*ἔπου δηλαδὴ τὰ φυτὰ ἐξ ὑγρότητος καὶ πνεύματος εἰς αὔξειν ἄλλονται. Διὸ καὶ οὐ μόνον ἄλλος ὁ τοιοῦτος λέγεται τόπος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλεσθαι (αἰολιστὶ ψιλούμενον as he explains), ἀλλὰ καὶ κῆπος ἀπὸ τοῦ κᾶπος, ὃ δηλοῖ πνεῦμα τὸ ἀναγωγὸν ὑγρότητος θρεπτικῆς τῶν φυτῶν.* (Hesychius s.v. *κεκαφῆστα* interprets: *κάπος γὰρ τὸ πνεῦμα· καὶ κῆπος, ὃ περιπνεόμενος καὶ εὐήμερος τόπος.* He further goes on to connect *capillus* and *caput* with the same root). Fair winds blowing, but also fertile earth, support plentiful growth. This connection of fertility, nourishment and growth facilitated the translation of the word to mean the hairy pubic area and hence the pudenda, given the association in general appearance. Eustathius 1572.14 sqq., 536.22 and 1921.58 sqq., for *μανιόκηπος* (Fr. Com. Gr. IV p. 631 Meineke = Anonyma CVI-CVII, cf. p. CCCXXXVII). According to the first Eustathian passage the word was used by a comic poet to signify a lewd female; what is added there seems to suggest that such

a woman is mad about the male pudenda: τῇ δὲ τοιαύτῃ γυναικὶ φίλα φρονεῖν εἶδεν ὁ εἰς κιναιδίαν σκωπτόμενος. But it is better to construe *μανιόκηπος* as signifying a woman whose uncontrollable pudendum is raving mad, a *λεωφόρος* female! Suda s.v. *μυσάχνη* records the use of the word already by Anacreon (Fr. 164 Gentili = 159 Bergk). In fact that *κῆπος* refers to the pudenda muliebra is testified by the story of Stilpon and Theodorus apud Diogenes Laertius II, 116. Hesychius also takes the word to denote exclusively the female triangle s.v. *κῆπος*... καὶ τὸ ἐφήβιον τῶν γυναικῶν. And so is the Latin *hortus* employed in an epigram of the *Anthol. Lat.* I p. 686 Burmann. But in *Priapea* V, 4, the word signifies the posterior of a boy, his arsal receptacle of the Priapic phallus. Here, however, the element of fecundity and productivity is naturally missing. And it is very important to observe how precisely this character is added to the image of *Πρωτόγονος*. For according to Nonnus (OF 80) in the Scholia to Gregory Nazianzenus *Orat. in Julianum*, I, 141 n. 78 (Migne 36, 1028): ἐν τοῖς ὀρφικαῖς ποιήμασιν εἰσηνέχθη τὰ δύο ταῦτα ὀνόματα (sc. *Φάνης* and *Ἑρिकाπαῖος*), μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν· ὧν τὸν *Φάνητα* εἰσφέρει αἰδοῖον ἔχοντα ὀπίσω περὶ τὴν πυγὴν. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφορον εἶναι τῆς ζωιογόνου δυνάμεως. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν *Ἑρिकाπαῖον* λέγουσι ἐτέρας ἔφορον εἶναι δυνάμεως. (This so far is also reported by Eudocia *Violarium* p. 413 Villoison. Nonnus goes on to clarify that Julian's ὁ πάντας καταπίνων θεός is not *Ἑρिकाπαῖος* but Saturn - in fact it is rather Orphic Zeus. This in Suda s.v. *Φάνης* (repeating the Nonnian passage) is maladroitly contracted to the erroneous: καὶ τὸν *Ἑρिकाπαῖον* ἕτερον, καταπίοντα πάντας τοὺς θεούς, ὡς τὸν *Κρόνον*. Nonetheless, Visconti in *Prioclement. Om.* VI 23 (apud Lobeck, *Aglaophemus*, p. 479 n. [m]) took the name of the God to derive from ἐρι and κάπτειν "ut ille deorum devorator denotetur").

Φάνης and *Ἑρिकाπαῖος*, as above shown, are πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφή μία. Moreover the life-bestowing faculty is particularly the prerogative of *Ἑρिकाπαῖος*; so that Nonnus is somehow confused or inattentive in his formulations. Yet the information he supplies is precious: *Πρωτόγονος* had a second αἰδοῖον at his posterior; evidently a pudendum muliebre. The supreme Manifested God was bisexual; as the Orphica put it (OF 81):

θῆλυς καὶ γενέτωρ κρατερὸς θεὸς *Ἑρिकाπαῖος*

Proclus in *Tim.* 30 c-d (I 429,26 sqq. Diehl) explains: διὸ καὶ ὀλικώτατον ζῶον ὁ θεολόγος (sc. *Ὀρφεύς*) ἀναπλάττει (sc. τὸν *Πρωτόγονον*) κριοῦ καὶ ταύρου καὶ λέοντος καὶ δράκοντος αὐτῷ περιτθῆεις κεφαλᾶς, καὶ ἐν

αὐτῷ πρώτῳ τὸ θῆλυ καὶ τὸ ἄρρεν ὡς ζῶν πρώτῳ. The Orphic Hymn to *Πρωτόγονος* (VI) invokes:

*Πρωτόγονον καλέω διφυῆ, μέγαν, αἰθερόπλαγκτον
ὦσογενῆ, χρυσέαισιν ἀγαλλόμενον πτερύγεσσι...
σπέρμα πολύμνηστον, πολυόργιον, Ἴρικεπαῖον.
ἄρρητον...
λαμπρὸν ἄγων φάος ἀγνόν, ἀφ' οὗ σε Φάνητα κυκλήσκω...*

To resume then. *Κῆπος* as a spot of affluent growth is a paronym (to use the technical Aristotelian term) of *κάπος* as plentiful nourishment; the name of fertilized earth and its offspring deriving from that of the fertilizing humours which earth and plant receive or take in. To the two intakes necessary for preservation is simultaneously, and by a natural analogy, added the spermatic influx required for procreation. Thus semen appears as a third *κάπος*, the more so as it was regularly considered “spiritual” in nature, reverting in this way to the first signification of the word. *Ἴρικεπαῖος* is then He of the Mighty Blow, source of Breath and Spirit, the primal Life-conferring Principle, the Grand Fertilizer and Fertilized, truly *ζωοδότης* and *ζωογόνος*, a veritable *πηγὴ πολλῶν* according to the Chaldaic *Λόγια*. The congenial, lusty, playful and manageable numen of the Roman *horti* reveals in this connection its awesome status (Orphic Hymn to *Πρωτόγονος* VI vv. 1, 4, 8-9):

*Πρωτόγονον... Ἴρικεπαῖον...
ἀφ' οὗ σε Φάνητα κυκλήσκω
ἡδὲ Πρίηπον ἄνακτα etc.,*

and *κάπος* - *κῆπος* as cultivation provide the means for this disclosure. Wilamowitz, *Glaube der Hellenen*, II pp. 320-1 misses entirely the connection. On the contrary, Gesner *ad Hymn. Orph.* VI, 5 surmised much to the point, even if without a full analysis of the implications and connotations: Videtur esse *καπαῖος* pro *κηπαῖος* correptum a *κῆπος*. Ericapaeus autem hortorum vernus quidam prases et numen, auctor fertilitatis omnis, fecunditatisque, idem alias Priapus etc. He also appositely compared *Παντικάπαιον*, quam nobillissimam urbem cum cognomine fluvio ad Bosporum dictam putamus, quod hortus velut unus circa urbem et flumen essent omnia. Related are also, of course, the *Ἀδώνιδος κῆποι*, ephemeral growths of an immaturely dying young fertilizer.

The preceding analysis and articulation is reflected and pre-figured in the Hesychian lemma on *κάπος*. For, as above quoted, three basic significations

are there testified. First comes the well attested one: Soul, Spirit, Breath. Then, there is the meaning husk of the palm-nut; this is the covering of the seed of the date-palm, the name passing probably from the seed to its skin, analogously to the case of gardens and plantations where from nourishment and semen it is transported to the outward off-shoot. Finally, the word means, we are told, the first germination, shooting forth or growth (*ἡ πρώτη ἔκφυσις*); the immediate, that is, result of a successful fertilization and impregnation. Thus, we have shown that the three senses are closely related and analysed in what way.

2. V. n. 3.
3. V. in the prologue to the *Theogony* vv. 43 sqq. where the Muses sing firstly

θεῶν γένος αἰδαῖον...
 ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὓς Γαῖα καὶ Οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ἔτικτεν,
 οἳ τ' ἐκ τῶν ἐγένοντο θεοί, δωτῆρες ἑάων.

All Gods descend from the primal couple Earth and Heaven. This is indeed qualified in the detailed *Theogony* that follows in important respects: a) Heaven himself is generated from Earth - the Son espousing subsequently his Mother; b) Chaos, the yawing aboriginal gap (*χαίνω*), precedes even Earth; c) Tartaros, the misty, windy principle in Earth's internal recesses, and cosmogonic Eros, arise and take form inexplicably together with Earth, in the primeval abysmal "receptacle"; d) there is the progeny of Chaos, independently procreated; e) Earth gave birth alone (*ἄτερ φιλότητος ἐφίμερου*) beside Heaven to Mountains and Sea (*Πόντος*) with whom later copulating in the sequel engendered a separate posterity, f) as a result of the enormity committed by Saturn against his father Heaven, miraculously emerged Aphrodite (from the sperm emitted by the exsected immortal member as it was floating in the sea), Erinnys, Giants and Melian Nymphs (Earth begetting them after having been fearfully impregnated by the bloody drops from Saturn's virilia). Despite all this abnormality (which in any case belongs to the same biologicico-sexual context), the main line of descent issues from the archetypal coition of Heaven and Earth; besides, sexual aberration expresses awesome, terrible or monstrous chthonicity, whether of a Middle Eastern, autochthonous or, as is most likely the case, compound origin. Take some cardinal, striking elements in the above list: the Great Mother with her Son-Lover *πάρεδρος* (a), whose despotic behaviour and usurpation of matriarchal prerogatives causes, at her own instigation, the Son's revolt against the Father with the latter's hideous sexual incapacitation (f) (the very opposite pole to the Apollonian punishment of the Mother by the Son as representative of the

Father); a principle presupposed by Earth and thus before her (b), a matrix of Night and of the entire black issue of Fate and Disorder, repository of Death, Senility, heavy Sleepiness and ghostly Dreams, Strife, and Struggle, Sickness and Pain, infatuation (as Desire and as divinely inflicted Self-beguiling), Deception, Falsehood, Hate, Murder (d); sea-monstrosity (e); infernal Might and cosmic Attraction (c): for all these deviating features or their components we may cite powerful oriental parallels; yet we also encounter here the indigenous roots of Orphism and related religiosity.

4. (Cf. also *infra* n. 47). An early form of Orphism is that described by Eudemos. It posited *Nύξ* at the absolute beginning (Damascius *De Pr. Pr.* 124 (I 319, Ruelle) = OF 28: ἡ δὲ παρὰ τῶ Περὶπατητικῶ Εὐδήμῳ ἀναγεγραμμένη ὡς τοῦ Ὀρφέως οὐσα θεολογία... ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νυκτὸς ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀρχήν). Aristotle, rather, refers specifically to Orphic doctrines with his οἱ θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Νυκτὸς γεννῶντες (*Metaph.* Λ, 1071b27). For Acusilaus' schema involved Chaos first and then Erebus and Night as progenitors of all else (Damascius *De Pr. Pr.* 124 (I, 320.10 R) = DK B1; Philodemus *de Pietate* 137,5 p. 61G confirms that Ἀκουσίλαος δ' ἐκ Χάους πρώτου τὰλλα). Epimenides deduced everything from an initial pair of Air and Night (Dam. *De Pr. Pr.* 124, (I, 320. 17R), confirmed by Philodemus *de Pietate* 47a, 2 p. 19 = B5). While to Musaeus was attributed the notion that at the beginning stands Tartarus either alone or with Night, v. Philodemus *de Pietate* 137, 5 p. 61G: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀναφερομένοις εἰς Μουσαῖον γέγραπται Τάρταρον πρῶτον κτὴν Νύκτα (Gomperz better than καὶ Νύκτα, Zeller). Thus nobody (excepting "Orpheus") is known to have conceived of Night as the absolute First Principle, although all three previously mentioned world-views come closer to the Orphic nucleus than, for example, to Hesiod, in whom nonetheless Night's jurisdiction is already immense, but in general negatively coloured.

That this idea was specifically characteristic of early Orphism seems further supported by Chrysippus who, we are told, ἐν δὲ τῶ δευτέρῳ (sc. τοῦ Περὶ Φύσεως) τὰ τε εἰς Ὀρφέα καὶ Μουσαῖον ἀναφερόμενα... πειρᾶται συννοικεῖν ταῖς δόξαις αὐτῶν (sc. of the Stoics), Philodemus *de Pietate* 13, 16 p. 80G; while κὰν τῶ πρώτῳ (so Arnim SVF Chrysippus 636, II p. 192, 20; τῶ δευτέρῳ Diels (Musaeus B14) conferring the preceding passage), τὴν Νύκτα θεάν φησιν εἶναι πρωτίστην.

But the best testimony to Night's ultimate priority is the oldest: in Aristophanes' famous burlesque in *Aves* 690 sq., Night is evidently the sole originator of the Cosmic Egg. For the cosmogony presupposed there is evidently one with Night alone at the beginning laying by herself the Cosmic Egg out of which Eros sprang. Thus v. 695: Τίκτει πρώτιστον ὑπηνέμιον Νύξ ἢ μελανόπτερος ὦόν, i.e. conceived without coition with a

male principle. (So the *Sch. ad loc.* ὑπηνέμια καλεῖται τὰ δίχρα συνουσίας καὶ μίξεως). And Photius explains ὑπηνέμια as τὰ δίχρα σπέρματος ἄρρενος. Hesychius s.v. ὑπηνέμια φά: τὰ δίχρα τοῦ ὀχευθῆναι γεννώμενα. Cf. Lucian *Sacrif.* 6: ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις καὶ περὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἄδουσιν, ἄνευ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ὀμιλίας ὑπηνέμιον αὐτὴν παῖδα γεννήσαι τὸν Ἡφαιστον. Plato the comic poet and (or should we say “or rather”?) Aristophanes employed the word in this sense (*Sch. Aristoph. Nubes* 659 = Plato, *Δαίδαλος* Fr. I Meineke II, 619; Athenaeus IX, 374E; Photius s.v. ὑπηνέμια; Aristophanes *Δαίδαλος* Fr. VI, No. 187 Blaydes = 237 Di). Cf. Aristotle *De Gener. Anim.* Γ, 749a34: συνίσταται μὲν οὖν κῆματα τοῖς ὄρνεσι καὶ αὐτόματα, ἃ καλοῦσιν ὑπηνέμια, καὶ ζεφύριά τινες (from the western wind, Zephyrus, as particularly moist and fecund).

These eggs are not some kind of remainder from previous proper copulation and consequent impregnation, which had already resulted in the laying of fruitful eggs; Aristotle *Hist. Anim.*, Z, 559b20: οἱ δὲ λέγοντες ὅτι ὑπολείμματά ἐστι τὰ ὑπηνέμια τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἐξ ὀχέας γινομένων, οὐκ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν. ὦπται γὰρ ἰκανῶς ἤδη ἀνόχευτοι νεοττίδες ἀλεκτορίδων καὶ χηνῶν τίκτουσαι ὑπηνέμια. Wind was supposed to play, albeit defectively, the male part; Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* Z, 560a6: ζεφύρια δὲ καλεῖται τὰ ὑπηνέμια ὑπὸ τινων, ὅτι ὑπὸ τὴν ἑαρινὴν ὥραν φαίνονται δεχόμεναι τὰ πνεύματα αἱ ὄρνιθες. Cf. Plinius *Nat. Hist.* X §166, 60(80): quidam et vento putant ea (sc. fruitless eggs) generari, qua de causa etiam zephyria appellant. Such eggs cannot reproduce the animal; Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* E, 539a31: ἐξ ὧν γίνεται ὡσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὄρνεσι τὰ ὑπηνέμια. Τὰ μὲν οὖν ὄρνιθων ἄγονα πάντα ἐστὶ ταῦτα (μέχρι γὰρ τοῦ ὧσθι γέννησιν δύναται ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν ἐπιτελεῖν), ἔαν μὴ τις αὐτοῖς συμβῆ τρόπος ἄλλος τῆς κοινωνίας πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας (cf. Z, 561a1: ἐξ ὧν οὐ γίνεται νεοττός, οὐθείς, ἀλλ’ ὑπηνέμια πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα) - “The other way of contact with a male” is some later coition, after the eggs have been conceived, but before the yolk has changed to the white of the egg, cf. e.g. Z, 560a9 sqq. - cf. Plinius *Hist. Nat.* X §160, 58(79); X §166, 60(80). Maybe Aristophanes jokes at a subtler level by calling the supreme, primal fecundity by a word connoting fruitlessness.

Now in Aristophanes’ *Birds* it is true that Night is introduced amidst the other members of a quarter of darkness: Chaos, Night, Erebus, Tartaros. But the latter two play only a sportively locative role, in imitation obviously of serious Epic precedent: Ἐρέβους δ’ ἐν ἀπειροῖσι κόλποις; cf. Orphica *Argonautica* 13: καὶ Χρόνον ὃς ἐλόχευσε ἀπειρεσίοισι ὑφ’ ὀλκοῖς. Also κατὰ Τάρταρον εὐρύν. While the first member of the putative quaternion is used exclusively for the generation of birds, signaling a jocular turn

therefore, with a jesting reference maybe to some such isolated progeny as that of Chaos and Night in the Hesiodic Theogony.

To Orphism the idea of a first Egg at the beginning of things is constitutive; v. Plutarch, *Symp.* II, 2 p. 636D: ἀείσω ξυνετοῖσι τὸν Ὀρφικὸν καὶ ἱερὸν λόγον, ὃς οὐκ ὄρνιθος μόνον τὸ ὦδὸν ἀποφαίνει πρεσβύτερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συλλαβῶν ἅπασαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπάντων ὁμοῦ πρεσβυγένειαν ἀνατίθησι. Cf. 635F; 636E; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, VII, 16, 8. Where there is an aboriginal Egg, it is the World, and the primal pair of Heaven and Earth is produced by its fission at the manifestation of the First-Born (cf. in the Orphic Cosmogony described by Athenagoras *Suppl. pro Christ.* 18 p. 86 Otto = OF57; the World-Egg appears in a thinly disguised philosophical dress in Empedocles; v. "Aetius" II 31,4 (=A 50): Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τοῦ ὕψους τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς Γῆς εἰς τὸν Οὐρανόν, ἦτις ἐσφιν ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἀνάτασις, πλείονα εἶναι τὴν κατὰ τὸ πλάτος διάστασιν, κατὰ τοῦτο τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μᾶλλον ἀναπεπταμένον διὰ τὸ ὦδὸν παραπλησίως τὸν Κόσμον κείσθαι). Thus Heaven and Earth would come immediately after Night as the celestial and the terrestrial halves of the Cosmic Egg, just as Johannes Lydus, *de Mensibus* II, 8 p. 26.1 Wünsch, holds, albeit indistinctly and somehow misleadingly: καὶ τρεῖς πρῶται κατ' Ὀρφέα ἐξεβλάστησαν ἀρχαὶ τῆς γενέσεως, Νύξ καὶ Γῆ καὶ Οὐρανός. This is also suggested by the Aristophanic passage; for immediately after the cosmic Egg and cosmogonic Eros, Heaven, Ocean and Earth come into being, Ocean being but the common boundary and limit of Earth and Sky.

Finally, it should be remembered, that in standard Rhapsodic Orphism, the couple in question proceeds directly from Night. So Hermeias in *Plat. Phaedrum* 247d (154.26-7 Couvreur) = OF109, after having reapproached the triple characterization of Night in Orpheus (divinatory power, awful and venerable, begetter of justice) with the Platonic triad ἐπιστήμη, σωφροσύνη, δικαιοσύνη in the supramundane world, describes these features as inherent and immanent differentiations within Night, contrasting what proceeds out of her:

ἡ δὲ πάλιν (sc. Νύξ) Γαῖαν τε καὶ Οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔτικτε,
δείξεν τ' ἐξ ἀφανῶν φανεροῦς οἷ τ' εἰσι γενέθλην.

In 148.21 sqq. Couvreur, Hermeias makes the procession start from Phanes himself (ἔξω γὰρ προῆλθον πρῶτοι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (sc. Φάνητος) Οὐρανὸς καὶ Γῆ... καὶ πρῶτος καταλάμπεται ὁ Οὐρανὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ θείου φωτὸς τοῦ Φάνητος), for, as he explains and supports by an Orphic quotation (OF86), Night is inseparably unified with Phanes. Heaven is the third King in order after Ericapaeus and Mother Night:

ὄς (sc. Οὐρανός) πρῶτος βασιλεύσε θεῶν μετὰ μητέρα Νύκτα.

(OF 111, from Alexander Aphrodisiensis in *Aristot. Met.* N1091b4 (821.19 Hayd.) and OF108 from Syrianus in *Arist. Met.* N 1091b4 (182.9 Kroll = 935a27 Usener)). But the Rhapsodic *Ἱεροὶ Λόγοι* derived Night from Phanes, thus reversing the order of primitive Orphism (Proclus *In Plat. Cratyl.* 396b (54, 21 Psquali = OF101); Syrianus *In Arist. Met.* 1091b4 (182.9 Kroll) = OF107; Proclus *In Plat. Tim. Prooem.* E (III, 168.15 Diehl) = OF107; etc.). The Son became the Father of his Mother, in tune with the later, relative patriarchalization of the religious experience.

The archetypal Ur-Marriage conjugates Heaven and Earth: οἰκείος γὰρ καὶ ὁ γάμος τῇ τάξει ταύτη, καθά φησιν ὁ Θεολόγος (sc. Orpheus): πρῶτην γὰρ νύμφην ἀποκαλεῖ τὴν Γῆν καὶ πρῶτιστον γάμον τὴν ἔνωσιν αὐτῆς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Οὐρανόν (V. n. 9).

There may have been a very old Orphic tradition in which the series of cosmic procession ran as follows: Chaos, Oceanos, Night, Heaven, Zeus: Alexander Aphrodisiensis in *Arist. Met.* N1091b4 (821, 5 Hayd.) = OF 107. To this would belong the cosmogonic references in the *Διὸς Ἀπάτη* (Ξ 200-1; 245-6, 301-2), as well as the preeminent significance of Night in Homer (259-61). But where would this construction leave Cronos and the Titans, whose importance is also highlighted there (271-9)? Putting Cronos in his proper place and eliminating Ocean, we obtain the standard succession: Beginning, Night, Heaven, Cronos, Zeus. Alexander, or his source, might have simply attempted to graft in a clumsy fashion onto the Orphic schema the Homeric statement (*Ἵσκειανὸν θεῶν τε γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν*). As to this latter, we should probably look for a Phoenician origin - in Ugarit for instance. Anyway, to further introduce OF 15, from Plato, *Cratylus* 402B,

Ἵσκειανὸς πρῶτος καλίστροος ἤρξε γάμοιο,
ὄς ρα κασιγνήτην ὁμομήτορα Τηθύν ὄπυειν,

(cf. *Ilias* 11.257: *κασίγνητον καὶ ὄπατρον*), in the present connection, is rather rash. For quite apart from the very definite and emphatic testimonies to the effect that in Orphism the first and archetypal marriage is that of Heaven and Earth, *κασιγνήτην ὁμομήτορα* would miss the point if Oceanos and Tethys were the immediate children of a single chaotic principle. The true meaning of the distich could be that Oceanos, first among his brothers, began to copulate and take a wife. He alone also kept aloof from the nefarious act perpetrated by his brothers, led by Cronos (who was in especial favour with his grandmother Night, Damascius *de Pr.*

Pr. §67, I, 146.16 R.; Proclus *In Crat.* 396b-c, 92.10 Pasquali, OF 129: ἐκ πάντων δὲ Κρόνον Νύξ ἔτρεφεν ἢ δ' ἀτίταλλεν), against their father Ouranos (OF 135). Furthermore, the succession in Plato *Timaeus* 40e, which makes Oceanos and Tethys children of Heaven and Earth but parents of the Titans, pushes the Orphic differentiation of Oceanos from his brothers (according to the Hesiodic and commoner account) a step further in the Homeric direction.

Finally, in the golden leaves from Petelia in Magna Graecia, Pharsalos in Thessaly and Eleutherna in Crete (B1-B8 in the complete edition of G. Zuntz, *Persephone* pp. 355 sqq.; cf. also the subsequently known goldplates from Hipponion - Vibo, Valentia, G. Zuntz, *Wiener Studien*, 89, 1976, 129-51; and from Thessaly, J. Breslin, *A Greek Prayer*, 1977; cf. K. Tsantsanoglou - G.M. Parassoglou, *Two gold lamellae from Thessaly*, in *Ἑλληνικά*, 1987, pp. 1-17); the soul, after death, appearing before the guardians of the Other World parched and thirsty requests permission to refresh herself by drinking from the cool spring at the right of the entrance to Hades; propitiating the powers in charge, she introduces and defines herself:

Γῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,

or in Crete,

Γᾶς υἱός ἡμι καὶ ὠρανῶ ἀστερόεντος,

that is, she too belongs to the progeny of the aboriginal generative Dyad, of the primal Pair, whose authority overrules in the end all lesser jurisdiction of subsequently engendered divinities and potencies presiding over inferior lawfulnesses. It is by virtue of such emphatically affirmed consanguinity with, and direct descent from, the supremest Godhead that the soul of the defunct claims recognition of her lofty status, deliverance from the fetters of intermediate necessities and, in a word, Salvation.

5. Thus in the outermost margin of Hellenism, in Wild Colchis, dead bodies of men were hung up in the air, while those of women were buried in the earth; male literally returning to the supreme original Male and female to the archetypal Female. For the Colchians worshipped above all Heaven and Earth. V. *Scholia in Apoll. Argon.* Γ, 202-9a quoting Nymphodorus: ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄρσενα σώματα οὐ θέμις Κόλχοις οὔτε καίειν οὔτε θάπτειν, βύρσαις δὲ νεαραῖς εἰλοῦντες ἐκρέμων τῶν ἀρσένων τὰ σώματα, τὰ δὲ θήλεια τῇ γῆ ἐδίδοσαν, ὡς φησι Νυμφόδωρος (in his (*Βαρβαρικά*) *Νόμιμα* no

doubt; fr. 17 Mueller II 380), ᾧ ἠκολούθησε (sc. Apollonius). σέβονται δὲ μάλιστα Οὐρανὸν καὶ Γῆν. Apollonius describes the custom with his extreme artfulness and elaborate preciousness of style, Γ, v. 200 sqq.:

ἔνθα δὲ πολλαὶ
 ἐξείης πρόμαλοί τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἐμπεφύασιν,
 τῶν καὶ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτων νέκυες σειρήσι κρέμανται
 δέσμιοι. εἰσέτι νῦν γὰρ ἄγος Κόλχοισιν ὄρωρεν
 ἀνέρας οἰχομένους πυρὶ καιέμεν, οὐδ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ
 ἔστι θέμις στείλαντας ὑπερθ' ἐπὶ σῆμα χέεσθαι,
 ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδειψήτοισι κατειλύσαντες βοείαις
 δενδρέων ἐξάπτειν ἐκάς ἄστεος· ἥρι δ' ἴσῃν
 καὶ χθῶν ἔμμορεν αἴσαν, ἐπεὶ χθονὶ ταρχύουσιν
 θηλυτέρας·

That nations gravest oath was on Heaven and Earth. V. Argon. Γ, 699 and 714-6:

ἴστω Κόλχων ὄρκος ὑπέρβιος, ὄντιν' ὁμόσσαι
 αὐτῇ ἐποτρύνεις, μέγας Οὐρανὸς ἠδ' ὑπένερθεν
 Γαῖα, θεῶν μήτηρ,

In place of Heaven the Sky God, Zeus, under his specifically oath-protective faculty appears in Greek awesome oaths, e.g. Euripides, *Hippolytus* 1025:

νῦν δ' ὄρκιόν σοι Ζῆνα καὶ πέδον χθονὸς
 ὄμνημι

Also *Electra*, 1177:

Ἰὼ Γᾶ καὶ Ζεῦ πανδερκέτα βροτῶν.

Or, alternatively the sky-light and the Sun's pure splendour (to which the all-seeing - πανδερκέτα - function already alludes in the previous verse), e.g. Euripides, *Medea* 746; 752. Cf. Virgilius *Aeneias* XII, 176:

Et nunc Sol testis et haec mihi terra precanti.

Sometimes all three appear, *Medea* 148:

Ἄϊες, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ Γᾶ καὶ φῶς etc.

Scythians also, again at the confines of extended Hellenism, worshipped as chief among their few Gods and second only to the hearth goddess, Vesta, the couple Zeus - Earth, the former name in their own language being *Papaios* (a name widespread in Asia Minor as divine appellation or title of honour), obviously referring to fatherhood. Herodotus IV, 59; cf. Eustathius *ad Iliad* E, p. 565.5 quoting Arrianus in *Bithyniaca*: ἐνταῦθα δὲ χρῆσιμον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρριανοῦ εἰπόντος ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς ὅτι ἀνιόντες εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὄρων Βιθυνοὶ ἐκάλουν Πάπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἄττιν τὸν αὐτόν· ὁμοίως καὶ Ἡροδότου τό, καλεῖται Ζεὺς ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν ὀρθότατα Πάπαϊος. A cult in a high-place infers a sky-god, therefore the heavenly Father, since he was called *Πάπας*.

6. The locus classicus is Varro *de L.L.* V, 58: Terra enim et Caelum, ut Samothracum initia docent, sunt dei Magni, et hi quos dixi multis nominibus (sc. Serapis and Isis in Egypt, or Saturnus and Ops in Latium), non quas Samothracia ante portas statuit duas virilis species aeneas dei magni, neque ut volgus putat, hi Samothraces dii, qui Castor et Pollux, sed hi mas et femina, et hi quos augurum libri (Regell p. 16 = Brause p. 18) scripos havent sic “divi qui potes” pro illo quod Samothraces “theoe dynatoo”. These Dei Magni were of Pelasgic provenance but also became the Laurolavinian Penates; their sacral (symbolic) images were transferred from Samothrace to Troia and thence to Latium by Aeneas according to the prevalent ancient opinion (v. in primis, Dionysius Halicarnasensis *Antiqu. Rom.* I 67-9; II 66; cf. Vergilius *Aen.* III, 148:

Effigies sacrae divom, Phrygique Penates
quos mecum a Troja, mediisque ex ignibus urbis
extuleram;

cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* I, 378; *ad Aen.* III, 148; *ad Aen.* III, 12; Macrobius *Saturn.* III, 4, 5. Cf. Herodotus II, 51 for the connection of the Cabeiric Mysteries in Samothrace with Pelasgic lore. Varro maintained the absolute identity of the public Penates with Magni Dei, the Samothracian Great Gods; Servius *ad Aen.* III, 12: Varro quidem unum esse dicit “Penates et Magnos Deos”; nam et in basi scribebatur MAGNIS DIIS. The base would be sacred to the Penates, like the *βάθρα* on which the *ἔδη τῶν θεῶν* were placed by Aeneas at the end of his wanderings (Dionysius Hal. *Ant. Rom.* I, 55); or perhaps sustain an altar probably, like those in the Circus, Tertullianus *de Spectaculis* VIII p. 639C Migne: Ante has (sc. columnas) thres arae, trinis diis parent magnis, potentibus, valentibus; eosdem

Samothracas existimant. Varro himself provides the basis on which both Servius' and Tertullian's observations may be fully elucidated. For he informs us in a logistoricus that of the three altars in the Circus one bore the inscription "Dis Magnis", the other "Dis Potentibus", while the third revealed the physical identities of those great, potent deities: it was inscribed "dis Terrae et Caelo". (Probus *in Verg. Ecl.* VI, 31, p. 21, 8K = Varro, *Curio*, Fr. II Riese p. 252: tres arae sunt in circo medio ad columnas, in quibus stant signa: in una inscriptum "dis Magnis", in altera "dis potentibus", in tertia "Dis Terrae et Caelo". In haec duo divisus mundus). Tertullian's affirmation about three groups of gods (Magni, Potentes, Valentes) seems to be an inference from the triplicity of the altars. But he had reported immediately before the quoted passage that behind them there were three columns associated with the three agricultural Goddesses, Seia, Messia, Tutulina: (*de Spectac.* 8): columnae Sessias a sementationibus, Messias a messibus, Tutulinas a tutelis fructuum sustinent. Ante has tres arae etc. Augustinus *de Civ. Dei* IV, 8 (p. 155.19 sqq. ed. Divjak) gives evidently the same triad, as Seja, Segetia, tutilina (as in Macrobius, *Saturn.* I, 16, 8) specifying exactly the respective allocation of functions: nec saltem potuerunt unam Segetiam talem invenire, cui semel segetes commendarent, sed sata frumenta, quamdiu sub terra essent, praepositam voluerunt havere deam Seiam: cum vero iam essent super terram et segetem facerent, deam Segetiam; frumentis vero collectis atque reconditis, ut tuto servarentur, deam Tutilinam praeposuerunt. Plinius confirms the importance of those deities and the existence of their images (or perhaps only of the two former) in the circus, with the qualification that it was prohibited to name the third goddess indoors, which may be interpreted in accordance with Augustinus' distribution of jurisdiction (the grain being preserved within buildings where the divine mistress should not be named given her singularly potent, chthonic - daemonic and ambivalent character), but rather requires the identification of Tutilina with Messia, the fearful goddess of reaping, especially so as these were divinities of field boundaries, Plinius *Nat. Hist.* XVIII, 2 (8): hos enim deos tum maxime noverant, Seiamque a serendo, Segestam a segetibus appellabant, quarum simulacra in circo videmus - tertiam ex his nominare sub tecto religio est - ac ne degustabanta quidem novas fruges aut vina, antequam sacerdotes primitias libassent. Tertullian then would have omitted the middle deity and duplicated the third under her two aspects of death and deliverance. Tutilina was in fact goddess of safety in general, v. Varro *Sat. Menipp.* (*Hercules Tuam Fidem*) 216 Bücheler (p. 148 Riese), from Nonnus *de Propr. Serm.* P. 47: non Tutilinam, quam ego ipse invoco, quod meae aures abste obsidentur. As such she was the female counterpart of the priapic Tutanus (cf. Varro, *op.*

cit. 213 Büch.). There was a sanctuary dedicated to her on the Aventine Hill, in a place called Tutilinae loca, Varro *de L.L.* V, 163. The agricultural goddesses were the object of scrupulous veneration; he who pronounced their names should observare ferias (Macrobius *loc. cit.*: apud veteres quoque qui nominasset Salutem, Semoniam, Seiam, Segetiam, Tutilinam ferias observabat). Tertullian seems also to have erred in associating the triad of altars with the three images on columns (if there were in fact three and not two). The former should in fact have been rather connected with the two palladia that appear to stand at the end of the spina in the Circus e.g. in a Florentine gem (in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* I p. 434, from Gori, II, pl. 79). This would fit well with the view expressed by Tertullian *loc. cit.*, that the gods of the altars were the Samothracian deities.

In the spina of the Circus there was also of old a statue of Pollentia (Livius XXXIX, 7). In 187 BC a pole fell on it and overturned it, on which occasion the Senate decreed, among other things, that two images of the divinity in question be made and erected in place of the one fallen. Were these two signa the two Palladia observable on the gem noted above? Pollentia was the Roman equivalent of the Dea Valentia from Ocriculum (Tertullianus *Apologet.* XXIV; CIL XI 4082; cf. XI 426.9). The altars mentioned by Johannes Lydus *de Mens.* I, 12 p. 5.7 sqq. Wünsche, are in all probability the two triple metas as either end of the spina.

The idea of the identification of the Dii Penates with the Samothracian Potent Gods (cf. Vergilius *Aen.* IX, 258 Per magnos... Penates; III, 159) was quite old; it was upheld already in the Annals of L. Cassius Hemina (Fr. 6, *Veterum Hist. Roman. Reliquiae* ed. Peter p. 96, from Servius *ad Aen.* I, 378: Alii autem, ut Cassius Hemina, dicunt deos penates ex Samothracia appellatos θεοὺς μεγάλους, θεοὺς δυνατοῦς, θεοὺς χρηστοῦς (the same in Macrobius *Saturn.* III, 4, 9). He probably (if we accept Ritschl's alterations in the text of *Schol. Veron. ad Aen.* II 717 p. 91K = Fr. 5 Peter) adopted the picture of Aeneas leaving the captured city with the Penates on his shoulders. That was also Varro's image (*ibid.*). Atticus thought on the other hand that the Penates were brought to Italy directly from Samothrace).

Of course the Magni Dei were not known under specific names: eorum nomina nemo sciat (Servius *ad Aen.* III, 12); ἀρρήτους τοῖς ἄλλοις ποιῶντα (sc. Dardanum) τὰς ἰδίους αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν μεγάλων θεῶν) ὀνομασίας, Dionysius Hal. *Antiqu. Rom.* I, 68 p. 110.11 Jacoby. This explains the remarkable variety of interpretation, even in antiquity. That they were worshipped in Samothrace as the mysteric divinities under that generic appellation is also testified epigraphically. Before the chief entrance (to the Temple probably or perhaps to the sacred enclosure) there, two masculine

bronze idols stood. Varro *de L.L.* V 58 supra; Servius *ad Aen.* III, 12: idem Varro et alii complures magnos deos adfirmant simulacra duo virilia, Castoris et Pollucis, in Samothracia ante portam sita. That Varro maintained this is directly contradicted by the passage quoted above in *de L.L.* He also differentiated between, on the one hand, identifying the Great Gods with the two virile statues in front of the Samothracian main Gate or Doorway and, on the other, conceiving of them as Castor and Pollux. He rejected both interpretations, but the fact that he distinguished them entitles us to assume that the bronze idols in Samothrace did not in fact exhibit Dioscurean traits and emblems, contrary to what Servius implies. The Penates were considered to be the Great Gods of Samothrace whose sacred images had been translated to Troy and deposited in the adyton of a temple on the acropolis, whence they were carried by Aeneas to Lavinium. The truth or falsity of such cultic transferences is ultimately immaterial; what really matters is the necessary framework of important similarities in worship on which theories of transference can be built. In Latium the Penates appeared openly as two young men seated and armed with spears (in the Roman Temple, Dionysius Hal. *Antiqu. Rom.* I, 68 p. 109.16 Jacoby) and in general as two military youths (*ibid.* p. 109.19 J.). But the real sacra of those mysterious deities were hidden, in the Lavinian Temple's adyton and we must rely on the testimony of the great Timaeus alone in our conception of them: *σχήματος δὲ καὶ μορφῆς αὐτῶν περὶ Τιμαῖος μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὧδε ἀποφαίνεται: κηρύκια σιδηρὰ καὶ χαλκᾶ καὶ κέραμον Τρωϊκὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τοῖς ἐν Λαουινίῳ κείμενα ἱερά, πυθέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸς ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων*, Dionysius Hal. *Rom. Antiqu.* I, 67 p. 108.21 Jacoby. (Varro is said to have spoken of the wooden or marble effigies brought to Italy by Aeneas, Servius *ad Aen.* I, 378 and III, 148, *sigilla lignea vel marmorea* (or *lapidea*); but the unlikelihood of such a disjunction casts suspicion on the report). Bronze and iron herald wands on the one hand, earthen vessels on the other; caduceus and jar, phallus and vulva: indeed a potent symbolism of Varro's *mas* and *femina*, Heaven and Earth. We are reminded of Cicero's suggestive formulation regarding the Samothracian and Lemnian occult ceremonies, *quibus explicates ad rationemque revocatis rerum jagis natura cognoscitur quam deorum*, *De Natura Deorum* I, XLII, 119. Of course, the very principles of the nature of things are divine. According to Macrobius (*Saturnalia* III, 4, 8) and Servius *ad Aen.* II, 296, *qui diligentius errunt veritatem*, Penates esse dierunt per quos penitus spiramus, per quos habemus corpus, per quos rationem animi possidemus; and we shall see that we come again thus back to Heaven and Earth via soul and body. Indeed, the aspectual identification of the Dioscuri with the Samothracian Great Gods led to the former's

conception as male and female, ἄρρην and θήλεια, too; Ioannes Lydus, *de mensibus* IV, 17.

The physical expression of the ultimate differentiation between Male and Female, Heaven and Earth, is the opposition between the arid spirit of warmth versus the frigid earthen humours: quibus inucti Caelum et Terra omnia ex <se> genuerunt (Varro *de L.L.* V, 60). A manifestation of the primary copulation of Heaven with Earth is the conjugation of Jupiter and Juno: idem hi dei Caelum et Terra Juppiter et Juno (Varro *de L.L.* V 65); quod Jovis Juno coniunx et is caelum, haec terra, quae eadem tellus, et ea dicta, quod una iuvat cum Jove, Juno et Regina, quod huius omnia terrestria (Varro *de L.L.* V, 67).

EMPEDOCLES

Juno as Earth leads us back to the famous Empedoclean verses formulating his theological physiology:

(B6) Τέσσερα γὰρ πάντων ριζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε:
 Ζεὺς ἀργῆς Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος ἠδ' Ἄιδωνεύς
 Νῆστις θ', ἣ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον.

Ἥρη φερέσβιος is here certainly the Earth as probably Plutarch (Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 10, 11b, p. 121.15 W; cf. [Plut.] *de Vita et Poesi Hom.* 99), and a certain current in Stoicism, held (Hippolytus, *Refutatio Omn. Haer.* VII, 29; Achilles Tatius *in Arat.* 4; cf. SVF II 1074; 1063). This must have been the standard interpretation of the Empedoclean passage, v. Diogenes Laertius VIII, 76. It is significant that Heraclitus *Alleg. Hom.* 24 interprets Ἥρα as γῆ in Empedocles, whereas he reverts to the more common Stoic notion (with a Platonic ancestry) of Ἥρα = ἀήρ immediately afterwards (in §25) when allegorizing a Homeric passage. The same variation is observed in Athenagoras *Suppl. pro Chr.*: in 22C Ἥρα is γῆ where Empedocles is explained; but she is air κατὰ τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς in 23A and 7C. The view that Ἥρα was air would not really help in our understanding of the Empedoclean fragment, as it was accompanied in Stoic circles by the idea that Hades also was dark, dense air; cf. e.g. Cornutus *Theol. Graeca* 3 and 5. It is further characteristic that although Macrobius subscribes formally to the equivalence of Ἥρα with air, nonetheless when he comes to the question of identifying the Roman Penates with the Capitoline Triad (Juppiter, Juno, Minerva), he explains the second member of the triad as imum aera cum terra. That "Aetius" I, 3, 20 (D.286) interprets Empedocles in accordance with the prevalent Stoic idea (cf. e.g. Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* II,

26, 66; cf. Macrobius *Saturn.* I, 15, 20 (Iuno autem aeris arbitra est); 17, 54; *Somn. Scip.* I, 17, 15; Etym. Magn. s.v. *Ἥρα*) is forced and unnatural: in an enumeration of the four ultimate material principles, a male divinity alone cannot represent Mother Earth.

That Varro specifies Juno as standing in the place of Earth, one of the two ultimate principles, Great Gods and Penates, is not an isolated personal preference of interpretation. Vergil reflects the fact in a subtle way. He speaks of Junonis magnae (*Aen.* III, 437) and calls her *dominam potentem* (III, 438) and *bonam* (I, 734). Here we have the three appellations that characterized according to Cassius Hemina (quoted *supra*), the Roman Penates as Samothracian divinities: *θεοὺς μεγάλους, θεοὺς δυνατούς, θεοὺς χρηστούς*. The fact was correctly observed in antiquity, Servius *ad Aen.* I 738; III, 148.

The Penatian then couple Jupiter - Juno corresponds to the Samothracian *Ἀξιόκερσος - Ἀξίερος* (sch. in *Apollonium Rhodium Argon.* I 916-18b) with Minerva in Rome substituting the Greek *Ἀξιόκερσα* in the Triad (or Tetrad with *Κασμίλος - Hermes*). *Ἀξίερος* as Demeter confirms the interpretation of Juno as Earth in this connection. *Ἥρα* thus reverts to the prehellenic Magna Dea, whence she emerged.

7. Aeschylus in majestic measures described the love and copulation between Heaven and Earth, vain being the seminal fluid of the former impregnating the latter whereby the entire plant life issues (*Danaides*, TrGF iii 44 Nauck², from Athenaeus XIII, 600b; Eusthatius who quotes the passage *In Iliad.* 978.22 sqq. has the strange notion, appealing to Athenaeus, that this Aeschylus is not the great Athenian, but an Alexandrian poet):

ἔρᾱ μὲν ἄγνός οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι χθόνα,
 ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν·
 ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνάεντος οὐρανοῦ πεσῶν
 ἔκυσσε γαῖαν· ἥ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς
 μῆλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον·
 δενδρῶτις ὤρα δ' ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάμου
 τέλειός ἐστι. τῶν δ' ἐγὼ (sc. Aphrodite speaking) παραίτιος.

This fundamental experience was rendered elegantly by Euripides (898 Nauck² *Eur. Fr.* from Athenaeus XIII, 599 sq.; Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 9, 1 p. 111.10 Wachsmuth; cf. Aristoteles *Eth. Nicom.* Θ, 1155b3):

ἔρᾱ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖ', ὅταν ξηρὸν πέδον
 ἄκαρπον ἀχμῶ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχη·
 ἔρᾱ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος

ἄμβρον πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο·
 ὅταν δὲ συμμιχθῆτον εἰς ταῦτόν δύο,
 φύουσιν ἡμῖν πάντα καὶ τρέφουσ' ἅμα,
 δι' ὧν βρότειον ζῆ τε καὶ θάλλει γένος.

Already the productive conjugation of Sky and Earth probably brings forth animals as well as plants (taking literally πάντα φύουσιν καὶ τρέφουσιν). In fact, for Euripides, all life is ultimately the offspring of that archetypal coition (*Melanippe* Fr. 484 Nauck², from Diodorus Siculus I, 7, 7 (a passage repeated in Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* 20d); cf. Dionysius Halic. *Ars. Rhet.* IX, 11):

κοῦκ ἔμους ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἔμῃς μητρὸς πάρα,
 ὡς οὐρανός τε γαῖα τ' ἦν μορφή μία·
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα,
 τίκτουσι πάντα κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος
 δένδρη, πετεινά, θήρας οὓς θ' ἄλμη τρέφει
 γένος τε θνητῶν.

And similarly in Chrysippus (according to the authority of Clemens) Fr. 839 Nauck² from Sextus Empiricus *Adv. Musicos* §17 p. 751 combined with Philo, *de Aetern. Mundi* 30 (II p. 498 M); cf. Vitruvius VIII, praef. 1 and Clemens Alex. *Strom.* VI, 24, 4 (750P):

Γαῖα Μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς αἰθήρ,
 ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ,
 ἡ δ' ὕδροβόλους τίκτει θνητούς,
 τίκτει δὲ βορὰν φύλά τε θηρῶν·
 ὅθεν οὐκ ἀδίκως
 μήτηρ πάντων νενόμισται.

(There follows the idea that the elements of the dissolved entities return to their respective source - heaven or earth). In place of Heaven here Jovial Aether appears, as in the apostrophe (Euripides Fr. 1023 Nauck² from Sextus Empiricus *adv. Math.* X 315 and Hippolitus, *Ref. Omn. Haer.* I, 7):

Αἰθέρα καὶ Γαῖαν πάντων γενέτειραν αἶδω.

Cf. Euripides Fr. 225 Nauck². Gods further seem to be constituted from the progeny of the Sacred Primal Connubium; they were probably conceived as a system whose peak and summit is Aether; v. Cornutus

Theol. Gr. 20 (35.15 Lang = Fr. 911 Nauck² *Eur. Fr.*: “κορυφή δὲ θεῶν”
κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην “ὁ περὶ χθόν’ ἔχων / φαεινὸς αἰθήρ”.

The basic notion in general is well expressed by Vitruvius *loc. cit.*: Euripides, auditor Anaxagorae, quem philosophum scaenicum appellaverunt, aera et terram (sc. omnium rerum principia esset professus), eamque e caelestium imbrium conceptionibus inseminatam fetus gentium et omnium animalium in mundo procreavisse, et quae ex ea essent prognata, cum dissolverentur temporum necessitate coacta, in eandem redire, quaeque de aere nascerentur, item in caeli regiones reverti, neque interiiones recipere et dissolutione mutata in eam recidere, in qua ante fuerant, proprietatem.

The ἐναγκαλισμός of Earth by Aether = Zeus is also celebrated in the famous Euripidean verses (941 N from Plutarch, *De Exilio* 601A; *Ad Principem Ineruditum* 780D; *Actia Physica* ΚΘ’ 919B; Lucianus *Jupiter Tragoedus* 41 (II p. 689); Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 2, 2; Heracleides, *Allegor. Hom.* 43; Clemens, *Strom.* V, 114, 1 (717P)):

ὄρᾱς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ’ ἄπειρον αἰθέρα
καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχονθ’ ὕγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;
τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ’ ἦγοῦ θεόν.

The passage is nicely rendered by Cicero *Nat. Deorum* II, 25, 65. Ennius had compressed the Aether - Zeus identity in his austere verse *Thyestes* Fr. VII p. 66 Ribbeck. This fragment probably belongs to the same context as the foregoing one; for Pacuvius utilized both in what is certainly a single passage of his (*Chryses* Fr. VI p. 99 Ribbeck, from Varro *de Ling. Lat.* V 17, Nonius 144, 10 and Cicero *de divinat.* I, 57, 131 combined):

Hoc vide, circum supraque quod complexu continet
Terram
sollisque exortu capessit candorem, occasu nigret,
id quod nostri caelum memorant, Grai perhibent aethera:
quidquid est hoc, omnia animat, format, alit, auget, creat,
sepelit recipitque in sese omnia, omniumque idem est pater
indidemque eadem aequae oriuntur de integro atque eodem occidunt.

The difference between the Euripidean passages and the Roman poet’s rendering, lies in the latter’s overemphasis (in conformity to his nation’s preoccupations) of the patriarchal aspect in generation; although he also acknowledges, almost unwillingly and half-heartedly, the maternal prerogatives in another fragment from the same work (fr. VII p. 100

Ribbeck from Nonius 75, 11; cf. Varro *de Ling. Lat.* V 60):

Mater terrast: parit haec corpus, animam <autem> aether adiugat.

The matter-spirit antithesis is Stoic; and it is from such a source that Pacuvius draws. Yet Lucretius (V, 318-23) utilizes the same notion, hypothetically and not without irony, unmistakably referring to the Pacuvian passage:

Denique iam tuere hoc, circum supraque quod omnem
 continet amplexu terram: si procreat ex se
 omnia, quod quidam memorant, recipitque perempta,
 totum nativum mortali corpore constat.
 nam quodcumque alias ex se res auget alitque,
 deminui debet, recreari, cum recipit res.

Lucretius' own view (I, 250 sqq.) is modelled on the Aeschylean:

postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater aether
 in gremium matris terrai praecipitavit;
 at nitidae surgunt fruges ramique virescunt
 arboribus, crescunt ipsae fetuque gravantur;
 hinc alitur porro nostrum genus atque ferarum etc.

For rain, as Jupiter's fertilizing and invigorating activity, extending restrictively over all plantation cf. Virgilius *Ecloga* VII, 57-60, where also the memorable notion of the "affluent descent of Zeus" appears:

...nemus omne virebit,
 Juppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri.

(cf. Juppiter uvidus *Georg.* I, 418).

Lucretius sticks to this stricter view and explains how, according to his opinion, Earth may be called the universal mother (II, 991 sqq.):

Denique caelesti sumus omnes semine oriundi;
 omnibus ille idem pater est, unde alma liquentis
 umoris guttas mater cum terra recepit
 feta parit nitidas fruges arbustaque laeta
 et genus humanum, parit omnia saecula ferarum,
 pabula cum praebet quibus omnes corpora pascunt

et dulcem ducunt vitam prolemque propagant;
 quapropter merito maternum nomen adepta est.
 cedit item retro, de terra quod fuit ante
 in terras, et quod missumst ex aetheris oris,
 id rursus caeli rellatum templa receptant.

This is the passage from Euripides' *Chrysippus* but for the rationalization 996-7. This, however, should not be construed as a restriction on the maternal prowess of Earth; for such a limitation would be contradicted at any rate by the accompanying belief that when things perish, they are merely dissolved, and that their dissolution reduces them to components returning to their respective sources, these being Earth and Heavenly Aether. Moreover, beside the above explanation of the claims for universal parentage from celestio-terrestrial copulation based on Earth as omninitrix, we encounter in Lucretius the very common notion of the original Earth literally begetting all life at the beginning of things v. V., 780 sqq. esp. 791-796 (linquitur ut merito maternum nomen adepta / terra sit, e terra quoniam sun cuncta creata 795-6); 805-815; 821-5. Virgil repeats the idea when in *Georgica*, after starting with ordinary annual vernal fecundity regarding plantation (as the context shows) (II, 324-7), he refers to the first origin of the World (336-42):

Non alios prima crescentis origine mundi
 illuxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem
 crediderim: ver illud erat; ver magnus agebat
 orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
 cum primae lucem pecudes hausere, virumque
 terrea progenies duris caput extulit arvis,
 immissaeque ferae silvis et sidera coelo.

And similarly Ovid, *Metamorph.* I, 416 sqq.:

Cetera diversis tellus animalia formis
 Sponte sua peperit, postquam vetus umor ab igne
 Percaluit solis caenumque udaeque paludes
 Intumuere aestu, fecundque semina rerum
 vivaci nutrita solo, ceu matris in alvo,
 creverunt faciemque aliquam ceper morando etc.

But the poetic sentiment, going deep into the religious roots of culture, disregards such philosophically-orientated distinctions and clarifications.

The bare mythical fact is mentioned, pregnant with symbolism. Thus Statius, *Silvae* I, 2, 185 (Venus is speaking):

...ipsum in connubia Terrae
aethera, cum pluviis rarescunt nubila, solvo.

And *Pervigilium Veneris* 61-2:

In sinum maritus imber fluxit almae coniugis
Unde fetus mixtus omnes alevet magno corpore.

(Cf. Horatius *Epodon*, XIII, 1:

Horrida tempestas caelum contraxit et imbres
Nivesque deducunt lovem).

Lucilius began his great Satires with the verse (Fr. 1M = I, I Müller from Varro *de L.L.* V, 17):

aetheris et terrae genitabile quaerere temus,

where the procreative capacity of time, associated with or born out of the primaeval pair, is highlighted).

Jupiter as the Sky-God, of the dark Sky too, is a poetic commonplace (cf. the expression *sub Jove*) with deep religious roots. Cf. Horatius *Carm.* I, 22, 19:

Quod latus mundi nebulae malusque
Juppiter urget;

cf. Statius *Thebais* X, 373-4;

sicubi nocturnum tonitru malus aethera frangit
Juppiter.

Horatius *Carm.* I, 1, 25:

...manet sub Jove frigido
venator tenerae coniugis immemor.

Statius, *Thebais*, III, 26:

cum fragor hiberni subitus Iovis (cf. X, 373-4).

Valerius Flaccus *Argon.* III, 578:

...ceu pectora nautis
congelat hiberni vultus Jovis agricolisve.

Martialis VII, 36, 1: cum plurias madidumque Jovem perferre negater.

Juvenalis V, 78: — fremeret saeva cum grandine vernus / Juppiter.

8. V. Aristeides in *Jovem* p. 9 Dindorf: ἡ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ὄμβρου συνουσία Διός (sc. Earth). Cf. Tertullianus *Apologeticus*, 10 (repeated in *Ad Nationes* II, 12; where also the idea is voiced that: per eum (sc. Cronos - Chronos) seminalia coeli in terram deferri, with reference to heaven's castration) where he of course transports the notion from its pagan setting to his own Christian stentiment in the context of his argumentation, to the effect that Saturn was not born from Heaven and Earth, but a man from unknown parents: tamen si homo Saturnus, utique ex homine, et quia ab homine, non utique de coelo et terra. Sed cujus parentes ignoti erant, facile fuit eorum fillium dici, quorum et omnes possumus videri. Quis enim non coelum et terram matrem et patrem venerationis et honoris gratia appellet, vel ex consuetudine humana, qua ignoti vel ex inopinato apparentes de coelo supervenisse dicuntur? The explanatory rationalizations are of a Christian; the fact that there exists an oecumenical belief, properly interpreted, is of importance.

Aristotle refers to the belief in Earth as the Universal Mother and Heaven or some appropriate celestial power as Cosmic Father in a way that presupposes its common and matter of fact acceptance: *de Generatione Animalium* 716a15: διὸ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὄλῳ τὴν τῆς Γῆς φύσιν ὡς θῆλυ καὶ μητέρα νομίζουσιν, οὐρανὸν δὲ καὶ ἥλιον ἢ τι τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τοιούτων ὡς γεννῶντας καὶ πατέρας προσαγορεύουσιν. And the Plutarchean *Epitoma* I, 6, 11 p. 300.17 sqq. = SVF II 1009, explaining the Stoicizing doctrine concerning how and whence men conceived of deity, refers to those that are animated and fructified by Earth (τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ζωογονούμενα καὶ καρπογονούμενα), adding: διὸ πατὴρ μὲν ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς οὐρανὸς ὑπάρχειν, μήτηρ δὲ γῆ· τούτων δὲ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ διὰ τὸ τὰς τῶν ὑδάτων ἐκχύσεις σπερμάτων ἔχει τάξιν, ἡ δὲ γῆ μήτηρ διὰ τὸ δέχεσθαι ταῦτα καὶ τίκειν.

9. Proclus *In Plat. Tim.* (III, 176 Diehl): πρώτην γὰρ νύμφην ἀποκαλεῖ (sc. ὁ θεολόγος, i.e. Orpheus) τὴν Γῆν καὶ πρώτιστον γάμον τὴν ἔνωσιν αὐτῆς τὴν πρὸς τὸν Οὐρανόν... καὶ ἔοικε διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οὐρανῶ τούτῳ καὶ Γῆ ἁυτῆς προσήκειν ὁ γάμος, ὡς ἐκείνον οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν ἐκείνην

ἐνεικονιζομένους (the visible pair representing the intelligible prototype). ὁ δὴ καὶ οἱ θεσμοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰδότες προσέττατον Οὐρανῶ καὶ Γῆ προτελεῖν τοὺς γάμους (OF 112). This prime and archetypal copulation was reflected according to Varro in the name Victoria; *de L.L.* V, 62: Tellus enim quod prima vincta Caelo, Victoria ex eo.

10. He had explained before in the passage quoted above (n. 8) that male and female are rightly taken as principles of generation, τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν ὡς τῆς κινήσεως καὶ τῆς γενέσεως ἔχον τὴν ἀρχήν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ὡς ὕλης (*De Gen. Anim.* 716a5). They secrete sperm and the conception fluids respectively, by virtue of which they are such principles, being differentiated in that ἄρρεν μὲν γὰρ λέγομεν ζῶον τὸ εἰς ἄλλο γεννῶν, θῆλυ δὲ τὸ εἰς αὐτό (716a13).
11. It is not surprising that more rationalistically minded philosophers may have wished to remove from the mythical Earth her all-productive potencies in favour of some principle more acceptable to them. Thus, we find an apparently early exception to the common experience in Xenocrates, as will be analysed below; and similarly, Seneca ascribes to Nature the terrestrial prerogatives, *Ep. Moral.* 36, 10: cogita nihil eorum, quae ab oculis abeunt et in rerum naturam, ex qua prodierunt ac mox processura sunt, reconduuntur, consumi etc. But the poets were held fast by the original symbolic experience. Euripides *Antiope* Fr. 195 N²: ἅπαντα τίκτει χθὼν πάλι τε λαμβάνει; Menander *Γνώμαι Μονόστιχοι* 89: γῆ πάντα τίκτει καὶ πάλιν κομίζεται; 539 χθὼν πάντα τίκτει (pro κομίζει) καὶ πάλιν κομίζεται (but in 668 we have the Senecan formulaion: ἡ δοῦσα πάντα καὶ κομίζεται φύσις, a more intellectual and philosophical rendering, but also a proof that Nature was fundamentally Telluric; something that corresponds to the Stoic thesis that the substance of things (οὐσία) is really matter (ὕλη): the substantive is the material). Ennius *Epicharmus* Fr. 7 Müller (= Varro *de L.L.* V 64): terra gentis omnis peperit et resumit denuo; Xenophanes himself maintained (Fr. 23, from Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 10, 12 and Theodoretus *Graec. Affect. Curat.* IV, 5) that ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾷ. Lucretius V, 257 sqq.:

praeterea pro parte sua, quodcumque alid auget,
redditur; et quoniam dubio procul esse videtur
omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulcrum
ergo terra tibi libatur et aucta recrescit.

(In V 318-23 indeed it is the fatherly principle, the all-encompassing aethereal sphere, that procreates and resumes everything; but there Lucretius argues ad hominem, as is made evident by the very turn employed: si

procreat ex se omnia, quod quidam memorant etc. From Heaven comes the spermatic fiery spirit). In a sepulchral Latin inscription the idea is put succinctly: Mater genuit mater recepit (Orelli, *Insc. Lat. Sel.* 4417). A sacred rite was performed by the Pontifices in Rome in honour of the four deities Tellus, Tellumo, Altor, Rusor. The two former were obviously the female and male telluric principles (cf. the male Ceres Tellurus in Martianus Capella I, 49). And Varro, who is the source for this information, explains in the following way why the two latter divinities are also implicated (Augustinus *De Civitate Dei* VII, 23 and fin: Altori quare? Quod ex terra aluntur omnia quae nata sunt (from the former couple). Rusori quare? Quod rursus cuncta eodem revolvuntur. The division of the universal empire of the World into the three traditional regna, allots earth to Hades (Cicero, *de Natura Deorum* II, 66) qui Dives, ut apud Graecos *Πλούτων*, quia et recidunt omnia in terras, et oriuntur e terris. V. Diodorus, I, 12, 4 (= OF 302); Papyrus from Derveni Col. 18 (e.g. R. Merkelbach ZPE 1, 1967, pp. 27-8).

Aeschylus' *Electra* expressed the great truth simply and straightforwardly; *Choephorae* 127-8:

καὶ γαῖαν αὐτήν, ἣ τὰ πάντα τίκτεται
θρέψασα τ' αὐθις τῶνδε κῦμα λαμβάνει.

A truth whose exemplary manifestation is revealed in plant life, as the Scholiast *ad loc.* explains: θρέψασα ἡ γῆ τὸν σπόρον τοῖς ἐπιούσι καρποῖς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κύημα λαμβάνει. Great Ennius also transplanted the idea into Latin, fr. I, IX i Müller, (Varro *de L.L.* V 60 (cf. V 111; IX, 54): terram corpus quae dederit, ipsam capere, neque dispendi facere hillum.

The relative importance of the male and female factor in generation is an ulterior question. Cf. first of all the Oresteian connection. Aeschylus *Eumenid.* 657 sq.: Euripides, *Orest.* 546-56; Fr. 1064 N². From a philosophical viewpoint v. Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1024a34-6. And further Diodorus I, 80, 4; Metopus apud Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 64. For a detailed study of the question v. Ch. 14, part B, *Patriarchalism and Maternal Contribution in Procreation.*

XENOCRATES

In Xenocrates' theology we appear to encounter an exception to the universal belief. And this would have been no surprise given the ramified differentiations of original formulations effected by the old Academy in its determined attempt not to offend the principle of purer Reason. Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 1, 29b (p. 36 W) = Fr. 15 Heinze, preserves the doxographical

information that the Xenocreatean supreme Gods were the Monad and the Dyad; the former, as Male, in place of Father, is the heavenly King, denominated Zeus, Even, Mind; the other, as Female, in the image of the Mother of Gods is Queen and Leader of the subcelestial regions, conceived by him as the Universal Soul - not the Earth. But Xenocrates prefigured the Neoplatonic processions of being with the characteristic repetition at each level of reality of the primal principles in novel forms. Divinity, we learn from the same source, is diffused even down to the material elements. He must have identified the present physical antithesis of Mind-Soul with the metaphysical opposition of One, and Multiplicity. For he acknowledged two orders of Gods, the Olympians, born evidently from the supreme Couple, and the Titans, procreated by Heaven and Earth; Tertullian *ad nat.* II, 2 p. 589B, PG = Fr. 19 Heinze: Xenocrates Academicus bifariam facit (sc. formam divinitatis), Olympios et Titanios, qui de Caelo et Terra. This Heaven must be the lowest Zeus. For it is expressly attested that Xenocrates spoke of supremal Zeus (*ὑπατος*) in the world of ideas (in things immutable, *ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσιν*), and of infimal (*νέατος*) Zeus in the sublunar World of change. (Plutarchus *Quaest. Plat.* IX, 1, p. 1007 F = Fr. 18 Heinze; cf. Clemens Alex. *Strom.* V, 14, 116, 3 p. 405 Stählin). The couples then must be: *ὑπατος Ζεὺς* - Cosmic Soul; and *Νέατος Ζεὺς* (= Heaven) - Earth. Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 10, 12 (p. 123W) = Fr. 28 Heinze, or rather his source, the reputed "Aetius", misinterpreted Xenocrates when he understood the second supreme principle as matter: *Ξενοκράτης συνεστάναι τὸ πᾶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς καὶ τοῦ ἀενάου, ἀέναον τὴν ὕλην ἀνιττόμενος διὰ τοῦ πλήθους* (cf. Theodoretus, *Graec. Affect. Curat.* IV, 12). The *ἀέναον* was the first principle of multiplicity, as the very significant added explanation *διὰ τοῦ πλήθους* renders manifest; it was the psychic principle rather than matter. But of course one may speak of incorporeal matter in these contexts and circles; which would nicely explain the misapprehension.

ANAXAGORAS

12. Theophrastus expressly ascribes to Anaxagoras the view that seeds of all kinds exist in the air, which the rain brings down to the earth, thus generating the plants; *Hist. Plant.* III 1, 4: *Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν τὸν ἀέρα πάντων φάσκων ἔχειν σπέρματα, καὶ ταῦτα συγκαταφερόμενα τῷ ὕδατι γεννᾶν τὰ φυτά.* These are the invisible seeds of Varro *Rerum rusticarum* I, 40, 1 where the reference to the very same Theophrastean passage just quoted is unmistakable: *Primum semen, quod est principium generandi, id duplex, unum quod later nostrum sensum, alterum quod apertum. Latet, si sunt semina in aere, ut ait physicos Anaxagoras, et si*

aqua, quae influit in agrum, inferred solet, ut scribit Theophrastus. Varro thus applies the Anaxagorean doctrine to the present, stable situation of the world, whether some plants only owe their origin to the invisible seeds, or as is more likely and consonant to the ancient mind, all plants, with or without visible-seed mediation as well, are generated by the semen dispersed in the air; and this application must also be accepted. But there can be no doubt that Anaxagoras meant primarily his doctrine in a cosmogonic sense. Life originated according to him in the moist and warm and earthy (Diog. Laert. II, 9: ζῶα γενέσθαι ἐξ ὑγροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ καὶ γεώδους, ὕστερον δὲ ἐξ ἀλλήλων - a fuller version of Hippolytus *Ref.* I, 8, 12), that is in the primeval swamp warmed by the Sun. This squares well with the notion that life was brought down to earth by rain, seeds in the resulting fertile, warm muck producing it in the first place (we have here a physiological formulation of the ancient belief in Father Heaven fecundating Mother Earth). Anaxagoras held that plants are merely rooted animals; Plutarchus, *Quaest. Phys.* I, 911D ζῶον γὰρ ἔγγειον τὸ φυτὸν εἶναι οἱ περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Ἀναξαγόραν καὶ Δημόκριτον οἴονται. And so the Peripatetic work ascribed to Aristotle *de Plantis* 815a15: Ἀναξαγόρας μὲν οὖν καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐπιθυμία ταῦτα κινεῖσθαι λέγουσιν, αἰσθάνεσθαι τε καὶ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ ἡδεσθαι διαβεβαιοῦνται. ὃν ὁ μὲν Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ ζῶα εἶναι καὶ ἡδεσθαι καὶ λυπεῖσθαι εἶπε, τῇ τε ἀπορροῇ τῶν φύλλων καὶ τῇ αὐξήσει τοῦτο ἐκλαμβάνων, etc. 815b16 ὁ δὲ Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ ὁ Δημόκριτος καὶ ὁ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ νοῦν καὶ γνῶσιν εἶπον ἔχειν τὰ φυτά. That plants are animals fits well with their common origination: seeds falling from Heaven to Earth. Thus Irenaeus II, 14, 2 (= II, 18, 2 Harvey): Anaxagoras autem, ...dogmatisavit facta animalia decidentibus e caelo in terram seminibus.

Such semen comes ultimately from heavenly aether. For it is aetherial heat that constitutes the plastic, shaping potency of the sperm; Censorinus *de Die Natali* 6, 2: sunt qui aetherium calorem inesse arbitrentur (sc. in semen) qui membra disponat, Anaxagoran secuti. Anaxagoras in fact deduced the word αἰθήρ etymologically from αἶθω, burn, for which he was criticized by Aristotle *de Caelo* 270b24; cf. Simplicius *ad loc.* P. 55a Karsten; cf. A73. for the aethereal fire v. A84; 82. Αἰθήρ and ἀήρ being the first and biggest opposition that is secreted from the absolutely homogeneous περιέχον (B1; 2, A70), a primary differentiation comprising the fundamental contrarities πυκνόν / ἀραιόν, διερόν / ξηρόν, ψυχρόν / θερμόν, ζοφερόν / λαμπρόν (B15; 12; 4; cf. A42 §2); the first members of these oppositions are involved in air, while the second ones pertain to aether. Earth proceeded from Air through a series of transformations (B16) and indeed the winds are born from the earth (A86a). The Sun, on the

other hand, must have been considered, no doubt, the primary aetherial hypostatization as a heavenly body; cf. its reputed Anaxagorean identity to fire in Xenophon *Memorabilia* IV, 7, 6-7. Given also its manifest and pervasive influence on all life, especially of the plants, and its constitution of the archetype and determinant of all natural cycles, the Ring of the Year, we may easily appreciate the Peripatetic statement in *De plantis* 817b27 that according to Anaxagoras ἡ γῆ μήτηρ μὲν ἐστὶ τῶν φυτῶν, ὁ δὲ ἥλιος πατήρ. In fact he explained that the moisture or coldness in plants proceeds from Earth or Air - 817a26 (Greek text): εἶπε δὲ καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας ὅτι ἡ ὑγρότης τούτων ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; Latin text: et ideo Anaxagoras dixit quod earum frigus est ab aere. The variations are not really dissonant: for both frigidity and moisture belong to the constitution of air, and it is from air that earth comes, as above indicated. Naturally, he would ascribe heat and dryness in plants to the aetherial principle figured in the Sun. The author of the *de Plantis* interprets the Anaxagorean doctrine as meaning that earth provides the sustenance, while the generation of plants and production of fruits are due to the Sun; 817b23: ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τις ἀρχὴ τῆς μὲν τροφῆς τῶν φυτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, καὶ πάλιν ἀρχὴ ἑτέρα τῆς γενέσεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου, or in the Latin text: et principium generationis fructuum. This is consonant with the view held by Anaxagoras in concert with other physiologies that it is only the male that secretes sperm, while the female provides only the receptacle in conception; Aristotle *de Gener. Anim.* Δ, 736b30: φασὶ γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς σπέρμασιν εἶναι ταύτην τὴν ἐναντίωσιν (i.e. of the male and female) εὐθύς, οἶον Ἀναξαγόρας καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν φυσιολόγων· γίνεσθαι τε γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ ἄρρενος τὸ σπέρμα, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ παρέχειν τὸν τόπον, καὶ εἶναι τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν ἐκ τῶν δεξιῶν τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ἐκ τῶν ἀριστερῶν (sc. parts of the father), καὶ τῆς ὑστέρας τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς εἶναι τὰ δὲ θήλεα ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς. The emphasis on right and left as determinative of sex is biological Pythagoreanism.

13. Pausanias X, 12, 10.
14. Philostratus *Heroicus* p. 301.7 (693 Olearius): καὶ μὴν καὶ Παμφῶ σοφῶς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντος ὅτι Ζεὺς εἶη τὸ ζωογονοῦν καὶ δι' οὐδ' ἀνίσταται τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα, εὐθέστερον δὲ χρῆσθαι τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ καταβεβλημένα ἔπει εἰς τὸν Δία ἄσαντος· ἐστὶ γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Παμφῶ ἔπη· Ζεῦ etc.
15. Alcmaeonis fr. 3 Bernabé (= 3 Kinkell) from *Et. Gudianum* s.v. Ζαγρεύς, where the name is explained as ὁ μεγάλως ἀγρεύων (as also in *Anecd. Oxon.* II 443, 8 Cramer), the awful, Great Hunter of Darkness, Lord of Death, himself hideously dismembered (cf. Kern OF 210 pp. 230 sqq.; and Callimachus Fr. 43. 117, Pfeiffer vol. I. 54).
16. In primis recall the famous Heraclitean fragment B15. From the poets, cf. Euripides *Fr. Incertum* 912 N. = Clemens *Alex. Strom.* V p. 668 P:

σοὶ τῶ πάντων μεδέοντι χοῆν
πέλανόν τε φέρω, Ζεὺς εἴτ' Ἄϊδης
ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις...
σὺ γὰρ ἔν τε θεοῖς τοῖς οὐρανίδαις
σκῆπτρον τὸ Διὸς μεταχειρίζεις
χθονίων θ' Ἄϊδη μετέχεις ἀρχῆς.

The same double-faced principle, apprehended there as female, is referred to by Plutarch, *Numa*, XII (Libitine being identical to Persephone and Aphrodite): οὐ κακῶς εἰς μιᾶς δύναμιν θεοῦ τὰ περὶ τὰς γενέσεις καὶ τὰς τελευτὰς ἀνάπτουτες (sc. the λογιώτατοι Ρωμαίων interpreting their sacral lore). That this was also the common notion is testified by Plutarch *Aetia Romana* XXIII, cf. Dionysius Halicarnassensis *Antiqu. Roman.* IV, 15. We learn also that there existed at Delphi a statuette of Ἀφροδίτῃ Ἐπιτυμβία, by which the summoning of the dead to the drink-offerings was performed. The identity of the sepulchral tomb with the generative matrix, the primal womb, is well illustrated by the Athenian custom of symbolically sowing the earth over a fresh burial; Cicero, *de Legibus* II, 25 (63): Nam et Athenis iam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit, ocius terra humandi: quam quum proximi iniecerant, obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur etc.

17. V. Aristotle *Physica* A, 187a12 sqq.: ὡς δ' οἱ φυσικοὶ λέγουσι, δύο τρόποι εἰσίν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ποιήσαντες τὸ ὄν σῶμα τὸ ὑποκείμενον, ἢ τῶν τριῶν (fire, air, water excluding earth) τι ἢ ἄλλο ὃ ἐστι πῦρὸς μὲν πυκνότερον ἀέρος δὲ λεπτότερον, τὰλλα γεννώσι πυκνότητι καὶ μανότητι πολλὰ ποιῶντες - οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι, ὥσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρός φησι, καὶ ὅσοι δ' ἐν καὶ πολλὰ φασιν εἶναι, ὥσπερ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας· ἐκ τοῦ μίγματος γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι ἐκκρίνουσι τὰλλα. διαφέρουσι δὲ ἀλλήλων (sc. the two latter) τῶ τὸν μὲν (sc. Empedocles) περίοδον ποιεῖν τούτων, τὸν δ' (sc. Anaxagoras) ἅπαξ, καὶ τὸν μὲν (sc. Anaxagoras) ἅπειρα, τὰ τε ὁμοιομερῆ καὶ τὰναντία, τὸν δὲ (sc. Empedocles) τὰ καλούμενα στοιχεῖα μόνον. Cf. n. 19.
18. Cf. e.g. Theophrastus *Physic. Opin.* Fr. 2 Diels Dox. Gr. Pp. 476-7 from Simplicius *in Physic.* 187a12, where Fire is generated from Anaximenean air by rarefaction, and through densification the series wind, cloud, water, earth, stone; and in the sequel, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐκ τούτων.
19. V. first of all the above quoted (n. 17) Aristotelian passage. Simplicius commenting on this, and drawing in all probability on Theophrastus *Physic. Opinion.* (Fr. 2 Diels *Doxographi Graeci* p. 476 = A9) testifies: 24, 13 = f6R 46 sqq. οὗτος δὲ (sc. Anaximander) οὐκ ἀλλοιούμενου τοῦ στοι-

χείου (the primal element, principle and beginning of things) τὴν γένεσιν ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποκρινομένων τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τῆς αἰδίου κινήσεως. διὸ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν τοῦτον ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης συνέταξεν. And similarly (Diels *op. cit.* p. 476 ad Fr. 2.4) Simplicius in *Phys.* F32V10 οὐδὲ κατὰ ἀλλοίωσιν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου τὰς γενέσεις ἀποδιδόασιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἔκκρισιν. ἐνούσας γὰρ τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ἀπείρω ὄντι σώματι ἐκκρίνεσθαι φησιν Ἀναξίμανδρος πρῶτος αὐτὸς ἀρχὴν ὀνομάσας τὸ ὑποκείμενον. In the Plutarchean *Stromateis* (Fr. 2 Diels *Dox. Gr.* P. 597 and Anaximander A10) quoted in extenso by Eusebius, *Praep. Evangelica* I, 7, 16, it is stated that at the beginning of the World-formation there is secreted from the Eternal the spermatic potency of the Warm-Cold contrariety, and thus Heaven is created: (Ἀναξίμανδρον Fr. A10) τὸ ἄπειρον φάναι τὴν πᾶσαν αἰτίαν ἔχειν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεώς τε καὶ φθορᾶς, ἐξ οὗ δὴ τούς τε οὐρανούς ἀποκεκρίσθαι καὶ καθόλου τοὺς ἅπαντας ἀπείρους ὄντας κόσμους and specifically φησὶ δὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ αἰδίου γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ἀποκριθῆναι, καὶ τινα ἐκ τούτου φλογὸς σφαῖραν περιφυῆναι τῷ περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρι ὡς τῷ δένδρῳ φλοῖόν· ἤστινος ἀποραγείσης καὶ εἰς τινὰς ἀποκλεισθείσης κύκλους ὑποστῆναι τὸν ἥλιον, τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας. Evidently the ψυχρόν would produce earth and / or air, especially the thicker air near the terrestrial surface. Heaven would then be a mixture of θερμόν and ψυχρόν, as is reported by Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 23, 1 = Plutarchean *Epitome* II, 11, 12 (Diels *Doxographi Graeci* II, 11,5, p. 340 = Anaximander A 17a); cf. Pseudo-Aristotel. *Erotopocrisis*. [Rose, Herm. IX, 119] in Diels *op.cit.* p. 339. Achilles p. 128c erroneously: Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ + πτηνὸν + (sic) πυρὸς μετέχοντα (sc. τὸν οὐρανόν). Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ σῶμα ἐκ ψυχροῦ καὶ θερμοῦ. Should we read Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ πέμπτον (sc. σῶμα) πυρὸς μετέχοντα. Ἀναξίμανδρος δὲ etc.? Equally operative in the sequel would have been the other basic contrariety of ξηρόν and ὑγρόν (Simplicius in *Phys.* 150, 24 (in A9): ἐναντιότητες δὲ εἰσι θερμόν, ψυχρόν, ξηρόν, ὑγρόν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. Cf. Anaximander A27; 30).

ALCMAEON

20. Alcmaeon was young when Pythagoras had reached old age, Aristotle *Metaph.* 986a29-30: καὶ γὰρ ἐγένετο τὴν ἡλικίαν Ἀλκμαίων ἐπὶ γέροντι Πυθαγόρᾳ. That Ross and Jaeger, on the inconclusive testimony of Alexander Aphrodisiensis and codex A^b (Laurentianus 87, 12, whose text is in general rather divergent and more questionable) omit ἐγένετο τὴν ἡλικίαν and ἐπὶ γέροντι Πυθαγόρᾳ (rather significantly the following δέ must also go on this excision) is arbitrary and unlikely. Diels' insertion of <νέος> (A3) after Ἀλκμαίων is apposite but unnecessary if we understand

ἡλικία as age of acme. But the idea is supported by Iamblichus *Vita Pythagorica* 104: καὶ γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ διδασκαλείου τούτου, μάλιστα δὲ οἱ παλαιότατοι καὶ αὐτῷ συγχρονίσαντες καὶ μαθητεύσαντες τῷ Πυθαγόρᾳ πρεσβύτερη νέοι, ...καὶ Ἀλκμαίων... In any case Alcmaeon was probably Pythagoras' pupil or rather ἀκροατής: Diogenes Laertius VIII, 83: a fact supported by doctrinal similarities.

21. Aristotle *Metaph.* A986a21 sqq. (= A3): φησὶ γὰρ (sc. Alcmaeon) εἶναι δύο τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, λέγων τὰς ἐναντιότητας οὐχ ὥσπερ οἶτοι (sc. the Pythagoreans) διωρισμένας ἀλλὰ τὰς τυχοῦσας, οἶον λευκὸν μέλαν, γλυκὴν πικρὸν, ἀγαθὸν κακόν, μέγα μικρόν. Οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀδιορίστως ἀπέρριψε περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν, οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ πόσοι καὶ τινες αἱ ἐναντιώσεις ἀπεφάνησαντο (naturally the fundamental ones are meant here, by contrast). Diogenes Laertius loc.cit. repeats the memorable expression δύο τὰ πολλὰ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων: it seems that it was Alcmaeon's own. It fits well with the sharp strength of archaic enunciation. Cf. Ion's from Chios *Τριαγμοί* (A1; 2): πάντα τρία καὶ οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ ἔλασσον τούτων τῶν τριῶν etc. (B1).
22. *Met.* 986a28 (= A3): καὶ ἤτοι οὗτος (sc. Alcmaeon) παρ' ἐκείνων (sc. the Pythagoreans) ἢ ἐκεῖνοι παρὰ τούτου παρέλαβον τὸν λόγον τοῦτον (about contrarities). Evidently the physiologising man of Medicine drew from the previously somehow formulated philosophical insight. Aristotle hesitates because the theory of the fixed number (symbolically ten) of fundamental contrarities seems (correctly to him) a subsequent elaboration of a previous experience of the World conceived in terms of opposites, working with ad hoc contrarities in each case. But the natural serialization of development surely is: first the insight into the contrarial nature of reality; then the search and discovery of oppositions in various fields of experience; and finally the reduction of the contrarial variety thus registered to some ultimate pairs of opposites constitutive of existence.

XENOPHANES

23. V. n. 18 - We should assume both Xenophanes early date and remarkable longevity. V. Diogenes Laertius IX, 18; 20; 21; Lucian *Macrob.* 20; Censorinus 15, 3; Eusebius *Chronica ad Olymp.* 56 and 59-61 (60, 1 in Armenian translation); and above all Timaeus and Apollodorus in Clemens *Strom.* I 64 (II, 40. 20 Stählin).
24. Aristotle definitively and expressly refers the Xenophanean theology to the cosmic model. In *Metaphysics*, after commenting on the Parmenidean and Meclissean conception of the One-Being, he adds (986b21 sqq. = A30): *Ξενοφάνης δὲ πρῶτος τούτων* (sc. among the Eleatic philosophers) ἐνί-

σας ... οὐθὲν διεσαφήνισεν (sc. about the One), οὐδὲ τῆς φύσεως τούτων οὐδετέρας ἔοικε θιγεῖν (sc. concerning the metaphysical One-in-essence and definition on the one hand, and the One-in-matter, i.e. whose unity of material substance renders it a physical one), ἀλλ' εἰς τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέψας τὸ ἐν εἶναι φησι τὸν θεόν. The meaning is obvious and was correctly set out by the *Scholia of cod. Reg. ad. loc.* (545b8 Brandis). Asclepius (p. 41.26 sqq.) criticizes Aristotle from the transcendental point of view for imputing to Xenophanes such an inept (to his mind) confusion of God (the creator of the World) and the world itself (the created). The emphasised identity of Ἐν and Πᾶν, which is the Supreme God, points also in the same direction. Cf. Theophrastus *Phys. Opinion* 5 (= A31) (Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* pp. 480-1, from Simplicius in *Phys.* 22, 22 sqq.: Μίαν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦτοι ἐν τὸ ὄν καὶ πᾶν etc.; also τὸ γὰρ ἐν τοῦτο καὶ πᾶν τὸν θεὸν ἔλεγεν ὁ Ξενοφάνης). Cf. Cicero *Academica* II 118 (A340; Lucull. 37, 118. Also Sextus Empiricus *Pyth. Hyp.* I, 225, (A35); Hippolytus *Retutatio omn. haeresium* I, 14, 2; Galenus *Hist. Philos.* 7 = A35 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 604, 17); Theodoretus *Gr. Aff. Cur.* IV, 5. From the extant fragments, B23-26 fit well into the doxographical corpus we have mentioned. The God of Xenophanes does not breathe (Diogenes Laert. IX 19, in A1): he is thus deliberately and emphatically contrasted with the Pythagorean cosmic Whole, which does. Not only is Xenophanes responding to Pythagoreanism and thus later in time, he is also purer and stricter in his demythologization.

25. Hippolytus *Ref. omn. haer.* I, 14, 3 (A33): (according to Xenophanes) τὰ δὲ πάντα εἶναι ἐκ γῆς. Theodoretus *Gr. aff. cur.* IV, 5 (A36): (Ξενοφάνης) ἐκ τῆς γῆς φῖναι ἅπαντα εἴρηκεν. αὐτοῦ γὰρ δὴ τόδε τὸ ἔπος ἐστίν: ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν πάντα τελευτᾷ (= B27). (The verse B27 is also testified by Sextus Empiricus *adv.math.* X, 313). So Stobaeus (A36) *Ecl.* I, 10, 12 Ξενοφάνης ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων πάντων εἶναι τὴν γῆν. γράφει γὰρ ἐν τῷ περὶ φύσεως: ἐκ γαίης etc. And similarly Olympiodorus *de arte sacr.* 24 (Berthelot, *Collect. des Alchim. gr.* I, 2) p. 82, 21 (A36): τὴν μὲν γὰρ γῆν οὐδεὶς ἐδόξασεν εἶναι ἀρχὴν, εἰ μὴ Ξενοφάνης ὁ Κολοφώνιος.

It was felt already in antiquity that the idea in B7 clashed irremediably with the Xenophanic doctrine of the One - Being - God. Thus Sextus Empiricus *loc. cit.* introduces the verse quoted above by the qualification Ξενοφάνης δὲ κατ' ἐνίουσ ἐκ γῆς (sc. affirmed the all-generation to proceed). And Galen, In *Hippocr. de nat. hom.* XV, 25 (Kühn) (A360 = Diels *Dox. Gr.* 481.14 sqq. explicitly castigates some commentators, among whom he singles out Sabinus, for ascribing to Xenophanes the idea that things, and man in particular, "are", or come from, Earth: κακῶς δὲ

καὶ τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἔνιοι κατειψεύσαντο Ξενοφάνους ὡσπερ καὶ Σαβίνος ὠδέ που γράμιας αὐτοῖς ὀνομάσιν· “οὔτε γὰρ πάμπαν ἀέρα λέγω τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ὡσπερ Ἀναξιμένης, οὔτε ὕδωρ ὡς Θαλῆς, οὔτε γῆν ὡς ἔν τινι Ξενοφάνης”. οὐδαμόθεν γὰρ εὐρίσκειται ὁ Ξενοφάνης ἀποφηνάμενος οὕτως ... καὶ Θεόφραστος δ’ ἂν ἐν ταῖς τῶν φυσικῶν δοξῶν ἐπιτομαῖς τὴν Ξενοφάνους δόξαν, εἴπερ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἐγεγράφει. Theodoretus on the other hand accepting the genuineness of both ideas imputes flagrant inconsistency on Xenophanes, *Gr.aff.cur.* IV, 5: Ξενοφάνης μὲν οὖν ... ἐν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν ἔφησε σφαιροειδὲς καὶ πεπερασμένον, οὐ γεννητὸν ἀλλ’ αἰδῖον καὶ πάμπαν ἀκίνητον. πάλιν δὲ αὐ τῶνδε τῶν λόγων ἐπιλαθόμενος ἐκ τῆς γῆς φῦναι ἅπαντα εἴρηκεν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ δὴ τότε τὸ ἔπος ἐστίν (B27 follows). The difficulty seems to become further compounded and unsurmountable by reason of the Aristotelian statement to the effect that while each of the other three elements has been thought by some to be the single ultimate substratum of all generation, no one has proclaimed earth such an *Ur-elementum*: *Metaph.* 989a5: οὐθεὶς γοῦν ἤξίωσε τῶν ἐν λεγόντων γῆν εἶναι στοιχείον, δηλονότι διὰ τὴν μεγαλομέρειαν, τῶν δὲ τριῶν ἕκαστον στοιχείων εἴληφέ τινα κριτὴν etc.

In fact, the force of Aristotle’s declaration increases when we see him continuing to support the *prima facie* claims of earth as well for the role of the primal source of everything: *καίτοι διὰ τί ποτ’ οὐ καὶ τὴν γῆν λέγουσιν, ὡσπερ οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; πάντα γὰρ εἶναι φασι γῆν, φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἡσίοδος τὴν γῆν πρώτην γενέσθαι τῶν σωμάτων· οὕτως ἀρχαίαν καὶ δημοτικὴν συμβέβηκεν εἶναι τὴν ὑπόληψιν*. There is prestigious poetic and popular support for Earth’s claims as an *ἀρχή*, and yet no philosopher took up her banner - this seems to be Aristotle’s point.

But the perplexity is more apparent than real. It stems from an especially modern, habitual inability to comprehend in one living whole different aspects of the same thing. The entire Cosmos is the One-Being and the supreme living entity, the highest, true God; everything else real is member or part of it. It does not move from place to place ((B26): this is the basic intention of the verses:

αἰεὶ δ’ ἐν ταῦτῳ μίμνει κινούμενος οὐδὲν
οὐδὲ μετέρχεσθαι μιν ἐπιπρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ),

even if its outermost sphere moves round itself. Moreover, Xenophanes appears to have denied the latter cyclical movement, for the earth extends indefinitely below. Already Empedocles refers to the anti-scientific notion, B39. Aristotle explicitly and eponymously refers to it (*de Caelo* 294a21 sqq.). For a variety of other testimonies v. A47. Hippolytus *Ref. Omn.*

Haer. I, 14, 3 (A33) renders the subject analytically clear by an explanatory addition: τὴν δὲ γῆν ἄπειρον εἶναι καὶ μήτε ὑπ' ἀέρος μήτε ὑπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ περιέχεσθαι. Similarly in the Plutarchean *Strom.* 4 and Eusebius *Pr. Ev.* I, 8, 4 (A32). The Earth is surely immoveable; and even if we would assume a circular celestial movement around the (finite) upper surface of the Earth (the one we inhabit), Xenophanes precludes such a construal: for the sun's path is really rectilinear while distance alone makes it seem curvilinear. Plutarch *Epitoma* II, 24 = Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 25, 3 ("Aetius" *Plac.* II, 24, 9): ὁ δ' αὐτὸς (sc. Xenophanes) τὸν ἥλιον εἰς ἄπειρον μὲν προϊέναι, δοκεῖν δὲ κυκλεῖσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀπόστασιν. An indirect confirmation of the Xenophanean identity of God and World comes from the significant addition in Diogenes Laertius IX, 19 where the divine substance is described: οὐσίαν θεοῦ ... μηδὲν ὅμοιον ἔχουσιν ἀνθρώπων· ὄλον δὲ ὄραν καὶ ὄλον ἀκούειν, μὴ μέντοι ἀναπνεῖν. The last clause is an evident reminder of, and explicit differentiation from, the characteristic Pythagorean doctrine according to which πέρασ and the finite inhale ἄπειρον as κενόν from without, by harmoniously informing the which, Cosmos as the Universal orderly arranged system is created.

The One-World-God and everything in it consists, however ultimately, of one basic element. Out of it comes by modification or transformation the entire variegated, orderly arrangement which as a whole constitutes the divine Cosmos. This must be no doubt the sense of Timon's (Fr. 59) censure (expressed as Xenophanean self-criticism) reported in Sextus Empiricus *Pyth. Hyp.* I, 224 (A35). The idea criticised is precisely the one element of the Universe, the one homogeneous nature into which everything is resolved:

ὅππη γὰρ ἐμὸν νόον εἰρύσαιμι,
εἰς ἓν ταυτό τε πᾶν ἀνελύετο· πᾶν δ' ἐὼν αἰεὶ
πάντη ἀνελκόμενον μίαν εἰς φύσιν ἴσταθ' ὁμολίην.

This is why the One-God is consubstantial with everything, τὸν θεὸν συμφυῆ (εἶναι) τοῖς πᾶσιν as Sextus, op.cit. I, 225, put it. Hence the strong doxographic tradition (supported by such quotations as B27, and the passages in A33 and 36) according to which Earth is Xenophanes' Ur-Elementum.

On the other hand moist earth was considered by Xenophanes as the original procreative slime, the fertile slime at the beginning of world-formation, the absolute existence (v. n. 20); and this, easily construed as postulating a dualism of principles for the World (dry and wet, Earth and Water), would account for part of the confusion and polemic found in

some sources. Thus that fact coupled also with an acceptance of the Xenophanean One in a quasi-Parmenidean, quasi-Melissean sense (cf. Aristotle, *Metaph.* 986a18 sqq.), quite apart from its cosmological foundation, would account for Aristotle's statement that nobody adopted Earth as the single original element (thus Asclepius, *Comm. in Metaphys.* P. 57.29 Hayduck, justifies Aristotle's pronouncement by the clause: *ὁ γὰρ Ξενοφάνης γῆν καὶ πῦρ ὑπετίθετο ἀρχὰς τῶν ὄντων*; For the erroneous introduction on fire in the Xenophanean context see the next note), for Theophrastus' silence on the matter, for the existence of interpretations not affirming Earth's primacy in Xenophanes, for Theodoretus' seeming inconsistency, and for Galen's castigation of Sabinus and others holding similar views. That there was in fact no cause for substantial worry is shown manifestly by the coupling of the monistic and dualistic formulations in the *Scholia AB TD to Ilias H*, 99 (*ὔδωρ καὶ γαῖα γένοισθε*): *καὶ Ξενοφάνης "πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα· ἐκ γαίης γὰρ πάντα καὶ εἰς γῆν τελευτᾷ"*. Earth is the Ur-Element. It is for Xenophanes an infinite element, extending indefinitely below: Aristotle *de Caelo* 294a21 sqq. quotes B28 and refers to the Empedoclean criticism of the idea, B39. (For a variety of other testimonies v. A47). It is specified that Earth is not surrounded by Air or the Sky; Hippolytus *Ref. Omn. Haer.* I, 14, 3 = Plutarchean *Strom.* 4 (Diels *Dox. Gr.* P. 580) = A32. But Earth is intrinsically wet: so it coheres, water providing the cohesive force; otherwise it would be dispersed into nothingness, and would be no earth, no element and not anything.

26. That Earth incorporates moisture was probably shown by the dripping of water deep under earth in stalactite caves; B37 (Herodianus *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* II 936.18): *ἀγνὸν* (Lehrs pro καὶ μὴν cod) *ἐνὶ σπεάτεσσι τοῖς καταλείβεται ὔδωρ*. There is a cyclic process of World-production and destruction out of, and to, the primordial mire: out of a primeval slime, earth and water segregating create the world approximately as we know it. Then the opposite process prevails and earth is dissolved by water in the aboriginal Mud out of which a new cycle proceeds. V. Hippolytus *Ref. Omn. Haer.* I, 14, 5-6 (A33) *...ἀναρῆσθαι δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους πάντας ὅταν ἡ γῆ κατενεχθεῖσα εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν πηλὸς γένηται, εἶτα πάλιν ἀρχεσθαι τῆς γενέσεως, καὶ ταύτην πᾶσι τοῖς κόσμοις γίνεσθαι μεταβολήν*. The aboriginal swamp, as the ultimate reality, provided the basis for statements of a Xenophanean dualism in our sources: Simplicius *Comm. in Phys.* 188, 32 preserves the definitive Xenophanean statement (B29): *γῆ καὶ ὔδωρ πάντ' ἔσθ' ὅσα γίνονται ἢ δὲ φύονται*. And regarding humans in particular, in Sextus *adv. Math.* X 314 (B33): *πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα*, who connects it to the above quoted Homeric

expression in H, 99. The interpretation is given weight by the explicit Porphyrean formulation (in *Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία*) (apud Philoponus *Comm. in Phys.* 125, 27 = A29): ὁ Πορφύριος φησι τὸν Ξενοφάνη τὸ ξηρὸν καὶ τὸ ὑγρὸν δοξάσαι ἀρχάς, τὴν γῆν λέγω καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ χρῆσιν αὐτοῦ παρατίθεται τοῦτο δηλοῦσαν (B29): ταύτης δὲ τῆς δόξης δοκεῖ καὶ "Ὅμηρος εἶναι ἐν οἷς φησὶν (again H99). That this ultimate dualism generates soul as well is testified for Xenophanes by Macrobius *Somn. Scip.* I, 14, 19 (A50): ex terra et aqua (sc. animam esse). The significance of sea as the material principle of humidity and source of winds, clouds, rains, and rivers is eloquently expressed by Xenophanes in B30 (from *Schol. Genes. to Ilias* Φ, 196; cf. for the first line Stobaeus I, 31, 4 = "Aetius" III, 4, 4 Diels p. 371.9 sqq., who also gives a detailed account of the cosmogonical process through which the three former are generated from the sea):

πηγῇ δ' ἐστὶ θάλασσα ὕδατος, πηγῇ δ' ἀνέμοιο·
οὔτε γὰρ ἐν νέφεσιν γίνονται κε ἴς ἀνέμοιο
ἐκπνεύοντος· ἔσωθεν ἄνευ πόντου μεγάλοιο,
οὔτε ροαὶ ποταμῶν οὔτ' αἰθέρος ὄμβριον ὕδωρ,
ἀλλὰ μέγας πόντος γενέτωρ νεφέων ἀνέμων τε
καὶ ποταμῶν.

(Diels' alternative supplementation).

No radical contradiction was felt between a monistic (Earth) and a dualistic (mud) expression of the Xenophanean theory of principles (cf. n. 19): in the Scholia ABTD to *Ilias* H, 99 both formulations are combined. That Asclepius *Comm. in Metaphys.* P. 57.29 Hayduck speaks of earth and fire as the Xenophanean principles must be an erroneous assimilation to, and projection from, the Parmenidean "doxastic" dualism. The statement in the Plutarchean *Epit.* III, 9, 4 (Diels *Dox. Gr.* 376.16) ἐξ ἀέρος δὲ καὶ πυρὸς συμπαγήναι (sc. τὴν γῆν), must be misplaced under Xenophanes (v. note in Diels *loc. cit.*); it represents the creation of heavenly bodies according to Anaximander (cf. n. 22). Cf. n. 28.-

27. Damascius *De princ.* 123 bis (I, 317, 15 sqq. Ruelle) = OF 54: ἡ δὲ κατὰ τὸν Ἱερώνυμον φερομένη καὶ Ἑλλάνικον (sc. Ὀρφικὴ θεολογία) ... οὕτως ἔχει: "ὕδωρ ἦν, φησὶν, ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἰλὺς (so Zoega from the ὕλη of the Ms.) ἐξ ἧς ἐπάγη ἡ γῆ", δύο ταύτας ἀρχὰς ὑποτιθέμενος πρώτας, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν ... τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἀρχὴν μετὰ τὰς δύο γεννηθῆναι μὲν ἐκ τούτων, ὕδατος φημι καὶ γῆς, δράκοντα δὲ εἶναι κεφαλὰς ἔχοντα προσπεφυκυίας ταύρου καὶ λέοντος, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεοῦ πρόσωπον, ἔχειν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων πτερά, ὠνομάσθαι δὲ χρόνον ἀγήραον καὶ Ἡρακλῆα τὸν αὐτόν ...

ἀρρενόθηλον αὐτὴν ὑπεστήσατο πρὸς ἔνδειξιν τῆς πάντων γεννητικῆς αἰτίας ... ὁ Χρόνος οὗτος ὁ δράκων γεννᾶται τριπλῆν γονίην, Αἰθέρα, φησί, νοτερόν καὶ Χάος ἄπειρον καὶ τρίτον ἐπὶ οὗτοις Ἔρεβος ὀμιχλῶδες ... ἀλλὰ μὴν ἐν τούτοις, ὡς λέγει, ὁ Χρόνος ὠὶὸν ἐγέννησεν etc. The Phoenician affiliations of this type of cosmogony are noticeable, and fit well with Josephus' testimony (*Antiqu. Iudaeorum* I, 94) concerning Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Φοινικικὴν συγγραψάμενος. The information refers probably to the self-same Hieronymus. (We are also reminded (Kern, OF, p. 130) of what Iriarte edited from *cod. Matr. LXXXIV* n. 180 in *reg. Bibl. Matrit. Codd. Graeci Mss. I*, 1769, 346: Σαχωνιάθων (sic) ὁ Βηρύτιος τὴν Φοινίκων θεολογίαν ἐξέδωκεν, ἦν Ὀρφεὺς μετήνεγκε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν, καὶ τὰς τελετὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. The hyperbolic suggestion that Orphism consists in a combination of Phoenician Theology and Egyptian ritual should not be viewed entirely askance. The Phoenician influence on the Pherecydian system was also explicitly recognized in antiquity; v. infra, nn. 36-58 for an analysis of that system, and esp. n. 36, for the influence). The same type of cosmogony is ascribed to Orpheus by Athenagoras, *Pro Christianis* 18 (OF 57): ἦν γὰρ ὕδωρ ἀρχὴ κατ' αὐτὸν (sc. Ὀρφέα) τοῖς ὄλοις, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος ἰλὺς κατέστη (hence there was really at the beginning a sort of primeval slime), ἐκ δὲ ἐκατέρων (of the watery and earthy principles in fact) ἐγεννήθη ζῶων δράκων προσπεφυκυῖαν ἔχων κεφαλὴν λέοντος <καὶ ἄλλην ταύρου> (correctly added by Zoega), διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν θεοῦ πρόσωπον, ὄνομα Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Χρόνος. Οὗτος ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐγέννησεν ὑπερμεγέθεις ὠϊόν etc. This is taken over by the scholiast to Gregory Nazianzenus *Or.* 31, 16: ...ὑπὸ δὲ τινων ἐμυθολογήθη θεολογούντων δῆθεν, ὡς ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ ἰλύος ἀναδοθέντος δράκοντος προσπεφυκυῖαν ἔχοντος λέοντος κεφαλὴν <καὶ ἄλλην ταύρου>, διὰ μέσου δὲ αὐτῶν θεοῦ πρόσωπον, ὃν Ἡρακλῆν <καὶ Χρόνον> φασι, καὶ τούτων ὠϊὸν γεννηθῆναι etc.

28. For Anaximander out of the Indefinite comes at the beginning of World-formation the seminal power of the fundamental contrariety hot-cold which produces immediately the divided archetypal fiery and cool principles, fire and air. So the Plutarchean *Stromateis* 2 (*Dox. Gr.* 579 = A10): φησὶ δὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ αἰδίου γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ἀποκριθῆναι καὶ τινα ἐκ τούτου φλογὸς σφαῖραν περιφυθῆναι τῷ περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρι ὡς τῷ δένδρῳ φλοιοῦν· ἦστινος ἀπορραγείσης καὶ εἰς τινα ἀποκλεισθείσης κύκλους ὑποστῆναι τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας. Heavenly bodies are such portions of the primaevial fire engulfed in air; Hippolytus *Ref. Omn. Haer.* I, 6, 4: τὰ δὲ ἄστρα γίνεσθαι κύκλον πυρός, ἀποκριθέντα τοῦ κατὰ τὸν κόσμον πυρός, περιληφθέντα δ' ὑπὸ ἀέρος; and Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 24, 1

(similarly Theodoretus *Cur. Gr. Aff.* IV, 17), from “Aetius” II, 13, 7 (A18): Ἄναξίμανδρος (sc. said that the stars are) πηλῆματα ἀέρος τροχοειδῆ, πυρὸς ἔμπλεα, κατὰ τι μέρος ἀπὸ στομίων ἐκπνέοντα φλόγας. This celestial nature composed from fire and air is said to be according to Anaximander ἐκ θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ μίγματος (Plutarchean *Epit.* II, 11 = Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 23, 1 from “Aetius” II, 11, 5) A17a. Thus air must be the primal cold substance, as the Stoics maintained. Indeed Aristotle confirms this interpretation of Anaximander by ascribing hotness to fire, liquidity to water and coldness to air in a passage (*Physics*, 20A22 sqq. = A16) evidently referring to him (so also Simplicius *ad loc.*).

The other basic opposites come out of the Indefinite as well; Aristotle *Physics* 187a20 (A16) οἱ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι, ὡς περ Ἄναξίμανδρός φησι. This must hold also at least for the second pair of the fundamental contrariety, dry-wet. Thus by analogy, a γόνυμον ξηροῦ τε καὶ ὑγροῦ is secreted out of Ἄπειρον, producing the primordial slime whose dessication resulted in earth and vaporous exhalation, while the residue constituted the sea; Aristotle *Meteor.* B 353b6 sqq. (A27); Alexander *Comm. ad loc.* p. 67.3 sqq. (A27) mentions Anaximander explicitly as holding this view in a passage drawing on Theophrastus *Physic. Opinion.* 23 (Diels pp. 494-5). Cf. Plutarchean *Epit.* III, 16 from “Aetius” III, 16, 1 (A27).

Aristotle *Meteorol.* II 355a22 may seem to support an alternative interpretation of the first stages of the Anaximandean Cosmogony, making air in general a product of the drying up of the primaevial slime: τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ συμβαίνει καὶ τούτοις ἄλογον καὶ τοῖς φάσκουσι τὸ πρῶτον ὑγρᾶς οὐσης καὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τοῦ περὶ τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡλίου θερμαινόμενου ἀέρα γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν ὄλον οὐρανὸν αὐξήθησθαι καὶ τοῦτον (sc. the air) πνεύματά τε παρέχεσθαι καὶ τὰς τροπὰς αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ?) ποιεῖν. If so, then the opposite to fire and the primal cold in the initial contrariety would be the aboriginal slime which under the influence of its opposite gives by exciccation and evaporation earth and sea and air. But this construal ignores the evidence that makes Air the primal Cold as well as distorting the symmetry of the two basic oppositions.

In any case, the initial mud generated the first animals, including man. Plutarchean *epit.* V 19 = “Aetius” v, 19, 4 (A30): Ἄναξίμανδρος ἐν ὑγρῷ γεννηθῆναι τὰ πρῶτα ζῶα φλοιοῖς περιεχόμενα ἀκανθώδεσι, προβαίνουσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀποβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸ ξηρότερον καὶ περιρρηγνυμένον τοῦ φλοιοῦ ἐπ’ ὀλίγον χρόνον μεταβιῶναι. Cf. Censorinus 4, 7 and Plutarch *Symp.* VIII, 8, 4, p. 730 E (A30), where another instance of Syro-Phoenician influence is observed. Cf. also Plutarchean *Stromateis* 2 (Diels *Dox. Gr.* p. 679.17 sqq. = A10); Hippolytus *Ref. Omn. Haer.* I, 6, 6 (A11).

29. Cf. *supra*, n. 13. For nonepigraphical attestations of the connection cf. *Sch.* T in Π, 233: ὁ δὲ Δωδωναῖος (sc. Zeus) καὶ Νάϊος· ὑδρηλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία; the connection with wetness is correct, but the name is far more significant than if taken solely to refer to a (and today, at least, nonexistent) topographical peculiarity. Also v. Stephanus Byzantius *Ethnica* s.v. Δωδώνη p. 247.4 Meineke. Νάϊος is the god of streaming water, of springs, of rain, the humid principle, from νάω, flow. Cf. νᾶμα and ἀέναος.
30. Pausanias X, 5, 6 quoting *Eumolpīa* ascribed to Musaeus: ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ἑλλησι ποίησις, ὄνομα μὲν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐστὶν Εὐμολπία, Μουσαίω δὲ τῷ Ἀντιφήμευ προσποιούσῃ τὰ ἔπη· πεποιημένον οὖν ἐστὶν ἐν τούτοις Ποσειδῶνος ἐν κοινῷ καὶ γῆς εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον (sc. at Delphi), καὶ τὴν μὲν χρᾶν αὐτῆν, Ποσειδῶνι δὲ ὑπερέτην εἰς τὰ μαντεύματα εἶναι Πύρκωνα. Καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη:

*Αὐτίκα δὲ Χθονίης σφῶν δὴ πινυτὸν φάτο μῦθον,
σὺν δέ τε Πύρκων ἀμφίπολος κλυτοῦ ἔννοσιγαίου.*

For Πύρκων cf. Hesychius s.v. πυρκόου· ὑπὸ Δελφῶν ἱερεῖς δι' ἐμπύρων μαντευόμενοι. Plutarch *De Pythiae Oraculis* 406 E: ...ἀπέπαυσε δὲ τὴν Πυθίαν ὁ θεὸς 'πυρικάους' μὲν ὀνομάζουσιν τοὺς αὐτῆς πολίτας.

31. Speaking of the sacred precinct of Despoina below Lykosoura near Megalopolis in Arcadia, Pausanias observes (VIII, 37, 9): ταύτην μάλιστα θεῶν σέβουσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες τὴν Δέσποιναν, θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῆν Ποσειδῶνός φασι εἶναι καὶ Δήμητρος. The divine epithet of this Neptune was Ἴππιος *op. cit.* VIII, 37, 10. In fact Poseidon in Arcadia acted a role similar to that of Zeus as fructifier of cereal Earth, and of Hades as husband of Persephone. There was even a rape myth in Thelpusa, v. Pausanias VIII, 25, 5-10. An analogous story prevailed in Phigaleia *ibid.* 42, 1 sqq. Eurynome there was a monstrous divinity half-woman, half-fish, *ibid.* 41, 4-6; she was popularly considered to be identical with Artemis, which goddess was thought in Arcadia, as Pausanias suggests (VIII, 37, 6), to be daughter of Demeter instead of Leto, an Egyptian religious tradition divulged in Greece by Aeschylus. Plutarch explicitly connects Poseidon's generative aspect with Anaximander's theory concerning the origin of animal life on earth and with Syrian theology; *Quaest. Symp.* VIII, 8, 4 p. 730 E: οἱ δ' ἀφ' Ἑλληνος τοῦ παλαιοῦ καὶ πατρογενεῖω Ποσειδῶνι θύουσιν, ἐκ τῆς ὑγρᾶς τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν οὐσίας φῦναι δοξάζοντες, ὡς καὶ Σύροι· διὸ καὶ σέβονται τὸν ἰχθῦν, ὡς ὁμογενῆ καὶ σύντροφον, ἐπιεικτέστερον Ἀναξιμάνδρου φιλοσοφοῦντες· οὐ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος ἰχθύς καὶ ἀνθρώπος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἰχθύσιν ἐγγενέσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπου ἀποφαίνεται etc. The philosopher went a step further than the religious

traditions in Syria: he made man to come originally not merely from the liquid principle, but from fish-existence.

32. The word Poseidon comes from the root which gives *πόσις* husband, *δεσ-πότης* master, *δεσ-πόζω* am lord etc., and in latin *possum* (pot-is), *potior*, *potens*, *potestas* etc. The basic meaning is *power*, *lordship*. Initially, there was also involved, no doubt, the meaning *compress*, *overweight*, *press down*, as the physical manifestation of lordship. Hence the akin linguistic family of *πούς*, *πέδον*, *πεδῖον*, *πέδη*, *πεζός* etc. Cognate are also *πέος*, penis and *πόσθη* (*membrum virile* and its foreskin). Provided, as we ought to assume, that the primal and aboriginal idea of domination and sway with its natural undertone of incubus as *encompassing*, *weighing down*, *burdening*, came from, or was archetypally exemplified in, the male-female relationship as especially manifest in the sexual nexus, we may further understand how potency would be eminently associated with fructification and the same root signifying mastery, husbandry and coition would come to connote fertilization and its operative fluid. This latter being absorbed and drunken by the recipient partner - earth or woman - *πότος*, *πόμα*, *πότης*, *πίνων*, *ποτήριον*, all words denoting drinking, appear in the same context, together with, more generally, *πίστρα*, watering place, *πίσος*, meadow and *Πῖσα*, the region of Olympia, a well-watered, and thus abounding in growth, place.
33. Damascius *de pr. Princ.* 123 bis (I 317, 17 sqq. = OF 54), in a passage quoted above, thus explains the relative properties of the two principles (namely water and earth) inherent in the primeval slime according to the Orphic theology of Hieronymus and Hellanicus: *δύο ταύτας ἀρχὰς ὑποτιθέμενος πρώτας, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν, ταύτην μὲν ὡς φύσει σκεδαστήν, ἐκείνο δὲ ὡς ταύτης κολλητικόν τε καὶ συνεκτικόν*. Plutarch has recourse to this cohesive, holding together, form-imposing, faculty of water in interpreting Empedocles (*de primo frigido* 16, p. 952B = B29): *καὶ ὅλως τὸ μὲν πῦρ διαστατικόν ἐστὶ καὶ διαιρετικόν, τὸ δ' ὕδωρ κολλητικὸν καὶ σχετικὸν τῇ ὑγρότητι συνέχον καὶ πῆττον· ἢ καὶ παρέσχεν Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ὑπόνοιαν ὡς τὸ μὲν πῦρ Νεῖκος οὐλόμενον, σχεδύνην δὲ φιλότητα τὸ ὑγρὸν ἐκάστοτε προσαγορεύων* (which would reduce the two active Empedoclean agencies to two of his material causes). Cf. Aristotle *de Gener. et Corrupt.* 336a3: *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πέφυκεν, ὡς φασι, τὸ μὲν θερμὸν διακρίνειν τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν συνιστᾶναι* etc. An example of the fastening and coagulating cohesive potency of the watery principle is given by Empedocles himself (B33) as reported by Plutarch again, *de amic. multiti.* 5, 95A; it is the curdling of milk by the action of the fig-tree acid juice used as rennet: *ἢ μὲν γὰρ* (sc. *φιλία*) *συνάγει καὶ συνίστησι καὶ συνέχει καταπυκνοῦσα ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ φιλοφροσύναις*

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ὀπὸς γάλα λευκὸν ἐγόμφωσεν καὶ ἔδησε

κατ' Ἐμπεδοκλέα (τοιαύτην γὰρ ἡ φιλία βούλεται ποιεῖν ἐνότητα καὶ σύμπηξιν). The general view is adopted by Aristotle, who illustrates it by another example drawn from Empedocles (B34): water in kneading, gluing together barley groats into one single lump; Aristotle *Meteor.* Δ 381b31: τὸ γὰρ ὑγρὸν τῷ ξηρῷ αἴτιον τοῦ ὀρίζεσθαι καὶ ἐκάτερον ἐκατέρῳ οἶον κόλλα γίννεται, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς Φυσικαῖς·

ἄλφιτον ὕδατι κολλήσας.

PARMENIDES

34. Yet some interpreted even the Parmenidean Being as conceived on a cosmological model, signifying the absolute wholeness of the World (just as Aristotle considered Xenophanes' One-Being to be, v. n. 180, Eudemus Fr. 13 Sp. in Simplicius *in Phys.* 143.4 (in B8)).
35. B8. 55-59 (Simplicius in *Phys.* 30.13; 38.28; 179.31):

τὰντία δ' ἐκρίναντο δέμας καὶ σήματ' ἔθεντο
χωρὶς ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τῇ μὲν φλογὸς αἰθέριον πῦρ,
ἦπιον ὄν, μέγ' ἀραιὸν [ἐλαφρόν]*, ἔωυτῷ πάντοτε τωυτόν,
τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ μὴ τωυτόν· ἀτὰρ κἀκεῖνο κατ' αὐτό
τὰντία νύκτ' ἀδαῆ, πυκινὸν δέμας ἐμβριθές τε.

* (Diels excised [ἀραιόν]); but in the sources it is rather the antithesis ἀραιόν - πυκνόν that is highlighted, cf. *infra*).

And B9 (*op. cit.* 180.8):

αὐτὰρ ἐπειδὴ πάντα φάος καὶ νύξ ὀνόμασται
καὶ τὰ κατὰ σφετέρας δυνάμεις ἐπὶ τοῖσι τε καὶ τοῖς,
πᾶν πλεον ἔστιν ὁμοῦ φάεος καὶ νυκτὸς ἀφάντου
ἴσων ἀμφοτέρων, ἐπεὶ οὐδετέρῳ μέτα μηδέν.

(Cf. B12 - *op.cit.* 39.12 and 31.10).

The two principles are aetherial light and chthonic darkness. In terms of the Elemental theory, there is therefore fire and earth. And so Aristotle conceived of the Parmenidean polarity as that between fire and earth, in accordance with the four-element theory; *Physics* 188a20: καὶ γὰρ Παρμενίδης θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν ἀρχὰς ποιεῖ, ταῦτα δὲ προσαγορεύει πῦρ καὶ γῆν. *Metaph.* 986b33 (A24): δύο τὰς αἰτίας καὶ δύο τὰς ἀρχὰς πάλιν

τίθησι (sc. Parmenides), θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν, οἶον πῦρ καὶ γῆν λέγων· τούτων δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸ ὄν τὸ θερμὸν τάττει θάτερον δὲ κατὰ τὸ μὴ ὄν. *de Gen. et Corrupt.* 318b3: οἶον ἴσως ἢ μὲν εἰς πῦρ ὁδὸς γένεσις μὲν ἀπλή, φθορὰ δὲ τινοσ ἐστίν, οἶον γῆς, ἢ δὲ γῆς γένεσις τίς γένεσις, γένεσις δ' οὐχ ἀπλῶς, φθορὰ δ' ἀπλῶς, οἶον πυρός - ὥσπερ Παρμενίδης λέγει δύο, τὸ ὄν καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν εἶναι φάσκων πῦρ καὶ γῆν. A crucial passage as introducing, and explaining, an asymmetry in dualism between the two ultimate principles: when something earthly comes to be, this is strictly a passing away of fire simpliciter; while with the coming to be of a fiery substance, this is coming to be absolutely. Naturally, if one models the one principle on real Being, the other on Non-Being - as Aristotle holds Parmenides to have done. *Ibid.* 330b13 (A35) οἱ δ' εὐθὺς δύο ποιούντες, ὥσπερ Παρμενίδης πῦρ καὶ γῆν, τὰ μεταξὺ μίγματα ποιούσι τούτων, οἶον ἀέρα καὶ ὕδωρ. Theophrastus expressed the two Parmenidean principles in the same way, *Physic. Opin.* 6 (Diels *Dox. Gr.* p. 482 = A7 from Alexander *in Metaph.* p. 24.5 Bonitz = 31.12; Simplicius *in Phys.* 22.27 preserves also the Alexandrian passage) ... κατὰ δόξαν δὲ τῶν πολλῶν εἰς τὸ γένεσιν ἀποδοῦνται τῶν φαινομένων δύο ποιῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς πῦρ καὶ γῆν, τὴν μὲν ὡς ὕλην τὸ δ' ὡς αἴτιον καὶ ποιῶν. The last clause received no doubt a Stoic emphasis; but it represented an already Aristotelian conception, *de Gen. et corr.* 336a3: ἐπειδὴ γὰρ πέφυγεν, ὡς φασι, τὸ μὲν θερμὸν διακρίνειν, τὸ δὲ ψυχρὸν συνιστάναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον τὸ μὲν ποιεῖν τὸ δὲ πάσχειν; yet the condensing power is no mere passivity. Fire on the other hand appears to be the most active element. Cicero *Academ.* II, 37, 118 repeats the idea: Parmenides ignem qui moveat, terram quae ab eo fometur. The Stoic colouring reproduces the asymmetry-in-dualism which I have noticed above. And after all, the principle affiliated to Being will be more powerful and active; whereas the principle connected to Non-Being is expected to be more feeble and passive.

The notion (and the Stoicising correlation as well) is included in Diogenes Laertius' account, IX, 21: δύο τε εἶναι στοιχεῖα, πῦρ καὶ γῆν, καὶ τὸ μὲν δημιουργοῦ τάξιν ἔχειν, τὴν δὲ ὕλης. (22) ... αἴτια (with Diels, for the impossible manuscript αὐτόν) δὲ ὑπάρχειν τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐξ ὧν τὰ πάντα συνεστάναι. (The elements (στοιχεῖα) are here distinguished, as primal crystallizations, so to speak, of the causes and principles (αἴτια) from the principles themselves as basic causal qualities). Hippolytus *Ref. Omn. Haer.* I, 11 (A23) follows suit: οὐδὲ αὐτὸς (sc. Parmenides) ἐκφύγων τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν πῦρ λέγων καὶ γῆν τὰς τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὰς, τὴν μὲν γῆν ὡς ὕλην τὸ δὲ πῦρ ὡς αἴτιον καὶ ποιῶν. Clemens adopts the same view, *Protr.* 5, 64 (49, 2 Stählin = A33): Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ Ἐλεάτης θεοὺς εἰσηγήσατο πῦρ καὶ γῆν. Theodoretus *Cur. gr.*

aff. IV, 7: αἰτίαν δὲ τῶν ὄλων οὐ τὴν γῆν μόνον καθάπερ ἐκεῖνος (sc. Xenophanes) ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ πῦρ εἴρηκεν οὗτος (sc. Parmenides). (Here is disclosed what must have been a doxographical reason supporting the earth interpretation of the second Parmenidean principle: its assimilation to the corresponding Xenophanean cause and unique cosmic substance). Macrobius *in Somn. Scip.* I, 14, 20 (A45) refers to the same elements as psychic principles: Parmenides ex terra et igne (sc. animam esse). Stobaeus *Ecl.* 22, 1 9A37).

Clearly then, expressing the ultimate Parmenidean dualism of principles as the contrariety between hot and cold and the elemental antithesis between fire and earth (projections on the realm of appearances of the absolute contradiction between Being and Non-Being) is Aristotelian in origin and, via Theophrastus, becomes a widespread philosophical version of Parmenides' theory of first principles. That Aristotle is so explicit here, while with reference to the Anaximandean cosmogony seems to associate primal cold with air (which is also the Stoic thesis), could appear as strongly corroborative of the accuracy of his explanations. (On the other hand we noticed a strong tendency to construe the second principle according to Anaximander as earthy).

Yet Simplicius, who also possessed the Parmenidean poem and quoted it extensively in his work, thus enriching us with the precious fragments, is more circumspect. In *Physic.* p. 25, 15 (A34): καὶ τῶν πεπερασμένων (sc. ἀρχὰς λεγόντων) οἱ μὲν δύο, ὡς Παρμενίδης ἐν τοῖς πρὸς δόξαν, πῦρ καὶ γῆν, ἢ μᾶλλον (more accurately) φῶς καὶ σκότος. It is also significant that in the doxographical tradition ascribed to "Aetius", the dense and the rare appear as principles in the formation of the celestial entities. Thus in Diels *DG* III, 1, 4 = A43 (Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 27, 1 = Plutarchean *Epit.* III, 1) the galaxy is produced from a mixture of dense and rare; in II, 20, 8a (Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 25, 1 = Plutarchean *Epit.* II, 20) (A43), the Sun comes from the more loosely-textured mixture of the galactic circle, while the Moon proceeds from the thicker part of it. But in II, 7, 1 (Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 21 = Plut. *Epit.* II, 7 = A37) the polarities ἀραιόν - πυκνόν, φῶς - σκότος, πῦρ - γῆ, evidently function as equivalents; moreover earth itself is the fundamental element, out of which air is secreted as exhalation resulting from the former's forcible compression.

The contrary process is postulated in the Plutarchean *Stromateis* 5 (Diels *Dox. Gr.* p. 581), where without any mention of the two principles or of any cosmogonical or cosmological fact, it is nakedly stated of Parmenides: λέγει δὲ τὴν γῆν τοῦ πυκνοῦ καταρρύντος ἀέρος γεγονέναι, the earth being created by the collapsing or flowing thickly down of the dense air. Probably, we meet here with the remnant of a (Stoicizing) alternative

interpretation that would make the other Parmenidean principle air instead of earth; however violently, almost impossibly, the *πυκνὸν δέμας ἐμβριθές τε* would be accommodated to this construal as thick, heavy air. The isolated testimony (potentially valuable doxographically) is, in fact, as misplaced as the parallel one respecting Xenophanes (v. n. 20); oddly enough both come from works ascribed to Plutarch. In any case, the Aristotelian orthodoxy prevailed. In the passage referred to above of Simplicius *In Phys.* 22, 27 the author, quoting Alexander's statements (v. *supra*), writes: *κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν καὶ τὰ φαινόμενα φυσιολογῶν* (sc. Parmenides) *οὔτε ἐν λέγων εἶναι τὸ ὄν οὔτε ἀγέννητον, ἀρχὰς τῶν γινομένων ὑπέθετο πῦρ καὶ γῆν, τὴν μὲν γῆν ὡς ὕλην ὑποτιθείς, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ὡς ποιητικὸν αἴτιον, καὶ ὀνομάζει, φησι* (sc. Alexander) *τὸ μὲν πῦρ φῶς τὴν δὲ γῆν σκότος*.

Original dualism begins with two principles corresponding to the Male - Female antithesis cosmically conceived. Their "physiological" interpretation in Parmenides resulted in a polarity between the bright, rare, light, mild substance and the dark, dense, weighty body (*δέμας*); elsewhere in the poem warmth and coldness would no doubt be associated with the respective group of qualities. He called the one Light and the other Darkness (B9). There could be no doubt that the former corresponded to the fire of the four-element system. It is well known that there raged considerable controversy in antiquity as to what in general was fire's proper opposite. An important aspect of that dispute is extensively treated by Plutarch in his *De primo frigido*. Significantly, he ends up, after considering successively air's and water's claims, by suggesting Earth as the substance primarily and inherently cold. Parmenides leaves no doubt as to what he means by the second principle: it is chthonic darkness, earth's gloomy interior; the archetypal lightless, thoroughly opaque substance, not merely bereft of any inherent luminosity, but also absolutely impermeable to exterior radiance.

PHERECYDES:

MIXED LOGO-MYTHICAL COSMOLOGICAL THEOLOGY

36. In general, consult the latest full-scale study: H.S. Schibli: *Pherekydes of Syros*, 1990, which includes a comprehensive appendix with the fragments and ancient testimonies, pp. 140-175. It is a useful and detailed work, sound moreover in its overall orientation, yet often misleading and downright erroneous in the interpretation of specific doctrines and their articulate interconnections.

For the life and identity of Pherecydes v. chiefly Diogenes Laertius I, 116 sqq. and *Suda* s.v. Cf. A1-7a and Schibli 8, 9, 11-13, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23-25, 28-30, 32-41. As a general characterization of Pherecydean thought, it is

interesting to note Apollonius the paradoxographer's emphatic expression in *Historiae Mirabiles*, 6 (p. 124 Giannini = 55 Schibli): *Πυθαγόρας ... ὕστερον δέ ποτε καὶ τῆς Φερεκύδου τερατοποιίας οὐκ ἀπέστη*. He appeared therefore as a miracle worker, by virtue of his arcane wisdom, a true wizard. Significantly this feature is also ascribed to Pythagoras. The influence of Phoenician theology (cf. n. 21) on him was further recognized; Suda s.v.: *αὐτὸν δὲ (sc. Pherecydes) οὐκ ἐσχηκέναι καθηγητὴν, ἀλλ' ἑαυτὸν ἀσκήσαι κτησάμενον τὰ Φοινίκων ἀπόκρυφα βιβλία*.

37. Diogenes Laertius I, 118, 119 (A1); Suda s.v. (A2); Diodorus X, 3, 4 (A4); cf. Fgs. 42-59 Schibli.
38. Theopompus (Fr. 66 Müller = 66 Grentell et Hunt = 71 Fr.Gr.H.) asserted that Pherecydes was the first to write about nature and the gods; Diogenes Laertius I, 116 (A1): *τοῦτόν (sc. Pherecydes) φησι Θεόπομπος πρῶτον περὶ φύσεως καὶ θεῶν γράφαι*. *Γράφαι* instead of *ποιῆσαι* makes certain that a prose work is meant. Suda s.v. *Φερεκύδης, Βάβιος Σύριος* (A2) attests that according to the opinion of some (*τινές*) it was Pherecydes who first published a prose work of any kind: *πρῶτον δὲ συγγραφὴν ἐξενεγκεῖν περὶ λόγῳ τινὲς ἱστοροῦσιν, ἐτέρων τοῦτο εἰς Κάδμον τὸν Μιλήσιον φερόντων*. One of those *τινές* was Porphyry, who in his *Φιλόσοφος ἱστορία* maintained that Pherecydes was the founder of prose writing; Suda s.v. *Φερεκύδης Ἀθηναῖος* (A2) ... *Πορφύριος δὲ τοῦ προτέρου (sc. Pherecydes of Syros) οὐδένα πρεσβύτερον δέχεται, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον μόνον ἡγεῖται ἀρχηγὸν συγγραφῆς*. And so Isidorus, *Etymologiae* I.38.2 (Lindsay) (12 Schibli): *primus apud Graecos Pherecydes Syrus soluta oratione scripsit*. In Suda again it is explicitly mentioned s.v. *Ἐκαταῖος* (A2) that *πρῶτος δὲ ἱστορίαν περὶ φύσεως ἐξήνεγκε (sc. Hecataeus), συγγραφὴν δὲ Φερεκύδης· τὰ γὰρ Ἀκουσιλάου νοθεύεται*. Here prose history is differentiated from prose discourse in general. Pherecydes and Cadmus of Miletus (instead of Hecataeus) appear as respective founders of prose treatise writing and history in Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII, 205 (9 Schibli): *prosam orationem condere Pherecydes Syrius instituit, Cyri regis aetate, historiam Cadmus Milesius*. Strabo leaves the matter undecided regarding the respective priority claims of the three oldest writers, I, 18 (A3 Schibli): *εἶτα ἐκείνην (sc. τὴν ποιητικὴν κατασκευὴν) μιμούμενοι, λύσαντες τὸ μέτρον, τὰλλα δὲ φυλάξαντες τὰ ποιητικὰ συνέγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμον καὶ Φερεκύδη καὶ Ἐκαταῖον*. In conclusion it is safer not to go for the maximalist Pherecydean claims to primacy, regarding prose-writing absolutely, but rather restrict ourselves to the more circumspect honour bestowed by Theopompus: Pherecydes was surely the first to write and let circulate a non-poetic work on nature and Gods.

The content of this remarkable work is succinctly given by Suda s.v. ἔστι δὲ θεολογία [ἐν βιβλίοις ἰ] ἔχουσα θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ διαδοχάς. This λόγος περὶ θεῶν naturally covered the genesis of the World and the establishment and character of its order; it really was περὶ φύσεως καὶ θεῶν as Theopompus very accurately and appositely stated. As to its title, it probably lacked one as is consistent with its high antiquity. People would refer to the work as (A2) θεοκρασία or θεογονία (commixture or generation of the Gods, as we speak e.g. of Hesiod's *Theogony*) or θεολογία (as does Apollonius Dyscolos, *De pronomibus* I 65.15-18, Schneider (B10)), or as περὶ φύσεως καὶ θεῶν (as probably did Theopompus *loc. cit.* (A1), or by its incipit (as does Diogenes Laertius I, 119 (A1)), or by the very characteristic appellation Πεντέμυχος, the five-recessed, drawing on the archetypal image of the World as a Cavern and of its parts as nooks or recesses within it. (Damascius, *De primis princ.* 124b (I 321 Ruelle) = A8, drawing in all probability from Eudemus). That Suda s.v. Φερεκύδης Βάβυος Σύριος (A2) speaks instead of Ἐπτάμυχος cannot tell against the Damascian (Eudemian) testimony; besides the former occurrence is single and isolated, whereas in the philosophical passage the number five is thrice repeated: ἐξ ὧν ἐν πέντε μυχοῖς διηρημένην πολλὴν ἄλλην γενεὰν συστήναι θεῶν, τὴν πεντέμυχον καλουμένην, ταῦτόν δὲ ἴσως εἰπεῖν, πεντέκοσμον. Finally there are better systematic, cosmological reasons for five nooks in the cosmic cavern and five fundamental divisions of the World.

39. Aristotle, *Metaph.* 1091b8 (A7): ἐπεὶ οἱ γε μεμιγμένοι αὐτῶν (sc. the theologians) [καὶ] τῷ μὴ μυθικῶς πάντα λέγειν, οἷον Φερεκύδης καὶ ἕτεροί τινες etc. The Scholia *ad loc.* explain: λέγει δὲ τοὺς μὴ πάντα μυθικῶς καὶ ἀναποδείκτως, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταί, λέγοντες, ἀλλ' ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ ἐφ' ἃ ἀποδείξει χρωμένους. Of course it is not only a question of proof, but also of the nature and connectedness of the employed conceptual apparatus, in general. Yet Aristotle himself seems to concentrate on demonstrative reasoning as the cardinal dividing criterion between scientific theory and mythical idea, *Metaph.* 1000a9: οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Ἡσίοδου καὶ πάντες ὅσοι θεολόγοι μόνον ἐφρόντισαν τοῦ πιθανοῦ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτούς, ἡμῶν δ' ὠλιγόρησαν (there follows a strongly rationalistic summary treatment of an example) - ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν μυθικῶς σοφισζομένων οὐκ ἄξιον μετὰ σπουδῆς σκοπεῖν· παρὰ δὲ τῶν δι' ἀποδείξεως λεγόντων, δεῖ πυνθάνεσθαι διερωτώντας etc. The mythically thinking theologians were the ancient poets (ποιηταὶ ἀρχαῖοι) of 1091b4, cf. *Metaph.* 983b27: εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ τοὺς παμπαλαίους καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς νῦν γενέσεως καὶ πρώτους θεολογήσαντας etc.; and note the remarkable antithesis in

Meteor. 353a 34: οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι καὶ διατρίβοντες περὶ τὰς θεολογίας ... οἱ δὲ σοφώτεροι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σοφίαν etc. Such ancient poetic theologians are meant like Hesiod (*Metaph.* 1000a9) and the Orphics (v. *Metaph.* 1071b26 καίτοι εἰ ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ Νυκτὸς γεννῶντες, ἢ ὡς οἱ φυσικοὶ “ἦν ὁμοῦ πάντα χρήματά” φασι, τὸ αὐτὸ ἀδύνατον. But there was a more extended and systematic meaning of theology as contrasted to physics (*Metaph.* 1075b26: ὥσπερ τοῖς θεολόγοις καὶ τοῖς φυσικοῖς πᾶσιν), corresponding in general to the triple division of theoretical philosophy into mathematics, physics and theology (1026a19 sqq.; 1064b1 sqq.), theology being occupied with the study of the primary being, separate from matter and unmoved (10634a33 sqq.; 1026a10 sqq.). It is in this sense that Aristotle employs the expression τῶν θεολόγων τῶν νῦν τισιν (*Metaph.* 1091b34) in referring to those in the old Academy (like, notoriously, Speusippus) who expounded the doctrine of dissociating God from the First Principles; he here uses the word pejoratively. The author of the *Περὶ Κόσμου* draws on the same sense and misapplies it to the World and the biggest in it (κόσμου λέγω καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ μεγίστων 391a25) when he emphatically pronounces (391b3): λέγωμεν δὴ ἡμεῖς, καί, καθ’ ὅσον ἐφικτόν, θεολογῶμεν περὶ τούτων συμπάντων.

Aristotle distinguishes between mythico-poetic and rationally demonstrative thought. Theology is for him the study of the first existent principles. It can be done in the ancient poetic way, badly in the modern manner as in the old Academy and properly in the modern manner as by him. The *μεμιγμένος* type of theology is one mixed up in various measures of myth and reason, of powerful image and compelling ratiocination, of revealing symbolism and analytic connectedness.

40. This was proclaimed at the very beginning of the Pherecydean work, Diogenes Laert. I 119 (A1, B1): σώζεται δὲ τοῦ Συρίου τό τε βιβλίον ὃ συνέγραψε, οὐ ἡ ἀρχή: “Ζᾶς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν αἰεὶ καὶ Χθονίη· Χθονίη δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῆ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζᾶς γῆν γέρας διδοῖ”. So Damascius *de pr. pr.* 124b (I.321 Ruelle = A8): Φερεκῦδης δὲ ὁ Σύριος Ζάντα μὲν εἶναι αἰεὶ καὶ Χρόνον καὶ Χθονίαν τὰς τρεῖς πρώτας ἀρχὰς etc. Hermias, *Irrisio Gent. Phil.* 12 (Dox. Gr. 654.7-10 = A9), and Probus *on Vergilius Buc.* VI, 31 (App. to Servius ed. Hagen p. 343.18 = A9) confirm the same triplicity of principles mentioned Ζῆνα, instead of Ζάντα, Χθονίην and Κρόνον in place of Χρόνον, evidently substituting the common divine names for the Pherecydean revelatory appellations. The distinction implied in the starting passage of the Pherecydean work between Chthonie and Earth must not be construed so much as a differentiation of a divine principle from its physical manifestation or at any

rate expression, jurisdiction, or appropriation, for in the logicomycical way of thinking, natural processes and causality coincide with divine relationships and operations, the world of gods constituting the very root and foundation of the cosmic fabric and order. It is rather in Chthonie that we should conceive the ultimate terrestrial principle, the dark, infernal reality whose upper boundary, especially when formed in harmonious arrangement, represents the earthly surface as we know it: Γῆ is the ordered, surface form of that reality. For the general point, in an Orphic context, v. *infra*, n. 50.

41. V. n. 30.

42. Χθονία, a standard divine epithet of Hecate. Thus Hecate is called ἄνασσα νυκτιπόλος χθονίη by Apollonius Rhodius IV, 148. The Scholia *ad loc.* are very explicit: χθονίην· ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν διατρίβουσιν. Theocritus in his masterly second Idyll invokes also δασπλήτων Ἐκάτην as χθονίαν (II 12-3):

τῆ χθονία θ' Ἐκάτη, τὰν καὶ σκύλακες τρομέοντι
ἐρχομένην νεκῶν ἀνὰ τ' ἧρία καὶ μέλαν αἶμα.

Her nocturnal ascent, visitations to tombs and the dead, and search for blood are all conveyed by her chthonicity. The scholia *ad loc.* (pp. 271-2 Wendel) expatiate on the multiple rationale behind the standing appellation: she was nurse to Persephone; Sophron (frg. 7 Kaibel *Com. Graec. Fgm.* II, 155) called her νερτέρων πρύτανιν; she was assigned to the dead and the infernal daemons as their leader; she presided over pollution and contamination, especially by childbirth and death; she was sent to Hades in search of Persephone. In the νεκυία of the Orphic Argonautica 974 sqq. there rushed to the nocturnal, abominable rites Pandora and Hecate, the spirits respectively of the telluric surface and interior (cf. Hesychius s.v. Πανδώρα· ἡ γῆ, ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν πάντα δωρεῖται. In the Orphic Hymns it is also Artemis, in her Hecatean aspect, that is called χθονία (36, 9), besides Hecate herself (1, 2).

From the earliest antiquity Hades is explicitly invoked as Zeus χθόνιος or καταχθόνιος. So *Ilias* I, 457: Ζεὺς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινῆ Περσεφό-νεια (cf. Pausanias II, 24, 4). Hades and Demeter are to be supplicated at the beginning of ploughing as the gods who send up vigorous growth from below the surface of the earth; Hesiod *Op. et Dies* 465:

εὐχεσθαι δὲ Διὶ χθονίῳ Δημήτερι θ' ἀγνῆ,
ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ἱερὰν ἀκτῆν
ἀρχόμενος τὰ πρῶτ' ἀρότου etc.

Cf. the Zeus τῶν κεκμηκότων (Zeus of the departed) in Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 158 (Page). The Orphic Hymn to Eumenides invokes them as daughters of Ζεὺς χθόνιος, i.e. Hades and Persephone (70, 2-3); cf. Proclus in *Cratyl.* 406b p. 106.5 Pasquali (OF 197).

Ζαγρεύς, the mysteric Dionysus, also bore the divine epithet χθόνιος (Hesychius, Photius, Et. M. Suda s.v. Ζαγρεύς). In the Orphic Hymns he is invoked as annual (ἀμφιετής) Dionysos (53, 1).

It is clear that chthonicity connoted the ghastly darkness of the underworld, the dead and their hideous subterranean habitation, the horror of death and blood, of monstrous apparitions, power-raising abomination, the unspeakable roots of pollution and fertilization, destruction and production. We meet here with the other pole of the ultimate, pervasive duality which in religious contexts is expressed as the antithesis of chthonic and Olympian, of earthly and celestial, of darkness and light.

43. He called things by significant names, as for example when he maintained that in the language of Gods the table was called θωρός (Diogenes Laertius I, 119 = B12) from θύω and ὠρεύω or ὠρέω (cf. Hesychius s.v. ὠρεῖν), meaning the watcher over burnt offerings, the sacrificial guardian. On the stage of theaters there was before the central doors the ἀγυιεύς - an altar and by it a table full of sacred cakes called θωρίς, Pollux IV, 13. (Evidently θωρίς is the correct form, being the aptest and literally exact, while the alternative reading θεωρίς results from an obvious misunderstanding and constitutes a crude and only superficially apposite simplification). The notion of a more directly real, divine language is of course eminently old; v. Homer, A403; B813, Ξ291; Υ74; cf. κ 305.
44. In the very beginning of his work Pherecydes used the form Ζάς (Diog. Laert. I, 119 = B1); elsewhere also, as indeed in the papyrus fragment (B2) col. I. 14; cf. Clemens *Strom.* VI, 2, 9, 4 (ii 429.1 sqq. Staehlin) = B2. Damascius reporting the Pherecydean theory of first principles quoted the accusative Ζάντα, as in the archetypal manuscript, or, less probably, Ζάντα (*De princ.* 124b, I, 321 Ruelle = A8). Choeroboscus (Bekker *Anecd. Gr.* III p. 1181; 1184) mentions the genitive Ζαντός; and so Eustathius in *Iliad* 436.11 sqq. They follow Herodianus I p. 399.18 L; I p. 410.19 L, p. 635.26L and II p. 648.32, (where the Τεχνικός explains the declension on the analogy of the participles στάντος, θέντος, δόντος); in II p. 633.19L; II p. 674.24; II p. 649.3; cf. Choeroboscus, *Epim. in Psalm.* 50, 22. The vocative identical with the nominative ὦ Ζάς, Herodianus II, p. 658.28L.

As for the accent, Herodianus preferred Ζάς, reserving the circumflex for the isosyllabic names as Δρῆς, Τρῆς; but he mentioned that some wanted to write Ζῆς also (I p. 402.9L). Herodian testifies to the

idiosyncratic employment of Ζῆς and Ζάς by Pherecydes in reporting the variety of names for Zeus, *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 6, 14-16, 911.8 sqq. Lentz (B1): ὅτι δὲ ποικίλως εἴρηται ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀγνωσθῆναι καὶ γὰρ Δίς καὶ Ζῆν καὶ Δῆν καὶ Ζὰς καὶ Ζῆς παρὰ Φερεκύδει κατὰ κίνησιν ἰδίαν, where only the last two names should be considered as peculiarly and personally Pherecydean, the rest being dialectal or idiomatic; cf. Herodian I, 402.7 Lentz: Ζῆς παρὰ Φερεκύδει κατὰ κίνησιν ἰδίαν. For example we know that Δίς was Rinthon's invention (Herodianus, II p. 675.1L). Eustathius in *Odyss.* 1387.26 sqq. must be construed similarly: καὶ ὅτι πολλαῖς εὐθείαις (sc. nominatives) παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποικίλλεται (sc. Zeus). Δίς γάρ, οὐ γενικὴ Διός, καὶ Ζῆν καὶ Ζάν, καὶ Ζὰς παρὰ Φερεκύδει, καὶ Βοιωτικῶς, Δεὺς καὶ Δάν. (That Δίς was the nominative of Διός is contradicted by the great Τεχνικός, who offers an ingenious account of Ζεὺς - Διός, II, 674.13 sqq.; 674.40 sqq.; II, 698.4 sqq. L).

By calling Zeus Ζάς and Ζῆς Pherecydes evidently wanted to emphasize the connection of the name with ζῶ, ζῶω, ζάω, ζῆω, something further highlighted by the declension, Ζάντος etc. evoking the participial cases ζώντος etc. In fact the Et. Magn. s.v. ζῶη (p. 413.37 sqq.) gives the derivation ζάω - ζῶ, ζάων - ζῶν, ζάοντος - ζώντος; Herodianus formed ἔζαον - ἔζων, ἔζαες - ἔζης, ζάεις - ζῆς (II, p. 315.6 sqq. L); furthermore, the exact form Ζάς was considered to be the participle of a postulated variant ζῆμι, cf. ζῆθι (Et. Magn. s.v. ζῆθι 410.50). Herodianus apparently negated the existence of such a form as ζῆμι (cf. II p. 422.8 sqq.), but he acknowledges that, should it occur, one would have as participle Ζάς. Now this was precisely the grammatical basis of Pherecydes' point; cf. Hesychius s.v. ζάεντες· πνέοντες. There indeed preexisted the phonetic evidence of the correlation in the oblique cases Ζηνός, Ζηνί, Ζῆνα, which was integrated by the nominative Ζῆν (so Plato in *Cratylus* 396 a-b connects Ζῆνα to ζῆν), but the common declension Ζεὺς - Διός did not proclaim unambiguously its sure sign. Ζεὺς was a monosyllable in -εύς; thus, there remained only the initial letter Ζ- to guide any guess at the real root of the world (cf. Herodianus *Περὶ Μονήρους Λέξεως*, 6. 1-16, II p. 910.27 sqq. L). An idea was to connect Ζεὺς with ζέω and identify him with celestial aether ὅτι ἔμπυρος ἐστὶ καὶ ζέει (Et. Gud. s.v. Ζεὺς p. 230.29); which gave a real enough connotative implication but not the significative core. Others related the word to δεύω, moisten (from δεύω τὸ βρέχω, Δεὺς καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀήρ suggests Eustathius *In Iliadem* 153.36 (cf. Et. Gud. s.v. Ζεὺς p. 230.20: ὅτι δεύειν καὶ βρυχάξαι αἰτίας ἐστίν, that he is the cause of rain and thunderstorms. Again this stays true to the underlying religious experience of Zeus as aether-God, master of the atmospheric phenomena,

and impregnator of the Earth; but neither was the grammatical association feasible, nor the extracted meaning from the supposed root particularly natural, nor essence of the divine nature in question very happily captured.

The inscription of the reputed tomb of Zeus in the Dictean cave was reported to have been written by Pythagoras (Porphyrus *Vita Pyth.* 17; cf. Cyrillus *Contra Jul.* X, 432C; Anth. Pal. VII, 746). It was meant to evoke the idea of Life itself being dead: ὠδε θανῶν (vel. μέγας) κείται Ζάν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν. In effect: here lies dead he whom they call Δία, but whose real name is the Living One. We find in this a further example of the philosophical awareness concerning the identity of the principles of Life and Death, of production and destruction; significantly this insight is ascribed to Pythagoras, the pupil of Pherecydes according to one tradition.

The other preserved literary expressions of the felt reference of Zeus' name to life and living are classical, Aeschylean (ἀ Ζήν in the vocative, *Suppl.* 462 (Page)), and Aristophanic (*Aves* 570: Βροντάτω νῦν ὁ μέγας Ζάν), where there very likely is latent a quotation from a high-spirited and grandiloquent tragic poet, possibly again Aeschylus. A reminder that even in Ζεύς one could discern a ζήω connection is provided by a rock-inscription in Thera (in the sacred precinct by the Temple of Apollo Carneios); where, once, it is written ΖΗΥΣ (IG 12 (3) 1313).

The Δήν and Δάν seem to be literary products, but there is a Cretan Τάν (Head, *Hist. Num.* 2 469), which could however be later, unless we encounter here an original form of the nominative, the prototype of the reputed Pythagorean (but in Crete) Ζάν; in such a case, once more, Crete reveals what is hidden and mystic in the rest of the Greek world.

The feeling of an inner etymological connection between Zeus and life was widespread and characteristic in Greece. It found its philosophical expression *implicite* early in Pherecydes and Pythagoras, and explicitly already in Plato, *Cratylus* 396 A-B: οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν ὅστις ἐστὶν αἴτιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ζῆν ἢ ὁ ἄρχων τε καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν πάντων. συμβαίνει οὖν ὀρθῶς ὀνομάζεσθαι οὗτος ὁ θεὸς εἶναι, δι' ὃν ζῆν ἀεὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ζῶσιν ὑπάρχει. Also it appears as a central doctrine in Stoicism: Diogenes Laertius VII, 147; Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι (sc. the Stoics called so the ultimate God) παρ' ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιός ἐστιν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν. And Arius Didymus (Fr. 29, *Dox. Gr.* p. 464, apud Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* XV, 818A) expounding the Stoic doctrine: Διὸ δὴ καὶ Ζεὺς λέγεται ὁ Κόσμος ἐπειδὴ τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιος ἡμῖν ἐστί. More generally Cornutus, *Theol. Gr.* 2 p. 3.3 sqq. (Lang): οὕτω καὶ ὁ Κόσμος ψυχὴν ἔχει τὴν συνέχουσαν αὐτόν, καὶ αὕτη καλεῖται Ζεὺς, πρῶτως καὶ διὰ παντὸς ζῶσα καὶ αἰτία οὐσα τοῖς ζῶσι τοῦ ζῆν. Diodorus Siculus on the other hand, certainly extends beyond a merely philosophical interpretation when,

in reporting local mythological lore from (significantly) Crete, he asserts the validity of the relationship between the name of the Lord of the Sky and ζῆν (V, 72): διόπερ αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι Ζῆνα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν, although he gives a partial explanation of the reasons behind that connection. But the association Ζεύς, Ζήν, Ζάς - Ζῶ was rather a commonplace cf. e.g. Eustathius *In Iliad* 436, 12 sqq.; 153.35.

The ancient grammarians recognized the connection between Ζεύς, ζῶ, ζέω (Et. Magn. s.v. Ζεύς, ζείδωρος, ζεαί, ζέω, ζῶ, ζῆθι, ζώη, ζώη) and suggested the derivation of the cognate meanings from ζῆν and ἄω (Et. Magn. s.v. Ζεύς 408.57) or rather from the epitatic ζά and ἄω, blow, breath (Et. Magn. s.v. ζῶ 410.34). Zeus is thus precisely the spiritual effervescent, foaming principle of life, the living aetherial Wind, cause of all vital boiling and animating fermentation.

For the connection to ζέω cf. Athenagoras *Suppl. pro Chr.* 6 (p. 34.1 Otto) Ζεύς μὲν κατὰ τὸ ζέον τῆς ὕλης ὀνομαζόμενος, and 22 (p. 108.1 Otto) Ζεύς ἢ ζέουσα οὐσία κατὰ τοὺς Στωϊκοὺς. The story related by Antoninus Liberalis, *Metam.* XIX tells of the cave in Crete where Rhea gave birth to Zeus; there, once a year, a mighty fire glows marvellously when the sacred blood of the God's birth boils and foams: ὅταν ἐκζέη τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως αἶμα.

Ζήτης, Boreas' son, was considered (Et. Magn. s.v.) a compound from the intensifying Ζά and ἀήτης, i.e. the Great Wind, the vehemently Blowing. It is the same way that we could probably understand the Hesychian lemma ζητήρ Ζεύς ἐν Κύπρῳ; both, on the other hand, might conceivably refer simply to ζῶ (as Guyet - apud Hesychius s.v. Ζητήρ ed. Alberti p. 1584 - affirmed); unless Ζητήρ should rather be connected to ζητρός (executioner), ζητρεῖον (the place of punishment for slaves), and interpreted as Zeus the Chastizer, the Castigator, the Scourge, perhaps the God of Death, Ζαγρεύς himself, the Great Reaper.

Ζαῆς (from ζά and ἄω) ἄνεμος (*Ilias* M, 157, *Odyss.* μ 313) was the violently blowing wind (v. Et. M. s.v. ζαῆς; Et. Gen. S.v. ζαῆν ἄνεμον (= Hesiodus Fr. 336 Merkelbach et West), Hesychius s.v. ζαῆς, ζαῆν, ζαῆς; Photius and Suda s.v. ζαῆς, ζαῆν ἄνεμον; Eustathius *In Odyss.* 1539.16; 1723.36; *In Il.* 897.11). It is to be remembered that in mythological contexts the Wind (especially, for example, the wet and mild, soporific, west wind, ζέφυρος) was endowed with impregnating potency. And in fact Hesychius (s.v. ζάει) testifies that in Cyprus ζάει meant βινεῖ (i.e. exercises the copulative act) as well as πνεῖ. The principle of life is then the principle of active procreation.

However, it should be emphasized that the Pherecydean Zeus was neither elemental fire nor air, as these were derivative, generated by Times' sperm (v. infra). It was rather the rushing, celestial, living wind, the procreative spiritual substance which by permeating fecundates what lies above and below, the aetherial, frothy principle of Heavens, just as Chthonie was the terrestrial principle; we may perhaps duly construe them as inchoate Heaven and Earth respectively. but if the Pherecydean Ζάς represents Heaven, he stands for its essential nature, quality and power, not as the starry firmament, the ultimate boundary and what lies beyond. This latter character is rather appropriated to Chronos as we shall see. We may thus compare and contrast in many respects the Hesiodic version, *Theog.* 126-7:

*Γαῖα δέ τοι πρῶτον μὲν ἐγένετο ἴσον ἑωυτῇ
Οὐρανὸν ἀστερόενθ' ἵνα μὴν περὶ πᾶσαν ἔεργοι.*

Closer to the Pherecydean conception lies the Sumerian triad of An (the Babylonian Anu), Enlil and Enki (the Babylonian Ea). Anu is the Heavens-God, Enlil the Lord of the Spiritual Breath-Wind, Ea the Watery principle (cf. e.g. *Die Schoepfungsmythen* ed. M. Eliade et al., pp. 104-6; 125 of the German version, 1964). Ζάς nicely corresponds to Enlil (who himself was later substituted in official Babylonian theology by Marduk, the upholder of the new order). Enki, the god of Eridu, the chief city in the swamp area, the marshes of the great river's confluence, is Lord of the Abyss, Master of the yawning chasm, producer of terrestrial life; he is the male principle of Earth, akin to Poseidon and Hades simultaneously. Pherecydes stays here faithful to the female chthonic principle, characteristic of Greece. As to Anu, the God of the Firmament, we shall later observe his analogies to the Pherecydean Chronos.

The correlations between the Pherecydean and Mesopotamian triads may be more than accidental. After all the "Phoenician" affiliations of the thinker from Syros are well and emphatically attested in antiquity (cf. *supra*, nn. 27 and 36). In fact, a windy principle of spiritual breath, fecundating and life-bestowing, is widespread in Near-Eastern mythologies. According to Philo of Byblos' account of Sanchouniathon's Phoenician theology, there existed at the absolute beginning two principles, the Spirit as a Breath of dark Air or a dark spiritual Wind on the one hand, and misty, dense Chaos on the other (Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* I, 10, 1). Again from the Wind *Κολπίας* and *Βάαυ* (which he interprets as Night), *Αἰών* and *Πρωτόγονος* were born (*op. cit.* I, 10, 7). And, of course, in the Hebrew *Genesis* I, 2, there were in the beginning *σκότος ἐπάνω τῆς ἀβύσσου*, the

dark, abysmal, chaotic mass on the one hand, and πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος, the spiritual, divine Breath on the other. With the Jewish God conceived regularly as Κρόνος by the ancients, and his construal as primeval Lord of the Firmament, we encounter on the whole a remarkably close parallel to the Pherecydean triad (with the Spirit of God (≈ Ζάς) distinct from God (≈ Chronos)).

A last consideration regarding Ζάς may not be remiss. The word could also suggest the substantive, so to speak, of the intensifying particle ζά, connoting the Great, Vast and Tremendous, the Enormous and immensely Potent. Cf. the Hesychian gloss: ζαές· μέγα, πολύ, λαμπρόν, ισχυρόν. And also s.v. Δάς· ἐπὶ τοῦ πολλοῦ καὶ μεγάλου, Δάς being a dialectal variant of Ζεύς, Ζάς etc. Δά was epitatic, equivalent to ζά, cf. Herodianus I p. 491.11 L. Ζάς could then mean the mighty Coverer of Earth, her eternal spouse, partner and copulator, a reference enhanced by the old name of Earth Δά. Δῆ· γῆ Hesychius (and cf. δάπεδον); Etym. M. s.v. Ἄλευ' ἃ δᾶ (60.8): οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν, δᾶν λέγουσι. Sch. to Aeschylus Agamemnon 1072: δᾶ: γῆ δωρικῶς· ἔθεν καὶ Δημήτηρ οἶον γῆ-μήτηρ. Sch. in Aeschylus Prometheus Vincit 568: τὸ δὲ ἃ δᾶ, ὦ γῆ. οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν καὶ δᾶν φασιν, καὶ τὸν γνώφον, δνόφον. Sch. to Theocritus IV, 17: <οὐ Δᾶν>· οὐ μὰ τὴν γῆν· οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὸ γ εἰς δ τρέπουσι. The Sch. to Euripides Phoenissae 1296 mention basically two opinions on φεῦ δᾶ, one (it may be surmised an early Alexandrian) considering the expression as one word with a supposed Attic (!) pleonasm (?) of δᾶ, the other: τινὲς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ φεῦ γῆ, κατὰ πάθος μεταβληθέντος τοῦ γ εἰς δ, ὡς ἐν τῷ Δημήτηρ etc.

As, contrary to the weight of ancient testimony, it has been denied that there existed any etymological or significative connection between δᾶ in the relevant passages and γῆ (cf. e.g. Ed. Fraenkel in his edition of Agamemnon, note ad 1072, vol. III p. 480), a few remarks may be subjoined. (a) In Aeschylus Agamemnon 1072 and 1076, Cassandra's fiery and passionate exclamation ὄτοτοτοτοὶ πόποι δᾶ· / ὄπολλον, ὄπολλον, is met by the rebuke of the chorus that she impiously intermingles the Olympian Apollon (ὄπολλον = ὦ Ἄπολλον) to lamentations; but the latter are eminently chthonic, and the contrast of Earth to Apollo in such a context is powerfully evocative. (b) Even more evidently so is the case of the Erinny's disdainful protest at the humiliation they feel in Aeschylus Eumenides 874: should we suffer such indignity, the old terrestrial deities? οἰοῦ δᾶ φεῦ (Woe, oh Earth, ahime) ... ἄιε μᾶτερ Νύξ. (c) And in Aeschylus Prometheus Vincit, 568, Io invokes Earth to avert from her the dreadful spectre of Argus, she calls upon the chthonic principle to withhold the terrible apparition. (d) In Euripides Phoenissae Zeus and Earth have been invoked (1290) again in a context of acute, extreme lamentation over

the horrible and monstrous deed of mutual fratricide. There follows the $\phi\epsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\tilde{a}$, $\phi\epsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\tilde{a}$, the ultimate adjuration of the ultimate chthonic power. (e) Eminently convergent is also the Aristophanic passage, *Lysistrata* 198, at the proposal of a mock grave oath, Lambito exclaims: $\phi\epsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\tilde{a}$, $\tau\acute{o}\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\iota}\omega$. How appositely is the chthonic principle conjured in connection with a grave and unspeakable oath. (f) The Theocritean $\omicron\upsilon$ $\delta\tilde{a}\nu$ in IV, 17 and VII, 39 may, on the other hand, and despite the ancient scholia, refer to Zeus rather than to Earth, a possible reference which Ahrens (*de dial. Gr.* II, 80) theoretically and on dogmatic reasons, wanted initially to make obligatory in all cases. But how then, apart from everything else, could he explain the $\text{'}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ which is obviously equivalent to $\text{'}\acute{\epsilon}\nu\nu\omicron\sigma\acute{\iota}\gamma\alpha\iota\omicron\varsigma$, as he himself adduced (Philologus, XXIII, 207 sq.)? (g) If we accept, as we in all likelihood should, Bamberger's emendation $\pi\acute{o}\pi\omicron\iota$ $\delta\tilde{a}$ (pro $\pi\acute{o}\iota$ $\pi\acute{o}\iota$ $\delta\eta$) $\nu\epsilon\rho\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\nu$ $\tau\upsilon\r\nu\alpha\nu\nu\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$ in Aeschylus *Choephoroe*, 405 (so is the text edited by Page), then this provides striking support for the meaning $\Delta\tilde{a}$ = Earth: Ahime, Earth, the power of the Underworld!... whereto should one run for rescue, oh Zeus? It is sheer perversion to imagine that this is a case against that equivalence as Ed. Fraenkel *op. cit.* Vol. III p. 832, contends on the flimsiest of reasons: "for in that case we should expect a connective particle"! The construal of $\Delta\tilde{a}$ as $\Gamma\tilde{\eta}$ is not, of course, contradicted but, on the contrary, supported by the consideration that such formulaic expressions as $\phi\epsilon\upsilon$ $\delta\tilde{a}$ etc., are also "exclamations of horror".

Independently of these considerations and the glossographical and grammatical evidence, in the Cyprian dialect $Z\tilde{a}$ was Earth, 60, 8; 17; 24; 30 R. Meister *Die Griechischen Dialekte* II pp. 54-5. Furthermore, the great Underworld Goddess Hecate was called $Z\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ according to Hesychius, s.v. $Z\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ - what was perhaps an Attic gloss. $Z\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ (or $Z\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$) was a primaeval Boeotian town according to Herodianus apud Stephanus Byzantius s.v. $Z\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$ and $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\text{'}\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}$ $\text{'}\text{Καθολικῆς}$ $\text{'}\text{Προσφῆδίας}$ *IA* (I p. 271.25 L). In Tyrrhenia, the Great Mother $P\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$'s name was no less than $\Delta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$, Hesychius s.v.

$Z\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and $Z\tilde{a}$ then are the Great Ones, the He-Immense and the She-Immense, the Great Couple. (Cf. also the implication of vastness in time-extension in $\delta\eta\tilde{\nu}$, $\delta\acute{\alpha}\nu$ and Cypriot $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\nu$, $\delta\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\varsigma$ and, what is religiously important, $\Delta\eta\nu\acute{\alpha}\iota\omicron\nu$, name of a month in Erythrae (SIG 1014, 25). $Z\acute{\omicron}\omega$, $\zeta\acute{\omega}$, $\zeta\omega\tilde{\eta}$ would stem themselves (via $\delta\acute{\omicron}\alpha$) from the same root signifying longevity, power to last, cf. e.g. Meister, *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Vol. II, p. 254). Again, it is fitting that in Cyprus also $\zeta\acute{\alpha}\omega$ meant $\beta\iota\nu\acute{\omega}$ as well as $\pi\nu\acute{\omega}$ (Hesychius, *supra*): thus the Male ($Z\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$), the Female ($Z\tilde{a}$) and the copulation ($\zeta\acute{\alpha}\epsilon\iota\nu$) were signified by the same root, a root whose meaning-

field extended to wind-movement, breath of life, spirit, fermentation and the power to exist and bring-forth.

To conclude, *Zás* is the life-spirit, the divine Breath, the cosmic impregnating Wind, the Arch-Potent, the One-with-Power-to-last-in-existence. He is an aetherial principle of the Upper World, but capable of permeating and impregnating everything and, above and before all else, archetypally entering and filling the Great Womb, the prolific principle of Fertility, the Arch-Fecundress, *Zā* - Chthonic.

45. When such a profound logico-mythical conception as that delineated above is approached from a doxographical point of view, it is natural that difficulty should be experienced in rendering the Pherecydean *Zás* in the common conceptual framework. The best approximation is to construe him as aether, the bright, rapid, vivid quintessence of the celestial realms: it is rarer than air and luminous, in a pure, lucid, unfiery way, a spiritual, dynamic, splendour (comparable to the Chrysippean *αὐγή*). And thus indeed we find Hermeias (*Irrisio Gentilium Philosophorum*, 6, p. 18 Otto) explaining, albeit with a Stoic appendix: *Φερεκύδης μὲν ἀρχὰς εἶναι λέγων Ζῆνα καὶ Χθονίην καὶ Κρόνον, Ζῆνα μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, Χθονίην δὲ τὴν γῆν, Κρόνον δὲ τὸν Χρόνον· ὁ μὲν αἰθῆρ τὸ ποιοῦν, ἡ δὲ γῆ τὸ πάσχον, ὁ δὲ Χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰ γιγνόμενα*. A looser formulation, but easily understandable, and to the same effect in the end, is given by Probus on Vergilius *Bucolica* VI, 31 (App. Servii ed Hagen p. 343.18): *Consentit et Pherecydes sed diversa adfert elementa: Ζῆνα inquit καὶ Χθόνα καὶ Κρόνον, ignem ac terram et tempus significans, et esse aethera qui regat, terram quae regatur, tempus in quo universa pars moderetur* (A9). It is just one step further to consider *Zás* as the Great Luminary, the Sun, as Iohannes Lydus, *De Mensibus* IV, 3 (p. 67.3 Wuensch) tells us: *καὶ γὰρ Ἥλιος αὐτὸς (sc. Ζεὺς) κατὰ Φερεκύδην*. This identification is certainly conditioned to a considerable extent by the Heliolatry widespread in late antiquity (v. above all the great exposition in Macrobius *Saturnalia* I, 17, 1-23, 22; cf. Menander Laodicensis, *Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 17 (III p. 445.31 Spengel), but its roots are genuinely Pherecydean: spiritual warmth, splendour and rapidity are of the essence of living; they pertain par excellence to the Sun, with its quick, enlivening, congenial rays of light, Sun's *δξέα βέλη*. (Cf. Cleanthes' doctrine on the preeminence of the Sun as the World's *ἡγεμονικόν*, SVF I, 499; cf. also Sophocles Fr. 1017 N2; Seneca, *Phaedra* 896 sq.). On the whole subject v. above, Chapter 11.
46. Leaving the blessed regions of Olympian divinity we come to this alien World, the joyless cavern of *γένεσις*, the place of necessary constraint to our blooming disposition of a divine nature (B115-120), where there is Murder and Rancour and Doom manifold, parching Plagues and Putrefactions,

and the liquid works of infatuation perpetrated in Darkness (B121). This World is characterized by fundamental oppositions; Plutarchus *de tranqu. an.* 474B (= B122): ἀλλὰ μάλλον, ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς, διτταί τινες ἕκαστον ἡμῶν γιγνόμενον παραλαμβάνουσι καὶ κατάρχονται μοῖραι καὶ δαίμονες.

ἔνθ' ἦσαν Χθονίη τε καὶ Ἡλιόπη ταναῶπις,
 Δῆρις θ' αἵματόεσσα καὶ Ἀρμονίη θεμερῶπις,
 Καλλιστώ τ' Αἰσχρή τε, Θόωσά τε Δηναίη τε,
 Νημερτής τ' ἑρόεσσα Μελάγκουρος τ' Ἀσάφεια.

And further (Cornutus, *Theol. Gr.* 17 = B123):

Φυσώ τε Φθιμένη τε, καὶ Εὐναίη καὶ Ἐγερσις,
 Κινώ τ' Ἀστεμφής τε, πολυστέφανός τε Μεγιστῶ
 καὶ Φορύη, Σωπή τε καὶ Ὀμφαίη.

This is a tablet of Pythagorean opposites weaving this world of misery. Primal among whom are the Daemon of Earth and the Divinity of the Sun, Chthonie and Sun's face of the far-darting sight (*Χθονίη τε καὶ Ἡλιόπη ταναῶπις*).

ORPHISM

47. (Cf. also *supra* n. 4). Time as a hypostasis appears for the first time explicitly in cosmogonic speculations on Greek soil with Pherecydes and Orphism. (However its role in Anaximander should also be emphasized). Its position there in the origination of things is primal; it is normally located at the very beginning as the ultimate principle, or at least as one principle among them. It is very difficult to ascertain exactly how old is the acceptance of a cosmological Time-principle in Orphism. The Orphic and related cosmogonies ascribed to Musaeus, Epimenides, the author of *Τιτανομαχία*, some others (*τινές*), even Acusilaus, did not, so far as we know, include such a Cause of things, they certainly did not in any case acknowledge it as a primal Cause. Aristophanes' mock Cosmogony in *Aves* equally ignores it. The cosmogonical burlesque in Cratinus, *Χείρωνες*, Fr. 258 PCG (cf. Fr. 259), involves *πρεσβυγενῆς Χρόνος*, clearly not a first principle, instead the meaning is ancient, old of days, *primaeval* (just as in the *παλαιγενῆ Κρόνον* of Aeschylus, *Prometheus*, 220) - or, at most firstborn, which actually does not fit the sense here:

Στάσις δὲ καὶ πρεσβυγενῆς
 Χρόνος ἀλλήλοισι μιγέντε
 μέγιστον τίκτετον τύραννον
 ὃν δὴ κεφαλῆγερέταν
 θεοὶ καλέουσι.

It obviously has to do with later-stage developments in cosmic history. Χρόνος as old of days is precisely mentioned by Euripides, *Suppliants*, 787: παλαιὸς πατήρ ἀμερᾶν. The Pindaric (*Olympion*, 2, 17) ὁ πάντων πατήρ involves the commoner idea of time as the principle of what happens in it. (Cf. Bacchylides, 7.1). Χρόνος in Cratinus *Χείρωνες* must also play on Κρόνος who was father of Χείρων (Apollodorus I, 9).

In the papyrus fragment from Euripides *Hypsipyle* (OF2) we encounter the Φῶος ἐν Αἰθέρι (which is Πρωτόγονος himself or Ἔρως) and, probably, Νύξ as his procreatrix, the πότνια θεῶν. It is of the utmost importance that when Aristotle refers to the cosmogonies of Θεολόγοι or the ποιηταὶ ἀρχαῖοι (and he would certainly include under these terms Orphic authors) he nowhere mentions a Time principle. Thus *Metaph.* Λ 1071b26: καίτοι εἰ ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ Θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ Νυκτὸς γεννῶντες, ἢ ὡς οἱ Φυσικοὶ etc. N1091b4: οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ταύτη ὁμοίως, ἢ βασιλεύειν καὶ ἄρχειν φασὶν οὐ τοὺς πρώτους, οἷον Νύκτα καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἢ Χάος ἢ Ὠκεανόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Δία. Aristotle is here commenting on the notion that the first cosmogonical principles are not usually the first cosmological ones. He certainly would have mentioned Time in such a context, all the more so as it would presumably be among the first both in order of creation and in order of existing reality. His learned pupil Eudemus, in the account of Orphic theology which he presented, had apparently nothing to say about a Time-principle, at least nothing is reported about such a mighty feature in his account of Orphism. For Damascius (I p. 319.8 Ruelle) testifies that the Orphic doctrine according to Eudemus preserved a mystic silence concerning the νοητόν, beginning with Night the cosmogonical process: Ἡ δὲ παρὰ τῷ περιπατητικῷ Εὐδήμῳ ἀναγεγραμμένη ὡς τοῦ Ὀρφέως οὐσα θεολογία πᾶν τὸ νοητὸν ἐσιώπησεν, ὡς παντάπασιν ἄρρητὸν τε καὶ ἄγνωστον τρόπῳ κατὰ διέξοδον τε καὶ ἀπαγγελίαν· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς Νυκτὸς ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἀρχήν. The νοητόν here refers precisely, in the context of Neoplatonically canonical Orphic doctrine (the *ΚΔ' ραίμφωδίαι*), to Χρόνος at least, v. Damascius I, 316.14 sqq. (That Eudemus kept silentio mystico concerning the supreme principles while acknowledging them is a harmonizing device too obvious to need comment). We do not need to infer that Eudemus had nothing to

say in his account of Orphic cosmogony about *Αἰθήρ* or Phanes, although he might very well have utilized alternative names, e.g. *Οὐρανός*, and *Ἔρως* or *Πρωτόγονος*. But had he come across anything in his Orphic sources relating to cosmogonic Time he evidently would have mentioned it, especially as he did comment expressly on such a principle in other Greek and Barbarian theological systems.

Chrysippus (SVF II 636) utilized the Eudemean form of Orphic cosmogony in his extensive *συνουκειώσεις* of mythical and poetic lore to his philosophy: *κὰν τῷ πρώτῳ* (sc. *περὶ φύσεως*) *τὴν Νύκτα θεάν φησιν (εἶναι) πρωτίστην*. Further details about that form are probably given by Johannes Lydus, *De mensibus* II, 8 (p. 26.1 Wuensch): *καὶ τρεῖς πρώται κατ' Ὀρφέα ἐξεβλάστησαν ἀρχαὶ τῆς γενέσεως, Νύξ καὶ Γῆ καὶ Οὐρανός, θεῶν δὲ τῶν ἐν γενέσει τρία γένη, οὐράνιον καὶ ἐπίγειον καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ τούτων*. (Darkness as air is Stoic).

Early Orphism did not incorporate Time as a functional Hypostasis of a high order, and especially as a First Principle. In fact, the emphasis on Night as lying at the very start of the World-process in the origination of things is evidently further inconsistent with a high cosmogonic Time-principle where Chronos is at the beginning and Night comes rather late in the derivation of reality.

We should thus probably assume that Time-Orphism, whether of the Rhapsodic (with Time at the very beginning in Zervanic fashion) or of the Hieronymus-Hellanicus type (to which the accounts in Athenagoras, *Pro Crhistianis* 18; 20, and in the Orphic *Argonautica*, 12 sqq. - to be distinguished from the second one in 421 sqq. - square, with Time in the second place, after the primaeval chaotic swamp), is a later development (perhaps not earlier than Hellenistic), conditioned by particular physico-philosophical or rather "mixed" speculations.

If this is so, the importance of Pherecydean influence in such a development is heightened and becomes manifest. Then, the problem concerning his possible sources is rendered the more acute.

There is repeated in our sources mention of a Phoenician connection in Pherecydes (cf. *supra*, nn. 21, 29 and 37). According to Eudemus, the Sidonian theology posited at the very beginning of world-formation a divine, primordial triad of *Χρόνος*, *Πόθος* and *Ὀμίχλη*. From the conjugation of the first and third member as that conjugation was expressed by the second (and not from that of the second and third as Damascius - or was it Eudemus himself? - for his own systematic reasons conceived), *Ἄήρ* (Air) and *Ἀῦρα* (Breeze) are begotten, which again generate *Ἔστος*, a kind of cosmic egg, presumably (Damascius, I, p. 323.1 sqq. Ruelle). Sanchouniathon's cosmogony (Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* I, 10, 1-2), despite

prima facie divergences, appears remarkably congruent. There are two principles and their copulation (σύγκρασις and πλοκή) which is called Πόθος. The two principles are described by Philo Byblius as ἀήρ ζοφώδης καὶ πνευματώδης ἢ πνοή ἀέρος ζοφώδους on the one hand, and χάος θολερόν, ἐρεβώδες on the other. That is, dark, spiritual (windy) air or a breath of dusky air as the one principle, and opaque, misty chaos as the second. The latter corresponds accurately to the Sidonian Ὀμίχλη. And there is an analogy between Time and Spirit in their generative functions, an analogy which will be further investigated and explained below. Further, the συμπλοκή of Spirit and Chaos in Pothos produced Μώτ (evidently the Eudemean Ὠτος); Τοῦτό (sc. Μοτ) τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἱ δὲ ὕδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν (the primaeval swamp, the fertile muck, the contamination of sexual fluids whose putrefaction create the foetus of existence) καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐγένετο πᾶσα σπορά κτίσεως καὶ γένεσις τῶν ὄλων. (For etymological elucidations of the meaning of «Μώτ» v. A.B. Cook *Zeus* II p. 1038; they include: Arabic madda “Stuff, matter” (Ewald); “water” (Baudissin, Maspero); μώχ, “mud” (Bunsen); <τό>μώτ = Phoenician tehômôt, “the she-deep, abyss”; mak, “rottenness” (McLean). They tend to confirm, however hypothetically, the correctness of the Philonian interpretation). This Μώτ was formed in the sequel as Egg. Notice finally that Air and Breeze are just an analysis of the spiritual breath of air into its constituents.

We may plausibly inscribe into the same framework the Phoenician mythology according to Mochus (Damascius I p. 323.6 sqq. Ruelle; cf. Josephus *Antiqu. Iud.* I, 3, 9). Of the four first principles, Αἰθήρ, Ἄήρ, Ἄνεμος and Οὐλωμός, the third stands for the Semitic ’Im = the infinite, (cf. e.g. *Die Schoepfungsmythen* p. 182) and corresponds to Mist and Chaos, while Ἄνεμος is the Breath-Wind, and Aether and Air, its two constituents, the spiritual and the aerial. What follows in the line of production is Χουσωρὸς ὁ ἀνοιγέυς (the strong one, the Opener, found as Kothar-wa-Chassis in the Ugaritic texts, cf. *Die Schoepfungsmythen loc. cit.*; cf. the Χρυσώρ in Sanchouniathon’s account (Eusebius *Prep. Evang.* I, 10, 11) identified there with Ἡφαιστος, whose Cabeiric connections are well-evidenced) and the Cosmic Egg, out of which, when opened and broken, Sky and Earth are fashioned.

What is known as the Orphic theology according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus (Damascius I, 317.15 sqq. Ruelle) presents major, obvious and significant similarities to this framework. A primordial swamp is posited at the beginning, the aboriginal Mud of Earth and Water (cf. the Xenophanic account in n. 19). This ἰλύς seems to answer to the Μώτ of Sanchouniathon, but is promoted to the place of the absolutely first

principle. Then comes *Χρόνος* (in the Sidonian account) and the triple offshoot of *Αἰθήρ νοερός* (*νοτερόν*, is perhaps out of place here, despite its plausibility), *Χάος ἄπειρον* and *Ἐρεβος ὀμίχλωδες*. The last two are obvious equivalents to the Sidonian *ὀμίχλη*, the *Χάος θολερὸν ἐρεβῶδες* of Sanchouniathon, and the *ἄπειρον* of Mochus. The former represents the aetherial spirit, and thus corresponds to Sanchuniathon's *πνοὴ ἀέρος ζοφώδους* (even darkness must belong to the Orphic aether, as light comes for the first time in the World with Phanes) and to Mochus *Αἰθήρ* and *Ἄήρ* or rather *Ἄνεμος* (the Athenagorian Orphica as well as the procession in the first account of the Orphic Argonautica, are simplifications of the theology according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus. The analogies between the Phoenician and this type of Orphism are best exhibited summarily in the following table, descending according to the order of procession.

Sidonians according to Eudemus	Phoenicians according to Sanchouniathon	Phoenicians according to Mochus	Orphism according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus
—	—	—	<i>ἰλύς</i> (<i>γῆ</i> καὶ <i>ὔδωρ</i>)
<i>Χρόνος</i>	—	—	<i>Χρόνος</i>
<i>Πόθος</i> [<i>Ἄήρ</i> καὶ <i>αὔρα</i>]*	<i>Ἄήρ</i> <i>ζοφώδης</i> καὶ <i>πνευματώδης</i>	<i>Αἰθήρ</i> , <i>Ἄήρ</i> καὶ <i>Ἄνεμος</i>	<i>Αἰθήρ</i> <i>νοερός</i>
<i>Ὀμίχλη</i>	<i>Χάος</i> <i>θολερὸν ἐρεβῶδες</i>	<i>Οὐλωμός</i> = <i>ἄπειρον</i>	<i>Χάος ἄπειρον</i> and <i>Ἐρεβος ὀμίχλωδες</i>
<i>Ἄήρ</i> καὶ <i>Αὔρα</i>	—	—	—
<i>ᾠτος</i>	<i>Μώτ</i> (and <i>Ἰζόν</i>)	<i>Χουσωρός</i> and <i>Ἰζόν</i>	<i>Ἰζόν</i> and <i>Φάνης</i>

*These words in brackets are repeated out of their particular order of procession, but in position corresponding to the similar stage in the other orders of procession.

The similarities are striking. Of Hellanicus we know nothing. Hieronymus will probably be the Aegyptian, *ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Φοινικικὴν συγγραψάμενος* (Iosephus, *Antiqu. Jud.* I, 3, 6 and 9). This confirms my argument: evidently Hieronymus treated Phoenician religious cosmogony and, perhaps in the same work, *συνωκείωσε* (to use the Stoic term) to it the Orphism he knew about. Even the isolated prominence of *ἰλύς* in his scheme (as contrasted especially with its position (as *Μώτ*) at the end of Sanchouniathon's line of derivation), bespeaks a clear enough Egyptian influence. What Iriarte published from a Madrid manuscript (Cod. LXXXIV n. 180) in *Reg. Bibl. Matrit. Codd. Graeci Mss.* I 1769,

349, is nicely corroborative of my position: *Σαγχουσιάθων ὁ Βηρύτιος τὴν Φοινίκων θεολογίαν ἐξέδωκεν, ἣν Ὀρφεὺς μετήνευκε εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν καὶ τὰς τελετὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων* (cf. *supra* n. 27). The Orphic theology according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus is closely akin to the Phoenician.

But *Χρόνος* does not appear in the latter, either in Sanchouniathon's or Mochus' version. And in fact Hieronymus' account makes Chronos a monstrous, winged dragon, three-headed, with a divine head in the middle and a leonine and bull-head on either side grown from the same stem. Its names are *Χρόνος ἀγήραος* and *Ἡρακλῆς*. *Ἡρακλῆς* points unmistakably to the great god of Tyre, Melkarth, which was, as the "king of the city", just another version of Moloch, Molech, Melech, Milcom, Malcam or Malcam, that is of the "king", a divinity widespread in the whole area. Various peculiarities in Moloch's worship, such as the sacrifice of children as burnt-offerings (*ὀλοκαυτώματα*), made Greek and Latin authors identify him with Saturn, *Κρόνος*. In fact the Carthaginian Melkarth is referred to at the locus classicus in Diodorus XX, 13 sqq. as *Κρόνος*. Evidently it was this Phoenician *Κρόνος* - *Ἡρακλῆς* that represented to Hieronymus the prototype of his conception. But that would carry him as far as the Ultimate Firmament encompassing the World. He probably found in his Orphic sources the earlier version of the Chronos-theology, which identified this divine principle with mythological Cronos. (In the latter sophisticated and highly articulate canonical Orphism, the "Sacred Word in 24 rhapsodies", *Χρόνος* and *Κρόνος* are distinct hypostases with a big ontological interval, so to speak, between them). But we cannot assume on the basis of the evidence examined above that he also discovered in Phoenician religion such an equivalence, or, indeed, even an explicit Time-divinity. And yet already Eudemus interpreted (specifically) Sidonian theology in this way.

Undoubtedly the source of all speculation on a cosmogonical Time-principle in a religious settings is Zurvanistic theology, the doctrine that beyond the Persian primeval duality of Ormazd (Ahoura-Mazda) and Ahriman there exists, as their progenitor, Zurvan Akarane, Infinite Time. The Orphic account according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus seems to deliberately copy the expression Zurvan Akarane in its *Χρόνος ἀγήραος*. Again it is already Eudemus that comments on its existence (Damascius I, p. 322.8 sqq.) ascribing it to the Magian and Aryan system. His specifically Sidonian (as against the globally and common Phoenician) theology must be viewed as a particular case of strong Magian influence. It is highly significant that in Mithraism, that offspring of the Persian Religion, we encounter repeatedly characteristic portrayals of *Χρόνον*, as a lion-headed,

winged monster with human body involuted by a large serpent (a representation obviously to be compared with the description of *Χρόνος* by Hieronymous); v. Fr. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra* (German translation) pp. 96 sqq. and fig. 6a and b in Tafel I; fig. 3 there does not represent *Χρόνος* but the Orphic Phanes; also Fig. 910 in A.B. Cook, *Zeus* II p. 1053.

The fundamental religious experience (at least the reformed type) of the pure Aryan stock seems to have consisted in the antinomy of two aboriginal principles, the luminous Good versus the Evil darkness, with, in fact, considerable emphasis on the more “moral” and less “naturist” qualities of that confrontation. But in the Iranian highlands, in Media and Persia too, the indigenous population defeated in arms necessitated a transformation of the religious Mazdaean sentiment, endowing it with a more blatant cosmological correspondence in mythology and marked material basis in ritual. The transformed religion was Magianism. The Achaemenids as the upholders of the pure faith came into collision with the Magian priestcraft, and this is the true significance of the violent commotions in the Empire towards the end of the 6th century B.C. during the last years of Cambyses’ rule, the usurpation of the throne by Gomates the Magian, Darius’ counter-revolution, his accession to the throne and the succeeding intermitent and universal series of revolts. There could be no better proof for this than what is proclaimed by Darius himself in the monumental trilingual inscription at Behistun. V. column I §14 “Says Darius the king: The empire which had been taken away from our family, that I recovered. I established it in its place. As (it was) before, so I made (it). The temples which Gomates the Magian had destroyed, I rebuilt. The sacred offices of the state, both the religious chants and the worship, (I restored) to the people, which Gomates the Magian had deprived them of. I established the state in its place, both Persia and Media, and the other provinces. As (it was) before, so I restored what (had been) taken away. By the grace of Ommazd I did (this). I arranged so that I established our family in its place. As (it was) before, so I arranged (it), by the grace of Ormazd, so that Gomates the Magian should not supersede our family”. By the grace of Ormazd indeed, and by an absolute and obstinate trust on the militant God, as the people seemed to have been so much disaffected with the family of the Achaemenids and its religion, as to take the side of the first appearing pretender against Darius, everywhere and repeatedly. The “purer” faith was considered to be the revelatory teaching of Zoroaster, who himself was characteristically associated in many apocryphal stories with Darius the Great King. Of course, as it always happens with the religious reformations in all but the last historic one, their victories are pyrrhic: they quickly

incorporate in full within their own framework what they have contended with, vanquished and prostrated. (That the last Reformatory Movement did not win absolutely, saved its purity). The Magian religion, indeed Zoroastrianism, further enriched by the acquisition of the noble Mesopotamian spiritual treasures, became the normal and official worship of Persia, Achaemenid and all. There only remained as a reminder of the old hostilities the festival of Magophonia (v. Herodotus III, 79; and the whole story of the Magian revolt, 61-79).

Ormazd is explained in the turanic version of the trilingual Behistun inscription (column IV, §12, 4) as "the god of the Aryans". Beside the arch-opposition, there probably existed in the pure Mazdaic religion features involving the implicit worship of fire and water (cf. Strabo XV 732: *διαφερόντως δὲ τῷ πυρὶ καὶ τῷ ὕδατι θύουσι*), or of some potent fluid, not so much as elements of the World out of which other things are composed, but more as exquisite and untarnished parts of it. But already in Herodotus' account of the Persian religion we find a fully developed astral and elemental worship, sure sign of Chaldaean influence; I, 131: *οἱ δὲ (sc. Πέρσαι) νομίζουσι Διὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρέων ἀνεβαίνοντες θυσίαν ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντες. θύουσι δὲ ἡλίῳ τε καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ γῆ καὶ πυρὶ καὶ ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμοισι. τούτοισι μὲν δὴ θύουσι μόνουσι ἀρχῆθεν, ἐπιμεμαθήκασι δὲ καὶ τῇ Οὐρανίῃ θύειν, παρά τε Ἀσσυρίων μαθόντες καὶ Ἀραβίων* (cf. Strabo XV, 732 Cas. who repeats Herodotus with the correction of his unaccountable error concerning Mithras). Zeus for Herodotus is obviously Ormazd. Ahrimans' absence is due to his moral depravity in the Mazdaean system. As Diogenes Laertius *Vitae Philos.* Prooem. 8 testifies, Aristotle (*ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας*, Fr. 6 Rose; cf. *Metaphysica* N, 1091b10) reported that: *καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοῦς (sc. τοὺς Μάγους) εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα. καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα εἶναι Ζεὺς καὶ Ὠρομάσδης, τῷ δὲ Ἄιδης καὶ Ἀρεϊμάνιος* - something on which also Eudoxus agreed (*ἐν τῇ περιόδῳ*, fg. 38 Brandes) and Theopompus (*ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν*, FGtH 115F64) and Hermippus (*ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Μάγων*, FHG III, 53). Hesychius has s.v. *Ἀρεϊμάνιος*, ὁ Ἄιδης παρὰ Πέρσαις (cf. also Etym. Magn. s.v. *Ἀρεϊμάνιος*). Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* 369E describing a Magian sacrifice to Ahriman mentions as part of it the invocation to Hades and Darkness. Herodotus himself relates that Amastris, Xerxes' wife, sacrificed fourteen noble Persian youths to the subterranean God, by burying them alive as a substitute offer for herself - obviously the terrible offering was to Hades - Ahriman: *ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀμηστριν, τὴν Ἐέρξεω γυναικα, πυνθάνομαι γηράσασαν δις ἑπτὰ Περσέων παῖδας ἔοντων ἐπιφανέων ἀνδρῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς τῷ ὑπὸ γῆν λεγομένῳ εἶναι θεῷ ἀντιχαρί-*

ζεσθαι κατορύσσουσιν. Plutarch, *De Superstitione* 171D reports the same incidence specifically mentioning Hades: "Ἀμηστρις δ' ἡ Ξέρξου γυνὴ δώδεκα κατάρυξεν ἀνθρώπους ζῶντας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῷ Ἄϊδι.

Besides the simple identification of Zeus - Ormazd - Celestial firmament and Hades - Ahriman - Subterranean divinity, we find a more complex interpretation of Mazdaism in Greek terms. Aristoxenus the Peripatetic (Aristotle's scholar) and one Diodorus from Eretria (Hippolytus, *Refut. omn. haer.* I, 2, 12-3) distinguished in Persian theology, firstly, two general, ultimate and aboriginal principles of existence which they called Father and Mother, or light and darkness (allotting to them characteristics in further correspondence to the Parmenidean ultimate duality, and considering them as the prototype of the Pythagorean doctrine of opposites); and, secondly, two cosmic powers (obviously analogous to and derived from those principles), a celestial one, fiery, luminous air, and another chthonic, water fructifying the earth and producing the world of *γένεσις*: Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Ἀριστοξένος ὁ Μουσικός φασὶ πρὸς Ζαράταν τὸν Χαλδαῖον ἐληλυθεναι Πυθαγόραν· τὸν δὲ ἐκθέσθαι αὐτῷ δύο εἶναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὐσίω αἰτία, Πατέρα καὶ Μητέρα· καὶ πατέρα μὲν Φῶς, μητέρα δὲ Σκότος· τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς μέρη θερμόν, ξηρόν, κοῦφον, ταχύ, τοῦ δὲ σκότους ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, βαρύ, βραδύ· ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάντα τὸν κόσμον συνεστάναι, ἐκ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενος... Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ κόσμου γινομένων τάδε φασὶ λέγειν τὸν Ζαράταν· δύο δαίμονας εἶναι, τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸν δὲ χθόνιον· καὶ τὸν μὲν χθόνιον ἀνιέναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, εἶναι δὲ ὕδωρ, τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον πῦρ μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος, θερμόν καὶ ψυχρόν. Eudemus also noticed the alternative interpretation according to which the ultimate opposition of Light and Darkness is differentiated from, and productive of, the contrariety of Good God and Evil daemon. (Damascius I, p. 322, 10-11 Ruelle). It is significant that on this line of interpretation, and whether one construes the former principle in the dualistic conception as pure light, or as luminous, quintessential aether, or as fiery, radiant air - this cannot plausibly be viewed as the celestial firmament, the outermost Sky encompassing the World. It is as if we were making Zeus an elemental power instead of the outer Heavens in the Herodotean way. Thus in a context of emphatic astral theology and Sky worship, there would be a natural tendency to accommodate the elemental dualism into a framework of celestial monism; and therefore to superimpose upon the two Mazdaean principles the Chaldaean unique all-encircling Heaven. The more so, indeed, the smoother we might thus be able to achieve syncretistic wonders. For in the new triad, we could easily see the Mesopotamian supreme triad of Anu (Sky God) - Enlil (spiritual aether) - Ea (fructifying Water); or the Sidonian Triad of Chronos - Πόθος (radiant ray) - Ὀμίχλη (opaque

confusion); even the Pherecydean first principles of Chronos - Zeus - Chthonie; and also the primal Triad of the Orphic theology according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus Chronos - *Αἰθήρ* - *Χάος*.

When a Peripatetic like Eudemus comes across the Zurvanistic doctrine, he interprets the absolute principle as *Τόπος* or *Χρόνος*. Evidently he had in mind Aristotle's views on space and time. (In fact he contributed to the intense ongoing discussion on the intricate question of *τόπος* and the Aristotelian theory of it; cf. *Scholia in Aristotelem* ed. Brandis 378b3; 379a25; b44). *Τόπος* of a thing is *τὸ πέρασ τοῦ περιέχοντος σώματος καθ' ὃ συνάπτει τῷ περιεχομένῳ*, *Physica* Δ, 212a5-6a, or *τὸ τοῦ περιέχοντος πέρασ ἀκίνητον πρῶτον*, 212a20-1. It is notoriously difficult to ascertain what exactly in this respect was Aristotle's position with regard to the world in toto and the ultimate sphere. *Τὸ πᾶν καὶ ὄλον* is not *ἐν τόπῳ*, as there is nothing beyond it (212b14-6). But there is a sense in which *πάντα* are *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* (b17), and we must probably here understand by *πάντα* everything absolutely, including the lower spheres, and by *οὐρανός* the outermost sphere or rather what, however defined, lies at the extremity of the World. Aristotle goes on then to explain that in the valid and true formula *πάντα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, the *τόπος* of *πάντα* is not *οὐρανός* (since *οὐρανός* is not the ultimate limit) *ἀλλὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τι τὸ ἔσχατον καὶ ἀπτόμενον τοῦ κινητοῦ σώματος πέρασ ἡρεμοῦν* (b18-20). *Κινητὸν σῶμα* cannot be anything else than what moves in whatever way, including a circular movement; even the context makes as much certain (cf. e.g. b10). Therefore, the unmoved, extremest limit contiguous to the moveable body is the uppermost limit of Heaven considered as unmoved, an unmoved mover indeed. The problem remains how a moving body can have its limit or boundary at rest. The logical pressure is to postulate a heavenly sphere beyond the moving starry heavens, an unmoved firmament, whose inner boundary would be the *τόπος* of the World as a whole.

But whatever the difficulty and correct interpretation may be concerning the Aristotelian universal *τόπος*, they do not in the least affect those that assumed, or were considered to assume, extra mundane existence of some sort or other. When Eudemus came across a conception according to which the ultimate unique principle of the World was something encompassing and determining the World, the supremest Heaven either as the firmament of the fixed stars or even as an unknown, dark Sky beyond, it was natural enough, in the context of the Aristotelian speculations, to express it as the *Τόπος* of the World. The utilized concept of *Τόπος* itself points definitively in that direction - and so does *Χρόνος* as well. For it is *ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως κατὰ τὸ πρότερον καὶ ὕστερον*. Ultimate time therefore is the number of the ultimate regularity, the movement of the uppermost Heaven. The

Aristotelian conceptual elaborations are eloquent proofs of an archaic conception according to which extremest Sky or what lies beyond, is the principle of space and time, archetypal *Τόπος* and *Χρόνος* at once. The importance of all this for Pythagoreanism will be seen subsequently. It is not vainly or without a definite target that Aristotle emphatically declares, *de Caelo* 279a11-2: ἄμα δὲ δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ τόπος οὐδὲ κενὸν οὐδὲ χρόνος ἔστιν ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. He here denies specific Pythagorean doctrines. For the time being, it can be seen that Eudemus' formulation of the Zurvanistic theology presupposes Chaldaean astral worship and belief in an ultimate, supermost Sky-principle.

This Chaldaean dimension in time speculations or, to put it independently of national or regional tendencies, the necessary Sky-factor in all ancient theories of a hypostatical, cosmological and cosmogonical Time-principle, is further evidenced by examples from tragic poetry towards the end of the fifth century B.C. In Peirithous Chronos appears as the divine supreme celestial principle, the encompassing, self-generative, perennially revolving outermost firmament (from Clemens *Stromat.*, V, 36, 1 = II, 350.9 Staehlin, Fr. 594 Nauck² Fr. Tr. Gr.).

ἀκάμας τε Χρόνος περὶ τ' ἀενάῳ
 ρεύματι πλήρης φοιτᾷ τίκτων
 αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, δίδυμοι τ' Ἄρκτοι,
 ταῖς ὠκυπλάνοις πτερύγων ριπαῖς
 τὸν Ἀτλάντειον τηροῦσι πόλον.

This self-existent celestial Chronos has implicated in its single, mightly, aetherial whirling motion the growth and nature of everything. Clemens, *Strom.* V, 114, 2 = II p. 403.15 Stählin, Fr. 593 Nauck², again from Peirithous:

σὲ τὸν αὐτοφυᾶ, τὸν ἐν αἰθερίῳ
 ρύμβῳ πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξανθ',
 ὃν περὶ μὲν φῶς, περὶ δ' ὄρφναία
 νύξ ἀιολόχρως, ἄκριτός τ' ἄστρων
 ὄχλος ἐνδελεχῶς ἀμφιχορεύει.

(Hesychius provides the gloss: αἰθέριος ρύμβος (pro cod. αἰθέριος τύμβος)· οὐρανός.). The αὐτοφυῆς of the latter passage, corresponding exactly to αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν τίκτων of the first one, makes clear that Chronos is the revolving highest Celestial sphere, and that, in particular, no further principle beyond the uppermost Heaven is involved in the second quotation.

As to the author of the tragedy, Athenaeus (XI, 496B) informs us that it was doubted whether Critias the tyrant of Euripides wrote it. According to the *Vita Euripid.* p. 135, 33 τούτων (sc. Euripidean dramas) νοθεύεται τρία, Τέννης, Παδάμανθους, Πειρίθους. All preserved quotations from it (with the exception of Athenaeus) including Plutarch (*Amator.* 18, p. 763F) and, very significantly, Hesychius twice (s. vv. ἔφεξις, θρᾶξαι), ascribe the drama to Euripides. The reservations as to the Euripidean genuineness of the tragedy are probably unfounded, although Athenaeus was very knowledgeable about literary topics. On the contrary, the balance of evidence points to the Critian authorship of Sisyphus, where the same idea occurs, a probable borrowing from Euripides. The existence of Gods is considered a human invention, on the part of a densely thinking, wise man, who conceived that it would be good to keep men under the perpetual fear of supreme powers residing in Heaven, whence the greatest benefits and the harshest calamities originate and visit the mortals (Sextus Empiricus IX, 54 = Fr. 1, Nauck² p. 771, vv. 27 sqq. = B25)

ναίειν δ' ἔφασκε τοὺς θεοὺς ἐνταῦθ' ἵνα
 μάλιστ' ἂν ἐξέπληξεν ἀνθρώπους λέγων,
 ὅθεν περ ἔγνων τοὺς φόβους ὄντας βροτοῖς
 καὶ τὰς ὀνήσεις τῷ τάλαιπύρῳ βίῳ,
 ἐκ τῆς ὑπερθε περιφορᾶς, ἵν' ἀστραπᾶς
 κατέιδεν οὐσας, δεινὰ δὲ κτυπήματα
 βροντῆς τὸ τ' ἀστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ σέλας,
 χρόνου καλὸν ποίκιλμα τέκτονος σοφοῦ,
 ὅθεν τε λαμπρὸς ἀστέρος στίλβει μύδρος (sc. the Sun)
 ὅθ' ὑγρὸς εἰς γῆν ὄμβρος ἐκπορεύεται.

For an hypostatic and generative Time cf. Euripides Herakleidae 898-90: πολλὰ γὰρ τίκτει Μοῖρα τελεσσιδῶτερ' Αἰὼν τε Χρόνου παῖς. Αἰὼν is the principle of life in each individual, in the sense of that out of which all the events and circumstances of his life are unfolded, the causal principle of his specific lifetime, his destiny and characteristic lot. Thus Μοῖρα and Αἰὼν are conjugate factors and almost equivalent. This Αἰὼν is child of Χρόνος, the principle of definite life an offspring of the principle of general existence: there must thus be implied the association of Χρόνος with Οὐρανός. (Contra above, the Derveni Papyrus: v. Chapter 11).

The basically Chaldaean origination of this system of thinking is further confirmed by a fact already observed and emphasized by Bidez and Cumont (in their *Les Mages Hellénisés* I, p. 65; 67; 68; 69 n. 1; 70-3), namely that Zurvanism is constantly associated to astral fatalism. I shall not

comment on the non-classical sources. In the Graeco-Roman world Zurvanistic Mazdaism, after its solitary presence in Eudemus, reappears significantly in patristic contexts. Theodorus of Mopsuestia in his book “*On the Persian Magianism and what is the difference of the pious dogma*” (περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι Μαγικῆς καὶ τίς ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας διαφορά) reports, according to Photius (*Bibliotheca* cod. 81 p. 63 Bekker), about τὸ μαρὸν Περσῶν δόγμα, ὃ Ζαράδης (i.e. Ζωροάστρης) εἰσηγήσατο, ἧτοι περὶ τοῦ Ζουρούαμ (= Zurvan), ὃν ἀρχηγὸν πάντων εἰσάγει, ὃν καὶ τύχην καλεῖ. The Armenian Eznik de Kolb in his book *De Deo* (p. 75 French tr. Le Vaillant de Florival 1853; p. 88 German tr. Schmidt, 1990) speaks of Zrouanas translated by “Lot” or “Glory”. Fortune or Lot in such a context is tantamount to Fate. The interest in Mazdaism shown by the Fathers of the Church was of course conditioned by Manichaeism and similar transformations of Christianity in Gnosis. The myth of the birth of Ormazd and Ahriman from Zurvan alluded to in Photius’ precis of Theodorus’ account, is related in extenso by two Armenian and one Syrian author of the IVth - Vth and VIIth centuries respectively (v. Bidez et Cumont, *Les Mages Hellénisés* pp. 88-92). The myth is distinctly Gnostic in character, and may very likely have been formed in the womb of Gnosis.

The fatalistic nature of Time’s cosmogonical supremacy in Orphism according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus is also explicit. To Χρόνος - Κρόνος - Ἡρακλῆς is attached in intimate intercourse Ἀνάγκη or Ἀδράστεια, Necessity or Inescapability, Nature herself. And similarly, the first cosmogony and theology of the Orphic *Argonautica* (vv. 12 sqq.) speaks of the dolorous Necessity and Κρόνος - Χρόνος as a serpent of infinite enormity:

ἀρχαίου μὲν πρῶτα Χάους ἀμέγαρτον Ἀνάγκην
καὶ Κρόνον ὃς ἐλόχευσεν ἀπειρεσίοισιν ὑφ’ ὀλκοῖς etc.

(cf. the Κύκλος of Ἀνάγκη in this world of γένεσις and φθορά).

Biographical notices also testify to the felt intimacy between Zoroastrian doctrines and Chaldaeal astronomical speculations. Zoroaster was considered as the inventor of astronomy and, often, as himself a Babylonian (Suda s. vv. Ἀστρονομία, Ζωροάστρης, Ζωρομάσδης; Cosmas Ierosolymitanus *Ad carmina S. Gregorii* 64 (PG 38, 491) and 51 (PG 38, 461); Nonnus Abbas *Ad S. Gregorii orat. I contra Julianum* 70 (PG 36, 1021); Georgius Monachus *Chronogr.* I, p. 12; p. 74 (de Boor); Michael Glykas *Annal.* II p. 244 (ed. Bonn); Cedrenus *Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν, ὁ περιβόητος Περσῶν ἀστρονόμος* 16B (I p. 29 Bonn); 41A (I p. 73 Bonn); Theodorus Meliteniotes, *Εἰς τὴν Σωφροσύνην* (Bidez-Cumont *Les Mag.*

Hell. (in the following references signified as B-C) B9f). Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII, 6, 32 specifically reports of the reputed additions made to Magian doctrine by Zoroaster from arcana Chaldaica: multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroaster, deinde Hystaspes, rex prudentissimus Darei pater. Cf. Arnobius *Adversus Nationes* I, 5 (B-C. B32). Justin's formulation is eloquent testimony of the fusion (*Hist. Philipp.* I, 1, 7): qui (sc. Zoroaster) primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse (cf. *Exordia Scythica* §1 = B-C B33c). V. Malalas *Chronogr.* I p. 67 (Bonn) = B-C B51a; also Ioannes Historicus B-C B51b. Ioannes Antiochenus fr. 3 (FHG IV, 541 = B-C, B51e) speaks of Ζωροάστρης ὁ ἀστρονόμος, and gives an Euhemeristic account on a theogony according to which Χρόνος or Κρόνος marries Πέα and brings forth Zeus, Hera and other offspring.

The overall picture emerging out of the preceding inquiry presents the following salient features. Iranian dualism brought into contact with Mesopotamian astral worship was transformed into Zurvanism, as, in reality, Chaldaean Mazdaism. The name of Zoroaster himself was considered to mean ἀστροθύτης (according to Deinon (ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν, FGrH 690 F5) and Hermodorus. Diogenes Laertius *Prooem* 8: ὁς (sc. Δείνων) καὶ μεθερμηνεύμενόν φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροθύτην εἶναι· φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος). It is not indisputable whether the antagonism between Zurvanism and orthodox dualistic Mazdaism played a chief role in the religious and political commotions at the end of the 6th century B.C. between Achaemenids and Magians. The conflict certainly was between pure Aryan faith and a system of religious crisis incorporating fundamental characteristics of developed nature-worship; but it is very likely that the form of Naturism that infiltrated ancient, fundamental Mazdaism proceeded from the religious systems of the highly civilized neighbouring peoples below the mountain-barrier that separates Iran from the plains of the two great rivers. Whether Zurvanism was implicated in the internal struggles of the Persian Empire at that period or not, it was already operative as a well-formed theology in the near Middle East half a century earlier, as it influenced, probably via Phoenician dissemination, Pherecydes (v. endnote A to this note), and, through him, I believe considerably later, maybe in the late fourth-century, the Χρόνος-type of Orphism (v. endnote B). It would seem however that Zurvanism did not become Magian orthodoxy. Yet it must have remained a not negligible sect in the West of the Persian Empire - or rather a "theological" system there in the narrower sense, a mode in considerable vogue of interpreting and construing Mazdaism for the illuminati. It must have influenced Phoenician theological circles by the fourth century B.C. as the

Sidonian cosmogony testifies. Eudemus got his information respecting it from such sources of a demonstrably Babylonian character. The following remarkable silence concerning it must indicate that the Greek (and Roman) world, when better informed of the true Iranian Magianism, perceived the marginal and rather theoretical significance of the western system for Mazdaism. In the religious fermentation of the first centuries of the Christian era, the esoteric character of the system appealed to the spirit of the time, and was incorporated into the theology of Mithraism (cf. Cumont, *Die Mysterien des Mithra* pp. 96 sqq.; 215-5) side by side with a forceful Heliolatry. It further fertilized Gnostic developments, in which reports of Zoroastrian doctrines by Fathers of the Church insist on pure dualism cf. e.g. Agathias *Περὶ τῆς Ἰουστινιανοῦ Βασιλείας* II, 24 (B-C, D11); Agathias was well informed on Persian matters, as is evident even in the very passage in question.

A. The Phoenician connection of Pherecydes has been noticed above, and the relevant sources quoted. The Chaldaeo-Persian one is probably directly alluded by Isidorus, the son of the great Gnostic Basileides. He maintained that Pherecydes took a number of his most characteristic tenets of his allegorical theology from the “prophesy of Cham”; in the unfortunately mutilated passage of Clemens *Stromata* VI, 53, 5 the Isidorean fragment runs thus: καὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ τοὺς προσποιουμένους φιλοσοφεῖν, ἵνα μάθωσι τί ἐστὶν ἡ ὑπόπτερος δρυὶς καὶ τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ πεποικιλμένον φᾶρος, πάντα ὅσα Φερεκύδης ἀλληγορήσας ἐθεολόγησεν, λαβὼν ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Χάμ προφητείας τὴν ὑπόθεσιν <***>. But Zoroaster according to the Clementina, *Homil.* IX, 3-4 was a descendant of Cham, namely the giant Nebrod; in *Recognitiones* IV, 27 he seems to be identified with Cham. (Cf. Bidez-Cumont, *Les Mages Hellénisés* I, pp. 42 sqq. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* p. 96 and pp. 369 sqq.; and Harnack, *Geschichte der altchrist. Lit.* I, 865 n. 65 who think that in the Isidorean fragment Cham in any case represents Zoroaster). Be that as it may, Zoroaster was as Nimrod (*Recognitiones* I, 30), both king of Babylon and the founder of the fire-worship among the Persians. We discover here in genealogical and historical dress the fusion in Gnostic and patristic contexts of Babylonian and Persian, Chaldaean and Mazdaean components in later Zoroastrianism. Pherecydean “mixed” cosmology was akin to that compound.

B. There was considerable interest in Zoroastrian studies then in evidence. Besides what has been already mentioned, Heraclides Ponticus wrote a book entitled “Zoroaster” (Plutarch, *Adversus Coloten* 1115 A), in which he treated of major questions in Physics adopting antiPlatonic solutions.

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48. The latter is the Pythagorean conception. Taking the Chaldaean notion of the celestial firmament as the ultimate World-principle and fusing it with the conception of the second pole in the aboriginal duality, namely the dynamic indefiniteness, we arrive at some idea of an infinite encircling container. The intermediate step was provided by Anaximander's indefinite, an equivalent of the mythological Chaos, encompassing the Worlds. For the Ἄπειρον is that out of which the contrarities emerge by secretion; these contrarities secreted away constitute the World. So Aristotle *Phys.* A 187a20: οἱ δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐνούσας τὰς ἐναντιότητας ἐκκρίνεσθαι, ὡσπερ Ἀναξίμανδρός φησι etc. (A9). Theophrastus also (fr. 4 Diels, *Doxogr. Gr.* p. 479 from Simplicius *In Phys.* 154 = A9a): εἰ δέ τις τὴν μίξιν τῶν ἀπάντων ὑπολάβει μίαν εἶναι φύσιν ἀόριστον καὶ κατ' εἶδος καὶ κατὰ μέγεθος, ... λέγειν τὴν τε τοῦ ἀπείρου φύσιν... And also Fr. 2 (Diels p. 476 from Simplicius *in Phys.* 24 = A9) he specifies that Anaximander was the first to utilize the word ἀρχή to signify the beginning and principle of being, λέγει δ' αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν ἀρχήν)... ἑτέραν τινα φύσιν ἄπειρον ἐξ ἧς ἅπαντας γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμους. Plutarch in his doxographical *Stromateis* 2 (Diels p. 579 from Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* I, 7, 16 = A10): Ἀναξίμανδρον ... τὸ ἄπειρον φάναι τὴν πάσαν αἰτίαν ἔχειν τῆς τοῦ παντὸς γενέσεώς τε καὶ φθορᾶς, ἐξ οὗ δὴ φησι τοὺς τε οὐρανοὺς ἀποκεκρίθαι καὶ καθόλου τοὺς ἅπαντας ἀπείρους ὄντας κόσμους ... φησι δὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ αἰδίου γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου ἀποκριθῆναι etc. The Plutarchean *Epitoma* I, 3, 3 and Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 10, 12 (Diels p. 277-8 = A14): Ἀναξίμανδρος ... φησὶ τῶν ὄντων ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ ἄπειρον· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο πάντα φθείρεσθαι· διὸ καὶ γεννᾶσθαι ἀπείρους κόσμους καὶ πάλιν φθείρεσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐξ οὗ γίνεσθαι. λέγειν γοῦν διότι ἀπέραντόν ἐστιν, ἵνα μηδὲν ἐλλείπη ἢ γένεσις ἢ ὑφισταμένη. And Hippolytus, *Refut. Omn. Haer.* I, 6, 1 (Diels 559 = A11): Ἀναξίμανδρος Πραξιάδου Μιλήσιος· οὗτος ἀρχὴν ἔφη τῶν ὄντων φύσιν τινα τοῦ ἀπείρου ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμους. Cicero *Acad. Pr.* II 37, 118 (A13): is enim (sc. Anaximander) infinitatem naturae dixit esse, e qua omnia gignerentur. Simplicius *In de Caelo* 615.13 (A17): καὶ κόσμους δὲ ἀπείρους οὗτος (sc. Anaximander) καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν κόσμων ἐξ ἀπείρου τοῦ τοιούτου στοιχείου ὑπέθετο ὡς δοκεῖ.

The contrarities weaving the World are secreted out of the Indefinite, preexisting in it after a mixed fashion, as Aristotle distinctly states. This Ἄπειρον then corresponds precisely to Chaos; V. Ovid, *Metamorph.* I, 5 sqq.:

Ante mare et terras et, quod tegit omnia, caelum
 unus erat toto naturae vultus in orbe,
 quem dixere Chaos, rudis indigestaque moles
 nec quicquam nisi pondus iners congestaque eodem
 non bene iunctarum discordia semina rerum.

.....
 nulli sua forma manebat,
 obstabatque aliis aliud, quia corpore in uno
 frigida pugnabanta calidis, umentia siccis,
 mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus.

Here we have the Anaximandrian mixture of opposites in precosmic
 Ἄπειρον. Cf. Apollonius Rhodius *Argon.* I, 496:

ἦειδεν (sc. Orpheus) δ' ὡς γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα
 τὸ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι μὴ συναρηρότα μορφῆ,
 νεῖκος ἐξ ὀλοοῖο διέκειθεν ἀμφὶς ἕκαστα· etc.

although this is presented in an Empedoclean shape. Cf. the Orphic
Argonaut. 421 sqq.:

πρῶτα μὲν ἀρχαίου Χάεος μελανήφατον ὕμνον
 ὡς ἐπάμειψε φύσεις, ὡς τ' οὐρανὸς ἐς πέρας ἦλθε,
 γῆς τ' εὐρυστέρνου γένεσιν πυθμένας τε θαλάσσης etc.

(See further the Orphic accounts illustrating the full Pythagorean
 cosmogony below). It is important to notice the virtually verbatim
 reproduction of the theory concerning an aboriginal total mixture of
 everything in Euripides *Melanippe*, Fr. 484 Nauck²:

κοῦκ ἐμὸς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρα,
 ὡς οὐρανὸς τε γαῖά τ' ἦν μορφῆ μία
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχα etc.

The matrilineal descent of arcane knowledge points to its religious (esp.
 mystic and mysteric) origin. We have here a piece of some philosophical
 articulation of Orphic doctrine, like that we meet in the Derveni papyrus.
 (This in its turn supports an early ascription of the philosophical
 commentary contained in that papyrus - back to the fifth century BC.
 More on this in Chapter 11).

This Infinite encompasses everything. Aristotle is again clear on this. *Physica* Γ, 203b9: οὐ ταύτης (sc. τοῦ Ἀπειροῦ) ἀρχή, ἀλλ' αὕτη τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ περιέχειν ἅπαντα καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾶν, ὡς φασιν ὅσοι μὴ ποιούσι παρὰ τὸ ἄπειρον ἄλλας αἰτίας οἷον νοῦν ἢ φιλίαν. Καὶ τοῦτ' εἶναι τὸ θεῖον· ἀθάνατον γὰρ καὶ ἀνώλεθρον, ὡς φησιν Ἀναξίμανδρος etc. In *Physica* Γ, 207b35 Aristotle maintains that if ἄπειρον is to be taken as a principle, it must be some sort of material principle, and then he criticizes, obviously, the Anaximandrian position: διὸ καὶ ἄτοπον τὸ περιέχειν ποιεῖν αὐτὸ ἀλλὰ μὴ περιεχόμενον. But the point of the surrounding Infinite is to act as a non-exhaustible reservoir of generation, ἵνα ἡ γένεσις μὴ ἐπιλείπη, (*Physica* Γ, 208a8; 203b18, where this is given as one of the five reasons for the existence of the Infinite. As the fifth and fundamental root-reason, he mentions the apparent intellectual inability to stop at some boundary; this is why what lies beyond the Heaven is considered infinite; and this extra-celestial something being infinite, one thinks that there is also infinite body and an infinite number of Worlds - this last remark making certain the reference to Anaximander, evident throughout the passage; *Physica* 203b6 sqq. (A15). In Aristotle's words: διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐν τῇ νοήσει μὴ ὑπολείπειν καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς δοκεῖ ἄπειρος εἶναι καὶ τὰ μαθηματικὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὸ ἕξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ· ἀπειροῦ δ' ὄντος τοῦ ἕξω, καὶ σῶμα ἄπειρον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ κόσμοι.) Cf. 204b24 sqq. And so Simplicius *In de Caelo* 615.13 (A17): ἄπειρον δὲ πρῶτος ὑπέθετο ἵνα ἔχη χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὰς γενέσεις ἀφθόνως. Hippolytus, in his rich and exact account, states: ταύτην (sc. φύσιν τινα τοῦ ἀπειροῦ) δ' αἰδῖον εἶναι καὶ ἀγήρω, ἣν καὶ πάντας περιέχειν τοὺς κόσμους. This encircling is, of course, active, causal and governing, cf. Aristotle *Physica* Γ, 203b9 (A15): ἀλλ' αὕτη (i.e. this principle, the Infinite) τῶν ἄλλων εἶναι δοκεῖ (sc. ἀρχή) καὶ περιέχειν ἅπαντα καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾶν, ὡς φασιν ὅσοι μὴ ποιούσι παρὰ τὸ ἄπειρον ἄλλας αἰτίας (that is, Anaximander).

The encircling Infinite is immortal, indestructible, eternal, ageless (v. supra). It is the Eternal, τὸ αἰδῖον (Plutarch, *Strom.* 2, Diels p. 579 = A10). To refer to the way in which things are produced out of it, Anaximander employed the biological model of secretion (ἀπόκρισις, ἔκκρισις), of the γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ being secreted from it (φησὶ δὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀιδίου γόνιμον θερμοῦ τε καὶ ψυχροῦ κατὰ τὴν γένεσιν τοῦδε τοῦ Κόσμου ἀποκριθῆναι loc. cit.). in fact ἀπόκρισις is the standard common and technical word to signify secretion of semen, together with γονῆς, as in Hippocrates *Genit.* 2. And so ἀπόκρισις σπέρματος in Epicurus *De Rerum Natura Pap. Herc.* 908.3. Aristotle *Hist. Anim.* 581b29 sqq.; Part. *Anim.* 681b35. (Of course the word could be used in a much wider field).

Anaximander conceived in Ionian fashion of a more mechanical agency (for instance an eternal movement) operating in these secretions thus fusing hylozoistically mechanism with organism. However he also sharply differentiated the dominant Ionian mode of production by making it secretion from the elemental principle in place of transformation of the principal element. The mechanism of generation consists in an Eternal Movement (*αἰδίος κίνησις*) as Theophrastus (fr. 2 Diels p. 476 from Simplicius *In Phys.* 24 = A9) described: *οὗτος* (sc. Anaximander) *οὐκ ἀλλοιούμενου τοῦ στοιχείου* (sc. the first principle) *τὴν γένεσιν ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποκρινομένων τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τῆς αἰδίου κινήσεως*. And he significantly added: *διὸ καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἀναξαγόραν τοῦτον ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης συνέταξεν*. Consonantly Hippolytus *loc. cit.*: *οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον εἴρηκε τῶν ὄντων τὸ ἄπειρον, ...πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ κίνησιν αἰδίον, ἐν ᾗ* (or rather *ἐξ ἧς*) *συμβαίνει γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς*. Hermeias, also, *Irrisio Gent. Philos.* 10 (Diels p. 653 = A12): *ὁ πολίτης αὐτοῦ* (sc. of Thales) *Ἀναξίμανδρος τοῦ ὑγροῦ πρεσβυτέρα ἀρχὴν εἶναι λέγει τὴν αἰδίον κίνησιν καὶ ταύτη τὰ μὲν γεννᾶσθαι τὰ δὲ φθίρεσθαι*. The infinite is involved in an Infinite Movement; Indefinite Turbulence essentially characterises the substantive principle of existence; matter and movement are indissolubly fused together in organic unity; (ultimate) reality is inherently in unceasing commotion; its very nature consists in this indeterminate, unceasing undulation; to exist is to move. Being is a living thing. The dynamism of being, one way or another, is at the core of the Ancient Greek fundamental experience.

The eternal movement in the Indefinite renders it not an inert, passive, “material” principle in Aristotle’s terminology, but a dynamic principle, positive originator of the Worlds. It is thus a fit philosophical equivalent to the logico-mythical second Principle, the dark, chaotic, fermenting potency of productivity, the incessant undulation of fertility.

49. According to the famous single, actually preserved fragment of Anaximander (reported by Simplicius quoting Theophrastus, fr. 2 Diels 476 - A9): *ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσις ἐστὶ τοῖς οὐσι, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ χρεῶν· διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν ἀλλήλοις τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν*. This order of time is obviously no mere mechanical and accidental fact of succession, but an organic law of coming into being and passing away, not an a posteriori observable abstract and external regulation, but a determinative inner reality, v. next n.
50. Hippolytus’ fine doxographical report on Anaximander is very suggestive in this respect, too. *Ref. Omn. Haer.*, I, 6, 1 (Diels 559 = A11): *Ταύτην* (sc. *τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀπείρου*) *δ’ αἰδίον εἶναι καὶ ἀγήρω, ἣν καὶ πάντας περιέχει τοὺς κόσμους. Λέγει δὲ χρόνον ὡς ὀρισμένης τῆς γενέσεως, τῆς*

οὐσίας καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς. Anaximandrian Time is but the determinateness as such of coming into being, being and passing away; it is the fact and form of the causal nexus of events in their totality, the determining factor in the necessary interdependence of generation, existence and destruction. One ought only to expect such a substantively real acceptance of time in (especially pre-classical) Greek philosophy. This is discernible even in Aristotle's definition of time as the number of movement according to the earlier and later. Time is no abstract framework of change but the very rhythm or pattern of change, at least for the ultimate measurement. We have here in Anaximander the prototype of the classical formulation; we may also encounter the prefigurement of an Idea of Time as cosmogonical potency (cf. n. 47).

It is true that the last phrase in the Hippolytean passage strikes one as loosely, indeed awkwardly, connected to the preceding statements in his account. There may lurk a lacuna in between. The last sentence would for example fit nicely as an explanation of the expression “κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν” in the genuine Anaximandrian fragment (quoted in n. 49). But it may also be a question of doxographical conciseness. Hippolytus states that the *Ἄπειρον* is eternal and ageless; then explains that its time-infinity is no mere law of succession, but the principle of causal definiteness of what proceeds out of it and is again reabsorbed in it, for as the infinite is the ultimate cause of all existence, so is the ultimate cause of all determinate succession. As it is the primal repository of the ultimate law of change, that which keeps a strict balance between doing and suffering, between action and passion, in all cosmic transactions, so it intrinsically involves the pattern of the working of that law, of the unfolding of its effected processions and returns. Time is therefore not only the rhythm and pattern of change, but its causal agency as well. The Infinite is then, under this aspect, Time absolute and infinite. In fact, we may perhaps read Hippolytus so as to understand the passage as implying the denomination «Χρόνος» for the Anaximandrian *Ἄπειρον*, which would then become very similar in many respects to Zurvanistic Infinite Time. The Plutarchean formulation (no doubt from Theophrastus) in *Stromat.* 2 (Diels p. 579 = A10) suggests as much: τὸ ἄπειρον... τὴν πᾶσαν αἰτίαν ἔχειν τῆς τοῦ παντός γενέσεώς τε καὶ φθορᾶς, ἐξ οὗ δὴ φησι τοὺς τε οὐρανούς ἀποκεκρίσθαι καὶ καθόλου τοὺς ἅπαντας ἀπείρους ὄντας κόσμους. ἀπεφήνατο δὲ τὴν φθορὰν γίνεσθαι καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τὴν γένεσιν ἐξ ἀπείρου αἰῶνος ἀνακυκλουμένων πάντων αὐτῶν. The *ἄπειρον*, which contains the cause of all generation and destruction, involves the infinite Aeon, out of which the Worlds periodically emerge and to which they are submerged in predestined, recurring cycles. A lighter interpretation of the last quoted passage is no

doubt possible, indeed in itself probable. But in view of the analyzed context, I suggest we may opt for the more committed construal. The Infinite is the eternal: it is eternity in itself (just as it is in perpetual commotion: it is movement in itself). A further consideration might be added. Aristotle in his discussion of the question concerning the reality of *ἄπειρον* has a passage (*Physica* Γ, 203b6 sqq. = A15) evidently referring to Anaximander (*ὅσοι μὴ ποιῶσι παρὰ τὸ ἄπειρον ἄλλας αἰτίας οἶον νοῦν ἢ φιλίαν*), whom he also expressly names as maintaining that the Infinite is the really divine existence, being *ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον*. Among the reasons which he then gives for the belief in the reality of the Infinite, he first mentions precisely the infinite of time.

But whether Anaximander named or explicitly conceived his Infinite as also Infinite Time (as well as Infinite Movement, cf. *supra* n. 48), or whether he implicitly countenanced such denomination or conception, there are cogent internal philosophical reasons leading in that direction. Whatever emerges as a specific character out of the Indefinite disturbs the chaotic equilibrium of its total fusion, commits an act of aggression, self-affirmation, insolence and injustice which is bound to be finally corrected and chastized by its disappearance in that out of which it was differentiated: this is what constitutes the existence in, and of, time. Without the eternal movement of the Eternal Infinite, without the resulting secretions and reabsorptions, there would be no time, but an undifferentiated homogeneity without change, and thus without now and then: for distinct movements of time can only be distinguished by some difference in their content, by what occurs in these movements. Therefore, whether we call or conceive (explicitly or implicitly) the Infinite as Aeon or Infinite Time, it must intrinsically contain or represent the principle of Time.

PHERECYDES

51. Damascius *de pr. princ.* 124b (I 321 Ruelle) reports from Eudemus that according to Pherecydes, *τὸν δὲ Χρόνον ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ γόνου ἑαυτοῦ πῦρ καὶ πνεῦμα καὶ ὕδωρ... ἐξ ὧν ἐν πέντε μυχοῖς διηρημένων πολλὴν γενεὰν συστήναι θεῶν, τὴν πεντέμυχον καλουμένην, ταῦτ' οὖν δὲ ἴσως εἰπεῖν, πεντέκοσμον. Ἐαυτοῦ* refers certainly to *Χρόνον*, and the notion that we should read *αὐτοῦ* and make this depend on Zeus is both grammatically impossible and factually erroneous. The idea was first suggested by Kern, *De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis Theogoniis quaestiones criticae* p. 85, 98; cf. Kern *Orphicorum Fragmenta* p. 112. The reason for, and behind, this absurd change and construal was chiefly that Aristotle (*Metaph.* 1091b8 = A7) stated that the “mixed” thinkers like Pherecydes and some others *τὸ γεννήσαν πρῶτον ἄριστον τιθέασιν*.

Aristotle is there distinguishing this type of cosmogony from that according to which the cosmogonical principles are different from the cosmological ones, in which the powers that rule in the stable World are best and distinct from the “compromised” primordial divinities that generated the cosmic fabric. Pherecydes correctly falls under the former type: both Chronos and Zeus were responsible for the cosmogonical processes, and they both rule in accord, having been victorious in the struggle against the Great Foe, Ophioneus. In fact, this is a significant token of the congruity of the Pherecydean speculations with the Phoenician religious system. For as Damascius puts it in Neoplatonic terminology (II p. 137. 2 sqq. Ruelle): *ἔτι τοίνυν σαφέστερον οἱ Φοίνικες ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Κρόνου) ἀξιοῦσιν, πρῶτον μὲν δαίμονα αὐτὸν ποιοῦντες εἰληχότα τὸν δημιουργόν... ἔπειτα καὶ δημιουργὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἀνυμνοῦσι τὸν Κρόνον, τὸν προχειρισμὸν τῆς δημιουργίας ἐν ἑαυτῷ θεασάμενοι*. Cronos in Phoenician mythology acts himself as a demiurge, or rather as demiurge beyond the demiurge (cf. the doctrine of first and second creator in Numenius), although it is Zeus who typically fulfills this function; both also are rulers of the World.

The seed of Cronos is secreted by means, as it seems, of an autosexual act (one is reminded of the *γόνιμον θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρὸν* that is secreted out of the Eternal at the very beginning of the Anaximandean cosmogony). For such masturbation of Chronos - Cronos (A5, 8) cf. the Egyptian Atum. The Orphic *ὄμβρος ἀθέσφατος* (the illicit rain) poured down by Phanes may accordingly gain in direct meaning and significance. The semen being fluid, spiritual and fiery at once (according to standard Greek physiological doctrine), it produces Water, Spirit and Fire. Earth is pre-existing, at least as the principle of the (yet unformed in its surface) terrestrial mass represented by Chthonie. This marked differentiation, indeed contrast, of the Earth against the other three elements, as well as its precedence over them, must underlie the otherwise, misleading statement in Sextus Empiricus *Pyrrhon. Hypotyp.* III, 30 (A10) that Pherecydes *γῆν εἶπε τὴν πάντων εἶναι ἀρχὴν* (cf. *adv. Math.* IX, 360: *Φερεκύδης ... γῆν ἔλεξε πάντων εἶναι ἀρχὴν καὶ στοιχεῖον*). Galen (*Historia philos.* 18 = Diels *Dox. Gr.* p. 610) is more circumspect: after having divided in Stoic fashion causality into effective (*δραστική*) and material (*ὕλική*), he ascribes to Pherecydes the view that earth is the material cause (principle as matter) of everything. This is a modification of the Stoic idea that earth and water are the passive elements of the Universe, as against fire and air which are the active ones; the modification is evidently necessitated by the grouping of Water with Fire and Wind in Pherecydes.

It is not unlikely that Pherecydes employed the word *ἐκροή* to indicate the generative secretion of Cronos' seed. For the opusculum *Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἐμψυχούται τὸ ἔμβριον* (ascribed in the mss. to Galen but contended by its editor Kalbfleisch as bearing the marks of Porphyrian authorship), investigates at what point of time, and how, the *ἔσκρισις* of *ψυχή* occurs to the embryonic animal. There are, we learn, those who affirm that this happens at the moment of conception, when the seed is deposited in the womb and there fecundatingly retained - *κάνταῦθα πολὺς ὁ Νουμήγιος καὶ οἱ τὰς Πυθαγόρου ὑπονοίας ἐξηγούμενοι, καὶ τὸν παρὰ μὲν τῷ Πλάωνι ποταμὸν Ἀμέλητα, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς τὴν Στύγα, παρὰ δὲ τῷ Φερεκύδει τὴν ἐκροὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ σπέρματος ἐκδέχονται* (p. 34.26 sqq. = B7). An analogy to the Pherecydean model in this respect seems to be presented by Anaximenes' theory. Just as Chronos, enveloping the World, produces the three elements and a numerous progeny of Gods; so out of air, which encompasses the entire World, everything comes into being and is resolved at the fullness of time back to it. Plutarchean *Epit.* I, 3, 4 = Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 10, 12 (B2): *Ἀναξιμένης ... ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀέρα ἀπεφήνατο· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι. "Οἶον ἢ ψυχῆ, φησίν, ἢ ἡμετέρα ἀὴρ οὔσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀὴρ περιέχει".* Furthermore, to the Pherecydean *ἐκροή* (outflowing, secretion) from Chronos corresponds the Anaximenean *ἔκροια*. Thus Olympiodorus, *de arte sacra lapidis philosophorum* 25 (Berthelot, *Collection Alchym. Gr.* I, 2 p. 83, 7 sqq.) = B3 says: *μίαν δὲ κινουμένην ἄπειρον* (cf. the infinite movement of the Anaximandrian Infinite) *ἀρχὴν πάντων τῶν ὄντων δοξάζει Ἀναξιμένης τὸν ἀέρα. λέγει γὰρ οὕτως: "ἐγγύς ἐστιν ὁ ἀὴρ τοῦ ἀσωμάτου· καὶ ὅτι κατ' ἔκροϊαν τούτου γινόμεθα, ἀνάγκη αὐτὸν καὶ ἄπειρον εἶναι καὶ πλούσιον διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε ἐκλείπειν".* The fragment as a verbatim quotation from Anaximenes must indeed be considered as a forgery (even the use of the *ἀσωμάτου* alone suffices for such a condemnation). But as a doxographical statement and interpretation it presents genuine Anaximenean doctrine. The *ἔκροια* meant must be the outflowing from the universal, infinite element which endows us with soul.

Chronos' semen is deposited in nooks (*μυχοί*), pre-existing recesses or cavities of the yet unformed World, which in its turn is represented as a gigantic cave or cavern (*ἄντρον, σπήλαιον*). Porphyry, *de antr. Numph.* 31 (B6): *τοῦ Συρίου Φερεκύδου μυχοὺς καὶ βόθρους καὶ ἄντρα καὶ θύρας καὶ πύλας λέγοντος καὶ διὰ τούτων αἰνιττομένου τὰς τῶν ψυχῶν γενέσεις καὶ ἀπογενέσεις.* Not only the souls' peregrinations, their passing in and out of the World of *γένεσις*, but even the generation of elemental blendings and divine hierarchies are also involved in his account and log-

mythically explained. (*Βόθροι*, pits, must be a special case of *μυχοί*, with emphasis on their earthen, chthonic character). Cf. Proclus *in Tim.* I 333, 28 Diehl (B6): τῶν παλαιῶν ἄντρον καλούντων τὸν κόσμον καὶ φρουρὰν (which in this context implicates Orphism, too) καὶ σπήλαιον; cf. also Empedocles ἠλύθομεν τόδ' ὑπ' ἄντρον ὑπόστεγον (Porphyry *de antro Nymph.* 8 = B120) - roof being the celestial dome.

The idea of generating by depositing sperm in some appropriate place reduces the presumed female conjugate to a mere passive receptacle. This view often appears in logico-mythical contexts (such as Orphic speculations) with regard to one-parent procreation by the side of various forms of abnormal begetting, such as illicit, monstrous or perverse coition or egg-laying. The relation then appears as a mere entrusting, so to speak, of semen. It gave rise later to the physiological and philosophical conception of motherhood (or matter) as consisting in prenatal nursing and feeding, rearing and nourishing (*τροφός* and *τιθήνη*).

What were the nooks into which Chronos deposited his sperm in its triple nature? To answer this we should keep in mind that we have to do with the first stage of World-formation. What preexisted was (a) Chronos itself as the supremest Celestial hypostasis; (b) *Zas* as the Great Living, Blowing One, the spiritual Breath, probably substantialized as some sort of aetherial lighting; and (c) Chthonie, the principle of a yet unformed Earth, the primordial occupant of the lower regions of the Universe. Pherecydes probably referred to the latter as Chaos. Achilles Tatius, *Isagoga*, excerpta (from the commentary of Aratus), (p. 31.28-32 Maass) reports on this: Θαλῆς δὲ ὁ Μιλήσιος καὶ Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄλων τὸ ὕδωρ ὑφίστανται, ὃ δὴ καὶ Χάος καλεῖ ὁ Φερεκύδης ὡς εἰκὸς τοῦτο ἐκλεξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου οὕτω λέγοντος “ἦτοι μὲν πρῶτιστα Χάος γένετο”. παρὰ γὰρ τὸ χεῖσθαι ὑπολαμβάνει τὸ ὕδωρ Χάος ὠνομάσθαι. Cf. Tzetzes, *Scholia in Lycophron.* 145 (p. 68. 13-4 Scheer): πολυχρονίαν δὲ καὶ παλαιὰν τὴν θάλασσαν λέγει διὰ τὸ πρῶτον εἶναι στοιχεῖον κατὰ Φερεκύδην καὶ Θαλῆν. Cf. also the Scholia to Hesiod, *Theogonia* 116: καὶ Φερεκύδης δὲ ὁ Σύριος καὶ Θαλῆς ὁ Μιλήσιος ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄλων τὸ ὕδωρ φασὶν εἶναι, τὸ ρητὸν τὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου ἀναλαβόντες. That the Hesiodic chaos is primal water etymologized from *χέω*, pour, let flow, is a distinctly Stoic interpretation. (Zeno already propagated it, SVF 1104; 103; II 437). Aristotle, on the contrary, construed Chaos as space, the place receptive of bodily existence, Philo *de incorrupt. mund.* 225, 5B; cf. SVF 501 *χάος λέγων* (sc. *Ἡσιόδος*) τὸν χωρητικὸν τῶν ὄλων τόπον. (Philo states that Zeno's opinion was that of some Stoics). The preferred Alexandrian interpretation seems to have been the aerial acceptance of chaos: *Scholia in Hes. Theog.* 116: Χάος λέγει τὸν κεχυμένον (from *χέεσθαι* again) ἀέρα·

καὶ γὰρ Ζηνόδοτος οὕτως φησι. Βακχυλίδης δὲ χάος τὸν ἀέρα ὠνόμασε, λέγων περὶ τοῦ ἀετοῦ:

νωμᾶται δ' ἐν ἀτρυγέτῳ χάει.

Some, more appropriately, took the word to mean the *κενὸς τόπος μεταξύ γῆς καὶ οὐρανοῦ* (Et. Gud. s.v. χάοςp. 562.11-2), evidently assimilating it to *χάσμα*. Yet *Χάος*, when not simply equivalent to the common notion of chaos, connotes a deep abyss. Nor does the gap between Heaven and Earth fit at all cosmogonically, say in Hesiod. Post-Alexandrian grammarians derived the word from *χῶ* to *χωρῶ* (Et. Gud. s.v. χάος, p. 562.12-4 where it is appositely added: *δηλοῖ δὲ τὸ χάος τὸ μέγα καὶ ἀπέραντον χώρημα*. Cf. also s.v. *χάσμα* p. 562.16-7 and elsewhere). *Χῶ* was cognate with *χέω* in its two senses *χωρῶ* (p. 437.24) and *κενῶ* (p. 137.49). Herodian derived *χθών* as well from *χῶ* (I p. 395.21-2 Lentz; II p. 286.30.1; cf. Stephanus Byz. s.v. *χώρα* (p. 699.7 sqq. Meineke). It was considered by him as a *μονήρης λέξις*, one without syllabic *θέμα*, v. *Περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* II, p. 937-16 Lentz). In any case *χθών* must be akin to *χθαμαλός* and hence to *χαμαί*, *χαμᾶζει* etc., *Χαμύνη* (epithet of Demeter in Olympia, Pausanias VI, 20, 9; 21, 1), and thus again to *χαίνω*, *χάσκω* etc.

As a matter of fact the Aristotelian exegesis points in the right direction. *Χάος* is akin to *χάσμα*, *χάσκω*, *χανδάνω*, *χαίνω*, *χαῦνος*, *χειά*, *χήμη* and means etymologically a gaping, yawning cleft or abyss. (Cf. e.g. Curtius, *Greek Etymology* I, No. 179). It is remarkable that the Sumerian Enki, God of the primordial Water, is Master of the Temple on the Absu, on the Abyss (*Die Schoepfungsmythen* p. 104), thus combining the two alternative interpretations of the Greek sources. The Babylonian Apsu, the Abysmal, is the subterannean Ocean (*op. cit.* p. 122).

However, Achilles Tatius has apparently got his doxographical information in the passage quoted above from a Stoic source. Pherecydes must have merely stated that all things proceeded out of an initial Chaos, which must have been in all probability the unformed earth. Thus this piece of doxographical evidence would harmonize with the statements noted above to the effect that earth is the primal substance of the World according to Pherecydes.

The nooks in the Great World-Cave in its primordial condition, with unformed earth and heaven, must correspond to some main divisions of the orderly Universe. The Homeric idea of the structure of the World appears in Zeus' declaration of his supreme power at the beginning of Θ. He there delineates (Θ, 13 sqq.):

ἧ μιν (the disobedient god or goddess) ἔλῶν ρίψω εἰς
 Τάρταρον ἡερόεντα,
 τῆλε μάλ' ἦχι βάθιστον ὑπὸ χθονός ἐστι βέρεθρον,
 ἔνθα σιδήρειαί τε πῦλαι καὶ χάλκεος οὐδός,
 τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδew ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης.

As the Scholia A and T ad loc. schematically represent (Erbse II p. 301) a quadruple division of the World is implied in the passage quoted, with (the upper part or rather the surface of) Earth a fifth portion in the middle: (1) heaven; (2) the space between heaven and Earth, cf. O, 192 where αἰθήρ (- heaven) is distinguished from the region of νεφέλαι; (3) Earth; (4) Hades (in the interior of Earth); and (5) Tartarus, the terrible Abyss below Hades (cf. Scholia b1 and b2 ad 16). The aerial mass in the gap between Sky and the telluric surface is not, indeed, explicitly mentioned, but Olympus is (Θ, 12) a mountain certainly in Homer; cf. e.g. Θ3 ἀκροτάτη κορυφή πολυδερμάδος Οὐλύμπιοι where the scholia A correctly notice: τὰ ἐπίθετα ὡς ἐπὶ ὄρους. Cf. also the ρίον οὐλύμπιοι, Θ25, where Zeus will fasten the golden chain with all the Gods clustering on it, so that he on his own would raise to the air the Gods, Olympos, Earth, Sea and all. The scholia confirm the obvious sense of the passage; so on Θ24 the T have: πιθανῶς δὲ οὐ μόνους εἶπεν ἀνασπάζειν θεούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν περιέχοντα αὐτοὺς τόπον, τὸν Ὀλυμπον; and on Θ25: ἵνα αὐτὸ (sc. τὸ ρίον, Olympos' peak) δεσμεύσας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπάρη, συνερριζωμένης αὐτῷ μὲν τῆς γῆς, τῆ δὲ γῆ τῆς θαλάττης; and on Θ26: δείκνυσιν ὅτι βέβηκεν ὁ Ὀλυμπος καὶ οὐκ ἔστι μετέωρος; and on O193, the B Scholia: εἰκότως δὲ συνάπτει τὴν γῆν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ ὡς ὄρει. Κατ' ἐξοχὴν γὰρ Ὀλυμπος καὶ γῆ κοινὰ τοῖς πᾶσιν (sc. to all the Gods) εἰσίν. Suda τ 1039 adds: εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ Ὀλυμπος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ μέρος ἐπουράνιον (and not a terrestrial mountain), οὐκ ἦν κοινός (to all the Gods), ἀλλὰ ἴδιος (only Zeus, who in the distribution of realms among the Saturnian male offspring has appropriated the celestial region to himself). Olympos raising its peak high into the sky represents the region between Heaven and Earth. (Cf. also the relevant interpretation of the commentator in the Derveni papyrus, as explained in Chapter 11, above).

The Homeric division of the World is shared basically by the Hesiodic Theogony, 717 sqq. There is Tartaros below the lowest roots of Earth and Sea (vv. 725-8), and thus, above it, the enormous body of Earth (huge as the air-realm), Earth surface, gap, Heaven. In Tartaros lie irrevocably confined the defeated Titans; where hurricanes upon squalls (θύελλα θυέλλη) prevail for ever (v. 742-4). Significantly Pherecydes taught that it is

precisely to Tartaros that Zeus exiles any divinity who committed hybris; again it is a region guarded by winds and hurricanes; v. B5 (from Origenes *contra Celsum* VI 42, where Celsus' statements are repeated) κείνης δὲ τῆς μοίρας (evidently Hades) ἔνερθέν ἐστιν ἡ ταρταρή μοῖρα· φυλάσσοισι δ' αὐτὴν θυγατέρες Βορέου Ἄρπυιαι τε καὶ Θύελλα· ἔνθα Ζεὺς ἐκβάλλει θεῶν ὅταν τις ἐξυβρίσῃ. The correspondence is striking. Pherecydes indeed must have explained before that Hades lies beneath (the surface of) Earth, in her bowels. In fact Hesiod speaks of Τάρταρα ἡρόεντα as being located *μυχῶ χθονὸς εὐρυδοείης* (v. 119), that is at her innermost recess, down to her roots. Cf. *Hymni Orphici* 37, 3 (Τιτῆνες) οἴκοις Ταρταρίοισι μυχῶ χθονὸς ἐνναίοντες. Cf. further *Oracula Sibillyna* IV, 184-6

ὄσοι δ' ὑπὸ δυσσεβίῃσιν
ἤμαρτον, τοὺς δ' αὖτε χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλύψει
Τάρταρά τ' εὐρέντα μυχοῖς (Maas pro μυχοί) στυγίη τε γέεννα.

Cf. also Gregorius Theologus Epigr. *Anth. Pal.* VIII 104, 1 *Ταρτάρειοι τε μυχοί*.

By virtue of such a remarkable congruence of Homeric, Hesiodic and (where checkable) Pherecydean construals of basic world-division and respective cosmic realms, I conclude that the five Pherecydean *μυχοί* corresponded to the following “recesses”: (1) celestial, (2) mountainous, (3) terrestrial, (4) subterranean, (5) tartarean. The three elements formed out of Chronos' semen (A8) were distributed to the five nooks in various mixtures and dominances. For example fire, principally, and water would be located in heavenly recesses, wind in mountainous and tartarian, water in earthly and, with fire, in underground cavities. In this way a numerous progeny of cosmic gods were generated, Earth providing basically the mother element as a receptacle in the form of the womb *μυχοί*, nooks and *βόθροι*, pits.

To the Damascene *πέντε μυχοί*, *πεντέμυχος*, *πεντέκοσμος* is opposed Suda' *ἐπτάμυχος* s.v. *Φερεκύδης* (A2): *ἔστι δὲ ἅπαντα ἃ συνέγραψε ταῦτα· ἐπτάμυχος ἦτοι θεοκρασία ἢ θεογονία. ἔστι δὲ θεολογία ἐν βιβλίοις ἡ ἔχουσα θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ διαδοχάς.* (Cf. *supra*, n. 38). This is a very accurate characterization of the content of the work. The intermingling of gods (*θεοκρασία*) brings forth the birth of gods (*θεογονία*); the account of divine generations and successions is genuine theology. It is too easy and drastic to simply emend *ἐπτάμυχος* to *πεντέμυχος* in Suda. There probably lies here a tradition of further Babylonian influence on Pherecydes. The seven nooks would then correspond to the seven spheres and their two luminaries and five planets. There is ample evidence to illustrate the importance of this aspect of Chaldaean astrolatry from ancient

Mesopotamian theology to Gnosticism (cf. for the latter Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis* pp. 9-58 esp. pp. 21-27). It would have naturally penetrated Phoenician religious speculations, having doubtlessly found fertile ground in Near Eastern worship. Thus Damascius *In Parm.* II p. 131.13 Ruelle: *καὶ ἔτι Φοίνικες, ἑπτακέφαλον οὗτοι τὸν Κρόνον μυθολογοῦντες*, obviously with reference to the seven celestial spheres and “planets” below the ultimate (eighth) Heaven of the fixed stars. But while I accept that Suda’s sources did indeed mean *ἑπτάμυχος*, and that the word consequently is genuine in this case, there can be no reasonable doubt that the Damascian testimony is the true one, and that therefore Pherecydes conceived of *μυχός* as recesses corresponding to the common Homeric-Hesiodic Greek mythological division of the world.

52. There was marked diversity of opinion as to Eros’ origin. (Cf. Theocritus XIII, 1-2). Lists of various accounts are reported in *Scholia in Theocr.* XIII, 1/2 C and *Scholia in Apoll. Rhod. Argon.* Γ, 26b. Cf. also Servius on *Virgil Aen.* I 664; Pausanias IX, 27, 2-3; Diogenes Laertius IV, 26-7 (Antagoras’ poem ascribed to Crantor, v. *infra*). The lists probably stem from Apollodorus’ work *Περὶ Θεῶν* (v. Hefermehl, *Studia in Apoll. Περὶ θεῶν fgm. Genev.*, Diss. Phil. Berol. 1905, and Wendel *Abhandl. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen* XVII, 2, 1920, 63). In the Sch. in *Apoll. Argon. loc. cit.* (= OF 37) we read: *ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰς Ὀρφεία* (i.e. in the poems attributed to Orpheus) *Χρόνου* (i.e. Eros is held to be son of Chronos):

αὐτὰρ Ἔρωτα Χρόνος καὶ Πνεύματα πάντ’ ἐτέκνωσε.

(*Χρόνου*... *Χρόνος* is Zoegas’ emendation from the manuscript *Κρόνου* ... *Κρόνος*).

To what form of Orphism does this verse belong? *Κρόνος* as father of cosmogonical Eros is unlikely in an essentially Orphic context: the son would be anterior in prestige and power (*πρότερος πρεσβεία καὶ δυνάμει*), to use the Platonic expression of a similar question of precedence. On the other hand, the original Orphism does not countenance Time as a cosmogonical, superior potency; in fact, Eros as Protogonos is there the first born of Night, the supreme Principle in Archaic Orphism (cf. the first alternative descent for Eros in the subsequently quoted passage of Antagoras (or Crantor). It is interesting to speculate about the view propagated by the Orphic Hymn to Eros sung by the Lycomidae during the performance of the mystic rites. It was in hexameters and contained Eros’ parentage (Pausanias IX, 27, 2); it was of paramount antiquity. The chances are that it would have celebrated the nocturnal origin of Cosmogonical Eros (from Night - and Erebus or

something similar most probably; cf. the Antagoras - Crantor fragment and the Aristophanean mock solemn cosmogony in *Aves*).

A clue for the solution of the question concerning the ascription of the verse examined may be provided by later evidence. In the first precis of theology contained in the Orphic *Argonautica* (12 sqq.), with reference to other religious compositions, we read:

καὶ Χρόνον, ὃς ἐλόχευσεν ἀπειρεσίοισι ὑφ' ὀλκοῖς
 Αἰθέρα καὶ διφυῆ περιωπέα κυδρὸν Ἴρωτα
 Νυκτὸς ἀειγνήτης πατέρα κλυτὸν etc.

(The MSS have (again) *Κρόνον* and *ὑφ' ὀλκοῖς*, corrected by Zoega to *Χρόνον* and by Stephanus to *ὑφ' ὀλκοῖς* (to be preferred against Steuchus' *ἀπειρεσίους ὑπὸ κόλποις*). The fact that Eros in this context is represented as father of Night points to a later-type Orphic Cosmogony that is illustrated here; it is a practically sure rule of thumb to decide questions of priority in time with regard to Orphic compositions by the position of Night in the theologonical hierarchies, esp. with reference to Eros - *Πρωτόγονος*. *Χρόνος* in this passage is Infinite Time as cosmogonical principle, probably represented (adopting *ὀλκοῖς* instead of *κόλποις*), as in the Orphic theology according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus, under the form of an enormous dragon with an infinite number of coils. This line of Orphism (involving the idea of a monstrous, reptilian, primal Chronos) may go back ultimately to Pherecydes: the first principle would be a conflation of Pherecydean Chronos and Ophioneus (on whom see below). Even the relevance of *Κρόνος* (in some quarters of the tradition regarding the genealogy of Eros on which Pherecydes would have been drawing) is possible, as it was precisely under Pherecydean influence that Chronos appeared distinctly as hypostatical principle, at the beginning simply substituting Cronos no doubt, as his real, and physically meaningful, name.

The generation of Aether by the side of Eros in that passage from the Orphic *Argonautica*, suggests the origin of Air Blowing and Wind as well, which is important in the context of Phoenician Theology (cf. *supra* n. 4), as well as in the Anaximandrian - Anaximenean tradition (cf. n. 19). That origination of Breath - Wind would then correlate exactly to the birth of Spirits (*Πνεύματα*) by the side of Eros in the initial, Orphic verse.

Πνεῦμα (*πνοή*) is breath of life and breath of air, breeze and wind, airy substance and movement, spectre and ghost and spirit. From Anaximenes and Pythagoras through the Stoics to Christian Dogma and Gnosticism, to the Hermetic texts and the Magical Papyri, there pervades the notion, with various modifications and interpretations, of a gaseous (quint)-essence

intrinsically characterized by self-generated continual movement; often this was considered a proof that we have here the veritable principle of life, of psychic activity, self-movement being the best token of the presence of soul-endowed organic processes, functions and behaviour. This provides the basis for the real force of the view that Eros is the son of the Winds, as desire and appetition, orexis, involve intention, direction and movement towards something external. The view is expressed in the fragment of Antagoras (which was also attributed to Crantor) quoted by Diogenes Laertius IV, 26-7 (Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*, 120):

ἢ σε θεῶν τὸν πρῶτον ἀειγενέων, Ἔρος, εἶπω,
τῶν ὄσσους Ἐρεβός τε πάλαι βασιλεία τε παῖδας
γείνατο Νύξ πελάγεσσιν ὑπ' εὐρέως Ὠκεανοῦ

(maybe, Acusilaus view, true to the original Orphic preeminence of Night; one is inclined to suggest the theology of Eros in the Lycomedean Hymn itself),

ἢ σέ γε Κύπριδος υἷα περίφρονος

(the common mythological account, e.g. Apollonius *Argon.* Γ, 26)

ἢ σε Γαίης

(e.g. Sappho fr. 132 Bergk, although she vacillated, Pausanias IX, 27, 3)

ἢ Ἀνέμων· etc.

(in which case the Orphic brotherhood of Wind and Eros becomes parenthood of the Wind - Spirit - Breath principle of existence and life to the lovely, loved and love-inspired first-born principle of attraction, conjugation and togetherness).

In Pherecydes' *πνεῦμα* by the side of fire and water is the spiritual element in Chronos' semen. All the three elements, deposited fruitfully in terrestrial and celestial recesses, give rise to the variegated progeny of Gods, first among whom must have been Eros. But the real principle of organic life, the living, great One, the aetherial light, the universal harmonizer and cosmic ordinator is Zeus.

Pherecydes then, as mediator of Phoenician cosmogony, and under the later influence of Zurvanistic theology, probably explains the basic framework of Orphic Theology according to Hieronymus and Hellanicus.

53. Philo Byblius maintained (in his work on the Phoenician letters reputedly taken once more from Sanchouniathon) that Pherecydes' theology on Ophioneus and his progeny was based on Phoenician precedents. Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* I, 10, 60 (= B4): *παρὰ Φοινίκων δὲ καὶ Φερεκύδης λαβὼν τὰς ἀφορμὰς ἐθεολόγησεν περὶ τοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ λεγομένου Ὀφιονέως θεοῦ καὶ τῶν Ὀφιονιδῶν, περὶ ὧν αὐθις λέξομεν.* Unfortunately the pre-announcement of a future treatment is not fulfilled in the extant text. The context in the passages preserved by Eusebius treats of the high importance and significance of the reptilian nature in religious matters and speculations. This already suggests a chthonic origin for Ophioneus.

The meaning of this divinity and of his opposition and war against Cronos - Chronos emerges very distinctly in the Celsus - Origen controversy. (Origenes, *Contra Celsum*, VI, 42-44). Celsus correctly inscribes the Pherecydean account into the general pattern of a primordial opposition between the powers of harmonious order on the one hand, and of fertile, procreative disorder on the other, between *Πέρας* and *Ἄπειρον*, not as the expression of an aboriginal antagonism between the principles of Good and Evil (Greek versus Iranian dualism); and thus considers the Christian dogma of Satan as a poor and ludicrous misunderstanding of the nature and role of the second principle in pagan dualistic systems. (Origen misses completely the point, insisting on the assumed primacy of the Mosaic account of the daemon of evil as a Serpent, and the subsequent "borrowing" of the idea from Pherecydes). Celsus explained that the stories of Titans, Giants, Phionids, Typhon represent a Heracleitean divine war (*θεῖος πόλεμος*, *op. cit.* VI, 42), which he philosophically elucidates with reference to Zeus' threatening speech to Hera, *Iliad* O, 14 sqq.; Origen *op. cit.* VI, 42: *καὶ διηγοῦμένός (sc. Celsus) γε τὰ Ὀμηρικὰ ἔπη, φησὶ λόγους εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὕλην τοὺς λόγους τοῦ Διὸς πρὸς τὴν Ἥραν, τοὺς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὕλην λόγους αἰνίττεσθαι ὡς ἄρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐτὴν πλημμελῶς ἔχουσαν διαλαβὼν ἀναλογίαις τισι συνέδησε καὶ ἐκόσμησεν ὁ θεός, καὶ ὅτι τοὺς περὶ αὐτὴν δαίμονας, ὅσοι ὕβρισταί, τούτους ἀπορριπτεῖ κολάζων αὐτοὺς τῇ δευρὸ ὁδῷ* (The "road to this world" refers to the ancient, originally Orphic, understanding of Hades as this self-same sensible world of birth, change and death, the cycle of iron necessity; the idea found a majestic expression in Empedocles; cf. the Plutarchean dualism and his interpretation of Platonic philosophy).

There was a considerably widespread non-Hesiodic view in Greek mythology to the effect that the first rulers on Olympus were Ophion and Eurynome, who were ousted by Cronos and Rhea and thrown into the waves of Oceanus. So Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonaut.* I, 503-6 (where

characteristically the account is put into Orpheus' mouth, when singing to the gathered heroes on the eve of their departure from Pagasae):

ἦειδεν δ' ὡς πρῶτον Ὀφίων Εὐρυνόμη τε
 Ὠκεανὶς νιφόεντος ἔχον κράτος Οὐλύμπιοιο·
 ὡς τε βίη καὶ χερσὶν ὁ μὲν Κρόνον εἵκαθε τιμῆς,
 ἡ δὲ Ρέη, ἔπεσον δ' ἐνὶ κύμασιν Ὠκεανοῖο.

The last detail fits precisely with the Pherecydean narration as we know it from Celsus through Origenes' quotation in *Contra Celsum* VI, 42 (= B4): Φερεκύδην δὲ πολλῶ ἀρχαιότερον γενόμενον Ἡρακλείτου μυθοποιεῖν στρατεῖαν στρατεία παραταπτομένην, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἡγεμόνα Κρόνον διδόναι, τῆς ἑτέρας δ' Ὀφιονέα, προκλήσεις τε καὶ ἀμίλλας αὐτῶν ἱστορεῖ, συνθήκας τε αὐτοῖς γίνεσθαι, ἢν' ὀπότεροι αὐτῶν εἰς τὸν Ὠγηγὸν (Pherecydes name for Ὠκεανός) ἐμπέσωσι, τούτους μὲν εἶναι νενικημένους, τοὺς δ' ἐξώσαντας καὶ νικήσαντας τούτους ἔχειν τὸν οὐρανόν. Obviously this feature was a very characteristic Pherecydean detail. We meet it in Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, VIII, 158-61, where Ophion and Eurynome have their residence by Ocean and Tethys:

ὑστατίην ἐπὶ πέζαν ἐλεύσομαι Ὠκεανοῖο
 ...
 Τηθύος ἀρχεγόνοιο συνέστιος· ἔνθεν ἰκάνω
 εἰς δόμον Εὐρυνόμης, καὶ Ὀφίονος ἐγγύθι μίμνω.

But the succession Ophion - Cronos - Zeus, each successor overthrowing his predecessor in cosmic hegemony, is not congruous with Pherecydes' system, as we distinctly know from definite Aristotelian testimony. Yet there existed such a general scheme of divine succession, albeit with variations, in which Ophion and Eurynome were the primal royal pair. So Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 1189 sqq. (with Boeotian Thebes as Zeus' birth place), where Zeus is referred to as ἀναξ τῶν Ὀφίονος θρόνων (v. 1192), and Rhea is reported to have given birth to him clandestinely τὴν πρόσθ' ἀνασσαν ἐμβαλοῦσα Ταρτάρῳ (v. 1197), i.e. obviously Eurynome. Cf. the Tzetzean scholia ad vv. 1191 and 1196. Here the expelled pair is thrown to Tartarus, as in the orthodox account (*Iliad* Ξ, 279; Θ, 479-81; Hesiod *Theog.* 851), and not simply to Ocean as the story goes according to Pherecydes. The general prevailing tendency in this thinker's system is to construe primordial cosmogonical powers and oppositions in a positive and constructive way and conjugation, not as hostile forces in irreconcilable and unproductive antagonism.

The *καταταρταρώσεις* of the defeated or dangerously presumptuous deities was a marked feature of Orphism; ὀρφικαὶ καταταρταρώσεις, Proclus in *Plat. Tim.* 25 c-d (I, 188.25 Diehl = OF 122); in *Rempubl.* I, 93.22 Kroll (OF 122). In *Tim.* 40e (III 185.20 Diehl = OF 121). The Neoplatonic interpretation of such *καταταρταρώσεις* was always positive.

A third variant as to the place of confinement of Ophionidae is represented by Callimachus, *Aetia*, Fr. 177.7-8, where the Sun is made to shine upon the older Gods (θεῶν τοῖσι παλαιότεροις) during his nocturnal travel. The place here must be Hades (cf. e.g. Pindar fr. 129 Schroeder; Macrobius *Saturn.* I, 18, 8; etc.) distinct from, and above, Tartaros, unless in v. 7 of the Callimachean fragment a negative should be assumed which is almost certainly impossible. Maybe Callimachus here conflates Hades and Tartaros; or rather simply places the former rulers in the Elysian fields, the isles of the Blessed, consonant with the idea of eventual liberation for Cronos and the Titans from Tartaros by Zeus, as this is expressed in the probable interpolation to the Hesiodic *Erga* 173a-c, where the beatified heroes inhabit ἐν μακάρων νήσοισι παρ' Ὠκεανὸν βαθυδίνην, at the limits of Earth (ἐς πέρατα γαίης),

τηλοῦ ἀπ' ἀθανάτων· τοῖσιν Κρόνος ἐμβασιλεύει.
αὐτὸς γάρ μιν ἔλυσε πατ[ῆρ ἀνδρῶ]ν θε[ῶν τε·
νῦν δ' αἰεὶ] μετὰ τοῖς τιμῆ[ν ἔ]χει ὡς ἐ[πιεικές].

This was also the Pindaric belief, *Pythion.* IV, 291: λῦσε δὲ Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος Τιτάνας; cf. *Olympion.* II, 70.

The aforementioned royal succession for cosmic sovereignty is also reported in *Sch. to Aristophanes*, *Nubes*, 247: πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς κατὰ Ὀφίωνα καὶ Εὐρυνόμην· δεύτερον δὲ τοὺς κατὰ Κρόνον καὶ Ρέα, οὔστινας Ὅμηρος (*Iliad*, E, 898) Οὐρανίωνας· τρίτον δὲ τοὺς Διὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καταλύσαντας τὴν ἐκείνων, οὓς Ὀλυμπίους κλήζομεν. The same sequence is implied by Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* II, 573-4, where Zeus ridiculing Typhon after his signal victory over him, mentions as would-be participants in Typhon's wished for triumphant ascent to Heaven Eurynome, Ophion and Cronos.

It is thus amply evident that by the side of Hesiodic orthodoxy (Ouranos - Cronos - Zeus) we encounter an alternative myth of succession (Ophion - Cronos - Zeus). In Aeschylus (certainly), *Prometheus Vincetus*, 955-9, the *δισσοὶ τύραννοι* who have already fallen out of Olympus, the cosmic citadel, before the third reign of Zeus, must be Ouranos and Cronos rather than Ophion and Cronos despite the scholiast *ad loc.*: πρῶτους τοὺς περὶ

Ὀφίωνα καὶ Εὐρυνόμην, δεύτερον τοὺς περὶ Κρόνον. In *Agamemnon* 167-74 we have again two former all-powerful divine leaders superseded by Zeus' victorious reign; probably again we have to do with Ouranos (ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας, παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων) and Cronos (ὅς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφν, τριακτῆρος οἴχεται τυχών), even though the scholia ad loc. suggest the Titans (Cronos) and Typhon respectively. On the other hand "waxing great in overpowering audacity" fits Ophion's unruly temperament (or the Titanic character) rather than the serene authority of primal Heavens. One can thus understand the scholiast's point, but it is out of the question to introduce Typhon as a reigning force in the universal empire at any stage of cosmic history; and there is no other available candidate (however remotely), once the first allusion is taken to refer to Cronos and the Titans. In the scholia to Aratus, *Phaen.* 16, the προτέρη γενεή is explained according to some (τινές) as τοὺς περὶ Ὀφίωνα καὶ Εὐρυνόμην καὶ Οὐρανὸν <καὶ> Κρόνον. Here we have a disorderly conflation, or rather a syncretistic integration, of the two succession-sequences, with Ouranos after Ophion. But there is no other trace of such mixed order, not even in later Orphic sources, in so far as Ophion is concerned. Yet at Plato *Timaeus*, 40e, we do find an unHesiodic sequence with a distinct hypostatic level, intercalated between the primaeval couple Heaven - Earth and the Titans (with Cronos); significantly, the intervening hypostasis is Oceanos with Tethys. It is true that Proclus, *in Tim.* 40e (III 184, 1 Diehl = OF 114), explicitly comments on this Platonic peculiarity, that it is in contradistinction to Orpheus (ὁ θεολόγος), quoting passages in hexametres (evidently from the rhapsodic *Ἱεροὶ Λόγοι*) where Oceanos and Tethys, with Cronos, Rhea and the other Titans are all children of Heaven and Earth (the orthodox account); cf. also Proclus *op. cit.* III 185, 28 Diehl (= OF 135). But this probably refers to the latter, hellenistic and syncretistic form of Orphism represented in the Rhapsodies, which no doubt followed in this the Hesiodic orthodoxy. Olympiodorus again *In Plat. Phaed.* 61c p. 2, 21 Norvin (= OF 220) mentions the Hesiodic succession of reigns as Orphic (Οὐρανός - Κρόνος - Ζεὺς) with the addition, of course, of Διόνυσος as the fourth kingdom (instead of the normative series of six). This is obviously a simplification of the full rhapsodic series, with the omission of its precelestial members (Ἡρικεπαῖος - Νύξ) - something very much in tune with the Alexandrian type of (attenuated) Neoplatonism. Plato, Cratylus, 402b-c, preserves an ancient Orphic fragment (OF 15):

Ὠκεανὸς πρῶτος καλλίρροος ἦρξε γάμοιο,
ὅς ρα κασιγνήτην ὁμομήτορα Τηθὸν ὄπιεν.

It is of course erroneous to assume that Ocean and Tethys were absolutely the first conjugated principles in the Orphic theology Plato referred to. For in the Cratylus passage where the verses are quoted, Plato collects evidence for the Heracleitean view that all is in flux. He first refers to the very appellations *Ρέα* and *Κρόνος* which, he maintains, are names of currents, streams (*ρευμάτων ὀνόματα*); evidently he utilizes here the assumed etymological equivalence *Κρόνος* - *Χρόνος*. The famous Homeric verse then is quoted (*Iliad* Ξ, 201). An unspecified reference to Hesiod is also included (this should rather be taken as an interpretation of Chaos on the pattern of Stoicism, etymologizing it from *χέομαι*, *χέσθαι*, and identifying it with primaeva chaotic liquidity; the usually adopted connection to *Theogony*, 337 (cf. e.g. in OF 15) is extremely weak and wide off the mark. Lastly the Orphic verses are quoted. We cannot suppose that there existed any form of cosmogonic (especially Orphic) speculation which began with Ocean and Tethys before Heaven and Earth. Besides, the very verses in question make the conjugated pair brother and sister from the same father and mother (as it is specifically and emphatically declared: *κασιγγήτην ὁμομήτορα*), these latter certainly being Heaven and Earth. Then the statement that Ocean was the first to marry (*πρῶτος ἤρξεν γάμοιο*) must imply priority not absolutely but among his brothers. But who then would these brothers be if not the rest of the Titans, including Cronos? In the *Timaeus* passage (40e), where the *Theogony* adopted is significantly ascribed to *θεῶν παῖδες* (hence no doubt to Orpheus, at least as well), Ocean and Tethys appear to be the only children of the primal pair; Cronos, Rhea, Phorcys *καὶ ὄσοι μετὰ τούτων* must refer to the Titans. For whereas in Hesiod (*Theogony*, 133 sqq.) Phorcys is not a Titan, in the rhapsodic theology he is (OF 144) - evidently an ancient trait of Orphism. In the Vatican Mythographer (*Vat. Myth.* I 204) we find precisely the same deities as in the *Timaeus* passage, namely Cronos, Rhea and Phorcys, these being considered as children of Heaven, who himself was born of Ophion; Ophion, we are told, the philosophers also call Ocean or Nereus. With the reversal of the sequence of the first two terms we obtain the Timaeian series: Heaven - Ocean - Cronos. The identification of Ocean with Ophion is very telling (cf. Chapter 10, above). But if then Plato refers to the same "Orpheus" in Cratylus and *Timaeus*, the meaning of *πρῶτος* in the Cratylean Orphic fragment must be different. Maybe its significance lies in the view that with Ocean and Tethys we have the first institutionalized marriage in the procession of being and the derivation of reality; Earth and Heaven copulating before that in an irregular way of some sort. We do find evidence of such a conception even in the Hesiodic *Theogony*, 154 sqq. Heaven there is portrayed as oppressing Earth by not allowing their

offspring to see the light, i.e. to be born properly. He made them into the bowels of Earth their Mother. Which means that he did not separate from Earth, did not withdraw from his eternal copulation with her. Thus Earth conceived a wrath against him, and persuaded her children, primarily the terrible Cronos, to mutilate the Father by severing his member in the very act of such incessant coition. Thus the Gods were able to emerge from the maternal womb.

But a serious difficulty with this interpretation is presented by the definite Proclean statements in *Tim.* 40e (III 176, 10 Diehl = OF 112), to the effect that Orpheus explicitly called Earth the first bride (*πρώτη νύμφη*) and her union with Heaven the very first marriage (*πρώτιστον γάμον*). However this is not conclusive. For in Neoplatonic parlance the “most first” (*πρώτιστος*) marriage may occur between Heaven and Earth as a causal prefiguration of all subsequent conjugate productivity; whereas again the first marriage may still be that of Ocean and Tethys, as the prototype of the actual union of two principles with multiple and regular offspring. Be that as it may, in the *Timaeus* Plato clearly refers to an Orphism involving the succession or sequence Heaven - Ocean - Zeus, and with a final generation after the Olympian (*Ζεὺς Ἥρα τε καὶ πάντες ὄσους ἴσμεν ἀδελφοὺς λεγομένους αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τούτων ἄλλους ἐκγόνους*). This last clause certainly refers to Orphic-mystic Dionysus as Zeus’ son. If we also add to the series a first member corresponding to the Darkness at the beginning of things (that *Νύξ* with whom the most ancient Orphic Cosmogony began) we reconstitute the entire scheme of the famous Orphic six generations (*Νύξ - Οὐρανός - Ὠκεανός - Κρόνος - Ζεὺς - Διόνυσος*), a six graded sequence which became proverbial through the Orphic verse:

ἔκτη δ’ ἐν γενεῇ καταπαύσατε οἶμον αἰοιδῆς

(accepting Kroll’s excellent emendation *οἶμον* to the manuscript *θυμόν* in Plutarch, *de E apud. Delph.* 391D or *Κόσμον* in Plato, *Philebus*, 66c).

Strong pressure to find a pretty early and hypostatically distinct place for Ocean and Tethys in the general scheme of cosmic derivation must have been exercised by the Homeric verse referred to above, *Iliad* Ξ 201

Ὠκεανόν τε, θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν,

a verse widely quoted in antiquity (cf. e.g. the apparatus criticus *ad loc.* in Ludwig’s edition), especially with regard to cosmogonical questions concerning the origination of things.

Although considering Ocean a Titan, rhapsodic Orphism as well as Athenian Neoplatonism laboured under the necessity to provide for him a special position. Thus he is the first to proceed with Tethys from his parents Heaven and Earth (Proclus *in Plat. Tim.* 40e, III 176, 10 Diehl = OF 112); he alone stays aloof from the monstrous deed of the Cronian confederacy against Father Sky (Proclus *op. cit.* III 185, 28 = OF 135) as remaining nearer to his source, cause and principle. After all, the oceanic horizon of Earth, the common, encircling boundary, intermediation and transition in place and substance between Heaven and Earth, is given before all else, once Heaven and Earth are determined as distinct hypostases. The conflicting moments, harmonized with typical Neoplatonic dexterity, are well exemplified in Proclus *op. cit.* III 186.7 = OF 117: on the one hand ὁ Ὠκεανὸς καὶ ἡ Τηθύς καθ' ὅσον μένουσι καὶ ἤνωνται πρὸς τὸν Οὐρανὸν συμπαραγούσιν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν προϊόντων βασιλείαν, Κρόνου τε καὶ Ρέας etc., and hence Ocean and Tethys are superior to Cronos and Ρέα; but then on the other hand ὅτι ὁ Κρόνος ὑπέρτερος ἐστὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ, δεδήλωκεν ὁ θεολόγος πάλιν λέγων τὸν μὲν Κρόνον καταλαμβάνειν τὸν οὐράνιον Ὀλυμπον καὶ ἐκεῖ θρονισθέντα βασιλεύειν τῶν Τιτάνων, τὸν δὲ Ὠκεανὸν τὴν λήξιν ἅπασαν τὴν μέσην ναίειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς θεσπεσίοις ρείθροις τοῖς μετὰ τὸν Ὀλυμπον καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ περιέπειν Οὐρανόν, ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ἀκρότατον, ὡς δὲ φησιν ὁ μῦθος, τὸν ἐκπεσόντα τοῦ Ὀλύμπου (sc. the fallen Heaven, Οὐρανὸν τὸν ἐκπεσόντα τοῦ Ὀλύμπου) καὶ ἐκεῖ τεταγμένον: the claims here for Cronian precedence over Ocean are based on the fact that Cronos conquered Olympus, unthroned Οὐρανός and cast him down at the outer limits of Earth, where Ocean has his residences constituting the circle of Horizon, the only meeting place of Earth and Heaven now that a permanent gap separates them after Cronos' monstrous deed. This seems to solve for us our serious problem above regarding the true succession between Ouranos and Oceanos: Ocean is identified with the fallen Heaven, former king of the World, dethroned by Cronos, the next royal master. Then Cronos is, in a sense, Heaven, as universal lord; just as Zeus is aspectually identified with the Celestial existence, once the new Olympian order has been established, with its Jovial summit.

This brings us appropriately back to Pherecydes. Οὐρανός cast down to the confinements of Earth, and Ophioneus thrown into the Ocean at the common boundary between Heaven and Earth, are obviously parallel conceptions. There is also a structural analogy of Ophioneus and Ocean in the corresponding series: Ophion - Cronos - Zeus (Apollonius Rhodius) on the one hand and Ocean - Cronos - Zeus (Plato's *Timaeus*) on the other. In both the assimilations Ophioneus - Οὐρανός and Ophioneus - Ocean,

there is involved a fundamental opposition and differentiation from Cronos. The contamination of the two analogies is markedly operative in the Proclean passage quoted above. The Oceanian connection in Ophioneus is confirmed by his wife Eurynome, a daughter of Ocean (*Iliad* Σ, 388-9 (she lives in Ocean, too); Hesiod *Theog.* 358; Apollodorus *Biblioth.* I, 8). She bore to Zeus the Charites (Hesiod *Theog.* 907-11; Callimachus Fr. 384.45) and Asopos the river (Apollodorus *Biblioth.* III, 156). Eurynome was worshipped in Phigaleia under the aspect of a woman complete down to the buttocks but ending as a fish (Pausanias VIII, 41, 4-6). We saw above that according to the testimony of *Vat. Myth.* I, 204, Ophion occupies in the cosmogonical sequences the position of Ocean, indeed he is what the philosophers call Ocean. Ocean, on the other hand, conceived as the ultimate river engulfing Earth, was likely to be visualized as a gigantic snake, a vivid representation of every stream's serpentine path (cf. for Acheloos, Sophocles, *Trachiniai*, 11-3; Ovid *Metamorph.* IX, 62 sqq.; etc.; v. the combat between Heracles and Acheloos, where the latter appears as a human-headed snake with a fishy tail, and arms, *Corpus Vasorum Antiqu.* Br. Mus. 3, III, I C, Plate 19, 1b).

In an isolated tradition preserved by the Scholia A and D in *Iliad* Θ, 479, Ophion is the mightiest of the Earth-born Giants; they raised great war against Zeus at Tartessos on the banks of Ocean. (Significantly Strabo III, 2, 12 (149C = 201, 18-9; 202, 5-7 M) links Tartaros to Tartessos). Being defeated, they were thrown into the Erebus, and the previously deposed Cronos was made king over them; Ophion alone was buried under a mountain called after him *Ὀφιώνιον*. What specifically connects this account with Pherecydes is the oceanian location of the war. The arch-Giant Ophion is further related to Typhon and his rebellion.

But the basic point in Pherecydes and the ancient cosmogonies is the position of Ophion at the very beginning of the World-formation. Thus Lucian *Tragopodagra*, 99 sqq., in his mock theogonic procreation of Gout makes her the first offspring of old Ophion and Clotho the Fate, when Eos shone and blazed resplendent the Sun-Light, ending the reign of dark Chaos.

To differentiate, harmonize and conclude.

First, alongside the Hesiodic orthodoxy there also existed a strong current of tradition ascribing to primaeval Water a central and primary position in the cosmic creation scheme (cf. e.g. how such a tradition is reflected in Thales as well as in Orphic theologies of the Hieronymus - Hellanicus or the Athenagoras type. It also intruded into the Hesiodic scheme, reinterpreting Chaos as above all primordial flux). The first step in the formation of an orderly state out of the initial Chaos was the separation

of Heaven and Earth. Whether as the primaevial liquidity or as the Earth-engulfing stream of horizon at her meeting place with Heaven in the first cosmic Order, Ocean was according to this type of thought a central figure. To the second type belonged the Orphism adopted by Plato in his *Timaeus* passage. But this Ocean was a factor of stability and a mighty contributor to that order, rather than a resistant, rebellious power obnoxious to it. Water is a stable and cohesive element in its flux and transformation. This resulted in Ocean's important but discreet presence in Hesiodic orthodoxy; the same prevailed at last in the complex rhapsodic Orphism, and was philosophically expressed by Athenian Neoplatonism.

Second, there existed an intense sense of conflict in the divine order. This had both a positive and a negative aspect. At the first stages of the World-formation, each War among the Gods and each successive victorious reign that resulted expressed the imposition of a higher degree of order and development for the elemental cosmic forces that were weaving reality. Once the stable and final order prevailed, so it was felt, every antagonism was mere rebellion, a vehement attempt to lessen the measure or attenuate the quality of the dominant harmony in the arrangement. It was in fact and in effect a question of whether the balance between the powers of luminous Form and the potencies of procreative Darkness had been rightly struck. The resolution of this eternal cosmic enigma was safely entrusted to the Heraclitean War among the contending parties.

The inner essence and striking features of the Pherecydean system nicely emerge in such perspectives.

a) There is no open conflict in the development of reality. There is no succession of improving directive principles, each overpowering the previous one, no insurgent Sons vanquishing their royal Fathers, no younger deities conquering older ones, no new decrees abolishing the preobtaining ones. The model is one of organic evolution, of the unfolding, according to a predetermined inherent law, of the vast fabric of the World out of the aboriginal realities and their natural operations: the inherent law is ensconced in the nature of the three eternal principles, Chronos, Zas, Chthonie.

b) The primal creative act is Chronos' emission of sperm. This ἐκροή constitutes first of all the oceanic current, the primordial Water, the principle of fluidity, source and quintessence of all fertilizing outflowing. This becomes Ὠγηγός, Pherecydes' name for Ὠκεανός. Hesychius confirms the gloss: s.v. Ὠγενίδα· ὠκεανίδα· ὠγήν γὰρ ὠκεανός; and s.v. ὠγήν· ὠκεανός. Lycophron *Alex.* 231 has γραῖαν ξύνευνον Ὠγένου Τιτανίδα. The γραῖα Τιτανίς is Tethys the Titaness; Ὠγενος is Ὠκεανός, the first Titan. The Scholia and glosses ad loc. explain that Ὠγενος was the old

name of Ὠκεανός. Parthenius spoke of ὠγενίη Στύξ (Stephanus Byzantius s.v. Ὠγενοσ = Fr. 7 Martini): σὺν τῇ ἐγὼ Τηθύν τε καὶ ὠγενίης Στυγὸς ὕδωρ; meaning no doubt oceanine Styx; Styx was the oldest daughter of Ocean, Hesiod *Theogony* 776-7; δευρὴ Στύξ, θυγάτηρ ἀφορρόν Ὠκεανεῖο / πρεσβυτάτη. The root seems to signify the extreme. Extreme in time, aboriginal, as in Hesychius s.v. Ὠγένιον· παλαιόν, and Stephanus Byzantius *loc. cit.* Ὠγενοσ· ἀρχαῖοσ θεόσ, ὅθεν ὠγενίδαι καὶ ὠγένιοι, ἀρχαῖοι. But also extreme in place, furthest away: thus Hesychius s.v. ὠγή... καὶ φάλαγγοσ τὸ ἔσχατον. καὶ τὸ ἄκροσ; and Etym. Gudianum s.v. ἐπιωγή· ἐκ τοῦ ὠγή, ὁ ὑψηλόσ τόποσ λέγεται (cf. Hesychius s.v. ὠγένιον...καὶ ὄροσ τι). More specifically, the Hesychian explanation καὶ τὸ ἄκροσ, connects the world to ὤα (or ὤα or ὠα or ὠα or ὄα), border, fringe or edge of a garment in particular and generally. Also that which is attached to, and bounds from above, say the upper part of a house, its second storey, cf. the already Homeric ὑπερῶν. In fact the Lacedaemonians employed the simple form ὠα (or ὤα) instead of the complex one: *Scholía T ad Iliad* Π 184: τὰ μετέωρα δὲ τῶν οἰκημάτων ὠα Λακεδαμόνιοι καλοῦσιν, ἃ νῦν ὑπερῶα φαμεν. Clearchus explained superficially that it was from her habitual abode when a child in such superstructures that Helen was believed and mythologized to have been born from Leda's egg; Athenaeus B, 57 e-f: Ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ τὰ νῦν τῶν οἰκιῶν παρ' ἡμῖν καλούμενα ὑπερῶα "ὠά" φησὶ Κλέαρχοσ ἐν Ἐρωτικοῖσ, τὴν Ἑλένην φάσκειν ἐν τοιούτοισ οἰκήμασι τρεφομένην δόξαν ἀπενέγκασθαι παρὰ πολλοῖσ ὡσ ἐξ ὠοῦ εἶη γεγεννημένη. Thus we obtain the sense of that which surrounds, encircles or encloses (cf. the ὠα as a girdle around the pudenda in bathing and, perhaps, in certain sacred rites, Pollux VII, 66; X, 181 with a quotation from Theopompus Comicus, *Παῖδεσ* II p. 807, II Meineke = 37:

τηνδὶ περιζωσάμενον ὠαν λουτρίδα
κατάδεσμον ἥβησ περιπέρασον -

and from Pherecrates, Ἰπνὸσ ἢ Παννυχίσ II p. 279, VII Meineke = 62. Cf. also Hermippus, *Στρατιῶται* II p. 405, VI Meineke = 53 and II p. 403, IV Meineke).

The Ocean, like a belt, circumflows and circumscribes Earth, just as it was portrayed at the outer circumference (ἄντυξ) of both the Homeric (Σ, 483 sqq.; 607-8) and the Hesiodic (Scutum, 314-5: ἀμφὶ δ' ἴτυν ρέειν Ὠκεανὸσ πλήθοντι ζοικῶσ / πᾶν δε συνέχε (it bounded and held together) σάκοσ πολυδαίδαλον) shields. That circumscription and confinement was also the primary meaning of ὠόν, egg. The Aeolic form

ῶιον (—υυ) (Sappho, 56; 112) suggests a root ωj- (cf. also the poetic form ῶεον); while Hesychius informs us of a dialectal ῶβειον; s.v. ῶβεια, τὰ ῶά, Ἀργεῖοι. Cf. s.v. ῶβεικόπται· τοὺς ὄφεις, i.e. egg-breaker snakes. This postulates a root ωF- with digamma. Maybe we should therefore with Curtius (*Greek Etymology* Eng. Tr. II p. 488) assume a compound initial root ωFj-, of which the Latin suppressed the j (ov-um), while the Greek normally dropped the F (cf. the Old Irish og, egg, and, indeed, egg itself). It is remarkable that we can thus easily explain (again with Curtius) the Neogreek formation ἀγό which retained both F and j. ῶγγηός in his way may come directly from ωj - or from ωF - with the usual mutation of the δίγαμμα into γάμμα. (Parallel mutations occur in the probably connected forms οἶη - οὐά - ῶα - ῶβά - ῶγή, signifying κώμη and, in Laconia, a local division of the Spartan people. V. among other testimonies the Hesychian lemmata s.vv. οἰατᾶν, οἶητᾶν, οὐαί, ῶας, ῶβαι, ῶβάτας, ῶγή. We have to do with divisions of the countryside encircling the civil centre: the κῶμαι around the πόλις). To ῶγενός we may compare also ῶγανον as spoke of a wheel, v. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* I, p. 318.5; Hesychius s.v. ῶγγυγος, ῶγγύγιος may further simply be reduplications of ωγ-. The idea of a power circumscribing the World was represented, especially in occult contexts, by the image of a terrible snake eating its tail (οὐροβόρος); cf. *Acta Thomae*, 32: συγγενῆς δὲ εἰμὶ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ῶκεανοῦ ὄντος, οὐ ἢ οὐρὰ ἔγκειται τῷ ἰδίῳ στόματι (sc. τοῦ οὐροβόρου). Here, in significant non-Ochkamite multiplication, the monstrous, beneficial principle is distinguished from its perceived embodiment (as the circumflowing Ocean).

c) The spermatc moisture constituted the fluid element; while the fiery and pneumatic ingredients in Chronos' Semen produced fire and the winds. The fundamental structure of the World and its elemental forces are already created. The former is given right from the beginning with the existence of the three ultimate principles; for they define Heaven, probably as an extension of, or, at any rate, a celestial kind of Earth - cf. Phaedo's myth - (the realm of engulfing Chronos), the Gap (the realm of Zeus), Earth and Hades (the realm of Chthonie), and the vast, abysmal chasm beneath (Tartaros). The Earth flies above this abyss: she is the ὑπόπερος δρῶς of Isidorus (Clemens, *Stromat.* VI 53 (II 459.4 Stählin) = B2). She is the giant Oak-tree with its roots at the Tartarian node whence Heaven and Earth and Sea spring (Hesiod *Theogony* 736 sqq.), its trunk constituted Earth with her interior Hades, and the branches formed the celestial ramification of the World. Now Chronos' seed, and the three elements which it produces, fill that original frame, and by being deposited or precipitated in the five cosmic recesses, the productive wombs of the five

World-regions, they fertilize their respective latent potencies, thereby bringing forth the *πεντέμυχος* divine progeny. Chief among this prolific offspring is the principle of Water, *Ὠγηνός*, (located at the common boundary of Heaven and Earth), the principle of Fire (maybe the Sun or the aetherial bright quintessence condensed chiefly in the Sun, or, still better, the primigenitus *Φάνης*, Eros himself) positioned high under the Sky, and the principle of Wind domiciled in Tartaros (cf. B5). Thus the next stage in Creation is completed.

d) It cannot be that while all basic nooks respond productively to the fertilizing prowess of Chronos' semen, Earth's womb alone remains sterile and Hades without appropriate issue. On the contrary, in Chthonie's bowels is conceived by Chronos' seed an almighty Daemon, the wondrous, monstrous Enormity, the unspeakable Serpent, *Ὀφιονεύς*, Pherecydes' equivalent to *Αἰδωνεύς*. He, full of pride and confident of his powers, claims universal sovereignty and challenges his father's rule. The divine War thus commences, and Chronos with his celestial hosts enters the lists against Ophioneus, leader of the terrestrial army. The object of the contest is who would govern the World by inhabiting the Sky; the vanquished, he who would be thrown into the Ocean, will remain there hereafter in all eternity (B4). The war is conducted on the Homeric pattern, with *προκλήσεις*, *ἀμιλλαι* and *συνθήκαι*, challenges, competitions and vowed terms. In the end Chronos is victorious, and Ophioneus cast into the Ocean (*ibid.*). A strong reminiscence of Chronos' aberrant fecundation of Chthonie is provided by the isolated story of Typhon's birth in Scholia B *Iliad*, B, 783, according to which Cronos gave to Hera two eggs smeared with his own semen, and directed her to bury them in the Earth; from them the daemon would be brought forth who could overpower Zeus, *τὸν δὲ* (sc. *Κρόνον*) *δοῦναι αὐτῇ* (sc. *Ἥρα*) *δύο ᾠά, τῷ ἰδίῳ χρίσαντι θορῶ, καὶ κελεύσαντα κατὰ γῆς ἀποθέσθαι, ἀφ' ὧν ἀναδοθήσεται δαίμων ὁ ἀποστήσων Δία τῆς ἀρχῆς*, and so Typhon was engendered. The context here belongs to orthodox mythology; the important and relevant point is that a typhonic being of sufficient power to contend for cosmic sovereignty could come from Saturnian semen deposited into the earth, that is by abnormal coition without actual contact between a Heavenly power and Earth. This is the Pherecydean image, with the same participants (Cronos of course substituted and explained as cosmogonical Chronos). The two eggs, of which nothing, significantly, is said in the quoted story, must probably be no less than Cronos' testicles themselves, his *δίδυμοι*.

54. For the war, its terms and conclusion v. n. 53.

Zeus' effective intervention in the struggle against the unruly, riotous and seditious host must be assumed not only because of the conclusive

Middle-eastern and Greek analogies, but also in view of Zeus' heightened role in the government of the World subsequent to the defeat of Ophioneus. This role consists in the final and determinative stage of the orderly arrangement of the World as we know it, a demiurgic act symbolised by the Sacred Marriage (v. nn. 55 and 57). The sequence of events indicated by Maximus Tyrius, *Dissertat.* X, 4 (= A11), is revealing: Ἄλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συρίου τὴν ποιήσιν σκόπει, τὸν Ζῆνα καὶ τὴν Χθονίην καὶ τὸν ἐν τούτοις Ἐρωτα, καὶ τὴν Ὀφίωνεος γένεσιν καὶ τὴν θεῶν μάχην, καὶ τὸν δένδρον καὶ τὸν πέπλον. The tree refers to the ὑπόπτερος δρυς, i.e. the Earth in itself (v. n. 53). The "veil" (πέπλος) is thrown upon it, i.e. the surface of earth is shaped and ordered so as to constitute a meaningful pattern. Evidently this casting of the veil upon the tree, this formation of the Earth, refers to Zeus' marriage to Chthonie; for this πέπλος is the φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ καλόν made by Zeus and presented as a marriage-gift to Chthonie (B2); the φᾶρος decorated by the image of the whole or bit of Earth (*ibid.*), and hung on the "subwinged oak-tree", the ὑπόπτερος δρυς (*ibid.*), i.e. Earth herself.

It is a vexed question whether Heaven was also pictured on the veil besides Earth and the Ocean. The analogy of the Achilles' shield in Homer forged by Hephaetus (*Iliad* Σ, 483 sqq.) would support the view of celestial inclusion; but in the Hesiodic shield's description there is no mention of Heaven as a cosmological constituent, only the portrayal of scenes that would take place in the mansions of the Gods, cf. *Scutum*, 201 sqq. In the Pherecydes papyrus (Grenfell-Hunt *Greek Papyri* II, n. 11, p. 23) the text breaks off unfortunately just after mentioning Ogenus; but Clemens *Stromat.* VI, 9, 4 (III, 429.1 Stählin = B2) has: Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος λέγει: "Ζᾶς ποιεῖ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ καλόν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ ποικίλλει Γῆν καὶ Ὠγηνοῦν καὶ τὰ Ὠγηνοῦ δώματα". Clement's silence as to the representation of Heaven on the veil is the more telling, as he had just before quoted the Homeric verses describing the portrayal of Earth, Heaven and Ocean in Achilles' shield; he argues in extenso with this and similar examples about the κλεπτικὸν εἶδος of eminent Greeks, unhesitatingly appropriating for their own uses the literary inventions of others. It should thus be inferred that Heaven was absent from the Pherecydean veil. The veil is symbolic of what is to become of our earthly world as a result of the sacred marriage: the well-formed and ordered surface of the earth (encircled by the Ocean) was portrayed on it, and that fully and perfectly ordered aspect of earth was the gift of honour (γέρας) given symbolically (through the veil) and promised materially to Chthonie by Zeus at their ritual marriage; Diogenes Laertius I, 119 (= B1) quoting the very beginning of the Pherecydean work: Ζᾶς μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν ἀεὶ καὶ Χθονίη. Χθονίη

δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῆ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζᾶς γῆν γέρας διδοί. This marriage is the symbol of cosmic creation, of the constitution of our orderly terrestrial world.

In the enumeration of the basic features of Pherecydean cosmogony, Maximus mentions Zeus and Chthonie and Love before the birth of Ophioneus. But this does not refer to the Sacred Marriage, which followed the Ophionid affair. Before it, there existed Chronos, Zas, Chthonie and, after the emission of semen, from Chronos, first of all *Ἔρως*, indeed *Πρωτόγονος*. Pherecydes must have supposed some form of jealousy between the two male principles vis-à-vis the female at this initial state of the yet unformed World, as much is reported by Hermeias, *Irrisio Gent. Philos.* 6 (p. 18 Otto = A9): *Φερεκύδης μὲν ἀρχὰς εἶναι λέγων Ζῆνα καὶ Χθονίην καὶ Κρόνον· Ζῆνα μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, Χθονίην δὲ τὴν γῆν, Κρόνον δὲ τὸν χρόνον· ὁ μὲν αἰθέρ τὸ ποιῶν, ἡ δὲ γῆ τὸ πάσχον, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰ γινόμενα. Ζηλοτυπία τοίνυν τῶν γερόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους.* The cosmogonical significance of their rivalry was that while Chronos' irregular and illicit mating with Chthonie brought forth Ophioneus who threatened the orderly development towards a stable and harmonious cosmic structure, Zeus' ritual union with Chthonie, their sacred marriage and legitimate conjugation and proper coition, produced the final beautiful arrangement of a perfect Universe. Chronos provides the elemental forces, and basic constituents of the cosmic fabric, and is responsible for the World's inception and growth, while Zeus completes its design and controls its law-abiding function.

It would be nicer to read in the Maximus passage: *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συρίου τὴν ποίησιν σκόπει <καὶ τὸν Χρόνον> καὶ τὸν Ζῆνα καὶ τὴν Χθονίην καὶ τὸν ἐν τούτοις Ἔρωτα* etc. It should be odd if Maximus omitted the mention of Time precisely in a passage where he emphasized the hidden meaning of the poetic and mythological manner of speaking, making it the enigmatic enucleation of the same truths which, with human progress, are later expressed philosophically. In any case, even without the addition of *Χρόνος*, we ought to persevere in the same explanation (disassociating Ophioneus from any relationship between Zeus and Chthonie, v. n. 53). The tendency of the formulation, taken in isolation from what we know of the entire Pherecydean system, would probably be to construe the begetting of Ophioneus as the possible result of Zeus conceiving Love for Chthonie. But this cannot be: theirs would be, at this stage, a monstrous and illicit copulation, of a markedly different nature than their union in sanctimonious marriage productive of a harmonious order. Eros must thus be absent from such a coition, and such an offspring (cf. the Hesiodic parallels, where illicit sexuality generates powers of darkness). The view

expounded in n. 53 concerning the nature of Ophioneus' origination in the impregnation of (the unformed) Chthonie through the depositing in its interior (i.e. the subteranean womb) of Cronos' seed following his autosexual act, is thus confirmed.

55. Proclus *in Tim.* 32C (ii 54, 28 Diehl = B3): ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἔρωτα μεταβεβλήσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν. As the production of reality is conceived on the biological pattern, so creation is experienced as a sexual act. Hence the importance and significance of cosmogonical Eros as principle of World-generation and formation. The Demiurge must thus somehow be identified to that Love-Principle: Eros is God as Creator. According to Theognis, Eros brings in springtime all seeds of things upon earth, thus causing her blooming and flowering: 1275 sqq.:

ώραϊος καὶ ἔρωτος ἐπιτέλλεται ἡνίκα περ γῆ
 ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖς θάλλει ἀεξομένη·
 τῆμος ἔρωτος προλιπὼν Κύπρον, περικαλλέα νῆσον,
 εἶσιν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους σπέρμα φέρων κατὰ γῆς.

This yearly operation repeats the primal fertilization as an act of creation. Dion Chrysostomus expounds an elaborate analysis of the idea, albeit in a Stoic form and, importantly, in an avowedly Zoroastrian (which in a Greek context virtually means primarily Pythagorean) setting: *Oratio XXXVI* §55 (II p. 15.8 Arn. = SVF II 622). The fiery, celestial, aetherial power at times overpowers completely the three other elements, resolving the entire essence of the world in its own ultimate substance and form; then it conceives a strong desire for the condition in which it functions as the governing part of the fully developed cosmic arrangement, as against its stage of all-absorbing solitude, when it is the sole existent: *λειφθεὶς δὴ μόνος ὁ νοῦς* (i.e. the thinking and leading fiery part of the World) ... *εὐθὺς ἐπόθησε τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς βίον* (a yearning for its way of life in the previous cosmic stage where it stood at the pinnacle of reality without exhausting it). This love for his universal charioteering and, therefore, impetus towards World-creation, is expressed in his transmutation to pure, resplendent light: *ἔρωτα δὲ λαβὼν τῆς ἡνιοχῆσεως ἐκείνης καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ὁμοιοῦς τῆς τε τῶν τριῶν φύσεων* (the remaining three elements besides fire) *καὶ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρῶν, ἀπάντων τε ἀπλῶς ζῶν καὶ φυτῶν, ὥρμησε ἐπὶ τὸ γενεῖν καὶ διανέμειν ἕκαστα καὶ δημιουργεῖν τὸν ὄντα νῦν κόσμον...* *ἀστράψας δὲ ὄλος οὐκ ἄτακτον οὐδὲ ρυπαρὰν ἀστραπήν...* *ἀλλὰ καθαρὰν καὶ ἀμιγῆ παντὸς σκοτεινοῦ, μετέβαλε ραδίως ἅμα τῆ νόησει.* Because this pure desire must be realised as a creative act by being concretized as venereal operation and procreative process, the principle of

existence is self-attenuated, reduces the intensity of its lightning and becomes a mildly fiery air: *μνησθεῖς δὲ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ γενέσεως ἐπράυνε καὶ ἀνήκεν αὐτόν, καὶ πολὺ τοῦ φωτὸς ἀποσβέσας εἰς ἀέρα πυρώδη τρέπεται, πρὸς ἡπίου.* This coalescence of fire and air represents the copulation of Zeus and Hera in their sacred Marriage: *τοῦτον ὕμνουσι παῖδες σοφῶν ἐν ἀρρήτοις τελεταῖς Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς εὐδαίμονα γάμον.* This divine, mystic coition results in the production of the cosmic semen with the appearance for the first time on the World-scene of the bifurcation between the fluid substance and the plastic spirit in it, of the archetype of the differentiation between body and soul: *ὕγραν δὲ ποιήσας τὴν ὄλην οὐσίαν, ἐν σπέρμα τοῦ Παντός, αὐτὸς ἐν τούτῳ διαθέων, καθάπερ ἐν γοῇ πνεῦμα τὸ πλάττον καὶ δημιουργοῦν etc.*

The theology concerning the sacred Marriage of Zeus and Hera (in her role as the great Goddess Earth) played a prominent part in Orphic traditions, v. Eustathius *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 1 (GG II 217.15 = OF 115) *καθὰ καὶ Ὀρφεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας φησὶ λέγων etc.* Cf. Proclus *in Plat. Tim.* 18c-d (I, 49.12 Diehl = OF 163): *ἐκ τῶν μυστικῶν λόγων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἀπορρήτοις λεγομένων ἱερῶν γάμων etc.* Cf. Proclus *in Plat. Tim.* 18c (I 46. 27 Diehl = OF 132); op. cit. ad 31a (I 450.20 Diehl = OF 163). Cf. the marriage of Zeus and Hera in Cnossus, Diodorus V, 72; in Samos, Lanctantius *Inst. Divin.* I, 17, 8. Pisander began his long poem with that divine marriage, extending the history to his own times, Macrobius, *Saturnalia* V, 2, 4-5. The Stoics, especially Chrysippus, were prone to expatiate on philosophical interpretations of ancient theological speculations, chiefly Orphic; so he treated the divine couple in question, and elaborated on their mythological obscenities: Diogenes Laertius VII, 188; also Origenes, *Contra Celsum*, IV, 48; Clemens, *Homiliae*, V. 18.

56. For Orphism. Proclus *in Plat. Tim.* 39e (III, 102 Diehl = OF 82): *καὶ ὁ μὲν Πλάτων ὁρᾷ αὐτὸν (sc. τὸν Δημιουργόν, i.e. Zeus) εἰς τὸ αὐτοζῶον εἶπεν, ὁ δὲ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἐπιπηδᾷ αὐτῷ καὶ καταπίνειν δεξιᾶσθαι μέντοι τῆς Νυκτός.* The Platonic αὐτοζῶον corresponds to the Orphic Φάνης - Πρωτόγονος - Ἔρως. Op. cit. ad 29a-b (I 336 Diehl = OF 85): *ἦν γὰρ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ (sc. τῷ Διὶ καταποθεῖς ὁ Μῆτις (a sexual transposition from the normally feminine ἡ Μῆτις), Metis being the second hypostasis of the Phanic triad (Φάνης - Μῆτις - Ἑρκεπαῖος). Op. cit. ad 29 (I 324 Diehl = OF 167); ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος καταπίνεσθαι τὸν νοητὸν θεὸν ἔφατο παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὄλων ... ὁ δὲ θεολόγος καὶ οἶον ἐπιπηδᾷ αὐτὸν (sc. Zeus) τῷ νοητῷ καὶ καταπίνειν, ὡς ὁ μῦθος ἔφησεν ... διὸ καὶ ἐνοῦται πρὸς ἐκείνον (sc. τὸν Πρωτόγονον according to Orpheus) ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ μέσης τῆς Νυκτός, καὶ πληρωθεὶς ἐκείθεν γίνεται κόσμος νοητὸς ὡς ἐν νοεροῖς:*

ὡς τότε Πρωτογόνοιο χαδὼν μένος ἼΗρικεπαίου
 τῶν πάντων δέμας εἶχεν ἐῆ ἐνὶ γαστέρι κόλλη,
 μεῖξε δ' ἑοῖς μελέεσσι θεοῦ δύναμιν τε καὶ ἀλκίην,
 τοῦνεκα σὺν τῷ πάντα Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη.

Cf. also *op. cit.* ad 28c (I, 312 = OF 167): μετὰ γοῦν τὴν κατάποσιν τοῦ Φάνητος αἱ ἰδέαι τῶν πάντων ἐν αὐτῷ (sc. τῷ Διῷ) πεφύησιν, ὡς φησιν ὁ Θεολόγος, with the verses following the above quoted ones. Cf. Proclus in *Parmenid.* 103b p. 799.27 Cousin² and Hermeias in *Plat. Phaedr.* 247c (p. 148.10 Couvreur).

On theological “swallowings” (καταπόσεις) generally v. Proclus in *Plat. Tim.* 34a (II, 93.18 Diehl = OF 167).

In the great hymn to Zeus recorded by Porphyry and Eusebius *Praep. Evangel.* III 9 p. 100a-105d, and in Stobaeus *Ecllog.* I 23 (I 29.10 Wachsmuth) = OF 168, v. 9 (Ζεὺς ἐστὶ καὶ Μῆτις πρῶτος γενέτωρ καὶ ἔρωσ πολυτερπήs, a much quoted line by the Neoplatonists. In his comment on this verse Proclus mentions the Pherecydean idea of Zeus’ transformation into Eros when about to create the stable arrangement of this World. Cf. OF 169 and 170; Proclus in *Tim.* 32: II 54.28 Diehl = B3.

That Zeus swallows Metis in order fully to absorb, digest and control her capacities is Hesiodic. In *Theogony* 886-900 we have one version, while as Chrysippus (apud Galenum *de placitis Hippocr.* Et Plat. iii, 8 pp. 317 sqq. Müller) testifies, there was a variant version either at a later part of *Theogony* or in another work (Fr. Hesiodica 343 Merkelbach et West = SVF II 908). Both accounts agree on the swallowing. We have here an important point of contact between Hesiodic and Orphic theologies. Once again, further, we encounter Pherecydes at the beginnings of the specifically Orphic version, consisting in the projection of the essence of the later incident onto the primal stage with a universal significance, so that we now have the swallowing of Eros (who of course is identified or quasi-identified harmonizingly - as distinguishable hypostasis within the same essential triad - with Metis). Here the influence runs from Orphism to Pherecydes.

57. For πέπλος cf. n. 54.

V. the surviving fragment of Pherecydes’ work in the Grenfell-Hunt Papyrus treating precisely this marriage: B2 = F68 (Schibli); cf. also Diogenes Laertius I 119 (= B1). The point is ritual conjugation as against illicit and aberrant coition. Matrimonial copulation symbolizes regularized and creative collaborating of the two ultimate Principles for the production and maintenance of an orderly World. The marriage - θεσμοί safeguard the harmonious form and arrangement of the offspring. This last, the genuine

issue of this first legitimate conjugation, is prefigured in the marriage gift. Similarly, the battle and triumph of the Olympians against the Giants was eternalized on Athena's robe carried at the great Panathenaic festival in pomp and procession. Besides being pregnant with cosmogonical significance, the *πέπλος* given by Zeus to Chthonie at the third day of the celebrations for their ritual marriage, provided also the action for the corresponding human observances. Thus the divine act teams with double symbolism constituting both a cosmogonical archetype and an aetiology for the matrimonial ceremonial. The latter in its relevant part consisted in the gifts given by the husband to the bride on the day when she was ritually unveiled, seen and addressed by him as bride for the first time; the feast was called *ἀνακαλυπτήρια* or *προσφθεγκτήρια*; v. Pollux III, 36. Cf. Harpocration s.v. *ἀνακαλυπτήρια*. (But the *ἐπαύλια* are distinct from the *ἀνακαλυπτήρια*, cf. Suda and Etym. Magn., s.v.). The unveiling and address took part at the marriage banquet, v. Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca* I, 200.6 (also 390.26); cf. Lucian, *Symp.* 8. The event happened on the third day of the marriage festivities and was followed by the processional conveying of the bride to the groom's place, v. Hesychius s.v. *ἀνακαλυπτήριον*.

The robe or mantle was a usual bridal gift: v. Homer *Odyssey* o 107 and 125-7: o 292 sq.; Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* III, 4, 2 (25). More significantly, and in a cultic context, a *πέπλος* was woven for Hera every fourth year at Olympia (Pausanias V, 16, 2), to commemorate, no doubt, her sacred Marriage. The *ἀνακαλυπτήρια* or *ὀπτήρια* of this archetypal matrimony are represented in a metope from Selinus (Simon, *Die Götter der Griechen*, p. 52, Fig. 44). The same event in its eternity is majestically expressed on the Parthenon east-frieze (*ibid.* p. 53, fig. 45). Hera as bride is probably portrayed in the fragmentary metope from Mycenae (*ibid.* p. 51, fig. 43). Hera in this capacity and function is the heir to the status of the Great Achaean Goddess, is the elemental Empedoclean power, the *φερέσβιος*, Earth herself. She is, on the other hand, the olympization of her former grand prototype, and a perfection or fragment (depending on the viewpoint and perspective adopted) of its awesome wholeness. Hera as Earth according to Plutarch; Eusebius *Pr. Ev.* III prooem.; Theodoretus *Gr. Aff. Cur.* III, 54; in primis, Empedocles B6.

"Weaving" played a considerable role in Orphic symbolism; cf. OF 178; 192; 193. There even was an Orphic work entitled *Πέπλος* (Suda and Hesychius Milesius s.v. *Ὀρφείως* = OF test 223; Clemens, *Stromat.* I 21, 131, 3-5 (II 81.7 Stählin = OF 222)), whose authorship was ascribed to Brontinus (Clemens and Suda *loci citati*) or Zopyrus (Suda *loc. cit.*). Weaving the fabric of the World and its cosmic order is an eminently

pregnant form of expression in such contexts. Porphyry (*De antro Nymphar.* 14 p. 66.13 Nauck²) reports that *πέπλος* was an old theosophical appellation of Heaven: *τῶν παλαιῶν καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν πέπλον εἰρηκότων, οἶον θεῶν οὐρανίων περιβλήμα.* The word normally connoted the orderly arrangement of something underlying, its elaborate decoration; v. Eusebius *de Laud. Constant.* VI p. 728 Reading: *φωσφόρου δ' ἑξάβιας λαμπρὰς ἀκτῖνας, σελήνης τε ποικιλίαν φέγγους, ἄστρον τε συνόδους πολυαυγείας τὸν σύμπαντα οὐρανόν, οἶον μέγα πέπλον, παντοίους γραφῆς κάλλεσιν ἐστεφάνωσεν.* Philo extends the conception to the entire world; *de Somniis* I, §203 sq. (III p. 249.6 sqq. Wendland): *τὸ παμπόικλον ὕφασμα, τουτονὶ τὸν κόσμον.* Cf. *De Special. Legibus*, I, §95 (V. p. 23.23 sqq. Cohn); *ibid.* §86 (p. 22.8). In the Orphic Hymn XIX to Zeus thunderbolt, it is hurled down *διαρρήξας δὲ χιτῶνα οὐράνιον προκάλυμμα* (vv. 16-7). Cf. further *τὰ Ἱεροστολικά* OF p. 300.

The Pherecydean *πέπλος* (cf. also n. 40) represents evidently the terrestrial decoration, Earth's harmonious formation as a glorious spectacle: it thus concerns her surface. The interior remains as chthonic as ever: it is the realm of Hades. The combination is potent: harmony is a question of the superficies (it is however thorough and not superficial for that). The root of being lies deep in the hideous womb. The flowering and fruition of being, the beauty and effectiveness of existence, thrive on the fertility of bursting disorder. We have to do with the two aspects of a single reality: the mystery of hiddenness versus the radiance of revelation.

58. Origenes *Contra Celsum* VI, 42 (= B5). The passage has been discussed above (n. 53). - The notion that world and society ultimately obey the same laws, in that they both are of the same general nature, or rather because man is but a small portion of the cosmic totality, is a common human experience. (The cosmic Macrocosm and human Microcosm). The form of all lawfulness is simply this: violation of the valid, natural order is inescapably redressed with marvelous precision on the whole and in the long run, with certain divinities presiding over the mechanisms of correction, both proximately and ultimately. Thus we read in Heraclitus (Plutarch *de exil.*, p. 604A = B94): *Ἥλιος γὰρ οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Ἐρινύες μιν Δίκης ἐπίκουροι ἐξευρήσουσιν.* (Cf. Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, 370D; Philodemus *de Pietate* 6a, p. 70 Gomperz - as restituted by Croenert and Diels). The Erinnys are *ἐπίκουροι Δίκης*, and Dike is *πάρεδρος Διός*, which absolute jurisdiction over transgression and lawful retribution; Hesiod, *Opera et Dies*, 256 sqq. Cf. Euripides, *Troades*, 884 sqq. For this idea of cosmic justice, see also the famous Anaximandrian passage (A9) quoted and treated above (n. 28). And cf. my general theory of being, its dynamism, its polarity, and its basic sinusoidal oscillation.

EARLY PYTHAGOREANISM

(nn. 59-111)

59. Pythagorean dualism, as the first systematic and philosophical articulation of such a system in the Greek World, was early connected to the characteristic Persian World-view.

The antiquarian, scholarly and scientific researches of the Peripatetic School on (esp. early) Pythagoreanism are well attested. Aristoxenus from Taras (and the otherwise unknown Diodorus from Eretria) reported that Pythagoras visited Zoroaster in order to learn the secrets of wisdom. Hippolytus *Refut. Omn. Haeres.* I, 2, 12-15 (p. 7 Wendland = Diels, *Doxographi Graeci* p. 557, 8-30 = Bidez-Cumont, *Les Mages Hellénisés* d1). A. Gellius *Noctes Atticae* IV, 11, 1, praises Aristoxenus' diligence in literary studies in the context of a discussion on abstemious Pythagorean practices: Aristoxenus musicus, vir litterarum veterum diligentissimus, Aristoteli philosophi auditor, in libro quem de Pythagora reliquit etc. This book on Pythagoras was a philosophical biography of the philosopher; Clemens *Stromat.* I, 62 (II 39.17 Stählin = Pythagoras A8): Ἀριστόξενος ἐν τῷ Πυθαγόρου βίῳ. Diogenes Laertius I, 118 (= A8): Ἀριστόξενος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ τῶν γνωρίμων αὐτοῦ. Keen interest in the Pythagoreans was manifest in Aristotle himself, who wrote a specific work *περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων* (v. Rose, *Aristotelis Fragmenta* 190-205) as well as *Περὶ τῆς Ἀρχυτείου φιλοσοφίας* (*ibid.* 206-7).

That Pythagoras encountered and heard Zoroaster was a widely held view in antiquity. It was shared by eminent scholars like Alexander Polyhistor (Cyrillus, *Adv. Julianum* IV p. 133 Aubert = Migne PG 76, 633C = *Les Mages Hellénisés* Fr. B26b: Ἱστορεῖ γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρος, ὁ ἐπίκλην Πολυίστωρ, ἐν τῷ περὶ πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων, Ἀσσυρίῳ τὸ γένος ὄντι τῷ Ζάρα φοιτῆσαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν; Cyrillus draws on Clemens, *Stromat.* I, 69, 6 = p. 44 Stählin = *Les Mages Hell.* B 26a); by philosophers as Plutarch (*De animae procreat. in Timaeo* 1012E = *Les Mages Hell.* Fr. B25b) and Porphyry (*Vita Pythagorae* 12 = p. 23 Nauck² = *Les Mages Hell.* B27). Apuleius confirms that the belief was maintained by many; *De magia Apologia* 31 (p. 36.16 Helm = *Les Mages Hell.* B28b; it was also related that when Cambyses conquered Egypt, Pythagoras was found there, taken captive and transferred to Babylonia where he came into contact with Zoroaster and the Magians; Apuleius *Florida* 15 (p. 21, 11 Helm = *Les Mages Hell.* B28a). The story of Pythagoras' captivity appears in Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagorica*, 19 = p. 13.11 Deubner, and in *Theologoumena Arithmeticae* 40 = p. 53.1 de Falco, where the context (a discussion of the length of time between successive Pythagorean transmigrations) indicates Aristoxenus, among others, as the possible source

of the account. Cf. also Georgius Syncellus *Chronographia* 210d = 397.11 Dindorf. Pythagoras' discipleship at the feet of Zoroaster is stated in *Scholia ad Platon. Republ.* 600B (= VI p. 360 Herman = *Les Mages Hellénisés* B 29n) and Suda s.v. *Πυθαγόρας*.

Even when Zoroaster was not personally introduced as Pythagoras' interlocutor, the Magians were. Cicero *De finibus bon. et mal.* V, 87; Pliny *Natur. Histor.* XXIV, 156; 160; XXX, 9; Diogenes Laertius VIII, 3; Clemens, *Stromat.* I, 66, 2; Valerius Maximus VIII, 7 ext. 2. Iamblichus *Vita Pythagor.* 19; Julian, *Orat.* VII p. 236D; Olympiodorus *Vita Platonis* 5 (VI p. 194 Hermann).

The historical connection of Pythagoras with Zoroaster and the Magians, was the more impressed, the more one was struck by the doctrinal affiliation between his system and fundamental Persian beliefs. At the core of the spiritual relationship lay dualism, albeit of a markedly different complexion in each case. Greek dualism never took a crucially moral turn so as to express chiefly the struggle between the hosts and power of Good on the one hand and those of Evil on the other. Aristoxenus' account is particularly significant, apud Hippolytus *loc. cit.*: *Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ Μουσικὸς φασι πρὸς Ζαράταν τὸν Χαλδαῖον ἐλληλυθῆναι Πυθαγόραν· τὸν δὲ ἐκθέσθαι αὐτῷ δύο εἶναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὐσιν αἴτια, Πατέρα καὶ Μητέρα· καὶ πατέρα μὲν φῶς, μητέρα δὲ σκότος, τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς μέρη θερμόν, ξηρόν, κοῦφον, ταχύ, τοῦ δὲ σκότους ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, βαρύ, βραδύ· ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάντα τὸν κόσμον συνεστάναι, ἐκ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενος.* It is explicitly recognized that the two ultimate principles are Male and Female, the universal Father and Mother. They are represented by the fundamental opposition between Light and Darkness, whose traits ("parts") are precisely the Parmenidean physical characteristics of the aboriginal duality (light, hot, dry, buoyant, quick against dark, cold, liquid, heavy, slow). So alongside the religious, logico-mythical background there are adjoined to the principles their natural equivalent manifestations. In order to accommodate in this predominantly Greek type of dualism (where Luminosity and Obscurity are not moral forces at perpetual war, but natural opposites creatively co-engaged) the Iranian world-view, the account adds in the sequel a further, subordinate pair of contraries, two daemons (chthonic and celestial, meant for Ormazd and Ahriman) subservient and correlative to the two divine principles, obviously with the intention of providing for Mazdaean beliefs and practices but with a description that reproduces typical Greek speculations (particularly Anaximandrian) concerning the concrete, physical workings of the absolute principles: *περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ κόσμου (= οὐρανοῦ) γινομένων, τὰδε φασι* (i.e. Diodorus and Aristoxenus) *λέγειν τὸν Ζαράταν· δύο*

δαίμονας εἶναι, τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸν δὲ χθόνιον· καὶ τὸν μὲν χθόνιον ἀνίεναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, εἶναι δὲ ὕδωρ, τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον πῦρ μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος, θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν. The specific beliefs and practices alluded to above are, firstly, the contrast between two male daemonic principles, Oromazd and Ahriman (as Aristotle stated, frg. 6 Rose, in Diog. Laertius, Prooemium, 8); and, secondly, the honour and sacrificial ritual rendered to fire and water (Strabo XV, 3, 14 pp. 732-3 Casaubon; cf. Dinon in Clemens, *Protrept.* 5, 6 (p. 49.23 Stählin). For “aerial fire” cf. Hippolytus Iv, 43, 3 (p. 65.9, Wendland) and, chiefly, the already commented upon passage from Dion Chrysostomus *Oratio*, XXXVI, 56. For “θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν” v. in primis *Κόρη Κόσμου* 14-1, *Corpus Hermeticum* Frg. XXIII Nock-Festugière, from Stobaeus *Eclog.* I, 49, 44 (I p. 385 Wachsmuth). And see particularly the Anaximandrian *γόνιμον θερμοῦ καὶ ψυχροῦ*.

That the ultimate Pythagorean contrariety was that between *Πέρας* and *Ἄπειρον* is implicitly stated by Plato, *Philebus*, 16c: the idea is a divine gift no less than fire, and some Prometheus (perhaps Pythagoras himself) brought it to mankind; it is transmitted to us by the *παλαιοί, κρείττονες ἡμῶν καὶ ἐγγυτέρω θεῶν οἰκοῦντες*, referring to the Pythagoreans, cf. 23c. The fact is at any rate evident from Aristotle’s testimony. This fact should be carefully distinguished from his interpretation of the reasons which led, according to his view, the Pythagoreans to postulate that initial dualism. In this he emphasized correctly the mathematical aspect of the developed Pythagorean system; but this does not clash at all with its cosmogonical origination. So *Metaphys.* 986a15 (B5): *φαίνονται δὴ καὶ οὗτοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν νομιζόντες ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ ὡς ἕλην τοῖς οὐσι καὶ ὡς πάθη τε καὶ ἕξεις, τοῦ δὲ ἀριθμοῦ στοιχεῖα τό τε ἄρτιον καὶ τὸ περιττόν, τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄπειρον τὸ δὲ πεπερασμένον, τὸ δ’ ἐν ἑξ ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι τούτων (καὶ γὰρ ἄρτιον εἶναι καὶ περιττόν)* (cf. Theo Smyrnaeus *de mathem. apud Plat.* 5 (p. 22.5 Hiller = Frg. 199 Rose)), *τὸν δὲ ἀριθμὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνός, ἀριθμοὺς δέ, καθάπερ εἴρηται* (v. 985b23 = B4), *τὸν ὅλον οὐρανόν*. Cf. Aristoxenus in Stobaeus *Eclog.* I, 6 (p. 20.1 Wachsmuth = B2). *Metaphys.* 987a13 sqq. (B8): *οἱ δὲ Πυθαγόρειοι δύο μὲν τὰς ἀρχὰς ... εἰρήκασιν..., τοσοῦτον δὲ προσεπέθεσαν, ὃ καὶ ἴδιόν ἐστιν αὐτῶν, ὅτι τὸ πεπερασμένον καὶ τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ τὸ ἐν* (i.e. the first composition from limit and infinity) *οὐχ ἑτέρας τινὰς ὠήθησαν εἶναι φύσεις, ... ἀλλ’ αὐτὸ τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν οὐσίαν εἶναι τούτων ὧν κατηγοροῦνται· διὸ καὶ ἀριθμὸν εἶναι τὴν οὐσίαν ἀπάντων*.

In the famous passage *Met.* 987b22 (=B23), Aristotle explicitly maintains that what distinguishes the Platonic from the Pythagorean position in the question of the first principles is that Plato substituted the

(Indefinite) Dyad of the Great and the Small in the place of the Pythagorean ἄπειρον. The peculiarity must refer to the diagnosed nature of the Dyad (the Great and Small or the *μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον*) rather than the Dyad itself, since Theophrastus (*Metaph.* 33 = B14) speaks of the Indefinite Dyad being τὸ ἄπειρον καὶ τὸ ἄτακτον καὶ πᾶσα ὡς εἰπεῖν ἀμορφία καθ' αὐτή, as the one pole of the contrariety between the One (a Platonic and not originally Pythagorean appellation of the former principle) and the Indefinite Dyad. Plutarch *Epitom.* I, 3, 8 and Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 10, 12 (= *Doxogr. Graeci* p. 281 = B15) speaks in later parlance of the Monad and the Indefinite Dyad as principles according to Pythagoras. *Metaphys.* 990a8 (= B22): ἐκ τίνος μέντοι τρόπου κίνησις ἔσται πέρατος καὶ ἀπείρου μόνον ὑποκειμένων καὶ περιττοῦ καὶ ἀρτίου, οὐθὲν λέγουσιν (sc. the Pythagoreans). *Physica* Γ, 203a1 (=B28) ...πεποίηται λόγον περὶ τοῦ ἀπείρου, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἀρχὴν τινα τιθέασι τῶν ὄντων, οἱ μὲν ὡσπερ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Πλάτων καθ' αὐτό, οὐχ ὡς συμβεβηκός τινι ἑτέρῳ, ἀλλ' οὐσίαν αὐτὸ ὄν τὸ ἄπειρον. Cf. *Phys.* Γ, 204a29 (=B29). V. also Eudemus in Simplicius *in Phys.* 431.13 (= B32). The important passages in B30 will be treated infra as being of cosmogonical import. As mathematical number is a physical hypostasis essentially constitutive of the World, Cosmology and Mathematics are just two sides of one and the same reality according to developed Pythagoreanism. The only question is a genetic one, concerning the origin of the system. And in this respect, it is natural to assume that what happened was (to put it epigrammatically) to transpose the Anaximandrian ἄπειρον as source of all (basic) contrariety to the one pole of the arch-opposition.

PHILOLAUS

Philolaus' system, as preserved in our sources, is a development of primitive Pythagoreanism. The World and everything in it is fitted together from things limiting and unlimited; Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 21, 7a (= p. 187.19-20 Wach. = B2): δῆλον τᾶρα ὅτι ἐκ περαινότων τε καὶ ἀπείρων ὃ τε Κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ συναρμόχθη; *ibid.* I, 21, 7d (= p. 188.18 Wachsmuth = B6): ...πραγμάτων, ἐξ ὧν συνέστα ὁ κόσμος, καὶ τῶν περαινότων καὶ τῶν ἀπείρων; *ibid.* I, prooem. coroll. 3 (= p. 17.11 Wach. = B11): ...τῶν πραγμάτων, τῶν τε ἀπείρων καὶ τῶν περαινότων. The limiting things limit, while the unlimited do not, *ibid.* I, 21, 7a (= p. 187.21 Wach = B2): τὰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν (sc. τῶν ἔργων) ἐκ περαινότων περαίνονται, τὰ δ' ἐκ περαινότων τε καὶ ἀπείρων περαίνοντι τε καὶ οὐ περαίνονται, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀπείρων ἄπειρα φανέονται. The root and fact of the existence in things on the one hand (ἡ ἐστὼ τῶν πραγμάτων), their factuality and its foundation, that they obtain in reality, and the

ground and support of their obtaining where they do stand, take roots and grow (the term *ἔστώ* bears unmistakable allusion to *ἔστία*, *ἵσταμαι*, *ἔστυ*); as well as, on the other hand, also the nature and content of their being and the principle and law of their coming to be (*ἡ φύσις*, their growth out of that root and the filling up of that factuality); these are matters eternal and divine, unattainable by human knowledge, they are unknowables for man; *ibid.* I, 21, 7d (= p. 188.14 sqq. Wach. = B6): *ἀ μὲν ἔστώ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀίδιος ἔσσα, καὶ αὐτὰ μὰν ἄ φύσις θεία ἐντὶ καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνην ἐνδέχεται γνῶσιν*. What we can know is, firstly, that nothing could come to be and be known by us, nothing could be real and known, if there did not obtain the fact of existence, the root and foundation (*ἔστώ*) of things, both of those limiting and of the unlimited ones (*περαίνοντα καὶ ἄπειρα*), *ibid.* (p. 188.16 = B6): *οὐκ ἀνθρωπίναν ἐνδέχεται γνῶσιν, πλάν γὰ ἢ ὅτι οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐόντων καὶ γιγνωσκομένων ὑφ' ἀμῶν γενέσθαι, μὴ ὑπαρχούσας τὰς ἐστοῦς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ὧν συνέστα ὁ κόσμος, καὶ τῶν περαινότων καὶ τῶν ἀπείρων*. (I preserve the manuscript reading *γιγνωσκομένων* against the editorial vulgate, after Usener, *γιγνωσκόμενον*. The meaning is clear: man does not comprehend the eternal factuality and root-existence of things; only what comes to be and passes away, what is perceived, constitutes the proper object of his knowledge; but it is certain that without the former, the latter could not exist and be known. *Γιγνωσκόμενον*, besides, gives an unduly unnatural turn to the phrase). What we can know, secondly, is number and its relations, for number is what renders things knowable and known, that which adjusts things in a harmonious arrangement and renders their reality commensurate to human apprehension. The harmony in the objective constitution of entities and the regular relationship established between them and the human soul, presuppose measure and proportion, and is the work of number, *ibid.* prooem. coroll. 3 (p. 17.4 sqq. Wach = B11); I 21, 7b (= p. 188.5 Wach. = B4). Evidently Philolaus has given up to a significant extent the detailed cosmogony of early Pythagoreanism and the mathematical speculations associated with it. Whatever is the ultimate nature of things and the ground for their existence, number adjusts them in a harmonious arrangement and renders them commensurate to human apprehension. This is a fundamental modification of the earlier position regarding number in Pythagoreanism, as we know it from Aristotle. But the basic dichotomy in Philolaus between *περαίνοντα* and *ἄπειρα* points unmistakably to the original duality of *Πέρασ* and *Ἄπειρον* as absolute principles of existence.

The single variant of Pythagorean philosophy which Aristotle recognizes in the question concerning first principles is the table of syzygies, the series

of coordinate pairs of fundamental opposites, ten in number. *Metaph.* 986a22 sqq. (= B5). They begin with, respectively, *Πέρας* and *Ἄπειρον*, while ranging in a complete but empirical fashion, over the entire field of reality, mathematical, physical and ethical. Further, the initial syzygy expresses the essential factors of all others (*περιττὸν καὶ ἄρτιον, ἐν καὶ πλῆθος, δεξιὸν καὶ ἀριστερόν, ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ, ἡρεμοῦν καὶ κινούμενον, εὐθὺ καὶ καμπύλον, φῶς καὶ σκότος, ἀγαθὸν καὶ κακόν, τετράγωνον καὶ ἑτερόμηκες*). The opposition is not merely one between possession of a character and the corresponding privation, but of luminous formosity on the one hand as against dark productivity on the other. A sign of relative lateness is only the inclusion of the *ἀγαθόν - κακόν* contrariety, unless “badness” is construed as powerful but chaotic, and therefore deformed, fertility; but such construal itself is evidence of a preexisting conceptual anomaly.

Right and sinister are again not mere relational predicates but also absolute characters in contrariety, with concrete realizations.

(a) Cosmological: right is the upper half of Heaven and left the lower one; Aristotle *de Caelo* 285b22 = B31; cf. 284b6 = B30 and Simplicius *ad loc.*, p. 173a11 Karsten. Aristotle in his *Συναγωγὴ Πυθαγορικῶν* Fr. 205 Rose, from Simplicius *in Arist. de Caelo* ad 285b 26, p. 175b29 Karsten, wrote: *τοῦ ὄλου οὐρανοῦ τὸ μὲν ἄνω λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸ δὲ κάτω, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄνω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δεξιὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ κάτω ἀριστερόν, καὶ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ ἄνω εἶναι*. In fact the Simplicius text has *κάτω ... ἄνω ... κάτω* instead, but the *κάτω ... ἄνω* is a scribal error in the transmission of the text of Simplicius; for Alexander Aphrodisiensis rightly corrected the last *κάτω* to *ἄνω* detecting an error in the transmission of the Aristotelian text; but he must have read the correct order *ἄνω ... κάτω* in the first and second position, as he specifically commented on the last *κάτω* alone in the third position, Simplicius *op.cit.* p. 175b 38. Themistius *de Caelo* (Moyses Alatinus interpret, Ven. 1574) f 26b = 96.17 = Fr. 205 Rose. - The superior part of the world is the more celestial one, while the inferior is infernal in character.

(b) Embryological: male offspring is conceived on the right part of the womb and contrariwise for the female. Parmenides B17 (from Galen *in Epid.* VI, 48); likewise Anaxagoras and Empedocles according to Censorinus, *de die natali* II, 6. But Empedocles rather emphasized the role of hot and cold in the formation of the sexes, v. A81; yet he did acknowledge the influence of the topical difference in embryology, Oribasius III, 78, 13 (= Empedocles A83); while for Anaxagoras, Censorinus' view is confirmed by Hippolytus *Refut. Omn. Haer.* I, 8, 12

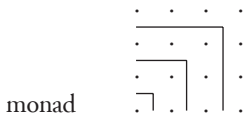
(= A42); v. Aristotle *de gener. animal.* 763b30 (= Anaxagoras A107); cf. also Parmenides A53 for a variation of the principle.

(c) Symbolic: Iamblichus *de Vit. Pythag.* 83 = C4: δεῖ τὸν δεξιὸν ὑποδεῖσθαι πρότερον; ibid. 84: καὶ ἡ λήψις (sc. τῆς γυναικός) διὰ δεξιᾶς.

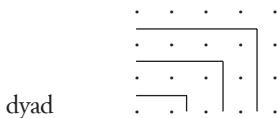
(d) Metrical: Aristotle, *Metaph.* N, 1092b30 = in B27.

60. Such must have been held to be the nature of the ten principal antithetical pairs (B5 from Aristotle). For five of them the fact is evident even at a commonsensical level of consciousness (πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον, ἐν καὶ πλῆθος, ἡρεμοῦν καὶ κινούμενον, εὐθὺ καὶ καμπύλον, τετράγωνον καὶ ἑτερόμηκες). The fertility of the female and darkness as fecund womb of realities tangible or ghostly could be scientifically projected as matrixes of variegated possibilities realized and absorbed in spasmodic outbursts or destructive collapses according to the chaotic necessity of plenipotential indeterminacy; while male and light are essentially form-orientated, form imposing, form-revealing.

Very characteristic is one of the ways in which arithmeticizing Pythagoreans endeavoured to constitute the antithesis of odd and even as lying at the core of that between Finite and Infinite. The reduction was achieved by the method of the so-called gnomons. These may be visualized as groups of equidistant points (or corresponding figures) in Γ-formation (Γ for Γνώμων). Beginning with the monad (a single dot) and arranging in succession around it odd gnomons (3, 5, 7 etc. points), we arrive at squares, shapes always, that is, presenting the same form of rectangle (having sides in the proportion 1:1):



If on the other hand one starts with a dyad and fits to it successively even gnomons (4, 6, 8 etc. points) the result will be rectangles of differing nature in each case (sides in proportions 2:1, 3:2, 4:3, 5:4 etc.):



Identity and continual variation are thus considered as the essential characteristics providing the connective bridge for the two oppositions

πέρας - ἄπειρον and περιπτόν - ἄρτιον. (Significantly the odd here is the normative and normal; it is the mathematically even which is essentially odd). V. Aristotle *Physica*, Γ, 203a6 sqq.; Stobaeus *Ecl. Prooem. Coroll.* 10 = p. 22.16 Wach. = B28.

The right - left antithesis falls into the same pattern of norm versus variation in a number of related ways, whether via the (above noticed v. n. 59 *ad fin.*) supernal-infernal opposition or the male - female one, or through the inception of the active (drastic and energetic) - passive (undergoing and sustaining) contrariety, as later was the Aristotelian interpretation: *de Caelo* B, 284b28: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δεξιῶν ἢ κατὰ τόπον (sc. ἄρχεται κινήσις); 285b16: δεξιὸν δὲ ἐκάστου λέγομεν, ὅθεν ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς κατὰ τόπον κινήσεως. Cf. the development in Simplicius *ad 284b28*; p. 172a26 sqq. Karsten: οἶον δεξιὰ χεῖρ καὶ ἀριστερά, καὶ πόδες ὁμοίως, οὐδὲν ἀλλήλων κατὰ τὰ σχήματα διαφέροντα, τῇ δυνάμει μόνον διαφέρουσι, χεῖρ μὲν δεξιὰ τῆς λαιᾶς ἐρρωμενεστέρα, τῶν δὲ ποδῶν ὁ μὲν λαιὸς πρὸς τὸ στηριζέσθαι μᾶλλον ἐπιτήδειος, ὁ δεξιὸς δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄρχειν κινήσεως, καὶ τῶν ὤμων ὁμοίως ὁ μὲν λαιὸς πρὸς τὸ ἀχθοφορεῖν, ὁ δὲ δεξιὸς πρὸς τὸ κινεῖσθαι, καίτοι κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα μηδὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέροντα. In this way the right determines, while the left is being determined.

The Good-Bad opposition is in any case anomalous. (The anomaly is resolved for example in the Aristotelian System by the distinction of matter and privation). The good as perfection of substance maximally functional, is definitely one and the same in each given case; the inferior, defective and useless, that which constitutes badness in the Greek world-experience, is intrinsically unstable, changeable, variegated, defined only as a spectrum of variation from, and around, the good. But here extreme caution is required, for we are at the heart of portentous transformations. Two very different polarities govern the basic experiences of the Iranian and the Greek people. That between good and evil on the one hand, between perfect and imperfect on the other. Early Pythagorean dualism was neither the one, nor the other. Evil is damnation, imperfection is defect, and no such principles as either Perdition or Default exist in the Hellenic system. Equally there is absent from it the eternal war of unconjugable powers, an incessant strife between hostile sovereignties; or, alternatively, unperturbed dominance of Excellence over Indigence. What we do have on Greek soil is the creative opposition of complementary principles whose fusion forms the World. The Ἄπειρον possesses the positive existence of the Iranian Evil without its depravity; it also is Want itself but without the impotence of imperfection in the Homeric acceptance: it is plenary, chaotic dynamism of productivity. That Good and Bad occur in the list of the ten principal coordinate antitheses (the Syzygies) is both a mark of Eastern influence and a sign of

relative lateness of the system. We observe the beginnings of the transition to the later notion (evident from the classical times onwards), according to which the unruly, disorderly field of chaotic fertility is more of a hindrance than a necessary factor in the cosmic harmony. Yet this tendency never exclusively prevailed in the Greek world; it rather merely tintured the way of looking at things under the spectacles of the typical love of perfect Beauty, than really effecting a transmutation of the fundamental underlying belief in the Dualism of the Olympian and the Chthonic towards any true Monism.

The criterion of *μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον* and related variations in intension or extension for the Infinite, is explicitly stated by Plato, *Philebus* 24e-25a, with reference to the Pythagorean doctrine.

61. Parmenidean dualism (B8.53 sqq.) gave as substance and characteristics of the two primordial principles Light and Night: on the one hand aethereal fire of flame, genial, light, rarefied; on the other body compressed and heavy, night opaque solidified, indiscernible. To the opposites light - heavy, rarefied - dense, warm - cold, Simplicius in a comment (*In Physic.* p. 31.3 sqq.) adds the soft - hard contrariety. All which fall under the more-or-less category and, on this count, cannot exemplify the *πέρας - ἄπειρον* antithesis (v. Plato, *Philebus*, 24a-d for the paradigm case of warm - cold; also in 25c for other similar contrarieties). Thus the characteristics of the Parmenidean dual principles seem all to belong to Indefiniteness.

The same holds good for Alcmaeon's World-view as well. Alcmaeon perceived all the human environment as woven by opposites: *φησὶ γὰρ εἶναι δύο τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων* (a direct quotation), *λέγων τὰς ἐναντιότητας*, Aristotle *Metaphys.* 986a31 (= in A3). Aristotle mentions white - black, sweet - bitter, good - bad, great - small as examples of such contrarieties. With the exception of the good - bad antithesis which has been analysed above, the rest appear as inter-infinite differentiations too.

But it is remarkable that the members of the ten *syzygies* conform, or may be construed to conform, to the Platonic requirements in the *Philebus* regarding the nature of *πέρας - ἄπειρον*. This provides another token of lateness. The list thus appears to be a (maybe Philolaic) elaboration of original Pythagoreanism. It exhibits an implicit awareness of the *Philebus* problem. The recognition that more-and-less, in all its varieties or any other similar bifurcation, is the essential character of infinitude must be considered specifically Platonic on the strength of such definitive Aristotelian statements as *Metaph.* 987b25: *τὸ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπέριου ὡς ἑνὸς δυάδα ποιῆσαι* (sc. τὸν Πλάτωνα) *τὸ δ' ἄπειρον ἐκ μεγάλου καὶ μικροῦ τοῦτ' ἴδιον* (of Plato as against the Pythagoreans); *Physica* Γ, 203a15: (Aristotle speaks of the respective positions of the Pythagoreans

and Plato regarding the ἄπειρον) Πλάτων δὲ δύο τὰ ἄπειρα, τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ μικρόν. Cf. Γ 206b27: ἐπεὶ καὶ Πλάτων διὰ τοῦτο δύο τὰ ἄπειρα ἐποίησεν, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν αὔξην δοκεῖ ὑπερβάλλειν καὶ εἰς ἄπειρον ἰέναι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν καθαίρεισιν. V. esp. *Metaph.* 988a25 οἷον Πλάτων μὲν τὸ μέγα καὶ τὸ μικρόν λέγων, οἱ δ' Ἰταλικοὶ (i.e. the Pythagoreans) τὸ ἄπειρον. Cf. *Physica*, 187a17. The μέγα καὶ μικρόν are matters for the World of Ideas - Ideal Numbers, *Metaph.* 987b20, but also for the sensible world, 988a11; cf. *Physica* Δ, 209b33. Aristotle speaks thus of the Platonic Dyad as the “other” nature (= second principle), *Metaph.* 987b33; 988a13; 1083a12; *Physica* 192a11; even as ἡ τοῦ ἀνίσου δυάς, τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ μικροῦ (*Metaph.* 1081a14). But all this concerns the later Pythagorean and chiefly Old-Academic speculations on the two ultimate principles, as it can be noted in Aristotle’s concise description at the beginning of *Metaphysics* N (1087b3-1088b13). The ἄπειρον has abundantly proven its fertile nature also on the conceptual level.

62. For any but the ultimate opposition(s), each pole would itself be a compound of πέρας and ἄπειρον; but the ἐπικράτεια (dominance) would vary and make it belong to the one or the other series. Such series must have been the περαίνοντα and ἄπειρα of Philolaus.

According to Philolaus’ system the radical factuality of the Limiting and Unlimited principles of reality is beyond human comprehension and explanation. But measure, proportion, in general number, make things definite and knowable (Stobaeus *Ecl. Prooem. Coroll.* 3 = p. 16.24 Wach. = B11: ἄνευ δὲ τούτας (sc. τῆς δεκάδος) πάντ’ ἄπειρα καὶ ἄδηλα καὶ ἀφανῆ. Iamblichus *In Nicom. Arithm.* p. 7, 24 Pist. = B3: ἀρχὰν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὸ γνωσούμενον ἐσσεῖται πάντων ἀπέριων ἔοντων. Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 21, 7b = p. 188.5 Wach. = B4: καὶ πάντα γὰρ μὰν τὰ γινωσκόμενα ἀριθμὸν ἔχοντι· οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε οὐδὲν νοηθῆμεν οὔτε γνωσθῆμεν ἄνευ τούτου. Thus the form in which the ultimate cosmogonical and cosmological antithesis of Πέρας and Ἄπειρον manifests itself to us is fundamentally the opposition between harmony and disorder, indeed between number and measurelessness. But this is an abstract formulation of the situation, without real explanatory power. For on the other hand, the cosmic workings of Ἄπειρον as well as of Πέρας are expressed through, and in, number and its determinations and relations (Philolaus B6, 10, 11). The intermixture of πέρας and Ἄπειρον creates harmony and number. But for the implied plurality of principles (τὰ περαίνοντα, τὰ ἄπειρα), we could have the generation of concrete, Cosmic Number, of the World as Number, out of the aboriginal dualism. However the plural evidently refers to a list of antithetical principles, like the ten syzygies, of the unknowable intrinsic explanation of existence, but of the apprehensible operations and effects. If

Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 21, 8 = p. 188.17 Wach. = B7 is genuinely Philolaeian (as we should take it), the One, being the first interfitting of *Πέρας* and *ἄπειρον*, cannot be an ultimate principle. Of course Philolaus could understand a list of first principles as including derivative entities (arranged in two series according to the predominance of the one or the other of the two ultimate principles), but of significantly universal character and definitive of an important and recognizable aspect or field of reality. Still the One would then be of the *Πέρας*, while the Many of the *ἄπειρον*, in the sense of the dominant character.

Whether such is the valid reconstruction of the Philolaeian position, and whether it is genuinely Philolaus' own, it shows what the solution would be to the problem regarding the seeming confusion between Finite - Infinite and Infinite - Infinite kinds of contrariety. The ultimate, principal opposition(s) is (are) of the absolute *πέρας* - *ἄπειρον* type. But all other antitheses in the world are between poles which already consist of *πέρας* and *ἄπειρον*, and which will, therefore, exhibit both the corresponding (series of) traits, yet under a dominating feature of the one or the other member of the radical pair of principles. An example was given above concerning the (Philolaeian) One. A physical instance is provided by elemental relations and the character of the basic qualities. Thus water acts as limiting, male principle with regard to earth, by solidifying it through its cohesive action restrictive of the latter's natural dispersiveness. But the moist is unlimited and female in connection with fire and warmth; for too intense a heat solidifies liquid matter entirely, while when moderate condenses, "digests" and brings it into maturity (cf. Aristotle, *De Gener. Animal.* 767a17: τὸ δὲ θερμὸν λίαν μὲν κρατοῦν ξηραίνει τὰ ὑγρά, πολὺ δὲ ἐλλείπον οὐ συνίστησιν). Philolaus held that our bodies are constituted by the agency of warmth, the purpose of breathing being to chill and temper the informing innate heat (A27 from Menon, *Anonymi Londin.* 18, 8 p. 31 *Supplem. Aristotel.* III, 1).

In the physical Parmenidean dualism reflecting avowedly early Pythagoreanism, the second principle bears the character of Earth, heavy, dense (and hard) darkness, passive and female, while the first stands for aetherial luminosity, light (soft), rarefied, active and male. Here, the *πέρας* - *ἄπειρον* antithesis bears not its mathematical appearance, but involves characteristics depending on, and leading directly to, the primitive idea of a male - celestial versus female - chthonic distinction. The Parmenidean dualism was an adequate physical manifestation of the logico-mythical one, it had nothing to do with mathematics; it was closer to the cultural milieu at the birth of Pythagoreanism.

What was abstract and ineffectual in Philolaus becomes an organizing principle in Plato. The Platonic analysis in the *Philebus* is the working out of the Philolaean idea of a stricter mathematical interpretation of pythagorean dualism (if it is not, conversely, rather the model for it). There is the Indeterminate - Indeterminate antithesis, the dyad of the *Ἄπειρον* (*Philebus* 25d-e) and the Finite - Infinite one (25a). The basic opposition is between, on the one hand, quantitative determinateness and, on the other hand, the dyad or contrariety of indeterminacy. As Aristotle again and again emphasizes, the second pole of the ultimate duality, mathematically conceived, is itself dual and self-oppository. This latter opposition (of more or less or great and small or however one would choose to describe it for mathematical reasons and purposes), manifested in a stunning variety of phenomena (hotter and colder, quicker and slower, moister and drier etc.), is harmonized and reduced into definite, stable, orderly nature (health, perfect music, the good seasons, all beautiful things) by the action of the contrary principle, that of numerical definiteness. *Philebus* 25d-e: τὴν τοῦ ἴσου καὶ διπλασίου (sc. γένναν) καὶ ὀπόση παύει πρὸς ἄλληλα ἐναντία διαφόρως ἔχοντα, σύμμετρα δὲ καὶ σύμφωνα ἐνθεῖσα ἀριθμὸν ἀπεργάζε-ται. The τὰναντία in the text refers to the Indeterminate - Indeterminate opposition. These are in their turn both ἐναντία to the finite principles; cf. 25a: οὐκοῦν τὰ μὴ δεχόμενα ταῦτα (he was speaking of μᾶλλον καὶ ἥττον and σφόδρα καὶ ἡρέμα and λίαν), τούτων δὲ τὰ ἐναντία πάντα δεχόμενα, πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἴσον καὶ ἰσότητα, μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἴσον τὸ διπλάσιον καὶ πᾶν ὅ,τιπερ ἂν πρὸς ἀριθμὸν ἀριθμὸς ἢ μέτρον ἢ πρὸς μέτρον, ταῦτα σύμπα-ντα εἰς τὸ πέρας ἀπολογιζόμενοι καλῶς ἂν δοκοῦμεν δρᾶν τοῦτο. This all is to take mathematics too literally; and, in fact, to substitute the science of it for the philosophy of reality, while simultaneously professing to treat of it only for the benefit of the latter, exactly as Aristotle complained against the Old Academy, *Metaph.* A, 992a 32: ἀλλὰ γέγονε τὰ μαθήματα τοῖς νῦν ἢ φιλοσοφία, φασκόντων ἄλλων χάριν αὐτὰ δεῖν πραγματεῦσθαι.

In archaic Pythagoreanism, mathematics was thoroughly symbolic, and mathematical objects fully substantial and material. It is only with the acute mathematization of metaphysics, cultivated in classical Pythagoreanism (Philolaus, Archytas) and prevailing in the Old Academy, that the problem regarding the relevant kind of opposition observable in the World in relation to the ultimate antithesis is posed threateningly. Moving from the chaotic procreative dynamism of the Chthonic Female to the potent and inexhaustible formlessness of the *Ἄπειρον* and hence to the fecund ground of open possibilities popping up, so to speak, into disorderly, never ending realizations, and, finally, to a field of indefinite variation; and, correspondingly, proceeding from the form-imposing, law-enforcing, light-

bearing celestial Male to the irresistible, shaping determinateness of the *Πέρασ*, and then to the omnipotent, creative seal of actuality, ending with the operator of harmonious quantification; these correlative series of conceptual experiences were crystallized into four successive world-views, with a chronological *πρωθύστερον* in the last two phases: (1) logico-mythical religious speculation; (2) Pythagoras; (3) Aristotle; (4) Plato and the Old Academy.

The Aristotelian theory on form and matter (whether in its ultimate absoluteness as the opposition between God and prime Matter, or in its multifarious physical expression) comes, in a restricted sense, closer to original Pythagoreanism than the Academic overmathematicising. Form is the limiting principle, but in the place of *ἄπειρον*, he distinguishes matter as sustaining receptivity of form, and privation as absence of form (from what is naturally receptive of it). Matter is like mother to the actual being, while privation resembles the principle of badness. V. chiefly *Physica* A, 192a3-25; 190b17-191a22. Having introduced the substrate, potentially perfect and desirous of form, Aristotle disposes of the relevant contrariety by reducing it ultimately to the *ἕξις - στέρησις* model (v. the great development in *Metaphysica* I, 1054a20 - 1056b2, esp. 1055b11-27), thus construing it on the positive-negative pattern. Matter is very definite in the content of being whose possibility it sustains; in fact it is as definite in this as the corresponding actuality of existence for that content of being. Potentiality and actuality are characterised by the same being-determination in two different modes of existence. Even prime matter is very definitely circumscribed in its content of possibilities: it involves the potentiality of the sum-total of actuality in all its absolute determinateness. (No unreal, "theoretical" possibility is ensconced in it). In this respect matter is as positive as actualized form. If therefore we take the negativity of privation together with matter, we reconstitute the Pythagorean second principle. Aristotle's point in distinguishing them was this: when the two first principles combine to produce something, the one does not cancel the other. But in the integration of matter and form, privation disappears, while matter is preserved necessarily into the compound. Therefore the second principle cannot be defined by the absence of form. Similarly if the first principle consists in numerical determination, the second cannot be quantificational indefiniteness. Or, if the former is harmony, the latter cannot be disorder, since in the harmoniously composed thing disorder is annihilated.

But in fact it is not. As no thing is *Πέρασ* itself, *Ἄπειρον* always lurks in every thing. In the midst of existence however perfect lies the gap of Chaos. In fact the unruly feeds the rule that rules it. This is why order can be

revoked at any time, on the power and authority of the Second-Principle, and destruction resume sway: a most fecund destruction, to wit. Early Pythagoreanism, in touch with the Greek religious awareness of chthonicity, was true to such an experience. In Archaic Pythagoreanism mathematics was physical and cosmological (as Aristotle is never tired of emphasising) and symbolic (as is argued in this study).

63. The example par excellence was, of course, musical harmony. Sculpture and architecture were other salient fields where definite proportionality constituted the essential effect. Balance and measure and the working of the principle of (Opposing) Tension were early discerned in health and applied to gymnastics and medicine. Croton was famous for both its athletes and doctors.
64. A) The notion that Pythagoras was led on scientific, inductive reasons to his peculiar mathematization of the World, by empirical observation of, chiefly, acoustical phenomena and the consequent development of an adequate physical theory of music, is absurdly modern fiction, although usually served under pretext of high authority. What Aristotle maintained was that the Pythagoreans considered the mathematical principles as principles of real being. He suggested two reasons for this idea. One, that they originated and were the first to develop in a coherent way proper mathematical studies; it was their initiation and intimate involvement with, indeed addiction to, mathematics that accounts for their view on cosmic principles. Second, they noticed resemblances between numbers and things much more pronounced than between realities and physical elements. The similarities consisted in felt identities between properties of numbers on the one hand, and essential attributes of things, characters, states and events on the other (*δικαιοσύνη, ψυχή, νοῦς, καιρός, οὐρανοῦ πάθη καὶ μέρη*; cf. *Metaph.* 990a23 *δόξα, ἀδικία, κρίσις ἢ μίξις*; such are the examples used by Aristotle). In addition to this line of thought, which is naturally basically symbolic, there was also operative due consideration of the fact that the theory of Harmony in the audible and visual fields (system of proportions in Music, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting) was strictly mathematical in the more scientific sense. *Metaphysica* A, 985b23 sqq.: *ἐν δὲ τούτοις καὶ πρὸ τούτων οἱ καλούμενοι Πυθαγόρειοι τῶν μαθημάτων ἀψάμενοι πρῶτοι ταυτὰ τε προήγαγον, καὶ ἐντραφέντες ἐν αὐτοῖς τὰς τούτων ἀρχὰς τῶν ὄντων ἀρχὰς ᾗθησαν εἶναι πάντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ τούτων (sc. of mathematics and of mathematical) οἱ ἀριθμοὶ φύσει πρῶτοι, ἐν δὲ τούτοις ἐδόκουν θεωρεῖν ὁμοιώματα πολλὰ τοῖς οὐσι καὶ γιγνομένοις, μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν πυρὶ καὶ γῆ καὶ ὕδατι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν τοιονδὶ τῶν ἀριθμῶν πάθος δικαιοσύνη τὸ δὲ τοιονδὶ ψυχή καὶ νοῦς ἕτερον δὲ καιρὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὡς εἰπεῖν ἕκαστον ὁμοίως, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀρμονιῶν ἐν ἀριθμοῖς*

ὁρῶντες τὰ πάθη καὶ τοὺς λόγους· ἐπεὶ δὴ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς ἐφαίνετο τὴν φύσιν ἀφομοιωσθαι πᾶσαν, οἱ δ' ἀριθμοὶ πάσης τῆς φύσεως πρῶτοι, τὰ τῶν ἀριθμῶν στοιχεῖα τῶν ὄντων στοιχεῖα πάντων ὑπέλαβον εἶναι, καὶ τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἁρμονίαν εἶναι καὶ ἀριθμὸν· καὶ ὅσα εἶχον ὁμολογούμενα ἐν τε τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἁρμονίαις πρὸς τὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ πάθη καὶ μέρη καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅλην διακόσμησιν, ταῦτα συνάγοντες ἐφήρμοττον. Having developed mathematical (in fact arithmetical) knowledge, they observed correlations between properties and relations of numbers on the one hand, and properties and relations of things on the other. These correlations were scientific (as in the case of Harmonics), but mostly symbolic. They led to the conception of number as the constitutive factor of reality, indeed as the primal reality in nature. Hence the elements of number were thought to be elements of being tout court. And this speculative insight was the outcome of construing the correspondences between numerical and harmonic determinations on the one hand and the celestial and physical parts and attributes on the other (which they generalized and applied by extrapolation systematically to all aspects of reality, so as to deduce the non-apparent correlations as well) as explanations of the nature and structure of the cosmic fabric. This is the clear Aristotelian overview of the matter, and it carries immediate persuasion. The Pythagorean induction was logico-mythical; there followed speculation; which then resulted in equally logico-mythical deduction. Clearly the Pythagorean dogma ἀριθμῶ δέ τε πάντ' ἐπέουικεν (Sextus Empiricus *adv. mathem.* VII, 94) involved at least as much symbolic as scientific (in the modern sense) meaning and application. Although a more accurate description of the archaic mentality would lead us to say that symbolic and scientific factors were then fused together in a unified, living explanatory power - full knowledge having the synthetic power of the symbol as well as the articulate clarity of analysis.

On the question of the scientificization of the chiefly symbolic (or rather logico-mythical) Pythagorean Mathematics (in connection with the emergence of the distinction between Mathematicians and Acousmatics within the School), v. Chapter 14, Part A; *Symbolic and Mathematical Pythagoreanism: Early History*.

B) The definite and the indefinite as principles were manifested as attributive elements of number (essential properties being constitutive elements for the Pythagoreans), marking them odd and even respectively. From oddity and evenness comes the One, which, combining both, exhibits the power of both and generates all number. For from the One all numbers are derived, even and odd. Further, it is of such a nature that being added to any number it changes its nature, producing from odd even and vice versa

(it is the unconjugated monad in each odd number, the “odd” one out, - the one unit e.g. in three that remains when the two other are taken as a couple - that really effects the same result). Aristotle, *Metaphysica A*, 986a17 sqq.: τοῦ δὲ ἀριθμοῦ στοιχεῖα τό τε ἄρτιον καὶ περιττόν, τούτων δὲ τὸ μὲν πεπερασμένον, τὸ δὲ ἄπειρον, τὸ δ' ἐν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι τούτων (καὶ γὰρ ἄρτιον εἶναι καὶ περιττόν), τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνός etc. Alexander Aphrodisiensis (*In Metaphys.* 40, 20; 41, 12) explains: τῶν δὲ ἀριθμῶν τὴν μονάδα ἀρχήν, αὐτῆς συγκειμένης ἐκ τε τοῦ ἀρτίου καὶ περιττοῦ· εἶναι γὰρ τὴν μονάδα ἅμα ἀρτιοπέριττον, ὃ ἐδείκνυε διὰ τοῦ γεννητικῆν αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ τοῦ περιττοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀρτίου ἀριθμοῦ· ἀρτίῳ μὲν γὰρ προστιθεμένη περιττόν γεννᾷ, περιττῷ δὲ ἄρτιον (p. 542a27 Brandis). Aristotle himself adduced this explanation in his special book on Pythagoreanism (fr. 199 Rose from Theo Smyrnaeus, *de mathem. apud Plat.* P. 22.5 Hiller): Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ Πυθαγορικῷ τὸ ἐν φησιν ἀμφοτέρων μετέχειν (sc. τοῦ ἀρτίου καὶ τοῦ περιττοῦ) τῆς φύσεως· ἀρτίῳ μὲν γὰρ προστεθὲν περιττόν ποιεῖ, περιττῷ δὲ ἄρτιον, ὃ οὐκ ἂν ἠδύνατο εἰ μὴ ἀμφοῖν ταῖς φύσεσιν μετεῖχε· διὸ καὶ ἀρτιοπέριττον καλεῖσθαι τὸ ἐν. Συμφέρεται δὲ τούτοις καὶ Ἀρχύτας. As the mention of Archytas indicates, this was probably a later (classical) interpretation of the original Pythagorean consideration, which was initially more likely to concentrate on the universal creativity of the One, it being the source and principle of all number, even and odd. Cf. Theo Smyrnaeus *op. cit.* p. 99.24 sqq. Hiller: ἡ μὲν γὰρ μονὰς ἀρχὴ πάντων καὶ κυριωτάτη πασῶν... καὶ ἐξ ἧς πάντα, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐξ οὐδενός, ἀδιαίρετος καὶ δυνάμει πάντα, ἀμετάβλητος, μηδεπώποτε τῆς αὐτῆς ἐξισταμένη φύσεως κατὰ τὸν πολλαπλασιασμόν etc. The idea passed into Hermetic teaching; Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 10, 15: Ἡ γὰρ μονὰς, οὕσα πάντων ἀρχὴ καὶ ρίζα, ἐν πᾶσιν ἔστιν ὡς ἂν ρίζα καὶ ἀρχή... οὕσα οὖν ἀρχὴ πάντα ἀριθμὸν ἐμπεριέχει, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἐμπεριεχομένη· καὶ πάντα ἀριθμὸν γεννᾷ ὑπὸ μηδενὸς γεννωμένη ἑτέρου ἀριθμοῦ. According to Stobaeus *Ecl.* I proem. coroll. 2: ἡ μονὰς γονὴ ὑπὸ Τιμαίου τοῦ Λοκροῦ προσαγορεύεται, ὡς ἄρχουσα τῆς τῶν ἀριθμῶν γενέσεως. Cf. Martianus Capella VII, 731: ipsam esse (sc. the Monad), ab eaque singula procreari, omniumque numerorum solam seminarium esse. Iamblichus, *in Nicomachi Arithm. introd.* 12 (p. 11.11 Pistelli): ἀπ' αὐτῆς γάρ, ὡς ἀπὸ σπέρματος καὶ αἰδίου ρίζης, ἐφ' ἑκάτερον ἀντιπεπονηθότως αὔξονται οἱ λόγοι (i.e. to the infinitely great and small e.g. 2, 1/2 / 3, 1/3 / 4, 1/4 etc.) ... τινὲς δὲ ὠρίσαντο μονάδα εἰδὼν εἶδος, ὡς δυνάμει πάντας περιέχουσαν τοὺς ἐν ἀριθμῷ λόγους. Iamblichus (*op. cit.* 10, p. 10.12 Pistelli) even ascribes the idea to Pythagoras himself: Πυθαγόρας δὲ (defined number as) ἕκτασιν καὶ ἐνέργειαν τῶν ἐν μονάδι σπερματικῶν λόγων (where we should not be

suspicious of the substance because of the anachronistic terminology). This spermatic monad, first intermingling of *πέρας* and *ἄπειρον* (cf. the Philolaean One), points to Chronos' semen in Pherecydes, equally spermatic (seminal and seminarium of all the World, *διακόσμησης*). There, however, Chthonie and Zas are external to it. This spermatic monad, first intermingling of *Πέρας* and *Ἄπειρον*, points to Chronos' semen in Pherecydes; only it does not there involve both principles.

Evidently the Pythagorean One corresponded to the mythological androgynous Primigenitus. So Macrobius *Comm. in Somn. Scipionis* 6, 7-8: unum autem quod *μονάς* id est unitas dicitur et mas idem et femina est, par idem atque impar, ipse non numerus sed fons et origo numerorum. haec monas initium finisque omnium, neque ipsa principii aut finis sciens, ad summum refertu deum etc. In a curious passage ascribed to Aristotle (fr. 198 Rose = Martianus Capella VII, 731) the Monas is described as a self-loving being, a Narcissus involved in a continuous autosexual act: licet Aristoteles ... ex eo quod unum solum ipsa (sc. monas) sit et se queri sepe velit, Cupidinem asserat nominatam, quod se cupiat, si quidem ultra nihil habeat et expers totius elationis aut copulae in se proprios detorquent ardores. This representation must go to the very origin of Pythagoreanism from logico-mythical speculation; the similarity to Chronos' autosexual emission of semen according to Pherecydes is again significant. That this One was called *ἀρτιοπέριττος* is quite possible in this signification although there was a special sense attached to the word as a technical term in Arithmology (cf. e.g. Iamblichus *In Nicomachi Arithm. Introd.* 29, p. 22.8 sqq. Pistelli; a different, and less specific, sense in Euclid. *Elem.* VII defin. 9 p. 184.16 Heiberg; v. also Philolaus B5).

Τὸν δ' ἀριθμὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἐνὸς εἶναι stated Aristotle *Metaph.* A, 986a19. Number was conceived essentially as consisting of monads (it was monadic and not ideal according to the Aristotelian terminology in his discussion of the Old Academic numerological complications). Aristoxenus (in Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, prooem. coroll. 6 = p. 20.9 Wach) explained: *Μονὰς μὲν οὖν ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ ἀριθμοῦ, ἀριθμὸς δὲ τὸ ἐκ τῶν μονάδων πλῆθος συγκείμενον*. In the pregnant formulation of Moderatus (in Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, prooem. coroll. 8, p. 21.8 Wach.): *ἔστι δὲ ἀριθμὸς, ὡς τύπῳ εἰπεῖν, σύστημα μονάδων ἢ προποδισμὸς πλῆθους ἀπὸ μονάδος ἀρχόμενος καὶ ἀναποδισμὸς εἰς μονάδα καταλήγων*. Nicomachus (*Introd. Arithm.* I, 7, 1) similarly defined number as limited (determined) multitude, or a combination of monads, or an (arrested) flow of quantity made up of monads. Euclid *Elem.* VII def. 2: *ἀριθμὸς δὲ τὸ ἐκ μονάδων συγκείμενον πλῆθος*. And Bouterhus (in Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, prooem. coroll. 5, p. 18.15 Wach.): *ἀριθμὸς ἐκ μονάδων σύγκειται*. But the monads are the progeny of the primordial Monad, of

the aboriginal One, first blending of Finite and Indefinite. The One, once generated, acts as Father on maternal Infinity (or maybe on itself as it comprises infinity), procreating his offspring in his image, the multitude and system of monads. At the first such intercourse another monad is engendered; thus the dyad comes into being. At the next one we get another monad, and the triad as a result. And so on. This seems to be alluded to by a cryptic statement of Moderatus (in Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, prooem. coroll. 9, p. 21.21 Wach.): εἰδέναι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο χρή, ὅτι τῶν ἀριθμῶν εἰσηγήσαντο τὰς ἀρχὰς οἱ μὲν νεώτεροι τὴν τε μονάδα καὶ τὴν δυάδα (like, say, Plato according to Aristotle), οἱ δὲ Πυθαγορικοὶ πάσας παρὰ τὸ ἐξῆς τὰς τῶν ὄρων ἐκθεσεις δι' ὧν ἄρτιοι τε καὶ περιττοὶ νοοῦνται. (The παρὰ τὸ ἐξῆς ἐκθέσεις are the successive projections and subsequent additions of a monad, the process which creates the series of natural numbers as above explained; cf. e.g. Iamblichus in *Nicomachi Arithm. Introd.* 14, p. 12.23 Pistelli). There is need of renewed copulation and of a novel birth for the generation of each successive monad constituting the next number. If this movement is not halted it will be submerged into Infinity; such successive “arrests” are temporary, so to speak, resting places or “rests” in the Infinite productive activity of the original monad-One and they constitute the natural numbers.

The above described process of number-generation may also be involved in a curious doxographical passage on Aristotle in Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, prooem. corol. 2, p. 16.15 Wach.: τοῦ περισσοῦ καὶ ἀδιαίρετου λόγου Ἀριστοτέλης ἀπεφάνητο πρῶτον καὶ ἀμέριστον εἶδος τὸ ἔν· κατὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου ποίησιν εἰδοποιουμένη μονὰς ἀρχὴ καὶ στοιχεῖον τῶν ἀριθμῶν. Odd number is essentially indivisible into two because of the existence in it of an unconjugated monad (cf. supra). Thus monad qua monad (and not as coupled in dyads) is constitutive of oddity and hence the One is the first and absolutely indivisible form (εἶδος) of odd numbers. The constitution of the unique One (from Πέρας and Ἄπειρον) involves the principle of its repetition, and thus the creation of the one results in the monad being principle (as the One) and simultaneously element (as many monads) of numbers. The primigenitum One is involved in a generation in which the monad assumes its specific nature and function as principle and element of number.

The reported differentiation between One and Monad would not pose serious difficulty in the context of early thought. The One is the primal, physical Monad, but with the generation of number, there exist many monads, yet only one One. In fact the uses of the words “one” and “monad” may be reversed in this connection, or even intermixed. But these are merely verbal complications.

65. Criticizing the theory of Ideas and mathematical, Aristotle rejects any hesitation as to whether the Pythagoreans maintained an actual generation for the various numbers or not: οἱ μὲν οὖν Πυθαγόρειοι πότερον οὐ ποιούσιν ἢ ποιούσι γένεσιν οὐδὲν δεῖ διστάζειν· φανερώς γὰρ λέγουσιν etc. (*Metaph.* N, 1091a13). And he further considers the examination of their views as belonging to a different discipline than systematic metaphysics investigating the principles of the immovable and changeless realm: ἀλλ’ ἐπειδὴ κοσμοποιούσι καὶ φυσικῶς βούλονται λέγειν, δίκαιον αὐτοὺς ἐξετάζειν τι περὶ φύσεως, ἐκ δὲ τῆς νῦν ἀφείναι μεθόδου· τὰς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀκινήτοις ζητοῦμεν ἀρχάς etc. (*ibid.* 1091a18). They are concerned with cosmogony (κοσμοποιούσι) and physics (φυσικῶς λέγειν), even when they are ostensibly treating mathematics. Cf. also *Metaph.* A, 989b29 sqq.: οἱ μὲν οὖν καλούμενοι Πυθαγόρειοι ταῖς μὲν ἀρχαῖς καὶ τοῖς στοιχείοις ἐκτοπωτέροις χρῶνται τῶν φυσιολόγων (τὸ δ’ αἴτιον ὅτι παρέλαβον αὐτὰς οὐκ ἐξ αἰσθητῶν· τὰ γὰρ μαθηματικὰ τῶν ὄντων ἄνευ κινήσεως ἐστὶν ἔξω τῶν περὶ ἀστρολογίαν), διαλέγονται μέντοι καὶ πραγματεύονται περὶ φύσεως πάντα· γεννώσι τε γὰρ τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ περὶ τὰ τούτου μέρη καὶ τὰ πάθη καὶ τὰ ἔργα διατηροῦσι τὸ συμβαῖνον, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰ αἴτια εἰς ταῦτα καταναλίσκουσι, ὡς ὁμολογοῦντες τοῖς ἄλλοις φυσιολόγοις ὅτι τό γε ὄν τοῦτ’ ἐστὶν ὅσον αἰσθητὸν ἐστὶ καὶ περιέληφεν ὁ καλούμενος οὐρανός. The Pythagoreans are “physiologists”, students of Nature, of the sensible, physical Universe; with regard to Heaven, its parts and properties and activities they “save the phenomena”, διατηροῦσι τὸ συμβαῖνον, i.e. they keep inviolate what obtains and endeavour to explain it, instead of reshaping the cosmic phenomena (the World as it appears) according to their ideology (like e.g. the Eleatic philosophers). Aristotle never ceases from emphasizing that according to the Pythagoreans mathematical number constitutes the very substance of things and the entire material Universe: it provides, in his own terminology, both the formal and the material cause of being: φαίνονται δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν νομίζοντες ἀρχὴν εἶναι καὶ ὡς ὕλην τοῖς οὖσι καὶ ὡς πάθη τε καὶ ἔξεις (*Metaph.* A, 986a15). Cf. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* §143.
66. Cf. n. 64 for the Pythagorean generation of number out of the One.
67. Aristotle, in his work on the Archytean philosophy (Fr. 207 Rose from Damascius *In Parmen.* II p. 172.17 Ruelle = Archytas A13) reported that Pythagoras called matter “ἄλλο” by reason of its continual flux and perpetual alteration: ...κατὰ τὴν Πυθαγορικὴν συνήθειαν καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Πλάτωνος, ἄλλα νοοῦντος τὰ ἔνυλα πράγματα καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ὕλην... Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ἀρχυτείοις ἱστορεῖ καὶ Πυθαγόραν ἄλλο τὴν ὕλην καλεῖν ὡς ρευστὴν καὶ αἰεὶ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο γιγνόμενον. Cf. II p. 274.9: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πᾶν τὸ ἐν ὕλῃ ὄν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ὕλην ἄλλα καλεῖ

ὁ ἐν Φαίδωνι Σωκράτης, καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι. Ὑλῃ in this context is the Aristotelian equivalence for the Pythagorean Ἄπειρον.

68. The formation of the physical World through successive transcendencies of the previously achieved limitation, definiteness and harmonious equilibrium, is the main point of Pythagorean cosmogony. V. *infra*.
69. Aristotle criticized the view, held by some, that movement is, or intrinsically belongs to, the second principle. *Physica* Γ, 201b19 sqq.: ...δὴλόν τε σκοποῦσιν ὡς τιθέασιν αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν κίνησιν) ἔνιοι, ἑτερότητα καὶ ἀνισότηματα καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν φάσκοντες εἶναι τὴν κίνησιν· ὦν οὐδὲν ἀναγκαῖον κινεῖσθαι, οὔτ' ἂν ἕτερα ἢ οὔτ' ἂν ἄνισα οὔτ' ἂν οὐκ ὄντα· ...αἴτιον δὲ τοῦ εἰς ταῦτα τιθέναι ὅτι ἀόριστόν τι δοκεῖ εἶναι ἢ κίνησις etc. The ground of the criticism against the view that movement is otherness, inequality or non-being consists in the fact that these, in themselves, do not imply movement. But Aristotle correctly diagnoses the operative reason behind such putative equivalents: otherness etc., as well as movement, involve indeterminateness. There follows upon the passage quoted the reason why, in Aristotle's terms, movement appears as indefinite. But there is no need to be so technical. Movement cancels the determinateness of position or state and is thus directly indeterminate, however definite it may be with regard to its end point and final cause - something which Aristotle wishes to highlight. The ἔνιοι of Aristotle are evidently Pythagoreans and Platonists.

Eudemus apud Simplicius *In Phys.* 431.5 (360a5 sqq. Brandis = Archytas A23 + Pythagoreans B32; see Rose *Aristoteles Pseudepigraphus*, 192): νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον ἰστέον, ὅτι καὶ Εὐδήμος πρὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἱστορῶν τὴν Πλάτωνος περὶ κινήσεως δόξαν καὶ ἀντιλέγων αὐτῇ, τάδε γράφει· “Πλάτων δὲ τὸ μέγα καὶ μικρὸν καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν καὶ τὸ ἀνώμαλον, καὶ ὅσα τούτοις ἐπὶ ταῦτ' φέρει, τὴν κίνησιν λέγει. Φαίνεται δὲ ἄποπον αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν κίνησιν λέγειν· ...βέλτιον δὲ αἴτια λέγειν ταῦτα ὡσπερ Ἀρχύτας”. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον “τὸ δὲ ἀόριστον” φησὶ “καλῶς ἐπὶ τὴν κίνησιν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ ὁ Πλάτων ἐπιφέρουσιν”. The Aristotelian criticism to the effect that movement cannot be identical to the Second Principle however defined because that would imply that the unequal, for example, should be in movement, bears the evident stamp of later types of ratiocinations, those that led eventually to the highly elaborate articulations of reality and its orderly derivation in Neoplatonism. Originally, movement would be simply a way in which the Indefinite is manifested. In fact, movement is a defining character in the Anaximandean Infinite (v. n. 19). Cf. also the inherent condition of Anaximenean Air. At the first stage of articulation, movement would be included in the syzygies of first dual principles, under the heading of the Limitless, the column of the Indefinite (Aristotle *Metaph.* A, 986a23 sqq.; Plutarch *de Iside et Osiride*, 48;

Porphyry, *Vita Pythag.* 38). As Simplicius explains (In *Physic.* P. 359b29 Brandis): καὶ ἐκεῖνοι (sc. οἱ ἀρχαῖοι) γὰρ εἰς ἀνισότητα καὶ ἑτερότητα καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν τιθέασιν (sc. τὴν κίνησιν) ὅτι ἀόριστόν τι δοκεῖ ἢ κίνησις· δύο γὰρ οὐσῶν συστοιχιῶν παρὰ τοῖς Πυθαγορείοις, ὧν ἐν τῇ ἑτέρα ἐστὶν ἢ κίνησις τῇ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχούσῃ στερητικὰς καὶ ἀορίστους, ἐν αἷς καὶ ἑτερότης καὶ ἀνισότης καὶ τὸ μὴ ὄν (αἱ γὰρ δέκα ἀντιθέσεις ὡς ἀρχαὶ παρελήφθησαν), εἰκότως ἀόριστόν τι δοκεῖ ἢ κίνησις καὶ ἐκείνοις ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμῖν. Any disagreement, Simplicius therefore intimates, in this connection would be merely verbal. At a second phase of development, the second principle, or the principles in the second column of the syzygies, would be considered cause(s) of movement; this is Archytas' position.

70. Alteration as change in another respect than mere position is subject to the same analysis as local movement.
71. Cf. nn. 60-62.
72. Aristotle *Physica* Γ, 203a3 sq. (= B28): καὶ πάντες ὡς ἀρχὴν τινα τιθέασιν τῶν ὄντων (sc. τὸ ἄπειρον), οἱ μὲν, ὥσπερ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι καὶ Πλάτων, καθ' αὐτό, οὐχ ὡς συμβεβηκός τι ἐτέρῳ ἀλλ' οὐσίαν αὐτὸ ὄν τὸ ἄπειρον. Πλὴν οἱ μὲν Πυθαγόρειοι ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς (οὐ γὰρ χωριστὸν ποιούσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν), καὶ εἶναι τὸ ἕξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄπειρον, Πλάτων δὲ ἕξω μὲν οὐδὲν εἶναι σῶμα, οὐδὲ τὰς ἰδέας etc. *Ibid.* Δ, 213b22 (= B20): εἶναι δ' ἔφασαν καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι κενόν, καὶ ἐπεισείναι αὐτὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπέριου πνεύματος ὡς ἀναπνέοντι καὶ τὸ κενόν etc. (αὐτὸ and πνεύματος are by far the better testified variants, and they are correct; Diels' changes are futile). The Infinite Spirit that circumscribes the World is a conflation of the Anaximandrian Infinite with the Anaximenean Air, both endowed as they were with Infinite, eternal movement. This spirit is breathed in, inhaled, by the World, and together comes in the void. To the Pythagorean commingling of vacuum and air (breath, spirit), Aristotle testifies also the addition of time; Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 18, 1 (= p. 156.11 Wach. = B30): ἐν δὲ τῷ περὶ τῆς Πυθαγόρου Φιλοσοφίας πρώτῳ γράφει (sc. Aristotle, Fr. 201 Rose) τὸν μὲν οὐρανὸν εἶναι ἕνα, ἐπεισάγεσθαι δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀπέριου χρόνον τε καὶ πνοὴν καὶ τὸ κενόν. The Infinite therefore essentially involves air and movement (hence also spirit as moving air, breath) and void; chaotic movement implicates inchoate duration (ie. Unordered time). Cf. for the void Plutarchean *Epit.* II, 9, 1 = Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 18, 4: οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου ἐκτὸς εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου κενὸν εἰς ὃ ἀναπνεῖ ὁ κόσμος καὶ ἐξ οὗ (inhaling and exhaling). This physical understanding of the early notion of Infinite is evident in Aristotle *Metaph.* N, 1091a13: οἱ μὲν Πυθαγόρειοι πότερον οὐ ποιοῦσιν ἢ ποιοῦσι γένεσιν οὐδὲν δεῖ διστάζειν· φανερώς γὰρ λέγουσιν ὡς τοῦ ἐνὸς συσταθέντος... εὐθύς τὸ ἕγγιστα τοῦ ἀπέριου ὅτι εἴλκετο καὶ ἐπεραίνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ πέρα-

τος. Cf. *Physica* Γ, 206b22: εἴπερ μὴ ἔστι κατὰ συμβεβηκὸς ἐντελεχεία ἄπειρον, ὥσπερ φασὶν οἱ φυσιολόγοι τὸ ἕξω σῶμα τοῦ κόσμου, οὐδ' ἡ οὐσία ἢ ἀήρ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον, ἄπειρον εἶναι. The formulation here suggests a distinction between those who construed the Infinite as Air (like Anaximenes) or some other substance, to which thus the infinity was an attribute, and the Pythagoreans who (as Plato) posited the Infinite in itself as principle of reality. But they too, initially, considered the Infinite in a fully fledged physical sense as well. In fact they apprehended the infinite in itself as the fundamental, common basis for the understanding of the first Principle as air or any other suchlike substance (ἀήρ ἢ ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτον). Thus with the Pythagorean Infinite we capture the significant point of the Anaximandean Indefinite, the Anaximenean Air and the Pherecydean Time all at once. Pythagoreanism represents in this sense the first syncretistic system in Greek thought: no wonder that Heraclitus attacked its author as full of diverse knowledge, badly stitched together, without overall noetic insight (πολυμαθὴ νόον οὐ διδάσκει). With an incipient mathematization of the world, the essential characterization of the Infinite seems to be the void. For number, figure and (bodily) existence are limited: definition and determination involve limitation. The developed scientific mathematization of Pythagorean theory was a subsequent phenomenon, and this must have originated the significant division of the School into two rival sects (μαθηματικοί and ἀκουσματικοί). V. Chapter 4, Part A, *infra*. Cf. n. 76.

73. Hippolytus *Refut. Omn. Haer.* I, 6, 1 (Diels *Dox. Gr.* 559) in A11: οὗτος (sc. Ἀναξίμανδρος) ἀρχὴν ἔφη τῶν ὄντων φύσιν τινα τοῦ ἀπείρου, ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι τοὺς οὐρανοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτοῖς κόσμους. ταύτην δ' αἰδίων εἶναι καὶ ἀγήρω, ἣν καὶ πάντας περιέχειν τοὺς κόσμους. Cf. Aristotle *Physica* Γ, 203b25: ἀπείρου δ' ὄντος τοῦ ἕξω, καὶ σῶμα ἄπειρον εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ κόσμοι, a reference to the innumerable Anaximandean worlds in the Boundless. (Cf. Plutarchus *Stromateis* Frg. 2, Diels *Dox. Gr.* p. 579.7 sqq., from Eusebius *Praep. Evang.* I, 7, 16).
74. Simplicius in *Phys.* 155.30 (= B2): καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον “καὶ γὰρ ἀήρ τε καὶ αἰθήρ ἀποκρίνονται ἀπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιέχοντος, καὶ τό γε περιέχον ἄπειρον ἐστὶ τὸ πλήθος”. *Ibid.* 157.5 (= B14): δῆλον δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶνδε, “ὁ δὲ νοῦς, ὃς αἰεὶ ἐστὶ, τὸ κάρτα καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα, ἐν τῷ πολλῷ περιέχοντι καὶ ἐν τοῖς προσκριθείσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀποκεκρμένοις”. Aristotle *Phys.* Γ, 205b1 (= A50): Ἀναξαγόρας δ' ἀτόπως λέγει περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀπείρου μονῆς· στηρίζει γὰρ αὐτὸ αὐτὸ φησὶν τὸ ἄπειρον· τοῦτο δέ, ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ (ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδὲν περιέχειν).
75. Plutarchean *Epitom.* I, 5, 2 = Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 22, 2 = Diels *Dox. Gr.* p. 291 = A47: Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ κόσμον μὲν ἕνα, οὐ μέντοι τὸ πᾶν εἶναι τὸν

κόσμον, ἀλλὰ ὀλίγον τι τοῦ παντός μέρος, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἀργὴν ὕλην. This inert matter is structurally like (homologous with) the Stoic infinite void: the totality of the ornamented site (διακόσμησις, *Κόσμος*, the World) together with what lies beyond, is the *πᾶν*. But for Stoicism all matter without remainder is worked up into orderly existence (Cosmos). So that what is left outside is not inert matter but non-being, the void.

For the Empedoclean conception, cf. B35 (from Simplicius *In de caelo* 529.1; 587.8; and *In phys.* 32.13) vv. 8-11: when the World is transformed into a universal homogeneous intermingling and absolute integral (the unified *Σφαῖρος*) under the domination of Love and Friendship, Strife recedes to the outermost boundaries of the World. During that process:

πολλὰ δ' ἄμεικτ' ἔστησε κεραιομένοισιν ἐναλλάξ,
 ὄσ' ἔτι Νείκος ἔρυκε μετάρσιον· οὐ γὰρ ἀμεμφέως
 10. τῶν πᾶν ἐξέστηκεν ἐπ' ἔσχατα τέρματα κύκλου
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τ' ἐνέμμυε μελέων, τὰ δὲ τ' ἐξεβεβήκει.

And so (Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 90, 11 (= p. 121.14 Wach.) and Aristotle *Metaph.* B, 1000b1 = B36):

τῶν δὲ συνερχομένων ἐξ ἔσχατον ἴστατο Νείκος.

In the thoroughly unified Sphere, Strife stands apart and outside, while Love permeates the conglomeration; Simplicius *In Phys.* 158.13 (B17, v. 16):

δίπλ' ἐρέω· τοτέ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἠϋξήθη μόνον εἶναι
 ἐκ πλεόνων, τοτέ δ' αὖ διέφνυ πλεόν' ἐξ ἐνὸς εἶναι,
 πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ ἠέρος ἄπλετον ὕψος,
 Νείκος τ' οὐλόμενον δίχα τῶν, ἀτάλαντον ἀπάντη,
 καὶ Φιλότης ἐν τοῖσιν, ἴση μῆκός τε πλάτος τε.

When on the other hand Strife holds absolute sway, the four elements, fully disjointed from each other and wholly free from any intermixture among them, form four unconnected (very likely spherical, as Strife is *ἀτάλαντον ἀπάντη*) totalities: v. Simplicius *in Phys.* 158, 6 (B17 vv. 6-8); *ibid.* 33, 21 (B26 vv. 5-7; cf. Aristotle *Metaph.* A, 985a23 = A37). Presumably what remains outside the influence of Love's Whirl, what in each cosmic state lies outside Love's field, stays unworked in uncontaminated isolation under the rule of Strife: unconnected masses of the elements with Strife presiding over them, prohibiting any kind of process or development from

taking place: this part of the elements unaffected by the workings of Love must be the ἀργή ὕλη mentioned by the doxographical tradition on Empedocles.

There are significant structural similarities (homologies) to Pythagorean Cosmology in all this, as well as important bridges over to Stoicism. The crucial difference that sets apart early Pythagoreanism is that the Infinite is a dynamic principle of movement; whereas already in Empedocles what lies beyond orderly existence is inert. This is what characterizes the Empedoclean system as early Classical rather than later Archaic.

76. There was an Infinite Spirit outside the World, from which Cosmos inhales its breath. This vaporous infinity is also the root of space and time: vacuum and time enter into the World through its breathing. Aristotle, *Physic.* 213b22 and Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 18, 1 (B30). For a void beyond the universe cf. *Physic.* Δ, 213b1, a reference to Pythagoreanism. V. n. 72, and cf. infra.

It was an ancient experience that the void is airy in nature, just as everything existent needs a tangible substantiality, a material basis and corporeal manifestation, in order to subsist at all. (This archaic sentiment is captured by the Stoic insistence on the corporeality of all true being). The view that emptiness and air were the same thing was common, so that philosophers like Anaxagoras used to endeavour to prove the nonexistence of the vacuum by really exhibiting the substantiality of air (Aristotle *Physic.* Δ, 213a22). The general position for the void is thus described by Aristotle, *Physic.* Δ, 213a27: οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι βούλονται κενὸν εἶναι διάστημα ἐν ᾧ μηδὲν ἐστί σῶμα αἰσθητόν· οἰόμενοι δὲ τὸ ὄν ἅπαν εἶναι σῶμα φασίν, ἐν ᾧ ὅλως μηδὲν ἐστί, τοῦτο εἶναι κενόν, διὸ τὸ πλήρες ἀέρος κενὸν εἶναι. *De anima* B, 419b34: δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι κενὸν ὁ ἀήρ. *De partibus animal.* B, 656b15: τὸ γὰρ κενὸν καλούμενον ἀέρος πλήρες ἐστί. Plato makes the Pythagorean Timaeus describe mist and darkness as turbid, murkiest air (58d1): κατὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀέρος, τὸ μὲν εὐαγέστατον ἐπίκλην αἰθήρ καλούμενος, ὁ δὲ θολερώτατος ὁμίχλη τε καὶ σκότος. Already in Homer ἀήρ signifies fog and misty darkness, e.g. *Odyssey* θ, 562: ἤερι καὶ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένοι (sc. the magic Phaeacean ships):

Iliad P 644 ἤερι γὰρ κατέχονται ὁμῶς αὐτοὶ τε καὶ ἵπποι.

Ζεῦ Πάτερ, ἀλλὰ σὺ ρῦσαι ὑπ' ἤερος υἱας Ἀχαιῶν
ποίησον δ' αἶθρην, δὸς δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ιδέσθαι,

(where the Scholia A explain: ὅτι ἀέρα τὴν σκοτίαν καλεῖ· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀήρ τῇ δύσει σκοτεινός ἐστί, λαμπρύνεται δὲ ἐπιφανέντος τοῦ ἡλίου - which refers to the notion of the inherent darkness of the air-element, a

notion involved in, among other issues, the heated controversy regarding the interpretation of the Empedoclean *ρίζωματα*); and P 649:

αὐτίκα δ' ἡέρα μὲν σκέδασεν καὶ ἀπώσεν ὀμίχλην,
ἥλιος δ' ἐπέλαμψε· μάχη δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσα φαάνθη,

where again the *Scholía* A comment: ὅτι σαφῶς τὴν σκοτίαν ἀέρα λέγει· ἔστι γὰρ ταυτὸν τῷ ὀμίχλη· καὶ ἀπώσε τὸν ἀέρα, ὃ ἔστιν ὀμίχλη(ν). V. Eustathius *In Iliad.* 1121.34 sqq. *Odyssey* 1, 144: ἀῆρ γὰρ παρὰ νηυσὶ βαθεῖ· ἦν. *Ilias* E, 776: περὶ δ' ἡέρα πούλιν ἔχευε (v. Sch. A ad loc.). Cf. Et. Gud. 237.50-2; Et. Magnum 421.34; Miller, *Mélanges de Littérature Grecque* pp. 144-5; *Scholía* A and D to *Ilias* T87. The same principal sense obtains in Hesiod, *Opera et Dies* 252 sqq.:

τρὶς γὰρ μύριοι εἰσιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πουλυβοτείρῃ
ἀθάνατοι Ζηνὸς φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,
οἳ ρα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα
ἡέρα ἐσσάμενοι, πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν.

So Hippocrates, *Περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων* XV: ἡῆρ τε πολὺς κατέχει τὴν χώρην (around Phasis in the Black Sea) ἀπὸ τῶν ὑδάτων. V. Plutarch, *De Primo Frigido* 948E: ὅτι δ' ἀῆρ τὸ πρῶτως σκοτεινὸν ἐστὶν οὐδὲ τοῦς ποιητὰς λέληθεν· ἀέρα γὰρ τὸ σκότος καλοῦσιν; he proceeds to quote from Homer and Hesiod, embark on some precarious but significant etymologies and ends up by referring to the Hesiodic *Τάρταρά τ' ἡερόεντα* (*Theogony* 119). The Stoics, significantly, remained faithful to this Homero-Hesiodic equipotence of air (in itself) and darkness.

Both assimilations (of air with void and of air with darkness) point to the second principle of limitlessness, indefiniteness, indeterminacy and infinity.

We thus observe in detail the affiliations between the Anaximandrian Ἄπειρον, the Anaximenean Ἀῆρ and the Pythagorean Ἄπειρον. Cf. further n. 75. Of crucial importance is the Anaximenean fragment in Plutarchean *Epitom.* I, 3, 4 = Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 10, 12 (Diels *Dox. Gr.* p. 278) = B2: Ἀναξιμένης *Εὐρυστράτου Μιλῆσιος ἀρχὴν τῶν ὄντων ἀέρα ἀπεφῆγατο· ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι. “οἶον ἢ ψυχὴν, φησὶν, ἢ ἡμετέρα ἀῆρ οὐσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀῆρ περιέχει”· λέγεται δὲ συνωνύμως ἀῆρ καὶ πνεῦμα.*

This then accounts for one factor in the Pythagorean *σύγκρασις* regarding the second principle.

77. The guide for this description of the limit is provided by the evidence regarding the Infinite. Against emptiness, darkness and spirituality we assume radiant perfect solidity, dense and hard; to organize space, disorderly and uncoordinated, an absolute point of reference is required; irregular time-flux and incoherent duration demands the serializing agency of the present.
78. Aristotle, *Met.* 1091a14 (B26): τοῦ ἐνὸς συσταθέντος.
79. Philolaus B7 = Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 21, 8 (189.17 W).
80. Philolaus B7. It was located in the middle of the cosmic Sphere. Cf. A16; 17.
81. Aristotle *de Caelo* 293b1 sqq. (B37); Fr. 204 Rose; Simplicius *In de Caelo*, ad loc. 511.26 (B37); Proclus *In Eucl.* 90.14 (Friedl.); *In Tim.* ad 61c. V. Rose, *Aristoteles Pseud.* 189. Cf. Philolaus A16.
82. *De caelo loc. cit.*
83. When in the Old Academy the two ultimate principles used to be expressed as *Μονάς* and *Δυάς*, the former was called Zeus; Xenocrates Fr. 15 Heinze; cf. Macrobius *Comm. In Somn. Sc.* I, 6, 8; Martianus Capella 731; *Theologoumena Arithmeticae* 14.7 de Falco. Cf. τὸ τῆς μονάδος νοερὸν πῦρ as God, Hippolytus *Ref. Omn. Haer.* I, 3, 1.
84. *Met.* 1091a13 (B26). Cf. 1080b16 (B9): ὅπως δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν συνέστη ἔχον μέγεθος, ἀπορεῖν εἰκόασι (sc. the Pythagoreans).
85. *Met.* 1091a13 (B26).
86. Colour is either in the limiting surface of a thing or the limit itself. Thus the Pythagoreans τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν χροῖαν ἐκάλουν; Aristotle *de sens.* 439a30 (B42). Cf. *Theolog. Arithm.* p. 11.8 de Falco. Cf. my paper “Pythagoreanism in the Meno and Platonic Development”, in the Symposium Platonicum Therense. Proceedings to be published in the Conference Series of the Institute for Philosophical Research.
87. In place of the Timaeian association of fire with pyramis, some Pythagoreans, and clearly earlier, assumed an ἐναδικὸν διάπυρον κύβον in the middle of the Universe; Anatolius p. 30 Heib.
88. Cf. Eurytos A2; 3.
89. Syrianus CAG 6.1 p. 10 Kroll; p. 175; *Theolog. Arithm.* p. 7.10 de Falco. Cf. Thesleff, *The Pythagorean Texts of the Hellenistic Period* p. 164.31 sqq.
90. Aristotle Fr. 196 Rose (C2).
91. OF 54.
92. OF 79; 82.
93. Clemens Romanus *Homil.* VI, 5 (OF 56).
94. For γόνιμος μωλός cf. Hippon A12; Democritus B124.

95. Iamblichus *In Nicom. Arithm. introd.* 10.12 Pisteli; *Theol. Arithm.* 4.18 de Falco; Theon Smyrn. 37.18 Hiller; Martianus Capela VII, 731; Syrianus *In Met.* 912b8 Usener. Cf. Thesleff *op. cit.* p. 165.
96. Aristotle *Met.* 1091a3 (B26); cf. B30. V. Philolaus B17 = Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 15, 7 (148.4 Wach.).
97. Aristotle Fr. 201 Rose (Stobaeus I, 18, 1c, p. 156.8 Wach. = B30); cf. *Phys.* 213b22; Stobaeus I, 18, 4b p. 160.9 W.
98. *Κενόν, ὃ διορίζει τὰς φύσεις*, of numbers, too; Aristotle *Phys.* 213b22 (B30).
99. Plutarchean *Epit.* I, 21, 1 = Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 8, 40b = Diels *Dox. Gr.* 318.4. Aristotle *Phys.* 218a33 (B33).
100. B20a = Ioannes Lydus *de mens.* IV, 64 (114.20 Wuensch).
101. Cf. e.g. *Theol. Arithm.* 14.7 de Falco. Cf. the Pherecydean *Ρῆ* for *Ρέα* (B9). Plato, *Cratyl.* 402b: *Ρέα* and *Κρόνος, ρευμάτων ὀνόματα*.
102. Critias B18 (its authorship was ascribed either to Euripides or to Critias) = Euripides 594 Nauck².
103. Aristotle Fr. 196 Rose: *τὰς δὲ ἄρκτους Ρέας χεῖρας*.
104. Critias B19 = Euripides 593 Tr. Gr. Fr. Nauck².
105. *Πνοή* or *Πνεῦμα*. Breathing must have been an emphatic feature of the early system. Xenophanes was led to deny it expressly (A1 = Diogenes Laertius IX, 19: *ὄλον δὲ ὄραν καὶ ὄλον ἀκούειν, μὴ μέντοι ἀναπνεῖν*. The air of Anaximenes is analogous to the Pythagorean spirit, v. Anaximenes B2: *οἶον ἢ ψυχὴ ἢ ἡμετέρα ἀήρ οὐσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὄλον τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀήρ περιέχει*. Cf. Diogenes Apolloniates in n. 106. Cf. nn. 72 and 76.
106. Life, breathing and soul go together. Cf. Diogenes Apolloniates B4 (Simplicius *In Phys.* 151.28 sqq.), esp.: *ἄνθρωποι γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ζῶα ἀναπνέοντα ζῶει τῷ ἀέρι καὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῖς καὶ ψυχὴ ἐστι καὶ νόσις... καὶ ἐὰν τοῦτο ἀπαλλαχθῆ, ἀποθνήσκει καὶ ἡ νόσις ἐπιλείπει*. Cf. B5. Sextus Empiricus *Adv. math.* IX, 127 (= Empedocles B136): *ἐν γὰρ ὑπάρχει πνεῦμα, τὸ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ Κόσμου διήκον ψυχῆς τρόπον, τὸ καὶ ἐνοῦν ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἐκεῖνα* (sc. gods and the irrational animals). This is said of *οἱ περὶ τὸν Πυθαγόραν καὶ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν τῶν Ἰταλῶν πλῆθος*. The commentary on Orphism in the Derveni papyrus interprets Zeus as the all-pervading, all-subduing Air; his intelligence (*φρόνησις*), conceived as spirit, breath, air in movement, is identified with Orphic *Μοῖρα*; Columns XVIII-XIX Janko; cf. e.g. R. Merkelbach, ZPE 1, 1967 p. 23-5. Cf. also Hippocrates *Aphor.* VIII (8, 672 Litttré): *ἀποπνέει* (in death) *ἀθρόον τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ θερμοῦ, ὅθεν περ ξυνέστη τὸ ὄλον, εἰς τὸ ὄλον πάλιν, ..., τὸ δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ ἀναπνοῶν, ὅθεν τὸ ζῆν καλέομεν*.

For self-movement and volatility as of the essence of soul: Aristotle, *de anima* 405a31 (Alcmaeon A12); Diogenes Laert. VIII 83 (= Alcmaeon A1); Stobaeus *Ecl.* I, 49, 1a (418.24 Wach.); Aristotle, *de anima* 405a21 (= Diogenes Apolloniates A20; cf. B4-5). Cf. Cicero *de Nat. D.* I, 11, 27: (Pythagoras) *censuit animum esse per naturam rerum omnem intentum et commeantem* etc.; Lactantius *Div. Inst.* I, 5; Minucius Felix *Oct.* 19. For spirit as soul cf. also Epicharmus B10; 9; 22. The ἀριθμὸς αὐτὸν κινῶν ascribed to Pythagoras as a definition of soul, is evidently a Xenocratean interpretation.

The common source and character of soul and time is indicated in Plutarch, *Qu. Pl.* 1007B: Πυθαγόρας ἐρωτηθεὶς τί Χρόνος ἐστὶ, τὴν τοῦ ὄλου ψυχὴν εἶπεῖν. Since Pythagoras is also reputed to have identified time with the outermost celestial sphere, one feels the theoretical pressure to conceive of ultimate heaven as the cosmic, universal soul. See next n.

107. *De anima* 410b28-30: ὁ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς καλουμένοις ἔπεισι λόγος· φησὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄλου εἰσιέναι ἀναπνεόντων, φερομένην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων. Cf. the Pythagorean Commentaries (Hypomnemata) in Diogenes Laertius VIII, 32: εἶναι τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων. And for the expected materialization of the idea, v. Aristotle, *De an.* 404a16 (B40): soul as the ἐν τῷ ἀέρι ξύσματα, or the windy, spiritual cause of their incessant movement.
108. *Metaph.* 6a 23 sqq. Usener.
109. Clemens Romanus *Homil.* VI, 4 (= OF 55).
110. And the sequel; VI 5-12 (= OF 56).
111. The Pythagorean ἄπειρον corresponds (as homologue) to the Homeric-Hesiodic Tartaros where Cronos and the Titans hold sway. The planets were called the dogs of Persephone by the Pythagoreans (Aristotle Fr. 196 Rose = C2). And the Sea, δάκρυον Κρόνου (*ibid.*; Plutarch *de Is. et Os.* 32, 364A; Clemens *Strom.* V, 50.1; Porphyry *Vit. Pyth.* 41); sea being an impure, uncongenial and Typhonic element, Plutarch *loc cit.*, in contrast to the δάκρυα Διός as rain, Clemens, *op. cit.* V, 49, 3. As rain is Jovial semen, so the δάκρυον Κρόνου may refer to his Titanic seed.
112. Is Pythagorean creation continuing in time, with more and more disorderly infinity assuming defining order? Order-imposition would then be propagating from the centre away spherically to infinity in space and time, starting at the beginning of time, the moment when the finite unit emerged in the Womb of chaotic Indeterminacy. Like a big-bang of order continuing indefinitely in time. Or should we assume a Grand Rhythm there as well (a process intrinsic in dualism), with a Cosmic Oscillation of World's (Κόσμος) expansion and contraction (shrinking to unit and chaos and back again outwards in an expanding domination of order)?